

Appendix 1: Supplementary Tables

Table A1: National Partisan Control, 1936-1979

Year	House	Senate	Presidency	GOP Unified	Dem. Unified
1936	D	D	D		✓
1937	D	D	D		✓
1938	D	D	D		✓
1939	D	D	D		✓
1940	D	D	D		✓
1941	D	D	D		✓
1942	D	D	D		✓
1943	D	D	D		✓
1944	D	D	D		✓
1945	D	D	D		✓
1946	D	D	D		✓
1947	R	R	D		
1948	R	R	D		
1949	D	D	D		✓
1950	D	D	D		✓
1951	D	D	D		✓
1952	D	D	D		✓
1953	R	R	R	✓	
1954	R	R	R	✓	
1955	D	D	R		
1956	D	D	R		
1957	D	D	R		
1958	D	D	R		
1959	D	D	R		
1960	D	D	R		
1961	D	D	D		✓
1962	D	D	D		✓
1963	D	D	D		✓
1964	D	D	D		✓
1965	D	D	D		✓
1966	D	D	D		✓
1967	D	D	D		✓
1968	D	D	D		✓
1969	D	D	R		
1970	D	D	R		
1971	D	D	R		
1972	D	D	R		
1973	D	D	R		
1974	D	D	R		
1975	D	D	R		
1976	D	D	R		
1977	D	D	D		✓
1978	D	D	D		✓
1979	D	D	D		✓

Table A2: Regional Codes

Predominantly Red Region		Predominantly Blue Region	
<u>South</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>West</u>
Alabama	Illinois	Connecticut	Alaska
Arkansas	Indiana	Delaware*	Arizona
Florida	Iowa	Maine	California
Georgia	Kansas	Maryland*	Colorado
Kentucky	Michigan	Massachusetts	Hawaii
Louisiana	Minnesota	New Hampshire	Idaho
Mississippi	Missouri	New Jersey	Montana
North Carolina	North Dakota	New York	Nevada
Oklahoma	Ohio	Pennsylvania	New Mexico
South Carolina	South Dakota	Rhode Island	Oregon
Tennessee	Wisconsin	Vermont	Utah
Texas			Washington
Virginia			Wyoming
West Virginia			

*Originally coded as “Southern” (Klarner 2013a; based on Census regions).

Appendix 2: Robustness Checks

Table A3: Baseline Results with State and Year Effects, 1980-2014

	State Policy Liberalism _t					
	All States	Non-South	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
State Policy Liberalism _{t-1}	0.914*** (0.012)	0.916*** (0.013)	0.833*** (0.028)	0.849*** (0.028)	0.883*** (0.023)	0.916*** (0.020)
State Unified Dem.	0.027*** (0.008)	0.009 (0.010)	0.040** (0.016)	-0.004 (0.018)	0.049*** (0.018)	0.002 (0.016)
State Unified GOP	-0.040*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.010)	-0.002 (0.019)	-0.032* (0.018)	-0.033** (0.015)	-0.049** (0.019)
Democratic Alignment	0.017 (0.020)	0.052** (0.026)	-0.026 (0.025)	0.062 (0.039)	0.032 (0.050)	0.088** (0.044)
Democratic Misalignment	0.045** (0.019)	0.126*** (0.023)	-0.049** (0.021)	0.109*** (0.034)	0.033 (0.036)	0.196*** (0.044)
Republican Alignment	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.028 (0.024)	-0.021 (0.064)	0.012 (0.020)	0.019 (0.031)
Republican Misalignment	-0.017 (0.027)	-0.012 (0.036)	-0.040 (0.028)	0.025 (0.083)	-0.040 (0.064)	-0.018 (0.051)
N	1666	1190	476	374	374	442
R-squared	0.853	0.866	0.715	0.755	0.814	0.882
Adj. R-squared	0.845	0.857	0.679	0.717	0.785	0.866
F Statistic	1307.388***	1028.010***	151.137***	142.451***	202.239***	415.278***

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

Note: All models include state and year fixed effects; PCSEs in parentheses.

Table A4: Full Results with State and Year Effects, 1980-2014

	State Policy Liberalism _t					
	All States	Non-South	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
State Policy Liberalism _{t-1}	0.885*** (0.012)	0.881*** (0.014)	0.820*** (0.029)	0.813*** (0.028)	0.874*** (0.025)	0.880*** (0.025)
State Unified Dem.	0.040*** (0.009)	0.015 (0.011)	0.055*** (0.018)	0.011 (0.021)	0.044** (0.018)	0.010 (0.017)
State Unified GOP	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.046*** (0.010)	-0.001 (0.021)	-0.031* (0.018)	-0.037*** (0.014)	-0.057*** (0.019)
Dem. Veto Proof Majority	0.048*** (0.013)	0.048** (0.019)	0.031 (0.020)	0.014 (0.023)	0.066 (0.045)	0.075** (0.034)
GOP Veto Proof Majority	-0.026 (0.020)	-0.039* (0.021)	0.030 (0.039)	0.084 (0.062)	-0.054 (0.041)	-0.063** (0.026)
Legislative Professionalism	0.010 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	0.025 (0.019)	-0.013 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)	0.024** (0.011)
Citizen Ideology	-0.0001 (0.0005)	-0.0003 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Gini Index	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	0.003 (0.002)
Nonwhite Population	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.002)	-0.00005 (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	0.0001 (0.006)	0.003 (0.003)
Union Density	0.006*** (0.002)	0.009*** (0.002)	0.002 (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.008** (0.003)
Democratic Alignment	0.018 (0.019)	0.057** (0.026)	-0.027 (0.024)	0.069* (0.036)	0.032 (0.050)	0.088** (0.042)
Democratic Misalignment	0.040** (0.019)	0.119*** (0.025)	-0.058*** (0.021)	0.097** (0.040)	0.029 (0.039)	0.196*** (0.044)
Republican Alignment	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.001 (0.018)	-0.033 (0.024)	-0.014 (0.062)	0.005 (0.021)	0.022 (0.031)
Republican Misalignment	-0.019 (0.026)	-0.012 (0.036)	-0.049* (0.028)	0.042 (0.078)	-0.035 (0.066)	-0.023 (0.050)
N	1666	1190	476	374	374	442
R-squared	0.858	0.871	0.720	0.767	0.821	0.888
Adj. R-squared	0.849	0.862	0.679	0.724	0.789	0.870
F Statistic	675.036***	535.697***	76.126***	74.108***	103.485***	215.742***

*** p < .01; ** p < .05; * p < .1

Note: All models include state and year fixed effects; PCSEs in parentheses.

Table A1: Baseline Results Using First Differences, 1980-2014

	Δ State Policy Liberalism					
	All States	Non-South	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
State Policy Liberalism _{t-1}	-0.086*** (0.012)	-0.077*** (0.013)	-0.142*** (0.024)	-0.061*** (0.022)	-0.113*** (0.024)	-0.081*** (0.021)
State Unified Dem.	0.027*** (0.008)	0.015 (0.010)	0.041*** (0.013)	0.005 (0.015)	0.049*** (0.018)	0.006 (0.016)
State Unified GOP	-0.036*** (0.008)	-0.035*** (0.010)	-0.044*** (0.016)	-0.024 (0.018)	-0.042*** (0.015)	-0.035** (0.017)
National Unified Dem.	-0.001 (0.013)	0.0005 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.026)	0.020 (0.028)	-0.016 (0.027)
National Unified GOP	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.012)	0.019 (0.013)	-0.027** (0.013)	-0.027 (0.017)
Democratic Alignment	0.017 (0.020)	0.043* (0.026)	-0.011 (0.022)	0.028 (0.040)	0.031 (0.048)	0.088** (0.044)
Democratic Misalignment	0.045** (0.019)	0.119*** (0.023)	-0.047** (0.021)	0.097*** (0.031)	0.034 (0.036)	0.194*** (0.044)
Republican Alignment	-0.010 (0.015)	-0.008 (0.017)	0.002 (0.024)	-0.047 (0.057)	0.017 (0.019)	0.009 (0.031)
Republican Misalignment	-0.021 (0.026)	-0.020 (0.036)	-0.013 (0.027)	0.023 (0.084)	-0.039 (0.060)	-0.020 (0.050)
N	1666	1190	476	374	374	442
R-squared	0.066	0.071	0.111	0.050	0.132	0.094
Adj. R-squared	0.033	0.036	0.067	-0.001	0.085	0.049
F Statistic	12.664***	9.710***	6.262***	2.087**	5.985***	4.836***

*** p < .01; ** p < .05; * p < .1

Note: All models include state fixed effects; PCSEs in parentheses.

Table A2: Full Results Using First Differences, 1980-2014

	Δ State Policy Liberalism					
	All States	Non-South	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
State Policy Liberalism _{t-1}	-0.115*** (0.012)	-0.119*** (0.014)	-0.167*** (0.027)	-0.170*** (0.026)	-0.138*** (0.021)	-0.130*** (0.024)
State Unified Dem.	0.039*** (0.008)	0.018* (0.010)	0.051*** (0.017)	0.012 (0.020)	0.045** (0.018)	0.008 (0.017)
State Unified GOP	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.032* (0.019)	-0.038** (0.019)	-0.030** (0.014)	-0.060*** (0.017)
National Unified Dem.	-0.004 (0.013)	-0.006 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.025 (0.026)	0.036 (0.026)	-0.028 (0.027)
National Unified GOP	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.015 (0.010)	0.005 (0.012)	0.012 (0.015)	-0.013 (0.015)	-0.049** (0.021)
Dem. Veto Proof Majority	0.046*** (0.013)	0.049** (0.019)	0.034* (0.019)	0.012 (0.024)	0.038 (0.045)	0.075** (0.030)
GOP Veto Proof Majority	-0.027 (0.020)	-0.035* (0.021)	0.005 (0.040)	0.091 (0.060)	-0.039 (0.039)	-0.059** (0.024)
Legislative Professionalism	0.011* (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)	0.025 (0.019)	-0.019 (0.012)	0.005 (0.012)	0.024** (0.011)
Citizen Ideology	0.0002 (0.0004)	-0.00001 (0.0005)	0.001** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Gini Index	0.002** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.00002 (0.003)	0.004* (0.002)
Nonwhite Population	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004* (0.002)
Union Density	0.004*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.007*** (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)
Democratic Alignment	0.018 (0.019)	0.048* (0.026)	-0.015 (0.022)	0.037 (0.041)	0.028 (0.048)	0.094** (0.042)
Democratic Misalignment	0.041** (0.019)	0.117*** (0.024)	-0.051** (0.021)	0.095** (0.037)	0.017 (0.039)	0.203*** (0.044)
Republican Alignment	-0.005 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.023)	-0.002 (0.059)	0.006 (0.021)	0.027 (0.030)
Republican Misalignment	-0.023 (0.026)	-0.017 (0.035)	-0.033 (0.026)	0.067 (0.084)	-0.041 (0.061)	-0.016 (0.049)
N	1666	1190	476	374	374	442
R-squared	0.097	0.113	0.136	0.134	0.182	0.154
Adj. R-squared	0.061	0.074	0.080	0.069	0.120	0.097
F Statistic	10.734***	9.068***	4.400***	3.346***	4.809***	4.696***

*** p < .01; ** p < .05; * p < .1

Note: All models include state fixed effects; PCSEs in parentheses.

Table A3: Baseline Results Using Higher Order Lags, 1980-2014

	State Policy Liberalism _t					
	All States	Non-South	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
State Policy Liberalism _{t-1}	0.851*** (0.025)	0.873*** (0.030)	0.760*** (0.046)	0.903*** (0.059)	0.856*** (0.054)	0.811*** (0.042)
State Policy Liberalism _{t-2}	0.032 (0.034)	0.021 (0.040)	0.072 (0.058)	0.015 (0.073)	0.034 (0.070)	0.044 (0.057)
State Policy Liberalism _{t-3}	-0.014 (0.033)	-0.055 (0.039)	0.074 (0.052)	-0.082 (0.072)	-0.010 (0.076)	-0.043 (0.061)
State Policy Liberalism _{t-4}	0.038 (0.025)	0.078*** (0.030)	-0.065 (0.045)	0.098** (0.049)	-0.001 (0.053)	0.106** (0.052)
State Unified Dem.	0.033*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.010)	0.036*** (0.014)	0.022 (0.017)	0.054*** (0.019)	0.023 (0.019)
State Unified GOP	-0.042*** (0.009)	-0.042*** (0.011)	-0.051*** (0.018)	-0.034 (0.024)	-0.049*** (0.016)	-0.043** (0.019)
National Unified Dem.	-0.001 (0.013)	0.001 (0.016)	-0.011 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.028)	0.023 (0.029)	-0.016 (0.027)
National Unified GOP	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.012)	0.020 (0.014)	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.034* (0.018)
Democratic Alignment	0.016 (0.020)	0.036 (0.026)	-0.008 (0.023)	0.012 (0.041)	0.031 (0.049)	0.090** (0.044)
Democratic Misalignment	0.043** (0.019)	0.110*** (0.024)	-0.040* (0.021)	0.084** (0.037)	0.029 (0.037)	0.194*** (0.044)
Republican Alignment	-0.002 (0.016)	-0.003 (0.018)	0.009 (0.024)	-0.041 (0.062)	0.022 (0.019)	0.017 (0.031)
Republican Misalignment	-0.017 (0.027)	-0.016 (0.037)	-0.012 (0.030)	0.037 (0.089)	-0.036 (0.061)	-0.021 (0.051)
N	1519	1085	434	341	341	403
R-squared	0.842	0.862	0.775	0.883	0.828	0.866
Adj. R-squared	0.836	0.856	0.761	0.875	0.816	0.858
F Statistic	648.926***	542.015***	116.903***	199.609***	127.697***	203.684***

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

Note: All models include state fixed effects; PCSEs in parentheses.

Table A4: Full Results Using Higher Order Lags, 1980-2014

	State Policy Liberalism _t					
	All States	Non-South	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
State Policy Liberalism _{t-1}	0.832*** (0.025)	0.848*** (0.030)	0.727*** (0.045)	0.841*** (0.057)	0.842*** (0.053)	0.777*** (0.041)
State Policy Liberalism _{t-2}	0.032 (0.033)	0.021 (0.040)	0.070 (0.056)	0.010 (0.071)	0.035 (0.070)	0.050 (0.060)
State Policy Liberalism _{t-3}	-0.020 (0.033)	-0.061 (0.039)	0.070 (0.050)	-0.084 (0.070)	-0.014 (0.076)	-0.054 (0.059)
State Policy Liberalism _{t-4}	0.033 (0.025)	0.072** (0.029)	-0.067 (0.044)	0.064 (0.050)	-0.008 (0.052)	0.113** (0.051)
State Unified Dem.	0.047*** (0.009)	0.032*** (0.011)	0.047*** (0.017)	0.024 (0.021)	0.050*** (0.019)	0.024 (0.019)
State Unified GOP	-0.047*** (0.009)	-0.047*** (0.010)	-0.031 (0.020)	-0.038* (0.021)	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.062*** (0.019)
National Unified Dem.	-0.004 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.016)	0.0005 (0.016)	-0.022 (0.027)	0.034 (0.027)	-0.025 (0.027)
National Unified GOP	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.010)	0.006 (0.012)	0.015 (0.015)	-0.014 (0.014)	-0.049** (0.021)
Dem. Veto Proof Majority	0.063*** (0.014)	0.053** (0.022)	0.053*** (0.020)	0.016 (0.028)		0.078** (0.032)
GOP Veto Proof Majority	-0.014 (0.021)	-0.021 (0.023)	0.005 (0.043)	0.091 (0.060)	-0.039 (0.040)	-0.048* (0.027)
Legislative Professionalism	0.007 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)	0.036* (0.019)	-0.014 (0.014)	0.007 (0.013)	0.001 (0.013)
Citizen Ideology	-0.0002 (0.0004)	-0.0004 (0.0005)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Gini Index	0.002** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.002)	0.005* (0.002)	-0.0005 (0.004)	0.004** (0.002)
Nonwhite Population	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.008*** (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004* (0.002)
Union Density	0.005*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005 (0.004)	0.004 (0.005)	0.006 (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)
Democratic Alignment	0.018 (0.020)	0.040 (0.026)	-0.011 (0.022)	0.030 (0.042)	0.027 (0.049)	0.095** (0.044)
Democratic Misalignment	0.039** (0.019)	0.107*** (0.025)	-0.041* (0.021)	0.085** (0.041)	0.016 (0.040)	0.197*** (0.043)
Republican Alignment	0.0004 (0.016)	-0.0003 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.023)	-0.002 (0.061)	0.011 (0.022)	0.028 (0.030)
Republican Misalignment	-0.020 (0.026)	-0.017 (0.036)	-0.036 (0.028)	0.066 (0.085)	-0.041 (0.061)	-0.018 (0.051)
N	1519	1085	434	341	341	403
R-squared	0.848	0.867	0.786	0.891	0.833	0.873

Adj. R-squared	0.841	0.861	0.768	0.881	0.818	0.863
F Statistic	424.601***	355.195***	77.321***	134.349***	86.537***	134.817***

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

Note: All models include state fixed effects; PCSEs in parentheses.