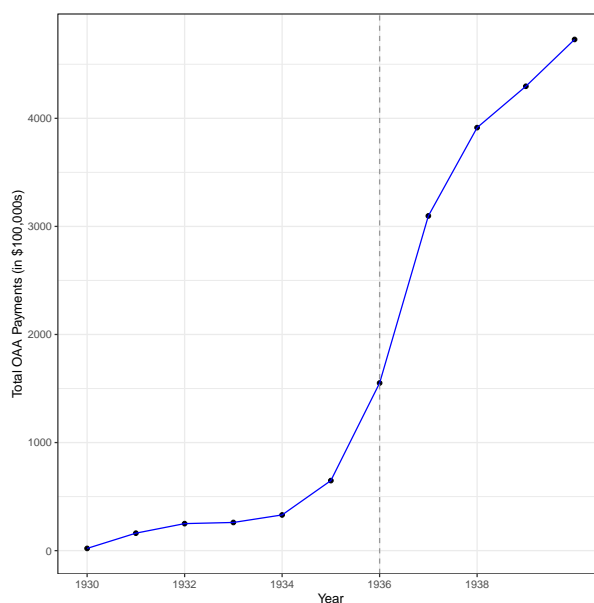


Online Appendix for “The Electoral Effects of Social Policy:  
Expanding Old-Age Assistance, 1932-1940”

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Figure A1: Total OAA Payments by Year, 1930-1940



*Note:* The graph shows the total old-age assistance payments made across all states in each year, including when those payments were not part of a federal program (all years prior to 1936).

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Democratic Vote Share, President	3,942	63.1	18.4	8.3	50.5	76.2	100.0
Turnout	3,939	58.5	23.6	2.0	41.0	77.0	100.0
OAA per Recipient 1932	48	51.5	87.7	0	0	90.7	285
OAA per Recipient 1933	48	57.9	94.5	0	0	106.2	359
OAA per Recipient 1934	48	76.7	96.2	0	0	122.8	294
OAA per Recipient 1935	48	98.0	98.8	0	0	166.9	333
OAA per Recipient 1936	48	148.3	91.9	0.0	79.4	219.1	328.6
OAA per Recipient 1937	48	194.3	85.4	0.0	133.8	257.6	384.5
OAA per Recipient 1938	48	211.6	77.7	35.3	163.8	257.6	390.0
OAA per Recipient 1939	48	213.1	76.0	72.4	150.5	255.8	390.7
OAA per Recipient 1940	48	220.3	85.6	18.0	161.8	269.0	454.4
OAA Coverage 1932	48	1.1	2.4	0	0	0.4	12
OAA Coverage 1933	48	1.4	2.6	0	0	1.6	10
OAA Coverage 1934	48	4.0	11.1	0	0	4.1	75
OAA Coverage 1935	48	3.7	5.0	0	0	6.2	24
OAA Coverage 1936	48	10.9	7.7	0.0	6.8	15.3	31.6
OAA Coverage 1937	48	17.2	9.3	0.0	10.9	21.9	47.6
OAA Coverage 1938	48	25.7	30.0	3.8	14.3	26.8	218.8
OAA Coverage 1939	48	23.0	9.4	8.9	16.4	27.6	48.2
OAA Coverage 1940	48	23.9	8.6	11	17.5	27.6	50

Table A2: Effect of OAA expansion on voter turnout - Payment Generosity

	Turnout			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
OAA per Recipient	0.003 (-0.015, 0.021)	-0.003 (-0.031, 0.025)	-0.003 (-0.021, 0.015)	-0.003 (-0.022, 0.015)
OAA per Recipient:High Elderly	0.009 (-0.0001, 0.018)	-0.001 (-0.007, 0.006)	0.011* (0.003, 0.020)	0.011** (0.003, 0.018)
% Black			-0.171 (-0.621, 0.279)	-0.200 (-0.690, 0.289)
Unemployment			-0.190 (-0.429, 0.049)	-0.205 (-0.439, 0.030)
% Farm			0.076 (-0.079, 0.232)	0.077 (-0.081, 0.235)
Density			-0.005 (-0.011, 0.002)	-0.005 (-0.011, 0.002)
% Female			-1.057** (-1.659, -0.455)	-1.023** (-1.694, -0.353)
% Foreign-Born			1.737** (0.537, 2.936)	1.735** (0.501, 2.968)
N	3,936	3,936	3,936	3,936
R <sup>2</sup>	0.975	0.981	0.977	0.977
County, Border, & Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Time Trends	No	Yes	No	No
Covariates	No	No	Yes	Yes
South by Year FE	No	No	No	Yes

*Note:* The 95% confidence intervals shown in parentheses are calculated based on standard errors that are clustered at the state level.

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001

Table A3: Effect of OAA expansion on voter turnout - Coverage

	Turnout			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Coverage Rate	-0.062 (-0.138, 0.014)	-0.104 (-0.289, 0.080)	-0.083 (-0.169, 0.003)	-0.086 (-0.173, 0.001)
Coverage Rate:High Elderly	0.056 (-0.021, 0.133)	-0.022 (-0.065, 0.021)	0.052 (-0.018, 0.121)	0.036 (-0.015, 0.086)
% Black			-0.109 (-0.585, 0.367)	-0.198 (-0.735, 0.338)
Unemployment			-0.201 (-0.450, 0.047)	-0.235* (-0.461, -0.010)
% Farm			0.067 (-0.095, 0.228)	0.067 (-0.099, 0.232)
Density			-0.008** (-0.013, -0.003)	-0.008** (-0.012, -0.003)
% Female			-1.062** (-1.685, -0.440)	-0.980** (-1.653, -0.308)
% Foreign-Born			1.779** (0.553, 3.005)	1.759** (0.475, 3.043)
N	3,936	3,936	3,936	3,936
R <sup>2</sup>	0.975	0.982	0.977	0.977
County, Border, & Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Time Trends	No	Yes	No	No
Covariates	No	No	Yes	Yes
South by Year FE	No	No	No	Yes

*Note:* The 95% confidence intervals shown in parentheses are calculated based on standard errors that are clustered at the state level.

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001

Table A4: Effect of OAA expansion on democratic presidential vote share - Payment Generosity

	Democratic Presidential Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
OAA per Recipient	-0.003 (-0.024, 0.018)	0.023* (0.005, 0.040)	0.001 (-0.018, 0.020)	-0.002 (-0.019, 0.015)
OAA per Recipient:High Elderly	-0.019** (-0.033, -0.006)	-0.020*** (-0.030, -0.011)	-0.023*** (-0.035, -0.010)	-0.013* (-0.025, -0.002)
% Black			-0.651* (-1.192, -0.111)	-0.233 (-0.673, 0.207)
Unemployment			0.162 (-0.099, 0.423)	0.330* (0.064, 0.596)
% Farm			0.488** (0.200, 0.775)	0.470** (0.198, 0.742)
Density			0.027 (-0.008, 0.062)	0.025 (-0.010, 0.061)
% Female			-0.617 (-1.544, 0.309)	-0.471 (-1.346, 0.405)
% Foreign-Born			-0.331 (-0.991, 0.330)	-0.750* (-1.427, -0.074)
N	3,939	3,939	3,939	3,939
R <sup>2</sup>	0.938	0.962	0.941	0.945
County, Border, & Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Time Trends	No	Yes	No	No
Covariates	No	No	Yes	Yes
South by Year FE	No	No	No	Yes

*Note:* The 95% confidence intervals shown in parentheses are calculated based on standard errors that are clustered at the state level.

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001

Table A5: Effect of OAA expansion on democratic presidential vote share - Coverage

	Democratic Presidential Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Coverage Rate	-0.077 (-0.237, 0.083)	0.170** (0.057, 0.283)	-0.036 (-0.195, 0.124)	-0.075 (-0.209, 0.060)
Coverage Rate:High Elderly	-0.191*** (-0.294, -0.089)	-0.113*** (-0.173, -0.053)	-0.204*** (-0.306, -0.102)	-0.119* (-0.216, -0.023)
% Black			-0.700* (-1.283, -0.117)	-0.301 (-0.747, 0.145)
Unemployment			0.189 (-0.075, 0.453)	0.354* (0.070, 0.637)
% Farm			0.453** (0.179, 0.728)	0.432** (0.180, 0.685)
Density			0.024 (-0.009, 0.056)	0.022 (-0.011, 0.056)
% Female			-0.606 (-1.593, 0.382)	-0.390 (-1.302, 0.522)
% Foreign-Born			-0.414 (-1.065, 0.236)	-0.795* (-1.454, -0.137)
N	3,939	3,939	3,939	3,939
R <sup>2</sup>	0.939	0.962	0.942	0.946
County, Border, & Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Time Trends	No	Yes	No	No
Covariates	No	No	Yes	Yes
South by Year FE	No	No	No	Yes

*Note:* The 95% confidence intervals shown in parentheses are calculated based on standard errors that are clustered at the state level.

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001

Table A6: Effect of OAA expansion on democratic presidential vote share by partisanship

	Payment Generosity			Coverage		
	Democratic (1)	Purple (2)	Republican (3)	Democratic (4)	Purple (5)	Republican (6)
OAA per Recipient	-0.022 (-0.053, 0.009)	0.008 (-0.012, 0.028)	0.002 (-0.020, 0.024)			
OAA per Recipient:High Elderly	-0.005 (-0.035, 0.024)	-0.023** (-0.037, -0.008)	-0.013* (-0.024, -0.002)			
Coverage Rate				-0.071 (-0.192, 0.050)	-0.037 (-0.205, 0.130)	-0.061 (-0.217, 0.095)
Coverage Rate:High Elderly				0.019 (-0.173, 0.212)	-0.160* (-0.281, -0.040)	-0.165** (-0.260, -0.069)
% Black	-0.097 (-0.502, 0.309)	-0.619 (-1.615, 0.377)	-1.726 (-3.734, 0.282)	-0.153 (-0.584, 0.278)	-0.605 (-1.789, 0.579)	-1.722 (-3.690, 0.246)
Unemployment	0.033 (-0.540, 0.606)	0.225 (-0.064, 0.514)	0.832** (0.330, 1.334)	0.072 (-0.495, 0.638)	0.275 (-0.039, 0.590)	0.798** (0.250, 1.347)
% Farm	0.334 (-0.086, 0.753)	0.356* (0.078, 0.634)	0.641** (0.259, 1.023)	0.344 (-0.085, 0.772)	0.319* (0.059, 0.579)	0.586** (0.222, 0.950)
Density	0.018 (-0.008, 0.043)	0.107* (0.017, 0.197)	0.017 (-0.009, 0.042)	0.016 (-0.010, 0.042)	0.090 (-0.001, 0.181)	0.014 (-0.009, 0.038)
% Female	0.200 (-0.593, 0.994)	-0.871 (-1.739, -0.003)	-1.304 (-3.814, 1.206)	0.366 (-0.475, 1.206)	-0.841 (-1.696, 0.015)	-1.247 (-3.452, 0.959)
% Foreign-Born	-0.286 (-0.916, 0.343)	-1.001* (-1.775, -0.226)	-1.486** (-2.562, -0.410)	-0.272 (-0.965, 0.421)	-1.121** (-1.785, -0.457)	-1.540** (-2.556, -0.524)
N	1,200	1,371	1,368	1,200	1,371	1,368
R <sup>2</sup>	0.937	0.875	0.879	0.935	0.875	0.882
County, Border, & Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
South by Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The 95% confidence intervals shown in parentheses are calculated based on standard errors that are clustered at the state level.

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001