# Online Appendix for

## The Minimal Persuasive Effects of Campaign Contact in General Elections: Evidence from 49 Field Experiments

Joshua L. Kalla & David E. Broockman

# A Supplementary Figures and Tables

**Figure OA1:** Alternative Mechanism: Driving Partisans Home? Coefficients on Interaction of Treatment and Partisanship, with Vote Choice as Outcome

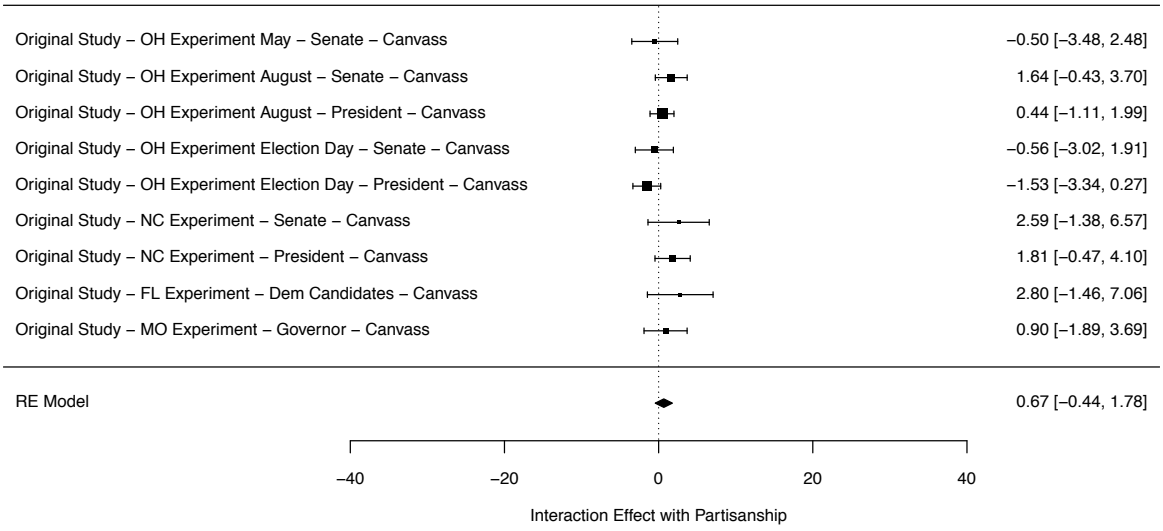


**Figure OA2:** Alternative Mechanism: Driving Partisans Home? Coefficients on Interaction of Treatment and Partisanship, With Turnout as Outcome

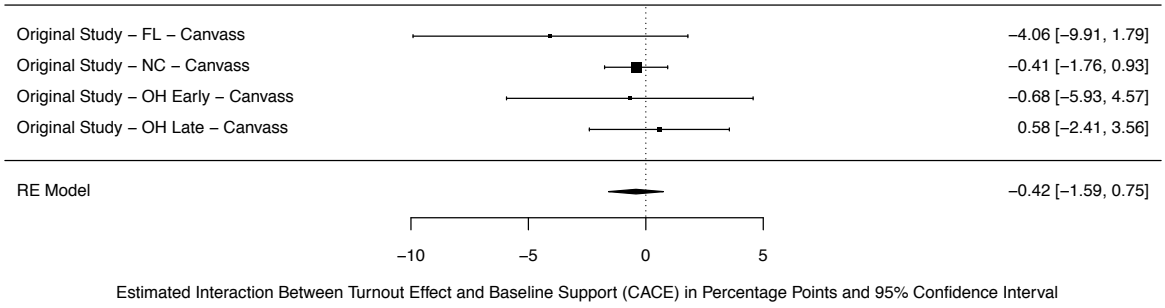
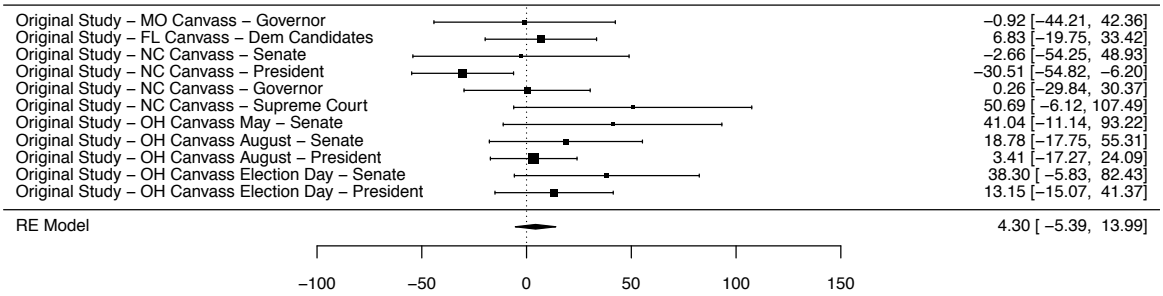
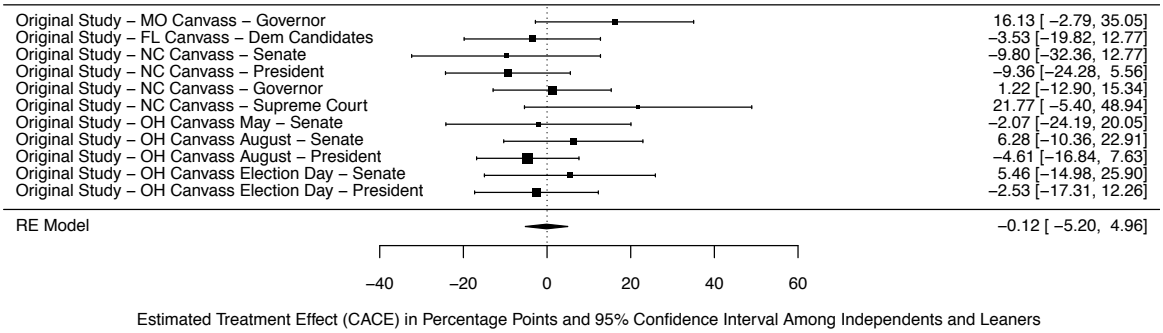


**Figure OA3:** Are Independents Persuadable?




**(a)** Effect Among Pure Independents, Measured in Pre-Survey




**(b)** Effect Among Pure Independents and Leaners, Measured in Pre-Survey

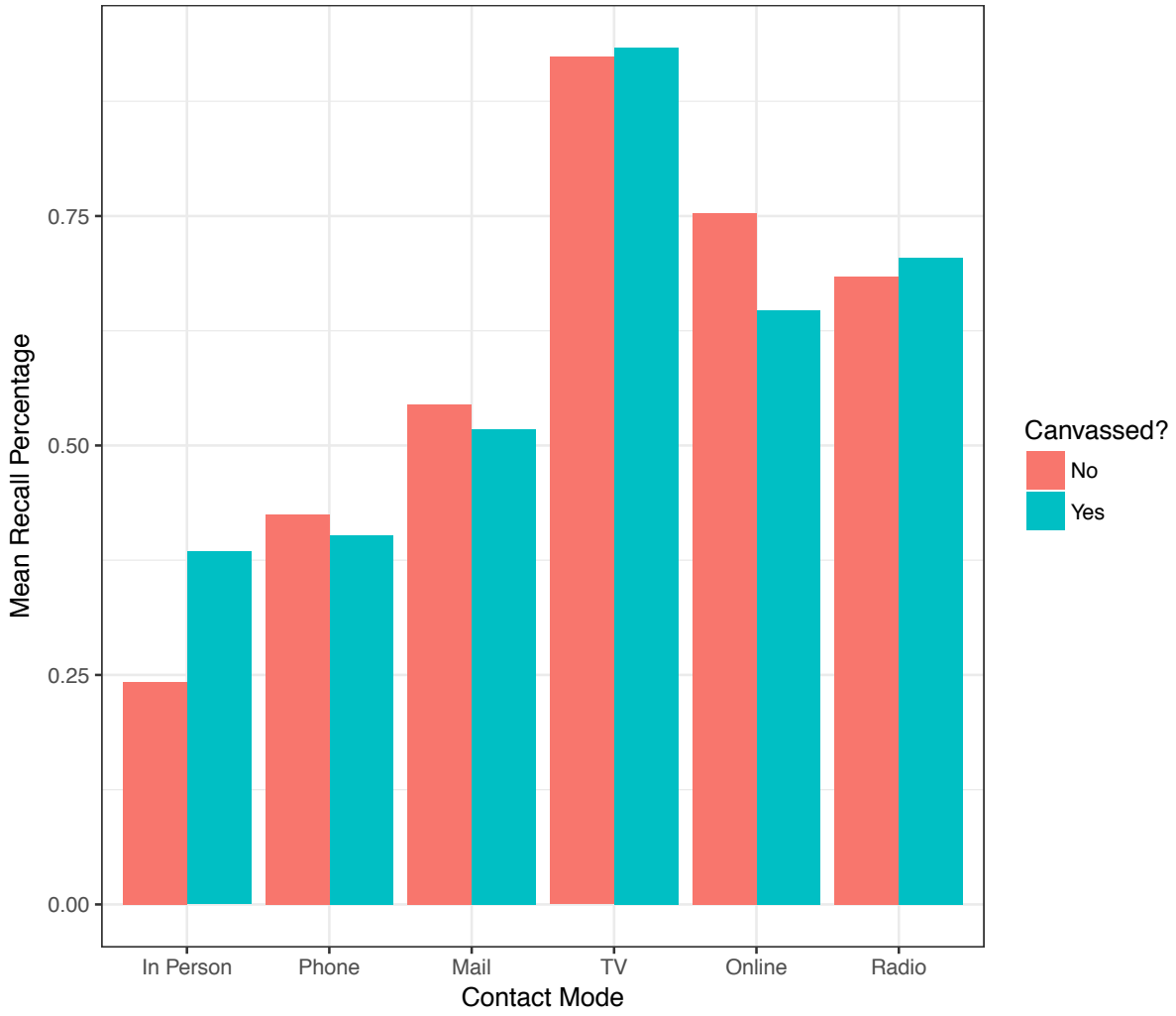



**Figure OA4:** Data comes from an Election Day survey in which respondents were asked their recall of campaign contact. We present mean recall rates and the standard error of the mean for multiple types of campaign contact. 5446 people responded, 718 were canvassed by the partner organization and 4728 were not canvassed. This table shows the relative infrequency of personal contact relative to other types of campaign activities.

| | In Person | | Phone | | Mail | | TV | | Online | | Radio | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed? | Mean | SE | Mean | SE | Mean | SE | Mean | SE | Mean | SE | Mean | SE |
| No | 0.243 | 0.006 | 0.425 | 0.007 | 0.545 | 0.007 | 0.923 | 0.004 | 0.753 | 0.006 | 0.684 | 0.007 |
| Yes | 0.384 | 0.018 | 0.403 | 0.018 | 0.518 | 0.019 | 0.933 | 0.009 | 0.648 | 0.018 | 0.705 | 0.017 |
| All | 0.261 | 0.006 | 0.422 | 0.007 | 0.541 | 0.007 | 0.925 | 0.004 | 0.739 | 0.006 | 0.687 | 0.006 |

**Table OA1:** Data comes from an Election Day survey in which respondents were asked their recall of campaign contact. We present mean recall rates and the standard error of the mean for multiple types of campaign contact. 5446 people responded, 718 were canvassed by the partner organization and 4728 were not canvassed. This table shows the relative infrequency of personal contact relative to other types of campaign activities.

# B Candidate Campaign Meta-Analysis

## B.1 Arceneaux (2007)

We cluster the standard errors for these studies since they were conducted on the same subjects.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* This is not specified, so we assume the survey took place 1 day after the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Precise dates are not specified. Table 3 implies that the contact rate was 31% and the candidate was assigned to contact 3,227 people. This should take about 3-4 weeks if the candidate was canvassing full time (40-50 contacts per day), so we assume the treatment took place on average 2 weeks (14 days) before the election and the survey.
- *Mode of measurement.* Post-election telephone survey.
- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* County Commissioner.
- *Incumbency.* Open seat.
- *Vote margin.* The candidate, Deanna Archuleta-Loeser, won 48.5% of the vote while the other top contender won 36%. We therefore enter 48.5 - 36 = 12.5.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, as the paper notes, both candidates were running organized campaigns and were quality candidates with name recognition.

### B.1.1 Candidate Canvass

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 3 indicates 0.423 (0.19).
- *Mode of treatment.* Candidate canvass.

### B.1.2 Volunteer Canvass

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 3 indicates 0.183 (0.13).
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.

### B.1.3 Volunteer Phone Call

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 3 indicates 0.186 (0.08).
- *Mode of treatment.* Phone call.

## B.2 Arceneaux and Kolodny (2009)

We cluster the standard errors for these two studies since they were conducted on the same subjects.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* In correspondence with the authors, they indicated the survey began two days after the election and finished interviewing within three weeks. We use 7.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* In correspondence with the authors, they indicated the canvassing and phone calls took place in the two weeks before the election, so we assume a week on average, for a total two weeks (14 days) on average between the treatment and survey.
- *Mode of measurement.* Post-election telephone survey. We assume the survey was taken the day after the election.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* State House.
- *Incumbency.* The 156th was an open seat while in the 161st, the candidate was a challenger.
- *Vote margin.* This experiment took place in two Pennsylvania State House Districts: 156 and 161. The 156th was decided by 28 votes for a vote margin of 0.12 points. The 161st was decided 51.5% to 48.5% for a vote margin of 3 points. Because these are both highly competitive races and we report the results pooled across each race, for the vote margin, we take the average and enter 1.6 ($\frac{0.12+3}{2}$).
- *Competitiveness.* Yes; given the very close vote margin. The paper describes the Pennsylvania State House races as competitive and these were two swing districts.

### B.2.1 Canvassing

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 4 reports results for the 'candidate preference' outcome. Since the heterogenous treatment effects by the partisan identification of the respondent were not pre-registered, we pool the results across the partisan groups. Pooling -0.102 (0.045), -0.047 (0.068), and 0.000 (0.058), we estimate an average ITT effect of -0.060 (0.031). In personal correspondence, the authors indicated the campaign indicated a canvass contact rate of approximately 9.98% but that this was an underestimate. To be conservative we assume a contact rate of 20%, which implies a CACE of -0.300 (0.155).
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.

### B.2.2 Phone

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 4 reports results for the 'candidate preference' outcome. Since the heterogenous treatment effects by the partisan identification of the respondent were not pre-registered, we pool the results across the partisan groups. Pooling -0.072 (0.043), 0.025 (0.066), and -0.045 (0.054), we estimate an average ITT effect of -0.044 (0.030). In personal correspondence, the authors indicated a phone contact rate of approximately 12.75% but that this was underestimated. To be conservative, we assume a 20% contact rate. This implies a CACE of -0.22 (0.150).

- *Mode of treatment.* Phone.

## B.3 Bailey, Hopkins and Rogers (2016)

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The election took place on November 4, 2008 and the surveys took place between October 21 and October 23 for an average of October 22. We therefore count the survey as having taken place 13 days before the election, entered as -13.

- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The experiment began on October 9 and ended by October 21 for the surveying. Precise dates are not discussed, therefore we take the midpoint of the survey occurring 6 days after treatment ($\frac{21-9}{2}$).

- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.

- *Election stage.* General.

- *Seat.* President.

- *Incumbency.* Open.

- *Vote margin.* In Wisconsin, Barack Obama won 56.2% to John McCain's 42.3% for a vote margin of 13.9 points.

- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the Washington Post considered Wisconsin to be a battleground state in 2008.[36] Both campaigns also spent considerable resources there, indicating they believed it would be competitive as well.

### B.3.1 Canvass

- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* In Table 10, -0.0188 (0.0106) for the ITT. For the CACE, dividing by 0.2, this is -0.094 (0.053).

[36] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/graphic/2008/06/08/GR2008060800566.html

### B.3.2 Phone Call

- *Mode of treatment.* Phone call.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* In Table 10, -0.0105 (0.0103) for the ITT. For the CACE, dividing by 0.14, this is 0.075 (0.074).

### B.3.3 Mail

- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* In Table 10, 0.0033 (0.0102).

## B.4 Barton, Castillo and Petrie (2014)

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* p. 306 indicates that the survey was taken during the week immediately following the election, so we assume 3 days on average.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* County commission.
- *Incumbency.* Open seat.
- *Vote margin.* This is difficult to code because this is a multi-member district where multiple candidates won. Table 5 indicates the cooperating candidate received 32.9% of votes cast but that the candidate who performed the best and lost received 23.2% of the votes cast, for a margin of 32.9% - 23.2% = 9.7%.
- *Competitiveness.* No. Democrats had held this seat for a decade and this Democratic candidate won "overwhelmingly" (p. 307).

### B.4.1 Candidate Canvass

- *Mode of treatment.* Candidate canvass.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* As shown in Figure 3, the candidate began campaigning about two months (71 days) before the election and canvassed evenly throughout. We therefore take the average of 35 days before the election. Since the surveys took place 3 days after the election on average, we enter this as 38 days.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* In Table 9, Column 8: 0.207 (0.104).

### B.4.2 Lit Drop

- *Mode of treatment.* Lit Drop.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* As shown in Figure 3, most of the lit drop occurred between 71 and 30 days before the election. We therefore take the midpoint of 50 days before the election. Since the surveys took place 3 days after the election on average, we enter this as 53 days.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* In Table 9, Column 8: 0.051 (0.075).

## B.5 Broockman and Green (2014)

### B.5.1 Study 1

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 2 reports that the effect among Facebook users was 0.000 with an implied standard error of (0.020).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The survey was taken on October 13 through October 15, 2012 and the election took place on November 6, 2012. This is a difference of -23 days.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The survey was taken on October 13 through October 15, 2012 and the treatment took place on October 8 through October 12, 2012. This is a difference of 4 days on average.
- *Mode of treatment.* Online ads.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* State House.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* The author indicated that the vote margin for the candidate was 22 percentage points.
- *Competitiveness.* No, this candidate received no support from the state party committees and finished far behind their opponent.

### B.5.2 Study 2

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 4 reports that the effect among Facebook users on having a positive impression of the candidate was 0.011 with an implied standard error of (0.030).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The survey took place one day before the election, so -1.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The ads were shown from October 29 to November 4 and the survey took place November 5, so the survey took place one day after the treatment ended.
- *Mode of treatment.* Online ads.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* US House.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* The author indicated that the vote margin was 20 percentage points.
- *Competitiveness.* No, this candidate received essentially no support from the national party committees and finished far behind their opponent.

## B.6 Cardy (2005)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The control group had 192 individuals with 64% voting for the candidate. Across the four treatment groups there were 805 individuals with $.693 * 208 + .717 * 215 + .66 * 198 + .613 * 184 = 542$ individuals voting for the candidate, or $542/805 = 67.3\%$. Using STATA `prtesti 192 .65 805 .673` yields 0.023 (0.038).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The post-election survey date is not reported, so we assume 3 days.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Across the four treatment groups, the most recent piece of mail was sent 6 days before the election and the most recent phone call occurred 7 days before the election. For our purposes, we use 6 days since most people received this mail, for a total number of days between treatment and survey of 9 days.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail and phone.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.

- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* Governor.
- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* While the 2002 gubernatorial primary is unreported in the paper, from the description it is clear that it is referring to Pennsylvania's 2002 Democratic primary, a race that cost $30 million and was fought over abortion rights, as discussed in the paper.[37]. The vote margin in this race was 13 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes; this was the most expensive primary in the state's history, with nearly $30 million spent by both sides.

## B.7 Cubbison (2015)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Data provided by the author indicates that the control group was 180 subjects with 45.56% voting for the candidate and across the treatment groups there were $129 + 119 + 185 + 418 + 382 = 1,233$ subjects with $59 + 55 + 76 + 194 + 178 = 562$ indicating they would vote for the candidate, so 45.57%. In STATA, `prtesti 180 .4556 1223 .4557` yields an estimate of 0.0001 (0.0142).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The survey started the day after the election and "the majority of the responses came in the first 3 days" after that. We use 2.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Nearly all subjects continued to be sent mail until November 1, which should have arrived November 3. Election day was November 4, and the survey responses were gathered about two days after that. We use 3.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* North Carolina Senate District 18 and House Districts 41 and 116, in 2014.
- *Incumbency.* Incumbents.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margins in Senate District 18, House District 41, and House District 116 were 5.8 points, 2.6 points, and 3.8 points, respectively. We use the average of 4.1 points.
- *Competitiveness.* The paper indicates that the elections were competitive, and the close vote margins are consistent with that assessment.

[37] `http://www.cbsnews.com/news/rendell-wins-it-in-pennsylvania/`

## B.8 Doherty and Adler (2014)

- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone, using IVR.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* State Senate.
- *Incumbency.* Varies. In two of the three seats, the Democratic candidates were incumbents. The third seat was open. The authors worked with the Republican candidates in all three races.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margins in SD 19, 26, and 35 were 0.5 points, 6.9 points, and 2.7 points, respectively. We therefore take the average of 3.4 points.
- *Competitiveness.* The paper indicates that the elections were thought likely to be very competitive, and the close vote margins are consistent with that assessment.

We downloaded the replication data and re-analyzed it to compute the effects below.

### B.8.1 Early Mailing, Early Effects

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 0.0304 (0.0096).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* If we assume the survey was taken on August 20 and the election was on November 6, then the survey was taken 78 days before the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The early mailing was sent in mid-August and the post-treatment surveys started three days after the second mailer was sent. This survey was conducted over several days. We therefore use 5 days.

### B.8.2 Early Mailing, Late Effects

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* -0.0066 (0.0206).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* If we assume the survey was taken on October 20 and the election was on November 6, then the survey was taken 17 days before the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The early mailing was sent in mid-August and the second survey was conducted starting three days after the late mailing in mid-October. We therefore use 65 days.

### B.8.3 Late Mailing, Late Effects

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 0.0107 (0.0198).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* If we assume the survey was taken on October 20 and the election was on November 6, then the survey was taken 17 days before the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The late mailing was sent in mid-October and the post-treatment surveys started three days after the second mailer was sent. This survey was conducted over several days. We therefore use 5 days.

## B.9 Gerber (2004)

### B.9.1 Study 1 - New Jersey Assembly Race

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The study reports effects on 'vote margin,' so we divide the estimates by 2 to get the equivalent effect in percentage points. In Sample 1 the vote margin estimate is 0.08 (0.11). In Sample 2 the vote margin estimate is -0.12 (0.12). Sample 3 is more complicated to compute. In Sample 3 (reported in Table 4) the control mean is -0.09 (0.09) and the two treatment means are -0.07 (0.13) and 0.12 (0.11). Combining the treatment means in Sample 3 leads to an overall treatment mean of 0.04 (0.08). The difference of means between this and the control mean is 0.04 - -0.09 = 0.13 with a standard error of $\sqrt{0.09^2 + 0.08^2} = .12$, for an overall estimate of 0.13 (0.12) for Sample 3. Pooling Samples 1, 2, and 3, the pooled estimate and SE is 0.033 (0.067). Dividing by two since this is reported in vote margin terms, the overall pooled estimate is 0.016 (0.036).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The paper describes the survey as post-election but does not specify a date. Consistent with other experiments, we assume 3 days after the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The paper does not report the number of days before the election when the mail was sent. Consistent with Study 3, we assume the last mail was sent 1 week before the election, thus 10 days elapsed between treatment and survey.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* State Assembly.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.

- *Vote margin.* While the identity of the candidates is unreported, Endnote 13 states the candidates won 65% of the vote. Assuming the other candidate won 35%, the vote margin would be 30 points.
- *Competitiveness.* No, the paper notes that the candidates were expected to win by wide margins.

#### B.9.2 Study 2 - Connecticut State Legislative Race

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The paper reports an estimate of -0.06 (0.08) in Sample 1 and an estimate of 0.07 (0.21) in Sample 2. Pooling these estimates yields a pooled estimate of -0.043 (0.075), which is -0.022 (0.037) in percentage point terms.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The paper describes the survey as post-election but does not specify a date. Consistent with other experiments, we assume 3 days after the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The paper does not report the number of days before the election when the mail was sent. Consistent with Study 3, we assume the last mail was sent 1 week before the election, thus 10 days elapsed between treatment and survey.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* State House.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* While the identity of the candidates is unreported, Endnote 15 states the candidate won 75% of the vote. Assuming the other candidate won 25%, the vote margin would be 50 points.
- *Competitiveness.* No, the paper notes that this race was considered to be an easy win.

#### B.9.3 Study 3 - Connecticut Mayoral Race

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The estimate is 0.083 (0.050) in vote margin terms, which is 0.042 (0.025) in percentage point terms.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The paper describes the survey as post-election but does not specify a date. Consistent with other experiments, we assume 3 days after the election.

- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Mail began three weeks before Election Day and lasted until one week before the election. Using the 1 week mail mark and 3 day survey mark, we assume 10 days elapsed between treatment and survey.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Mayor.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* Endnote 18 states that the vote margin was 8 points.
- *Competitiveness.* The paper describes this race as "reasonably competitive."

#### B.9.4 Study 4 - Ward Level Congressional Primary

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The estimate from Table 6 Column 3 is 0.028 (0.008) in vote margin terms, which is 0.014 (0.004) in percentage points terms.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, given it is a ward-randomized study.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The paper does not report the number of days before the election when the mail was sent. Consistent with Study 3, we assume the last mail was sent 1 week before the election, thus 7 days elapsed between treatment and survey.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Ward.
- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* US House.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margin is not reported, though the paper states that the incumbent "won an easy victory," so we use 50.
- *Competitiveiness.* No. The paper states the incumbent was expected to win "without great difficulty."

### B.9.5 Study 5 - Ward Level Congressional General

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The estimate from Table 6 Column 5 is 0.002 (0.005) in vote margin terms, which is 0.001 (0.0025) in percentage points terms.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, given it is a ward-randomized study.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The paper does not report the number of days before the election when the mail was sent. Consistent with Study 3, we assume the last mail was sent 1 week before the election, thus 7 days elapsed between treatment and survey.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Ward.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* US House.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margin is not reported, but given the seemingly uncompetitive nature of the election, we use 50.
- *Competitiveness.* No. The paper describes the challenger as a "very weak opponent" who did not actively campaign.

## B.10 Gerber et al. (2011)

The standard errors for the radio and TV experiments are clustered because they were on the same subjects; the authors independently randomized these two modes.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* Despite this experiment taking place during the primary election, the main objective was the general election. The opposition candidate targeted was a general election candidate and the paper describes this time period as "the beginning of the general election campaign." Therefore, if we take this experiment as running in mid-January with a November 7 general election, this experiment occurred 296 days before the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Effects are measured by week of advertising, therefore we assume 3 days for the immediate effects. For the 'one week later' effects of TV, we assume 10 days.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone.
- *Election stage.* General.

- *Seat.* Governor.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margin in the general election was 9.2 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, this was a competitive general election for governor with well-funded candidates from both parties as well as active Independent challengers.

### B.10.1 TV Experiment in *APSR* Article

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.*
  - Immediate: Using the final column of Table 4 (what the authors call "the model that most closely reflects the nuances of the experimental design"), the effect of 1,000 TV GRPs was 0.0544 (0.0177) in percentage points.
  - One week later: The authors note in the text that the effects of the TV ads one week later is -0.0017 (0.0142): "a week later the effects of these ads have receded to 0.17 percentage points (SE = 1.42)."
- *Mode of treatment.* TV.

### B.10.2 Analysis of Subsequent TV Quasi-Experiment

Close to election day, the Rick Perry campaign conducted a follow-up quasi-experiment of the effect of their TV program. From September 5 through election day, the campaign conducted daily tracking surveys in each media market. There was natural variation in the assigned GRPs across market as they slowly increased their TV spending in advance of the election. In addition, they randomly assigned GRP levels in two of the media markets. Donald Green provided data on the tracking poll estimates and GRPs by media market by day.

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using differences-in-differences with day and media market fixed effects to estimate the effect of the TV ads, we estimate that each 1,000 GRPs of TV ads had an effect of 0.012 (SE = 0.018, clustered at the media market level). We do not separately analyze the experimental variation as with only two clusters it is impossible to estimate a standard error.
- *Mode of treatment.* TV.

### B.10.3 Radio Experiment

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using the final column of Table 4 (what the authors call "the model that most closely reflects the nuances of the experimental design"), the effect of 1,000 radio GRPs was 0.0483 (0.0599) in percentage points.
- *Mode of treatment.* Radio.

## B.11 Gerber, Kessler and Meredith (2011)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The authors note "Given that the difference in the share of households receiving mail in the two sorts of precincts is about 9.5 percentage points ($= 0.170 - 0.076$), this implies the estimated average treatment-on-the-treated effect of mail is about 29.0, 26.1, and 13.8 percentage points using the difference, DD, and DDD estimates respectively, although only the DD estimate is statistically significant at conventional levels" (p. 146). As it is the most rigorous estimate, we use the 13.8 percentage point treatment effect. The corresponding standard error is 18.1 ($\frac{1.7}{0.170-0.076}$) (because $ITT_D$ is 9.5 percentage points here).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct data.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The mailings were sent every two or three days in the final two weeks before the election. We assume the final mail was sent 3 days before the election.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Attorney General.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* The Democrat won with a vote margin of 17 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, campaign spending was high (over $3 million according to `http://ethics.ks.gov/GECSummaries/CFA2006Summary.pdf`), as a former Republican ran as a Democrat and had been endorsed by Republicans in a typically Republican state.

## B.12 Green et al. (2016)

### B.12.1 Study 1 - Contested General

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The reported effects are 2.5 percentage points (1.7). To adjust for the discrepancy between actual and assigned treatment (Footnote 1), the CACE is 2.6 (1.8).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct-randomized.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 0, signs remained through Election Day.
- *Mode of treatment.* Road sign.

- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* US House.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* This race had a 20 point margin.
- *Competitiveness.* No, this candidate received essentially no support from the national party committees and finished far behind their opponent.

#### B.12.2 Study 2 - Landslide Primary

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The reported effects are -1.4 percentage points (5.7).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct-randomized.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 0, signs remained through Election Day.
- *Mode of treatment.* Yard sign.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* Mayor.
- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* This race had a 37 point margin.
- *Competitiveness.* The paper describes this race as a "landslide" and "low" salience.

#### B.12.3 Study 3 - Tossup General

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The reported effects are 1.8 percentage points (0.9).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct-randomized.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 0, signs remained through Election Day.
- *Mode of treatment.* Road sign.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.

- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Gubernatorial.
- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* McAuliffe won the race 47.8% to 45.2%, for a vote margin of 2.6 points.
- *Competitiveness.* The paper describes this race as a "toss up" and "high" salience.

#### B.12.4 Study 4 - Contested Primary

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The reported effects are -1.2 percentage points (2.6). To adjust for the discrepancy between actual and assigned treatment (Footnote 1), the CACE is -1.4 (3.1).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct-randomized.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 0, signs remained through Election Day.
- *Mode of treatment.* Road sign.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* County Commission.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* This race had a 5 point margin.
- *Competitiveness.* The paper describes this race as "contested" and "low" salience.

### B.13 Kalla and Sekhon (2017)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* -0.0039 (0.009).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, county election returns.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 0, ads ran through Election Day.
- *Mode of treatment.* TV.
- *Mode of measurement.* County election returns.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* President.

- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* Across the four states where the experiment occurred, the average vote margin was 6.9 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the experiment occurred in three battleground states (Florida, North Carolina, and Ohio) and one moderately competitive state (Arizona).

## B.14 Miller and Robyn (1975)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 0.088 (0.078).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The election was on March 19 and the surveys were conducted from March 20-March 23. Taking the average, the number of days between the survey and the election was 3.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Mail was sent on March 9 and the surveys occurred from March 20-23. Taking the average, the number of days was 13 days.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone.
- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* Congress.
- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* We could not locate historical election returns for 1974, but we did locate the autobiography of the cooperating candidate (Simon 1994), which noted that the candidate "won the primary by a 2-1 margin" (p. 130), implying a win of 67 to 33 points. Thus, we record the margin as 34 points.
- *Competitiveness.* No. The other candidate is identified as a "little-known radio station manager" and the cooperating candidate won by a landslide.

## B.15 Nickerson (2005)

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* Interviewing began the night of the election and concluded the following day. We enter this as 1.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Calling began two weeks prior to the election. We take the average of 7 days between treatment and survey.
- *Mode of treatment.* Phone calls.

- *Mode of measurement.* Phone survey.
- *Election stage.* General.

### B.15.1 Michigan Gubernatorial Race

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 6 implies an ITT of -0.008 (0.0256). The phone contact rate reported in Table 2 is approximately 50%. This implies a CACE of -0.016 (0.051).
- *Seat.* Gubernatorial.
- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* There was a 4 point vote margin.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes. The paper notes that turnout was a record for a non-presidential year, media attention was high, and both partisan and nonpartisan organizations invested money to win this race.

### B.15.2 State House Candidates

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 6 implies an ITT of -0.021 (0.027). The phone contact rate reported in Table 2 is approximately 50%. This implies a CACE of -0.042 (0.053).
- *Seat.* State House.
- *Incumbency.* Varies.
- *Vote margin.* The average vote margin across the five State House races was 7.4 points. In State house districts 21, 23, 75, 94, and 106, the vote margins were 9.7, 1.0, 9.1, 15.9, and 1.4, respectively.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes.

## B.16 Nickerson (2007*a*)

We cluster the standard errors for these two studies since they were conducted on the same subjects.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The survey was conducted immediately following the election, so we use 1.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The treatment began on September 1 and ran through the end of October when ballots had to be returned by mail while the survey was conducted the day after election day, so we use 30 as an average.

- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass (multiple visits in some cases, and follow-up postcards).
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.

### B.16.1 Governor

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Pooling the estimates in Table 5, the overall ITT estimate on 'vote margin' is -0.082 (0.061). In terms of percentage points, this is -0.041 (0.031). To calculate the CACE, we use a contact rate of 75%, as the paper notes that "roughly three quarters of households were contacted at least once." This implies a CACE of -0.055 (0.041).
- *Seat.* Governor.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* 7.9 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the race was decided by 7.9 points, so we code it as competitive.

### B.16.2 State House

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Pooling the estimates in Table 5, the overall ITT estimate on 'vote margin' is -0.080 (0.068). In terms of percentage points, this is -0.040 (0.034). To calculate the CACE, we use a contact rate of 75%, as the paper notes that "roughly three quarters of households were contacted at least once." This implies a CACE of -0.053 (0.045).
- *Seat.* State House.
- *Incumbency.* In four races, the Democrat was the challenger. The fifth race was for an open seat.
- *Vote margin.* The average vote margin across the five districts was 9.9 points. The margin in each district was 3.2, 4.5, 22.7, 15.1, and 4.2 points, respectively, for state house districts 10, 14, 21, 30, and 49.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, "the organization targeted state house districts where the race was close."

## B.17 Potter and Gray (2008)

We cluster the standard errors for these two studies since they were conducted on the same subjects.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The survey was conducted the weekend after the election, so we use 4.5 as the average.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Households were canvassed the two weekends prior to the election and called back the weekend after the election, so we use 10.5 as the average.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Magistrate.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* The candidate captured only 30% of the vote, for a margin of 40 points.
- *Competitiveness.* No, "the challenger was a Republican in a largely Democratic district."

### B.17.1 Mail Treatment

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The implied pooled estimate is 0.03 (0.104), assuming the survey response rate of 7.2% implied by the note for Table 3.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.

### B.17.2 Door-to-Door Canvass Treatment

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The implied estimate is 0.24 (0.45), assuming the survey response rate of 7.2% implied by the note for Table 3 and the contact rate of 23% noted in the paper.
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.

## B.18 Rogers and Nickerson (2013)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using Table 2, Column "Overall," we pool the estimates from both the 2008 and 2006 samples. In treatment, the average support for Merkley was 64.4%. In control, the average support was 60.5%. Thus, the average treatment effect was 3.9 percentage points with a standard error of 1.4.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* Post-election surveys were conducted between Thursday, November 6 and Sunday, November 9. We therefore enter 4 days.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The mailings were delivered between October 19, 2008, and Election Day. The phone calls were delivered between Thursday, October 2 and Monday, November 3, 2008. We therefore enter 4 days, since treatment continued through Election Day.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail (three pieces) and one phone call.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Senate.
- *Incumbency.* Challenger.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margin was 3.3 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes. The authors describe this as a "highly competitive" election.

## B.19 Sadin (2014), Chapter 5

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 5.5 reports an overall estimate of 0.0009 (0.009).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The survey was conducted about 7 weeks before the election, so we use 50.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The mail pieces were sent over the course of the weeks between the end of August and the middle of September, and the follow-up survey occurred in mid-September. The survey occurred in "mid-September—just a few days after the last piece of mail had arrived." We use 4.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* President.
- *Incumbency.* Incumbent.
- *Vote margin.* The experiment took place in all nine battleground states in 2012 (CO, FL, IA, NV, NH, NC, OH, VA, and WI). The modal subject lived in Ohio, which Obama won by 3 points, so we use 3.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the experiment took place within swing states.

## B.20 Shaw and Gimpel (2012)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The effect on 'vote margin' implied by Table 3 is 3.6 - 5.9 = -2.3, with a standard error of approximately 2.86 (assuming support for Perry and his opponent are perfectly negatively correlated). Dividing this by 2, we arrive at -0.0115 (0.0143).
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The surveys were taken January 10-20, eight months before the election, so we use -235 days.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The surveys were taking place at the same time as the treatment, so we use 1.
- *Mode of treatment.* Visit to media market.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Governor.
- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* The vote margin in the general election was 9.2 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, this was a competitive general election for governor with well-funded candidates from both parties as well as active Independent challengers.

## B.21 Shaw et al. (2012)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 3 reports that Willett yielded 1.67 (2.54) additional net votes in targeted precincts, and there were 211 votes cast in the average precinct. This implies an effect of 0.0040 (0.0060) on vote preference, assuming there is no effect on turnout.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct outcomes.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 1, the calls were conducted the day before the election.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *Mode of treatment.* Robo-call.
- *Election stage.* Primary.
- *Seat.* State Supreme Court.

- *Incumbency.* Yes.
- *Vote margin.* 1 point.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes.

## B.22 Shaw, Blunt and Seaborn (2017)

This experiment was conducted during the 2014 Texas gubernatorial election and included multiple treatment arms.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* -241 days. The experiment was conducted during the primary race, but as the paper notes, the experiment was always geared towards the general election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* On average, 6 days.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Governor.
- *Incumbency.* Open.
- *Vote margin.* 20 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes. This was a prominent race between Greg Abbott and Wendy Davis.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points, by treatment mode.*
  - Online Ads: 0.030 (0.018)
  - Online Video Ads: -0.023 (0.017)
  - Facebook Ads: -0.023 (0.018)
  - Mail: 0.010 (0.017)
  - Cable TV: -0.024 (0.023)
  - Radio: 0.006 (0.009)
  - Broadcast TV: -0.002 (0.010)

## B.23 Strauss (2009), Section 5.5.4

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The text implies a treatment effect of 1 percentage point with a standard error of 0.018.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* The election occurred on November 4, 2008 but the experiment occurred in March 2008, so we assume -240.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The survey began "shortly after the mail pieces and robocalls were received" so we assume 2 days.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail and robocalls.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* President.
- *Incumbency.* Open seat.
- *Vote margin.* Obama's margin in Ohio in 2008 was 5 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the experiment was conducted in Ohio in 2008 during a presidential campaign.

## B.24 Green (2012*a*)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The text implies a treatment effect of 5.5 percentage points with a standard error of 4.6 on Presidential persuasion and 5.5 percentage points with a standard error of 2.8 on Senate persuasion.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 46 days before Election Day, on average.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 9 days, on average.
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* President and Senate.
- *Incumbency.* Incumbent for both.
- *Vote margin.* Obama's margin in Ohio in 2012 was 3 points and the Senate margin was 6 points.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the experiment was conducted in Ohio in 2012 during a presidential campaign.

## B.25 Green (2012*b*)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The text implies a treatment effect of 1.4 percentage points (SE = 2.7) on Presidential persuasion, 2.6 (SE = 5) on Senate persuasion, and 0.5 (SE = 1) on State House persuasion.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 2 days before Election Day, on average.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 20 days, on average.
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* President, Senate, and State House.
- *Incumbency.* Incumbent for President and Senate, varies for Senate.
- *Vote margin.* Obama's margin in Ohio in 2012 was 3 points and the Senate margin was 6 points. The margin in the control group was 1 point on the State House races.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, the experiment was conducted in Ohio in 2012 during a presidential campaign.

## B.26 Cunow and Schwenzfeier (2015)

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The text implies a treatment effect of -2.6 percentage points (SE = 4.8) on early Governor persuasion in Michigan, -1.4 (SE = 4.2) on later Governor persuasion in Michigan, 4.4 (SE = 4.9) on Governor persuasion in Illinois, -1 (SE = 2) on early Senate persuasion in Michigan, and 1.1 (SE = 3.6) on later Senate persuasion in Michigan.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* In Michigan, the surveys for the early experiment were 81 days before and 10 days after Election Day between the two experiments. In Illinois, it was on Election Day, on average.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* 10 days, on average across all experiments.
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Election stage.* General.
- *Seat.* Governor and Senate.

- *Incumbency.* In Michigan's gubernatorial race, the candidate was a challenger, in Illinois the candidate was the incumbent, and in Michigan's Senate the seat was open.
- *Vote margin.* In Michigan's Governor, the margin was 4 points, in the Senate race it was 13, and in the Illinois Governor it was 4.
- *Competitiveness.* Yes, these were all expensive and highly competitive Senate and Gubernatorial races.

### B.27 Excluded Studies

- Adams and Smith (1980) find effects of their outreach on voter turnout but then condition post-treatment surveying on whether someone votes. It is also unclear from the text whether they re-interviewed the entire treatment and control groups who voted or conditioned on successful campaign contact within the treatment group. This study finds a null effect on vote choice.
- Arceneaux and Nickerson (2010) does not include a control group in their study focusing on candidate choice (Study 1 focused on candidate choice and compared a positive and negative message group; Study 2 had a control group but was focused on ballot measure outcomes).
- Gerber, Karlan and Bergan (2009) randomly assigned individuals to newspaper subscriptions to see if newspapers informed or persuaded individuals. This study was conducted long before a campaign and not in a campaign context nor of a campaign intervention, so we do not include it.
- Niven (2013) does not include a control group.
- Strauss (2009), Section 5.5.3, does not contain a control group.

## C Issue Campaign Meta-Analysis

### C.1 Arceneaux (2005)

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct measurement.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Canvassing began a month before Election Day, with an additional canvass in the week before Election Day. We therefore take the average of this final week and enter it as 3 days.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct-level.
- *Issue.* Sales tax increase for public transportation.
- *During ballot measure campaign?* Yes.

- *Election Month, Year.* November, 2003.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 46 points (73% yes, 27% no, citywide).
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* Low.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Arceneaux (2005) reports the marginal vote differential (MVD), which is the number of yes votes minus the number of no votes divided by the number of registered voters in each precinct. He reports an ITT of 0.9. To rescale this as the treatment effect on percent yes, we divide the ITT MVD by the average turnout rate and then by two (going from two-party vote share to percent yes). The average turnout rate of 31.3% can be calculated from Table 2, where turnout in the control precincts was 29.1% and turnout in the treatment precincts was 33.5%. We thus estimate the ITT effect on percent yes as: $ITT = \frac{0.9}{2*0.313} = 1.44$. From Table 3, we can calculate the contact rate as 63%. Thus, the CACE is $\frac{1.44}{0.63} = 2.3$. Doing the same with the standard error (SE for MVD is also 0.9), gives us both a treatment effect and standard error of 2.3.
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.

## C.2 Arceneaux and Nickerson (2010), Los Angeles Ballot Proposition Campaign

We cluster the standard errors for these studies since they were conducted on the same subjects.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* This is not specified, so we assume the survey took place 1 day after the election.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Canvassing began a month before Election Day, with an additional canvass in the week before Election Day. We therefore take the average of this final week and enter it as 3 days.
- *Mode of measurement.* Phone.
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.
- *During ballot measure campaign?* Yes.
- *Election Month, Year.* November, 2004.

### C.2.1 Three Strike Law, Negative Frame

- *Issue.* Relaxing three-strike law.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* County-wide, the vote margin was 0.7 points.
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* Yes. While spending was lopsided, over $5 million were spent across the state and the ballot measure was actively contested by both sides.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 23.8 (14.1)

### C.2.2 Three Strike Law, Positive Frame

- *Issue.* Relaxing three-strike law.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* County-wide, the vote margin was 0.7 points.
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* Yes. While spending was lopsided, over $5 million were spent across the state and the ballot measure was actively contested by both sides.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 12.7 (13.7)

### C.2.3 Health Insurance, Negative Frame

- *Issue.* Require large companies pay at least 80% of employees health insurance.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* County-wide, the vote margin was 13.6 points.
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* Yes. Across the state, over $30 million were spent on the ballot measure.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 4.9 (13.3)

### C.2.4 Health Insurance, Positive Frame

- *Issue.* Require large companies pay at least 80% of employees health insurance.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* County-wide, the vote margin was 13.6 points.
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* Yes. Across the state, over $30 million were spent on the ballot measure.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* -0.2 (10)

## C.3 Keane and Nickerson (2013)

We cluster the standard errors for these studies since they were conducted on the same subjects.

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct measurement.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Treatment began September 9 and lasted through November 4. There was a final canvass specifically from November 1-4, with Election Day on November 4. We therefore set the days between treatment and survey as 3.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *During ballot measure campaign?* Yes.
- *Election Month, Year.* November, 2008

- *Mode of treatment.* Phone and canvass. The treatment consisted of up to four face-to-face visits and two phone calls.

- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* Yes. The authors describe these as competitive ballot measure fights where a significant amount of money was spent.

### C.3.1 Affirmative Action, Amendment 46

- *Issue.* Affirmative action.

- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 2 points.

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* The authors report in Table 2 the number of no votes in control and treatment precincts, but do not directly report the treatment effect on percent voting no in percentage points. Fortunately, we can back this out. From Tables 1 and 3, we can estimate that the average number of votes cast in control and treatment precincts was 958 and 949, respectively (Control had 1340 prior registered voters, 48 new registered voters and a turnout rate of 69%. $(1340 + 48) * 0.69 = 958$. Treatment had 1336 prior registered voters, 50 new registered voters and a turnout rate of 68.5%. $(1336 + 50) * 0.685 = 949$.) Control had on average 90 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{90}{958} = 9.4\%$. Treatment had on average 112 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{112}{949} = 11.8\%$. We can therefore estimate the treatment effect in percentage points as $11.8 - 9.4 = 2.4$ percentage points. To estimate the standard error, we know from Table 2 that the p-value of this estimate is 0.0019. This gives a Z value of $ABS(NORMSINV(0.0019/2)) = 3.105$. By dividing the treatment effect by this Z value, we get a standard error of 0.77 percentage points. We then adjust by the 57% contact rate, to get a treatment effect of 4.2 percentage points and SE of 1.35 percentage points.

### C.3.2 Closed Shops, Amendment 47

- *Issue.* Closed shops.

- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 11 points.

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using the above approach, control had on average 235 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{235}{958} = 24.5\%$. Treatment had on average 249 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{249}{949} = 26.2\%$. We can therefore estimate the treatment effect in percentage points as $26.2 - 24.5 = 1.7$ percentage points. To estimate the standard error, we know from Table 2 that the p-value of this estimate is 0.11. This gives a Z value of $ABS(NORMSINV(0.11/2)) = 1.598$. By dividing the treatment effect by this Z value, we get a standard error of 1.06 percentage points. We then adjust by the 57% contact rate, to get a treatment effect of 3.0 percentage points and SE of 1.86 percentage points.

### C.3.3 Fetus Personhood, Amendment 48

- *Issue.* Fetus personhood.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 46 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using the above approach, control had on average 308 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{308}{958} = 32.2\%$. Treatment had on average 340 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{340}{949} = 35.8\%$. We can therefore estimate the treatment effect in percentage points as $35.8 - 32.2 = 3.6$ percentage points. To estimate the standard error, we know from Table 2 that the p-value of this estimate is 0.03. This gives a Z value of $ABS(NORMSINV(0.03/2)) = 2.170$. By dividing the treatment effect by this Z value, we get a standard error of 1.7 percentage points. We then adjust by the 57% contact rate, to get a treatment effect of 6.3 percentage points and SE of 3.0 percentage points.

### C.3.4 Payroll Deductions, Amendment 49

- *Issue.* Payroll deductions.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 22 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using the above approach, control had on average 243 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{243}{958} = 25.4\%$. Treatment had on average 263 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{263}{949} = 27.7\%$. We can therefore estimate the treatment effect in percentage points as $27.7 - 25.4 = 2.3$ percentage points. To estimate the standard error, we know from Table 2 that the p-value of this estimate is 0.02. This gives a Z value of $ABS(NORMSINV(0.02/2)) = 2.326$. By dividing the treatment effect by this Z value, we get a standard error of 0.99 percentage points. We then adjust by the 57% contact rate, to get a treatment effect of 4.0 percentage points and SE of 1.7 percentage points.

### C.3.5 Campaign Donations, Amendment 54

- *Issue.* Campaign donations.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 2 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Using the above approach, control had on average 82 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{82}{958} = 8.6\%$. Treatment had on average 99 no votes for a percent no of $\frac{99}{949} = 10.4\%$. We can therefore estimate the treatment effect in percentage points as $10.4 - 8.6 = 1.8$ percentage points. To estimate the standard error, we know from Table 2 that the p-value of this estimate is 0.01. This gives a Z value of $ABS(NORMSINV(0.01/2)) = 2.576$. By dividing the treatment effect by this Z value, we get a standard error of 0.70 percentage points. We then adjust by the 57% contact rate, to get a treatment effect of 3.2 percentage points and SE of 1.2 percentage points.

## C.4 Rogers and Middleton (2015)

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* 0, precinct.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Ballot guides were all mailed less than one month before Election Day and were timed to arrive around the same time when ballots were mailed to all households. Because of this timing, we code this as 0 days.
- *Mode of measurement.* Precinct.
- *During ballot measure campaign?* Yes.
- *Election Month, Year.* November, 2008.
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* With the exception of Initiatives 54 and 55, all measures were contested.
- *Mode of treatment.* Mail, ballot guide.

### C.4.1 Measure 54 - School Board Voting

- *Issue.* Standardizes voting eligibility for school board elections with other state and local elections.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 41 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Table 3 reports vote margin. To convert this into percentage point treatment effects, we divide the reported vote margin effect and standard errors by 2. Throughout, we use the results from Column 3, which include a full set of pre-treatment covariates to improve precision. Negative effects on measures that the treatment opposed are reversed to be coded as positive. 0.4 percentage points (SE = 0.6).

### C.4.2 Measure 55 - Redistricting

- *Issue.* Changes operative date of redistricting plans; allows affected legislators to finish term in original district.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 49 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* -0.25 percentage points (SE = 0.5).

### C.4.3 Measure 56 - Property Tax Elections

- *Issue.* Provides that May and November property tax elections are decided by majority of voters voting.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 12 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 1.6 percentage points (SE = 0.6).

### C.4.4 Measure 57 - Crime

- *Issue.* Increases sentences for drug trafficking, theft against elderly and specified repeat property and identity theft crimes; requires addiction treatment for certain offenders.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 22 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.2 percentage points (SE = 0.6).

### C.4.5 Measure 58 - English Language Curriculum

- *Issue.* Prohibits teaching public school student in language other than English for more than two years.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 12 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.7 percentage points (SE = 0.7).

### C.4.6 Measure 59 - Income Tax

- *Issue.* Creates an unlimited deduction for federal income taxes on individual taxpayers Oregon income-tax returns.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 26 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.3 percentage points (SE = 0.6).

### C.4.7 Measure 60 - Teacher Pay

- *Issue.* Teacher "classroom performance," not seniority, determines pay raises; "most qualified" teachers retained, regardless of seniority.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 22 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 1.8 percentage points (SE = 0.6).

### C.4.8 Measure 61 - Mandatory Minimum Sentences

- *Issue.* Creates mandatory minimum prison sentences for certain theft, identity theft, forgery, drug, and burglary crimes.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 2 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.7 percentage points (SE = 0.7).

### C.4.9 Measure 62 - Lottery Proceeds

- *Issue.* Amends constitution: Allocates 15% of lottery proceeds to public safety fund for crime prevention, investigation, prosecution.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 20 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.7 percentage points (SE = 0.7).

### C.4.10 Measure 63 - Building Permits

- *Issue.* Exempts specified property owners from building permit requirements for improvements valued at under 35,000 dollars.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 8 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 1.7 percentage points (SE = 0.9).

### C.4.11 Measure 64 - Money in Politics

- *Issue.* Penalizes person, entity for using funds collected with "public resource" (defined) for "political purpose" (defined).
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 1 point.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.8 percentage points (SE = 0.7).

### C.4.12 Measure 65 - General Election Nominations

- *Issue.* Changes general election nomination processes for major/minor party, independent candidates for most partisan offices.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* Statewide margin of 29 points.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* 2.2 percentage points (SE = 0.5).

## C.5 Ternovski, Green and Kalla (2012)

- *Days after election the survey was taken.* On average, 1 day before election day.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* Canvassing began around a month before election day.
- *Mode of measurement.* Survey.
- *Issue.* Collective bargaining.
- *During ballot measure campaign?* Yes.
- *Election Month, Year.* November, 2011.
- *Vote margin on ballot measure.* 23 points.
- *Competitiveness of ballot measure.* High.
- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.* Text implies a treatment effect of 6.5 percentage points (SE = 2.1).
- *Mode of treatment.* Canvass.

# Online Appendix D

## Contents

**We apologize for the length of this Appendix section. Unfortunately given the number of experiments we discuss and our desire to be fully transparent, this is unavoidable. The key details of the experiments necessary for interpretation should all appear in the main text.**

# Overview

In this appendix, we describe the seven original field experiments, two difference-in-differences quasi-experiments, and two GOTV experiments that we conducted during the 2015 and 2016 election cycles.

All of these experiments were conducted with the same partner organization, Working America, the community affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Working America uses paid canvassers to go door-to-door persuading voters to support their endorsed candidates (typically Democrats) and encouraging voter turnout.

Each of these experiments followed a standard model, using the online panel plus placebo procedure described in Broockman, Kalla, and Sekhon (2017):

1. Working America would define an experimental universe of voters they believed to be persuadable.
2. A polling division would then send these voters a letter encouraging them to participate in a paid, online survey. This survey would include multiple questions on political, social, and local issues. Neither

the survey nor the letter would mention Working America. As part of the survey, the polling division would then collect the voters' cell phone numbers and email addresses.
3. Among the voters who completed the survey and provided their contact information, Working America would randomly assign half to a treatment group that would be canvassed with Working America's typical persuasion message and half to a placebo group that would receive an unrelated canvass, typically on ascertaining sources of news consumption. The placebo contained no persuasion messaging and was only used to identify compliers, those voters who, had they been in treatment, would have opened their doors.
4. Working America would send the polling division the list of compliers. The polling division would then resurvey the compliers several days after the initial canvass with a similar survey on political, social, and local issues.
5. Working America would then send the authors the survey data to conduct analyses of their canvassing.

In the experimental analyses, we followed two standard procedures from Broockman, Kalla, and Sekhon (2017):

1. The surveys typically included multiple questions on the race that was the subject of the persuasion effort. Typically, these questions were a horse-race and a candidate favorability question for both the Democrat and Republican. When multiple questions were available, we would combine them into a single index designed to reduce measurement error. In all cases, we take the first dimension from the factor analysis output, then rescale this factor such that the placebo group has a mean 0 and standard deviation of 1. This allows us to interpret the treatment effects as the effect in standard deviations the treatment would have among an untreated population. The factor analysis and rescaling code came from the supplementary materials of Broockman and Kalla (2016).
2. Our main analysis for each experiment was always a regression of the factor (described above) on a treatment indicator and a set of pre-treatment covariates, with household-level cluster-robust standard errors. The pre-treatment covariates used were always the same as those used in Working America's balance tests before canvassing. The use of pre-treatment covariates that are highly predictive of the outcome noticeably decreases sampling variability and increases statistical power.

# PA Experiment, 2015, Mayor Primary

This experiment was conducted during the 2015 Philadelphia mayoral Democratic primary. Working America canvassed to increase support for Jim Kenney. Canvassing took place from 4/6/15-4/9/15. An initial post-treatment survey took place from 4/11/15-4/15/15. A second follow-up post-treatment survey took place from 5/14/15-5/18/15. The election was held on 5/19/15.

## Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This first table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **q_kenney_fav_t0** | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| **kenney_vote_scale_t0** | -0.18 | -0.13 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.42 | 0.37 |
| **age** | 61 | 60 |
| **female** | 0.65 | 0.66 |
| **t0_outcome** | 1e-08 | 0.035 |
| **t0_pid** | 0.5 | 0.47 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.45 | 0.41 |
| **n** | 419 | 194 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

This second table compares the responders to the second follow-up post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **q_kenney_fav_t0** | 3.6 | 3.7 |
| **kenney_vote_scale_t0** | -0.18 | -0.18 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.42 | 0.32 |
| **age** | 61 | 59 |
| **female** | 0.65 | 0.63 |
| **t0_outcome** | 1e-08 | 0.04 |
| **t0_pid** | 0.5 | 0.47 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.45 | 0.37 |
| **n** | 419 | 155 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of three stages: at the time of canvassing, at the time of the initial post-treatment survey, and at the time of the follow-up post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 3: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.616.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.31 | 0.14 | 2.23 | .026 |
| q_kenney_fav_t0 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 1.53 | .128 |
| kenney_vote_scale_t0 | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.52 | .600 |
| t0_identify_afam | -0.03 | 0.05 | -0.51 | .607 |
| age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.18 | .858 |
| female | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.82 | .413 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 4: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.754.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.25 | 0.21 | 1.18 | .238 |
| q_kenney_fav_t0 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 1.18 | .240 |
| kenney_vote_scale_t0 | -0.02 | 0.03 | -0.55 | .582 |
| t0_identify_afam | 0.04 | 0.08 | 0.51 | .613 |
| age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.72 | .473 |
| female | 0.02 | 0.08 | 0.29 | .771 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 5: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.573.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.87 | 0.25 | 3.46 | $< .001$ |
| q_kenney_fav_t0 | -0.08 | 0.06 | -1.40 | .163 |
| kenney_vote_scale_t0 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.34 | .734 |
| t0_identify_afam | -0.03 | 0.09 | -0.35 | .730 |
| age | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.27 | .790 |
| female | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.71 | .477 |

We also present the number of individuals, by treatment condition, at each stage.

The first table is for the immediate post-treatment survey.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 211 | 110 |
| Placebo | 208 | 84 |

This second table is for the follow-up post-treatment survey.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 211 | 88 |
| Placebo | 208 | 67 |

## Description of Treatment

# TREATMENT/ELECTORAL RAP
## March 31, 2015
## 2015 Philadelphia Democratic Primary:
## Jim Kenney for Mayor

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. Are you [name]? Great!

[*Confirm that you are speaking to the right voter before indicating why you are at the door]*

We're out today  talking with folks in [insert community] about the election for Mayor.

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **What do you think is the most urgent priority for the city to address?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID Mayor)**

Thank you. **If you were going to vote today in the Democratic primary election for Mayor would you support Lynne Abraham, Nelson Diaz, Anthony Williams or Jim Kenney?**

[*Record Response*: Abraham, Diaz, Williams, Kenney, Undecided, Other]

**JIM KENNEY**

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents 55,000 Philadelphians who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF KENNEY]

We are also endorsing Jim Kenney to be the next Mayor. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. Go to Voter Engagement.*

[IF WILLIAMS]

I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. But Working America has done the research on the issues and we believe that Jim Kenney has the strongest track record of getting things done for working people and will be the strongest leader for Philadelphians .

*End conversation.*

[IF ABRAHAM/DIAZ/UNDECIDED/OTHER]

I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. But Working America has done the research on the issues and we believe that Jim Kenney has the strongest track record of getting things done for working people and will be the strongest leader for Philadelphians. That is why he has the support of tens of thousands of working men and women in Philadelphia and will…

[*Discuss Voter issue from Q1 using persuasion talking points*].

**So can we count on your vote for Jim Kenney for Mayor?**

*[IF YES] Do not record response. Hand over lit. Go to Voter Engagement.*

*[IF NO] End conversation.*

## VOTER ENGAGEMENT

You said that [INSERT ISSUE FROM QUESTION 1] was the most important issue to you. The problem is that, regardless of who wins the election, rich CEO's, downtown developers and lobbyists have too much influence at city hall, and our priorities go unmet. The solution is for us to join together and form a group of residents who will hold politicians accountable to make sure we really help the schools and put an emphasis on neighborhood development.

**Question 3 (Email Address)**

Let me grab your email address so you can be part of our campaign to address [ISSUE]. We will occasionally send you information to keep you updated and about how to be part of this effort.

Record email address.

Thank you. Have a good night.

**Question 4 (Wrong Rap Delivered)- FOR CANVASSER USE ONLY- DO NOT ASK VOTER**

Please record if the wrong rap was inadvertently delivered to the voter. If the proper rap was delivered leave this question blank.

**PLACEBO RAP**

**March 31, 2015**

**2015 Philadelphia Social Security**

**Working America Social Security Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. Are you [name]? Great!

[*Confirm that you are speaking to the right voter before indicating why you are at the door]*

We're out today talking with folks in [insert community] about the plan in Congress to cut Social Security.

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. Have you heard that some people in Washington are discussing cuts to benefits, raising the retirement age and cutting support for people with disabilities?

Do you think that Social Security should be cut?

[Record Response: No- do not cut, Yes- cut, Unsure]

*If voter says "NO-do not cut" go to voter engagement.*

*If voter says "YES-Cut" or "Unsure" end conversation*

**VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

It is great to hear that. Thousands of other people agree with you that we need to protect Social Security. We need to join together to make sure this plan is stopped.

**Question 2 (Email Address)**

Let me grab your email address so you can be part of our campaign to address [ISSUE]. We will occasionally send you information to keep you updated and about how to be part of this effort.

Record email address.

Thank you. Have a good night.

**Question 3 (Wrong Rap Delivered)- FOR CANVASSER USE ONLY- DO NOT ASK VOTER**

Please record if the wrong rap was inadvertently delivered to the voter. If the proper rap was delivered leave this question blank.

### Outcome Measures

1. In the upcoming Democratic Primary election to nominate a candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia, which of the following candidates would you vote for?
2. Kenney Favorability.

### Results

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 8: Results for Mayor

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.225 | 0.090 | 0.013 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.295 | 0.148 | 0.048 |

This second table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 9: Results for Mayor

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.179 | 0.135 | 0.188 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.028 | 0.171 | 0.868 |

## WA Experiment, 2015, State Legislator

This experiment was conducted during the 2015 Washington state special election in State House District 30b. Working America canvassed to increase support for Carol Gregory. Gregory was appointed to fill the seat after Roger Freeman passed away. The special election was held to determine who would hold the seat for the remainder of Freeman's term.

Canvassing took place from 9/14/15-9/23/15. An initial post-treatment survey took place from 9/17/15-10/3/15. A second follow-up post-treatment survey took place from 11/5/15-11/14/15. The election was held on 11/3/15.

### Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This first table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **scale__t0__hh__avg** | -0.2 | -0.29 |
| **t0__pid** | 4.1 | 4 |
| **vf__age** | 57 | 56 |
| **vf__female** | 0.52 | 0.5 |

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_outcome** | -3.7e-10 | -0.032 |
| **t0_gregory_vote** | -0.2 | -0.33 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.027 | 0.027 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.11 | 0.11 |
| **n** | 401 | 291 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

This second table compares the responders to the second follow-up post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **scale_t0_hh_avg** | -0.2 | -0.48 |
| **t0_pid** | 4.1 | 3.8 |
| **vf_age** | 57 | 57 |
| **vf_female** | 0.52 | 0.49 |
| **t0_outcome** | -0.01 | -0.13 |
| **t0_gregory_vote** | -0.2 | -0.53 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.027 | 0.03 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.11 | 0.11 |
| **n** | 401 | 269 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of three stages: at the time of canvassing, at the time of the initial post-treatment survey, and at the time of the follow-up post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 12: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.325.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.50 | 0.13 | 3.96 | $< .001$ |

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| scale_t0_hh_avg | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | .990 |
| t0_pid | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.60 | .547 |
| vf_age | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.92 | .357 |
| vf_female | 0.07 | 0.05 | 1.45 | .148 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 13: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.763.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.40 | 0.15 | 2.77 | .006 |
| scale_t0_hh_avg | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.13 | .893 |
| t0_pid | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.26 | .793 |
| vf_age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.22 | .827 |
| vf_female | 0.07 | 0.06 | 1.17 | .241 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 14: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.512.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.29 | 0.15 | 1.92 | .056 |
| scale_t0_hh_avg | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.21 | .835 |
| t0_pid | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.44 | .660 |
| vf_age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.82 | .414 |
| vf_female | 0.08 | 0.06 | 1.38 | .167 |

We also present the number of individuals, by treatment condition, at each stage.

The first table is for the immediate post-treatment survey.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 197 | 141 |
| Placebo | 204 | 150 |

This second table is for the follow-up post-treatment survey.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 197 | 126 |
| Placebo | 204 | 143 |

## Description of Treatment and Placebo

**September 8, 2015**
**WASF: 2015 Washington LD30 Electoral Experiment**
**Carol Gregory for State House**

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in [insert community] about the future of Washington. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **What do you think about this November's election what is the most urgent priority to be addressed?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID LD 30)**

Thank you. This November voters will elect a Representative to the Legislature in Olympia in a special election for Legislative District 30. **If you were going to vote today would you vote for Republican Teri Hickel or Democrat Carol Gregory?**

[*Record Response*: Hickel-R, Gregory-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Carol Gregory**

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents thousands of Washingtonians who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF GREGORY]

We are also supporting Carol Gregory for state representative. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. Go to Voter Engagement.*

[IF HICKEL]
I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. But Working America has done the research on the issues and we believe that Carol Gregory has the strongest track record of siding with working people of Washington.

*End conversation.*

[UNDECIDED/TICKET SPLITTING]

I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. But Working America has done the research on the issues and we believe that Carol Gregory has the strongest track record of siding with working people of Washington. That is why she has the support of thousands of working men and women in Washington and will…

[*Discuss Voter issue from Q1 using persuasion talking points*].

**So can we count on your vote** for Carol Gregory for state representative?

*[IF YES] Do not record response. Hand over lit. Go to Voter Engagement.*

*[IF NO] End conversation.*

## VOTER ENGAGEMENT

You said that [INSERT ISSUE FROM QUESTION 1] was the most important issue to you. The problem is that, regardless of who wins the election, Corporate CEO's, and lobbyists have too much influence in Olympia, and our priorities go unmet. The solution is for us to join together and form a group of residents who will hold politicians accountable to make sure we really help Washington's economy and put working people first.

**Question 3 (Email Address)**

Let me grab your email address so you can be part of our campaign to address [ISSUE]. We will occasionally send you information to keep you updated and about how to be part of this effort.

Record email address.

Thank you. Have a good night.

**September 8, 2015**
**WASF: 2015 Washington LD30 HEALTHCARE Experiment**
**Affordable Health Care**

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in [insert community] about the future of Washington. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

The health care system is changing rapidly. Here in Washington the number of uninsured people has dropped in half in the last few years and new insurance companies are coming into the state. While some people are seeing their health costs go down, the typical Washington resident will pay $230 more next year.

**Question 1 (Health Care ID)**

Do you feel like you have the information about health care that you need to make a good decision for you and your family?

[*Record response*: Yes- I have the information I need, No- I need more information, Not Sure- I don't know]

**Question 2 (Health Care Email)**

Working America wants to make sure people like you and I have the right information to steer through this complicated system. We are sending people brief updates and educational information about the health care system. Can I grab your email so that we can keep you informed?

[*Record email address*]

### Outcome Measures

1. Vote choice.
2. Gregory favorability.
3. Hickel favorability.
4. Which candidate do you think would do a better job representing people like you?.

### Results

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 17: Results for State Legislator

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.115 | 0.047 | 0.014 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.187 | 0.131 | 0.153 |

This second table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 18: Results for State Legislator

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.037 | 0.068 | 0.590 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.118 | 0.134 | 0.377 |

## OH Experiment 1, 2016, Senate

This experiment was conducted early in Ohio's Senate election. Working America canvassed to increase support for Ted Strickland. At this point, Working America had not yet begun working on the presidential race. Canvassing took place from 5/31/16-6/9/16. An initial post-treatment survey took place from 6/13/16-6/29/16. The election was held on 11/8/16.

### Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0__ohsenfactor__hh** | 0.088 | 0.11 |
| **t0__partyfactor__hh** | 0.064 | 0.075 |
| **t0__portmanapprvl** | -0.22 | -0.22 |
| **t0__stricklandfavorability** | -0.29 | -0.28 |
| **t0__ohsen** | 0.03 | 0.047 |
| **t0__ohsen__qualified** | 0 | 0.0052 |
| **t0__pid** | 0.26 | 0.29 |

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_outcome** | -1.5e-09 | 0.015 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.025 | 0.029 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.055 | 0.052 |
| **n** | 440 | 384 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of two stages: at the time of canvassing and at the time of the initial post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 20: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.211.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.72 | 0.03 | 27.24 | $< .001$ |
| t0_ohsenfactor_hh | -0.12 | 0.17 | -0.69 | .489 |
| t0_partyfactor_hh | 0.07 | 0.06 | 1.23 | .218 |
| t0_portmanapprvl | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.29 | .768 |
| t0_stricklandfavorability | 0.04 | 0.02 | 1.84 | .066 |
| t0_ohsen | 0.09 | 0.13 | 0.74 | .462 |
| t0_ohsen_qualified | -0.05 | 0.12 | -0.36 | .716 |
| t0_pid | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.49 | .627 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 21: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.309.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.71 | 0.03 | 24.38 | $< .001$ |
| t0_ohsenfactor_hh | -0.05 | 0.18 | -0.30 | .767 |
| t0_partyfactor_hh | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.58 | .560 |
| t0_portmanapprvl | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.39 | .695 |
| t0_stricklandfavorability | 0.04 | 0.02 | 1.77 | .077 |
| t0_ohsen | 0.06 | 0.13 | 0.42 | .674 |
| t0_ohsen_qualified | -0.09 | 0.13 | -0.70 | .486 |
| t0_pid | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.01 | .988 |

We also present the number of individuals, by treatment condition, at each stage.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 310 | 267 |
| Placebo | 130 | 117 |

## Description of Treatment

Note that two different treatment scripts were used. Because there was no statistically significant differences between the efficacy of the two scripts, we merged them for the purposes of our analysis.

# 2016
# OHCV: 2016 Recycled Material PLACEBO

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Ohio. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Recycled Materials ID)**

This November voters in Ohio may be asked to support a ballot measure that would create an incentive to recycle bottles and cans sold in Ohio, reuse those materials and apply the majority of the revenue to lowering car and health insurance costs. Would you support or oppose this measure?

[*Record response*: Support, Opposed, Undecdied]

Thank you. Have a good night.

**2016**

**OHCV: 2016 Standard Rap**

**U.S. Senate: Rob Portman v Ted Strickland**

**President:**

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Ohio. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the General Election in November, what is the most urgent priority to be addressed?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID US Senate)**

Thank you. In the election for Ohio's U.S. Senate incumbent Republican Rob Portman faces former Governor Democrat Ted Strickland. **If you were going to vote today would you vote for Rob Portman or Ted Strickland?**

[*Record Response*: Portman-R, Strickland-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Question 3 (Voter ID President)**

And in the election for President, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump, Democrat Hilary Clinton, or Democrat Bernie Sanders?

[*Record Response:* Trump-R, Clinton-D, Sanders-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Ted Strickland**

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents a million Ohioans who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF STRICKLAND]

Earlier you said that you were supporting ted Strickland in the Senate race. We are also supporting Strickland for Senate because of his strong track record on supporting working people. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. End conversation.*

[IF PORTMAN or UNDECIDED]

You said earlier that you are [voting for Portman/ Undecided] in the Senate race. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economy issues and the records of the candidates.

*Refer to talking points. Explain relevant issue background and candidate record*

**Question 3 (Voter ID- Sen Follow Up)**

**So can we count on your vote** for Ted Strickland for US Senate?

*Do not record response. End conversation.*

Thank you. Have a good night.

**2016**

**OHCV: 2016 Long form Rap**

**U.S. Senate: Rob Portman v Ted Strickland**

**President:**

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Ohio. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the General Election in November, what is the most urgent priority to be addressed?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID US Senate)**

Thank you. In the election for Ohio's U.S. Senate incumbent Republican Rob Portman faces former Governor Democrat Ted Strickland. **If you were going to vote today would you vote for Rob Portman or Ted Strickland?**

[*Record Response*: Portman-R, Strickland-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Question 3 (Voter ID President)**

And in the election for President, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump, Democrat Hilary Clinton, or Democrat Bernie Sanders?

[*Record Response:* Trump-R, Clinton-D, Sanders-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Question 4 (Economic Confidence-Personal)**

Now a couple of quick questions about the economy- On a scale of 1 to 5, how confident or concerned are you about your economic future and that of family? 1 very confident, 5 very concerned

[*Record Response:* 1- Very confident, 2- Somewhat confident, 3- Don't Know, 4- Somewhat concerned, 5- Very concerned]

**Question 5 (Economic Confidence-Community)**

On a scale of 1 to 5, how confident or concerned are you about the economic future of the community? 1 very confident, 5 very concerned

[*Record Response:* 1- Very confident, 2- Somewhat confident, 3- Don't Know, 4- Somewhat concerned, 5- Very concerned]

**Discussion**

You said that you felt [refer to responses to Questions 4 and 5- confidence] about the economic future. What has your experience in the economy been like in the last few years to make you feel that way?

[*Do not record response. This question is intended to get the voter to elaborate on her/his feelings about the economy and connect it to specific experiences in life. Canvassers should continue to ask question based on the voter's response to get the voter thinking about that experience objectively.*]

Can I tell you about how I have experienced the economy?

[*Listen for consent. Do not record response. Share brief personal experience. Eg- "A few years ago things felt pretty rocky for me. It took a while, but since then I have been able to find regular work that allows me to support my family and I am hopeful about my future."*]

GO TO PERSUASION

**Ted Strickland**

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents a million Ohioans who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF STRICKLAND]

Earlier you said that you were supporting ted Strickland in the Senate race. We are also supporting Strickland for Senate because of his strong track record on supporting working people. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. End conversation.*

[IF PORTMAN or UNDECIDED]
You said earlier that you are [voting for Portman/ Undecided] in the Senate race. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economy issues and the records of the candidates.

*Explain relevant issue background and candidate record*

**Question 6 (Voter ID- Sen Follow Up)**

**So can we count on your vote** for Ted Strickland for US Senate?

*End conversation.*

Thank you. Have a good night.

### Outcome Measures

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Rob Portman is handling his job as senator?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Ted Strickland?
3. Ohio also has a Senate election this fall between current Senator Republican Rob Portman and Democrat Ted Strickland. How do you plan on voting?
4. When it comes to representing Ohio in the U.S. Senate, which candidate do you think is best qualified, Democrat Ted Strickland or Republican Rob Portman?

### Results

This table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 23: Results for Senate

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.006 | 0.062 | 0.923 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.022 | 0.113 | 0.843 |

## OH Experiment 2, 2016, President and Senate

This experiment was conducted later in Ohio's Senate election, and also included persuasion on the presidential race. This was a distinct experimental universe from the first test. Working America canvassed to increase support for Ted Strickland and Hillary Clinton. Canvassing took place from 8/27/16-9/9/16. An initial post-treatment survey took place from 8/30/16-9/16/16. A second follow-up post-treatment survey took place from 11/8/16. The election was held on 11/8/16.

### Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_outcome_senate** | -5.4e-10 | 0.017 |
| **t0_outcome_potus** | 1.1e-10 | 0.067 |
| **t0_clintonvtrump** | 0.1 | 0.15 |
| **t0_ohsen** | 0.017 | 0.013 |
| **age** | 43 | 43 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.06 | 0.068 |
| **t0_pid** | 0.25 | 0.41 |
| **POTUSt0_ohsen** | -0.021 | 0.044 |
| **POTUSt0_clintonvtrump** | 0.54 | 0.78 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.024 | 0.026 |
| **n** | 761 | 385 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger

Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

This second table compares the responders to the second follow-up post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_outcome_senate** | -5.4e-10 | 0.056 |
| **t0_outcome_potus** | 1.1e-10 | 0.075 |
| **t0_clintonvtrump** | 0.1 | 0.16 |
| **t0_ohsen** | 0.017 | 0.037 |
| **age** | 43 | 41 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.06 | 0.058 |
| **t0_pid** | 0.25 | 0.3 |
| **POTUSt0_ohsen** | -0.021 | 0.075 |
| **POTUSt0_clintonvtrump** | 0.54 | 0.81 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.024 | 0.026 |
| **n** | 761 | 428 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of three stages: at the time of canvassing, at the time of the initial post-treatment survey, and at the time of the follow-up post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 26: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.984.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.51 | 0.06 | 9.23 | $< .001$ |
| t0_outcome_senate | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.27 | .786 |
| t0_outcome_potus | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.45 | .653 |
| t0_clintonvtrump | -0.04 | 0.04 | -0.85 | .394 |
| t0_ohsen | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.81 | .421 |
| age | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.22 | .825 |
| t0_identify_poc | -0.01 | 0.08 | -0.07 | .945 |
| t0_pid | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.13 | .897 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 27: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.802.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.57 | 0.08 | 7.20 | $< .001$ |
| t0_outcome_senate | -0.05 | 0.04 | -1.06 | .290 |
| t0_outcome_potus | 0.06 | 0.06 | 1.05 | .292 |
| t0_clintonvtrump | -0.06 | 0.06 | -0.98 | .327 |
| t0_ohsen | 0.02 | 0.06 | 0.42 | .678 |
| age | -0.00 | 0.00 | -1.38 | .168 |
| t0_identify_poc | -0.00 | 0.10 | -0.01 | .991 |
| t0_pid | -0.00 | 0.02 | -0.10 | .919 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 28: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.788.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.53 | 0.07 | 7.26 | $< .001$ |
| t0_outcome_senate | -0.03 | 0.04 | -0.87 | .387 |
| t0_outcome_potus | -0.05 | 0.06 | -0.83 | .405 |
| t0_clintonvtrump | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.80 | .425 |
| t0_ohsen | 0.06 | 0.05 | 1.10 | .270 |
| age | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.56 | .573 |
| t0_identify_poc | -0.07 | 0.11 | -0.68 | .497 |
| t0_pid | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.52 | .600 |

We also present the number of individuals, by treatment condition, at each stage.

The first table is for the immediate post-treatment survey.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 378 | 178 |
| Placebo | 383 | 207 |

This second table is for the follow-up post-treatment survey.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 378 | 208 |
| Placebo | 383 | 220 |

## Description of Treatment

**2016**

**OHCV: 2016 Source of News PLACEBO**

**Working America Placebo Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Ohio. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

We are conducting a short survey about the news.

**Question 1 (Source of News ID)**

When you think about where you get most of your news about all issues form, would you say that it mostly comes from Local TV, Cable TV, Radio, Internet, Print Newspaper, Word of Mouth or someplace else?

[*Record response*: Local TV, Cable TV, Radio, Internet, Print Newspaper, Word of Mouth or someplace else]

Thank you. We will be using this information to better understand how to reach Ohioans on issues of importance.

**Question 2 (Email)**

Would you like us to keep you informed? If so, let me grab your email address and will send you periodic updates on local issues.

[*Record email address*.]

Have a good night.

**2016**
**OHCV: 2016 Standard Rap**
**US President: Donald Trump (R) v Hillary Clinton (D)**
**U.S. Senate: Rob Portman (R) v Ted Strickland (D)**

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Ohio. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the General Election in November, what is the most urgent priority to be addressed?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID President)**

Thank you. In the election for President, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump or Democrat Hilary Clinton?

[*Record Response:* Trump-R, Clinton-D, Unsure/Undecided, Other]

**Question 3 (Voter ID US Senate)**

In the election for U.S. Senate Republican Rob Portman faces Democrat Ted Strickland. **If you were going to vote today would you vote for Rob Portman or Ted Strickland?**

[*Record Response*: Portman-R, Strickland-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Hillary Clinton**

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents a million Ohioans who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF CLINTON]

Earlier you said that you were supporting Hillary Clinton for President. We are also supporting Clinton for President because of her strong track record on supporting working people.

During her public career, Clinton has been instrumental in [refer to TPs relevant for Issue ID response in Q 1]

Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. Go to Senate Endorsement.*

[IF TRUMP, UNDECIDED or OTHER]

You said earlier that you are [voting for Trump/ Undecided/Other] for President. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economy issues and the records of the candidates.

*Refer to talking points. Explain relevant issue background and candidate record*

**So can we count on your vote** Hillary Clinton for President?

*Do not record response. Go to Senate Endorsement.*

Thank you. Have a good night.

**Ted Strickland**

**ENDORSEMENT**

Working America has done the research on the candidate's records and found that when comes to fighting to keep Ohio Strong for working families, Ted Strickland has a track record of . . .

[REFRENCE APPROPRIATE TALKING POINT BASED ON ISSUE ID Q1 RESPONSE].

That is why we and millions of other Ohio working people are supporting him to be our next US Senator.

*Go to voter engagement*

**VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

You said that [INSERT ISSUE FROM QUESTION 1] was the most important issue to you. The problem is that, regardless of who wins the election, Corporate CEO's, and lobbyists have too much influence in Washington, and our priorities go unmet. The solution is for us to join together and form a group of residents who will hold politicians accountable to make sure we really help Ohio's economy and put working people first.

**Question 4 (Email Address)**

Let me grab your email address so you can be part of our campaign to address [ISSUE]. We will occasionally send you information to keep you updated and about how to be part of this effort.

[*Record email address*.]

*End conversation.*

Thank you. Have a good night.

## Outcome Measures

President:

1. Thinking about the current presidential election, if the presidential election were being held today between Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson and Green Party candidate Jill Stein, who would you vote for?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Hillary Clinton?
3. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?
4. When it comes to being President, which candidate is best qualified, Republican Donald Trump or Democrat Hillary Clinton?

Senate: 1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Rob Portman is handling his job as senator? 2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Ted Strickland? 3. Ohio also has a Senate election this fall between current Senator Republican Rob Portman and Democrat Ted Strickland. How do you plan on voting? 4. When it comes to representing Ohio in the U.S. Senate, which candidate do you think is best qualified, Democrat Ted Strickland or Republican Rob Portman?

## Results

### President

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 31: Results for President

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.008 | 0.033 | 0.806 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.025 | 0.103 | 0.810 |

This second table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 32: Results for President

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.001 | 0.04 | 0.988 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.073 | 0.10 | 0.462 |

### Senate

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 33: Results for Senate

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.117 | 0.048 | 0.015 |

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.072 | 0.106 | 0.498 |

This second table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the follow-up post-treatment survey.

Table 34: Results for Senate

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.003 | 0.059 | 0.963 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.072 | 0.099 | 0.467 |

# NC Experiment, 2016, President, Senate, Governor, Supreme Court

This experiment was conducted during the 2016 North Carolina general election. Working America canvassed to increase support for Hillary Clinton and Deborah Ross. As part of these canvasses, North Carolina also distributed literature to increase support for Roy Cooper and Michael Morgan, a Supreme Court candidate. Canvassing took place from 9/21/16-10/14/16. An initial post-treatment survey took place from 9/30/16-10/31/16. The election was held on 11/8/16.

## Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_vote12_obama** | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| **t0_vote12_romney** | 0.13 | 0.12 |
| **t0_clintonfavorableunfavorable** | 0.16 | 0.081 |
| **t0_trumpfavorableunfavorable** | -1.4 | -1.5 |
| **t0_bestqualifiedtrumpclinton** | 0.62 | 0.62 |
| **t0_pid** | 1.4 | 1.3 |
| **t0_ideology** | 0.61 | 0.74 |
| **t0_hb2support** | -1.1 | -1.3 |
| **t0_hb2repeal** | 0.75 | 0.81 |
| **t0_votechoice_ncsen** | 1.8 | 1.7 |
| **t0_votechoice_nccgov** | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| **t0_votechoice_nccourt** | 0.082 | 0.1 |
| **t0_clintonvtrump** | 2 | 2 |
| **t0_potus_fav** | 0.11 | 0.1 |
| **t0_gov_fav** | 0.11 | 0.15 |
| **t0_court_fav** | 0.05 | 0.098 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.23 | 0.16 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.33 | 0.26 |
| **n** | 766 | 459 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of two stages: at the time of canvassing and at the time of the initial post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 36: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.388.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.38 | 0.06 | 6.33 | $< .001$ |
| t0_vote12_obama | 0.08 | 0.05 | 1.56 | .119 |
| t0_vote12_romney | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.92 | .360 |
| t0_clintonfavorableunfavorable | 0.03 | 0.02 | 1.43 | .154 |
| t0_trumpfavorableunfavorable | -0.00 | 0.03 | -0.04 | .972 |
| t0_bestqualifiedtrumpclinton | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.78 | .435 |
| t0_pid | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.45 | .649 |
| t0_ideology | -0.03 | 0.02 | -1.53 | .128 |
| t0_hb2support | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.19 | .850 |
| t0_hb2repeal | 0.09 | 0.07 | 1.30 | .195 |
| t0_votechoice_ncsen | -0.00 | 0.01 | -0.09 | .931 |
| t0_votechoice_nccgov | -0.00 | 0.01 | -0.37 | .709 |
| t0_votechoice_nccourt | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.64 | .522 |
| t0_clintonvtrump | -0.03 | 0.02 | -1.51 | .132 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 37: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.131.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.43 | 0.08 | 5.25 | $< .001$ |
| t0_vote12_obama | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.60 | .547 |
| t0_vote12_romney | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.61 | .541 |
| t0_clintonfavorableunfavorable | 0.06 | 0.03 | 2.20 | .029 |
| t0_trumpfavorableunfavorable | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.34 | .731 |
| t0_bestqualifiedtrumpclinton | 0.07 | 0.07 | 1.01 | .313 |
| t0_pid | -0.04 | 0.02 | -1.72 | .087 |
| t0_ideology | -0.04 | 0.02 | -1.88 | .061 |
| t0_hb2support | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.49 | .627 |
| t0_hb2repeal | 0.07 | 0.10 | 0.77 | .445 |

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| t0_votechoice_ncsen | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.55 | .581 |
| t0_votechoice_nccgov | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.44 | .663 |
| t0_votechoice_nccourt | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.58 | .564 |
| t0_clintonvtrump | -0.04 | 0.02 | -1.53 | .126 |

We also present the number of individuals, by treatment condition, at each stage.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 344 | 208 |
| Placebo | 422 | 251 |

## Description of Treatment

Below we include the script that was used, as well as the literature that was given at the door on the Supreme Court and gubernatorial races. These were not explicitly mentioned in the script, which focused on the presidential and senate races.

# 2016
# NC: 2016 Standard Rap
# US President: Donald Trump (R) v Hillary Clinton (D)
# US Senate: Richard Burr (R) v Deborah Ross (D)

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of North Carolina. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the upcoming election on November 8th, what is the most urgent issue to you and your family?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID President)**

Thank you. This fall, voters will be voting to elect our next President. **If you were voting today, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump or Democrat Hillary Clinton?**

[*Record Response:* Trump, Undecided, Clinton, Other]

**Question 3 (Voter ID US Senate)**

Thank you. This fall, voters will also be voting to elect our next Senator. If you were voting today, would you vote for Republican Richard Burr or Democrat Deborah Ross?

[*Record Response:* Burr, Undecided, Ross, Other]

GO TO PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Hillary Clinton**
**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENT**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents over 40,000 North Carolinians who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign.

[IF CLINTON]

Earlier you said that you were supporting Hillary Clinton in the race for President. We are also supporting Clinton for President because of her strong track record on supporting working people. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. Go to Senate Endorsement.*

[IF UNDECIDED]
You said earlier that [Issue Priority] was the most important issue to you. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates.

*Explain relevant issue background and candidate record.*

Now that you have heard more about the candidates, who do you think you will be supporting in the Presidential Election, Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton?

*Do not record response. If Clinton go to Senate Endorsement.*

Thank you for your time and have a good night.

*Hand over lit and end conversation.*

[IF TRUMP]

You said earlier that [Issue Priority] was the most important issue to you. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates and we believe Hillary Clinton is the best candidate for our community.

*Hand over lit and end conversation.*

**Deborah Ross**

**ENDORSEMENT**

Working America has done the research and found that Deborah Ross has the strongest record of fighting for North Carolina. As a state representative, Ross fought to create jobs and make it easier for working families to commute to those jobs.

**Early Vote/ Plan Making (Only if the voter is a Clinton and Ross Supporter)**

**Question 4:**

When are you planning to vote?

[*Record Response:* Early Vote, Election Day, Not Voting]

*Ask probing questions to help the voter visualize their voting day. The goal here is to have a conversation about their day to help the voter make a plan. If the voter is voting early, share county specific early voting information.*

What time of day do you normally vote?

What do you do before you vote?

Will you take time off work to vote? Do you know where your polling location is? How will you get there? Will you go vote with anyone else?

**Go to Voter Engagement.**

**VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

The problem is that billionaires, lobbyists and special interests have too much influence in Washington. The only way we can make sure politicians are working for us instead of wealthy and well connected is make our voice hear during the election and beyond.

**Question 4 (Email)**

Let me grab your email address and we will keep you informed?

[*Record email address*]

**AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM WORKING AMERICA**

# WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE NORTH CAROLINA SUPREME COURT ELECTIONS?

**With more than 26 years of judicial experience and 24 years of teaching tenure, Superior Court Judge Michael Morgan has a long record of serving North Carolina. A Raleigh resident, Morgan began his career with the NC Department of Justice and then went on to become a state administrative law judge before becoming a district court judge in 1994.** *(2016 Supreme Court primary election guide)*

**Democracy:** The North Carolina Supreme Court is an important guardian of our democracy. The Supreme Court presides over cases where politically motivated laws are passed, like when Republican-led lawmakers used race to draw legislative boundaries in 2011, giving their party the edge by diluting African-American votes. More recently, the court reviewed a new election retention law that made it so that sitting justices seeking election would not have to face challengers. We need justices who believe that the judiciary should be fair and impartial. *(wral.com, 8/11/16; The News & Observer, 6/7/16; Indy Week, 5/18/16)*

Judge Michael Morgan has lamented the politicization of the North Carolina judicial system. As a jurist, Morgan has met the high standards of fairness and impartiality. On a North Carolina Bar Association judicial performance survey, he received an impressive score of 4.47 out of 5 for integrity and impartiality, placing him in the top quarter for all North Carolina superior court judges. *(The Outer Banks Voice, 6/5/16; North Carolina Bar Association Survey, 3/12)*

**Economy:** The North Carolina Supreme Court is critical in deciding pocketbook issues that affect all of us, like scrutinizing rate increases by big utility companies that ignore the impact on homes and small businesses. The current court's conservative majority has ruled in favor of the big utility companies, but we need justices who put economic fairness for working families first. *(The News & Observer, 1/23/15 and 6/26/15)*

Judge Michael Morgan is endorsed by North Carolina AFL-CIO, which represents over 100,000 working people fighting for good jobs, safe workplaces, workers' rights, consumer protections and quality public services on behalf of all working families. *(aflcionc.org, accessed 9/7/16)*

**Education:** The North Carolina Supreme Court is critical to deciding issues that affect our state's education system. Whether the issue is the use of public taxpayer money to fund private schools through a controversial voucher system or supporting and retaining quality teachers when we need them the most, we need justices who will put our children first. *(MintPress News, 7/28/15; Greensboro News & Record, 4/15/16)*

Having spent 24 years as an educator and having served on the board of directors for a children's home, Judge Michael Morgan has shown that he values education and that we can count on him to put North Carolina's children first. *(Indy Week, 6/1/16; Mfhc.org, accessed 8/31/16)*

## Michael Morgan for North Carolina Supreme Court Justice

**VOTE**

**—EARLY VOTING—**
**Oct. 20–Nov. 5**
**For more info, visit WorkingAmerica.org/NC**

**—ELECTION DAY—**
**Tuesday, Nov. 8**
**Poll hours: 6:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.**

Text VOTENC to 30644
**for voting reminders and updates.***

WORKING AMERICA

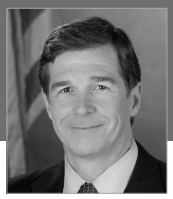
/WorkingAmerica

Your vote is a personal decision. **Working America has done the research and found that Michael Morgan is the best choice for North Carolina Supreme Court Justice.** Paid for by Working America. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. NCDH-108-16

**Working America may contact you by phone or text message to keep you updated about our efforts. By providing your mobile phone number, you authorize Working America to call or text your cell phone with periodic updates that may be automatically dialed or prerecorded. You can revoke the consent at any time by contacting us.*

## AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM WORKING AMERICA

# Who Will Stand with Working Families?



Taken from candidate's FaceBook page, accessed 8/24/16

Taken from candidate's FaceBook page, accessed 8/24/16

## Roy Cooper (D) Pat McCrory (R)

### CREATING JOBS

**North Carolina's unemployment rate is now less than half of what it was during the height of the recession, but the current rate of 4.7% still leaves the state ranked 25th in the nation, lagging behind neighboring states like Tennessee and Virginia, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.** *(Bls.gov, retrieved 8/25/16)*

Roy Cooper has committed to accept federal funds for Medicaid expansion. These funds will create 43,000 health care jobs and bring more than $2 billion in federal money every year. Cooper also vowed to repeal the job-killing legislation, House Bill 2, and restore the child-care tax credit to help working families. *(Charlotte Business Journal, 7/13/16; NCJustice.org, accessed 8/23/16)*

Gov. McCrory signed House Bill 2 into law. This legislation has harmed North Carolina's economy and pushed out jobs. As a result of HB 2, our state has lost over $40 million in business investment—resulting in a loss of over 1,250 jobs. An additional $20 million in business investment and 550 more jobs are at risk. (PolitiFact.com, 4/22/16; The Williams Institute, 5/11/16)

### HEALTHIER NORTH CAROLINA

**North Carolina has the opportunity to provide health care access to an additional 500,000 people by expanding Medicaid through existing health care legislation. Not only would this save the state $318 million between 2016-2020, it would create 43,000 new jobs in the next four years.** *(NCJustice.org, accessed 8/23/16)*

Roy Cooper is a vocal advocate for the expansion of Medicaid. Out of the 500,000 North Carolinians this expansion would provide coverage for, more than 300,000 have no other insurance option available. Accepting this expansion would help prevent more than 1,000 unnecessary deaths and save 14,776 families from receiving catastrophic medical bills. *(The News and Observer, 6/23/16; NCJustice.org, accessed 8/23/16)*

Pat McCrory refused to expand Medicaid, which would help 27,044 diabetics get their medication and provide 40,000 North Carolinian women preventative screening. By doing this, Gov. McCrory is also leaving $2 billion on the table every year, which could ease the financial strain on our hospitals. Four hospitals in Georgia and one hospital in Virginia have already closed due to their state's refusal to expand Medicaid. *(The News and Observer, 6/23/16; NCJustice.org, accessed 8/23/16; HealthInsurance.org, accessed 8/23/16)*

### INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

**North Carolina ranks 42nd when it comes to school finance, a ranking based on funding equity and spending. The effects of this ranking are amplified when you consider that states with higher per-pupil expenditures tend to have higher student achievement. In North Carolina, we spend $2,792 less than the national average for each of our students.** *(EdWeek: Quality Counts 2016; NEA.org, accessed 8/16/16)*

Our state ranks 42nd in the nation for teacher pay and 14.8 percent of our teachers left their positions in 2015 alone. Roy Cooper is committed to making education a priority in North Carolina by raising teacher salaries to the national average, boosting kindergarten funding and helping to ease student loan debt. *(Abc11.com, 5/3/16; The Citizen-Times, 3/9/16)*

Though North Carolina has fallen behind in school investment, Gov. McCrory supports legislation that puts $4.7 billion in federal education funding in jeopardy. Our state uses these federal funds to pay teachers and aids, subsidize nutrition programs for low-income students, support economically disadvantaged students, and assist students with disabilities. *(The Williams Institute, 5/11/16; Abc11.com, 5/5/16)*

## ★ Roy Cooper for Governor ★

VOTE

**—EARLY VOTING—**
**Oct. 20–Nov. 5**
**For more info, visit WorkingAmerica.org/NC**

**—ELECTION DAY—**
**Tuesday, Nov. 8**
**Poll hours: 6:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.**

Text VOTENC to 30644
**for voting reminders and updates.***

WORKING AMERICA

Your vote is a personal decision. **Working America has done the research and found that Roy Cooper is the best choice for Governor.** Paid for by Working America. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. NCDH-107-16

/WorkingAmerica

**Working America may contact you by phone or text message to keep you updated about our efforts. By providing your mobile phone number, you authorize Working America to call or text your cell phone with periodic updates that may be automatically dialed or prerecorded. You can revoke the consent at any time by contacting us.*

## Outcome Measures

President:

1. If the election for president were held today between Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump, who would you vote for?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Hillary Clinton?
3. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?
4. When it comes to being president, which candidate is best qualified, Republican Donald Trump or Democrat Hillary Clinton?

Senate (only one question was asked):

1. North Carolina also has a Senate election this fall. If the election were held today between current senator Republican Richard Burr and Democrat former State Representative Deborah Ross, how do you think you would vote?

Governor:

1. North Carolina will also hold elections for governor this fall. If the election were held today between current Governor Republican Pat McCrory and Democratic Attorney General Roy Cooper, how do you think you would vote?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Pat McCrory is handling his job as governor?
3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roy Cooper is handling his job as attorney general?

Supreme Court:

1. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Supreme Court Justice Robert Edmunds?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Wake Country Judge Michael Morgan?
3. If the election for North Carolina Supreme Court justice were held tomorrow between Robert Edmunds and Michael Morgan, who would you vote for?

## Results

### President

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 39: Results for President

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.026 | 0.039 | 0.514 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.084 | 0.099 | 0.400 |

### Senate

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|

Table 40: Results for Senate

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.044 | 0.063 | 0.478 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.017 | 0.098 | 0.865 |

**Governor**

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 41: Results for Governor

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.074 | 0.046 | 0.106 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.020 | 0.092 | 0.830 |

**Supreme Court**

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 42: Results for Supreme Court

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.176 | 0.077 | 0.022 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.199 | 0.091 | 0.029 |

# FL Experiment, 2016, Generic Democratic Candidates

This experiment was conducted during FL's 2016 general election. Working America canvassed to increase support for Hillary Clinton and Democratic candidates more generally. Canvassing took place from . An initial post-treatment survey took place from . The election was held on 11/8/16.

## Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_potus16_votechoice** | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| **t0_senate16_votechoice** | -0.22 | -0.24 |
| **t0_fl9cd_votechoice** | 0.62 | 0.61 |

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_gov18_votechoice** | 0.33 | 0.31 |
| **t0_pid** | 0.75 | 0.78 |
| **t0_therm_clinton** | 55 | 55 |
| **t0_therm_trump** | 26 | 25 |
| **t0_therm_dem** | 60 | 59 |
| **t0_therm_rep** | 39 | 40 |
| **t0_demcand_factor** | 0.029 | 0.025 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.013 | 0.015 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.9 | 0.88 |
| **n** | 741 | 329 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of two stages: at the time of canvassing and at the time of the initial post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 44: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.361.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.39 | 0.06 | 6.45 | $< .001$ |
| t0_potus16_votechoice | 0.03 | 0.01 | 1.89 | .059 |
| t0_senate16_votechoice | -0.00 | 0.01 | -0.10 | .924 |
| t0_fl9cd_votechoice | -0.02 | 0.02 | -1.27 | .204 |
| t0_gov18_votechoice | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.21 | .833 |
| t0_pid | 0.02 | 0.02 | 1.04 | .299 |
| t0_therm_clinton | -0.00 | 0.00 | -1.25 | .211 |
| t0_therm_trump | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.63 | .531 |
| t0_therm_dem | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.58 | .560 |
| t0_therm_rep | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.43 | .669 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 45: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.318.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.32 | 0.09 | 3.65 | $< .001$ |

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| t0_potus16_votechoice | 0.03 | 0.02 | 1.26 | .210 |
| t0_senate16_votechoice | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.16 | .876 |
| t0_fl9cd_votechoice | -0.02 | 0.03 | -0.87 | .387 |
| t0_gov18_votechoice | -0.02 | 0.05 | -0.47 | .638 |
| t0_pid | 0.04 | 0.03 | 1.71 | .087 |
| t0_therm_clinton | -0.00 | 0.00 | -1.45 | .148 |
| t0_therm_trump | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.26 | .796 |
| t0_therm_dem | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.12 | .264 |
| t0_therm_rep | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.89 | .376 |

We also present the number of individuals, by treatment condition, at each stage.

| | Canvassed | Post-Survey Respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 292 | 132 |
| Placebo | 449 | 197 |

## Description of Treatment

This experiment attempted to persuade voters to vote for Democratic candidates in general, not any one particular candidate. As a result, we use an index of voters' votes across multiple races as the outcome.

# 2016
# FLOR: WA Florida Latino Partisanship Study
# Placebo and Condition Raps

## WA Florida Latino Partisanship Study Placebo Rap: News Source

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America. We are out today talking to folks about the future of Florida. Are you [name]? Great!

**Questions**

We are conducting a short survey about the news.

**Question 1 (Source of News ID)**

When you think about where you get most of your news from, regardless of issue, would you say that it mostly comes from Local TV, Cable TV, Radio, Internet, Print Newspaper, Word of Mouth or someplace else?

[*Record response*: Local TV, Cable TV, Radio, Internet, Print Newspaper, Word of Mouth or someplace else]

Thank you. We will be using this information to better understand how to reach Missourians on issues of importance.

**Question 2 (Email)**

Would you like us to keep you informed? If so, let me grab your email address and will send you periodic updates on local issues.

[*Record email address*.]

**Closing**

Thank you so much for your input. Have a good night.

**After the Conversation**

**Question 3:**
MARK ONLY IF INCORRET RAP IS DELIVERED

*[Record Response: Yes]*

# 2016
# FLOR: WA Florida Latino Partisanship Study
# Placebo and Condition Raps

**WA Florida Latino Partisanship Study Condition Rap: Persuasion**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Florida. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the upcoming election on November 8th, what is the most urgent issue to you and your family?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID PRES)**

Thank you. In the upcoming election for President, Republican Donald Trump is running against Democrat Hillary Clinton. **If you were going to vote today, would you vote for Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton?**

[*Record Response*: Trump, Clinton, Unsure/Undecided]

*Go to Senate ID*

**Question 3 (Voter ID SEN)**

Thank you. In the upcoming election for Senate, Republican Marco Rubio is running against Democrat Patrick Murphy. **If you were going to vote today, would you vote for Marco Rubio or Patrick Murphy?**

[*Record Response*: Rubio, Murphy, Unsure/Undecided]

*Go to Discussion: Voter Identity*

**Question 4 (Voter Identity)**
In most elections which party candidates would you say you vote for most of the time?

*[Record Response:* Republicans, Democrats, Neither]

*Go to Discussion: Economic Confidence*

**Question 5 (Economic Confidence-Personal)**
So much about how we see politics relates to the economy. On a scale of 1 to 5, how confident or concerned are you about your economic future and that of your family? 1 very confident, 5 very concerned

**Question 6 (Economic Confidence-Community)**
On a scale of 1 to 5, how confident or concerned are you about the economic future of the community? 1 very confident, 5 very concerned

[*Record Response:* 1- Very confident, 2- Somewhat confident, 3- Don't Know, 4- Somewhat concerned, 5- Very concerned]

**Discussion: The Economy**

*Ask the voter probing questions to dig into their personal experience with the economy. Share your experiences over the last few years. Use the sample questions below as a guide. You only need to record answers to the questions in boxes.*

You said that you felt [refer to responses to Questions 5 and 6- confidence] about the economic future. What has your experience in the economy been like in the last few years to make you feel that way?

*This question is intended to get the voter to elaborate on her/his feelings about the economy and connect it to specific experiences in life. Canvassers should continue to ask question based on the voter's response to get the voter thinking about that experience objectively.*

Can I tell you about how I have experienced the economy?

[*Listen for consent. Share brief personal experience. Eg- "A few years ago things felt pretty rocky for me. It took a while, but since then I have been able to find regular work that allows me to support my family and I am hopeful about my future."*]

*Go to Discussion: Agitation*

**Discussion: Agitation**

*Use the talking points below and continue to ask probing questions about the voter's experience as a Latino in the community.*

Instead of focusing on our shared economic challenges, it seems to me that some politicians take cheap shots at our community. Trump's rhetoric has led to increased bullying in schools and at work. Just from talking to folks at their doors, Working America found that 1 in 5 Latinos said that discrimination has increased since Trump has been in the national spotlight.

What do you think about that?

Has Trump ever said anything that offended you?
How would you feel if he became President?

Trump is a big enough problem, but this nasty rhetoric goes beyond him. It is representative of a larger GOP philosophy.

*Go to Discussion: Distinguish Democrats*

**Discussion: Distinguish Democrats**

You said earlier that you usually vote [REFER TO ANSWER FROM Q 4- PARTY]. I look at the records of the candidates and parties when I make my voting choice.

Democrats aren't perfect but there is a difference. They respect our community and I feel like leaders like Hillary Clinton will really fight for us on issues of economic fairness.

*Show an agitation video first and then a discussion video. You can decide on the video.*
How does that make you feel?
Have you ever experienced discrimination in your life?

*Show the second video (Democrat discussion)*
What has your experience been like with the Democrats? How does that make you feel?

**Question 7 (Republicans fight for you)**

Do you believe that Republicans who support that type of rhetoric would fight for you and your family on issues of economic fairness?

*Let the voter talk herself through the differences between the two parties and how she relates to the overall system.*

*Go to Closing.*

**Closing**

Thank you so much for taking the time to talk to me tonight. Have a great night!

*Leave lit w/ the voter.*

**After the Conversation**

**Question 8: Incorrect Rap**
MARK ONLY IF INCORRET RAP IS DELIVERED

*[Record Response: Yes]*

**Question 9: Negative Video**
Which negative video did you show the voter?

*[Record Response: Language of Ghettos, Living in Shadows, Rat, IQ, or Other]*

**Question 10: Positive Video**
Which positive video did you show the voter?

*[Record Response: Immigrants Americans, Problems are my Prob, Want American Dream]*

### Outcome Measures

1. If the election for President were held today between Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump, who would you vote for?
2. Trump Feeling Thermometer.
3. Clinton Feeling Thermometer.
4. Florida also has a Senate election this fall. If the election were held today between current senator Republican Marco Rubio and Democrat Representative Patrick Murphy, how do you think you would vote?
5. Florida will have an election for governor coming up in a few years. If the election were held today, do you think you would vote for the Democratic candidate or Republican candidate?
6. Your area will also have an election for US Congress this year. If the election were held today between Democrat Darren Soto and Republican Wayne Liebnitzky, how do you think you would vote?
7. Now, thinking about Florida's state senate, if the election for state senator were held today between Republican Dean Asher and Democrat Linda Stewart, how do you think you would vote?

### Results

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 47: Results for Dem Candidates

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.050 | 0.058 | 0.394 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.119 | 0.113 | 0.290 |

## MO Experiment, 2016, Governor

This experiment was conducted during Missouri's gubernatorial race. Working America canvassed to increase support for Chris Koster. Canvassing took place from 9/30/16-10/15/16. An initial post-treatment survey took place from 10/18/16-11/1/16. The election was held on 11/8/16.

### Experimental Universe

Below, we describe the representativeness of the experimental universe. This table compares the responders to the initial post-treatment survey to everyone who was canvassed.

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_greitensfavorability** | -0.35 | -0.36 |
| **t0_kosterfavorability** | 0.54 | 0.53 |
| **t0_therm_dem** | 55 | 56 |
| **t0_therm_rep** | 36 | 36 |
| **t0_therm_clinton** | 47 | 48 |
| **t0_therm_trump** | 25 | 24 |
| **t0_potus16_votechoice** | 1 | 1.1 |
| **t0_senate16_votechoice** | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| **t0_gov16_votechoice** | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| **t0_economoy_governor_trust** | 0.31 | 0.32 |

| | Canvassed | Post-Canvass Survey Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| **t0_pid** | 0.63 | 0.69 |
| **t0_gov_fav** | 0.055 | 0.066 |
| **t0_identify_afam** | 0.029 | 0.026 |
| **t0_identify_poc** | 0.054 | 0.053 |
| **n** | 595 | 380 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage. t0_pid is the standard 7-point party ID variable, with higher values for stronger Democrats. t0_identify_afam is a binary variable, coded as 1 if the survey responded identified as African American. t0_identify_poc is a similar binary variable, but for any non-white person of color. Vote choice variables are typically 7-point scales, with higher values for the Democrat. Favorability variables are 7-pint scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individals at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance and Differential Attrition

Below, we report covariate balance across treatment and placebo at each of two stages: at the time of canvassing and at the time of the initial post-treatment survey. We do this by regressing a treatment indicator on all of the covariates. Each p-value reports whether that covariate is predictive of treatment assignment. In expectation, from random assignment, the covariates should be independent of treatment assignment. As a summary statistics, we also report the F-statistic from this multivariate regression.

This table shows covariate balance among everyone canvassed.

Table 49: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.335.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.44 | 0.08 | 5.70 | $< .001$ |
| t0_greitensfavorability | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.44 | .660 |
| t0_kosterfavorability | -0.03 | 0.02 | -1.44 | .151 |
| t0_therm_dem | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.82 | .414 |
| t0_therm_rep | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.54 | .125 |
| t0_therm_clinton | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.06 | .289 |
| t0_therm_trump | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.64 | .526 |
| t0_potus16_votechoice | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | .994 |
| t0_senate16_votechoice | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.34 | .182 |
| t0_gov16_votechoice | 0.02 | 0.02 | 1.18 | .240 |
| t0_economoy_governor_trust | -0.07 | 0.06 | -1.23 | .218 |
| t0_pid | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.94 | .347 |

This table shows covariate balance among everyone who took the initial post-treatment survey.

Table 50: Test of covariate balance. F-statistic from this multivariate regression is 0.279.

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.46 | 0.10 | 4.58 | $< .001$ |
| t0_greitensfavorability | -0.02 | 0.03 | -0.69 | .492 |
| t0_kosterfavorability | -0.04 | 0.03 | -1.45 | .147 |

| Parameter | Estimate | SE | $t$ | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| t0_therm_dem | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.25 | .801 |
| t0_therm_rep | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.69 | .494 |
| t0_therm_clinton | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.63 | .526 |
| t0_therm_trump | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.47 | .641 |
| t0_potus16_votechoice | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.32 | .749 |
| t0_senate16_votechoice | -0.03 | 0.01 | -1.75 | .082 |
| t0_gov16_votechoice | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.75 | .453 |
| t0_economoy_governor_trust | -0.07 | 0.07 | -0.98 | .327 |
| t0_pid | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.52 | .605 |

## Description of Treatment

**2016**

**MOST: 2016 Mercury Opinion Missouri Persuasion Study**

**Placebo and Condition Raps**

## PLACEBO RAP: NEWS SOURCE

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America. We are out today talking to folks about the future of Missouri. Are you [name]? Great!

**Questions**

We are conducting a short survey about the news.

**Question 1 (Source of News ID)**

When you think about where you get most of your news from, regardless of issue, would you say that it mostly comes from Local TV, Cable TV, Radio, Internet, Print Newspaper, Word of Mouth or someplace else?

[*Record response*: Local TV, Cable TV, Radio, Internet, Print Newspaper, Word of Mouth or someplace else]

Thank you. We will be using this information to better understand how to reach Missourians on issues of importance.

**Question 2 (Email)**

Would you like us to keep you informed? If so, let me grab your email address and will send you periodic updates on local issues.

[*Record email address*.]

**Closing**

Thank you so much for your input. Have a good night.

# 2016
# MOST: 2016 Mercury Opinion Missouri Persuasion Study
# Placebo and Condition Raps

## GUBERNATORIAL PERSUASION

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Missouri. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the upcoming election on November 8th, what is the most urgent issue to you and your family?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID GOV)**

Thank you. In the upcoming election for Governor, Republican Eric Greitens is running against Democrat Chris Koster . **If you were going to vote today, would you vote for Eric Greitens or Chris Koster?**

[*Record Response*: Greitens, Koster, Unsure/Undecided]

*Go to persuasion and endorsements*

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Chris Koster**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents over 80,000 Missourians who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF Koster]

Earlier you said that you were supporting Chris Koster in the Governor's race. We are also supporting Koster for Governor because of her strong track record on supporting working people. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. Go to voter engagement.*

[IF UNDECIDED OR GREITENS]
You said earlier that [Issue Priority] was the most important issue to you. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates.

*Explain relevant issue background and candidate record.*

Now that you have heard more about the candidates, who do you think you will be supporting in the Republican primary, Eric Greitens or Chris Koster?

*Do not record response. If Koster go to voter engagement.*

Thank you for your time and have a good night.

*Hand over lit and end conversation.*

**VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

The problem is that billionaires, lobbyists and special interests have too much influence in Jefferson City. The only way we can make sure politicians are working for us instead of wealthy and well connected is make our voice hear during the election and beyond.

**Question 3 (Email)**

Let me grab your email address and we will keep you informed?

[*Record email address*]

Thank you. Have a good night.

### Outcome Measures

1. Missouri will also hold elections for governor this fall. If the election were held today between Republican Eric Greitens and Democrat Chris Koster, how do you think you would vote?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Eric Greitens?
3. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Chris Koster?

### Results

This first table shows the experimental results of the canvass, as measured in the initial post-treatment survey. We present results both controlling for the pre-treatment covariates used in the test of covariate balance and without.

Table 51: Results for Governor

| | Treatment Effect | SE | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results Controlling for Pre-Treatment Covariates | 0.026 | 0.056 | 0.64 |
| Results without Pre-Treatment Covariates | -0.184 | 0.112 | 0.10 |

## NC GOTV Experiment, 2016

Using a distinct experimental universe but the same canvassers, Working America conducted a voter turnout experiment in the 2016 general election in North Carolina. Canvassing took place from 24 October 2016 through Election Day, 8 November 2016.

### Experimental Universe

The experiment consisted of 515752 people randomly assigned to one of three treatment conditions: a GOTV canvass, a placebo canvass, and a pure control group.

Randomization was conducted based on the number of registered voters in a precinct. In precincts with over 1,000 registered voters, approximately 10% of households were randomly assigned to control, 5% to placebo, and 85% to treatment. In precincts with less than 1,000 registered voters, approximately 5% of households were randomly assigned to placebo and 95% to treatment.

| | Starting Universe | Attempted | Canvassed |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | 0.053 | 0.053 | 0.064 |
| **general14** | 0.34 | 0.3 | 0.34 |
| **general13** | 0.041 | 0.04 | 0.05 |
| **general12** | 0.56 | 0.53 | 0.56 |
| **general11** | 0.049 | 0.043 | 0.05 |
| **general10** | 0.26 | 0.22 | 0.25 |
| **general09** | 0.034 | 0.034 | 0.04 |
| **general08** | 0.49 | 0.47 | 0.48 |
| **general07** | 0.038 | 0.033 | 0.037 |
| **general06** | 0.17 | 0.15 | 0.16 |
| **primary16** | 0.29 | 0.24 | 0.28 |
| **vf_dem** | 0.67 | 0.66 | 0.67 |
| **vf_rep** | 0.062 | 0.058 | 0.06 |
| **vf_female** | 0.56 | 0.55 | 0.55 |

| | Starting Universe | Attempted | Canvassed |
|---|---|---|---|
| **precinct_1k** | 0.28 | 0.24 | 0.22 |
| **n** | 515,752 | 122,257 | 42,185 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance

Below we present the covariate balance at each stage (assignment, attempted, and canvassed) and by precinct type (more or less than 1,000 voters).

First, we present balance at the **assignment** stage among voters living in precincts with **more** than 1,000 voters.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | 0.044 | 0.044 | 0.045 |
| **general14** | 0.32 | 0.31 | 0.32 |
| **general13** | 0.027 | 0.028 | 0.027 |
| **general12** | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 |
| **general11** | 0.037 | 0.036 | 0.038 |
| **general10** | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 |
| **general09** | 0.017 | 0.016 | 0.016 |
| **general08** | 0.45 | 0.45 | 0.46 |
| **general07** | 0.039 | 0.036 | 0.036 |
| **general06** | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.13 |
| **primary16** | 0.27 | 0.27 | 0.26 |
| **vf_dem** | 0.67 | 0.67 | 0.67 |
| **vf_rep** | 0.054 | 0.056 | 0.058 |
| **vf_female** | 0.56 | 0.56 | 0.55 |
| **precinct_1k** | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **n** | 14,371 | 121,367 | 7,198 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Next, we present balance at the **attempted** stage among voters living in precincts with **more** than 1,000 voters.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | NA | 0.048 | 0.056 |
| **general14** | NA | 0.29 | 0.31 |
| **general13** | NA | 0.031 | 0.039 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.53 | 0.53 |
| **general11** | NA | 0.036 | 0.044 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.21 | 0.24 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.017 | 0.026 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.45 | 0.47 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.031 | 0.039 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.13 | 0.13 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.24 | 0.25 |

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **vf_dem** | NA | 0.65 | 0.65 |
| **vf_rep** | NA | 0.059 | 0.058 |
| **vf_female** | NA | 0.55 | 0.54 |
| **precinct_1k** | NA | 1 | 1 |
| **n** | 0 | 27,691 | 1,626 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Finally, we present balance at the **canvassed** stage among voters living in precincts with **more** than 1,000 voters.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | NA | 0.062 | 0.073 |
| **general14** | NA | 0.34 | 0.34 |
| **general13** | NA | 0.041 | 0.057 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.57 | 0.58 |
| **general11** | NA | 0.043 | 0.044 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.23 | 0.27 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.02 | 0.041 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.46 | 0.5 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.038 | 0.047 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.14 | 0.15 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.29 | 0.28 |
| **vf_dem** | NA | 0.65 | 0.66 |
| **vf_rep** | NA | 0.063 | 0.057 |
| **vf_female** | NA | 0.56 | 0.56 |
| **precinct_1k** | NA | 1 | 1 |
| **n** | 0 | 8,617 | 616 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Second, we present balance at the **assignment** stage among voters living in precincts with **less** than 1,000 voters.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | NA | 0.056 | 0.057 |
| **general14** | NA | 0.36 | 0.36 |
| **general13** | NA | 0.046 | 0.045 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.57 | 0.57 |
| **general11** | NA | 0.054 | 0.057 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.27 | 0.27 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.041 | 0.042 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.039 | 0.039 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.19 | 0.19 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| **vf_dem** | NA | 0.67 | 0.67 |
| **vf_rep** | NA | 0.064 | 0.067 |
| **vf_female** | NA | 0.56 | 0.56 |

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **precinct_1k** | NA | 0 | 0 |
| **n** | 0 | 354,010 | 18,806 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Next, we present balance at the **attempted** stage among voters living in precincts with **less** than 1,000 voters.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | NA | 0.054 | 0.06 |
| **general14** | NA | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| **general13** | NA | 0.042 | 0.042 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.53 | 0.53 |
| **general11** | NA | 0.044 | 0.049 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.22 | 0.22 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.039 | 0.043 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.47 | 0.45 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.033 | 0.037 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.15 | 0.16 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.24 | 0.25 |
| **vf_dem** | NA | 0.67 | 0.66 |
| **vf_rep** | NA | 0.057 | 0.065 |
| **vf_female** | NA | 0.55 | 0.55 |
| **precinct_1k** | NA | 0 | 0 |
| **n** | 0 | 88,277 | 4,663 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Finally, we present balance at the **canvassed** stage among voters living in precincts with **less** than 1,000 voters.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general15** | NA | 0.064 | 0.071 |
| **general14** | NA | 0.35 | 0.33 |
| **general13** | NA | 0.052 | 0.054 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.56 | 0.54 |
| **general11** | NA | 0.051 | 0.054 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.25 | 0.26 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.045 | 0.05 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.49 | 0.46 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.037 | 0.037 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.17 | 0.18 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.28 | 0.28 |
| **vf_dem** | NA | 0.67 | 0.66 |
| **vf_rep** | NA | 0.059 | 0.065 |
| **vf_female** | NA | 0.55 | 0.55 |
| **precinct_1k** | NA | 0 | 0 |
| **n** | 0 | 31,085 | 1,867 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

## Description of Treatment

Below is the GOTV script used in North Carolina. See Question 4 for the voter turnout component.

**2016**

**North Carolina: 2016 GOTV Study**

**Short Rap- Placebo and Condition Raps**

## SHORT RAP- PLACEBO RAP: Issue ID

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America. We are out today talking to folks about the future of North Carolina. Are you [name]? Great!

**Questions**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

We are conducting a short survey about the issues that are important to your family. **When you think about the upcoming election on November 8th, what is the most urgent issue to you and your family?** [*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Closing**

Thank you so much for your input. Have a good night.

**After the Conversation**

**Question 3:**
MARK ONLY IF INCORRET RAP IS DELIVERED

*[Record Response: Yes]*

# 2016
# NC: 2016 Standard Rap
# US President: Donald Trump (R) v Hillary Clinton (D)
# US Senate: Richard Burr (R) v Deborah Ross (D)

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of North Carolina. Are you [name]? Great!

**QUESTIONS**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the upcoming election on November 8th, what is the most urgent issue to you and your family?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID President)**

Thank you. This fall, voters will be voting to elect our next President. **If you were voting today, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump or Democrat Hillary Clinton?**

[*Record Response:* Trump, Undecided, Clinton, Other]

**Question 3 (Voter ID US Senate)**

Thank you. This fall, voters will also be voting to elect our next Senator. If you were voting today, would you vote for Republican Richard Burr or Democrat Deborah Ross?

[*Record Response:* Burr, Undecided, Ross, Other]

GO TO PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS

**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENTS**

**Hillary Clinton**
**PERSUASION AND ENDORSEMENT**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents over 40,000 North Carolinians who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign.

[IF CLINTON]

Earlier you said that you were supporting Hillary Clinton in the race for President. We are also supporting Clinton for President because of her strong track record on supporting working people. Thanks for your support!

*Hand over lit. Go to Senate Endorsement.*

[IF UNDECIDED]
You said earlier that [Issue Priority] was the most important issue to you. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates.

*Explain relevant issue background and candidate record.*

Now that you have heard more about the candidates, who do you think you will be supporting in the Presidential Election, Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton?

*Do not record response. If Clinton go to Senate Endorsement.*

Thank you for your time and have a good night.

*Hand over lit and end conversation.*

[IF TRUMP]

You said earlier that [Issue Priority] was the most important issue to you. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates and we believe Hillary Clinton is the best candidate for our community.

*Hand over lit and end conversation.*

**Deborah Ross**

**ENDORSEMENT**

Working America has done the research and found that Deborah Ross has the strongest record of fighting for North Carolina. As a state representative, Ross fought to create jobs and make it easier for working families to commute to those jobs.

**Early Vote/ Plan Making (Only if the voter is a Clinton and Ross Supporter)**

**Question 4:**

When are you planning to vote?

[*Record Response:* Early Vote, Election Day, Not Voting]

*Ask probing questions to help the voter visualize their voting day. The goal here is to have a conversation about their day to help the voter make a plan. If the voter is voting early, share county specific early voting information.*

What time of day do you normally vote?

What do you do before you vote?

Will you take time off work to vote? Do you know where your polling location is? How will you get there? Will you go vote with anyone else?

**Go to Voter Engagement.**

**VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

The problem is that billionaires, lobbyists and special interests have too much influence in Washington. The only way we can make sure politicians are working for us instead of wealthy and well connected is make our voice hear during the election and beyond.

**Question 4 (Email)**

Let me grab your email address and we will keep you informed?

[*Record email address*]

Thank you. Have a good night.

**After the Conversation**

**Question 3:**
MARK ONLY IF INCORRET RAP IS DELIVERED

*[Record Response: Yes]*

### Results

| Condition | Overall | Attempted | Canvassed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Control, >1k Precinct | 0.661 (0.004) | NaN (NA) | NaN (NA) |
| Placebo, >1k Precinct | 0.656 (0.006) | 0.63 (0.012) | 0.711 (0.018) |
| Treatment, >1k Precinct | 0.663 (0.001) | 0.619 (0.003) | 0.733 (0.005) |
| ——— | ———- | ———- | ———- |
| Control, <1k Precinct | NaN (NA) | NaN (NA) | NaN (NA) |
| Placebo, <1k Precinct | 0.68 (0.003) | 0.599 (0.007) | 0.664 (0.011) |
| Treatment, <1k Precinct | 0.681 (0.001) | 0.602 (0.002) | 0.687 (0.003) |

Note: Each cell denotes the turnout rate (mean and standard error of the mean) for each condition and by precinct type at each stage in the experiment.

To estimate a complier average causal effect (CACE) pooled across the two types of precincts, we compare the turnout rates among just those voters canvassed in the treatment and placebo conditions. We do this by regressing turnout on an indicator for treatment and an indicator for precinct type (more or less than 1,000 voters). In one model, we also include covariates from the 2015, 2014, 2012, 2010, 2008, and 2006 general elections and the 2016 primary election. As stated in Version 1.05 of *Standard operating procedures for Don Green's lab at Columbia*, "If the PAP fails to specify the choice of covariates for regression adjustment or for the test of covariate balance, the default set of covariates will include voter turnout in all past elections for which data are available in the voter file, excluding any elections in which turnout rates in the subject pool were below 5%." http://htmlpreview.github.io/?https://github.com/acoppock/Green-Lab-SOP/blob/master/Green_Lab_SOP.html. Furthermore, all standard errors are cluster-robust at the household level, which was the unit of treatment assignment.

Without covariates, we estimate a treatment effect of 2.31 (SE = 1.04). With covariates, we estimate a treatment effect of 1.86 (SE = 0.9).

This allows us to conclude that Working America's GOTV canvass increased turnout with a CACE of approximately 2 percentage points. To contextualize this, Table A-2 of Green and Gerber (2015) presents a meta-analysis of the CACE effects for door-to-door GOTV canvassing by base rate of turnout in the control group. Their meta-analysis suggests that the average CACE in a race when the turnout rate in the control group is between 50-70% is 1.4 percentage points (in this NC experiment, it was 68% among compliers in the placebo group). Thus, the Working America GOTV effect of 2 percentage points is apprximately 43% more effective than the average effect.

## MO GOTV Experiment, 2016

Using a distinct experimental universe but the same canvassers, Working America conducted a voter turnout experiment in the 2016 general election in Missouri. Canvassing took place from 25 October 2016 through Election Day, 8 November 2016.

As we discuss more below, this experiment suffered from an implementation error which led to covariate imbalance between the compliers in the treatment and placebo groups. We therefore excluded this experiment from the main text.

### Experimental Universe

The experiment consisted of 89271 people randomly assigned to one of three treatment conditions: a GOTV canvass, a placebo canvass, and a pure control group.

Randomization was conducted by city. In the city of St. Louis, approximately 20% of households were randomly assigned to control, 5% to placebo, and 75% to treatment. In the county of St. Louis, approximately 40% of households were randomly assigned to control, 5% of households were randomly assigned to placebo and 55% to treatment.

Note that we do not have party registration data for Missouri.

| | Starting Universe | Attempted | Canvassed |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | 0.057 | 0.055 | 0.054 |
| **general13** | 0.0018 | 0.0025 | 0.0021 |
| **general12** | 0.64 | 0.65 | 0.63 |
| **general10** | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.24 |
| **general09** | 0.059 | 0.054 | 0.045 |
| **general08** | 0.62 | 0.63 | 0.62 |
| **general07** | 0.026 | 0.029 | 0.022 |
| **general06** | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.27 |
| **primary16** | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.15 |
| **st_louis_city** | 0.36 | 0.19 | 0.17 |
| **n** | 89,271 | 18,887 | 6,638 |

**Representativeness of Experiment at Each Stage.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

## Tests of Covariate Balance

Below we present the covariate balance at each stage (assignment, attempted, and canvassed) and by city/county of St. Louis. In particular, note the covariate imbalance at the canvassed stage among voters living in St Louis City.

First, we present balance at the **assignment** stage among voters living in St Louis **City**.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | 0.055 | 0.052 | 0.049 |
| **general13** | 0 | 0.00012 | 0 |
| **general12** | 0.61 | 0.61 | 0.6 |
| **general10** | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.22 |
| **general09** | 0.06 | 0.058 | 0.06 |
| **general08** | 0.57 | 0.56 | 0.56 |
| **general07** | 0.014 | 0.015 | 0.012 |
| **general06** | 0.23 | 0.22 | 0.22 |
| **primary16** | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.16 |
| **st_louis_city** | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **n** | 6,543 | 24,162 | 1,636 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Next, we present balance at the **attempted** stage among voters living in St Louis **City**.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | NA | 0.046 | 0.059 |

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general13** | NA | 0.00029 | 0 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.58 | 0.61 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.22 | 0.21 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.071 | 0.076 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.58 | 0.53 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.019 | 0.021 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.26 | 0.28 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.2 | 0.19 |
| **st_louis_city** | NA | 1 | 1 |
| **n** | 0 | 3,430 | 236 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Finally, we present balance at the **canvassed** stage among voters living in St Louis **City**. The differences in voter turnout between treatment and placebo on the 2014, 2012, and 2006 general elections are worrisome, suggesting some imbalance in treatment delivery. Ex ante, the compliers in the placebo group appear to be more likely to vote than the compliers in the treatment group.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | NA | 0.046 | 0.12 |
| **general13** | NA | 0.00092 | 0 |
| **general12** | NA | 0.56 | 0.68 |
| **general10** | NA | 0.22 | 0.22 |
| **general09** | NA | 0.065 | 0.072 |
| **general08** | NA | 0.58 | 0.54 |
| **general07** | NA | 0.011 | 0.043 |
| **general06** | NA | 0.25 | 0.35 |
| **primary16** | NA | 0.23 | 0.28 |
| **st_louis_city** | NA | 1 | 1 |
| **n** | 0 | 1,082 | 69 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Second, we present balance at the **assignment** stage among voters living in St Louis **County**. Note that a small number of control subjects were accidentally attempted.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.057 |
| **general13** | 0.0027 | 0.0029 | 0.0028 |
| **general12** | 0.66 | 0.66 | 0.66 |
| **general10** | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.26 |
| **general09** | 0.061 | 0.06 | 0.051 |
| **general08** | 0.65 | 0.65 | 0.66 |
| **general07** | 0.033 | 0.034 | 0.033 |
| **general06** | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.31 |
| **primary16** | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.13 |
| **st_louis_city** | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **n** | 22,853 | 31,212 | 2,865 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Next, we present balance at the **attempted** stage among voters living in St Louis **County**. Note that a small number of control subjects were accidentally canvassed.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | 0.06 | 0.058 | 0.051 |
| **general13** | 0 | 0.003 | 0.0042 |
| **general12** | 0.75 | 0.66 | 0.65 |
| **general10** | 0.33 | 0.26 | 0.25 |
| **general09** | 0.091 | 0.05 | 0.035 |
| **general08** | 0.74 | 0.64 | 0.64 |
| **general07** | 0.026 | 0.032 | 0.026 |
| **general06** | 0.41 | 0.28 | 0.28 |
| **primary16** | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.14 |
| **st_louis_city** | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **n** | 496 | 13,543 | 1,182 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

Finally, we present balance at the **canvassed** stage among voters living in St Louis **County**.

| | Control | Treatment | Placebo |
|---|---|---|---|
| **general14** | 0.061 | 0.055 | 0.048 |
| **general13** | 0 | 0.0022 | 0.0048 |
| **general12** | 0.73 | 0.64 | 0.63 |
| **general10** | 0.28 | 0.25 | 0.23 |
| **general09** | 0.082 | 0.041 | 0.031 |
| **general08** | 0.71 | 0.62 | 0.61 |
| **general07** | 0.014 | 0.025 | 0.017 |
| **general06** | 0.37 | 0.27 | 0.27 |
| **primary16** | 0.16 | 0.13 | 0.16 |
| **st_louis_city** | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **n** | 147 | 4,922 | 418 |

**Covariate Balance of Experiment.** Each cell reports the average value of a different covariate at each stage.

## Description of Treatment

The Missouri GOTV script followed a similar outline as the North Carolina one. See above for more details.

## Results

| Condition | Overall | Attempted | Canvassed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Control, City | 0.54 (0.006) | NaN (NA) | NaN (NA) |
| Placebo, City | 0.53 (0.012) | 0.61 (0.032) | 0.652 (0.058) |

| Condition | Overall | Attempted | Canvassed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Treatment, City | 0.541 (0.003) | 0.627 (0.008) | 0.64 (0.015) |
| ——— | ———- | ———- | ———- |
| Control, County | 0.612 (0.003) | 0.72 (0.02) | 0.796 (0.033) |
| Placebo, County | 0.62 (0.009) | 0.606 (0.014) | 0.641 (0.023) |
| Treatment, County | 0.617 (0.003) | 0.601 (0.004) | 0.63 (0.007) |

Note: Each cell denotes the turnout rate (mean and standard error of the mean) for each condition and by precinct type at each stage in the experiment.

To estimate a complier average causal effect (CACE) pooled across the two types of precincts, we compare the turnout rates among just those voters canvassed in the treatment and placebo conditions. We do this by regressing turnout on an indicator for treatment and an indicator for St Louis City or County. In one model, we also include covariates from the 2014, 2012, 2010, 2008, and 2006 general elections and the 2016 primary election, following the same PAP plan details discussed above. Furthermore, all standard errors are cluster-robust at the household level, which was the unit of treatment assignment.

Without covariates, we estimate a treatment effect of -1.17 (SE = 2.27). With covariates, we estimate a treatment effect of -0.19 (SE = 2.18).

Nevertheless, we urge caution when interpreting these results given the covariate imbalance discussed above.

## Identification Strategy for Difference-in-Differences

The difference-in-difference studies included five waves of surveys conducted over the final weeks of the campaign, with the final wave on election day.

Our analyses estimated the following equation:

$$y_{i,t} = \gamma_t + \tau w_{i,t} + \alpha_i + \mu_{i,t}, t = 0, \ldots, 4; i = 1, \ldots, N,$$

where $\gamma_t$ is an indicator for the time period, $w_{i,t}$ is an indicator for whether individual $i$ was canvassed before $t$ (such that as soon as a voter is canvassed between $t-1$ and $t$, this indicator is set to 1 and then is then always coded as canvassed thereafter), $\alpha_i$ is an individual-level fixed effect, $\mu_{i,t}$ are the idiosyncratic errors clustered at the individual level, and $\tau$ is the treatment effect of canvassing that we are estimating. Below, we present placebo tests of the parallel trends assumption and additional robustness tests. The identification strategy of the differences- in-differences designs rests on the fact that we have precise measures of voters' preferences both before and after they were contacted and a large group of voters who happened never to be con- tacted that allow us to estimate how the electorate's opinions were changing over time regardless. Importantly, in these difference-in-differences studies, we observe which voters the partner group actually contacted and are not relying on voter self-reports of campaign contact.

## NC Difference-in-Differences, 2016, President, Senate, Governor, Supreme Court

For this analysis, we conducted 5 waves of a panel survey, with treatment canvasses delivered throughout. The first wave was conducted around September 20 (n=6,202). The second wave was conducted from 21-29 October (n=3,070). The third wave was conducted from 28 October - 1 November (n=2,876). The fourth wave was conducted from 1-7 November (n=3,285). The final wave was conducted from 8-9 November (n=2,857). Canvassing took place from 26 September - 8 November. For every individual, we know the date when Working America attempted them and when they were successfully canvassed. This allows us to compare the

change over time in vote choice among those canvassed to those not canvassed using a difference-in-differences analysis.

## Universe

The experiment included 6,202 unique individuals. 20% identify as African American, 47% are Democrats, 6% are Republicans, and the remainder are not registered with a party. 15% were attempted with a canvass by Working America and, of those, 15% were successfully canvassed.

## Tests of Trends Assumption

First, we regress the lagged outcome on an indicator for whether or not an individual is ever canvassed. In each table, we regress the lagged dependent variable from the time period before the individual was canvassed and compare those individuals to everyone who was never canvassed. Standard errors are reported in parantheses. Note that we do not report results for those individuals canvassed between t0 and t1 because this would be the difference in means at the baseline of t0 rather than a within-subject change.

| Lagged Presidential DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed | 0.19 (0.17) | -0.01 (0.23) | 0.15 (0.13) |
| t1 | 0.08 (0.01) | 0.08 (0.01) | 0.08 (0.01) |
| t2 | n/a | 0.07 (0.01) | 0.07 (0.01) |
| t3 | n/a | n/a | 0.07 (0.01) |
| Constant | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) |
| N obs | 9072 | 11847 | 15048 |
| N groups | 6095 | 6091 | 6095 |

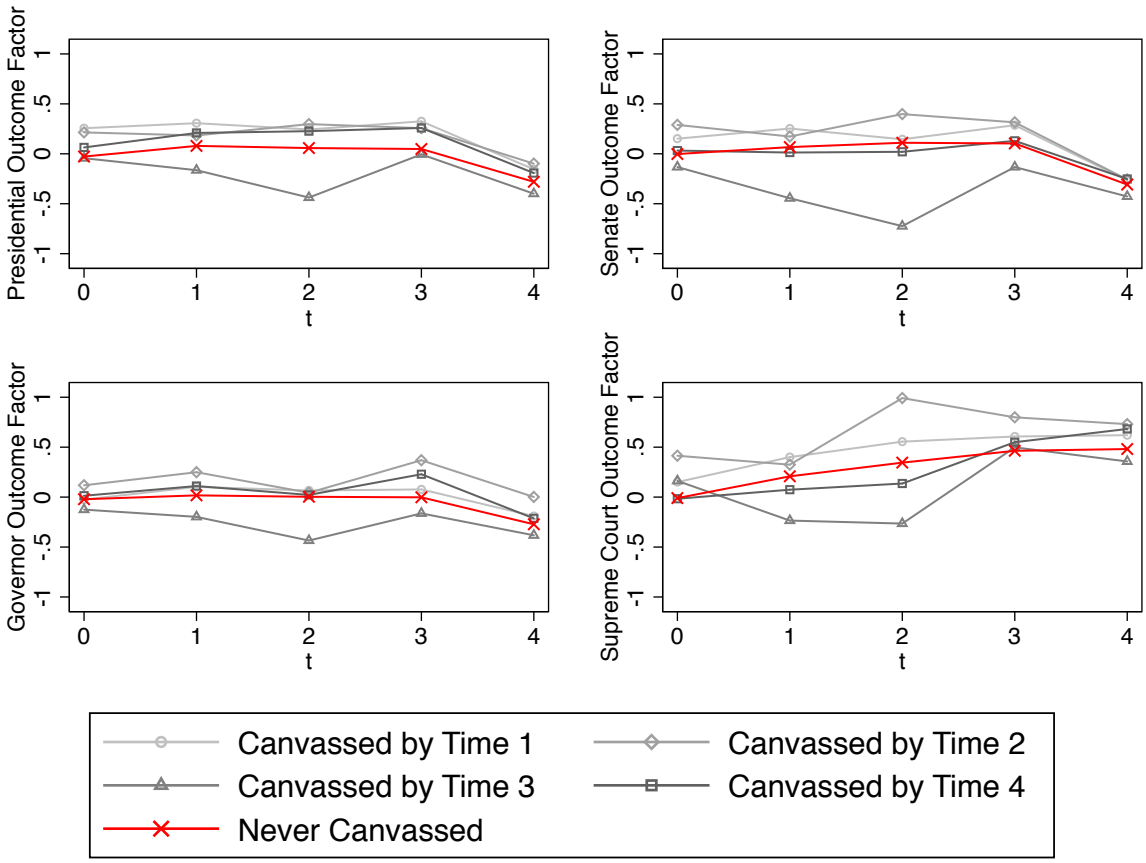
| Lagged Senate DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed | 0.26 (0.15) | -0.26 (0.20) | 0.04 (0.15) |
| t1 | 0.04 (0.01) | 0.04 (0.01) | 0.04 (0.01) |
| t2 | n/a | 0.09 (0.01) | 0.09 (0.01) |
| t3 | n/a | n/a | 0.08 (0.01) |
| Constant | -0.002 (0.01) | -0.002 (0.01) | -0.002 (0.01) |
| N obs | 9072 | 11847 | 15048 |
| N groups | 6095 | 6091 | 6095 |

| Lagged Governor DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed | 0.16 (0.18) | -0.05 (0.20) | 0.21 (0.12) |
| t1 | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) |
| t2 | n/a | -0.04 (0.01) | -0.04 (0.01) |
| t3 | n/a | n/a | -0.04 (0.01) |
| Constant | -0.02 (0.01) | -0.02 (0.01) | -0.02 (0.01) |
| N obs | 9072 | 11847 | 15048 |
| N groups | 6095 | 6091 | 6095 |

| Lagged Supreme Court DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed | 0.33 (0.21) | -0.10 (0.15) | -0.03 (0.20) |

| Lagged Supreme Court DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| t1 | 0.20 (0.02) | 0.19 (0.02) | 0.19 (0.02) |
| t2 | n/a | 0.34 (0.03) | 0.34 (0.02) |
| t3 | n/a | n/a | 0.45 (0.03) |
| Constant | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.01) |
| N obs | 9072 | 11847 | 15048 |
| N groups | 6095 | 6091 | 6095 |

These four tables suggest that, across the various outcome measures, parallel trends appears to hold. Below, we graphically present these results.


Presidential Outcome Factor
Senate Outcome Factor
Governor Outcome Factor
Supreme Court Outcome Factor
-1
-.5
0
.5
1
0
1
2
3
4
t
Canvassed by Time 1
Canvassed by Time 2
Canvassed by Time 3
Canvassed by Time 4
Never Canvassed

### Description of Treatment

See the description of treatment in the "NC Experiment, 2016, President, Senate, Governor, Supreme Court" section. The same treatment was used.

### Outcome Measures

See the description of outcome measures in the "NC Experiment, 2016, President, Senate, Governor, Supreme Court" section. The same outcomes were used.

### Results

Below, we present results where we compare the effect of being canvassed on our four outcome measures. In the first column, we compare those canvassed to all voters who took the baseline survey. In the second column, we compare those canvassed only to those attempted with a canvass by Working America. In all cases, we include time period and individual fixed effects and cluster standard errors at the individual level. Cluster-robust standard errors are reported in parantheses.

| Outcome | Everyone | Among Those Attempted |
|---|---|---|
| President | -0.02 (0.03) | 0.01 (0.03) |
| Senate | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.07 (0.06) |
| Governor | 0.07 (0.04) | 0.06 (0.04) |
| Supreme Court | 0.14 (0.11) | 0.12 (0.11) |
| N obs | 18,290 | 3,894 |
| N groups | 6,202 | 904 |

## OH Difference-in-Differences, 2016, President and Senate

For this analysis, we conducted 5 waves of a panel survey, with treatment canvasses delivered throughout. The first wave was conducted from 7-19 October (n=3,545). The second wave was conducted from 20-29 October (n=1,823). The third wave was conducted from 25 October - 1 November (n=1,621). The fourth wave was conducted from 1-7 November (n=1,649). The final wave was conducted from 8-9 November (n=1,328). Canvassing took place from 7 October - 7 November. For every individual, we know the date when Working America attempted them and when they were successfully canvassed. This allows us to compare the change over time in vote choice among those canvassed to those not canvassed using a difference-in-differences analysis.

### Universe

The experiment included 3,545 unique individuals. 8% identify as African American, 35% are Democrats, 19% are Republicans, and the remainder are not registered with a party. 11% were attempted with a canvass by Working America and, of those, 41% were successfully canvassed.

### Tests of Trends Assumption

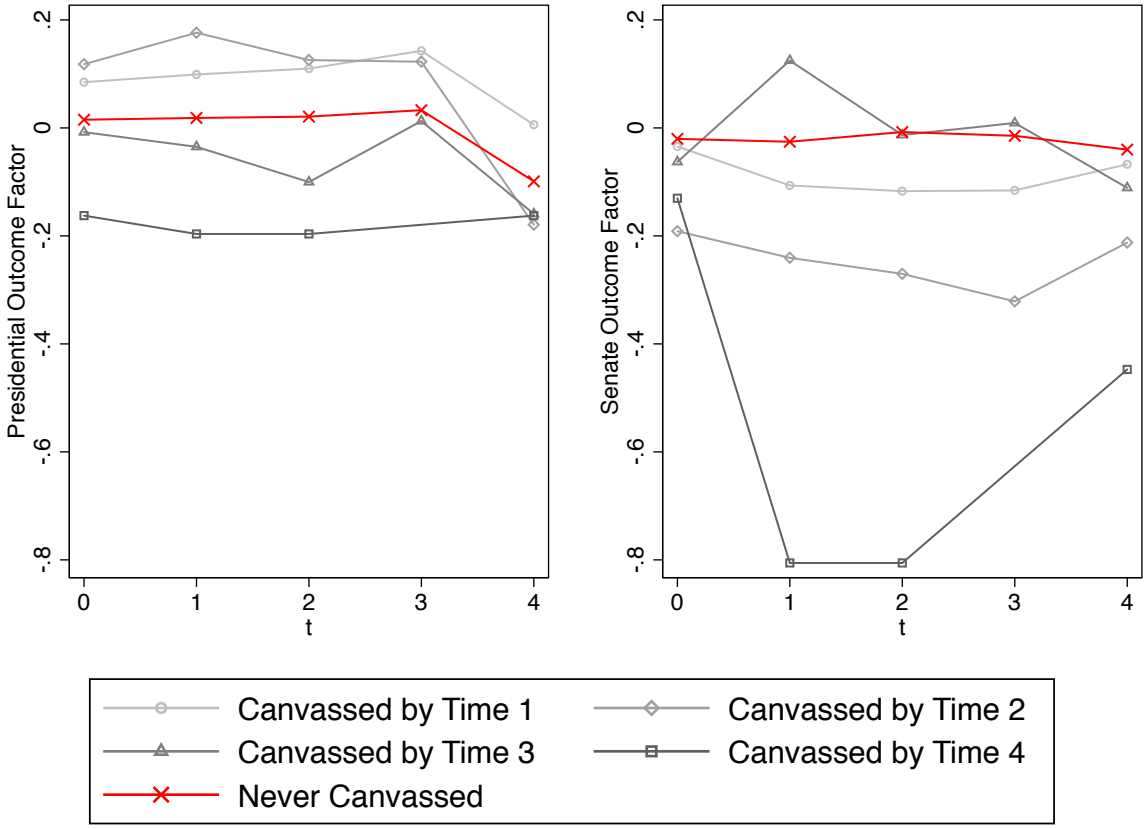
First, we regress the lagged outcome on an indicator for whether or not an individual is ever canvassed. In each table, we regress the lagged dependent variable from the time period before the individual was canvassed and compare those individuals to everyone was is never canvassed. Standard errors are reported in

parantheses. Note that we do not report results for those individuals canvassed between t0 and t1 because this would be the difference in means at the baseline of t0 rather than a within-subject change. Furthermore, only 3 individuals were canvassed between t3 and t4, hence the large standard errors for that column.

| Lagged Presidential DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed | 0.12 (0.16) | -0.01 (0.13) | -0.17 (0.72) |
| t1 | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) |
| t2 | n/a | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01) |
| t3 | n/a | n/a | -0.04 (0.01) |
| Constant | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) |
| N obs | 5120 | 6722 | 8065 |
| N groups | 3413 | 3449 | 3387 |

| Lagged Senate DV | Canvassed by t2 | Canvassed by t3 | Canvassed by t4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canvassed | -0.19 (0.16) | 0.01 (0.11) | -0.16 (0.64) |
| t1 | 0.004 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.004 (0.01) |
| t2 | n/a | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) |
| t3 | n/a | n/a | -0.02 (0.02) |
| Constant | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) |
| N obs | 5120 | 6722 | 8065 |
| N groups | 3413 | 3449 | 3387 |

These two tables suggest that, across the various outcome measures, parallel trends appears to hold. Below, we graphically present these results. Recall that only 3 individuals were canvassed between t3 and t4 and that none of them completed the t3 survey.


Presidential Outcome Factor
.2
0
-.2
-.4
-.6
-.8
0
1
2
3
4
t
Senate Outcome Factor
.2
0
-.2
-.4
-.6
-.8
0
1
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4
t
Canvassed by Time 1
Canvassed by Time 2
Canvassed by Time 3
Canvassed by Time 4
Never Canvassed

## Description of Treatment

# 2016
# OHCI: 2016 Long form Rap
# U.S. Senate: Rob Portman v Ted Strickland
# President: Donald Trump v Hillary Clinton

**Working America Persuasion Rap**

**Introduction**

Hi, my name is ___ with Working America [if WA or general public]/your union [if union]. We're out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of Ohio. Are you [name]? Great!

**Questions**

**Question 1 (Issue ID)**

First—a quick survey. **When you think about the General Election in November, what is the most urgent priority to be addressed?**

[*Record response*: jobs, economy, public safety, etc.]

**Question 2 (Voter ID President)**

And in the election for President, Republican Donald Trump is running against Democrat Hillary Clinton. If you were going to vote today, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump or Democrat Hillary Clinton?

[*Record Response:* Trump-R, Clinton-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Question 3 (Voter ID US Senate)**

Thank you. In the election for Ohio's U.S. Senate incumbent Republican Rob Portman faces former Governor Democrat Ted Strickland. **If you were going to vote today would you vote for Rob Portman or Ted Strickland?**

[*Record Response*: Portman-R, Strickland-D, Unsure/Undecided]

**Question 4 (Economic Confidence-Personal)**

Now a couple of quick questions about the economy- On a scale of 1 to 5, how confident or concerned are you about your economic future and that of family? 1 very confident, 5 very concerned

[*Record Response:* 1- Very confident, 2- Somewhat confident, 3- Don't Know, 4- Somewhat concerned, 5- Very concerned]

**Question 5 (Economic Confidence-Community)**

On a scale of 1 to 5, how confident or concerned are you about the economic future of the community? 1 very confident, 5 very concerned

[*Record Response:* 1- Very confident, 2- Somewhat confident, 3- Don't Know, 4- Somewhat concerned, 5- Very concerned]

**Discussion**

You said that you felt [refer to responses to Questions 4 and 5- confidence] about the economic future. What has your experience in the economy been like in the last few years to make you feel that way?

[*Do not record response. This question is intended to get the voter to elaborate on her/his feelings about the economy and connect it to specific experiences in life. Canvassers should continue to ask questions based on the voter's response to get the voter thinking about that experience objectively.*]

Can I tell you about how I have experienced the economy?

[*Listen for consent. Do not record response. Share brief personal experience. Eg- "A few years ago things felt pretty rocky for me. It took a while, but since then I have been able to find regular work that allows me to support my family and I am hopeful about my future."*]

GO TO PERSUASION

**Hillary Clinton: Persuasion and Endorsement**

**Working America** is an independent organization that represents a million Ohioans who want an economy that works for working people. We are not part of any political party or campaign and support candidates based on their record.

[IF CLINTON]

Earlier you said that you were supporting Hillary Clinton for President. We are also supporting Clinton because of her strong track record on supporting working people. Thanks for your support!

[IF TRUMP or UNDECIDED]
You said earlier that you are [voting for Trump/ Undecided] in the Presidential race. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. Working America has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates and our members are supporting Hillary Clinton.

*Explain relevant issue background and candidate record. Go to endorsement.*

**Ted Strickland: Endorsement**

Working America has done the research on the candidates and our million members here in Ohio are supporting Ted Strickland for Senate. Ted Strickland has long track record on supporting working people including consistently defending the right of Ohio workers to bargain with their employers for a fair deal.

*Go to Voter Engagement*

**Voter Engagement**

You said that [INSERT ISSUE FROM QUESTION 1] was the most important issue to you. The problem is that, regardless of who wins the election, Corporate CEO's, and lobbyists have too much influence in Washington, and our priorities go unmet. The solution is for us to join together and form a group of residents who will hold politicians accountable to make sure we really help Ohio's economy and put working people first.

**Question 6 (Email Address)**

Let me grab your email address so you can be part of our campaign to address [ISSUE]. We will occasionally send you information to keep you updated and about how to be part of this effort.

Record email address.

Thank you. Have a good night.

## Outcome Measures

President:

1. Thinking about the current presidential election, if the presidential election were being held today between Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson and Green Party candidate Jill Stein, who would you vote for?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Hillary Clinton?
3. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?

Senate:

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Rob Portman is handling his job as senator?
2. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Ted Strickland?
3. Ohio also has a Senate election this fall between current Senator Republican Rob Portman and Democrat Ted Strickland. How do you plan on voting?
4. When it comes to representing Ohio in the U.S. Senate, which candidate do you think is best qualified, Democrat Ted Strickland or Republican Rob Portman?

## Results

Below, we present results where we compare the effect of being canvassed on our two outcome measures. In the first column, we compare those canvassed to all voters who took the baseline survey. In the second column, we compare those canvassed only to those attempted with a canvass by Working America. In all cases, we include time period and individual fixed effects and cluster standard errors at the individual level. Cluster-robust standard errors are reported in parantheses.

The effect of canvassing on president is statistically significant, but substantively small. Given the greater likelihood of bias under the difference-in-differences assumptions than under those of the randomized experiments, we urge caution when interpreting these results.

| Outcome | Everyone | Among Those Attempted |
|---|---|---|
| President | 0.055 (0.025) | 0.064 (0.029) |
| Senate | -0.0165 (0.041) | 0.008 (0.046) |
| N obs | 9906 | 1665 |
| N groups | 3545 | 389 |