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Anti-Blackness is the American Way: An Integrative Assessment of the Direct and Indirect Effects of Racially Violent Histories

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Anti-Blackness is the American Way: An Integrative Assessment of the Direct and Indirect  
Effects of Racially Violent Histories

THESIS

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in Social Ecology

by

Courtney M. Echols

Dissertation Committee:  
Professor Geoff Ward, Chair  
Professor Mona Lynch  
Professor John Hipp

2020



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## **ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS**

Anti-Blackness is the American Way: An Integrative Assessment of the Direct and Indirect  
Effects of Racially Violent Histories

by

Courtney M. Echols

Master of Arts in Social Ecology

University of California, Irvine, 2020

Professor Geoff Ward, Chair

Research finds that historical racial violence helps to explain the spatial distribution of contemporary conflict, inequality, and violence in the U.S. Helping to narrow the historic gap in the legacy literature, this study applies a conflict theorist framework to an examination of the relationship between chattel slavery in 1860, lynchings of Black individuals between 1882 and 1930, and subsequent racial violence in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, against the backdrop of conflict theory, I assess how these histories relate to racial violence enacted by police and other legal authorities during the Civil Rights Movement era that was intended to suppress and/or punish the pursuit or expression of the human and civil rights of Black individuals. I draw on a growing dataset of over 300 events of police violence that occurred during the Civil Rights Movement era in the sample state of Louisiana, and that was compiled from a number of primary and secondary source documents that were themselves culled from archival research conducted in Louisiana. Path analysis was then employed using negative binomial generalized structural equation modeling in order to assess the direct and indirect effects of these racially violent histories. The implications for social justice, public policy, and future research are also discussed.



## INTRODUCTION

In 1967, Johnny B. Love, a Black resident of Ringgold, Louisiana was in a phone booth when police arrested him for allegedly calling a white woman. According to police, when the officers pulled up, Johnny had not yet hung up. When the arriving officer picked up the phone, another officer was on the other end of the line, purportedly at a store where the white woman was and where Johnny was alleged to have called. However, witnesses that were present at the phone booth when Johnny was arrested offer a different account of how the incident unfolded, alleging that when police arrived, Johnny had already hung up the phone, in turn calling into question whether this white woman ever actually existed. Nevertheless, after arriving at the city jail, while the arresting officer was engaged in conversation at a desk, Johnny is said to have walked out of the building, leading the officer and a white salesman, both of whom were armed, to go after Johnny. While running through an open field, Johnny B. Love was shot in the back. Amongst his last words, Johnny told his wife en route to the hospital that he did not call any white woman, and he ran because he had been beaten in the jail (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1967, May 17).

Just a few decades prior and not too far from where Johnny had been killed, police were called to the lobby of a white hotel after Danny Brant, a Black man, refused to remove his hat in the presence of whites. Police officer Kenzie Jenkins shot Danny twice, killing him, and a coroner's jury subsequently absolved the officer of any wrongdoing in the eyes of the law (Tureaud, Alexander Pierre Papers, 1798-1974, F.H. Williams to Tureaud, October 25, 1948). These two deaths are of course but a few of the many of Black individuals that occurred during the civil rights era at the hands of law enforcement, and for every killing of a Black individual by police, there were hundreds more nonlethal incidents of racial terror and violence in which police

officers were implicated (Civil Rights Congress, 1951; USAG, 2009; American Friends Service Committee, National Council of the Churches of Christ, and the Southern Regional Council, 1959; Hewitt, 2005; Minnis, 2013).

Dating back even further to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the lynchings of Black individuals that plagued the south between 1880 and 1950 could not have happened had it not been for the pervasive complicity of the state (Muhammad, 2018; Messner, Zevenbergen, & Baller, 2005; (Mississippi Truth Project, 2009; Petersen & Ward, 2015; Tindall, 2003; Whitlinger, 2015; Young, 2016). Often, state actors were directly implicated in the lynchings, and even where they were not, little to no effort was made by the state to prevent them from occurring (Petersen & Ward, 2015). Between 1920 and 1932 alone, 54% of the nearly 500 Black individuals killed by whites were at the hands of police (Myrdal, 1944).

The culpability of the state in such violence was then always further compounded by the subsequent denial of any recourse, which for example is evidenced by the fact that less than 1% of all lynchings prior to 1940 resulted in a conviction of the perpetrators (Clarke, 1998). Of course, evidence of racially violent policing also existed beyond the deaths of Black residents in this era as well. For example, one researcher espouses the association between the police and the Ku Klux Klan, noting that at its height, “whole klaverns [i.e., klan chapters] were deputized” (Novick, 1995, p. 61), and as many scholars have elucidated, police violence in America dates back even further than this to the very inception of policing itself (Ward, 2018).

This sordid history of racist police violence is invoked in contemporary police killings of Black individuals, a parallel that has been drawn by scholars, UN leaders, and human rights organizations, alike (Muhammad, 2018; U.N. Human Rights Council, 2017; Ward, 2018). However, despite these comparisons and numerous compelling studies elucidating a relationship

between the aforementioned history of racial violence and other contemporary measures of inequality, conflict, and violence, the linkage between 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century racial violence and more recent police killings or even police violence broadly has yet to be explored empirically. This oversight is even more alarming given the rich body of literature seeking to explain predictors of contemporary violence by police. This in turn substantiates the need for scholarly examination of the historical antecedents of police violence, and in particular, racially violent police behavior, and while the present study does not engage 21<sup>st</sup> century measures of police activity, it nevertheless seeks to help narrow this historical gap through an examination of the relationship between chattel slavery, Black victim lynchings, and violence enacted by police and other legal authorities during the Civil Rights Movement era that was intended to suppress or punish the expression or pursuit of Black individuals' civil and human rights. In order to assess these relationships, I draw on a growing dataset of over 300 events of racial violence involving police and other legal authorities that occurred during the Civil Rights Movement era in the sample state of Louisiana, and that was compiled from a number of primary and secondary source documents that were themselves culled from archival research I conducted in Louisiana.

### **Literature Review**

Dating back to some of the classic studies on police behavior (Reiss, 1971; Sherman, 1975), scholars have long been interested in the determinants of police violence, but assessing these correlates however has proven somewhat of a challenge due in part to the lack of available data (Fryer, Jr. 2018; Wolfe & Piquero, 2011). For example, data on nonlethal use of force, which occurs with much greater frequency than police killings are largely nonexistent and official records that do exist potentially detailing such, such as officer disciplinary records, are difficult to access in most precincts (Fryer, 2018). The study of police violence has also proven

challenging due to the ambiguity of terms such as police brutality, misconduct, and use of force, which have been the source of much debate (Ivković, 2005; Kane & White, 2009; Sherman, 1978). A third challenge scholars are faced with in their assessments of police violence is that any comprehensive account necessitates consideration of the many actors who are not law enforcement officers but nevertheless engage in the policing of others, particularly Black individuals, and often with tacit approval from the state. Such actors would include, among others, security guards, border patrol, and white vigilantes such as George Zimmerman, the individual who murdered Trayvon Martin in 2016 (Ward, 2017).

Despite these challenges, there exists a rich body of literature seeking to explain the determinants of police violence, which employ numerous indicators to measure such behavior ranging from observations, community surveys, officer surveys, disciplinary charges, internal investigations, formal complaints filed, and official use of force reports (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005; Wolfe & Piquero, 2011). These studies collectively ascertain a plethora of explanatory variables that have broadly been classified as individual, community, situational, or organizational characteristics (Ivković, 2005).

The first approach emphasizes characteristics of the officer that increase the risk of police violence (Holmes, 2000), and such factors that have been thoroughly examined in the literature include among others, officer's race (Greene et al., 2004; Hickman et al., 2004; Kane & White, 2009; Rojek & Decker, 2009; Lawton, 2007; McElvain & Kposowa, 2004; McCluskey et al., 2005; McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; Morabito & Doerner, 1997; Paoline & Terrill, 2004, 2007; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002), gender (Greene et al., 2004; Grennan, 1987; Hickman et al., 2000; McElvain & Kposowa, 2004; Sherman, 1975; Crawford & Burns, 1998; Kaminski et al., 2004; Lawton, 2007; McCluskey et al., 2005; Paoline & Terrill, 2007; Phillips & Smith, 2000; Sun &

Payne, 2004; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Terrill et al., 2008), education (Kane & White, 2009; Truxillo, Bennett, & Collins, 1998) and officer tenure (Cohen & Chaiken, 1972; Forst, Lucianovic & Cox, 1977).

The second approach stresses the importance of community factors that increase the probability of law enforcement violence, and studies considering these factors have found, among other things, that such behavior is more likely to occur when the individual being stopped resides within a predominantly Black neighborhood (Barlow & Barlow, 2000; Georges-Abeyie, 1991; Smith, 1986; Worden, 1995). Others demonstrate that both neighborhoods distinguished by greater structural disadvantage as well as residential mobility positively relate to the likelihood of experiencing police violence (Kane, 2002; Terrill, 2003; Terrill & Reisig, 2003), and Jacobs and Britt (1979) found that lethal police violence in particular was related to economic inequalities. Complaints alleging police violence have also been associated with unemployment (Hickman, Piquero, & Greene, 2001). Thirdly, the organizational approach identifies the structures of the organization and departmental characteristics of police that increase the likelihood of police violence (Holmes, 2000), and among these factors are ambiguous departmental policies, poor training and recruitment, and ambivalence among higher ups (Ivković, 2005; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

Situational factors related to police violence that have consistently been examined in the literature typically include both the characteristics of the police encounter itself, as well as characteristics of the individual being stopped (Holmes, 2000). For example, researchers have examined a number of these factors including the presence of other individuals (Engel et al., 2000; Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002; Lawton, 2007; McCluskey, et al., 2005; Paoline & Terrill, 2004; 2007; Phillips & Smith, 2000; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Schuck, 2004; Terrill,

2005; Terrill et al., 2003; Terrill et al., 2008), as well as the subject's social class (McCluskey et al., 2005; McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; Paoline & Terrill, 2007; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Sun & Payne, 2004; Terrill et al., 2003; Terrill & Reisig, 2003), and demeanor (Engel et al., 2000; Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002; Kaminski et al., 2004; McCluskey et al., 2005; McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; Paoline & Terrill, 2004, 2007; Phillips & Smith, 2000; Sun & Payne, 2004; Terrill et al., 2003). Studies also have consistently shown that male subjects (Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002; McCluskey et al., 2005; McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; Phillips & Smith, 2000; Sun & Payne, 2004; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Terrill & Reisig, 2003; Terrill et al., 2003) and those that are younger (McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; McCluskey et al., 2005; Paoline & Terrill, 2007; Phillips & Smith, 2000; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; Terrill & Reisig, 2003; Terrill et al., 2003) are more likely than their respective counterparts to experience law enforcement violence.

One of the most consistent findings elucidated in the literature on the determinants of police violence is that such behavior is more likely to occur against Black Americans, with Black individuals being overrepresented among those who experience both nonlethal as well as lethal police violence (Alpert, 1989; Barlow & Barlow, 2000; Binder & Scharf, 1982; Bogomolny, 1976; Chambliss, 2001; Chamlin, 1989; Feagin, 1991; Fryer, 2018; Fyfe, 1981; Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002; Georges-Abeyie, 1991; Holmes, 2000; Irwin, 1985; Leinen, 1984; Matulia, 1982; Meyer, 1980; NAACP, 1995; Pate & Fridell, 1993; Piliavin & Briar, 1964; Reisig, McCluskey, Mastrofski, & Terrill, 2004; Myrdal, 1944; Reiss, 1971; Sellin, 1930; Smith, 1986; Smith & Visher, 1981; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970; Westley, 1953, 1970; Worden, 1995, 1996).

However, despite this rich body of literature ascertaining numerous determinants of violent police behavior and the plethora of research detailing the positive relationship between

race and police violence, these results may be inaccurate as the effects of historic racial violence have wholly been overlooked. The literature elucidating the relationships between racially violent histories and other contemporary measures of inequality, conflict, and violence supports this conjecture. To this point, numerous studies have demonstrated that histories of chattel slavery, lynchings, and other racialized terror now helps to explain the spatial distribution of contemporary racial stratification and oppressive conditions in the U.S.

For example, studies have found an association between chattel slavery and present day income inequality (Bertocchi & Dimico, 2014), racial inequalities in education (Bertocchi & Dimico, 2012), slower economic development (Acemoglu, Johnson, & Robinson, 2002; Nunn, 2008; Maloney & Caicedo, 2016), slower declines in heart disease mortality among Black individuals (Kramer, Black, Matthews, & James, 2017), homicides (Gouda & Rigterink, 2017), and racial inequalities in poverty (O'Connell, 2012). Chattel slavery has also been correlated with greater racial resentment, opposition to affirmative action, and an increased likelihood of identifying as republican among whites (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016). This work compliments a related body of literature that espouses a relationship between lynchings and contemporary residential segregation (Defina & Hammond, 2011), homicides (Messner et al. 2005; Petersen & Ward, 2015), support for capital punishment (Messner, Baumer, & Rosenfeld, 2006), and more active white supremacist groups (Durso & Jacobs, 2013).

Particularly relevant here are the findings demonstrating that areas with more historic lynchings now experience greater racial disparities within the legal system, and in particular, these areas, are now marred by higher rates of death sentences administered against Black individuals, higher rates of incarceration (Jacobs, Malone, & Iles, 2012), and less commitment among law enforcement to police racist violence (King et al., 2009). As sociologist Geoff Ward

(2018) notes, “it is this kind of carry over that renders imperative not only acknowledgement of the historical complicity of police in racist violence and injustice, but also explicit intervention in its legacies today” (p. 4). However, such acknowledgement and intervention is preempted by a lack of understanding and empirical evidence elucidating the legacies that inform contemporary policing and how those legacies are sustained and reinforced over time. The present study therefore builds on the aforementioned body of literature espousing the determinants of police violence through an empirical assessment of the potential relationships between chattel slavery, lynchings, and police violence during the Civil Rights Movement and in doing so also helps to fill a different gap in the legacy literature.

That is, despite its likely significance to the “historical arc of racial violence” (Petersen & Ward, 2015, p. 4), this aforementioned legacy literature has largely overlooked the Civil Rights Movement era, with two notable exceptions. In their study linking lynchings to subsequent racial violence during the Civil Rights Movement, Cunningham and Phillips (2007) found, that at least in North Carolina, Klan mobilization in the 1960’s was significantly more likely to occur in counties fraught with a history of lynchings. Another study that sought to clarify the relationship between lynchings and contemporary homicides found that in Mississippi and North Carolina, lynchings strongly predict mid 20<sup>th</sup> century violent opposition to the civil rights movement (Petersen & Ward, 2015). While these two studies elucidate a relationship between lynchings and Civil Rights Era racial violence, another study found that counties that had a greater proportion of enslaved individuals in 1860 experienced higher rates of lynchings between 1882 and 1930. Taken together, these three studies imply a relationship between chattel slavery and civil rights era racial violence that may also be mediated by lynchings.



However, the relationship between enslavement and racial violence during the Civil Rights Movement has yet to be explored empirically and scholars have also yet to consider how lynchings themselves may act as a conduit through which chattel slavery retains its influence over time. It is unknown then if the aforementioned impact of chattel slavery on contemporary outcomes exists independently of the impact of lynchings or whether chattel slavery's impact operates *through* subsequent lynchings. This study narrows these gaps through an examination of the direct, as well as the indirect effect through lynchings, of chattel slavery on racial violence enacted by police and other legal authorities during the Civil Rights Movement era.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Following much of the aforementioned literature on police violence and its relationship to race, a conflict theorist framework informs this analysis, whereby the white hegemony uses the influence of the state to maintain a monopoly on power, domination, and other resources. Broadly speaking, conflict theorists are concerned with inequalities in the distribution of power and resources, which may exist along the lines of gender, race, and/or class (Lersch, 1998). The competing interests of various social groups shape society as they vie for the power to create or sustain a social structure advantageous to them, and those belonging to the powerful group use their position to dominate and exploit those that comprise the less powerful groups. Crime specifically and laws generally are created to serve the interests of the powerful and the mechanisms used to enforce it, namely the police, are employed by those in power within a society in order to reduce threats to the existing order. As Quinney (1970) asserts, "Although law is supposed to protect all [individuals], it starts as a tool of the dominant class and ends by maintaining the dominance of that class. Law serves the powerful over the weak...Yet we are all bound by that law, and we are indoctrinated with the myth that it is our law" (p. 24). Through

this process, disparities are codified into law and enforced by police on behalf of the dominant group, in turn quelling a significant portion of those considered a threat to the hegemony.

However, should attempts by the subordinate group to redefine the social order remain, additional tactics to remove the perceived threat are necessary. Police are thus deployed to protect the interests of the powerful not only through crime and crime prevention but also through the manipulation, coercion, and surveillance of those perceived as threatening (Fielding, 1991). According to conflict theory, police officers are “seen as armies of occupation doing the dirty work of a rather insidious system” (Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003, p. 3) designed to safeguard the white hegemony (Blauner, 1972; Chamlin, 1989). The use of lynchings during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as subsequent racist police violence during the civil rights movement in order to hinder and ultimately halt Black liberation, fits squarely within this paradigm.

To this point, the formal abolishment of slavery posed economic, social, and political threats to white domination (Alston & Ferrie, 1993; Du Bois, 1935; Higgs, 1977; Key, 1949; Kousser, 1974; Ransom & Sutch, 2001). For example, at the time of emancipation, enslaved people were the largest single financial asset in the entire U.S. economy, worth more than all manufacturing and railroads combined (The United States National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, 2011). In fact, half of all capital was invested in enslaved humans, and the formal abolishment of slavery therefore devastated the southern plantation economy. Whites responded by attempting to force Black people back into positions of forced labor that approximated chattel slavery while also seeking to create new political restrictions that could help preserve white dominance (Blackmon, 2009).

To this point, Black people outnumbered whites in many areas, sometimes as much as

nine to one, and therefore the political mobilization of Black individuals threatened white domination over political power and resources (Cunningham & Philips, 2007; McVeigh, 1999; Van Dyke & Soule, 2002; Du Bois, 1935; Key, 1949; Kousser, 1974). This in turn incentivized whites in these former slaveholding counties to “promote an environment of violence and intimidation against the new freedmen, with the purpose of election fraud and disenfranchisement” (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016, p. 633). These repressive tactics, both formal and informal, are well documented in the literature and among others, lynchings also became a popular strategy of racialized social control following the formal abolishment of chattel slavery. Indeed, many studies have identified the preservation of white domination as a key factor influencing lynchings and other forms of racial violence (Brundage, 1997; MacLean, 1995; Petersen & Ward, 2015; Tolnay & Beck, 1995). For example, studies indicate lynchings were more likely to occur when “the Democratic party was stronger, the white population felt economically or socially threatened by the Black population, and the level of Black out-migration was lower” (Bailey et al., 2008, p. 48).

Further, lynchings steadily declined during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century alongside increased mechanization and other social changes, although the underlying economic, political, and racial motivations influencing lynchings remained unchanged, thereby necessitating new forms of racialized social control (Define & Hannon, 2011). While incarceration and legal execution are two contemporary forms of social control linked to lynchings, it is also likely that racialized police violence during the Civil Right Movement was another tactic employed to remove threatening populations in the post-lynching era. This in turn lends support to the notion that the conflict perspective may be able to help us better understand one area wherein which the two aforementioned bodies of literature—determinants of police violence and the legacies of

historic racial violence—likely converge: police violence during the Civil Rights Movement intended to inhibit the expression and pursuit of Black people’s civil and human rights.

### **Present Study**

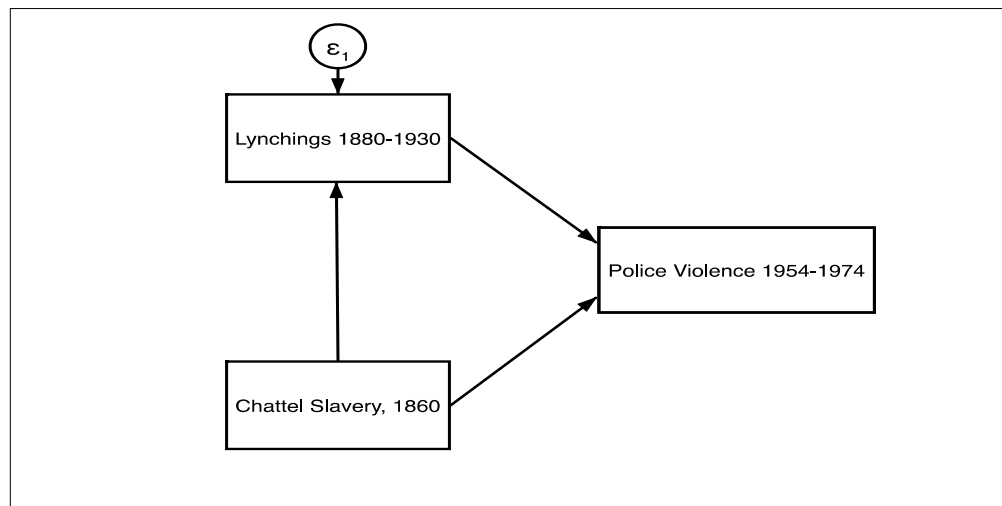
This study considers the historical antecedents of police violence in Louisiana, and in particular, I examine the county level effects of chattel slavery (1860), on Black victim lynchings (1882-1930), and police violence that was specifically intended to thwart the expression or pursuit of Black individuals’ human and civil rights during the Civil Rights Movement era (1954-1974). The indirect effect of chattel slavery through lynchings is also examined. The conceptual model is illustrated in Figure 1, which delineates these direct and indirect linkages between Chattel Slavery, Black victim lynchings, and police violence during the Civil Rights Movement era. Conflict theory suggests a number of hypotheses regarding these relationships and in particular, it is expected that in counties where a greater percent of the population was enslaved, there were more lynchings of Black individuals. It is also hypothesized that where there was more enslavement, there was also more violent opposition by police during the Civil Rights Movement that was intended to inhibit Black liberation, and this relationship will be even more pronounced where there were more lynchings.

### **Data & Methodology**

Louisiana was selected as the site of analysis as it is an extremely murderous and punitive state (Frohlich, Stebbins, & Sauter, 2016), and has a long history of racialized violence (EJI Report, 2015; Fairclough, 1995), both interpersonal and structural, that continues through today, making this state particularly ripe for examining the linkage between these three forms of racial violence. Particularly relevant here, 540 lynchings of Black individuals occurred in Louisiana between 1877 and 1950, which is the third highest for any state throughout the U.S during this

time period. A county level breakdown within this same time illustrates that of the top five counties in the nation with the highest number of lynchings of Black individuals, four are located in Louisiana. Further, in recent years, as Genealogist Antionette Harrell and others have uncovered, enslavement on Louisiana plantations continued well into the 1960's (Fornell & Harrell, 2018), and even still, civil rights era racial violence, in any form and its relationship to preceding eras of racial violence in this state in particular has not yet been considered by scholars.

**Figure 1.1:** Conceptual Model of Police Violence.



Following Petersen and Ward (2015), analysis occurs at the county level, as governmental entities, such as school boards, courts, sheriff offices, and others, substantively distinguish political climates and municipal practices and procedures (Andrews, 2002; Falcone & Wells, 1995) and this is particularly true of the southern region of the U.S. where counties' roles in governance were amplified by the lack of urban areas (Giles, Gabris, & Krane, 1980). The county is also the smallest geographic unit constantly available for all three eras, and in particular, data on chattel slavery is only available at the county level.

Enslavement data was culled from the 1860 census, which provides the total population as well as the total number of individuals that were enslaved, and 1860 data was employed as this is the last census conducted prior to the emancipation proclamation that formally ended chattel slavery in 1865. This data was retrieved from the National Historic Geographic Information System Archive (Minnesota Population Center, 2011). Accounting for changes in county boundaries that have occurred since 1860, the areal weighting scheme employed by Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen (2016) was used, which allowed for interpolation of 1860 data onto 2000 county boundaries based on how much of a county's area in 1860 is contained within the 2000 county.

Tonlay and Beck's (1995) lynching data was employed and following precedent, (Messner et al., 2005 & Petersen & Ward, 2015), the lynchings included in the present study span 1882 to 1930, as this encompasses the majority of all 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century lynchings that occurred. However, lynchings considered here are restricted to those of Black victims since this study is focused on the (dis)continuity of racial violence perpetrated against Black individuals. This data was interpolated onto 2000 county boundaries using the same weighting scheme employed for the enslavement data, in order to address changes in county boundaries, and specifically, during the time period of 1882 and 1930, six new counties were created in the state of Louisiana, in 1886, 1908, 1910, and then in 1912, three new counties were created. To account for these additions, the total number of lynchings that occurred from 1882-1885 was interpolated using 1882 counties. Lynchings between 1886-1907 were interpolated using 1886 counties, while interpolation for lynchings that occurred between 1908 and 1910 employed 1908 counties. 1911-1912 lynchings used 1911 counties and 1913-1928, 1913 counties. All lynchings were interpolated onto 2000 county boundaries and then the total number of lynchings were

summed for each county in order to obtain the interpolated total number of lynchings of Black individuals that occurred between 1882 and 1930.

Civil Rights Movement era police violence is the dependent variable in this analysis. Many studies seeking to understand the correlates of police violence distinguish between use of force, killings, or brutality that occurs within the confines of legality and that which occurs outside of the law. Such a distinction is irrelevant for this study however, because as conflict theorists note, those in power have control over lawmakers and the state's law enforcement apparatus, and therefore the acts that get defined as criminal, are the behaviors that conflict with the interests of those with the power to inform public policy. Further, one's "structured opportunities, learned experiences, interpersonal associations/identifications, and self-conceptions" (p. 67) inform the probability that an individual's behavior patterns will be characterized as criminal (Quinney, 1975). As a result, the legal system is biased, and the law is not impartially applied with regard to social class, race, and occupation (Lizotte, 1978).

As Reiman (1999) states, actions by those in power are, "either not criminal or if technically criminal, not prosecuted, or if prosecuted, not punished, or if punished only mildly" (p. 29). In other words, just as those in power construct and ensure the enforcement of the law in such a way that is advantageous to them, the powerful also always hold the power to manipulate the law and the crime control apparatus in order to ensure it is always working to their benefit. Therefore, this study is not concerned with whether a violent act by police is considered illegal or not. Also to this point, distinguishing between the various definitions of police brutality, misconduct, use of force, and other terms is not of concern here either as none of these definitions explicitly or exclusively consider violence or harm enacted specifically against Black individuals and solely for the purposes of creating or enforcing racial stratification.

For the purposes of this study then, police violence is operationalized as any act of physical violence against persons or property, intimidation, or reprisal committed by a police officer or other legal authority and intended to discourage or punish pursuit of Black liberation or expression of a Black person's civil and human rights. While the vast majority of events included in this analysis were perpetrated by police officers, events involving other legal authorities—judges, registrars, sitting city politicians, and in one parish, the parish superintendent of education—working in a governmental capacity were also included in the analysis. To measure racist police violence this study employed data from a number of primary and secondary source documents culled from archival research conducted in Louisiana. The bulk of this data was gathered from records belonging to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which were the two largest civil rights organizations present in Louisiana during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These records were scoured for any mention of a discernible event of police violence that explicitly met the criterion outlined in the aforementioned operationalization, and that was distinguished by a specific location, date, victim, and event description.

For example, in 1963, in Iberville Parish, 22 people were arrested during sit-ins that then led to a mass rally, which culminated in over 200 individuals “marching from the church to Sheriff Griffon’s home in protest of the arrests of the 22 individuals. On the way, they were stopped by police on horses, and demonstrators were trampled by horses, being kicked in their heads, on the legs and breasts.” They were “forced into weeds by electrical cattle prods and were molested in the usual manner with tear gas bombs. This resulted in bruises, scratches, abrasions, lacerations, etc.” (Congress of Racial Inequality, 1963-1964, p. 1). While this one night undoubtedly involved many acts of violence perpetrated against many victims, for the purposes



of this study, these acts nevertheless constitute one event as this involved one demonstration that occurred at one specific time. The documents describing these acts of police violence took various forms ranging from internal correspondence, press releases, individual complaints submitted to the organizations, field reports, and incident summaries, among others. Further, all identifiable events were recorded into a database and coded for analysis based on event characteristics. As I address in the discussion, these events are undoubtedly an underestimate of the actual amount of racial violence enacted by police, but it is nevertheless the most comprehensive collection of such events known.

1954 was chosen as the start date as this was the year the court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* occurred, and it also marks the year that Emmitt Till was murdered in Mississippi. Both of these incidents were impetuses for the Civil Rights Movement (Morris, 1999). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are often attributed as marking the end of the Civil Rights Era. However, the sample employed in this study included events through 1974 in order to ensure that events were included that relate to changes in institutional resistance strategies (Petersen & Ward, 2015).

A number of factors that previous research has linked to police violence were controlled for in this analysis. Percent of each counties population that was Black was included, as this variable is one of the most significant findings related to police violence. To capture demographic threats posed by an expanding Black constituency, percent change in the Black population from the previous decade is also accounted for, a factor also related to police violence (Jacobs & O'brien, 1998). Median family income was controlled for because like other forms of violence, police violence during the civil rights era may also flourish in areas with greater poverty (Jacobs & Wood, 1999; McCall & Parker, 2005; Messner & Golden, 1992; Messner &

South, 1992). Percent of homes with two or more vehicles was included as a measure of wealth since as conflict theory suggests, wealthier counties may have been more likely to employ police to address perceived threats posed by Black individuals. Also accounted for was percent of occupied homes that were owned, percent unemployed (Hickman, Piquero, and Greene, 2001), percent 25 and older with at least a high school diploma or equivalent (Lersech, 1998), and as a measure of economic inequality, (Jacobs and O'Brien, 1998) the household gini coefficient.

Civil rights era variables theoretically related to civil rights violence more generally were also included. To capture each county's capacity for white supremacist repression, the number of active Klan chapters between 1964 and 1966 was measured (Petersen & Ward, 2015). Percent using public transportation was included given its significance as a site of racial contestation and importance in advancing civil rights, and particularly in Louisiana, where the first successful bus boycott took place (Brenman, 2007; Sinclair, 1998). Given the significance of farm related factors (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016; Beck & Tolnay, 1990; Corzine, Creech, & Corzine, 1983) to the other measures of violence in this study and the likely relevance of farms in the continuance of racial violence over time, a number of farms variables were also controlled for including the average farm production value per an acre, percent of farms in tenancy, and the farm living index. The latter variable is an indicator of geographic differences in the level of living provided by the census, and is constructed so that the average county index is 100 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962). Percent of farms with tractor was also included, as this new technology reduced demand for Black labor, and studies have found that where this technology was adopted sooner, the effects of slavery on various contemporary measures of inequality were attenuated (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016). Lastly, as a broader measure of rural resource deprivation, percent of children ages 7-14 who were enrolled in school was also accounted for.

Following precedent (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016; Gouda, & Rigterink, 2017), because the number of enslaved individuals likely varied in relation to a county's wealth, I included the average total farm value per the county's improved acre of farmland, improved farmland acreage, and the gini coefficient for ownership of land for 1860 (Nunn 2008). I also controlled for these measures during the lynching era, except in lieu of the gini coefficient for landownership, I controlled for percent of farms that were smaller than 50 acres (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016). The southern code of honor thesis posits that the southern culture of violence stems largely from the preoccupation with defending one's honor which itself resulted from herding economies and Scotch-Irish immigrant settlers (Baller et al., 2009; Messner et al., 2005; McWhiney, 1989; Ousey & Lee, 2010; Parker & Pruitt, 2000). Livestock and crops indices are therefore included, as counties with more animal grazing and less agricultural production may be more prone to the southern code of honor (Messner et al., 2005; Petersen & Ward, 2015).

Because lynchings were more likely where there was greater economic deprivation (Beck & Tolnay, 1990), the percentage of nonfarm home renters was included, and I also controlled for percent Republican and the percent of farms in tenancy, both of which have been associated with lynchings (Tolnay & Beck, 1995). Finally, the log population for 1900 was included in the pathway predicting lynchings, with its effect constrained to equal one and the log population for 1960 was included when predicting police violence with its effect constrained to equal one in order to get the rate. All variables predating 1920 were first mapped onto 2000 counties using the same areal weighting scheme discussed above.

To test the direct and indirect effects of chattel slavery on police violence during the Civil Rights Movement era, mediation analysis was conducted using negative binomial generalized structural equation (GSEM) modeling in Stata 15. This method was utilized since the dependent

variables are counts with over dispersion and an excess of zeros (Agresti, 2010; Cameron & Trivedi, 2013). This technique also allows for me to trace the path of racial violence over time, by simultaneously assessing both direct and indirect pathways that predict lynchings and police violence and with varying temporal structures and covariates (Kline, 2011; STATA, 2015). To estimate the indirect effects, the nonlinear combination (nlcom) was used. It is also unlikely that observations within parishes are independent across the three eras of interest in this study. Therefore, standard errors are adjusted at the county cluster level using STATA's `vce(cluster)` option.

## **Results**

Descriptive statistics for all variables in the model are illustrated in Table 1. The data indicate that on average, 53.329% of the population in each Louisiana parish was enslaved in 1860. Each parish subsequently experienced an average of 5.594 lynchings of Black individuals between 1882 and 1930, and 3.718 events of police violence during the Civil Rights Movement Era (1954-1974) that was meant to suppress or punish the expression of Black people's civil and human rights.

The relationship between slavery, lynchings, and police violence was first tested without the inclusion of any civil rights era controls, as the alternative hypothesis posits that once civil rights variables are included, enslavement and lynchings should not exert any influence on civil rights era police violence. The only indicator variables included in this model were lynchings, enslavement, proxy variables for southern code of honor, and the measures of wealth and inequality for these two eras—acres of improved farmland, farm value per an improved acre, small farms (1900) and land inequality (1860). The exponentiated coefficients were then obtained and the results, provided in table 1, indicate that for every one percentage point increase in

**Table 1.1:** Descriptive Statistics for Police Violence.

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>S.D.</b>
<b>Civil rights-era variables (1954-1974)</b>		
# of events of racist police violence	3.718	7.508
# of KKK Klaverns	7.017	6.816
Percent Black	34.498	14.844
Change in percent Black	2.596	22.022
Log median household income	8.092	.316
Log population density	3.861	.995
Log farm production value	1.494	.723
Percent of farms with tractor	46.605	14.061
Percent of farms in tenancy	21.856	13.283
Farm living index	90.339	16.651
Percent homeowners	63.342	9.472
Percent nonwhite registered voters	37.841	26.759
Percent 25+ w/ high school education	25.881	7.824
Percent homes with 2+ vehicles	17.770	6.513
Gini coefficient	43.093	3.343
Percent unemployed	6.709	1.958
Percent using public transportation	2.922	5.281
Percent 7-14 in school	87.242	4.236
<b>Lynching era variables (1882-1928)</b>		
# of Black lynching victims	5.594	6.366
Log acres improved farmland	10.987	.695
Log farm value	3.064	.701
Log crops per capita	4.152	.841
Log livestock per capita	3.298	.768
Percent nonfarm homes rented	60.891	13.108
Percent Republican voters	18.292	14.064
Percent farms in tenancy	49.251	23.855
Percent small farms	56.139	20.819
Log population density	3.203	.852
<b>Enslavement variables (1860)</b>		
Percent population enslaved	53.329	19.082
Land inequality	.525	.117
Log acres improved farmland	10.077	2.403
Log farm value	4.005	.864

*Note:* All controls included for the civil rights era are for 1960, unless otherwise stated. For the lynching era, controls are from 1900, and enslavement, 1860.

enslavement, the dependent variable, the rate of racial violence by police during the Civil Rights Movement era, is expected to increase by nearly 9% ( $b=1.087531, p < .10$ ), holding all other variables in the model constant. With each additional lynching, the likelihood of civil rights era police violence is expected to increase by almost 8% ( $b= 1.075014, p<.05$ ).

**Table 1.2:** Baseline Model Predicting Police Violence.

	<i>b</i>	SE
<b>Lynching Era Variables (1882-1930)</b>		
# Of Black Lynching Victims	1.075*	(0.038)
Log Crops Per Capita	2.432	(2.547)
Log Livestock Per Capita	1.725	(1.607)
Log Farm Value	0.69	(0.657)
Log Acres Improved Farmland	0.088**	(0.072)
Percent Small Farms	0.951	(0.035)
Log Population Density	2.159	(1.404)
<b>Enslavement Variables (1860)</b>		
Percent Enslaved	1.088 <sup>+</sup>	(0.05)
Log Acres Improved Farmland	1.224	(0.866)
Log Farm Value	0.482	(0.299)
Land Inequality	0.51	(2.456)

*Note:* Exponentiated coefficients and standard errors in parentheses. <sup>+</sup>P < .10. \* P < .05. \*\* P < .01. \*\*\* P < .001; The log population in 1960 is included in the pathway predicting police violence with its effect also constrained to one. Standard errors are clustered by county boundaries.

The full structural equation model was then estimated, and the exponentiated coefficients and standard errors are provided in table 2. The results indicate both lynchings and chattel slavery have a significant effect on this study’s measure of Civil Rights Movement era police violence, even after the inclusion of other civil rights era variables thought to be related to police violence. In comparison to the previous estimation, once all civil rights era variables were accounted for, the effect of lynchings is actually strengthened. After holding the other variables in the model constant, each additional lynching is associated with a nearly 21% increase in the

likelihood of police violence during the civil rights era ( $b= 1.207324, p<.001$ ). The effects of chattel slavery also increased with the inclusion of all other variables, and each percentage point increase in the population enslaved in 1860 has a direct effect on the dependent variable, corresponding to an 18% increase in the rate of CRM police violence intended to suppress Black liberation ( $b= 1.183776, p<.10$ ). Mediation analysis revealed that chattel slavery also has a small but indirect effect on police violence through lynchings ( $b= 1.005092, p<.10$ ), with the overall total effect of slavery indicating that with each percentage point increase in this variable, civil rights era police violence is expected to increase by 19%, holding the other variables in the model constant.

The results also illustrate that demographic, economic, and other civil rights era measures relate to the occurrence of police violence during the Civil Rights Movement that was intended to discourage or punish expression of Black people's civil and human rights. A one percentage point increase in a county's Black population corresponds to a 14% increase in police violence while a one unit increase in the percentage change of Black residents from 1960 to 1970 is associated with a nearly 3% increase in the rate of police violence. For every one percentage point increase in voter registration among nonwhites<sup>i</sup>, the likelihood of police violence increases by 5%. A one unit decrease in the average farm production value is associated with an uptick in the likelihood of police violence, and the better the living standards on farms, the more likely CRM police violence is to occur. Increases in overall county inequality, as measured by the gini coefficient, are also associated with an increase the odds of police violence intended to inhibit Black liberation. Lastly, a one percentage point increase in residents' use of public transportation in their commute to work is associated with 50% increase in the likelihood of police violence meant to punish or discourage Black individuals' expression of civil and human rights.

**Table 1.3:** Structural Equation Model Predicting Racist Police Violence During The Civil Rights Movement And Historic Lynchings.

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Lynchings</b>	<b>Police Violence</b>
<b>Civil Rights-Era Variables (1954-1974)</b>		
# Of KKK Klaverns	—	1.101(.075)
Percent Black	—	1.047 <sup>+</sup> (0.072)
Change In Percent Black	—	1.028* (0.014)
Log Median Income	—	1.832(2.335)
Log Farm Production Value	—	0.001***(.002)
Percent Of Farms With Tractor	—	0.958(0.036)
Farm Living Index	—	1.079**(.0.035)
Percent Homeowners	—	0.858(0.099)
Percent Nonwhite Registered Voters	—	1.051 <sup>+</sup> (0.029)
Percent 25+ W/ High School Education	—	0.969(0.049)
Percent Homes With 2+ Vehicles	—	1.174(0.121)
Gini Coefficient	—	2.13***(.0503)
Percent Unemployed	—	1.02(0.495)
Percent Using Public Transportation	—	1.501***(.0133)
<b>Lynching Era Variables (1882-1928)</b>		
# Of Black Lynching Victims	—	1.207***(.063)
Percent Small Farms	0.974(0.013)	0.991(.049)
Log Livestock Per Capita	1.091(0.387)	0.044***(.042)
Log Crops Per Capita	1.048(0.317)	34.941**(.47.003)
Log Acres Improved Farmland	0.493(0.15)	0.296(0.367)
Log Farm Value	1.109(0.441)	9.819(13.991)
Percent Nonfarm Homes Rented	-.009(0.009)	—
Percent Republican Voters	0.956***(.012)	—
Black/White Farm Ownership Gap	1.012(0.007)	—
<b>Enslavement Variables (1860)</b>		
Land Inequality	0.878(1.675)	2.059(4.702)
Log Acres Improved Farmland	0.917(0.223)	0.093**(.07)
Log Farm Value	1.224 (0.461)	0.116**(.098)
<b>Indirect And Total Effects</b>		
Indirect Effect Of Slavery	—	1.005 <sup>+</sup> (0.003)
Total Effect Of Slavery	1.027 <sup>+</sup> (0.015)	1.190 <sup>+</sup> (0.111)

*Note:* The table above presents the exponentiated coefficients, with the exception of land inequality and median income, whose coefficients display the odds ratio for a 1 standard deviation change in the predictor. The standard errors are clustered by county boundaries and are in parentheses. <sup>+</sup> p < .10. \* p < .05. \*\* p < .01. \*\*\* p < .001; — denotes relationship not estimated. Total effect= indirect effect + direct effect. The log population in 1900 is included in the pathway predicting lynchings and is constrained to equal one. The log population in 1960 is included in the pathway predicting police violence with its effect also constrained to one. The log population density for 1900, not constrained, is included when estimating police violence to ensure that any effect of lynching is not attributable to population size.



## Conclusion

Against the backdrop of conflict theory, this study set out to analyze the relationship between chattel slavery, lynchings of Black individuals, and police violence during the Civil Rights Movement era. I was particularly interested in assessing whether Louisiana parishes with a history of lynching and enslavement exhibit higher rates of police violence meant to suppress and/or punish the pursuit or expression of Black individuals' civil and human rights, regarding this measure of police violence as a potential corollary of earlier racial conflict. Drawing on an original dataset of events of police violence that occurred during the Civil Rights Movement era in the sample state of Louisiana that was culled from archival research conducted in the state, I find that slavery, lynchings, and civil rights era police violence are spatially concentrated, and this relationship exists independent of other key conditions thought to contribute to police violence. This in turn suggests that both slavery and lynchings independently leave cultural and institutional imprints that then influence the likelihood of police violence in subsequent decades. The results also illustrate a small but statistically significant indirect effect of slavery on CRM police violence through lynchings.

Notwithstanding the findings of this research, this study is subject to some limitations. For example, this study employed data on police violence that was culled from archival documents belonging to various civil rights organizations, which is likely subject to some of the same limitations associated with the use of formal residential complaints against police officers such as both under and over reporting of officer misconduct (Winick, 1987). However, at least from the perspective of conflict theory, this source of data represents an advancement over data sources typically employed in studies of police violence such as formal citizen complaints, departmental records, and use of force reports. The accuracy of such records is dependent on the

record keeping practices of the very individuals who enacted the violence. As conflict theorists maintain, the dominant group seeks to limit and restrain those who threaten their interests, which likely includes threats posed by complaints and/or accurate record keeping of the harms inflicted by the dominant group, and by extension police, in their pursuit to restrain and limit such threats. That is, laws, policies, and practices surrounding the discipline of officers who engage in violence, as well as those laws and policies governing the maintenance of departmental records and community complaint procedures are like every other law, created by and for the powerful, thereby elucidating why state records of any kind are insufficient in an examination of police violence. In turn, at least from a conflict theorist perspective, records generated by the community are much more likely to accurately reflect such violence.

It is also likely that a significant portion of events of historic racial violence and that involving police in particular were not ever documented and will not be found in any available source, rendering it highly unlikely, if not impossible, that a complete record of either violent police activity or lynchings will ever be obtained. Obtaining a full record of recorded events of such violence is also unlikely due in part to the challenges associated with accessing such data. Numerous events of racial violence were documented via complaints made to local NAACP or CORE chapters while others were detailed in newspapers, police reports, or correspondence between two parties. These recorded events are themselves buried within numerous organizational documents and newspaper collections, which are scattered among various local and state archives across the US.

As such, the data employed in this study undoubtedly underestimates both the amount of historic racially violent events and CRM police violence that occurred in each county. However, this study does not purport to provide a comprehensive account of such violence and instead

distinguishes between individual acts of police violence and events of police violence, which may constitute one or several individual acts, with the purpose of illuminating patterns and culture rather than actual counts of individual acts.

This study nevertheless contributes to the literature in several ways. Importantly, even though there exists a the rich body of literature detailing the individual, organizational, and situational characteristics of contemporary police violence, and despite the plethora of research elucidating the disproportionate impact of such violence on Black Americans, alarmingly little attention has been given to the historical antecedents of modern day police violence. This is significant as disentangling contemporary outcomes from the historical legacies that inform them necessitates an understanding of how those legacies are sustained and reinforced over time, and there exists substantial and compelling evidence on the relevance of history generally and in particular historic racial violence, on a number of contemporary racial disparities within or related to the contemporary legal system. While the present study did not employ 21<sup>st</sup> century measures of police violence, it nevertheless facilitates closure of this gap in the literature through an examination of the historical antecedents of civil rights era police violence. It is also the first known study to assess the historical antecedents of police misconduct generally as well as the determinants, historical or otherwise, of racially violent policing during the Civil Rights Movement era, and it is also the first to assess whether lynchings act as a conduit in the transmission of slavery's influence over time.

Relatedly, at least from a conflict theorist perspective, this study's definition of police violence is superior to that typically employed, which defines police violence or 'misconduct' by the presence of actions taken after the incident occurred, such as whether disciplinary charges were filed. Recognizing that such definitions are inherently flawed as rely on the dominant

group's assessment of its own self, the present study implemented a definition of police violence that centers those who have been harmed and does not rely on action taken by or through the police in determining what constitutes that harm. This study also contributes to the growing body of literature that espouses a relationship between racially violent histories involving police and a number of more recent measure of racial disparities related to or within the legal system, and although questions remain regarding these intermediary mechanisms, this analysis illustrates the need for a more substantive scholarly engagement with histories of racial violence in assessing determinants of police behavior. Future research should expand upon the theoretical predictions and the empirical findings of this study to clarify the mechanisms linking slavery and lynchings to subsequent police violence.

### **Implications**

The findings of this study challenge the tendency to consider police killings and other forms of police violence in isolation, illustrating instead that such police behavior is actually part of a longer history of racial violence. Failure to acknowledge and address these racially violent histories that police violence, at least during the civil rights era, is related to likely not only compounds the disconnect between such incidents of police violence and its structural roots, but may also mean failure to stem the crisis. To this point, a number of strategies have been employed to combat violent police behavior and 'misconduct', in part informed by the aforementioned literature espousing the determinants of police misconduct. Strategies often employed include among others, civil suits, criminal prosecutions, and civilian oversight commissions, all of which however have little to no impact on actually preventing future police violence, as studies show that these mechanisms are relatively weak in effecting actual change in police behavior (Walker & MacDonald, 2009). Experts also agree that higher courts are limited

in their ability to ensure compliance with its rulings. Perhaps not surprisingly then, just in 2015, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that “white supremacist infiltration of law enforcement” remains a significant threat (Jones 2015, p. 100). As this study’s findings suggest, this may be in part due to failure among the courts and law enforcement alike to acknowledge, engage, and redress America’s history of racial violence and its legacies of which both the legal system and the institution of policing were very much complicit in.

Recognition of the relationship between racial violence and law enforcement is also vital to the actualization of Black individuals’ human and civil rights, and while this study demonstrates that CRM police violence is itself a legacy of past racial violence involving the state, it is also likely that CRM police violence fosters additional, and/or contributes to existing, legacies of racial violence that in turn informs contemporaneous patterns of racial oppression, conflict, and inequality. For example, irrespective of whether specific incidents of CRM police violence have been forgotten, they still, left unaddressed, continue to tarnish the social fabric of America. A growing body of literature across a range of disciplines is increasingly illuminating the consequences of failing to intervene in the cycles of conflict and violence fostered by these racially violent histories.

For example, research on collective victimization demonstrates that the effects of trauma can be transmitted across generations through what has been termed “epigenetic inheritance” where in which the effects of environmental influences that occurred prior to conception alter the genes of offspring (Thomson, 2015). This in turn denotes that several generations may potentially experience the stress related with a single collective trauma such as Johnny Love’s murder (Brown & Wallace, 2014). The identity of America’s Black population is therefore intricately intertwined with the country’s racially violent history, and as such, the state’s

continued failure to acknowledge and disentangle the aforementioned relationship perpetuates inequality, inflicting more harm onto those who are most vulnerable, constituting another form of white supremacy in and of itself. Moreover, as Dr. Gabrielle Schwab (2010) espouses in her assessment of the legacies of the holocaust, even individuals today who are not direct descendants of and/or do not personally know these histories are nevertheless still connected to them. That is, these pasts continue to haunt the geographical, social, economic, and political landscape, and it is this very haunting that “mediates between institution and person, creating the possibility of making a life, of becoming something else, in the present and for the future” (Gordon, 2008, p.142). As Dr. Geoff Ward (2018) asks, “How else can we understand the 21st century university police officer wearing a confederate battle flag under his uniform, and murdering a Black man in cold blood? Is this not the haunting of that Lost Cause?” (p. 24)?

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## Appendix

Variable name	Source
<b>Civil Rights Era Variables 1954-1974</b>	
Police violence	Original dataset gathered from: Papers of the Congress of Racial Equality, 1941-1967; NAACP, Office of Field Director of Louisiana records, 1964-1976; A.P. Tureaud papers, 1798-1977; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall papers addenda, 1964-1966; Nils R. Douglas papers, 1893-1967; Kim Lacy Rogers collection, 1959-1996
# of KKK Klaverns	U.S. House of Representatives (1967) <a href="https://ia600300.us.archive.org/18/items/ThePresent-dayKuKluxKlanMovementReportNinetiethCongressFirst_399/HUAC6.pdf">https://ia600300.us.archive.org/18/items/ThePresent-dayKuKluxKlanMovementReportNinetiethCongressFirst_399/HUAC6.pdf</a>
Population Log % Black <sub>[SEP]</sub> Log population density Median household income change in % Black Log Farm Production Value % Farms With Tractor % Farms In Tenancy Farm Living Index % Renters % Homes With 2+ Vehicles % 7-14 in School % Employed In Agriculture % Employed In Agriculture % public transportation % nonwhite registered voters	Haines, Michael R., and Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. Historical, Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: The United States, 1790-2002. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2010-05-21. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02896.v3">https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02896.v3</a>
<b>Lynchings 1882-1930</b>	
# of white on Black lynchings	Tolnay and Beck (1995)
Log livestock per capita Log crops per capita Log Acres Improved Farmland	Haines, Michael, Fishback, Price, and Rhode, Paul. United States Agriculture Data, 1840 - 2012. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2018-08-20.

<p>% Farms In Tenancy  % Small Farms  Log Average Farm Output</p>	<p><a href="https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR35206.v4">https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR35206.v4</a></p>
<p>% Black<sup>1</sup> population  Black/White Literacy Gap  % Nonfarm Homes Rented</p>	<p>Haines, Michael R., and Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. Historical, Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: The United States, 1790-2002. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2010-05-21. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02896.v3">https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02896.v3</a></p>
<p>Percent Republican</p>	<p>Clubb, Jerome M., Flanigan, William H., and Zingale, Nancy H. Electoral Data for Counties in the United States: Presidential and Congressional Races, 1840-1972. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2006-11-13. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR08611.v1">https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR08611.v1</a></p>
<p><b>Slavery 1860</b></p>	
<p>1860 Enslaved Population  1860 Total Black Population  1860 Total Population</p>	<p>Steven Manson, Jonathan Schroeder, David Van Riper, and Steven Ruggles. IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 12.0. [Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 2017. <a href="http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V12.0">http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V12.0</a></p>
<p>Log Acres Improved Farmland  Log Farm Value</p>	<p>Haines, Michael, Fishback, Price, and Rhode, Paul. United States Agriculture Data, 1840 - 2012. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2018-08-20. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR35206.v4">https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR35206.v4</a></p>
<p>Land Inequality</p>	<p>Haines, Michael R., and Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. Historical, Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: The United States, 1790-2002. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2010-05-21. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02896.v3">https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02896.v3</a></p>

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<sup>i</sup> The 1960 census only distinguishes between whites and nonwhites and therefore nonwhite voter registration is employed here as well (Cunningham & Phillips, 2007, fn. 10).