

Online Materials

1. Additional Details of the Experimental Procedures

In both the California and Texas experiments, only Latino-surname voters with valid telephone numbers and those from one- and two-voter households were included in the experiments in order to limit spillover effects among those who we could not contact directly (see Nickerson 2008 for evidence that GOTV treatment effects among contacted voters partially spillover to uncontacted voters in the same household). Individuals from two-voter households were always randomized into the same treatment or placebo condition.

We conducted the telephone banks with help from trained high school, college and graduate students under the supervision of one or both of the authors and a research assistant. In California, study callers were unpaid volunteers who donated their time and personal cell phone minutes to make calls from a university classroom. At the conclusion of the study, some received a generic letter of recommendation and community service credit counted towards high school graduation requirements. In Texas, study callers were paid \$10 per hour to make calls from a university call center. In California, all but two of the callers were fully bilingual in English and Spanish; in Texas, all callers were fully bilingual in English and Spanish.

2010 California Experiment: In Los Angeles County, California, we began with a list of 23,376 Hispanic-surname registered voters who lived in one- or two-voter households sampled from two adjacent communities, one with low levels of economic resources (*LOW RESOURCE*; 49.8% of list) and the other with high levels of economic resources (*HIGH RESOURCE*; 50.2%

of list).¹ We randomized subjects within each of these communities into three approximately equal-sized groups targeted to receive a GOTV ethnic identity appeal, a GOTV national identity appeal, or a placebo recycling appeal. If a specific voter on the list was not at home and it was possible to do so, callers delivered the treatment message to another household member or as a message on a voicemail or answering machine. In the model analyses, we define *MESSAGE* contacts as successfully treated voters but distinguish them from *LIVE* contacts in which callers spoke directly with the targeted voter. Overall, the experiment generated 1,432 successful contacts, with 658 (46.0%) in the lower resource community and 774 (54%) in the higher resource community.

2012 Texas Experiment: In Hidalgo County, Texas, we began with a sample of 60,000 Hispanic-identified voters purchased from Catalist LLC, a marketing firm that maintains a national database of voting-age Americans combined with standard demographic characteristics, political information, and other commercial data. After eliminating individuals without a telephone number and those living in households with more than two voters, we were left with a list of 23,962 Hispanic registered voters who lived in adjacent communities with low levels of economic resources (*LOW RESOURCE*; 11.5% of list), medium levels of economic resources (*MEDIUM RESOURCE*; 38.9% of list), and high levels of economic resources (*HIGH RESOURCE*; 49.5% of list).² Within each community, we randomized Hispanic voters into three

¹ These correspond to Montebello (*HIGH RESOURCE*) and East Los Angeles (*LOW RESOURCE*), California.

² These correspond to San Juan (*LOW RESOURCE*), Edinburg (*MEDIUM RESOURCE*) and McAllen (*HIGH RESOURCE*), Texas.

approximately equal sized groups targeted to receive a GOTV ethnic identity appeal, a GOTV national identity appeal, or a placebo recycling appeal. In this experiment callers were instructed *not* to leave messages on voicemail or with other household members; we therefore define successfully treated voters as those with whom callers spoke to directly and delivered the entire message. Overall, the Texas experiment generated 2,395 successful contacts, with 269 (11.2%) in the low resource community, 937 (39.1%) in the medium resource community, and 1,189 (49.7%) contacts in the high resource community. However, because of the low number of contacts in the low resource community, in the analyses we combine low and medium resource communities and analyze them together as low resource, which creates approximately equal-sized groups (1206 successful contacts in the low/medium resource community, or 50.3% of the total).

2. Experimental Scripts: California

Latino (American) identity GOTV call script: English

Hello, my name is _____. I'm calling on behalf of the **Latino (American)** Voter Project.

I am a local high school student urging **Latinos (American citizens)** from my community to vote in the JUNE primary election.

May I speak to _____? [If voter heard intro, continue. If voter missed it, repeat intro.]

This call is part of a local campaign with local students to turnout **Latino (American) voters** at election time. The leaders we choose today will influence many issues that affect our community. It's important to vote and make our **Latino (American) community** heard.

You can vote by mail or in person at your polling place on JUNE 8, 2010. Do you know where your polling place is located?

[If no/unsure:] Your polling place location is printed on the back cover of your sample ballot booklet. Also, poll locations are available on the Los Angeles County Registrar website (www.lavote.net) or by calling (800) 815-2666.

[ALWAYS ASK:] Great, so will you make sure to vote on June 8th?

Thank you, have a nice day/evening!

Latino (American) identity GOTV call script: Spanish

Hola, me llamo _____. Estoy llamando de parte del Proyecto Votante **Latino (Americano)**.

Soy un estudiante de una secundaria local y les estoy sugiriendo a la **gente latina (ciudadanos americanos)** de mi vecindario **que voten** en la elección primaria en **junio**.

¿Podría hablar con _____? [Si el votante escuchó la introducción, continúe. Si el votante no la escuchó, repítala.]

Esta llamada es parte de una campaña con estudiantes locales para acudir a los **votantes Latinos (americanos)** durante las elecciones. Los líderes que elegimos hoy influirán muchos asuntos que afectan a nuestra comunidad. **Es importante votar y hacer que la comunidad latina (americana) sea escuchada.**

Usted puede votar por correo o en persona en su lugar de votación el 8 de junio del 2010. ¿Sabe usted dónde está su lugar de votación?

[Si no/inseguro:] Su lugar de votación está imprimido en la contraportada de su folleto de balota ejemplar. Los lugares de votación también están disponibles en el sitio web de Los Angeles County Registrar (www.lavote.net) o llamando al (800) 815-2666.

[SIEMPRE PREGUNTE]: **¡Excelente! ¿Entonces podría usted asegurarse de votar el 8 de junio?**

Gracias, ¡buenos días/ buenas tardes/ buenas noches!

Recycling placebo call script: English

Hello, my name is _____. I'm calling on behalf of the Waste Recycling Project.

I am a local high school student urging citizens in my community to recycle as much as possible.

May I speak to _____? [If person on list heard intro, continue. If person on list missed it, repeat intro.]

This call is part of a campaign with local students to encourage people to recycle their paper and plastic waste materials. Not recycling wastes energy and harms the environment. It's important to recycle and keep our community clean.

Please remember to separate your trash and recycle materials.

[ALWAYS ASK:]

Great, so will you make sure to recycle as much as possible?

Thank you, have a nice day/evening!

Recycling placebo call script: Spanish

Hola, mi nombre es _____. Estoy llamando de parte del Proyecto de Reciclaje de Residuos.

Soy un estudiante de una secundaria local y les estoy sugiriendo a la gente de mi comunidad que recicle lo más posible.

¿Podría hablar con _____? [Si la persona en la lista escuchó la introducción, continúe. Si la persona no la escuchó, repítala.]

Esta llamada es parte de una campaña con estudiantes voluntarios locales para animar a la gente a reciclar sus materiales de papel y plástico. El hecho de no reciclar gasta energía y daña al medio ambiente. Es importante reciclar y mantener limpia nuestra comunidad.

Por favor, recuerde de separar su basura y los materiales de reciclar.

[SIEMPRE PREGUNTE:]

¡Excelente! ¿Entonces se asegurará de reciclar lo más posible?

Gracias, ¡buenos días/ buenas tardes/ buenas noches!

Latino (American) identity GOTV reminder postcard: English

WHO VOTES IS PUBLIC INFORMATION!

Dear Registered Voter:

We recently called and encouraged you to vote in order to **make our Latino (American) community heard**.

The **Latino (American)** Voter Project is monitoring public records to better understand and improve low turnout among **Latinos (Americans)**. Public records indicate that you [**VOTED / DID NOT VOTE**] in November 2008.

We urge you to vote in the primary election on **TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 2010**.

The leaders we choose today will influence many issues that affect **our Latino (American) community**. It's important to vote and make our voices heard.

The Latino (American) Voter Project

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY – PLEASE VOTE!

The **Latino (American)** Voter Project is a non-profit, non-partisan organization that does not support any candidate or party.

Latino (American) identity GOTV reminder postcard: Spanish

¡EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES ES INFORMACIÓN PÚBLICA!

Estimado Votante Registrado:

Recientemente lo contactamos para sugerirle que **nuestra comunidad latina (americana) sea escuchada**.

El Proyecto Votante **Latino (Americano)** está observando el público registro de votantes para comprender y mejorar la baja participación de los **latinos (americanos)** en las elecciones. El registro indica que usted [**VOTÓ / NO VOTÓ**] en Noviembre, 2008.

Le sugerimos que vote en la elección primaria este **Martes, 8 de Junio, 2010**.

Los líderes que elegimos hoy influirán muchos asuntos que afectan a **nuestra comunidad latina (americana)**. Es importante votar y hacer que nuestra voz sea escuchada.

El Proyecto Votante Latino (Americano)

CUMPLA CON SU DEBER CÍVICO – ¡FAVOR DE VOTAR!

El Proyecto Votante **Latino (Americano)** es una organización sin fines de lucro y que no apoya a ningún candidato o partido político.

Recycling placebo reminder postcard: English

DO YOUR DUTY AND RECYCLE!

Dear Neighbor:

We recently called and encouraged you to **recycle as much as possible** in order to keep our community clean.

The Waste Recycling Project urges you to separate paper and plastic materials from your garbage.

Not recycling wastes energy and harms the environment. It's important to recycle and do our part.

The Waste Recycling Project

DO YOUR DUTY – PLEASE RECYCLE!

The Waste Recycling Project is a non-profit organization working to increase recycling among our citizens.

Recycling placebo reminder postcard: Spanish

¡CUMPLA CON SU DEBER Y RECICLE!

Estimado Vecino:

Recientemente lo contactamos para sugerirle que **reciclar lo más posible** y mantener a nuestra comunidad limpia.

El Proyecto de Reciclaje de Residuos le sugiere a separar los materiales de papel y plástico de su basura.

El hecho de no reciclar gasta energía y daña al medio ambiente. Es importante reciclar y hacer nuestra parte.

El Proyecto de Reciclaje de Residuos

CUMPLA CON SU DEBER – ¡FAVOR DE RECICLAR!

El Proyecto de Reciclaje de Residuos es una organización sin fines de lucro trabajanda para aumentar en reciclaje entre nuestra ciudadanía.

3. Experimental Scripts: Texas

Hispanic (American) identity GOTV call script: English

Hello, may I please speak to _____?

My name is _____ and I'm calling on behalf of the **Hispanic (American)** Voter Project.

I am a local student urging **Hispanic (American) citizens** from my community to vote in the upcoming election.

This call is part of a local campaign with local students to increase turnout among **Hispanic (American) voters** at election time. The leaders we choose today will influence many issues that affect our community. It's important for **all Hispanic (American) citizens to vote** and make our voices heard.

You can vote by mail or in person at your polling place on MAY 29, 2012 [JUNE 5TH, 2012]. Do you know where your polling place is located?

[If no/unsure:] Your polling location is printed on the back cover of your sample ballot booklet. More information is available on the [Hidalgo County website (<http://bit.ly/HidalgoTXvote>) or by calling (956) 318-2570 / Los Angeles County website (<http://www.lavote.net>) or by calling 1-800-815-2666].

[ALWAYS ASK:] **So will you make sure to vote on [May 29th / June 5th]?**

Great! Thank you, have a nice day/evening!

Hispanic (American) identity GOTV call script: Spanish

Hola, ¿podría hablar con _____, por favor?

Me llamo _____ y le estoy llamando de parte del Proyecto Votante **Hispano (Americano)**.

Soy un estudiante local urgiendo a los **ciudadanos Hispanos (americanos)** de mi comunidad a que voten en la próxima elección.

Esta llamada es parte de una campaña local con estudiantes locales para aumentar la participación de los **votantes Hispanos (americanos)** durante las elecciones. Los líderes que elegimos hoy influirán en muchos asuntos que afectan a nuestra comunidad. Es importante que **todos los ciudadanos Hispanos (americanos) voten** y hagan que nuestras voces sean escuchadas.

Usted puede votar por correo o en persona en su lugar de votación el 29 de Mayo del 2012. ¿Sabe usted dónde está su lugar de votación?

[Si no/inseguro:] Su lugar de votación está impreso en el reverso del folleto que contiene su boleta de muestra. Su lugar de votación también está disponible en el sitio web del condado de Hidalgo (<http://bit.ly/HidalgoTXvote>) o llamando al (956) 318-2570.

[SIEMPRE PREGUNTE]: **¿Entonces, se asegurará de votar el 29 de Mayo?**

¡Excelente! Gracias, ¡buenos días/ buenas tardes/ buenas noches!

Recycling placebo call script: English

Hello, may I please speak to _____?

My name is _____ and I'm calling on behalf of the **Waste Recycling Project**.

I am a local student urging **citizens** from my community to recycle as much as possible.

This call is part of a local campaign with local students to increase recycling of paper and plastic waste materials. Not recycling wastes energy and harms our environment. It's important for all people to recycle and keep our community clean.

Please remember to separate your trash and recycle materials each week.

[ALWAYS ASK:] One last question: **Will you please make sure to recycle as much as possible?**

Thank you, have a nice day/evening!

Recycling placebo call script: Spanish

Hola, ¿podría hablar con _____, por favor?

Mi nombre es _____ y le estoy llamando de parte del **Proyecto de Reciclaje de Residuos**.

Yo soy un estudiante local urgiendo a **los ciudadanos** de mi comunidad a que reciclen lo más posible.

Esta llamada es parte de una campaña local con estudiantes locales para aumentar el reciclaje de materiales de papel y plástico. El no reciclar gasta energía y daña a nuestro medio ambiente. Es importante para todos nosotros reciclar y mantener limpia nuestra comunidad.

Por favor, recuerde separar su basura y los materiales de reciclar.

[SIEMPRE DIGA:] Una última pregunta: **¿se asegurará de reciclar lo más posible?**

Gracias, ¡buenos días/ buenas tardes/ buenas noches!

Hispanic (American) recorded message reminder: English

Hello, this call is a friendly reminder from the **Hispanic (American) Voter Project** to **VOTE** in tomorrow's primary election.

Two weeks ago you spoke to a local student urging **Hispanic (American) citizens** to vote in the upcoming election to increase turnout. The leaders we choose tomorrow will influence many issues that affect our **Hispanic (American)** community.

Please remember that it's important for all **Hispanic (American) citizens** to vote **TOMORROW**, [May 29th / June 5th] and make our voices heard.

Thank you and have a good evening!

Hispanic (American) recorded message reminder: Spanish

Hola, esta llamada es un recordatorio amistoso de parte del Proyecto Votante **Hispano (Americano)** a que salga a **votar** en las elecciones primarias mañana.

Hace dos semanas usted habló con un estudiante local urgiendo a los **ciudadanos hispanos (americanos)** a votar en las próximas elecciones para aumentar la participación electoral. Los líderes que elegimos mañana influirán en muchos asuntos que afectan a nuestra comunidad **hispana (americana)**.

Por favor recuerde que es importante que todos los **ciudadanos hispanos (americanos)** voten **mañana**, el [29 de mayo / 5 de junio], y hagan que nuestras voces sean escuchadas.

Gracias, y que tenga buenas tardes.

Recycling recorded message reminder: English

Hello, this call is a friendly reminder from the **Waste Recycling Project** to recycle as much as possible.

Two weeks ago you spoke with a local student urging citizens to recycle paper and plastic waste materials. Not recycling wastes energy and harms our environment.

Please remember that it's important for all citizens to recycle every week and keep our community clean.

Thank you and have a good evening!

Recycling recorded message reminder: Spanish

Hola, esta llamada es un recordatorio amistoso de parte del Proyecto de Reciclaje de Residuos a que recicle lo más posible.

Hace dos semanas usted habló con un estudiante local urgiendo a los ciudadanos a reciclar sus materiales de papel y plástico. El no reciclar gasta energía y daña a nuestro medio ambiente.

Por favor recuerde que es importante que todos los ciudadanos reciclen y mantengan limpia a nuestra comunidad.

Gracias, y que tenga buenas tardes.