

Supplemental Appendix for:
**WHEN DOES INCREASING MOBILIZATION EFFORT INCREASE TURNOUT? NEW
THEORY AND EVIDENCE FROM A FIELD EXPERIMENT ON REMINDER CALLS**

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This appendix contains the following material:

- A Treatment Scripts
- B Heterogeneous Effects of Follow-Up Calls by Stated Preference for a Reminder Call
- C Additional Tables and Figures

A TREATMENT SCRIPTS

A.1 Early GOTV Call Script

GROUPCODE 01: **Early GOTV call with info and offer of reminder call**

GROUPCODE 02: **Early GOTV call with only information and NO offer of reminder call**

Intro: *Hi, could I speak to [name1] or [name2]? (Please enter id number of target reached)*

01 Target on line

20 Refused

21 Do not call

22 Not voting

23 Already Voted

FDISPS 30-86 ARE FINALIZED RECORDS BUT DON'T COUNT AS CONTACTS

30 Early Hangup [enter ID1 into ID field]

31 Language Barrier [enter ID1 into ID field]

32 Target Deceased [enter ID1 into ID field]

35 Privacy Manager [enter ID1 into ID field]

80 Wrong Number [enter ID1 into ID field]

81 Disconnected Number [enter ID1 into ID field]

82 Fax/Modem [enter ID1 into ID field]

83 Fast Busy [enter ID1 into ID field]

84 Telephony Error/Circuits Busy [enter ID1 into ID field]

85 Changed Number [enter ID1 into ID field]

86 Tri-tone/No longer in service (catch all) [enter ID1 into ID field]

Q1: *My name is [caller's name]. I'm with Colorado Civic Engagement. We're not asking for money. We're a **nonpartisan community group** working to get people voting in this upcoming election.*

We wanted to remind you that Election Day is Tuesday, November 4th, and your ballot will be mailed to you next week. You can return your ballot by mail or by dropping it off at a Voter Service Center. If you prefer to vote in person, you can do so on Election Day at a polling station in your county. Remember, you can vote as early as October 20th all the way through Election Day on November 4th. Voting is one of the ways we can take control of our future and our community.

1 Target still on line

9 Terminated

Q2: *Do you plan on voting in this election?*

1 Yes

2 No

3 Uncertain

4 Wouldn't disclose

9 Terminated

GROUPCODE 01: **[GO TO Q3]**

GROUPCODE 02: *Thank you for your time and goodbye.* [END OF CALL]

Q3: *Ok, thanks. If we have time the day or two before the election, would you like us to call you to remind you about the upcoming election?*

- 1 *Yes: Okay, I've recorded that you'd like a reminder call. Thank you for your time and goodbye.*
- 2 *No: Okay. Thank you for your time and goodbye.*
- 3 *Other: Okay. Thank you for your time and goodbye.*
- 9 Terminated

A.2 Late GOTV Call

Intro: *Hi, could I please speak to [name1] or [name2]?* **(Please enter id number of target reached)**

- 01 Target Reached: **[GO TO Q1]**
- 20 Refused: *Thank you for your time. Goodbye.*
- 21 Do Not Call: *Thank you for your time. Goodbye.*
FDISPS 30-86 ARE FINALIZED RECORDS BUT DON'T COUNT AS CONTACTS
- 30 Early Hangup [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 31 Language Barrier [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 32 Target Deceased [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 35 Privacy Manager [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 80 Wrong Number [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 81 Disconnected Number [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 82 Fax/Modem [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 83 Fast Busy [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 84 Telephony Error/Circuits Busy [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 85 Changed Number [enter ID1 into ID field]
- 86 Tri-tone/No longer in service (catch all) [enter ID1 into ID field]

Q1: *My name is [caller's name]. I'm with Colorado Civic Engagement, a nonpartisan community group working to get people to vote. This is a reminder to vote in this November's election.*

- 1 Target still on line
- 9 Terminated

Q2: *Have you already voted?*

- 1 *Yes: That's great! Thank you for your time. Have a great day. Goodbye.*
- 2 *No: Ok, you still have time. Remember you can drop off your ballot at any Voter Service Center through November 4th. Thank you for your time. Have a great day. Goodbye.*
- 3 *Refused/Wouldn't Disclose: Ok, you still have time. Remember you can drop off your ballot at any Voter Service Center through November 4th. Thank you for your time. Have a great day. Goodbye.*

A.3 Background Information Provided to Callers in Both Call Scripts

BACKGROUND:

Callers should be very familiar with the script and Q&A and be able to comfortably answer questions based on the material. The script and Q&A should be rehearsed more than once prior to making calls. It is imperative that callers do not deviate from the script as written.

This call is part of a large field experiment and the results of these calls will be closely reviewed. For the experiment to work, callers must stick to the script. Voters will be getting different versions of this script and experts will look at the voting records after the election to measure which script had a larger impact.

- **Who are you calling with?**

I'm calling with Colorado Civic Engagement. We are a nonprofit and nonpartisan organization dedicated to increasing political participation in our state. We are not calling on behalf of any candidate or ballot measure. We just want people to vote.

- **Who is paying for this call?**

Paid for by Colorado Civic Engagement.

- **Where are you calling from?**

Do Not Disclose your location. If anyone asks where you are calling from please say: "I'm sorry, for security reasons, I'm not able to disclose my location."

- **What is the purpose of this call?**

The purpose of this call is to provide a community service to voters in Colorado. We are not endorsing any candidate or ballot measure. We just want you to vote on Tuesday, November 4th.

- **When is Election Day?**

Tuesday, November 4th

- **VOTING INFORMATION: Where do I find the nearest early vote center and hours of operation?**

www.justvotecolorado.org

B HETEROGENEOUS EFFECTS OF FOLLOW-UP CALLS BY STATED PREFERENCE FOR A REMINDER CALL

We assess whether follow-up call effects are materially different conditional on whether a subject is reached in the early call and on the subject's stated preference for a reminder call. Specifically, we examine differences in follow-up call effects between those who were reached in the early GOTV call and wanted the reminder call, those who were reached in the early call and didn't want the reminder call, those who were reached in the early call but did not report whether they wanted a reminder call, and those who were not reached in the early call. We estimate the following equation restricting the sample to subjects who were assigned to an early GOTV call containing a reminder call offer:

$$Y_i = \alpha_4 + \beta_8 Z_i^L + \beta_9 C_i^W + \beta_{10} C_i^D + \beta_{11} C_i^U + \beta_{12} Z_i^L \cdot C_i^W + \beta_{13} Z_i^L \cdot C_i^D + \beta_{14} Z_i^L \cdot C_i^U + \gamma_4 X_i + \varepsilon_{4i} \quad (4)$$

where C_i^W equals 1 if the subject was successfully contacted by the caller during the early call and wanted the reminder call and 0 otherwise; C_i^D equals 1 if the subject was successfully contacted in the early call and did not want the reminder call and 0 otherwise; and C_i^U equals 1 if the subject was successfully contacted in the early call and it is unknown whether they wanted the reminder call and 0 otherwise. The omitted reference category is comprised of subjects who were not successfully contacted during the early GOTV call.

We formally test the null hypotheses that $\beta_{12} = \beta_{13}$; $\beta_{13} = \beta_{14}$; and $\beta_{12} = \beta_{14}$ to compare average follow-up call effects between subjects with different preferences for receiving reminder calls among those who were reached in an early GOTV call with a reminder call offer.²⁷ Additionally we formally test the null hypotheses that $\beta_{12} = 0$; $\beta_{13} = 0$; and $\beta_{14} = 0$ to compare average follow-up call effects between subjects who received an early GOTV call with a reminder call offer (who wanted a reminder call, did not want a reminder call, and did not report a reminder call preference, respectively) and subjects assigned to an early GOTV call containing a reminder call offer who were not successfully contacted in the early call.

Table A1 reports the estimated effects for this analysis. We focus in particular on the estimated coefficients on the interaction terms that assess, among subjects assigned to an early GOTV call with a reminder call offer, the differences in the mean effects of attempting a reminder call by whether the subject was reached and if so, their stated preference for a reminder call. We observe no statistically significant differences at the 5% level in the average effect of attempting a reminder call between subjects who were not reached during the early call and subjects who were reached with varying stated preferences for a reminder call. Relative to the subgroup who was not successfully contacted during the early call, the effect of attempting a reminder call on turnout is 1.5 percentage points larger (s.e.=0.2) among subjects who were contacted and who wanted a reminder call, 1.8 percentage points larger (s.e.=0.01; $p<.1$) among subjects who were contacted and who did not want a reminder call, and 5.7 percentage points larger (s.e.=0.05) among subjects

²⁷Among subjects who were reached in an early GOTV call with a reminder call offer, testing $\beta_{12} = \beta_{13}$ compares average follow-up call effects between those who wanted a reminder call and those who did not want a reminder call; testing $\beta_{13} = \beta_{14}$ compares average follow-up call effects between those who did not want a reminder call and those who did not report a reminder call preference; and testing $\beta_{12} = \beta_{14}$ compares average follow-up call effects between those who wanted a reminder call and those for whom a reminder call preference is not reported.

who were contacted but did not provide a preference for a reminder call. We similarly observe statistically insignificant differences in the estimated mean effects of attempting a follow-up call between reminder call preference subgroups among those contacted during the early call because the p -values corresponding to tests of the null hypotheses $\beta_{12} = \beta_{13}$, $\beta_{13} = \beta_{14}$, and $\beta_{12} = \beta_{14}$ are all well above 0.05. We thus fail to find evidence of heterogeneous follow-up call effects on turnout by subjects' stated preference for a reminder call.

Table A1: Estimated ITT Effects of Attempting a Late GOTV Call on Turnout, by Stated Preference for a Reminder Call among Subjects Assigned to an Early GOTV Call with a Reminder Call Offer

Variable	(1)
Attempted Late GOTV Call	-0.006 [0.004]
Contacted in Early GOTV Call and Wanted Reminder Call	0.072 [0.014]***
Contacted in Early GOTV Call and Did Not Want Reminder Call	0.090 [0.007]***
Contacted in Early GOTV Call and Reminder Call Preference Unknown	0.030 [0.037]
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Contacted and Wanted Reminder Call	0.015 [0.020]
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Contacted and Did Not Want Reminder Call	0.018 [0.010]*
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Contacted and Reminder Call Preference Unknown	0.057 [0.050]
Years Since Registration Date	-0.004 [0.000]***
Years Since Registration Date Missing	-0.244 [0.036]***
Gender=Male (1=Yes)	-0.003 [0.004]
Gender=Unknown (1=Yes)	-0.022 [0.125]
Race=Black (1=Yes)	-0.101 [0.005]***
Race=Latino (1=Yes)	-0.090 [0.005]***
Race=Other (1=Yes)	-0.053 [0.009]***
Age in Years	0.009 [0.001]***
Age Missing	0.063 [0.071]
Age Squared/100	-0.004 [0.001]***
Voted in 2012 General Election (1=Yes)	0.226 [0.004]***
Voted in 2010 General Election (1=Yes)	0.230 [0.005]***
Voted in 2012 Primary Election (1=Yes)	0.186 [0.009]***
Voted in 2010 Primary Election (1=Yes)	0.078 [0.008]***
Constant	0.031 [0.015]**
Observations	70,086
Adjusted R-squared	0.162
$H_0: \beta_{12} = \beta_{13}$ p-value	0.881
$H_0: \beta_{13} = \beta_{14}$ p-value	0.441
$H_0: \beta_{12} = \beta_{14}$ p-value	0.430

Standard errors in brackets
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

C ADDITIONAL TABLES AND FIGURES

Table A2: Balance Table. Cells report means with standard deviations in brackets.

	Treatment Group					
	Early Call with Offer followed by Late GOTV Call	Early Call with Offer not followed by Late GOTV Call	Early Call without Offer followed by Late GOTV Call	Early Call without Offer not followed by Late GOTV Call	No Early Call and Late GOTV Call Only	No Early Call and No Late GOTV Call
A. Baseline Characteristics by Treatment Assignment						
Years Since Registration Date	7.0827 [5.418]	7.079 [5.4326]	7.0354 [5.4004]	7.0807 [5.4277]	7.0364 [5.4424]	7.1045 [5.4336]
Years Since Registration Date Missing	0.0035 [.0592]	0.0028 [.0528]	0.0035 [.0591]	0.0036 [.06]	0.0035 [.0593]	0.0025 [.0499]
Gender=Male (1=Yes)	0.4272 [.4947]	0.4309 [.4952]	0.4319 [.4953]	0.4391 [.4963]	0.4307 [.4952]	0.438 [.4962]
Gender=Unknown (1=Yes)	0.0002 [.0141]	0.0002 [.0141]	0.0001 [.0076]	0.0002 [.0153]	0.0002 [.0152]	0.0002 [.0132]
Race=Black (1=Yes)	0.1574 [.3642]	0.1567 [.3635]	0.1572 [.364]	0.155 [.3619]	0.1531 [.36]	0.1555 [.3624]
Race=Latino (1=Yes)	0.1747 [.3797]	0.1739 [.379]	0.1777 [.3823]	0.1783 [.3828]	0.1751 [.3801]	0.1762 [.381]
Race=Other (1=Yes)	0.0379 [.1909]	0.0365 [.1876]	0.0371 [.189]	0.036 [.1864]	0.0398 [.1956]	0.0378 [.1907]
Age in Years	32.7525 [10.9949]	32.6217 [10.9041]	32.7061 [11.0591]	32.7606 [10.9673]	32.6202 [10.9663]	32.6081 [10.8657]
Age Missing	0.0007 [.0262]	0.0009 [.0297]	0.0008 [.0283]	0.0007 [.0264]	0.0007 [.0263]	0.0006 [.0253]
Age Squared/100	11.9361 [9.3675]	11.8307 [9.2866]	11.9199 [9.4792]	11.9353 [9.3631]	11.8433 [9.4195]	11.8135 [9.2456]
Voted in 2012 General Election (1=Yes)	0.7238 [.4471]	0.7273 [.4453]	0.7174 [.4503]	0.7236 [.4472]	0.7161 [.4509]	0.7259 [.4461]
Voted in 2010 General Election (1=Yes)	0.2207 [.4147]	0.2166 [.4119]	0.2157 [.4113]	0.2179 [.4128]	0.2118 [.4086]	0.2176 [.4126]
Voted in 2012 Primary Election (1=Yes)	0.0395 [.1947]	0.0387 [.1928]	0.0388 [.193]	0.0378 [.1907]	0.0398 [.1954]	0.0388 [.1931]
Voted in 2010 Primary Election (1=Yes)	0.0552 [.2284]	0.0555 [.229]	0.0544 [.2269]	0.0565 [.2309]	0.0544 [.2267]	0.0553 [.2285]
B. Contacted in Early Call by Random Assignment to Late GOTV Call if Assigned to Any Early GOTV Call						
Contacted in Early GOTV Call (1=Yes)	0.21 [.4073]	0.2103 [.4075]	0.2151 [.4109]	0.2124 [.409]	–	–
C. Stated Preference for a Reminder Call by Random Assignment to Late GOTV Call if Assigned to Early GOTV Call with a Reminder Call Offer						
Subject Contacted in Early Call and Wanted Reminder Call (1=Yes)	0.031 [.1733]	0.0317 [.1753]	–	–	–	–
Subject Contacted in Early Call and Didn't Want Reminder Call (1=Yes)	0.1506 [.3577]	0.1511 [.3581]	–	–	–	–
Subject Contacted in Early Call and Preference Uncertain/ Wouldn't Disclose/Terminated Call (1=Yes)	0.0053 [.0727]	0.0044 [.0659]	–	–	–	–
D. Stated Vote Intention by Random Assignment to Late GOTV Call if Assigned to Any Early GOTV Call						
Subject Contacted in Early Call and Said Would Vote (1=Yes)	0.1675 [.3734]	0.1691 [.3748]	0.1731 [.3783]	0.1689 [.3747]	–	–
Subject Contacted in Early Call and Said Would Not Vote (1=Yes)	0.015 [.1215]	0.0148 [.1206]	0.0144 [.1192]	0.016 [.1253]	–	–
Subject Contacted in Early Call and Vote Intention Uncertain/ Wouldn't Disclose/Terminated Call (1=Yes)	0.0275 [.1636]	0.0264 [.1604]	0.0276 [.1639]	0.0276 [.1638]	–	–
Observations	34987	35099	17411	17177	17275	17204

Table A3: Unadjusted Estimates of ITT Effects of Attempting a Late GOTV Call on Turnout among Subjects Assigned to and Contacted in an Early GOTV Call Attempt

Variable	Assigned to Receive Early GOTV Call	Assigned to and Contacted in Early GOTV Call
	(1)	(2)
Attempted Late GOTV Call	-0.001 [0.003]	0.013 [0.007]**
Constant	0.46 [0.002]***	0.541 [0.005]***
Observations	104,674	22,120
Adjusted R-squared	0	0
Reference Group Mean	0.46	0.541

Standard errors in brackets
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A4: Unadjusted Estimates of ITT Effects Testing the Intrinsic Reciprocity Hypothesis

Variable	Conditional on Receiving Early GOTV Call			
	Offered Reminder (1)	Offered and Wanted Reminder (2)	Not Assigned Late GOTV Call Attempt (3)	Not Offered Reminder in Early Call (4)
Attempted Late GOTV Call	0.012 [0.008]	-0.001 [0.021]		0.017 [0.012]
Assigned Reminder Call Offer in Early GOTV Call			0.004 [0.010]	
Constant	0.543 [0.006]***	0.528 [0.015]***	0.539 [0.008]***	0.539 [0.008]***
Observations	14,726	2,198	11,029	7,394
Adjusted R-squared	0	0	0	0
Reference Group Mean	0.543	0.528	0.539	0.539

Standard errors in brackets
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5: Unadjusted Estimates of ITT Effects of Attempting a Late GOTV Call on Turnout, by Stated Preference for a Reminder Call among Subjects Assigned to an Early GOTV Call with a Reminder Call Offer

Variable	(1)
Attempted Late GOTV Call	-0.005 [0.004]
Contacted in Early GOTV Call and Wanted Reminder Call	0.091 [0.015]***
Contacted in Early GOTV Call and Did Not Want Reminder Call	0.127 [0.007]***
Contacted in Early GOTV Call and Reminder Call Preference Unknown	0.073 [0.040]*
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Contacted and Wanted Reminder Call	0.004 [0.022]
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Contacted and Did Not Want Reminder Call	0.02 [0.010]*
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Contacted and Reminder Call Preference Unknown	0.081 [0.054]
Constant	0.437 [0.003]***
Observations	70,086
Adjusted R-squared	0.01
$H_0 : \beta_{12} = \beta_{13}$ p-value	0.491
$H_0 : \beta_{13} = \beta_{14}$ p-value	0.265
$H_0 : \beta_{12} = \beta_{14}$ p-value	0.183

Standard errors in brackets
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A6: Unadjusted Estimates of ITT Effects of Attempting a Late GOTV Call on Turnout, by Stated Vote Intention among Subjects Assigned to and Contacted in an Early GOTV Call Attempt

Variable	Conditional on Receiving Early GOTV Call		
	Offered Reminder in Early GOTV Call and Intends to Vote	Offered Reminder in Early GOTV Call	Not Offered Reminder in Early GOTV Call
Attempted Late GOTV Call	0.012 [0.009]	-0.009 [0.030]	-0.02 [0.043]
Subject's Stated Vote Intention in Early Call = Yes		0.272 [0.022]***	0.232 [0.031]***
Subject's Stated Vote Intention in Early Call = Unknown		0.102 [0.027]***	0.058 [0.037]
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Intends to Vote		0.022 [0.032]	0.035 [0.045]
Attempted Late GOTV Call * Vote Intention Unknown		0.038 [0.038]	0.054 [0.053]
Constant	0.583 [0.006]***	0.311 [0.022]***	0.347 [0.030]***
Observations	11,794	14,726	7,394
Adjusted R-squared	0	0.03	0.025
Reference Group Mean	0.311	0.311	0.347

Standard errors in brackets
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1