Table A9: **Variable Codebook**

| Variable Name | Variable Description | Variable Source & Notes |
|---|---|---|
| bowen legprof firstdim | First dimension professionalism score. Predicted value of the first dimension multidimensional scaling legislative professionalism score. Note: Year coded as the first year of the biennium session. (1979-2014). Linear interpolation and imputation used for missing values. | Bowen, Daniel C. and Zachary Greene. 'Should We Measure Professionalism with an Index? A Note on Theory and Practice in State Legislative Professionalism Research.' State Politics & Policy Quarterly 14.3 (2014): 277-296.; Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); Note: We only include the first dimension of legislative professionalism as it is the most relevant to legislative capacity. |
| citizenideol | Measure of citizen ideology, from conservative to liberal. Higher values indicate more liberal. 1979 - 2016. Linear interpolation and imputation used for missing values. | Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 1998. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States, 1960-93." American Journal of Political Science 42:327-48.; See here: `https://rcfording.com/state-ideology-data/`; Also: Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); |
| confederacy | State was part of the confederacy (1=yes, 0=no) | Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); |
| demgov | Democratic governor; 0 = Republican/Independent, 1 = Democrat | Klarner, Carl, 2013, 'Governors Dataset', `https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/PQ0Y1N`, Harvard Dataverse, V1; Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); updated from 2016-2022 using National Conference of State Legislatures. 2021. State Partisan Compositions. See here: `https://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/partisan-composition.aspx#`. |

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Table A9: **Variable Codebook** (Continued)

| Variable Name | Variable Description | Variable Source & Notes |
|---|---|---|
| divided gov | Party control of state government: 0 = unified Republican control, 1 = unified Democratic control, .5 = neither. | Ranney, Austin. 1976. 'Parties in State Politics.' In Politics in the American States, 3rd ed., edited by Herbert Jacob and Kenneth Vines. Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co.; Klarner, Carl, 2013, 'Other Scholars' Competitiveness Measures', https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/QSDYLH, Harvard Dataverse, V1; Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); updated from 2016-2022 using National Conference of State Legislatures. 2022. State Partisan Compositions. See here: https://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/partisan-composition.aspx#. |
| govideol | NOMINATE measure of state government ideology (1979 - 2017). This was the authors' second measure of state government ideology. Instead of relying on ADA and COPE scores to construct a measure, the authors rely on 'Common-Space' congressional ideology scores to construct their measure of state party ideology (available at: http://voteview.com/basic.htm). Linear interpolation and imputation used for missing values. | Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording, Evan J. Ringquist, Russell L. Hanson and Carl Klarner. 2010. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States: A Re-appraisal." State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10: 117-35.; See here: https://rcfording.com/state-ideology-data/. Also: Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); |
| gub election | Gubernatorial Election Year=1, No=0 | Klarner, Carl, 2013, 'Governors Dataset', https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/PQ0Y1N,HarvardDataverse,V1 |
| h diffs | Distance between party medians in state house | Shor, Boris and Nolan McCarty. "The Ideological Mapping of American Legislatures." The American Political Science Review 105.3 (2011): 530- 551. http://americanlegislatures.com/data/ |
| holid simideol | Ideological Similarity between state considering adopting Juneteenth Holiday and prior states that have adopted Juneteenth Holidays | Authors, Using Mallinson (2021) ideological distance calculation, which is calculated using the Absolute value of \| (a) ideology of the state at time t minus ((b)the average ideology of states adopting in most recent year (k) plus (c) the average ideology of states that have adopted in prior years (j) divided by 2.) We also multiply by -1 to reverse code so that the more negative the greater the ideological distance between states. We use Berry et al.'s (2010) government ideology NOMINATE measure. |

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Table A9: **Variable Codebook** (Continued)

| Variable Name | Variable Description | Variable Source & Notes |
|---|---|---|
| holiday | U.S. state adopted juneteenth state holiday or day of observance, but not necessarily legal holiday, 1, 0=no, blank for years after first adoption | Smith, Erin M. 2021. "Juneteenth: Fact Sheet." Congressional Research Service. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R44865.pdf. |
| ig cir | Number of civil rights and minority-issues interest groups registered in the state. Includes groups such as: minority groups, gay and lesbian issues, American Indian tribes. | Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 'Interest Group Politics and Economic Growth in the U.S. States.' The American Political Science Review 82.1 (1988): 109-131.; Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, and John Cluverius. 'Temporal Change in the Density of State Interest Communities 1980 to 2007.' State Politics & Policy Quarterly 15.2 (2015): 263-286. Note: For years: 1980, 1990, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2007. Used 1980 counts for 1979-1986. Used 1990 counts for 1987-1993. Used 1997 counts for 1994-1997. Used 1999 counts for 1999-2004. Used 2007 counts for 2005 - 2022. |
| ig cir gc | No. of Civil-Minority Rights Int. Groups-Garlick/Cluverius Measure. Linear interpolation and imputation used for missing values. | Garlick, Alex, and John Cluverius. 2020. "Automated Estimates of State Interest Group Lobbying Populations." Interest Groups & Advocacy 9 (3): 396–409. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41309-020-00091-z. |
| imitate holiday | Cumulative number of states (t-1) adopting Juneteenth state holiday or day of observance, including DC | Authors |
| imitate recog | Cumulative number of states (t-1) adopting Juneteenth recognition or commemoration, including DC | Authors |
| leg black | Average Percentage of state legislators across both chambers that identify as Black/African American; just a simple average between House and Senate percentages | Klarner, Carl, 2021, "Chamber Level State Legislator Race: 1971-2021", https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/ZJSHEZ |

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Table A9: **Variable Codebook** (Continued)

| Variable Name | Variable Description | Variable Source & Notes |
|---|---|---|
| leg dem prop all | Proportion of State Legislators that are Democratic, averaged across House and Senate chambers | Ranney, Austin. 1976. 'Parties in State Politics.' In Politics in the American States, 3rd ed., edited by Herbert Jacob and Kenneth Vines. Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co. Klarner, Carl, 2013, 'Other Scholars' Competitiveness Measures', https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/QSDYLH, Harvard Dataverse, V1; Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); updated from 2016-2022 using National Conference of State Legislatures. 2022. State Partisan Compositions. See here: https://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/partisan-composition.aspx#. |
| lynch | Cumulative number of lynchings of Black persons by state from 1882-1968 | Tuskegee University. 2020. Lynching, Whites and Negroes. 1882 - 1968. https://archive.tuskegee.edu/repository/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Lynchings-Stats-Year-Dates-Causes.pdf |
| monuments | Cumulative number of confederate statues or monuments at the state level | Southern Poverty Law Center. 2019. "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy." February 1, 2019. https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy. |
| neigh holiday | Proportion of neighbors adopting Juneteenth holiday/observance in t-1 years, following Berry & Berry 1990's article on neighbors. However, allow AK and HI to serve as neighbors | Authors. We rely on Berry & Berry's (1990) state neighbor pairings; however, we also treat Alaska and Hawaii as neighbors since both are omitted from the continental U.S. |
| neigh recog | Proportion of neighbors adopting Juneteenth recognition/commemoration in t-1 years, following Berry & Berry 1990's article on neighbors. However, allow AK and HI to serve as neighbors | Authors. We rely on Berry & Berry's (1990) state neighbor pairings; however, we also treat Alaska and Hawaii as neighbors since both are omitted from the continental U.S. |

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Table A9: **Variable Codebook** (Continued)

| Variable Name | Variable Description | Variable Source & Notes |
|---|---|---|
| pctblack | Estimated percentage (rounded to nearest whole percent) of the state's residents who are black or African American (alone) (1980, 1990-2019) | U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact Finder: https://www.census.gov/acs/www/data/data-tables-and-tools/american-factfinder/; Kaiser Family Foundation estimates based on the Census Bureau's American Community Survey, 2008-2017. https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/distribution-by-raceethnicity/; Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR); Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 2021. Bridged-Race Population Estimates 1990-1999 results. See https://wonder.cdc.gov/controller/datarequest/D163;jsessionid=AC61D5701EB9AB89010351C237BF. For 1980 estimates, relied on Gibson, Campbell and Kay Jung. 2002. "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States. US Census Bureau, Population Division. Working Paper No. 56. See here: https://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2002/demo/POP-twps0056.pdf. Linear interpolation for 1981-1989, and for 1979, and for 2020-2022 |
| poptotal | Total population per state (1979-2020) | U.S. Census Bureau (http://www.census.gov/). Originally provided by Stateminder: A data visualization project from Georgetown University. http://stateminder.org/ (no longer accessible online). For 2012-2017: U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact Finder: https://www.census.gov/acs/www/data/data-tables-and-tools/american-factfinder/. For 2010 - 2020: Annual Population Estimates, Estimated Components of Resident Population Change, and Rates of the Components of Resident Population Change for the Nation and States. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/technical-documentation/research/evaluation-estimates/2020-evaluation-estimates/2010s-state-total.html.; Jordan, Marty P. and Matt Grossmann. 2020. The Correlates of State Policy Project v.2.2. East Lansing, MI: Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR). |

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Table A9: **Variable Codebook** (Continued)

| Variable Name | Variable Description | Variable Source & Notes |
|---|---|---|
| raceresent | Racial resentment score based upon national GSS post-stratified to the states. Nearly biennial data from 1988-2016, although some gaps. Other years filled in with linear interpolation. | Smith, Candis Watts, Rebecca J. Kreitzer, and Feiya Suo. 2020. The Dynamics of Racial Resentment across the 50 US States. Perspectives on Politics 18 (2): 527–38. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719002688. |
| recog | U.S. state adopted juneteenth day of commemoration or recognition, 1, 0=no, blank for years after first adoption | Smith, Erin M. 2021. Juneteenth: Fact Sheet. Congressional Research Service. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R44865.pdf. |
| recog simideol | Ideological Similarity between state considering adopting Juneteenth Recognition and prior states that have adopted Juneteenth Recognitions. | Authors, Using Mallinson (2021) ideological distance calculation, which is calculated using the Absolute value of \| (a) ideology of the state at time t minus ((b)the average ideology of states adopting in most recent year (k) plus (c) the average ideology of states that have adopted in prior years (j) divided by 2.) We also multiply by -1 to reverse code so that the more negative the greater the ideological distance between states. We use Berry et al.'s (2010) government ideology NOMINATE measure. |
| s diffs | Distance between party medians in state senate | Shor, Boris and Nolan McCarty. "The Ideological Mapping of American Legislatures." The American Political Science Review 105.3 (2011): 530- 551. http://americanlegislatures.com/data/ |
| soclib | Estimate of mass social liberalism of state residents. Constructed using a series of public opinion survey questions regarding alcohol, abortion, gay rights, women's rights, school prayer, and cultural (but not racial) issues. Measure is weighted by the proportion of Democratic, Republican, and Independent identifiers. Linear interpolation and imputation used for missing values. | Caughey, Devin, and Christopher Warshaw. 2018."Policy preferences and policy change: Dynamic responsiveness in the American states,m1936–2014." American Political Science Review. 112(2): 249-266. |
| south | US region. If state is located in South (1), West (2), Midwest (3), Northeast (4). (1979-2021) | Klarner, Carl, 2013, 'State Economic Data', https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/KMWN7N, Harvard Dataverse, V1. Notes: The codes do not reflect the numeric codes used by the Census |
| st | U.S. state abbreviation | Authors |
| state | U.S. state name | Authors |
| stateno | U.S. state id number | Authors |
| styear | U.S. state - year id number | Authors |
| year | Year | Authors |