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## The Geography of Lynching and Economic Opportunities of Blacks: Evidence from the US South

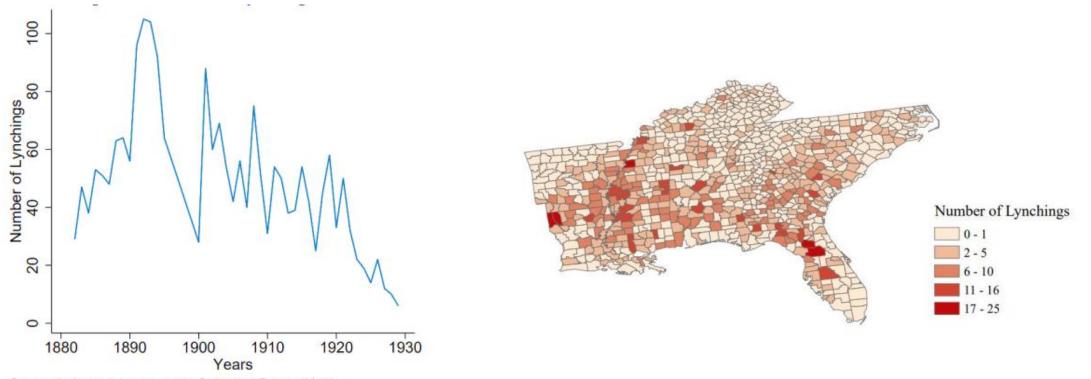
By Sotiris Kampanelis\* & Aldo Elizalde\*\* August 23, 2022 EEA Conference, Milano, Bocconi \*Cardiff Business School \*\*Queen's University Belfast • Could current economic opportunities of Blacks be determined by interracial historical public crime?

- Cook (2014) finds that historical racial violent crime, including lynching, has significantly decreased **innovation rates** among African-Americans.
- Jones et al. (2017) and Williams (2022) find that exposure to lynching activity has had negative and significant effects on **voter turnout rates** and **voter registration rates** for Blacks.
- Christian (2017) suggests that historical lynching has affected **historical Black migration and labor markets** in the US.
- Williams et al. (2021) find a significant relationship between lynching activity and a **range of current political and economic outcomes** including segregation, voter participation, economic security, unemployment, poverty, etc.

• Our research is different from prior work since our opportunity measure may not only reflect an economic outcome or public policy dysfunction, but also cultural attitudes and social norms related to Black people.

- Persistent immigration by Blacks after the end of Reconstruction in 1877 increased the low-wage labor supply in the cotton industry, affecting both the wages and wealth of Whites.
- The fluctuation in cotton prices triggered lynching activity, either to maintain the repression of the Black labor force or by threatening its surplus.
- Emergence of political parties and White supremacist hate movements, such as the Ku Klux Klan, which promoted anti-Black public tension (Glaeser, 2005).
- In the late 19th century, legislatures in the US South passed discriminative laws between Blacks and Whites (Jim Crow).
- Beck & Tolnay (1990) suggest a psychological foundation for lynching.

- We conduct our main analysis at the county level. There are 3,243 US counties. We focus on the 875 counties in 12 Southern American States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. 534 of 7 these counties experienced at least 1 (and maximum 25) lynching cases against Black people.
- We collect data from the CSDE Lynching Database (2015), which is based on the work of Bailey and Tolnay (2015). This dataset provides 2,129 place-identified lynching cases related to Black people in the Southern States from 1882 until 1929. We then find the total number of lynchings in each county following several studies (Cook et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2021a; Williams, 2021b)



Source: Authors' elaboration using Bailey and Tolnay (2015)

- Regarding economic opportunities at the local level, we use data from Chetty et al. (2018). Our preferred economic mobility variable is the mean household income rank of children of a given race who grew up in a county with parents who belonged at the 25th percentile in the national income distribution.
- This rank-rank approach is also called (upward) economic mobility. The estimates are provided for children who were born in the years 1978–1983 when they are between the ages of 31-37 years-old.

• To estimate whether there is a relationship between historical lynching activity and economic mobility rates for Black people, we first employ the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) estimation, with standard errors clustered at the county level.

## $Y_i = \alpha \times LynchingActivity_i + \beta_2 \times N_i + \eta_s + \varepsilon_i.$

• Regarding causal estimations, we follow several studies that use cotton suitability as an instrumental variable for lynchings (Christian; 2017, Williams et al.; 2021b)

OLS Estimates-Historical Ly	ynching and Inter	generational M	fobility						
The dependent variable is I	Intergenerational	Mobility for B	lacks						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	2SLS Estimates-Historic	al Lynching and In	tergenerational ]	Mobility		
Lynching Activity	-0.0747***	-0.0719***	-0.0618***			s Intergenerational Mobility for Blacks			
	(0.0214)	(0.0216)	(0.0232)	The dependent variable	e is intergeneration	al Mobility for I	Slacks		
Latitude		-0.1637	-0.2233*		(1)	(2)	(3)		
		(0.1010)	(0.1193)		First s	First stage estimates:Panel A			
Longitude		0.0675	0.0980	Cotton Solidalith		7.03***			
		(0.0781)	(0.0867)	Cotton Suitability	6.80***	7.03	5.44***		
Slaves Per Capita 1860			-0.1102						
			(0.3187)		2SL	2SLS estimates:Panel B			
Slaveholders Per Capita 1860			0.2253	Lynching Activity	-0.3931**	-0.4185**	-0.4667**		
			(0.5234)	Lynching Activity					
Fraction of Black HH 1880			-1.3121*		(0.1734)	(0.1660)	(0.2345)		
			(0.7078)	Geographical Variables		√	√		
Segregation 1880			0.6306	Historical Variables			1		
			-14957		,	1			
Proportion of small farms 1860			-0.5085	State Fixed Effects	√	-	~		
			(0.6498)	F-Statistics	30.24	31.50	15.04		
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Observations	755	755	629		
R-squared	0.080	0.086	0.085						
Observations	760	760	633						

Historical Ly	ynching and Inte	rgenerational Mobility:	Ommited Vari	able Bias
	Baseline Specificatio n coefficient b	Identified Set (b,b(Rmax,Delta=1) )	Exclude Zero	Absolute Delta (δ)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Lynching Activity	-0.0618***	[-0.0618,-0.0551]	~	4.5>1
Geographical Variables	~	√		
Historical Variables	√	√		
State Fixed Effects	√	√		
Observations	633	633		

- Seminal work by Olzak (1990) shows that urbanization due to large-scale immigration and infrastructure expansion around the turn of the 19th century was a significant factor for the variation of lynching activity in the Southern US.
- Wood (2011, 2018) confirms that lynching activity against Black individuals was a consequence of urbanization and industrialization, which took place from 1880 onwards.

- In order to examine the above hypothesis, i.e., that the lynching activity was a dynamic consequence of urbanization, we first construct a historical index of urbanization.
- By using the shapefiles provided by Sequeira et al. (2020) we find the total kilometres of railways in each county for several periods between 1876 and 1921.

LynchingActivity<sub>it</sub> =  $\alpha \times Rail Expansion_{it} + \beta \times GeoHistContr_i + \zeta_t + \eta_s + \theta_{st} + \varepsilon_i$ .

OLS Estimates-His	torical Urbanization	and Lynching							
The dependent v	ariable is the Lynch	ing Activity							
	(1)	(2)	(3)						
Railways Expansion	0.0393***	0.0385***	0.0331***	2SLS Estimates-Historical Urbanization as Channel					
•	(0.0077)	(0.0077)	(0.0084)	The dependent variable is Intergenerational Mobility for Blacks					
Latitude		-0.0388	-0.0603*		(1)	(2)	(3)		
T 't 1		(0.0237)	(0.0311)						
Longitude		-0.0564***	-0.0612***			tage estimates:F			
91 D (1:t 1.860		(0.0146)	(0.0164)	Railways Expansion	0.825***	0.793***	0.762***		
Slaves Per Capita 1860			0.1155						
Slaveholders Per Capita 1860			(0.0743) -0.2087*		2SL	S estimates:Par	el B		
Slavenolde's Fel Capita 1800			(0.1128)	I unching Activity	-0.221**	-0.213**	-0.232**		
Fraction of Black HH 1880			0.8096***	Lynching Activity					
Flacton of black fill 1880			(0.1594)		(0.0938)	(0.0979)	(0.1135)		
Segregation 1880			-0.1019	Geographical Variables		√	1		
Segregation 1880			(0.1998)	Historical Variables			1		
Proportion of small farms 1860			-0.3237**	State Fixed Effects	1	√	1		
			(0.1621)	F-Statistics	32.75	30.74	27.66		
State Fixed Effects	√	√	√	Observations	760	760	633		
Year Fixed Effects	√	√	√	Observations	700	700	055		
State × Year Fixed Effects	√	√	1						
R-squared	0.084	0.090	0.129						
Observations	4375	4375	3685						

OLS Estimates-Historical Lynching and Racial Bias Variables								
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV		
	The dependent variable is:							
	IAT scores	IAT scores	Hist. Univ/College	Hist. Univ/College	Isolation 1940	Isolation 1940		
Lynching Activity	-0.0176***	-0.1258***	0.007**	0.0252***	0.0059***	0.0198***		
	(0.0045)	(0.0284)	(0.003)	(0.0078)	(0.0014)	(0.0056)		
State Fixed Effects	1	√	1	1	1	1		
R-squared/F-Statistics	0.231	32.22	0.032	48.05	0.091	48.05		
Observations	635	624	875	863	874	863		

- In this paper, we investigate of the effects of historical lynching in the Southern United States of America on economic opportunities of Blacks.
- We find that counties that experienced higher lynching activity, Blacks are experiencing lower economic opportunities.
- We show that early urbanization was a parameter of lynching.
- We provide suggestive evidence that segregation and discrimination are important links between historical lynching and current opportunities of Blacks.

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## Thank you!