

Does Federal Preclearance Make a Difference?
Examining the Effects of *Shelby* on the Minority Voting Gap and Countermobilization*

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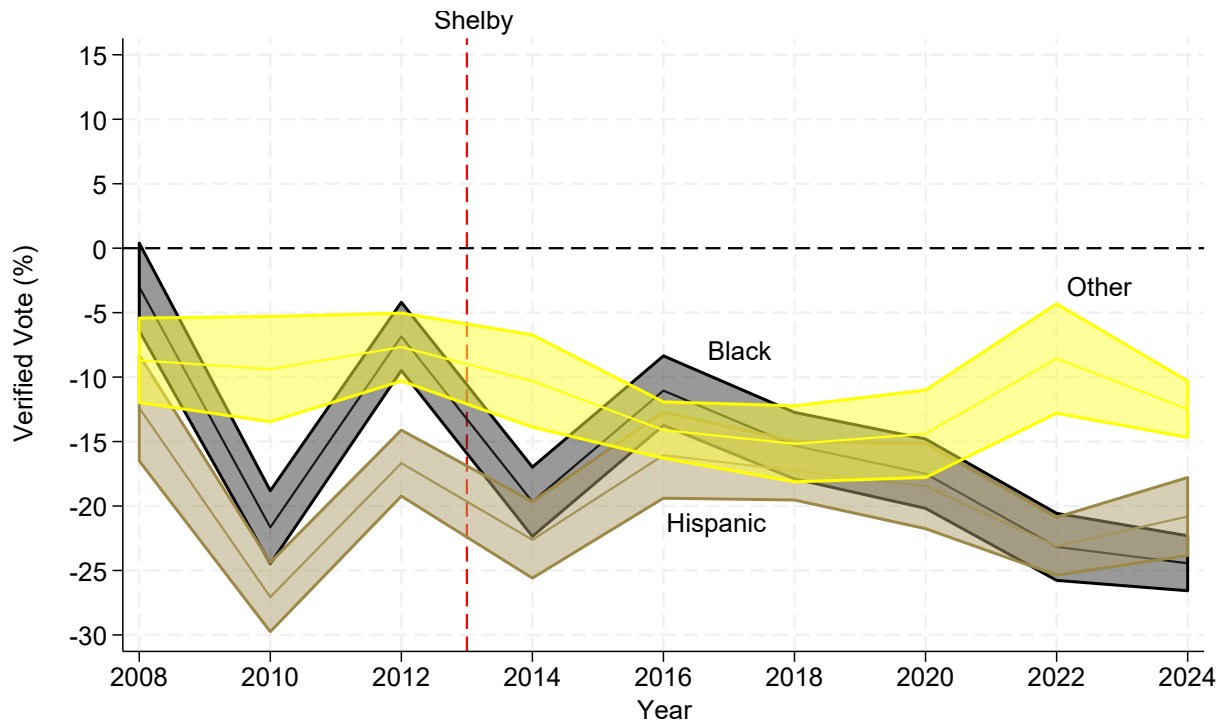
Appendix

A. Descriptive Statistics

B. Additional Analyses of Turnout and Registration

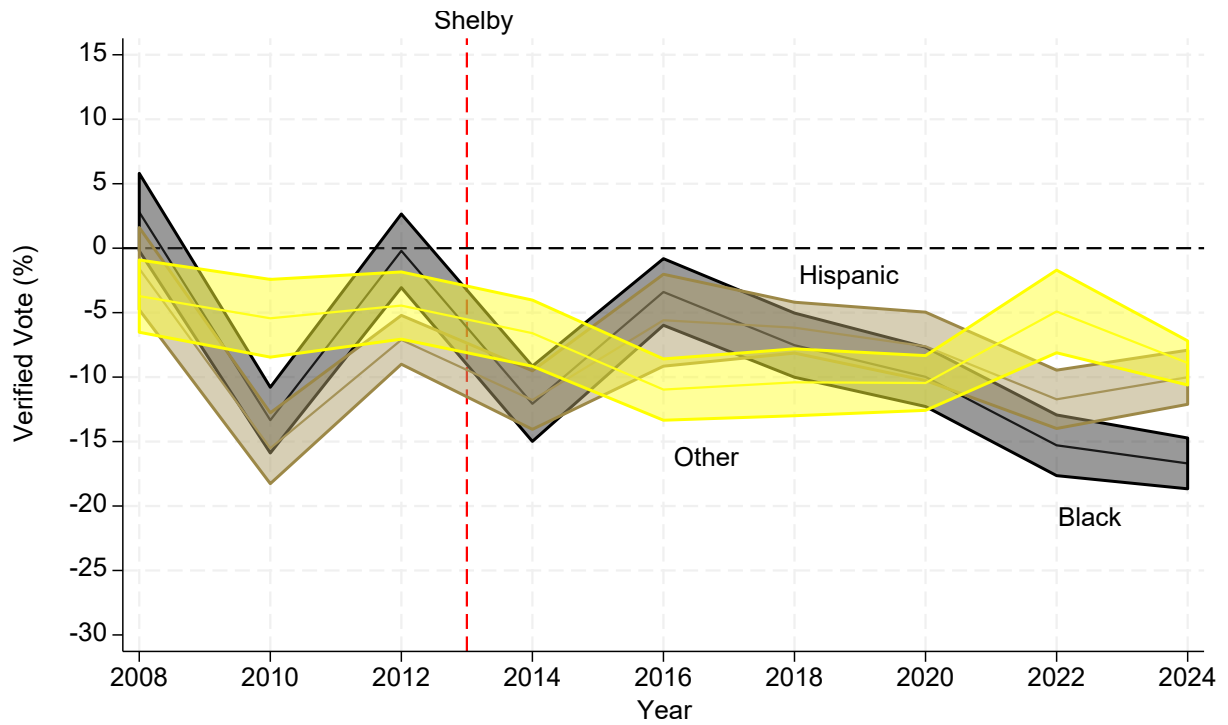
C. Additional Analyses of Political Mobilization

Figure A1: Minority Voting Gap in the United States



Notes: Difference in verified vote percentage by minority race/ethnicity compared to non-minority respondents in the CES (adjusted for age, education, and sex).

Figure A2: Minority Voting Gap in the United States (Adjusted)



Notes: Difference in verified vote percentage by minority race/ethnicity compared to non-minority respondents in the CES (adjusted for age, education, and sex).

Table A1: Cooperative Election Study (CES) Survey Responses by Year

Year	Observations
2008	31,471
2010	55,232
2012	53,514
2014	54,896
2016	62,892
2018	58,601
2020	59,658
2022	59,079
2024	59,011
Total	492,354

Notes: Non-citizens and residents of Washington, D.C. are omitted from the analysis. Also omitted are residents of Virginia in 2008 and 2010, due to inability to verify votes in that state.

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables

Dependent Variables	Mean
Verified Vote	59.95
Verified Registration	72.96
Verified Vote if Verified Registered	83.31
Political Mobilization Index	.520
Interest in Political News	.762
Other Political Activity	.163
Contacted by Campaign	.616
Key Independent Variables	Mean
Shelby: Explicitly Covered States Only	.205
Shelby: All Covered States	.494
John Lewis VRAA Covered States	.431
Minority Race/Ethnicity	.278
Black	.113
Hispanic	.104
Other Minority	.072

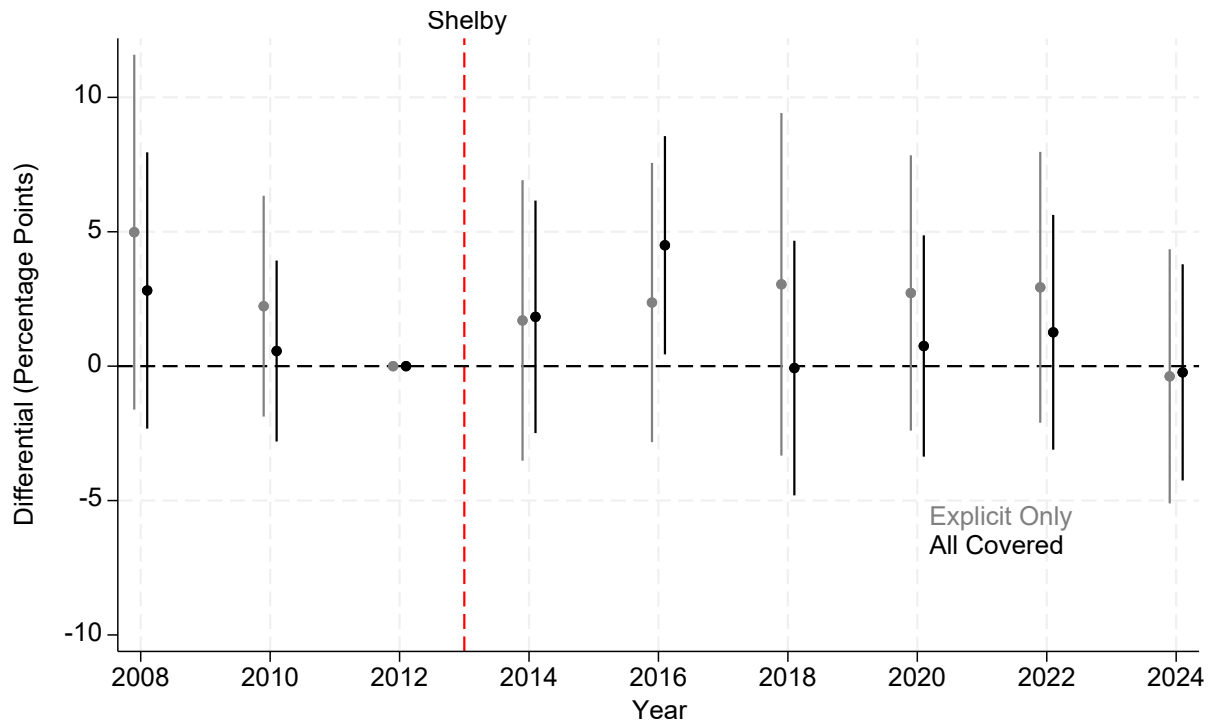
Notes: All variables range between 0 and 1. Interest in Political News is a categorical variable that takes values (0, .33, .67, 1); Other Political Activity is a categorical variable that takes values (0, .25, .5, .75, 1). The *Political Mobilization Index* is the average of Interest, Activity, and Contacted. All other variables are binary indicators. The CES records Hispanic ethnicity both as a racial category and in a separate query; we define Hispanic ethnicity based on the union of these responses.

Table A3: Descriptive Statistics for Other Variables

Independent Variables	Mean	Other Independent Variables	Mean
Female	.541	Separated/Divorced	.131
Age 18-24	.079	Single	.247
Age 25-34	.151	Widowed	.052
Age 35-44	.145	Part-Time	.105
Age 45-54	.171	Unemployed/Temporary Lay Off	.077
Age 65-74	.158	Disabled	.062
Age 75+	.065	Retired	.233
Less than High School	.032	Student	.042
High School	.266	Homemaker/Other	.090
College	.235	Homeowner	.640
Postgraduate	.127	Children at Home	.247
Democrat	.370	Military Household	.555
Republican	.264	Union Household	.355
		Missing Income	.100
		Natural Log of Income	10.85

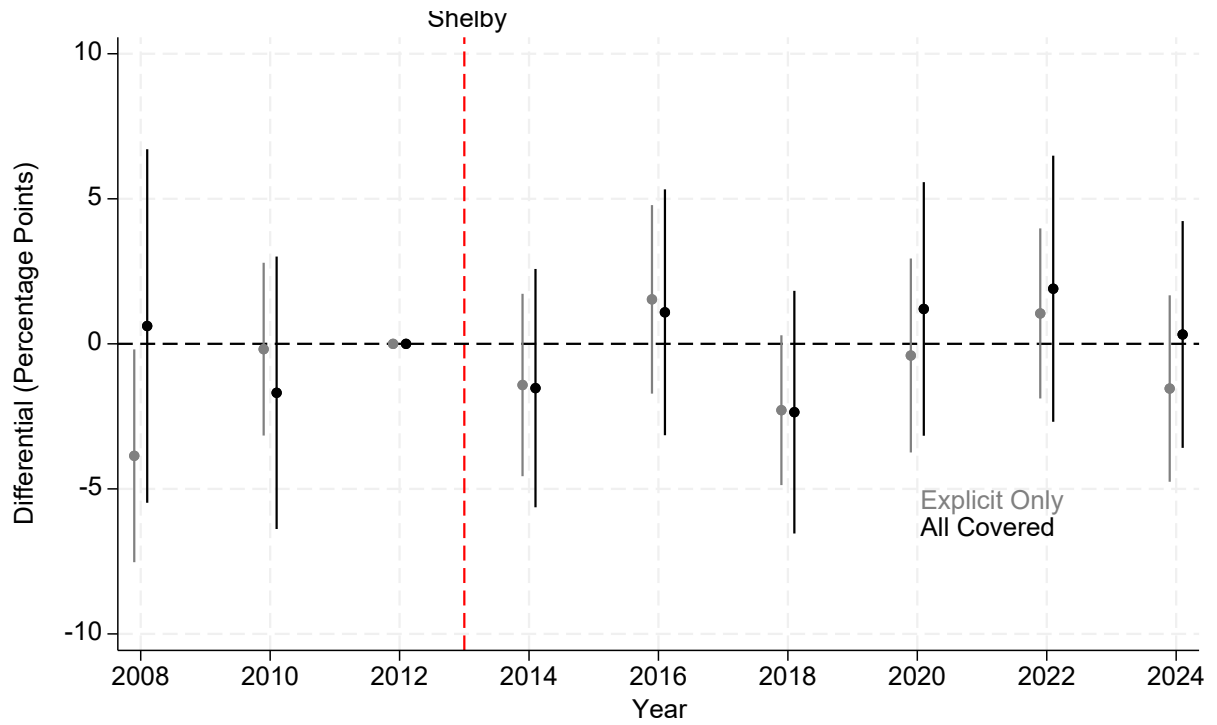
Notes: All control variables are 0-1 indicators, except income. The lefthand column includes controls employed in specifications 1,2, or 3 in Table 1; the righthand column reports the “other demographic characteristics” employed in specification 4 of Table 1. The following categories are the omitted in all regressions: Non-Female, Age 55-64; Some College; Married/Domestic Partnership; Fulltime Employment; and Independent/Other Party.

Figure B1: Event Study of the Effect of *Shelby* on the Black Voting Gap



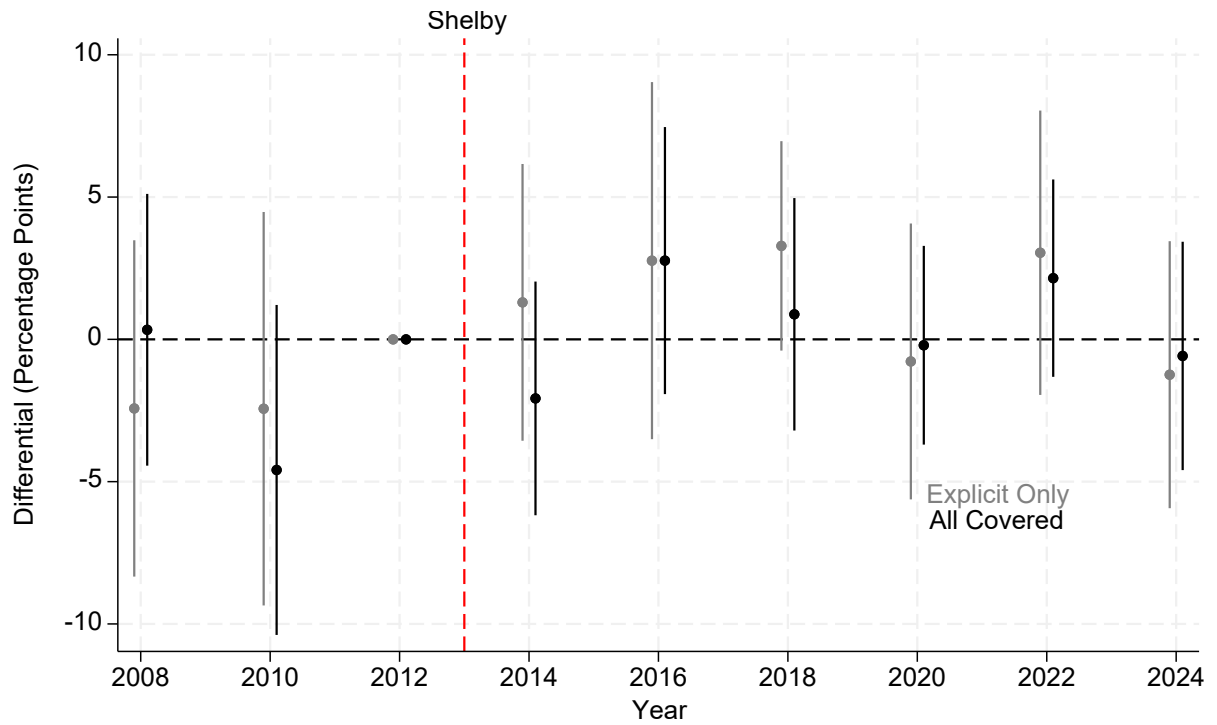
Notes: Estimated minority $\times$ treated state differentials in validated turnout by election year (with 95% confidence intervals) based on the specification in Column 4 of Table 1. Pre-treatment differentials are not jointly significant.

Figure B2: Event Study of the Effect of *Shelby* on the Hispanic Voting Gap



Notes: Estimated minority $\times$ treated state differentials in validated turnout by election year (with 95% confidence intervals) based on the specification in Column 4 of Table 1. Pre-treatment differentials are not jointly significant.

Figure B3: Event Study of the Effect of *Shelby* on the Other Race Voting Gap



Notes: Estimated minority $\times$ treated state differentials in validated turnout by election year (with 95% confidence intervals) based on the specification in Column 4 of Table 1. Pre-treatment differentials are not jointly significant.

Table B1: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Voting Gap (%) – Alternate Models

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	59.95	59.95	59.95	59.95
(Standard Deviation)	(49.00)	(49.00)	(49.00)	(49.00)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Minority	-17.14*** (0.64)	-	-	-
Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.62 (1.12)	0.53 (1.15)	0.62 (0.87)	-
Minority x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.27 (1.69)	0.47 (1.72)	0.29 (0.91)	0.87 (0.93)

Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Minority	-16.36*** (0.56)	-	-	-
Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.18 (0.85)	1.14 (0.87)	0.47 (0.88)	-
Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-1.91** (0.71)	-1.34 (0.99)	1.75* (0.98)	2.11** (1.00)

Included Controls in Each Panel:

State and Year Indicators	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Race x Year		Yes	Yes	Yes
Race x State			Yes	Yes
Year x State				Yes

Test of Differential Effect in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
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Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Number of observations is 492,354 for all regression models above. Coefficients not identified due to inclusion of interactions are indicated with “-”.

Table B2: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Voting Gap (%) -- Differential in Covered Counties

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean (Standard Deviation)	59.95 (49.00)	59.97 (49.00)	59.98 (48.99)	60.08 (48.97)
Minority x Any Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.88* (0.99)	1.62* (0.88)	0.99 (0.83)	1.06 (0.89)
Minority x Implicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.23 (1.23)	-0.18 (1.08)	0.57 (1.11)	0.51 (1.15)
Minority x Covered County in an Implicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	2.92 (2.15)	0.45 (1.65)	0.43 (1.68)	0.08 (1.68)
Ever Covered County in Implicitly Covered State	-3.93 (2.39)	-3.93 (3.15)	-4.01 (3.11)	-3.57 (2.81)
Minority x Ever-Covered County in Implicitly Covered State	0.30 (1.47)	3.05 (2.11)	2.99 (2.12)	3.54 (2.46)
Ever-Covered County in Implicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-3.96** (1.59)	-2.43* (1.20)	-2.81** (1.35)	-2.77* (1.45)
Included Controls in Each Panel:				
Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	492,354	491,384	491,272	485,698
Test of Differential Effects in Implicitly Covered States & Covered Counties in Implicitly Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B3: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Voting Gap in “Red” States (CA & NY Omitted)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	60.50	60.52	60.52	60.62
(Standard Deviation)	(48.89)	(48.88)	(48.88)	(48.86)
<i>Panel 1: Minority Voting Gap</i>				
Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.14 (0.92)	0.86 (0.82)	0.42 (0.77)	0.53 (0.93)
<i>Panel 2: Racial/Ethnic Voting Gaps</i>				
Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.60 (1.58)	0.34 (1.41)	-0.12 (1.36)	-0.05 (1.43)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.03 (1.77)	0.15 (1.59)	-0.08 (1.59)	0.23 (1.54)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	2.65* (1.37)	2.57*** (1.19)	3.33** (1.18)	2.89** (1.20)
Included Controls in Each Panel:				
Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	419,427	418,595	418,500	413,786

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B4: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Registration Gap (%)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	72.96	71.99	71.99	72.08
(Standard Deviation)	(44.92)	(44.91)	(44.90)	(44.86)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.62 (0.98)	0.79 (0.91)	0.46 (0.89)	0.36 (0.93)
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Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.69* (0.96)	1.22 (0.82)	1.15 (0.81)	1.09 (0.83)
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Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	492,354	491,384	491,272	485,698
Test of Differential Effect in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B5: Effects of *Shelby* on Racial/Ethnic Registration Gaps (%)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	72.96	71.99	71.99	72.08
(Standard Deviation)	(44.92)	(44.91)	(44.90)	(44.86)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Black x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.15 (1.50)	0.90 (1.50)	0.52 (1.47)	0.42 (1.54)
Hispanic x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.62 (0.92)	0.21 (0.83)	-0.04 (0.86)	0.03 (0.88)
Other x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.47 (2.20)	2.20 (2.00)	2.20 (1.94)	1.59 (2.01)

Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.99 (1.36)	0.69 (1.22)	0.60 (1.20)	0.48 (1.25)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.66 (1.67)	1.57 (1.48)	1.52 (1.49)	1.58 (1.47)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.97* (1.17)	1.61* (0.92)	1.60 (0.92)	1.39 (0.94)

Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	492,354	491,384	491,272	485,698
Test of Differential Effects in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B6: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Voting Gap Among Registered Voters (%)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	83.31	83.30	83.30	83.34
(Standard Deviation)	(37.29)	(37.30)	(37.29)	(37.27)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.62 (0.54)	0.63 (0.54)	0.09 (0.64)	0.37 (0.69)
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Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.86 (0.63)	0.67 (0.57)	0.41 (0.63)	0.48 (0.65)
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Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	354,299	353,745	353,693	350,112
Test of Differential Effect in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B7: Effects of *Shelby* on Racial/Ethnic Voting Gaps Among Registered Voters (%)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	83.31	83.30	83.30	83.34
(Standard Deviation)	(37.29)	(37.30)	(37.29)	(37.27)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Black x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.88 (1.14)	0.69 (1.15)	0.08 (1.16)	0.39 (1.19)
Hispanic x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.14 (0.86)	0.76 (0.80)	0.52 (0.87)	0.93 (0.90)
Other x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	2.79 (1.83)	2.72 (1.90)	2.63 (1.86)	2.31 (1.73)

Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.89 (1.26)	0.72 (1.13)	0.46 (1.13)	0.45 (1.12)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-1.12 (1.42)	-0.97 (1.31)	-1.08 (1.31)	-0.96 (1.32)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	2.28* (1.14)	2.03* (1.15)	1.82 (1.15)	1.65 (1.17)

Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	354,299	353,745	353,693	350,112
Test of Differential Effects in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B8: Counterfactual Effects on Registration Gaps (%) from Removing Preclearance as Proposed by the John R. Lewis VRAA

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	72.96	71.99	71.99	72.08
(Standard Deviation)	(44.92)	(44.91)	(44.90)	(44.86)
<i>Panel 1: Minority Voting Gap</i>				
Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.95** (0.92)	1.23 (0.79)	1.18 (0.79)	1.09 (0.81)
<i>Panel 2: Racial/Ethnic Voting Gaps</i>				
Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.30 (1.33)	0.86 (1.22)	0.78 (1.20)	0.60 (1.24)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.84 (1.48)	1.43 (1.31)	1.41 (1.33)	1.44 (1.31)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	2.67** (1.10)	2.01** (0.93)	2.00** (0.92)	1.86** (0.92)
Included Controls in Each Panel:				
Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	492,354	491,384	491,272	485,698

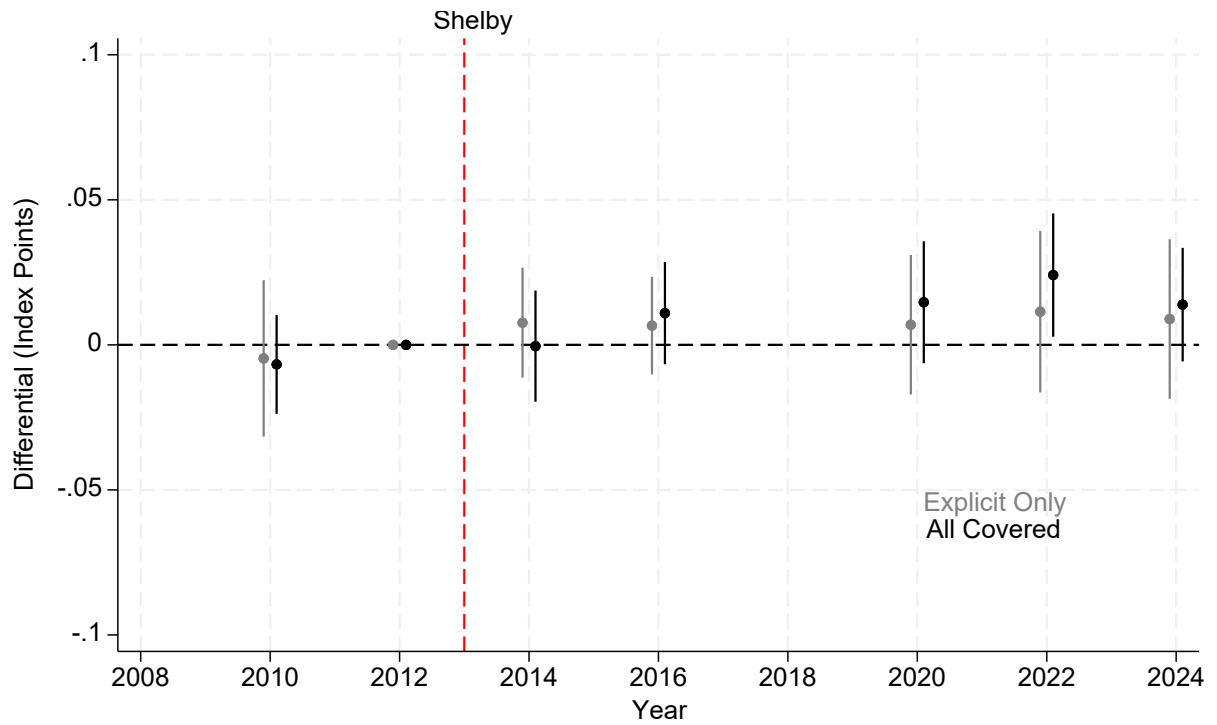
Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Table B9: Counterfactual Effects on Voting Gap Among Registered Voters (%) from Removing Preclearance as Proposed by the John R. Lewis VRAA

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	83.31	83.30	83.30	83.34
(Standard Deviation)	(37.29)	(37.30)	(37.29)	(37.27)
<i>Panel 1: Minority Voting Gap</i>				
Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	1.01* (0.57)	0.54 (0.53)	0.25 (0.61)	0.21 (0.63)
<i>Panel 2: Racial/Ethnic Voting Gaps</i>				
Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.91 (1.18)	0.47 (1.07)	0.19 (1.08)	0.05 (1.08)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.89 (1.29)	-0.96 (1.18)	-1.09 (1.17)	-1.10 (1.21)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	2.54** (1.12)	2.19* (1.19)	1.99* (1.18)	1.81 (1.20)
Included Controls in Each Panel:				
Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	354,299	353,745	353,693	350,112

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Other demographic controls include employment status, household characteristics, income, and marital status.

Figure C1 Event Study of the Effect of *Shelby* on the Minority Political Mobilization Gap



Notes: Estimated minority $\times$ treated state differentials in validated turnout by election year (with 95% confidence intervals) based on the specification in Column 4 of Table 1. Pre-treatment differentials are not jointly significant.

Table C1: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Gap in Interest in Political News

Sample:	All	Accurate Reporter	Verified Voter	Accurate & Verified
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	0.76	0.81	0.84	0.85
(Standard Deviation)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.25)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
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Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
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Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	473,095	299,404	289,393	260,142
Test of Differential Effect in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. All regression models include the controls listed in Column 4 of Table 1. “Accurate Reporter” indicates that self-reported voting behavior (including not voting) is consistent with the verified vote record.

Table C2: Effects of *Shelby* on Racial/Ethnic Gap in Interest in Political News

Sample:	All	Accurate Reporter	Verified Voter	Accurate & Verified
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	0.76	0.81	0.84	0.85
(Standard Deviation)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.25)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Black x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Hispanic x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Other x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)

Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)

Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	473,095	299,404	289,393	260,142
Test of Differential Effects in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	p<.05	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. All regression models include the controls listed in Column 4 of Table 1. "Accurate Reporter" indicates that self-reported voting behavior (including not voting) is consistent with the verified vote record.

Table C3: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Gap in Other Political Activity

Sample:	All	Accurate Reporter	Verified Voter	Accurate & Verified
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	0.16	0.17	0.19	0.20
(Standard Deviation)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
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Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
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Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	410,272	303,094	264,270	261,759
Test of Differential Effect in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. All regression models include the controls listed in Column 4 of Table 1. “Accurate Reporter” indicates that self-reported voting behavior (including not voting) is consistent with the verified vote record.

Table C4: Effects of *Shelby* on Racial/Ethnic Gap in Other Political Activity

Sample:	All	Accurate Reporter	Verified Voter	Accurate & Verified
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	0.16	0.17	0.19	0.20
(Standard Deviation)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Black x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Hispanic x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	.02* (0.01)
Other x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)

Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)

Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	410,272	303,094	264,270	261,759
Test of Differential Effects in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	p<.01	p<.01	p<.01

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. All regression models include the controls listed in Column 4 of Table 1.

Table C5: Effects of *Shelby* on Minority Gap in Campaign Contact

Sample:	All	Accurate Reporter	Verified Voter	Accurate & Verified
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	0.62	0.67	0.71	0.72
(Standard Deviation)	(0.49)	(0.47)	(0.45)	(0.45)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
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Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Minority x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.02** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
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Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	334,149	245,387	213,794	211,809
Test of Differential Effect in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. All regression models include the controls listed in Column 4 of Table 1.

Table C6: Effects of *Shelby* on Racial/Ethnic Gap in Campaign Contact

Sample:	All	Accurate Reporter	Verified Voter	Accurate & Verified
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean	0.62	0.67	0.71	0.72
(Standard Deviation)	(0.49)	(0.47)	(0.45)	(0.45)

Panel 1: Explicitly Covered States vs Other States

Black x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Hispanic x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Other x Explicitly Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)

Panel 2: All Covered States vs Other States

Black x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Hispanic x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.04*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Other x Covered State x Post- <i>Shelby</i>	0.01 (0.02)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)

Included Controls in Each Panel:

Race, State, Year, and Interactions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age, Education, and Sex		Yes	Yes	Yes
Party x Year			Yes	Yes
Other Demographic Characteristics				Yes
Observations	334,149	245,387	213,794	211,809
Test of Differential Effects in Explicitly Covered v. All Covered States	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Notes: ***p<.01; **p<.05; and *p<.10; standard errors are clustered at the state-level. All regression models include the controls listed in Column 4 of Table 1.