**Estimating Disenfranchisement in U.S. Elections, 1870–1970**

**Supplemental Appendix**

Table A1. The Effect of Electoral Institutions and Racial Demographics on Turnout by Time Period (page 1)

Table A2. The Effect of Electoral Institutions and Racial Demographics on Republican Vote Share by Time Period (page 2)

Figure A1. Number of African Americans Lynched, 1870–1970 (page 3)

**Table A1. The Effect of Electoral Institutions and Racial Demographics on Turnout by Time Period**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) 1870–1920 | (2) 1921–1970 |
| Poll Tax | −21.94\*\*  (6.45) | −12.73\*\*  (1.75) |
| Literacy Test | 1.56  (3.15) | 1.15  (1.83) |
| Literacy Test × South | −9.41^  (5.06) | −14.77\*\*  (2.40) |
| Australian Ballot | 3.27  (2.76) | −8.54^  (4.83) |
| Australian Ballot × South | −7.54  (6.20) | 10.42^  (5.19) |
| Ex-Felon Disenfranchisement | 6.83\*  (2.89) | −1.45  (1.56) |
| Ex-Felon Disenfranchisement  X South | −16.87\*  (6.91) | −13.83\*\*  (2.23) |
| Women’s Suffrage | ✓ | ✓ |
| Women’s Suffrage × South | ✓ | ✓ |
| Lynchings | ✓ | ✓ |
| Lynchings × South | ✓ | ✓ |
| Gub. Elec. in Pres. Year | ✓ | ✓ |
| Gub. Elec. in Non-Pres. Year | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1,463 | 1,448 |
| R2 | 0.42 | 0.58 |
| Fixed Effects | 48 States, 51 Years | 50 States, 50 Years |
| Clustering | 48 States | 50 States |

Note: Numbers in cells are OLS coefficients with clustered robust standard errors in parentheses. ^ = p < 0.1; \* = p < 0.05; \*\* = p < 0.01.

**Table A2. The Effect of Electoral Institutions and Racial Demographics on Republican Vote Share by Time Period**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) 1870–1920 | (2) 1921–1970 |
| Poll Tax | −9.95^  (5.85) | −7.07  (4.85) |
| Literacy Test | 3.71\*  (1.67) | 0.60  (1.73) |
| Literacy Test × South | −9.08^  (5.09) | −6.78  (6.77) |
| Australian Ballot | 0.53  (2.13) | 0.20  (2.19) |
| Australian Ballot × South | −0.12  (4.55) | 10.32  (8.01) |
| Ex-Felon Disenfranchisement | 3.55^  (2.07) | −0.33  (1.14) |
| Ex-Felon Disenfranchisement  X South | −12.19\*  (4.69) | −13.05\*  (4.89) |
| Women’s Suffrage | ✓ | ✓ |
| Women’s Suffrage × South | ✓ | ✓ |
| Lynchings | ✓ | ✓ |
| Lynchings × South | ✓ | ✓ |
| Gub. Elec. in Pres. Year | ✓ | ✓ |
| Gub. Elec. in Non-Pres. Year | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1,411 | 1,455 |
| R2 | 0.57 | 0.53 |
| Fixed Effects | 48 States, 51 Years | 50 States, 50 Years |
| Clustering | 48 States | 50 States |

Note: Numbers in cells are OLS coefficients with clustered robust standard errors in parentheses. ^ = p < 0.1; \* = p < 0.05; \*\* = p < 0.01.

**Figure A1. Number of African Americans Lynched, 1870–1970**

Sources: Ramey (2017); Seguin (2022); Tolnay and Beck (2022).