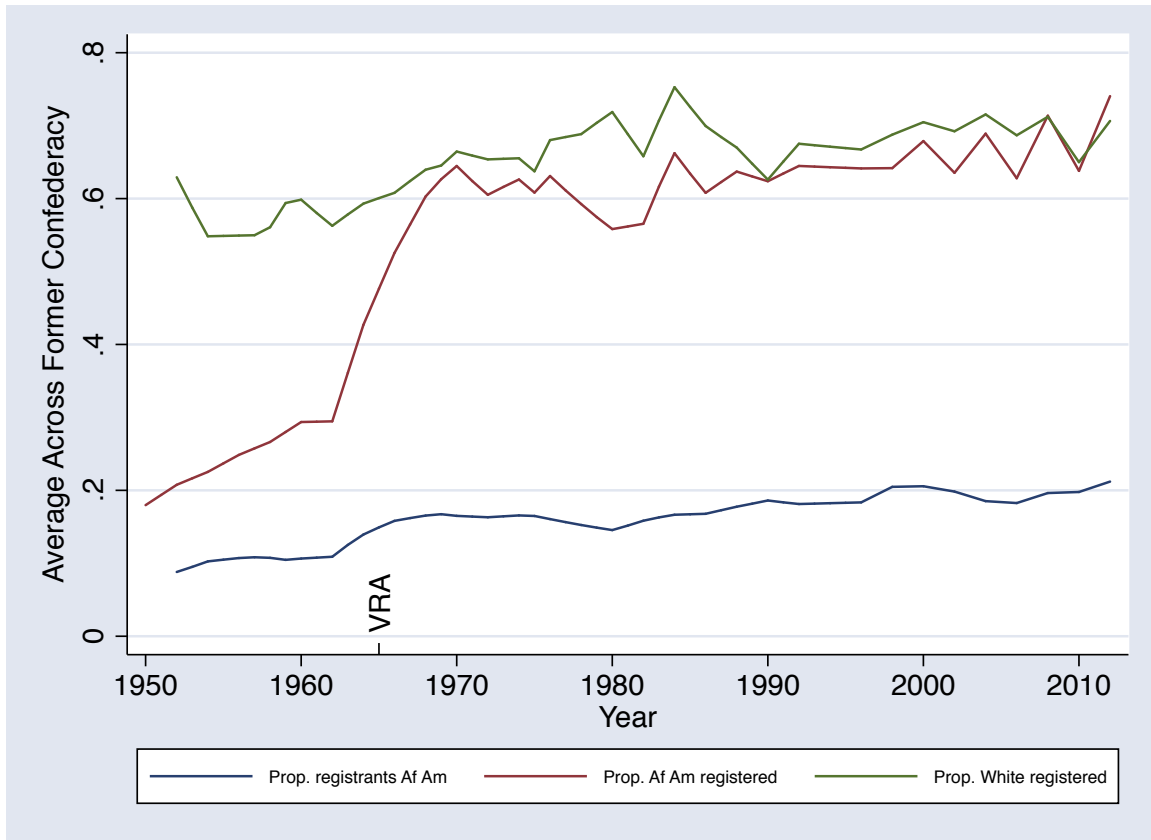


Supplemental Appendix

1. Figure A1: Voter Registration Rates in the U.S. South, 1950-2010
2. Table A1: Summary Statistics
3. Table A2: Data Sources
4. Section A3: A Reanalysis of Husted and Kenny's (1997) Evidence
5. Section A4: Notes on Census of Governments Data

**Figure A1: Voter Registration Rates
in the U.S. South, 1950-2010**



The lines depict the average value of the respective registration rates across the eleven states of the former Confederacy. Sources: Post-1980 registration data come from the Current Population Survey. Earlier data were compiled from estimates produced by the Voter Education Project and published in various editions of the Statistical Abstract of the United States and U.S. Civil Rights Commission reports.

Table A1: Summary statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Per capita welfare expenditures	539	1,189	873	79	3,740
Welfare/income ratio	539	0.036	0.021	0.005	0.108
Per capita total state expenditures	539	3,696	1,383	1,436	8,086
Welfare prop. of state budget	539	0.284	0.129	0.050	0.738
Prop of registrants African American	539	0.187	0.068	0.044	0.375
Interparty competition	539	0.722	0.138	0.500	0.996
Per capita federal grants (\$1000s)	539	1.086	0.673	0.289	6.657
Per capita income (\$1000s)	539	30.114	8.808	10.946	49.892
Proportion Black	539	0.232	0.076	0.115	0.420
Proportion 65+	539	0.111	0.026	0.063	0.185
Fem. head household (per 100)	539	2.326	0.725	1.096	4.802
Proportion metropolitan	539	0.636	0.169	0.202	0.940
Poverty rate	539	0.195	0.077	0.083	0.549
Democratic control	539	0.620	0.486	0	1
Divided control	539	0.328	0.470	0	1
Republican control	539	0.052	0.222	0	1
Fed AFDC/TANF matching rate	539	66	7	50	83
Ave. monthly retail wage	539	2,280	187	1,813	2,843

The table reports summary statistics for the eleven states of the former Confederacy for the years 1960-2008. All dollar amounts denominated in constant 2013 dollars.

Table A2: Data sources

Variable	Source
Per capita welfare expenditures	Census of Governments ¹
Welfare/income ratio	Census of Governments ¹
Per capita total state expenditures	Census of Governments ¹
Per capita tax revenues	Census of Governments ¹
Welfare prop. of state budget	Census of Governments ¹
Prop of registrants Black	Statistical Abstract of the United States Population Survey, Voter Education Project
Per capita federal grants	Census of Governments
Per capita income (\$1000s)	Census of Governments
Proportion Black	Statistical Abstract of the United States
Proportion 65+	Statistical Abstract of the United States
Fem. head household (per 100)	Statistical Abstract of the United States
Proportion metropolitan	Statistical Abstract of the United States
Poverty rate	U.S. Census Bureau ²
Party control of state government	Klarner (2013) ³
Fed AFDC/TANF matching rate	Berry et al. (ICPSR #1294) Urban Institute Welfare Rules Database ⁴
Ave. monthly retail wage	Bureau of Labor Statistics ⁴
Interparty competition	Klarner (2013) ³

All data used in this study along with replication files are available at the authors' website and the journal's data repository (<http://dataverse.org/>).

Location of online data:

- (1) <http://www2.census.gov/pub/outgoing/govs/special60/>.
- (2) <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/historical/people.html>
- (3) <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.1/22519>
- (4) <http://anfdata.urban.org/wrd/>
- (5) http://www.bls.gov/oes/estimates_88_95.htm

A3. A Reanalysis of Husted and Kenny's (1997) Evidence

Table A3 reconsiders the evidence in Husted and Kenny's (1997) influential study, demonstrating that the authors' findings are not robust to changes in the model. Most significantly, adding the proportion of registrants black to their model leads one to conclude that African American mobilization had a negative, not positive, effect on state welfare efforts.

Columns 1 and 4 reproduce the results that led the authors to conclude the passage of federal voting rights legislation in the 1960s moved the median voter left in the southern states and increased redistributive state expenditures.¹ The sample in these regressions covers 1950-1988 and includes all states in the contiguous U.S. except Minnesota and Nebraska (because they did not have partisan legislatures). Dollar amounts are denominated in real unlogged 1982 dollars. The regressions include unreported state and year fixed effects.

As discussed in the main text, Husted and Kenny do not directly measure the size of the black electorate, though this seems to be the most straightforward operationalization of their theoretical mechanism. Instead, they use two indirect strategies. The first employs the variable $Income_{voter} / Income_{pop}$, an estimate of the ratio of the average voter's income to the state's overall per capita income. The second approach is simply to see if the presence of two Jim Crow disfranchising devices, poll taxes and literacy tests, negatively affected the proportion of state expenditures devoted to welfare. To do this, the authors included indicator variables taking the value 1 prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and 0 afterwards. The authors

¹ See Husted and Kenny's Table 5 (model 5) and Table 3 (model 5), respectively.

reasonably assume that the removal of Jim Crow disfranchising devices shifted the location of the median voter, hence equilibrium policy, left.

The key results to focus on in Husted and Kenny's regressions are the negative coefficient estimate on $Income_{voter}/Income_{pop}$ in column 1 and the negative coefficients on the literacy test and poll tax indicator variables in column 4. For Husted and Kenny, these central findings indicate that African American voting produced a "sharp increase in welfare spending."

As the results in columns 2 and 5 point out, however, these important conclusions do not hold if one looks at the South only. Note that columns 2 and 5 contain the same regression model as the columns preceding them, but restrict the sample to the eleven former Confederate states. Moreover, columns 3 and 6 indicate that if one includes the proportion of state registrants black, a direct measure of Husted and Kenny's putative causal variable, that variable is negative.² This suggests that the size of the black electorate *decreased* state welfare effort on average. Similar results obtain if one makes analogous changes to Husted and Kenny's log-log specification and their state-and-local expenditures regressions.

As the evidence in the main text shows, if one adds more controls to these models and accounts for serial correlation, possible non-stationarity in the data and other potential inferential threats, one finds that the data are quite at odds with Husted and Kenny's widely cited conclusion.

² Registration data are unavailable for Husted and Kenny's observations in the 1950s.

Table A3: Reanalysis of the impact of the size of the African American electorate on state welfare spending

	(1) Welfare Prop. (HK replication) ^a	(2) Welfare Prop. ^c	(3) Welfare Prop.	(4) Welfare Prop. (HK replication) ^b	(5) Welfare Prop. ^c	(6) Welfare Prop.
Federal grants (\$1000s)	0.241*** (0.000)	0.623*** (0.000)	0.617*** (0.000)	0.235*** (0.000)	0.621*** (0.000)	0.606*** (0.000)
Personal income	2.16e-06 (0.282)	1.64e-05*** (0.000)	1.24e-05*** (0.002)	9.30e-07 (0.642)	1.68e-05*** (0.000)	1.21e-05*** (0.003)
Income spread ^d	0.051** (0.025)	0.066* (0.070)	0.0582 (0.119)	0.0936*** (9.95e-05)	0.0722** (0.048)	0.0689* (0.085)
Prop. Black	0.462*** (1.21e-06)	0.118 (0.233)	0.117 (0.239)	0.538*** (2.61e-08)	0.118 (0.237)	0.118 (0.238)
Prop. 65+	0.650*** (0.000)	0.729*** (0.008)	0.834*** (0.001)	0.688*** (0.000)	0.599** (0.047)	0.843*** (0.003)
Prop. metropolitan	-0.020 (0.610)	0.344*** (0.000)	0.277*** (0.000)	-0.029 (0.465)	0.450*** (0.000)	0.306*** (0.000)
Democratic control	0.007*** (0.001)	-0.012** (0.018)	-0.006 (0.152)	0.008*** (0.000)	-0.01** (0.040)	-0.006 (0.162)
Income _{voter} / Income _{pop}	-0.059** (0.041)	0.089* (0.076)	0.0172 (0.718)			
Proportion of Reg. African American			-0.203*** (0.000)			-0.194*** (0.0001)
Literacy test indicator				-0.0171** (0.022)	0.016** (0.049)	0.002 (0.814)
Poll tax indicator				-0.027*** (0.000)	-0.008 (0.191)	-0.00651 (0.339)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample	46 states	South	South	46 states	South	South
Observations	920	220	188	920	220	188

Table reports unstandardized OLS coefficients. All models include unreported state and year fixed effects. P-values appear in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1. (a) Model replicates Husted and Kenny's (1997: 73) results in 1982 dollars on the entire national sample. (b) Model replicates Husted and Kenny's (1997: 72) results in 1982 dollars on the entire national sample. (c) Model estimates Husted and Kenny's results on the South-only sample.

A4. Notes on Census of Governments Data

I. Overview of Census of Governments (COG) Data

This appendix describes the COG public welfare expenditures and tax revenue data used in the empirical analysis. The COG data are available at the following url in a file titled "State_Govt_Fin.zip"

<http://www2.census.gov/pub/outgoing/govs/special60/>.

As noted in the text, the COG data classify expenditures by function rather than program. Thus, any one program, like AFDC or Medicaid, may have portions of its expenditures compiled under different item codes, according to the purpose toward which the appropriations were spent. The paper utilizes an expansive definition of public welfare equal to the sum of COG items 67, 68, 74, 75, and 79. Each of these is defined below in section II. This broad definition is similar to previous scholarship (e.g., Matsubayashi and Rocha 2013) that is more expansive than simply looking at AFDC expenditures or direct payments, as has been done in other previous studies (e.g., Husted and Kenny 1997). The Government Employment and Classification Manuals of 1996 and 2002 discuss how the Census Bureau classifies finances and describes in detail the differences between functions and programs. The Classification Manuals are available at the following url.

[\(http://www.census.gov/govs/classification/\)](http://www.census.gov/govs/classification/).

A comprehensive summary of how the variables are tabulated is found in: "methodology_for_summary_tabulations.xls"

II. Census of Governments State Expenditure Data

COG item #67 (*PublicWelfTotalExp*) is defined as follows.

<http://www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc67.html>

DEFINITION: Direct payments to beneficiaries under the Federal categorical public assistance programs, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); and intergovernmental aid under the Federal Medicaid program.

EXAMPLES: Cash payments (including state supplements) by Federal Government to needy aged, blind, and disabled under the SSI program; applicable cash benefits by states under SSI program in excess of, or supplemental to, those paid by Federal Government; state government reimbursements to the Federal Government to supplement basic Federal SSI payment; cash payments by states to families under AFDC program, including related Emergency Assistance aid; Federal grants to states for reimbursement of AFDC and Medicaid benefits paid; intergovernmental payments to finance locally-administered AFDC and Medicaid programs, including any related amounts for administration and vendor payments under those programs;

intergovernmental payments to public hospitals for medical assistance (including Medicaid).

EXCLUSIONS: Cash payments to needy persons under programs other than SSI and AFDC (report at Other Cash Assistance, [code E68](#)); intergovernmental payments to finance state- or locally-administered assistance programs other than AFDC and Medicaid (use [code 68](#)); state-only programs unrelated to SSI providing cash grants to aged, blind, or disabled (use [code 68](#)); payments directly to vendors of goods or services, including Medicaid reimbursements to private hospitals (report at Vendor Payments, [codes E74 / E75](#)); direct administration of categorical assistance programs (report at Other Public Welfare, [code 79](#)).

COG item #68 (*WelfCashTotalExp*) is defined as follows.
(<http://www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc68.html>)

DEFINITION: Cash payments made directly to individuals contingent upon their need, other than those under Federal categorical assistance programs.

EXAMPLES: Poor relief; general relief; home relief; emergency relief; general assistance; refugee assistance; medical assistance, housing expense relief, energy assistance (e.g., Federal Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program, or LIHEAP), emergency assistance, etc. paid directly to individuals and not to vendors; other direct assistance to needy persons not covered by or eligible for Federal categorical assistance; payments to other governments in support of, or as reimbursement for costs of, these types of assistance programs.

EXCLUSIONS: Administration of such programs (report at Other Public Welfare, [code 79](#)); cash payments made under Federal categorical assistance programs (use [code E67](#)); payments made to vendors rather than the individuals benefited (report at Vendor Payments, [codes E74 / E75](#)); bonus payments to veterans as a class and not contingent on their need (report at Veterans' Bonuses, [code E84](#)); noncash or in-kind contributions--e.g., milk, cheese, clothing, etc. (report purchases of such items at function of contributing agency).

COG item #74 (*WelfVendPmtsMedicalE74*) is defined as follows.
(<http://www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc74.html>)

DEFINITION: Payments under public welfare programs made directly to private vendors (i.e., individuals or nongovernmental organizations furnishing goods and services) for medical assistance and hospital or health care, including Medicaid (Title XIX), on behalf of low-income or other medically-needy persons unable to purchase such care.

EXAMPLES: Payments to private vendors for: physician and other professional medical services, private hospital care, drugs and medicines, dental services, long-term health care (including hospices), home health care, dialysis treatment,

medical appliances (e.g., prostheses), ambulatory care, laboratory services, eyeglasses and hearing aids, and so forth; premiums paid to insurers for future medical costs of needy persons. Includes all direct payments to private hospitals or health care providers under Medicaid, general relief, public assistance, and any other Federal or state welfare program.

EXCLUSIONS: Direct payments to benefited persons themselves (report at Other Cash Assistance Payments, [code E68](#)); administrative activities, setting of provider fees and rates, establishing standards, etc. (report at Other Public Welfare, [code 79](#)); intergovernmental payments to other public hospitals for medical assistance under public welfare programs (report payments from Medicaid funds at Federal Categorical Assistance Programs, [code 67](#), and payments from all other funds at [code 79](#)); medical commodities, services, or other assistance provided through government's own hospitals or health agencies (report at Health, [codes 28 / 32](#), or Own Hospitals, [codes 36 / 37](#)); state payments to finance locally-administered medical assistance (Medicaid) programs (report at [code 67](#) [sic]); premiums for health insurance coverage for government's employees (report at function of paying agency or, if a government-wide payment, at Other and Unallocable, [code 89](#)).

COG item #75 (*WelfVendPmtsNECE75*) is defined as follows.
(<http://www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc75.html>)

DEFINITION: Payments under public welfare programs made directly to private vendors (i.e., individuals or nongovernmental organizations furnishing goods and services) for services and commodities, other than medical, hospital, and health care, on behalf of low-income or other needy persons unable to purchase such goods and services.

EXAMPLES: Payments to private vendors for : funeral or burial services, food, clothing, home heating fuel, weatherization of homes, winter energy assistance, and the like.

EXCLUSIONS: Direct payments to the benefited persons themselves (report at Other Cash Assistance Payments, [code E68](#)); administrative activities related to payments (report at Other Public Welfare, [code 79](#)); legal services and public defense including stipends to court-appointed attorneys (report at Judicial and Legal, [code 25](#)); reimbursements effected through tax credits for the benefited person (treat as a deduction to tax revenue); commodities or other services and assistance provided through a government's own agencies (report at function involved); rent subsidies to landlords including "Section 8" lower income housing assistance (report at Housing and Community Development, [code 50](#)).

COG item #77 (*WelfInsTotalExp*) is defined as follows.
(<http://www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc77.html>)

DEFINITION: Provision, construction, and maintenance of nursing homes and welfare institutions owned and operated by a government for the benefit of veterans or needy persons (contingent upon their financial or medical need).

EXAMPLES: Public nursing homes; veterans' homes; soldiers' homes; orphanages; homes for the elderly or aged; indigent care institutions (non-hospitals).

EXCLUSIONS: Hospitals and institutions for the handicapped, crippled, developmentally-disabled, veterans, etc. (report at Own Hospitals, [codes 36 / 37](#)); institutions for the blind, deaf, or other impairments primarily for education or training (report at Other Education, [code 21](#)); provision of care of needy persons in private institutions or homes (report at Other Public Welfare, [code 79](#)); support of privately-operated welfare facilities (use [code 79](#)); nursing homes directly associated with a public hospital (use [code 36](#)); distinctive educational services limited to needy persons--e.g., education of orphans in schools (report at appropriate Education function, codes 12-21).

COG item #79 (*WelfNECTotalExpend*) is defined as follows.
(<http://www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc79.html>)

DEFINITION: Public employment for all public welfare activities and expenditures for welfare activities not classified elsewhere.

EXAMPLES: Administration of: medical and cash assistance, general relief, vendor, and other welfare programs; regulation and support of private welfare institutions and activities; all intergovernmental payments for welfare other than for cash assistance programs; children services, such as foster care, adoption, day care, nonresidential shelters, and the like; activities supported by Federal Social Services Block Grant (Title XX) funds; low-income energy assistance and weatherization (note - administrative expenditure only - [Code 68](#) for assistance payments); welfare-related community action programs; social services to the physically disabled, such as transportation; temporary shelters and other services for the homeless; intergovernmental payments to public hospitals for medical assistance other than under the Medicaid program.

EXCLUSIONS: Benefits not contingent upon need, such as bonuses or payments to veterans as a class (use [code E84](#)), pensions to former employees (use code X11), and the like; public defenders and indigent legal defense (report at Judicial and Legal, [code 25](#)); health and hospital care provided to needy or homeless through government's own hospitals or health agencies and payments to other governments for such purposes (report at appropriate Health or Hospitals function); medical assistance paid directly to private hospitals (use [code E74](#)) or to public hospitals under the Medicaid program (use [code 67](#)); activities funded by Federal WIC funds--Women, Infants, and Children (report at Health, [code 32](#)).