

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

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Abstract

Significant theories of democratic accountability hinge on how political campaigns affect Americans' candidate choices. We argue that the best estimate of the effects of campaign contact and advertising on Americans' candidates choices in general elections is zero. First, a systematic meta-analysis of 40 field experiments estimates an average effect of zero in general elections. Second, we present nine original field experiments that increase the statistical evidence in the literature about the persuasive effects of personal contact 10-fold. These experiments' average effect is also zero. In both existing and our original experiments, persuasive effects only appear to emerge in two rare circumstances. First, when candidates take unusually unpopular positions *and* campaigns invest unusually heavily in identifying persuadable voters. Second, when campaigns contact voters long before election day and measure effects immediately—although this early persuasion decays. These findings contribute to ongoing debates about how political elites influence citizens' judgments.

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Political elites can easily manipulate Americans' political choices: this is the conclusion of a great deal of academic research and popular commentary (see Druckman 2004a; Issenberg 2012; Jacobson 2015; Lenz 2012). By its telling, Americans' political judgments are susceptible to framing, priming, and other forms of influence political elites wield when they advertise to and contact voters. Understanding the effects of elite communication on Americans' choices has important implications for theories of public opinion, polarization, democratic competence, and campaign finance. For example, in the case of framing effects, as Druckman (2001, p. 226) reviews many scholars conclude that "elites often use framing to manipulate citizens' judgments."

Nowhere would the implications of Americans' susceptibility to such "elite manipulation" of their judgments be more theoretically and substantively significant than in their candidate choices in general elections. Americans voting in general elections determine the balance of power in Congress and state legislatures. They decide whether to grant incumbents an advantage. They decide whether to reward politicians who have focused on raising money for advertising instead of other activities. They pick which party controls the White House. And the legislators who cast deciding votes on major legislation are disproportionately accountable to general electorates.

How susceptible are American voters' choices in general elections to influence from political elites in the form of campaign contact and advertising? It is surprisingly unclear on the basis of existing evidence. Reviews reach opposite conclusions, with some arguing that "the prevailing scholarly consensus on campaigns is that they have minimal effects," (Brady, Johnston and Sides 2006, p. 4) and others indicating that many scholars believe "campaigns fundamentally shape voters' decisions" (Druckman 2004b, p. 577).¹ If one consensus has been reached, it is that there is a dearth of studies in existing literature that credibly identify causal effects (Brox and Shaw 2009; DellaVigna and Gentzkow 2010; Jacobson 2015).

¹Likewise, Jacobson's (2015) review argues that "the 'minimal effects' thesis...has not survived" (p. 32) and Iyengar and Simon (2000, p. 150) summarize the "conventional academic wisdom" as that "the consequences of campaigns are far from minimal." However, much of the evidence these reviews cover comes from a time when affective polarization was lower and voters might have been more persuadable than they are today (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes 2012).

Speaking to enduring debates about the susceptibility of voters to elite persuasion, we analyze results from 49 field experiments on the persuasive effects of campaign contact and advertising. All these experiments rigorously estimate the effects of real campaigns' choices about which voters to persuade and how to persuade them in the context of real elections. We find:

- The best estimate for the persuasive effects of campaign contact and advertising—such as mail, phone calls, and canvassing—on Americans' candidate choices in general elections is zero. Our best guess for online and television advertising is also zero, but there is less evidence on these modes.
- When campaigns contact voters long before election day and measure effects immediately, campaigns often appear to persuade voters. However, this early persuasion decays before election day and the very same treatments usually cease working close to election day. This suggests political scientists and practitioners should consider whether an experiment was run close to an election when attempting to generalize its findings.
- Campaigns can sometimes identify pockets of persuadable voters, but even this only appears possible in some elections and when campaigns conduct within-cycle field experiments to identify responsive subgroups.
- We find campaigns are able to have meaningful persuasive effects in primary and ballot measure campaigns, when partisan cues are not present.
- Our evidence is silent on several questions. It does not speak to the effects of candidates' qualities, positions, or overall campaign "message." It does not indicate the optimal allocation of campaign spending across voter registration, get-out-the-vote, and persuasion efforts. It also remains possible campaigns could develop more effective persuasive messages. Future experimental research should consider these questions.

We contextualize these findings in a theoretical argument that draws on theories of partisanship and political communication to argue that when a partisan cue and competing frames are present, campaign contact and advertising are unlikely to influence voters' choices. We present two forms of evidence that support this argument. First, we present the first meta-analysis of the emerging field experimental and quasi-experimental² literature on campaign contact and advertising. Such evidence was once rare and the many studies that have now been done are often imprecise on their own. However, enough such evidence has been reported in recent years to conduct a relatively precise meta-analysis. This meta-analysis estimates that campaign contact and advertising can have persuasive effects in primaries and in ballot measure elections. However, their effects on election day in general elections are essentially zero. These results are robust across elections at every level of government and in both competitive and uncompetitive elections (terms we define below).

Our meta-analysis surfaced a surprising dearth of statistically precise studies that examine the effects of personal contact from campaigns, such as phone calls and face-to-face conversations, which could be expected to have the largest persuasive effects.³ Therefore, our second empirical contribution is a series of original studies we conducted in partnership with a national door-to-door canvassing operation in 2015 and 2016. These studies all focused on measuring the effects of in-person, door-to-door persuasive canvassing in general elections, a common strategy (Enos and Hersh 2015). Exploiting recent advances in experimental design (Broockman, Kalla and Sekhon 2017), these studies are unusually precise: together, *our original studies increase the amount of statistical evidence in the literature about the persuasive effects of personal contact in general elections by over 10-fold*. Nearly all these studies also found a zero effect on which candidates voters supported on election day.

Does campaign contact ever persuade voters in general elections? Both our meta-analysis and

²Our criteria for research is described in further detail below.

³For example, they appear to have the largest effects on turnout (Enos and Fowler 2016; Gerber and Green 2000; Green and Gerber 2015).

our original studies suggest two caveats to our otherwise consistent finding of null effects.

First, we find an intriguing pattern whereby campaign contact in general elections appears to have persuasive effects if it takes place many months before an election, but that these effects decay before election day. However, when these same tactics are deployed closer to election day, they do not even have immediate effects. We show this pattern both in aggregate and in the context of four studies where there is variation in the timing of both campaign contact and outcome measurement. In all these cases, we only see effects of campaign contact in general elections when voters receive contact far before election day and outcomes are measured immediately. But these effects are typically illusory: as election day approaches, the effects of early campaign contact and advertising decay and the immediate effects of subsequent contact and advertising almost always go to zero.

Can campaign contact in general elections ever have persuasive effects that matter on election day? In the existing literature and in our original studies, we also find that campaigns appear able to have persuasive effects in circumstances in which candidates take unusually unpopular positions and opposing campaigns invest unusually heavily in identifying persuadable, cross-pressured voters whom they can inform about these positions (Hersh and Schaffner 2013; Rogers and Nickerson 2013). In these cases, identifying cross-pressured persuadable voters requires much more effort than simply applying much-ballyhooed “big data” (Endres 2016; Hersh 2015). For example, the organization we partnered with on our original studies conducted large-scale field experiments early in the electoral cycle in several states to identify subgroups of persuadable voters that were difficult to predict *ex ante*. They then shifted resources to focus on persuading these voters—a strategy that the data we present below suggests was successful. This strategy only appears able to find subgroups of persuadable voters in some elections, however, and can only be executed by campaigns with considerable resources and sophistication.

These findings are consistent with our theoretical argument that campaigns can provide new considerations or increase the salience of certain considerations before an election campaign is active, but that such effects nearly always diminish when competing frames and clear cues (such

as partisanship and candidate attributes) are available. Voters in general elections appear to bring their vote choice into line with their predispositions close to election day and are difficult to budge from there (e.g., Gelman and King 1993). Supporting this interpretation, we also do not find clear evidence of generalizable subgroup effects, nor that persuasive campaigns have heterogeneous effects by “driving partisans home” to support their party’s candidate, nor that persuasive contact activates a candidate’s supporters to turn out.⁴

To be clear, our argument is *not* that campaigns, broadly speaking, do not matter. For example, candidates can determine the content of voters’ choices by changing their positions, strategically revealing certain information, and affecting media narratives—dynamics which are outside the scope of our analysis but could be affected by advertising (Holbrook 1996; Jacobson 2015; Johnston, Hagen and Jamieson 2004; Sides and Vavreck 2013). Campaigns can also effectively stimulate voter turnout (e.g., Gerber and Green 2000; Green, McGrath and Aronow 2013). Our argument is not that campaigns do not influence general elections in *any* way, but that the direct *persuasive* effects of their voter contact and advertising in general elections are essentially zero.

In concluding, we discuss the broader implications of our findings for theories of political communication and democratic accountability. Our results harken back to an oft-criticized literature on the “minimal effects” of campaign interventions (e.g., Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954; Klapper 1960; Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet 1948). A common critique of the original literature on “minimal effects” was that campaigns may not appear to have aggregate effects because any advertising they engage in is immediately reciprocated with responses from their opponents that “cancel out” in aggregate. Importantly, because the studies we analyze and present are individually randomized, they are not susceptible to this critique: it is not possible for an opposing campaign to reciprocate advertising to the treatment group but not the control group in these experiments, unless it somehow had knowledge of the treatment and control group assignments.⁵ As

⁴Other research has found evidence for these phenomena in some cases, but this does not appear to be a reliable feature in our experiments.

⁵That field experiments identify partial and not general equilibrium effects is often considered a key weakness

a result, our findings suggest that a relatively strong version of the minimal effects thesis may hold in general elections—not because campaign effects cancel each other out, but because they have no average effects at all. This finding may help explain why campaigns increasingly focus on rousing the enthusiasm of existing supporters instead of reaching across party lines to win over new supporters (Panagopoulos 2016). Our findings also offer an important caveat to the widespread notion that political elites can easily manipulate citizens’ political choices. The circumstances in which citizens’ political choices appear manipulable appear to be exceedingly rare in the elections that matter most.

Theoretical Perspectives

Political behavior research generally depicts Americans’ political predispositions as highly durable and resistant to change (Campbell et al. 1960; Green, Palmquist and Schickler 2002; Sears and Funk 1999). Consistent with these findings, Page and Shapiro (1992) find “a remarkable degree of stability” in aggregate public opinion (p. 45; see also Druckman and Leeper (2012a)). Research suggests two broad reasons why campaign advertising and contact might have effects on voters’ candidate choices nevertheless: providing voters new considerations and heightening the salience of existing considerations.⁶ We argue that close to election day in a general election, it is difficult for campaigns to persuade voters with either mechanism.

First, when it comes to providing voters with new arguments, frames, and information, by the time election day arrives, voters are likely to have already absorbed all the arguments and information they care to retain from the media and other sources beyond the political campaigns

(Deaton 2010), but in this case it represents a strength: we are explicitly interested in identifying the partial equilibrium effects of campaign contact, as it can help us understand the nature of the general equilibria that may exist.

⁶This conception is specific to memory-based models, but an analogous version of the argument that follows can be made for models of on-line processing: Voters already aware of a candidates’ attributes or positions are not likely to update their affective “running tally” toward the candidate when being informed of such attributes yet again; and the strength of affect towards partisan groups should typically overwhelm any candidate-specific affect (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes 2012).

themselves (Gelman and King 1993). This is not to say that voters will know all the relevant information campaigns could provide them, but that they are likely to have been exposed to all this information and that, of this information, they will have chosen to *retain* nearly all they care to (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). It is clearly the case that voters do not know everything about most candidates; but if voters still have not retained any of the information they lack after weeks of being exposed to that information in the media, it is unlikely that campaigns will prove any more effective in getting that information through to them.

We also expect that there is a shrinking amount of information that campaigns could give American voters in general elections that would produce meaningful persuasion. There are shrinking numbers of “cross-pressured” voters for campaigns to push to their side through such crossover appeals (Hersh and Schaffner 2013; Smidt 2017). Correlations between voters’ partisan predispositions and their racial and issue views have increased dramatically (Abramowitz 2010). This means that a dwindling number of voters have conflicting considerations that would lead them to abandon their party; by following partisan cues, most voters can make the same choices they would make had they decided using other attributes of the candidates. In such an environment, it may be difficult for campaigns to change voters’ minds by informing them about a candidate’s positions, as voters are likely to agree with their party on any issues on which they have opinions in the first place (Berinsky 2009; Lauderdale 2016; Freeder, Lenz and Turney 2017).⁷ This means that although campaigns may have some scope for persuasion in competitive primary elections, where there is no partisan cue, in general elections there are few considerations they can provide today’s voters that would lead them to abandon their party; these considerations increasingly push voters to vote for their party anyway.⁸

⁷In addition, there are very few true independents who do not have a partisan cue to rely on (Klar and Krupnikov 2016; Smidt 2017).

⁸The existence of split-ticket voters indicates there are clearly other candidate characteristics voters value, such as qualifications or ideology. Our argument similarly applies to information about these candidate attributes: if the media is already making these attributes clear to voters, it is unlikely that campaigns providing them again would change many voters’ minds.

A second main mechanism for the persuasive effects of campaign contact and advertising is thought to be that they temporarily make certain considerations more salient as people decide what they think (Zaller 1992). However, conditions that sharply limit the effects of salience-raising frames are likely to be met in general elections. The salience-raising effects of communication diminish in the presence of clear cues (Druckman, Peterson and Slothuus 2013) and when individuals are exposed to competing arguments and information (Druckman 2004a). For example, being exposed to both sides of political debates “limit[s] and often eliminate[s]” these effects because all the considerations people believe are relevant have been made salient, especially the partisan cue that makes other frames irrelevant to many voters (Druckman 2004a, p. 683; see also Chong and Druckman (2007); Druckman and Leeper (2012b); Sniderman and Theriault (2004)). Consistent with this view, Leeper and Slothuus (2015) find that providing voters with new information about the substance of their choices can change their attitudes, but that once they have this information, providing them additional frames or emphasizing certain considerations does little to affect their choices.

As a result, our empirical expectation is that contact from campaigns in general elections could have effects early in the electoral cycle before the media provides competing frames and relevant information, but that these effects would decay rapidly, consistent with campaigns being able to temporarily make certain considerations salient when competing messages are not yet present because the campaign has not yet started (Hill et al. 2013). But we argue that it will be difficult for campaigns to produce even these short-lived effects within a couple months of a general election, consistent with campaigns no longer persuading voters once the media environment naturally raises the salience of the considerations being provided by all sides.

These arguments yield the theoretical predictions shown in Table 1. As the Table notes, our argument does *not* pertain to effects candidates might have by actually changing their platforms and positions, by being of higher quality, by securing more favorable media coverage, and so on. However, we argue that what campaign contact and advertising typically does—providing information

voters are already being exposed to and attempting to increase the salience of this information—is very unlikely to lead voters to cross partisan lines. For example, a typical Democratic candidate sending mailers to voters featuring some of her more popular positions the media has already told voters she has we expect to be unlikely to persuade many voters to vote differently. By contrast, it may well be the case that actually changing her positions on these issues would affect election outcomes; our argument does not pertain to that counterfactual.

Table 1: Theoretical Predictions

Context	Party cue present?	Close to election?	Prediction: Persuasive effects of campaign contact/advertising likely?
General elections	Yes	Yes	No
General elections	Yes	No	Yes, but will decay before election
Ballot measures	No	Yes	Yes
Ballot measures	No	No	Yes, but may decay before election
Primary elections	No	Yes	Yes
Primary elections	No	No	Yes, but may decay before election
Context	Party cue present?	Close to election?	Prediction: Persuasive effects from candidate positions, media environment, etc.?
All	Either	Either	Outside of paper's scope

Existing work does not clearly test these predictions. It is obvious that the effects of elite attempts to persuade voters will be smaller in real-world, competitive environments than in the artificial survey environments in which scholars typically study them (e.g., Barabas and Jerit 2010). However, it is unclear whether such effects are merely smaller or if they indeed are so small they are essentially non-existent. We hypothesized that the dynamics we discussed—the shrinking numbers of cross-pressured voters and the presence of competing frames in environments with partisan cues—would mean that contact from political campaigns have minimal effects on American voters' candidate choices in the run-up to a general election.

This argument is by no means obvious. Campaigns spend a great deal of money advertising to voters and the firms and consultants who profit from these activities argue that their effects are large. Consistent with this optimism, nearly every recent review of the literature on campaign

effects argues that the consensus among a previous generation of scholarship that campaigns have “minimal effects” on voters can be decidedly rejected in the wake of new research (Druckman 2004a; Iyengar and Simon 2000; Jacobson 2015). However, the vast majority of the evidence that has been marshaled in favor of this claim comes from observational studies, studies of primary elections, and studies of campaign interventions that collect outcomes far before election day. We draw on the new wealth of carefully identified studies of campaign contact to shed new light on this question and test our theory.

Meta-Analysis of Field Experiments and Quasi-Experiments

As a first test of our theoretical predictions, we see whether they fit patterns we observe in an original meta-analysis we conducted of the existing field experimental and quasi-experimental literature on the effects of campaign contact and advertising in US elections. In the wake of the “credibility revolution” in social science research, scholars have produced a wealth of rigorous research that credibly estimates the effects of campaign activity. A recent meta-analysis considers the average effect of campaign activity on turnout (Green, McGrath and Aronow 2013), but we are aware of no similar meta-analysis on the effects of campaign activity on persuasion.⁹

⁹Lau, Sigelman and Rovner (2007) conduct a meta-analysis on the effects of negative political campaigns. Their analysis largely focuses on laboratory studies and observational studies and is limited to negative political campaigns. As such, it may miss the effect of campaigns that are more positive or focus on the contrast with the other candidate, includes studies without identification strategies, and includes studies of hypothetical campaigns, which may raise external validity concerns. Nevertheless, these authors, too, conclude that “the research literature does not bear out the proposition that negative political campaigns ‘work’ in shifting votes towards those who wage them” (p. 1183).

Data

Our meta-analysis began with an exhaustive process¹⁰ to collect all public studies using plausible identification strategies to estimate the effect of campaign advertising and outreach through the mail, phone calls, canvassing, TV, online ads, or literature drops on voters' candidate choices and evaluations: primarily randomized trials but also regression discontinuity designs, natural experiments, and difference-in-differences designs. We list all the studies we included in Online Appendix B. We also excluded a few studies, as discussed in Online Appendix B.24. For example, Arceneaux and Nickerson (2010) did not include a control group and focused on differences between treatments only, so we could not include an estimate of the effect of the campaign they studied.

For each study, we carefully collected information on the following from the original write-ups, or, if necessary, from the authors:

- *Treatment effect estimate and standard error in percentage points.*
 - Some studies code a vote for the opposing candidate as -1 and vote for the cooperating candidate as 1. In these cases, we recode the data as 0 for the opposing candidate and 1 for the cooperating candidate, so that the estimates always have the interpretation of “percentage point effect on vote share.”
 - In some cases, vote choice was not measured, but rather favorability or approval. In these cases we use whichever variable is closest to capturing vote choice.
 - Some studies emphasized subgroup effects that were not pre-registered in advance; in these cases, we used the average effect estimates, not the effects among subgroups that were chosen post hoc. Given that the studies all examine the persuasive effect of

¹⁰To ensure that we had the complete universe of public studies and unpublished working papers, we began with a list of studies identified in a recent methodological article (Broockman, Kalla and Sekhon 2017). We then e-mailed several listservs with our preliminary list of studies and contacted the authors of most of these studies to ask if our list was complete.

campaign contact among voters campaigns themselves decided to contact, the average treatment effect is arguably the estimand of greatest interest.

- Where possible, we used complier average causal effect (treatment-on-treated) estimates.
- When studies have multiple treatment arms that we are unable to combine into a pooled estimate given the information available in the articles or replication data, we enter each treatment arm’s estimates separately into our meta-analysis and cluster the standard errors at the study level, given the shared control group.
- *Days after election the survey was taken.* This is coded as a negative number if the survey is taken before the election.¹¹ For studies that measure outcomes at the aggregate (e.g., precinct) level rather than with surveys, this is 0 by definition.
- *Days after treatment the survey was taken.* The number of days between treatment delivery and outcome measurement. For studies that measure outcomes at the precinct level, this is the number of days before the election the treatment occurred.
- *Mode of treatment.* Examples include door-to-door canvassing, phone banks, and mail.

We also collected the following contextual information:

- *Election stage.* Primary or general election.
- *Seat.* US President, US House, mayor, and so on.
- *Incumbency.*
- *Competitiveness.* Our definition of competitiveness is whether a reasonable outside observer would expect the election outcome to be uncertain rather than a foregone conclusion. Rec-

¹¹We always use election day and do not take early voting into account, as dates of early voting are not consistently available across studies.

ognizing this definition is somewhat subjective, we found that in most cases it was easy to categorize races as competitive or not. We provide details in Online Appendix B.¹²

Results

The results of our meta-analysis are shown in Figure 1.¹³

Panel 1(a) shows the average effect of campaign outreach in general elections when the treatments are delivered within two months of election day. Consistent with our theoretical expectations, the average effect is zero.¹⁴ Indeed, only two studies have statistically significant point estimates, about what would be expected given mild publication bias and this number of public studies. We discuss these studies in more detail below; the campaign strategies in both are unusual and not easily scaleable.¹⁵ Figure 2 shows that t -statistics from these studies follow a normal distribution nearly exactly. The right panel shows a Q-Q plot consistent with nearly all studies finding zero effects with a slight underrepresentation of effects very near zero, as would be expected given publication bias.¹⁶ Together, these studies suggest that the most optimistic estimate that could be warranted from the literature is that campaign contact persuades about 1 in 175 voters, but that our best guess is that it persuades about 1 in 800 voters, substantively zero.

Panel 1(b) shows that in the subset of studies in which treatment is delivered long before election day and its effects are measured immediately, the effects are clearly positive on average.¹⁷

¹²For example, Nickerson (2005) studies the effects of a Michigan Democratic party organization's outreach in targeted state legislative races; we assume the party organization selected races to target that were competitive.

¹³Our meta-analysis uses random effects with standard errors clustered at the study level. Results are robust to using fixed effects or the permutation test described in Follman and Proschan (1999). Follman and Proschan (1999) demonstrate that random effects estimates in meta-analyses can inflate the type I error rate. Because we find a null, we are not concerned with the increased likelihood of a false positive. If anything, the random effects estimate is conservative in the case of the null findings we report below.

¹⁴These results are not an artifact of survey measurement: in precinct randomized experiments that do not rely on self-reported survey data, we find an average treatment effect of -0.02 percentage points.

¹⁵One study involved the candidate themselves knocking on doors. The other involved individually identifying persuadable voters with a pre-survey that most voters do not answer, limiting the reach of this strategy.

¹⁶Our outreach to authors of previous experiments and listservs yielded at least five additional experiments with null effects that have not been written up (Franco, Malhotra and Simonovits 2014).

¹⁷The one exception is the multiple treatments from Shaw, Blunt and Seaborn (2017). While noisy, the 95% confidence intervals from these treatments all include positive values. Excluding Shaw, Blunt and Seaborn (2017) results

However, Panel 1(c) shows that in the two existing studies that examined whether these initial positive effects persisted, they were found to decay. This is consistent with our theoretical argument that when scholars study persuasion far from election day, when competing messages are not present, it can appear that persuasion is possible, but that such effects evanesce rapidly and likely would not appear were the persuasion attempted close to election day. (We present more evidence consistent with this pattern later.)

Panels (a) and (b) of Figure 3 show the meta-analyses for primary and ballot measure elections, respectively. We see clear significant effects in both these election types. Nearly all of these elections were competitive, reinforcing our argument that competitive environments alone are not responsible for extinguishing campaign effects near general elections, but that partisan cues present only in general elections play a role in extinguishing persuasive effects.

Our meta-analysis is consistent with our theory that persuasive effects can exist in primaries and far from election day in general elections, but decays rapidly and are nearly impossible close to election day.

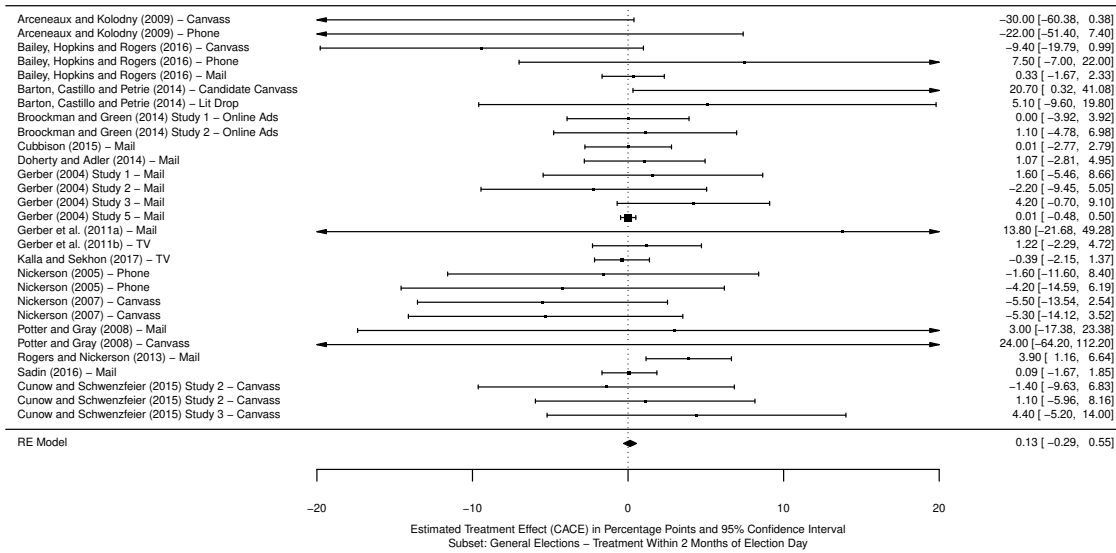
Original Field Studies in 2015 and 2016

Our meta-analysis of well-identified campaign research uncovered the relative imprecision of the existing studies of persuasive personal contact, such as door-to-door canvassing. The eight extant studies using personal contact and conducted with two months of election day have an average treatment effect of negative 1.9 percentage points with a pooled standard error of 1.7 percentage points. This uncertainty, coupled with the expectation from the voter turnout literature that in-person treatments tend to show larger effects (Enos and Fowler 2016; Gerber and Green 2000; Green and Gerber 2015), led us to collaborate with a nationwide door-to-door canvassing operation

in an average effect of 3.16 percentage points with a 95% confidence interval from 1.34 to 4.99 percentage points. Excluding Shaw, Blunt and Seaborn (2017) also increases the p-value from the test for heterogeneity to 0.36, reinforcing that Shaw, Blunt and Seaborn (2017) might be an exception.

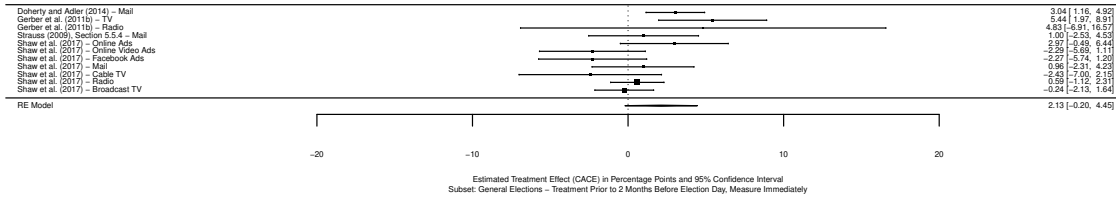
Figure 1: Meta-analysis Forest Plots: General Elections

(a) General elections: Treatment within 2 months of election day



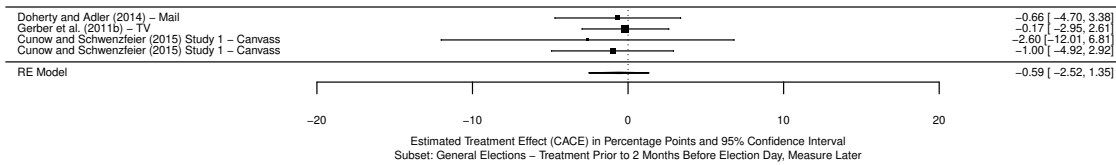
Notes: Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 28) = 32.33, p\text{-val} = 0.26$.

(b) General elections: Treatment >2 months prior to election day - Immediate measurement



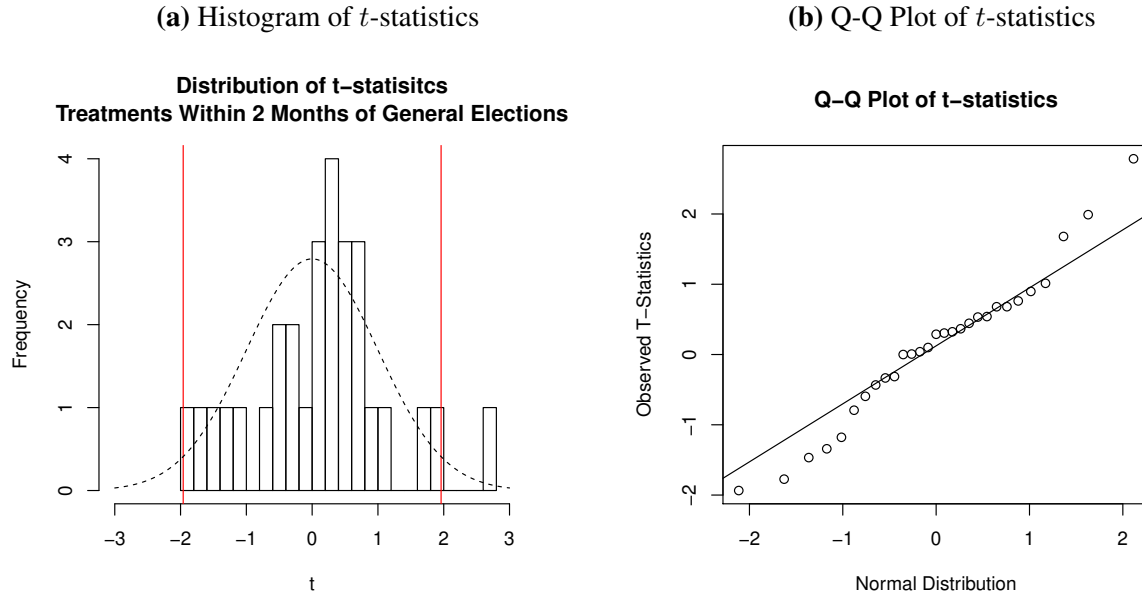
Notes: Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 10) = 23.51, p\text{-val} = 0.01$.

(c) General elections: Treatment >2 months prior to election day - Later measurement



Notes: Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 3) = 0.31, p\text{-val} = 0.96$.

Figure 2: Distribution of t Statistics from General Elections with Estimates Close to Election Day



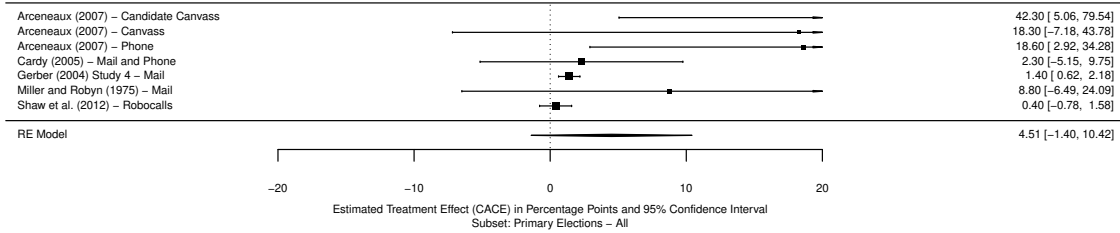
during two 2015 elections and the 2016 general election to conduct nine original studies on the effect of their canvassing on vote choice, with six of those conducted in the final two months of the 2016 general election. These studies improve on the statistical precision of the literature on the persuasive effect of personal contact close to election day more than tenfold.

We conducted these studies to rule out several alternative explanations for the null effects found in our meta-analysis:

- One reason voters in general elections are thought to be hard to persuade is because they do not “receive” political messages in the first place, being disinterested in political topics and not avid consumers of media bearing political news (Zaller 1992). But, as we discuss below, in our studies of personal contact we can be confident a voter received a message because a campaign worker physically spoke with them about it face-to-face.
- We can show that our conclusions about null effects are not driven by low-quality campaign activity. First, we find that our partner organization had larger-than-typical effects in persuasion experiments conducted during a 2015 primary and a 2015 special election as well as

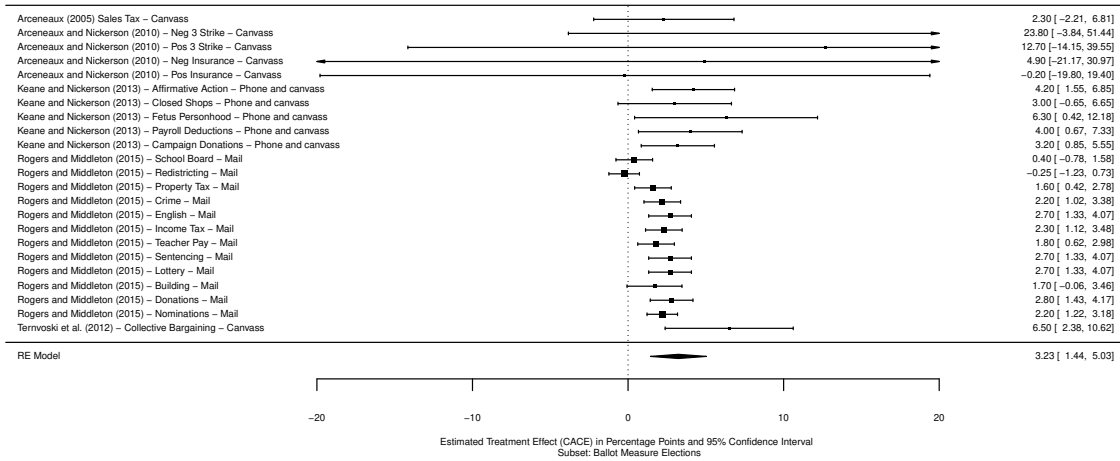
Figure 3: Meta-Analysis Forest Plots: Primary and Ballot Measure Elections

(a) Primary elections



Notes: Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 6) = 14.1922$, $p\text{-val} = 0.0276$.

(b) Ballot measure elections



Notes: Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 6) = 14.1922$, $p\text{-val} = 0.0276$.

in a 2016 voter turnout experiment. In addition, contact from them early on in the electoral cycle had effects, consistent with our theory.

- Another possible alternative explanation for null effects is a simple “saturation” explanation; that is, an explanation whereby a marginal campaign contact has no effect because voters have already received so many contacts from other campaigns but that the average effect of these contacts is nonzero. For example, perhaps a marginal piece of persuasive mail is unlikely to have much effect if voters have already received 100 pieces of mail, even if the average effect of receiving mail is nonzero. In addition to our evidence that persuasion is possible in highly competitive primary and ballot measure elections, our focus on door-to-door canvassing also helps rule out this alternative. We show in Figure OA4 that the vast majority of voters in these competitive elections received no other door-to-door persuasive contact. We return to this question in the discussion.
- Research on voter turnout and other activities suggests that face-to-face conversations are the likeliest to have large effects on voters (e.g., Enos and Fowler 2016; Gerber and Green 2000; Green and Gerber 2015), meaning the door-to-door canvassing conversations we studied were, if anything, likely to overestimate the effects of other campaign activity.
- These studies estimate the effects of activities that represent the strategic choices of a real campaign about who to target and what to say, rather than the (potentially less generalizable) decisions of academics attempting to mimic what real campaigns do.

Design

We conducted three randomized experiments with this partner organization before the final two months of the 2016 election. In the final two months of that election, we conducted four additional randomized experiments and two difference-in-difference studies with them. Below, we discuss the common elements across the designs of these studies. In Online Appendix D, we discuss

each experiment in detail, including the experimental universe, tests of covariate balance, tests of differential attrition, treatment scripts, the outcome measures, and the results.

These experiments were paid for and administered by the partner organization; no university funds were used, and the authors advised the organization on implementation in their personal capacity as unpaid consultants.

Persuasive Interventions

The scripts canvassers used across these studies generally followed the same approach, which this partner organization has developed across several election cycles. These scripts are similar to the scripts reported in the other canvassing experiments we found for the meta-analysis.

- Introduction: “Hi, my name is [X] with [PARTNER ORGANIZATION]. We’re out today talking with folks in the neighborhood about the future of [STATE]. Are you [NAME]? Great!”
- Identify important issue: “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?”
- Identify current candidate preference: “In the upcoming election for [RACE], Republican [NAME] is running against Democrat [NAME]. If you were going to vote today, would you vote for [REP] or [DEM]?”
- Establish source credibility: “[PARTNER ORGANIZATION] is an independent organization that represents over [STATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE] 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.”
- Persuasion on important issue: “You said earlier that [ISSUE] was the most important issue to you. I understand. How you vote is a personal decision. [PARTNER ORGANIZATION]

has done the research on the economic issues and the records of the candidates. [Explain relevant issue background and candidate record. This would typically include an explanation of candidates' issue positions as well as valence qualities relevant to the issue, such as experience, competency, and integrity.]”

For all of our studies, the same staff at the partner organization researched and wrote all of the scripts, ensuring that they always conveyed similar information. The scripts for each campaign are given in Online Appendix D.

Field Experiment and Survey Designs

The design of the field experiments closely follows the four methodological practices for field experiments with survey outcomes outlined in Broockman, Kalla and Sekhon (2017). In all the field experiments, the following steps were taken:

1. The partner organization identified voters it wanted to persuade and had their independent public opinion research division enroll them in online surveys by mail. These surveys included dozens of questions on political, social, and cultural issues. This was designed to separate the survey measurement from the treatment and to limit demand effects. Note that this activity was administered and paid for completely by the partner organization; university resources were not used in any way. This paid survey design with a variety of both political and nonpolitical questions has been shown to produce samples that are fairly representative, including in political knowledge and past levels of political participation (Broockman, Kalla and Sekhon 2017). Online Appendix D shows representative assessments of those who completed each survey relative to the sampling frames from which they were recruited.
2. The partner organization canvassed enrolled voters with either a treatment or placebo message. Both scripts started identically to identify compliers symmetrically, and only branched

into different content after the voter at the door was identified. If multiple people in a household responded to the survey, every survey respondent living in that household received the same treatment assignment.

3. The partner organization invited all voters who had been reached at the door (compliers) in either the treatment or placebo condition to complete follow-up surveys. Voters received gift cards to encourage high response rates.
4. We analyzed data collected by the partner organization to measure the effect of their canvassing on vote choice and candidate evaluations. The surveys typically included a vote choice question, a favorability question for each candidate, and (sometimes) a “best qualified” question. We always constructed our outcome measure the same way: We take the first factor from the factor analysis of all of that race’s survey questions. Then we standardize to mean 0 and standard deviation 1 in the placebo group, with higher numbers representing greater support for the candidate endorsed by the partner organization. When incorporating these estimates into our meta-analysis, we divide all estimates and standard errors by 2 to approximate a percentage point effect while maintaining the benefit of multiple outcome measures.¹⁸ Online Appendix D gives all the question wordings. We then regressed the outcome measure on a binary indicator for treatment versus placebo and a series of pre-treatment and demographic covariates. We used cluster-robust standard errors at the household level.

In Online Appendix D we describe the design and identification strategy for our quasi-experimental difference-in-differences studies. 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. Importantly, in these studies, we observe which voters the partner group actually contacted and have measures of voters’ opinions both before and after any contact.

¹⁸In a perfectly competitive election with voters split 50-50, the standard deviation of support for a candidate is 0.5. A one-percentage-point shift would thus correspond to a 0.02 standard deviation increase.

Quality of Partner Organization: Evidence from Other Experiments

One potential concern with these 2016 experiments is that they were all conducted with the same partner organization. This raises the question of whether any null effects reflect that organization's own low quality, rather than the voters' unpersuadability. After all, not every campaign operation is of equal quality (Nickerson 2007*b*). Fortunately, three experiments help establish that this partner organization is of unusually *high* quality.¹⁹

The first experiment was conducted during the 2015 mayoral Democratic primary in Philadelphia. This was a competitive primary for an open seat. We found that the partner organization's canvass six weeks before election day and measured a week later increased support for their endorsed candidate by approximately 11 percentage points ($p = 0.01$), which is nearly three times the average effect in our meta-analysis of other primary elections. In a follow-up survey conducted during the last week of the campaign, we continue to estimate effects of nine percentage points ($p = 0.19$).

The second experiment was conducted during a 2015 special election for state legislator in Washington. This was a competitive election in which nearly \$2 million was spent in total by the candidates and outside groups. The partner organization's canvass had a substantively large six-percentage-point effect on support for their endorsed candidate ($p = 0.01$), although in a post-election survey, consistent with our theory, the effect had decayed.

Our third experiment was a voter turnout experiment conducted during the 2016 general election in the battleground state of North Carolina. We found that the partner organization's canvass increased turnout by nearly two percentage points ($p = 0.04$), which is 43% more effective than would be expected based on Green and Gerber's (2015) meta-analysis of door-to-door voter turnout experiments. More details on all of these experiments are available in Online Appendix D.

¹⁹We conducted a fourth voter turnout experiment in Missouri during the 2016 general election. This experiment followed the same design as the North Carolina voter turnout experiment reported below, but due to an implementation error there was covariate imbalance between the compliers in the treatment and placebo groups. Full results from this experiment are reported in Online Appendix D.

Overall, these experiments suggest that the partner organization is capable of persuading and mobilizing voters to the extent this is possible, typically with effects greater than average based on the literature.

Results

Table 2 shows the results of the original canvassing persuasion studies, with all effects shown in terms of standard deviations (d) on the first factor of the candidate items in each survey. The subtables split the studies into categories. The first subtable shows the 2015 experiments we just described, conducted during the 2015 Philadelphia Democratic mayoral primary and a Washington state legislative special election. The second subtable shows the first experiment we conducted in the 2016 general election, over two months before election day. The third subtable shows experimental results when measurement was conducted within two months of election day. The fourth shows two difference-in-differences quasi-experiments. The final subtable shows the results of a literature drop conducted at the end of the North Carolina canvasses.²⁰ When “Experiment” is the same across multiple rows in each subtable, it means the estimates are drawn from the same study. For example, in the Ohio experiment that began in August, canvassers attempted to persuade voters with respect to both the senate and presidential races and there were both immediate and election day outcome measurements, so this one study appears four times in the table. Online Appendix D gives the dates of the surveys, the scripts used, the balance checks for each experiment, and other details of interest.

Subtable (a) shows that the organization had effects in a 2015 primary and a 2015 special general election, as discussed, although in the case of the general election, their effects had decayed by election day, as predicted. Subtable (b) shows that the organization had effects in the 2016

²⁰After completing the President and Senate persuasion scripts in North Carolina, canvassers would encourage voters to take literature on the gubernatorial and nonpartisan Supreme Court races. Beyond mentioning they were leaving this literature, canvassers did not engage in persuasion face-to-face on these races. For this reason, we do not include these in our later meta-analysis of personal contact.

Ohio Senate race when measured immediately, although we find in Subtable (c) that these effects decayed by election day. Subtable (c) reports our original field experiments estimating that the canvassing from late August to mid-October had no effects on vote choice as measured within two months of election day, with a pooled estimate of -0.005 standard deviations ($SE = 0.020$). Subtable (d) shows the results of our quasi-experimental difference-in-differences designs in Ohio and North Carolina. In each case, the organization found subgroups of voters it estimated as more likely to be persuadable, based on the experiments in Subtable (c) and focused their canvassers on targeting these voters. The evidence in Subtable (d) suggests this was likely successful and that they ultimately had some persuasive effects targeting these voters. However, an important caveat to these conclusions is that the difference-in-differences designs entail stronger assumptions than the field experiments from Subtable (c) does. We return to discussing the potential persuasion these quasi-experiments found in the next section. Subtable (e) reports the literature drop experiment and quasi-experiment. There, the only statistically significant estimates are the nonpartisan Supreme Court race, which is consistent with our theory that effects are more likely in the absence of partisan cues.²¹

Placing these findings in the context of the existing literature underscores their contribution and the consistent support they provide for our theory. Statistically, these experiments increase the amount of evidence in the literature about the effects of personal contact in general elections by about a factor of 10.²² We also increase the amount of evidence in the literature about the effects of personal contact on candidate preferences within two months of a general election by a factor

²¹Influential theories argue that “the campaign brings the fundamentals of the election to the voters” (e.g., Wlezien and Erikson 2002, p. 987; see also Gelman and King (1993)). With this said, Figures OA1 and OA2 in the Online Appendix respectively find no evidence of consistent heterogeneous effects of the treatments in our original studies by “driving partisans home” to their parties and no evidence of effects on turnout of pre-existing supporters. However, these are likely underpowered tests as they reflect the impact of a single contact. It may well be that the campaign has cumulative effects that do not appear in these individual contacts. We return to this question in the discussion.

²²In particular, the precision of each study in the literature is $\frac{1}{SE_i^2}$ and the total precision of multiple studies is $\sum \frac{1}{SE_i^2}$, where SE_i is the standard error of study i . Using this metric, the total precision of the prior literature in competitive elections is 0.255. Across our studies, it is 3.05. This is in terms of CACE (TOT) effects, but a similar ratio holds for ITT effects.

Table 2: Results of Original Canvass Experiments in 2015 and 2016: Effects in Standard Deviations (*d*)**(a) 2015 primary and special elections**

Experiment	Measurement	Race	Canvass dates	Estimate (Std. err.)
PA 2015	Immediate	Mayoral primary	4/6/15-4/9/15	0.23 (0.09)
PA 2015	Right before election	Mayoral primary	4/6/15-4/9/15	0.18 (0.14)
WA 2015	Immediate	State legislative special general	9/14/15-9/23/15	0.12 (0.05)
WA 2015	Post-election	State legislative special general	9/14/15-9/23/15	0.04 (0.07)
Meta-estimate				0.134 (0.058)

Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 3) = 3.07$, $p\text{-val} = 0.38$.

(b) Measured >2 months before 2016 election

Experiment	Measurement	Race	Canvass dates	Estimate (Std. err.)
OH early experiment	Immediate	Senate	5/31/16-6/9/16	0.01 (0.06)
OH August experiment	Immediate	Senate	8/27/16-9/9/16	0.12 (0.05)
OH August experiment	Immediate	President	8/27/16-9/9/16	0.01 (0.03)
Meta-estimate				0.037 (0.025)

Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 2) = 3.82$, $p\text{-val} = 0.15$.

(c) Measured within 2 months of 2016 election: experiments

Experiment	Measurement	Race	Canvass dates	Estimate (Std. err.)
OH August experiment	Election day	Senate	8/27/16-9/9/16	-0.00 (0.06)
OH August experiment	Election day	President	8/27/16-9/9/16	-0.00 (0.04)
NC experiment	Election day	Senate	9/21/16-10/14/16	0.04 (0.06)
NC experiment	Election day	President	9/21/16-10/14/16	-0.03 (0.04)
FL experiment	Immediate	Dem Candidates	9/21/16-10/15/16	-0.05 (0.06)
MO experiment	Immediate	Governor	9/30/16-10/15/16	0.03 (0.06)
Meta-estimate				-0.005 (0.020)

Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 5) = 1.81$, $p\text{-val} = 0.87$.

(d) Measured within 2 Months of 2016 election: Quasi-experiments (Differences-in-differences)

Experiment	Measurement	Race	Canvass dates	Estimate (Std. err.)
OH DID	Immediate	Senate	9/26/16-11/8/16	-0.02 (0.04)
OH DID	Immediate	President	9/26/16-11/8/16	0.06 (0.03)
NC DID	Immediate	Senate	9/26/16-11/8/16	0.06 (0.06)
NC DID	Immediate	President	9/26/16-11/8/16	-0.02 (0.03)
Meta-estimate				0.018 (0.021)

Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 3) = 4.779$, $p\text{-val} = 0.189$.

(e) Literature drop experiment and quasi-experiment in 2016 election

Experiment	Measurement	Race	Canvass dates	Estimate (Std. err.)
NC experiment	Immediate	Governor	9/21/16-10/14/16	0.07 (0.05)
NC experiment	Immediate	Nonpartisan Supreme Court	9/21/16-10/14/16	0.18 (0.08)
NC DID	Immediate	Governor	9/26/16-11/8/16	0.07 (0.04)
NC DID	Immediate	Nonpartisan Supreme Court	9/26/16-11/8/16	0.14 (0.11)
Meta-estimate				0.089 (0.027)

Test for heterogeneity: $Q(df = 3) = 1.84$, $p\text{-val} = 0.61$.

of 9.

Underscoring the strong support for our argument these new studies provide, Figure 4(a) shows a meta-analysis of the effects of personal contact in general elections, now including our original studies that were conducted within 60 days of election day. From this, we conclude that, on average, personal contact—such as door-to-door canvassing or phone calls—conducted within two months of a general election has no substantive effect on vote choice. The average effect from our meta-analysis is 0.58 percentage points, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.50 to 1.66 percentage points. The only statistically significant estimates that come from within two months of a general election with party cues are in the difference-in-differences estimates, which measured the effects of programs that had been carefully targeted based on the results of the prior experiments. We now turn to discussing our interpretation of these estimates.

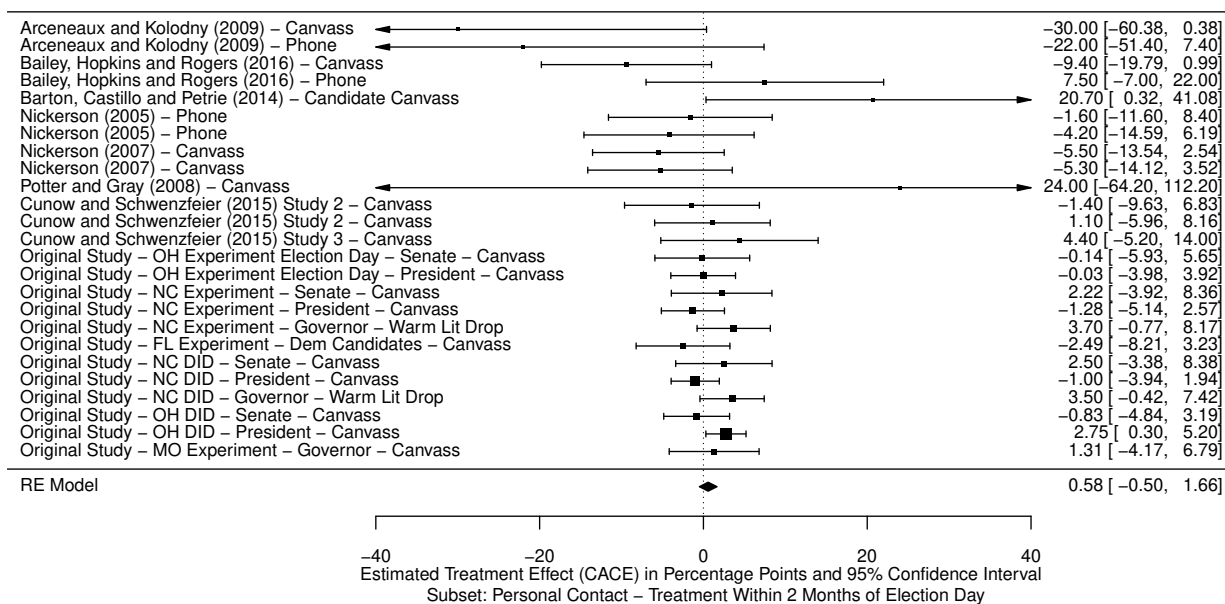
When Persuasion in General Elections Appears Possible

Across a large number of electoral settings, candidates, treatments, targets, organizations, and experimental designs, our best guess is that persuasion attempts near election day in general elections fail to persuade voters. Despite the wide variation in experimental settings in the studies we examined, we see treatment effect estimates of less than one percentage point more than half the time when measurement is conducted near election day. A formal test for heterogeneity across studies also finds none. These patterns suggest that null effects in general elections are the rule across most general elections; not only do we see zero persuasive effects on average, but we see the same in a wide variety of individual studies.

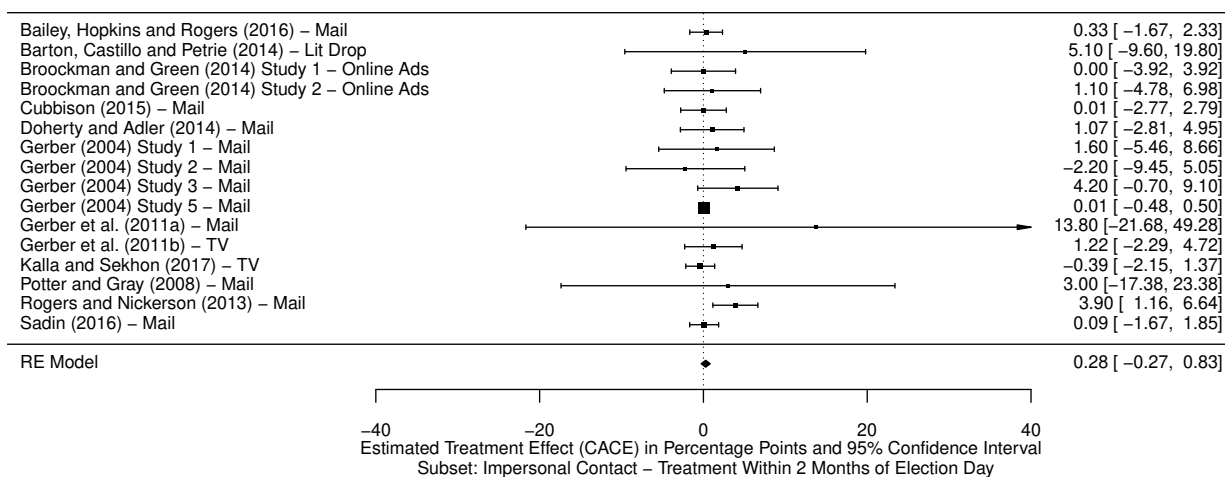
Here we discuss two potential exceptions to this pattern of null effects. Although both are in line with our theoretical argument, we caution that this discussion is more tentative. It is quite possible given the general pattern of null effects that the studies we discuss here are statistical flukes. However, in the interest of transparency and critically examining our theoretical argument, we dis-

Figure 4: Effects Within 2 Months of Election Day With Original Studies, By Contact Type

(a) Personal contact



(b) Impersonal contact



cuss both patterns. In both cases, we believe these potential exceptions are consistent with our theory, proving the rule that campaign contact seldom has meaningful effects on general election outcomes.

In General Elections, Early Persuasion Rapidly Decays and Late Persuasion Rarely Appears

As we have shown, most field experiments on voter persuasion find null effects; but many survey experiments report significant effects. One potential reason for this discrepancy is the time at which each kind of study is typically done: most field experiments measure effects close to election day, whereas survey experiments tend to be conducted outside active electoral contexts or far from election day and measure effects immediately.²³ Our theory expects immediate persuasive effects will be commonplace outside an active electoral context, but for effects to be more difficult to achieve inside an active electoral context. Here we show that this potential explanation is supported by over-time variation in the effect sizes in field experiments.²⁴

In the field experimental literature, relatively few studies have been conducted more than two months before election day, but we need to observe the effects of this early persuasion to test our theory. Even fewer studies track whether early persuasion persists over time. Fewer studies still examine whether a treatment that had effects early in the cycle would have effects when deployed again closer to the election. However, we were able to locate two studies that test our predictions in the literature. Two of our own studies also do so.

Table 3 shows evidence from these four studies, with Subtable 3a restating our theoretical predictions.

²³ Another difference between our studies and most survey experiments is that we focus on candidate choice, which is typically the choice voters are faced with, whereas survey experiments tend to focus on issue opinions, which appear to function differently than candidate choices (Berinsky 2017; Lenz 2012).

²⁴ Unfortunately these four studies were all conducted in general elections, so we are unable to test our prediction that effects would be larger but still decay somewhat if treatment were conducted early on in a primary or ballot measure campaign. All the experiments on primaries and ballot measures were conducted close to election day.

Subtable 3b is a reanalysis we conducted of the data for Doherty and Adler (2014), a rare study in the literature that introduced variation in the timing of campaign contact. Consistent with our predictions, the campaign mailers they studied had persuasive effects in state legislative general elections when they were mailed months before the election and their effects were measured immediately (first column). However, a subsequent survey of the same individuals closer to election day found that these persuasive effects had decayed (second column). Finally, a follow-up experiment found that the same mailers sent close to election day did not even have immediate effects (third column).

Subtable 3c shows Gerber et al.'s (2011) field experiment with the Rick Perry campaign on its TV advertising. This experiment was conducted many months before the general election and found immediate effects. However, these effects decayed within a week. Moreover, additional data provided by the authors finds that this same advertising did not have effects closer to election day.²⁵

Subtable 3d is a study we conducted with our research partner in the 2016 Ohio Senate election. The first column shows that we found strong evidence in late August that their door-to-door canvassing program increased support for the Democratic candidate in the Ohio Senate election. However, the second column shows that when we re-surveyed the same voters that had been persuaded in August closer to election day, this persuasion appears to have decayed. Moreover, as the third column shows, our subsequent measurement in the difference-in-differences analysis of the effects of the very same canvassing program conducted closer to election day found that it no longer had persuasive effects (the coefficients in the first and last column can be statistically distinguished).

Finally, Subtable 3e shows results from one of the other studies we conducted with our research partner. This study of door-to-door canvassing conducted in a 2015 special state legislative general

²⁵We thank Donald Green for providing these additional results. More details are provided in Online Appendix Section B.10.

Table 3: Early Persuasion Decays; Late Persuasion Fails**(a)** Theoretical predictions

Treatment	Early	Early	Late
Survey	Early	Late	Late
Prediction	Positive effects	Null	Null

(b) Doherty and Adler (2014): State Legislative General Election: Mail

Treatment	Early	Early	Late
Survey	Early	Late	Late
Estimate	0.030*	-0.007	0.016
	(0.010)	(0.021)	(0.022)

(c) Gerber et al. (2011): Gubernatorial General Election: TV

Treatment	Early	Early	Late
Survey	Early	Late	Late
Estimate	0.054*	-0.002	0.012
	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)

(d) Original study: Ohio Senate General Election: Canvassing

Treatment	Early	Early	Late
Survey	Early	Late	Late
Estimate	0.059*	-0.002	-0.008
	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.021)

(e) Original study: State Legislative Special General Election: Canvassing

Treatment	Early	Early	Late
Survey	Early	Late	Late
Estimate	0.058*	0.019	-
	(0.024)	(0.034)	-

Notes: * = $p < 0.05$.

election found that canvassing conducted early in the electoral cycle had immediate effects. A second measurement closer to election day found those effects decayed. Unfortunately, in this study we were not able to measure whether this canvassing would have had immediate effects closer to election day.

A majority of the field experiments in the literature that find persuasive effects in general elections are shown in Table 3. It appears we can account for all these effects by noting that they

occurred early in the election cycle; in every case where data is available, these treatments did not have effects that lasted until election day, nor did they have immediate effects when repeated close to election day. This grants additional support to our theory and raises questions about the generalizability of treatment effects measured outside of active election campaigns.

Potential Exceptions Close to Election Day: Identifying Rare Cross-pressure and Exploiting Unusual Candidates

There are three studies we are aware of in which an experiment or quasi-experiment found a statistically significant persuasive effect measured within two months of an election. With the renewed caveat that these estimates could be statistical flukes, we interpret the unusual features of all three of these studies as evidence consistent with our theory. Our theory expected that very few voters would typically be persuadable and that identifying them would be extremely difficult. In all these three cases, the campaigns invested unusually heavily in identifying persuadable voters (Hillygus and Shields 2008) *and* were working to defeat an unusual candidate—circumstances our theory expected to be rare but, in the context of which, meaningful persuasive effects may be possible.

First, Rogers and Nickerson (2013) worked with a pro-choice organization ahead of the 2008 US Senate election in Oregon to identify voters who identified as pro-choice in a pre-survey, many of whom did not realize that the Republican incumbent Senator was not consistently pro-choice. For the experiment, the group sent a mailer to only those voters who had identified as pro-choice in a pre-survey; the mailers attempted to correct these mistaken beliefs about the incumbent’s position on abortion. In follow-up surveys, Rogers and Nickerson (2013) find that these mailers corrected these individuals’ beliefs and changed their vote in the Senate race. It is worth considering the multiple rare conditions this study met. An incumbent was demonstrably out of step on an issue—a Senator from Oregon who opposed abortion. Moreover, abortion is widely regarded as “easy” and important for many voters. Finally, the interest group had funded a pre-survey to identify

supporters of its issue, purging individuals from the target universe for the mailers who were anti-abortion and who might have had a negative reaction to the mailers—a strategy that cannot be widely applied because most voters do not answer surveys and cannot be identified for individual targeting of this type without individual voter survey responses (Endres 2016; Hersh 2015). We would expect persuasion to be possible in such conditions, but we expect such conditions to be extremely rare.

Second, in the experiment our cooperating group conducted in North Carolina the door-to-door canvassers discussed the presidential and Senate candidates aloud with voters but left flyers at the door with endorsements of the Democratic North Carolina gubernatorial candidate. These flyers discussed how the Republican incumbent had cost the state billions of dollars as a result of supporting the unpopular HB 2 law that banned transgender people from using the bathrooms for the gender they identified with. The experiment found that black voters appeared to react positively to this material but white voters appeared to react negatively. In response to the experimental results, the group removed many white voters from their target lists going forward. We found in our follow-up measurement closer to election day that the overall program still had positive effects on vote for the Democratic gubernatorial candidate among blacks and negative effects on whites, and that the group's targeting had changed enough that the overall average effect was more likely to be positive. It was not obvious to the partner organization that black voters would have positive effects and white voters negative effects; only by conducting an experiment was the group able to identify a responsive audience. Several aspects of this situation are quite unique. This same strategy would not have been possible in states where campaigns do not have access to voter race on voter rolls (Endres 2016; Hersh 2015). In addition, only by conducting an expensive randomized experiment far in advance was the group able to identify the right audience for its message—and only by conducting door-to-door canvassing was it able to limit its message to only this audience (whereas with TV ads, this individual-level targeting would not have been possible). Finally, the persuasive material was able to exploit a unique situation in which the governor had supported a

deeply unpopular piece of legislation on an easy issue that was salient to voters.²⁶

Third, our partner group found statistically significant effects in the difference-in-differences analysis of their canvassing on the presidential race in Ohio. This was a highly unusual race because (a) a Republican candidate (Donald Trump) taking many positions out of step with the party, and (b) the prevailing campaign messages from the Democratic candidate's (Hillary Clinton) campaign did not focus on the economic messages one might expect to persuade Ohio voters, although the partner group canvassers emphasized these issues.²⁷ In addition, although the first experiment did not find significant effects, the partner organization, as it did in North Carolina, adjusted its targeting to focus on the voters it estimated to be most persuadable, a subset it was unable to predict in advance without conducting the experiment at significant expense.

In summary, although these three studies suggest that persuasion close to election day is possible sometimes, the broader context of these experiments and the substantively small effects they estimated underscore our broader pessimism that meaningful persuasion is possible for most campaigns close to most general elections.²⁸ These studies were all conducted in unusual electoral circumstances and among a subset of voters that most campaigns do not have the resources to identify, using data that most campaigns cannot even collect (Endres 2016; Hersh 2015).²⁹

²⁶In addition, one caveat to this experiment is that since the persuasive flyer was left with voters and they often answered the surveys in their homes, it is possible that they answered the survey with the persuasive flyer in view but that in the ballot box they would not have remembered it.

²⁷Fowler, Ridout and Franz (2016, see Figure 9) note that over 60% of Clinton's TV ads were solely about candidate characteristics compared to those of Trump, over 70% of whose ads concerned policy, a figure much closer to what has typically been seen in presidential campaigns since 2000.

²⁸We also investigated whether individuals who identify as independents might on average be more persuadable. As we show in Figure OA3, we find no consistent persuasion effects among either pure independents or independents and party leaners, as measured during the pre-survey in our original studies.

²⁹Another exception may be cases in which the candidate herself does the outreach and persuasion. In a general election, Barton, Castillo and Petrie (2014) find that candidate persuasion has a nearly 21 percentage point effect on vote choice, but their standard errors are large. Recent research from the United Kingdom (Foos 2017) and Italy (Cantoni and Pons 2017) suggests more muted effects of candidate canvassing. Regardless, this strategy is unlikely to persuade meaningful numbers of voters in most elections, as a candidate can only knock on so many doors.

Discussion

Both assembling and contributing to the theoretical and empirical research literature to date, we present unique evidence indicating campaign persuasion is extremely rare in general elections; the best estimate of the size of persuasive effects in general elections in light of our evidence is zero. Although exceptions are possible, the evidence we carefully assembled from the literature and from a series of unique original studies paints a consistent picture. When party cues are absent in ballot measures and primaries or when persuasion is conducted far in advance of a general election, it appears that campaign contact and advertising can influence voters' choices. But when we focus on the choices voters actually make on election day in a general election, we find that any early persuasion has decayed and that any persuasion near election day fails reliably.

This pattern of findings is surprising in light of recent reviews of the literature on campaign effects that posit that the classic “minimal effects” view of campaign contact and advertising can be decidedly rejected. Our evidence suggests that minimal effects of campaign contact and advertising are the norm, with only rare exceptions. In this way, our findings are most consistent with a view stressing the “fundamentals” of an election in shaping the outcome rather than the role of campaigns; in other words, that “campaigns reinforce the political orientations of voters and mobilize them to vote rather than convert large segments of the population to new ways of thinking” (Ansolabehere 2006, see also Gelman and King (1993); Sides and Vavreck (2013)). More generally, our findings cast doubt on the view that political elites can easily manipulate citizens' judgments.

With this said, we hasten to note several caveats to our argument. First, our argument is not that campaigns do not matter at all. Campaigns likely cannot directly change which candidates Americans support in general elections through the direct effects of contact and advertising. However, candidates can still decide to change their issue positions, attract media coverage, and engage in other activities that may change who voters support. For example, other research argues that

the positions candidates take and the information they encourage the media to discuss, in part through their paid advertising, can influence elections (Sides and Vavreck 2013; Vavreck 2009). Our evidence does not speak to these forms of influence.³⁰

Campaigns clearly can also influence whether voters bother to vote at all. Indeed, another implication of our results is that campaigns may underinvest in voter turnout efforts relative to persuasive communication. Although the marginal effects of get out the vote interventions are smaller in competitive general elections, especially in presidential years, they are still clearly positive (Green, McGrath and Aronow 2013). Indeed, we found that our partner canvassing organization had effects of nearly 2.5 percentage points on turnout in the 2016 Presidential election. If these canvassers had been working on persuading voters instead of mobilizing existing supporters, our best estimate is that they would have generated fewer net votes. In this way, our results speak to the puzzle of why campaigns have increasingly focused on rousing the enthusiasm of existing supporters rather than reaching out to and attempting to persuade moderates (Panagopoulos 2016).³¹ With this said, increasing turnout alone can only provide so many votes; if campaigns were able to have large persuasive effects, they would be able to change the outcome of many additional elections.³²

We also hasten to note several limitations to our evidence. First, the existing literature (and, by extension, our meta-analysis) provides only scarce evidence on the effects of television and digital advertising, which represent a great deal of campaign spending.³³ Although our theoretical argument would also apply to these forms of campaign communication and the little evidence we do have on them is consistent with null effects in general elections, more evidence about these mediums would clearly be welcome. In addition, our original evidence was largely from 2016. Al-

³⁰One caveat to this view is that many apparent effects of campaign events may be due to differential nonresponse bias (Gelman et al. 2016).

³¹While most experiments in the literature have been conducted with Democratic or liberal-leaning organizations, the shift Panagopoulos (2016) identified appears in both parties.

³²However, campaigns may be able to use persuasive efforts early on in an election cycle to identify supporters in a manner that assists later mobilization efforts (Carpenter 2016).

³³Our evidence that the “warm literature drop” in the North Carolina Gubernatorial and Supreme Court elections appear to have effects also suggest further research on this medium is warranted.

though our meta-analysis drawing on experiments from other years is consistent with our findings, replicating these findings in future elections would clearly be of interest. Our new evidence also largely focused on general elections, although our meta-analysis and theory suggested that voter's choices in primary elections—which are also politically significant, of course—are much easier for campaigns to influence.³⁴ Last, the field experiments we reviewed and presented by and large measured the marginal effect of one contact rather than the total effect of an entire campaign's persuasive activity. It may well be that many very small marginal effects that field experiments do not have the statistical power to detect could add up to a large enough total effect to impact reasonable numbers of elections. This is a proposition that future research could test by randomly assigning entire campaign strategies, such as by having a party campaign committee randomly assign which legislative districts they target or what strategy they pursue in each district (e.g., Wantchekon 2003).

Another caveat to our findings is that it remains possible that existing persuasive tactics could be improved.³⁵ Despite the stability of both micro- and macro-level predispositions and opinion on issues (Druckman and Leeper 2012*a*; Green, Palmquist and Schickler 2002; Page and Shapiro 1992; Sears and Funk 1999), there are clearly exceptions where public opinion has changed, such as the American public's embrace of LGBT equality and in the evolution of party coalitions (Schickler 2016). These changes tend to be gradual, but suggest that sustained political advocacy and generational replacement can together ultimately produce the large opinion changes political practitioners may like to affect. Nevertheless, recent counterexamples of more rapid changes do exist in the context of theory-driven interventions, and future work should continue to evaluate their promise (e.g., Broockman and Kalla 2016; Paluck and Green 2009).

³⁴One intriguing implication of this result for American politics research more generally is that interest groups may find it more feasible to threaten officeholders through campaign spending in primaries than in general elections (e.g., Anzia 2011; Bawn et al. 2012).

³⁵Nevertheless, our findings are decidedly not vulnerable to a common critique of field experiments that the results of the interventions academics design and implement might not generalize to the effects of real campaigns. Since academic institutions are not legally allowed to intervene in candidate elections, in every single study we have discussed, the voters to target were selected and treated by a real campaign.

Consistent with this cautious optimism, the history of research on voter turnout is replete with examples of scholars identifying how psychological theories could be productively applied to have sizable effects from forms of contact that were once thought to produce relatively small effects (Gerber, Green and Larimer 2008; Nickerson 2007a; Nickerson and Rogers 2010)—theoretical innovations which rapidly diffused to campaigns (Issenberg 2012). It is conceivable that scholars and campaigns could work together to develop and test such advances in the realm of persuasion as well, advancing both campaign practice and scholarship. Indeed, recognizing that their existing approaches fall short might increase campaign practitioners’ interest in exploring new strategies. With this said, going forward, our consistent finding of null effects suggests that non-experimental studies of campaign communication or studies conducted outside of active campaign contexts that claim to find large campaign effects in general elections should be viewed with healthy skepticism.

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Online Appendix

A Supplementary Figures and Tables

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

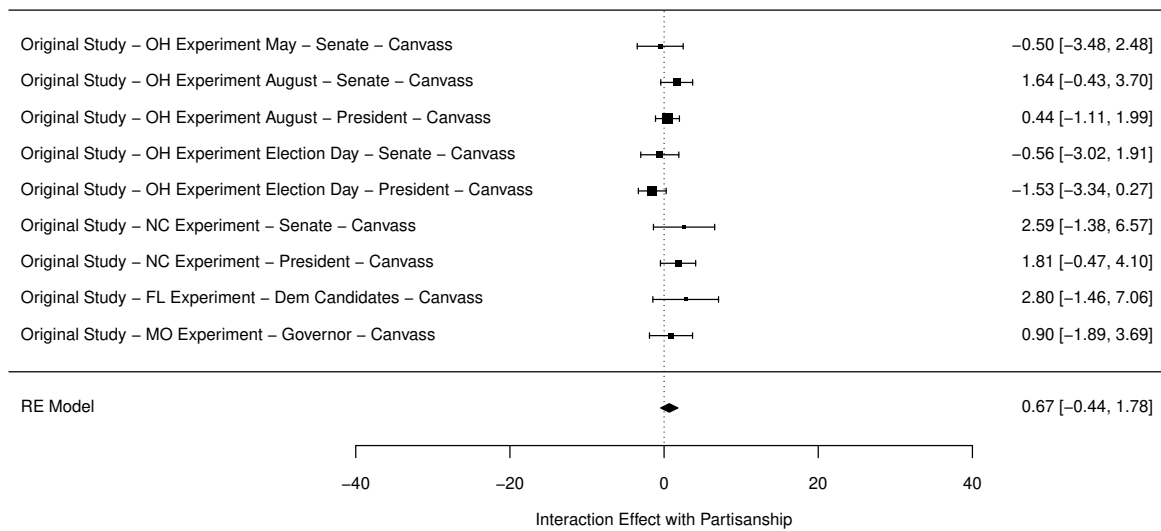


Figure OA2: Alternative Mechanism: Driving Partisans Home? Coefficients on Interaction of Treatment and Partisanship, With Turnout as Outcome

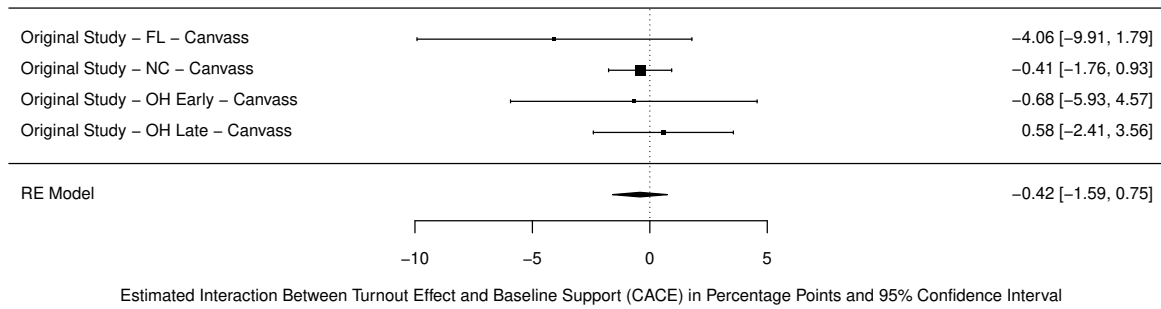
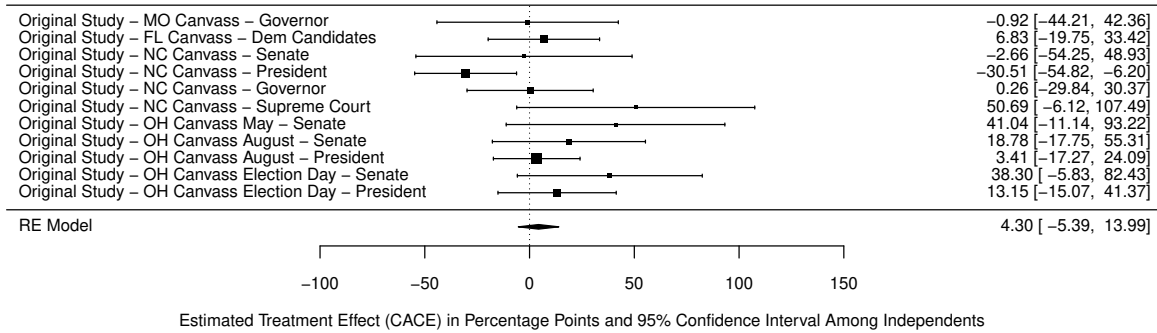
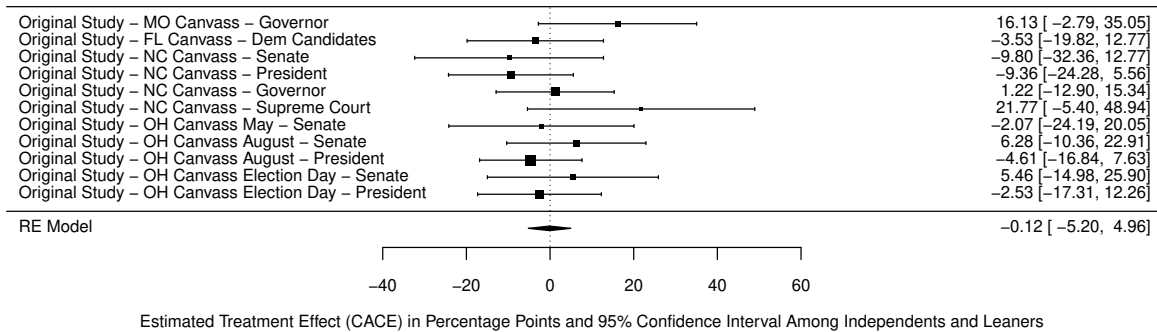


Figure OA3: Are Independents Persuadable?

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



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



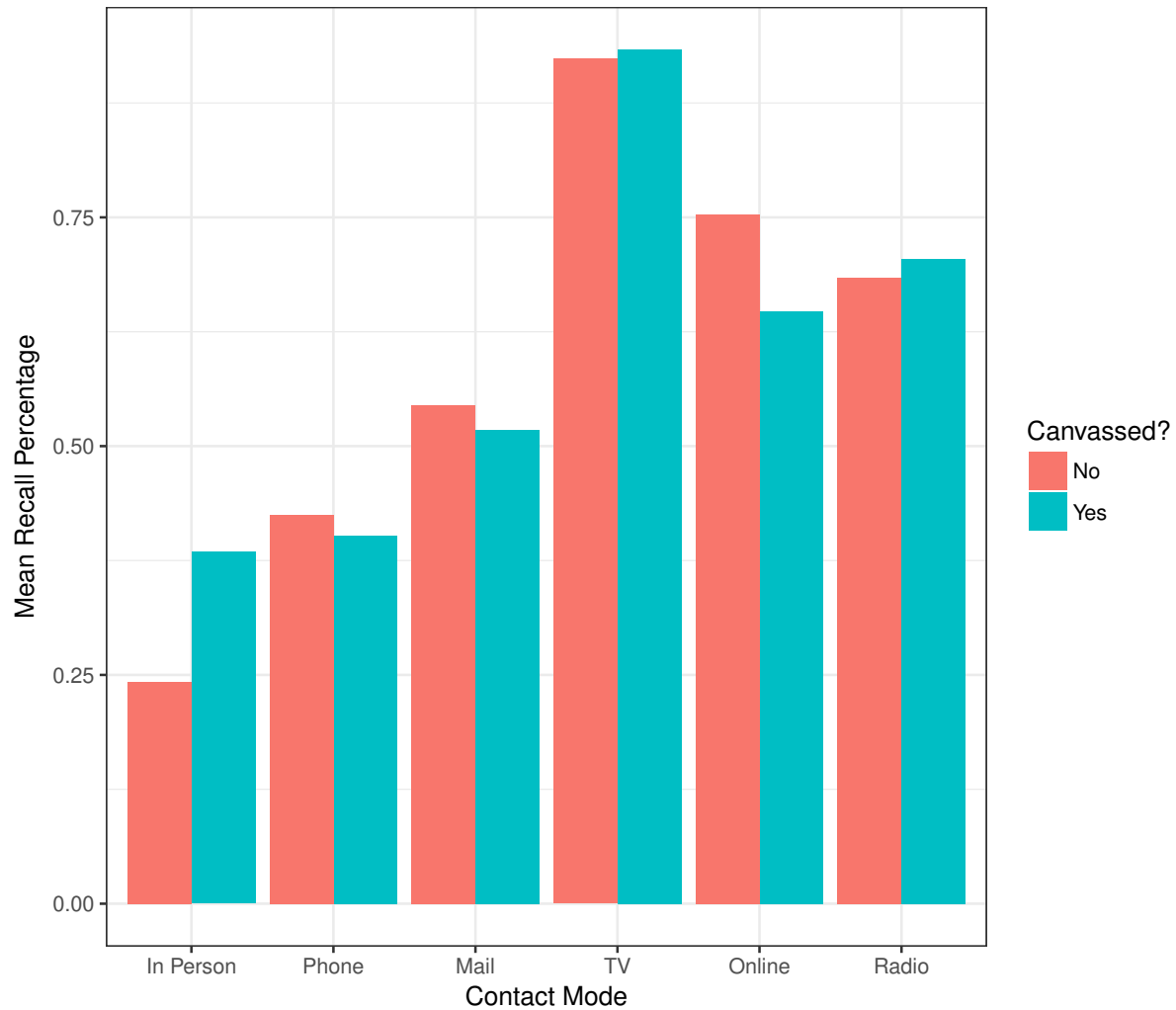


Figure OA4: Data comes from an Election Day survey in which respondents were asked their recall of campaign contact. We present mean recall rates and the standard error of the mean for multiple types of campaign contact. 5446 people responded, 718 were canvassed by the partner organization and 4728 were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

Canvassed?	In Person		Phone		Mail		TV		Online		Radio	
	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 $1.6 \left(\frac{0.12+3}{2} \right)$.
- *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 heterogeneous 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 heterogeneous 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.
- *Competitiveness.* 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 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.13 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.14 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.14.1 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.14.2 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.15 Nickerson (2007a)

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.15.1 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.15.2 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.16 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.16.1 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.16.2 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.17 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.18 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.19 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.20 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.21 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.22 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.23 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.24 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: $ITT = \frac{0.9}{2 \times 0.313} = 1.44$. 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.

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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 Brookman, 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 respondent 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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, `n` refers to the number of individuals 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
<code>q_kenney_fav_t0</code>	3.6	3.7
<code>kenney_vote_scale_t0</code>	-0.18	-0.18
<code>t0_identify_afam</code>	0.42	0.32
<code>age</code>	61	59
<code>female</code>	0.65	0.63
<code>t0_outcome</code>	1e-08	0.04
<code>t0_pid</code>	0.5	0.47
<code>t0_identify_poc</code>	0.45	0.37
<code>n</code>	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 respondent 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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, `n` refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	0.31	0.14	2.23	.026
<code>q_kenney_fav_t0</code>	0.04	0.03	1.53	.128
<code>kenney_vote_scale_t0</code>	-0.01	0.02	-0.52	.600
<code>t0_identify_afam</code>	-0.03	0.05	-0.51	.607
<code>age</code>	0.00	0.00	0.18	.858
<code>female</code>	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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individuals 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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	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, Undecided]

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!

Ohio Canvass Experiment: Placebo, Standard and Long Form Training Rap

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 your 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
POTUS_t0_ohsen	-0.021	0.044
POTUS_t0_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 respondent 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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, `n` refers to the number of individuals 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
POTUS t0_ohsen	-0.021	0.075
POTUS t0_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 respondent 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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, `n` refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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 Hillary 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 . . .

[REFERENCE 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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, `n` refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Intercept	0.38	0.06	6.33	< .001
	<code>t0_vote12_obama</code>	0.08	0.05	1.56	.119
	<code>t0_vote12_romney</code>	0.07	0.07	0.92	.360
	<code>t0_clintonfavorableunfavorable</code>	0.03	0.02	1.43	.154
	<code>t0_trumpfavorableunfavorable</code>	-0.00	0.03	-0.04	.972
	<code>t0_bestqualifiedtrumpclinton</code>	0.04	0.06	0.78	.435
	<code>t0_pid</code>	-0.01	0.02	-0.45	.649
	<code>t0_ideology</code>	-0.03	0.02	-1.53	.128
	<code>t0_hb2support</code>	0.00	0.02	0.19	.850
	<code>t0_hb2repeal</code>	0.09	0.07	1.30	.195
	<code>t0_votechoice_ncsen</code>	-0.00	0.01	-0.09	.931
	<code>t0_votechoice_nccgov</code>	-0.00	0.01	-0.37	.709
	<code>t0_votechoice_nccourt</code>	0.03	0.04	0.64	.522
	<code>t0_clintonvtrump</code>	-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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Intercept	0.43	0.08	5.25	< .001
	<code>t0_vote12_obama</code>	0.04	0.07	0.60	.547
	<code>t0_vote12_romney</code>	0.06	0.10	0.61	.541
	<code>t0_clintonfavorableunfavorable</code>	0.06	0.03	2.20	.029
	<code>t0_trumpfavorableunfavorable</code>	-0.01	0.03	-0.34	.731
	<code>t0_bestqualifiedtrumpclinton</code>	0.07	0.07	1.01	.313
	<code>t0_pid</code>	-0.04	0.02	-1.72	.087
	<code>t0_ideology</code>	-0.04	0.02	-1.88	.061
	<code>t0_hb2support</code>	0.01	0.03	0.49	.627
	<code>t0_hb2repeal</code>	0.07	0.10	0.77	.445

Parameter	Estimate	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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 heard 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

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



/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.

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM WORKING AMERICA

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



Who Will Stand with Working Families?



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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Intercept	0.32	0.09	3.65	< .001

Parameter	Estimate	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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.

2

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?

5

[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?

6

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-point scales, with higher values more favorable. Finally, n refers to the number of individuals 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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	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	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
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]

3

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 heard 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]

4

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 approximately 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:

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

where γ_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), α_i is an individual-level fixed effect, $\mu_{i,t}$ are the idiosyncratic errors clustered at the individual level, and τ 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 contacted 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 parentheses. 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

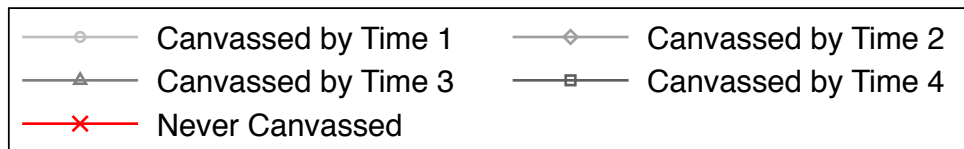
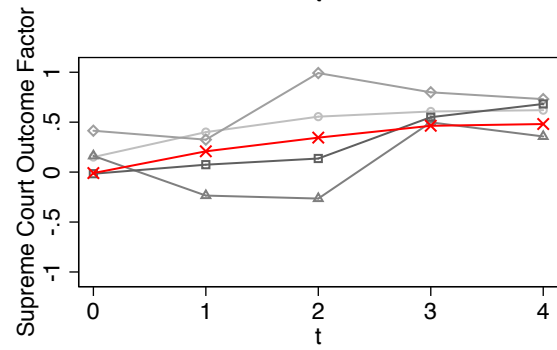
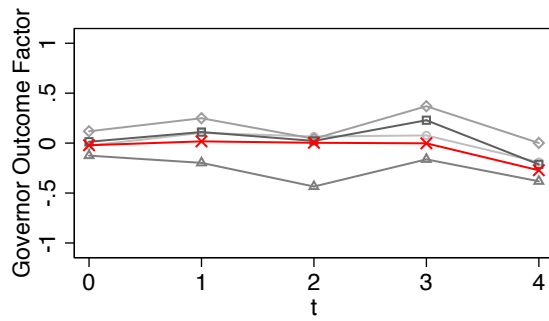
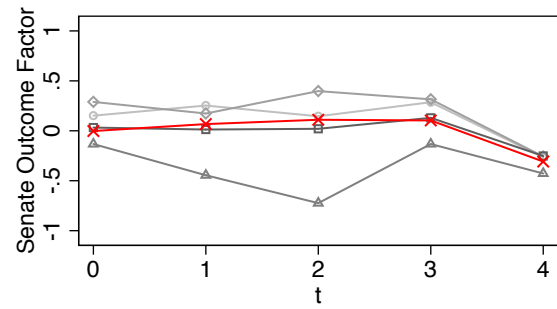
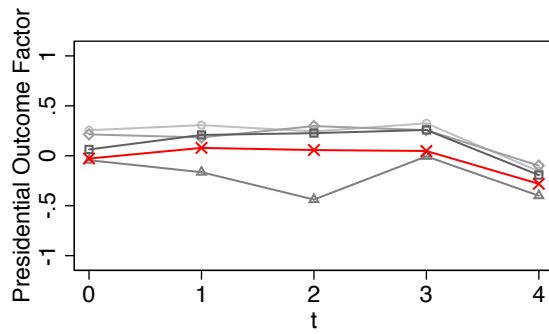
Lagged Senate DV	Canvassed by t2	Canvassed by t3	Canvassed by t4
Canvassed	0.26 (0.15)	-0.26 (0.20)	0.04 (0.15)
t1	0.04 (0.01)	0.04 (0.01)	0.04 (0.01)
t2	n/a	0.09 (0.01)	0.09 (0.01)
t3	n/a	n/a	0.08 (0.01)
Constant	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)
N obs	9072	11847	15048
N groups	6095	6091	6095

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.



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 parentheses.

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

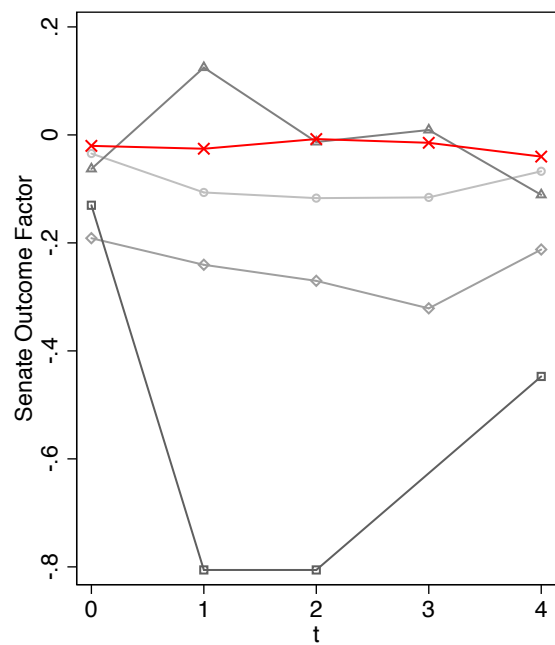
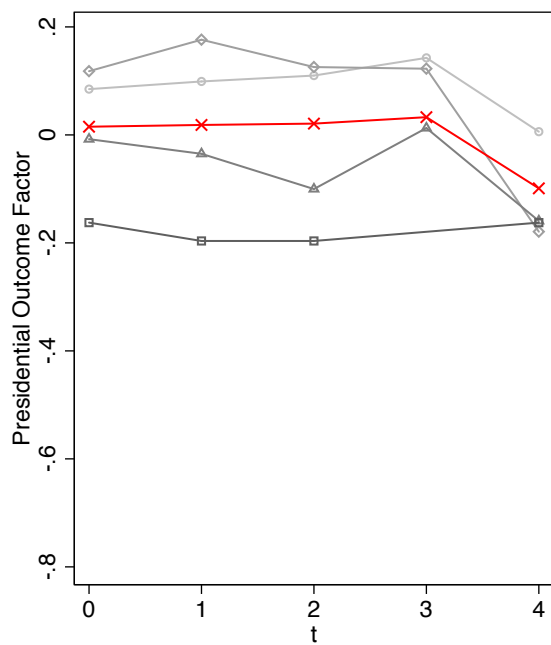
First, we regress the lagged outcome on an indicator for whether or not an individual is ever canvassed. In each table, we regress the lagged dependent variable from the time period before the individual was canvassed and compare those individuals to everyone who was never canvassed. Standard errors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



—○— Canvassed by Time 1
 —△— Canvassed by Time 3
 —x— Never Canvassed

—◇— Canvassed by Time 2
 —□— Canvassed by Time 4

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)

2

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]

3

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