Online Appendix: Supplementary Information and Analyses for "Administrative Burden's Mass Political Effects: How the Administration of Medicaid and Elections Shapes Mass Voter Turnout" by Meredith Dost

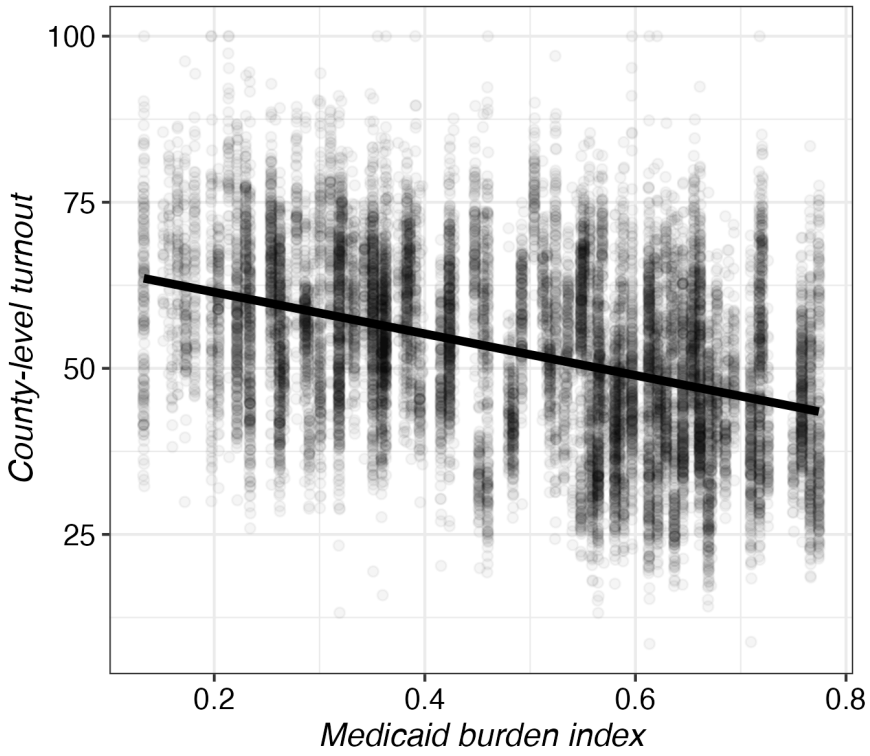
A1 Interview methods

The primary analyses utilize a quantitative difference-in-differences design, comparing counties within 100 miles of a state border to leverage state-level differences in Medicaid administrative burden while holding many potential confounders constant. To parallel this research design, I chose border counties in different states. Regional effects (anything from norms around receiving government benefits to religiosity to demographic characteristics) are—in theory—able to be ruled out as factors impacting my outcomes of interest: political efficacy, attitudes towards the government, and voting.

I first chose which states to examine before choosing individual counties. I decided to visit the bordering states of Kentucky, Illinois, and Indiana because each state has a substantively different history of Medicaid and Medicaid expansion. While all three states chose to expand Medicaid (KY and IL in 2014 and IN in 2015), the states' paths to expansion and the administration of each program are distinct. I then identified individual counties, seeking counties to be as geographically close to each other as possible. At the same time, I weighed practical considerations such as attempting to find counties that exhibited some racial diversity due to the pervasive racialization of means-tested policies (e.g., Katznelson 2013). I chose Henderson County, KY, White County, IL, and Vanderburgh County, IN.

My goal was to interview Medicaid recipients in efforts to: 1) validate the logic of my theory of how adminsitrative burden shapes the likelihood of voting via interpretive effects, and 2) validate the indicators included in my Medicaid administrative burden index. All interviewers were conducted in March 2022, after initial generation of the theory and Medicaid administrative burden measure. To get in contact with Medicaid recipients, I first contacted community leaders via email to request an in-person meeting while I was in town. This included mayors, city council people, nonprofit and community organization leaders, church leaders, and anyone else I could identify online. Using a snowball sampling method, I asked these individuals to put me in contact with people they knew who they thought would be willing to speak with me and who were in my target population. I additionally recruited participants using two other methods: 1) approaching people outside of the county's Medicaid and/or family services office as they exited, and 2) responding to calls and text messages from individuals that reached out to me based on flyers I posted in community libraries and other community events and information boards. I conducted a total of ten interviews with Medicaid and other means-tested program recipients during my time in the field, lasting 15-45 minutes each. I was unable to connect with any actual or potential Medicaid recipients in person in White County, Illinois, in part due to the fact that their Medicaid and family services offices were closed indefinitely due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Figure A1: Medicaid Burden Index and Average County-Level Turnout, Pooled 2010-2020



Notes: Among counties within 100 miles of another state's border.

Table A1: Full Results. Impact of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020 (Among Border Counties)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Medicaid burden index	-2.494***	-2.412***	-1.817**	-1.787**
	[-3.753, -1.234]	[-3.663, -1.160]	[-2.913, -0.722]	[-2.888, -0.687]
Expanded Medicaid	0.888***	0.520***	1.102***	0.702***
	[0.658, 1.118]	[0.283, 0.756]	[0.846, 1.359]	[0.434, 0.970]
Registration burden index		-1.643***		-0.988***
		[-2.121, -1.165]		[-1.461, -0.515]
Turnout burden index		-3.055***		-3.024***
		[-3.591, -2.519]		[-3.587, -2.462]
High Med eligibility			0.171	0.106
			[-0.207, 0.550]	[-0.277, 0.489]
Expansion*High elig interaction			-0.801***	-0.575***
			[-1.111, -0.491]	[-0.895, -0.256]
% non-Hispanic white			-7.834+	-7.712+
			[-16.184, 0.516]	[-16.036, 0.612]
% high school or less			-6.154***	-6.210***
			[-7.861, -4.447]	[-7.905, -4.515]
% age 65+			23.422***	21.480***
			[12.741, 34.104]	[10.672, 32.288]
Log median income			-0.543***	-0.481***
			[-0.673, -0.412]	[-0.614, -0.348]
Log voting eligible pop			-1.458	-0.859
			[-5.658, 2.741]	[-5.105, 3.388]
Democratic vote share			1.070	1.174
			[-1.496, 3.635]	[-1.411, 3.760]
Swing state			0.385***	0.447***
			[0.181, 0.589]	[0.239, 0.655]
Senatorial election			2.839***	2.961***
			[2.531, 3.147]	[2.652, 3.269]
Gubernatorial election			3.436***	3.449***
			[3.016, 3.857]	[3.030, 3.868]
Sen*Gov interaction			-2.305***	-2.455***
			[-2.745, -1.865]	[-2.894, -2.016]
Adj R^2	0.908	0.909	0.915	0.915
Within R^2	0.006	0.016	0.074	0.082

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: Classic two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county.

Table A2: Full Results. Impact of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020 (Among All Counties)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Medicaid burden index	-4.211***	-4.243***	-3.483***	-3.525***
	[-5.396, -3.025]	[-5.424, -3.063]	[-4.537, -2.430]	[-4.586, -2.465]
Expanded Medicaid	0.652***	0.297*	0.863***	0.492***
	[0.432, 0.872]	[0.071, 0.524]	[0.616, 1.110]	[0.235, 0.750]
Registration burden index		-1.317***		-0.680**
		[-1.755, -0.878]		[-1.115, -0.245]
Turnout burden index		-2.952***		-3.004***
		[-3.461, -2.443]		[-3.541, -2.468]
High Med eligibility			0.212	0.143
			[-0.143, 0.566]	[-0.215, 0.502]
Expansion*High elig interaction			-0.750***	-0.570***
			[-1.051, -0.450]	[-0.879, -0.262]
% non-Hispanic white			-4.759	-4.679
			[-13.385, 3.868]	[-13.287, 3.929]
% high school or less			-6.152***	-6.200***
			[-7.875, -4.429]	[-7.909, -4.492]
% age 65+			19.545***	18.041***
			[9.879, 29.211]	[8.249, 27.834]
Log median income			-0.534***	-0.483***
			[-0.670, -0.398]	[-0.621, -0.345]
Log voting eligible pop			-3.430	-2.791
			[-8.037, 1.177]	[-7.459, 1.877]
Democratic vote share			2.702*	2.822*
			[0.208, 5.196]	[0.317, 5.327]
Swing state			0.589***	0.629***
			[0.389, 0.790]	[0.429, 0.830]
Senatorial election			2.816***	2.947***
			[2.515, 3.117]	[2.645, 3.249]
Gubernatorial election			3.166***	3.191***
			[2.751, 3.582]	[2.777, 3.606]
Sen*Gov interaction			-2.148***	-2.308***
			[-2.568, -1.728]	[-2.729, -1.888]
No. of states	50	50	50	50
No. of counties	3,112	3,112	3,112	3,112
Total N	*18,665*	*18,665*	*18,665*	*18,665*
Adj R^2	0.908	0.909	0.914	0.914
Within R^2	0.006	0.014	0.069	0.076

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: Classic two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county.

Table A3: Alternative Measures of Medicaid Administrative Burden & Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020

	All counties				Counties w/in 100 mi of state border			
Fox et al. (2020)	-1.898**	-1.694**			0.306	0.404		
	[-3.245, -0.550]	[-2.874, -0.514]			[-1.113, 1.725]	[-0.832, 1.639]		
Reduced burden index			-1.667***	-1.063***			-0.963***	-0.373+
			[-2.108, -1.225]	[-1.486, -0.640]			[-1.417, -0.508]	[-0.801, 0.054]
Expanded Medicaid	0.290*	0.474***	0.303**	0.498***	0.538***	0.705***	0.532***	0.708***
	[0.062, 0.518]	[0.215, 0.732]	[0.075, 0.530]	[0.240, 0.756]	[0.299, 0.777]	[0.436, 0.974]	[0.295, 0.768]	[0.441, 0.976]
Registration burden index	-1.406***	-0.769***	-1.197***	-0.619**	-1.701***	-1.036***	-1.582***	-0.987***
	[-1.849, -0.963]	[-1.206, -0.332]	[-1.643, -0.752]	[-1.059, -0.179]	[-2.184, -1.218]	[-1.512, -0.561]	[-2.064, -1.100]	[-1.462, -0.513]
Turnout burden index	-2.935***	-3.000***	-2.933***	-2.973***	-3.028***	-3.002***	-3.041***	-3.008***
	[-3.452, -2.417]	[-3.544, -2.457]	[-3.446, -2.420]	[-3.514, -2.432]	[-3.571, -2.485]	[-3.570, -2.435]	[-3.579, -2.503]	[-3.574, -2.443]
High Med eligibility		0.110		0.114		0.077		0.089
		[-0.249, 0.470]		[-0.245, 0.472]		[-0.307, 0.461]		[-0.295, 0.472]
Expansion*High elig interaction		-0.535***		-0.572***		-0.544***		-0.567***
		[-0.845, -0.225]		[-0.883, -0.262]		[-0.865, -0.223]		[-0.887, -0.246]
% non-Hispanic white		-5.338		-4.666		-8.193+		-7.808+
		[-13.947, 3.272]		[-13.265, 3.933]		[-16.507, 0.120]		[-16.144, 0.528]
% high school or less		-6.315***		-5.985***		-6.274***		-6.157***
		[-8.027, -4.602]		[-7.697, -4.273]		[-7.975, -4.573]		[-7.870, -4.444]
% age 65+		18.224***		18.294***		21.780***		21.687***
		[8.416, 28.031]		[8.522, 28.066]		[10.982, 32.578]		[10.898, 32.477]
Log median income		-0.464***		-0.474***		-0.468***		-0.476***
		[-0.603, -0.325]		[-0.613, -0.336]		[-0.602, -0.335]		[-0.609, -0.343]
Log voting eligible pop		-2.516		-2.651		-0.718		-0.780
		[-7.197, 2.166]		[-7.339, 2.036]		[-4.975, 3.539]		[-5.035, 3.475]
Democratic vote share		3.079*		2.930*		1.310		1.223
		[0.544, 5.615]		[0.413, 5.447]		[-1.295, 3.914]		[-1.370, 3.815]
Swing state		0.664***		0.650***		0.449***		0.455***
		[0.460, 0.868]		[0.449, 0.851]		[0.237, 0.660]		[0.246, 0.664]
Senatorial election		2.949***		2.907***		2.950***		2.944***
		[2.649, 3.249]		[2.605, 3.208]		[2.644, 3.257]		[2.636, 3.253]
Gubernatorial election		3.199***		3.155***		3.466***		3.441***
		[2.784, 3.614]		[2.739, 3.570]		[3.046, 3.886]		[3.020, 3.862]
Sen*Gov interaction		-2.267***		-2.215***		-2.424***		-2.418***
		[-2.688, -1.846]		[-2.639, -1.791]		[-2.864, -1.984]		[-2.862, -1.974]
Total N	*18,665*	*18,665*	*18,665*	*18,665*	*16,740*	*16,740*	*16,740*	*16,740*
Adj R^2	0.908	0.914	0.909	0.914	0.909	0.915	0.909	0.915
Within R^2	0.011	0.074	0.014	0.075	0.014	0.081	0.015	0.081

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. Two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county.

Table A4: Comparing the Cost of Voting Index to Election Burden Indices: Impact of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout

	All counties			**Counties w/in 100 mi of state border**		
Years of analysis	*Presidential*	*Presidential*	*Midterm*	*Presidential*	*Presidential*	*Midterm*
Medicaid burden index	-4.295***	-4.415***	-6.151***	-2.686***	-2.569***	-4.788***
	[-5.323, -3.267]	[-5.461, -3.368]	[-7.664, -4.637]	[-3.747, -1.626]	[-3.642, -1.497]	[-6.390, -3.185]
Expanded Medicaid	0.607***	0.408**	-0.432*	0.823***	0.574***	-0.309
	[0.364, 0.850]	[0.154, 0.663]	[-0.850, -0.014]	[0.570, 1.076]	[0.305, 0.843]	[-0.747, 0.130]
COVI	-1.274***			-1.241***		
	[-1.471, -1.076]			[-1.448, -1.033]		
Registration burden index		-2.626***	1.678***		-2.778***	1.128*
		[-3.073, -2.179]	[0.758, 2.597]		[-3.251, -2.304]	[0.176, 2.080]
Turnout burden index		-0.886***	-3.846***		-1.159***	-3.359***
		[-1.394, -0.379]	[-4.822, -2.870]		[-1.688, -0.631]	[-4.395, -2.324]
High Med eligibility	-0.396*	-0.526**	0.110	-0.368+	-0.521**	0.107
	[-0.745, -0.047]	[-0.877, -0.176]	[-0.381, 0.602]	[-0.740, 0.004]	[-0.896, -0.147]	[-0.425, 0.639]
Expansion*High elig interaction	-0.973***	-0.683***	-0.423+	-1.102***	-0.751***	-0.450+
	[-1.300, -0.647]	[-1.013, -0.353]	[-0.873, 0.026]	[-1.441, -0.762]	[-1.097, -0.405]	[-0.923, 0.022]
% non-Hispanic white	-18.770***	-18.917***	9.797	-16.308**	-16.363**	1.280
	[-29.252, -8.288]	[-29.321, -8.512]	[-3.340, 22.934]	[-27.346, -5.271]	[-27.168, -5.559]	[-10.013, 12.574]
% high school or less	-1.938*	-1.802*	-7.305***	-1.984*	-1.872*	-7.363***
	[-3.483, -0.393]	[-3.386, -0.219]	[-9.909, -4.702]	[-3.560, -0.407]	[-3.473, -0.271]	[-10.249, -4.477]
% age 65+	24.747***	23.105***	13.741*	27.566***	25.405***	16.594*
	[14.016, 35.478]	[12.304, 33.905]	[1.289, 26.193]	[15.743, 39.389]	[13.537, 37.273]	[2.734, 30.454]
Log median income	-0.325***	-0.267***	-0.947***	-0.327***	-0.257**	-0.951***
	[-0.471, -0.178]	[-0.418, -0.116]	[-1.159, -0.735]	[-0.484, -0.170]	[-0.419, -0.094]	[-1.130, -0.771]
Log voting eligible pop	-8.009***	-7.337***	-9.220**	-7.755***	-7.223**	-5.927*
	[-12.122, -3.896]	[-11.624, -3.049]	[-15.535, -2.904]	[-12.275, -3.235]	[-11.924, -2.522]	[-11.069, -0.784]
Democratic vote share	-10.424***	-7.270***	13.506***	-12.871***	-9.840***	12.420***
	[-13.235, -7.613]	[-10.053, -4.488]	[10.015, 16.996]	[-15.726, -10.017]	[-12.663, -7.017]	[8.731, 16.109]
Swing state	-0.039	-0.776***	2.032***	-0.276*	-1.001***	1.988***
	[-0.249, 0.171]	[-1.020, -0.531]	[1.699, 2.366]	[-0.492, -0.059]	[-1.245, -0.756]	[1.634, 2.343]
Senatorial election			2.633***			2.556***
			[2.328, 2.937]			[2.246, 2.865]
Gubernatorial election			3.540***			3.258***
			[3.074, 4.007]			[2.772, 3.745]
Sen*Gov interaction			-2.019***			-1.933***
			[-2.446, -1.592]			[-2.375, -1.492]
Total N	*9,330*	*9,330*	*9,332*	*8,367*	*8,367*	*8,370*
Adj/Within R^2	0.932/0.089	0.932/0.084	0.865/0.166	0.932/0.095	0.932/0.093	0.864/0.159

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. Two-way linear fixed effects estimation with county/year effects. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county.

Table A5: Combined Election Burden Index: Impact of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020

	All counties		**Counties w/in 100 mi of state border**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Medicaid burden index	-4.148***	-3.382***	-2.279***	-1.616**
	[-5.332, -2.965]	[-4.443, -2.321]	[-3.534, -1.024]	[-2.718, -0.514]
Expanded Medicaid	0.371**	0.609***	0.585***	0.811***
	[0.149, 0.594]	[0.357, 0.861]	[0.352, 0.818]	[0.548, 1.074]
Combined election index	-3.623***	-2.905***	-4.174***	-3.377***
	[-4.268, -2.977]	[-3.546, -2.263]	[-4.881, -3.468]	[-4.078, -2.676]
High Med eligibility		0.165		0.126
		[-0.191, 0.522]		[-0.255, 0.507]
Expansion*High elig interaction		-0.607***		-0.618***
		[-0.913, -0.302]		[-0.934, -0.301]
% non-Hispanic white		-4.491		-7.541+
		[-13.042, 4.059]		[-15.809, 0.726]
% high school or less		-6.247***		-6.290***
		[-7.950, -4.544]		[-7.979, -4.600]
% age 65+		16.731***		20.229***
		[7.016, 26.446]		[9.516, 30.942]
Log median income		-0.475***		-0.480***
		[-0.613, -0.337]		[-0.613, -0.347]
Log voting eligible pop		-3.172		-1.209
		[-7.811, 1.467]		[-5.417, 2.999]
Democratic vote share		3.399**		1.738
		[0.928, 5.870]		[-0.804, 4.280]
Swing state		0.505***		0.321**
		[0.308, 0.703]		[0.117, 0.524]
Senatorial election		2.875***		2.905***
		[2.573, 3.177]		[2.596, 3.214]
Gubernatorial election		3.119***		3.388***
		[2.705, 3.532]		[2.969, 3.806]
Sen*Gov interaction		-2.160***		-2.336***
		[-2.581, -1.739]		[-2.777, -1.895]
No. of states	50	50	49	49
No. of counties	3,112	3,112	2,791	2,791
Total N	*18,665*	*18,665*	*16,740*	*16,740*
Adj R^2	0.908	0.914	0.909	0.915
Within R^2	0.012	0.073	0.014	0.079

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: Classic two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county.

A2 Testing the classic TWFE homogeneity assumption

The following analysis is based on Jakiela (2021), on diagnostics of two-way fixed effects, and Heiss (2021), which lays out how to implement Jakiela (2021). Given that the classic two-way fixed effects estimator is a weighted sum of the values of the outcome variable across all observations, outcomes with below mean levels of residualized treatment intensity—after controlling for county and year fixed effects—receive a negative weight. The burgeoning literature on two-way fixed effects demonstrates that negative weights can bias estimates if treatment effects are heterogeneous. However, negative weights do not bias TWFE estimates when treatment effects are homogeneous (Jakiela 2021).

Therefore, I follow the approach in Jakiela (2021) to directly test the homoegeneity assumption built into my results using the classic two-way fixed effects estimator. Jakiela exploits the fact that the relationship between the residualized outcome and the residualized treatment is linear, under the assumption of homogeneous treatment effects and parallel trends. Due to this expected linear relationship, the slope should not differ as the treatment changes. Table A6 demonstrates that the slope of the estimated linear relationship between the residualized outcome and the residualized treatment, the Medicaid burden index, does not differ as treatment intensity changes, denoted by the insignificant (p-value 0.751) estimate of the interaction of the residualized treatment and the treatment.

Table A6: Testing the Relationship Between Residualized Outcome and Residualized Treatment

	(1)
Intercept	-0.008
	[-0.186, 0.170]
Residualized treatment	-2.215
	[-5.047, 0.617]
Medicaid burden index	0.011
	[-0.330, 0.351]
Medicaid burden index × residualized treatment	0.853
	[-4.406, 6.111]
N	16,740
R^2	0.001

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: Dependent variable is the residual from linear regression of county-level turnout on all covariates in Table A1 plus county and year fixed effects and not including the treatment, Medicaid burden index. Based on Table A3 in Jakiela (2021).

Table A7: Differences Across Estimators. The Effect of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020

	Classic (1)	**de Chaise/d'Hault** (2)	**Classic** (3)	**de Chaise/d'Hault** (4)
Medicaid burden index	-2.412***	-0.965+	-1.787**	-1.164**
	[-3.663, -1.160]	[-1.937, 0.006]	[-2.888, -0.687]	[-2.238, -0.089]
No. of states	49	49	49	49
No. of counties	2,791	2,791	2,791	2,791
Total N	*16,740*	*16,740*	*16,740*	*16,740*
Covariates	Elect burden indices & Med expansion		All	

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: Two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year among all counties within 100 miles of state border. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county. Models (1) and (2) control only for state's Medicaid expansion status, voter registration burden index, and voter turnout index, plus fixed effects, in a given year. Models (3) and (4) control for all the following. County-level covariates: % non-Hispanic white, % high school degree or less, percent age 65+, log median income, log voting age population, Democratic vote share in previous election, and whether the county had a high-potential eligibility population Medicaid and its interaction with state expansion status. State-level covariates: swing state status in previous presidential election, and, in midterm years, dummies for Senate race in state, gubernatorial race, and their interaction. "Classic" models use the simple two-way fixed effects estimator, and "de Chaise/d'Hault" models employ the TWFE estimator from de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille 2024 and utilize bootstrapped standard errors (N=500).

Table A8: County Population Weighted Results: Impact of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020

	All counties		**Counties w/in 100 mi of state border**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Medicaid burden index	-3.993***	-3.038***	-2.146***	-1.397*
	[-5.155, -2.831]	[-4.061, -2.014]	[-3.386, -0.907]	[-2.465, -0.329]
Expanded Medicaid	0.187	0.330*	0.428***	0.552***
	[-0.039, 0.413]	[0.077, 0.583]	[0.191, 0.666]	[0.289, 0.816]
Registration burden index	-1.362***	-0.686**	-1.700***	-1.007***
	[-1.784, -0.940]	[-1.098, -0.274]	[-2.162, -1.237]	[-1.455, -0.558]
Turnout burden index	-2.917***	-3.107***	-3.062***	-3.133***
	[-3.424, -2.410]	[-3.641, -2.572]	[-3.595, -2.529]	[-3.693, -2.572]
High Med eligibility		0.079		0.069
		[-0.262, 0.419]		[-0.295, 0.434]
Expansion*High elig interaction		-0.443**		-0.458**
		[-0.739, -0.147]		[-0.769, -0.147]
% non-Hispanic white		-5.221		-7.500+
		[-13.015, 2.572]		[-15.342, 0.343]
% high school or less		-6.262***		-6.391***
		[-7.973, -4.551]		[-8.131, -4.651]
% age 65+		19.474***		23.271***
		[10.400, 28.549]		[13.236, 33.306]
Log median income		-0.379***		-0.395***
		[-0.498, -0.259]		[-0.516, -0.275]
Log voting eligible pop		2.633		4.017*
		[-1.149, 6.415]		[0.305, 7.729]
Democratic vote share		1.652		0.111
		[-0.716, 4.020]		[-2.346, 2.569]
Swing state		0.624***		0.441***
		[0.426, 0.822]		[0.235, 0.648]
Senatorial election		3.069***		3.060***
		[2.773, 3.366]		[2.756, 3.365]
Gubernatorial election		3.405***		3.633***
		[3.003, 3.807]		[3.228, 4.038]
Sen*Gov interaction		-2.523***		-2.658***
		[-2.936, -2.111]		[-3.092, -2.225]
No. of states	50	50	49	49
No. of counties	3,112	3,112	2,791	2,791
Total N	*18,665*	*18,665*	*16,740*	*16,740*
Adj R^2	0.911	0.918	0.912	0.918
Within R^2	0.014	0.083	0.015	0.090

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: Regressions weighted by log county population size. Classic two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year. 95% confidence intervals clustered by county.

Table A9: Medicaid Burden Interaction Results: Impact of Medicaid Administrative Burden on Voter Turnout in National Elections, 2010-2020

	All counties		**Counties w/in 100 mi of state border**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Medicaid burden index	-15.357***	-13.772**	-14.589***	-12.638**
	[-23.195, -7.519]	[-22.322, -5.221]	[-22.915, -6.263]	[-20.987, -4.289]
Burden*% Med exp elig	48.275***	44.069***	52.312***	46.298***
	[30.298, 66.252]	[27.120, 61.019]	[33.214, 71.410]	[27.911, 64.685]
Expanded Medicaid	0.048	-0.083	0.222	0.094
	[-1.153, 1.249]	[-1.275, 1.108]	[-1.053, 1.498]	[-1.111, 1.299]
Registration burden index	-1.208	-0.734	-1.559	-1.074
	[-3.607, 1.190]	[-2.990, 1.522]	[-4.161, 1.043]	[-3.470, 1.321]
Turnout burden index	-2.982+	-3.074+	-3.030+	-3.088+
	[-6.359, 0.396]	[-6.458, 0.309]	[-6.576, 0.516]	[-6.608, 0.432]
% Med expansion eligible	-31.156***	-29.496**	-28.615**	-27.000**
	[-47.259, -15.052]	[-47.682, -11.310]	[-45.215, -12.014]	[-45.224, -8.775]
Expansion*High elig int		0.323		0.320
		[-0.820, 1.465]		[-0.910, 1.550]
% non-Hispanic white		-1.411		-3.928
		[-10.672, 7.850]		[-14.669, 6.814]
% high school or less		-1.977		-1.929
		[-6.935, 2.981]		[-7.009, 3.150]
% age 65+		17.042*		20.026**
		[2.337, 31.747]		[5.776, 34.277]
Log median income		-0.460**		-0.452**
		[-0.757, -0.164]		[-0.748, -0.157]
Log voting eligible pop		-5.344		-3.606
		[-17.494, 6.805]		[-14.510, 7.297]
Democratic vote share		5.360		3.918
		[-4.745, 15.466]		[-6.070, 13.906]
Swing state		0.620		0.421
		[-0.200, 1.439]		[-0.360, 1.203]
Senatorial election		2.814***		2.823***
		[1.225, 4.403]		[1.232, 4.414]
Gubernatorial election		3.102**		3.356**
		[0.860, 5.343]		[1.140, 5.571]
Sen*Gov interaction		-2.215+		-2.365+
		[-4.802, 0.372]		[-5.047, 0.317]
No. of states	50	50	49	49
No. of counties	3,112	3,112	2,791	2,791
Total N	*18,665*	*18,665*	*16,740*	*16,740*
Adj R^2	0.911	0.915	0.912	0.916
Within R^2	0.036	0.087	0.040	0.094

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: "% Medicaid expansion eligible" is the percentage of the county population with an income up to 138% of the Federal Poverty Level. Classic two-way linear fixed effects estimation with fixed effects for county and year. 95% confidence intervals clustered by state.

Table A10: Medicaid Administrative Burden and Individual-Level Voter Turnout in 2016 Among All Adults Ages 18+ (Log Odds)

	DV: Validated voter
State-level variables	
Med burden*High Med enrollment	-1.655**
	[-2.653, -0.657]
Medicaid burden index	1.234***
	[0.542, 1.926]
High Med enrollment	-0.494***
	[-0.745, -0.244]
Registration burden index	-0.089
	[-0.293, 0.115]
Turnout burden index	0.270**
	[0.080, 0.460]
Expanded Medicaid in 2014	0.203**
	[0.080, 0.326]
Expanded Medicaid after 2014	0.614***
	[0.446, 0.782]
High Med eligibility	0.104*
	[0.002, 0.206]
Expans in 2014*High eligibility	-0.169*
	[-0.308, -0.029]
Expans after 2014*High eligibility	-0.512***
	[-0.704, -0.320]
Individual-level variables	
Black, non-Hispanic	-0.291***
	[-0.428, -0.155]
Other race, non-Hispanic	-0.531***
	[-0.656, -0.406]
Hispanic	-0.454***
	[-0.569, -0.340]
Education level	0.094***
	[0.070, 0.118]
Age	0.028***
	[0.026, 0.031]
Family income	0.025***
	[0.014, 0.036]
Female	0.024
	[-0.042, 0.090]
N	47,259
Adj R^2	0.057
BIC	61749.402

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Notes: Logistic regression with fixed effects for U.S. Census Bureau divisions, weighted with post-election validated voter survey weight. 95% confidence intervals clustered by state. High Medicaid enrollment is equal to 1 if >= median estimated population share on Medicaid from American Community Survey self-reports and 0 if not. Medicaid burden index is 2016 level relative to 2012, the prior presidential election year. Data source for individual-level variables: 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey. Analyses among all adults ages 18+. White non-Hispanic is omitted race/ethnicity category.

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