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Working Paper

The historical racial regime and racial inequality in poverty in the American South

LIS Working Paper Series, No. 820

Provided in Cooperation with:

Luxembourg Income Study (LIS)

Suggested Citation: Baker, Regina S. (2021) : The historical racial regime and racial inequality in poverty in the American South, LIS Working Paper Series, No. 820, Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), Luxembourg

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/267020>

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LIS

Working Paper Series

No. 820

The Historical Racial Regime and Racial Inequality in Poverty in the American South

Regina S. Baker

November 2021



CROSS-NATIONAL
DATA CENTER
in Luxembourg

Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), asbl

**THE HISTORICAL RACIAL REGIME AND RACIAL INEQUALITY IN POVERTY
IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH**

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August 2021

Forthcoming at the *American Journal of Sociology*

Acknowledgments: For helpful comments and suggestions, I thank David Brady, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Linda Burton, Janeria Easley, Irma Elo, Kenneth Land, Heather O'Connell, Pilar Gonalons-Pons, Treva Tam, Deadric Williams, and audiences at The Politics of Poverty Conference at the Blum Initiative on Global & Regional UC-Riverside, the Southern Sociological Society annual meeting, and the University of Maryland—College Park Department of Sociology. This research was supported, in part, by the Ford Foundation. Direct correspondence to Regina S. Baker, Department of Sociology, 3718 Locust Walk, McNeil Building, Ste. 353, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Email: regbaker@sas.upenn.edu.

ABSTRACT

Building on literatures on racial regimes and the legacy of slavery, this study conceptualizes and constructs a novel measure of the historical racial regime (HRR), and examines how HRR influences contemporary poverty and racial inequality in the American South. The HRR scale measures different manifestations of the U.S. racial regime across different historical periods (i.e. slavery and Jim Crow) and is based on state-level institutions including slavery, sharecropping, disfranchisement, and segregation. Using Current Population Study data from the Luxembourg Income Study 2010-2018 for 527,829 Southerners and historical state-level data from various sources, evidence is triangulated from bivariate associations, multilevel regressions, and decomposition analyses. Results show that residing in a state with stronger HRR is not significantly associated with greater poverty for all and especially not among White Southerners. Rather, a higher level of HRR worsens Black poverty and especially Black-White inequalities in poverty. Further, HRR explains a significant share of the Black-White poverty gap. These results hold even after adjusting for a wide variety of individual-level variables, many of which plausibly mediate the influence of HRR. Altogether, this study demonstrates the enduring influence of historical state institutions on contemporary poverty and inequality.

INTRODUCTION

The American South, with its historically high rates of poverty, high proportion of Black Americans, and contentious racist history, is a fitting context for which to examine the relationship between historical institutions and contemporary poverty and racial disparities in poverty. Early sociologist Rupert Vance argued, “It was the tragic course of Southern history that condemned the region to its poverty and dependence” (Reed 1982: xvii). Indeed, scholars have long contended that the enduring high poverty and racial inequality in poverty in the South were produced and are maintained by historically-entrenched institutions of racial subjugation and oppression (Albrecht, Albrecht, and Murguia 2005; Foulkes and Schafft 2010; Snipp 1996; Tomaskovic-Devey and Roscigno 1996). Despite the salience of these prominent features of the South, it is far from homogenous and actually exhibits considerable heterogeneity across the region. There are sizable differences in poverty and Black-White inequalities across the South that may correspond to differences in the historical institutional context of these places.

The “Deep South” states of Mississippi and Louisiana have the highest poverty rates and the largest Black-White poverty gaps in the region. By contrast, the lowest poverty rates and smallest Black-White poverty gaps are found among states in the outer periphery of the South, such as Delaware and Maryland. Southern states experienced substantially different exposures to historically racist institutions, and thus experienced different levels of racism and its consequences. For example, the states in the South that were formally part of the Confederacy have a shared history of slavery, union secession, Civil War defeat, and enduring the worst of the Jim Crow South, which distinguishes them from other Southern states (Baker 2020). Moreover, the Deep South states (among the poorest states in the region) were the first to secede from the

Union, and are what geographers call “the core” of the South due to their past plantation system and staple-crop economy (Reed 1993)—an economy made possible because of the racial inequality producing institutions of slavery and sharecropping. While slavery occurred across the South, it was the Deep South states (e.g. Mississippi and Alabama) that “developed an economy more dependent on slavery and, later, Jim Crow segregation than any other region, including other parts of the South (e.g., Virginia and North Carolina)” (Hattery and Smith 2007:58).

The differential exposure and impact of historical racist institutions coupled with the variation in poverty across Southern states warrants empirical examination. Recent studies link the specific institution of slavery in the plantation South to Black-White inequality in poverty (O’Connell 2012), unequal economic mobility (Berger 2018), and socioeconomic gains among White Southerners (Reece 2020). This prior scholarship regarding the legacy of slavery demonstrates the enduring impact of a particularly salient historical racist institution for poverty and racial inequality. However, slavery is only one such historical institution comprising the U.S. racial regime—a system of rule based on race that transcends time to sustain racial inequality (Ivery and Bassett 2015; Omi and Winant 2014). Despite the relevance of prior racial inequality scholarship focusing on slavery, the impact of the legacies of the U.S. racial regime remains partial until we incorporate a broader range of past oppressive racialized institutions.

Building on literatures on the legacy of slavery and racial regimes, this study innovates by conceptualizing and constructing a measure of the historical racial regime (HRR). This HRR scale measures different manifestations of the U.S. racial regime across different, established historical periods (i.e. slavery and Jim Crow) and is based on state-level data spanning more than a century to reflect the historical periods of the U.S. racial regime. The HRR scale includes a

measure of slavery, as in prior research, but also includes measures of sharecropping, disfranchisement, and segregation, which reflect economic, political, and social elements of the Jim Crow era (Morris 1984). These are examples of historical “major institutional mechanisms for maintaining racial inequality” (Biggs and Andrews 2015) post-slavery. Although such institutional mechanisms manifested at various times, together they worked to uphold the U.S. racial regime.

Given states vary in how much they exhibited the institutional manifestations of the U.S. racial regime, there is cross-state variation in the intensity of HRR over time. Drawing on historic state-level data, this study employs the HRR scale to empirically assess the legacies of HRR for poverty across Southern states. First, descriptive analyses assess the extent to which HRR and its trajectory varies. Second, bivariate analyses assess the relationships between HRR and poverty, Black and White poverty, and the Black-White poverty gap. Third, multi-level regression models assess the relationship between HRR and these outcomes, before and after controlling for individual-level variables, some which plausibly mediate this relationship. Fourth, decomposition analyses assess whether HRR contributes to the Black-White poverty gap.

In focusing on HRR and ultimately demonstrating its salience for contemporary racial inequality in poverty, this study exemplifies theories on the role of historical racial domination and oppression as enduring sources of racial inequalities (see Feagin 2014; Omi and Winant 2014; Williams 2019). This challenges the prevalent emphasis on individual and behavioral factors to explain poverty and racial inequality (Brady 2019). This study also buttresses political theories stressing the crucial role of the state in establishing and maintaining institutions that shape individual poverty over time and place (Korpi 1983; Moller et al. 2003). Moreover, in

contrast with prior studies examining legacy mechanisms at the county-level, this study employs a multi-level approach to demonstrate how macro state-level institutions, which create cultural norms and distribute resources in society (Homan 2019), are consequential for individual outcomes. Finally, this study draws attention to the South, which despite arguably having more severe, persistent poverty (Newman and O'Brien 2011), particularly among Black Americans (Wimberley 2008), has gotten relatively less attention than the Northeast and Midwest among poverty scholars (Baker 2020).

REGIMES AND INEQUALITY

Put simply, “a regime can be defined as a complex of rules and norms that create established expectations” (Sainsbury 1999:5). Particularly pertinent to this study is the notion of an inequality regime. Acker (2006:443) describes inequality regimes in organizations as consisting of “loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities.” More broadly, inequality regimes can be viewed as a complex of integrated parts (i.e. ideology, rules, laws, actions) that can collectively shape various aspects of life (e.g. labor markets, schools, and other public institutions, and the intimacies of family life), and hence shape inequality in society. Inequality regimes ultimately leave a “legacy” that subsequently shapes economic decision making and leads to dramatically different local and regional configurations (Acker 2006).

The U.S. Racial Regime

The concept of racial regimes is particularly useful for examining racial inequality in poverty in the U.S. A racial regime is a system of rule based on race that essentially functions to sustain racial inequality (Ivery and Bassett 2015; Omi and Winant 2014). As Holden (1995:6)

notes, “if significant benefits and burdens are allocated in accord with some racial hierarchy, then—however harsh it may seem—we may characterize the regime as racial.” In place since the onset of African slavery, the U.S. racial regime has endured despite being subject to challenge and reconfiguration (Winant 2015). It operates through both macro-level, large-scale activities and through micro-level, small-practices that shape racial inequality (Omi and Winant 2014).

Bonilla-Silva (2015) suggests the U.S. racial regime has undergone three periods: slavery, Jim Crow, and a “new racism” (i.e. post-Civil Rights color-blind racism—see Bonilla-Silva 2001 for a review). While both slavery and Jim Crow were consequential for racial inequality across America, they are particularly fundamental to race relations in the South, which is a quintessential example of the U.S. racial regime at work. According to Lowe and Shaw (2009:803), “As V.O. Key has suggested, the South is the clearest U.S. example of government sanctioning of, and investment in, forms of racial inequality driven by an aristocratic and/or elite/corporate order” (e.g. slavery and the plantation system; post slavery agricultural peonage, the convict lease system, and emerging agribusinesses).

One of the central elements helping maintain the racial order that characterizes racial regimes is racial ideology, for it is impossible for individuals not to be shaped by racial ideology in a racialized system (Bonilla-Silva 2001). While individuals have some degree of agency within a racial regime, their views and behaviors are fundamentally connected to their position within it (Bonilla-Silva 2015). These positions in the regime are characterized by whether they benefit or are at a disadvantage by the system. As such, the racial regime is both enforced and challenged (Omi and Winant 2014). Yet, even when challenged, the interests and power of those at the top of the regime tend to overshadow the interests of those suffering from inequality, and

that advantage is hard to relinquish (Acker 2006). Thus, within the racial regime, the benefits of White privilege can impact individual actions, helping uphold White supremacy, and producing and maintaining racial inequalities, such as contemporary poverty disparities.

Racial ideology is reflected in macro-scale institutions (e.g. established laws, rules, and actions) through which racial regimes operate. Institutions are essentially stable agreements and historical settlements that can regulate and shape individual and collective behavior, and thus shape inequality across place (Brady, Blome, and Kleider 2016). Scholars argue racism is deeply embedded in various institutions—from the labor market and schools to the political system (Feagin 2014). Institutions of the past are especially salient for racial regimes. Previously established laws, policies, and practices reflect “congealed” power, do not simply disappear overnight, and only slowly evolve over time (Brady et al. 2016; Esping-Andersen 1990; Jepperson 1991; Pierson 2004). Thus, institutions and their effects tend to be enduring. As Ruef and Fletcher (2003:147) note, “institutional legacies refer to the reproduction of material-resource and cultural conditions from a social institution despite the fact that the institution has been formally dismantled, (e.g., the ongoing effects of American slavery after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment).” Established oppressive institutions, in particular, demonstrate great social inertia and persistence (Feagin 2014). Hence, examining the historical state institutions that constitute a racial regime can help illuminate the long-term origins of contemporary racial inequalities.

THE LONG-TERM LEGACIES OF THE RACIAL REGIME

Regarding the U.S. racial regime, “we cannot step outside of race and racism, since our society and our identities are constituted by them; we lie in a racial history” (Omi and Winant

(2014:137). The entrenched history of the racial regime, particularly in the South, could be consequential for poverty and inequality. Some of the most economically disadvantaged places in the U.S. are those that have maintained high minority concentrations over time (i.e. the South, Black Belt, Mississippi Delta, Rio Grande Valley, Mexican Colonia, and Indian reservations) (Albrecht et al. 2005; Lichter, Parisi and Taquino 2012; Snipp 1996; Wimberley 2010). These distressed areas distinctly “share the experience of living in close proximity to the historical remnants of institutions explicitly created to conquer, oppress, and maintain their subordinate position in society” (Snipp 1996:127). Examples of such oppressive institutions include slavery, Jim Crow, plantation agriculture, immigration authorities, and tribal police (Snipp 1996). Not only do such acts of racial oppression have immediate harmful effects, they also carry long-term effects (Feagin 2014). Research has considered how these effects underlie the social, economic, political, and educational resources and opportunities available to Black individuals and families for generations to come (Feagin 2014). In particular, scholars have focused attention on the institution of slavery and its legacy for inequality.

The Legacy of Slavery

The institution of slavery constituted the first period of the U.S. racial regime (Bonilla-Silva 2015, Omi and Winant 2014, Woodward 1955). Early sociologist Du Bois (1903) viewed slavery as a cruel institution of domination and exploitation of Black people. It was the means by which White people sought to define the status of Black people and their “place” in society, as well as assure their subordination (Woodward 1955). Slavery was key in ensuing social division during and after the colonial period, influencing race relations and racial inequality for years to come (Omi and Winant 2014). In particular, slavery is pertinent to racial inequality in poverty today given its direct socioeconomic impact. For instance, Oliver and Shapiro (2013) argue

slavery was a racialized state policy that severely limited the economic rights and wealth accumulation of Black people. Slavery did not compensate Black people for their labor, thus impeding the income generation and intergenerational wealth transmission needed to combat poverty. Meanwhile, not only did White people profit off their enslavement of Black people, even poor White men had the ability to buy land, own businesses, and develop wealth assets they could pass down from generation to generation (Oliver and Shapiro 2013). Hence, these racialized processes likely resulted in differential, racialized poverty outcomes today.

While ample studies theorize how slavery paved the way for future inequality, there remains a need for greater empirical demonstrations of this relationship. This is partly because “legacy mechanisms” can be difficult to quantify. Still, there is a growing literature focusing on the legacy of slavery for economic outcomes (Berger 2018; Nunn 2008; Levernier and White 1998; O’Connell 2012; Reece 2020; Ruef 2014). For example, Nunn (2008) finds the poorest parts of Africa are those from which the largest number of slaves were taken. He argues the external slave trade had a significant, negative long-term impact on economic development within Africa. O’Connell (2012) links 1860 slave concentration to the Black-White poverty gap in U.S. Southern counties, independent of demographic and economic conditions. Other scholars show a relationship between slavery concentration and contemporary mobility (Berger 2018), White economic gain (Reece 2020), and political attitudes (Archarya, Blackwell, and Sen 2018). This research suggests that historical institutions upholding the racial regime are consequential to understanding modern inequalities.

The Legacy of Jim Crow

In addition to slavery, other historic institutions also shaped disparate socioeconomic

opportunities and outcomes. The emancipation of slavery and ending of Reconstruction signaled the rise of a new era in the racial regime characterized by coercive debt peonage, denial of political rights, segregation, and negrophobic terrorism (Omi and Winant 2014). This was Jim Crow, the second period of the U.S. racial regime (Bonilla-Silva 2015), which was “a new era of oppression” that constrained the opportunities of emancipated slaves (Ruef and Grigoryeva 2018). As Morris (1999:518) explains, Jim Crow was “a tripartite system of domination (Morris 1984), because it was designed to control Blacks politically and socially, and to exploit them economically.” Below, I outline three specific institutional mechanisms of Jim Crow that demonstrate this tripartite system of domination—sharecropping, disfranchisement, and segregation, noting how each was impactful for contemporary racial inequality in poverty.

Economically, Jim Crow kept Black people at the bottom of the economic hierarchy, as “they lacked even minimal control over the economy” (Morris 1999:518). The sharecropping system was one mechanism through which this occurred. During the 20th century, limited rights and opportunities left rural Black people with little option but to work as contracted agricultural laborers (e.g. sharecroppers), often exploited due to unfair economic arrangements they were forced to enter (Morris 1999; Quadango 1994). While White sharecroppers also existed and faced exploitation, their Black counterparts were certainly in a more precarious position (Cohen 1991; Daniel 1986; Ransom and Sutch 2001). Generally, sharecropping appealed to freed Black people because it gave them a sense of independence unlike life enslaved (Foner 2013), and allowed them to reap at least some rewards for their skills and performance (Ransom and Sutch 2001). Yet, it was not a reliable path to economic advancement since it lacked opportunities to gain new skills for independent farming, particularly for Black sharecroppers (Ransom and Sutch

2001). Racism meant Black sharecroppers had less capital, paid higher farm expenses, had fewer acres of untilled land, were more likely to be cheated out of their earnings, and thus suffered much higher debts than White sharecroppers (Cohen 1991; Ransom and Sutch 2001). This “southern sharecropping system increasingly entered the national consciousness as an evil akin to slavery” and was characterized by “eviscerating poverty” (Daniel 1986:240). Indeed, scholars argue the sharecropping institution essentially operated as what Du Bois (1903) deemed the “new slavery” that economically oppressed and subordinated Black people (Brown 2018; Feagin 2014; Mandle 1978; Quadango 1994; Ruef and Fletcher 2003). Moreover, targeted exclusion of agricultural workers from old-age insurance and unemployment compensation coupled with limited and racialized state welfare benefits (Katz 1996; Quadango 1994; Soss and Schram 2008) to further economically disadvantage Black sharecroppers and their families. This prevented them from escaping poverty, whereas White sharecroppers not having to contend with racism had more opportunities to improve their economic situation (Cohen 1991; Ransom and Sutch 2001), thus impacting racial inequality in poverty in the long-term

Black people were also controlled politically in the Jim Crow South, as disfranchisement prevented them from participating in the political process (Morris 1999). This lack of Black political power is particularly significant given the large Black populations in the South at the start of the 20th century (Hardy, Logan, and Parman 2018). Alongside scare tactics and violence, White people kept Black people from exercising their right to vote through legal channels exercised by the state. These include segregationists’ strategies such as prohibitive poll taxes, literacy tests, evidence that one's grandfather had been a registered voter (i.e. grandfather clause), lengthy residency requirements, and inconvenient voting times (e.g., during the planting season)

(Reskin 2012). Additionally, the White primary was designed as a safeguard against Black voters who managed to overcome obstacles created by the abovementioned tactics and successfully register to vote (Walton, Puckett, and Deskins 2012). By having a system ensuring only White Southerners voted in primaries (which decided candidates for main elections), states eliminated surviving Black voters from having any electoral influence (Perman 2001; Walton et al. 2012). Given the South was a one-party (i.e. Democrat) region, these primaries resulting from Black disfranchisement effectively determined general election outcomes, helping further mainstream White supremacist agenda (Perman 2001). These primaries were also a crucial influence in New Deal policies (driven largely by the U.S. Department of Agriculture [USDA]), which were “for the most part a bad deal for black farmers,” that led to fewer land rights and hence the decline of Black land ownership and farming (Reynolds 2002). This further limited the economic advancement of Black workers whose livelihood depended on this work. Given it took nearly a century and numerous pieces of national-level legislation to enfranchise Black voters (Reskin 2012), their long-term exclusion from the political process likely helped shape modern racial inequality in poverty in the South. For decades, White voters were able to influence policies that would advantage them over Black people who lacked a political voice to have their concerns addressed, let alone heard. Consequently, remaining powerless at the ballot box subjected Black Southerners to racist policies that constrained their economic opportunities (Hardy et al. 2018). As Michener (2016) notes, the political empowerment of Black people not only matters for their well-being, but also for the political incorporation of economically marginal citizens. This political incorporation is essential to helping influence policies and laws to improve economic well-being and thus racial inequality.

Finally, racial segregation provided a means for White people to control Black people socially, and operated as what Morris (1999:18) deems “the linchpin of Jim Crow” due to its isolation of Black people and labeling of them as inferior. Brown (2018:80) describes racial segregation as a “fundamental technique for reinforcing racial difference, inextricably linking the relationship between race, space, and place.” As Biggs and Andrews (2015:417) state, Jim Crow segregation emerged “as a durable and powerful institution for subordinating Black southerners.” It worked to exclude Black people in a myriad of ways, from quality education, good paying jobs, and public accommodations. Although Southern states enacted Jim Crow segregation laws, segregation extended to virtually all facets of social life, including daily routines (Biggs and Andrews 2015). This “everydayness” of racial segregation and “ordinariness of racialization normalized difference” resulted in what Brown (2018:80-81) argues is a taken-for-grantedness of racial separation simply being the way things were. Thus, segregation was more than the mere separation of races, but instead an ingrained mechanism through which White people could maintain domination of Black people (Du Bois 1935). Indeed, the Jim Crow system institutionalized inequities (e.g. in education, employment, and political offices) and opposition to measures aimed at reducing these inequalities also have served to maintain the superior status and privilege of White people (King and Smith 2005). Thus, it is unsurprising that when Southern congressional delegates drafted “The Southern Manifesto” to formally denounce desegregation and the *Brown vs. Board of Education* supreme court decision, even signatories considered political moderates at the time, “were fully committed—intellectually, socially, and politically—to the preservation of segregation” (Day 2014:109-110). Segregation yielded differential distribution of resources across racialized groups that privileged White people and

disadvantaged Black people, which had a likely impact on their future outcomes.

To this point, Andrews et al. (2017) demonstrate that where 1880 racial segregation was higher, contemporaneous intergenerational inequality is higher. Ruef and Grigoryeva (2018) find Jim Crow segregation laws for private and public amenities are associated with Black-White residential segregation in the early 20th century. Scholars link segregation to a variety of deleterious outcomes. For example, for Black people, residential segregation typically leads to higher poverty, lower relative income (Massey and Denton 1993), and lower acquisition of intergenerational wealth relative to White people (Oliver and Shapiro 2013). This illustrates how segregation inhibited opportunities for Black economic progress, leaving a legacy still felt, even years after the system was formally dismantled.

The Current Study: Conceptualizing the Historical Racial Regime

As the above section highlight, slavery and Jim Crow were different past manifestations of the U.S. racial regime across points in time. They served as institutional state mechanisms of inequality. However, states vary in how much they exhibited these institutional state mechanisms, and this could have implications for their legacy and racial inequality in poverty. For example, some states, such as those in the Deep South, had an economy more dependent on slavery and Jim Crow segregation than other states in the region (Hattery and Smith 2007). More rural states in the South maintained sharecropping longer and at higher levels (Mandle 1978). Some states enacted multiple voter disfranchisement devices, whereas others did not (Walton et al. 2012). Such variation signals differential exposure and impact of historical racist institutions across the South. Coupled with the variation in poverty across the region, it raises the question of whether there is a link between historical institutions and racial inequality in poverty today. The

current study examines this link.

This study of racial inequality in poverty builds upon the literature on racial regimes and the legacy of slavery for inequality by conceptualizing the historical racial regime (HRR). In addition to the institution of slavery, which reflects the first period of the U.S. racial regime and has been a focus of recent studies examining legacy mechanisms for socioeconomic outcomes, this study also considers the institutions of Jim Crow, the second period of the U.S. racial regime. Thus, HRR essentially measures different past manifestations of the U.S. racial regime, spanning almost 100 years, that collectively shaped inequality.¹

Conceptualizing a measure consisting of both slavery and Jim Crow allows for assessing their combined impact. While slavery and Jim Crow institutions may operate differently and are important in their own right, examining each separately would not reflect the overarching idea of HRR that this study aims to capture². Racial regimes reflect a *system*, which consists of interrelated parts that combine together to make it work. The different institutional mechanisms within a racial regime are components that ultimately work to uphold that system. Hence, a scale measure of HRR is based on the premise that there is an emergent regime that is more than the sum of the constituent parts (i.e. slavery and Jim Crow institutions). By saying the scale captures a “regime”, it means that there is an emergent system – beyond these individual institutions –that

¹ Of course, even this measure of HRR is not completely exhaustive. Future research could reasonably also incorporate acts of White resistance (e.g. lynching and Klu Klux Klan activity), which worked to maintain and reproduce inequality in the historical racial regime. This study focuses solely on institutionalized, state-sanctioned policies and practices, and sets aside individual/non-state reactions in response to the dismantling of such racist institutions. I elaborate more on the salience of White resistance for racial inequality in the Discussion.

²To be sure, this concept of HRR is not intended to distinguish between the different institutions comprising HRR and the extent to which they each contribute to racial inequality today.

has impacted racial inequality in poverty. Therefore, in contrast with prior work focusing on a single institution (e.g. slavery), the conception of HRR employed here reflects a holistic approach for examining institutional state mechanisms of the past and their collective impact. In analyses described below, I assess whether there is value added in a holistic measure of HRR as opposed to a single measure of slavery. These findings, which I summarize in the results section, demonstrate the distinct value in a holistic conceptualization of HRR.

Specifically, the analyses to follow construct and employ a novel HRR scale incorporating multiple historical institutional mechanisms to measure slavery and economic, political, and social dimensions of Jim Crow (i.e. sharecropping, disfranchisement, and segregation). This allows for assessing the relationship between HRR and poverty and racial inequality in poverty within the context of the contemporary American South.

METHODS

Data

The individual-level data for this study come from the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS). The underlying survey is the U.S. Census Current Population Survey (CPS). The main advantage of the LIS over the underlying CPS is its higher quality and improved income measures that comprehensively incorporate taxes and transfers (Brady, Baker, and Finnigan 2013). Because this study focuses on contemporary poverty, I limit my sample to the past decade, which includes all available U.S. waves (i.e. 2010 to 2018). The sample consists of only individuals residing in the South as defined by the Census: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia,

and West Virginia.³ Pooling the 2010-2018 LIS waves yields a large sample size to provide more statistical power. The total sample size is 527,829 individuals. The sub-sample consists of 397,389 Black and White individuals. Descriptive statistics for each sample are in Appendix A.

Defining the South

I rely on the U.S. Census definition of the South in my main analysis. While it is true that former Confederate states have salient differences from non-Confederate states, the latter was not exempt from historical racist institutions and their effects. Of course (as the descriptive results show below), there is variation in the extent to which non-Confederate states were involved in slavery and other racial inequality producing mechanisms, with non-Confederate states having lower levels of HRR. In examining the strength of HRR and its relationship with contemporary poverty gaps, we would expect there to be a weaker relationship between HRR and poverty in states with lower HRR. It is for this reason why I include them in my analysis of HRR. However, I do complete sensitivity analyses with only the Confederate states and the findings, which I discuss in the results section, are similar.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable is *poverty*. Following prior poverty research using LIS data, (Baker 2020; Brady et al. 2013; Chen and Corak, 2008; Rainwater and Smeeding, 2003), I employ a standard relative poverty measure in which individuals are categorized as poor if living in households below the 50 percent of median equivalized, post-tax and post-transfer household

³ I exclude Oklahoma and Washington D.C., as the former was not a state in 1860 and the latter is not a state, so they lack historical state-level data central to the analysis. While West Virginia became a state in 1863, it was formally part of Virginia in which there is census slavery data that can be disaggregated for West Virginia (see <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>).

income threshold. I calculate household income using the standardized LIS variable disposable household income (DHI). DHI includes cash and noncash income after taxes and transfers (including food stamps, housing allowances, tax credits, and near cash benefits). DHI is adjusted for household size by dividing by the square root of the number of household members.

This relative poverty measure is a defensible alternative to the official poverty measure (OPM), which is based on a commonly understood too low threshold that underestimates poverty (Rainwater and Smeeding 2003). While the OPM is based on gross pre-tax income and excludes near-cash and in-kind benefits, this relative poverty measure is based on a much more comprehensive income measure. It (and its underlying income definition) is also more consistent with concepts like social exclusion and capability deprivation (Chen and Corak 2008).

Key Independent Variable: Historical Racial Regime

The primary independent variable is a state-level measure of *the historical racial regime (HRR)*. For this variable, I constructed a standardized scale (mean 0, standard deviation ~1) composed of four items reflecting HRR, from slavery to the Jim Crow era. Together, the four items yield a standardized item alpha of .90, which suggests a relatively high internal consistency. For state-level data sources see Appendix B.

Given recent studies linking the legacy of slavery to racialized outcomes in the South (e.g. O’Connell 2012; Reece 2020), the first HRR item measures the total proportion of the state population that was enslaved in 1860. The second item measures sharecropping, which scholars contend became the “new slavery” contributing to Black poverty in the South (DuBois 1903; Quadango 1994). This measure is the average share (%) of total sharecroppers that were Black in

a state in 1930, the year the number of Black sharecroppers peaked (Reynolds 2002).⁴ The third item measures the total number (ranging from zero to four) of “disfranchisement devices” enacted in a state in efforts to prevent Blacks from exercising the right to vote. These include the poll tax, literacy test, and grandfather clause— three dominant means of disenfranchisement, as well as the White primary, which was enacted as an additional safeguard for the other disenfranchising laws (Walton et al. 2012). These disfranchisement devices were enacted from the early 19th century to early 20th century (Walton et al. 2012).

The final HRR item measures the proportion of a state’s total U.S. congressional delegates that signed the Southern Manifesto, a formal document written in opposition and response to the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling deeming public school segregation unconstitutional (Aucoin 1996). Because state congressional delegates are highly influential in the decisions impacting their state’s residents, the Southern Manifesto support reflects state control, which has implications for the implementation and maintenance of segregation. In a sensitivity analyses, I use an alternative HRR scale that includes a measure of school segregation (i.e. the percent of Black children attending a majority Black school in 1968) in lieu of congressional support for the Southern Manifesto. The results are substantively consistent and summarized in the results section.

Other Independent Variables

To measure race/ethnicity in the full sample, binary variables indicate whether the individual is Non-Latino *White* (reference), Non-Latino *Black*, Non-Latino *Other*, or *Latino*.

⁴I also estimate all analyses in which Black sharecropping is measured as the proportion of all Black farmers that were sharecroppers and results are consistent (see Appendix H).

Given the study's focus on contemporary racial inequality, it is important to acknowledge racial categories are a historical social construction. That is, race is a bi-product of inequality (i.e. racism), and ignoring such processes undermines the social construction of race, and obscures our understanding of racial inequality in poverty as a result (Williams 2019).

Some models adjust for a variety of individual-level, independent variables that prior research links to poverty. To assess family structure and composition, I measure marital status, number of children, and age structure. These include whether the head of household is a *single mother*, *single father*, *female with no children*, or *male with no children* (reference: married), *number of children*, presence of *adults over 65* in the household, age of head (*under 25*, *age 25-34*, *age 35 to 44*, *age 44 to 54* (reference), *age 65 to 74*, and *age over 74*). Three binary variables measure educational attainment—whether the head of the household (e.g. lead earner or oldest member), has *less than a high school education*, a *high school diploma/GED or some college* (reference) and a *college degree*. Binary measures indicate household *unemployment* and presence of *multiple earners* as well as *rural residence* and whether the head of household is *foreign-born*. Models also include nine controls reflecting each year 2010 (reference) to 2018.

Analytic Strategy

I first present a descriptive analysis. This involves examining the means of poverty and each item comprising the HRR scale, state trajectories of HRR items to gauge the extent to which HRR is durable, and the overall composite score for HRR across states. Second, I examine bivariate relationships of HRR and overall poverty (for both the full sample and Black and White sample), Black poverty, White poverty, and the Black-White poverty gap in the South from 2010-2018. Scatterplots allow for a visual depiction of the strength of these linear relationships.

Third, to further scrutinize the relationship of HRR and poverty and the Black-White poverty gap, I estimate multi-level regression models to assess the relationship between HRR and these outcomes. Multilevel analyses with binary dependent variables typically employ multilevel logit models. However, due to issues with comparing coefficients across logit models or groups in logit models (See Karlson, Holm, and Breen 2012; Mood 2010), I employ linear probability models (LPMs) for the multilevel analyses for more straightforward interpretation and comparison of coefficients (Mood 2010).

Unlike the bivariate relationships, these regression analyses adjust for additional independent variables. It is important to note these are not “control variables” in the traditional sense, as several plausibly mediate the relationship between HRR and poverty. For instance, Black educational attainment levels are plausibly endogenous to HRR, and HRR effects could operate through the “mechanism” of contemporary Black educational attainment levels. Hence, these models clarify first whether any potential relationship between HRR and those outcomes can be explained by a limited set of proximate predictors of poverty. These models also clarify to what extent, HRR continues to have a direct effect even net of those proximate predictors.⁵

To test whether poverty is influenced by an interaction between HRR and being Black, a second set of LPMs test the interaction of HRR and being Black. This tests whether a state’s HRR exacerbates poverty for Blacks.

Lastly, decomposition analysis allows for examination of whether HRR contributes to the

⁵ Analyses do not include additional state-level controls. Contemporary institutions (e.g. the labor market, education, criminal justice system, etc.) are likely to be mechanisms through which HRR operates to impact racial inequality (see Discussion section). Thus, incorporating such contemporary state-level variables would likely block the causal path from HRR to contemporary racial inequalities in poverty.

poverty gap between Blacks and Whites in the South. Because poverty is a binary variable, I employ the non-linear Fairlie decomposition technique (Fairlie 2005). This employs a counterfactual decomposition analyses to determine the relative contribution of HRR and other independent variables to the Black-White poverty gap (see Fairlie 2005; Legewie and DiPrete, 2014). These analyses include the sample of only Black and White individuals. Because decomposition results are sensitive to variable order, randomization of variable ordering in 100 replications of the decomposition approximates the average results over all possible variable group orderings. While this decomposition technique does not consider the multi-level structure of the data, controls for year correct the non-independence of observations within years.

RESULTS

Poverty Descriptive Results

Figure 1 displays the average poverty rates for the pooled 2010-2018 sample. Poverty rates vary across Southern states, ranging from a high of 26.7% in Mississippi to a low of 10.2% in Maryland. A majority of the states have poverty rates almost 20% or more. The noticeably low rates of poverty are in Maryland (10.2%), Virginia (12.7%) and Delaware (13.1%).

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 2 displays the Black and White poverty rates by state. The states are ordered from the highest to lowest Black-White poverty gap. The extent of Black-White inequality in poverty varies substantially across the South. Louisiana has the largest Black-White poverty gap at 25.1 percentage points, Maryland has the smallest Black-White poverty gap at 9.4 percentage points. Notably, while West Virginia and Kentucky have relatively less Black-White inequality in poverty despite having relatively higher rates of overall poverty (see Figure 1).

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

HRR Scale Descriptive Results

Table 1 and Figure 3 shows the distribution of the individual scale items by state. For slavery population in 1860, South Carolina had the highest rate at 57.18%, followed by Mississippi at 55.18%. These are the only two states with a slavery population over 50%. Conversely, the two states with the lowest slavery populations (under 5%) were Delaware (1.60%) and West Virginia (4.88%).

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]
[FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

For sharecropping, the state with the largest portion of all sharecroppers that were Black in the peak year of 1930 was Mississippi, with a rate of 76.13% of Black sharecroppers. Louisiana (65.17%), South Carolina (63.44%), and Arkansas (60.59%) had the next highest rate of Black sharecroppers, all in the 60% range. The lowest rate of Black sharecroppers was in West Virginia (1.25%) followed by Kentucky (10.3%).

Regarding disfranchisement, five states enacted all four disfranchisement devices (i.e. literary test, poll tax, grandfather clause, and White primaries): Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia. Conversely, four states did not enact any of the four disfranchisement devices: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia.

As for the final scale item—signatories of the Southern Manifesto, 100% of congressional delegates in seven states signed the document: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia. On the other hand, four states did not have any congressional delegate signatories on the Southern Manifesto, and these include Delaware,

Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia.⁶

Given these four measures of HRR represent various time points, I examine their trajectory across states to gauge the extent to which HRR is durable and thus the extent the Jim Crow items are a legacy of slavery. The trajectory of the HRR scale items in some states reflect durable HRR as demonstrated by their high levels of each scale item. Notably Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina have the highest rates of slavery, enacted at least 3 disfranchisement devices, have the highest rates of Black sharecropping, and had full congressional support for the manifesto (and the highest levels of school segregation). On the opposite end, states such as Delaware, West Virginia, and Kentucky consistently had the lowest levels of each items in terms of their HRR trajectory. While these trajectories indicate clear consistency in the strength of HRR, there are other states where the trajectories reflect changing intensity of HRR over time. For instance, while Arkansas had middling levels of slavery and disfranchisement (enacted two of four devices), it had relatively high levels of Black sharecroppers and congressional manifesto support (100%), indicating a strengthening of HRR overtime. Conversely, no state trajectories indicated a weakening of HRR overtime.

To assess differences in the level of HRR across the South, Figure 4 graphs the composite HRR score measures for each state from the highest to the lowest levels. Mississippi exhibits the highest HRR level with a score of 1.10, while Louisiana (1.00) and South Carolina (0.98) closely follow. Conversely, the state with the lowest level of HRR is West Virginia (-1.55), followed by

⁶ For sensitivity analyses using the alternative HRR scale with school segregation in lieu of Southern manifesto congressional support, the highest rates of Black students attending majority Black public schools were in Mississippi (93.29%), Alabama (91.71%), and Louisiana (91.11%). The lowest rates were in West Virginia (17.97%), Delaware (45.77%) and Kentucky (46.28%).

Delaware, (-1.29), and Maryland (-1.23). Notably, all the states with positive HRR scores were all former Confederate states. While Texas and Tennessee, also Confederate States, have HRR levels that fall into the lower half, it is notable that Confederate states fall in consecutive order from highest to lowest, with no Confederate states falling into the bottom quarter of the HRR distribution. Moreover, among the states whose HRR levels are in the top quarter of the distribution, each are part of the Deep South.

[FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Bivariate Analyses

Figure 5 displays the state-level bivariate relationships between HRR and poverty among the total sample (Panel A) and the sub-sample with only Black and White Southerners (Panel B). Across samples, there is a moderate, positive association between HRR and poverty (total sample $r=.43$; Black-White sample $r=.44$). Mississippi has the highest level of HRR and the highest poverty. In general, states with higher levels of HRR tend to also have higher poverty rates (e.g. Mississippi, Louisiana). In contrast, states with lower HRR levels (e.g. Delaware and Maryland) have among the lowest poverty rates. Somewhat of an outlier, Virginia has relatively low poverty, yet has a moderately high HRR level. West Virginia and Kentucky have high overall poverty rates, but fall on the lower end for HRR. One noticeable difference in the bivariate associations is that Florida and Texas have lower poverty rates in the Black and White sample (Panel B) as compared to the total sample (Panel A). This is likely due to the exclusion of Latinos in the Black and White sample, as Florida and Texas have higher Latino populations, and their poverty rates are relatively high compared to the Non-Latino White population.

[FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 6 displays the bivariate relationship between HRR and poverty for Black Southerners (Panel A) and poverty for Whites Southerners (Panel B) from 2010-2018. Like the full sample, there is a positive association between the strength of a state's HRR and poverty among Black Southerners ($r=.46$). States with higher levels of HRR, like Louisiana and Mississippi, tend to also have higher Black poverty rates. However, among the states with the lowest levels of HRR, while some have the lowest rates of Black poverty (e.g. Delaware and Maryland), others have relatively high rates of Black poverty (e.g. West Virginia and Kentucky).

[FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE]

In contrast, Panel B shows that for White Southerners there is a no association between the level of HRR and poverty in a state ($r=.00$). The states with the highest levels of White poverty, West Virginia and Kentucky, have among the lowest levels of HRR. At the same time, Maryland and Delaware, which have the lowest rates of White poverty, also have among the lowest rates of HRR. For White Southerners, the highest levels of HRR do not correspond with high levels of poverty. Comparing the bivariate relationships between HRR and poverty for Black and White Southerners makes two points clear: 1) Black poverty rates are generally much higher across states relative to White poverty, and 2) there is a noticeable difference in the relationships between HRR and Black poverty and HRR and White poverty.

The final scatterplot (Figure 7) displays the bivariate relationship between HRR and the Black-White poverty gap (i.e. % Black poverty - % White poverty). There is a clear positive, linear association between HRR and the Black-White poverty gap. This relationship is much stronger ($r=.77$) than that of HRR and overall poverty (Figure 5), Black poverty, and White sample (Figure 6). States with the highest overall poverty rates also tend to have high Black-

White poverty gaps, and high levels of HRR. Conversely, the states with the lowest levels of HRR tend to have much smaller Black-White poverty gaps. Of note in Figure 7, the relatively low HRR levels of West Virginia and Kentucky correspond with smaller Black-White poverty-gaps, whereas in Figures 5 and 6, West Virginia and Kentucky are more of outliers because they have relatively low HRR levels but relatively high rates of poverty. Though total poverty rates are relatively high in some states with low HRR levels, the relationship between HRR and the poverty disparity between Blacks and Whites is clearer and stronger.

[FIGURE 7 ABOUT HERE]

As shown in the bivariate association scatterplots, the strength of HRR among Southern states has positive linear associations with overall poverty, Black poverty, and especially the Black-White poverty gap. Yet, there is no association with HRR and White poverty. This suggest there is a link between HRR and Black-White inequality in poverty in the South.

Multi-Level Linear Probability Models (LPMs)

To scrutinize the relationships between HRR and poverty in the South as illustrated in the bivariate associations, multi-level LPMs test whether HRR is significantly associated with poverty. Table 2 displays the LPMs for poverty among all Southerners. Model 1 includes only HRR and year controls. In this base model, while HRR increases the probability of poverty in the total population, this relationship is only nearly statistically significant.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Model 2 adds all independent variables. The coefficient for HRR remains positively signed and not significant. The other variables are in the expected directions. Among these, the strongest positive associations are for unemployed and low education. These increase the

probability of poverty by 37 percentage points and 17 percentage points, respectively. The largest negative association is for multiple earners in the household, which decreases the probability of poverty by 17 percentage points. Models 3 and 4 tests the relationship between HRR and poverty on the sub-sample of Black and White Southerners. The results are quite similar to the total sample in Models 1 and 2. The coefficient for HRR is also positive, but not statistically significant. The other individual-level variables are in the expected directions.

Although HRR does not significantly increase the probability of poverty in either the total sample or Black-White sample, HRR may interact with being Black to increase the probability of poverty. Thus, LPM analyses in Table 3 test the interaction of HRR and being Black. Model 1 tests this interaction in the total sample, includes only race/ethnicity and year controls. The interaction of HRR and Black is statistically significant and positive. For Black Southerners, residing in a state with stronger HRR worsens their already higher poverty. That is, living in a one-unit higher HRR elevates their probability of poverty from being 15% greater to being 19.2% greater than White Southerners⁷. By contrast, the main effect of HRR reveals that non-Blacks do not suffer any additional penalty for residing in a state with stronger HRR.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Model 2 tests the interaction of HRR and Black when including all variables. Importantly, the interaction of HRR and Black remains statistically significant, and positive after including variables that could mediate the relationship between HRR and poverty. In Model 2, for a one-unit higher HRR, Blacks will see their probability of poverty elevated from being 6.3%

⁷ Please note HRR was constructed to have a mean of 0 and SD of 1, but because the sample is not quite evenly balanced by state, one SD of HRR is slightly less than 1. See Appendix A

greater than Whites to being 8.7% greater than Whites. The coefficients for the other independent variables in this model are quite similar to the model without the interaction. Models 3 and 4 test the interaction of HRR and Black in the Black and White only sample. As with the full sample, the interaction of HRR and Black is statistically significant in both the base model and full model. However, the coefficients are marginally higher in the Black and White sub-sample. For instance, in the full model, the interaction term indicates Blacks that live in a one-unit higher HRR will see their probability of poverty elevated from being 6.3% greater than Whites to being 9.1% greater than Whites. In sum, the interactions across all models in both the full sample and Black and White sub-sample demonstrate that HRR exacerbates Black-White inequality in poverty.⁸

Binary Decomposition

The final set of analyses employs binary decomposition to identify the relative contribution of HRR and other independent variables to the poverty difference between Blacks and Whites in the South. Table 4 displays the results from these models. In the South, the poverty rates for Whites and Blacks in the South are 14% and 29.3%, respectively. This yields a total poverty difference of 15.3% between Blacks and Whites in the South.

[TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Model 1 includes only HRR and year controls. HRR makes a significant, 13.6% contribution to the Black-White poverty gap. This model explains 13.6% of the total Black-

⁸ Appendix C shows results when estimating the full LPM including all controls interacted with Black. The interaction for HRR*Black remains significant in the fully interacted model. Additionally, separate full LPM results for each Black and White Southerners indicate HRR is significant for Black poverty ($z=2.0$) but not significant for White poverty ($z=0.21$).

White difference in poverty. Model 2 adds all independent variables. After controlling for these variables, HRR makes a 5.81% contribution to the poverty gap between Black and White Southerners, and this contribution is significant. On balance, this is a relatively modest portion of the 67.2% of the difference explained by the entire model. Nevertheless, it is notable that HRR explains a statistically significant share of the Black-White poverty gap even after accounting for 27 other independent variables. Even with a fairly saturated model of control variables, HRR continues to explain a statistically significant share of the Black-White difference in the South.

Among the other independent variables, living in a household with multiple earners explains the largest portion of the poverty difference between Blacks and Whites in the South. This accounts for nearly 16% of the total difference explained by the decomposition model. The second largest individual contribution to the Black-White poverty gap is living in an unemployed household (12.31%). Together, these employment variables account for over 28% of the Black-White poverty difference in the South. Finally, as noted above, it is plausible that several of these other independent variables are endogenous to HRR and plausibly mediate the relationship between HRR and the Black-White poverty gap.

Sensitivity Analyses

Analyses Comparing Slavery vs. HRR Scale. Given the prior research on the legacy of slavery for inequality, I estimated all models using only the single measure for slavery instead of the HRR scale to assess whether there is value added in using the holistic conception of HRR as compared to a single measure of slavery (see Appendix D). A comparison of LPM results show HRR yields a stronger interaction with Black than does slavery. HRR also makes a larger contribution (6.1%) to the Black-White poverty gap than does slavery alone (4.7%) in the

decomposition models. These results suggest the value and utility of a holistic measure with multiple indicators measuring different historical manifestations of the U.S. racial regime as opposed to only an individual measure that has been the focus of prior research.

Analyses Using Alternative HRR Scale with School Segregation. I estimated all LPM and decomposition models using a second HRR scale that includes an item for school segregation (the percent of Black children attending a majority Black school in 1968) in lieu of the Southern Manifesto state congressional signatories (see Appendix E). Whereas the signatories reflect state leadership at the time, the school segregation item reflects actual segregation. Both the LPM and decomposition results are similar to that of the main results previously summarized. That is, in the LPMs, HRR is not statistically significant in either the total sample or Black-White subsample. However, the interaction of HRR and Black is positive and significant, indicating that being in a state with a higher level of HRR exacerbates Black poverty. In the decomposition, the results are also similar to that in the main analysis except the contribution of HRR is marginally higher (e.g. 14.89% vs. 13.60% in the base model and 6.10% vs. 5.81% in the full model.)

Analyses Using Alternative Definition for South. Given the Census defined South is more geographic than politically and culturally meaningful, I also estimated all the analyses using the Confederate South as an alternative. These analyses include only the 11 Southern states that were formally part of the Confederacy—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. These former Confederate states have the shared history of being part of the racially oppressive “Old South,” characterized by secession from the Union, Civil War defeat and Reconstruction, and heavy resistance to the dismantling of the Jim Crow System. Both the LPM and decomposition results yield the same

conclusions as the main results of this study (see Appendix F). HRR is not statistically significant in either the total sample or Black-White sub-sample in the LPM models. However, the interaction of HRR and Black is positive and significant, indicating that being in a former Confederate state with a higher level of HRR exacerbates Black poverty. In the decomposition, the results are also similar to the main analysis except the coefficients for HRR are smaller in terms of the contribution of HRR to the Black-White poverty gap. HRR explains 7.51% (base model) and 2.05% (full model) of the gap in the former Confederate states as compared to 13.61 (base model) and 5.8% (full model) of the gap in the Census-defined South.

Analyses Controlling for State-level % Black Population. The findings also raise the question of whether contextual differences above and beyond individual controls affect the significance of HRR. Prior studies examining the legacy of slavery on contemporary outcomes control for county-level % Black population (e.g. Acharya et al.2018; O’Connell 2012). Thus, in a final set of sensitivity analyses, I test whether adding a state-level control for total Black population (%) in 2010 impacts initial findings. I also compare analyses using HRR to analyses using % Black population in 2010 in lieu of HRR to see which is a stronger predictor. (See Appendix G). In the analysis adding % Black population, the LPM interaction between HRR and Black remains positive and significant, and the HRR*Black coefficient remains the same as in the original model omitting state-level Black population. In the decomposition, HRR explains a similar portion of the of the Black-White poverty gap (5.23%) as in the original model (5.81%), and a greater portion than % Black population (0.09%). In the comparison models, HRR yields a stronger interaction with Black than does % Black population, and HRR makes a larger contribution to the Black-White poverty gap (5.81%) than does % Black population (0.16%).

These results indicate HRR does not simply operate as a proxy for contemporary state-level racial composition, but rather provide evidence that the existing results reflect the enduring effect of past institutions above and beyond contemporary racial composition.

DISCUSSION

Building on literatures on the legacy of slavery and racial regimes, this study innovates by conceptualizing and constructing a novel measure of the historical racial regime (HRR). This HRR scale measures different manifestations of the U.S. racial regime across different historical periods (i.e. slavery and Jim Crow). Specifically, it is based on historical data on the state-level institutions of slavery, sharecropping, disfranchisement, and segregation. Using the HRR scale, this study examines how HRR influences contemporary poverty and racial inequality in the American South. The South is a fitting context for which to study the impact of historical state institutions on poverty and racial inequality. While it has historically high rates of poverty, high proportion of Black Americans, and contentious racist history, it exhibits considerable heterogeneity across the region in its historical manifestations of the U.S. racial regime. Thus, to assess the impact of HRR, this study triangulates results from bivariate associations, multi-level regressions, and decomposition analyses to examine the variation of HRR across the South and its implications for poverty and the Black-White poverty gap.

Descriptive results indicate that while there is variation in the strength of HRR across the South, HRR tends to be stronger and more durable in former Confederate States, particularly those in the Deep South (e.g. Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina). In contrast, states with lower levels of HRR are peripheral South states that were not part of the Confederacy (e.g.

Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky). The graphical bivariate results illustrate a moderate, positive relationship between HRR and overall poverty and Black poverty, but no relationship between HRR and White poverty. There is also a strong, positive relationship between HRR and the Black-White poverty gap. Thus, Southern states with stronger HRR tend to have higher overall and Black poverty rates and the largest racial disparities in poverty. Multi-level linear probability models further test these relationships. While HRR increases the probability of poverty among Southerners, this relationship is only near statistically significant. Interactions between HRR and being Black indicate that while Black Southerners already have a higher probability of poverty than White Southerners, their probability of poverty is even more elevated when residing in a state with a stronger HRR. This holds even after adjusting for a range of predictors of poverty, several of which could mediate the relationship between HRR and poverty. Finally, results from the decomposition analyses reveal HRR explains a statistically significant share of the Black-White poverty gap in the South, even net of other independent variables. A range of sensitivity analyses provide further evidence to support these results.

That analyses find HRR is significant for the Black-White poverty gap, but not overall poverty, is quite plausible. As O'Connell (2012:718) notes, "the processes behind inequality [in poverty] may be distinct from those contributing to overall poverty." In this study, the HRR scale reflects slavery, sharecropping, disfranchisement and segregation—major institutional mechanisms for maintaining racial inequality (Biggs and Andrews 2015). Although some HRR elements (e.g. sharecropping) had implications for poor White people (Cohen 1991; Ransom and Sutch 2001), HRR was certainly more detrimental for Black people. In contrast to Black poverty, analyses find *no* association between HRR and White poverty (see Figure 6 and Appendix D). In

fact, states with the strongest HRR (i.e. Mississippi and Louisiana) have *lower* White poverty rates than states with the weakest HRR (i.e. West Virginia and Kentucky) where White poverty is highest (see Figure 6). This speaks to how racial inequality “references the disparity between two groups’ outcomes” and can “occur through the disproportionate benefits received by one group (i.e., White people) in addition to through the suppression of racial/ethnic minorities” (O’Connell 2018:313). This is also consistent with Reece’s (2020) finding that slavery predicts some *better* socioeconomic outcomes for White people. This provides some context for why HRR does not matter more for overall poverty, yet is so salient for the Black-White poverty gap.

It is also notable that HRR remains significant for the Black-White poverty gap when models include possible mediators through which the legacy of HRR operates to shape racial poverty patterns. For example, HRR may operate through employment—the strongest predictor of poverty in this study, since historical institutions have long-term effects on economic development (Nunn 2008). Baker et al. (2021) find employment explains the largest share of the Black-White poverty gap. HRR could have a lasting impact on labor market experiences of Black Southerners, which in turn, can shape their socioeconomic outcomes. Education, another strong predictor of poverty that contributes largely to the Black-White poverty gap could also be an HRR mechanism. Research suggests there are enduring effects of historical racial inequality on the education system and Black people’s educational attainment in the South (Morris and Monroe 2009; Reece and O’Connell 2016). HRR’s significance net of controlling for such possible mediating variables buttresses the salience of HRR for the racial gap in poverty.

This study contributes to several salient theoretical debates on both poverty and

inequality. First, this study illustrates and contributes to theories on the role of historical racial domination and oppression as enduring sources of inequality. A rich literature on race and racism details the historical racist roots of America and theorizes its implications for the enduring oppression of racialized groups (e.g. Bonilla-Silva 2015; Feagin, 2014; Omi and Winant 2014). However, while research might acknowledge the relevance of such theories, there remains a significant need to empirically test them in racial inequality in poverty research. For example, in a recent rigorous study of racial inequality in poverty and affluence in the U.S., Iceland (2019) notes that “there are a number of broad explanations of racial poverty and affluence” including “the legacy of historical inequities,” but examining these are “beyond the scope” of the study. This current study therefore helps bridge the gap between rich theoretical race scholarship and rigorous empirical analyses of racial inequalities.

Second, while poverty research generally has placed heavy emphasis on behavioral theories focusing on individual characteristics, the present study contributes to the growing literature emphasizing the structural and institutional bases of poverty and inequalities in poverty (Baker et al. 2021; Brady 2019; Rank 2011; Williams and Baker 2021). For instance, in focusing on manifestations of the U.S. racial regime via historical institutional state mechanisms of racial inequality, this study buttresses political theories that emphasize the role of the state in establishing and maintaining institutions that shape individual poverty over time and place (Korpi 1983; Moller 2003). States are macro institutions, which create cultural norms and distribute resources in society (Homan 2019). Accordingly, this study adds to the growing literature demonstrating how state context and policies can influence inequality across and within states (Baker 2020; Brady et al. 2013, Homan 2019; Parolin 2019). In particular, it contributes to

the emerging scholarship demonstrating how state-level measures of structural inequality in empirical analysis can provide theoretically meaningful insights into variation among states to advance understanding regarding state differences in individual-level outcomes. For example, using state-level measures, recent studies show significant links between structural racism and racial/ethnic health disparities (Lukachko, Hatzenbuehler, and Keyes 2014), structural sexism and gender health disparities (Homan 2019), and state policies and inequality in mortality (Montez et al. 2020).

Third, American poverty research tends to focus on contemporary predictors. Even when poverty studies move beyond a focus on individual-level behavior, they tend to emphasize contemporary structures (e.g. deindustrialization) or contemporary political institutions (e.g. welfare states) (Brady 2019). Conversely, this study highlights the role of historical institutions in shaping inequalities in poverty. By conceptualizing and analyzing HRR, this study aims to anchor contemporary poverty in historical institutions from the 19th century, spanning almost 100 years.

Fourth, and as a result of the two prior points, prevailing explanations for racial inequality in poverty tend to emphasize racial differences in contemporary, individual behavior and characteristics (e.g. family structure) (e.g. Iceland 2019; Thiede, Kim, and Slack 2017). In contrast, this study focuses on the broader, systemic, and historical racialized processes. As Hardy et al. (2018:2) underscore, “Contemporary racial inequality can be thought of as a product of a long historical process.” Moreover, it is worth noting that these processes also plausibly influence the variation in contemporary individual characteristics such as family structure (Williams 2019). Specifically, this study theoretically grounds the racial inequality in poverty in

long-term historical-institutional contexts, and in doing so, answers recent calls for poverty researchers to be more theoretically engaged (Brady 2019), to adequately historicize race and racism (Williams 2019), and to reorient focus to structural, political and critical race theories of poverty (Baker et al. 2021). The unique focus on HRR complements and extends the relatively few poverty studies demonstrating the legacy of slavery (e.g. Curtis and O’Connell 2017; O’Connell 2012; Reece 2020), which have meaningfully informed research on racial disparities. Of course, contemporary behaviors, structures, and politics do matter for poverty. However, this study provides a relatively rare demonstration of the significance of historical institutions for racial inequality in the long-term.

Beyond its theoretical contributions to poverty and inequality research, this study can guide future research in at least five directions. First, scholars can employ the concept of HRR to examine HRR’s relationship with/impact on other racial inequalities and social phenomena. In doing so, future studies could expand upon the HRR scale here or create similar measures. The primary criteria for including particular measures a scale of HRR like the one employed here is that they are state-level, institutions that served as past mechanisms of racial inequality during established periods of the U.S. race regime. In this study, the particular measures of HRR employed (i.e. % enslaved in 1860, % Black sharecroppers in 1940, # disfranchisement devices enacted, and Congressional support for segregation) are all past mechanisms of inequality at the state-level identified by scholars as having occurred during the historical periods of slavery and Jim Crow. Future research examining HRR and its impact may identify different or additional measures of past mechanisms of racial inequality during these periods to incorporate in a measure of HRR. For instance, researchers might find data that enable different measures to

reflect economic, political and social dimensions of Jim Crow than the measures employed here.

Second, this study raises the question of how to conceptualize HRR in the future, or more so, extend HRR to correspond with historic periods beyond Jim-Crow. To this point, scholars have identified the period of a “new racism”—post-Civil Rights color-blind racism (see Bonilla-Silva 2001 for a review). This “new racism” period could eventually come to an end, or scholars may identify sub-periods within it. These would be new historical phases of the U.S. racial regime to consider that future researchers could leverage to identify new measures of past institutional mechanisms of racial inequality. This will enable an extension of the HRR conceptualization for subsequent research beyond the historical periods (i.e. slavery and Jim Crow) of focus in this current study.

Third, further research should explore how White resistance – beyond HRR or as a response to the dismantling of HRR – might shape poverty and racial inequalities. White resistance (see footnote 2 above) is also relevant for discussions regarding legacy mechanisms of racial inequality. The lessening and dismantling of institutions comprising HRR led to adverse responses among White people in the form of resistance, which arguably contributed to the enduring effects of HRR. For example, a rich scholarly literature examines the role of lynching as a threat tactic to keep Black people “in their place,” linking Black lynching to a number of adverse outcomes such as racial residential segregation (Cook, Logan and Parman 2018), homicides (Messner et al. 2005) and violence (Gabriel and Tolnay 2017). Additionally, Ku Klux Klan activity during and after Jim Crow had an enduring impact on political realignment in the South, which produced greater racial and class-based equality (McVeigh, Cunningham, and Farrell 2014). Further, “White flight” schools associated with increasing desegregation orders

contributed to racial disparities in education (Andrews 2002). Hence, White resistance upheld and exacerbated the effects of HRR. As such, scholars could employ measures of White resistance and examine its relationship with contemporary racial inequality, focusing not only on Black disadvantage, but also White gain.

Fourth, future research is necessary to examine the mechanisms through which HRR (or elements of HRR) impacts contemporary racial inequality in poverty. In particular, more investigation is needed to illuminate the processes of how contemporary institutions might mediate the relationship between HRR and poverty. Contemporary structures and politics are likely at least partly endogenous to historical institutions, and thus plausibly may mediate the underlying relationship between HRR and poverty. In addition to employment and education, as abovementioned, it would be useful to consider political institutions and the criminal justice system as potential mediators. In the South, unionization has a complex historical and contemporary relationship with racism (see Roscigno and Kimble 1995) and overall unionization levels are lowest in the South, where more Black people reside (Baker 2020). Additionally, the welfare state is a racialized, modern political institution (Brown 2013; Piven 2003), and studies show a strong relationship between race and welfare perceptions and support (Johnson 2003), welfare implementation (Brown 2013), and even welfare sanctions (Schram et al. 2009). Studies also demonstrate racism influences the uneven pattern of welfare benefits experienced across states, with Southern states being most adversely affected (Kail and Dixon 2011; Parolin 2019). HRR may also work through fiscal policies. For instance, Newman and O'Brien (2011) provide evidence that cross-state variation in tax policies helps explain the higher poverty in the South. Given "the current property tax system evolved from statutes enacted with explicitly racist and

inequitable intentions” (Neman and O’Brien 2011:34) it is plausible that HRR could underlie variation in both social and fiscal policies.

Similarly, the criminal justice system is another contemporary institution through which HRR may operate to impact racial inequality in poverty in the South. Despite declines in crime rates, the U.S. has maintained extremely high rates of incarceration for decades, with Black Americans being disproportionately represented (Pettit and Gutierrez 2018). Alexander (2012) argues the mass incarceration of Black and Brown people in the U.S. is “the New Jim Crow” because it serves as a form of social control that perpetuates racial hierarchy. The proliferation of prisons is another phenomenon which also disproportionately affects rural Black Americans, especially those in the South (Eason 2010). Studies show incarceration is linked to a myriad of negative socioeconomic and health outcomes that exacerbate existing inequalities (Haskins 2014; Miller 2021). Racial disparities in the exposure to and differential treatment by such institutions (including institutions beyond welfare and criminal justice, such as education) work to uphold the contemporary racial regime—one that plausibly has roots in HRR, but could also directly exacerbate racial inequalities in poverty above and beyond HRR.

Finally, this study also has implications for the understanding of national patterns of racial inequality in poverty. Black-White poverty gaps exist across states, throughout the U.S. There are certainly non-Southern states with high Black-White poverty gaps, some even higher than most Southern states (e.g. Wisconsin). While the specific driving structural forces of these inequalities can vary from place to place (or region to region), this study proposes that these forces stem from the underlying U.S. racial regime. Thus, future research should investigate whether and how structural forces produce similar inequalities beyond the South. The

significance of HRR in the South suggests historical racialized institutional contexts likely matters elsewhere with existing Black-White poverty gaps. Though the non-South did not endure an intricate slave system and the consequences of its downfall that acutely impacted race relations as did in the South, racism was obviously still present. For instance, the “Jim Crow North” in the 20th century was characterized by legal systems that supported and hid practices of racial segregation (Purnell and Theoharis 2019). Moreover, the influx of Black Southerners to Midwestern and Northern cities during the Great Migration (see Tolnay 2003) led to the cementing of Jim Crow in Northern institutions such as housing, employment, and law enforcement system (Purnell and Theoharis 2019.) These institutional mechanisms beyond the South helped shape racial inequality. Hardy et al. (2018) argue that despite other regions not experiencing a de jure Jim Crow regime, contemporary racial inequality in income, wealth, and economic mobility outside the South reflect the segregation that emerged from underlying racial animosity and competition in these places. For example, O’Connell (2018) finds an association between historic sundown towns (where Blacks were prohibited, most strictly after dark) in the Midwest and contemporary Black–White economic inequality. Additionally, Jim Crow-like laws manifested even beyond the South. For instance, a few non-Southern states (e.g. California and Indiana) had statues favoring the segregation of organizational amenities (Ruef and Grigoryeva 2018). Scholars could leverage such data to assess how historical institutional mechanisms can have impact beyond the South. Given the variation in ethno-racial group gaps across place, scholars should also consider moving beyond the White-Black binary to examine the legacy of HRR for Latino and American Indian populations.

In sum, the significance of HRR in this study underscores the role of historical institutions for poverty and racial inequality. As Williams (2019:661) argues, “conventional approaches to racial inequality in empirical research are based in an episteme that obscures racial domination and oppression by de-historicizing race and racism in the U.S.” Thus, acknowledging and demonstrating the historical role of the U.S. racial regime for racial disparities in the present day, as in this study, is crucial for a deeper understanding of the racial inequality that endures in the U.S. This is especially the case in the current era where race politics have been brought to the forefront of public discourse, and there have been increasing debates around issues such as slavery reparations to compensate Black Americans for the historical, cumulative disadvantage they have experienced (Darity and Mullen 2020; Ray and Perry 2020). To better inform such contemporary debates regarding poverty and racial inequality in the U.S., we must emphasize the role of history in addressing the important questions of who gets (or does not get) what, where, and why. As this study underlines, America’s racialized past still matters.

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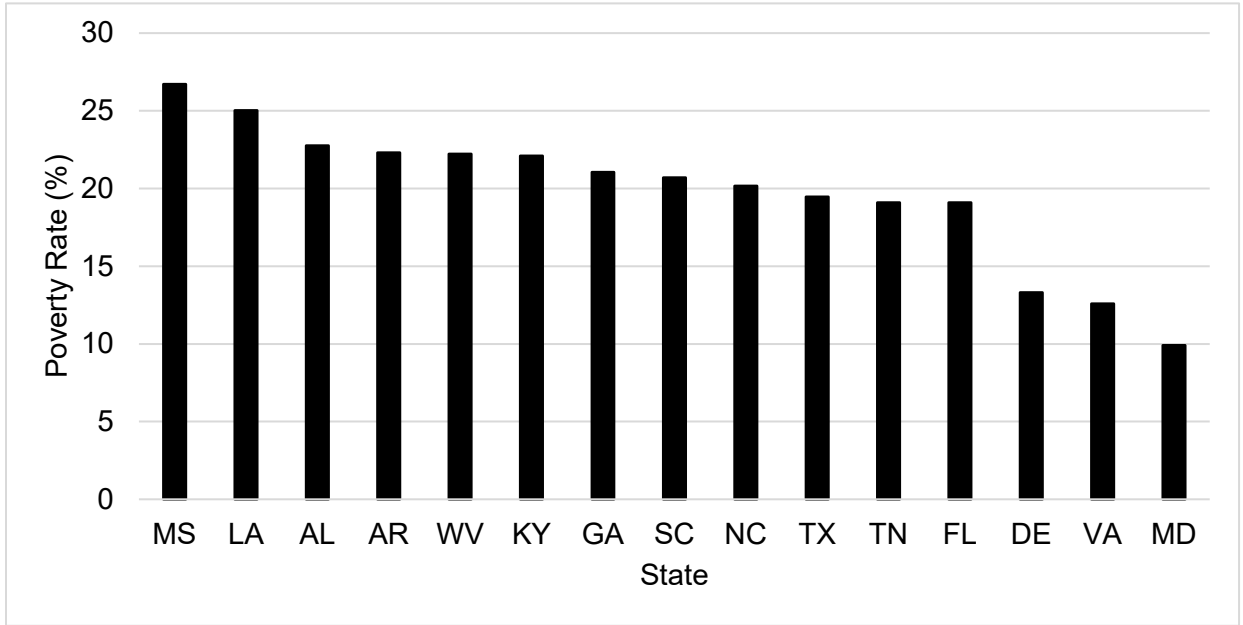


Figure 1: Poverty Rates (%) by State, 2010-2018

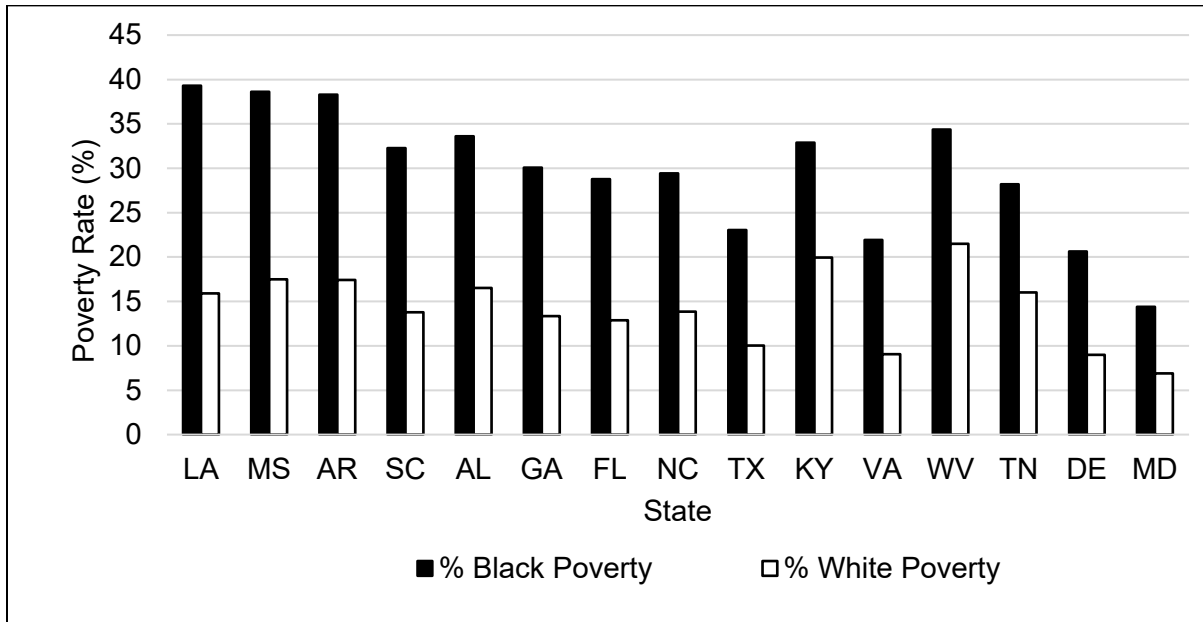


Figure 2: Black-White Poverty Rates by State, 2010-2018

Note: States are ordered from largest to smallest Black-White poverty gap.

Table 1: Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Scale Items by State

	Enslaved Population 1860 (%)	Black Sharecroppers 1930 (%)	Congressional Support of the Southern Manifesto (%)	Disfranchisement Devices Enacted (<i>N</i>)	HRR Scale Score
Alabama	45.12	42.33	100.00	4	.69
Arkansas	25.52	60.59	100.00	2	.33
Delaware	1.60	26.67	0.00	0	-1.29
Florida	43.97	28.92	80.00	2	.10
Georgia	43.72	49.03	100.00	4	.75
Kentucky	19.50	10.30	0.00	0	-1.23
Louisiana	46.85	65.17	100.00	4	1.00
Maryland	12.86	36.27	0.00	0	-1.01
Mississippi	55.18	76.13	100.00	3	1.10
North Carolina	33.35	50.38	71.43	4	.46
South Carolina	57.18	63.44	100.00	3	.98
Tennessee	24.84	32.92	36.34	1	-.52
Texas	30.22	34.48	20.83	2	-.36
Virginia	30.75	39.40	100.00	4	.56
West Virginia	4.88	1.25	0.00	0	-1.55
Correlation with HRR	0.93	0.87	0.96	0.93	--

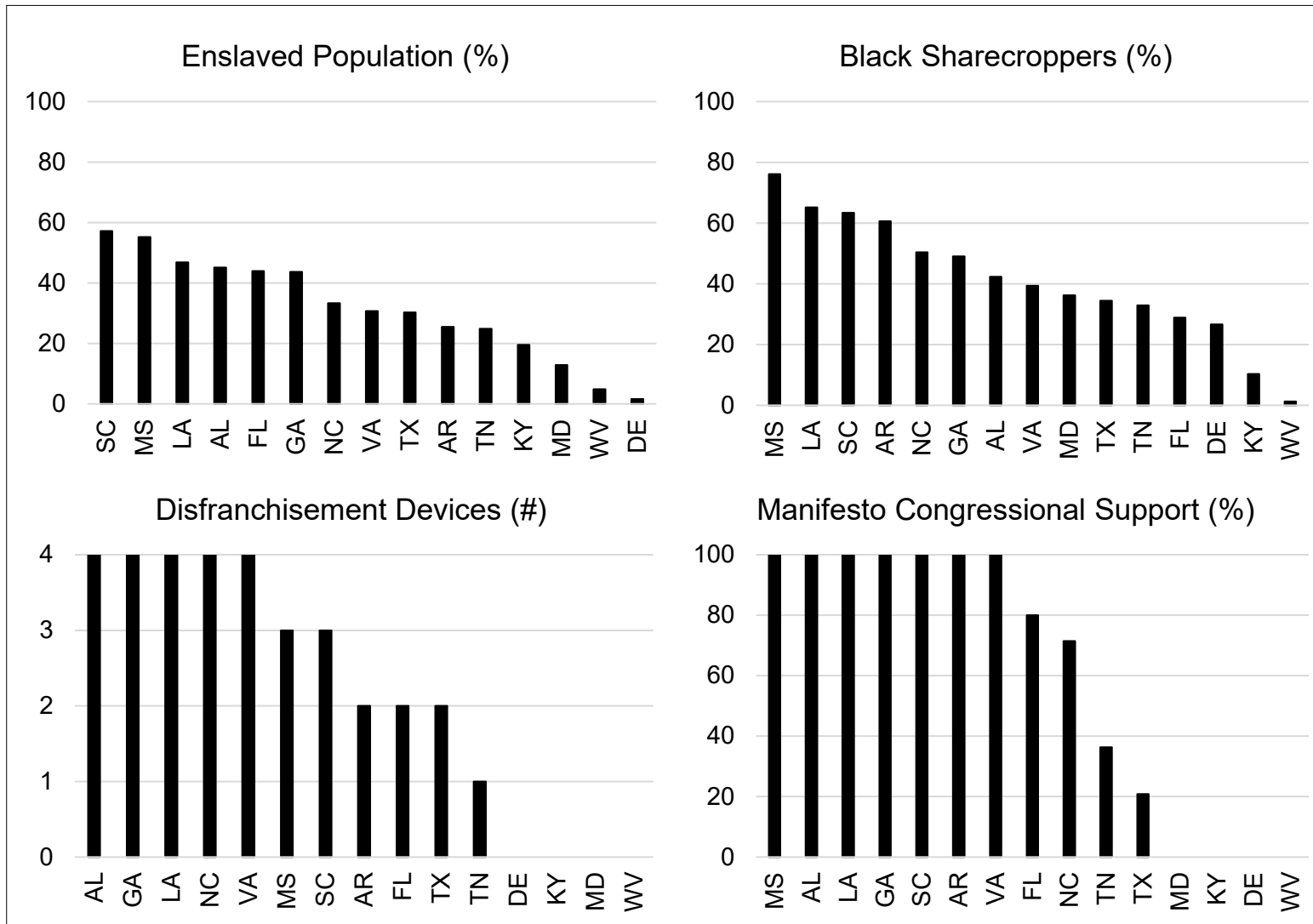


Figure 3: Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Scale Items by State

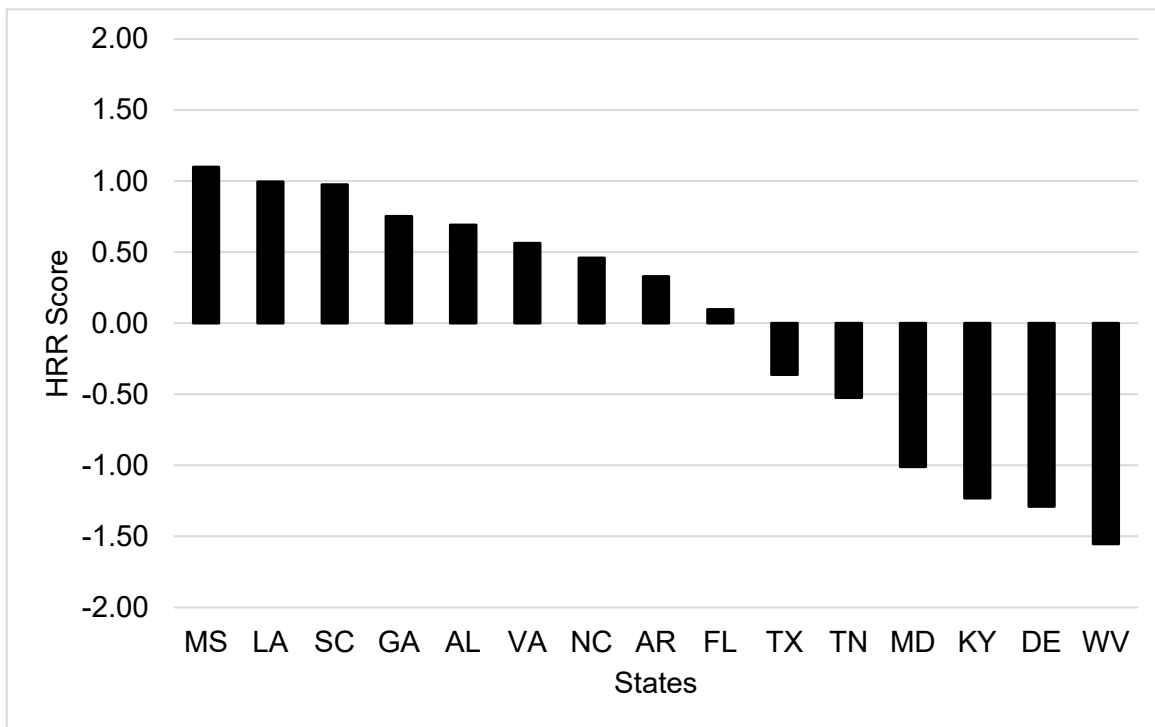


Figure 4: Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Score by State

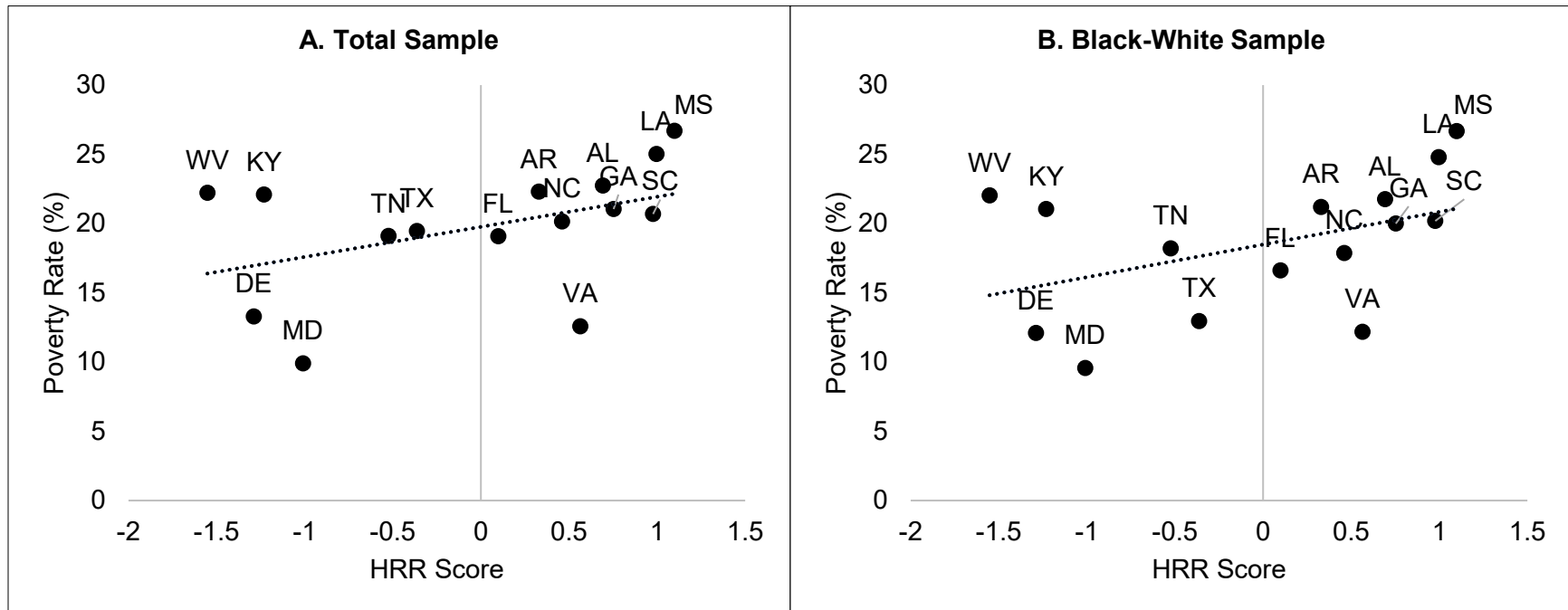


Figure 5: Bivariate Relationships of States' Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Scores and Poverty Rates in the South, 2010-2018

Note: Total sample $r=.43$. Black-White sample $r=.44$.

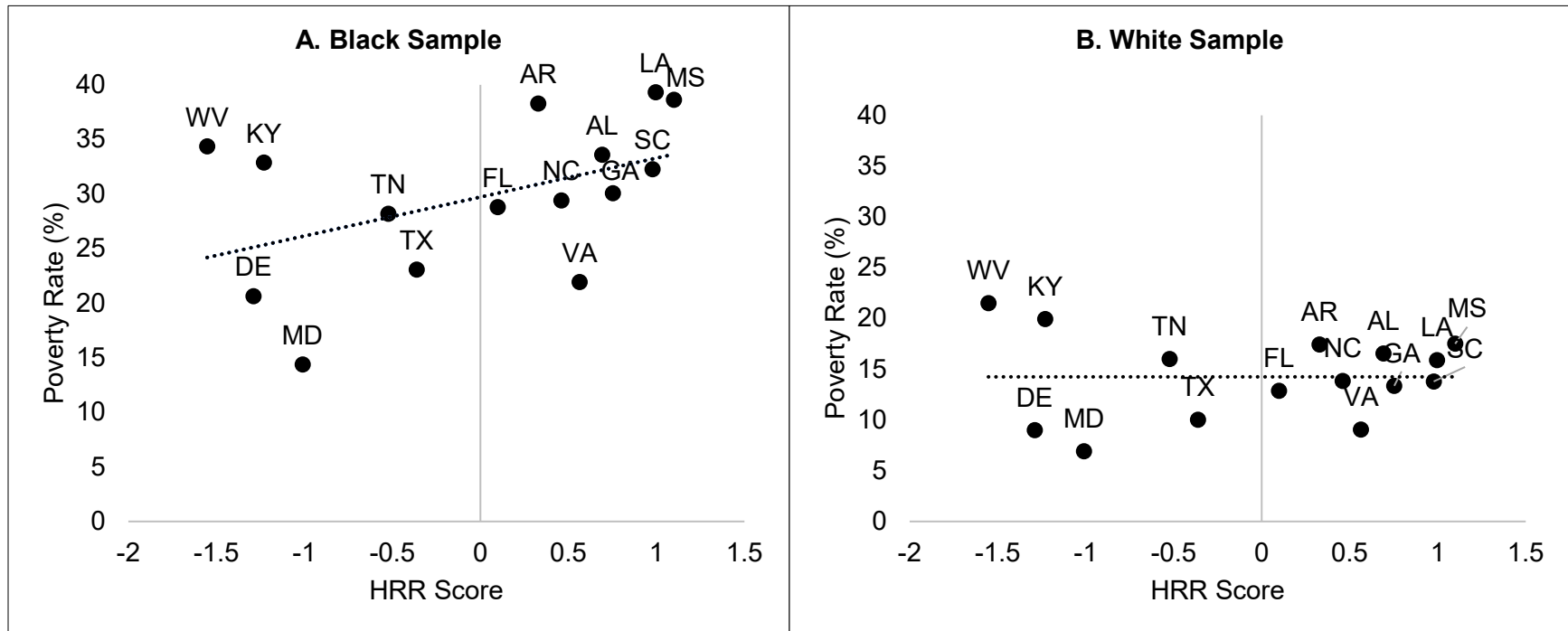


Figure 6: Bivariate Relationships of States' Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Scores and Black Poverty and White Poverty in the South, 2010-2018

Note: Black sample $r=.46$. White sample $r=.00$.

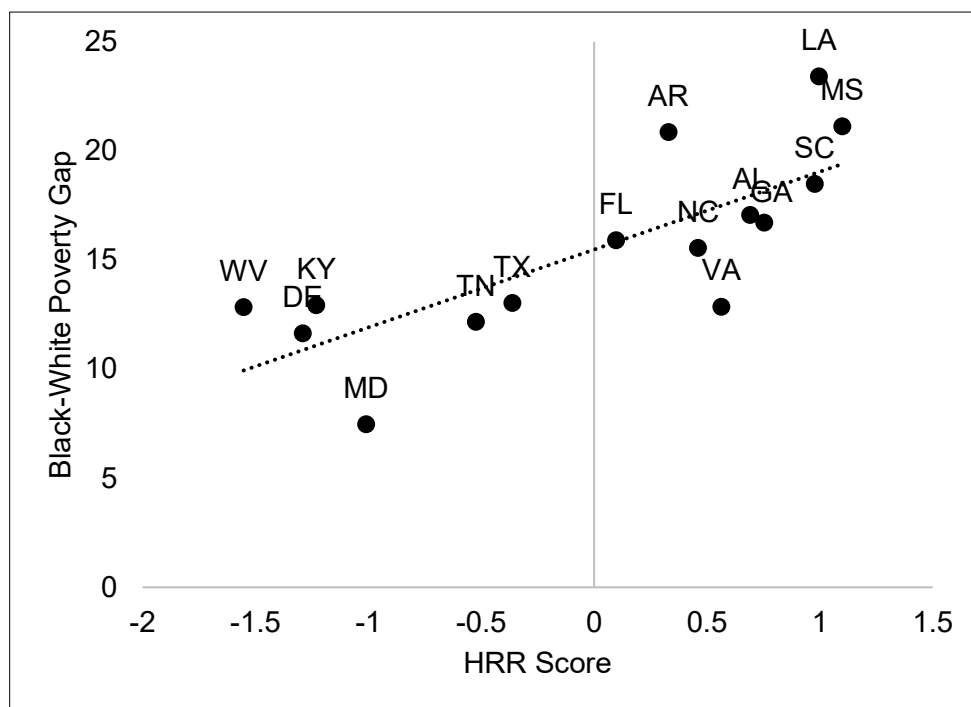


Figure 7: Bivariate Relationship of States' Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Score and the Black-White Poverty Gap in the South, 2010-2018

Note: The Black-White poverty gap is the percentage point difference in Black-White poverty rates (i.e. % Black poverty - % White poverty). $r=.77$.

Table 2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime	.022	1.53	.008	1.21	.023	1.53	.008	1.27
Race (Ref: Non-Hispanic White)								
Black			.068***	10.05			.069***	10.84
Hispanic			.074***	14.91				
Other			.039***	13.98				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.121***	22.01			.126***	22.44
Single Father			.032***	4.14			.036***	4.50
Female No Children			.083***	15.64			.093***	19.36
Male, No Children			.034***	7.63			.045***	16.95
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.75			.031***	17.15
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037***	-8.81			-.038***	-8.22
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.161***	30.10			.178***	39.85
Age 25-34			.019***	5.36			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.072***	-8.36			-.019***	-5.98
Age 55-64			-.007***	-3.12			-.007*	-2.45
Age 65-74			-.110	-18.31			-.113***	-17.93
Age >74			-.183	-28.67			-.183***	-23.19
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	41.12			.176***	37.40
College Degree			-.029***	-20.57			-.077***	-19.19
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.07			.375***	54.73
Multiple Earners			-.168***	-24.06			-.140**	-17.68
Foreign-Born Head			.029***	6.69			.017**	2.94
Rural Residence			.031***	6.93			.037***	13.71
	527,829		527,829		397,389		397,389	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. HH = household. All models include year controls and cluster the errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Table 3: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty (with interaction) in the South

	<i>Total Sample</i>				<i>Black and White Sample</i>			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime (HRR)	.002	0.12	.003	0.63	-.000	-0.00	.001	0.37
HRR x Black	.042***	5.29	.024***	4.05	.045***	5.17	.028***	3.94
Race (Ref: Non-Hisp. White)								
Black	.150***	25.27	.063***	14.93	.149***	24.37	.063***	14.98
Hispanic	.149***	11.51	.072***	14.07				
Other	.033***	4.94	.038***	13.11				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.120***	21.80			.126***	22.18
Single Father			.032***	4.21			.036***	4.61
Female No Children			.120***	15.52			.092***	19.05
Male, No Children			.083***	7.58			.045***	16.66
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.65			.031***	17.14
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037**	-8.73			-.038***	-8.12
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.161***	30.28			.178***	39.96
Age 25-34			.019***	5.36			.018***	4.34
Age 35-44			-.017***	-8.32			-.019***	-5.93
Age 55-64			-.007**	-3.19			-.008	-2.50
Age 65-74			-.110***	-18.56			-.113***	-18.28
Age >74			-.183***	-28.81			-.183	-23.39
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	73.60			.176***	37.85
College Degree			-.078***	-20.53			-.076***	-19.27
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.60			.375***	55.07
Multiple Earners			-.167***	-24.10			-.140***	-17.65
Foreign-Born Head			.030***	6.97			.019***	3.34
Rural Residence			.030***	6.74			.036***	13.42
				527,829				397,389

262,662

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. HH = household. All models include year controls and cluster the errors by state.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Table 4: Binary Decomposition of the Black-White Poverty Gap

	Poverty			
White	.140			
Black	.293			
White-Black Difference	-.153			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>	
<i>Relative Contribution to Difference</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>
Historical Racial Regime	-.021***	13.60	-.009***	5.81
Single Mother Head			-.011***	7.21
Single Father Head			.000***	-0.06
Female Head, No Children			-.008***	5.51
Male Head, No Children			-.002***	1.10
Number of Children in HH			-.002***	1.01
Adults Age > 65 in HH			-.001***	0.54
Head < Age 25			-.004***	2.38
Head Age 25-34			-.000*	0.15
Head Age 35-44			-.001***	0.26
Head Age 55-64			.001***	-0.46
Head Age 65-74			-.001***	0.35
Head > Age 74			.003***	2.00
Less than High School Head			-.008***	5.55
College Degree Head			-.015***	9.76
Unemployed HH			-.019***	12.31
Multiple Earners HH			-.024***	15.98
Foreign-Born Head			.000***	0.18
Rural Residence			.003***	-2.06
All Variables (Total Explained)	-.021	13.53	-.103	67.21

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH = household. All models include year controls. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX A: Descriptive Statistics

	Total Sample		Black & White Sample	
	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Poverty	.195	.396	.180	.384
Historical Racial Regime	-.003	.768	.029	.821
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>				
Black	.198	.399	.263	.440
Other	.056	.230	--	--
Hispanic	.191	.393	--	--
<u>Marital Status of Head</u>				
Single Mother	.106	.307	.103	.304
Single Father	.042	.200	.039	.193
Female, No Children	.107	.309	.118	.322
Male, No Children	.081	.272	.083	.276
Number of Children in HH	1.219	1.332	1.133	1.297
Adults Age > 65 in HH	.197	.398	.213	.410
<u>Age of Head</u>				
Age < 25	.045	.208	.041	.199
Age 25-34	.177	.382	.164	.371
Age 35-44	.263	.440	.249	.432
Age 45-54	.225	.418	.227	.419
Age 55-64	.146	.353	.156	.363
Age 65-74	.078	.267	.088	.283
Age > 74	.053	.224	.062	.241
<u>Education of Head</u>				
Less than High School	.130	.336	.090	.286
College Degree	.315	.464	.334	.472
<u>Employment in HH</u>				
Unemployed	.145	.352	.164	.371
Multiple Earners	.512	.500	.500	.500
Foreign-Born Head	.060	.237	.020	.137
Rural Residence	.235	.423	.276	.447
<i>N</i>	527,829		397,389	

Note: Samples pool years 2010-2018.

APPENDIX B: Data Sources for State-Level Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Scale

HRR Scale Item	Source
Enslaved Population (1860)	U.S. Census Bureau: https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html
Black Sharecroppers (1930)	U.S. Department of Agriculture Historical Archive http://agcensus.mannlib.cornell.edu/
Disfranchisement Devices	Walton, Hanes, Sherman C. Puckett, and Donald R. Deskins. 2012. <i>The African American Electorate: A Statistical History</i> . Washington D.C.: CQ Press.
Congressional State Delegate Support of the Southern Manifesto	“The Southern Manifesto.” <i>Congressional Record</i> . 1956. March 12. 84th Congress Second Session. Vol. 102, part 4. Washington, D.C.: Governmental Printing Office. 4459-4460. Members of 84 th Congress: Office of the Historian, https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/84th/
School Segregation (1968)	Orfield Gary. 1983. <i>Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968–1980</i> . Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: School segregation measure is used in lieu of Congressional support for the Southern Manifesto in the alternative HRR scale measure employed in the sensitivity analyses (Appendix E).

APPENDIX C1: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty among Black Southerners and White Southerners

	Black Southerners		White Southerners	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime	.017*	2.00	.001	0.21
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)				
Single Mother	.094***	13.55	.131***	17.16
Single Father	.022	1.55	.042***	5.90
Female, No Child	.095***	12.43	.090***	18.20
Male, No Child	.050***	8.72	.040***	10.46
Num. of Children in HH	.047***	13.20	.024***	16.38
Adults Age >65 in HH	-.035***	-4.89	-.038***	-5.82
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)				
Age < 25	.189***	21.77	.171***	24.81
Age 25-34	.012	-1.24	-.017**	5.09
Age 35-44	-.020*	-2.48	-.004***	-8.39
Age 55-64	-.023	-3.96	.108	1.36
Age 65-74	-.117**	-10.23	-.109***	-14.07
Age >74	-.139***	-10.68	-.182***	-20.12
Education of Head (Ref: HS)				
Grad/Some College				
< High School	.166***	22.77	.171***	35.99
College Degree	-.114***	-11.93	-.067***	-18.47
Employment in HH				
Unemployed	.417***	52.81	.253***	31.01
Multiple Earners	-.197***	-14.26	-.123***	-16.01
Foreign-Born Head	.020***	3.52	.025***	4.37
Rural Residence	.060***	8.74	.030***	9.39
		104,641		292,748

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. HH=Household. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX C2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South with Fully Interacted Controls, Black and White Sample

	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime (HRR)	.001	0.21
HRR x Black	.019***	3.59
Black	.074***	9.53
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)		
Single Mother	.131***	17.13
Single Mother x Black	-.036***	-3.59
Single Father	.041***	5.81
Single Father x Black	-.018	-1.34
Female, No Child	.090***	18.24
Female, No Child x Black	.005	0.64
Male, No Child	.040***	10.39
Male, No Child x Black	.010	1.29
Num. of Children in HH	.024***	16.58
Num. of Children x Black	.023***	7.37
Adults Age >65 in HH	-.038***	-5.84
Adults Age >65 x Black	.004	0.39
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)		
Age < 25	.171***	24.95
Age < 25 x Black	.020	1.67
Age 25-34	.019***	4.96
Age 25-34 x Black	-.006	-0.58
Age 35-44	-.017***	-8.39
Age 35-44 x Black	-.002	-0.33
Age 55-64	-.023	-1.41
Age 55-64 x Black	-.018**	-2.86
Age 65-74	-.109***	-14.14
Age 65-74 x Black	-.007	-0.53
Age >74	-.182***	-20.15
Age >74 x Black	.043**	-3.30
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)		
< High School	.171***	35.74
< High School x Black	-.005	-0.64
College Degree	-.067**	-18.30
College Degree x Black	-.047***	-5.82
Employment in HH		
Unemployed	.347***	30.93
Unemployed x Black	.070***	-4.34
Multiple Earners	-.123***	-15.95
Multiple Earners x Black	-.075***	-6.55
Foreign-Born Head	.025***	4.53
Foreign-Born x Black	-.001	-0.25
Rural Residence	.030***	9.54
Rural Residence x Black	.028***	3.63

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH=Household. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX D1: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South – Slavery Model vs. Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Model (Black-and White Sample)

	<u>Slavery</u>				<u>HRR</u>			
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Slavery	.001	1.82	.000	1.54	--	--	--	--
HRR	--	--	--	--	.023	1.53	.008	1.27
Race (Ref: White)								
Black			.069***	10.84			.069***	10.84
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.126***	22.44			.126***	22.44
Single Father			.037***	4.50			.036***	4.50
Female No Children			.093***	19.36			.093***	19.36
Male, No Children			.045***	16.95			.045***	16.95
Number of Children in HH			.031***	17.15			.031***	17.15
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.038***	-8.21			.038***	-8.22
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.178***	39.86			.178***	39.85
Age 25-34			.018***	4.27			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.019***	-5.98			-.019***	-5.98
Age 55-64			-.007*	-2.45			-.007*	-2.45
Age 65-74			-.113***	-17.93			-.113***	-17.93
Age >74			-.183	-23.19			-.183***	-23.19
Education of Head (Ref: HS diploma/some college)								
Less than High School			.176***	37.40			.176***	37.40
College Degree			-.076***	-19.19			-.076***	19.19
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.375***	54.73			.375***	54.73
Multiple Earners			-.140***	-17.68			-.140***	-17.68
Foreign-Born Head			.017***	2.94			.017**	2.94
Rural Residence			.037***	13.73			.037***	13.71

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH=Household. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX D2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South – Slavery Models vs. Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Models (Black and White Sample)

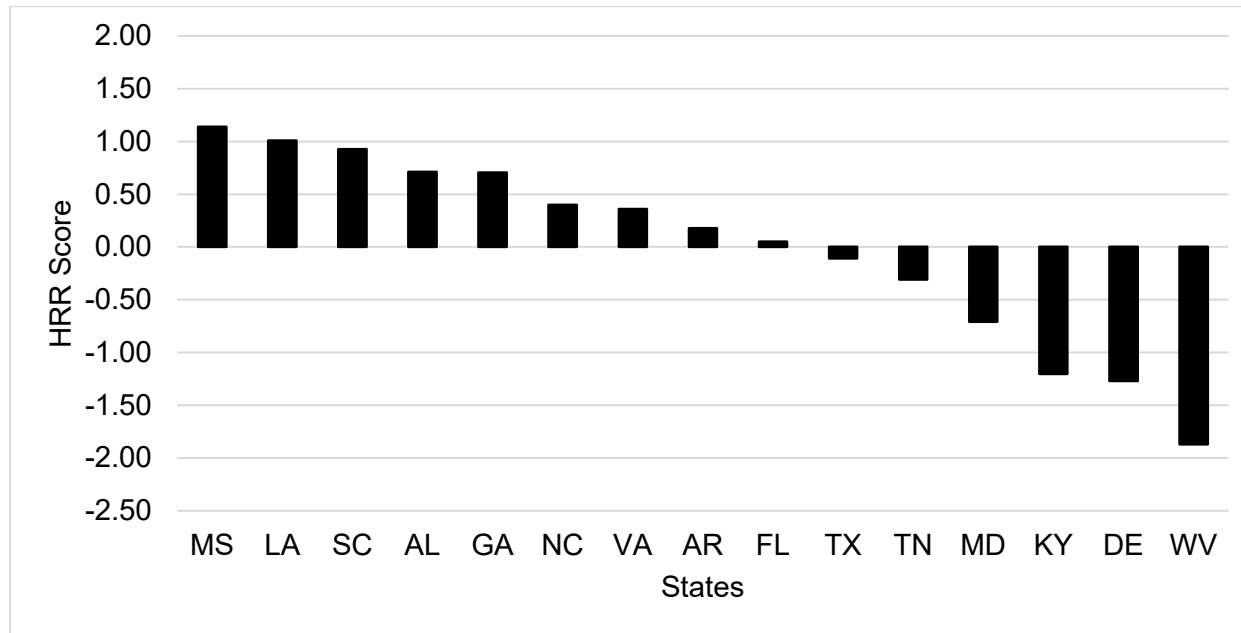
	<u>Slavery Only</u>				<u>HRR</u>			
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Slavery	.000	0.19	.000	0.59	--	--	--	--
HRR	--	--	--	--	-.000	-.000	.001	1.27
Slavery x Black	.002***	4.08	.001**	3.45	--	--	--	--
HRR x Black	--	--	--	--	.045***	5.17	.028***	3.94
Black	.083***	4.07	.021	1.51	.149***	24.37	.063***	14.98
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.126***	22.19			.126***	22.18
Single Father			.036***	4.60			.036***	4.61
Female No Children			.092***	19.03			.092***	19.05
Male, No Children			.045***	16.88			.045***	16.66
Number of Children in HH			.031***	17.04			.031***	17.14
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.039***	-8.12			-.038***	-8.12
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.178***	39.98			.178***	39.85
Age 25-34			.018***	4.36			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.019***	-5.94			-.019***	-5.98
Age 55-64			-.007*	-2.46			-.008*	-2.45
Age 65-74			-.113***	-18.15			-.113***	-17.93
Age >74			-.183***	-23.34			-.183***	-23.19
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.176***	37.51			.176***	37.40
College Degree			-.076***	-19.30			-.076***	19.19
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.375***	55.33			.375***	54.73
Multiple Earners			-.140***	-17.67			-.140***	-17.68
Foreign-Born Head			.018**	3.27			.019**	2.94
Rural Residence			.036***	13.57			.036***	13.71

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH=Household. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX D3: Decomposition of Black-White Poverty Gap – Slavery Model vs. the Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Model

	<u>Slavery</u>				<u>HRR</u>			
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>	
<i>Relative Contribution to Difference</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>
White Poverty	.140							
Black Poverty	.293							
White-Black Difference	-.152							
Slavery	-.017***	10.93	-.007***	4.69	--	--	--	--
HRR	--	--	--	--	-.021***	13.60	-.009***	5.81
Single Mother Head			-.011***	7.23			-.011***	7.21
Single Father Head			.000***	-0.07			.000***	-0.06
Female Head, No Children			-.008***	5.52			-.008***	5.51
Male Head, No Children			-.002***	1.09			-.002***	1.10
Number of Children in HH			-.002***	1.02			-.002***	1.01
Adults Age > 65 in HH			-.001***	0.55			-.001***	0.54
Head < Age 25			-.004***	2.39			-.004***	2.38
Head Age 25-34			-.000*	0.15			-.000*	0.15
Head Age 35-44			-.000***	0.26			-.001***	0.26
Head Age 55-64			.001***	-0.45			.001***	-0.46
Head Age 65-74			-.001***	0.36			-.001***	0.35
Head > Age 74			.003***	1.98			.003***	2.00
Less than High School Head			-.008***	5.56			-.008***	5.55
College Degree Head			-.015***	9.82			-.015***	9.76
Unemployed HH			-.019***	12.17			-.019***	12.31
Multiple Earners HH			-.024***	16.00			-.024***	15.98
Foreign-Born Head			.000***	0.14			.000***	0.18
Rural Residence			.003***	-2.16			.003***	-2.06
All Variables (Total Explained)	-.017	10.84	-.101	66.03	-.021	13.53	-.103	67.21

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. All models include year controls. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$



Appendix Figure E1: Alternative Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Score by State

Note: The alternative HRR scale includes a school segregation measure of the total percent of Black children attending a majority Black school in 1968 in lieu of Congressional support for the Southern Manifesto.

APPENDIX E2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South with Alternative Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Scale with School Segregation Measure

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime	.020	1.34	.007	1.04	.020	1.24	.006	1.08
Race (Ref: White)								
Black			.068***	10.05			.069***	10.85
Latino			.074***	14.90				
Other			.039***	13.98				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.121***	22.01			.126***	22.44
Single Father			.032***	4.14			.036***	4.50
Female No Children			.086***	15.64			.093***	19.36
Male, No Children			.034***	7.63			.045***	16.34
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.75			.031***	17.15
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037***	-8.81			-.038***	-8.22
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.162***	30.10			.177***	39.89
Age 25-34			.086***	5.36			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.017***	-8.36			-.019***	-5.98
Age 55-64			-.007**	-3.12			-.007	-2.45
Age 65-74			-.110***	-18.31			-.112***	-17.93
Age >74			-.183***	-28.67			-.183***	-23.19
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	41.12			.176***	37.40
College Degree			-.078***	-20.57			-.076***	-19.20
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.08			.375***	54.74
Multiple Earners			-.168***	-24.06			-.140***	-17.69
Foreign-Born Head			.029***	6.69			.017**	2.94
Rural Residence			.031***	6.93			.037***	13.70
<i>N</i>	527,829		527,829		397,389		397,389	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. HH=Household. All models include year controls and cluster the errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX E3: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South (with Interaction) and Alternative HRR Scale with School Segregation Measure

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime	-.002	-0.10	.002	0.49	-.004	-0.24	.001	0.26
HRR x Black	.043***	4.45	.026***	3.48	.047***	4.45	.028**	3.40
Race (Ref: Non-Hisp. White)								
Black	.148**	21.60	.062***	12.66	.147***	20.49	.063***	12.89
Latino	.149***	11.28	.073***	14.41				
Other	.033***	5.02	.038***	13.55				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.120***	21.80			.126***	22.13
Single Father			.032***	4.21			.036***	4.61
Female No Children			.120***	15.54			.092***	19.07
Male, No Children			.034***	7.58			.045***	16.71
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.72			.031***	17.19
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037**	-8.73			-.039***	-8.12
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.162***	30.31			.178***	40.09
Age 25-34			.019***	5.38			.018***	4.36
Age 35-44			-.017***	-8.34			-.019***	-5.95
Age 55-64			-.007**	-3.18			-.007	-2.49
Age 65-74			-.110***	-18.53			-.113***	-18.21
Age >74			-.183***	-28.81			-.183***	-23.34
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	73.56			.176***	37.97
College Degree			-.078***	-20.59			-.076***	-19.29
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.56			.375***	55.01
Multiple Earners			-.167***	-24.09			-.140***	-17.65
Foreign-Born HH			.030***	6.95			.019**	3.31
Rural Residence			.030***	6.78			.036***	13.53
<i>N</i>	527,829		527,829		397,389		397,389	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. HH=Household. All models include year controls and cluster the errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX E4: Binary Decomposition of the Black-White Poverty Gap with Alternative Historical Racial Regime Scale with School Segregation Measure

		Poverty			
White Poverty		.140			
Black Poverty		.293			
White-Black Difference		-.152			
		<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>	
<i>Relative Contribution to Difference</i>		<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>
Historical Racial Regime		-.022***	14.89	-.009***	6.10
Single Mother Head				-.011***	7.17
Single Father Head				.000***	-0.07
Female Head, No Children				-.008***	5.50
Male Head, No Children				-.002***	1.06
Number of Children in HH				-.002***	1.43
Adults Age >65 in HH				-.001***	0.51
Head < Age 25				-.003***	2.29
Head Age 25-34				-.000*	0.15
Head Age 35-44				-.000***	0.25
Head Age 55-64				.001***	-0.42
Head Age 65-74				-.001***	0.40
Head > Age 74				.003***	2.00
Less than High School Head				-.009***	5.58
College Degree Head				-.015***	9.61
Unemployed HH				-.019***	12.39
Multiple Earners HH				-.024***	15.83
Foreign-Born Head				-.000***	0.18
Rural Residence				.003***	-2.24
All Variables (Total Explained)		-.023	14.83	-.103	67.45

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH=Household. All models include year controls. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX F1: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the former Confederate South

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime	.023	1.53	.008	1.21	.034	2.64	.006	1.07
Race (Ref: Non-Latino White)								
Black			.068***	10.05			.075***	12.67
Latino			.074***	14.91				
Other			.039***	13.98				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.121***	22.01			.126***	22.30
Single Father			.032***	4.14			.039***	3.77
Female No Children			.083***	15.64			.096***	21.74
Male, No Children			.034***	7.63			.047***	17.03
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.75			.032***	15.54
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037***	-8.81			-.039***	-9.36
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.161***	30.10			.190***	41.02
Age 25-34			.019***	5.36			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.072***	-8.36			-.019***	-4.76
Age 55-64			-.007***	-3.12			-.004	-1.48
Age 65-74			-.110	-18.31			-.105***	-17.75
Age >74			-.183	-28.67			-.180***	-22.08
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	41.12			.180***	34.59
College Degree			-.029***	-20.57			-.080***	-19.59
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.07			.375***	49.56
Multiple Earners			-.168***	-24.06			-.141***	-16.41
Foreign-Born Head			.029***	6.69			.019***	3.07
Rural Residence			.031***	6.93			.037***	16.00
	430,328		430,328		313,323		313,323	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX F2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty (with Interaction) in the former Confederate South

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime (HRR)	.010	0.94	.002	0.38	.010	0.90	.001	0.18
HRR x Black	.033***	5.00	.018***	3.22	.033***	5.21	.019**	3.20
Race (Ref: Non-Hisp. White)								
Black	.169***	24.33	.073***	14.10	.169***	24.65	.076***	14.18
Latino	.151***	11.37	.075***	13.75				
Other	.036***	4.37	.041***	14.22				
Marital Status (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.122***	23.68			.127***	22.30
Single Father			.037***	3.97			.040***	3.84
Female No Children			.085***	15.28			.095***	21.62
Male, No Children			.034***	6.56			.047***	16.87
Number of Children			.033***	26.05			.032***	15.64
Adults Age >65			-.037**	-8.95			-.039***	-9.32
Age (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.159***	32.24			.176***	41.37
Age 25-34			.019***	5.24			.019***	4.29
Age 35-44			-.017***	-6.92			-.019***	-4.73
Age 55-64			-.006**	-2.86			-.005	-1.56
Age 65-74			-.103***	-20.64			-.105***	-18.03
Age >74			-.175***	-29.74			-.173***	-23.00
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.171***	33.97			.180**	34.93
College Degree			-.083***	-26.26			-.080***	-19.65
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.375***	68.18			.374***	49.61
Multiple Earners			-.172***	-25.26			-.141***	-16.38
Foreign-Born Head			.032***	7.46			.021**	3.27
Rural Residence			.029***	5.68			.036***	14.39
	430,328		430,328		313,323		313,323	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX F3: Binary Decomposition of the Black-White Poverty Gap in the former Confederate South

Poverty				
White Poverty	.136			
Black Poverty	.311			
White-Black Difference	-.175			
Relative Contribution to Difference	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	%	<i>Coef.</i>	%
Historical Racial Regime	-.013***	7.50	-.004***	2.05
Single Mother Head			-.011***	6.54
Single Father Head			.000***	-0.01
Female Head, No Children			-.009***	5.23
Male Head, No Children			-.002***	0.89
Number of Children in HH			-.000***	1.85
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.000***	0.50
Head < Age 25			-.000***	2.05
Head Age 25-34			-.000*	0.20
Head Age 35-44			-.001***	0.20
Head Age 55-64			-.000***	-0.30
Head Age 65-74			-.000***	0.27
Head > Age 74			.003***	1.70
Less than High School Head			-.010***	5.87
College Degree Head			-.020***	11.62
Unemployed HH			-.025***	14.43
Multiple Earners HH			-.025***	15.98
Foreign-Born Head			.000***	0.11
Rural Residence			.000***	-0.13
All Variables (Total Explained)	-.012	7.42	-.114	65.47

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=313,323$. All models include year controls.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX G1: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South— Percent Black Population in 2010 Model vs. Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Model (Black and White Sample)

	<u>% Black Population (2010)</u>				<u>HRR</u>			
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>		<u>Model 4</u>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
% Black Population (2010)	.003	1.35	.001	1.53	--	--	--	--
HRR	--	--	--	--	.022	1.53	.008	1.27
Race								
Black			.069***	10.86			.069***	10.84
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.126***	22.44			.126***	22.44
Single Father			.036***	4.50			.036***	4.50
Female No Children			.093***	19.36			.093***	19.36
Male, No Children			.045***	16.95			.045***	16.95
Number of Children in HH			.031***	17.15			.031***	17.15
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.038***	-8.22			.038***	-8.22
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.178***	39.87			.178***	39.85
Age 25-34			.018***	4.27			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.019***	-5.98			-.019***	-5.98
Age 55-64			-.007**	-2.45			-.007*	-2.45
Age 65-74			-.113***	-17.93			-.113***	-17.93
Age >74			-.183***	-23.19			-.183***	-23.19
Education of Head (Ref: HS diploma/some college)								
Less than High School			.176***	37.40			.176***	37.40
College Degree			-.076***	-19.19			-.076***	19.19
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.375***	54.74			.375***	54.73
Multiple Earners			-.140***	-17.69			-.140***	-17.68
Foreign-Born Head			.017***	2.95			.017**	2.94
Rural Residence			.037***	13.80			.037***	13.71

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. All models include controls for year. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX G2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South (with Interaction) – Percent Black Population in 2010 Model vs. Historical Racial Regime (HRR) Model (Black and White Sample)

	<u>% Black Population (2010)</u>				<u>HRR</u>			
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
% Black Population	.002	1.29	.001	1.72	--	--	--	--
HRR	--	--	--	--	-.000	-.000	.001	0.37
% Black Population x Black	.003	1.27	.002	1.21	--	--	--	--
HRR x Black	--	--	--	--	.045***	5.17	.028***	3.94
Black	-.007	-0.06	-.048	-0.52	.149***	24.37	.063***	14.98
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.126***	22.12			.126***	22.18
Single Father			.036***	4.58			.036***	4.61
Female No Children			.092***	19.27			.092***	19.05
Male, No Children			.045***	16.88			.045***	16.66
Number of Children in HH			.031***	17.18			.031***	17.14
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.038***	-8.20			-.038***	-8.12
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.178***	40.15			.178***	39.96
Age 25-34			.018***	4.33			.018***	4.34
Age 35-44			-.019***	-6.01			-.019***	-5.93
Age 55-64			-.007**	-2.43			-.008*	-2.50
Age 65-74			-.113***	-17.95			-.113***	-18.28
Age >74			-.183***	-23.27			-.183***	-23.39
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.176***	37.49			.176***	37.85
College Degree			-.076***	-19.02			-.076***	-19.27
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.375***	54.81			.375***	55.07
Multiple Earners			-.140***	-17.78			-.140***	-17.65
Foreign-Born Head			.018**	3.33			.019**	3.34
Rural Residence			.037***	13.66			.036***	13.42

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. All modes include controls for year. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

APPENDIX G3: Decomposition of Black-White Poverty Gap – Percent Black Population in 2010 vs. Historical Racial Regime (HRR)

<i>Relative Contribution to Difference</i>	% Black Population (2010)				HRR			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>
White Poverty	.140							
Black Poverty	.293							
White-Black Difference	-.152							
Total Black Population	-.000**	5.32	-.000***	0.16	--	--	--	--
Historical Racial Regime	--	--	--	--	-.021***	13.60	-.009***	5.81
Single Mother Head			-.011***	7.28			-.011***	7.21
Single Father Head			.000***	-0.06			.000***	-0.06
Female Head, No Children			-.008***	5.55			-.008***	5.51
Male Head, No Children			-.002***	1.07			-.002***	1.10
Number of Children in HH			-.001***	0.97			-.002***	1.01
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.001***	0.51			-.001***	0.54
Head < Age 25			-.004***	2.36			-.004***	2.38
Head Age 25-34			-.000*	0.15			-.000*	0.15
Head Age 35-44			-.000***	0.26			-.001***	0.26
Head Age 55-64			.001***	-0.45			.001***	-0.46
Head Age 65-74			-.000***	0.31			-.001***	0.35
Head > Age 74			.003***	1.98			.003***	2.00
Less than High School Head			-.009***	5.62			-.008***	5.55
College Degree Head			-.015***	9.84			-.015***	9.76
Unemployed HH			-.019***	12.18			-.019***	12.31
Multiple Earners HH			-.025***	16.53			-.024***	15.98
Foreign-Born Head			-.000**	0.16			.000***	0.18
Rural Residence			.004***	-2.75			.003***	-2.06
All Variables (Total Explained)	-.000	6.52	-.094	61.32	-.021	13.53	-.103	67.21

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH=Household. All models include controls for year. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Appendix G4: Multi-Level Linear Probability Model of Poverty (with Interaction) in South, including Percent Black Population in 2010 (Black-White Sample)

	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
HRR	-.001	-.30
HRR x Black	.028***	3.95
Black	.064***	14.98
% Black Population	.001	1.35
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)		
Single Mother	.126***	22.18
Single Father	.036***	4.61
Female No Children	.093***	19.06
Male, No Children	.045***	16.66
Number of Children in HH	.031***	17.14
Adults Age >65 in HH	-.038***	-8.11
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)		
Age < 25	.178***	39.98
Age 25-34	.018***	4.34
Age 35-44	-.019***	-5.93
Age 55-64	-.007*	-18.28
Age 65-74	-.113***	-23.40
Age >74	-.183***	-37.87
Education of Head (Ref: HS diploma/some college)		
Less than High School	.176***	37.87
College Degree	-.076***	-19.29
Employment in HH		
Unemployed	.375***	5.07
Multiple Earners	-.140***	-17.65
Foreign-Born Head	.019**	23.34
Rural Residence	.035***	13.56

Note: Analysis pools years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. All models include controls for year.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX G5: Binary Decomposition of the Black-White Poverty Gap including Percent Black Population 2010

	Poverty	
White	.140	
Black	.293	
White-Black Difference	-.153	
<i>Relative Contribution to Difference</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>
Historical Racial Regime	-.008***	5.23
% Black Population	-.000***	0.09
Single Mother Head	-.011***	7.15
Single Father Head	.000***	-0.06
Female Head, No Children	-.009***	5.58
Male Head, No Children	-.002***	1.13
Number of Children in HH	-.001***	0.70
Adults Age >65 in HH	-.001***	0.45
Head < Age 25	-.003***	2.16
Head Age 25-34	-.000	0.14
Head Age 35-44	.000***	0.27
Head Age 55-64	.001***	-0.50
Head Age 65-74	-.001***	0.36
Head > Age 74	-.003***	1.98
Less than High School Head	-.009***	5.63
College Degree Head	-.015***	9.77
Unemployed HH	-.019***	12.62
Multiple Earners HH	-.025***	16.28
Foreign-Born Head	.000***	0.19
Rural Residence	.003***	-2.15
All Variables (Total Explained)	-.102	61.51

Note: Analysis pools years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. HH=household. All models include controls for year. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX H1: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty in the South including Historical Racial Regime Scale with Alternative Sharecropping Measure

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime	.028	1.97	.011	1.70	.028	1.89	.010	1.73
Race (Ref: Non-Latino White)								
Black			.068***	10.05			.069***	10.84
Latino			.074***	14.90				
Other			.039***	13.98				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.121***	22.01			.126***	22.44
Single Father			.032***	4.14			.036***	4.50
Female No Children			.084***	15.64			.093***	19.36
Male, No Children			.034***	7.63			.045***	16.95
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.75			.031***	17.15
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037***	-8.80			-.038***	-8.21
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.161***	30.09			.178***	39.84
Age 25-34			.019***	5.36			.018***	4.27
Age 35-44			-.017***	-8.36			-.019***	-5.98
Age 55-64			-.007**	-3.12			-.007*	-2.45
Age 65-74			-.110***	-18.31			-.113***	-17.93
Age >74			-.183***	-28.67			-.183***	-23.19
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	41.12			.176***	37.41
College Degree			-.078***	-20.57			-.076***	-19.19
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.07			.375***	54.73
Multiple Earners			-.168***	-24.05			-.140***	-17.68
Foreign-Born Head			.029***	6.69			.017***	2.94
Rural Residence			.031***	6.94			.036***	13.78
<i>N</i>	527,829		527,829		397,389		397,389	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX H2: Multi-Level Linear Probability Models of Poverty (with Interaction) in the South including Historical Racial Regime Scale with Alternative Sharecropping Measure

	Total Sample				Black and White Sample			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Historical Racial Regime (HRR)	.009	0.50	.006	1.18	.005	0.32	.004	0.89
HRR x Black	.040***	4.58	.024***	4.15	.044***	4.87	.028**	4.21
Race (Ref: Non-Hisp. White)								
Black	.150***	23.77	.064***	13.15	.150***	23.24	.064***	14.06
Latino	.149***	11.29	.073***	14.55				
Other	.033***	4.96	.038***	13.14				
Marital Status of Head (Ref: Married)								
Single Mother			.120***	23.68			.125***	22.02
Single Father			.032***	3.97			.036***	4.61
Female No Children			.083***	14.22			.092***	18.99
Male, No Children			.003***	7.58			.045***	16.54
Number of Children in HH			.032***	25.65			.031***	17.13
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.037**	-8.71			-.038***	-8.10
Age of Head (Ref: 45-54)								
Age < 25			.166***	30.32			.178***	40.08
Age 25-34			.019***	5.35			.018***	4.33
Age 35-44			-.017***	-8.33			-.019***	-5.92
Age 55-64			-.007**	-3.18			-.007*	-2.49
Age 65-74			-.110***	-18.52			-.113***	-18.21
Age >74			-.183***	-28.81			-.183***	-23.34
Education of Head (Ref: HS Grad/Some College)								
Less than High School			.169***	41.30			.176**	37.93
College Degree			-.078***	-20.55			-.076***	-19.27
Employment in HH								
Unemployed			.374***	73.40			.375***	54.91
Multiple Earners			-.168***	-24.09			-.141***	-17.66
Foreign-Born Head			.030***	6.98			.019**	3.29
Rural Residence			.030***	6.80			.036***	13.47
<i>N</i>	527,829		527,829		397,389		397,389	

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. All models include year controls and cluster errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

APPENDIX H3: Binary Decomposition of the Black-White Poverty Gap including Historical Racial Regime Scale with Alternative Sharecropping Measure

Poverty				
White Poverty	.140			
Black Poverty	.293			
White-Black Difference	-.152			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>	
<i>Relative Contribution to Difference</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>%</i>
Historical Racial Regime	-.019***	12.16	-.008***	5.51
Single Mother Head			-.011***	7.23
Single Father Head			.000***	-0.06
Female Head, No Children			-.008***	5.35
Male Head, No Children			-.002***	1.03
Number of Children in HH			-.002***	1.52
Adults Age >65 in HH			-.001***	0.53
Head < Age 25			-.004***	2.39
Head Age 25-34			-.000*	0.15
Head Age 35-44			-.000***	0.25
Head Age 55-64			.001***	-0.42
Head Age 65-74			-.001***	0.34
Head > Age 74			-.003***	1.90
Less than High School Head			-.009***	5.76
College Degree Head			-.015***	9.95
Unemployed HH			-.019***	12.50
Multiple Earners HH			-.022***	14.98
Foreign-Born Head			-.000***	0.18
Rural Residence			.003***	-2.12
All Variables (Total Explained)	-.012	12.08	-.111	66.76

Note: Analyses pool years 2010-2018. $N=397,389$. All models include controls for year.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$