

## Supplementary Materials

### Regression results allowing rurality to vary by decade

**Table B.1: Place & Presidential Voting**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	County-Level Republican Vote Share		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	0.005 (0.004)	0.007* (0.004)	0.028*** (0.004)
Share College	0.184*** (0.037)	-0.047 (0.030)	-0.534*** (0.025)
Share White	0.233*** (0.010)	0.229*** (0.011)	0.459*** (0.013)
Share Senior (65+)	-0.154*** (0.048)	-0.093* (0.048)	-0.198*** (0.050)
Constant	0.242*** (0.012)	0.135*** (0.014)	0.205*** (0.015)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	12,430	12,444	12,441
R <sup>2</sup>	0.367	0.467	0.514
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.366	0.467	0.513

*Note:* Robust standard errors clustered at county level.

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

**Table B.2: Place, Employment Growth, & Presidential Voting**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	County-Level Republican Vote Share		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	-0.031*** (0.007)	-0.062*** (0.008)	0.024** (0.011)
Log Job Growth	0.152*** (0.017)	0.130*** (0.016)	0.157*** (0.020)
Log Pop Growth	0.065*** (0.012)	0.037* (0.020)	0.076 (0.049)
Share College	0.121*** (0.038)	-0.055* (0.031)	-0.570*** (0.027)
Share White	0.213*** (0.011)	0.219*** (0.012)	0.452*** (0.013)
Share Senior (65+)	-0.091** (0.046)	-0.064 (0.051)	-0.148*** (0.051)
Rurality x Log Job Growth	-0.128*** (0.018)	-0.195*** (0.017)	-0.021 (0.021)
Constant	0.339*** (0.015)	0.207*** (0.018)	0.313*** (0.028)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	12,205	12,223	12,231
R <sup>2</sup>	0.380	0.477	0.524
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.379	0.477	0.523

*Note:* Robust standard errors clustered at county level.

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

**Table B.3: Place, Population Growth, & Presidential Voting**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	County-Level Republican Vote Share		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	-0.065*** (0.011)	-0.174*** (0.015)	0.005 (0.036)
Log Pop Growth	0.213*** (0.022)	0.361*** (0.030)	0.103 (0.082)
Log Job Growth	0.040*** (0.007)	-0.028*** (0.008)	0.144*** (0.014)
Share College	0.133*** (0.038)	-0.064** (0.030)	-0.571*** (0.027)
Share White	0.213*** (0.011)	0.219*** (0.012)	0.453*** (0.012)
Share Senior (65+)	-0.094** (0.046)	-0.077 (0.051)	-0.153*** (0.050)
Rurality x Log Pop Growth	-0.177*** (0.024)	-0.419*** (0.034)	-0.059 (0.075)
Constant	0.367*** (0.017)	0.296*** (0.020)	0.320*** (0.041)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	12,205	12,223	12,231
R <sup>2</sup>	0.381	0.484	0.524
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.380	0.484	0.524

*Note:* Robust standard errors clustered at county level.

\*p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

**Table B.4: Place, Education, & Presidential Voting**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	County-Level Republican Vote Share		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	-0.022** (0.009)	-0.039*** (0.010)	0.019* (0.010)
Share College	0.008 (0.048)	-0.174*** (0.038)	-0.599*** (0.030)
Log Job Growth	0.041*** (0.007)	-0.021*** (0.008)	0.143*** (0.014)
Log Pop Growth	0.074*** (0.012)	0.045** (0.020)	0.079 (0.048)
Share White	0.213*** (0.011)	0.216*** (0.012)	0.449*** (0.013)
Share Senior (65+)	-0.077* (0.046)	-0.064 (0.052)	-0.153*** (0.051)
Rurality x Share College	0.240*** (0.067)	0.284*** (0.060)	0.073 (0.051)
Constant	0.321*** (0.015)	0.181*** (0.018)	0.318*** (0.027)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	12,205	12,223	12,231
R <sup>2</sup>	0.378	0.474	0.524
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.378	0.474	0.524

*Note:* Robust standard errors clustered at county level.

\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

**Table B.5: Place, Evangelical Congregations, & Presidential Voting**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	County-Level Republican Vote Share		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	0.023*** (0.006)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.010 (0.009)
Evangelical Per 10k	0.002** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Catholic Per 10k	0.003*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)
Log Job Growth	0.039*** (0.007)	-0.018** (0.008)	0.130*** (0.019)
Log Pop Growth	0.080*** (0.012)	0.089*** (0.021)	0.155* (0.088)
Share College	0.157*** (0.041)	0.017 (0.034)	-0.424*** (0.031)
Share White	0.221*** (0.011)	0.212*** (0.012)	0.428*** (0.014)
Share Senior (65+)	-0.105** (0.047)	-0.177*** (0.053)	-0.340*** (0.065)
Rurality x Evangelical	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.001)
Constant	0.284*** (0.015)	0.161*** (0.018)	0.338*** (0.041)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	12,205	12,223	9,171
R <sup>2</sup>	0.381	0.484	0.530
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.380	0.484	0.530

*Note:* Robust standard errors clustered at county level.

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

**Table B.6: Racial Animus & Individual Vote Choice**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	Individual-Level Republican Vote Choice (1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Support for Gov't Aid to Black People	-0.0208*** (0.00155)	-0.0211*** (0.00154)	-0.0416*** (0.00112)
Rurality (Varies)	0.179 (0.0948)	0.0502 (0.107)	0.378*** (0.0831)
Share Hispanic	-0.473 (0.323)	-0.463 (0.298)	-1.163*** (0.199)
Education	0.147** (0.0461)	0.203*** (0.0503)	-0.118** (0.0398)
Income	0.280*** (0.0401)	0.202*** (0.0408)	0.180*** (0.0307)
Gender	-0.155* (0.0771)	-0.255** (0.0805)	-0.0815 (0.0580)
Age	0.00329 (0.00244)	0.00783** (0.00250)	0.0113*** (0.00189)
Constant	-0.395 (0.289)	-1.190*** (0.244)	1.032*** (0.209)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,133	3,261	12,110

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table B.7: Place, Racial Animus, & Individual Vote Choice**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	Individual-Level Republican Vote Choice		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	-0.533** (0.178)	0.0422 (0.170)	0.318* (0.149)
Support for Gov't Aid to Black People	-0.0261*** (0.00192)	-0.0212*** (0.00170)	-0.0418*** (0.00120)
Rurality (Varies) x Support for Gov't Aid to Black People	0.0157*** (0.00329)	0.000245 (0.00381)	0.00146 (0.00306)
Share Hispanic	-0.316 (0.330)	-0.462 (0.298)	-1.163*** (0.200)
Education	0.149** (0.0464)	0.203*** (0.0503)	-0.118** (0.0399)
Income	0.278*** (0.0403)	0.202*** (0.0408)	0.181*** (0.0307)
Gender	-0.171* (0.0774)	-0.255** (0.0805)	-0.0819 (0.0580)
Age	0.00327 (0.00244)	0.00782** (0.00250)	0.0113*** (0.00189)
Constant	-0.104 (0.294)	-1.188*** (0.246)	1.040*** (0.210)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,133	3,261	12,110

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table B.8: Place, Racial Demographics, & Individual Vote Choice**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>		
	Individual-Level Republican Vote Choice		
	(1976–1988)	(1992–2004)	(2008–2020)
Rurality (Varies)	0.106 (0.0944)	0.1000 (0.102)	0.508*** (0.0833)
Share Hispanic	-1.279*** (0.321)	-0.888** (0.291)	-1.523*** (0.172)
Rurality (Varies) x Share Hispanic	3.007*** (0.893)	1.998* (0.862)	0.678 (0.589)
Education	0.0822 (0.0423)	0.0735 (0.0437)	-0.192*** (0.0308)
Income	0.319*** (0.0363)	0.237*** (0.0357)	0.228*** (0.0234)
Gender	-0.164* (0.0711)	-0.257*** (0.0710)	-0.152** (0.0468)
Age	0.00413 (0.00221)	0.00747*** (0.00221)	0.0140*** (0.00144)
Constant	-1.232*** (0.255)	-1.702*** (0.217)	-0.449** (0.157)
Year Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,468	3,958	13,308

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



Margins plots for robust regression results above

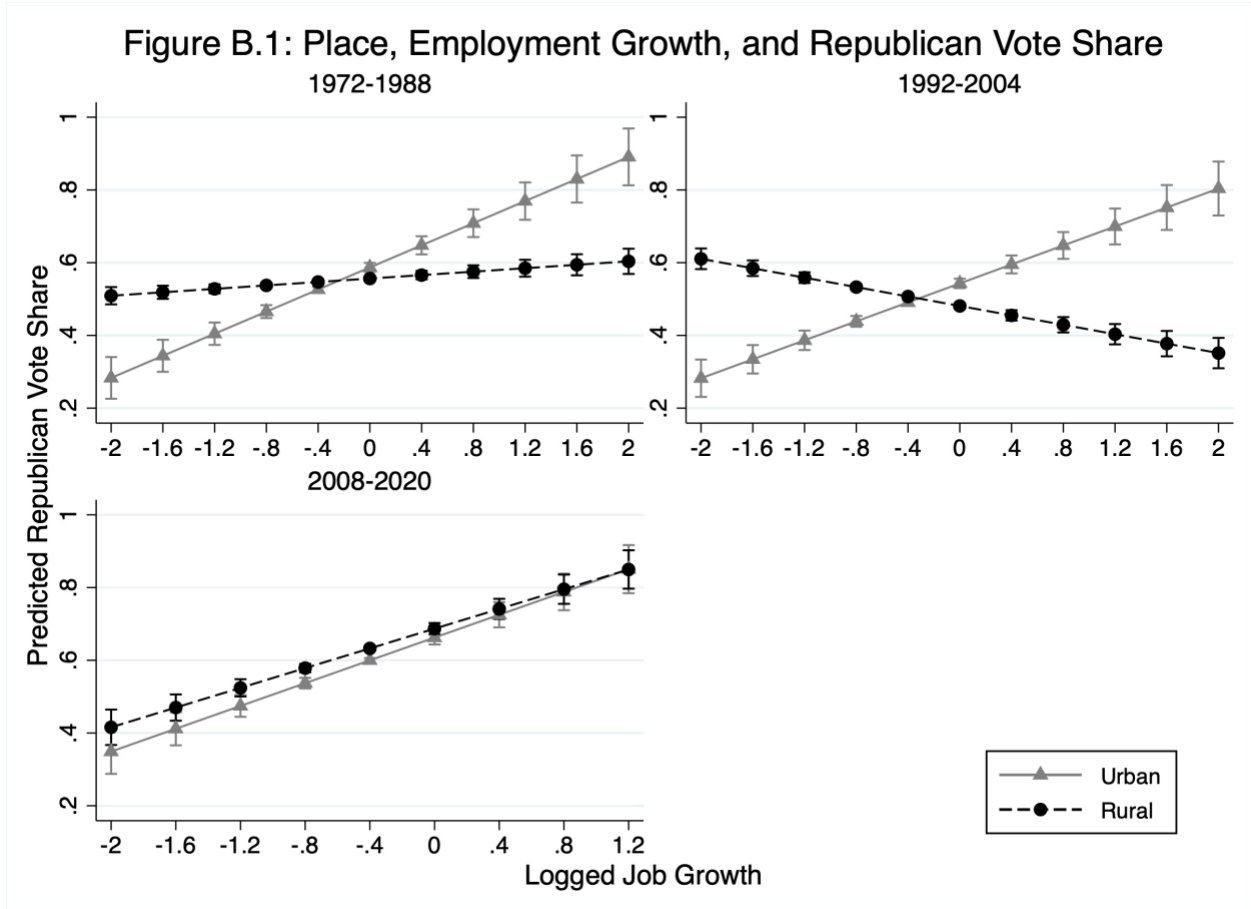


Figure B.2: Place, Population Growth, and Republican Vote Share

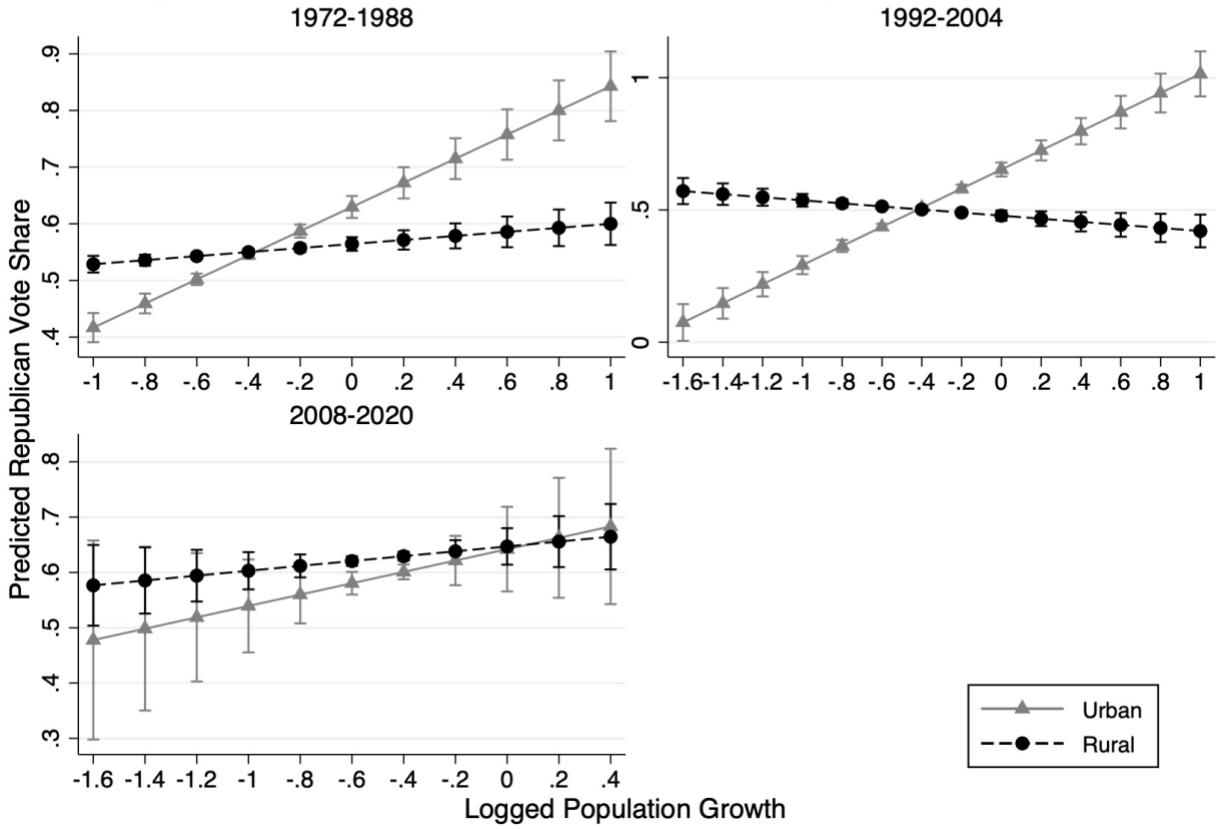


Figure B.3: Place, Education, and Republican Vote Share

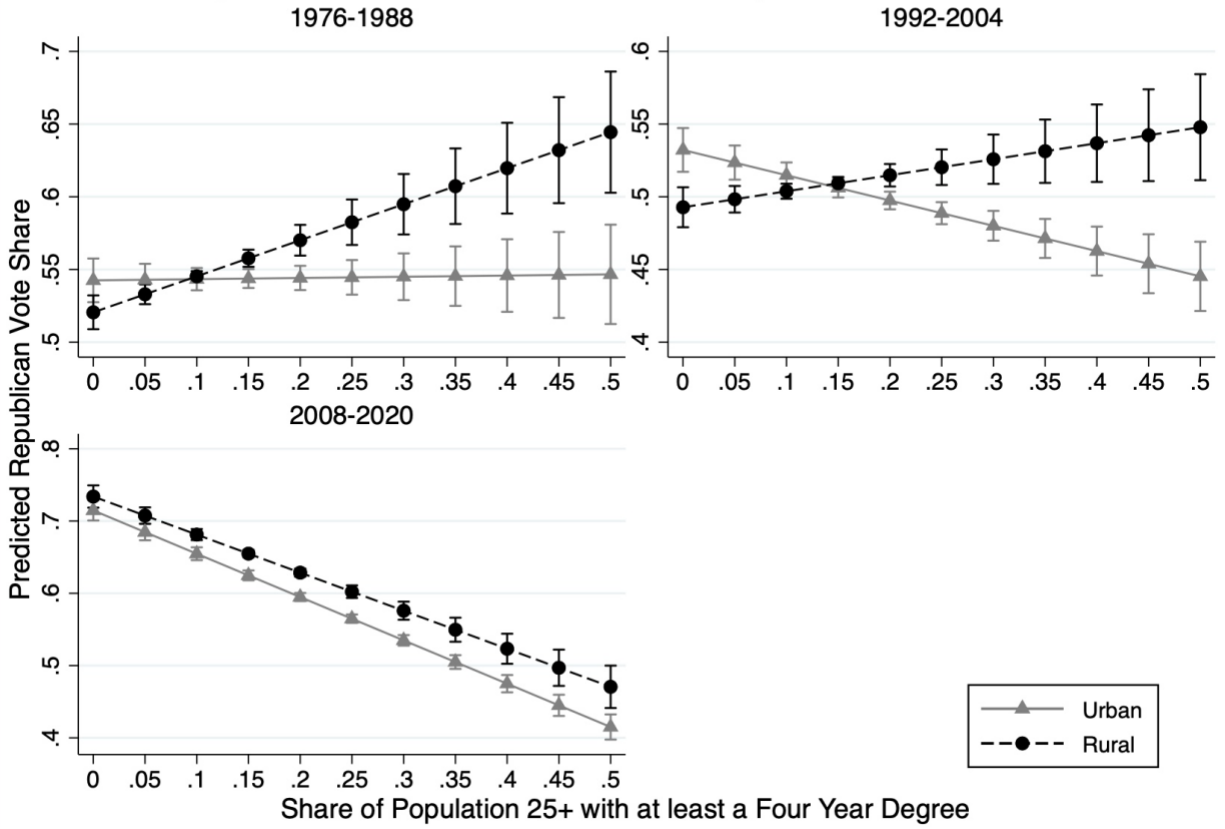


Figure B.4: Place, Evangelical Congregations, and Republican Vote Share

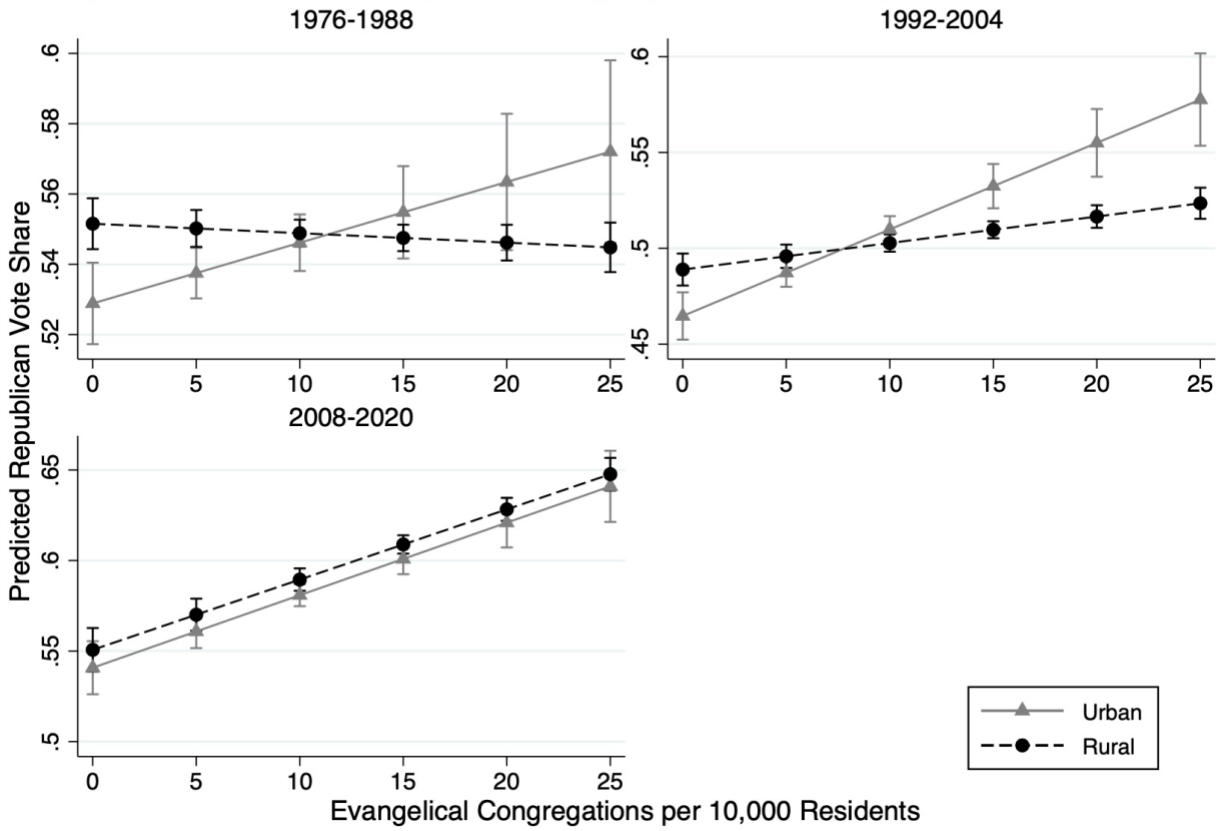


Figure B.5: Place, Racial Animus, and Republican Vote Choice

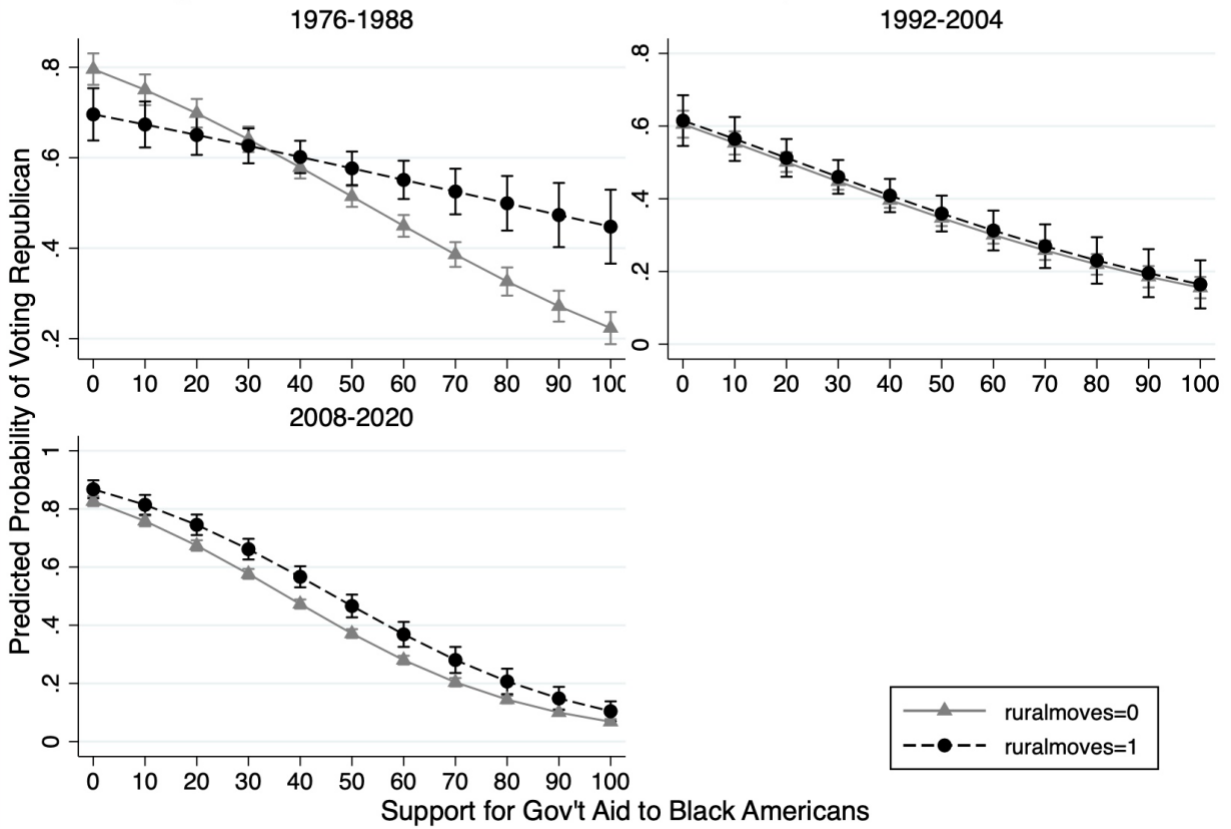


Figure B.6: Place, Racial Demographics, and Republican Vote Choice

