

Online Appendix to “Voting Rights and the Resilience of Black Turnout”

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A CPS data

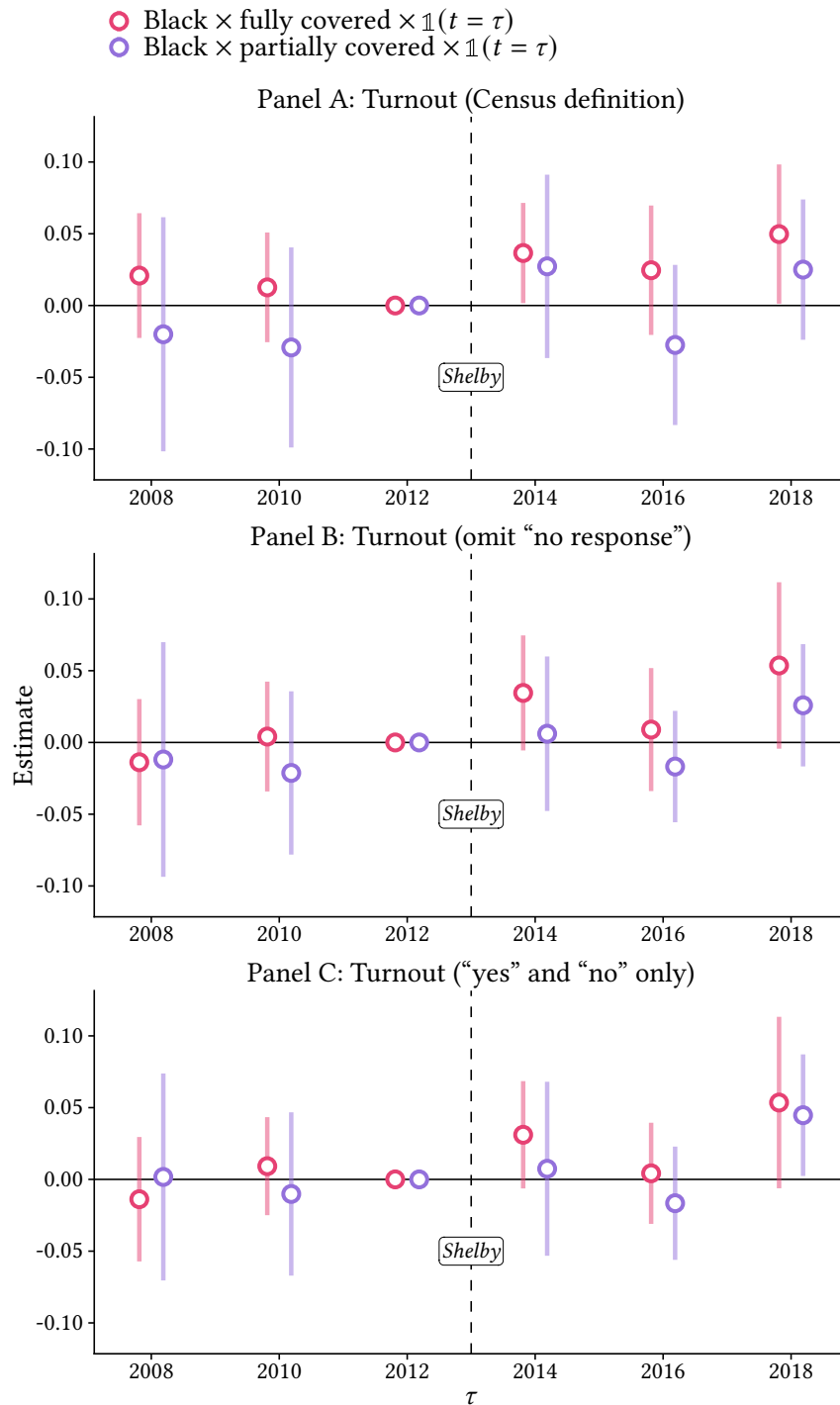
In [Figure A.1](#), [Table A.1](#) and [Table A.2](#), I provide alternative triple-difference estimates of the effect of *Shelby County v. Holder* using data from the voting and registration supplement of the November Current Population Survey (CPS; Flood et al. 2018). To facilitate comparisons with 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 against state voter files. As a result, CPS data feature higher turnout rates and smaller racial turnout 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 provide estimates for three definitions of turnout 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 question as missing cases, but otherwise keep those who refused to answer or did not know whether they voted. In the third, I restrict the sample to those who provided

an explicit “yes” or “no” answer to the turnout question, treating all others as missing. None of these definitions support that *Shelby* significantly reduced relative turnout among Black voters in previously covered states.

Figure A.1: Alternative event study estimates of the effect of *Shelby* on relative turnout 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.

Table A.1: Alternative estimates of the effect 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 × <i>Shelby</i>	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 × <i>Shelby</i>	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 *** $p < 0.01$.

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 × <i>Shelby</i> × presidential	0.013 (0.020)	0.014 (0.019)	0.019 (0.034)	0.021 (0.030)	0.032 (0.027)	0.0003 (0.040)	-0.006 (0.022)	0.007 (0.022)	-0.026 (0.038)
Black × fully covered × <i>Shelby</i> × midterm	0.032** (0.016)	0.032** (0.016)	0.037 (0.022)	0.044 (0.028)	0.049* (0.028)	0.017 (0.033)	0.048* (0.029)	0.050* (0.027)	0.016 (0.028)
Black × partially covered × <i>Shelby</i> × presidential	-0.011 (0.024)	-0.011 (0.024)	-0.024 (0.043)	-0.021 (0.044)	-0.010 (0.040)	-0.021 (0.056)	0.005 (0.038)	0.018 (0.036)	-0.040 (0.086)
Black × partially covered × <i>Shelby</i> × midterm	0.039*** (0.014)	0.042*** (0.013)	0.029 (0.040)	0.026 (0.026)	0.023 (0.021)	0.015 (0.057)	0.040 (0.028)	0.034 (0.022)	-0.025 (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 *** $p < 0.01$.

References

Stephen Ansolabehere, Bernard L Fraga, and Brian F Schaffner. The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout. https://www.bernardfraga.com/s/CPS_AFS_2021.pdf, 2021.

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