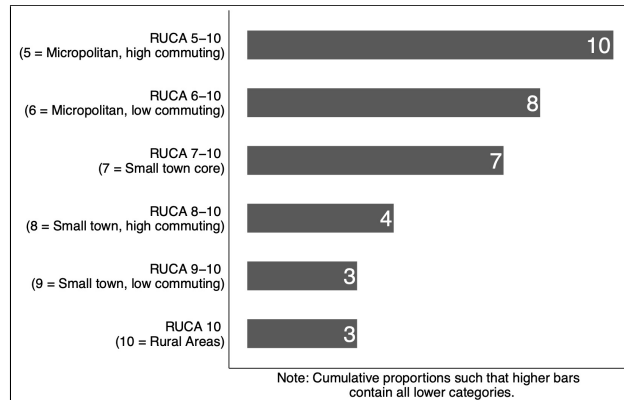# A   Measurement Schemas

Table A1: Comparison of County-Level Schemas

Office of Management and Budget	Rural Urban Continuum Codes	Urban Influence Codes
	Metropolitan	
Central counties with 1+ urban areas, defined as densely settled areas of $\geq$ 50,000	1. Counties in metro areas, $\geq$ 1 million	1. Large metro area, $\geq$ 1 million
Outlying counties economically tied to central counties via a minimum of 25% labor-force commuting	2. Counties in metro areas of 250,000 - 1 million	2. Small metro area $\leq$ 1 million
	3. Counties in metro areas $\leq$ 250,000	
	Micropolitan	
Non-metro labor-market areas centered on urban clusters, 10,000-49,999	4. Urban $\geq$ 20,000, adjacent to metro area	3. Micropolitan area adjacent to large metro area
	5. Urban $\geq$ 20,000, not adjacent to metro area	4. Non-core adjacent to large metro area
	6. Urban 2,500-19,999, adjacent to metro area	5. Micropolitan area adjacent to small metro area
	7. Urban 2,500-19,999, not adjacent to metro area	6. Non-core adjacent to small metro area, contains a town $\geq$ 2,500
		7. Non-core adjacent to small metro area, no town $\geq$ 2,500
		8. Micropolitan area not adjacent to metro area
	Non-core	
All remaining areas	8. Completely rural or $\leq$ 2,500 urban, adjacent to metro area	9. Non-core adjacent to micro area, contains town $\leq$ 2,500
	9. Completely rural or $\leq$ 2,500 urban, not adjacent to metro area	10. Non-core adjacent to micro area, no town $\geq$ 2,500
		11. Non-core not adjacent to metro or micro area, contains town $\geq$ 2,500
		12. Non-core not adjacent to metro or micro area, no town $\geq$ 2,500

Figure A1: Rural proportion of US population, defined using census tract-level RUCA codes

B   Measurement Examples

Table A2: Units of Aggregation in Common Survey Data

Survey	Units of Aggregation
National Annenberg Election Survey	State, County[A]
Cooperation Congressional Election Study	State, County, ZIP Code
American National Election Studies	State[B]
General Social Survey	N/A[C]

[A] ZIP code available by application.
[B] ZIP code and county by restricted access agreement.
[C] Under contract, the GSS will provide data on State, Primary sampling unit, County, & Census track.

Table A3: Components of Classification Systems

	Population Size	Population Distribution	Adjacency to Metro Area	Commuting Population
Rural Urban Continuum Codes	✓		✓	✓
Urban Influence Codes	✓		✓	✓
Rural Urban Commuting Area	✓	✓		✓
Office of Management & Budget	✓			

Table A4: Examples of Rural Measurement

Theoretical Concept	Operationalization	County-Level	ZCTA-Level
Low population density	Population per land area	US Census	US Census
Non-urban	Small town, low commuting	UIC or RUCC	RUCA
Rural consciousness	Self-identification		Mummolo and Nall 2016
Agricultural economy	Primary economic sector	ERS Typology	US Census Business Patterns
Distance to public services	Proximity to urban center	UIC or RUCC	RUCA

In Table A4, we provide examples linking unit and classification to existing data. We tie political science concepts and themes to accessible resources for capturing different theoretical notions of rural. In the first column we provide the concept (classification), in the second column we show the operationalization of that concept that we recommend using, and in the final two columns we show commonly employed, available datasets that provide these measures at two units (county and ZCTA). These sources should provide options for a large percentage of researchers using observational data to capture rurality in the United States.

C   Flavin and Franko (2019) Replication

Table A5: Original and Replication Results of Flavin and Franko (2019)

	DV = *Opinion-vote congruence*		
	(2)	(2a)	(2b)
Individual Level			
Income	0.067	0.064	0.067
	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Same PID as Representative	24.302	24.304	24.297
	(0.159)	(0.159)	(0.159)
Age	0.032	0.032	0.031
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Black	-2.151	-2.150	-2.185
	(0.291)	(0.291)	(0.292)
Hispanic	-0.689	-0.690	-0.693
	(0.325)	(0.325)	(0.327)
ZIP Code Level			
Rich Insulation Index	**0.212**	**0.158**	**0.177**
	(0.102)	**(0.103)**	**(0.106)**
% Black	4.653	4.289	4.368
	(0.778)	(0.771)	(0.783)
% Hispanic	0.614	0.144	0.139
	(0.851)	(0.841)	(0.853)
Rural (Original)	**0.850**		
	(0.265)		
RUCA Binary		**0.279**	
		(0.318)	
RUCA Categorical			**0.051**
			0.043
Gini Coefficient	4.628	3.695	4.056
	(1.830)	(1.805)	(1.818)
Constant	42.411	42.995	42.808
	(1.463)	(1.450)	(1.461)
Observations	121,121	121,121	119,912
Log Likelihood	-568,369.4	-568,374.2	-562,691.1

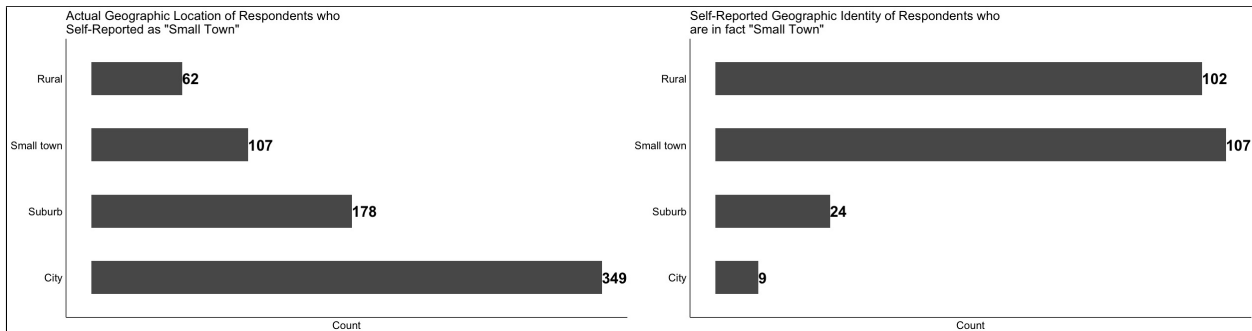**Table A6:** Replication of Mobilization and Donation DVs from Flavin and Franko (2019)

	DV = Contacted by a campaign			DV = Made political donation		
	(2)	(2a)	(2b)	(3)	(3a)	(3b)
Individual Level						
Income	0.360	0.361	0.360	0.502	0.502	0.503
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age	0.047	0.047	0.047	0.036	0.036	0.036
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Black	-0.096	-0.096	-0.097	-0.090	-0.090	-0.092
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Hispanic	-0.422	-0.422	-0.427	-0.275	-0.275	-0.272
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)
ZIP Code Level						
Rich Insulation Index	**0.047**	**0.051**	**0.041**	**0.096**	**0.096**	**0.092**
	(0.010)	**(0.011)**	**(0.011)**	**(0.009)**	**(0.009)**	**(0.009)**
% Black	-0.078	-0.057	-0.093	0.026	0.035	0.009
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.076)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.066)
% Hispanic	-0.172	-0.145	-0.184	0.221	0.233	0.210
	(0.078)	(0.077)	(0.079)	(0.065)	(0.064)	(0.065)
Rural (Original)	**-0.041**			**-0.046**		
	(0.029)			**(0.024)**		
RUCA Binary		**0.001**			**-0.042**	
		(0.035)			**(0.029)**	
RUCA Categorical			**-0.008**			**-0.011**
			(0.005)			**(0.004)**
Gini coefficient	1.285	1.331	1.319	2.904	2.942	2.907
	(0.195)	(0.193)	(0.194)	(0.161)	(0.160)	(0.161)
Constant	-2.827	-2.857	-2.829	-5.178	-5.199	-5.160
	(0.111)	(0.110)	(0.111)	(0.171)	(0.171)	(0.172)
Observations	79,617	79,617	78,803	104,870	104,870	103,838
Log Likelihood	-41,729.30	-41,730.29	-41,334.99	-59,055.79	-59,056.66	-58,466.87

D   Mummolo and Nall (2017) Replication

Table A7: Recoding of Mummolo and Nall (2017) using ZCTA-level RUCA

	RUCA Codes	Mummolo & Nall
1	Metro area core: primary flow w/in an urbanized area (UA)	
2	Metro area high commuting: primary flow 30% or more to a UA	City
3	Metro area low commuting: primary flow 10% to 30% to a UA	
4	Micro area core: primary flow w/in urban cluster of 10,000 to 49,999	
5	Micro high commuting: primary flow 30% or more to a large UC	Suburban
6	Micro low commuting: primary flow 10% to 30% to a large UC	
7	Small town core: primary flow w/in urban cluster of 2,500 to 9,999	
8	Small town high commuting: primary flow 30% or more to small UC	Small Town
9	Small town low commuting: primary flow 10% to 30% to a small UC	
10	Rural areas: primary flow to tract outside UA or UC	Rural

Figure A2: Geographic Analysis of Respondents from Mummolo and Nall (2017)

E   Johnson and Scala (2017) Public Opinion Data

Figure A3: Table 1 from Johnson and Scala (2017)

TABLE 1 Political Attitudes along the Rural-Urban Continuum (in percentages)								
	Metropolitan				Nonmetropolitan			
Survey Question	Large Core	Large Suburbs	Small Core	Small Suburbs	Adjacent Micro	Adjacent Other	Non-Adj Micro	Non-Adj Other
Democratic Party identification	41	33	31	25	27	30	28	27
Obama job approval	62	52	50	39	45	44	40	41
Voted for Obama in 2012	63	52	49	39	47	45	42	40
Religion important factor in life	65	68	70	74	73	79	73	74
Pray daily	44	47	49	54	52	57	50	54
Born-again Christian	28	31	36	45	41	47	41	42
Attend church at least once a week	26	28	31	34	32	35	30	33
Pro-choice on abortion	56	52	46	38	40	38	43	40
Approve of same-sex marriage	60	55	51	41	46	41	45	42
Pro–affirmative action	48	29	37	28	31	29	31	26
Pro–legal status for illegal immigrants	55	48	46	41	40	40	43	42
Increase border patrols	50	56	56	62	62	59	58	60
Expand police powers on immigration	30	38	39	47	46	47	45	46
Fine businesses hiring illegal immigrants	56	62	63	68	69	63	66	64
Deny automatic citizenship	28	34	35	40	38	40	39	35
In favor of stricter gun control	56	50	44	36	37	33	33	30
Environment higher priority than jobs	32	29	30	26	29	28	25	22
Believe climate change is real	65	60	57	52	55	53	52	54

F Hersh and Nall (2016) Replication

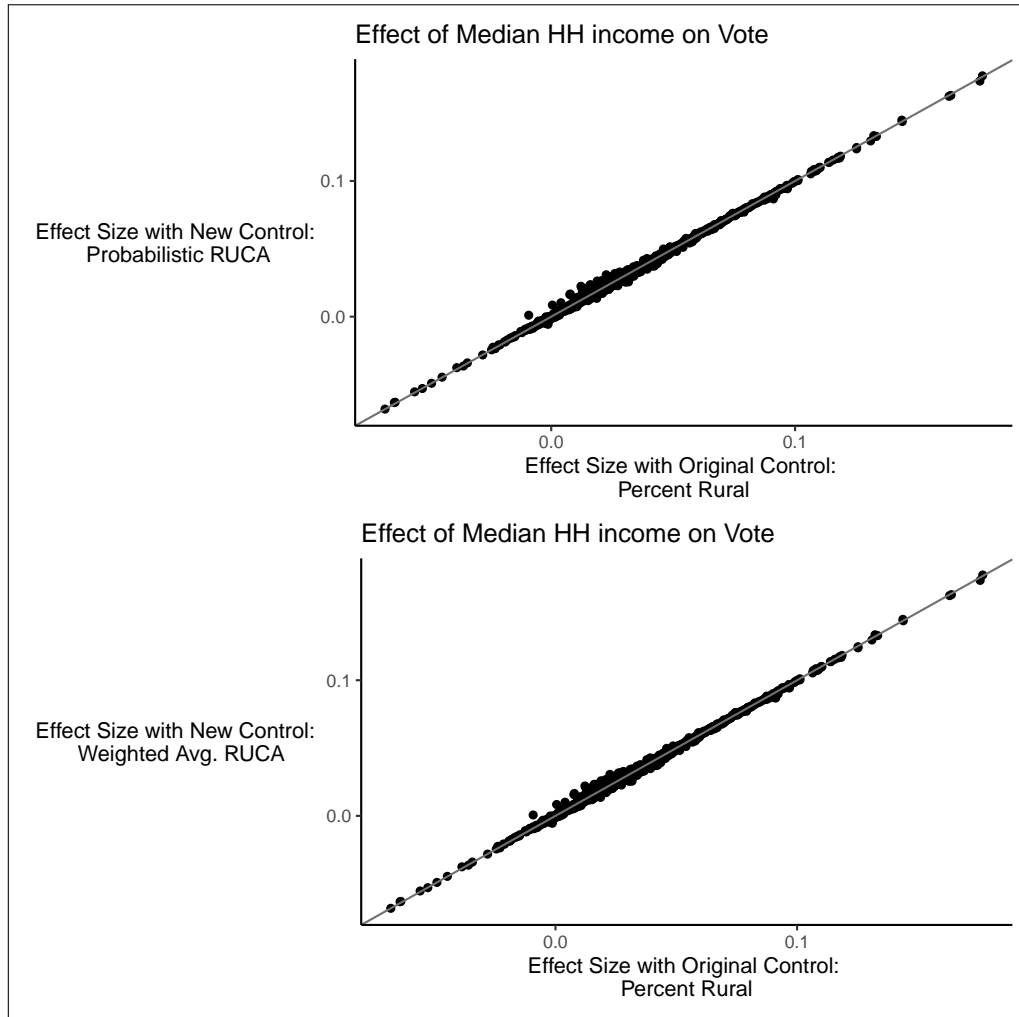**Figure A4:** Replications of Hersh and Nall (2016) Findings in Figure A10

Table A8: Correlation of Median HH Income effect size for different measures of the "rural" control variable. Ninety-five percent confidence intervals in parentheses.

	Original Measure: % Rural	Alternative Measurement 1: RUCA Weighted Avg.
Alternative Measure 1: RUCA Weighted Avg.	0.998 (0.998, 0.998)	
Alternative Measure 2: RUCA Probabilistic	0.998 (0.998, 0.998)	0.999 (0.999, 0.999

G   Urban and Niebler (2014) Replication

Table A9: Underlying Logit Analysis for Propensity Score, Urban and Niebler (2014)

	Original	**RUCA**	**RUCA 1-6**	**RUCA 1-5**	**RUCA 1-7**
Income	1.005	1.002	1.003	1.003	1.004
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
% Hispanic	2.973	2.678	3.070	3.022	3.193
	(0.729)	(0.650)	(0.732)	(0.722)	(0.761)
% Black	0.583	0.578	0.590	0.587	0.598
	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.093)
% College Grads	1.006	1.006	1.006	1.006	1.006
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Density (Original)	**1.000**				
	(0.000)				
RUCA Categorical		**0.972**			
		(0.008)			
RUCA Binary (1-6, 7-11)			**0.891**		
			(0.049)		
RUCA Binary (1-5, 6-11)				**0.875**	
				(0.048)	
RUCA Binary (1-7, 8-11)					**0.944**
					(0.053)
Observations	16,625	16,165	16,265	16,265	16,265
States	24	24	24	24	24

Table A10: Replication of Table 3, Urban and Niebler (2014)

	Density	RUCC Cat.	RUCC 1-6	RUCC 1-5	RUCC 1-7
Dependent Variable = Total Aggregate Zip-Code-Level Contributions (thousands)					
	Kernel	Kernel	Kernel	Kernel	Kernel
Average Treatment / Treated (ATT)	7.213	6.377	6.445	6.420	6.428
	(1.384)	(1.536)	(1.433)	(1.436)	(1.427)
Number Treated	6,397	6,351	6,397	6,397	6,397
Total Sample	20,215	20,102	20,215	20,215	20,215

Notes. Treatment = 1 if zip code received spillover ads. Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses.

H   Media Coverage of Rural Politics

Table A11: *New York Times* Article Coding, 2018

Year	Date	Headline
2018	7-Jan	As Trump Appeals to Farmers, Some of His Policies Dont
2018	25-Jan	Political Bubbles and Hidden Diversity: Highlights From a Very Detailed Map of the 2016 Election
2018	16-Mar	Why Gun Culture Is So Strong in Rural America
2018	1-Apr	Will Trump Crash the Farm Economy?
2018	2-Apr	Whats the Matter With Trumpland?
2018	7-Apr	Farmers Anger at Trump Tariffs Puts Republican Candidates in a Bind
2018	11-Apr	Can Localism Restore Sanity to U.S. Politics?
2018	8-May	Yes, the Economy Helped Elect Trump
2018	8-May	Reporting on Opioids, Across the Rural-Urban Divide
2018	9-May	Democrats in Rust Belt: Stay Close to Trump, but Not Too Close
2018	15-May	Which Poor People Shouldnt Have to Work for Aid?
2018	22-May	Almost No One Agrees With Us: For Rural Students, Gun Control Can Be a Lonely Cause
2018	22-May	As Population Growth Slows, Populism Surges
2018	22-May	Rural and Urban Americans, Equally Convinced the Rest of the Country Dislikes Them
2018	23-May	There Are Two Georgias. One Just Made History.
2018	29-May	In Californias Farm Country, the Tide of Resistance Runs Dry Ahead of the Primary
2018	2-Jun	No One Really Understands the South
2018	9-Jun	The Resource Curse of Appalachia
2018	27-Jun	Why Do We Value Country Folk More Than City People?
2018	26-Jul	Trump Has No Idea What His Tariffs Have Unleashed for Farmers
2018	30-Jul	The Maps That Show That City vs. Country Is Not Our Political Fault Line
2018	9-Aug	How Broad, and How Happy, Is the Trump Coalition?
2018	12-Aug	Wisconsin Faces a Political Crossroads Tuesday. Which Way Will It Go?
2018	19-Sep	How Connected Is Your Community to Everywhere Else in America?
2018	20-Sep	How Democrats Should Talk to People in Farm Country
2018	13-Oct	As Suburban Women Turn to Democrats, Many Suburban Men Stand With Trump
2018	16-Oct	Polarization Seems to Be Helping Republicans in Run-Up to Midterms
2018	18-Oct	Two Iowas? Candidates for Governor Try to Claim Both
2018	21-Oct	Democrats Lost Rural America. This Former Rodeo Star Thinks He Can Win It Back.
2018	29-Oct	Gillums Dilemma: Florida Is Actually Five States
2018	31-Oct	For Beto ORourke, a Road to Victory Winds Through Rural East Texas
2018	1-Nov	Trumps Nationalism Is Breaking Point for Some Suburban Voters, Risking G.O.P. Coalition
2018	7-Nov	Red-State Voters Stand by Republicans Despite Trumps Trade War Pain
2018	7-Nov	For Both Parties, a Political Realignment Along Cultural Lines
2018	8-Nov	Why an Economic Populist Pitch Failed in Coal Country
2018	9-Nov	Real America Versus Senate America
2018	9-Nov	Americas Small-Town Crisis
2018	10-Nov	A Blue Wave in Kansas? Dont Be So Surprised
2018	13-Nov	Republicans Need a Suburban Agenda
2018	18-Nov	The Hard Truths of Trying to Save the Rural Economy
2018	19-Nov	The New Economy and the Trump Rump
2018	22-Nov	How the Democrats Can Win in Rural America
2018	24-Nov	Does the Senate Represent America?
2018	25-Nov	Across South, Democrats Who Speak Boldly Risk Alienating Rural White Voters
2018	26-Nov	The Suburbs Are Changing. But Not in All the Ways Liberals Hope.
2018	6-Dec	Are Rural Voters the Real Voters? Wisconsin Republicans Seem to Think So
2018	20-Dec	White Identity Politics Arent Going Anywhere
2018	21-Dec	Where Government Is a Dirty Word, but Its Checks Pay the Bills

Table A12: *New York Times* Article Coding, 2019

Year	Date	Headline
2019	1-Jan	Shutdown Leaves Food, Medicine and Pay in Doubt in Indian Country
2019	8-Jan	On the Border, Little Enthusiasm for a Wall: We Have Other Problems That Need Fixing
2019	10-Jan	Farm Country Stood by Trump. But the Shutdown Is Pushing It to Breaking Point.
2019	14-Jan	Trump Defends Trade Policies to Farmers Feeling the Pinch
2019	22-Jan	Kansas Lawmakers Defect to Democrats as G.O.P. Struggles in Suburbs
2019	24-Feb	In Conservative Districts, Democrats Have to Answer for Partys Left Wing
2019	27-Mar	South of the Wall, North of the Border: Life in Texas No Mans Land
2019	24-Apr	Strong Support Here Helped Trump Win Pennsylvania in 2016. 2020 Could Be Different.
2019	20-May	Trump Holds Rally in Pennsylvania to Help a Congressional Candidate, and Himself
2019	20-May	Theres No Boom in Youngstown, but Blue-Collar Workers Are Sticking With Trump
2019	30-May	Unhappy With Findings, Agriculture Department Plans to Move Its Economists Out of Town
2019	24-Jun	Trump Promised a Manufacturing Renaissance. What Happens in 2020 in Places That Lost Those Jobs?
2019	31-Jul	In Wisconsin Swing District, a Range of Views on Immigration
2019	10-Aug	How a State Plans to Turn Coal Country Into Coding Country
2019	19-Aug	Searching for Hints About 2020, All Eyes Turn to a Reshaped Virginia
2019	3-Oct	Flush With Cash, Pete Buttigieg Bets His Campaign on a Breakthrough in Iowa
2019	7-Oct	A Trump Policy Shift Gives Farmers in Key 2020 States Exactly What We Wanted
2019	25-Oct	Are the Suburbs Turning Democratic?
2019	6-Nov	The G.O.P.s Election Day Problem in the Suburbs Is Getting Worse
2019	8-Nov	Recent Polls Show Trumps Support Is Flagging in the Suburbs and Beyond
2019	13-Nov	For a Rural Democrat, Talking Potatoes Is Easy. Impeachment Is Really Hard.
2019	17-Nov	President Trump Bet Big This Election Year. Heres Why He Lost.
2019	29-Nov	How Racism Ripples Through Rural Californias Pipes
2019	6-Dec	Nothing Less Than a Civil War: These White Voters on the Far Right See Doom Without Trump
2019	10-Dec	Trump Wants to Take From the Poor and Give to the Wealthy
2019	13-Dec	A Cesspool of a Dungeon: The Surging Population in Rural Jails
2019	15-Dec	In 2020 Census, Big Efforts in Some States. In Others, Not So Much.
2019	16-Dec	How Trump Lost His Trade War
2019	18-Dec	Impeachment Divides a Nation, a District and a Dinner Table
2019	26-Dec	The Media Is Broken
2019	28-Dec	After ICE Raids, a Reckoning in Mississippis Chicken Country
2019	29-Dec	The Decade We Changed Our Minds