The Political Geography of the January 6 Insurrectionists

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DATA SOURCES FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND CONTROLS

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- MIT Election Data and Science Lab. 2022. "U.S. House of Representatives Precinct-Level Returns 2020." Harvard Dataverse. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VLGF2M.
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- U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. 2022. "CAEMP25N: Total Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by NAICS Industry." https://apps.bea.gov/regional/downloadzip.cfm
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. "Local Area Unemployment Statistics, Labor force data by county, [Year] annual averages." For years 2015 – 2020. https://www.bls.gov/lau/
- U.S. Census Bureau, (2020), HISPANIC OR LATINO, AND NOT HISPANIC OR LATINO BY RACE, Decennial Census, DEC Redistricting Data (PL 94-171), Table P2, accessed on January 2, 2024, https://data.census.gov/table/DECENNIALPL2020.P2?q=p2&g=010XX00US$0500000&d=DEC Redistricting Data (PL 94-171).
- U.S. Census Bureau, (2010), HISPANIC OR LATINO, AND NOT HISPANIC OR LATINO BY RACE, Decennial Census, DEC Redistricting Data (PL 94-171), Table P2, accessed on January 2, 2024, https://data.census.gov/table/DECENNIALPL2010.P2?q=p2&g=010XX00US$0500000&d=DEC Redistricting Data (PL 94-171)
- Chicago Project on Security and Threats (2023) County Count of Individuals Charged in the January 6, 2021 Attack on the U.S. Capitol.

MODEL CONTROLS

Models 1-8 in Table 2 and the models used in Table 3 in the main paper all include the following controls:

- **[pctnhwhite2020] Non-Hispanic White (% Pop.)**: Calculated as the proportion of the county's population that is non-Hispanic white, according to the 2020 Decennial Census. While not every person charged for their actions on January 6th was white, the vast majority were.

- **[urban] Urban County:** We use NCHS classification scheme to create a binary variable =1 if county is classified as a large central, large fringe, or medium metro area, 0 otherwise.

- **[distdc] Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km):** Our dependent variable involves a displaced event: the act people were charged for occurred in Washington D.C., not in their home county. We control for distance between each county's centroid and Washington D.C. as a rudimentary proxy for difficulty of travel.

- **[countypop] Population (by 100,000 people):** We use county total population based on the 2020 Decennial Census to control for population size. We do not log transform population to better capture the impact of population on the probability of finding an insurrectionist by random chance.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics, Independent Variables and Controls

Variable	*Obs*	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	3138	4.15	2.80	-19.20	22.96
Decline in Manuf. Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)	3140	8.05	10.31	-23.65	59.11
Decline in Manuf. Employment Share (without imputations)	2667	8.42	10.85	-23.65	59.11
% Vote for Trump, 2020	3113	64.982	16.11	5.40	96.18
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012	3113	5.40	6.50	-25.27	34.04
Non-Hispanic White (% Pop.)	3138	74.22	19.72	1.78	97.41
Urban County = 1	3141	.26	.44	0	1
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	3141	1.47	.99	0	7.89
Population (by 100,000 people)	3138	1.06	3.36	.00064	100.14
N	3141				

CORRELATION MATRIX

Figure A1. Pairwise Correlation Between Dependent Variables and Covariates
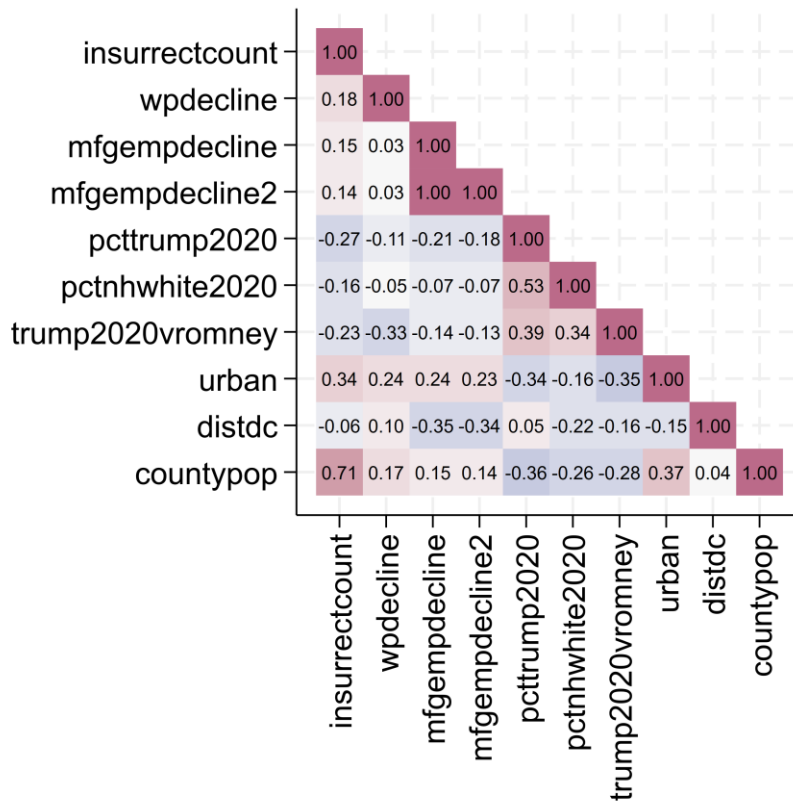
ADDITIONAL MODELS

Alternative Variable Specifications

Table A2 includes alternative specifications of variables for the models in Table 2 of the main paper. Specifically, it tests three alternatives:

1. First, we use the percent vote for Trump, a measure of his absolute electoral support, instead of the measure of populist support for Trump: the difference in a county's vote for Trump in 2020 and its vote for Romney in 2012. There are no major changes in the model results because of this change in specification.

2. Second, we present the results of the regressions including manufacturing decline if we do not fill in the missing county-level data with state averages, by dropping counties where manufacturing data was unavailable. We see that Manufacturing Decline stays significant in Model 2, but only at the 1-star level, and loses significance altogether in Model 4. It's worth noting that the counties excluded from these models were home to 42 insurrectionists, and so represent a substantial loss of data.

3. Third, we incorporate an alternative measure of economic grievance: average county-level unemployment between 2015-2020. This is designed to capture places where the population is suffering current economic hardship. It, like manufacturing decline, is statistically significant at the one-star level.

4. Fourth, we incorporate an alternative measure of economic grievance: the interaction between manufacturing decline and county-level unemployment. This is designed to capture places where a history of manufacturing loss is married to current, increasing economic hardship. This variable is never significant.

Table A2. Alternative Variable Specifications

	(1) With Electoral Measure of Support for Trump	(2) Without Imputation for Missing Manufacturing Data	(3) With Unemployment instead of Manufacturing Decline	(4) With Interaction between Economic Hardships
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.45***	1.38***	1.35***	1.39***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)	1.11	1.11		1.10
	(0.06)	(0.06)		(0.06)
Average Unemployment (2015-2020)			1.16*	1.12
			(0.07)	(0.07)
Unemployment * Decline in Manufacturing				0.99
				(0.06)
% Vote for Trump, 2020	0.77***			
	(0.05)			
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012		0.77***	0.72***	0.74***
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Urban County = 1	3.06***	2.84***	3.02***	2.90***
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.39)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.79***	0.75***	0.70***	0.74***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Population (by 100,000 people)	1.62***	1.62***	1.72***	1.70***
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	1.27***	1.19*	1.25**	1.26***
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Constant	0.10***	0.11***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	3112	2662	3113	3112
AIC	3135.55	2942.71	3145.01	3132.06
BIC	3189.94	2995.69	3199.40	3198.53

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. Negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. Reporting IRRs. Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Error! Reference source not found. We test alternative controls for population using the identical primary model in "The Counties that Fought for Trump", provided in Table 2 of that paper.   Here, instead of the population of each county, we report the results using the number of Trump 2020 voters from each county. Each of these variables are an alternative specification of the total number of people who could potentially be an insurrectionist. The results are quite similar.

- Table A4 uses logged population instead of non-logged population. White population decline retains its significance in Model 4; all primary IVs lose significance in the models otherwise.

- Table A5 includes of an additional control variable: the population of the county in 2010. This makes sure the white population decline effect is not simply the product of population growth.

Table A3. Alternative Control for Population - Vote for Trump

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	White Pop. Decline	Manf. Decline	Trump Populism	Full
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.28***			1.26***
	(0.08)			(0.07)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)		1.12*		1.12
		(0.06)		(0.06)
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012			0.74***	0.80***
			(0.04)	(0.04)
Urban County = 1	3.03***	3.17***	2.85***	2.56***
	(0.42)	(0.45)	(0.40)	(0.36)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.70***	0.76***	0.69***	0.73***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Votes for Trump, 2020 (by 100,000)	1.77***	1.88***	1.77***	1.71***
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.11)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	0.98	0.99	1.06	1.07
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Constant	0.10***	0.11***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	3114	3113	3113	3112
AIC	3138.83	3144.35	3133.06	3099.30
BIC	3181.13	3186.65	3175.37	3153.69

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. Negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. Reporting IRRs.
Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table A4. Alternative Control for Population – Logged Population

	(1) White Pop. Decline	(2) Manf. Decline	(3) Trump Populism	(4) Full
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.08			1.11[*]
	(0.06)			(0.06)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)		0.93		0.93
		(0.06)		(0.06)
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012			1.00	1.03
			(0.05)	(0.05)
Urban County = 1	1.37[*]	1.40[**]	1.40[*]	1.38[*]
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.82[***]	0.81[***]	0.83[***]	0.82[***]
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Population (by 100,000 people), Logged	4.45[***]	4.64[***]	4.53[***]	4.55[***]
	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.38)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	1.30[***]	1.32[***]	1.30[***]	1.31[***]
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Constant	0.07[***]	0.07[***]	0.07[***]	0.07[***]
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	3138	3137	3113	3112
AIC	2912.42	2904.80	2912.20	2902.38
BIC	2954.78	2947.16	2954.50	2956.77

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. Negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. Reporting IRRs. Standard errors in parentheses.
[*] $p < 0.05$, [**] $p < .01$, [***] $p < .001$

Table A5. Additional Control - County Population in 2010

	(1) White Pop. Decline	(2) Manf. Decline	(3) Trump Populism	(4) Full
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.39[***]			1.35[***]
	(0.08)			(0.07)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)		1.16[**]		1.13[*]
		(0.06)		(0.06)
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012			0.71[***]	0.78[***]
			(0.04)	(0.04)
Urban County = 1	3.41[***]	3.79[***]	3.30[***]	2.88[***]
	(0.45)	(0.50)	(0.45)	(0.39)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.70[***]	0.76[***]	0.69[***]	0.73[***]
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Population (by 100,000 people), 2020	6.00[**]	11.89[***]	5.08[*]	3.83[*]
	(3.95)	(8.00)	(3.48)	(2.48)
Population (by 100,000 people), 2010	0.29	0.15[**]	0.34	0.44
	(0.20)	(0.10)	(0.24)	(0.30)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	1.11	1.10	1.19[**]	1.22[**]
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Constant	0.10[***]	0.10[***]	0.10[***]	0.10[***]
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	3138	3137	3113	3112
AIC	3168.58	3194.03	3172.02	3130.38
BIC	3216.99	3242.43	3220.36	3190.81

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. Negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. Reporting IRRs. Standard errors in parentheses.
[*] $p < 0.05$, [**] $p < .01$, [***] $p < .001$

Logistic Regression with Binary Dependent Variable

Table A6 examines the same set of independent variables as Table 2 but using a logistic regression and specifying the dependent variable as a binary. This is a measure of whether a county had any insurrectionist propensity, rather than our existing primary model which also attempts to capture magnitude. The results are quite like our primary negative binomial.

Table A6. Alternative Model Specification - Logistic with Binary DV

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	White Pop. Decline	*Manf. Decline*	*Trump Populism*	*Full*
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.38***			1.30***
	(0.09)			(0.09)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)		1.12		1.10
		(0.07)		(0.07)
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012			0.74***	0.80**
			(0.05)	(0.06)
Urban County = 1	2.29***	2.51***	2.24***	2.07***
	(0.36)	(0.39)	(0.35)	(0.33)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.67***	0.72***	0.67***	0.70***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Population (by 100,000 people), 2020	5.66***	6.08***	5.54***	5.05***
	(1.17)	(1.29)	(1.19)	(1.06)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	1.29***	1.26**	1.36***	1.38***
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Constant	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	3138	3137	3113	3112
AIC	1886.22	1906.27	1888.04	1874.47
BIC	1922.52	1942.58	1924.30	1922.82

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. Logistic regression with robust standard errors. Standard errors in parentheses.
$^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < .01$, $^{***} p < .001$

Alternative Model Specification - Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial

Table A7 below examines the same set of independent variables as Table 2 but using a zero-inflated negative binomial regression, to account for the large number of zeroes in our data (most counties did not send an insurrectionist). As you can see, the only variable that predicts zero insurrectionists is if a county has a low population, but for the negative binomial portion of the regression the results on white population decline hold at the two-star significance level.

Table A7. Alternative Model Specification – Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial

	(1) White Pop. Decline	(2) Manf. Decline	(3) Trump Populism	(4) Full
Predicting Number of Insurrectionists > 0				
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.20** (0.08)			1.26*** (0.08)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)		0.95 (0.06)		0.94 (0.07)
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012			0.92 (0.05)	0.99 (0.06)
Urban County = 1	1.91*** (0.29)	2.12*** (0.32)	2.00*** (0.31)	1.88*** (0.29)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.83*** (0.04)	0.83*** (0.05)	0.83*** (0.04)	0.82*** (0.04)
Population (by 100,000 people), 2020	1.36*** (0.08)	1.37*** (0.09)	1.35*** (0.09)	1.37*** (0.09)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	1.07 (0.09)	1.07 (0.09)	1.07 (0.08)	1.11 (0.09)
Constant	0.38*** (0.05)	0.40*** (0.05)	0.39*** (0.05)	0.38*** (0.05)
Predicting Number of Insurrectionists = 0				
Decline in % Non-Hispanic white, 2010-2020	1.14 (0.20)			1.23 (0.21)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment Share (1970 vs. 2020)		0.98 (0.13)		0.95 (0.14)
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for Romney, 2012			1.02 (0.17)	1.09 (0.18)
Urban County = 1	1.08 (0.35)	1.13 (0.36)	1.12 (0.36)	1.07 (0.35)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	1.28 (0.20)	1.28 (0.22)	1.26 (0.20)	1.27 (0.22)
Population (by 100,000 people), 2020	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	0.75 (0.12)	0.75 (0.12)	0.72* (0.12)	0.76 (0.13)
Constant				
N	3138	3137	3113	3112
AIC	2941.53	2942.87	2947.54	2931.16
BIC	3020.20	3021.53	3026.10	3033.89

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. ZINB regression with robust standard errors. Reporting IRRs. Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

ADDITIONAL INTERACTIONS

In the paper, we specifically examine interactions between political circumstances and white population decline. Here we expand that analysis to include additional interactions between those political circumstances and our other original primary IVs: manufacturing employment decline and Trump populism. Table A8 below presents the results: None of the interactions are statistically significant, and neither are the political variables.

Table A8. Additional Interactions

|	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Competition (Contested County = 1)		*Outbidding* (Rep Refused Cert = 1)		*Frustration* (Biden by 20% = 1)	
	Manuf. Dec	*Populism*	*Manuf. Dec*	*Populism*	*Manuf. Dec*	*Populism*
Political Variable (See Column Labels)	1.28	1.13	1.02	0.94	0.95	0.96
	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.27)
Decline in Manufacturing	0.84		0.97		1.01	
* Political Variable	(0.15)		(0.09)		(0.16)	
% Vote for Trump - % Vote for Romney		1.02		0.90		1.13
* Political Variable		(0.16)		(0.08)		(0.17)
Decline in Manufacturing Employment	1.14*		1.16		1.14*	
Share (1970 vs. 2020)	(0.06)		(0.09)		(0.06)	
% Vote for Trump, 2020 - % Vote for		0.70***		0.74***		0.68***
Romney, 2012		(0.04)		(0.05)		(0.04)
Urban County = 1	3.88***	3.30***	3.94***	3.34***	3.88***	3.27***
	(0.52)	(0.45)	(0.53)	(0.45)	(0.52)	(0.45)
Distance to D.C. (by 1,000 km)	0.78***	0.70***	0.78***	0.70***	0.79***	0.70***
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Population (by 100,000 people), 2020	1.85***	1.77***	1.84***	1.77***	1.86***	1.79***
	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.14)
% Non-Hispanic White (2020)	1.09	1.19**	1.08	1.19**	1.08	1.17*
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Constant	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
N	3137	3113	3070	3070	3112	3113
AIC	3205.62	3177.30	3165.80	3137.77	3204.55	3175.53
BIC	3260.08	3231.69	3220.07	3192.03	3258.94	3229.92

Note: All non-binary variables standardized. Negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. Reporting IRRs. Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

ROBUSTNESS TO NEW CASES

Although additional individuals may be charged for their role in the January 6 insurrection, more arrests are unlikely to change our main findings at this point. To assess the impact of arrests over time, we partitioned the dependent variable by month charged and rerun the base regression, capturing results as arrests cumulated. Figure A2 shows the IRRs for white population decline and manufacturing employment decline as new cases and counties are added monthly from March 2021 to November 2022:

Figure A2. Robustness of Findings to New Arrests
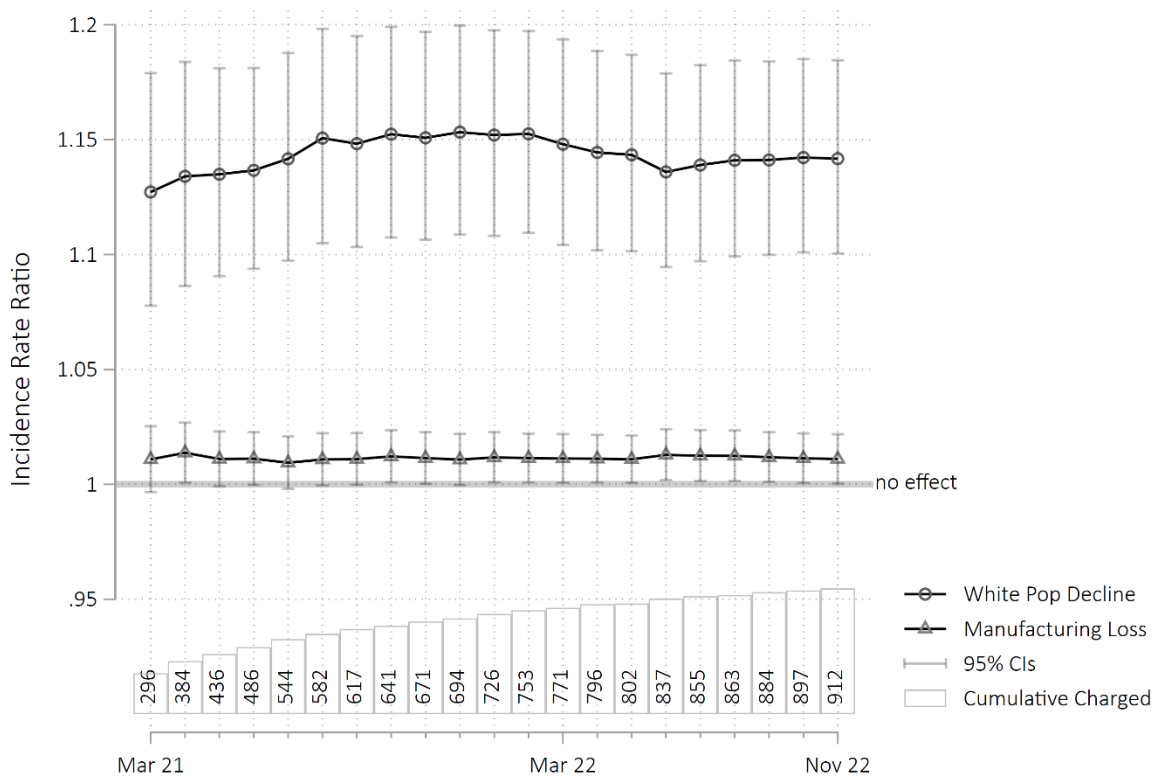
The results show the effect of white population decline is highly robust to new arrests and has been since the early months of January 6 prosecutions. The IRR for white population decline is

statistically significant at the .001 level and above 1 at every timepoint and remains relatively stable at 1.14 as the number of charged increases from 771 in March 2022 to 912 in November 2022. By contrast, in addition to having significantly lower substantive impact on the county rate of insurrectionists, manufacturing employment decline's significance has been more variable, with 95% confidence bounds consistently hovering near or overlapping 1 (no effect).