Supplemental Appendix: Are Rural Attitudes Just Republican?

CONTENTS

A QUESTION WORDING

A.1 ANES Issue-Based Questions

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose ...[1]

1. ...allowing refugees who are fleeing war, persecution, or natural disasters in other countries to come to live in the U.S.? (V202236x)

2. ...providing a path to citizenship for unauthorized immigrants who obey the law, pay a fine, and pass security checks? (V202242x)

3. ...returning all unauthorized immigrants to their native countries? (V202245x)

4. ...separating the children of detained immigrants, rather than keeping them with their parents in adult detention centers? (V202248x)

5. ...the government trying to reduce the difference in incomes between the richest and poorest households? (V202259x)

6. (Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the Affordable Care Act of 2010, sometimes called Obamacare?) (V202328x)

7. ...requiring children to be vaccinated in order to attend public schools? (V202331x)

8. ...increased government regulation on businesses that produce a great deal of greenhouse emissions linked to climate change? (V202336x)

9. ...requiring background checks for gun purchases at gun shows or other private sales? (V202341x)

10. ...banning the sale of semi-automatic "assault-style" rifles? (V202344x)

11. ...a mandatory program where the government would buy back semi-automatic assault-style rifles from citizens who currently own them? (V202347x)

12. (Do you think the federal government should be doing more about the opioid drug addiction issue, should be doing less, or is it currently doing the right amount?) (V202350x)

13. ...the U.S. making free trade agreements with other countries? (V202361x)

14. ...establishing a federal program that gives all citizens $12,000 per year, provided they meet certain conditions? This program would be paid for with higher taxes. (V202376x)

15. ...change in government spending to help people pay for health insurance when they can't pay for it all themselves? (V202380x)

16. ...allowing transgender people to serve in the United States Armed Forces? (V202390x)

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[1]Most questions follow the format "Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose ..." plus the item. These are noted with three dots proceeding the item text. Questions that deviate from this format are included in parentheses.

17. ... requiring all people to show a government issued photo ID when they vote? (`V201359x`)

18. ... allowing convicted felons to vote once they complete their sentence? (`V201362x`)

19. ... elected officials restricting journalists' access to information about government decision-making? (`V201375x`)

20. ... requiring employers to offer paid leave to parents of new children? (`V201405x`)

21. (Some people have proposed that the U.S. Constitution should be changed so that the children of unauthorized immigrants do not automatically get citizenship if they are born in this country. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this proposal?) (`V201420x`)

22. ... building a wall on the U.S. border with Mexico? (`V201426x`)

All questions follow a 7-point Likert scale where:

- Favor a great deal
- Favor a moderate amount
- Favor a little
- Neither favor nor oppose
- Oppose a little
- Oppose a moderate amount
- Oppose a great deal

We use the summary variable for each issue item to leverage the 7-point response scale. All items are reverse coded such that higher scores indicate greater approval.

A.2 Party Identification

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as [a Democrat, a Republican / a Republican, a Democrat], an independent, or what? (`V201228`)

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other party

A.3 Urban-Rural Place of Residence

Do you currently live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city? (`V202355`)

- Rural area
- Small town
- Suburb
- City

A.4 Trump Support

Who did you vote for? Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Jo Jorgensen, Howie Hawkins, or someone else? (V202073)

- Joe Biden
- Donald Trump
- Jo Jorgensen
- Howie Hawkins

To capture Trump support, all respondents who indicated that they voted for Donald Trump will be indicated as a supporter. All else are not presumed to be supporters.

A.5 Political Ideology

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? (V201200)

- Extremely liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate; middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Extremely conservative

A.6 Gender

What is your sex? (V201600)

- Male
- Female

A.7 Income

Please choose the answer that includes the income of all members of your family during the past 12 months before taxes. (We used the non-restricted summary version of this variable – V201617x)

- Under $9,999

- $10,000-14,999
- $15,000-19,999
- $20,000-24,999
- $25,000-29,999
- $30,000-34,999
- $35,000-39,999
- $40,000-44,999
- $45,000-49,999
- $50,000-59,999
- $60,000-64,999
- $65,000-69,999
- $70,000-74,999
- $75,000-79,999
- $80,000-89,999
- $90,000-99,999
- $100,000-109,999
- $110,000-124,999
- $125,000-149,999
- $150,000-174,999
- $175,000-249,999
- $250,000 or more

A.8   Education

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? (`V201511x`)

- Less than high school credential
- High school credential
- Some post-high school, no bachelor's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate degree

A.9 Race

I am going to read you a list of five race categories. You may choose one or more races. For this survey, Hispanic origin is not a race. Are you White; Black or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; or Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander? (We used the non-restricted summary version of this variable – `V201549x`)

- White, non-Hispanic
- Black, non-Hispanic
- Hispanic
- Asian or Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic alone
- Native American/Alaska Native or other race, non-Hispanic alone
- Multiple races, non-Hispanic

For the regression models, respondents identifying as "White, non-Hispanic" are indicated as 0 and all other respondents are indicated as 1 for the Racial Minority indicator.

A.10 Age

Respondent age represented numerically (`V201507x`)

A.11 Church Attendance

Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never? (`V201453`)

- Every week
- Almost every week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Never

We reverse code this variable so that higher scores indicate greater engagement in church activities.

A.12 Racial Resentment

The Racial Resentment items all use the following scale:

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat

- Neither agree nor disagree

- Disagree somewhat

- Disagree strongly

The items of the Racial Resentment Scale are:

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

1. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (V202300)

2. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (V202301)

3. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (V202302)

4. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. (V202303)

B Descriptive Statistics

Party and Residence	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval Lower	Upper
Allow Refugees to Come to the US				
Democrat-Rural	5.41	0.06	5.28	5.53
Democrat-Urban	5.67	0.05	5.58	5.76
Republican-Rural	4.07	0.06	3.96	4.19
Republican-Urban	4.26	0.05	4.15	4.36
Provide a Path to Citizenship				
Democrat-Rural	5.75	0.06	5.63	5.87
Democrat-Urban	6.01	0.04	5.93	6.09
Republican-Rural	4.64	0.07	4.50	4.78
Republican-Urban	4.64	0.07	4.50	4.78
Deporting Immigrants to Native Country				
Democrat-Rural	3.03	0.08	2.88	3.18
Democrat-Urban	2.73	0.05	2.63	2.84
Republican-Rural	5.21	0.06	5.09	5.33
Republican-Urban	4.94	0.06	4.82	5.06

Separating Children from Parents at Border

Democrat-Rural	1.47	0.06	1.36	1.59
Democrat-Urban	1.35	0.03	1.29	1.42
Republican-Rural	2.62	0.06	2.50	2.74
Republican-Urban	2.61	0.06	2.48	2.73

Reduce Income Inequality

Democrat-Rural	5.30	0.08	5.15	5.46
Democrat-Urban	5.54	0.05	5.44	5.64
Republican-Rural	3.02	0.07	2.89	3.15
Republican-Urban	3.10	0.07	2.96	3.23

Approve Affordable Care Act

Democrat-Rural	5.87	0.07	5.74	6.00
Democrat-Urban	6.17	0.04	6.09	6.24
Republican-Rural	2.46	0.07	2.32	2.59
Republican-Urban	2.82	0.06	2.69	2.94

Require Vaccinations

Democrat-Rural	6.00	0.07	5.86	6.14
Democrat-Urban	6.07	0.05	5.98	6.16
Republican-Rural	5.40	0.07	5.26	5.54
Republican-Urban	5.53	0.06	5.41	5.66

Regulate Greenhouse Gas Emissions

Democrat-Rural	5.85	0.07	5.71	5.99
Democrat-Urban	6.07	0.04	5.99	6.16
Republican-Rural	4.07	0.06	3.94	4.19
Republican-Urban	4.34	0.06	4.21	4.46

Background Check for Gun Purchases

Democrat-Rural	6.52	0.05	6.42	6.61
Democrat-Urban	6.67	0.03	6.62	6.73
Republican-Rural	5.92	0.05	5.81	6.03
Republican-Urban	6.06	0.05	5.96	6.16

Ban Assault Style Rifles

Democrat-Rural	5.39	0.10	5.20	5.58
Democrat-Urban	5.61	0.07	5.48	5.74
Republican-Rural	3.47	0.08	3.31	3.62
Republican-Urban	3.89	0.08	3.74	4.04

Assault Rifle Buy Back

Democrat-Rural	5.18	0.08	5.02	5.33
Democrat-Urban	5.53	0.05	5.42	5.64
Republican-Rural	2.76	0.07	2.62	2.90

Republican-Urban	3.32	0.07	3.18	3.46

Address Opioid Epidemic

Democrat-Rural	5.88	0.06	5.76	6.00
Democrat-Urban	6.02	0.04	5.94	6.10
Republican-Rural	5.51	0.06	5.40	5.62
Republican-Urban	5.41	0.05	5.31	5.51

Allowing Free Trade Agreements

Democrat-Rural	4.78	0.06	4.66	4.89
Democrat-Urban	5.00	0.04	4.91	5.08
Republican-Rural	4.50	0.05	4.39	4.60
Republican-Urban	4.73	0.05	4.64	4.83

Provide Citizens 12K A Year

Democrat-Rural	4.17	0.09	4.00	4.33
Democrat-Urban	4.48	0.06	4.37	4.59
Republican-Rural	2.15	0.06	2.03	2.27
Republican-Urban	2.21	0.06	2.10	2.33

Increasing Spending to Cover Health Care

Democrat-Rural	5.51	0.07	5.38	5.64
Democrat-Urban	5.71	0.04	5.62	5.79
Republican-Rural	4.05	0.05	3.94	4.15
Republican-Urban	4.13	0.05	4.03	4.23

Allow Transgender People to Serve in Military

Democrat-Rural	5.30	0.07	5.16	5.45
Democrat-Urban	5.60	0.05	5.50	5.69
Republican-Rural	3.56	0.06	3.44	3.69
Republican-Urban	3.86	0.06	3.74	3.98

Require ID to Vote

Democrat-Rural	4.79	0.08	4.63	4.95
Democrat-Urban	4.52	0.06	4.41	4.64
Republican-Rural	6.54	0.04	6.45	6.62
Republican-Urban	6.49	0.04	6.41	6.57

Allowing Felons to Vote

Democrat-Rural	5.39	0.08	5.24	5.54
Democrat-Urban	5.79	0.04	5.71	5.88
Republican-Rural	4.08	0.07	3.94	4.22
Republican-Urban	4.41	0.07	4.27	4.54

Transparency for Journalists

Democrat-Rural	2.44	0.07	2.29	2.58
Democrat-Urban	2.34	0.06	2.23	2.44

Republican-Rural	3.93	0.07	3.80	4.07
Republican-Urban	3.55	0.06	3.43	3.68
Provide Paid Family Leave				
Democrat-Rural	6.02	0.06	5.90	6.14
Democrat-Urban	6.24	0.03	6.17	6.31
Republican-Rural	5.06	0.06	4.94	5.18
Republican-Urban	5.14	0.06	5.02	5.25
End Birthright Citizenship				
Democrat-Rural	2.73	0.08	2.57	2.89
Democrat-Urban	2.50	0.05	2.40	2.60
Republican-Rural	4.62	0.07	4.48	4.76
Republican-Urban	4.39	0.07	4.25	4.52
Build Wall on Southern Border				
Democrat-Rural	2.24	0.08	2.09	2.39
Democrat-Urban	1.93	0.05	1.84	2.01
Republican-Rural	5.91	0.06	5.79	6.03
Republican-Urban	5.51	0.06	5.38	5.63

C χ^2 Tests

Issues	Residence and Party
Allow Refugees to Come to US	1230.25***
Provide a Path to Citizenship	883.13***
Deporting Immigrants to Native Country	1896.66***
Separating Children from Parents at Border	1408.52***
Reduce Income Inequality	1931.37***
Approve Affordable Care Act	3549.48***
Require Vaccinations	231.81***
Regulate Greenhouse Gas Emissions	1649.69***
Background Check for Gun Purchases	505.07***
Ban Assault Style Rifles	1138.51***
Assault Rifle Buy Back	1833.05***
Address Opoid Epidemic	231.24***
Allowing Free Trade Agreements	154.17***
Provide Citizens 12K A Year	1870.07***
Increasing Spending to Cover Health Care	1644.89***
Allow Transgender People to Serve in Military	1471.02***
Require ID to Vote	1810.43***
Allowing Felons to Vote	957.84***
Transparency for Journalists	916.74***
Provide Paid Family Leave	785.5***
End Birthright Citizenship	1337.7***
Build Wall on Southern Border	3555.69***

D Regression Tables from Paper

	Dependent variable:					
	Allow Refugees to Come to US	Provide a Path to Citizenship	Deporting Immigrants to Native Country	Separating Children from Parents at Border	Reduce Income Inequality	Approve Affordable Care Act
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democrat-Urban	0.292**	0.220*	0.098	0.045	0.331*	0.020
	(0.125)	(0.127)	(0.158)	(0.106)	(0.169)	(0.125)
Republican-Rural	0.151	0.210	0.547***	0.473***	−0.333	−1.282***
	(0.174)	(0.207)	(0.204)	(0.172)	(0.222)	(0.199)
Republican-Urban	0.236	0.079	0.545***	0.526***	−0.406*	−1.184***
	(0.155)	(0.198)	(0.197)	(0.183)	(0.214)	(0.182)
Trump Supporter	−0.310***	−0.410**	0.637***	0.270*	−0.700***	−1.386***
	(0.120)	(0.162)	(0.147)	(0.155)	(0.160)	(0.145)
Ideology	−0.160***	−0.182***	0.232***	0.055	−0.323***	−0.241***
	(0.041)	(0.048)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.042)
Female	0.099	0.193**	−0.140	−0.140	−0.191**	0.125
	(0.080)	(0.097)	(0.091)	(0.086)	(0.093)	(0.084)
Income	0.028***	0.025***	−0.019**	−0.015**	−0.009	0.003
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Education	0.078*	−0.018	−0.125***	−0.026	−0.051	−0.066
	(0.041)	(0.051)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.047)	(0.041)
Age	−0.005**	−0.002	0.015***	−0.005*	−0.002	0.008***
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	0.027	0.036	−0.135**	−0.051	0.011	0.048
	(0.046)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.047)	(0.052)	(0.043)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	−0.126***	−0.200***	0.112**	0.121**	−0.163***	−0.117***
	(0.044)	(0.056)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.052)	(0.044)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	−0.136***	0.012	0.052	0.072	−0.179***	−0.144***
	(0.050)	(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.060)	(0.050)

Racial Resentment – Try Harder	0.201***	0.091*	−0.186***	−0.085*	0.053	0.124***
	(0.046)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.046)
Racial Minority	−0.253**	−0.120	0.058	0.284***	−0.078	0.290***
	(0.105)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.100)	(0.117)	(0.111)
Church	0.131***	0.072*	−0.119***	−0.008	−0.027	−0.021
	(0.035)	(0.043)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.039)
Constant	4.861***	5.844***	3.148***	1.801***	7.261***	6.370***
	(0.355)	(0.427)	(0.402)	(0.394)	(0.414)	(0.368)
Observations	2,509	2,505	2,509	2,504	2,508	2,509
Log Likelihood	−4,959.942	−5,385.098	−5,174.073	−4,913.352	−5,333.124	−4,831.414
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,951.884	10,802.190	10,380.150	9,858.704	10,698.250	9,694.828

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:					
	Require Vaccinations	Regulate Greenhouse Gas Emissions	Background Check for Gun Purchases	Ban Assault Style Rifles	Assault Rifle Buy Back	Address Opioid Epidemic
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Democrat-Urban	0.050	0.102	0.083	−0.125	−0.011	0.167
	(0.135)	(0.131)	(0.102)	(0.203)	(0.169)	(0.137)
Republican-Rural	0.103	0.081	−0.022	−0.299	−0.511**	0.004
	(0.202)	(0.194)	(0.162)	(0.246)	(0.222)	(0.182)
Republican-Urban	0.028	0.217	0.115	−0.131	−0.247	−0.108
	(0.188)	(0.183)	(0.152)	(0.235)	(0.217)	(0.175)
Trump Supporter	−0.323**	−0.873***	−0.310***	−0.759***	−1.030***	0.052
	(0.152)	(0.145)	(0.097)	(0.172)	(0.162)	(0.115)
Ideology	−0.186***	−0.325***	−0.092***	−0.228***	−0.260***	−0.044
	(0.047)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.052)	(0.049)	(0.037)

	Allowing Free Trade	Provide Citizens	Increasing Spending	Allow Transgender	Require ID to Vote	Allowing Felons
Female	0.143	0.183**	0.388***	0.547***	0.622***	0.039
	(0.098)	(0.087)	(0.071)	(0.113)	(0.100)	(0.081)
Income	0.025***	0.016**	0.023***	0.029***	0.018**	−0.005
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Education	0.012	−0.011	0.036	0.112**	−0.051	−0.036
	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.037)	(0.056)	(0.052)	(0.042)
Age	0.023***	0.004	0.007***	0.023***	0.016***	0.010***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	−0.095*	0.033	−0.089**	−0.076	−0.011	−0.053
	(0.051)	(0.045)	(0.037)	(0.060)	(0.059)	(0.040)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	−0.107**	−0.241***	−0.052	−0.197***	−0.128**	−0.117***
	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.037)	(0.058)	(0.053)	(0.042)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	−0.022	−0.055	−0.066	−0.180***	−0.244***	−0.079*
	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.042)	(0.064)	(0.057)	(0.048)
Racial Resentment – Try Harder	−0.018	0.057	0.045	0.183***	0.003	0.016
	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.061)	(0.056)	(0.040)
Racial Minority	−0.160	−0.264**	0.015	−0.118	0.129	−0.003
	(0.108)	(0.109)	(0.085)	(0.137)	(0.128)	(0.105)
Church	−0.010	−0.014	−0.025	0.081	0.038	0.070**
	(0.040)	(0.038)	(0.030)	(0.050)	(0.043)	(0.034)
Constant	5.748***	6.826***	6.302***	4.362***	5.690***	5.977***
	(0.417)	(0.402)	(0.331)	(0.492)	(0.454)	(0.361)
Observations	2,511	2,510	2,512	2,512	2,511	2,504
Log Likelihood	−5,361.589	−5,109.832	−4,651.223	−5,749.635	−5,472.620	−4,899.279
Akaike Inf. Crit.	10,755.180	10,251.660	9,334.446	11,531.270	10,977.240	9,830.558

Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Dependent variable:

	Agreements	12K A Year	to Cover Health Care	People to Serve in Military		to Vote
	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Democrat-Urban	0.093	0.069	0.098	0.279**	−0.043	0.210
	(0.119)	(0.162)	(0.137)	(0.140)	(0.170)	(0.146)
Republican-Rural	−0.046	−0.457**	0.028	−0.055	0.468**	−0.232
	(0.173)	(0.196)	(0.185)	(0.184)	(0.183)	(0.229)
Republican-Urban	−0.001	−0.500***	−0.048	−0.047	0.619***	−0.091
	(0.158)	(0.192)	(0.171)	(0.176)	(0.185)	(0.226)
Trump Supporter	−0.140	−0.397***	−0.360***	−0.573***	0.267***	−0.271
	(0.120)	(0.149)	(0.124)	(0.136)	(0.100)	(0.166)
Ideology	−0.035	−0.250***	−0.252***	−0.301***	0.280***	−0.120**
	(0.042)	(0.050)	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.049)
Female	−0.268***	0.019	−0.136*	0.446***	0.187**	0.145
	(0.077)	(0.088)	(0.082)	(0.086)	(0.080)	(0.101)
Income	0.014**	−0.032***	−0.017**	0.020***	−0.007	0.007
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Education	0.182***	−0.212***	−0.011	0.064	−0.035	−0.088*
	(0.039)	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.053)
Age	0.011***	−0.018***	0.005**	−0.014***	0.001	−0.004
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	0.002	0.027	0.047	−0.025	−0.142***	0.149***
	(0.042)	(0.047)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.055)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	−0.072*	−0.050	−0.140***	−0.015	0.111***	−0.034
	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.058)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	0.031	−0.192***	−0.116**	−0.175***	0.003	−0.142**
	(0.045)	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.065)
Racial Resentment – Try Harder	0.084*	0.049	0.109**	0.126***	−0.067*	0.120**
	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.039)	(0.052)
Racial Minority	−0.039	0.314**	−0.156	−0.405***	0.185*	0.248*
	(0.098)	(0.130)	(0.105)	(0.104)	(0.106)	(0.126)

Church	0.043	−0.101**	−0.029	−0.126***	−0.008	0.040
	(0.033)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.040)
Constant	3.555***	7.279***	6.398***	6.553***	4.405***	5.340***
	(0.333)	(0.391)	(0.359)	(0.369)	(0.376)	(0.463)
Observations	2,503	2,507	2,494	2,505	2,510	2,509
Log Likelihood	−4,848.657	−5,184.189	−4,839.563	−5,069.684	−4,901.666	−5,449.421
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,729.313	10,400.380	9,711.127	10,171.370	9,835.332	10,930.840

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:			
	Transparency for Journalists	Provide Paid Family Leave	End Birthright Citizenship	Build Wall on Southern Border
	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
Democrat-Urban	0.173	0.191	0.066	0.297**
	(0.142)	(0.117)	(0.162)	(0.135)
Republican-Rural	0.635***	−0.319*	0.515**	1.480***
	(0.207)	(0.187)	(0.234)	(0.222)
Republican-Urban	0.655***	−0.468***	0.526**	1.485***
	(0.191)	(0.175)	(0.223)	(0.211)
Trump Supporter	0.373***	−0.222*	0.433***	1.274***
	(0.139)	(0.135)	(0.151)	(0.155)
Ideology	0.144***	−0.056	0.227***	0.388***
	(0.054)	(0.038)	(0.054)	(0.046)
Female	0.271***	0.462***	−0.098	−0.101
	(0.097)	(0.083)	(0.102)	(0.084)
Income	−0.009	0.002	−0.010	−0.014*
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Education	−0.165***	−0.035	0.075	−0.114***

	(0.050)	(0.045)	(0.053)	(0.044)
Age	−0.006*	−0.015***	0.010***	0.010***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	−0.067	0.067	−0.069	−0.038
	(0.050)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.049)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	0.072	−0.028	0.111**	0.155***
	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.055)	(0.045)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	−0.011	−0.095*	0.053	0.049
	(0.054)	(0.050)	(0.066)	(0.049)
Racial Resentment – Try Harder	−0.130**	0.034	−0.108*	−0.069
	(0.052)	(0.044)	(0.057)	(0.050)
Racial Minority	0.192*	−0.128	−0.159	−0.068
	(0.115)	(0.106)	(0.132)	(0.123)
Church	−0.023	0.038	−0.106**	−0.053
	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.043)	(0.036)
Constant	3.194***	6.708***	1.878***	0.906**
	(0.393)	(0.391)	(0.443)	(0.375)
Observations	2,504	2,510	2,506	2,510
Log Likelihood	−5,402.414	−5,003.826	−5,545.334	−4,965.017
Akaike Inf. Crit.	10,836.830	10,039.650	11,122.670	9,962.034

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
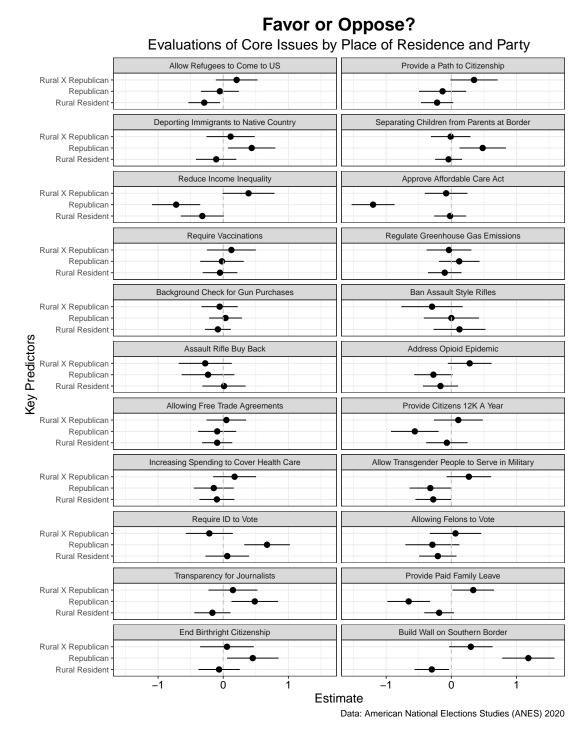
E Models Without Combined Party-Place Variable

Favor or Oppose?

Evaluations of Core Issues by Place of Residence and Party

Data: American National Elections Studies (ANES) 2020

Figure 1: Regression Results for Key Issues by Party Identification and Place of Residence

	Dependent variable:					
	Allow Refugees to Come to US	Provide a Path to Citizenship	Deporting Immigrants to Native Country	Separating Children from Parents at Border	Reduce Income Inequality	Approve Affordable Care Act
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rural Resident	−0.292**	−0.219*	−0.108	−0.043	−0.322*	−0.020
	(0.124)	(0.126)	(0.158)	(0.105)	(0.168)	(0.125)
Republican	−0.052	−0.135	0.437**	0.480***	−0.723***	−1.202***
	(0.149)	(0.185)	(0.185)	(0.182)	(0.188)	(0.168)
Trump Supporter	−0.310***	−0.411**	0.642***	0.270*	−0.700***	−1.388***
	(0.120)	(0.161)	(0.146)	(0.155)	(0.159)	(0.145)
Ideology	−0.161***	−0.183***	0.232***	0.056	−0.324***	−0.239***
	(0.041)	(0.048)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.042)
Female	0.097	0.190**	−0.137	−0.139	−0.198**	0.127
	(0.080)	(0.096)	(0.091)	(0.085)	(0.093)	(0.084)
Income	0.028***	0.024***	−0.019**	−0.015**	−0.009	0.003
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Education	0.077*	−0.018	−0.127***	−0.025	−0.051	−0.065
	(0.041)	(0.051)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.047)	(0.041)
Age	−0.005*	−0.002	0.015***	−0.005*	−0.002	0.008***
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	0.027	0.036	−0.134**	−0.051	0.009	0.049
	(0.046)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.043)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	−0.126***	−0.201***	0.109**	0.122***	−0.164***	−0.114***
	(0.044)	(0.056)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.052)	(0.044)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	−0.135***	0.012	0.053	0.072	−0.178***	−0.146***
	(0.050)	(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.060)	(0.050)
Racial Resentment – Try Harder	0.201***	0.090*	−0.186***	−0.085*	0.052	0.125***
	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.046)

Racial Minority	−0.253**	−0.120	0.061	0.282***	−0.082	0.291***
	(0.105)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.099)	(0.117)	(0.111)
Church	0.130***	0.071*	−0.119***	−0.007	−0.028	−0.021
	(0.035)	(0.043)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.039)
Rural Resident × Republican	0.205	0.348*	0.113	−0.011	0.388*	−0.081
	(0.163)	(0.185)	(0.189)	(0.155)	(0.203)	(0.167)
Constant	5.156***	6.071***	3.275***	1.833***	7.589***	6.375***
	(0.376)	(0.425)	(0.424)	(0.398)	(0.417)	(0.361)
Observations	2,516	2,512	2,516	2,511	2,514	2,512
Log Likelihood	−4,971.852	−5,398.477	−5,189.481	−4,925.586	−5,347.337	−4,837.542
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,975.704	10,828.950	10,410.960	9,883.172	10,726.670	9,707.083

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:					
	Require Vaccinations	Regulate Greenhouse Gas Emissions	Background Check for Gun Purchases	Ban Assault Style Rifles	Assault Rifle Buy Back	Address Opioid Epidemic
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Rural Resident	−0.050	−0.102	−0.083	0.124	0.012	−0.167
	(0.135)	(0.131)	(0.102)	(0.203)	(0.169)	(0.137)
Republican	−0.020	0.120	0.035	0.001	−0.233	−0.276*
	(0.170)	(0.159)	(0.129)	(0.216)	(0.206)	(0.150)
Trump Supporter	−0.324**	−0.873***	−0.310***	−0.757***	−1.033***	0.051
	(0.152)	(0.145)	(0.097)	(0.172)	(0.161)	(0.115)
Ideology	−0.186***	−0.326***	−0.092***	−0.229***	−0.259***	−0.045
	(0.047)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.052)	(0.049)	(0.036)
Female	0.141	0.180**	0.386***	0.543***	0.622***	0.037
	(0.098)	(0.087)	(0.071)	(0.113)	(0.100)	(0.081)

	Allowing Free Trade	Provide Citizens	Increasing Spending	Allow Transgender	Require ID to Vote	Allowing Felons
Income	0.025***	0.016**	0.023***	0.029***	0.018**	−0.005
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Education	0.012	−0.012	0.035	0.111*	−0.050	−0.036
	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.037)	(0.056)	(0.052)	(0.042)
Age	0.023***	0.004	0.007***	0.023***	0.016***	0.010***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	−0.095*	0.033	−0.089**	−0.076	−0.010	−0.053
	(0.051)	(0.045)	(0.037)	(0.060)	(0.059)	(0.040)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	−0.107**	−0.242***	−0.053	−0.199***	−0.126**	−0.119***
	(0.051)	(0.046)	(0.037)	(0.058)	(0.053)	(0.042)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	−0.022	−0.055	−0.066	−0.179***	−0.246***	−0.078
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.042)	(0.064)	(0.057)	(0.048)
Racial Resentment – Try Harder	−0.018	0.057	0.045	0.182***	0.004	0.015
	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.060)	(0.056)	(0.040)
Racial Minority	−0.159	−0.264**	0.015	−0.118	0.130	−0.003
	(0.108)	(0.109)	(0.085)	(0.137)	(0.128)	(0.105)
Church	−0.010	−0.014	−0.026	0.080	0.038	0.070**
	(0.040)	(0.038)	(0.030)	(0.050)	(0.043)	(0.034)
Rural Resident × Republican	0.125	−0.037	−0.056	−0.297	−0.277	0.281
	(0.192)	(0.175)	(0.142)	(0.240)	(0.208)	(0.171)
Constant	5.800***	6.935***	6.388***	4.254***	5.665***	6.151***
	(0.421)	(0.395)	(0.309)	(0.486)	(0.448)	(0.358)
Observations	2,514	2,514	2,516	2,516	2,515	2,506
Log Likelihood	−5,367.483	−5,118.208	−4,658.315	−5,759.028	−5,480.888	−4,902.932
Akaike Inf. Crit.	10,766.970	10,268.420	9,348.630	11,550.060	10,993.770	9,837.863

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Dependent variable:

	Agreements	12K A Year	to Cover Health Care	People to Serve in Military		to Vote
	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Rural Resident	−0.093	−0.069	−0.098	−0.278**	0.061	−0.207
	(0.119)	(0.162)	(0.137)	(0.140)	(0.171)	(0.146)
Republican	−0.093	−0.561***	−0.145	−0.323**	0.672***	−0.291
	(0.149)	(0.186)	(0.157)	(0.162)	(0.179)	(0.212)
Trump Supporter	−0.139	−0.394***	−0.362***	−0.577***	0.263***	−0.268
	(0.120)	(0.149)	(0.124)	(0.136)	(0.099)	(0.166)
Ideology	−0.036	−0.250***	−0.252***	−0.300***	0.278***	−0.122**
	(0.041)	(0.050)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.049)
Female	−0.269***	0.018	−0.136*	0.447***	0.180**	0.142
	(0.077)	(0.088)	(0.082)	(0.086)	(0.080)	(0.101)
Income	0.014**	−0.032***	−0.017**	0.020***	−0.006	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Education	0.181***	−0.213***	−0.011	0.065	−0.035	−0.089*
	(0.039)	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.053)
Age	0.011***	−0.018***	0.005**	−0.014***	0.001	−0.004
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment – Work without Favors	0.002	0.028	0.047	−0.024	−0.145***	0.149***
	(0.042)	(0.047)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.055)
Racial Resentment – History of Slavery	−0.073*	−0.052	−0.138***	−0.012	0.109***	−0.036
	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.058)
Racial Resentment – Blacks get less	0.032	−0.192***	−0.117**	−0.178***	0.005	−0.140**
	(0.045)	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.065)
Racial Resentment – Try Harder	0.083*	0.048	0.109**	0.127***	−0.070*	0.121**
	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.039)	(0.052)
Racial Minority	−0.039	0.313**	−0.155	−0.403***	0.176*	0.247*
	(0.098)	(0.130)	(0.105)	(0.104)	(0.106)	(0.126)
Church	0.042	−0.102**	−0.028	−0.125***	−0.007	0.039
	(0.033)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.040)

Rural Resident × Republican	0.048 (0.155)	0.107 (0.191)	0.174 (0.168)	0.268 (0.174)	−0.214 (0.184)	0.064 (0.201)
Constant	3.657*** (0.323)	7.359*** (0.392)	6.490*** (0.347)	6.811*** (0.368)	4.340*** (0.402)	5.559*** (0.481)
Observations	2,507	2,511	2,497	2,509	2,517	2,516
Log Likelihood	−4,855.804	−5,193.708	−4,844.505	−5,078.163	−4,922.831	−5,464.763
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,743.609	10,419.420	9,721.010	10,188.330	9,877.663	10,961.530

Note: $^{*}p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$

	Dependent variable:			
	Transparency for Journalists	Provide Paid Family Leave	End Birthright Citizenship	Build Wall on Southern Border
	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
Rural Resident	−0.166 (0.142)	−0.187 (0.117)	−0.064 (0.162)	−0.300** (0.135)
Republican	0.484*** (0.182)	−0.655*** (0.167)	0.452** (0.202)	1.182*** (0.205)
Trump Supporter	0.372*** (0.139)	−0.220 (0.135)	0.429*** (0.151)	1.276*** (0.154)
Ideology	0.142*** (0.054)	−0.057 (0.038)	0.228*** (0.054)	0.387*** (0.046)
Female	0.264*** (0.096)	0.460*** (0.083)	−0.097 (0.102)	−0.101 (0.083)
Income	−0.009 (0.008)	0.002 (0.007)	−0.010 (0.009)	−0.014* (0.007)
Education	−0.166*** (0.050)	−0.036 (0.045)	0.077 (0.052)	−0.115*** (0.044)
Age	−0.005*	−0.015***	0.010***	0.010***

	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Racial Resentment –	−0.070	0.066	−0.070	−0.039
Work without Favors	(0.050)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.049)
Racial Resentment –	0.069	−0.032	0.113**	0.152***
History of Slavery	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.055)	(0.045)
Racial Resentment –	−0.007	−0.092*	0.052	0.052
Blacks get less	(0.054)	(0.050)	(0.066)	(0.049)
Racial Resentment –	−0.132**	0.032	−0.107*	−0.069
Try Harder	(0.052)	(0.044)	(0.057)	(0.050)
Racial Minority	0.188	−0.130	−0.160	−0.068
	(0.115)	(0.106)	(0.132)	(0.122)
Church	−0.023	0.037	−0.105**	−0.053
	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.043)	(0.036)
Rural Resident ×	0.148	0.336**	0.057	0.298*
Republican	(0.192)	(0.163)	(0.210)	(0.171)
Constant	3.379***	6.910***	1.927***	1.222***
	(0.390)	(0.382)	(0.445)	(0.386)
Observations	2,511	2,517	2,513	2,517
Log Likelihood	−5,418.514	−5,017.433	−5,560.186	−4,978.600
Akaike Inf. Crit.	10,869.030	10,066.870	11,152.370	9,989.201

Note: $^{*}p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$

F Comparing City with Suburb Residents

Favor or Oppose?

Evaluations of Core Issues by Place of Residence and Party

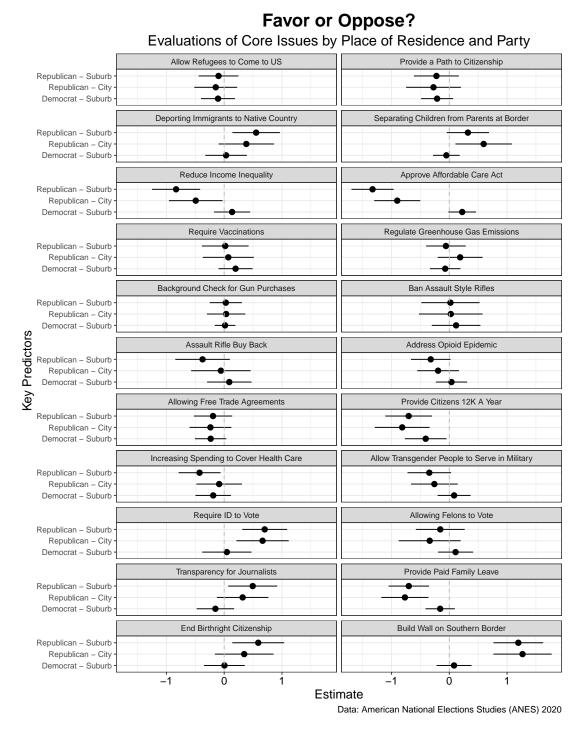
Data: American National Elections Studies (ANES) 2020

Figure 2: Regression Results to Compare City and Suburb residents by Party