

# State and Local Public Policies Database 2007: Codebook

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## ***Introduction***

This database codes more than 170 public policies for each American state as of December 31, 2006. In some cases, local policies are coded at the state level as well. The database is maintained on the World Wide Web at [www.statepolicyindex.com](http://www.statepolicyindex.com) and is free to the public. Public policies are categorized by topic into individual Microsoft Excel files. For information on sources and what each variable measures, consult the individual spreadsheets.

This document provides a guide to using the individual spreadsheets and summary data and state rankings on certain composite indicators of public policy, including an updated index of state policy liberalism (see Wright, Erikson, and McIver 1987 for the traditional measure).

When using this database, please cite our published article describing and analyzing the project:

Sorens, Jason, Fait Muedini, and William Ruger (2008). "State and Local Public Policies in 2006: A New Database." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 8 (3): 309-26.

## **Reference**

Wright, Gerald C., Jr., Robert S. Erikson, and John P. McIver (1987). "Public Opinion and Policy Liberalism in the American States," *American Journal of Political Science* 31(4):980-1001.

## ***Guide to the Spreadsheets***

Each Excel spreadsheet starts with a different letter identifying the issue set under investigation. The individual variables in that spreadsheet all begin with the same letter, to ensure, for the purpose of data analysis using variables from different files, that no two variables have the same name.

Each spreadsheet has two worksheets: “Data” and “Sources” (or “Metadata” in files that have been updated with detailed metadata). In the “Data” worksheet, the first row contains a detailed description of each variable and its coding rule, while the second row gives the standardized variable name. The first column lists the states in alphabetical order (federal territories are excluded because of their differing policy powers), and the second column gives the year: usually 2006, but some statistical data were collected as of the most recent available date, sometimes 2004 or 2005. A few files include data from multiple years.

In some spreadsheets, for instance “a\_fiscal.xls,” some variables were constructed from other variables, and in those cases the equations, where possible, were left intact so that the structural relationship among variables is clear. Be aware that when copying and pasting these constructed variables into new spreadsheets, they will need to be pasted as “values only” in order to retain the numerical values.

The “Sources” spreadsheet has the same format for the first two rows, but the third row contains a description of the sources consulted for each variable.

Finally, the “summary.xls” spreadsheet includes all the individual policy variables, except those variables that were used solely to construct composite variables, as well as the results of principal component analysis on those policy variables (the state policy liberalism indices).

The following files are included in the database:

- Codebook.pdf - This file
- a\_fiscal\_09.xls - Fiscal Policies (updated 2/19/09)
- b\_guns\_07.xls - Gun Control Policies (updated 2/19/09)
- c\_drugs.xls - Alcohol and Marijuana Policies
- d\_mala.xls - General Mala Prohibita
- e\_educ\_06.xls - Education Policies (updated 2/19/09)
- f\_land.xls - Land Use and Environmental Policies
- g\_labor.xls - Labor Market Policies
- h\_health.xls - Health Insurance Policies
- i\_smoking.xls - Smoking and Tobacco Policies
- j\_util.xls - Utilities Policies
- k\_lic.xls - Occupational Licensing Requirements
- l\_forf.xls - Asset Forfeiture Rules
- m\_ed.xls - Eminent Domain Reform
- o\_courts.xls - State Liability Systems
- p\_abor.xls - Abortion Policies
- q\_death.xls - Death Penalty
- r\_enfor.xls - Law Enforcement Statistics (updated 2/19/09)

- s\_marr.xls - Marriage and Civil Union Policies
- t\_elec.xls - Campaign Finance Laws
- summary.xls - State Policy Liberalism (updated 2/19/09)

## ***Fiscal Policies (a\_fiscal\_09.xls)***

The policy variables in this file attempt to measure overall “size of government” in terms of fiscal impact. The literature in comparative politics and political economy generally uses total government expenditure divided by gross domestic product (GDP) or government consumption divided by GDP to measure government’s total fiscal impact in a country’s economy. We have offered this approach by taking state and local government spending, both *in toto* and in each area defined by the Census Bureau, and dividing it by gross state product (GSP) from the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) (variable name AGSP). However, we do not believe that GSP is the best available measure of the size of a state’s economy. The BEA attributes business income to the state in which the business is headquartered rather than each state in which it operates, which inflates the GSP of states such as Delaware and Nevada, where certain businesses have disproportionately chosen to incorporate. To remedy this problem, we adjust the GSP figures by regressing total GSP on “state earnings by place of work” and mineral severance taxes, to represent labor income and mineral rents. We take the predicted values as our adjusted GSP figures, which should net out the corporate headquarters bias.

An alternative measure of the size of the state economy, used by the Tax Foundation in its measures of state and local taxation, is gross personal income for state residents. This measure vastly overstates the size of the economy for states who have many residents that commute out of state to work – and thus derive their income from economic activity in another state. States such as New Hampshire, Maryland, and Virginia see the size of their economies overstated by this measure.<sup>2</sup> However, states are able to tax income earned by their residents out of state (either through income or property taxes), so we use personal income as one of the denominators.

Even worse, some of the state policy literature has used per capita government spending as a measure of policy. This measure could wrongly imply that poorer states have chosen more “laissez faire” policies, even when government takes up a larger share of the economy in those states. For instance, the Soviet Union had lower per capita government spending than the United States in the 1980s, but the reason for that was that the Soviet Union had much lower per capita income than the United States. It would obviously be wrong to infer that the Soviet government(s) had a smaller fiscal role in the Soviet economy than the United States’ government(s) did in the American economy. It would be equally wrong to infer that Mississippi relies more on private sector education than does Delaware because it spends much less on education per capita. In terms of policy choices, spending and taxation as a percentage of the economy are the correct variables.

All spending variables are adjusted for federal block grants before inclusion in “summary.xls,” by taking the residuals of a regression of each spending variable on federal grants as a percentage of adjusted GSP/personal income. Thus, the values in the “adjusted” variables represent the amount of spending above the spending one would expect given that state’s federal grants.

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<sup>2</sup> The Tax Foundation “corrects” for this problem by including taxes paid out of state by state residents in the numerator of its tax variables. Of course, this makes state tax burden dependent on the policies of *other* states and thus totally unsuitable for our purposes.

States that receive more grants from the federal government should spend more money, but, arguably, spending that money is not a difficult policy decision. If we want to understand state priorities, particularly for construction of a state policy liberalism-conservatism index, then we need to measure variation in states' "hard choices," such as spending that must be funded by taxes or debt, rather than federal grants.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, transportation spending is adjusted for both grants and the log of population density, while social spending is adjusted for grants and poverty rate (dependency ratio was also tried but was not significant), and education spending is adjusted for grants and the proportion of the population between ages 5 and 22. Gasoline tax revenues are adjusted for population density only.

For certain other variables, such as government employment, the appropriate denominator term is total employment in the state. For more details, see the individual variable descriptions below. Government employment is also adjusted for federal grants.

All variables in this file are now measured through Fiscal Year 2005-06.

### ***Gun Control (b\_guns\_07.xls)***

This file contains codings of a number of different regulatory policies toward firearms. Most policies load strongly onto a single underlying component that reflects overall strictness of firearms regulation in the state, which is also reported in the file but not included in "summary.xls" (individual policies are retained for the summary file).

Summary indicators of "open-carry" and "concealed-carry" policies are created in this file.

An open-carry regulation index is constructed from *BOPEN*, *BJOURN*, *BSI* if applicable, *BPLACES*, and *BPREOC*. The "Sources" tab of the "b\_guns.xls" spreadsheet describes its construction in detail. The general idea is that states with no regulation of open carry or transportation of a handgun are at one end while states that prohibit both are at the other; states are ranked first by their permissiveness toward open carry, and then within each category of permissiveness toward open carry, by their permissiveness toward "peaceable journey," except that states that only allow open carry with a permit but are not "shall-issue" and have strict peaceable journey laws are ranked below states that do not allow open carry at all but have lenient peaceable journey laws. For states that require a concealed carry permit to carry openly, whether permits can be obtained a "shall-issue" basis becomes relevant and sorts out the middle range on this variable. Finally, the list of prohibited places and the possibility of local ordinances affect the feasibility and desirability of open carry for an individual and thus modify the scale multiplicatively.

An index of concealed-carry regulation is constructed in similar fashion. States that ban concealed carry score "0" while states that do not require permits are at the high end, followed by shall-issue states. The index is then modified multiplicatively by the list of prohibited places, the availability of permits for nonresidents, and by pre-emption laws. The expense and terms of concealed carry permits are not considered here but are included in the summary gun control index and "summary.xls."

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<sup>3</sup> The correlation between *ATOTPIP* and *AINCFG* is 0.82, demonstrating an extremely strong effect of federal grants on state spending levels.

A few codings were corrected in this spreadsheet to resolve inconsistencies among coders, and those changes from the initial release of the file are highlighted in yellow.

### Gun Control Policy Index (*BGUNS*)

Horn's Parallel Analysis indicates that, when eigenvalues are adjusted for random correlations among variables, all variables load onto a single component with an adjusted eigenvalue of 6.36. The component loadings for the individual variables are as follows:

Variable	Loading
<i>BASSLT</i>	0.3037
<i>BMAGS</i>	0.2909
<i>BLOCKS</i>	0.2657
<i>BDESIGN</i>	0.2482
<i>BLICENS</i>	0.2377
<i>BREGIS</i>	0.2344
<i>BWAIT</i>	0.2315
<i>BRETENT</i>	0.2165
<i>BPRIV</i>	0.2125
<i>BRIFLE</i>	0.2011
<i>BSHOWS</i>	0.1994
<i>BMULT</i>	0.1788
<i>BDEALER</i>	0.1766
<i>BBALLIST</i>	0.1706
<i>BNPG</i>	0.1581
<i>BIPC</i>	0.1474
<i>BCHILD</i>	0.1242
<i>BMINAGE</i>	0.1238
<i>BGUNBAN</i>	0.1051
<i>BPURGE</i>	-0.0327
<i>BIPT</i>	-0.0649
<i>BCONST</i>	-0.2024
<i>BOCI</i>	-0.2415
<i>BCCI</i>	-0.2615

The only variables that load rather weakly onto *BGUNS* are *BPURGE* and *BIPT*. It may be that *BPURGE* has more to do with privacy concerns than gun regulation. *BIPT*'s comparative lack of significance almost certainly has to do with its extremely skewed distribution. The state ranking for *BGUNS* follows.

State	bguns
Alaska	-2.772259
Vermont	-2.501994
Tennessee	-2.327612
Kentucky	-2.315489
New Hampshire	-2.313066
Wyoming	-2.262887
Montana	-2.193628

West Virginia	-2.152739
Idaho	-2.149098
Arizona	-2.110021
South Dakota	-2.066591
New Mexico	-2.003675
Utah	-1.94724
North Dakota	-1.850326
Nevada	-1.841153
Georgia	-1.835477
Mississippi	-1.821394
Maine	-1.772414
Missouri	-1.5859
Indiana	-1.572124
Oklahoma	-1.497706
Louisiana	-1.470963
Arkansas	-1.43645
Texas	-1.331445
Kansas	-1.289423
Alabama	-0.9600684
North Carolina	-0.9567341
Washington	-0.909893
Florida	-0.6381986
Colorado	-0.599654
Virginia	-0.551607
Nebraska	-0.5280668
South Carolina	-0.4563549
Delaware	-0.4503424
Oregon	-0.4380398
Iowa	0.1849303
Pennsylvania	0.2355732
Michigan	0.3684603
Wisconsin	0.3709618
Minnesota	0.4987347
Ohio	1.676162
Rhode Island	1.927234
Connecticut	4.477971
Massachusetts	4.704735
New Jersey	4.914219
Hawaii	5.210083
Illinois	6.399122
New York	7.345703
Maryland	7.825838
California	8.770307

***Alcohol and Marijuana Laws (c\_drugs.xls)***

This file codes state and local public policies toward alcohol and marijuana. Most of these policies do not load strongly onto a single component. There is one “composite

variable” in this dataset: *CBLUELAW*, which measures whether a state has statewide blue laws, and if so, whether there is a local option.

### ***General Mala Prohibita (d\_mala.xls)***

This file codes various regulations of private behavior that is not considered *mala in se* in the common law (“victimless crimes”). *DFIREWKS* is a composite variable measuring whether novelty fireworks are legal or banned, and whether additional types of fireworks are legal or banned.

### ***Education Policy (e\_educ\_06.xls)***

This file codes state policies with respect to public school choice, charter schools, private schools, and homeschooling. *ECSYRS* is derived from *ECSALB* and *ECSAUB* and measures the number of years of compulsory schooling required. *EHSNOTI* is derived from *EHSNOTF* and *EHSNOTE* and weights the extent of homeschooling notification requirements by their required frequency.

This spreadsheet has been corrected since the initial release. Data points that have been corrected since the initial release are highlighted in yellow.

### ***Land Use and Environmental Policies (f\_land.xls)***

This file codes land use regulations, public land ownership, and building codes. The only variables from this file included in “summary.xls” are regulatory takings prohibitions, smart growth plans, state wetland programs, state wetland regulatory protection statutes, state endangered species acts, and overall state role in land use planning (*FSSPR*). In our source, *FSSPR* was coded from the other state requirements for building codes, zoning, and general land-use regulations.

*FSTATE* codes state land ownership, as a percentage of total state land area, for those years for which data were available. Data come from different sources and thus are not necessarily comparable over time or across states, although we consider the 2006 data, which come directly from state government sources, to be fairly reliable.

### ***Labor Market Policies (g\_labor.xls)***

This file contains measures of state intervention in labor markets. Policy variables are measured as of December 31, 2006, while the unionization rates represent annual averages for 2005. Unionization rates are of course not public policies in themselves, but presumably reflect a number of legislative and administrative decisions that affect the desirability and ease of collective bargaining. However, unionization rates should probably also affect subsequent policy change, as more unionized states tend to see more powerful organized labor lobbying efforts. Thus, it is unclear whether unionization rates should be included in an overall policy index; we thus create the state policy index both with and without this variable.

*GMINRAW* reports the actual statutory minimum wage as of December 31, 2006. The federal minimum was 5.15. States with no statutory minimum wage above the federal standard are then scored “0” on *GMINWAG*; otherwise, *GMINWAG* is equal to

(GMINRAW/GEARNPC)\*10. The intent is to create a minimum wage variable that is adjusted for state per capita wages. High-wage states will tend to have higher minimum wages, and a higher minimum wage should have less economic impact in a high-wage state than in a low-wage state.

GCOMPCOV is an index of the “universality” of mandatory workers’ compensation. States with exemptions for certain small businesses and agricultural workers receive minor (0.1 each) deductions from the maximum of “1,” while Texas is scored “0.”

GCOMPFND is an index of state policy toward workers’ compensation funds. States receive points for allowing private and self-insurance and lose a point for running a state fund.

### **Health Insurance Policies (*h\_health.xls*)**

This file measures several types of regulation of health insurance at the state level. *HINDGII* is an index of guaranteed-issue policies for individuals. Most states that choose to mandate guaranteed issue for individuals choose either to mandate guaranteed issue for groups of one, or to allow a separate “individual market” for which there is guaranteed issue. A few states, seemingly redundantly, do both.

*HMINDEX* is our index of health insurance mandates. It adds together the various individual mandates with respect to benefits, providers, and dependent coverage while weighting each one by its estimated contribution to the expense of a health insurance policy, according to our source.

### **Individual and Small Group Health Insurance Controls (*HINDISGI*)**

We found that state regulations toward the individual and small group health insurance market (rate restrictions, guaranteed issue, banning of elimination riders) loaded strongly onto a single factor, reported as *HINDISGI*. Horn’s Parallel Analysis yielded an adjusted eigenvalue of 1.47 (2.81 unadjusted). The individual variable loadings are as follows:

Variable	Loading	Unexplained
<i>HINDGII</i>	0.4645	0.3944
<i>HSGRATE</i>	0.5055	0.2828
<i>HIRATE</i>	0.5417	0.1766
<i>HIERB</i>	0.485	0.3401

The state rankings on this variable are as follows:

State	<i>HINDISGI</i>
Virginia	-1.5084
Pennsylvania	-1.5084
Hawaii	-1.5084
Illinois	-1.1501
Tennessee	-1.1501
Arkansas	-1.1501
Texas	-1.1501

Nebraska	-1.1501
Oklahoma	-1.1501
Kansas	-1.1501
Montana	-1.1501
South Carolina	-1.1501
Wisconsin	-1.1501
Wyoming	-1.1501
Georgia	-1.1501
Alabama	-1.1501
Missouri	-1.1501
Alaska	-1.1501
Colorado	-0.643
Florida	-0.643
Arizona	-0.643
West Virginia	-0.643
Mississippi	-0.643
Delaware	-0.643
Ohio	-0.643
Louisiana	-0.5174
Iowa	-0.5174
Nevada	-0.5174
South Dakota	-0.5174
North Dakota	-0.5174
New Mexico	-0.3266
Maryland	-0.2847
Rhode Island	-0.1359
North Carolina	-0.1359
Indiana	-0.0556
Utah	-0.0103
New Hampshire	-0.0103
Connecticut	0.2225
Michigan	0.4515
California	0.4515
Minnesota	0.5771
Kentucky	0.5771
Idaho	1.0842
Oregon	2.5823
New Jersey	3.4058
Massachusetts	3.5965
Maine	3.5965
Washington	3.5965

New York	4.5876
Vermont	5.0947

### **Smoking and Tobacco Policies (*i\_smoking.xls*)**

This file measures various state policies toward smokers, including tobacco taxes, smoking bans, vending machine regulations, Internet purchasing regulations, and “smoker protection laws,” a type of employment regulation. Most of these policies, except smoker protection laws, load strongly onto a single component, *IINDEX*.

### ***IINDEX*: Tobacco Policies Index**

Horn’s Parallel Analysis indicates that all the policies listed above, excluding smoker protection laws, load onto a single component with an adjusted eigenvalue of 2.15 (3.80 unadjusted). The factor loadings are as follows:

Variable	Loading	Unexplained
<i>ICIGTAX</i>	0.2285	0.8018
<i>IBANGOV</i>	0.3611	0.5051
<i>IBANPUB</i>	0.4584	0.2026
<i>IBANREST</i>	0.4752	0.1431
<i>IBANBAR</i>	0.406	0.3743
<i>IBANWORK</i>	0.4408	0.2627
<i>IVEND</i>	0.084	0.9732
<i>INETPURC</i>	0.1237	0.9419

The smoking ban policies are all much more tightly correlated with each other than with the other tobacco policies, not surprisingly, but they all do contribute to the overall index. State rankings are as follows (low – i.e., negative – values indicate lenient policies toward smoking, while higher values indicate stricter policies):

State	<i>IINDEX</i>
Texas	-3.178
South Carolina	-3.086
North Carolina	-2.986
Wyoming	-2.896
Tennessee	-2.794
New Mexico	-2.786
Pennsylvania	-2.7
Kentucky	-2.624
Mississippi	-2.424
West Virginia	-2.291
Arizona	-2.151
Alabama	-1.597
Missouri	-1.496
Kansas	-1.4
Alaska	-1.293
New Hampshire	-1.077
Illinois	-1.013
Michigan	-0.967
Iowa	-0.877

Indiana	-0.712
Virginia	-0.54
Nebraska	-0.512
Wisconsin	-0.22
Maryland	-0.138
California	0.0228
Minnesota	0.0378
Oklahoma	0.1043
North Dakota	0.5933
Georgia	0.6643
Idaho	0.794
Louisiana	0.8077
Maine	0.9287
Oregon	0.9398
Florida	1.0077
South Dakota	1.1873
Nevada	1.2559
Arkansas	1.3884
Colorado	1.9303
Washington	2.0719
Utah	2.1602
Connecticut	2.1697
Vermont	2.181
Delaware	2.3534
Massachusetts	2.4514
Ohio	2.6035
New York	2.6928
Hawaii	2.7285
Montana	2.7643
New Jersey	2.8838
Rhode Island	3.0358

### ***Utilities Policies (j\_util.xls)***

This file measures comparative state government efforts at deregulation of utilities industries: electricity, natural gas, telecommunications, and cable.

### ***JDCI: Cable Deregulation Index***

States score the maximum on this index if they have liberalized cable markets but have not imposed public buildings service or channel requirements. States receive a larger penalty on this variable for channel requirements than for public buildings service requirements.

## **Occupational Licensing Requirements (*k\_lic.xls*)**

This file codes states on the basis of whether or not they require state licensure for the practice of certain occupations. *KLICIND* is simply the sum of licensed occupations. State rankings follow:

State	<i>KLICIND</i>
Colorado	11
Pennsylvania	13
Michigan	14
Hawaii	16
Indiana	16
Kansas	18
Missouri	18
Idaho	18
Montana	18
Alaska	19
Wyoming	20
Utah	20
Nevada	20
Wisconsin	20
Delaware	20
Mississippi	21
Minnesota	21
Oklahoma	21
Washington	21
Louisiana	21
Iowa	21
New Jersey	22
South Carolina	22
Illinois	22
California	22
New Mexico	22
Nebraska	22
Virginia	22
Georgia	22
Texas	22
Alabama	23
Vermont	23
South Dakota	23
New York	23
Maryland	23
Florida	23
North Dakota	24
Massachusetts	24
Ohio	24
Arizona	24
West Virginia	24

Kentucky	25
Connecticut	25
New Hampshire	25
Oregon	26
Rhode Island	26
North Carolina	27
Tennessee	27
Arkansas	30
Maine	30

### ***Asset Forfeiture Rules (I\_forf.xls)***

This file measures two types of statutory requirements for civil asset forfeiture. *LFORF* presents a “difficulty of asset forfeiture” index. From the perspective of the government, it is easiest to seize and retain property if the owner of the property need not be at fault in any way, and, secondarily, if the burden of proof is on the owner to recover his or her property. The states are ranked as follows, from easiest for the government to most difficult:

State	<i>LFORF</i>
Nevada	0
Wisconsin	0
Indiana	1
Minnesota	1
Mississippi	1
Alabama	2
Alaska	2
Georgia	2
Idaho	2
Iowa	2
Louisiana	2
Massachusetts	2
New Jersey	2
North Carolina	2
Rhode Island	2
Delaware	3
Illinois	3
Kentucky	3
Maryland	3
Montana	3
Nebraska	3
Oregon	3
Pennsylvania	3
South Carolina	3
Vermont	3
Wyoming	3

Arizona	4
Connecticut	4
Florida	4
Kansas	4
Oklahoma	4
Texas	4
Virginia	4
Arkansas	5
California	5
Colorado	5
Hawaii	5
Maine	5
Michigan	5
Missouri	5
New Hampshire	5
New Mexico	5
New York	5
North Dakota	5
Ohio	5
South Dakota	5
Tennessee	5
Utah	5
Washington	5
West Virginia	5

### ***Eminent Domain Reform (m\_ed.xls)***

This file codes various aspects of eminent domain reform, yielding a single “eminent domain reform index.” This index essentially starts with a raw score, which sums three variables: whether eminent domain reform has been passed (0/1), the extent to which that reform prohibits taking private property for private use (0/0.5/1), and the extent to which the reform implements a stricter definition of blight for the purpose of public taking (0/0.5/1). Then a state receives a 50% bonus if it has incorporated all reforms into its constitution, and a 25% bonus if it has only incorporated some of the reforms into its constitution.

### **MINDEX: Extent of Eminent Domain Reform**

State	mindex
Arkansas	0
Connecticut	0
Hawaii	0
Maryland	0
Massachusetts	0
Mississippi	0
Montana	0
Nevada	0

New Jersey	0
New Mexico	0
New York	0
Rhode Island	0
Washington	0
Wyoming	0
Ohio	0.75
Oklahoma	0.75
California	1
Delaware	1
Missouri	1
Nebraska	1
Virginia	1
Alaska	1.5
Idaho	1.5
Illinois	1.5
Kentucky	1.5
Maine	1.5
North Carolina	1.5
Tennessee	1.5
Texas	1.5
Vermont	1.5
Colorado	2
Iowa	2
West Virginia	2
Wisconsin	2
Indiana	2.5
Kansas	2.5
Minnesota	2.5
Oregon	2.5
Utah	2.5
Arizona	3
Pennsylvania	3
South Dakota	3
Alabama	3.75
Georgia	3.75
Louisiana	3.75
Michigan	3.75
New Hampshire	3.75
South Carolina	3.75
Florida	4.5
North Dakota	4.5

***State Liability Systems (o\_courts.xls)***

This file contains a single variable: the U.S. Chamber of Commerce ranking of the reliability of each state’s tort system. The data are based on business surveys.

## OLIABRK: State Liability Systems Ranking

State	<i>OLIABRK</i>
West Virginia	37.3
Louisiana	39
Mississippi	39.7
Alabama	44.4
Hawaii	48
Illinois	49.2
California	49.8
Texas	52
South Carolina	53.9
Arkansas	54.1
New Mexico	54.2
Montana	54.8
Florida	55.2
Nevada	56
Alaska	56.2
Missouri	57.8
Kentucky	58
Oklahoma	58.8
Massachusetts	59
Pennsylvania	59.3
Oregon	59.8
Tennessee	59.9
Washington	60.7
Georgia	61
Rhode Island	61.1
New Jersey	61.4
Vermont	62.3
Wisconsin	62.6
Michigan	63.1
New York	63.2
Maryland	63.4
Ohio	63.5
Idaho	64
Wyoming	64.2
Utah	64.2
Kansas	64.5
Minnesota	65
Arizona	65.1
Indiana	65.2
North Dakota	65.2
North Carolina	65.2
Maine	65.5
Colorado	65.6
South Dakota	65.7

New Hampshire	66
Connecticut	66.9
Iowa	68.8
Virginia	71.1
Nebraska	71.5
Delaware	74.9

### **Abortion Laws (*p\_abor.xls*)**

This file codes several state policies on abortion, with regard to both restrictions and public funding. We do not consider statutes that have been judicially invalidated. Most of these policies load strongly onto a single component, *PABOR*. The details of the principal component analysis are set forth below.

### **PMINORS**

This variable is an index of state abortion policy with respect to minors. It simply sums *PNOTIF* and *PCONS*.

### **PABOR: Abortion Policy Ranking**

Horn's Parallel Analysis indicates that the abortion law variables load onto a single component with an adjusted eigenvalue of 1.76 (unadjusted eigenvalue is 3.54).

The individual variables' factor loadings on *PABOR* are as follows:

Variable	Loading
<i>PWAIT</i>	0.43
<i>PMINORS</i>	0.42
<i>PCOUNS</i>	0.35
<i>PGESTLIM</i>	0.31
<i>PHOSP</i>	0.31
<i>PLICPHYS</i>	0.28
<i>PSECPHYS</i>	0.24
<i>PPRIVINS</i>	0.18
<i>PPARBTH</i>	-0.03
<i>PPUBFUND</i>	-0.39

Low (negative) values on the variable indicate leniency toward abortion while high (positive) values indicate strictness.

State	<i>PABOR</i>
New Mexico	-3.53
Oregon	-3.43
Vermont	-3.43
Hawaii	-2.75
Washington	-2.71
New Hampshire	-2.62
Montana	-2.21
New York	-2.21

New Jersey	-2.13
Alaska	-2.05
California	-2.03
Maryland	-1.56
Colorado	-1.47
Delaware	-1.44
Connecticut	-1.41
West Virginia	-1.4
Maine	-1.23
Illinois	-0.82
Iowa	-0.75
Arizona	-0.58
Massachusetts	-0.45
Wyoming	-0.27
Florida	-0.25
Nevada	0.11
North Carolina	0.35
Tennessee	0.43
Ohio	0.46
Kansas	0.53
Mississippi	0.56
Minnesota	0.62
Nebraska	0.8
Rhode Island	1.06
Georgia	1.2
Michigan	1.28
Texas	1.28
Idaho	1.42
South Dakota	1.43
Arkansas	1.78
Louisiana	1.78
Kentucky	1.9
Utah	1.91
Wisconsin	1.91
Missouri	2.38
Indiana	2.41
Alabama	2.41
Virginia	2.41
Pennsylvania	2.41
South Carolina	2.41
Oklahoma	2.41
North Dakota	3.08

***Death Penalty (q\_death.xls)***

This file contains a single binary variable, measuring whether a state has the death penalty or not.

## **QDEATH: Death Penalty**

Only Alaska, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin do not have the death penalty.

## ***Law Enforcement Statistics (r\_enfor.xls)***

This file contains several indicators of the enforcement priorities of states. Some states may take an aggressive arrest and sentencing approach, which results in a larger proportion of the population's being incarcerated. Other states may stress having large numbers of police on the streets as a deterrent. Some states may vigorously prosecute violent and property crimes but generally turn a blind eye to violations of drug laws. In some states police departments may be more willing to use general loitering laws as a tool to sweep up various "undesirables."

Modeling enforcement rates as policy decisions runs into an omitted variable problem. States that for otherwise unexplained reasons have high crime rates might also have higher incarceration, arrest, and police hiring rates, despite the fact that their policies are not necessarily "tough on crime." We are more comfortable classifying a state as having strict (lax) enforcement if it has higher (lower) incarceration and arrest rates and police presence compared to what we would expect given its crime rates. Thus, we regress the raw incarceration rate on the reported rates of violent and property crimes in the state (and for incarceration, whether the state reports jail and prison inmates together, which inflates their numbers) and obtain the residuals: those residuals are the "adjusted" incarceration rate, with higher numbers indicating unexpectedly high incarceration rates. As expected, property and especially violent crime rates are positively associated with the incarceration rate.

However, police presence is positively associated only with violent crime, not property crime, so we regress police presence on violent crime rate alone and obtain those residuals for the "adjusted" rate.

Finally, we also obtain an adjusted drug arrest rate. However, in this case drug arrests and self-reported drug use in the past month are *negatively* correlated, presumably because more people use drugs when fewer drug arrests are being made. Therefore, we do this adjustment a little differently: we divide the annual drug arrest rate per 100,000 residents by the monthly drug use rate per 100 residents and then divide again by 10.

All data are from year-end 2004 and 2006. Montana does not report arrest figures to the FBI.

## ***Marriage and Civil Union Policies (s\_marr.xls)***

This file codes state policies with respect to domestic partnerships, civil unions, and same-sex marriage, as well as certain requirements associated with marriage licensure. SWAIT adds up the total waiting time for a marriage, both the wait to receive the license and the wait to marry after receiving the license.

### ***Campaign Finance Laws (t\_elec.xls)***

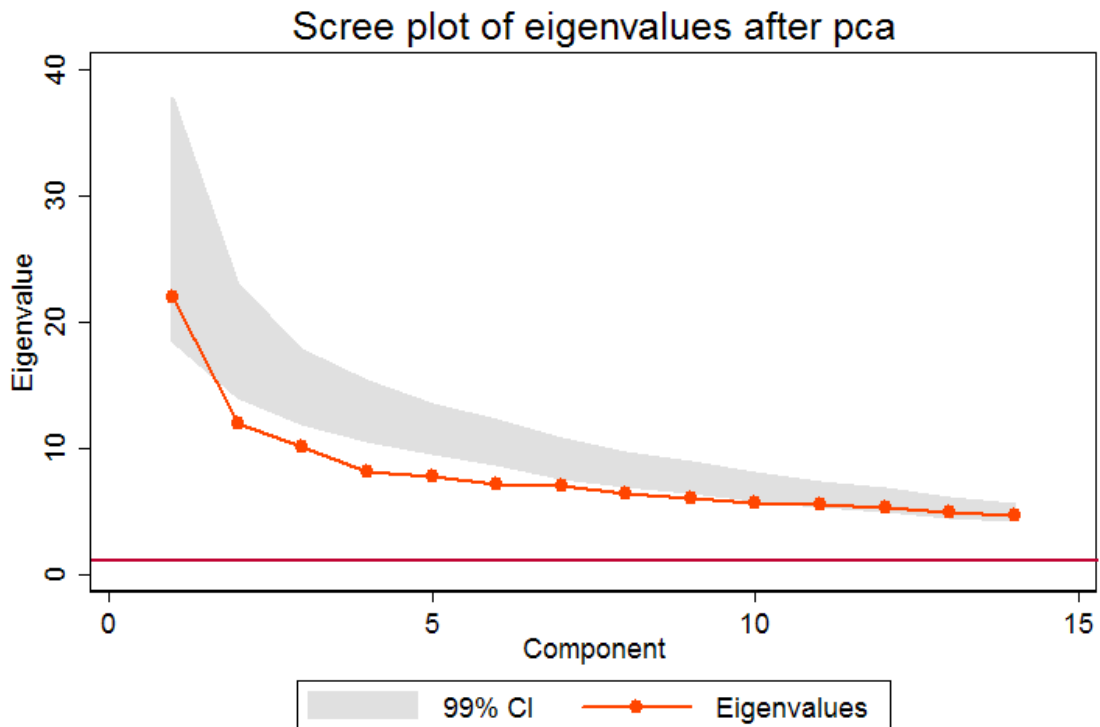
This file codes campaign finance laws in three main areas: public financing, quantitative contribution limits, and regulations on contributions during legislative sessions. For public financing, an index is created from a raw variable that rates highest those states that have full public financing for all elections, then those states that have some public financing for all elections and/or for political parties, finally those states with trial-programs. To create the final index, this raw variable is divided by two for states whose public financing depends on a voluntary tax add-on, which usually does not raise much money.

Indices for grassroots and corporate political action committee (PAC) regulation are also created based on both contribution limits for individuals and corporations to PAC's and limits on contributions *from* PAC's to candidates and political parties. Regulations on contributions from unions are not scored because they are in almost all states identical to regulations on corporate contributions.

Because these policies are complex and are affected by judicial decisions as well as statutes, we have used data from external sources rather than the statutes, and the latest data available are from 2005.

### ***State Policy Liberalism (summary.xls)***

The file "summary.xls" includes all the individual policies (some of them incorporated into higher-level indices) as well as the first three components from two principal component analyses (PCA's) on these policy variables. One PCA includes all policy variables, while one excludes unionization rate (for discussion, see above).



Horn’s Parallel analysis indicates that three components surpass the critical eigenvalue of 1. Of these, the lowest-order component has an adjusted eigenvalue around 13.8 (unadjusted 22.6), the second component has an adjusted eigenvalue over 4.2 (unadjusted 12.0), and the third has an adjusted eigenvalue around 2.6 (unadjusted 10.0). Additionally, the scree plot of eigenvalues from the first 14 components (above) shows that the first two or three seem much more important than the rest.

The first component (*LIBERAL1* and *LIBERAL2*) is clearly state policy liberalism, as the state scores and variable loadings below make clear. The second component (*URB1* and *URB2*) is a crime policies and civil liberties dimension (we originally called this “urbanism” versus “ruralism”). It tracks police presence, incarceration rates, gun control, seat belt laws, and the death penalty. Gun control in particular distinguishes this dimension from liberalism-conservatism, because conservative states tend to have high incarceration rates but more often lack gun controls. What we could say from this evidence is that tough-on-crime conservative states are likely to respond to crime problems with the death penalty, stricter punishments, and more arrests, while tough-on-crime liberal states are more likely to respond with gun control and more police. Unlike the first iteration of these data, we do not include arrest rates, since that would require the dropping of Montana or the use of increasingly stale numbers from an early year in which that state did report arrest data.

The individual policy variables’ loadings onto the first two components, unionization rate included, are given below, sorted by the proportion of the variance in each variable that these two components explain together:

Variable	Loading: LIBERAL1	Loading: URB1	Uniqueness
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basslt	0.1635	-0.114	0.2404
bmags	0.1578	-0.0992	0.3198
gunion	0.1582	0.0714	0.3741
blocks	0.1509	-0.0855	0.3981
grtw	-0.1474	-0.0818	0.4294
gminwag	0.1452	0.0699	0.466
ainctob	0.0763	0.1795	0.4811
bipt	0.0191	0.1991	0.5148
bcci	-0.1225	0.1099	0.5162
blicens	0.1288	-0.0891	0.5301
icigtax	0.1279	0.0873	0.5395
bregis	0.1198	-0.1051	0.5435
gdisab	0.1361	-0.0548	0.5464
smconres	-0.1403	0.0079	0.5553
boci	-0.0859	0.1485	0.5685
ppubfund	0.1342	0.0435	0.5713
ainccinc	0.0422	0.1793	0.5731
bretent	0.1328	-0.0449	0.5779
jdrse	0.1363	-0.0096	0.5801
cmpleg	0.008	0.1815	0.6022
bdesign	0.1126	-0.0961	0.6028
bpriv	0.1159	-0.0881	0.6036
pwait	-0.1254	-0.0578	0.6053
dfirewks	-0.1303	-0.0086	0.6161
hindgii	0.1206	0.0614	0.6265
ibanbar	0.1272	0.0268	0.6266
agspcinc	0.0567	0.1574	0.6294
bshows	0.0946	-0.1179	0.6312
sstmrrge	0.1271	0.0191	0.6314
bwait	0.1107	-0.086	0.6345
adebtpi	0.093	0.1145	0.647
fwtdrps	0.1246	0.0131	0.6476
agsptob	0.0544	0.1522	0.6544
bconst	-0.1088	0.0755	0.6644
cmedmj	0.0867	0.1168	0.6661
pminors	-0.1094	-0.0706	0.6701
dcell	0.1081	-0.0689	0.6792
aadmpia	0.0499	0.1438	0.6951
adebt	0.1073	0.0601	0.6968
bdealer	0.1102	-0.0459	0.7007
gprev	0.1074	0.0528	0.7064
hsgrate	0.1111	0.0259	0.7138
aincoth	-0.0208	0.1509	0.7161
rdrenrat	-0.0118	-0.152	0.7189
bminage	0.1077	0.0399	0.7194
agspiinc	0.098	-0.0712	0.7223
aincchg	-0.1067	0.0402	0.7236
qdeath	-0.0526	-0.1322	0.7272
ainciinc	0.0967	-0.0675	0.7343

brifle	0.0857	-0.0905	0.736
ehslaw	-0.0484	0.1325	0.7361
hmindex	0.0708	-0.1095	0.7426
aadmgspa	0.0459	0.1314	0.7447
aothpia	0.0949	0.0606	0.7525
bbalist	0.0901	-0.0725	0.7538
dbike	0.1025	-0.0266	0.7543
bmult	0.0741	-0.1005	0.7545
aenvpia	0.0872	0.0782	0.7551
pgestlim	-0.0427	-0.13	0.7555
agspoth	-0.0204	0.1394	0.7566
atrapia	0.0287	0.1357	0.7597
ehscurr	0.0966	-0.0481	0.7619
aothgspa	0.1009	0.0247	0.7633
tgprp	-0.1004	-0.0261	0.7646
hirate	0.0934	0.0553	0.7663
hierb	0.0982	0.0361	0.7669
bipc	0.0738	-0.0945	0.7698
agspchg	-0.1	0.0015	0.7747
bnpg	0.0923	-0.0488	0.7791
agspsale	-0.0658	-0.098	0.7866
aincsale	-0.0693	-0.0934	0.7867
fsspr	0.0962	-0.0104	0.79
pcouns	-0.0961	0.0042	0.7914
ibanrest	0.0939	0.0203	0.7964
aincalc	-0.0611	0.0981	0.8
jdrsng	0.0768	-0.0743	0.8007
ctrain	0.0437	0.1116	0.807
tgprc	-0.0849	-0.0471	0.8109
gcompcov	0.0812	0.0575	0.8114
rincarc	-0.0885	-0.0277	0.8143
hcsf	0.0199	-0.1211	0.8148
aincprop	0.0836	0.047	0.8159
agspprop	0.089	0.0199	0.8164
aenvgspa	0.0808	0.053	0.819
ibanpub	0.0891	-0.0023	0.8207
hhrhip	-0.0867	-0.0277	0.8213
cmmxpen	-0.0729	-0.0681	0.8242
plicphys	-0.0302	-0.1133	0.825
algbc	0.0078	-0.1185	0.8296
mindex	-0.0824	0.0344	0.8324
psecphys	-0.0653	-0.0771	0.8325
bchild	0.0409	-0.1033	0.8338
atragspa	0.0189	0.1142	0.835
calcdist	-0.0159	0.113	0.8405
fsmgrwth	0.0683	-0.0659	0.8427
agspalc	-0.0713	0.0541	0.8503
ibanwork	0.0801	-0.0117	0.8535
aedpia	0.0028	0.1101	0.8539

cbluelaw	-0.0508	-0.0814	0.8621
dautopip	0.078	0.0037	0.8626
ibangov	0.0749	-0.0294	0.8629
cmpdecr	0.0431	0.0864	0.8681
tindconp	-0.049	-0.0798	0.8691
cbeert	-0.051	0.0755	0.8727
fesasap	0.0679	-0.0344	0.8816
rpolicer	0.0391	-0.0834	0.8817
tindconc	-0.0602	-0.0548	0.8823
tcorconp	0.0172	-0.096	0.8823
hmer	0.0671	0.0346	0.8839
ecsyrs	0.0074	-0.0971	0.8853
emrps	0.0475	0.0724	0.8861
cwinet	-0.0667	0.031	0.8881
aadjgovemp	-0.0652	-0.0264	0.8956
ehsst	0.0665	0.0117	0.8986
echart	0.0296	-0.082	0.8993
afdecr	-0.026	-0.0841	0.8996
cspirt	-0.0269	0.0822	0.9024
aincgasa	-0.0618	-0.0095	0.9128
apspia	0.0588	0.026	0.914
apsgspa	0.0587	-0.0226	0.916
bgunban	0.0267	-0.0707	0.9237
emaps	0.0313	0.062	0.9316
jtdereg	-0.0516	0.0263	0.9317
agsputil	0.0186	-0.0679	0.9367
pprivins	-0.0515	-0.0171	0.9367
epsc	-0.0487	-0.0274	0.9376
hbfp	0.0329	0.0547	0.9396
ainclic	-0.0246	0.0612	0.9412
agspgasa	-0.0486	-0.0186	0.9425
swait	0.0375	0.0459	0.9428
aincutil	0.0247	-0.0599	0.9432
jcdi	-0.0027	-0.0682	0.9439
evouch	0.0223	0.0608	0.9444
epscurr	0.0446	-0.0299	0.9444
dsocgam	0.0408	0.0381	0.945
hsrp	0.0478	-0.0152	0.9457
ivend	0.0258	0.0572	0.9457
asocgspa	0.0476	-0.0149	0.9463
phosp	-0.0229	-0.0584	0.9471
hlhpm	0.0406	-0.0339	0.949
hmspec	-0.0029	0.0626	0.9527
asocpia	0.0439	0.0154	0.9537
ehsrkr	0.0327	-0.042	0.9546
cmmms	-0.0417	-0.0194	0.9562
dparimut	0.0341	-0.0375	0.9569
gosh	0.0285	0.0447	0.9576
tlegses	-0.0397	0.0202	0.9596

dbelt	0.0254	-0.0446	0.9615
ehstq	-0.0353	0.0292	0.9617
emlpst	-0.0389	0.0178	0.962
dtrack	0.0353	0.0257	0.9639
ismplaw	0.0016	-0.0542	0.9646
aincsel	0.0179	0.0475	0.9656
drawmilk	0.0293	-0.0347	0.9662
lproof	0.0233	0.0417	0.9669
lliable	0.0316	0.0269	0.9687
agsplic	-0.0144	0.0469	0.9689
dpas	0.024	0.0387	0.969
docont	0.0298	0.0274	0.9709
dcasino	0.01	-0.0452	0.9732
inetpurc	0.034	-0.0073	0.9733
tcprp	-0.0025	-0.0469	0.9734
tcprc	-0.0036	-0.0427	0.9778
dhelmet	0.0265	-0.0223	0.9782
tcorconc	0.0094	-0.0405	0.9783
chappy	0.0222	-0.0281	0.9793
ckeg	-0.0046	-0.0401	0.9801
agpspsel	0.0153	0.0334	0.9813
oliabrck	0.0253	0.017	0.9821
ekind	-0.008	-0.0366	0.9824
tpubfin	0.0259	-0.0079	0.9842
dgamfel	-0.0184	0.0247	0.985
aedgspa	-0.0023	0.0335	0.9864
ehsnoti	-0.0241	0.0044	0.9866
pparbth	-0.0226	-0.0124	0.9867
cmpmisd	0.0007	-0.0323	0.9874
etcd	0.0091	-0.0291	0.988



As the table and plot above demonstrate, gun laws, labor laws, and abortion laws especially serve to distinguish liberal and conservative states. Beyond these, laws on tobacco and smoking, same-sex marriage, health insurance regulations, medical marijuana, and various mala prohibita are also important, with fiscal issues falling some way behind these. Civil libertarian and tough-on-crime states are largely distinguished by incarceration rates, gun control, death penalty, seat belt laws, and campaign finance laws, with police per capita, government spending, corporate income and tobacco taxes, abortion laws, smoking and tobacco laws, and sobriety checks also factoring in.

The following table ranks states on the first component, from most conservative to most liberal, when unionization rates are included:

State	liberal1
Mississippi	-6.7958
Alabama	-5.8934
North Dakota	-5.4547
Wyoming	-5.3553
Texas	-5.2812
Tennessee	-5.0723
Oklahoma	-4.9361
Arkansas	-4.6781
South Carolina	-3.9896
Georgia	-3.9797
South Dakota	-3.8468
Idaho	-3.8283
Missouri	-3.6755
Kansas	-3.4673
Utah	-3.451
Indiana	-3.3679
Louisiana	-3.1217
Virginia	-2.7499
Nebraska	-2.6585
Kentucky	-2.6326
North Carolina	-2.549
West Virginia	-2.1891
Iowa	-2.1521
New Mexico	-2.0363
Arizona	-1.7395
Nevada	-0.8501
Montana	-0.7861
Colorado	0.07134
Pennsylvania	0.12364
Florida	0.15565
New Hampshire	0.17847
Wisconsin	0.75648
Michigan	1.19879
Alaska	1.25094
Minnesota	1.33984
Washington	2.28551

Ohio	2.6503
Delaware	2.67718
Oregon	3.75133
Vermont	3.91823
Maine	4.04857
Illinois	4.17964
Connecticut	5.85176
Hawaii	6.30594
Rhode Island	6.97943
Maryland	7.45629
Massachusetts	9.08124
California	9.46255
New Jersey	10.5692
New York	12.2454

The following table shows state rankings on the second component, from least civil libertarian to most civil libertarian:

State	urb1
Illinois	-5.894
Maryland	-5.438
Connecticut	-4.316
California	-4.202
Virginia	-3.518
Missouri	-3.186
Texas	-3.035
New York	-3.027
Georgia	-2.671
Nebraska	-2.509
New Jersey	-2.402
Oklahoma	-2.202
Louisiana	-2.124
Mississippi	-2.052
Colorado	-1.48
Arkansas	-1.457
South Carolina	-1.348
Massachusetts	-1.168
Tennessee	-0.918
Kansas	-0.877
Alabama	-0.855
Idaho	-0.816
South Dakota	-0.685
Hawaii	-0.679
Indiana	-0.672
North Carolina	-0.422
Utah	-0.214
Iowa	-0.132
Wyoming	-0.128
Arizona	0.042

Florida	0.198
Kentucky	0.276
Wisconsin	0.329
Ohio	0.453
Rhode Island	0.512
Nevada	0.591
Minnesota	0.763
North Dakota	0.964
New Mexico	1.093
Pennsylvania	1.331
Michigan	3.049
New Hampshire	3.11
Maine	3.207
Oregon	3.228
Washington	3.408
West Virginia	3.865
Montana	4.076
Delaware	5.012
Vermont	7.792
Alaska	15.13

The following plot shows how states score on both components:

