

Replication #3

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3/5/2019

Abstract

Figure 2

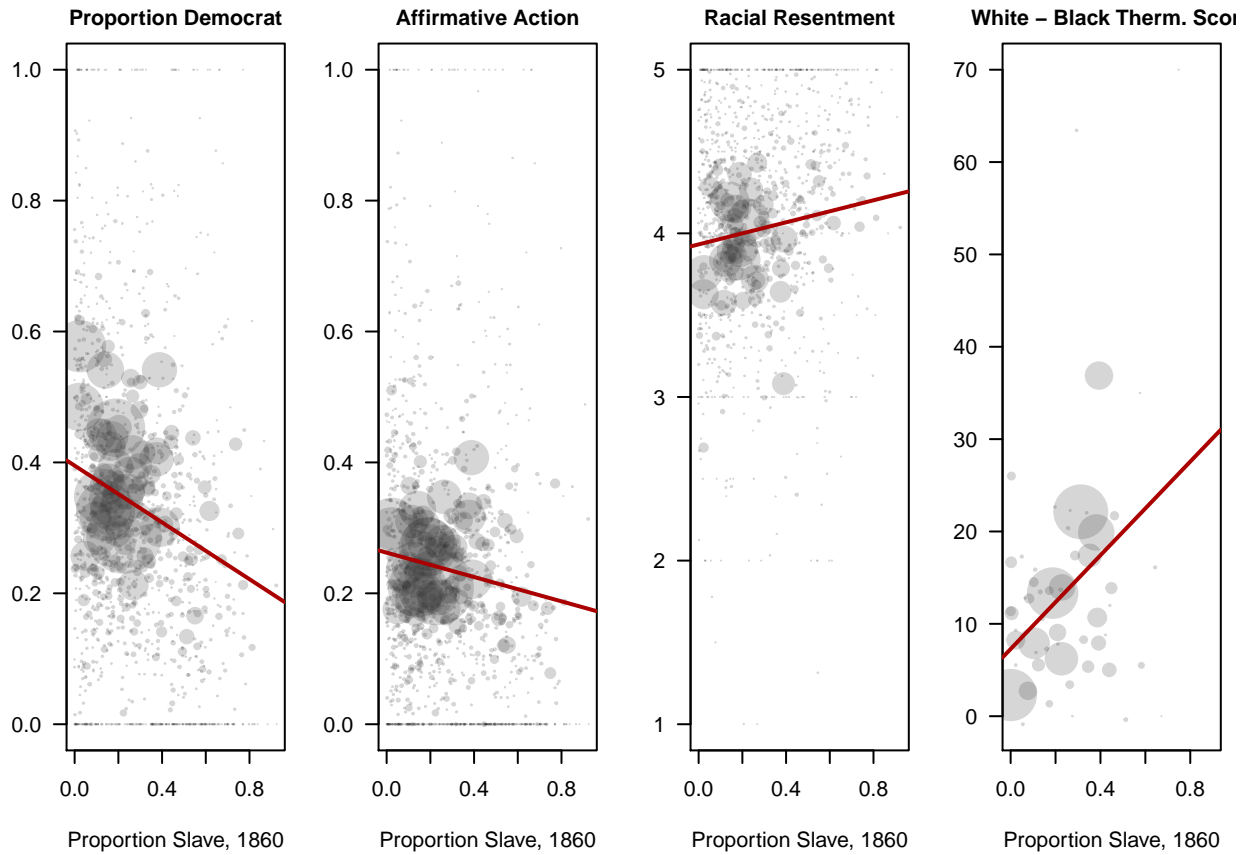


Table 1

Table 1 does not print with checkmarks.

	Prop Democrat		Affirm. Action		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.217*** (0.023)	-0.127*** (0.043)	-0.145*** (0.036)	0.463*** (0.139)	36.125*** (9.244)
Level	County	County	County	County	Individual
1860 Covariates		✓	✓	✓	
State Fixed Effects		✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year Fixed Effects					✓
Clustered SEs					✓
N	1,242	1,152	1,152	1,027	1,489
R ²	0.065	0.203	0.101	0.143	0.183

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Note. Models 1–4 are weighted least squares at the county level, with within-county sample sizes, adjusted by sampling weights, as weights. Model 5 is weighted least squares at the individual level with state-year fixed effects. Standard errors, in parentheses, are clustered at the county level in model 5. There are 50 counties in model 5.

Table 2

	Prop Democrat					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.202*** (0.068)		-0.149*** (0.056)		0.450** (0.228)	
Slave State		0.056 (0.045)		-0.019 (0.043)		-0.111 (0.170)
State Fixed Effects	✓		✓		✓	
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
50% Threshold Match	✓		✓		✓	
North-South Match		✓		✓		✓
N	444	145	444	145	393	130
R ²	0.248	0.328	0.156	0.186	0.195	0.219

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Note. Model 1 is the first-stage relationship. Models 2–5 are weighted two-stage least-squares models, with weights as given in table 1. Standard errors are in parentheses.

OTHER

[1] 0.7652205

	Prop Democrat					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Prop. Slave, Direct Effect	-0.150*** (0.043)	-0.130** (0.057)	-0.153*** (0.037)	-0.130*** (0.042)	0.514*** (0.140)	0.472** (0.184)
Prop. Black, 2000	0.172*** (0.043)		0.062 (0.037)		-0.416*** (0.140)	
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bootstrapped SEs		✓		✓		✓
Model	WLS	Seq. g-est.	WLS	Seq. g-est.	WLS	Seq. g-est.
N	1,152	1,152	1,152	1,152	1,027	1,027
R ²	0.214	0.209	0.103	0.095	0.151	0.144

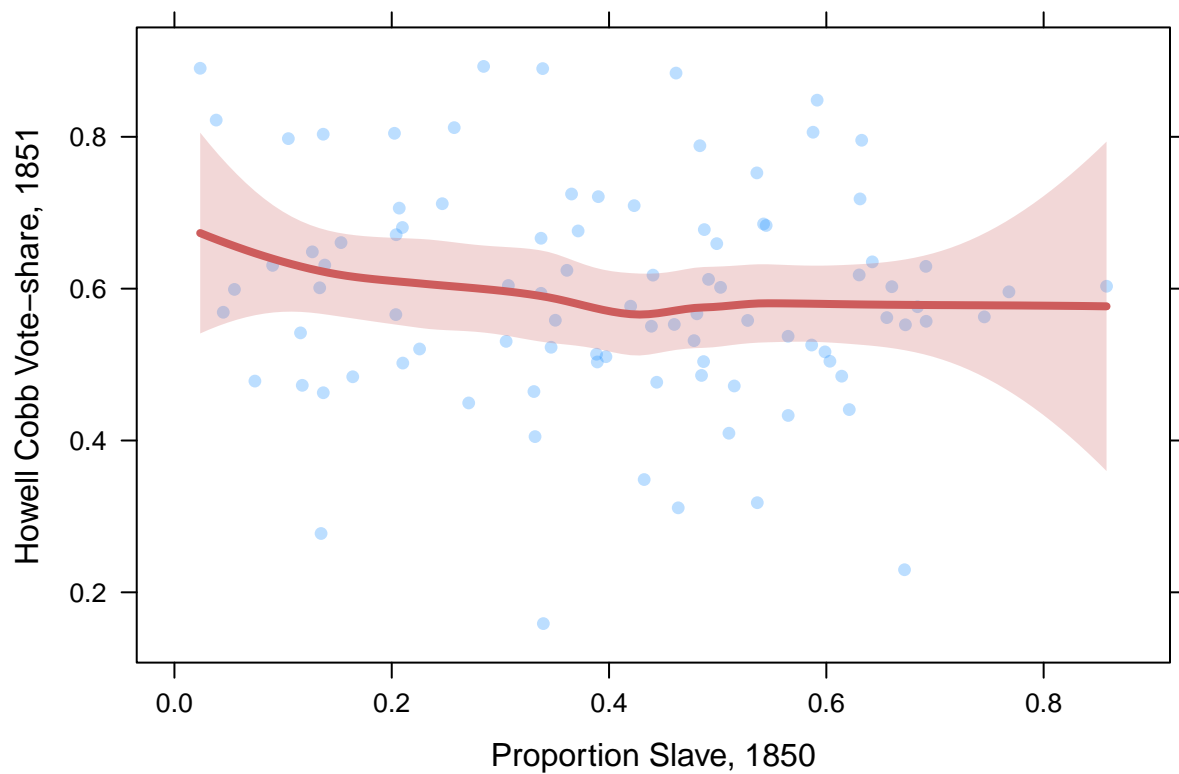
*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

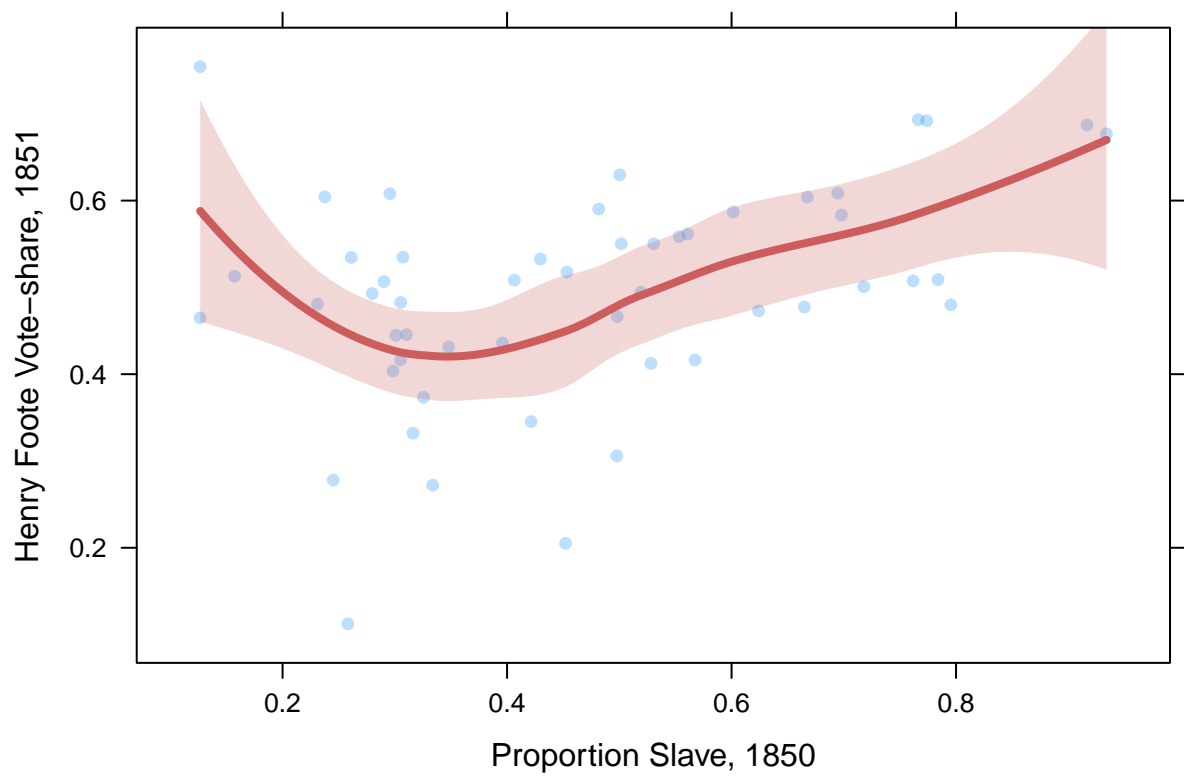
	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.092* (0.048)	-0.080** (0.041)	0.289* (0.156)
Prop. Black 2000	0.028 (0.056)	-0.112** (0.048)	-0.072 (0.179)
Log Population, 2000	0.017*** (0.006)	0.023*** (0.005)	-0.071*** (0.021)
Percent High School Graduates, 1990	0.003*** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	-0.006* (0.003)
Unemployment, 1999	0.004 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.023** (0.011)
Median Income, 2000	-0.139*** (0.042)	-0.208*** (0.036)	0.460*** (0.136)
White-Black Income Ratio, 2000	0.016 (0.012)	0.013 (0.010)	-0.019 (0.039)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓
N	1,093	1,093	976
R ²	0.241	0.148	0.186

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

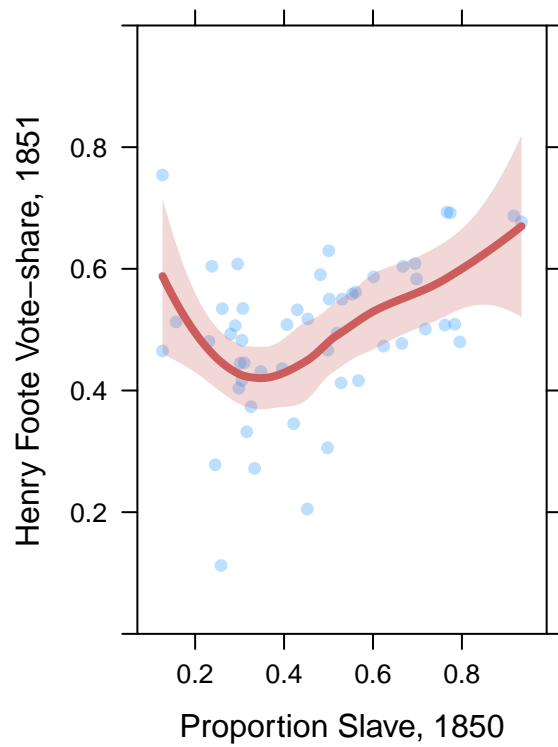
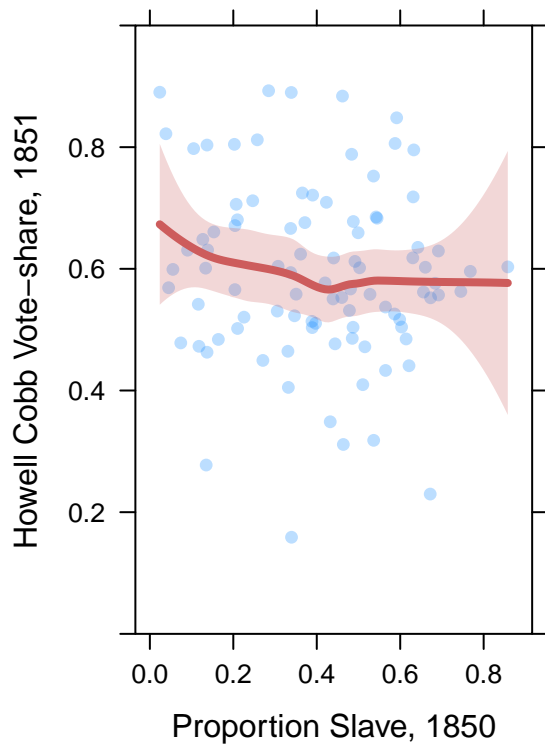
	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment	base1860.form	base1860.res
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.226*** (0.063)	-0.118*** (0.046)	-0.260*** (0.058)	-0.179*** (0.040)	0.82*** (0.24)
Log Relative Slave Mortality, 1860	0.050*** (0.015)		0.009 (0.014)		-0.118*** (0.038)
Avg. Residents per Slave Dwelling		-0.012*** (0.003)		-0.006** (0.003)	
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	495	885	495	885	495
R ²	0.251	0.232	0.146	0.106	0.251

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01





Georgia Gubernatorial Election, 1851 Mississippi Gubernatorial Election, 1851



	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment	base1860.form	base1860.form
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.097** (0.047)	-0.124*** (0.044)	-0.131*** (0.041)	-0.173*** (0.038)	0.346** (0.154)
Civil War Destruction		0.001 (0.008)		-0.006 (0.006)	
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dense 1860 Counties Dropped	✓		✓		✓
N	1,030	1,011	1,030	1,011	909
R ²	0.181	0.198	0.082	0.098	0.089

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment
	logistic	logistic	OLS
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-1.113*** (0.365)	-0.840** (0.358)	0.672** (0.265)
State-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓
N	9,551	9,528	3,350
R ²			0.059

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

10% 90% -0.001437437 0.061390943

	Lynchings	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Prop. Slave, 1860	17.656*** (5.661)	-0.183*** (0.049)	-0.219*** (0.042)	0.703*** (0.161)
Tractors Change, 1930-1940		-0.417* (0.243)	-0.629*** (0.207)	2.290*** (0.791)
Prop Slave × Tractors Change		2.298*** (0.868)	2.226*** (0.741)	-7.762*** (2.876)
State-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	910	1,145	1,145	1,020
R ²	0.350	0.208	0.104	0.152

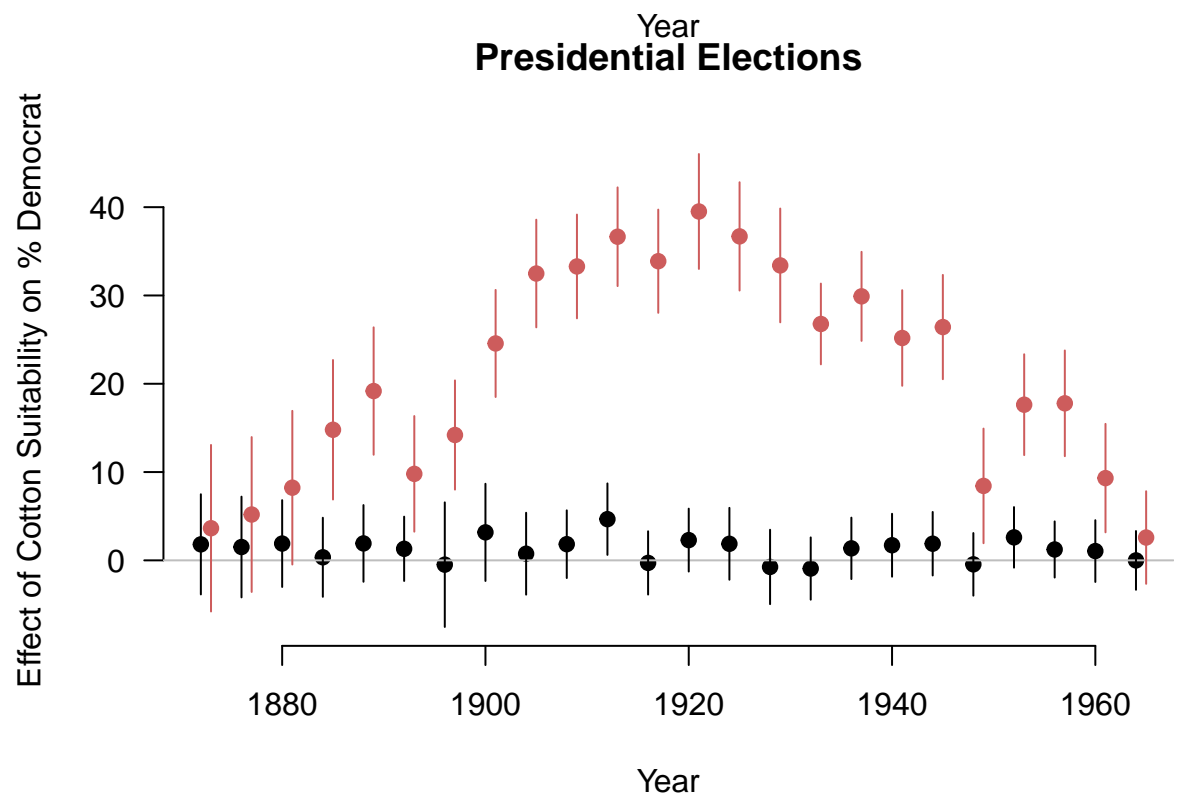
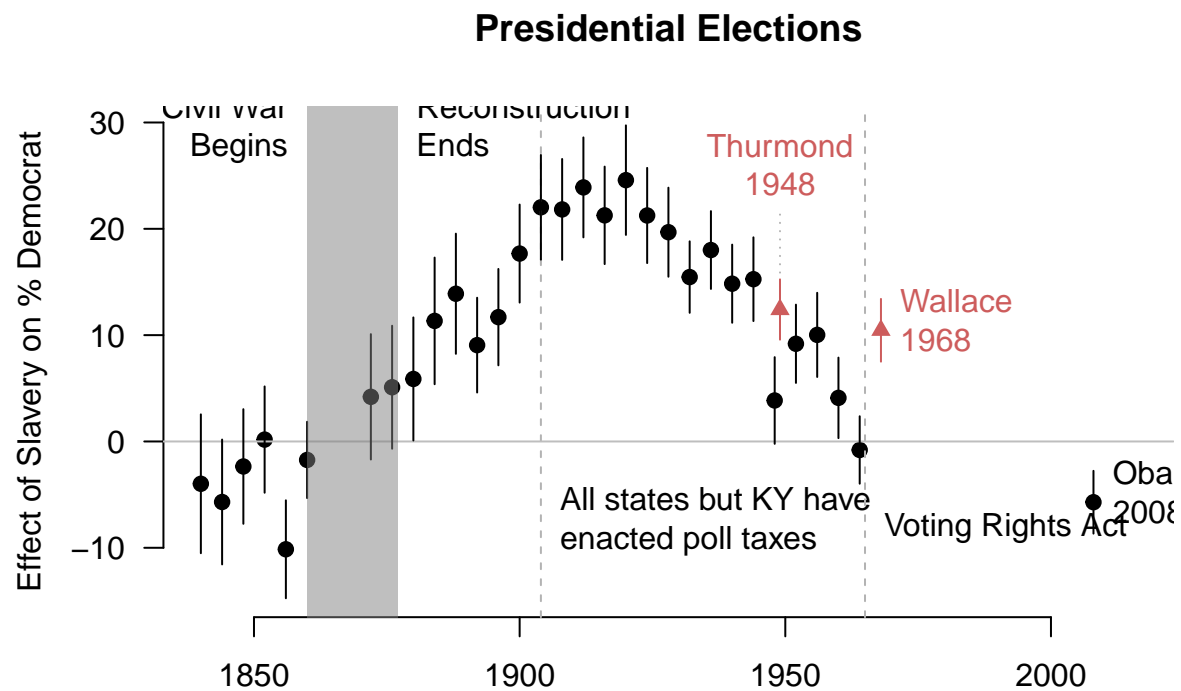
*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Lynchings per 100,000 residents	log(Black-White Wage Ratio)
	(1)	(2)
Tractor Growth, 1930-1940	-3.069 (16.532)	-1.021 (0.818)
Prop. Slave, 1860	13.500*** (4.061)	-0.602*** (0.185)
State-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓
N	1,145	871
R ²	0.385	0.190

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Black Tenant Share	Share of Black Farmer Pop. Owning	base1860.form	base.iv.form
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Prop. Slave, 1860	0.102** (0.048)	0.894*** (0.153)	-0.029 (0.048)	-0.700*** (0.144)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓		✓	
N	1,029	1,005	1,029	1,005
R ²	0.372	0.046	0.325	0.105

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01



Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)
Prop. Democrat	1,329	0.314	0.256	0.000	0.115	0.449
Support for Affirmative Action	1,329	0.222	0.227	0.000	0.000	0.317
Racial Resentment	1,168	4.116	0.701	1.000	3.736	4.657
Lynchings per 100,000 1920 Residents, 1882-1930	1,296	8.542	17.428	0.000	0.000	9.352
County Area, 2000	1,326	0.151	0.090	0.001	0.095	0.194
Ruggedness	1,244	43.377	48.308	2.106	17.816	43.852
Latitude, 2000	1,326	34.528	3.068	24.850	32.226	37.007
Longitude, 2000	1,326	-87.297	6.675	-106.235	-92.398	-82.085
Prop. Slave, 1860	1,242	0.284	0.214	0.000	0.096	0.451
Gini Coefficient for Land Holdings, 1860	1,222	0.481	0.084	0.000	0.449	0.523
Prop. Small Farms (< 50 Acres), 1860	1,226	0.466	0.215	0.019	0.304	0.623
Total Population, 1860	1,257	8,695.350	9,394.037	0.000	3,940.803	11,234.88
Farm Value per Capita, 1860	1,226	36.473	25.781	4.809	22.386	39.858
Prop. Free Black, 1860	1,242	0.010	0.022	0.000	0.0004	0.010
Rail Access, 1860	1,326	0.245	0.430	0.000	0.000	0.000
Water Acces, 1860	1,326	0.407	0.492	0.000	0.000	1.000
Cotton Suitability	1,261	0.449	0.169	0.002	0.353	0.565
Prop. Black, 2000	1,327	0.158	0.171	0.000	0.020	0.259
Tractor Growth, 1930-1940	1,295	0.020	0.032	-0.030	0.002	0.026

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)
Democratic Identification	40,154	0.341	0.474	0	0	1
Support for Affirmative Action	40,087	0.231	0.421	0.000	0.000	0.000
Racial Resentment	16,890	4.002	1.137	1.000	3.000	5.000
Age	40,154	52.083	15.380	18	42	64
Religious Importance	40,104	0.725	0.446	0.000	0.000	1.000
Gender (Female = 1, Male = 0)	40,154	0.524	0.499	0	0	1
Household Income (Bracket Midpoint)	35,600	64,571.420	43,993.970	5,000.000	35,000.000	90,000.000

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Black Therm. Score	2,831	62.548	21.622	0.000	50.000	80.000	100.000
White Therm. Score	1,819	74.916	18.780	0.000	60.000	90.000	100.000
White-Black Therm. Difference	1,784	12.854	22.787	-50.000	0.000	25.000	100.000

Call: lm(formula = affirm ~ log(1 + slavesperwhite) + state.abb, data = south.counties, weights = sample.size)

Weighted Residuals: Min 1Q Median 3Q Max -1.8025 -0.4547 -0.1735 0.3428 3.7310

Coefficients: Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

(Intercept) 0.223612 0.017285 12.937 < 2e-16 **log(1 + slavesperwhite) -0.048431 0.013097 -3.698**
0.000227 state.abbAR -0.003871 0.023773 -0.163 0.870674

state.abbFL 0.037672 0.017833 2.112 0.034847 *

state.abbGA -0.003058 0.019510 -0.157 0.875493

state.abbKY 0.064105 0.021684 2.956 0.003172 ** state.abbLA -0.005522 0.023859 -0.231 0.817022

state.abbMO 0.032475 0.020304 1.599 0.109984

state.abbMS -0.020584 0.028111 -0.732 0.464161

state.abbNC 0.060806 0.019580 3.105 0.001943 ** state.abbSC 0.051510 0.023111 2.229 0.026007 *

state.abbTN 0.054843 0.020815 2.635 0.008526 ** state.abbTX 0.008246 0.018322 0.450 0.652739

state.abbVA 0.084080 0.020862 4.030 5.92e-05 *** state.abbWV 0.035688 0.026008 1.372 0.170247

— Signif. codes: 0 ‘’ **0.001** ’’ 0.01 ’’ 0.05 ‘ 0.1 ‘ 1

Residual standard error: 0.631 on 1227 degrees of freedom (87 observations deleted due to missingness)
Multiple R-squared: 0.07131, Adjusted R-squared: 0.06071 F-statistic: 6.73 on 14 and 1227 DF, p-value:
2.237e-13

% Table created by stargazer v.5.2.2 by Marek Hlavac, Harvard University. E-mail: hlavac at fas.harvard.edu
% Date and time: Tue, Mar 05, 2019 - 23:55:11

Table 1: Effect of slavery on white partisan identification, views on affirmative action, and racial resentment with an alternative definition of slavery: slaves per slaveholder.

	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment	base.iv.form	base1860.f
	OLS	instrumental	OLS	instrumental	OLS
	(1)	variable	(3)	variable	(5)
	(2)			(4)	
Log(1 + Slaves per White, 1860)	−0.081*** (0.023)	−0.195*** (0.075)	−0.079*** (0.020)	−0.174*** (0.063)	0.323*** (0.076)
N	1,152	1,120	1,152	1,120	1,027
R ²	0.205	0.093	0.100	0.021	0.149

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Prop Democrat	Prop Democrat	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Affirm. Action
	logistic	logistic	logistic	logistic	logistic
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.627*** (0.240)	-0.465** (0.232)	-0.526** (0.237)	-0.838*** (0.217)	-0.677*** (0.223)
Log(County Area)	-0.083 (0.072)	-0.082 (0.070)	-0.067 (0.072)	-0.198*** (0.071)	-0.203*** (0.072)
Ruggedness	0.001* (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.00001 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.001)
Land Inequality, 1860	0.076 (0.402)	-0.050 (0.432)	-0.141 (0.438)	-0.100 (0.360)	-0.304 (0.380)
Prop. Small Farm, 1860	0.144 (0.251)	0.196 (0.257)	0.311 (0.280)	0.230 (0.248)	0.300 (0.256)
Log(Total Pop., 1860)	-0.034 (0.053)	-0.017 (0.054)	-0.034 (0.053)	0.009 (0.048)	0.039 (0.049)
Log(Farm Value per acre, 1860)	0.168*** (0.061)	0.137** (0.064)	0.091 (0.065)	0.084 (0.059)	0.057 (0.060)
Prop. Free Black, 1860	0.127** (0.062)	0.104* (0.061)	0.124* (0.065)	0.127** (0.057)	0.109* (0.059)
Log(Improved Acres, 1860)	3.364** (1.694)	3.101* (1.721)	3.105* (1.718)	1.725 (1.776)	0.925 (2.008)
Rail Access, 1860	0.175*** (0.064)	0.140** (0.063)	0.153** (0.063)	0.039 (0.063)	0.009 (0.065)
Water Access, 1860	0.002 (0.055)	-0.004 (0.058)	-0.0001 (0.061)	0.029 (0.060)	0.047 (0.061)
Educ: HS Grad		-0.063 (0.102)	-0.074 (0.109)		-0.337*** (0.095)
Educ: Some College		0.096 (0.107)	0.095 (0.115)		-0.263*** (0.101)
Educ: 2-year degree		-0.008 (0.124)	-0.021 (0.134)		-0.363*** (0.118)
Educ: 4-year degree		0.198* (0.105)	0.173 (0.112)		-0.204** (0.104)
Educ: Postgrad		0.725*** (0.126)	0.700*** (0.134)		0.392*** (0.123)
Family Inc: \$20,000-50,000		-0.151** (0.070)	-0.135* (0.074)		-0.455*** (0.068)
Family Inc: \$50,000-100,000		-0.418*** (0.069)	-0.404*** (0.072)		-0.709*** (0.067)
Family Inc: \$100,000-150,000		-0.577*** (0.085)	-0.534*** (0.087)		-0.805*** (0.087)
Family Inc: \$150,000+		-0.501*** (0.101)	-0.445*** (0.104)		-0.706*** (0.091)
Religion Import.		-0.943*** (0.048)	-0.965*** (0.049)		-0.481*** (0.051)
Female		0.426*** (0.037)	0.419*** (0.038)		0.388*** (0.043)
Age		0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)		-0.010*** (0.001)
Prop. Black in Zip, 2000			0.145 (0.189)		
Log(Median Zip Code Inc, 2010)			-0.247*** (0.076)		
White Unemp. Rate, 2010-2014			-5.414*** (1.491)		
Log(White-Black Median Inc Ratio)			0.110 (0.119)		
Constant	10.073	1.695	10.761	20.893	19.717

	Prop Democrat logistic (1)	Prop Democrat logistic (2)	Affirm. Action logistic (3)	Affirm. Action logistic (4)
Prop. Slave \times Educ: HS Grad	-0.925* (0.529)		-0.442 (0.512)	
Prop. Slave \times Educ: Some College	-0.507 (0.566)		-0.285 (0.554)	
Prop. Slave \times Educ: 2-year degree	-0.238 (0.645)		-0.253 (0.700)	
Prop. Slave \times Educ: 4-year degree	-0.253 (0.577)		-0.589 (0.608)	
Prop. Slave \times Educ: Postgrad	-0.514 (0.650)		-0.216 (0.652)	
Prop. Slave \times Family Inc: \$20,000-50,000	-0.330 (0.345)		-0.420 (0.361)	
Prop. Slave \times Family Inc: \$50,000-100,000	-0.013 (0.352)		0.131 (0.348)	
Prop. Slave \times Family Inc: \$100,000-150,000	-0.001 (0.457)		-0.214 (0.462)	
Prop. Slave \times Family Inc: \$150,000+	-0.716 (0.467)		-0.628 (0.460)	
Prop. Slave \times Religion Import.	-0.084 (0.227)		-0.640** (0.264)	
Prop. Slave \times Female	0.139 (0.214)		0.062 (0.237)	
Prop. Slave \times Age	0.007 (0.007)		0.002 (0.008)	
Prop. Slave \times Prop. Black in Zip, 2000		-3.597*** (0.957)		-1.410 (0.893)
Prop. Slave \times Log(Median Zip Code Inc, 2010)		-0.522 (0.409)		0.374 (0.428)
Prop. Slave \times White Unemp. Rate, 2010-2014		-8.091 (6.651)		-8.227 (6.829)
Prop. Slave \times Log(White-Black Median Inc Ratio)		-0.060 (0.541)		0.762 (0.608)
State-Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lower-Order Terms	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual-Level Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓
Contextual Covariates		✓		✓
N	30,796	28,569	30,737	28,515

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Prop. Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.123*** (0.044)	-0.171*** (0.038)	0.483*** (0.144)
Livestock Value Loss, 1860-1870	0.0003 (0.001)	0.0004 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.004)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓
N	1,010	1,010	908
R ²	0.198	0.097	0.136

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	log White Wage - log Black Wages, 1940 OLS (1)	log White Income - log Black Income, 1990 instrumental variable (2)	log Med
Prop. Slave, 1860	0.578*** (0.183)	1.316*** (0.466)	
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	
Geographic Controls	✓	✓	
1860 Covariates	✓		
N	877	866	
R ²	0.188	0.151	

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Prop Democrat (1)	Affirm. Action (2)	Racial Resentment (3)	base1860.form (4)	reser (5)
log White-Black Income Ratio, 2014	0.040** (0.017)	0.055*** (0.019)	0.027* (0.015)	0.041** (0.016)	-0.08 (0.05)
Prop. Slave, 1860		-0.135*** (0.044)		-0.158*** (0.037)	
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	1,140	994	1,140	994	1,010
R ²	0.180	0.226	0.075	0.124	0.06

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment
	logistic	logistic	OLS
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.483 (1.131)	-2.103* (1.232)	0.317 (0.844)
Income	-0.188*** (0.035)	-0.270*** (0.038)	-0.048** (0.024)
Prop. Slave \times Income	0.0003 (0.105)	0.145 (0.115)	0.002 (0.077)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓
Clustered SEs	✓	✓	✓
N	29,944	29,888	12,213
R ²			0.030
AIC	37,739.610	32,067.970	

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	Prop Democrat	Affirm. Action	Racial Resentment	base1860.form	ba
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.097** (0.049)	-0.072 (0.054)	-0.112*** (0.042)	-0.119*** (0.046)	
Prop Black Decline, 1940-1920	0.064 (0.269)		0.045 (0.230)		
Prop Black Decline, 1970-1920		-0.118 (0.110)		-0.158* (0.094)	
Prop Slave \times Black Decline, 1940-1920	-0.466 (0.599)		-0.486 (0.513)		
Prop Slave \times Black Decline, 1970-1920		-0.053 (0.224)		0.120 (0.192)	
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1860 Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	
N	1,152	1,151	1,152	1,151	
R ²	0.204	0.205	0.103	0.104	

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

	In-migration	Out-migration
	(1)	(2)
Prop. Slave, 1860	-0.058*** (0.015)	-0.059*** (0.015)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓
1860 Covariates	✓	✓
N	1,207	1,207
R ²	0.183	0.184

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01