Supplemental Appendix for:

When Does Inequality Demobilize?

New Evidence from the American States

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Supplemental Appendix A

Full Descriptive statistics

Table A1: State Level Descriptive Statistics, 1984-2014

Variable	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Top 0.1%	800	7.076	3.068	2.800	22.500
Top 1%	800	15.822	4.509	8.200	34.400
Top 5%	800	30.130	5.323	19.100	51.900
VEP turnout (Midterm & Prez)	800	50.101	11.096	20.200	78.400
Presidential election year	800	0.500	0.500	0.000	1.000
Gubernatorial election	800	0.474	0.500	0.000	1.000
Senate election	800	0.675	0.469	0.000	1.000
College degree %	800	16.226	4.428	7.064	30.391
Non-white population %	800	22.327	14.882	1.500	78.300
Union density	800	13.105	6.196	2.000	32.300

Detail on Variable Coding

State-Level Data

Data for the state-level analyses (Tables 1 and 2 and Figure 1 in the main paper) were obtained from a variety of sources. I describe them in detail below.

- State voter turnout

  This is the % of eligible citizens who cast a ballot. It differs from voting-age population in that it makes corrections at the state-level for non-citizens and ineligible felons (`http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/faq/sold`). It is obtained from Michael McDonald as part of the United States Elections Project. For each state-year, I use the "Vote for Highest Office" as the measure of VEP turnout (`http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/voter-turnout-data`).

- State income inequality (top 0.1%, top 1%, and top 5%)

  This is the % of pre-tax income held by the top 0.1% in each state-year. These data are based on IRS (Internal Revenue Service) tax returns It is obtained from Mark Frank (see Frank 2009) and is also part of the World Wealth & Income Database (`https://www.shsu.edu/~eco_mwf/inequality.html`). Alternative measures of the top 1% and top 5% are obtained from the same data source.

- Presidential election year

  Coded "1" if the election year = 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, or 2016. Coded "0" if the election year = 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, or 2014.

- Gubernatorial election

  Coded "1" if a state holds a gubernatorial election in a particular year and "0" otherwise.

- Senate election

  Coded "1" if a state holds a U.S. Senate election in a particular year and "0" otherwise.

- College degree percentage

  This is the total number of college graduates divided by the total state population. It is available annually from Mark Frank (see Frank 2009) as "State-Level Measures of Human Capital Attainment" (`https://www.shsu.edu/~eco_mwf/inequality.html`).

- Non-white population percentage

  This is the % of the population that does not identify as white, non-Hispanic. I use the 1980, 1990, and 2000 estimates from the Decennial Census for 1982-2006. I use 1980 Census data for the following state-years: 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1988. I use 1990 Census data for the following state-years: 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, and 1998. I use 2000 Census data for the following state-years: 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2006. For 2008-2016 state-years, I use one-year estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), available at the following link ().

- Labor Union density

  This is the percentage of non-agricultural wage and salary employees who are union members. It was originally collected by Hirsch, Macpherson, and Vroman (2001) and is updated annually. It is available at the state level at the following link (`http://unionstats.com/MonthlyLaborReviewArticle.htm`).

ANES Data

Data used in Table 4 (in the main paper) was obtained from the Cumulative American National Election Studies (ANES). These data (in Stata format) and the codebook are available for download from the following link (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/`). I used various ANES data from 1980-2004. Below I describe the ANES variables that I used in Table 4 (in the main paper) in greater detail.

- Presidential election year

  Created from VCF0004. Coded "1" if the survey year = 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, or 2004. Coded "0" if the survey year = 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, or 2002.

- Contacted by a major party?

  Created from VCF9030a. Coded "1" if a respondent reported that they were contacted by either major party and "0" if they reported that they were not contacted by either major party.

- Care about which party/who (1992 and later asks who; pre-1992 asks which party) wins the presidential election?

  Created from VCF0311. Coded "1" if a respondent reported that they "care a good deal" and "0" if they reported that they "don't care very much."

- Care about which party wins the congressional elections (1996 and later specifically asks about the U.S. House of Representatives)?

  Created from VCF0312. This question is asked in both midterm and presidential survey years, I only examined it in midterm years. Coded "1" if a respondent reported caring "very much" or "pretty much" (the wording differs slightly across surveys) and "0" if they reported caring "not very much" or "not at all" (the wording differs slightly across surveys).

- Care about the election outcome

  Created by combining VCF0311 and VCF0312. This is coded "0" if the re-coded VCF0311 (caring about the midterm congressional elections) takes on a value of "0" in midterm election years OR if the re-coded VCF0312 (caring about the presidential election years) takes on a value of "0" in presidential election years. This is coded "1" if the re-coded VCF0311 (caring about the midterm congressional elections) takes on a value of "1" in midterm election years OR if the re-coded VCF0312 (caring about the presidential election years) takes on a value of "1" in presidential election years.

- High political information?

  Created from VCF005b. Based on the interviewer's post-election subjective rating of face-to-face survey respondents' political information levels. Coded "1" if a respondent was coded (by the interviewer) as possessing "high" or "fairly" high levels of political information and "0" if they were coded as having "average", "fairly low", or "low" levels of political information.

Supplemental Appendix B

Regression Models Using 1982-2016 Data

Table B1: Income Inequality and Voter Turnout by Election Type, 1982-2016

	DV = State Voter Turnout		
Top 0.1% Income Share	-0.630**		
	(0.250)		
Top 0.1% × Presidential Year	0.667***		
	(0.164)		
Top 1% Income Share		-0.530***	
		(0.150)	
Top 1% × Presidential Year		0.513***	
		(0.094)	
Top 5% Income Share			-0.540***
			(0.104)
Top 5% × Presidential Year			0.498***
			(0.091)
College Degree %	0.716***	0.762***	0.815***
	(0.110)	(0.114)	(0.102)
Non-White Population %	-0.202***	-0.198***	-0.193***
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Labor Union Density	0.198**	0.191**	0.176**
	(0.079)	(0.076)	(0.074)
U.S. Senate Election	1.138***	1.120***	1.147***
	(0.274)	(0.278)	(0.263)
Gubernatorial Election	2.157**	2.141**	2.084***
	(0.807)	(0.800)	(0.760)
Presidential Election Year	12.840***	9.485***	2.544
	(1.230)	(1.563)	(2.855)
Constant	34.467***	37.614***	44.650***
	(2.703)	(2.861)	(3.464)
Year Fixed Effects	No	No	No
State Fixed Effects	No	No	No
Observations	899	899	899
R^2	0.696	0.702	0.712

Note: Dependent variables are voting eligible population (VEP) turnout in each state-year. Midterm election years = 1982-2014. Presidential election years = 1984-2016. Data is missing for Louisiana in 1982; this is why there are 899 observations. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Regression Models Displayed in Table 3 in the Main Paper

Table B2: Fixed Effects Models of Income Inequality and Voter Turnout, 1984-2014

	DV = State Voter Turnout					
	Midterm Election Years			Presidential Election Years		
Top 0.1% Income Share	-0.572***			-0.142		
	(0.140)			(0.179)		
Top 1% Income Share		-0.431***			-0.122	
		(0.115)			(0.125)	
Top 5% Income Share			-0.338***			-0.038
			(0.122)			(0.107)
College Degree %	0.442*	0.458*	0.474*	0.481***	0.488***	0.498***
	(0.251)	(0.251)	(0.256)	(0.176)	(0.173)	(0.174)
Non-White Population %	0.010	0.024	0.023	0.094	0.099	0.081
	(0.128)	(0.127)	(0.129)	(0.145)	(0.145)	(0.147)
Labor Union Density	0.115	0.120	0.115	0.052	0.051	0.061
	(0.220)	(0.221)	(0.221)	(0.217)	(0.218)	(0.216)
U.S. Senate Election	2.380***	2.350***	2.373***	0.183	0.193	0.156
	(0.457)	(0.463)	(0.463)	(0.247)	(0.249)	(0.245)
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	400	400	400	400	400	400
R^2	0.768	0.768	0.766	0.866	0.866	0.865

Note: Dependent variables are voting eligible population (VEP) turnout in each state-year. Year and State fixed effects (dummy variables) are included by not displayed here. Midterm election years = 1986-2014. Presidential election years = 1984-2012. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

References

Frank, Mark W. 2009. "Inequality and Growth in the United States: Evidence From a New State-Level Panel Of Income Inequality Measures." *Economic Inquiry* 47(1): 55-68.

Hirsch, Barry T., David A. Macpherson, and Wayne G. Vroman. 2001. "Estimates of Union Density by State." *Monthly Labor Review* 124(7): 51-55.

McDonald, Michael P. 2020. United States Election Project. `http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/voter-turnout-data`.