

Appendix

A. Appendix Figures

FIGURE A1 • EXAMPLE OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CELEBRATING MONUMENTS.
COLUMBUS DAILY ENQUIRER, MAY 1892

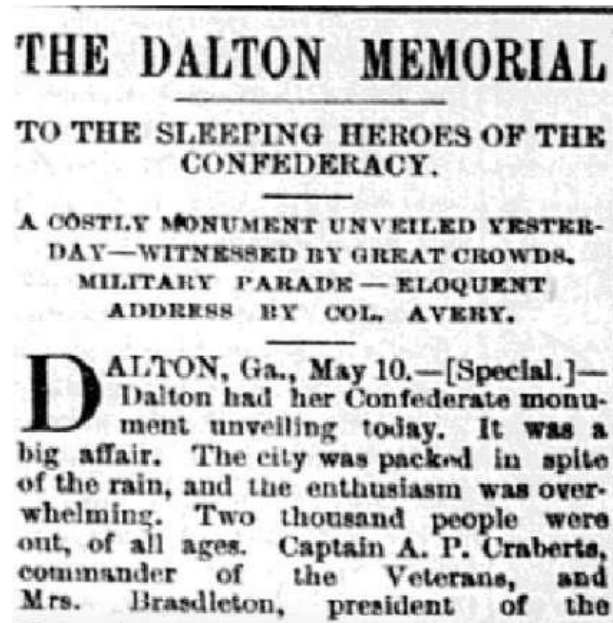
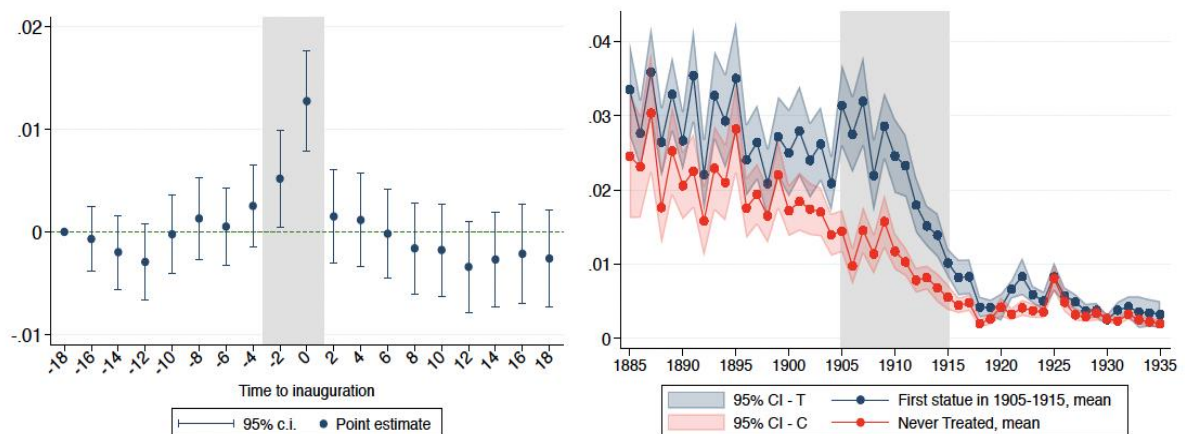


FIGURE A2 • SHARE OF LOCAL NEWSPAPER PAGES ABOUT *CONFEDERA* + MONUMENT* + (HONOR* OR RESPECT*)*



Left figure: newspaper quotes every two years relative to the unveiling of the county's first monument. *Right figure:* yearly newspaper quotes separately for the treated group of counties with the first monument erected between 1905-1915 and for the control group, namely never-treated counties. *Sample:* counties with at least 100 article pages per year from locally headquartered newspapers.

FIGURE A3 • EXAMPLE OF BLACK NEWSPAPERS' ARTICLES CRITICIZING MONUMENTS. Images kindly provided by Olivia Haynie, Donovan Schaefer and Justin Seward. Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. See <https://falseimage.pennds.org/>

The Appeal. [volume] (Saint Paul, Minn. :) 1889-19??, April 11, 1914, Image 2

Image provided by Minnesota Historical Society; Saint Paul, MN

Persistent link: <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016810/1914-04-11/ed-1/seq-2/>

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MONUMENTS OR JUSTICE—WHICH?

The Chicago Defender (Big Weekend Edition) (1905-1966); May 30, 1914; Black Studies Center pg. 8

MONUMENTS OR JUSTICE—WHICH?

CONFEDERATE VETERANS AT THEIR REUNION at Jacksonville, Fla., recently passed a resolution urging that monuments be erected in the capital of each slave-holding state to commemorate the fidelity to their masters by the slaves during the war. It is argued that had the slaves been hostile, the soldiers of the South could not have fought at all. Says the Times-Union: "The men of the South went out with confidence, leaving the defenseless ones they loved under the protection of their loyal slaves, and during the four years of strife and over the whole extent of the confederacy not one Negro was unfaithful to his trust. One who thinks of this wonderful record, must see in it reason for pride for both races. Good will is never one-sided." This, of course, is one side of it. It is well enough to praise the slaves for that fine quality of loyalty which they showed, but it is not well to use that loyalty in these days, as a half-way implication that slavery was a just and pleasant institution. The very loyalty of the slaves seems pathetic. Their eyes were not open to see the vision of freedom. Slavery had hemmed them in and kept them down intellectually and spiritually. They did not know enough to strike for themselves the blow that lay in their refusal to raise food for the masters who were fighting against their cause. Is it to be wondered

FIGURE A4 • MCNEEL MARBLE COMPANY'S ADVERTISEMENT IN THE CONFEDERATE VETERAN MAGAZINE

Phenomenal Record OF THE McNeel Marble Company

LARGEST MONUMENTAL DEALERS IN THE SOUTH

NOTABLE among the achievements of the year that has just closed, and a matter that will no doubt be of interest to the readers of the Veteran, is the fact that more Confederate Monuments have been erected throughout the South by the United Daughters of the Confederacy during the past year than during any previous *ten* years since the war, and the indications are that the new year will see still greater work accomplished along this line.

We have received orders from Chapters in practically every State south of the Mason and Dixon line, a great many of which we have already erected.

We have on file orders for twenty-four Confederate Monuments and Memorial Fountains that are to be delivered in the spring in time to be unveiled on April the 26th, next.

An investigation of the records will show that **THE MCNEEL MARBLE CO.** has been entrusted with the execution of more than 95% of all orders for Confederate Monuments that have been given in the South during the year 1909. This is a record which we have made upon merit alone, and one of which we are justly proud.

The phenomenal increase in this line of work is easily understood by Chapters who have used our plans for raising funds and acquainted themselves with our liberal terms. The uncertainty of being able to raise sufficient funds to pay for a monument has heretofore prevented many Chapters from undertaking the work. The use of our plans removes this obstacle and puts a Confederate monument within the reach of every Chapter. It's no trouble to raise funds if you know how. We have solved this problem, and the solution is yours for the asking.

We furnish our plans for raising funds, also designs, prices, terms, and full information, to any Chapter upon application. Your acceptance will place your Chapter under no obligation whatever to our Company.

Why not begin the new year with a letter to

The McNeel Marble Company?

FIGURE A5 • MCNEEL MARBLE COMPANY'S ADVERTISEMENT IN THE CONFEDERATE VETERAN MAGAZINE, 1914

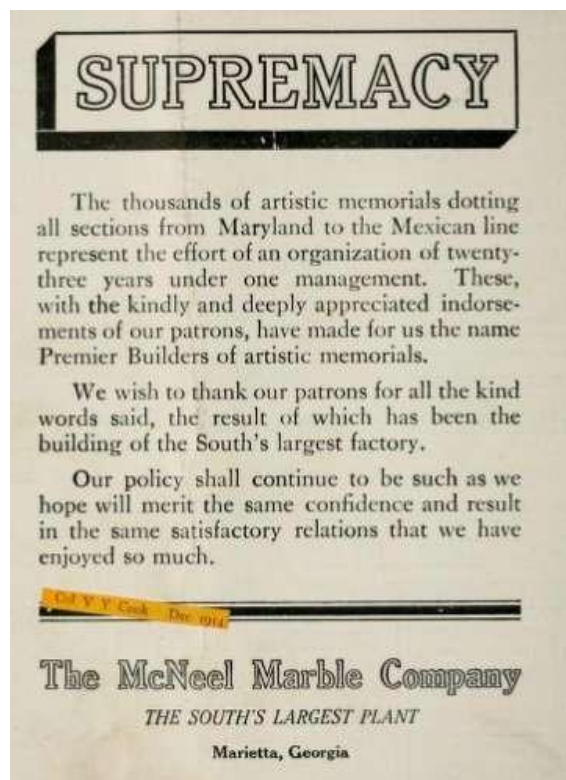


FIGURE A6 • EXAMPLE OF NEWSPAPERS' ARTICLES ADVERTISING UDC'S FUND-RAISING FOR MONUMENTS.

The articles are respectively from «The Star Herald» (Dec 1st, 1905); «The Star Ledger» (Feb 22nd, 1907) and «The Star Ledger» (Dec 15th, 1911) and they all concern the Confederate monument eventually inaugurated in December 1911

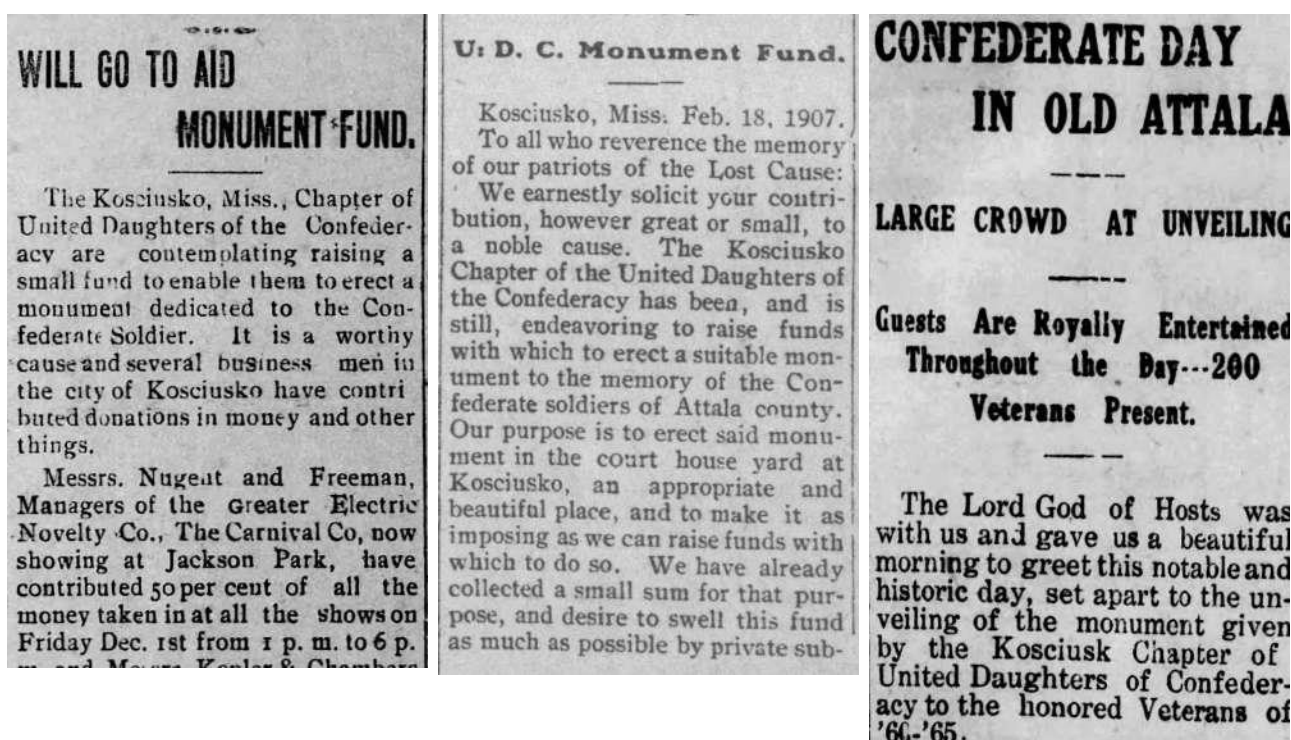


FIGURE A7 • PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN-BORN BLACK AMERICANS RESIDING OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, BY BIRTH COHORT (COLLINS 2021)

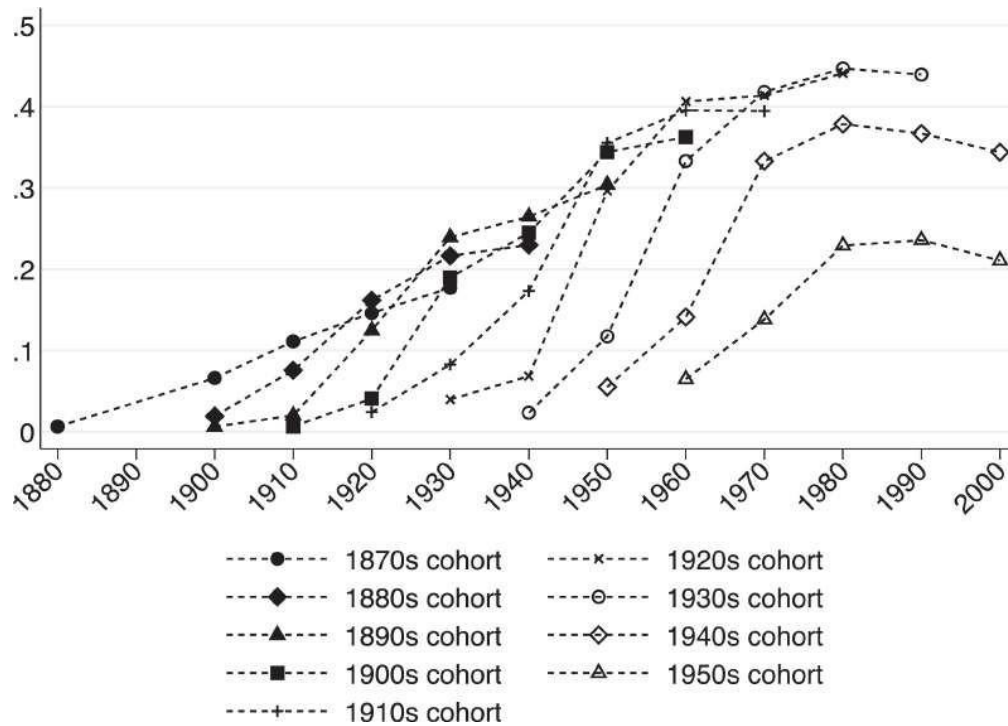
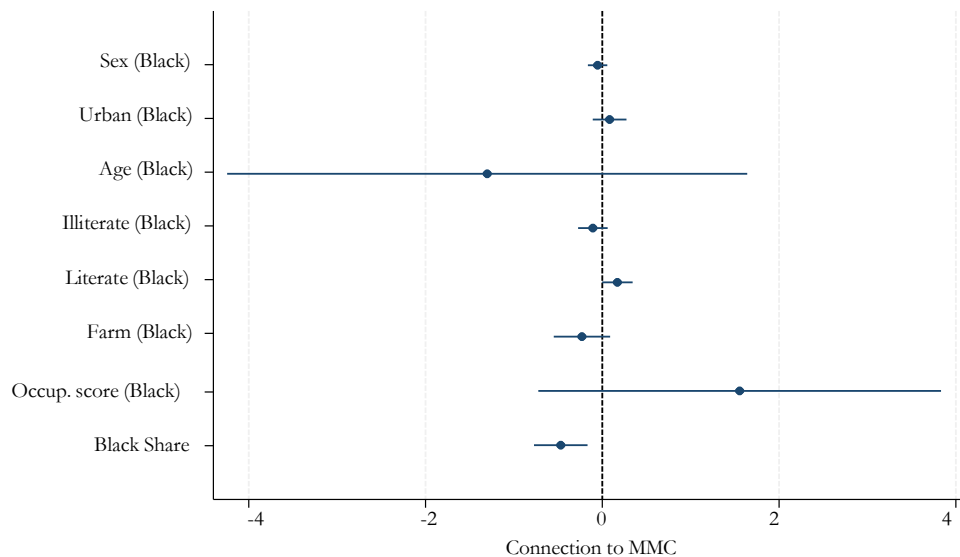


FIGURE A8 • BALANCE PLOT: CONNECTION TO MMC AND CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK POPULATION (IN 1880)



Note: Regression of connection to MMC (1890) on the Black share of the county population (1890) and individual-level characteristics from the 1880 census, aggregated at the county level, conditional on the standard set of county-level controls and state fixed effects, as in Figure 6

B. Appendix Tables

TABLE B1 • SUMMARY STATISTICS, DEMOGRAPHICS

			C: Counties without Confederate monuments by 1950							
			1890				1950			
	Obs		Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Total population	602		11112.	8562.44	3	77038	21987.86	31747.78	227	495084
Black population	602		37	5447.82	0	47739	4393.37	6485.90	0	64947
Black share	602		3751.87	.248	0	.940	.197	.203	0	.830
			.257							
			T: Counties with Confederate monuments before 1950							
			1890				1950			
	Obs		Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Total population	417		21566.	17864.61	21	242039	49651.78	82024.25	167	806701
Black population	417		75	8674.85	0	64491	13693.98	22064.71	2	208459
Black Share	417		9245.16	.222	0	.934	.313	.195	1	.843
			.413						.000	
			T2: Counties with first monuments built in 1910-1915							
			1890				1950			
	Obs		Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Total population	119		17232.	9613.64	3835	59557	38873.29	42784.86	345	249894
Black population	119		15	5853.54	52	29908	10659	9876.86	2	49923
Black share	119		7189.41	.217	.008	.878	.316	.194	2	.709
			.403						.000	

TABLE B2 • SUMMARY STATISTICS, OTHERS

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Stock of statues, 1950	1019	0.540	0.880	0	9
Stock of other dedications, 1950	1019	0.190	0.789	0	14
Stock of lynchings, 1950	1019	2.649	4.002	0	33
Connection to MMC, 1890	1019	0.172	0.074	0.032	0.520
Connection to Richmond, 1890	1019	0.113	0.049	0.028	0.360
Connection to NYC, 1950	1019	0.128	0.050	0.041	0.376
Value of farmland, 1950	1003	65.351	42.633	4	381

TABLE B3 • NUMBER OF FIRST COUNTY'S DEDICATIONS BY DECADE

First Construction Year	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1870-1880	19	4.56	4.56
1881-1890	17	4.08	8.63
1891-1900	38	9.11	17.75
1901-1910	169	40.53	58.27
1911-1920	112	26.86	85.13
1921-1930	36	8.63	93.76
1931-1940	25	6.00	99.76
1941-1950	1	0.24	100.00
Total	417	100.00	

TABLE B4 • IDEOLOGICAL PLACEBOS FOR CONNECTION TO MMC

	Placebo Outcomes, FS			
	(1) Other Dedications	(2) Other Dedications	(3) Numb. past lynchings	(4) Numb. past lynchings
Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905	0.533** (0.268)	-1.221 (0.900)	1.870 (1.545)	-0.314 (1.575)
Stock statues				
Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905		4.847 (3.332)		2.761* (1.566)
Connection to NYC, yearly		0.181 (0.995)		-3.043 (3.186)
Numb. past lynchings		-0.003 (0.005)		
Lagged population		0.000*** (0.000)		0.000*** (0.000)
Observations	7989	7989	7989	7989
R ²	0.678	0.712	0.826	0.829
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fstat	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Dependent variable: existing stock Confederate-named places (schools, parks, buildings, etc.) at time t (col. 1,2); cumulative number of lynchings in the county until year t (col 3,4). *Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905* measures the county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905* measures the county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to Richmond when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to (NYC)* is a yearly estimate of the connection to NYC. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE B5 • IV STRATEGY, REORGANIZING CONTROLS

	FS	IV	FS	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Stock statues	Black share	Stock statues	Black share
Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905	1.822*** (0.536)		1.919*** (0.442)	
Stock statues		-0.148*** (0.052)		-0.149*** (0.041)
Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905	-0.286 (1.380)	-0.177 (0.213)		
Connection to NYC 1890*post1905	1.104 (1.445)	-0.046 (0.289)		
Numb. past lynchings	0.020*** (0.006)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.020*** (0.006)	-0.001 (0.001)
Lagged population	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
Connection to Richmond, yearly			-6.295 (6.092)	-0.996 (1.184)
Connection to NYC, yearly			4.977 (5.659)	1.428 (1.088)
Observations	7989	7989	7989	7989
R ²	0.713	-1.312	0.713	-1.337
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fstat	13.015		12.677	

Dependent variable: existing stock of statues at time t (col. 1,2); share of county population classified as Black in the census (col 3,4). *Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905* measures the county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905* measures the county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to Richmond when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to (NYC, Richmond)* is a yearly estimate of the connection to NYC or Richmond. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE B6 • ROBUSTNESS CHECKS, CONNECTION TO OTHER CITIES
AND STATE CAPITALS (FIRST STAGE)

	FS	FS	FS	FS	FS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Stock statues	Stock statues	Stock statues	Stock statues	Stock statues
Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905	1.831*** (0.518)	1.580*** (0.496)	1.555** (0.671)	1.623** (0.672)	1.437** (0.675)
Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905	0.326 (0.863)	0.190 (0.891)	0.058 (0.925)	0.069 (0.919)	0.655 (0.985)
Connection to NYC, yearly	1.307 (1.423)	0.679 (1.406)	-0.634 (0.810)	1.174 (1.430)	3.300* (1.823)
Connection to Chicago, yearly	-2.222* (1.219)	-1.459 (1.128)		-1.963 (1.215)	0.524 (1.635)
Numb. past lynchings	0.020*** (0.006)	0.020*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.020*** (0.006)
Lagged population	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
Mkt access 1890*post1905			0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Connection to New Orleans, yearly					0.755 (1.123)
Connection to state capital					-2.266* (1.233)
Observations	7988	7900	7988	7988	7988
R ²	0.713	0.713	0.713	0.713	0.715
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fstat	11.487	12.005	13.829	11.891	9.556

Dependent variable: existing stock of statues at time t . State capitals are dropped in column 2. *Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to MMC when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to Richmond/Mkt Access*post1905* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to Richmond – or the 1890 market access from Hornbeck *et al.* (2021) – when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to state capital* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county minimum transportation cost to the own state capital. *Connection to NYC/Chicago/New Orleans* is a decennial estimate of the connection to each of these destinations. Stock of lynching measures the total number of lynchings in the county up to time t . Lagged population measures population in the previous census. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE B7 • ROBUSTNESS CHECKS, CONNECTION TO OTHER CITIES AND STATE CAPITALS (2SLS)

	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Black share	Black share	Black share	Black share	Black share
Stock statues	-0.134*** (0.045)	-0.145*** (0.054)	-0.145** (0.071)	-0.141** (0.067)	-0.153* (0.081)
Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905	-0.135 (0.148)	-0.179 (0.156)	-0.148 (0.159)	-0.148 (0.156)	-0.071 (0.188)
Connection to NYC, yearly	0.635** (0.260)	0.571** (0.267)	0.456*** (0.157)	0.636** (0.268)	0.949** (0.410)
Connection to Chicago, yearly	-0.193 (0.235)	-0.128 (0.228)		-0.192 (0.241)	0.024 (0.306)
Numb. past lynchings	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)
Lagged population	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)
Mkt access 1890*post1905			0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Connection to New Orleans, yearly					0.182 (0.225)
Connection to state capital					-0.313 (0.273)
Observations	7988	7900	7988	7988	7988
R ²	-1.055	-1.011	-1.251	-1.170	-1.399
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Dependent variable: share of county population classified as Black in the census, 2SLS results. The first stage is reported in columns 1 to 4 of Table B6. State capitals are dropped in column 2. *Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to MMC when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to Richmond/Mkt Access 1890*post1905* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county 1890 minimum transportation cost to Richmond – or the 1890 market access from Hornbeck *et al.* (2021) – when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to state capital* measures the (inverse of) county-to-county minimum transportation cost to the own state capital. *Connection to NYC/Chicago/New Orleans* is a yearly estimate of the connection to each destination city. Stock of lynching measures the total number of lynchings in the county up to time t . Lagged population measures population in the previous census. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE B8 • BLACK POPULATION CHANGE, IV APPROACH

	FS	OLS	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Stock statues	Black pop. change	Black pop. change
Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905	1.850*** (0.519)		
Stock statues		-162.484 (112.205)	-1431.304* (805.617)
Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905	0.435 (0.865)	1380.855 (2064.764)	4015.452 (2457.297)
Connection to NYC, yearly	-0.790 (0.820)	11172.989*** (2568.990)	8938.277*** (3139.326)
Numb. past lynchings	0.020*** (0.006)	-128.638*** (30.099)	-103.671*** (30.328)
Lagged population	0.000** * (0.000)	0.034*** (0.009)	0.045*** (0.012)
Observations	7989	7989	7989
R ²	0.713	0.557	0.009
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fstat	12.893		

Dependent variable: existing stock of statues at time t (col. 1); change in Black population in the census (col. 2, 3). *Connection to Marietta 1890*post1905* and *Connection to Richmond 1890*post1905* measure average minimum transportation cost to MMC or Richmond in 1890 when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to NYC* is a yearly estimate of the connection to NYC. Standard errors clustered at subregion level in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

C. *Discussion of Mechanisms*

In Figures C1 to C4, I compare the local rhetoric regarding the Confederacy by comparing counties that never erected a monument to those that erected their first one between 1905 and 1915. In particular, I look at the share of local news mentioning the Confederacy with positive adjectives and the share mentioning Confederate celebrations. All figures consistently show a higher share of articles mentioning the Confederacy and speaking positively about it around the construction period. However, the rhetoric tends to converge soon after the peak construction years. At the same time, the two groups behave very similarly in terms of Confederate ceremonies and celebrations. These results suggest that, while monuments made pro-Confederacy rhetoric more salient around the time of their construction and in the years shortly thereafter, they did not modify the long-run trajectory of the local narrative.

Similarly, I examine whether newspapers' slant toward Black Americans changed over time. To do this, I replicated Ottinger *et al.* (2022)'s analysis, which finds that anti-Black rhetoric, particularly accusations of Black people committing rape, tended to increase during election periods. I use their same search to investigate whether counties that constructed Confederate monuments exhibited increases in anti-Black sentiment. Figures C5 and C6 show no strong evidence of such an effect. Counties that erected monuments tended to maintain a slightly more pronounced anti-Black bias throughout the entire period, whether normalizing over total article pages or over total pages mentioning Black people.

A second possible channel concerns the role played by supremacist white groups. A critical organization in this sense is the UDC, that erected most of the monuments. Figure C7 illustrates the frequency of newspaper mentions of the terms UDC or "United Daughters". As expected, the treated and control counties behave very differently in this dimension. After a period of similar increase, many more newspaper articles mention the UDC in treated counties. The divergence begins before the monuments' inauguration, consistent with the anecdotal evidence that the UDC would actively campaign on local newspapers for several years before raising enough funds to erect the monuments. Importantly, even after the inauguration, the UDC remained significantly more active in counties with monuments, suggesting they may have played a role in shaping a less favorable local environment to Black Americans. The trend illustrated in the left panel of Figure C7 is corroborated by the right panel, which presents an event study examining newspaper mentions of the UDC relative to the time of inauguration. The relatively stable pretrend ends six to eight years prior to the inauguration, likely corresponding to the beginning of the fundraising campaign.

I then use data on the number of lynchings with Black American victims, around the time of monument constructions, to study whether racial violence may have played a role. Figures C8 and C9 plot the total number of lynchings and the number of lynchings per thousand inhabitants. Neither figure shows any evidence of an increase in violence after the construction. If anything, Figure C8 shows the opposite: the number of lynchings, which had previously been higher in treated counties, converged to the low level observed in never-treated counties. This convergence to virtually zero seems to be driven by the general decline of the lynching phenomenon, though it is also consistent with the idea that monuments acted as substitutes for lynchings. If lynchings were intended to scare and threaten Black Americans, monuments may have achieved a similar effect, leading to a progressive decline in such violence.

Finally, I examine how voting patterns changed over time. Given the segregationist views of the early 20th-century Southern Democratic Party and its consistent participation in federal elections, votes for that party are the natural outcome to study. The evidence here is mixed. Figure C1 plots the raw number of votes, with county and state-by-year fixed effects, and shows an increase in total votes for the Democrats shortly after the monuments are placed. However, this effect fades when looking at vote share, which appears to simply continue a pre-existing trend. Interpreting the results on voting – especially the total number of votes – is not straightforward, as the composition of the enfranchised population changed dramatically over time. Women gained the right to vote in 1920, while most Black Americans progressively lost their voting rights toward the end of the 19th century. All in all, the evidence offers, at best, mild support for an increase in votes for segregationist parties.

C.1 Newspaper rhetoric

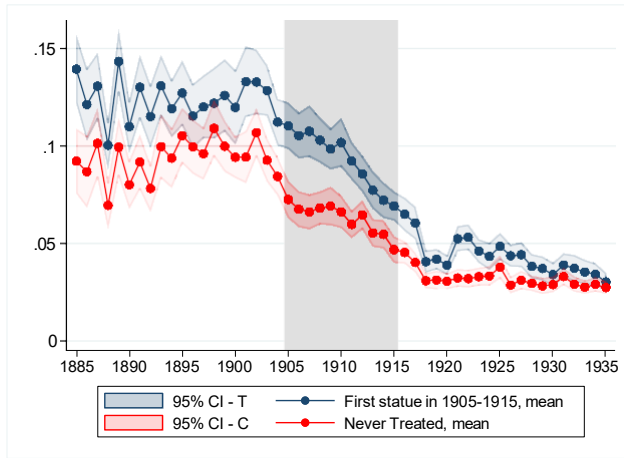


FIGURE C1 • Share of articles with: Confedera* and (honor* or respect*). Treated group: counties with first monument in 1905-1915; control counties: never treated. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year. The sample includes a minimum of 96 counties in 1885 to a maximum of 220 in 1920.

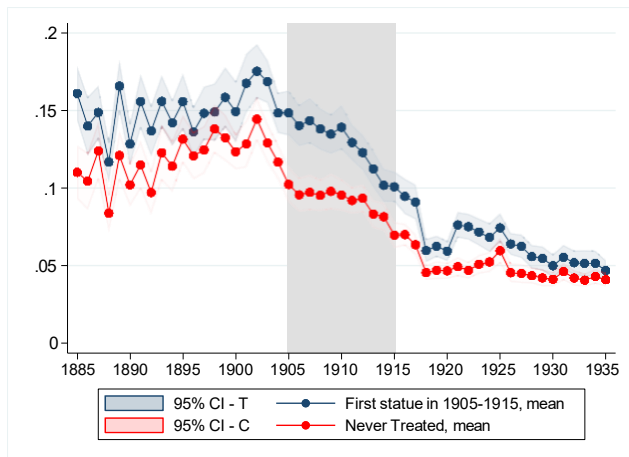


FIGURE C2 • Share of articles with: Confedera*. Treated group: counties with first monument in 1905-1915; control counties: never treated. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year. The sample includes a minimum of 96 counties in 1885 to a maximum of 220 in 1920.

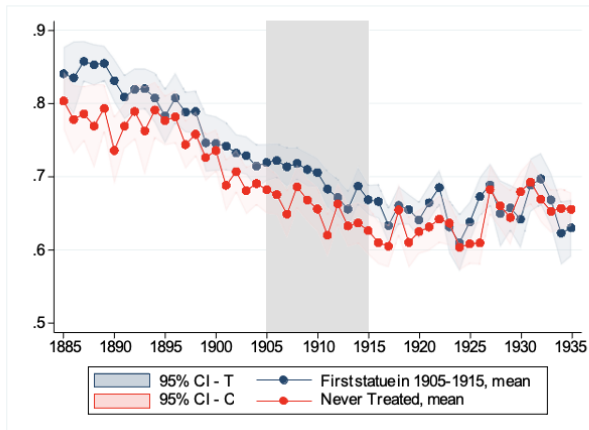


FIGURE C3 • Share of articles with: Confedera* and (honor* or respect*) over Confedera*. Treated group: counties with first monument in 1905-1915; control counties: never treated. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year. The sample includes a minimum of 96 counties in 1885 to a maximum of 220 in 1920.

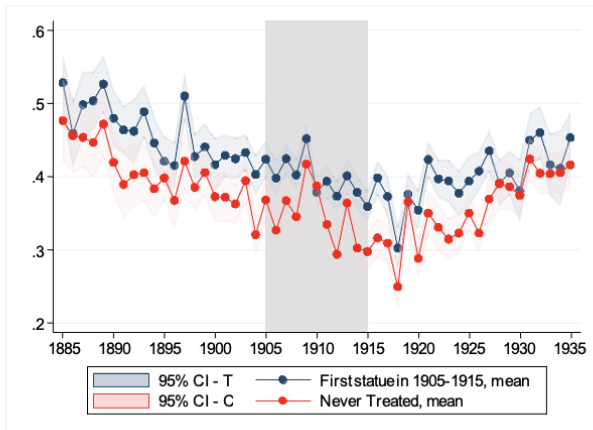


FIGURE C4 • Share of articles with: Confedera* and (parade* or ceremon* or celebrat*) over Confedera*. Treated group: counties with first monument in 1905-1915; control counties: never treated. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year. The sample includes a minimum of 96 counties in 1885 to a maximum of 220 in 1920.

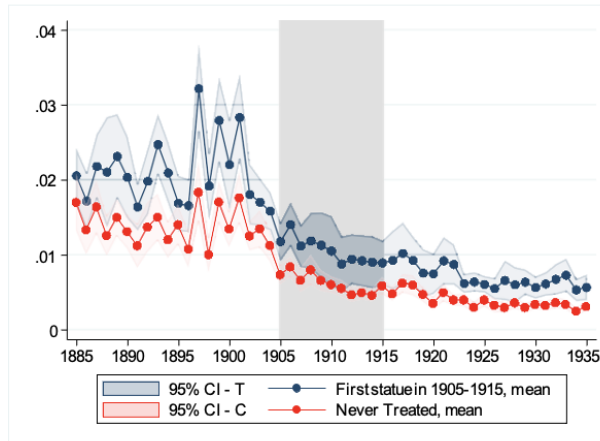


FIGURE C5 • Share of articles with: (colored or negro*) and (rape* or rapist*) over total number of articles (as in Ottinger *et al.* (2022)). Treated group: counties with first monument in 1905-1915; control counties: never treated. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year.

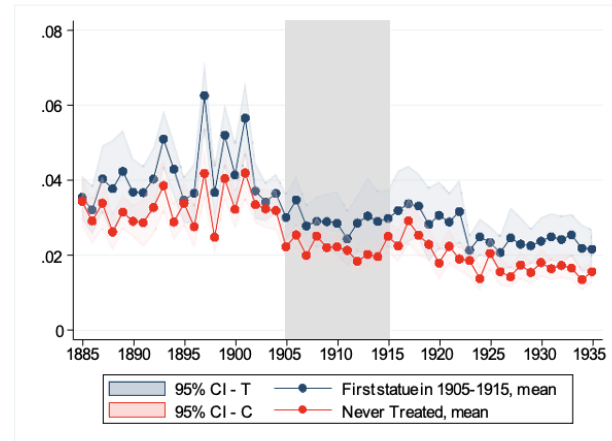
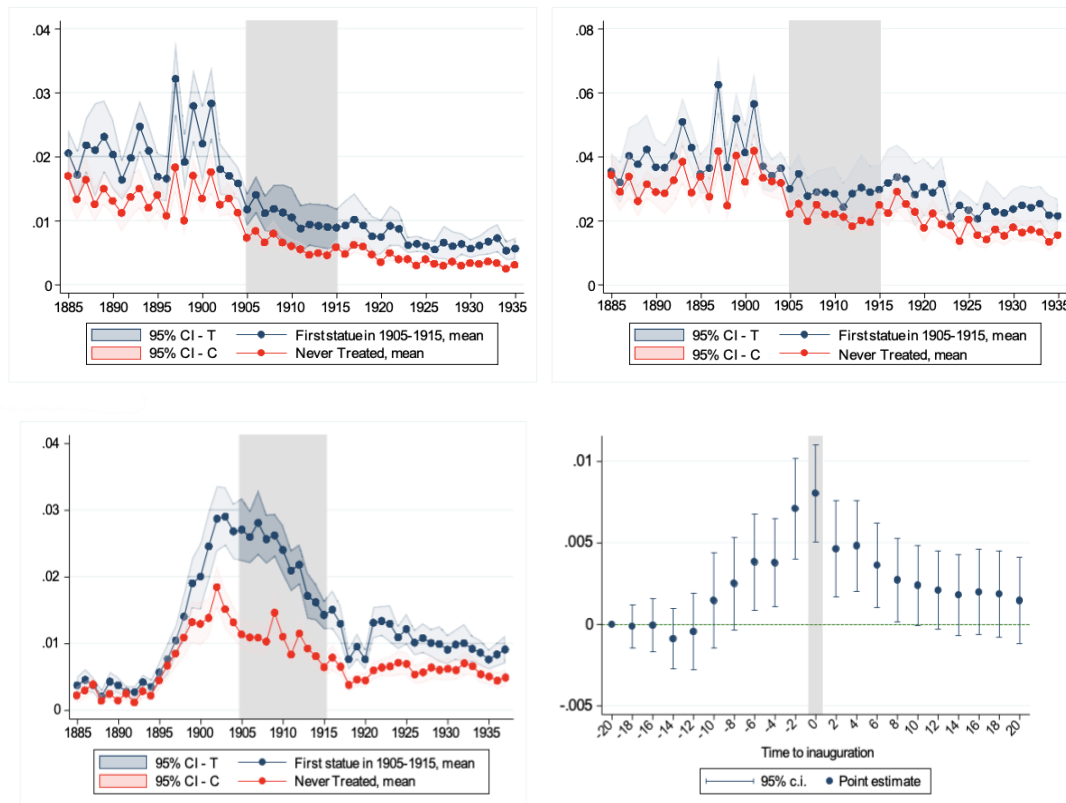


FIGURE C6 • Share of articles with: (colored or negro*) and (rape* or rapist*) over total number of articles with (colored or negro*). Treated group: counties with first monument in 1905-1915; control counties: never treated. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year

C.2 Role of organizations

UDC

FIGURE C7 • SHARE OF LOCAL NEWSPAPER PAGES ABOUT: UDC OR “UNITED DAUGHTERS” OVER TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTICLES



Note. The figure on the left measures yearly newspaper quotes separately for a treated group of counties with the first monument erected between 1905 and 1915, and for the control group consisting of counties that were never

treated. The figure on the right measures newspaper quotes every two years relative to the inauguration of the county's first monument. Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year from locally headquartered newspapers

C.3 Violence: lynchings

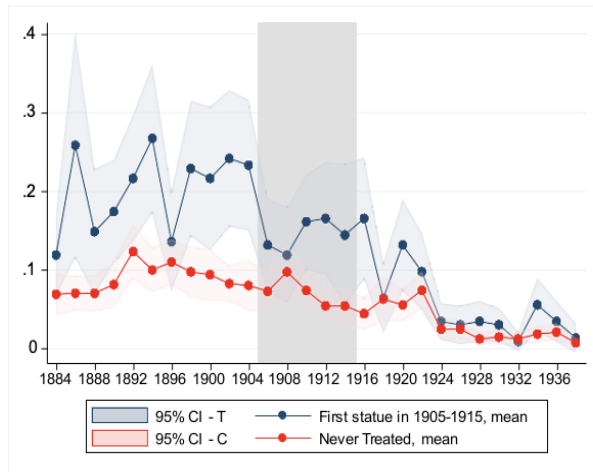


FIGURE C8 • Total lynchings with Black American victim, data from Seguin *et al.* (2019)

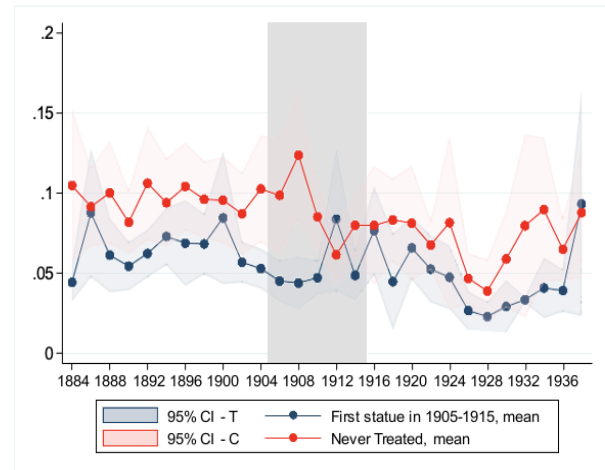


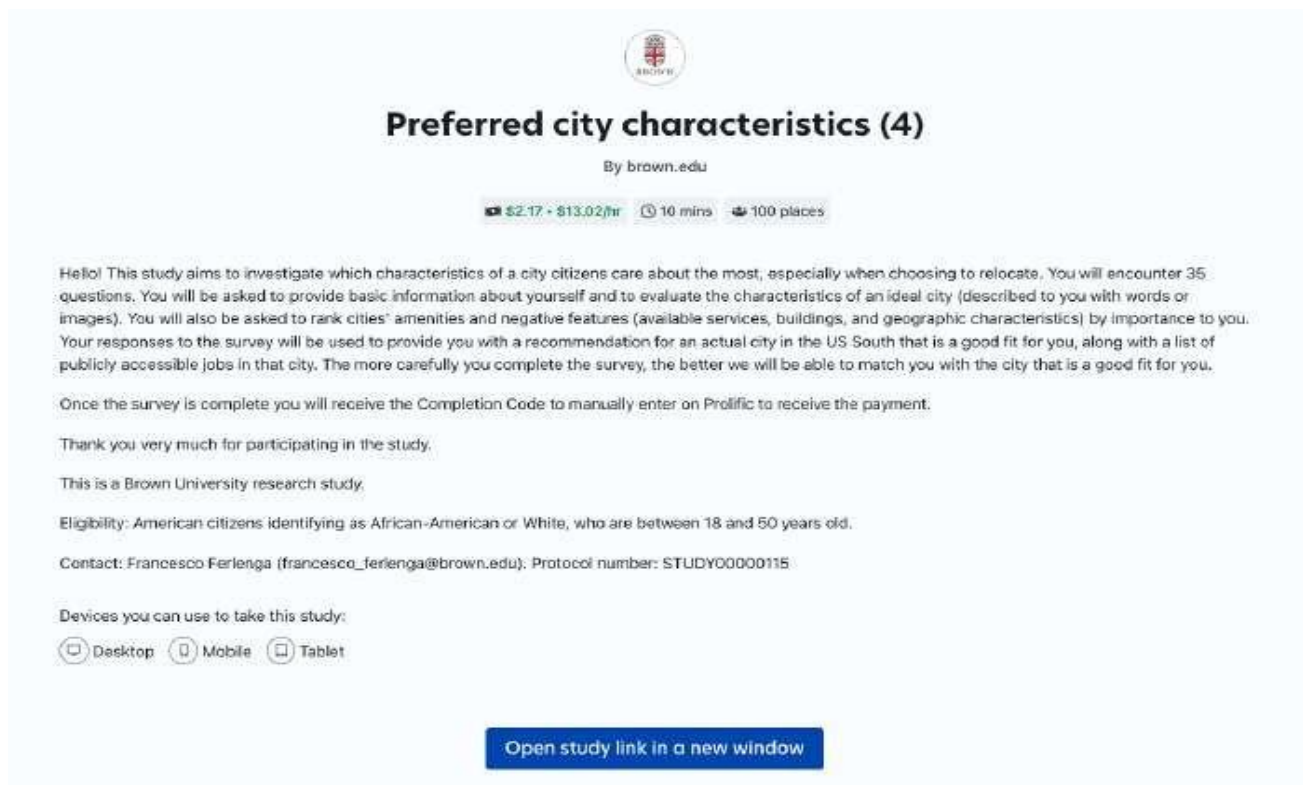
FIGURE C9 • Lynchings with Black American victims per 1000 inhabitants, data from Seguin *et al.* (2019)

D. *Online Experiment*

Recruitment material

Figures D1 reports the post used to recruit participants in the experiment on Prolific.

FIGURE D1 • RECRUITMENT MESSAGE FOR PROLIFIC PARTICIPANTS



Typical neighborhood of a city

Figure D2 reports a second examples a city presented to the participants in the experiment. Each city comes in two alternative version: with or without the monument. Figure D3 show exactly what respondents read on the images.

FIGURE D2 • THE TWO VERSIONS OF CITY B.

The left panel shows the control version of the city, while right panel shows the treatment version.

Each image is presented to respondents one by one, as in Figure D3

Control Group

Treatment Group

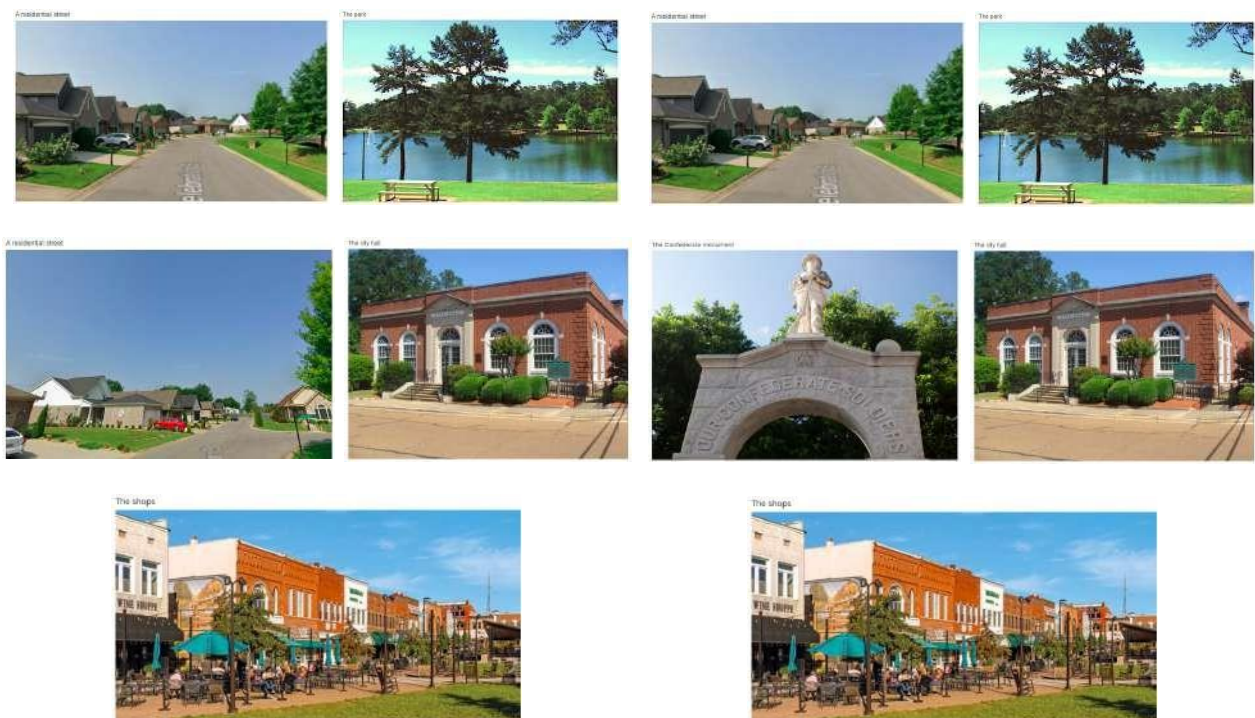


FIGURE D3 • PRECISE VIEW RESPONDENTS HAVE OF EACH IMAGE (IN THIS CASE, ART OF CITY C), INCLUDING THE PRECISE WORDING

Please take a look at these pictures that depict a typical neighborhood of a city in the US South.

A residential street



Summary Statistics

Table D1 reports basic information about the participants in the online experiment. Table D2 reports the main outcome variables for city-participants in the control group, separately for Black and white respondents in the South.

TABLE D1 • SUMMARY STATISTICS: BASIC RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHICS

	Southern whites			Southern Blacks individuals			Diff
	n	mean	sd	n	mean	sd	
Female	198	0.55	0.50	112	0.64	0.48	0.097*
Age	198	33.96	8.70	112	34.15	9.52	0.192
Years of Education	194	14.34	2.14	112	14.38	2.18	0.035
Annual Income (wins. 2%)	195	35384.62	28037.36	110	36945.45	30374.98	1,560.84
Democrat	198	0.41	0.49	112	0.47	0.50	0.059
Republican	193	0.22	0.41	113	0.10	0.30	-0.120***
Bothered by monuments	198	0.52	0.50	112	0.69	0.47	0.172***
New monument motivates leaving	198	0.55	0.50	112	0.64	0.48	0.092

Observations are at the participant level. Annual income is winsorized by race. The last four questions were asked after the experiment. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE D2 • SUMMARY STATISTICS: MAIN OUTCOMES AMONG PARTICIPANT-CITIES IN THE CONTROL GROUP

	Southern whites: non-treated			Southern Blacks individuals: non-treated			Diff
	n	mean	sd	n	mean	sd	
Would move: No	509	0.29	0.45	284	0.27	0.44	-0.019
Tailored offer: No	509	0.47	0.50	284	0.41	0.49	-0.057
Reservation Wage (wins. 2%)	509	74851.32	75416.14	284	76787.57	87504.12	1,936.25

Observations are at the city-participant level. Reservation wage is winsorized by race. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Heterogeneity

Tables D3 and D4 show how results vary among different subset of respondents.

TABLE D3 • EXPERIMENT RESULT: HETEROGENEITY BY POLITICAL VIEWS
AND APPROVAL OF MONUMENTS

	All Southerners			All Southerners		
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log	(4) Move (s.d.)	(5) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(6) Res. wage, log
Monument	-0.453*** (0.051)	-0.293*** (0.047)	0.159*** (0.027)	- 0.612** *	-0.385*** (0.053)	0.218*** (0.035)
Monument*Republican	0.329** * (0.109)	0.259*** (0.099)	-0.148*** (0.031)			
High Offer		0.499*** (0.044)			0.494*** (0.043)	
Monument*Approves Monument				0.53 6** * (0.086)	0.340*** (0.082)	- 0.209* ** (0.038)
Observations	1650	1649	1650	1650	1649	1650
R ²	0.578	0.623	0.868	0.588	0.626	0.871
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The unit of observation is the city-per-respondent. The outcome captures whether the respondents want to move to the specific city for a job similar to their most recent one (col. 1 and 4), for the tailored job offer (col. 2 and 5), and what would be their reservation wage for relocation (col. 3 and 6). Outcomes in columns 1, 2, 4, 5 correspond to a scale 1-3 (corresponding to *No*, *Maybe*, *Yes*) and are expressed in standard deviations. *Monument* is an indicator for whether the city is shown to the participant in the version with a monument. *Republican* and *Disapproves Monument* are respectively indicators for whether the respondents openly state at the end of the survey that they are Republicans or that they don't disapprove Confederate monuments. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE D4 • EXPERIMENT RESULT: HETEROGENEITY BY AGE

	Black Southerners			White Southerners		
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log	(4) Move (s.d.)	(5) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(6) Res. wage, log
Monument	-0.902*** (0.295)	-0.383 (0.272)	0.377** (0.151)	-0.598** (0.252)	-0.305 (0.218)	0.300*** (0.089)
Monument*Age	0.011 (0.009)	0.002 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.009 (0.007)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.006*** (0.002)
High Offer		0.562*** (0.078)			0.457*** (0.051)	
Observations	660	659	660	990	990	990
R ²	0.512	0.563	0.817	0.627	0.668	0.915
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The unit of observation is the city-per-respondent. The outcome captures whether the respondents want to move to the specific city for a job similar to their most recent one (columns 1 and 4), for the tailored job offer (columns 2 and 5), and what would be their reservation wage for relocation (columns 3 and 6). Outcomes in columns 1, 2, 4, 5 correspond to a scale 1-3 (corresponding to *No*, *Maybe*, *Yes*) and are expressed in standard deviations. *Monument* is an indicator for whether the city is shown to the participant in the version with a monument. *Age* measures respondents' age and ranges from 18 to 50. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.