

Forbidden love: The impact of banning interracial marriages *

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Abstract

The majority of US states enacted anti-miscegenation laws at varying points during the 19th and 20th century. These laws made interracial marriages “prohibited and void” making them a cornerstone policy of segregation. Exploiting variations in introduction and coverage we study how these laws shaped family structures and reinforced differences in economic outcomes across racial groups. To do this, we combined information on state-level anti-miscegenation laws with longitudinal data from the US censuses (1850-1940). This dataset allows us to follow more than 30 million men over time. Our preliminary results suggest that the implementation of anti-miscegenation laws changed the composition of marriages and increased out-of-state migration of individuals targeted by the laws, in particular individuals in mixed marriages, but also Black men overall. Moreover, codifying race was a key necessity to enforce interracial marriage bans so that miscegenation laws included the blood purity rules. In line with this, we find that racial identity changes of initially Black individuals, a non-negligible phenomenon, declined when miscegenation laws were introduced. Further preliminary explorations suggest that this also had an impact on keeping an exploitative agricultural economic model in place.

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1 Introduction

“The passage of such a [miscegenation] law invariably means the introduction of other measures designed to reduce the colored man to a condition of caste inferiority which is in many respects more galling and unbearable than the slavery which this country attempted to abolish fifty years ago”, May Childs Nerney (NAACP) to Charles T. Hallinan, April 11, 1913 (in Pascoe 2009, p.171)

Racial gaps between Black and White Americans have persisted over the past centuries and are still present in the United States. These gaps are multidimensional and based on wealth, health, education, and social mobility (see Derenoncourt, Kim, Kuhn, and Schularick (2022); Boustan and Margo (2014); Margo (1990); Chetty, Hendren, Jones, and Porter (2020)).

Along strong economic and social inequalities between White and Black Americans, an important feature of the United States is racial segregation. Segregation found in neighborhoods (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor, 1999), places of religious worship (Stodghill and Bower, 2002), but also in cohabitation and marriage with interracial marriages accounting for only 1 percent of white unions at the start of the century (Fryer, 2007). However, marrying someone from the group considered higher in the social hierarchy is a way to be exposed to better opportunities in the labor market (Furtado and Trejo, 2013) and thus to pretend to a better future. In other words, interracial marriages can be viewed as a tool to rise, not only oneself but also one’s potential descendants, in the social hierarchy.

In this study, we explore how anti-miscegenation laws, introduced at various point in time during the 19th century and 20th century, could influenced racial segregation and affected both inter- and intra-generational mobility.

We find that the introduction of miscegenation laws contributed to a change in the composition of marriages, increasing same-race unions. We also find that anti-miscegenation laws contributed to interstate migration of individuals targeted by the laws, i.e. men in mixed marriage but also Black American men overall, likely contributing to the Great Migration. Notably, we also see that race passing (i.e., an individual changing its reported race in the Census) decreased when anti-miscegenation laws were introduced. This likely reflects that anti-miscegenation laws were among the first laws to meticulously codify race requiring individuals that wanted to get married to prove with formal documentation their “Whiteness”. Finally, we see that the introduction of the laws entrenches an exploitative economic system inherited from slavery, in which Blacks are more likely to work as farm laborer and Whites as their supervisors.

These last findings fit within the historical narrative of the implementation of miscegenation always: the adoption of anti-miscegenation laws is explained by the fear

that interracial marriages would be used as a means for Black men to improve in the social ladder (Cox, 1960).

In terms of the timing of the introduction of the laws, a few states implemented them during slavery and even before, repealed them, and introduced them later after Reconstruction (i.e., a post-slavery period during which attempts were made to correct inequalities between racial groups). Other states enacted them either during this same period, i.e., after Reconstruction, for the first time, or even later, in the early 20th century (Figure 2 depicts the state-time variation in the 1st introduction of the laws). Then, more generally in almost all states that adopted the laws, the bans were extended to other race groups at the start of the 20th Century in response to the fear of the “melting pot”, following waves of immigration.

In practice and depending on states’ legislature, once the law was introduced the status of pre-existing interracial marriages were nul, void and/or illegal. Concerning sanctions, they ranged from imprisonment (6 months to 10 years) to a fine (\$500 to \$5,000) and/or hard labor.

Finally, with the introduction of anti-miscegenation laws, racial groups had to be meticulously codified in order to determine who was concerned by the latter. This is how the "blood purity" rules were put in place. Depending on the state, an individual could be identified as Black if even one drop of "Black blood" could be found, in other cases it could vary from one quarter to one eighth of "Black blood".

To study the impact of anti-miscegenation laws we combine (i) information on the introduction of state-level anti-miscegenation and (ii) individual longitudinal data from 1850 to 1940. In order to gather information of the timing and scope of the laws we rely on Pascoe (2009). This allows us to obtain a newly collected dataset of state-level miscegenation laws by introduction, revision and repeal dates, and racial groups covered. Individual longitudinal data are U.S. decennial censuses linked across waves through the Census Linking Project (Abramitzky, Boustan, and Rashid, 2020). These data allow us to follow individuals and their descendants over time.¹

Following (Derenoncourt et al., 2022) data on tax reports could be used to complete our study. 50 years of data on Black wealth (1860 to 1910) have been digitized using southern state tax reports.

To estimate the effect of anti-miscegenation laws on inter- and intra-generational mobility we exploit the time-state variation in the introduction of the laws. We compare the change in individual outcomes between two decades in states adopting the laws with the ones in states without anti-miscegenation laws. In other words, we use panel of individual first-differences accounting for common shocks to the region and race of individuals as well as differential states’ trends for racial groups.

¹A shortcoming of the linking is that only males are matched over time. Tracking females over time is more difficult, because they change their last name when they get married.

The main challenge we face is whether we are omitting time-varying state-level factors that could explain both the introduction of the law and individual outcomes such as an increase in anti-black feeling or a change in White-Black economic inequality. To mitigate this problem, we plan to (i) create state-level controls for economic conditions by race, (ii) extract information on potential changes in racism and lynching prevalence from newspaper archives over the period and, (iii) account for Southern Democrats vote share and DW nominates scores.

We also plan to control for the effect of the introduction of other Jim Crow laws to disentangle them from the impact of anti-miscegenation laws. The latter were implemented exclusively in the Southern States and largely contributed to racial segregation, mainly in public infrastructures.

We will also have to deal with sample attrition and check if individuals that we cannot anymore observed were not affected by anti-miscegenation laws. Indeed, segregation could decrease the health status of Black Americans and thus increase the mortality rate.

In parallel, an alternative strategy could be employed that could allow us to (i) include women in the analysis by using cross sectional data and, (ii) to overcome potential bias due to omitted variables at the state-decade level. The latter would consist in implementing a spatial regression discontinuity design using precise household location provided by Berkes, Karger, and Nencka (2021). As discontinuity the former border (removed in 1848) separating the Mexican Territory in which the law would not be introduced and the US territory in which the law would be introduced in 1864 could be used.

2 Historical context miscegenation laws

2.1 History of adoption

While several southern states had laws criminalizing interracial sex and sometimes also marriage these rules were very one-sidedly enforced, if at all, as and sexual relationships frequently occurred in the form of what nowadays would be classified as rape of black female slaves—in any case unable to testify in court—by white slave owners (Pascoe, 2009). Further, slaves were unable to conduct contracts ruling out marriage for the majority of the southern Black population.

As pointed out in Pascoe (2009) the southern laws that existed on miscegenation or introduced during the Civil war were invalidated by extensions to the US constitution and the 1866 Civil rights act during the reconstruction after the civil war. This is underlined by a number of state supreme court cases that upheld interracial marriages shortly after the civil war in Southern States (e.g. 1868 and 1872 in Alabama). Only with the extension of miscegenation laws in Northern states and the

successful defense of them before the states supreme courts on grounds that it puts restrictions on both races equally, notably the Gibson case in Indiana, and the Pace decision of the US supreme court did miscegenation laws gain renewed legitimacy in the US south.

While initially miscegenation laws were targeted against “White-Black” and in a few cases “White-Indian(Native American)” marriages, starting with Oregon and other Western states anti-miscegenation laws started to be broaden to also cover marriages with Chinese and other Asians. Here, the definition of terms was often rather arbitrary using frequently (“Mongolians”) as a catch all term initially introduced for Chinese immigrants and extending this to Japanese later on as well as immigrants from the Philipines or introducing new classification like “Malayan” to cover them. A detailed summary of these multitude of classifications is provided in Chapter 3 of Pascoe (2009).

Other groups notably “Mexicans” were not specifically targeted by anti-miscegenation law and remained in a legal gray area where their classification into one of the other categories (“White”, “Negro”, “Indian”) commonly remained debatable and the legality of their marriages could be challenged at any time even within marriages were both parties were of “Mexican” origin as in the Kirby 1921 case in Arizona.

These racial classification, more broadly, remained of course a flawed concept with there regularly being challenges to individuals classification as they were often based on appearance of standings within the local community, however while individuals managed to overturn their classification or there were even concerns with broad categories and who they included e.g. “Mongolians” or “Malayns” the general system of race classifications remained intact for a considerable time (Pascoe 2009, p.112). Also, in some states marriages of different racial groups not involving whites were outlawed as well, which further complicated matters especially when it came to individuals of “mixed” origins (redcourt case in California/Arizona on this?). In part, while not essential to protect the idea of white supremacy, this was necessary in some states judicial systems to make anti-miscegenation laws compliant with putting the same burden on all racial groups.

Despite the clear conflicts within the definitions of race in state miscegenation laws within and across states the general trend was that miscegenation laws spread across most of the United States until 1909 when Montana, North and South Dakota adopted laws for the first time coinciding with the foundation of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in New York. The exception to this trend being the slow and in a number of Northern States (e.g. Illinois 1874, Michigan 1883, and Ohio 1887). However, even this abolishment in Northern States were back under threat due to the scandals surrounding Black heavyweight champion Jack Johnson’s marriage to White Lucille Cameron, which led to intensive nationwide coverage and controversy. As a response, several new miscegenation

laws were proposed in 11 state legislatures (out of 19 without a law) as well as a nationwide ban by Georgia congressman Seaborn Roddenberry, while a bill that would have covered Washington, D.C. passed the House of Representatives. However, this time, as pointed out in Pascoe (2009) p.172, the lobbying of the newly formed NAACP was able to stop all these laws in their tracks with zero out of the proposed laws being enacted. Indeed, the NAACP managed to halt all future extension of laws even as there were further new proposals introduced in the 1920s by a resurgent Ku-Klux-Klan.² Despite this the NAACP and despite its increasing challenges against other segregationist laws (e.g. in education) the NAACP largely refrained from challenging existing miscegenation laws in court. So that the geography of miscegenation laws remained largely frozen until after WW2 despite attitudes of Americans becoming considerably more liberal in this period.

This only changed with the “Perez v. Sharp” case in which instead of challenging the racial classification applied to the couple, the case was about more fundamental rights (Pascoe (2009) Ch.7). This led to the abolishment of the California miscegenation law in 1948 as it was decided by the California supreme court that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Following this, — despite initial hopes of organizations opposing miscegenation laws— progress was slow in over turning the remaining miscegenation laws with there being only state by state abolitions of miscegenation laws in the western state. The supreme court was unwilling to hear the attempts to bring miscegenation cases before the court (e.g. Naim v. Naim 1955) due to the precarious process of implementing Brown v Board of Education and other rulings on desegregation with miscegenation being avoided due to its potential to incite considerable resistance in the South, the general low support in the (especially white) population for miscegenation in opinion polls, and the precedent of Pace v Alabama (1883) (Pascoe (2009) Ch.7).

The sudden end of miscegenation laws came only in the late 1960s with the supreme court decisions on McLaughlin v Florida (1964) and Loving v Virginia (1967) which struck down the miscegenation laws that were still in place in 16 Southern states (see Pascoe (2009) Ch.8 for more details).³ Despite this many states kept their miscegenation law on the books with Alabama being the last to abolish it in 2000 as changes often required referendums on constitutional amendments. The yes-vote of only 59.5% on the amendment highlights the considerable opposition that still existed even then against interracial marriages.

²During this period also some Black interest groups were outspokenly in support of miscegenation laws and advocated for Black racial purity, e.g. Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association (see e.g. Martin 1986, p.344).

³McLaughlin v Florida (1964) did not directly abolish miscegenation laws, but the supreme court only declared the interracial cohabitation law unconstitutional and provided a recent precedent that overturned Pace v Alabama (1883) that long provided the foundation for upholding miscegenation laws in courts.

The timing of adoption new miscegenation laws or updates to them in in a respective state within a broader US region is somewhat difficult to pin down.⁴ One important channel might have been the adoption or changes in miscegenation laws in other states or miscegenation laws being upheld in court cases. The former might be particularly relevant as state officials in states that updated their laws lobbied law makers and interest groups in other states on adopting similar policies through lecturing before conventions and disseminating other materials even with the success of this being more limited and taking more time than proponents hoped (Thomson 1978, Ch. 5; Lombardo 1987 p.435; Smith 2002 p.89; Pascoe 2009 Ch.1, Ch.5 (especially p.143ff)).

Other important factors in the introduction of miscegenation laws were immigration and inheritance. Especially, in the case of updated anti-miscegenation laws against Asians these responded to new migration waves and the new possibilities for interracial marriages they created. While the role of inheritances and land property played an important role in shaping (or preventing the introduction) of anti-miscegenation laws between White males and Native Americans, which were more “acceptable” in certain periods also reflected in the often influential families that traced their history back to initial settlers frequently married to Native Americans (see e.g. Pascoe 2009, Chapter 3 & 5).

2.2 Enforcement

Not just the timing of adoption of miscegenation laws varied widely also the direct and indirect enforcement varied considerably by states. For example, statistics even when recorded were often not used and assessment of individual’s race relied on local clerks. Also, as already noted, coverage impacted different ethnic groups and these definitions changed often at state borders making it easy to obtain marriage licenses out of state for some couples. Differences between states were considerable in miscegenation laws, while regional differences were of limited relevance (Pascoe 2009, p.193). To further complicate enforcement as well as avoidance of the rules, while in general accepted, there was considerable variation in whether marriage licenses from another state were accepted when it came to interracial marriages. [There was definitely another point here but I forgot] Even the penalties for miscegenation varied widely with, for example, California had no criminal provisions, while Virginia had mandated severe felony penalties (Pascoe 2009, p.150). Also, punishment sometimes focused on couples while other time focussing on the person providing the marriage license. The following provides some more interesting

⁴More broadly, eugenics and other fields providing an academic appearance had a great influence on the shaping of laws and court cases where the racial origins of individuals were in question (Thomson 1978, Ch. 4; Pascoe 2009, Ch. 5).

caveats on the varied differences in enforcement of miscegenation laws, of course, being far from fully comprehensive.

Often racial mixing was going on unknown to authorities and statistics were rarely and only sparsely used to check couples getting married. Rather identification of race often continued to rely on mere physical appearances and the testimony of families and neighbors (Pascoe 2009, p.114). Race being decided on local acceptance and physical is also clearly observable in several court cases. For example in Texas: “The fact that her husband was a white man [...] go to show that appellant was known and recognized as a white woman.” Or the supreme court of North Carolina: “[...] to the witness testifying that Anne Booth was a colored person and reputed to be such”. This is despite racial information being available from a vast amount of statistical sources in some states: e.g. U.S. census bureau and other government agencies (nation wide), birth and death certificates, state tax records, and the Confederate war department (Pascoe 2009, p.141).

Out of state licenses and recognition of licenses in other states (Pascoe 2009, p.193).

It's also worth pointing out that states were not always able to enforce anti-miscegenation laws against couples which were married in other states and also often enforcement was not enforced retrospectively when loop holes were closed (Pascoe 2009, p.147).

-1) Denying licenses in particular white - women getting married.

-2) Denying inheritances, usually to Native American or Black widows of White landowners. Even in cases, as often was the case of marriages between early white settlers and Native American women, even where the land was originally Native American land (Pascoe 2009, p.121). Relatives, state officials, and creditors used anti-miscegenation laws as a powerful tool to void marriages and in many cases successfully gain access to the inheritances. Even in cases from the couples “mixed” children (Pascoe 2009, p.136).

Indeed this asymmetry is not surprising as at least initially the intermarriage of White settlers and Native American was encouraged to gain access to land and trading networks, however this acceptance diminished as the number of White settlers increased in states and wealth became more concentrated in White hands. In contrast, “White womanhood” was always seen under threat and as a key threat of them being led astray by “sexual deviants”. Consequently, anti-miscegenation laws were not necessarily enforced during the course of the marriage when it included White men, but rather at the time when inheritance claims had to be settled, while mixed marriages including White women were often scandalous and widely reported in newspapers and stopped at the time of formation.

Another way of enforcement was that marriage licenses required race classification extending on efforts to record these in birth and death certificates. These

restrictions in providing marriage licenses based on race were in place with a large number of other restrictions against the “physically and mentally unfit to marry” in the majority of states. Indeed, conditional on racial categories having been determined correctly by clerks the law was executed rigorously in not providing marriage license to interracial couples banned from doing so.⁵ Notably, the provision and rejection of marriage licenses to individual couples as well there attempts to obtain those in other states often received considerable newspaper coverage (see e.g. Pascoe 2009, p.88, p.153, p. 164).

Notably, definitions of race (in terms of “blood rules” or ancestry and the degree of severity) and who was banned from marriage differed widely by race and state (Lombardo 1987; Pascoe 2009).

This short summary of enforcement focuses more on the enforcement during the early stages of anti-miscegenation laws, which relied heavily on judicial and legislative branches of government for the definition of race towards a more established system that relied on bureaucrats in the modern administrative state. Most notably in Virginia and Louisiana. This system relied on vital statistics bureaus, county clerks and registrar offices linking county, state and national reporting systems to eliminate loopholes and moved the definition of an individual’s race from the local community towards documentations by statistical records (Pascoe 2009, p.149).

2.3 Impact of miscegenation laws

-Codification of race more clearly. (Also miscegenation laws seem to open the door for other laws, but maybe not so good to mention here. Double check also Pascoe (2009) as a credible source on this as of course wanting to push miscegenation as a key policy too)

Marriage licenses also became a key way of measuring race and requirements were even put in place in states that did not have any anti-miscegenation laws (Pascoe 2009, p.139).

The interracial relationships including children of these relationships were often recorded in statistics like the U.S. census, but rarely used for enforcing miscegenation laws until the 1920s or even visible to the public despite anti-miscegenation laws being in place (Pascoe 2009, p.140). In addition, it seemed relatively common that individuals were able to change their racial classification due to not being clearly categorizable into a specific racial categories based on their physical characteristics

⁵In Los Angeles where data has been collected on this a marriage license was issued in only 12 cases (7 White/Japanese, 1 White/Chinese, & 4 White/Black), in which the couple were banned from marrying by the California miscegenation law, out of 170’636 licenses issued 1924-33 (Panunzio, 1942). In contrast, not banned interracial marriages were recorded more frequently: 4’338 for White/Mexican and 34 White/Native Americans each reflecting around a third of marriage licenses issued including Mexicans and Native Americans, respectively.

and being able to be accepted by their neighbors and county officials as such. Obtaining this acceptance was likely also gained through marriage with a partner of a specific race. Less clear is whether this was done by deceiving the partner as was one of the greatest fears of white supremacists (Pascoe 2009, p.141) summarizing Plecker's⁶ March 13th 1925: "[...] near-whites epitomized the urgency of placing a one-drop standard of white purity in Virginia's miscegenation law, for without this standard, Many thousands of white Negroes ... were quietly and persistently passing over the line".

For proponents of white supremacy it was clear that miscegenation laws were the center piece of legislation to keep the system of racial hierarchy and controls in place even as slavery was abolished. Pascoe (2009), p.117 notes accordingly: "After the Civil war, when miscegenation law inherited from slavery the task of defining race directly in the text of their miscegenation laws." In particular, in the role as prohibiting the blurring of racial lines and being a key legislation in defining race formally.

-Discuss out-migration to marry.

In the Scott v State 1869 case on interracial marriage the Georgia supreme court was quite clear on miscegenation laws being necessary to uphold the racial (economic) order of things: "[...] *the moral and physical development of both races, and the highest advancement of our cherished southern civilization, under which two distinct races are to work out and accomplish the destiny to which the Almighty has assigned them on this continent—all require that they should be kept distinct and separate, and that connections and alliances so unnatural that God and nature seem to forbid them, should be prohibited by positive law, and be subject to no evasion.*" It is clear from this that one key intention of miscegenation laws was to keep now freed Blacks as much as possible locked in the Southern plantation economy as cheap labor for white owners. A key way of doing this was through restricting Blacks from having any outside option and opportunities for advancement by restricting marriage of whites and blacks.⁷

Another important consequence of these laws —as highlighted by interest groups like the NAACP (see Committee On The District Of Columbia 1916; Mitchell 2004 Ch. 7; Pascoe 2009 p. 177)— might have allowed white men to have illicit intercourse with black women without fearing social or economic consequences (in the

⁶One of the main founders of the Virginia Racial Integrity Act. The most severe anti-miscegenation law to be put in place at the time and an important legislation inspiring tougher legislation in other states as well. Plecker was one of the first to collect extensive data on race of individuals through his role in the Virgin Bureau of Vital Statistics to increase enforcement of miscegenation laws. He also frequently entertained and scared his audiences with stories of "near-Whites" who fooled their marital partners, eluded county officials, and lulled or threatened their neighbours into accepting them as "Whites" (see Pascoe 2009, p.141).

⁷A key component here is also restricting the accumulation of capital by non-whites through inheritances from white males, see Pascoe (2009) Ch.1).

form of marriage or needing to support any potential mixed race offspring). While black men had to fear being lynchings when engaging in illicit intercourse with white women or other repercussions (see Mitchell 2004 Ch. 7; Pascoe 2009 p. 176; Gaines 2012 p.125).

3 Miscegenation laws and racial sentiment

For the analysis of race related sentiments, we use individual newspaper articles from *Newspaperarchive.com* for the period 1870-1940.⁸ From this we construct a panel of newspaper-year and state-year level mentions of different words in the universe of available articles. We use an event-study design with state-year level treatment to obtain the impact of the introduction of miscegenation laws on newspaper reporting around the event:

$$\Delta \text{Reporting}_{n,s,t} = \sum_i \beta_i \text{Law}_{s,t-i} + \lambda_t + \mu_n + \text{Year} \times \gamma_s + \varepsilon_{n,s,t}$$

where $\text{Reporting}_{n,s,t}$ is the number of articles using the respective word in newspaper n , in state s during year t . We construct this variable as total number of articles as well as by inverse page number to adjust for prominence.

$\sum_{-i}^i \beta_i \text{Law}_{s,t-i}$, our main variables of interest, measures the effect of the state-level introduction of a miscegenation law from year $-i$ before the law up to year i after the law was introduced. λ_t and μ_n control for year and newspaper fixed effects. $\text{Year} \times \gamma_s$ controls for state-level time trends.

Our first estimation strategy is at the newspaper-year level. This allows us to account for newspaper-level differences in reporting analyzing the intensive margin of reporting. This is robust to the emergence and closure of newspapers.⁹ The median newspaper is only available for 35 years in our sample, but with considerable dispersion in existence length from 9 years at the 10th percentile to 69 years at the 90th percentile. Our newspaper level analysis estimates accordingly coefficients for a relatively short-time horizon ($i \in \{-1, 1\}$) around the introduction of miscegenation laws here. The shorter time period is also necessary due to some of the outcomes only having rare occurrences in the sample.

In the second analysis, we collapse the newspaper data at the state-level to be able to look at a longer time horizon ($i \in \{-5, 5\}$) and are able to capture the intensive margin of changing newspaper coverage as well as the extensive margin of

⁸We focus on the period post US Civil War for two reasons: (i) miscegenation our main word of interest is invented only in 1864 in the anti-abolitionist pamphlet “Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro” and (ii) the Civil War possibly affected the availability of newspapers and record keeping (in particular in the South).

⁹We restrict the newspaper time-period in our dataset to be between the first and last occurrence of any record scrapped.

a changing newspaper landscape. However, these results might be sensitive to the available newspaper sample and the emergence and closure of specific newspapers.

Table 2 presents the newspaper-year newspaper results for the effect of law adoption on reporting on miscegenation.

Table 1: Summary stats for newspaper coverage

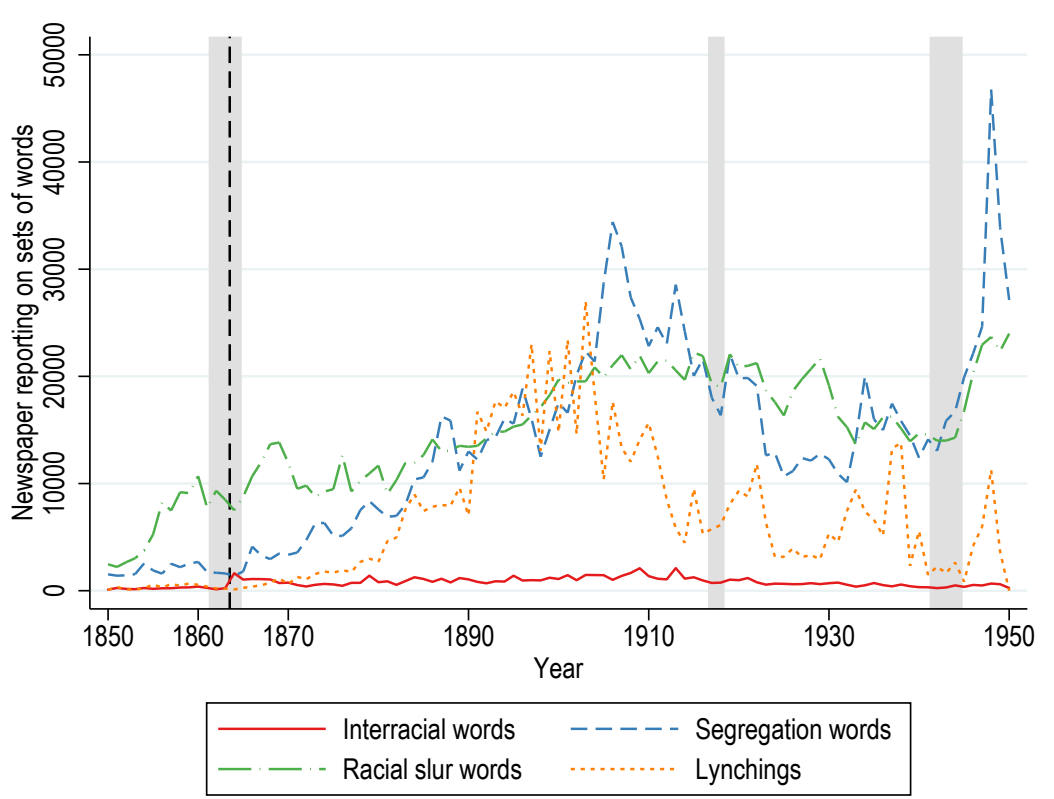
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
A. Newspaper-year-level					
#Miscegenation	0.02	0.37	0	118	861,530
#Intermarry words	0.09	0.84	0	136	861,530
#Segregation words	1.58	12.37	0	1077	861,530
#Segregation \supset <i>miscegenation</i>	0.01	0.29	0	136	861,530
#Segregation policies	0.00	0.07	0	21	861,530
#Racial slur words	1.74	10.68	0	647	861,530
#Lynching	0.79	6.16	0	575	861,530
#Ku-Klux-Klan	0.01	1.14	0	513	861,530
#White supremacy words	0.05	0.81	0	228	861,530
B. State-year-level					
#Miscegenation	3.30	9.87	0	266	5,252
#Intermarry words	15.03	23.92	0	345	5,252
#Segregation words	258.41	403.24	0	6751	5,252
#Segregation \supset <i>miscegenation</i>	1.23	5.24	0	210	5,252
#Segregation policies	0.25	2.12	0	69	5,252
#Racial slur words	285.56	409.29	0	3154	5,252
#Lynching	129.47	254.17	0	3544	5,252
#Ku-Klux-Klan	2.04	17.41	0	513	5,252
#White supremacy words	8.76	25.11	0	834	5,252

Notes: The table reports summary statistics for the newspaper dataset reporting number of articles using different sets of words. Panel A reports newspaper-year data and Panel B reports state-year data. The columns report mean, standard deviation, minimum, maximum and number of observations. For each panel: row 1 the word is “miscegenation”; row 2 the words are “intermarry”, “intermarriage”, “miscegenation”; row 3 the words are “segregation”, “discrimination”, “separate but equal” and “Jim Crow”; row 4 uses the same words as in row 3, but restricting the sample to articles also mentioning “miscegenation”; row 5 the words are “school segregation”, “hospital segregation”, “prison segregation”, “railroad segregation”, “bus segregation”, and “housing segregation”; row 6 the words are ten racial slur words; row 7 uses the word “lynching”; row 8 uses different spellings of “ku klux klan”; row 9 the words are “white supremacy”, “darwinism”, and “social darwinism”.

Table 3 presents the state-year newspaper results.

Table 13 presents the state-year newspaper results.

Figure 1: Race-related articles by topic



Notes: The figure depicts the number of articles in US newspapers mentioning the specific sets of words over time (1870-1940). The set of words depicted are the 4 most frequently used (out of our list of 8 used in Table 3, 13). Interracial words include articles mentioning “miscegenation”; “intermarry”; “intermarriage”. Segregation words include “segregation”; “discrimination”; “separate but equal”; “Jim Crow”. Racial slur words includes a list of 10 slur words (mostly for African-Americans, but also including some for Asians and Native Americans). Lynchings includes “lynching”. The black dashed line represents the creation of the words miscegenation in 1864. The gray shaded areas represent the US Civil War, US involvement in World War 1, and World War 2.

Table 2: Coverage of miscegenation laws in newspapers

	Articles mentioning miscegenation (in standard deviation)					
	total	inverse	sine	total	inverse	sine
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
t-1	0.041	0.084	0.025	0.059	0.102	0.045
	(0.175)	(0.171)	(0.242)	(0.176)	(0.171)	(0.241)
Miscegenation law t=0	0.476*	0.509	0.743**	0.491*	0.525*	0.761**
	(0.284)	(0.315)	(0.356)	(0.282)	(0.313)	(0.354)
t+1	0.068	0.068	0.169	0.082	0.082	0.186
	(0.147)	(0.120)	(0.249)	(0.147)	(0.119)	(0.247)
Observations	116826	116826	116826	116826	116826	116826
R ²	0.369	0.281	0.305	0.370	0.283	0.306
Newspaper FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-time-trend				✓	✓	✓

Notes: The table presents the effect of the introduction of miscegenation laws, and 1 year before and after the laws introduction, on newspaper articles mentioning racial issue related words. Results are at the newspaper-year level. The dependent variables are in hyperbolic sine and adjusted to be in standard deviations for comparability. Columns 1 & 4 use the number of articles. Columns 2 & 5 use the number of articles adjusted by inverse page number. Columns 3 & 6 use the inverse hyperbolic sine. Robust standard errors clustered on state-year level are reported in parentheses.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 3: Newspaper-year level racial sentiment results

	Articles mentioning the respective words (in standard deviation)									
	Miscegenation	Inter-racial	Segregation			Other racial topics				All-4
	(1)	(2)	All (3)	Misce (4)	Policies (5)	Slurs (6)	Lynching (7)	KKK (8)	Supremacy (9)	(10)
t-1	0.045	0.060	0.018	0.130	0.161	0.014	-0.041	-0.037	-0.226**	-0.015
	(0.241)	(0.133)	(0.068)	(0.137)	(0.103)	(0.056)	(0.083)	(0.061)	(0.096)	(0.055)
Miscegenation law t=0	0.761**	0.448***	0.046	0.660*	-0.612	-0.017	-0.107	-0.073	-0.002	-0.042
	(0.354)	(0.156)	(0.052)	(0.341)	(0.460)	(0.047)	(0.093)	(0.047)	(0.163)	(0.053)
t+1	0.186	0.228	0.081	0.302	-0.090	-0.012	-0.029	-0.017	0.371	-0.000
	(0.247)	(0.145)	(0.067)	(0.214)	(0.091)	(0.052)	(0.113)	(0.060)	(0.248)	(0.061)
t-test (Coefs=0)	0.05	0.00	0.21	0.01	0.30	0.88	0.33	0.26	0.67	0.59
Observations	116841	116841	116841	116841	116841	116841	116841	116841	116841	116841
R ²	0.306	0.399	0.561	0.294	0.167	0.533	0.560	0.320	0.372	0.535
Newspaper FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-time-trend	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: The table presents the effect of the introduction of miscegenation laws, and 1 year before and after the laws introduction, on newspaper articles mentioning racial issue related words. Results are at the newspaper-year level. The dependent variables are in hyperbolic sine and adjusted to be in standard deviations for comparability. Column 1-2 looks at miscegenation using only "miscegenation" in column 1 and includes "intermarry", "intermarriage" in column 2. Column 3-5 look at segregation using "segregation", "separate but equal" and "Jim Crow" in column 3 with Column 4 restricting the sample to articles also mentioning miscegenation, while focusing on specific segregationist policies in column 5 ("school segregation", "hospital segregation", "prison segregation", "railroad segregation", "bus segregation", and "housing segregation"). Column 6-8 at other race related topics using ten racial slur words in column 6, "lynching" in column 7, "ku klux klan" in column 8, and words associated with white supremacy in column 9 ("white supremacy", "darwinism", "social darwinism"). Column 10 sums these 4 topic areas. T-test for three coefficients jointly equal 0 reported. Robust standard errors clustered on state-year level are reported in parentheses (apart from column 7 were the covariance matrix is nonsymmetric).

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

4 Empirical Strategy

We use a panel of individual-level first-differences in the following multi-level fixed effects estimation with state-year level treatment to obtain the impact of the intro-

duction of miscegenation laws:

$$\Delta\text{Outcome}_{i,e,s,r,t} = \beta\Delta\text{Law}_{s,t} + \lambda_{e,t} + \mu_{r,t} + \gamma_{e,s} + \varepsilon_{i,e,s,r,t}$$

$\Delta\text{Outcome}_{i,e,s,r,t}$, measures the change in outcome for individual i , of ethnicity e (e.g. Black or White Americans), during decade t , who resided at the start of the decade in state s and census region r . For now, our main focus is on individuals marriage status, state-level migration, race, as well as economic characteristics. $\beta\Delta\text{Law}_{s,t}$, our main variable of interest, measures the effect of the state-level introduction of a miscegenation law in the same decade on the change in individuals' outcomes.

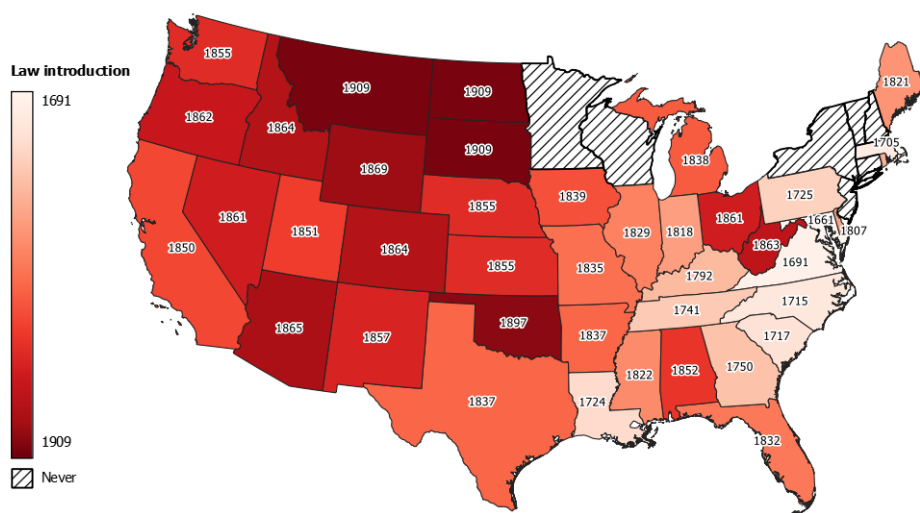
A number of common shocks might be correlated with the introduction of anti-miscegenation laws. A first issue for our analysis might be that the state-level introduction of miscegenation laws is related to other regional or nation-wide developments that might have different impacts across individuals with regards to their race. For example, electoral success of a party changes federal as well as state-level laws relating to the treatment of different racial groups. Another, concern is that shock like the Civil war effect particular regions different from others. To deal with this we added two fixed-effects, $\lambda_{e,t}$ and $\mu_{r,t}$ that account for the changes in outcomes across individuals of different ethnicity e by decade t as well as census region r by decade t . Importantly, for our empirical strategy and as pointed out by Pascoe (2009) p.193, miscegenation laws in contrast to most other segregationist laws varied significantly within regions from state to state.

Another issue might be that developments in states that introduce miscegenation laws at some point are likely different from states which never enacted these laws, which in turn might lead to different trends in outcomes across decades.¹⁰ The impact of these differences across states obviously vary by an individuals ethnicity. To deal with this confounding problem, the term $\lambda_{e,s}$ controls for the fixed trends across ethnicities e across states s .

Accordingly, our empirical strategy compares the decadal change in outcome for an individual that experiences the introduction of a miscegenation law relative to the change in outcomes for individuals in the same state in previous periods as well as individuals in different states during the same period. Notably, we absorb any nation- and region-wide as well as state-level trends shocks across ethnicity. This rules out a large number of confounding shocks that might associated over larger geographic areas or time periods with variation in outcomes of individuals of different ethnicity. For this reason, we referred to them as multi-level fixed effects extending on classic two-way fixed effects.

¹⁰Note that by looking at the change in outcomes for individuals fixed differences across individuals are already absorbed.

Figure 2: First introduction of anti-miscegenation laws across states



Would it make sense to have this map as Post-Civil war introductions (with pre-existing laws shaded a different patten, maybe dots?). Notes: The map depicts the first introduction of an anti-miscegenation law. In many southern states these laws were abolished with the end of the civil war and later re-introduced, which is not depicted. Shaded areas depict states that never had a anti-miscegenation law.

The exploited variation in our analysis relies on the timing of the introduction of miscegenation laws as depicted in Figure 2. The remaining main concern for our analysis is that the introduction of miscegenation laws is correlated with other state-time specific shocks that also vary by race. We have several ways to disentangle the impact of miscegenation laws from state-level changes in race specific attitudes. First, we plan to create state-level controls for economic conditions by race at the start of the period. Second, we will directly control for Jim Crow laws, the vote share of Southern Democrats, DW-nominate score measuring the general attitudes of policy makers, newspaper articles on racial issues and lynchings. For this, we are in the process of collecting a list of other Jim Crow laws enacted across US states, state-level vote share change of Southern Democrats and DW nominate score of elected representatives (from Poole and Rosenthal 2000). Third, we will follow the strategy outlined in Masera, Rosenberg, and Walker (2022) using newspaper reports on anti-black political sentiments. This should rule out that the effect of miscegenation laws we find is driven by an associated shift in attitudes against a specific ethnicity in a state.

The preliminary balance checks in Table 4 underline that overall the characteristics of individuals that are not married (Panel A), in white-white marriages (Panel B) and in black-black marriages (Panel C) do not differ immediately before the introduction of an anti-miscegenation law. This represent the majority of the population, which do not appear to differ in their population size, state-origin, nationality, overall and female labor force participation, agricultural employment share or education

Table 4: Balance checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	log Pop	State born	Foreign born	LFP	Fem LFP	Agriculture	Education	Fem white
Panel A. Non married								
Law (t+1)	-0.195 (0.433)	-0.089 (0.089)	0.024 (0.047)	0.076 (0.058)	0.032 (0.023)	-0.014 (0.066)	-0.085 (0.061)	
Panel B. White-white marriages								
Law (t+1)	-0.559 (0.546)	-0.084 (0.100)	0.036 (0.044)	-0.020 (0.019)	0.004 (0.012)	0.005 (0.050)	-0.134** (0.067)	
Panel C. Black-black marriages								
Law (t+1)	-0.171 (0.432)	-0.219* (0.113)	-0.035 (0.028)	0.071 (0.093)	-0.054 (0.076)	0.212 (0.199)	0.001 (0.063)	
Panel D. Black-white marriages								
Law (t+1)	1.479*** (0.214)	-0.118 (0.174)	-0.278 (0.184)	0.032 (0.078)	-0.330*** (0.090)	-0.204** (0.080)	0.222*** (0.068)	0.140 (0.245)
Observations	321	321	321	321	321	321	321	321
State FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: The table presents whether the future introduction of a miscegenation law is associated with state-level characteristics at the start of the decade. The analysis is broken down by race-marriage categories. Characteristics are presented for non-married individuals in Panel A, white-white marriages in Panel B, black-black marriages in Panel C and black-white marriages in Panel D. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

just before a miscegenation law is introduced compared to places that did not introduce one in the following decade. This suggest that in general states where developing in a similar way across different racial groups just before anti-miscegenation laws were introduced (at least after accounting for state and year fixed effects, which is a subset of the factors accounted for in our baseline multi-level fixed effects specification). Panel D, however, presents a noteworthy exception. Which focuses on the characteristics of individuals in black-white marriages. We see that just before the introduction of anti-miscegenation laws this group displays more favorable socio-economic characteristics compared to black-white marriages in places that do not introduce a anti-miscegenation law. This is notably a small sub-group of the population that does not impact the overall state-level characteristics, so that this does not reflect in anyway differences in economic conditions across states even when subdivided by ethnicities. Rather this likely reflects that anti-miscegenation laws are a backlash against black-white marriages becoming more acceptable in better-off social strata or socio-economic improvements of the existing ones. Notably, if this at all will affect our estimates—which is not necessarily the case as we absorb individual fixed differences¹¹— we are likely underestimating the negative socio-economic impacts of anti-miscegenation laws.

A final issue related to the recent DiD literature is that the impact of miscegena-

¹¹Only if black-white marriages are experiencing faster growth in socio-economic conditions (and if not accounted for by our multi-level fixed effects) not just a different level this would bias our estimates and would go against us finding any effect.

tion laws might change over time as well as extensions of the laws coverage or the repeal of miscegenation laws polluting the control group. To address this, we exclude individuals from the analysis that live at the start of the decade in states with miscegenation laws.

5 Data

The main data sources for our analysis are linked individuals from the US census (1850-1940). The individual data comes from the full count census provided by IPUMS (Ruggles, Goeken, Hacker, Nelson, Roberts, Schouweiler, and Sobek, 2021) and the linking is based on the Census Linking Project (Abramitzky et al., 2020).¹² We match to this individual-level data a newly collected dataset of state-level miscegenation laws by introduction, revision and repeal dates, and racial groups covered, relying on Pascoe (2009).

From the individual level census data (Ruggles et al., 2021) we construct the following variables: Marriage status, race, literacy status, migration status as well as occupation.

Importantly, the identifier on spouses and children in the census data allows us to construct the family structure. Thus, we are able to identify interracial marriages as well as children of interracial marriages.¹³

There are three main shortcomings in the IPUMS (Ruggles et al., 2021) and the Census Linking Project (Abramitzky et al., 2020) data. First, we can only link male individuals, so that we can not estimate the effect of the introduction of laws on women. Second, while we are able to follow individuals migrations out of states over time, we are unable to follow individuals that leave the US. However, we do not expect this to be a major issue at the time, especially for the black population at which most of the miscegenation laws were targeted.¹⁴ Third, enclosing the two former concerns, longitudinal linked data suffers from attrition. This is different using full count censuses compared to usual longitudinal surveys as at least all alive individuals living in the US should be surveyed. Attrition however, might still arise, for example, due to individual's death, or them changing their name and information used to identify them across census rounds. The latter is the reason why women are not linked across censuses as marriage means they commonly change their last name. Similarly, individuals that try to change their race might also try to change their names. Racial changes have been recently documented by Dahis, Nix, and Qian

¹²The Census Linking Project (Abramitzky et al., 2020) only covers the male population so that when looking at linked data our dataset only covers the US male population.

¹³This allows us to identify children of interracial marriages over time.

¹⁴For Asians in the West return migration might have been a more plausible possibility.

(2019).¹⁵ If any type of attrition is correlated with the introduction of miscegenation laws in a systematic way, this might bias our results. Importantly, we know which (male) individuals are not possible to be linked in our dataset across decades. This allows us to analyze the relationship between miscegenation laws and attrition, i.e. being unable to link an individual over time. The inability of matching individuals across censuses being potentially an outcome of interest itself as it proxies for a higher rate of death or individuals trying to disconnect from their past.

6 Results

[Very preliminary and in progress]

The most obvious question of interest considering that we observe miscegenation marriages in the census even after they are banned in a state is whether these laws indeed had an effect apart from the few cases where individuals were charged. We start by looking at the effect on same race marriages. Table 5 shows that the introduction of the anti-miscegenation laws increased marriage between individuals of same race by 5 percentage points, which represents a shift from 37% to 42%. In parallel, among individuals married at the beginning of the decade, the evidence suggests that the introduction of anti-miscegenation laws relatively increased same-race marriages by about 2 percentage points compared to different-race marriages. This latter result suggests that the introduction of anti-miscegenation laws dissolved intermarriage, which is consistent with the purpose of these laws. However, it also means that many people continued to report that they were married to someone of a different race, even though state laws nullified them.

Table 5: Marriage Outcomes

	Δ Spouse of same race	
	Among all the population	Among married in t
	(1)	(2)
Law introduction	0.0501*** (0.00766)	0.0207*** (0.00333)
State-race FE	✓	✓
Region-decade FE	✓	✓
Race-decade FE	✓	✓
Observations	18857352	10779279
R ²	0.00132	0.00384

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

¹⁵Importantly, race is not one of the features used to link individuals across different census rounds.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that a major way of avoiding anti-miscegenation laws for mixed marriages was to migrate to a state without these laws.¹⁶ We investigate this formally in Table 6. The table presents estimates of the introduction of anti miscegenation laws on migration not just by introduction of the law, but also the effect on mixed marriages and Blacks overall. We find that the implementation of a law is associated with an increase of out-migration for individuals targeted by the law, i.e. the ones in mixed marriage before the introduction of the law, and Black Americans, while there is no impact on the remaining population. Living at the beginning of the decade in a state that adopted the law during the decade increased migration by about 11.1 percentage points for individuals in mixed race marriages. Even more noticeable is the 4.5 percentage points increase in out-migration of Black Americans more generally independent of being in a mixed marriage or not. This suggests that anti-miscegenation laws were a key push factor in the Great Migration of Black Americans out of Southern towards Northern states, which at least in some states never introduced anti-miscegenation laws.

Table 6: Migration Outcome

	Migrate out of State between t and $t + 1$			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Law introduction	-0.0260 (0.0269)	-0.0265 (0.0268)	-0.0260 (0.0269)	-0.0265 (0.0268)
Law introduction X Black _{t}		0.0457** (0.0208)		0.0448** (0.0208)
Mixed Marriage _{t}			0.0212*** (0.00796)	0.0214*** (0.00796)
Law introduction X Mixed Marriage _{t}			0.129*** (0.0244)	0.111*** (0.0236)
State-race FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region-decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race-decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	33956534	33956534	33956534	33956534
R ²	0.0284	0.0284	0.0284	0.0284

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 7 highlights that changes in the racial identity of initially black individuals, a nontrivial phenomenon, decreased when anti-miscegenation laws were introduced. More precisely, we find that in states in which the law is introduced, initially Black Americans are more likely to report the same race at the end of the decade

¹⁶A prominent example of this is the couple responsible for the Loving v. Virginia ruling, which left Virginia to get married in Washington DC.

by about 7.5 percentage points. This result is consistent with the fact that codifying race was a key necessity to enforce interracial marriage bans. In parallel, in order to check that we are not facing a poor individual mismatch over time, which could explain our results, we estimate the same model over a sample of initially White Americans. We find very close to zero and non significant coefficients.

Table 7: Race Passing

	Δ Reporting same race than in t	
	Black American	White American
	(1)	(2)
Law introduction	0.0750*** (0.0244)	0.000844 (0.00152)
State-race FE	✓	✓
Region-decade FE	✓	✓
Race-decade FE	✓	✓
Observations	812478	33111668
R ²	0.0375	0.0251

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Finally, we found preliminary evidence that the anti-miscegenation laws entrenched an economic system based on exploitation along racial lines. More precisely in the agricultural sector, occupations have been sorted accordingly to their location on the social ladder. Tabel 12 suggests that, Black Americans are more likely (by about 11 p.p.) to work as farm laborers, the lowest occupational status within agriculture, while White Americans are less likely to work as farm laborers (by about 4 p.p.) and more likely to work as farm tenant (by about 6 p.p.), a higher occupational status within agriculture. Remarkably, anti-miscegenation laws reduced the outflow of labor from the agricultural economy, but also allowed Whites to retain supervisory positions and reduce their employment as farm laborers. This seems to suggest that anti-miscegenation laws helped entrench a racially exploitative economic system that in many parts of the United States had it's roots in the slave-economy. [More results to follow especially on inter-generational outcomes]

Table 8: Labor Market Outcome

	Δ Occupation			
	Farm laborer		Tenant	
	Black American	White American	Black American	White American
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Law introduction	0.112*** (0.0403)	-0.0387*** (0.0135)	0.0289 (0.0603)	0.0684*** (0.0136)
State-race FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region-decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race-decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	390304	14120775	390304	14120775
R ²	0.0601	0.0125	0.0220	0.00392

Notes: The sample includes only individuals working over the entire period.

Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

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7 Appendix

Table 9: Marriage Outcomes (**Pre-trends**)

	Δ Spouse of same race			
	Among all the population		Among married in t	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Law introduction, t	0.0474*** (0.00579)	0.0512*** (0.00750)	0.000712 (0.00643)	-0.0213*** (0.00346)
Law introduction, $t - 1$	0.0418*** (0.00302)	0.0300*** (0.00445)	-0.00624*** (0.00227)	-0.0179*** (0.00597)
State-race FE		✓		✓
Region-decade FE		✓		✓
Race-decade FE		✓		✓
Observations	18857360	18857352	10779280	10779279
R ²	0.000136	0.00133	0.00000293	0.00384

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 10: Migration Outcome (**Pre-trends**)

	Migrate out of State between t and $t + 1$				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Law introduction, t	0.142*** (0.0204)	-0.0276 (0.0281)	-0.0280 (0.0281)	-0.0276 (0.0281)	-0.0280 (0.0281)
Law introduction, $t - 1$	0.134*** (0.0123)	-0.0386 (0.0393)	-0.0380 (0.0392)	-0.0386 (0.0393)	-0.0380 (0.0392)
Law introduction, t X Black			0.0416* (0.0212)		0.0407* (0.0212)
Law introduction, $t - 1$ X Black			-0.0515** (0.0218)		-0.0517** (0.0217)
Mixed Marriage				0.0212*** (0.00805)	0.0213*** (0.00804)
Law introduction, t X Mixed Marriage				0.128*** (0.0244)	0.111*** (0.0237)
Law introduction, $t - 1$ X Mixed Marriage				-0.00383 (0.0700)	0.0209 (0.0713)
State-race FE		✓	✓	✓	✓
Region-decade FE		✓	✓	✓	✓
Race-decade FE		✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	33956542	33956534	33956534	33956534	33956534
R ²	0.00282	0.0284	0.0284	0.0284	0.0284

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 11: Race Passing (**Pre-trends**)

	Δ Reporting same race than in t			
	Black American		White American	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Law introduction, t	-0.250*** (0.0163)	0.0696** (0.0312)	-0.00818 (0.00678)	0.00110 (0.00141)
Law introduction, $t - 1$	-0.0146 (0.0766)	-0.0220 (0.0378)	-0.00478 (0.00638)	0.00689* (0.00396)
State-race FE		✓		✓
Region-decade FE		✓		✓
Race-decade FE		✓		✓
Observations	812479	812478	33111668	33111668
R ²	0.00144	0.0375	0.000207	0.0251

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 12: Labor Market Outcome (**Pre-trends**)

	Δ Occupation			
	Farm laborer		Tenant	
	Black American	White American	Black American	White American
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Law introduction, t	0.102** (0.0444)	-0.0407*** (0.0131)	0.0393 (0.0713)	0.0702*** (0.0137)
Law introduction, $t - 1$	-0.0394 (0.0385)	-0.0464*** (0.00209)	0.0400 (0.0657)	0.0435*** (0.0146)
State-race FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region-decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race-decade FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	390304	14120775	390304	14120775
R ²	0.0601	0.0126	0.0220	0.00394

Notes: Sample includes only individuals working over the entire period. Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are clustered by state-year.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 13: State-year level racial sentiment results

		Articles mentioning the respective words (in standard deviation)									
		Misce- genation	Inter- racial	Segregation			Other racial topics				
		(1)	(2)	All	Misce.	Policies	Slurs	Lynching	KKK	Supremacy	All-4
Miscegenation law	t-5	-0.211** (0.095)	-0.011 (0.073)	0.039 (0.055)	-0.176 (0.133)	0.051 (0.106)	0.008 (0.059)	0.091* (0.052)	0.414* (0.214)	-0.106 (0.109)	0.029 (0.055)
	t-4	-0.056 (0.134)	0.055 (0.086)	0.077 (0.059)	0.001 (0.156)	0.344* (0.177)	-0.003 (0.056)	0.026 (0.055)	0.130 (0.168)	0.002 (0.089)	0.001 (0.055)
	t-3	0.053 (0.116)	0.067 (0.083)	0.043 (0.060)	0.207 (0.160)	0.116 (0.195)	0.036 (0.055)	0.027 (0.063)	0.120 (0.146)	-0.109 (0.153)	0.040 (0.053)
	t-2	-0.249** (0.119)	-0.049 (0.073)	0.042 (0.058)	0.045 (0.206)	0.070 (0.221)	-0.003 (0.038)	0.041 (0.059)	0.129 (0.154)	-0.082 (0.150)	0.027 (0.039)
	t-1	-0.104 (0.163)	0.028 (0.120)	0.066 (0.059)	0.136 (0.215)	0.246 (0.198)	0.090* (0.052)	0.025 (0.053)	0.199 (0.142)	-0.162 (0.135)	0.074 (0.052)
	t=0	0.334** (0.170)	0.264*** (0.095)	0.115** (0.048)	0.360* (0.216)	-0.118 (0.184)	0.063 (0.048)	0.034 (0.060)	-0.034 (0.100)	-0.034 (0.170)	0.060 (0.047)
	t+1	-0.014 (0.126)	0.121 (0.085)	0.048 (0.064)	0.129 (0.163)	-0.118 (0.112)	-0.048 (0.090)	0.016 (0.068)	0.041 (0.096)	0.166 (0.127)	-0.029 (0.088)
	t+2	0.021 (0.130)	0.206*** (0.076)	0.098 (0.067)	0.038 (0.148)	0.001 (0.099)	0.028 (0.090)	-0.003 (0.067)	-0.017 (0.100)	0.002 (0.120)	0.011 (0.088)
	t+3	-0.211* (0.124)	0.071 (0.093)	0.057 (0.064)	0.140 (0.152)	0.012 (0.112)	0.083 (0.087)	0.045 (0.057)	0.096 (0.086)	-0.056 (0.123)	0.074 (0.076)
	t+4	-0.068 (0.134)	0.097 (0.090)	0.076 (0.077)	-0.041 (0.124)	-0.107 (0.093)	0.114* (0.059)	0.049 (0.069)	-0.004 (0.090)	-0.027 (0.138)	0.102* (0.055)
	t+5	-0.157* (0.093)	0.092 (0.093)	0.024 (0.062)	-0.054 (0.165)	0.010 (0.121)	0.095** (0.047)	-0.012 (0.052)	-0.061 (0.134)	-0.000 (0.101)	0.072 (0.046)
	Observations		3952	3952	3952	3952	3952	3952	3952	3952	3952
R ²		0.640	0.774	0.854	0.455	0.493	0.864	0.860	0.521	0.703	0.869
State FE		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-time-trend		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: The table presents the effect of the introduction of miscegenation laws, up to 5 years before and after the laws introduction, on newspaper articles mentioning racial issue related words. Results are at the state-year level. The dependent variables are in hyperbolic sine and adjusted to be in standard deviations for comparability. Column 1-2 looks at miscegenation using only “miscegenation” in column 1 and includes “intermarry”, “intermarriage” in column 2. Column 3-5 look at segregation using “segregation”, “separate but equal” and “Jim Crow” in column 3 with Column 4 restricting the sample to articles also mentioning miscegenation, while focusing on specific segregationist policies in column 5 (“school segregation”, “hospital segregation”, “prison segregation”, “railroad segregation”, “bus segregation”, and “housing segregation”). Column 6-8 at other race related topics using ten racial slur words in column 6, “lynching” in column 7, “ku klux klan” in column 8, and words associated with white supremacy in column 9 (“white supremacy”, “darwinism”, “social darwinism”). Column 10 sums these 4 topic areas. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.
 * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$