

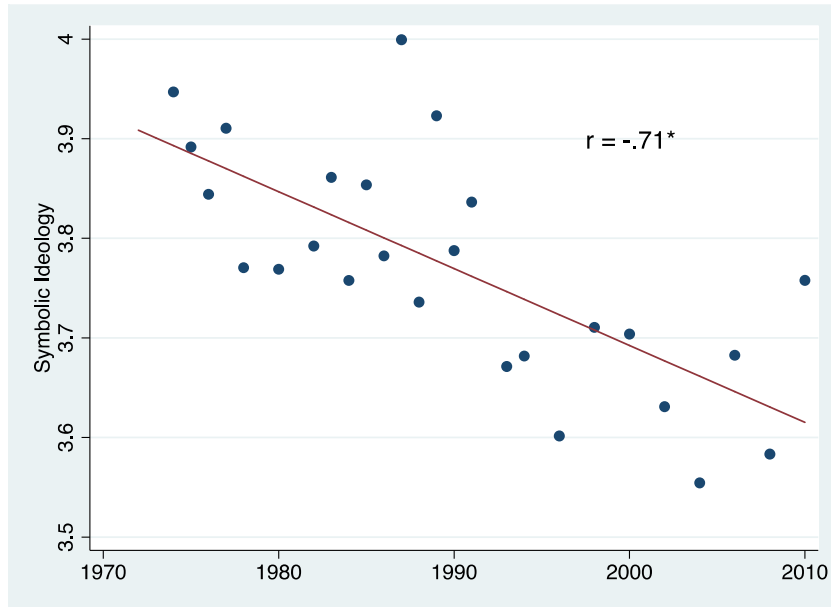
**Unpublished Supplement**

to

“The Validity of the Enns and Koch, and Berry et al.  
Measures of State Policy Mood: Continuing the Debate”

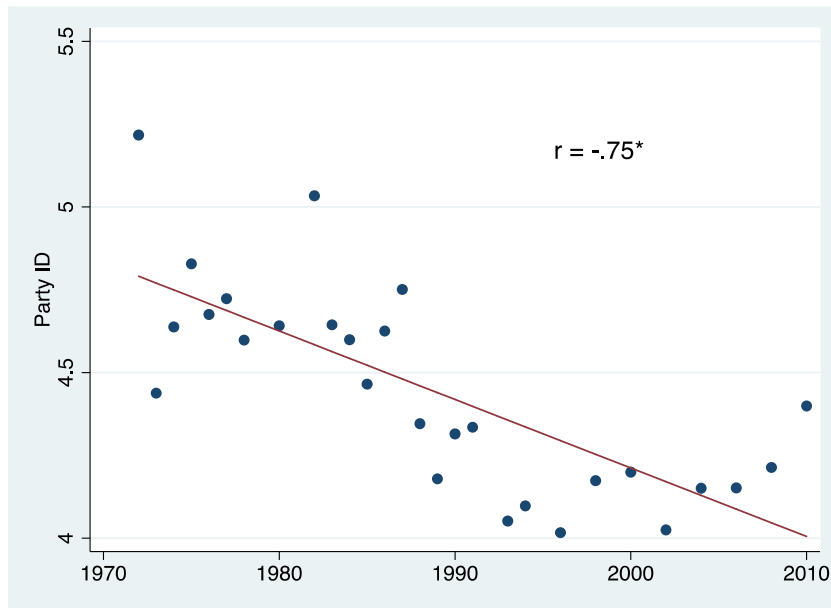
**Figure S-1. Trends in Symbolic Ideology and Party Identification in the South, 1973-2010**

**Panel A: Symbolic Ideology**



Note: Symbolic ideology (ideological self-placement) is coded so that 1=most conservative and 7=most liberal.  
\* =  $p < .05$  (two-tailed test)

**Panel B: Party Identification**



Note: Partisan identification is coded so that 1=strong Republican and 7=strong Democrat.  
\* =  $p < .05$  (two-tailed test)

**Table S-1. The implications of the choice about how to measure state policy mood on the estimated impact of other variables in the model in five published articles**

| Row | Replicated article        | Label for independent variable<br>(in author's Stata or R code) | Coeff. for<br>BRFH measure<br>of policy<br>mood | $\rho$ -value<br>for<br>BRFH<br>meas. | Coeff. for E&K<br>measure of<br>policy mood | $\rho$ -value<br>for<br>E&K<br>meas. |
|-----|---------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | govdem  | -0.062249                                       | 0.131                                 | -0.049925                                   | 0.198                                |
| 2   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | unifiedD  | 0.013144  | 0.743                                 | 0.022400                                    | 0.566                                |
| 3   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | unifiedR  | -0.071332                                       | 0.097                                 | -0.032335                                   | 0.454                                |
| 4   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | rnhrspc   | -0.191148                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.191119                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 5   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | cnahrspc  | -0.066847                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.066859                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 6   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | bedsocc   | -0.005756                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.005754                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 7   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | med_caid  | 0.166229  | < 0.001                               | 0.166389                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 8   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | med_both  | 0.279489  | < 0.001                               | 0.279707                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 9   | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | hospital  | 0.053329  | < 0.001                               | 0.053162                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 10  | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | multiown  | 0.017686  | 0.013                                 | 0.017372                                    | 0.015                                |
| 11  | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | numres  | 0.001810  | < 0.001                               | 0.001810                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 12  | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | own_prof  | 0.130728  | < 0.001                               | 0.130413                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 13  | Boemke & Shipan (2015)    | own_nonp  | -0.004610                                       | 0.768                                 | -0.004899                                   | 0.754                                |
| 14  | Boemke et al. (2015)      | filibint_ca   | 2.442002  | 0.048                                 | 1.378440                                    | 0.027                                |
| 15  | Boemke et al. (2015)      | vetoint_ca  | 0.887640  | 0.403                                 | 0.583204                                    | 0.443                                |
| 16  | Boemke et al. (2015)      | totpop  | -0.014484                                       | 0.962                                 | 0.277926                                    | 0.365                                |
| 17  | Boemke et al. (2015)      | rpcpinc   | -0.837134                                       | 0.544                                 | 0.771231                                    | 0.474                                |
| 18  | Boemke et al. (2015)      | unif_any  | -0.600421                                       | 0.180                                 | -0.539678                                   | 0.247                                |
| 19  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | marijuana_kgs_10k   | -0.041471                                       | 0.384                                 | -0.030380                                   | 0.512                                |
| 20  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | bush_admin  | -4.533288                                       | 0.047                                 | -4.529934                                   | 0.029                                |
| 21  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | obama_admin   | -4.449044                                       | 0.107                                 | -4.428625                                   | 0.080                                |
| 22  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | init_avail  | 1.223076  | 0.052                                 | 1.161896                                    | 0.073                                |
| 23  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | lp_avg  | 1.866342  | 0.453                                 | 2.621026                                    | 0.305                                |
| 24  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | evan_rate   | -0.008608                                       | 0.227                                 | -0.006792                                   | 0.173                                |
| 25  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | fiscal_health   | 1.445166  | 0.615                                 | 1.837155                                    | 0.514                                |
| 26  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | marijuana_ted   | 0.002199  | 0.626                                 | 0.001801                                    | 0.697                                |
| 27  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | glaucoma_pct  | -5.635121                                       | 0.034                                 | -4.328511                                   | 0.103                                |
| 28  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | cancer_rt_sl  | -0.000222                                       | 0.975                                 | -0.000250                                   | 0.972                                |
| 29  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | prop_neighbor   | -0.674208                                       | 0.750                                 | -1.583065                                   | 0.474                                |
| 30  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | ideology_relative_berry   | -6.712197                                       | 0.099                                 | -0.585610                                   | 0.902                                |
| 31  | Hannah & Mallinson (2018) | time_adopt  | 0.653512  | 0.049                                 | 0.495085                                    | 0.101                                |
| 32  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | tanfcaseloadK   | 0.000002  | 0.904                                 | -0.000001                                   | 0.916                                |
| 33  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | avgnbrtanf  | 0.000296  | 0.020                                 | 0.000283                                    | 0.025                                |
| 34  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | unmarried_births  | -0.002913                                       | 0.252                                 | -0.003716                                   | 0.139                                |
| 35  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | pov_rtfull  | 0.006653  | < 0.001                               | 0.006419                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 36  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | totdempct   | -0.001860                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.001651                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 37  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | hvd_4yr   | -0.000167                                       | 0.826                                 | -0.000186                                   | 0.802                                |
| 38  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | women_leg   | 0.004268  | < 0.001                               | 0.004309                                    | < 0.001                              |
| 39  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | unemp   | -0.004962                                       | 0.167                                 | -0.005959                                   | 0.096                                |
| 40  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | adj_GSPpck  | -0.002769                                       | 0.134                                 | -0.002967                                   | 0.105                                |
| 41  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | adj_incpck  | 0.000614  | 0.850                                 | -0.000204                                   | 0.952                                |
| 42  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | pcturban_MA   | 0.002879  | 0.187                                 | 0.002408                                    | 0.281                                |
| 43  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | high_school   | -0.003933                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.004252                                   | 0.003                                |
| 44  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | pop_pcthispc  | -0.010174                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.009310                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 45  | Hawes & McCrea (2018)     | pop_pctblk  | -0.009750                                       | 0.064                                 | -0.008520                                   | 0.102                                |
| 46  | Hayes (2014)              | bfnom   | 0.029226  | < 0.001                               | -0.030315                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 47  | Hayes (2014)              | pcinc   | -0.177174                                       | 0.042                                 | -0.352984                                   | 0.000                                |
| 48  | Hayes (2014)              | elect1  | -0.033999                                       | 0.771                                 | 0.105216                                    | 0.368                                |
| 49  | Hayes (2014)              | elect2  | 0.002470  | 0.981                                 | 0.245379                                    | 0.019                                |
| 50  | Hayes (2014)              | top1  | -0.470405                                       | < 0.001                               | -0.551624                                   | < 0.001                              |
| 51  | Hayes (2014)              | demcont   | -0.198134                                       | 0.164                                 | 0.205152                                    | 0.131                                |
| 52  | Hayes (2014)              | repcont   | 0.538803  | 0.004                                 | 0.003265                                    | 0.985                                |
| 53  | Hayes (2014)              | south   | -0.086705                                       | 0.494                                 | 0.269159                                    | 0.025                                |
| 54  | Hayes (2014)              | gdp   | 0.040383  | < 0.001                               | 0.041182                                    | < 0.001                              |

Table S-1, continued

| Row | Replicated article   | Label for independent variable<br>(in author's Stata or R code) | Coeff. for<br>BRFH measure<br>of policy<br>mood | <i>p</i> -value<br>for<br>BRFH<br>meas. | Coeff. for E&K<br>measure of<br>policy mood | <i>p</i> -value<br>for<br>E&K<br>meas. |
|-----|----------------------|---|---|---|---|--|
| 55  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | black_rolls_lag   | 0.000028  | 0.976                                   | -0.000246                                   | 0.794                                  |
| 56  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | hisp_rolls_lag  | 0.001391  | 0.222                                   | 0.000934                                    | 0.420                                  |
| 57  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | bias_m10_lag  | -0.002482                                       | 0.850                                   | -0.000191                                   | 0.988                                  |
| 58  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | inst6014_nom_lag  | -0.000222                                       | 0.362                                   | -0.000241                                   | 0.319                                  |
| 59  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | neighbor_gae_lag  | 0.008364  | 0.393                                   | 0.009046                                    | 0.353                                  |
| 60  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | unemploy_pct_lag  | 0.006703  | 0.269                                   | 0.007351                                    | 0.224                                  |
| 61  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | child_poverty_lag   | 0.003107  | 0.471                                   | 0.003270                                    | 0.449                                  |
| 62  | Ojeda et al. (2019)  | surplus_ratio_lag   | 0.033963  | 0.114                                   | 0.028601                                    | 0.184                                  |
| 63  | Taylor et al. (2019) | sqrt_realperkrevsmal  | -0.914767                                       | 0.334                                   | -1.166950                                   | 0.276                                  |
| 64  | Taylor et al. (2019) | inst6014_nom  | 0.059053  | 0.058                                   | 0.050127                                    | 0.042                                  |
| 65  | Taylor et al. (2019) | directdem   | -0.225091                                       | 0.809                                   | -0.453417                                   | 0.643                                  |
| 66  | Taylor et al. (2019) | south   | -3.369957                                       | 0.056                                   | -3.788185                                   | 0.042                                  |
| 67  | Taylor et al. (2019) | evangldisper  | 0.084488  | 0.514                                   | 0.098138                                    | 0.452                                  |
| 68  | Taylor et al. (2019) | jobslax   | 1.098158  | 0.029                                   | 1.011981                                    | 0.057                                  |
| 69  | Taylor et al. (2019) | percapitaincome1995dol  | 0.000035  | 0.878                                   | 0.000059                                    | 0.797                                  |
| 70  | Taylor et al. (2019) | gayempdiff  | -1.152226                                       | 0.598                                   | -1.476590                                   | 0.489                                  |

## Document S-1. General Social Survey Items Used for Empirical Analysis

### The eight GSS items asking opinions about government spending in specific policy areas

Each of the eight government spending preference items begins with the same text: “We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I’m going to name some of these problems, and for each one I’d like you to tell me whether you think we’re spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount...”

#### Support for Environmental Spending (NATENVIR, NATENVY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *improving and protecting the environment.*”

1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

#### Support for Healthcare Spending (NATHEAL, NATHEALY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *improving and protecting the nation’s health.*”

1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

#### Support for Education Spending (NATEDUC, NATEDUCY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *improving the nation’s education system.*”

1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

#### Support for Spending for Blacks (NATRACE, NATRACEY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *improving the conditions of Blacks.*”

1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

#### Support for Foreign Aid (NATAID, NATAIDY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *foreign aid.*”

1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

#### Support for Welfare Spending (NATFARE)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *welfare.*”

1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

#### Opposition to Spending for Crime Reduction (NATCRIME, NATCRIMY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *halting the rising crime rate.*”

1=too little, 2=about right, 3=too much

#### Opposition to Military Spending (NATARMS, NATARMSY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: *military, armaments and defense.*”

1=too little, 2=about right, 3=too much

Note: The above eight government spending items constitute each question in the GSS cumulative data file (*i*) about government spending preferences that we believe would be widely viewed as reflecting a respondent’s operational ideology; and (*ii*) that was asked of respondents for the first time no later than 1980, and regularly thereafter through at least 2010. Eight other GSS questions about spending preferences were not used based on our belief that they do not

reflect operational ideology: “space exploration program” (NATSPAC), “solving the problems of the big cities” (NATCITY) [which we contend taps an urban vs. rural cleavage more than it does ideology], “dealing with drug addiction” (NATDRUG), “highways and bridges” (NATROAD), “mass transportation” (NATMASS), “parks and recreation” (NATPARK), “supporting scientific research” (NATSCI), and “developing alternative energy sources” (NATENRGY).

### **The ten GSS items asking opinions about other policies reflecting operational ideology**

#### Support for Abortion Rights (ABANY)

“Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if the woman wants it for any reason.”

1=no, 3=yes

#### Support for Redistribution (EQWLTH)

“Some people think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by raising the taxes of wealthy families or by giving income assistance to the poor. Others think that the government should not concern itself with reducing this income difference between the rich and the poor. Here is a card with a scale from 1 to 7. Think of a score of 1 as meaning that the government ought to reduce the income differences between rich and poor, and a score of 7 meaning that the government should not concern itself with reducing income differences. What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?”

Scores from 1 to 7 are linearly transformed to the range between 1 and 3, so that the highest score (3) indicates the strongest support for redistribution, and the lowest score (1) indicates the weakest support.

#### Support for Gay Rights (SPKHOMO)

“And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual? Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?”

1=not allowed, 3=allowed

#### Support for Gun Control (GUNLAW)

“Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?”

1=oppose, 3=favor

#### Opposition to Harsh Treatment of Criminals (COURTS)

“In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?”

1=not harsh enough, 2=about right, 3=too harsh

### Support for Government Doing More (HELPNOT)

Some people think that the government in Washington is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private businesses. Others disagree and think that the government should do even more to solve our country's problems. Still others have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this? (1=Government do more, 3=Agree with both, 5=Government doing too much).

Scores from 1 to 5 are linearly transformed to the range between 1 and 3, so that the highest score (3) indicates the strongest support for government doing more, and the lowest score (1) indicates the weakest support.

### Support for Government Helping the Poor (HELPPOOR)

I'd like to talk with you about issues some people tell us are important. Please look at CARD BC. Some people think that the government in Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans; they are at Point 1 on this card. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself; they are at Point 5. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?

Scores from 1 to 5 are linearly transformed to the range between 1 and 3, so that the highest score (3) indicates the strongest support for government helping the poor, and the lowest score (1) indicates the weakest support.

### Support for Government Aid for Healthcare (HELPSICK)

Look at CARD A19. In general, some people think that it is the responsibility of the government in Washington to see to it that people have help in paying for doctors and hospital bills. Others think that these matters are not the responsibility of the federal government and that people should take care of these things themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this? (1=Government help, 3=Agree with both, 5=People do more).

Scores from 1 to 5 are linearly transformed to the range between 1 and 3, so that the highest score (3) indicates the strongest support for government providing aid, and the lowest score (1) indicates the weakest support.

### Support for Government Aid for Blacks (HELPBLKS)

Some people think that (Blacks/Negroes/African Americans) have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their living standards. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to (Blacks/Negroes/African Americans). Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this? (1=Government help, 3=Agree with both, 5=No special treatment).

Scores from 1 to 5 are linearly transformed to the range between 1 and 3, so that the highest score (3) indicates the strongest support for government help for blacks, and the lowest score (1) indicates the weakest support.

### Support for Paying Higher Taxes

Do you consider the amount of federal income tax which you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low? (1=Too high, 2=About right, 3=Too low).

### **The eleven GSS items used by Stimson (1991) that comprise the “Stimson Items Index” presented in Figure 3**

The Stimson items index includes the following nine items described above:

- Support for Education Spending
- Support for Environmental Spending
- Support for Welfare Spending
- Support for Healthcare Spending
- Support for Paying Higher Taxes
- Support for Government Doing More
- Support for Redistribution
- Support for Helping the Poor
- Support for Government Aid for Healthcare,

The Stimson index also include the following two spending items:

### Support for Spending on Big Cities (NATCITY)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: “Solving the problems of the big cities.”  
1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

### Support for Spending on Drug Addiction (NATDRUG)

“We are faced with... or about the right amount: “Dealing with drug addiction.”  
1=too much, 2=about right, 3=too little

### **The Two GSS Items Used in the Analyses in Figure S-1**

#### Ideological Self-Placement (POLVIEWS)

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I’m going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal--point 1--to extremely conservative--point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (7=Extremely Liberal, 6=Liberal, 5=Slightly Liberal, 4=Middle of the Road, 3=Slightly Conservative, 2=Conservative, 1=Extremely Conservative)

#### Party Identification (PARTYID)

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what? (7=Strong Democrat, 6=Not Very Strong Democrat, 5=Independent [close to Democrat], 4=Independent [neither], 3=Independent [close to Republican], 2=Not Very Strong Republican, 1=Strong Republican)