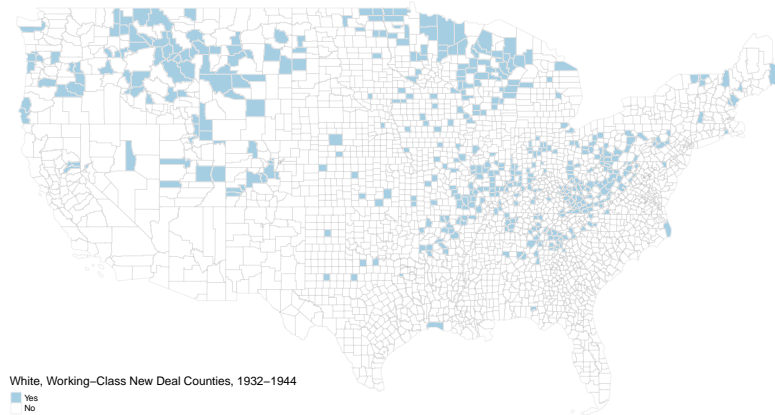


# Online Appendix

## Appendix for “The Local Politics of National Realignments: U.S. Political Transformation from the New Deal to the Religious Right”

Figure A1: White, Working-Class New Deal Counties



*Note:* Counties were coded 1 if they voted, on average, Democratic from 1932 to 1944; had third tercile employment (for all U.S. counties) in craftsmen, operatives, or laborers occupations or the manufacturing sector in the 1940 and 1950 census; had third tercile employment in construction, maintenance, transportation, or production occupations and third tercile employment in service occupations from 2000 to 2016; and were more than 90 percent White in 1940 and remained more than 85 percent White and Non-Hispanic in 2016, according to the American Community Survey’s five-year estimates. See Ternullo 2024, Figure 2.

## Details of RELTRAD Coding

Steensland et al. introduced the seven-category RELTRAD scheme to more closely link different Christian denominations to their historic religious traditions. It has become widely-adopted in studies of American religious and political life, particularly when it comes to distinguishing within Protestantism, between mainline, evangelical, and Black Protestant traditions (Smidt 2019). There are a few challenges in applying the RELTRAD codes to historic ARDA data. First, RELTRAD codes were initially adopted for the General Social Survey categories of religious denominations, which varies from the denominations that may/may not be represented in an ARDA survey in any given year. ARDA addressed this issue by itself categorizing denominations according to their RELTRAD scheme in their 1980-2010 combined file (Bacon, Finke, and Jones 2018).

The next challenge is linking this coding backward in time to 1952. 42 of the 64 denominations included as evangelical here were also included as evangelical in 1980. A further 11 I identified as evangelical based on Steensland et al.'s coding. For example, Steensland et al. note that all Churches of God (except with Christ and Holiness) are evangelical denominations, so I include Church of God (New Drunkards) as evangelical. For the remainders, I tracked mergers, splits, and name changes from the set of 1952 denominations forward to 1980 using ARDA's denominational lineage tool. For example, the Life and Advent Union is present in the 1952 survey but not in the 1971 survey; this is because it merged with the Advent Christian Church in 1964. This denomination as present in 1971 and coded as evangelical; as such, I also code Life and Advent Union as evangelical. The same is true of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church which merged with the Lutheran Church Missouri-Synod in 1971, and is therefore coded as evangelical in 1952.

For all analyses in the main text, I use this definition to calculate county evangelicalism in 1952. But to compare change over time in evangelicalism, I also created an alternative definition, one that held constant evangelical denominations existing in the ARDA data (and their historical splits and merges) in each year from 1952-2010. Table 2 summarizes these data for each cluster. Although there are some differences between the two measures, when I replicate all analyses using this definition, I find the same results.

## **Description of Additional Covariates Included in Tables 2 & 3**

- the average Democratic Party vote share won by gubernatorial, Senate, and presidential candidates from 1922-1928 (the last pre-New Deal election) to measure residents' general Democratic leanings (Ansolabehere and Snyder Jr 2006)
- the percentage of the population employed in working-class occupations in 1940 and 1950 (as defined above)
- the percentage of the population employed in manufacturing in 1940 and 1950; population density in 1940
- the percentage of the population that was White, Black, foreign-born in 1940, as well as the

percentage of White Southerners in each county (Bazzi et al. 2023)

- the percentage of the population employed in farm labor and the unemployment rate in 1940
- three indicators of natural resources and their impact on long-term economic conditions, including the presence of oil in 1900, 1940, or the existence of any mines (Bazzi et al. 2023)
- data on New Deal spending per capita during the period 1930-1939 from the U.S. Office of Government Reports (OGR) and digitized by Fishback and Kantor (Fishback, Kantor, and Wallis 2003).

Figure A2: Cluster Dendrogram

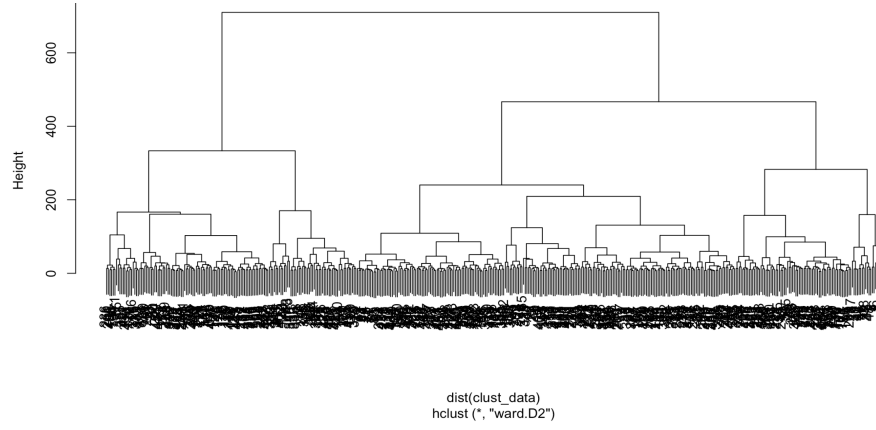


Figure A3: Standardized Mean Differences before and after Matching

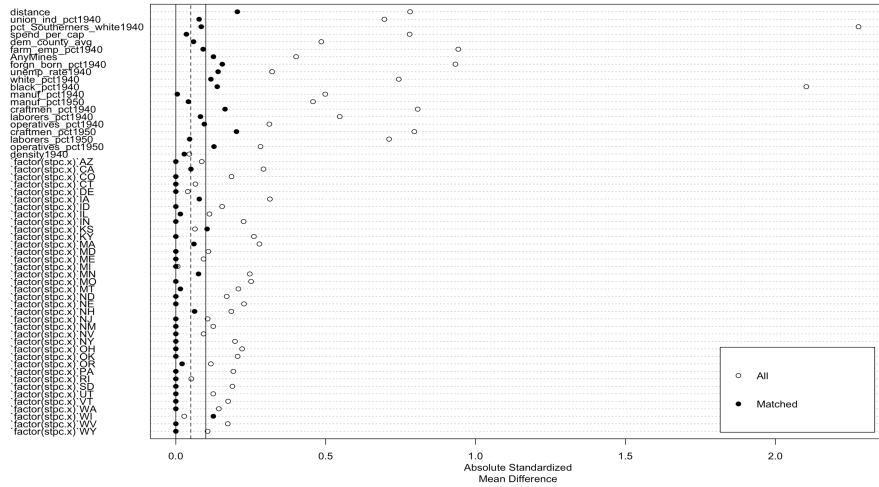


Table A1: Logistic Regression Coefficients Predicting Cluster Membership

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Turned Republican, 1950s	Turned Republican, 1960s	Turned Republican, 2000s
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Labor Presence, 1920s	-21.000*** (0.00000)	-0.670 (0.580)	-12.000*** (0.088)
% of Population Evangelical, 1952	0.210*** (0.058)	0.110** (0.038)	0.140* (0.056)
KKK Per per 100,000 Black Residents, 1919-1940	0.046 (0.074)	0.096+ (0.053)	0.023 (0.170)
Anti-Black Events per 100,000 Black Residents, 1960-1963	2.000 (1.400)	2.700 (1.800)	-0.020 (2.900)
Sundown Town	-0.430 (0.910)	0.220 (0.570)	-0.890 (1.800)
% White Southerners	0.180 (0.160)	0.170 (0.180)	0.150 (0.170)
% Emp. Unionized Ind., 1940	0.059 (0.120)	0.061 (0.071)	0.330* (0.190)
New Deal Spend per Cap	-0.010** (0.005)	-0.007** (0.004)	-0.013 (0.013)
Dem Vote Share, 1922-1928	-0.052 (0.055)	-0.008 (0.033)	0.320*** (0.086)
% Emp. on Farms, 1940	0.170** (0.078)	0.015 (0.036)	0.160 (0.098)
Presence of Oil, 1940	8.900*** (0.640)	10.000*** (0.670)	12.000*** (0.270)
Mines	-2.900** (1.300)	-0.470 (0.560)	0.550 (1.100)
% Foreign-Born, 1940	-0.330** (0.140)	-0.180** (0.070)	1.400*** (0.280)
Unemployment Rate, 1940	-0.110 (0.120)	0.090 (0.065)	0.410*** (0.160)
% White, 1940	0.100 (0.076)	-0.120*** (0.036)	-0.460*** (0.120)
% Black, 1940	-0.730** (0.350)	-0.330** (0.160)	-0.920*** (0.300)
% Emp. in Manufacturing, 1940	-0.090 (0.140)	-0.056 (0.083)	-0.140 (0.210)
% Emp. in Manufacturing, 1950	0.100 (0.093)	0.009 (0.057)	-0.340* (0.180)
% Emp. as Craftmen, 1940	0.450 (0.320)	0.009 (0.210)	0.200 (0.480)
% Emp. as Laborers, 1940	-0.042 (0.120)	0.016 (0.080)	0.480** (0.200)
% Emp. as Operatives, 1940	0.190 (0.120)	-0.034 (0.073)	0.066 (0.220)
% Emp. as Craftmen, 1950	-0.340 (0.280)	-0.170 (0.170)	-0.820** (0.360)
% Emp. as Laborers, 1950	-0.050 (0.140)	-0.100 (0.087)	-0.520** (0.200)
% Emp. as Operatives, 1950	-0.290** (0.120)	-0.064 (0.081)	0.270 (0.170)
Density, 1940	0.001 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.021** (0.010)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
South FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* P-values based on a two-tailed z test of the logistic regression coefficients. \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001



Table A2: Replication of Table 4 Matching Results, using Different Treatment Definitions

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Dem Change, T1	Dem Change, T2	Dem Change, T3
Dem Orgs = 1 if <= 45th percentile evangelicalism and anti-Blackness	2.19* (1.09)	3.28* (1.40)	2.69 (2.08)
Dem Orgs = 1 if <= 55th percentile evangelicalism and anti-Blackness	1.86+ (0.98)	2.44+ (1.35)	1.62 (1.9)
Dem Orgs = 1 if <= 65th percentile evangelicalism and anti-Blackness	0.42 (0.82)	0.74 (1.05)	0.75 (1.46)
Observations	148	148	148

*Note:* Standard errors clustered at the match-set level. +p<0.10; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001

Table A3: Replication of Table 4 Matching Results, using Full Matching

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Dem Change, T1	Dem Change, T2	Dem Change, T3
Dem Orgs = 1	2.29** (0.82)	3.21** (1.07)	2.27 (1.56)
Observations	1,935	1,935	1,935
R <sup>2</sup>	0.720	0.650	0.760

*Note:* Standard errors clustered at the match-set level. +p<0.10; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001