

The Effect of Military Campaigns on Political Identity

Evidence from Sherman's March

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Overview

- Personal identity can strongly influence economic and political behavior (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000)
- Growing interest within economics in identity formation (Shayo and Zussman, 2011; Atkin et al., 2021)
- Experience of war and violence could have strong effects on shaping personal identity
- I study the impact of military march of Union general Sherman through Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina during the Civil War on political identity and behavior in the South

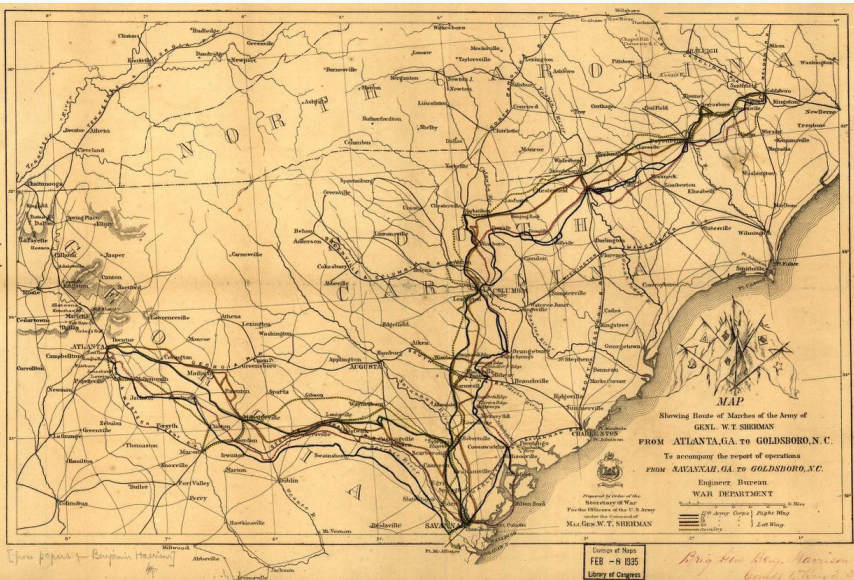
Sherman's march

- Military campaign by Union General Sherman (from November 1864 until the end of the war in May 1865)
- Destruction of capital to break warfare capacity of the South
 - Economically important areas with critical infrastructure were targeted
- Army operated without supply lines - "living off the land"

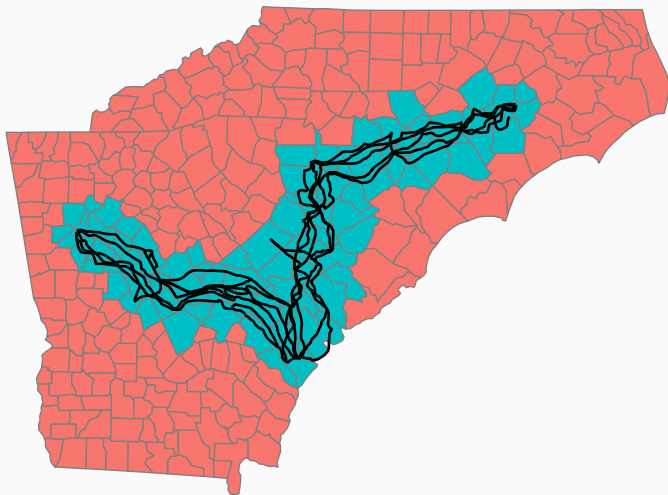
- Formation of personal identity
 - Shayo and Zussman (2011) and Atkin et al. (2021)
- Impact of war on preferences and attitudes
 - Bauer et al. (2016), Adhvaryu and Fenske (2014), and Ochsner and Rösel (2017)
- Political economy of the US South
 - Feigenbaum et al. (2018) and Feigenbaum et al. (2020)

- Digitized 1865 US War Department map of Sherman's march
- County-level covariates by Acharya et al. (2016)
 - share of slave population in 1860, democratic vote share, land inequality, lynch rate etc.
- Individual-level 1880 and 1930 US census data for frequency of first names
- OpenStreetMap data for contemporary names of all streets and roads
- Confederate monuments data from Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC, 2019)

Sherman's march map



Sherman's march map



Sherman's March 0 1

Selection on observables with OLS

- County-level regression

$$y_i = \alpha + \beta \text{march}_i + x_i' \gamma + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

- Controls
 - Proportion of slaves on the total population in 1860
 - Agricultural characteristics (land inequality, total value of the farm per improved acre, etc.)
 - Access to railways, total population in 1860
- Potential bias due to unmeasured confounders
- Results: ▶ voting ▶ other outcomes

Instrumental variable

- Straight line between the three main cities on the march's path (Atlanta, Savannah, Columbia)
- Sherman was ordered to march through Atlanta, Savannah, and, Columbia, the counties between these cities were visited partly because they happened to be on the way
- Not valid if being placed on the line between major cities would have direct effect on the outcomes of interest
- Results: ▶ voting ▶ other outcomes

- Exploits the panel nature of presidential election vote shares

$$v_{i1872} - v_{i1860} = \alpha_0 + \beta \text{march}_i + x'_i \gamma + \epsilon_i \quad (2)$$

- Issue: missing data for some counties (South Carolina did not have popular vote until 1872)
- Results: [▶ here](#)

Robustness checks

- Different measure of exposure to Sherman's march
 - Use 10, 20, and 50 mile bands around the path of any of Sherman's armies as the definition of the treatment (instead of using only 5 mile band)
- Applying the methods by Oster (2019) to assess sensitivity to selection on unobservables
- Double machine learning method by Chernozhukov et al. (2018) to allow for non-linear effects of the controls
 - Selection on observables [▶ here](#)
 - Instrumental variable [▶ here](#)

Conclusion

- Smaller effects on voting outcomes which are not very persistent
- Significant positive effect for some outcomes proxying for Southern identity are not robust across different specifications
- Sherman's march does not appear to be a transformative event as some of the historical literature would claim (e.g., Campbell, 2005)

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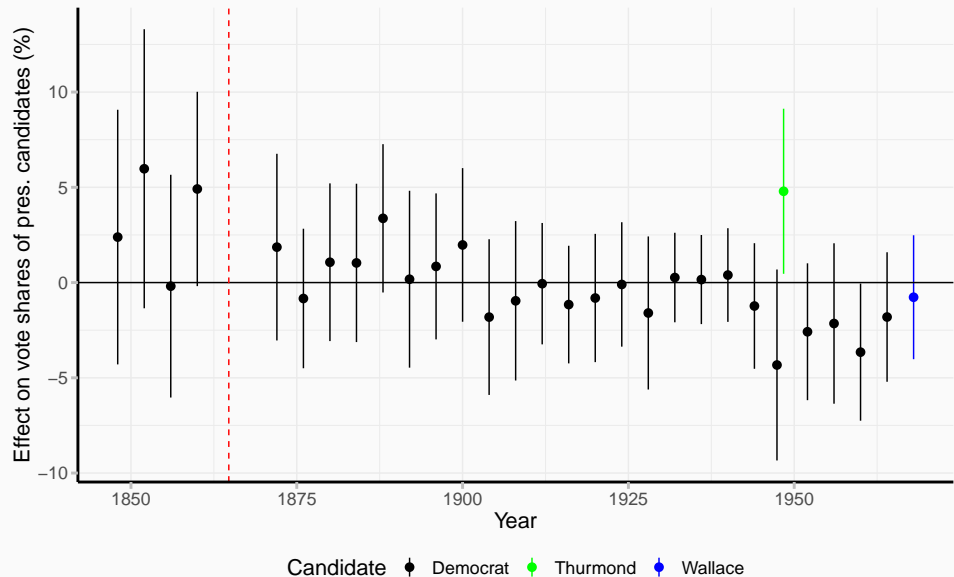
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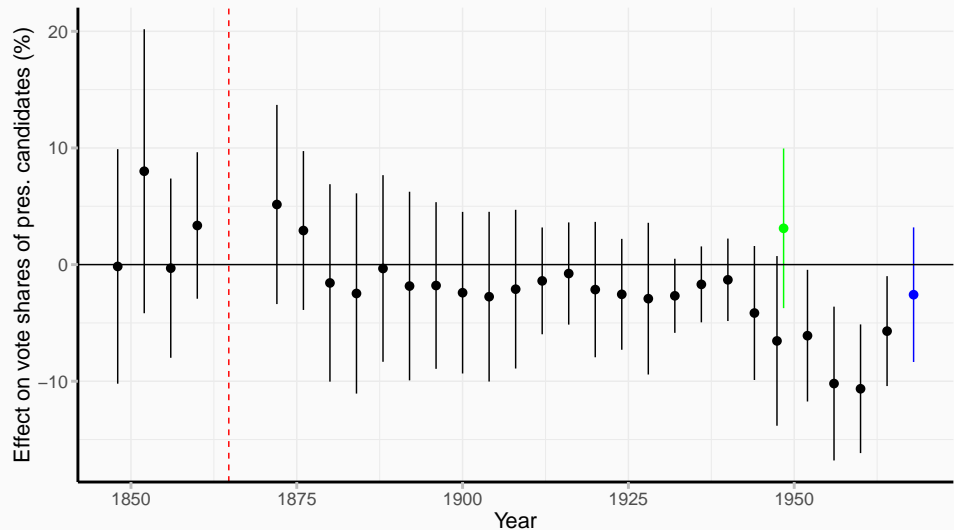
Thank you for your attention.

OLS - voting outcomes

[▶ back](#)

The error bars show 95% confidence intervals

IV - voting outcomes

[▶ back](#)

Democratic vote share difference

	1860-1872		1860-1900	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	47.991*** (1.476)	134.060*** (35.609)	54.809*** (1.264)	81.194*** (24.693)
Sherman's march	-1.283 (3.780)	4.761 (3.905)	3.331 (3.325)	0.529 (3.693)
Slave share		-34.542*** (7.729)		30.148*** (7.242)
Land inequality		-31.547 (25.006)		-27.670 (22.226)
Log of acres of improved land		9.691* (5.112)		-2.175 (3.734)
Log of farm value per acre		6.411 (4.780)		3.840 (3.869)
Railway access		-2.661 (2.654)		1.398 (2.652)
Log of total population		-20.525*** (5.452)		-1.394 (4.256)
R2	0.001	0.271	0.006	0.130
R2 Adj.	-0.004	0.245	0.001	0.101
N	210	210	212	212
VCOV estimator	HC2	HC2	HC2	HC2

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 2: Other outcomes - OLS results

	First names (1880)	First names (1930)	Street names	Monuments	Lynch rate
March	-0.006 (0.020)	0.209** (0.081)	0.146** (0.069)	0.032 (0.061)	-0.004* (0.002)
<i>N</i>	262	305	305	305	299
Dep. v. mean	0.150	0.518	0.707	0.669	0.012
<i>R</i> ²	0.059	0.048	0.082	0.144	0.261

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

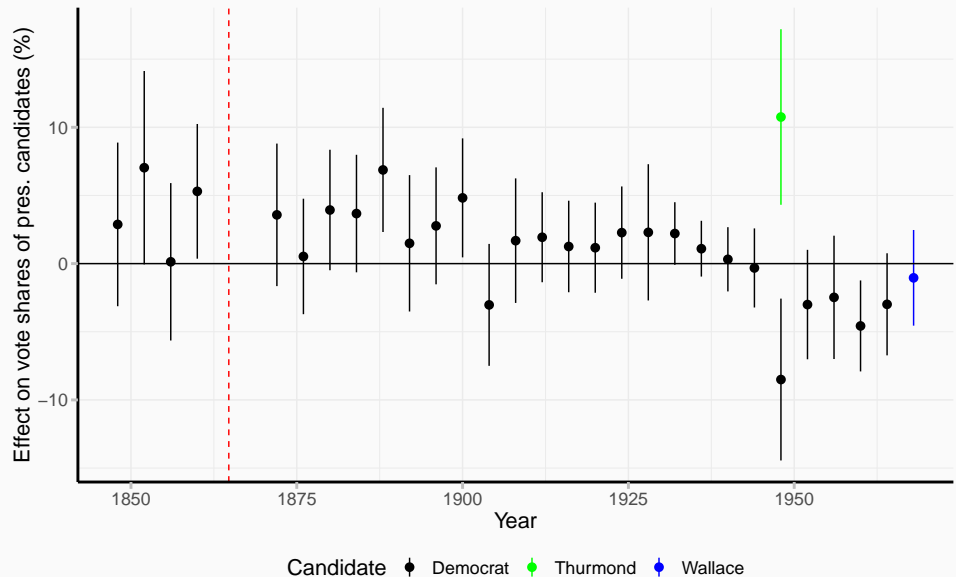
Table 3: Other outcomes - IV - second stage

	First names (1880)	First names (1930)	Street names	Monuments	Lynch rate
March	-0.006 (0.033)	0.074 (0.134)	0.064 (0.120)	0.061 (0.102)	-0.004 (0.004)
<i>N</i>	262	305	305	305	299
Dep. v. mean	0.150	0.518	0.707	0.669	0.012
<i>R</i> ²	0.059	0.041	0.079	0.143	0.261

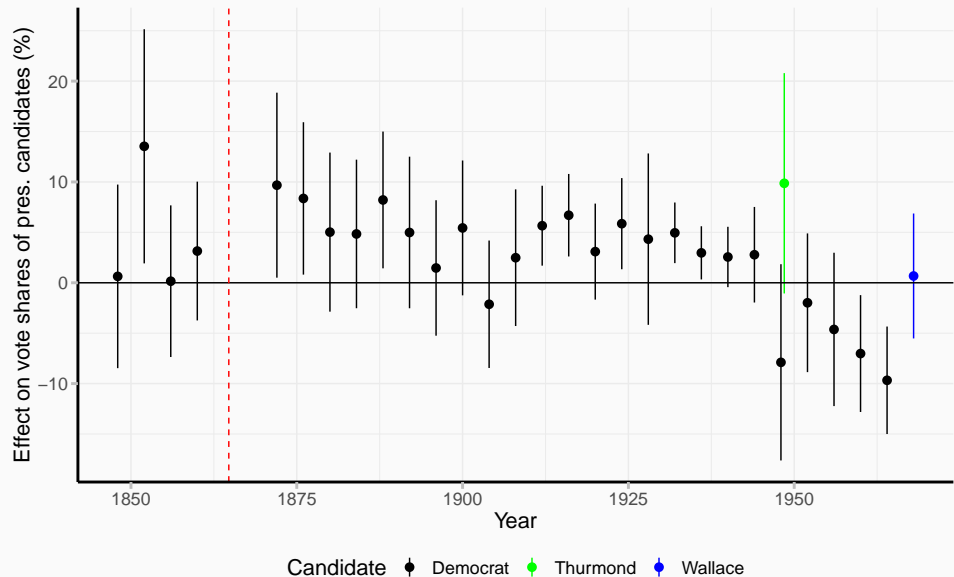
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

► back

DML -sel. on obs. - voting outcomes

[▶ back](#)

DML IV - voting outcomes

[▶ back](#)

The error bars show 95% confidence intervals