Appendix

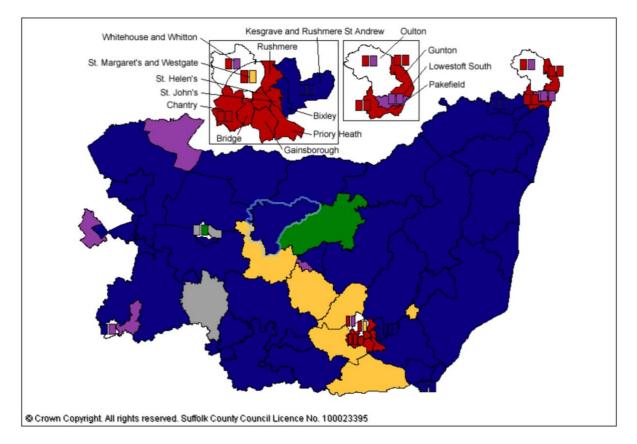


Figure A1. Thedwastre North Division (highlighted) within Suffolk County Council

Table A1. Suffolk County Council Thedwastre North Division Result, 2013 and 2017

| Party | % votes, 2013 | % votes, 2017 |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Conservative | 47.5 | 62.2 |
| UKIP | 25.0 | - |
| Green | 12.3 | 21.9 |
| Labour | 10.8 | 9.5 |
| Lib Dem | 4.4 | 6.4 |
| Turnout | 31.3 | 36.7 |

| assignedgroup | | Coefficient | P>z |
|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------|---------|
| Control | (base outcome) | | |
| Leaflet | | | |
| | LibDem | 0.0011482 | 0.992 |
| | woman | -0.0550786 | 0.431 |
| | votedin09 | -0.0933379 | 0.270 |
| | Reference agegroup = unknown | - | - |
| | age60 | -0.1262793 | 0.369 |
| | age3559 | -0.1253595 | 0.587 |
| | ageunder35 | 0.0634146 | 0.623 |
| | _cons | -0.9030821 | < 0.001 |
| Leaflet + Canvass | | | |
| | LibDem | -0.1121332 | 0.341 |
| | woman | -0.0363308 | 0.608 |
| | votedin09 | -0.1177861 | 0.168 |
| | Reference agegroup = | - | - |
| | unknown age60 | 0.009354 | 0.945 |
| | age3559 | -0.2227591 | 0.356 |
| | ageunder35 | -0.376107 | 0.012 |
| | _cons | -0.9086875 | < 0.001 |
| | Ν | 5,200 | |
| | LR chi2 | 14.14 | |
| | Prob > chi2 | 0.2919 | |

Table A2. Non-Postal Voter Experiment Assignment, Balance of Pre-Treatment Covariates

Table A3. Postal Voter Experiment Assignment, Balance of Pre-Treatment Covariates

| assignedgroup | | Coefficient | P>z |
|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Control | | | |
| | LibDem | -0.1712153 | 0.549 |
| | woman | -0.093684 | 0.532 |
| | votedin09 | 0.2393998 | 0.130 |
| | pvhousehold | 11.91732 | 0.983 |
| | Reference agegroup = unknown | - | - |
| | age60 | -0.3773986 | 0.169 |
| | age3559 | 0.4265176 | 0.301 |
| | ageunder35 | 0.2213558 | 0.448 |
| | _cons | -12.6601 | 0.982 |
| Leaflet | (base outcome) | | |
| Leaflet + Canvass | | | |

| LibDem | -0.2402022 | 0.320 |
|------------------------------|------------|-------|
| woman | 0.0818189 | 0.509 |
| votedin09 | 0.0785563 | 0.549 |
| pvhousehold | 11.92541 | 0.977 |
| Reference agegroup = unknown | - | - |
| age60 | -0.389475 | 0.084 |
| age3559 | -0.0408942 | 0.917 |
| ageunder35 | 0.1702224 | 0.482 |
| _cons | -12.01064 | 0.976 |
| Ν | 1,325 | |
| LR chi2 | 11.97 | |
| Prob > chi2 | 0.6086 | |

As per Gerber and Green (2012), I show that almost all pre-treatment covariates do not differ appreciably between assignment groups. In order to statistically check whether imbalances are larger than one would expect from chance alone, I run a regression of the assigned treatment on all covariates, and calculate the F statistic. The Likelihood Ratio (LR) Chi-Square test and its accompanying p value for each model are reported in the tables below. As the randomisation process was carried out separately for the postal voter and non-postal voter components of the experiment, the regressions are presented separately below. Table A2 shows the results in the non-postal voter experiment. Table A3 shows the results in the postal voter experiment. The tables show that the only significant predictor of assignment to the Canvass + Leaflet group is being aged under 35 within the non-postal voter part of the experiment. As per Gerber and Green (2012), I present analyses controlling for all covariates, thereby producing unbiased estimates (2012: 109).

| | NPV1 | PV1 | Fullsample1 | NPV2 | PV2 | Fullsample |
|---|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Lib Dem Campaign | 0.046** | 026 | .036* | | | |
| | (.016) | (.039) | (.015) | | | |
| Leaflet Only | | | | 0.043* | -0.048 | 0.028 |
| | | | | (.020) | (.043) | (.018) |
| Canvass Visit + Leaflet | | | | 0.049* | -0.003 | 0.045* |
| | | | | (.020) | (.043) | (.018) |
| Ward | | | Reference = | = Badwell Ash | ((****)) | () |
| Elmswell & Norton | -0.156*** | -0.235*** | -0.172*** | -0.156*** | -0.237*** | -0.172*** |
| | (.018) | (.039) | (.016) | (.018) | (.038) | (.016) |
| Woolpit | - | -0.026 | 0.019 | - | -0.029 | 0.018 |
| ····· · ······························ | | (.042) | (.035) | | (.041) | (.035) |
| Woman | 0.009 | -0.012 | 0.003 | 0.009 | -0.013 | 0.003 |
| | (.008) | (.021) | (.008) | (.008) | (.020) | (.008) |
| Voted in 2009 | 0.269*** | 0.150*** | 0.236*** | 0.269*** | 0.149*** | 0.236*** |
| | (.019) | (.031) | (.016) | (.019) | (.031) | (.016) |
| Party Support | | | Reference | = Rival Party | | × , |
| Lib Dem | -0.024 | -0.211* | -0.057 | -0.024 | -0.214* | -0.056 |
| | (.039) | (.095) | (.037) | (.039) | (.097) | (.037) |
| Unknown | -0.009 | -0.070 | -0.022 | -0.010 | -0.076 | -0.022 |
| | (.039) | (.077) | (.031) | (.033) | (.079) | (.031) |
| PV Household | - | - | 0.327*** | - | - | 0.327*** |
| | | | (.022) | | | (.022) |
| Age Group | | | Reference = Ag | e Group Unkno | own | |
| Age 60+ | 0.107*** | 0.026 | 0.088*** | 0.107*** | 0.030 | 0.088*** |
| | (.028) | (.050) | (.022) | (.028) | (.050) | (.025) |
| Age 35-59 | -0.008 | 0.001 | -0.004 | -0.008 | 0.001 | -0.004 |
| | (.045) | (.080) | (.040) | (.045) | (.079) | (.040) |
| Age Under 35 | -0.000 | -0.029 | -0.007 | 0.000 | -0.030 | -0.006 |
| | (.023) | (.055) | (.022) | (.023) | (.055) | (.022) |
| constant | 0.289*** | 1.331*** | 0.333*** | 0.289*** | 1.361*** | 0.332*** |
| | (.036) | (.097) | (.034) | (.037) | (.099) | (.034) |
| N (Households) | 5,200 (2,695) | 1,325 (676) | 6,525 (3,371) | 5,200 (2,695) | 1,325 (676) | 6,525 (3,371) |

Table A4. Full Results of Covariate-Adjusted Treatment Effects

Clustered standard errors in parentheses. ***P<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05.

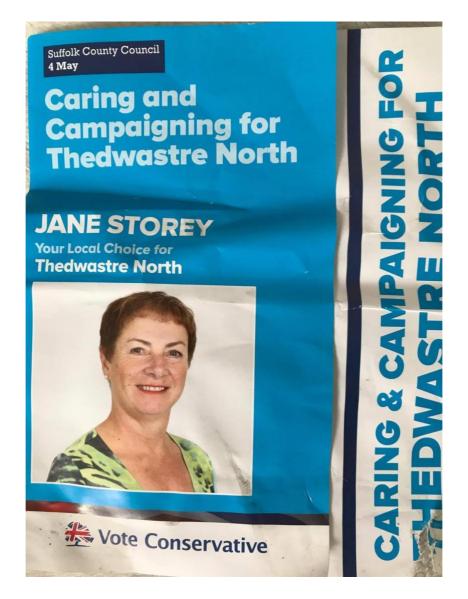


Figure A2a. Other Party Leaflets Encountered During Campaign (Conservative)



Figure A2b. Other Party Leaflets Encountered During Campaign (Conservative)



Figure A2c. Other Party Leaflets Encountered During Campaign (Conservative)



Figure A3a. Other Party Leaflets Encountered During Campaign (Green)

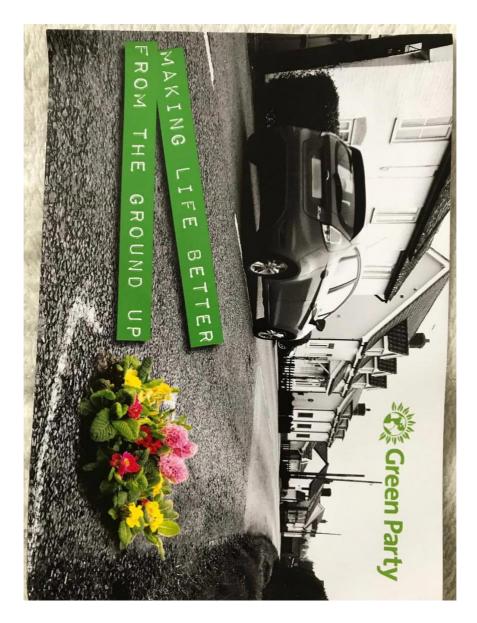


Figure A3b. Other Party Leaflets Encountered During Campaign (Green)

Table A5 Deviations from the Pre-Analysis Plan (PAP).

The plan outlined the intention to also compare the effects of treatments among different party supporters. However, due to a lack of data coverage on party support from the local party's voter database, the interaction effects could not provide any meaningful analysis. Party support data provided by the local party only covered 1,000 (15.32%) of the 6,525 subjects. The remainder were "unknown". The analysis is presented in the table below for the purposes of transparency.

| | Full Sample | Postal Voter Households | Non-Postal Voter Households |
|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) | Coefficient (SE) |
| Lib Dem Campaign | 0.06 | -0.06 | 0.07 |
| | (.06) | (.17) | (.07) |
| Party Support | | | |
| Rival Party | (base) | (base) | (base) |
| Lib Dem | -0.03 | -0.30 | -0.00 |
| | (.05) | (.19) | (.05) |
| Unknown | -0.02 | -0.09 | 0.00 |
| | (.04) | (.15) | (.04) |
| Campaign#partysuppport | | | |
| Campaign#Lib Dem | -0.07 | 0.11 | -0.06 |
| | (.07) | (.22) | (.08) |
| Campaign#Unknown | -0.02 | 0.03 | -0.02 |
| | (.06) | (.17) | (.07) |
| constant | 0.32*** (.04) | 1.36*** (.15) | 0.28*** (.04) |
| Controls* | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| N (Households) | 6,525 (3,371) | 1,325 (676) | 5,200 (2,695) |

Interaction Effect Models – Party Support

*Controls include age, gender, ward, and previous turnout

The second deviation was theoretical. The PAP included a theoretical discussion on how citizens' preferences for particular mobilisation methods might affect the efficacy of these

methods on turnout. The logic was that I might test a 'popular' method against an 'unpopular' method to provide an alternative explanation for why some methods work more than others. However, I decided not to develop this particular theoretical argument. The data on citizens' preferences was only available for Wales, and not for this particular experiment population. The preferences also deviated significantly by demographics, and therefore, without the same level of detailed demographic breakdown in my own data, I felt I could not make reliable comparisons (e.g. if older, more politically interested men were more likely to prefer canvassing in Wales, I could not reliably test that canvassing would be more/less effective among this same demographic in my experiment).

| | | | Non-Postal |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | | Postal Voter | Voter |
| | Full Sample | Households | Households |
| | Coefficient | Coefficient | Coefficient |
| | (SE) | (SE) | (SE) |
| Lib Dem Campaign | 0.04* | -0.05 | 0.05** |
| | (.02) | (0.04) | (1.7) |
| Age Group | | | |
| Unknown | (base) | (base) | (base) |
| Under 35 | 0.014 | -0.11 | 0.03 |
| | (.03) | (.11) | (.03) |
| 35-59 | -0.03 | -0.01 | -0.05 |
| | (.05) | (.17) | (.05) |
| 60+ | 0.09** | -0.09 | 0.10** |
| | (.04) | (.13) | (.04) |
| Campaign#AgeGroup | | | |
| Unknown | (base) | (base) | (base) |
| Campaign#Under 35 | -0.04 | 0.10 | -0.07 |
| | (.04) | (.12) | (.05) |
| Campaign#35-59 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.10 |
| | (.08) | (.20) | (.09) |
| Campaign#60+ | -0.01 | 0.15 | 0.01 |
| | (.05) | (.14) | (.06) |
| constant | 0.331*** (.04) | 1.35*** (.10) | 0.29*** (.04) |

Table A6 Interaction Effect Models – Age Group

| Controls | Yes | Yes | Yes |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-------|---------|
| N | 6,525 | 1,325 | 5,200 |
| (Households) | (3,371) | (676) | (2,695) |
| *Controls include gender, ward, an | nd previous | | |

turnout

Table A7 Demographic Comparison of Voters in Postal Voter Households and Non-Postal

Voter Households

| | Full Sample | Postal Voter Households | Non-Postal Voter Households |
|---------------|-------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Women | 51.5 | 52.8 | 51.2 |
| Age | | | |
| Unknown | 82.3 | 81 | 82.7 |
| Under 35 | 7.4 | 7.4 | 7.4 |
| 35-59 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 2.4 |
| 60+ | 7.7 | 8.8 | 7.5 |
| Party Support | | | |
| Rival Party | 5.1 | 4 | 5.4 |
| Lib Dem | 10.2 | 7.5 | 10.9 |
| Unknown | 84.7 | 88.5 | 83.7 |
| Turnout | 35.4 | 69.3 | 26.8 |



Figure A4. Conservative Leaflet Delivered during Foos and John's (2016) UK Experiment