

How urban riots influence political behaviour:

Vote choices after the 2011 London riots

Online appendix (not for publication)

Supporting information

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A Online appendix

A.1 Variables and data sources

Dependent variables

- Turnout (*turnout*): Number of votes as a fraction of eligible voters. From the London datastore: <https://data.london.gov.uk>.
- Turnout whites (*turnout white*): This is generated using the `ei` package in R (see <https://gking.harvard.edu/ei>), taking as input Turnout and Fraction white (defined below).
- Turnout Blacks (*turnout Black*): This is generated using the `ei` package in R (see <https://gking.harvard.edu/ei>), taking as input Turnout and Fraction black (defined below).
- Vote share for the Conservative candidate (*share Con vote*): From the London datastore: <https://data.london.gov.uk>. We use the total share of the vote once first and second preference votes have been included.
- Vote share for the Labour candidate (*share Lab vote*): From the London datastore: <https://data.london.gov.uk>. We use the total share of the vote once first and second preference votes have been included.
- Vote share for Conservatives, white voters (*share Con vote, white*): This is generated using the `ei` package in R (see <https://gking.harvard.edu/ei>), taking as input Vote share for Conservatives and Fraction white (defined below).
- Vote share for Conservatives, Black voters (*share Con vote, Black*): This is generated using the `ei` package in R (see <https://gking.harvard.edu/ei>), taking as input Vote share for Conservatives and Fraction Black (defined below).

Treatment variables

- Proximity to riots (*treated (near riot)*): The riot locations are taken from newspaper and media reports and geocoded. A ward is considered to have been near the riots if its centroid is between 0.5 and 3 kms from where a riot happened. Distance is measured as the crow flies.
- Proximity to the residence of rioters (*treated (near rioter)*): The data on where the charged rioters lived is from the Metropolitan Police. This is at the LSOA level, which we aggregate up to the electoral ward level. Wards are considered treated if at least one of their residents was charged.

Controls

- Fraction Black: From the 2011 UK census. We use the variable that measures the fraction of black Caribbean, black African and mixed race in the ward.
- Fraction white: From the 2011 UK census. We use the variable that measures the fraction of white British (English, Welsh and Scottish).
- Unemployment rate: This is the unemployment percentage from the 2011 UK census.
- Fraction high qualifications: This is from the 2011 census; defined as the fraction of the population with level 4 qualifications.
- Crime rate (2010): This is from the Metropolitan police, available from the London datastore (https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/recorded_crime_summary). The document we used is MPS_Ward_Level_Crime_Historic_NewWard.csv.

A.2 Common trends

We first consider two balance tables, the first for the proximity to the riots treatment and the second for the proximity to where the rioters lived treatment:

Table A1: Balance table (treatment: proximity to riots)

Variable	(1)		(2)		T-test Difference (1)-(2)
	0		1		
	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SE	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SE	
unemployment rate	606 [228]	0.052 (0.001)	534 [201]	0.058 (0.001)	-0.005***
fraction white	606 [228]	0.435 (0.013)	534 [201]	0.407 (0.010)	0.028*
fraction Black	606 [228]	0.161 (0.007)	534 [201]	0.204 (0.009)	-0.043***
fraction high qualifications	606 [228]	0.404 (0.009)	534 [201]	0.395 (0.008)	0.009
crime rate (2010)	606 [228]	95.886 (2.418)	534 [201]	124.595 (8.767)	-28.709***
F-test of joint significance (F-stat)					5.539***
F-test, number of observations					1140

Notes: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups. The value displayed for F-tests are the F-statistics. Standard errors are clustered at variable ward_mayorN. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

Table A2: Balance table (treatment: proximity to where rioters lived)

Variable	(1)		(2)		T-test Difference (1)-(2)
	0		1		
	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SE	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SE	
unemployment rate	342 [134]	0.049 (0.001)	798 [298]	0.058 (0.001)	-0.009***
fraction white	342 [134]	0.456 (0.016)	798 [298]	0.407 (0.009)	0.049***
fraction Black	342 [134]	0.132 (0.009)	798 [298]	0.203 (0.007)	-0.071***
fraction high qualifications	342 [134]	0.420 (0.012)	798 [298]	0.392 (0.007)	0.028**
crime rate (2010)	342 [134]	107.896 (12.879)	798 [298]	109.951 (2.872)	-2.055
F-test of joint significance (F-stat)					8.159***
F-test, number of observations					1140

Notes: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups. The value displayed for F-tests are the F-statistics. Standard errors are clustered at variable ward_mayorN. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

FIGURE A1: Common trends check for Conservative vote share, where treatment is proximity to the riots (0=control; 1=treatment). In particular, a violation of parallel trends would require that that the areas close to the riots move away from the Conservative party faster than other areas. Looking at Figure 1 in the text, this corresponds to the areas between the inner and middle rings. These areas follow no clear spatial pattern, other than being equidistant from riot locations, and it is difficult to think of what changes these areas could have been experiencing relative to the control areas (wards between the middle and outer rings).

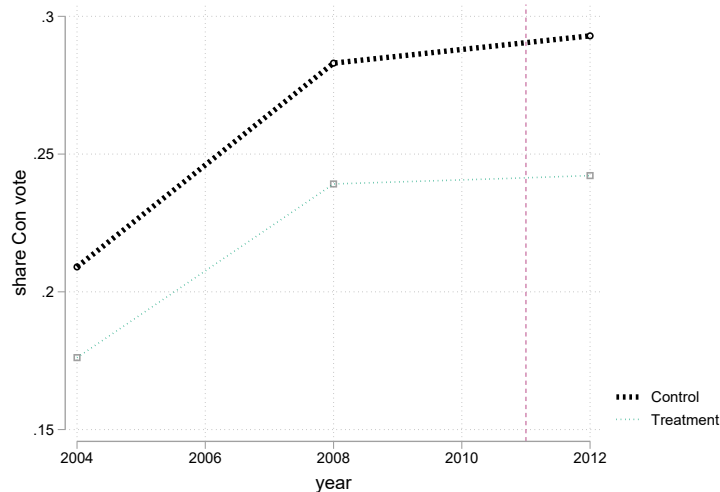


FIGURE A2: Common trends check for Conservative vote share, where treatment is proximity to where rioters lived (0=control; 1=treatment). Common trends would be violated if the areas in dark in Figure 2 (in the main text) had been following different trends or had experienced a shock between 2008 and 2012. However, the dark and light-colored areas in the map follow no clear spatial pattern, making shocks of the required type unlikely.

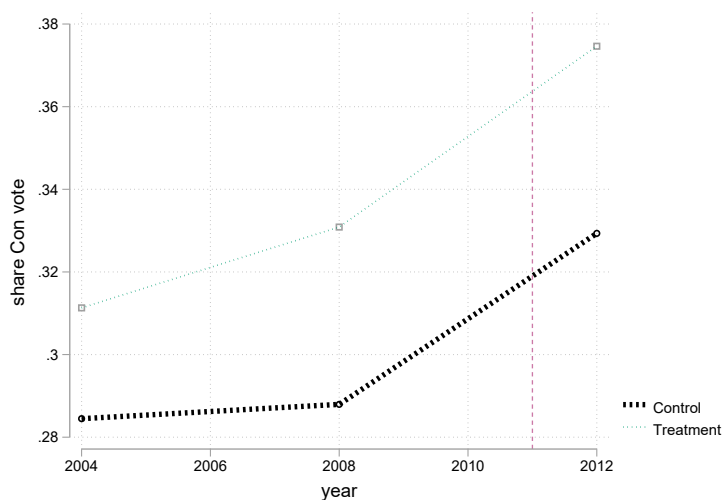


Table A3: As an additional check of the common trends assumption, we look at whether treated areas saw a bigger shift towards Labour between 2004 and 2008. They did not; but if they had done, this would have suggested that treatment and control areas were drifting apart, in terms of vote choices, prior to the 2011 riots.

VARIABLES	(1) share Labour vote 2008	(2) share Labour vote 2008	(3) share Labour vote 2008	(4) share Labour vote 2008	(5) share Labour vote 2008	(6) share Labour vote 2008
treated (near riot)	0.0052 (0.0084)	0.0051 (0.0086)	0.014 (0.0088)			
treated (near rioter)				0.0084 (0.0100)	0.0064 (0.0096)	0.000059 (0.0096)
share Labour vote (2004)	0.13 (0.072)+	0.10 (0.072)	0.037 (0.065)	0.12 (0.072)+	0.100 (0.072)	0.038 (0.066)
fraction Black	0.35 (0.094)***	0.40 (0.10)***	-0.11 (0.11)	0.35 (0.092)***	0.40 (0.098)***	-0.097 (0.11)
fraction white	-0.21 (0.063)**	-0.24 (0.053)***	-0.28 (0.039)***	-0.21 (0.062)***	-0.24 (0.053)***	-0.28 (0.039)***
fraction high qualifications		0.13 (0.063)*	0.26 (0.051)***		0.13 (0.062)*	0.26 (0.050)***
unemployment			3.94 (0.57)***			3.84 (0.59)***
crime rate (2010)			-0.000044 (0.000049)			-0.000030 (0.000045)
Observations	411	411	411	411	411	411
R-squared	0.914	0.915	0.922	0.914	0.915	0.922
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.10$. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

A.3 Summary statistics

Table A4: Number of wards treated under 1 (near a riot), treated under 2 (near a rioter home), and treated under both.

	near riot = 1	near riot = 0	
near rioter home = 1	67	47	114
near rioter home = 0	135	131	266
	202	178	380

FIGURE A3: Ward's distance to a riot and its change in turnout (08-12)

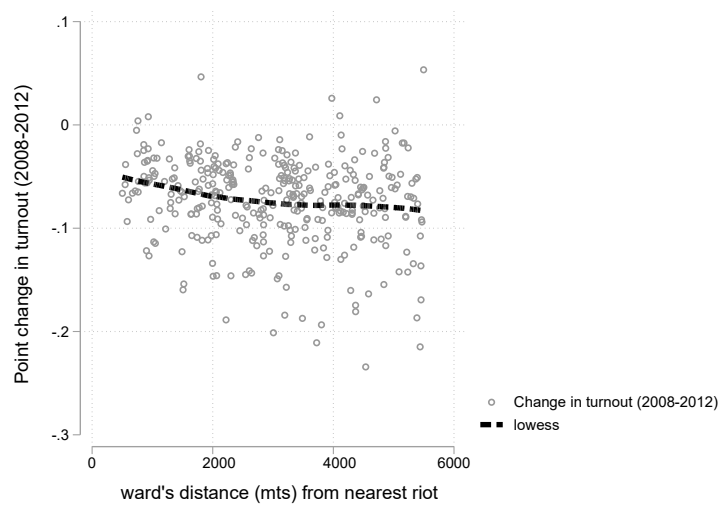


FIGURE A4: Ward's distance to a riot and the change in its Labour vote (08-12)

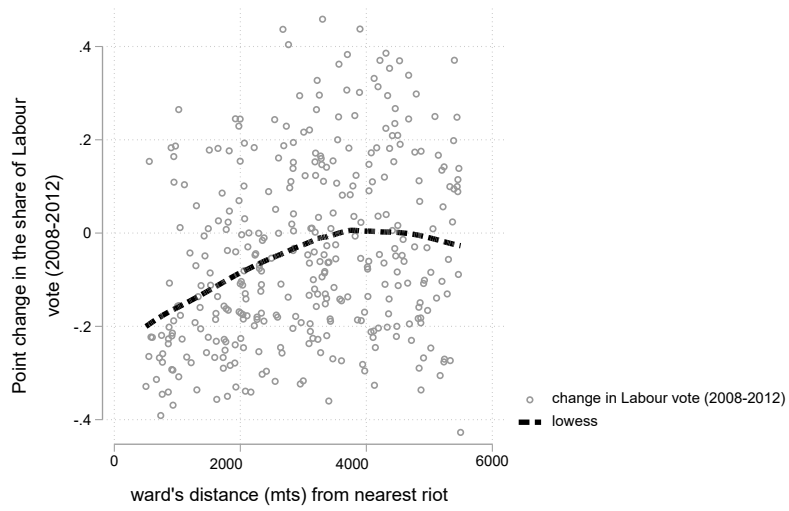
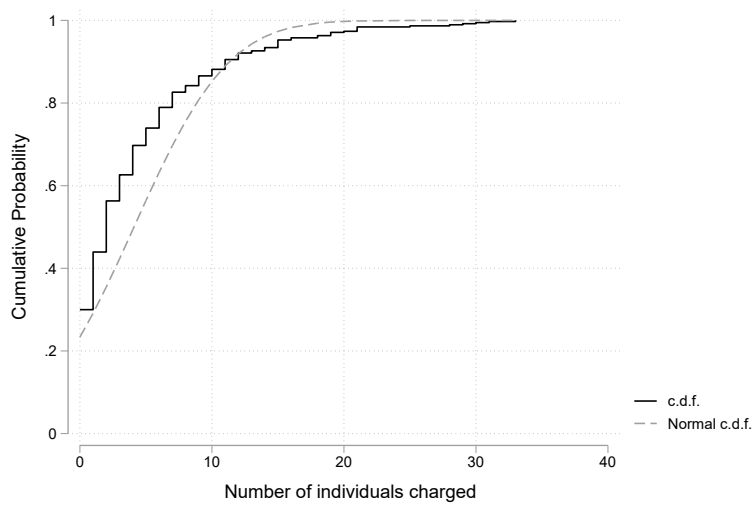


FIGURE A5: Distribution of the number of charged rioters, by wards



A.4 Ecological Inference

We have no individual-level voting data and so we need to estimate the fraction of whites and the fraction of Blacks who (i) turned out to vote, and who (ii) voted for the Conservative party in each electoral ward, in the local elections held in 2004, 2008 and 2012. We do so by using the ecological inference method (EI) developed by King (1997).

A potential issue with our estimates is that they are what Herron and Shotts (2003) and Adolph et al. (2003) call second-stage estimates, which in general makes them inconsistent. A solution proposed by Adolph et al. (2003) is to use weighted least squares (WLS), as it generally produces estimates with negligible bias. We replicate the estimation in Table 2 of the main text using weighted least squares with weights that are equal to the inverse of the ei standard errors. The results are presented in Table A5 below and are largely in line with those in the main text.

The Ecological Inference method in King (1997) relies on three key assumptions: (i) parameters vary across wards following a truncated bivariate normal distribution, (ii) there is no spatial autocorrelation, and (iii) the parameters are uncorrelated with the regressors. Tam Cho (1998) examines the robustness of EI estimates to violations of these three key assumptions. While she finds that EI estimates are typically robust to violations of assumptions (i) and (ii), the violation of assumption (iii) can lead to biased and inconsistent coefficients. This assumption is also known as the ‘no aggregation bias assumption’, since it requires that no bias be introduced by the aggregation of individual-level data. In our case, this assumption would be violated if (i) the parameter varies across wards, and (ii) this variation is correlated with some other variable.

In our setting, the main concern is that the response of the two groups to the riots, in terms of their turnout and change in their Conservative vote, is conditioned by the ethnic composition of the electoral ward. We expect the turnout and vote choices of Black voters to change little on the basis of whether they live in a more or less ethnically diverse neighborhood, and so the main concern is selection of whites into particular neighborhoods. Following Enos, Kaufman, and Sands (2019), we establish the likely direction of the bias in the weighted regression. Under the plausible assumption that

whites who live in more diverse neighborhoods (defined as those with a larger fraction of Black residents) are more left-leaning, our expectation is that treated whites in diverse neighborhoods will show an increase in turnout and a decrease in their Conservative vote, while treated whites in less diverse neighborhoods will show an increase in turnout but a switch in their vote in favor of the Conservatives. In other words, we expect turnout to be largely unbiased in the unweighted regressions, while the positive and negative effects on the Conservative vote will approximately cancel out.

Turning to the weighted least squares regression, it will underweigh whites in diverse neighborhoods and overweigh whites in less diverse areas. Hence the WLS coefficient should bias the white vote (for the Conservative party) towards zero. In practice, the WLS results are in line with those reported in Table 2.

Table A5: Weighted Least Squares, where the weights are the inverse of the standard deviation of the ei estimates

VARIABLES	(1) turnout white	(2) turnout white	(3) turnout Black	(4) turnout Black	(5) share Con vote white	(6) share Con vote white	(7) share Con vote Black	(8) share Con vote Black
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.012 (0.0087)		-0.00033 (0.0026)		-0.0072 (0.0039)+		-0.000098 (0.000051)+	
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.020 (0.0090)*		-0.0045 (0.0029)		-0.0049 (0.0043)		-0.00011 (0.000054)*
treated (near riot)	-0.00096 (0.0070)		0.0021 (0.0025)		-0.0045 (0.0023)+		-0.000014 (0.000013)	
treated (near rioter)		-0.022 (0.0068)**		0.0018 (0.0025)		-0.0056 (0.0025)*		0.000016 (0.000013)
fraction Black	-0.097 (0.067)	-0.093 (0.067)	0.023 (0.019)	0.025 (0.019)	0.027 (0.021)	0.019 (0.021)	0.00053 (0.00015)***	0.00050 (0.00015)**
fraction white	0.085 (0.025)***	0.081 (0.025)**	-0.038 (0.0077)***	-0.039 (0.0078)***	-0.038 (0.010)***	-0.040 (0.010)***	0.00010 (0.000071)	0.00010 (0.000070)
unemployment rate	0.24 (0.49)	0.27 (0.49)	-0.26 (0.14)+	-0.28 (0.14)*	-1.82 (0.16)***	-1.71 (0.16)***	-0.0055 (0.0010)***	-0.0053 (0.0011)***
fraction high qualifications	0.16 (0.037)***	0.17 (0.037)***	-0.022 (0.011)*	-0.023 (0.011)*	-0.15 (0.016)***	-0.14 (0.016)***	-0.00031 (0.00010)**	-0.00031 (0.00011)**
crime rate (2010)	-0.00011 (0.000052)*	-0.00010 (0.000046)*	-1.5e-07 (4.4e-06)	1.7e-06 (4.3e-06)	0.000013 (7.2e-06)+	6.1e-06 (6.4e-06)	-1.4e-08 (3.1e-08)	-2.5e-08 (3.7e-08)
Observations	760	760	760	760	1,140	1,140	942	942
R-squared	0.702	0.704	0.852	0.852	0.868	0.868	0.986	0.986
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	robust	robust	robust	robust	robust	robust	robust	robust
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10.

A.5 Robustness

FIGURE A6: Visual representation of the key coefficients in Table 1.

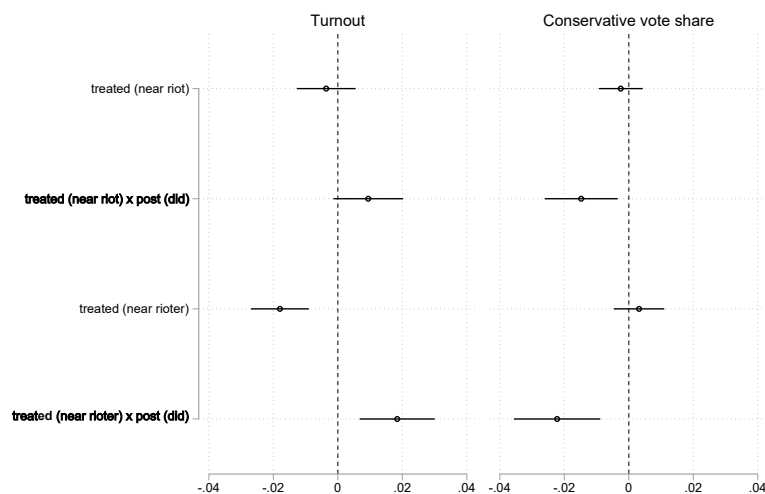


Table A6: Robustness to categorizing as ‘treated’ only wards with more than the median number of individuals charged, i.e. areas that were heavily treated. The median number of charged individuals is 2. Treatment is discrete, and equals 1 if two or more residents of the ward were charged with riot-related offences.

VARIABLES	(1) turnout	(2) turnout	(3) share Con vote	(4) share Con vote
treated (near riot)	-0.0036 (0.0047)		-0.0025 (0.0035)	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.0094 (0.0055)+		-0.015 (0.0058)*	
treated (near rioter)		-0.012 (0.0032)***		-0.0017 (0.0030)
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.0082 (0.0045)+		-0.019 (0.0061)**
fraction Black	-0.089 (0.044)*	-0.080 (0.044)+	-0.046 (0.036)	-0.054 (0.036)
fraction white	0.18 (0.018)***	0.18 (0.017)***	0.24 (0.020)***	0.24 (0.021)***
unemployment rate	0.16 (0.30)	0.15 (0.30)	-0.96 (0.41)*	-0.86 (0.41)*
fraction high qualifications	0.090 (0.024)***	0.085 (0.024)***	-0.044 (0.033)	-0.041 (0.033)
crime rate (2010)	-0.000064 (0.000031)*	-0.000057 (0.000027)*	0.000016 (0.000015)	0.000011 (0.000014)
Observations	760	760	1,140	1,140
R-squared	0.990	0.991	0.970	0.970
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A7: Robustness of Table 1 to using distances: 0.5-1 kms and 1-1.5 kms. It is reassuring that the coefficients are largely in line with those in Table 1, although the small number of observations makes these estimates difficult to interpret. Notice that the number of observations drops non-linearly as a result of the reduction in distance; this is because once the distances are relatively small there will be few wards that meet the proximity condition.

VARIABLES	(1) turnout	(2) turnout	(3) share Con vote	(4) share Con vote
treated (near riot)	0.0042 (0.0077)		-0.0016 (0.0064)	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.016 (0.010)		-0.0026 (0.0098)	
treated (near rioter)		-0.042 (0.019)*		0.039 (0.012)**
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.022 (0.018)		-0.036 (0.016)*
fraction Black	0.098 (0.10)	0.085 (0.10)	0.14 (0.073)+	0.072 (0.070)
fraction white	0.25 (0.052)***	0.18 (0.057)**	0.34 (0.033)***	0.35 (0.031)***
unemployment rate	-0.42 (0.47)	-0.82 (0.53)	-0.74 (0.47)	-0.66 (0.45)
fraction high qualifications	0.17 (0.081)*	0.16 (0.067)*	-0.086 (0.047)+	-0.16 (0.051)**
crime rate (2010)	-0.00018 (0.000070)*	-0.00023 (0.000073)**	0.00023 (0.000060)***	0.00025 (0.000057)***
Observations	106	106	159	159
R-squared	0.995	0.995	0.984	0.986
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A8: Robustness of Table 1 to using distances: 0.5-2 kms and 2-3.5 kms

VARIABLES	(1) turnout	(2) turnout	(3) share Con vote	(4) share Con vote
treated (near riot)	-0.012 (0.0049)*		0.0034 (0.0037)	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.014 (0.0063)*		-0.012 (0.0066)+	
treated (near rioter)		-0.025 (0.0056)***		0.0095 (0.0051)+
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.025 (0.0070)***		-0.020 (0.0085)*
fraction Black	0.044 (0.055)	0.046 (0.053)	-0.11 (0.052)*	-0.11 (0.052)*
fraction white	0.25 (0.022)***	0.25 (0.021)***	0.28 (0.033)***	0.28 (0.032)***
unemployment rate	0.28 (0.39)	0.27 (0.40)	-0.14 (0.57)	-0.16 (0.56)
fraction high qualifications	0.17 (0.029)***	0.18 (0.029)***	-0.16 (0.046)***	-0.16 (0.044)***
crime rate (2010)	-0.000051 (0.000029)+	-0.000056 (0.000025)*	0.000017 (0.000022)	0.000017 (0.000021)
Observations	470	470	705	705
R-squared	0.992	0.992	0.974	0.974
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.10$. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A9: Robustness of Table 1 to using distances: 0-2 kms and 2-4 kms

VARIABLES	(1) turnout	(2) turnout	(3) share Con vote	(4) share Con vote
treated (near riot)	-0.012 (0.0048)*		0.0020 (0.0037)	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.016 (0.0060)*		-0.014 (0.0064)*	
treated (near rioter)		-0.024 (0.0052)***		0.0045 (0.0047)
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.028 (0.0065)***		-0.022 (0.0077)**
fraction Black	0.035 (0.053)	0.034 (0.052)	-0.094 (0.047)*	-0.096 (0.046)*
fraction white	0.24 (0.021)***	0.23 (0.021)***	0.28 (0.030)***	0.27 (0.030)***
unemployment rate	0.16 (0.37)	0.17 (0.38)	-0.33 (0.53)	-0.33 (0.53)
fraction high qualifications	0.16 (0.028)***	0.16 (0.028)***	-0.13 (0.044)**	-0.13 (0.042)**
crime rate (2010)	-0.000042 (0.000012)***	-0.000046 (0.000010)***	1.4e-07 (8.6e-06)	-1.9e-06 (7.8e-06)
Observations	538	538	807	807
R-squared	0.992	0.992	0.975	0.975
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.10$. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A10: Placebo 1: We replicate the analysis in Table 1 where instead of looking at proximity to riot locations we look at proximity to Charing Cross, the train station that marks the center of London. Wards within 5kms of Charing Cross are considered to be treated, areas 5-10kms of Charing Cross are the control group (see the map in Figure A7). This addresses the possible concern that inner London areas might be different from outer neighborhoods. The absence of a significant difference between treatment and control is consistent with our understanding of London: it is a patchwork city where poor and rich, diverse and homogeneous areas are in close proximity to each other, and not organized in concentric circles like in many other large cities.

VARIABLES	(1) turnout	(2) share Con vote
treated (near riot)	-0.0079 (0.0063)	-0.021 (0.0059)***
treated (near riot) x post (did)	-0.0054 (0.0054)	0.0078 (0.0061)
fraction Black	-0.063 (0.042)	-0.11 (0.034)**
fraction white	0.19 (0.019)***	0.17 (0.022)***
unemployment rate	0.12 (0.29)	-0.75 (0.43)+
fraction high qualifications	0.11 (0.025)***	0.017 (0.038)
crime rate (2010)	-0.000052 (0.000012)***	1.3e-06 (6.6e-06)
Observations	798	1,197
R-squared	0.991	0.967
Fixed effect	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.10$. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

FIGURE A7: Placebo 1: The inner ring includes all areas within 5 km of Charing Cross station, the train station from which distances to London are typically measured. The second ring includes all areas between 5 and 10 kms of Charing Cross. The star marks the location of Charing Cross station, while the triangles show the location of the riots.

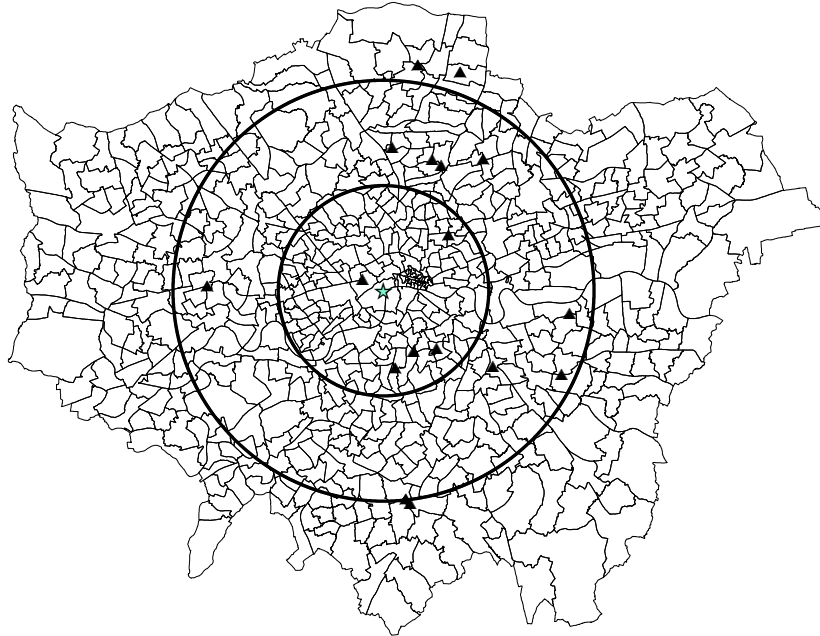


FIGURE A8: Placebo 2: riot locations and alternative (placebo) riot locations. Actual riot locations are denoted by triangles, placebo riot locations are denoted by circles.

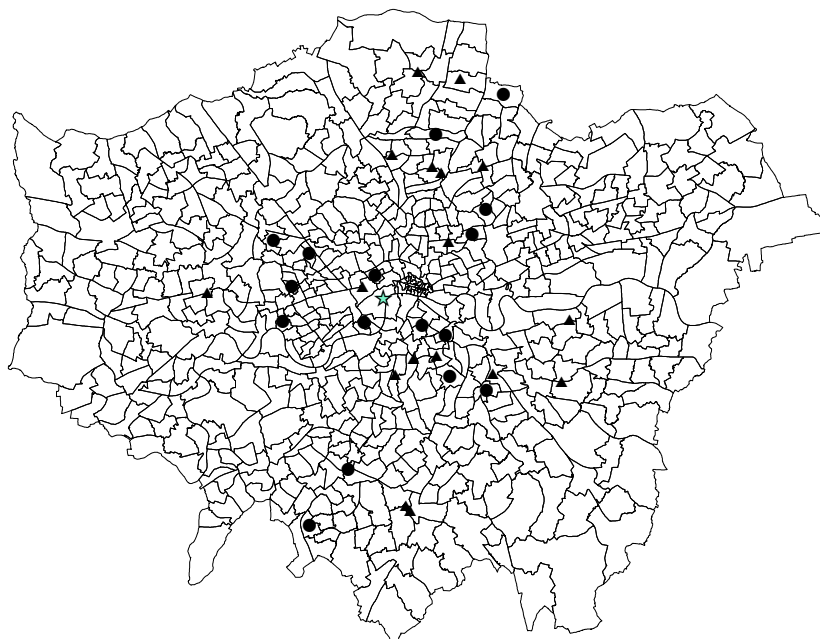


Table A11: Placebo 2: We replicate the analysis in Table 1 but instead of looking at proximity to riot locations we look at proximity to areas that are similar in key characteristics to the riot locations but did not experience any riots. The characteristics we consider are: fraction Black, fraction white, unemployment rate, fraction with high qualifications and the crime rate in 2010. We then use the Stata command *teffects nnmatch* and output the list of nearest neighbors that this command creates using propensity score matching. For each riot location we pick the most similar area that is in a different borough. We then use ArcGIS to place these locations on a map and calculate a new full set of distances between these locations and all the wards. The map in Figure A8 shows the original riot locations and the placebo locations. We then use these distances to construct new treatment (0.5-3kms) and control (3-5.5kms) wards. The negative coefficient on the variable *did* in column 1 shows that, if anything, areas less affected by the riots experienced a drop in turnout, while in Table 1 we find an increase in turnout in treated areas. There is no effect on the share of the vote that goes to the Conservative candidate.

VARIABLES	(1) turnout	(2) share Con vote
treated (near riot)	-0.0019 (0.0048)	0.0092 (0.0040)*
treated (near riot) x post (did)	-0.0097 (0.0058)+	0.00059 (0.0059)
fraction Black	0.014 (0.043)	-0.15 (0.036)***
fraction white	0.17 (0.019)***	0.23 (0.022)***
unemployment rate	-0.29 (0.34)	-0.63 (0.39)
fraction high qualifications	0.12 (0.027)***	-0.019 (0.036)
crime rate (2010)	-0.000050 (0.000012)***	-2.8e-06 (6.3e-06)
Observations	736	1,104
R-squared	0.990	0.971
Fixed effect	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A12: Robustness of Table 2 to using distances: 0.5-1 and 1-1.5. The small number of observations make these estimates difficult to interpret.

VARIABLES	(1) turnout white	(2) turnout white	(3) turnout Black	(4) turnout Black	(5) share Con vote white	(6) share Con vote white	(7) share Con vote Black	(8) share Con vote Black
treated (near riot)	0.0069 (0.012)		-0.00028 (0.0034)		0.0093 (0.0062)		-0.00011 (0.000054)*	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.033 (0.017)+		0.0078 (0.0044)+		-0.0086 (0.011)		0.000028 (0.00010)	
treated (near rioter)		-0.044 (0.023)+		0.012 (0.0062)+		0.034 (0.011)**		0.00014 (0.000079)+
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		-0.0033 (0.026)		-0.012 (0.0062)+		-0.014 (0.012)		-0.000069 (0.00014)
fraction Black	0.14 (0.16)	0.12 (0.16)	0.054 (0.051)	0.051 (0.048)	0.28 (0.067)***	0.23 (0.067)***	0.00079 (0.00078)	0.00049 (0.00079)
fraction white	0.17 (0.076)*	0.067 (0.088)	0.00023 (0.024)	0.013 (0.026)	0.18 (0.036)***	0.21 (0.033)***	0.00037 (0.00031)	0.00034 (0.00031)
unemployment rate	-0.66 (0.81)	-1.35 (0.89)	-0.16 (0.23)	-0.18 (0.25)	0.083 (0.46)	0.059 (0.47)	-0.0040 (0.0044)	-0.0024 (0.0045)
fraction high qualifications	0.26 (0.10)*	0.24 (0.084)**	-0.032 (0.042)	-0.052 (0.038)	0.033 (0.057)	-0.063 (0.066)	-0.00058 (0.00045)	-0.00071 (0.00045)
crime rate (2010)	-0.00031 (0.00013)*	-0.00039 (0.00013)**	0.000031 (0.000027)	0.000048 (0.000032)	0.00035 (0.000076)***	0.00039 (0.000079)***	5.4e-07 (5.1e-07)	4.5e-07 (4.8e-07)
Observations	106	106	106	106	159	159	159	159
R-squared	0.992	0.991	0.996	0.996	0.994	0.994	0.994	0.994
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A13: Robustness of Table 2 to using distances: 0.5-2 and 2-3.5

VARIABLES	(1) turnout white	(2) turnout white	(3) turnout Black	(4) turnout Black	(5) share Con vote white	(6) share Con vote white	(7) share Con vote Black	(8) share Con vote Black
treated (near riot)	-0.014 (0.0075)+		0.0058 (0.0027)*		0.0027 (0.0034)		-0.000019 (0.000029)	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.015 (0.010)		-0.0025 (0.0031)		-0.011 (0.0065)+		-0.00013 (0.000066)*	
treated (near rioter)		-0.034 (0.0086)***		0.0039 (0.0028)		0.0087 (0.0048)+		0.000061 (0.000035)+
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.027 (0.011)*		-0.0068 (0.0035)+		-0.0079 (0.0078)		-0.00015 (0.000070)*
fraction Black	0.073 (0.091)	0.077 (0.089)	0.030 (0.025)	0.033 (0.026)	-0.10 (0.042)*	-0.10 (0.042)*	0.00083 (0.00039)*	0.00078 (0.00039)*
fraction white	0.17 (0.034)***	0.16 (0.034)***	-0.045 (0.011)***	-0.044 (0.011)***	0.077 (0.041)+	0.078 (0.040)+	0.00055 (0.00017)**	0.00054 (0.00018)**
unemployment rate	0.48 (0.65)	0.47 (0.66)	-0.39 (0.20)*	-0.39 (0.21)+	1.33 (0.69)+	1.31 (0.67)+	-0.0039 (0.0024)	-0.0039 (0.0024)
fraction high qualifications	0.28 (0.045)***	0.29 (0.045)***	-0.033 (0.016)*	-0.032 (0.016)*	-0.068 (0.058)	-0.074 (0.055)	-0.00029 (0.00021)	-0.00031 (0.00022)
crime rate (2010)	-0.000088 (0.000048)+	-0.000095 (0.000043)*	2.1e-06 (4.8e-06)	5.8e-06 (4.8e-06)	0.000034 (0.000021)+	0.000034 (0.000020)+	-1.4e-07 (1.1e-07)	-1.8e-07 (1.1e-07)+
Observations	470	470	470	470	705	705	705	705
R-squared	0.987	0.987	0.992	0.992	0.990	0.990	0.990	0.990
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

Table A14: Robustness of Table 2 to using distances: 0-2 and 2-4

VARIABLES	(1) turnout white	(2) turnout white	(3) turnout Black	(4) turnout Black	(5) share Con vote white	(6) share Con vote white	(7) share Con vote Black	(8) share Con vote Black
treated (near riot)	-0.013 (0.0073)+		0.0057 (0.0025)*		0.0013 (0.0033)		-0.000019 (0.000028)	
treated (near riot) x post (did)	0.016 (0.0098)+		-0.0032 (0.0029)		-0.011 (0.0061)+		-0.00014 (0.000062)*	
treated (near rioter)		-0.032 (0.0079)***		0.0034 (0.0027)		0.0039 (0.0044)		0.000048 (0.000033)
treated (near rioter) x post (did)		0.030 (0.010)**		-0.0062 (0.0033)+		-0.0083 (0.0069)		-0.00011 (0.000064)
fraction Black	0.072 (0.088)	0.072 (0.085)	0.035 (0.023)	0.039 (0.024)	-0.083 (0.038)*	-0.085 (0.038)*	0.00072 (0.00036)*	0.00066 (0.00037)+
fraction white	0.16 (0.032)***	0.15 (0.032)***	-0.045 (0.010)***	-0.044 (0.010)***	0.071 (0.038)+	0.071 (0.039)+	0.00052 (0.00016)**	0.00052 (0.00017)**
unemployment rate	0.29 (0.63)	0.31 (0.63)	-0.42 (0.18)*	-0.43 (0.19)*	1.10 (0.67)	1.09 (0.66)+	-0.0037 (0.0023)	-0.0037 (0.0023)
fraction high qualifications	0.26 (0.042)***	0.27 (0.043)***	-0.030 (0.014)*	-0.029 (0.014)*	-0.043 (0.056)	-0.044 (0.054)	-0.00036 (0.00019)+	-0.00038 (0.00020)+
crime rate (2010)	-0.000075 (0.000021)***	-0.000080 (0.000018)***	8.2e-06 (8.5e-06)	0.000011 (8.8e-06)	0.000013 (7.3e-06)+	0.000012 (6.9e-06)+	-6.8e-08 (6.7e-08)	-1.1e-07 (6.6e-08)+
Observations	538	538	538	538	807	807	807	807
R-squared	0.986	0.987	0.992	0.992	0.991	0.991	0.990	0.990
Fixed effect	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough	borough
Standard errors	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley	Conley
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10. Standard errors are adjusted for spatial correlation following the procedure in Conley (1999).

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