Online Appendix to "Voting Rights and the Resilience of Black Turnout"

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August 6, 2021

A   CPS data

I provide alternative triple-difference estimates of the effect of *Shelby County v. Holder* using data from the voting and registration supplement of the November Current Population Survey (CPS; Flood et al. 2018). To facilitate comparisons with the CCES, I estimate the same specifications described in the main text for a weighted sample of Black and White voting-age adults surveyed between 2008 and 2018. Note, however, that the CPS does not validate self-reported turnout or registration against state voter files. As a result, CPS data feature higher turnout and registration rates and smaller Black-white participation gaps than those in the CCES (Ansolabehere et al. 2021).
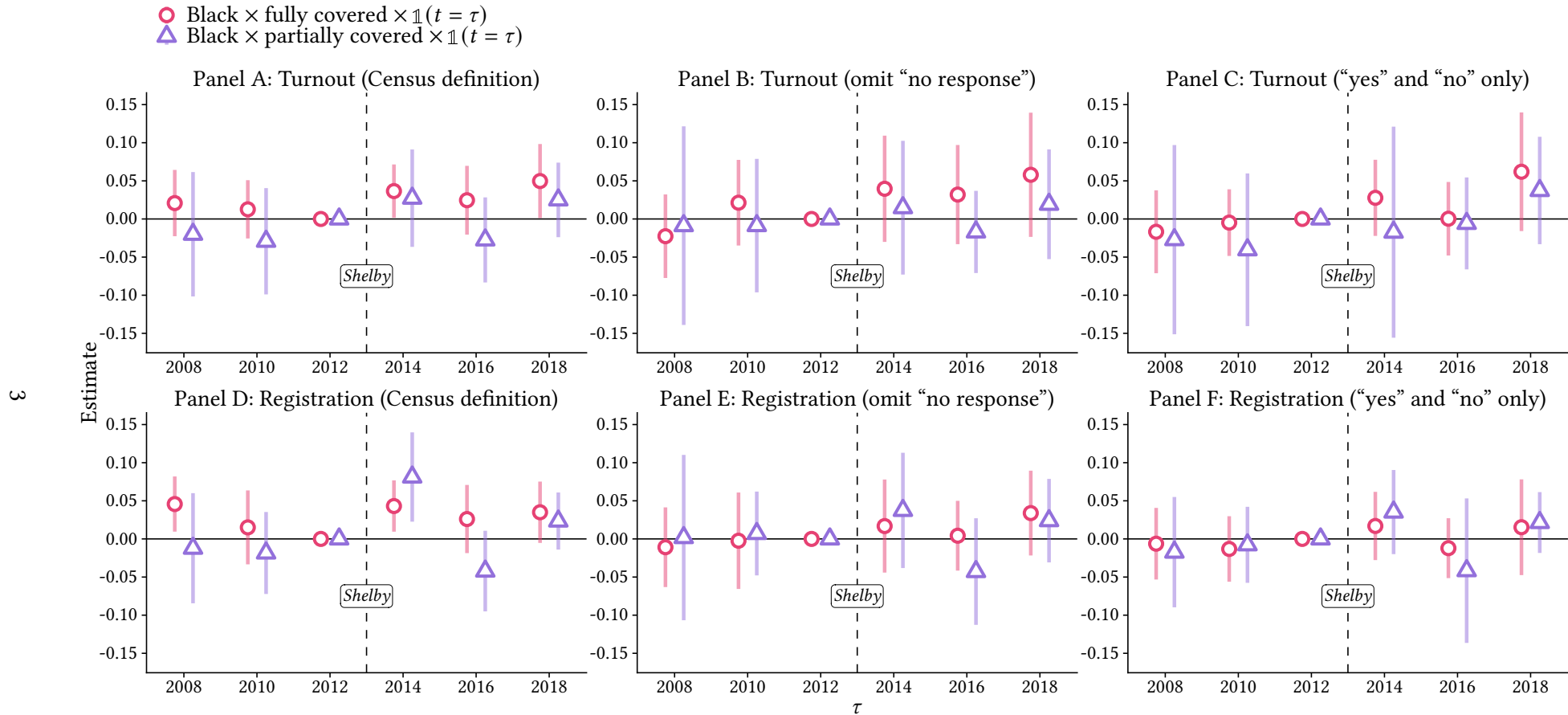
There are multiple ways to define turnout using CPS self-reports, and each definition differs based on the classification of nonvoters. The US Census Bureau, for example, classifies any respondent who does not answer "yes" to the question as a nonvoter. This includes those that answer "no" or "don't know" to the turnout question, as well as those who refuse to answer and those who are 18 or older but were not asked whether they voted. In contrast, many political scientists prefer to classify nonvoters as those that answer "no" to the turnout question, treating all other non-"yes" responses as missing data (McDonald 2021).

I construct three definitions of turnout and registration that gradually increase the number of missing cases. In the first, I adopt the Census definition, as described above, which does not treat any non-"yes" response as missing. In the second, I treat those who were not asked the turnout or registration question as missing cases, but otherwise keep those who refused to answer or did not know whether they voted or registered. In the third, I restrict the sample to

those who provided an explicit "yes" or "no" answer to the turnout or registration question, treating all others as missing.

In Figure A.1, I present event study estimates for each measure of turnout and registration, in Table A.1, Table A.2, Table A.3, and Table A.4, I present triple-difference estimates. No measure of turnout or registration supports that *Shelby* significantly reduced relative participation of Black voters in previously covered states.

Figure A.1: Alternative event study estimates of the effect of *Shelby* on relative turnout and voter registration using CPS data

Notes: OLS estimates of event study coefficients. Each regression model contains race-by-state fixed effects, race-by-year fixed effects, state-by-year fixed effects, and controls for gender, age, and age squared. The sample includes Black and White respondents from six federal elections (2008–2018), weighted using CPS-provided sampling weights. Vertical bars outline pointwise 95% confidence intervals that are robust to clustering at the state level. *Data source:* Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Table A.1: Alternative estimates of the effect of *Shelby* on relative turnout using CPS data

	Turnout (Census definition)			Turnout ("no response")			Turnout ("yes" or "no" only)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Black × fully covered × *Shelby*	0.026*	0.026*	0.031	0.035	0.043	0.012	0.031	0.036	0.004
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.028)
Black × partially covered × *Shelby*	0.022	0.024*	0.011	0.010	0.012	0.006	0.028	0.029	-0.028
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.040)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.055)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.085)
Observations	476,010	476,010	476,010	425,999	425,999	425,999	411,226	411,226	411,226
Effective observations (race × state × year)	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611
Race × state fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Race × state time trends			✓			✓			✓

Notes: OLS estimates of triple-difference coefficients. Fixed effects absorb all lower-order terms. Demographic controls include gender, age, and age squared. The sample includes Black and White respondents from six federal elections (2008–2018), weighted using CPS-provided sampling weights. Standard errors (in parentheses) are robust to clustering at the state level. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$. *Data source:* Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Table A.2: Alternative estimates of the heterogeneous effects of *Shelby* on relative turnout using CPS data

	Turnout (Census definition)			Turnout ("omit "no response")			Turnout ("yes" or "no" only)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Black × fully covered × *Shelby* × presidential	0.013	0.014	0.019	0.021	0.032	0.0003	-0.006	0.007	-0.026
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.040)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.038)
Black × fully covered × *Shelby* × midterm	0.032**	0.032**	0.037	0.044	0.049*	0.017	0.048*	0.050*	0.016
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Black × partially covered × *Shelby* × presidential	-0.011	-0.011	-0.024	-0.021	-0.010	-0.021	0.005	0.018	-0.040
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.040)	(0.056)	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.086)
Black × partially covered × *Shelby* × midterm	0.039***	0.042***	0.029	0.026	0.023	0.015	0.040	0.034	-0.025
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.040)	(0.026)	(0.021)	(0.057)	(0.028)	(0.022)	(0.086)
Observations	476,010	476,010	476,010	425,999	425,999	425,999	411,226	411,226	411,226
Effective observations (race × state × year)	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611
Race × state fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Race × state time trends			✓			✓			✓

Notes: OLS estimates of triple-difference coefficients for each election type. Fixed effects absorb all lower-order terms. Demographic controls include gender, age, and age squared. The sample includes Black and White respondents from six federal elections (2008–2018), weighted using CPS-provided sampling weights. Standard errors (in parentheses) are robust to clustering at the state level. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$. *Data source:* Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Table A.3: Alternative estimates of the effect of *Shelby* on relative voter registration using CPS data

	Registration (Census definition)			Registration ("omit "no response")			Registration ("yes" or "no" only)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Black × fully covered × *Shelby*	0.015	0.015	0.054**	0.019	0.023	0.003	0.011	0.014	0.014
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.035)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.028)
Black × partially covered × *Shelby*	0.029**	0.030**	0.065*	0.003	0.004	0.022	0.017	0.017	0.019
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.035)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.049)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.036)
Observations	476,010	476,010	476,010	425,384	425,384	425,384	408,641	408,641	408,641
Effective observations (race × state × year)	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611
Race × state fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Race × state time trends			✓			✓			✓

Notes: OLS estimates of triple-difference coefficients. Fixed effects absorb all lower-order terms. Demographic controls include gender, age, and age squared. The sample includes Black and White respondents from six federal elections (2008–2018), weighted using CPS-provided sampling weights. Standard errors (in parentheses) are robust to clustering at the state level. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$. *Data source:* Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Table A.4: Alternative estimates of the heterogeneous effects of *Shelby* on relative voter registration using CPS data

	Registration (Census definition)			Registration ("omit "no response")			Registration ("yes" or "no" only)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Black × fully covered × *Shelby* × presidential	0.006	0.006	0.045	0.001	0.009	-0.011	-0.011	-0.005	-0.006
	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.034)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.034)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.032)
Black × fully covered × *Shelby* × midterm	0.019	0.019	0.058**	0.029	0.031	0.008	0.022	0.023	0.021
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.039)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.030)
Black × partially covered × *Shelby* × presidential	-0.032	-0.032	0.004	-0.054	-0.046	-0.037	-0.040	-0.034	-0.029
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.036)	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.057)	(0.047)
Black × partially covered × *Shelby* × midterm	0.059***	0.062***	0.098**	0.033*	0.030*	0.039	0.039*	0.037**	0.035
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.038)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.056)	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.041)
Observations	476,010	476,010	476,010	425,384	425,384	425,384	408,641	408,641	408,641
Effective observations (race × state × year)	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611	611
Race × state fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Race × state time trends			✓			✓			✓

Notes: OLS estimates of triple-difference coefficients for each election type. Fixed effects absorb all lower-order terms. Demographic controls include gender, age, and age squared. The sample includes Black and White respondents from six federal elections (2008–2018), weighted using CPS-provided sampling weights. Standard errors (in parentheses) are robust to clustering at the state level. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, and *** $p < 0.01$. *Data source:* Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

References

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