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

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EEA

August 26th, 2024

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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Some symbols divide communities: Confederate monuments in US South

Inauguration (1890)

George Floyd protests (2020)

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- **Widespread phenomenon, attracts great political attention (protests, removals...)**
  - ▶ Examples around the world

- Scarce evidence on impact of divisive symbols on groups opposing them
  - Wellbeing
  - Location decisions [Tiebout (1956); Hirschman (1970)] $\rightarrow$ Segregation [Ananat (2011); Chyn et al. (2023)]
  - ...

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  [Madestam et al. (AER, 2013)]

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Do divisive monuments affect location choices of groups opposing them?

Context: Confederate monuments in US South → Divisive on ethnic lines

1. Effect at time of construction (1870-1950)
   - Decennial Census and SPLC data on 509 Confederate monuments in 1019 counties
   - Event study approach + IV to address endogeneity
   - **Finds** share of African-Americans reduced by 4 - 13 pp, driven by outmigration

2. Present-day effect
   - Online experiment
   - Randomize monument in destination city's depiction & ask willingness to accept job
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Outline

Historical context

Effect at time of construction

Present-day effect: Experiment

Construction of Confederate monuments: drivers and timing

Number of constructions by year

- ▶ Jim Crow era (1877-1960s) → celebrates pre-Emancipation South

- ▶ Passing away of veterans → birth of memory-celebratory groups, UDC

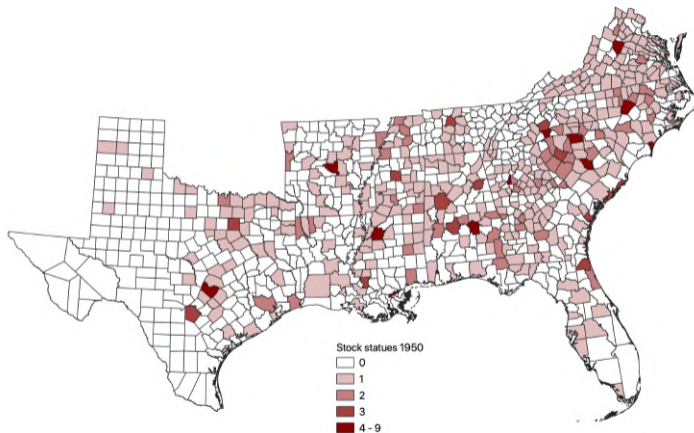- ▶ War 50th anniversary: peak in 1911

▸ Statues in the north
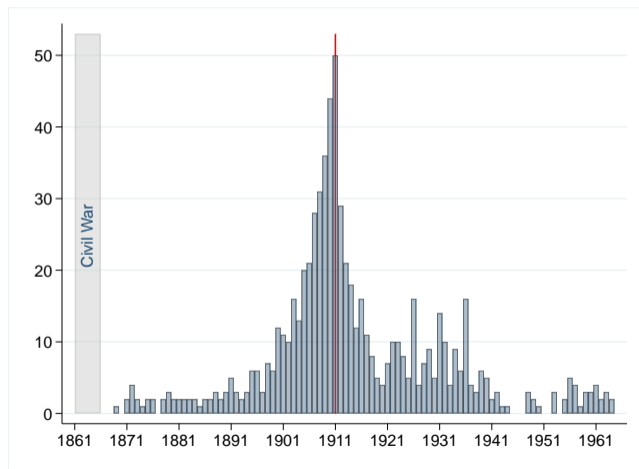
Distribution of 509 Confederate monuments in 1950 by county

Counties with monuments:

- ▶ Larger population

- ▶ Higher % Black

▶ Summary Statistics

Stock statues 1950
- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ■ 4 - 9

Reactions to Monuments: newspapers

Black newspapers

The Richmond Va., 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 disgrace 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 as 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.

The Republican party, without the Afro-American vote in the North can not escape defeat. It is all the more necessary then that the party should deal honorably with that portion of its constituency and be urgent and diligent in passing such measures as would benefit itself, by so doing the perpetuity of the Republic will be assured by strengthening its basic principle, and all parts of its body will be benefitted." —Detroit Plaindealer.

Robert E. Lee was one of the greatest generals of modern times. We grant that. But he was a traitor, and gave his magnificent abilities to the infamous task of disrupting the Union and to perpetuating the system of slavery. Where then is the wisdom or the propriety of wasting any sentiment on Robert E. Lee? Let the unconstructed Democracy of the South glorify him and his memory as they will, but let the patriots of the nation indulge in none of it." —New York, Age.

*"Lee was one of the greatest generals... and gave his magnificent abilities to the infamous task of ... perpetuating the system of **slavery**." (1890)*

White newspapers

THE DALTON MEMORIAL

TO THE SLEEPING HEROES OF THE CONFEDERATE.

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. Craberts, commander of the Veterans, and Mrs. Brasdleton, president of the
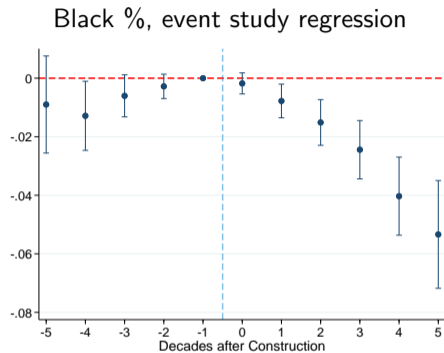
"The enthusiasm was overwhelming." (1892)

9/22

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Historical context

Effect at time of construction

Present-day effect: Experiment

Motivating evidence: black share of population declines after construction

Black %, raw data

Black %, event study regression
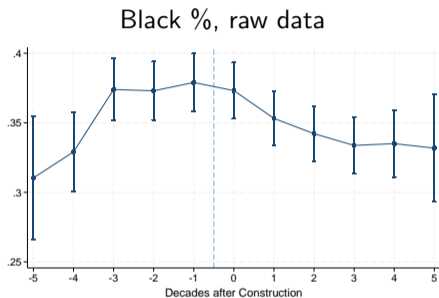
$$Y_{c,t} = \sum_{j=-5}^{+5} \gamma_j \mathbb{1}_{c,\mathbb{T}=j} + \beta X_{c,t} + \chi_c + \gamma_{s,t} + \epsilon_{c,t}$$

- ▶ $Y_{c,t}$: African-American % of population in county c, decade t ▸ Black pop, ES ▸ White pop, ES
- ▶ T: time to county's first monument construction (set to -1 for never-treated)
  ▸ Event study, details ▸ Exclude 1905-1914, ES ▸ No compositional change, ES ▸ Peak costruction, DD ▸ Staggered DD ▸ Individual-level, DD ▸ Land, DD

Towards IV approach

- ▶ Identifying assumption for event-study:
  - ▶ Time and place of construction unrelated to simultaneous shocks affecting migration
  - ▶ Potential violations: e.g. increase in racism explains both construction and migration

- ▶ Relax assumption and use IV based on exogenous shock in the statues' cost

IV: main elements

Constraints to construction:

1. Cost: 530%-7000% avg. southern yearly income (with private fund-raises) ▸ E.g.

2. Transportation: difficult and costly due to size, weight (train + steam wagons)

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*
     ▸ Ad_CV ▸ Ad_thousands

Access to MMC, when in activity→ pre-determined variation in cost [Cantoni (2012) etc.]
(1/transp. cost in 1890) * (indicator: 1905+)

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Access to MMC and attachment to the Confederacy (exclusion restriction)

Access to MMC in 1890 and railway lines
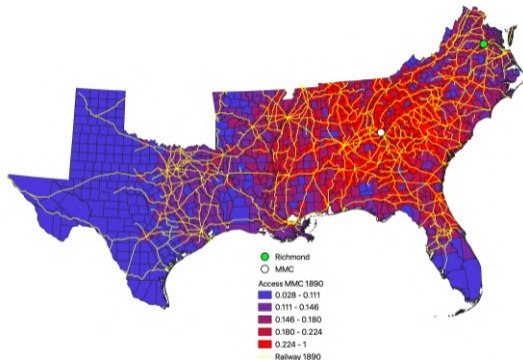
Statues vs other CSA dedications (e.g parks) per county by quartile of access to MMC
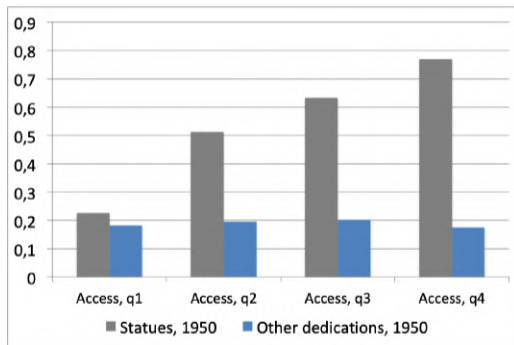
▶ Better access to MMC → more statues, similar ideology (other CSA dedications)

Geographic and time variation in the instrument

Residuals of access to MMC 1890 on access to
Richmond and NYC, population 1880, state FE

Stock of statues by access to MMC by year.
1905: MMC's first confederate monument
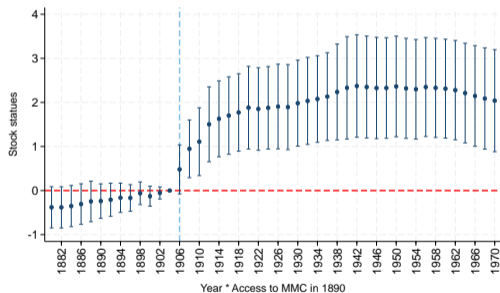
Findings: African American share of population decreases

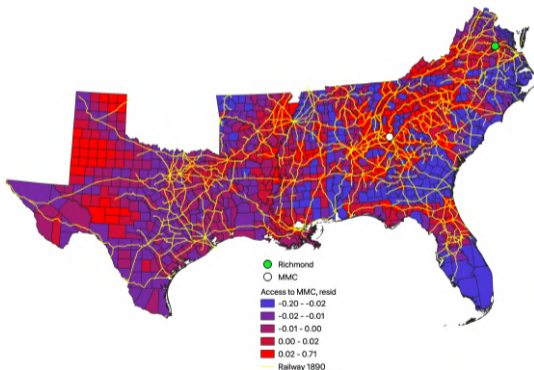|	(1) **Stock statues** **First Stage**	(2) **Black share** **Second Stage**	(3) Stock statues First Stage	(4) Black share (IV) Second Stage
Access to MMC 1890*post1905	**1.849*** **(0.519)**		4.874*** (1.028)	
Stock statues		**-0.134*** **(0.044)**		-0.039*** (0.013)
Access to Richmond 1890*post1905	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 collapsing "neighboring" counties. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$.

▸ Discussion ▸ Great Migration ▸ Full Table ▸ Placebo First Stage ▸ Robustness

- A monument reduces the African American share of population by 13pp
- Effect is large: 2-3 times that of the raw data

15 / 22

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▸ Possible issue: IV spatially correlated $\rightarrow$ larger unit of analysis to alleviate

Outline

Historical context

Effect at time of construction

Present-day effect: Experiment

Experiment: set up

- Sample: 330 African Americans and whites from US South recruited on Prolific.
  - All between 18-50
  - All "looking for a job"
    - Summary Stats

- Ask if they would accept jobs located in hypothetical cities in the South

- Each city described with a slideshow of 5 images, 1 is randomized

- Incentive compatible, standard IRR method by Kessler et al. (AER, 2019)
  - Respondents get name of real city and job-list therein matching their answers
    - Recruitment text · Time

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Design

- Each respondent sees 5 different cities → N=1650 city-respondents

- Treatment: image of Confederate monument in city depiction

- Within-subject design → city FE + individual FE

Randomization: city A's description

Control

Treatment

Randomization: city A's description

Control

Treatment

Randomization: city A's description

Control

Treatment

A residential street

The Confederate monument

Randomization: city A's description

Control

Treatment

Randomization: city A's description

Control

Treatment

The city hall

The city hall

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
  - *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?*

▸ Demand effects

Findings: OLS (African-Americans)

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

▶ $T_{i,c} = 1$: if respondent i has monument-version of city c ▸ Table ▸ Heterogen. ▸ Raw Y
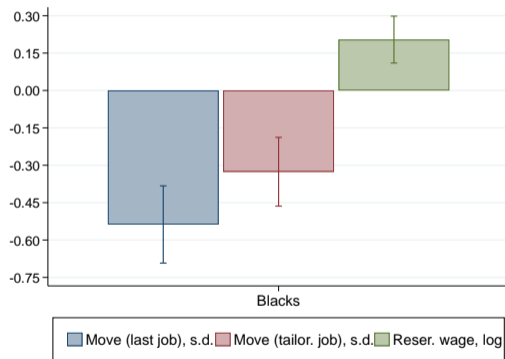
▶ Monuments significantly reduce acceptance (0.4-0.5 s.d.) & raise res. wage (20%)

Findings: OLS (whites)

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

▶ $T_{i,c} = 1$: if respondent i has monument-version of city c ▸ Table ▸ Heterogen.
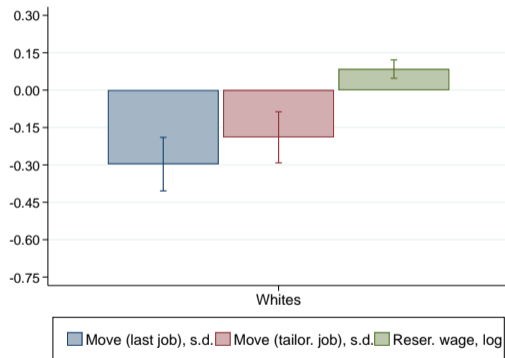
▶ Smaller effect for whites: change in attitude w.r.t. Jim Crow Era ▸ Primed & between-subj

Interpretation of Confederate monuments

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

African Americans: "I feel nervous and worried about racism occurring there" *"Makes me feel sad and hated"*

"I feel unwanted in the city I live in, like an unwanted guest." *"It's a racist area with racist people"*

"I get angry and it reminds me that a lot of places are not meant for black people"

African Americans

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 induced African-Americans' to leave
  - Still today, monuments affect relocation choices, especially for African-Americans

- Failing to shape inclusive public spaces affects a territory's attractiveness across social groups, shaping segregation

- Relevant for recent multi-cultural migration in EU and New Great Migration in US

Appendix

(a) Mussolini's statues in Libya

(b) Stalin's statue in Berlin

(c) Spanish civil war francoist memorial

(d) Rhodes must fall movement

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.

▶ Back

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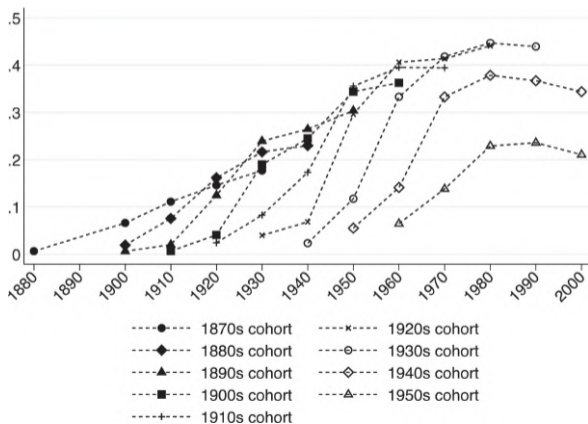
Time distribution of statues' construction

"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.
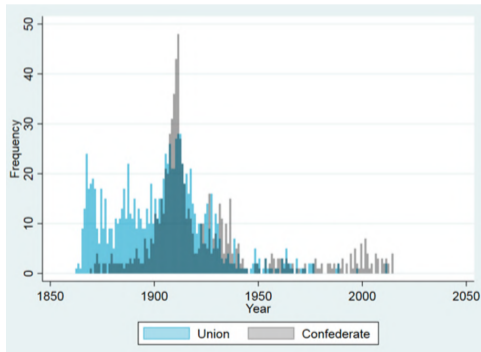
Which counties?

		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

Newspaper coverage of monument construction confirms salience of event

Share of newspaper pages containing: confedera*+monument*+(honor* or respect*)

Newspaper coverage of monument construction confirms salience of event

Share of newspaper pages containing: confedera*+monument*+(honor* or respect*)
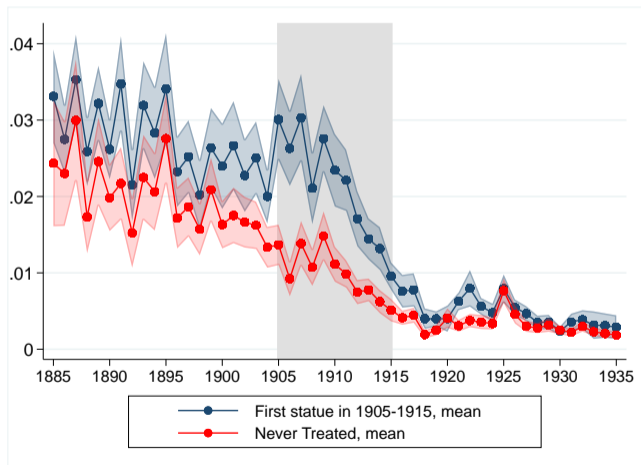
Empirical approach: event study around first construction

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

- 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: focus on peak construction years

Diff-in-diff, raw data normalized

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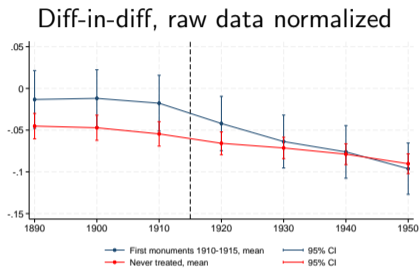
1. Diff-in-Diff: $\quad Y_{c,t} = \sum_{t=1880}^{1950} \gamma_t \, Treated_c * Decade_t + \beta X_{c,t} + \chi_c + \gamma_{s,t} + \epsilon_{c,t}$

   - $Y_{c,t}$: African-American share of population in county c, decade t
   - $Treated_c$: 1 if first monument built 1910-15; 0 if never treated

▸ Back

Diff-in-Diff: Black population change and growth

Figure 2: 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

▸ ES full sample

Diff-in-Diff: White population change and growth
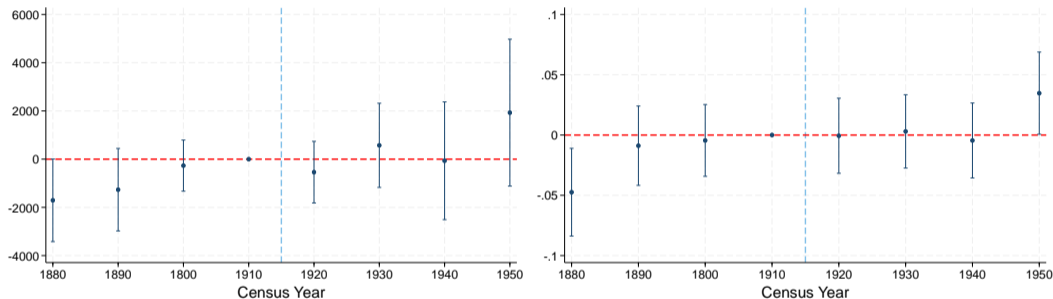
Figure 3: DID specification. Outcome: White population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

▸ Main

Event study: excluding first dedications in 1905-1915

Black population share
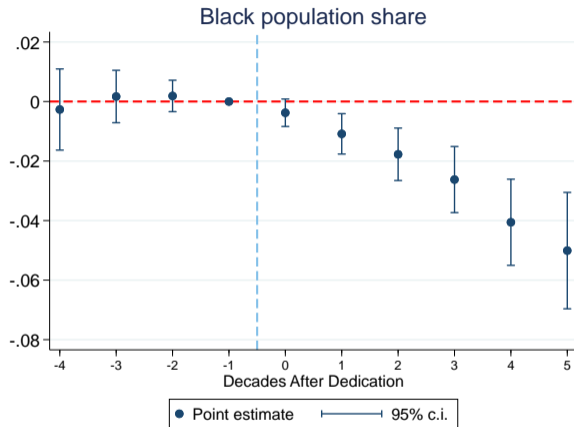
Figure 4: County and State by Year FE. Former Confederacy.

▶ ES full sample

Event study: No compositional change
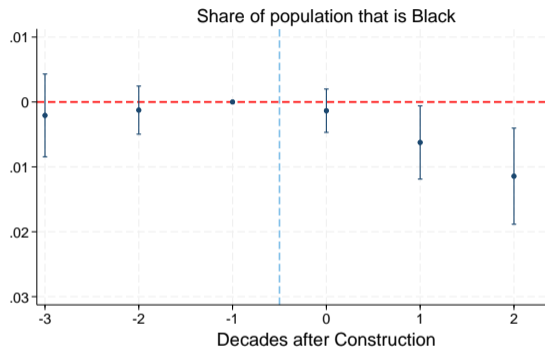
Figure 5: County and State by Year FE.
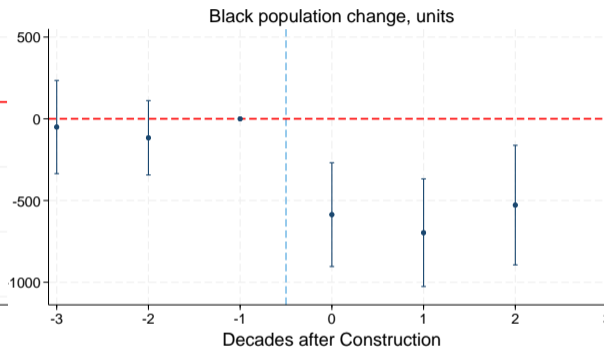
Figure 6: County and State-by-Year FE.

Main

Event study: Black population change and growth
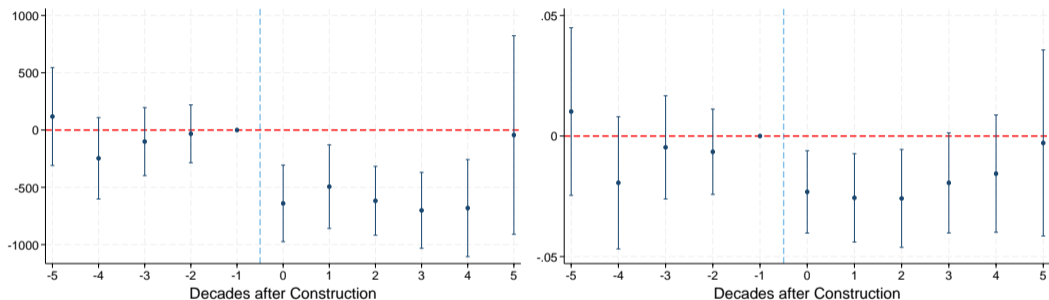
Figure 7: ES specification. Outcomes: Black population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

▶ ES full sample

Event study: White change in units and growth
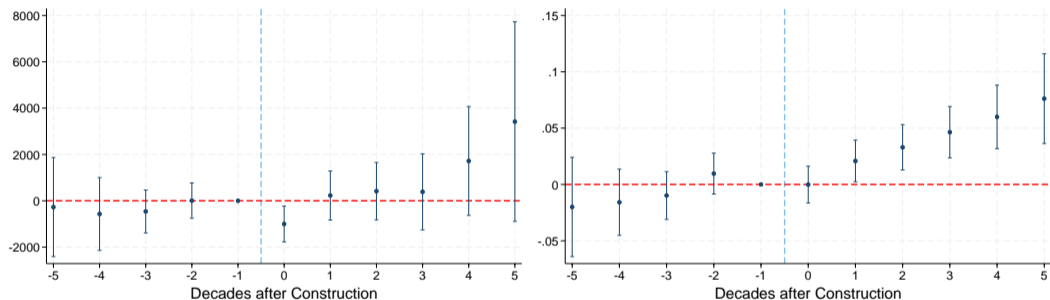
Figure 8: ES specification. Outcomes: white population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

Staggered diff-in-diff: share of African-American population
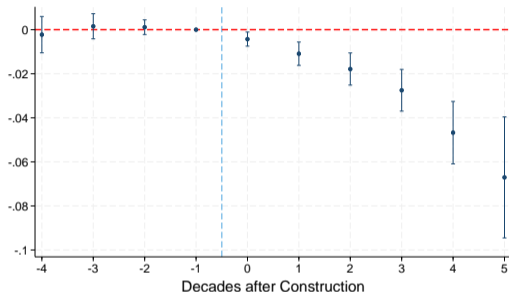
Figure 9: Sun and Abraham (2021). Controls: lag of population, county FE, state-by-year FE. Cluster level: county
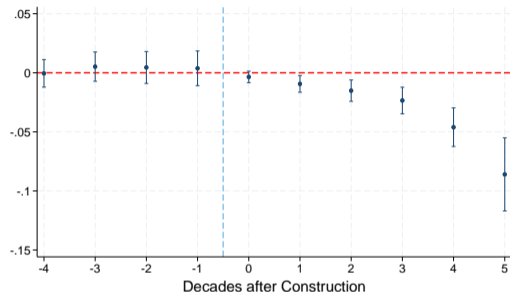
Figure 10: Borusyak et al. (2023). Controls: lag of population, county FE, state-by-year FE. Cluster level: county

▸ Back

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

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

- ▶ $Decade_t$: 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 1909-15
- ▶ $X_{i,c,t}$ individual education, occupation, age, urban status
- ▶ **Advantages:** individual controls; make sure it is migration

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Outmigration and immigration: results

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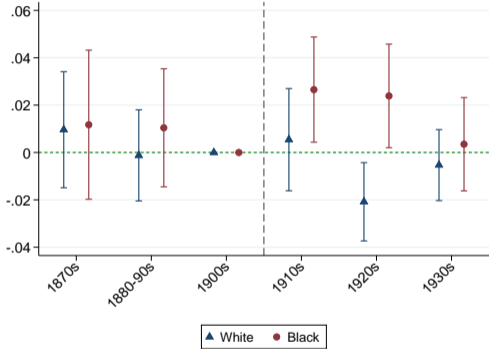
Immigration
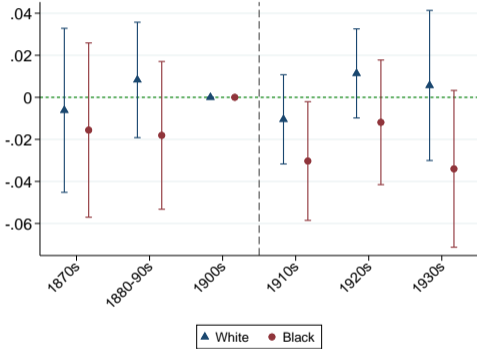
Probability that person at census t leaves the county in t+1

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

(a) Outmigration to South (29%) (b) Outmigration: elsewhere (7%)
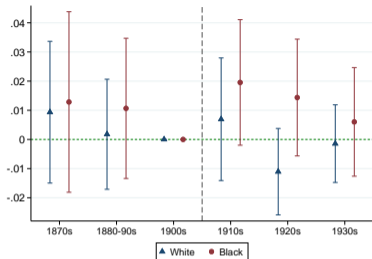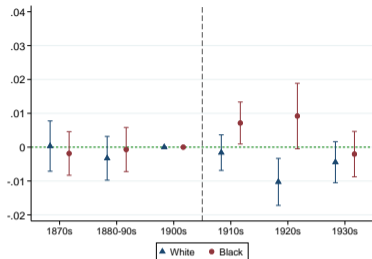
(c) Immigration: from South 30% (d) Immigration: from out (6%)
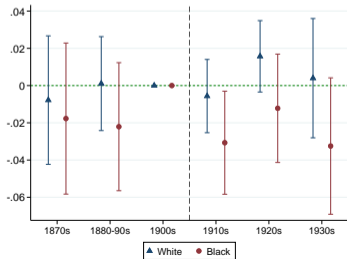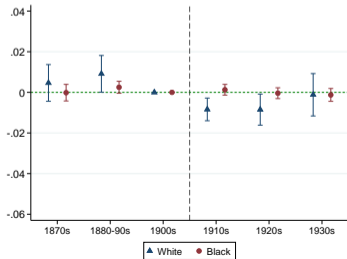
IV results: individual

	(1) Black out (all)	(2) Black out (north)	(3) Whites out (all)	(4) Whites out (north)	(5) Black in (all)	(6) Black in (conf)	(7) Whites in (all)	(8) Whites in (conf)
Stock statues	**-0.076**	**0.102****	**-0.117****	**-0.008**	**-0.031**	**-0.044**	**0.062**	**0.075***
	(0.064)	**(0.044)**	**(0.051)**	**(0.016)**	**(0.060)**	**(0.058)**	**(0.046)**	**(0.042)**
Access to Richmond*post05	-0.259*	-0.212	0.258*	0.122*	0.018	-0.022	0.354***	0.357***
	(0.157)	(0.184)	(0.145)	(0.067)	(0.185)	(0.154)	(0.131)	(0.113)
Access to Manhattan	0.343	0.376**	0.203	-0.123	0.256	0.401*	-0.507***	-0.332**
	(0.237)	(0.162)	(0.162)	(0.092)	(0.236)	(0.230)	(0.165)	(0.142)
Experienced lynchings	0.003*	-0.000	0.002	-0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Population, period begin	0.000	-0.000	0.000**	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	5,433	5,433	5,902	5,902	5,502	5,502	5,929	5,929
R-squared	-0.041	-0.238	-0.225	0.003	-0.003	-0.012	-0.024	-0.073
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$.

▶ Back

Individual data

$$Y_{i,c,t} = \sum_{j=-2}^{+2} \gamma_j \mathbb{1}_{\mathbb{DC}\mathfrak{t}=\mathfrak{j}} * Treat_{i,c,t} + \beta X_{i,c,t} + \gamma_{c,t} + \epsilon_{i,c,t} \tag{3}$$

- ▶ $Y_{i,c,t}$: 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 11: Individual level data: treated in urban areas with statues, control all rest.

WILL GO TO AID MONUMENT FUND.

The Kosciusko, Miss., Chapter of United Daughters of the Confederacy are contemplating raising a small fund to enable them to erect a monument dedicated to the Confederate Soldier. It is a worthy cause and several business men in the city of Kosciusko have contributed donations in money and other things.

Messrs. Nugent and Freeman, Managers of the Greater Electric Novelty Co., The Carnival Co, now showing at Jackson Park, have contributed 50 per cent of all the money taken in at all the shows on Friday Dec. 1st from 1 p. m. to 6 p.

U. D. C. Monument Fund.

Kosciusko, Miss. Feb. 18, 1907.
To all who reverence the memory of our patriots of the Lost Cause:
We earnestly solicit your contribution, however great or small, to a noble cause. The Kosciusko Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy has been, and is still, endeavoring to raise funds with which to erect a suitable monument to the memory of the Confederate soldiers of Attala county. Our purpose is to erect said monument in the court house yard at Kosciusko, an appropriate and beautiful place, and to make it as imposing as we can raise funds with which to do so. We have already collected a small sum for that purpose, and desire to swell this fund as much as possible by private sub-

CONFEDERATE DAY IN OLD ATTALA

LARGE CROWD AT UNVEILING

Guests Are Royally Entertained Throughout the Day---200 Veterans Present.

The Lord God of Hosts was with us and gave us a beautiful morning to greet this notable and historic day, set apart to the unveiling of the monument given by the Kosciusk Chapter of United Daughters of Confederacy to the honored Veterans of '60-'65.

Example of newspapers' articles advertising UDC's fund-raising for monuments from the The Star Herald (Dec 1st, 1905); The Star Ledger (Feb 22nd, 1907) and (Dec 15th, 1911). They all concern the confederate monument eventually unveiled in December 1911.

Phenomenal Record OF THE
McNeel Marble Company

LARGEST MONUMENTAL DEALERS IN THE SOUTH

NOTABLE 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?

- "Thousands of artistic memorials dotting all sections from Maryland to the Mexican line" *Confederate Veteran, 1914*

- "By 1924, MMC had already distributed 140+ monuments" *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

Kaplan–Meier survival estimates

Figure 12: County survival before first dedication, by "proximity". Starts at 1890; former Confederacy. Only eventually treated counties
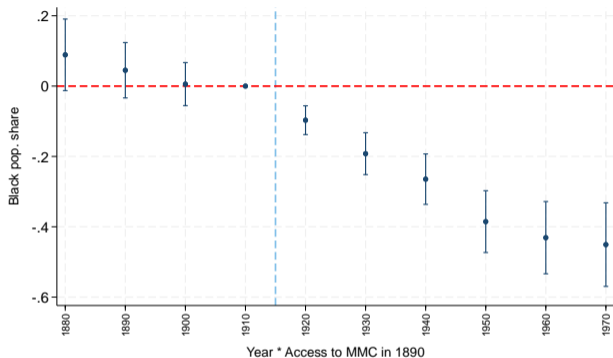
Reduced Form: population share and market access

Figure 13: 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, Placebo on Ideology

	(1) Stock other dedications	(2) Experienced lynchings
Access to MMC 1890*post1905	-1.221	-0.314
	(0.900)	(1.575)
Access to Richmond 1890*post1905	4.847	2.761*
	(3.332)	(1.566)
Access to NYC, yearly	0.181	-3.043
	(0.995)	(3.186)
Experienced lynchings	-0.003	
	(0.005)	
Lagged population	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	7,989	7,989
R-squared	0.712	0.829
County FE	Yes	Yes
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes
County cluster	Yes	Yes

Dependent variable: stock Confederate-named places (schools, parks, buildings) at time t (col 1); lynchings experienced in the county until time t (col 2). *Access to MMC (Richmond) 1890*post1905*: county to county 1890 minimum transportation cost to MMC (Richmond) while MMC produces monuments. *Access to NYC, yearly*: yearly estimate of the access to NYC. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

IV, collapsing at larger unit than the county

	(1) Stock statues (FS)	(2) Black share (ols)	(3) Black share (IV)	(4) Stock statues (FS)	(5) Black share (ols)	(6) Black share (IV)
Access to Marietta 1890*post1905	**1.849***			4.874***		
	(0.519)			(1.028)		
Stock statues		-0.010***	**-0.134***		-0.006***	**-0.039***
		(0.003)	(0.044)		(0.002)	(0.013)
Access to Richmond 1890*post1905	0.435	-0.384***	-0.127	-2.830	-0.105	-0.060
	(0.865)	(0.084)	(0.150)	(2.222)	(0.085)	(0.104)
Access to NYC, yearly	-0.790	0.672***	0.454***	-1.353	0.405***	0.302*
	(0.820)	(0.107)	(0.151)	(1.554)	(0.141)	(0.154)
Stock of lynching	0.020***	-0.003***	-0.001	0.025***	-0.002**	-0.001
	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.009)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Lagged population	0.000***	0.000	0.000**	0.000***	0.000	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	7,989	7,989	7,989	2,450	2,450	2,450
R-squared	0.713	0.972	-1.041	0.979	0.990	-0.210
Unit FE	County	County	County	Subregion	Subregion	Subregion
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County	County	Subregion	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.

▸ Back

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

$\rightarrow$ **Choosing a larger unit reduces all these issues**

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

Economic consequences: effect on farmland

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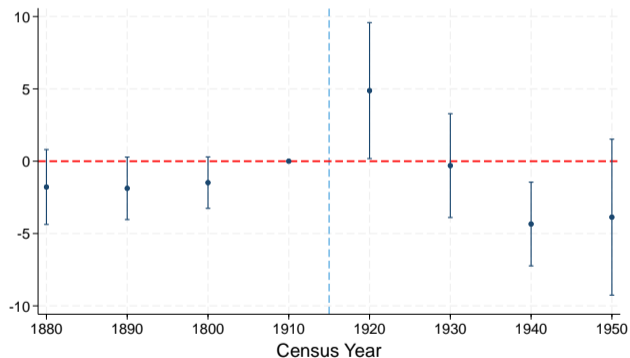
Testing indirect mechanisms

Shaping local narrative, gathering point and mobilization

- ▶ No evidence of increase in praising Confederacy or anti-black propaganda ▸ Go
- ▶ No evidence of Confederate parades or mentions of white supremacist (KKK) ▸ Go
- ▶ No evidence of increase in lynchings ▸ Go
- ▶ Weak evidence of increased Democratic (segregationist) vote ▸ Go

▸ Back

Mechanisms: Rhetoric on newspapers
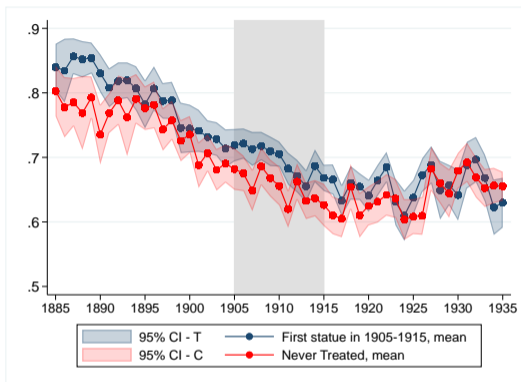
Pages with: Confedera* and (honor* or respect*) over Confedera*
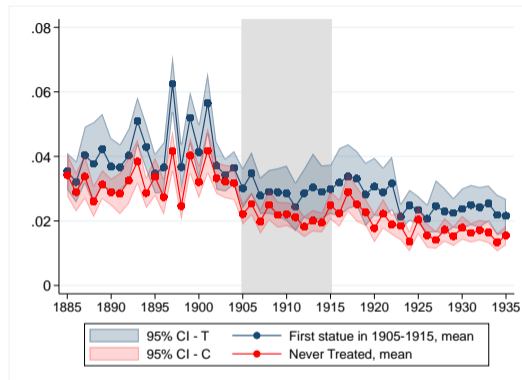
Pages with: (colored or negro*) and (rape* or rapist*) over pages with (colored or negro*)

[Ottinger and Posch (2022)]

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

IV robustness: access to other destinations

	(1) Stock statues (FS)	(2) Stock statues (FS)	(3) Stock statues (FS)	(4) Black share (2sls)	(5) Black share (2sls)	(6) Black share (2sls)
Access to Marietta 1890*post1905	1.831***	1.591***	1.622***			
	(0.518)	(0.497)	(0.592)			
Stock statues				-0.134***	-0.144***	-0.082*
				(0.045)	(0.053)	(0.047)
Access to New Orleans 1890*post1905			-0.104			-0.205**
			(0.440)			(0.083)
Access to Richmond 1890*post1905	0.326	0.267	0.208	-0.135	-0.173	-0.161
	(0.863)	(0.891)	(0.907)	(0.148)	(0.157)	(0.117)
Access to NYC, yearly	1.307	-0.698	0.592	0.635**	0.451***	0.608***
	(1.423)	(0.788)	(1.402)	(0.260)	(0.155)	(0.216)
Access to Chicago, yearly	-2.222*		-1.327	-0.193		-0.132
	(1.219)		(1.414)	(0.235)		(0.188)
Access to state capital			-0.015			-0.018
			(0.485)			(0.075)
Stock of lynching	0.020***	0.020***	0.022***	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Lagged population	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000**	0.000**	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	7,988	7,900	7,892	7,988	7,900	7,892
R-squared	0.713	0.713	0.710	-1.055	-1.002	-0.235
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-stat	11.49	13.38	9.90			

Dependent variable: existing stock of statues at time t (col. 1-3); share of county population classified as African-American in census (col. 4-6). The first stage is reported in columns 1 to 3 and the second stage is presented in columns 4 to 6. **State capitals are dropped in columns 2,3,5,6.** *Access to Marietta 1890*post1905* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to MMC when it became relevant for monuments. *Access to Richmond/New Orleans 1890*post1905* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to Richmond/New Orleans when it became relevant for monuments. *Access to state capital* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county minimum transportation cost to the own state capital. *Access to NYC/Chicago* is a yearly estimate of the access to Manhattan/Chicago. Stock of lynching measures the total number of lynchings in the county up to time t. Lagged population measures population in the previous census. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

▸ Back

Mechanisms: Gatherings on newspapers
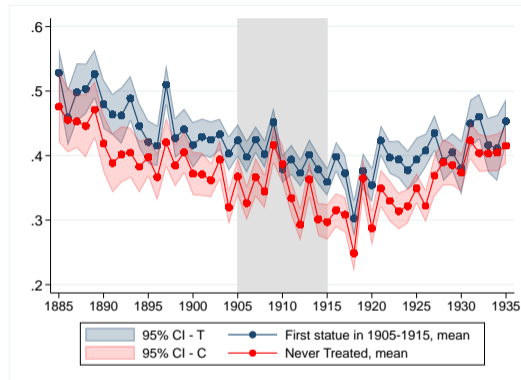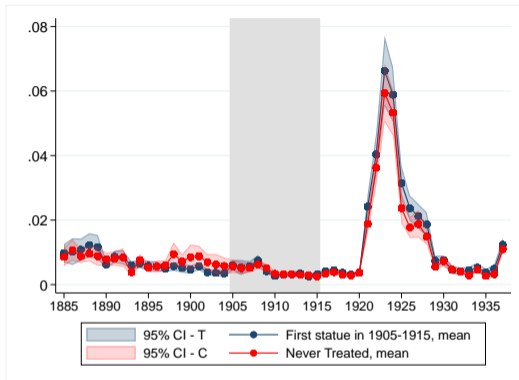
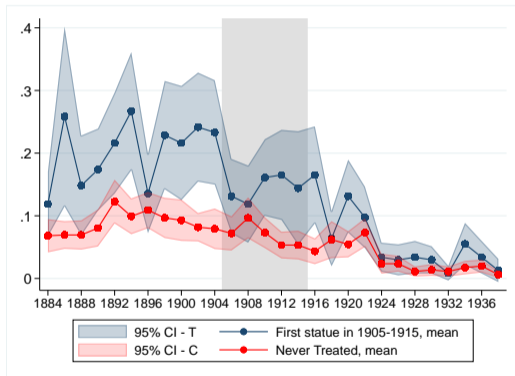Share pages with: (KKK or "Ku Klux" or Klan) over total number of pages

Pages with: Confedera* and (parade* or ceremon* or celebrat*) over Confedera*

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
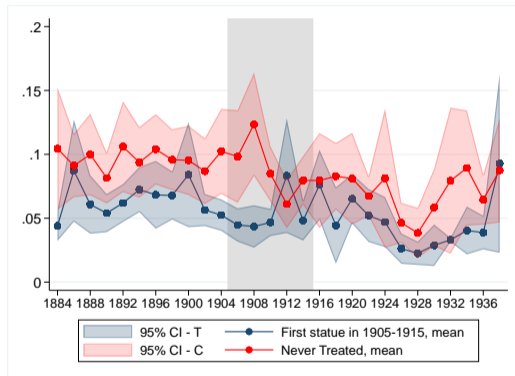
Mechanisms: Violence [Seguin and Rigby (2019)]
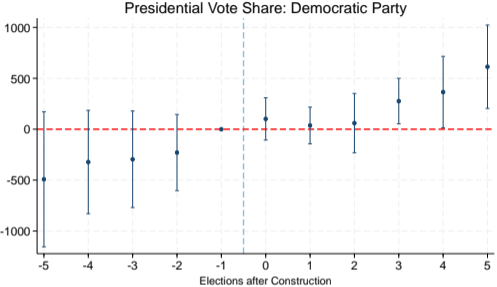
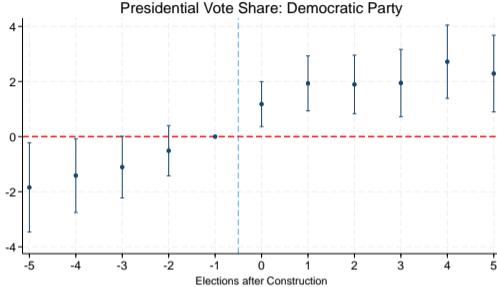Total lynchings with African-American victim

African-American victim per 1000

White mobilization?

Presidential Vote Share: Democratic Party

County and State*Year FE

Presidential Vote Share: Democratic Party

County and State*Year FE

- ▶ Total votes consistent with mobilization of whites
- ▶ Unclear how to normalize for population if voting right were changing over time

▶ Back

Vote

	(1) Dem. votes (2sls)	(2) Dem. votes (2sls)	(3) Dem. share (2sls)	(4) Dem. share (2sls)
Stock statues	3,002.509***	-1,184.413	0.095***	-0.082
	(765.104)	(758.895)	(0.035)	(0.060)
Access Richmond1890 * post05		-182.337		1.296***
		(2,200.681)		(0.234)
Access NYC, yearly		-4,701.315*		-0.518
		(2,524.481)		(0.387)
Experienced lynchings		-55.305**		0.009***
		(26.097)		(0.002)
Lag population		0.147***		0.000
		(0.017)		(0.000)
Observations	19,713	17,613	19,713	17,613
R-squared	-0.006	0.599	-0.053	-0.071
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-stat	28.6	12.3	28.6	12.3

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

Time

	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
African Americans					
Terms and Conditions	132	40.99686	80.17224	3.931	575.021
Demographics	132	108.945	81.15626	33.238	442.992
Experiment	132	438.265	308.6799	178.8	2042.991
Various question	132	202.0495	116.8638	56.329	802.212
Link + open question	131	248.8	230.4	85.3	2362.2
Total duration	131	1040.1	519.9	386	3317
Whites					
Terms and Conditions	198	51.88402	175.1635	2.759	1513.684
Demographics	198	88.09363	84.72079	30.801	722.861
Experiment	198	370.8253	260.3194	188.477	2047.125
Various question	198	187.4189	213.5853	63.187	2625.044
Link + open question	198	236.8691	401.6129	84.24402	5055.773
Total duration	198	935.0909	677.9254	409	7276

Summary statistics

Demographics		Southern Whites			Southern Blacks		
	n	mean	sd	n	mean	sd	Diff
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		
	n	mean	sd	n	mean	sd	Diff
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. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$.

Randomization: city B's description

Control

Treatment

▶ Back
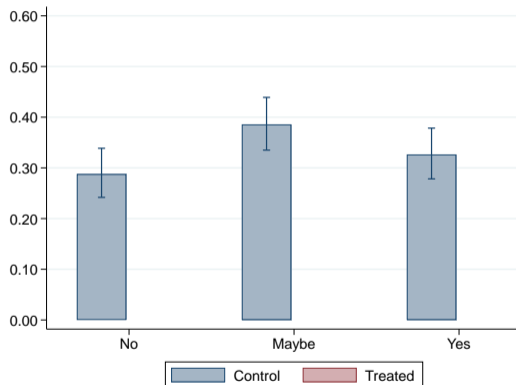
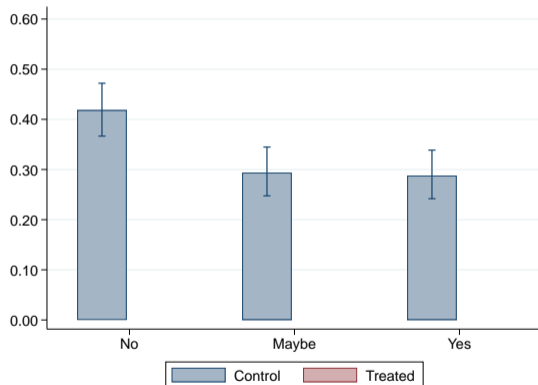# Randomization: city A's description

Control

Treatment

Findings: relocation, raw distribution for African-Americans

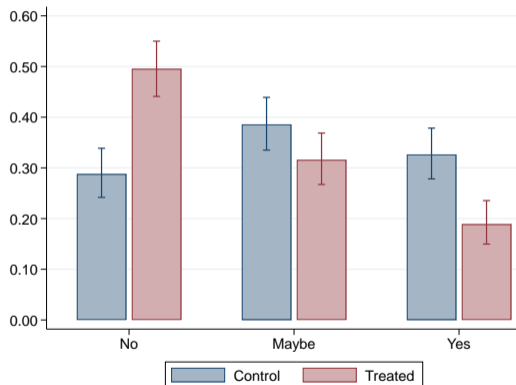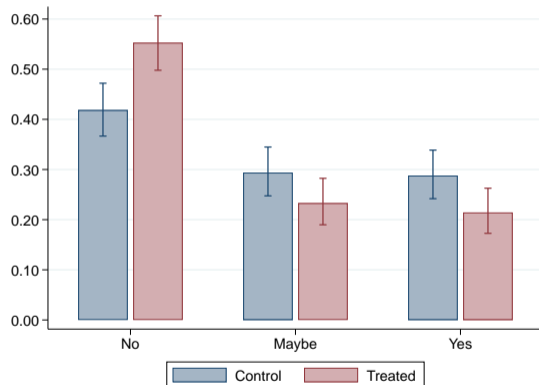% would move for offer similar to last job

% would move for tailored job offer

Findings: relocation, raw distribution for African-Americans
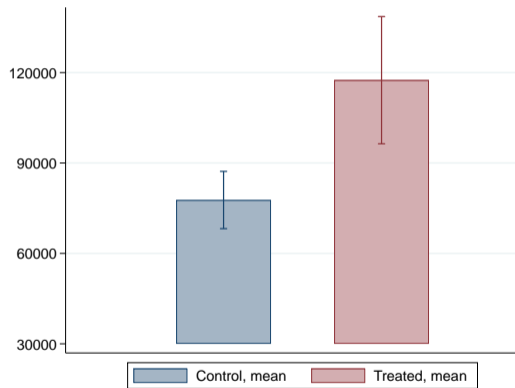
% would move for offer similar to last job
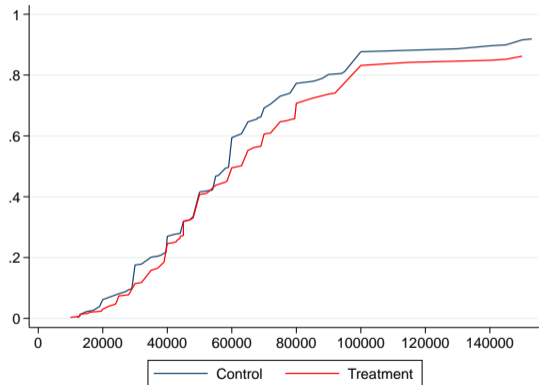
% would move for tailored job offer

Findings: reservation wage, raw distribution for African-Americans

Reservation wage

Reservation wage, CDF

Treatment effect

	All Southerners		
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log
Monument	-0.301***	-0.189***	0.083***
	(0.055)	(0.052)	(0.019)
Monument*Black	-0.232**	-0.144*	0.124**
	(0.096)	(0.087)	(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.

Additional analyses

- Small rises in job offer: more acceptance but cannot compensate monuments ▸ Go

- Effect driven by non-republicans and those who oppose monuments ▸ Go

- Effect similar for African Americans in the South or elsewhere ▸ Go

▸ Back

Second randomization: high offer

- Within description of tailored job offer I specify wage

- Wage in the offer: X% increase of respondent's most recent wage

- Randomization: the increase can be high or low

- Exact values vary by city (e.g. $+5\%$ vs $+18\%$)

Second randomization: high offer

- Reassuring: respondents take offers seriously and respond to wage
- Puzzling: different interaction by race. Whites rarely move for job offer

	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
	(1) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(4) Move, tailored (s.d.)
Monument	-0.326***	-0.189***	-0.297***	-0.085
	(0.070)	(0.052)	(0.091)	(0.073)
High Offer	0.562***	0.458***	0.591***	0.560***
	(0.078)	(0.051)	(0.102)	(0.073)
Monument*High Offer			-0.059	-0.206**
			(0.131)	(0.100)
Observations	659	990	659	990
R^2	0.563	0.668	0.563	0.670
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Unit of observation: city-by-respondent. Outcomes: willingness to move to the city for the tailored job offer. *Treat* is an indicator for whether the city is shows to the participant in the version with a monument. *High Offer* is an indicator for when the tailored offer came in its high-wage version. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

▸ Back

Heterogeneity by party and approval of monuments (post-experiment)

- ▶ Effect for non-republicans and those who disapprove monuments, zero otherwise

	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
Monument	-0.453*** (0.051)	-0.293*** (0.047)	0.159*** (0.027)	-0.612*** (0.060)	-0.385*** (0.053)	0.218*** (0.035)
Monument*Republican	0.329*** (0.109)	0.259*** (0.099)	-0.148*** (0.031)			
High Offer		0.499*** (0.044)			0.494*** (0.043)	
Monument*Approves Monument				0.536*** (0.086)	0.340*** (0.082)	-0.209*** (0.038)
Observations	1650	1649	1650	1650	1649	1650
R^2	0.578	0.623	0.868	0.588	0.626	0.871
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Outcomes: willingness to move to the city for a job like their most recent one (column 1 and 4), for the tailored job offer (col. 2 and 5), and what would be their reservation wage for relocation (col. 3 and 6). *Republican* and *Approves Monument* are respectively indicators for whether the respondents openly state at the end of the survey that they are Republicans or that they don't disapprove Confederate monuments. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$.

▶ Back

Heterogeneity: African Americans in the South vs in the North

- Add sample of African Americans not in the South: similar results
- No need of geographical proximity: effect is pervasive! → **New Great Migration**

	Blacks: North and South		
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log
Monument	-0.548*** (0.093)	-0.499*** (0.093)	0.203*** (0.058)
Monument*South	0.014 (0.122)	0.168 (0.116)	0.006 (0.076)
High Offer		0.524*** (0.059)	
Observations	1046	1045	1046
R^2	0.534	0.591	0.803
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Outcomes: willingness to move for a job like their most recent one (col. 1), for the tailored job offer (col. 2), and what is the reservation wage for relocation (col. 3). Sample: 210 respondents (132 from the South). Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Third randomization: priming on racism

- Possible concern: thinking about racism always makes one less likely to move

- Even when unattached to a specific city!

- Rule this out by priming a small subsample on racism before the experiment

- All have "captcha" on fruit, subsample has "captcha" on racism-related symbols

- Look at first city only: control group unexposed to monuments

Images

Between analysis and primed control group (on racism)

- ▶ Can run a *between* subject specification on first city only
- ▶ Among southern Blacks, 25 are primed (they all see control version of first city)
- ▶ Small sample; using them as sole controls if anything the effect is larger

	All Controls (Blacks)			Primed Control (Blacks)		
	(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)
Monument	-0.232* (0.139)	-0.048 (0.145)	0.111 (0.092)	-0.276 (0.201)	-0.139 (0.232)	0.019 (0.146)
High Offer		0.214 (0.143)			-0.089 (0.193)	
Observations	210	210	210	118	118	118
R^2	0.014	0.011	0.007	0.012	0.005	0.000

The outcomes capture the respondents willingness to move to the city for a job like their most recent one (col. 1, 4) or for the tailored job offer (col. 2, 5); and the reservation wage for relocation (col. 3, 6). **Only the first city is included: between subjects.** In columns 4 to 6 the control group is primed on racism, with fake captcha. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$.

▶ Back

Priming on racism

We need to verify you are not a robot. To continue, answer the following question. How many of the following images represent fruit?

- None
- 1
- 2
- 3
- All

We need to verify you are not a robot. To continue, answer the following question. How many of the following images represent ideological symbols?

- None
- 1
- 2
- 3
- All

▸ Back

Demand effects

- The experiment is similar to a list experiment for social desirability bias

  (Karlan and Zinman, 2012; Lpine et al. 2020) ▸List experiment

- Demand effects are unlikely in the experiment
  - No direct question on preference for monuments (no clear social desirable answer)
  - Incentive to respond truthfully via IRR
  - Effect even "between subjects" in city A, as they encounter monuments for first time

▸Back

Demand effects: "How many of the pictures you do not like?"

	All African Americans (South and North): Between Subjects			
	(1) Would move (numeric)	(2) Accepts offer (numeric)	(3) Res. wage, log	(4) # pictures
Monument	-0.336***	-0.323***	0.077	0.362**
	(0.101)	(0.112)	(0.146)	(0.175)
Observations	210	209	132	210
R^2	0.051	0.038	0.002	0.020

Outcomes: willingness to move to the city for a job like their most recent one (col. 1) or for the tailored job offer (col. 2), and their reservation wage for relocation (col. 3), and the result of the list experiment (col. 4). **Only the city E included.** Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$.

▸ Back