

Appendix

Table A1. State Abbreviations.

Table 1: State Abbreviations

Abbreviation	State Name
AL	ALABAMA
AZ	ARIZONA
AR	ARKANSAS
CA	CALIFORNIA
CO	COLORADO
CT	CONNECTICUT
DE	DELAWARE
FL	FLORIDA
GA	GEORGIA
ID	IDAHO
IL	ILLINOIS
IN	INDIANA
IA	IOWA
KS	KANSAS
KY	KENTUCKY
LA	LOUISIANA
ME	MAINE
MD	MARYLAND
MA	MASSACHUSETTS
MI	MICHIGAN
MN	MINNESOTA
MS	MISSISSIPPI
MO	MISSOURI
MT	MONTANA
NE	NEBRASKA
NV	NEVADA
NH	NEW HAMPSHIRE
NJ	NEW JERSEY
NM	NEW MEXICO
NY	NEW YORK
NC	NORTH CAROLINA
ND	NORTH DAKOTA
OH	OHIO
OK	OKLAHOMA
OR	OREGON
PA	PENNSYLVANIA
RI	RHODE ISLAND
SC	SOUTH CAROLINA
SD	SOUTH DAKOTA
TN	TENNESSEE
TX	TEXAS
UT	UTAH
VT	VERMONT
VA	VIRGINIA
WA	WASHINGTON
WV	WEST VIRGINIA
WI	WISCONSIN
WY	WYOMING

Table A2. County-Level Descriptive Statistics.

Table 2: County-Level Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Min	Max	Median	Mean	SD
Republican-Democrat margin (%), 2016	3107	-79.7	91.0	38.0	31.8	30.7
Republican-Democrat margin (%), 2020	3107	-80.5	93.1	38.5	31.8	32.0
Unemployment change (% points), 2019-2020	3107	-2.3	16.6	3.6	3.8	2.1
Unemployment change (% points), 2015-2016	3107	-4.3	3.8	-0.2	-0.1	0.5
Partisanship (%), 2000-2012	3107	-77.9	83.4	20.1	18.8	25.6
COVID-19 case rate, per 100,000	3107	0.0	1807.0	271.5	298.3	182.2
Change in Republican-Democrat margin (% points), 2016-2020	3107	-16.1	55.2	0.1	0.0	5.2
% employed in hospitality / leisure sector (2019)	3107	0.0	92.9	11.6	12.6	7.5
% living in poverty (2020)	3107	3.0	43.9	12.8	13.8	5.4
% of population completing college, 2017-2021	3107	0.0	78.7	20.5	23.0	9.9
% of population white	3107	5.4	99.1	91.2	84.6	15.8

Table A3: DDD estimates for different data subsets

Table 3: DDD estimates for different data subsets

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	margin				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
partisanship x unemployment change x 2020	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.018** (0.007)	-0.012* (0.006)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.013** (0.005)
Observations	6,214	3,106	3,106	3,092	3,106
R ²	0.886	0.893	0.898	0.922	0.899
Adjusted R ²	0.885	0.891	0.896	0.921	0.897

Note:

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

Full data set (Model 1); less than the median percentage of college graduates (Model 2); more than the median level of pre-pandemic workforce employed in leisure / hospitality (Model 3); more than the median percentage of the population in poverty (Model 4); and less than the median percentage of the population being white (Model 5)

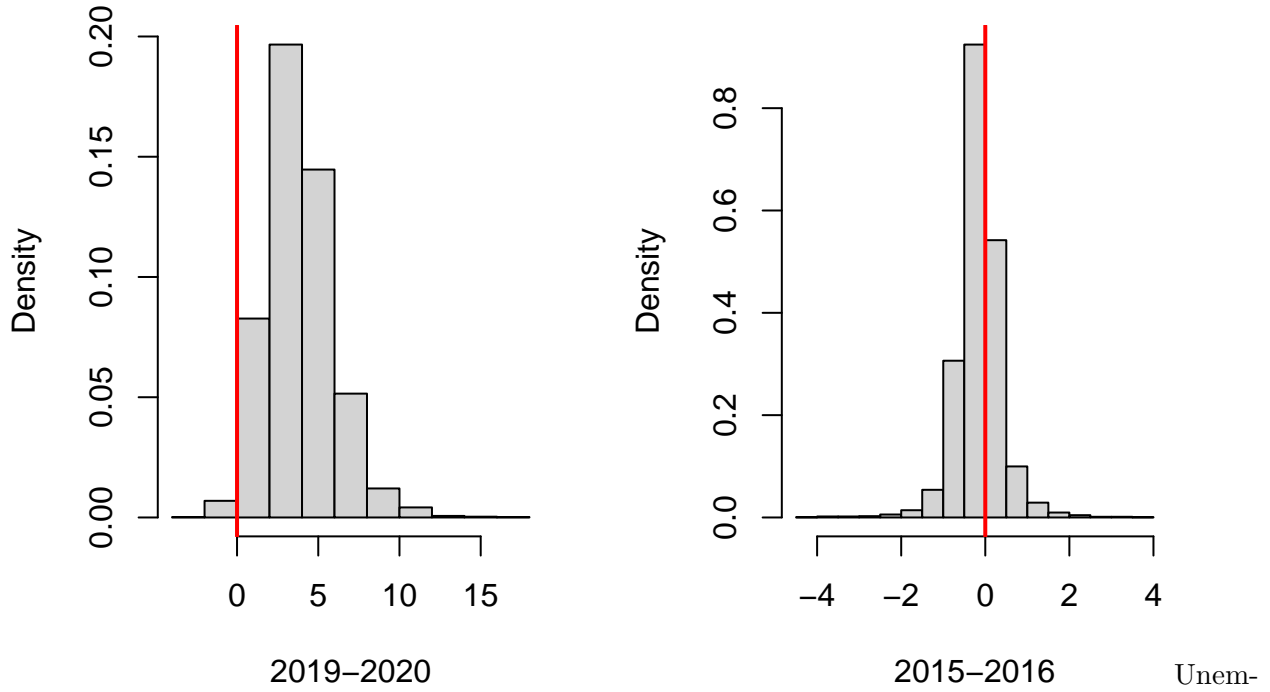
Table A4. Regression model estimated coefficients with two-way Republican vote share as dependent variable

Table 4: Regression model estimated coefficients with two-way Republican vote share as dependent variable

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	republican					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Red county			28.536*** (0.942)			
2020	-3.265*** (0.818)	-4.503*** (0.434)	-1.855* (0.983)	-1.643 (1.586)	-1.883 (1.283)	-2.358* (1.295)
unemp. change	-4.457*** (0.116)	-0.815*** (0.066)	-2.439*** (0.122)	0.574*** (0.185)	0.730*** (0.157)	0.732*** (0.157)
partisanship x 2020				-0.008 (0.028)	-0.001 (0.023)	-0.006 (0.023)
partisanship x unemp. change				-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.033*** (0.003)	-0.033*** (0.003)
partisanship		1.130*** (0.008)		1.244*** (0.020)	1.314*** (0.017)	1.317*** (0.017)
COVID-19 case rate		0.004*** (0.001)	-0.004** (0.002)			0.002*** (0.001)
Red county x 2020			1.105 (1.225)			
Red county x unemp. change			-1.958*** (0.200)			
unemp. change x 2020	0.467*** (0.159)	0.452*** (0.065)	0.477*** (0.147)	0.941*** (0.253)	0.989*** (0.205)	0.939*** (0.205)
Red county x unemp. change x 2020			-0.599** (0.262)			
partisanship x unemp. change x 2020				-0.018*** (0.005)	-0.019*** (0.004)	-0.017*** (0.004)
Constant	69.522*** (0.599)	-3.310*** (0.839)	46.698*** (1.225)	-10.615*** (1.159)	-14.015*** (1.188)	-14.297*** (1.192)
State dummy	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Observations	6,214	6,214	6,214	6,214	6,214	6,214
R ²	0.314	0.885	0.702	0.833	0.892	0.892
Adjusted R ²	0.314	0.884	0.700	0.833	0.891	0.891

Note:

Figure A1. County-level unemployment change



Unemployment change in 2019-2020 is calculated as the average monthly unemployment rate between March and October 2020, minus the average monthly unemployment rate between September 2019 and February 2020. Thus, the unemployment change in 2015-2016 is calculated as the average monthly unemployment rate between March and October 2016, minus the average monthly unemployment rate between September 2015 and February 2016.