"Who Stopped the Equal Rights Amendment?" – James Strickland

Codebook – "Main Dataset"

Data set uploaded in both .dta and .csv formats – 41 variables and 6,952 observations.

state – string variable reporting name of state in which vote occurred

fips – Federal information processing number for state in which vote occurred

year – year during which vote occurred

month – month during which vote occurred

cluster – seven-digit unique code representing each roll-call vote that occurred in each state and each chamber, consisting of year (four digits), fips (two digits), and chamber (senate or house, one digit) concatenated. For example, "1973011" represents a vote that occurred in 1973, in Alabama (fips equals 1), in the senate.

cent_pubs – mean-centered measure of number of newsletters per state and year published by National Organization for Woman, from Soule and Olzak (2004)

firstcluster – a binary indicator for the first lawmaker's name (when arranged alphabetically by last name) that appears in each roll-call vote.

venue – string variable indicating legislative chamber (house or senate) in which roll-call vote occurred

vote – string variable indicating vote: "yes," "no," or missing (absence or abstention), collected from legislative journals and newspaper articles

first – string variable showing first name of lawmaker

middle – string variable showing middle name of lawmaker

last – string variable showing last name of lawmaker

fullname – string variable showing full name of lawmaker

uniqueid – number assigned to each unique lawmaker, appearing more than once for lawmakers who cast or could have cast more than one vote on the ERA

party – string variable showing political party of lawmaker collected from Klarner (2021), but with non-partisan Minnesota lawmakers coded based on caucuses provided by Minnesota Legislative Reference Library

publicsupport – level of public support for the ERA measured at the state level on a scale from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating the highest possible public support (provided by Soule and Olzak 2004)

woman – binary indicator for whether a lawmaker was a woman, as determined by Cox (1995)

republican – binary indicator for whether a lawmaker was a Republican or member of the Conservative caucus in Minnesota, based on Klarner (2021)

senator – binary indicator for whether a lawmaker was a senator when casting the vote

nonwhite – binary indicator for whether a lawmaker was not white (i.e., African American, Asian American, indigenous American, or Hispanic / Latino) according to Klarner (2021)

yes_vote – binary indicator for whether a lawmaker case a vote in favor of the ERA or indicated support via pairing (i.e., did not vote against it or abstain, and was not absent), based on variable "vote"

states_ratified – number of states that had ratified the ERA by the time the roll-call vote occurred, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

eralobbyists – number of explicitly pro-ERA lobbyists who registered during year in state, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

stoppers – number of explicitly anti-ERA lobbyists who registered during year in state, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

now – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with National Organization for Women, including national organization and state chapters, if any, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

lwv – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with League of Women Voters, including national organization and state chapters, if any, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

aauw – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with American Association of University Women, including national organization and state chapters, if any, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

misc – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with any explicitly woman-focused organization, including economic and non-economic organizations, other than the organizations mentioned specifically in this codebook, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

nwpc – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with National Women's Political Caucus, including national organization and state chapters, if any, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

lgbt – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with explicitly pro-LGBTQ rights organizations, including national organizations and state chapters, if any, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

zero – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated with Zero Population Growth, including national organization and state chapters, if any, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

insurance – number of lobbyists who registered during year in state associated insurance firms, including national organization and state branches, if any, and the Farm Bureau, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

repxwoman – variable calculated by multiplying variable "republican" by variable "woman"

repxnonwhite – variable calculated by multiplying variable "republican" by variable "nonwhite"

repxsupport – variable calculated by multiplying variable "republican" by variable "publicsupport"

repxera – variable calculated by multiplying variable "republican" by variable "eralobbyists"

repxstoppers – variable calculated by multiplying variable "republican" by variable "stoppers"

repxinsurance – variable calculated by multiplying variable "republican" by variable "insurance"

south – indicator for whether a vote was cast in a state in the historical South: Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas (and **not** including Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Oklahoma, New Mexico or Arizona)

votenumber – number of vote cast on ERA or opportunity to vote on ERA for each unique lawmaker

lobbyefforts – number of unique lobbyist-client pairings registered during year in state, calculated by author from lobby registration documents

Works Cited

Cox, Elizabeth M. 1995. *Women State and Territorial Legislators, 1895-1995: A State-By-State Analysis, With Rosters of 6,000 Women*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co Inc.

Klarner, Carl. 2021. "Chamber level state legislator race: 1971–2021." Available at https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/ZJSHEZ. Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:z8M2VXghXIhQ4QbtB5xsGA== [fileUNF].

Minnesota Legislative Reference Library. “Minnesota Legislators Past & Present.” *LRL.mn.gov*. https://www.lrl.mn.gov/legdb/ (accessed August 15, 2025).

Soule, Sarah A. and Susan Olzak. 2004. “When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment.” *American Sociological Review* 69, no. 4: 473-97.