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**Protest Campaigns and Movement Success:  
Desegregating the U.S. South in the Early 1960s**  
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SUPPLEMENT

This supplement describes the results obtained from testing the robustness of Models 2 to 5. The tables must be read in conjunction with Tables 2 and 3.

Table S1 varies the spatial decay parameter ( $\phi$ ) for sit-ins (Models 2 to 4) and for desegregation (Model 5). The final rows also replace the single diffusion variable with two diffusion variables, one *within* the state and one *beyond* the state. In order to compare how well each variant fits the data while also rewarding parsimony, we use AIC corrected for finite sample size:

$$AIC_c = -2\log(L) + 2p + \frac{2p(p+1)}{N-p-1}$$

where  $L$  is the likelihood,  $N$  is the number of observations, and  $p$  is the number of parameters to be estimated (Burnham and Anderson 2004). The smaller is AIC, the better. Each entry in the table reports  $\Delta AIC_c$ :  $AIC_c$  for this variant minus the minimum  $AIC_c$  over all variants of the model (down each column). The minimum (for each column) is denoted by 0. Variants of the model with  $\Delta AIC_c < 2$  have substantial support.

Table S2 introduces separate intercepts for each state, thus making the models capture only variation within states. States where no cities had been desegregated are necessarily omitted.

Table S3 shows jackknife standard errors, which are calculated by replicating the model  $N$  times, omitting one observation from the data. This procedure increases the standard error, of course. The jackknife errors are calculated using Stata's option *vce(jackknife)* for Models 2-4 and *vce(jackknife, cluster(ID))* for Model 5, where ID identifies each city. For Model 5, the model is replicated 291 times, each replication omitting one city (and not one city-interval) from the data; parameters could not be estimated in one replication. The  $p$ -values in Table S3 are derived from the  $t$ -distribution, rather than the Normal distribution

Table S4 omits each independent variable in turn, showing how this affects the most important estimates. For Models 2-4, the key variables are sit-ins and sit-ins in other cities. For

Model 5, the key variable is desegregation in other cities from August 1960 to April 1961. Each row reports these estimates when another independent variable is omitted. In the case of the proxy for racial oppression at the state level, its squared term is simultaneously omitted (the term is already excluded in Model 4).

## **REFERENCE**

Burnham, Kenneth P. and David R. Anderson. 2004. "Multimodel Inference: Understanding AIC and BIC in Model Selection." *Sociological Methods and Research* 33: 261-304.

**Table S1: Alternative measures for spatial variables**

$\Delta AICc$	<i>Other cities with sit-ins</i>			<i>Desegregation in other cities</i>
	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>	<b>Model 4</b>	<b>Model 5</b>
Spatial decay parameter ( $\phi$ )				
0.1	2.9	0.4	0.3	4.9
0.2	2.5	0.3	0.1	4.1
0.3	2.1	0.2	0.0	3.4
0.4	1.7	0.1	0.0	2.6
0.5	1.4	0.0	0.1	1.8
0.6	1.2	0.0	0.4	1.1
0.7	1.2	0.0	0.9	0.5
0.8	1.2	0.1	1.5	0.1
0.9	1.5	0.3	2.5	0.0
1.0	2.1	0.5	3.7	0.2
1.1	2.8	0.9	5.2	0.7
0.1, within state and beyond state	0.5	1.8	1.2	2.2
0.5, within state and beyond state	0.0	1.2	1.6	3.1
1.0, within state and beyond state	3.5	2.2	6.0	4.1

**Table S2: Separate intercepts for each state**

	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
	odds	s.e.	P	odds	s.e.	P	odds	s.e.	P	hazard	s.e.	P
Sit-in, Feb – April 1960	4.26	2.75	.02 *	4.33	2.63	.02 *	7.67	5.21	.00 **	3.27	2.07	.06
Other cities with sit-ins weighted by distance	1.31	1.01	.73	1.05	.77	.95	2.99	2.48	.19	2.35	1.76	.25
NAACP members (logged)	1.45	.25	.03 *	1.49	.22	.01 **	.97	.17	.86	1.51	.25	.01 *
NAACP Youth Council	.39	.23	.11	.34	.19	.06	.82	.51	.75	.74	.40	.57
NAACP College Chapter	2.50	3.64	.53	1.41	2.13	.82	3.05	6.00	.57	4.87	5.66	.17
SCLC presence	.35	.39	.35	.31	.36	.32	.15	.22	.19	.34	.36	.31
CORE Chapter	3.09	4.38	.43	1.34	1.96	.84	1.96	3.74	.72	4.52	5.07	.18
SRC presence	.66	.42	.51	.42	.24	.13	.83	.52	.77	.34	.21	.08
White racial organization in county	.14	.10	.01 **	.27	.17	.04 *	.37	.28	.19	.28	.15	.02 *
Racial violence in county	1.58	.94	.44	1.09	.61	.88	1.76	1.13	.38	.71	.35	.49
Strict segregationist % of gubernatorial vote in county	.98	.03	.47	.98	.02	.46	.97	.03	.34	.97	.02	.10
Black %	1.00	.03	.95	1.01	.03	.63	1.00	.03	.91	1.04	.03	.17
Workers in major corporations as % of employed	.97	.01	.05	.99	.01	.54	.99	.02	.42	.99	.01	.52
Number of labor unions / employed x 1000	1.15	.43	.71	.83	.30	.61	1.47	.59	.34	.95	.36	.89
Retail/hospitality as % of employed	1.06	.12	.63	1.04	.11	.72	1.47	.21	.01 **	1.29	.18	.07
Mean income of blacks (logged)	50.97	96.21	.04 *	28.39	50.03	.06	572.85	1263.96	.00 **	2.73	5.03	.59
Aggregate income of blacks in millions (logged)	1.71	.75	.22	2.39	.99	.04 *	3.01	1.38	.02 *	2.07	.85	.08
Professional and clerical as % of black employed	.87	.06	.04 *	.87	.06	.04 *	.85	.07	.04 *	.79	.06	.00 **
Crafts and operatives as % of black employed	.79	.05	.00 ****	.84	.04	.00 **	.87	.05	.03 *	.82	.06	.01 **
Private household workers as % of black employed	.97	.05	.53	.99	.05	.89	1.02	.06	.76	.94	.05	.31
Service workers as % of black employed	.97	.04	.52	1.01	.04	.78	1.02	.05	.75	.97	.04	.37
Black college students (logged)	1.47	.30	.06	1.43	.28	.07	1.47	.34	.10	1.48	.28	.04 *
Desegregation in other cities: Aug 1960 – April 1961							71.81	102.78	.00 **			
Desegregation in other cities: April 1961 – Dec 1961							.04			.04	.08	.09
Alabama	1.00			1.00			1.00			1.00		
Arkansas	.97	1.96	.99	.69	1.35	.85	1.90	4.04	.76	.16	.31	.35
Florida	2.32	3.94	.62	3.83	6.22	.41	1.54	2.76	.81	.11	.12	.06
Georgia				2.16	3.96	.68	.93	2.01	.97	.14	.18	.13
Kentucky	3.19	5.15	.47	2.29	3.64	.60	68.27	119.72	.02 *	.27	.37	.34
Maryland	1.88	3.44	.73	5.77	9.84	.30	1.98	3.70	.72	.28	.38	.35
North Carolina	16.40	30.74	.14	10.74	19.70	.20	7.48	15.14	.32	.13	.16	.10
Tennessee	8.50	13.61	.18	9.82	15.18	.14	7.96	13.55	.22	.31	.39	.35
Texas	1.51	3.32	.85	1.41	2.93	.87	.38	.90	.68	.08	.18	.26
Virginia	40.25	68.52	.03 *	30.36	50.46	.04 *	41.23	73.84	.04 *			
N		215 cities			247 cities			247 cities			890 city-intervals, 199 cities	

**Table S3: Jackknife standard errors**

	Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	s.e.	p	s.e.	p	s.e.	p	s.e.	p
Sit-in, Feb – April 1960	3.47	.02 *	3.06	.01 *	4.24	.00 **	1.86	.14
Other cities with sit-ins weighted by $\sqrt{\text{distance}}$	2.63	.00 **	1.24	.02 *	4.15	.00 ****	1.50	.03 *
NAACP members (logged)	.28	.02 *	.23	.00 **	.18	.27	.29	.03 *
NAACP Youth Council	.28	.19	.25	.14	.57	.89	.51	.65
NAACP College Chapter	1.59	.95	2.79	.84	3.42	.40	7.79	.54
SCLC presence	.47	.44	.31	.25	.52	.51	.86	.73
CORE Chapter	12.85	.68	2.24	.89	.22	.12	9.08	.73
SRC presence	.51	.66	.30	.23	.86	.75	.28	.18
White racial organization in county	.12	.02 *	.16	.03 *	.29	.23	.23	.12
Racial violence in county	.71	.77	.52	.96	.84	.52	.48	.65
Strict segregationist % of gubernatorial vote in county	.01	.00 **	.01	.15	.01	.14	.01	.03 *
Black %	.04	.91	.04	.63	.04	.80	.03	.39
Black % of state x % born in South	.54	.00 **	.37	.00 **	.04	.00 **	.58	.14
Black % of state x % born in South squared	.01	.00 **	.01	.00 ****			.01	.10
Workers in major corporations as % of employed	.02	.16	.02	.69	.02	.67	.01	.91
Number of labor unions / employed x 1000	.35	.79	.29	.56	.39	.82	.36	.94
Retail/hospitality as % of employed	.14	.47	.11	.76	.18	.03 *	.18	.24
Mean income of blacks (logged)	68.22	.11	60.89	.07	108.84	.06	3.41	.72
Aggregate income of blacks in millions (logged)	.82	.33	1.18	.05	1.12	.05	1.08	.18
Professional and clerical as % of black employed	.05	.04 *	.05	.03 *	.05	.12	.07	.03 *
Crafts and operatives as % of black employed	.05	.00 ****	.05	.01 **	.05	.08	.05	.01 *
Private household workers as % of black employed	.06	.62	.06	.91	.06	.48	.06	.56
Service workers as % of black employed	.04	.86	.04	.61	.05	.31	.04	.94
Black college students (logged)	.29	.21	.28	.20	.24	.66	.33	.17
Desegregation in other cities: Aug 1960 – April 1961							193.50	.01 **
Desegregation in other cities: April 1961 – Dec 1961							.10	.21

**Table S4: Omission of independent variables**

	Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5				
	(a)			(b)			(a)			(b)				
	odds	p	odds	p	odds	p	odds	p	odds	p	hazard			
Estimates for (a) <i>Sitin</i> ; (b) <i>Other cities with sitins</i> ;														
(c) <i>Desegregation in other cities, Aug 1960 - Apr 1961</i>														
<i>Sitin</i> , Feb - April 1960														
Other cities with sitins weighted by distance														
NAACP members (logged)	4.83	.01 **	5.90	.00 ****	4.52	.01 **	3.56	.00 ****	6.66	.00 **	9.29	.00 ****	108.1	.00 ****
NAACP Youth Council	4.48	.01 *	5.07	.00 ****	4.21	.01 *	2.87	.00 **	6.84	.00 **	8.39	.00 ****	73.9	.00 ****
NAACP College Chapter	4.98	.01 **	5.08	.00 ****	4.79	.01 **	2.86	.00 **	6.87	.00 **	8.68	.00 ****	114.8	.00 ****
SCLC presence	4.79	.01 **	5.45	.00 ****	4.32	.01 **	3.05	.00 **	6.49	.00 **	8.64	.00 ****	107.7	.00 ****
CORE Chapter	5.56	.00 **	5.21	.00 ****	4.87	.00 **	2.83	.00 **	6.16	.00 **	8.72	.00 ****	114.8	.00 ****
SRC presence	4.66	.01 **	5.08	.00 ****	4.13	.01 *	2.78	.00 **	7.11	.00 ****	8.38	.00 ****	115.7	.00 ****
White racial organization in county	4.48	.01 *	4.76	.00 ****	4.58	.01 **	2.88	.00 **	6.83	.00 **	8.57	.00 ****	138.3	.00 ****
Racial violence in county	4.94	.01 **	5.12	.00 ****	4.79	.01 **	2.82	.00 **	6.62	.00 **	8.45	.00 ****	73.9	.00 ****
Strict segregationist % of gubernatorial vote in county	5.02	.01 **	2.73	.00 **	5.21	.00 **	2.28	.01 *	7.08	.00 **	6.53	.00 ****	133.6	.00 ****
Black %	5.03	.01 **	5.05	.00 ****	5.01	.00 **	2.78	.01 **	7.08	.00 **	8.38	.00 ****	167.8	.00 ****
Black % of state x % born in South, plus squared	5.75	.00 **	3.36	.00 ****	5.69	.00 **	2.44	.01 **	6.74	.00 **	8.38	.00 ****	91.3	.00 ****
Workers in major corporations as % of employed	4.72	.01 **	4.87	.00 ****	4.80	.01 **	2.83	.00 **	6.91	.00 **	8.52	.00 ****	227.7	.00 ****
Number of labor unions / employed x 1000	5.02	.01 **	5.05	.00 ****	4.66	.01 **	2.84	.00 **	7.03	.00 ****	8.34	.00 ****	111.0	.00 ****
Retail/hospitality as % of employed	4.95	.01 **	4.34	.00 ****	4.77	.01 **	2.68	.00 **	5.92	.00 **	5.14	.00 ****	113.8	.00 ****
Mean income of blacks (logged)	5.51	.00 **	4.70	.00 ****	5.23	.00 **	2.63	.01 **	5.92	.00 **	5.14	.00 ****	140.0	.00 ****
Aggregate income of blacks in millions (logged)	4.65	.01 *	4.61	.00 ****	4.32	.01 **	2.40	.01 *	7.08	.00 ****	6.77	.00 ****	128.6	.00 ****
Professional and clerical as % of black employed	4.23	.01 *	4.27	.00 ****	4.20	.01 **	2.53	.01 **	6.42	.00 **	6.85	.00 ****	100.4	.00 ****
Crafts and operatives as % of black employed	2.86	.05	3.09	.00 **	3.39	.02 *	2.12	.02 *	5.98	.00 **	7.47	.00 ****	64.7	.00 ****
Private household workers as % of black employed	4.65	.01 **	4.98	.00 ****	4.85	.00 **	2.83	.00 **	5.48	.00 **	6.75	.00 ****	73.8	.00 ****
Service workers as % of black employed	4.94	.01 **	5.03	.00 ****	4.88	.01 **	2.84	.00 **	7.36	.00 ****	8.27	.00 ****	128.3	.00 ****
Black college students (logged)	5.73	.00 **	4.96	.00 ****	5.43	.00 **	2.75	.00 **	7.27	.00 ****	8.46	.00 ****	113.4	.00 ****
									7.24	.00 ****	8.20	.00 ****	85.5	.00 ****