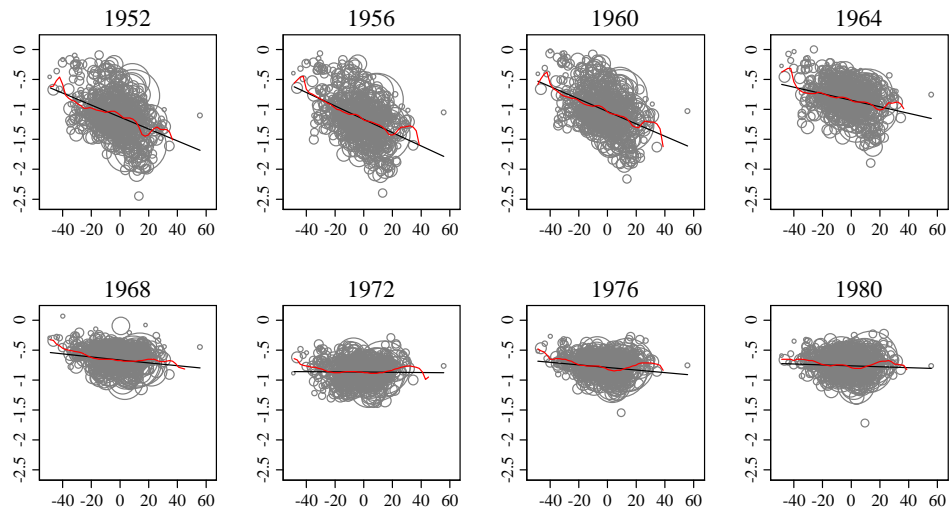
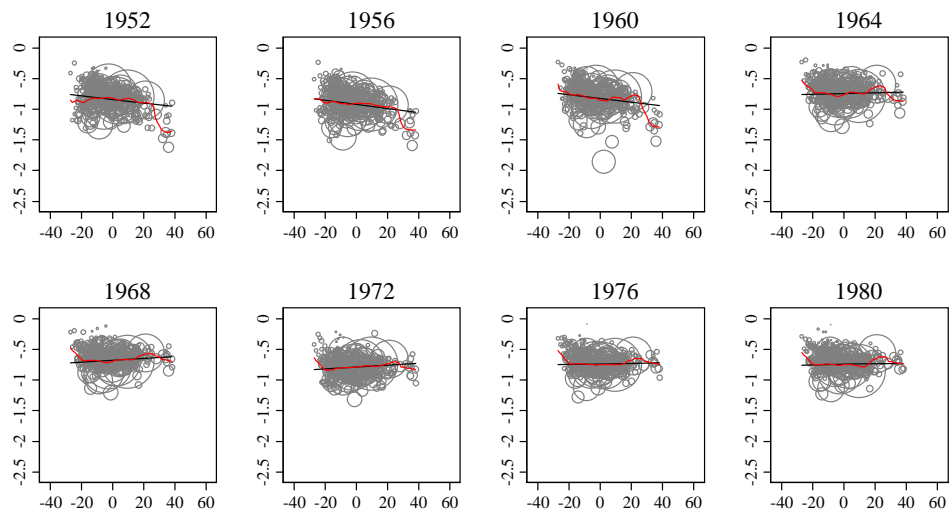


**SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE I**  
**Scatterplots of (Log) Presidential Election Turnout Rate against**  
**Residual 1960 County Black Population Share,**  
**by Year and Treatment Status**

**A. Literacy Test (Treatment)**



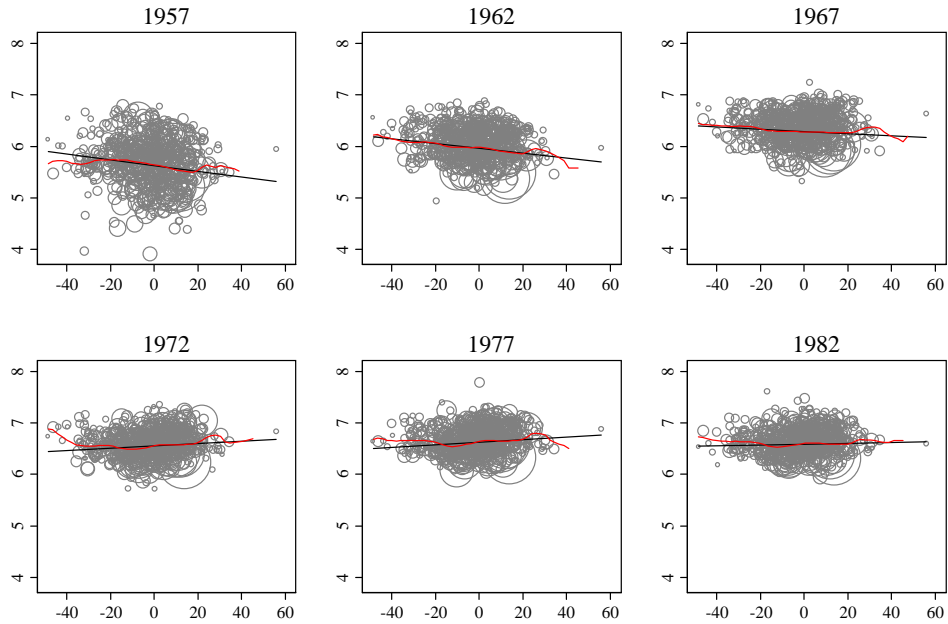
**B. No Literacy Test (Comparison)**



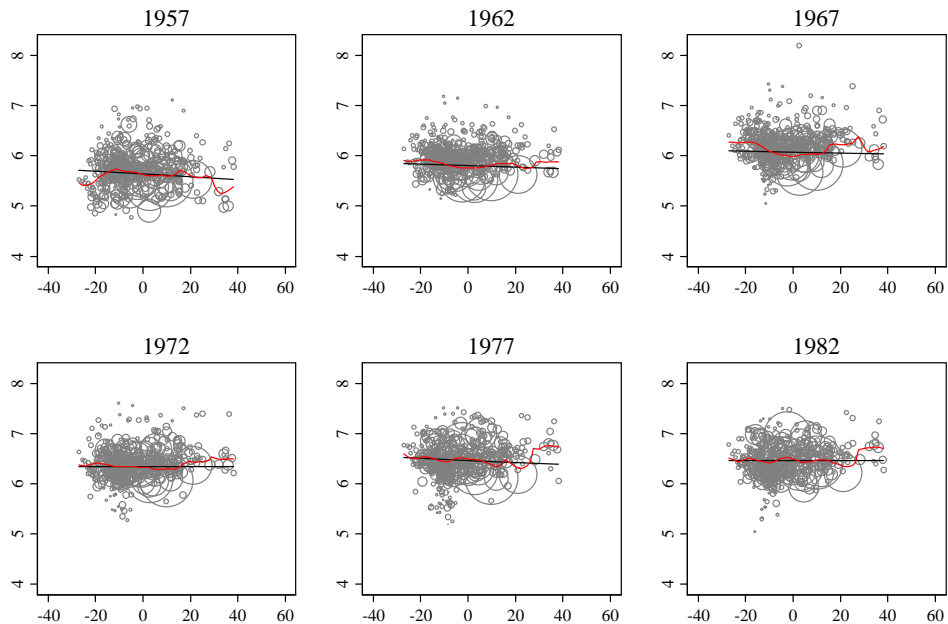
*Notes:* Figures plot the natural log of the county presidential election turnout rate against residual 1960 county black population, by year and separately for (the treatment) Southern states with literacy tests prior to the VRA (AL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, VA) and (the comparison) Southern states without literacy tests prior to the VRA (AR, FL, TN, TX). The residuals are from regressions of 1960 county black population share on the 1960 county child poverty rate, the 1960 county unemployment rate, and state indicators, estimated separately for the treatment and comparison states; the slopes of the solid black lines thus match those plotted in Figure I. (Slope estimates are not sensitive to dropping the one small county (in VA) with a very large positive residual 1960 black share in the treatment states.) The solid red loci represent kernel regression fits to the weighted data (default bandwidth).

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE II  
 Scatterplots of (Log) Per-Capita State Transfers against  
 Residual 1960 County Black Population Share,  
 by Year and Treatment Status

A. Literacy Test (Treatment)



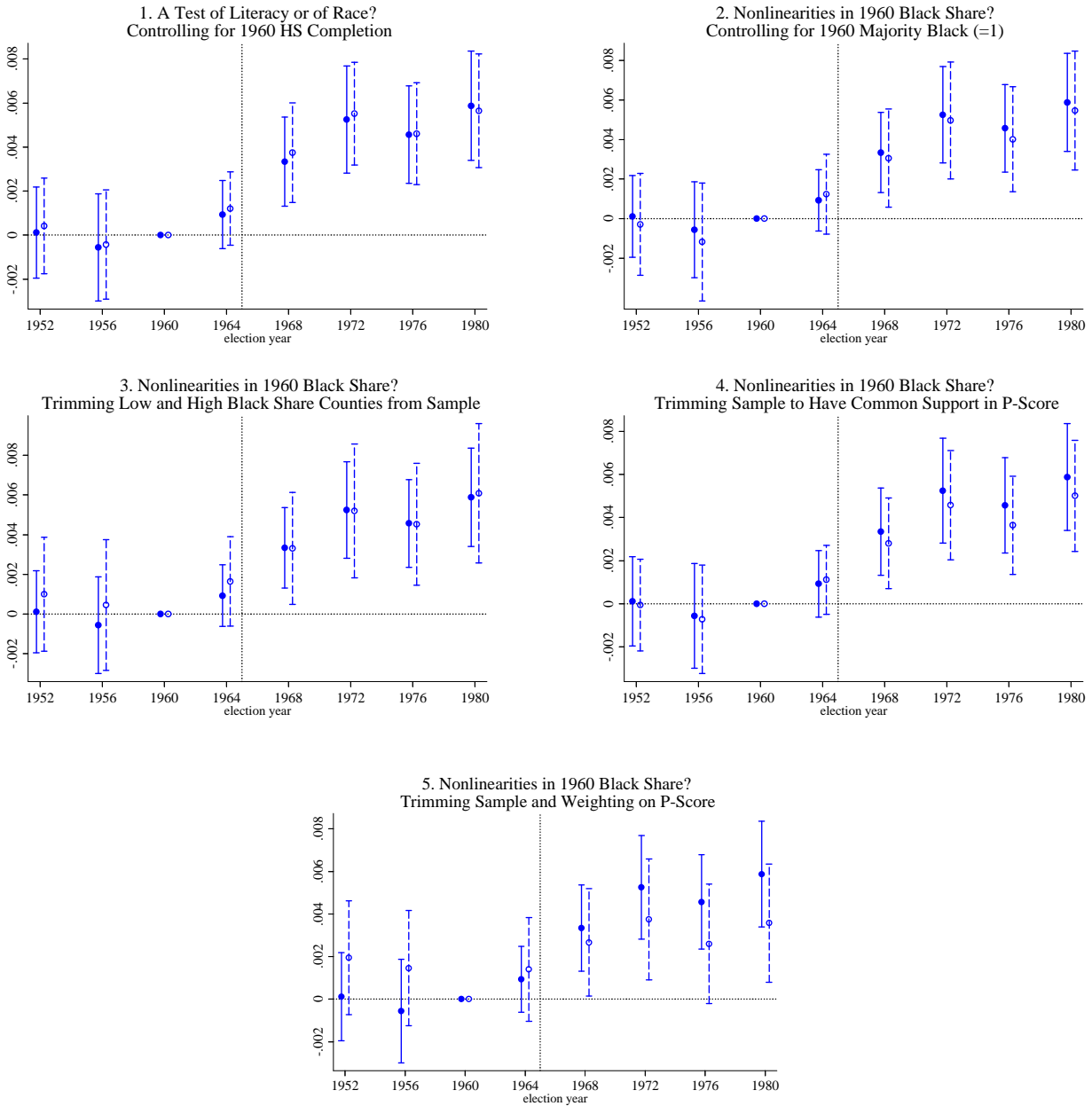
B. No Literacy Test (Comparison)



*Notes:* Figures plot the natural log of per-capita state transfers against residual 1960 county black population, by year and separately for (the treatment) Southern states with literacy tests prior to the VRA (AL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, VA) and (the comparison) Southern states without literacy tests prior to the VRA (AR, FL, TN, TX). The residuals are from regressions of 1960 county black population share on the 1960 county child poverty rate, the 1960 county unemployment rate, and state indicators, estimated separately for the treatment and comparison states; the slopes of the solid black lines thus match those plotted in Figure I. (Slope estimates are not sensitive to dropping the one small county (in VA) with a very large positive residual 1960 black share in the treatment states.) The solid red loci represent kernel regression fits to the weighted data (default bandwidth).

# SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE III.A

## Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Presidential Election Turnout Rate Corresponding to the Specifications Shown in Table III



*Notes:* In all panels, the estimates represented with solid markers (solid lines) represent the baseline event-study estimates (95% confidence intervals) shown in Figure II (see Figure II notes for description of this specification). The hollow markers (dashed lines) represent estimates (confidence intervals) from specifications that deviate from this baseline specification as follows:

*Panel 1:* adds the 1960 county high school completion rate x literacy test indicator and the 1960 county high school completion rate x literacy test indicator x year indicators (matches Table III, column 2).

*Panel 2:* adds 1960 majority black county population (=1) x literacy test indicator and 1960 majority black county population (=1) x literacy test indicator x year indicators (matches Table III, column 3).

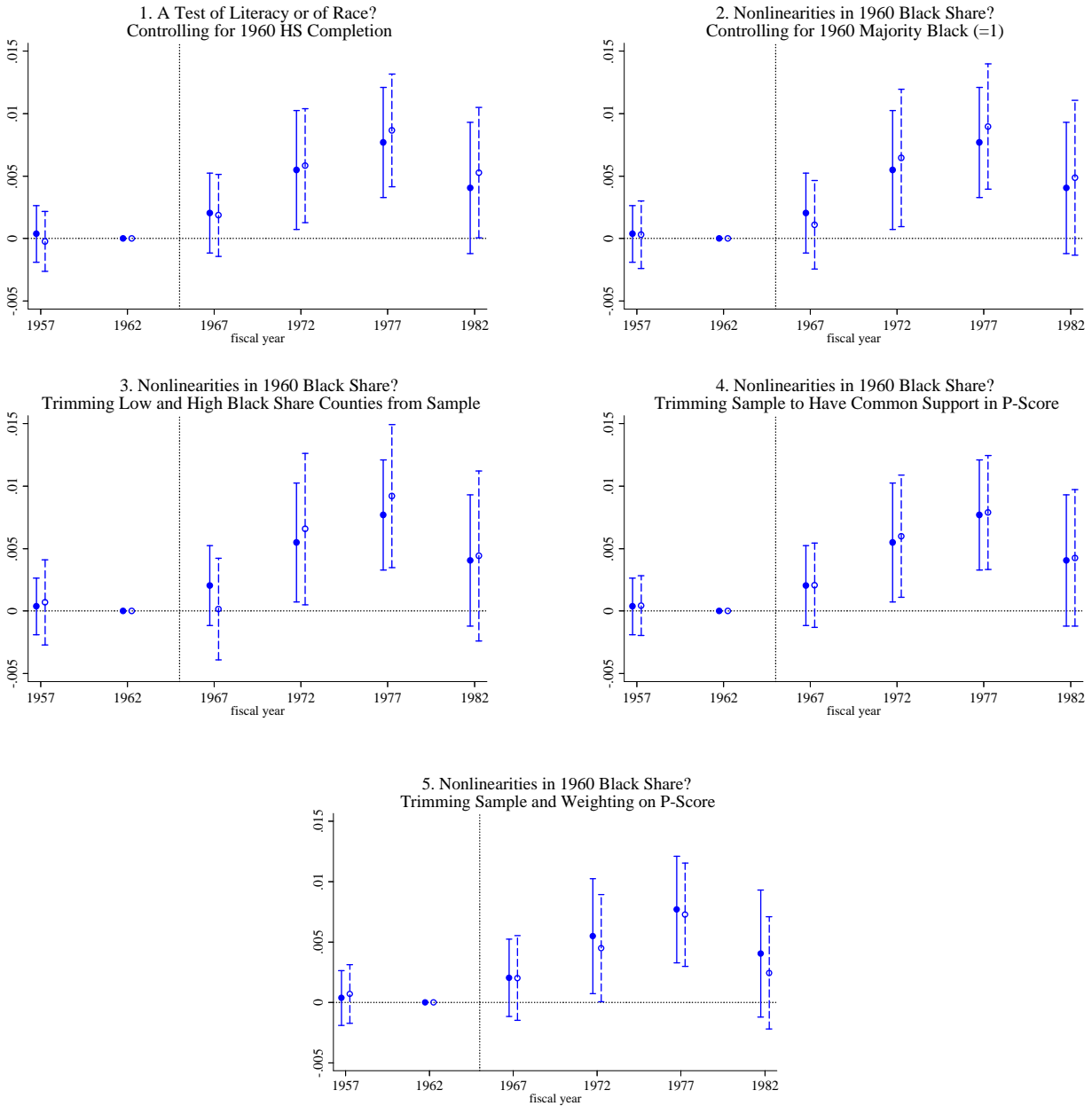
*Panel 3:* drops counties with 1960 county black population percentages below 2.2% and above 49.9% (matches Table III, column 4).

*Panel 4:* drops counties in treatment states with propensity scores above the maximum propensity score in comparison states and counties in comparison states with propensity scores below the minimum for treatment states (matches Table III, column 5).

*Panel 5:* drops counties described in Panel 4 notes and weights comparison counties by 1960 county population  $\times p/(1-p)$  where  $p$  represents the estimated propensity score (matches Table III, column 6).

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE III.B

### Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Per-Capita State Transfers Corresponding to the Specifications Shown in Table III



*Notes:* In all panels, the estimates represented with solid markers (solid lines) represent the baseline event-study estimates (95% confidence intervals) shown in Figure II (see Figure II notes for description of this specification). The hollow markers (dashed lines) represent estimates (confidence intervals) from specifications that deviate from this baseline specification as follows:

*Panel 1:* adds the 1960 county high school completion rate x literacy test indicator and the 1960 county high school completion rate x literacy test indicator x year indicators (matches Table III, column 2).

*Panel 2:* adds 1960 majority black county population (=1) x literacy test indicator and 1960 majority black county population (=1) x literacy test indicator x year indicators (matches Table III, column 3).

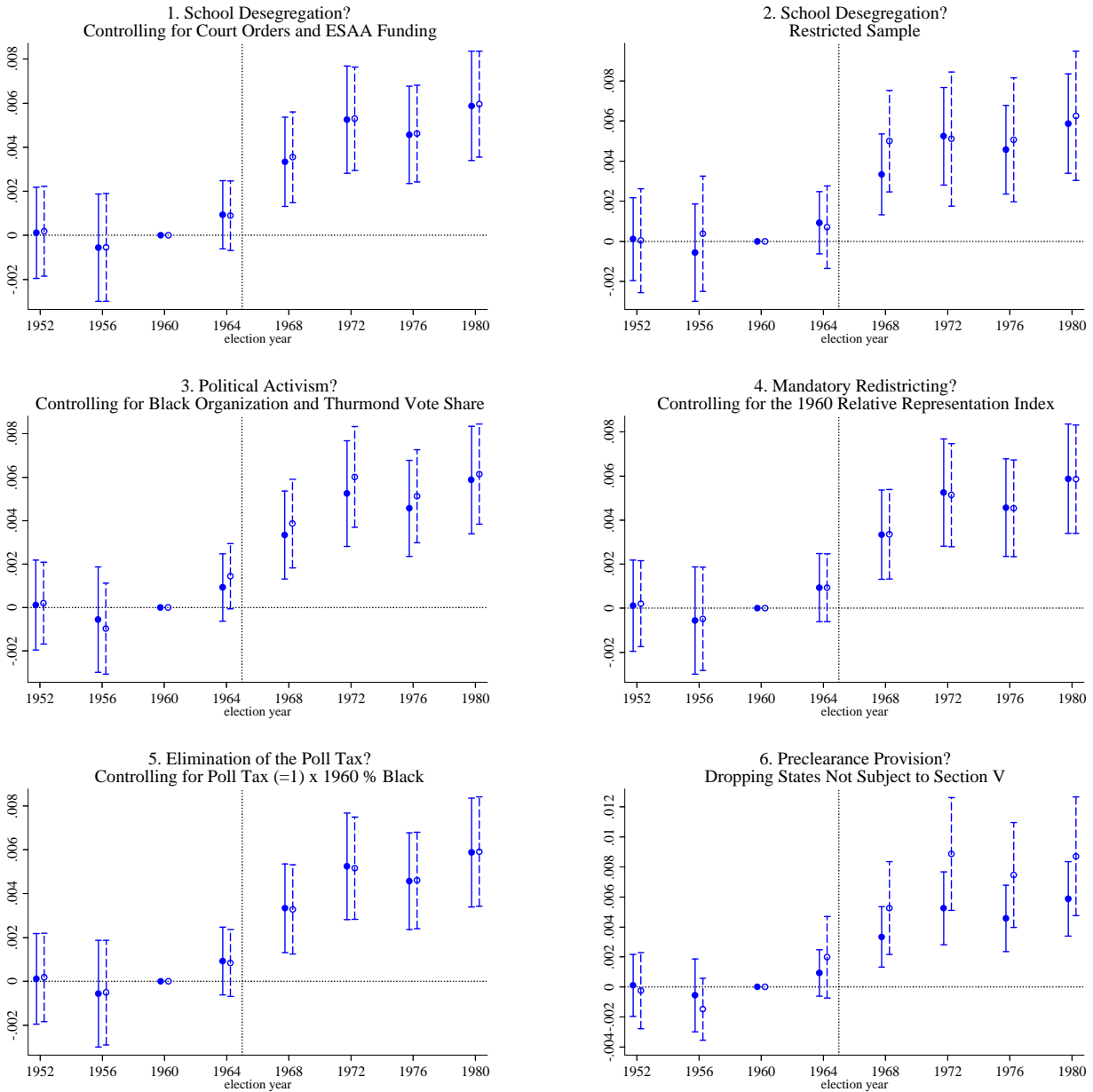
*Panel 3:* drops counties with 1960 county black population percentages below 2.2% and above 49.9% (matches Table III, column 4).

*Panel 4:* drops counties in treatment states with propensity scores above the maximum propensity score in comparison states and counties in comparison states with propensity scores below the minimum for treatment states (matches Table III, column 5).

*Panel 5:* drops counties described in Panel 4 notes and weights comparison counties by 1960 county population X  $p/(1-p)$  where  $p$  represents the estimated propensity score (matches Table III, column 6).

# SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE IV.A

## Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Presidential Election Turnout Rate Corresponding to the Specifications Shown in Table IV



*Notes:* In all panels, the estimates represented with solid markers (solid lines) represent the baseline event-study estimates (95% confidence intervals) shown in Figure II (see Figure II notes for description of this specification). The hollow markers (dashed lines) represent estimates (confidence intervals) from specifications that deviate from this baseline specification as follows:

*Panel 1:* adds the fraction of public school enrollment in districts court order to desegregate in 1976 x year indicators and the fraction of public school enrollment in districts receiving ESAA funds in 1976 x year indicators, and weights by 1960 county population X the fraction of county public school enrollment represented in the 1976 Office for Civil Rights (OCR) district survey (matches Table IV, column 2).

*Panel 2:* restricts the sample to counties in AR, FL, MS, NC, TN, TX, and VA with pupil-teacher ratio data and weights by 1960 county population X the fraction of county public school enrollment represented in the 1976 OCR school survey (matches Table IV, column 3).

*Panel 3:* adds whether the county has an NAACP chapter in 1960 (=1) x year indicators, whether the county has some other black race organization in 1960 (=1) x year indicators, whether the county has any black college in 1960 (=1) x year indicators, and the county vote share for Strom Thurmond in the 1948 presidential election x year indicators (matches Table IV, column 4).

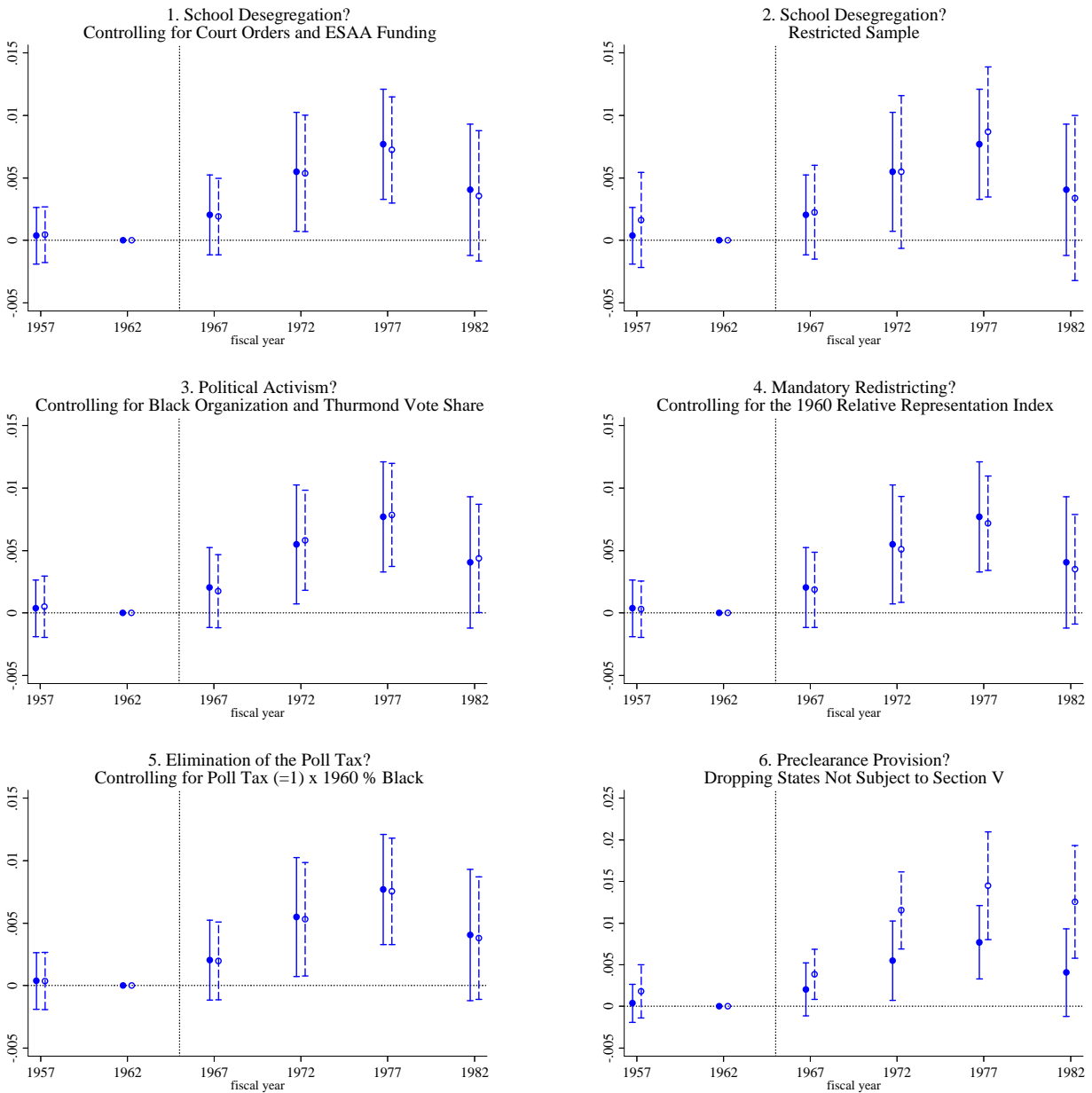
*Panel 4:* adds the 1960 county relative representation index x year indicators (matches Table IV, column 5).

*Panel 5:* adds state had poll tax (=1) x 1960 county percent black x year indicators (matches Table IV, column 6).

*Panel 6:* drops states not subject to Section V of the VRA (Arkansas and Tennessee) (matches Table IV, column 7).

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE IV.B

### Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Per-Capita State Transfers Corresponding to the Specifications Shown in Table IV



*Notes:* In all panels, the estimates represented with solid markers (solid lines) represent the baseline event-study estimates (95% confidence intervals) shown in Figure II (see Figure II notes for description of this specification). The hollow markers (dashed lines) represent estimates (confidence intervals) from specifications that deviate from this baseline specification as follows:

*Panel 1:* adds the fraction of public school enrollment in districts court order to desegregate in 1976 x year indicators and the fraction of public school enrollment in districts receiving ESAA funds in 1976 x year indicators, and weights by 1960 county population X the fraction of county public school enrollment represented in the 1976 Office for Civil Rights (OCR) district survey (matches Table IV, column 2).

*Panel 2:* restricts the sample to counties in AR, FL, MS, NC, TN, TX, and VA with pupil-teacher ratio data and weights by 1960 county population X the fraction of county public school enrollment represented in the 1976 OCR school survey (matches Table IV, column 3).

*Panel 3:* adds whether the county has an NAACP chapter in 1960 (=1) x year indicators, whether the county has some other black race organization in 1960 (=1) x year indicators, whether the county has any black college in 1960 (=1) x year indicators, and the county vote share for Strom Thurmond in the 1948 presidential election x year indicators (matches Table IV, column 4).

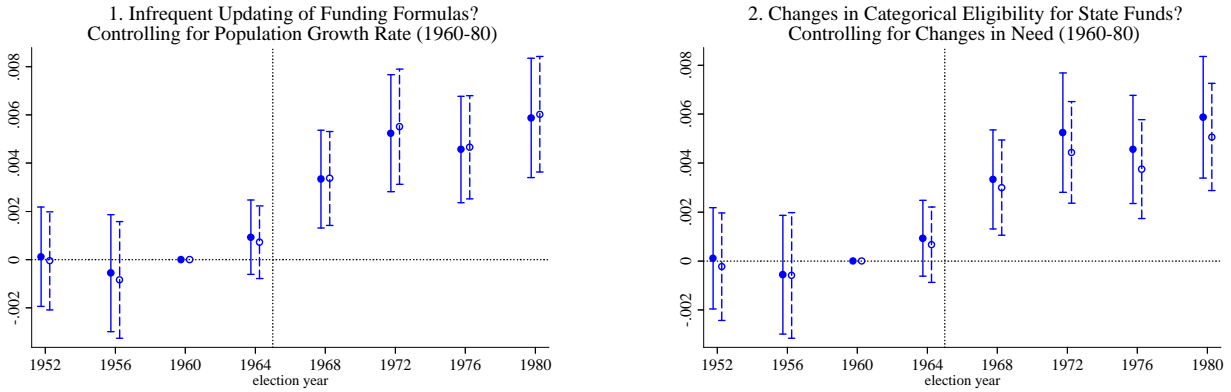
*Panel 4:* adds the 1960 county relative representation index x year indicators (matches Table IV, column 5).

*Panel 5:* adds state had poll tax (=1) x 1960 county percent black x year indicators (matches Table IV, column 6).

*Panel 6:* drops states not subject to Section V of the VRA (Arkansas and Tennessee) (matches Table IV, column 7).

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE V.A

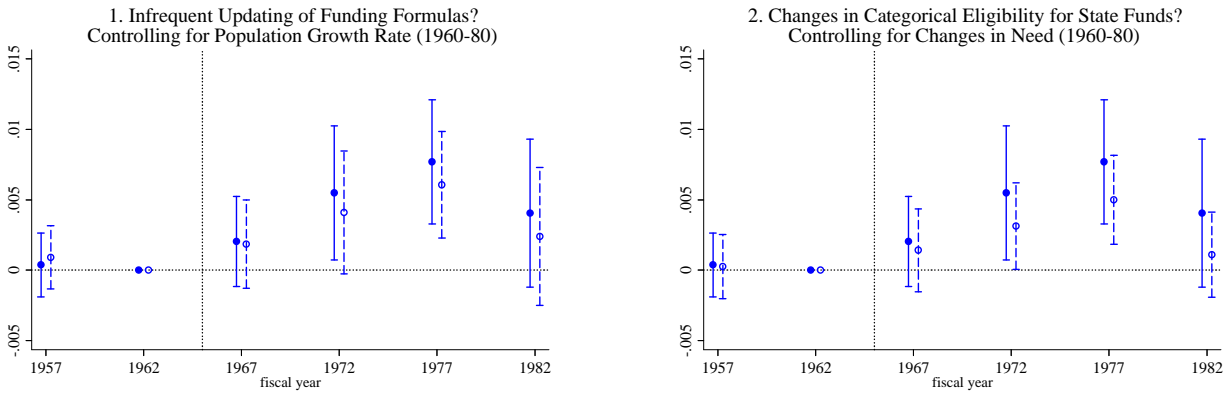
### Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Presidential Election Turnout Rate Corresponding to the Specifications Shown in Table V



*Notes:* In all panels, the estimates represented with solid markers (solid lines) represent the baseline event-study estimates (95% confidence intervals) shown in Figure II (see Figure II notes for description of this specification). The hollow markers (dashed lines) represent estimates (confidence intervals) from specifications that deviate from this baseline specification as follows:  
*Panel 1:* adds the county population growth rate (between 1960 and 1980) x year indicators (matches Table V, column 2).  
*Panel 2:* adds the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county population aged 5-17 x year indicators, the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county population aged 65 and over x year indicators, the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county families living in poverty x year indicators, and the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county labor force that is unemployed x year indicators (matches Table V, column 3).

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE V.B

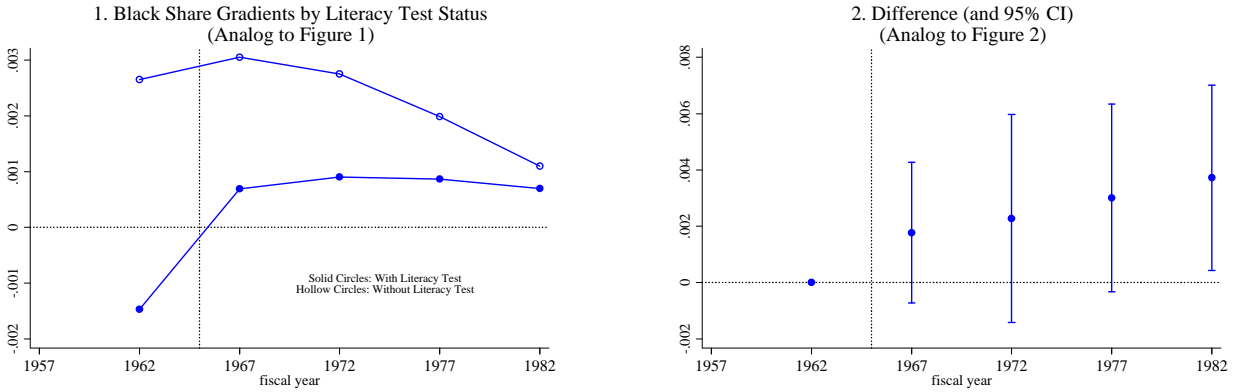
### Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Per-Capita State Transfers Corresponding to the Specifications Shown in Table V



*Notes:* In all panels, the estimates represented with solid markers (solid lines) represent the baseline event-study estimates (95% confidence intervals) shown in Figure II (see Figure II notes for description of this specification). The hollow markers (dashed lines) represent estimates (confidence intervals) from specifications that deviate from this baseline specification as follows:  
*Panel 1:* adds the county population growth rate (between 1960 and 1980) x year indicators (matches Table V, column 2).  
*Panel 2:* adds the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county population aged 5-17 x year indicators, the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county population aged 65 and over x year indicators, the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county families living in poverty x year indicators, and the 1960 to 1980 change in the share of the county labor force that is unemployed x year indicators (matches Table V, column 3).

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE VI.A

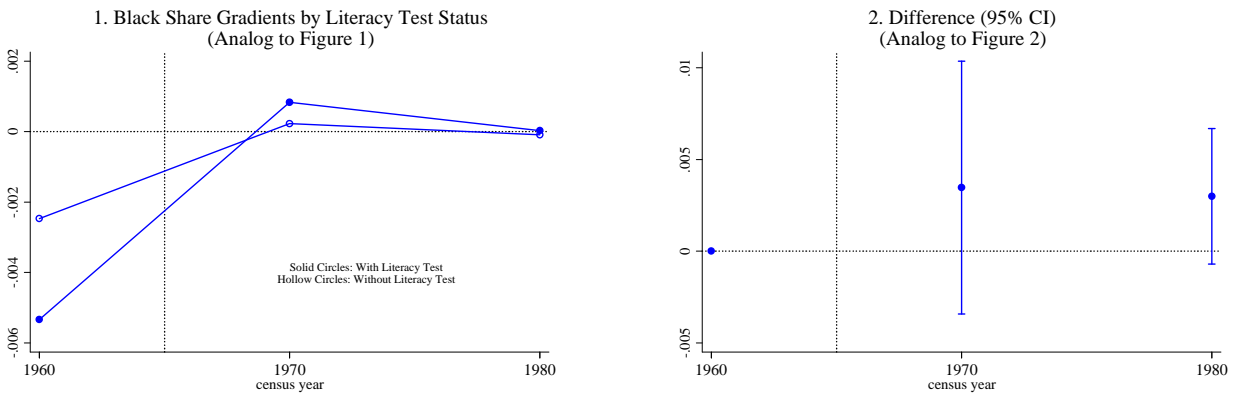
### Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Per-Capita School Spending Corresponding to Table VI



*Notes:* Panel 1 presents estimates analogous to those presented in Figure I, and Panel 2 presents estimates analogous to those presented in Figure II for the natural log of county per-capita school spending; data from 1962, 1977, and 1982 were used to generate the long-difference estimates in Table VI, column 2. See notes to Figure I, Figure II, and Table VI for more information.

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX FIGURE VI.B

### Event-Study Estimates for (Log) Black/White Enr. Rate, Ages 16-17 Corresponding to Table VI



*Notes:* Panel 1 presents estimates analogous to those presented in Figure I, and Panel 2 presents estimates analogous to those presented in Figure II for the natural log of the ratio of the black 16-17 year-old school enrollment rate and to the white 16-17 year-old school enrollment rate; data from 1960 and 1980 were used to generate the long-difference estimates in Table VI, column 5, and the sample is limited as described in the notes to that table. See notes to Figure I, Figure II, and Table VI for more information.



SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE I  
Full Reduced-Form Regression Results for Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections: Selected Specifications from Tables III, IV, and V

<i>Specification</i>	Dependent variable: $\Delta \ln$ (Presidential Election Turnout)									
	Table III column 1	Table III column 2	Table III column 3	Table IV column 2	Table IV column 4	Table IV column 5	Table IV column 6	Table V column 2	Table V column 3	
1960 percent black	0.00587*** (0.00117)	0.00565*** (0.00122)	0.00546*** (0.00142)	0.00595*** (0.00113)	0.00614*** (0.00109)	0.00585*** (0.00116)	0.00591*** (0.00118)	0.00602*** (0.00113)	0.00506*** (0.00104)	
X literacy test indicator										
1960 percent black	0.00360*** (0.000900)	0.00288*** (0.000920)	0.00296*** (0.00111)	0.00331*** (0.000935)	0.00208** (0.00102)	0.00358*** (0.000898)	0.00327*** (0.00112)	0.00363*** (0.000917)	0.00305*** (0.000798)	
1960 child poverty rate	-0.000494 (0.00177)	-0.00166 (0.00230)	-0.000805 (0.00168)	-0.000802 (0.00177)	2.10e-05 (0.00173)	-0.000570 (0.00176)	-0.000419 (0.00181)	-0.000569 (0.00176)	0.000138 (0.00181)	
X literacy test indicator										
1960 child poverty rate	0.000676 (0.00155)	0.00528*** (0.00196)	0.000324 (0.00146)	0.00105 (0.00144)	0.00115 (0.00136)	0.000998 (0.00161)	0.000651 (0.00157)	0.000858 (0.00155)	0.00516*** (0.00179)	
1960 unemployment rate	0.0165 (0.0105)	0.0250** (0.00986)	0.0175* (0.0102)	0.0167 (0.0105)	0.0161 (0.0110)	0.0172* (0.0104)	0.0171 (0.0106)	0.0178* (0.0108)	0.0224** (0.0103)	
X literacy test indicator										
1960 unemployment rate	-0.0288*** (0.00823)	-0.0284*** (0.00814)	-0.0290*** (0.00807)	-0.0292*** (0.00821)	-0.0284*** (0.00890)	-0.0296*** (0.00823)	-0.0292*** (0.00838)	-0.0295*** (0.00869)	-0.0334*** (0.00829)	
1960 high school completion rate		-0.000130 (0.00385)								
X literacy test indicator										
1960 high school completion rate		0.00610* (0.00355)								
1960 majority black			-0.0536 (0.0941)							
X literacy test indicator										
1960 majority black			0.169* (0.0868)							
% enr. rec. ESAA funds, 1976				-0.000198 (0.000239)						
% enr. under court order, 1976				0.000288 (0.000219)						
=1 if NAACP chapter, 1960					0.00358 (0.0173)					
=1 if other black org, 1960					0.127*** (0.0325)					
=1 if black college, 1960					0.0203 (0.0321)					
% vote for Strom Thurmond					0.00224*** (0.000844)					
relative rep. index, 1960						-0.00738 (0.0112)				
1960 percent black							0.000540 (0.00107)			
X poll tax indicator										
$\Delta \ln(\text{population})$								0.0288 (0.0358)		
$\Delta$ % of population aged 5-17									0.0184*** (0.00674)	
$\Delta$ % of population aged 65+									0.00120 (0.00451)	
$\Delta$ % unemployed									-0.00388* (0.00222)	
$\Delta$ % of population in poverty									0.00395** (0.00165)	
R-squared	0.739	0.754	0.744	0.739	0.748	0.739	0.739	0.740	0.752	
Observations	1,102	1,102	1,102	1,098	1,100	1,102	1,102	1,102	1,102	

*Notes:* All models include state indicators. The estimation sample includes counties in the South (AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, and VA). The literacy test indicator is set to one for states with literacy tests still in place immediately prior to the VRA (AL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, and VA). The poll tax indicator is set to one for states with poll taxes eliminated subsequent to ratification of the 24th amendment in 1964 (AL, AR, MS, TX, and VA). Regressions are weighted by 1960 county population. Standard errors (in parentheses) are heteroskedasticity robust. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE II

Full Reduced-Form Regression Results for Per-Capita State Transfers: Selected Specifications from Tables III, IV, and V

Specification	Dependent variable: $\Delta \ln$ (Per Capita State Transfers)								
	Table III column 1	Table III column 2	Table III column 3	Table IV column 2	Table IV column 4	Table IV column 5	Table IV column 6	Table V column 2	Table V column 3
1960 percent black	0.00569***	0.00708***	0.00677***	0.00517**	0.00586***	0.00519***	0.00549***	0.00378**	0.00292**
X literacy test indicator	(0.00215)	(0.00226)	(0.00250)	(0.00210)	(0.00191)	(0.00182)	(0.00205)	(0.00186)	(0.00138)
1960 percent black	0.00107	-0.000260	0.000318	-0.00108	-0.00268	0.000695	0.00271	0.000708	-0.000882
	(0.00175)	(0.00188)	(0.00199)	(0.00185)	(0.00179)	(0.00147)	(0.00194)	(0.00157)	(0.00106)
1960 child poverty rate	-0.00239	-0.0111***	-0.00177	-0.00194	-0.00309	-0.00387*	-0.00276	-0.00145	-0.00118
X literacy test indicator	(0.00251)	(0.00379)	(0.00247)	(0.00223)	(0.00250)	(0.00210)	(0.00256)	(0.00232)	(0.00191)
1960 child poverty rate	-0.000467	0.00796**	-0.000881	0.00162	0.00497**	0.00581***	-0.000345	-0.00277	0.0157***
	(0.00197)	(0.00341)	(0.00198)	(0.00178)	(0.00221)	(0.00173)	(0.00195)	(0.00199)	(0.00176)
1960 unemployment rate	-0.00816	-0.00965	-0.00825	-0.00205	0.00377	0.00570	-0.0108	-0.0242*	0.0182*
X literacy test indicator	(0.0157)	(0.0152)	(0.0154)	(0.0151)	(0.0179)	(0.0138)	(0.0158)	(0.0129)	(0.0103)
1960 unemployment rate	0.0188	0.0196	0.0186	0.0161	0.0102	0.00381	0.0207	0.0273***	0.00853
	(0.0137)	(0.0132)	(0.0134)	(0.0131)	(0.0164)	(0.0120)	(0.0137)	(0.0105)	(0.00801)
1960 high school completion rate		-0.0116**							
X literacy test indicator		(0.00455)							
1960 high school completion rate		0.0112***							
		(0.00432)							
1960 majority black			-0.236*						
X literacy test indicator			(0.127)						
1960 majority black			0.199*						
			(0.118)						
% enr. rec. ESAA funds, 1976				0.00151***					
				(0.000409)					
% enr. under court order, 1976				0.000424					
				(0.000385)					
=1 if NAACP chapter, 1960					0.115***				
					(0.0253)				
=1 if other black org, 1960					0.0830				
					(0.0522)				
=1 if black college, 1960					0.131***				
					(0.0438)				
% vote for Strom Thurmond					0.000459				
					(0.00147)				
relative rep. index, 1960						-0.144***			
						(0.0247)			
1960 percent black							-0.00266*		
X poll tax indicator							(0.00149)		
$\Delta \ln$ (population)								-0.365***	
								(0.0524)	
$\Delta$ % of population aged 5-17									0.0372***
									(0.00812)
$\Delta$ % of population aged 65+									-0.00646
									(0.00751)
$\Delta$ % unemployed									0.00942***
									(0.00327)
$\Delta$ % of population in poverty									0.0188***
									(0.00192)
R-squared	0.480	0.492	0.482	0.516	0.530	0.552	0.483	0.551	0.620
Observations	1,102	1,102	1,102	1,098	1,100	1,102	1,102	1,102	1,102

Notes: All models include state indicators. The estimation sample includes counties in the South (AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, and VA). The literacy test indicator is set to one for states with literacy tests still in place immediately prior to the VRA (AL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, and VA). The poll tax indicator is set to one for states with poll taxes eliminated subsequent to ratification of the 24th amendment in 1964 (AL, AR, MS, TX, and VA). Regressions are weighted by 1960 county population. Standard errors (in parentheses) are heteroskedasticity robust. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE III  
Long-Difference Estimates: Additional Specification Checks

	Table 3, Column 1 (1)	Drop if county majority black, 1960 (2)	<i>Interaction variable:</i> County black population in 4th quartile of literacy test state dist <sup>n</sup> (=1), 1960 (3)	<i>Interaction variable:</i> Drop if county black population in 4th quartile of literacy test state dist <sup>n</sup> , 1960 (4)	<i>Interaction variable:</i> County land devoted to harvested cotton (%), 1959 (5)
A. $\Delta \ln$ (Per-Capita State Transfers), 1957/62 - 1977/82					
<i>Two-stage Least Squares</i>					
<i>(Instrument: 1960 percent black X literacy test indicator)</i>					
$\Delta \ln$ (pres. election turnout rate)	<b>0.968***</b> (0.369)	<b>1.278***</b> (0.491)	<b>0.925**</b> (0.396)	<b>1.370**</b> (0.542)	<b>0.969***</b> (0.366)
Root MSE	0.269	0.294	0.266	0.298	0.269
<i>Reduced-form</i>					
1960 percent black	<b>0.00569***</b>	<b>0.00707***</b>	<b>0.00689**</b>	<b>0.00847***</b>	<b>0.00568***</b>
X literacy test indicator	<b>(0.00215)</b>	<b>(0.00249)</b>	<b>(0.00288)</b>	<b>(0.00304)</b>	<b>(0.00200)</b>
1960 percent black	0.00107 (0.00175)	0.000289 (0.00198)	0.000806 (0.00219)	0.000316 (0.00228)	0.000995 (0.00154)
<i>Interaction variable</i>			-0.0876 (0.114)		0.00638 (0.00475)
X literacy test indicator					
<i>Interaction variable</i>			0.0348 (0.0933)		0.00748** (0.00369)
R-squared	0.480	0.466	0.482	0.458	0.497
B. $\Delta \ln$ (Presidential Election Turnout Rate), 1960 - 1980					
<i>First-stage</i>					
1960 percent black	<b>0.00587***</b>	<b>0.00553***</b>	<b>0.00744***</b>	<b>0.00618***</b>	<b>0.00586***</b>
X literacy test indicator	<b>(0.00117)</b>	<b>(0.00142)</b>	<b>(0.00159)</b>	<b>(0.00173)</b>	<b>(0.00108)</b>
1960 percent black	0.00360*** (0.000900)	0.00296*** (0.00111)	0.00333*** (0.00126)	0.00309** (0.00136)	0.00356*** (0.000778)
<i>Interaction variable</i>			-0.109 (0.0893)		0.00504 (0.00358)
X literacy test indicator					
<i>Interaction variable</i>			0.0358 (0.0746)		0.00475** (0.00204)
R-squared	0.739	0.686	0.742	0.674	0.747
Observations (counties)	1,102	974	1,102	827	1,102

*Notes:* All models include state indicators and - directly and interacted with the literacy test indicator - the 1960 county child poverty rate and the 1960 county unemployment rate. The full estimation sample includes all but 29 counties in the South (AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, and VA). The literacy test indicator is set to one for states with literacy tests still in place immediately prior to the VRA (AL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, and VA). Regressions are weighted by 1960 county population. Standard errors (in parentheses) are heteroskedasticity robust. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE IV  
Triple-Difference Versions of the Specifications Shown in Table III (Using All Years of Data)

	Nonlinearities in 1960 percent black?					
	(1)	A test of literacy or of race? (2)	Remove ID from majority black counties (3)	1960 black share (4)	Common support in: Propensity to be in literacy test state (p-score) (5)	Common support in p-score + inverse p-score weighting (6)
A. ln (Presidential Election Turnout Rate)						
1960 percent black	0.00463***	0.00458***	0.00443***	0.00400**	0.00392***	0.00195*
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00113)	(0.00113)	(0.00133)	(0.00157)	(0.00118)	(0.00115)
R-squared	0.896	0.902	0.898	0.889	0.890	0.899
Observations (county-years)	8,816	8,816	8,816	6,440	8,320	8,320
B. ln (Per-Capita State Transfers): Full Sample						
1960 percent black	0.00463**	0.00552***	0.00520**	0.00474*	0.00483**	0.00371**
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00200)	(0.00206)	(0.00232)	(0.00260)	(0.00207)	(0.00185)
R-squared	0.916	0.918	0.916	0.919	0.915	0.923
Observations (county-years)	6,612	6,612	6,612	4,830	6,240	6,240
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate</i> †	1.000	1.205	1.174	1.185	1.232	1.903
C. ln (Per-Capita State Transfers): Drop Fiscal Year 1967						
1960 percent black	0.00556**	0.00671***	0.00662**	0.00638**	0.00583**	0.00439**
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00235)	(0.00241)	(0.00273)	(0.00306)	(0.00242)	(0.00216)
R-squared	0.926	0.928	0.927	0.929	0.926	0.934
Observations (county-years)	5,510	5,510	5,510	4,025	5,200	5,200
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate</i> †	1.201	1.465	1.494	1.595	1.487	2.251
Additional Controls:						
1960 high school completion rate						
X year indicators		X				
X literacy test (=1) X year indicators		X				
1960 majority black (=1)						
X year indicators			X			
X literacy test (=1) X year indicators			X			

*Notes:* All models include county indicators, state indicators interacted with year indicators, and 1960 county percent black, the 1960 county child poverty rate, and the 1960 county unemployment rate, each interacted with year indicators and interacted with both the literacy test indicator and year indicators. The full estimation sample includes all but 29 counties in the South (AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, and VA). The literacy test indicator is set to one for states with literacy tests still in place immediately prior to the VRA (AL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, and VA). The sample in column (4) consists of counties with 1960 percent black at least as high as the 10th percentile of the percent black distribution for states without literacy tests (2.2%) and no more than the 90th percentile of the percent black distribution for states with literacy tests (49.9%). The sample in column (5) drops counties in treatment states with propensity scores above the maximum propensity score in comparison states and counties in comparison states with propensity scores below the minimum for treatment states. For the regressions in column (6), treatment counties are weighted by 1960 county population and comparison counties are weighted by 1960 county population  $X p/(1-p)$ , where  $p$  represents the estimated propensity score. Regressions in all other columns are weighted by 1960 county population. Standard errors (in parentheses) are robust to heteroskedasticity and correlation in error terms within county over time. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively. † The ratio of the coefficient on 1960 percent black X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1) in the regression for ln(Per-Capita State Transfers) to that in the regression for ln(Presidential Election Turnout Rate).

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE V  
Triple-Difference Estimates of the Specifications Shown in Table IV (Using All Years of Data)

	Baseline (1)	School Desegregation (2)	Political activism (3)	Mandatory redistricting (5)	Elimination of the poll tax (6)	Preclearance Provision (7)	
A. ln (Presidential Election Turnout Rate)							
1960 percent black	0.00463***	0.00472***	0.00507***	0.00511***	0.00455***	0.00461***	
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00113)	(0.00108)	(0.00145)	(0.000953)	(0.00108)	(0.00113)	
R-squared	0.896	0.896	0.900	0.901	0.897	0.903	
Observations (county-years)	8,816	8,784	3,984	8,800	8,816	7,472	
B. ln (Per-Capita State Transfers): Full Sample							
1960 percent black	0.00463**	0.00429**	0.00413	0.00470***	0.00426**	0.00447**	
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00200)	(0.00197)	(0.00261)	(0.00174)	(0.00173)	(0.00191)	
R-squared	0.916	0.919	0.930	0.921	0.922	0.916	
Observations (county-years)	6,612	6,588	2,988	6,600	6,612	5,604	
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate ‡</i>	<i>1.000</i>	<i>0.909</i>	<i>0.815</i>	<i>0.920</i>	<i>0.936</i>	<i>1.151</i>	
C. ln (Per-Capita State Transfers): Drop Fiscal Year 1967							
1960 percent black	0.00556**	0.00516**	0.00503*	0.00576***	0.00511**	0.0120***	
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00235)	(0.00231)	(0.00303)	(0.00205)	(0.00223)	(0.00326)	
R-squared	0.926	0.929	0.937	0.931	0.933	0.926	
Observations (county-years)	5,510	5,490	2,490	5,500	5,510	4,670	
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate ‡</i>	<i>1.201</i>	<i>1.093</i>	<i>0.992</i>	<i>1.127</i>	<i>1.123</i>	<i>1.423</i>	
Sample:	Full	Counties w/ Desegregation Data in 1976	Counties in AR, FL, MS, NC, TN, TX, and VA w/ PT Ratio Data	Counties w/ Thurmond Vote Share	Full	Full	Drop states not subject to Section V †
Additional Controls							
(all interacted with a vector of year indicators):							
% enr. under court order, 1976		X					
% enr. receiving ESAA funds, 1976		X					
=1 if NAACP chapter, 1960				X			
=1 if other black org, 1960				X			
=1 if black college, 1960				X			
% voting for Strom Thurmond, 1948				X			
relative representation index, 1960					X		
poll tax indicator X % black, 1960						X	

*Notes:* All models include county indicators, state indicators interacted with year indicators, and 1960 county percent black, the 1960 county child poverty rate, and the 1960 county unemployment rate, each interacted with year indicators and interacted with both the literacy test indicator and year indicators. The poll tax indicator is set to one for states with poll taxes eliminated subsequent to ratification of the 24th amendment in 1964 (AL, AR, MS, TX, and VA). Regressions in all columns except (2) and (3) are weighted by 1960 county population. Regressions in column (2) are weighted by 1960 county population X the fraction of total 1976 county enrollment represented in the 1976 OCR district survey. Regressions in column (3) are weighted by 1960 county population X the fraction of total 1976 county enrollment represented in the 1976 OCR school survey. Standard errors (in parentheses) are to heteroskedasticity and correlation in error terms within county over time. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively. † States not subject to Section V are AR and TN. ‡ The ratio of the coefficient on 1960 percent black X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1) in the regression for ln(Per-Capita State Transfers) to that in the regression for ln(Presidential Election Turnout Rate)

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE VI  
Triple-Difference Estimates of the Specifications Shown in Table V (Using All Years of Data)

	Baseline (1)	Infrequent updating of funding formulas (2)	Changes in categorical eligibility for state funds (3)
A. ln (Presidential Election Turnout Rate)			
1960 percent black	0.00463***	0.00493***	0.00410***
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00113)	(0.00109)	(0.000938)
R-squared	0.896	0.897	0.901
Observations (county-years)	8,816	8,816	8,816
B. ln (Per-Capita State Transfers): Full Sample			
1960 percent black	0.00463**	0.00315*	0.00253*
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00200)	(0.00177)	(0.00130)
R-squared	0.916	0.923	0.929
Observations (county-years)	6,612	6,612	6,612
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate</i> †	1.000	0.639	0.617
C. ln (Per-Capita State Transfers): Drop Fiscal Year 1967			
1960 percent black	0.00556**	0.00373*	0.00295**
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00235)	(0.00203)	(0.00145)
R-squared	0.926	0.933	0.939
Observations (county-years)	5,510	5,510	5,510
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate</i> †	1.201	0.757	0.720
Additional Controls			
(all interacted with year indicators):			
Δ ln(population), 1960-80		X	
Δ % of population aged 5-17, 1960-80			X
Δ % of population aged 65+, 1960-80			X
Δ % of families in poverty, 1960-80			X
Δ % unemployed, 1960-80			X

*Notes:* All models include county indicators, state indicators interacted with year indicators, and 1960 county percent black, the 1960 county child poverty rate, and the 1960 county unemployment rate, each interacted with year indicators and interacted with both the literacy test indicator and year indicators. Regressions are weighted by 1960 county population. Standard errors (in parentheses) are to heteroskedasticity and correlation in error terms within county over time. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively. † The ratio of the coefficient on 1960 percent black X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1) in the regression for ln(Per-Capita State Transfers) to that in the regression for ln(Presidential Election Turnout Rate)

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX TABLE VII  
Triple-Difference Estimates of the Specifications Shown in Table VI (Using All Years of Data)

	<i>Outcome:</i>	
	Per-Capita School Spending (1)	ln(Black-White 16-17 Year-Old Enrollment Rate Ratio) (2)
	A. ln (Presidential Election Turnout Rate)	
1960 percent black	0.00463***	0.00463***
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00113)	(0.00113)
R-squared	0.896	0.896
Observations (county-years)	8,816	8,816
	B. ln ( <i>Outcome</i> ): Full Sample	
1960 percent black	0.00269*	0.00323
X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1)	(0.00139)	(0.00227)
R-squared	0.850	0.467
Observations (county-years)	5,507	1,856
<i>Indirect Least Squares Estimate</i> †	0.581	0.698

*Notes:* All models include county indicators, state indicators interacted with year indicators, and 1960 county percent black, the 1960 county child poverty rate, and the 1960 county unemployment rate, each interacted with year indicators and interacted with both the literacy test indicator and year indicators. Regressions are weighted by 1960 county population. Standard errors (in parentheses) are to heteroskedasticity and correlation in error terms within county over time. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels, respectively. † The ratio of the coefficient on 1960 percent black X literacy test (=1) X post-1965 (=1) in the regression for ln(Per-Capita State Transfers) to that in the regression for ln(Presidential Election Turnout Rate)