Supplemental Appendix for:

Non-Governmental Campaign Communication Providing Ballot Secrecy Assurances Increases Turnout: Results from a Large Scale Experiment

FOR ONLINE PUBLICATION ONLY

This appendix contains the following material:

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX A:

ADDITIONAL DETAILS ABOUT SAMPLE FILTERING AND EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

The experiments proceeded in several stages. First, the VPC obtained a list of eligible registrants from an outside private vendor. The vendor regularly collects voter files, cleans the data, and merges it with vote history records from historical voter files as well as additional variables provided by consumer data vendors. Addresses are verified by the private vendor using a National Change of Address filter.

In the second stage of the experiments, the VPC selected the study populations from this list of registrants, and restricted the subject pool to their target population of interest. The VPC's target population is comprised of people of color and unmarried women and people under the age of 30 with a progressive ideology score of 40 or higher. The sample was further filtered to exclude those with a predicted vote propensity score in the bottom 5 percent and the top 25 percent. This procedure yielded 282,245 eligible registrants (in 270,647 households) in the Under 55 experiment and 33,071 eligible registrants (in 32,168 households) in the Over 55 experiment. While VPC conducted the experiment on this sample, prior research on ballot secrecy messages shows these communications are ineffective for registrants who have previously voted. Thus we (the Authors) further limit the analysis sample to households where all persons in the household are recently registered nonvoters, which (consistent with prior work) are defined as individuals who have never voted in any prior election, who had registered to vote since the general election 6 years prior, and had not ever voted, including not voting in at least one high-salience presidential election.[1] This yields 281,929 eligible registrants (in 270,345 households) in the Under 55 experiment and 32,978 eligible registrants (in 32,077 households) in the Over 55 experiment. Eligible registrants who did not vote in either the 2010 or the 2012 elections (i.e., recently registered nonvoters) comprise about 99.9% and 99.7% of the original set of eligible registrants in the Under 55 and Over 55 experiments, respectively.

In the third stage of the experiments, the organization conducted restricted block randomizations at the household level using subjects' state of residence as a blocking variable. Specifically, the restricted randomization procedure within a block involved generating a large number of complete random assignment vectors; discarding randomization vectors for which covariates (age, race, gender) were jointly prognostic of treatment assignment; and finally, among the remaining vectors, randomly selecting a vector of random assignments that was balanced on age, race, and gender.[2]

In the Under 55 experiment, the probability households were assigned to the control condition is 9.1% and the probability subjects were assigned to any of the five treatment conditions is 18.18%. In the Over 55 experiment, the probability subjects were assigned to the control condition is approximately 10% and the probability subjects were assigned to the treatment condition is approximately 90%. Table A1 in the Online Supplemental Appendix summarizes for the analysis sample (comprised only of households

[1] Since these are all new registrants, prior vote history would be available either from state records from in-state movers or would be determined by matching records for those who moved across state lines. For each of the model specifications presented in the text examining the effect on turnout among the 281,929 eligible registrants in the Under 55 experiment and among the 32,978 eligible registrants in the Over 55 experiment, we also performed the same analyses on the full set of 282,245 and 33,071 eligible registrants, respectively, in the original VPC study population. Tables presenting those results are in the supplemental materials.

[2] Summary statistics and balance tests across treatment arms are presented in Online Supplemental Appendix E for each analysis we conduct, including all subgroup analyses. Across all analyses, there are no noteworthy differences in the distribution of covariates between treatment arms. For each analysis, we perform a randomization check by modeling treatment assignment as a function of observed covariates using a multinomial logit regression. Across analyses, the joint *F*-tests indicate that for all analyses, we fail to reject the null hypothesis that all covariates are simultaneously equal to zero, which offers evidence that the covariates used in the analyses do not have significant explanatory power to predict treatment assignment.

where all subjects are identified as Recently Registered Nonvoters) the distribution of households (i.e., the level of randomization) and of subjects across treatment arms for each experiment.

Approximately 6 days before the election,[3] each subject in both experiments who was assigned to a treatment condition was delivered a mailing for their assigned condition, the details of which are discussed in the following section. The control groups received no mailing. Because treatment assignment occurred at the household level, all individuals within the same household were assigned to the same treatment and received the corresponding treatment mailing specifically addressed to each subject. Following the election, VPC obtained participation records for all subjects in both experiments from its vendor.

[3] Treatment mailers starting arriving at treatment subjects' homes on October 29, 2014, which is 6 days before Election Day, November 4, 2014.

Table A1. Distribution of Households and Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm (6-Arm Coding) Among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	State (Randomization Block)													
	Arkansas		Georgia		Louisiana		Michigan		North Carolina		Texas		Total	
Treatment Condition	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I. Number of Households by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2206	9.1	3202	9.1	1120	9.1	3472	9.1	2663	9.1	11910	9.1	24573	9.1
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	4408	18.2	6393	18.2	2246	18.2	6944	18.2	5328	18.2	23829	18.2	49148	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message	4410	18.2	6400	18.2	2242	18.2	6946	18.2	5330	18.2	23842	18.2	49170	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message (with disappointment appeal)	4410	18.2	6401	18.2	2242	18.2	6946	18.2	5332	18.2	23827	18.2	49158	18.2
Personalized URL	4409	18.2	6400	18.2	2241	18.2	6938	18.2	5326	18.2	23819	18.2	49133	18.2
Personalized URL (as a postcard)	4413	18.2	6401	18.2	2244	18.2	6944	18.2	5328	18.2	23833	18.2	49163	18.2
Total	24256	100	35197	100	12335	100	38190	100	29307	100	131060	100	270345	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	247	10	494	10	174	10.2	341	10	306	10	1648	10	3210	10
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	2216	90	4443	90	1527	89.8	3074	90	2760	90	14847	90	28867	90
Total	2463	100	4937	100	1701	100	3415	100	3066	100	16495	100	32077	100
II. Number of Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2301	9.1	3326	9.1	1150	9	3620	9.1	2756	9.1	12510	9.1	25663	9.1
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	4576	18.1	6634	18.2	2311	18.2	7254	18.3	5470	18.1	24966	18.2	51211	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message	4600	18.2	6645	18.2	2314	18.2	7214	18.2	5497	18.1	25008	18.2	51278	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message (with disappointment appeal)	4591	18.2	6633	18.2	2315	18.2	7207	18.1	5537	18.3	24939	18.1	51222	18.2
Personalized URL	4573	18.1	6608	18.1	2308	18.1	7211	18.2	5509	18.2	25033	18.2	51242	18.2
Personalized URL (as a postcard)	4582	18.2	6657	18.2	2321	18.2	7205	18.1	5534	18.3	25014	18.2	51313	18.2
Total	25223	100	36503	100	12719	100	39711	100	30303	100	137470	100	281929	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	250	10	501	9.8	178	10.2	347	10	313	9.9	1701	10	3290	10
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	2255	90	4590	90.2	1568	89.8	3121	90	2833	90.1	15321	90	29688	90
Total	2505	100	5091	100	1746	100	3468	100	3146	100	17022	100	32978	100

Notes: Cells contain counts and percentages. Sample restricted to households where all subjects in the household did not vote in the 2010 or 2012 elections. Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table A2. Distribution of Households and Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm (3-Arm Coding) Among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	State (Randomization Block)													
	Arkansas		Georgia		Louisiana		Michigan		North Carolina		Texas		Total	
Treatment Condition	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I. Number of Households by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2206	9.1	3202	9.1	1120	9.1	3472	9.1	2663	9.1	11910	9.1	24573	9.1
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	13228	54.5	19194	54.5	6730	54.6	20836	54.6	15990	54.6	71498	54.6	147476	54.6
Any Personalized URL	8822	36.4	12801	36.4	4485	36.4	13882	36.3	10654	36.4	47652	36.4	98296	36.4
Total	24256	100	35197	100	12335	100	38190	100	29307	100	131060	100	270345	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	247	10	494	10	174	10.2	341	10	306	10	1648	10	3210	10
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	2216	90	4443	90	1527	89.8	3074	90	2760	90	14847	90	28867	90
Total	2463	100	4937	100	1701	100	3415	100	3066	100	16495	100	32077	100
II. Number of Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2301	9.1	3326	9.1	1150	9	3620	9.1	2756	9.1	12510	9.1	25663	9.1
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	13767	54.6	19912	54.5	6940	54.6	21675	54.6	16504	54.5	74913	54.5	153711	54.5
Any Personalized URL	9155	36.3	13265	36.3	4629	36.4	14416	36.3	11043	36.4	50047	36.4	102555	36.4
Total	25223	100	36503	100	12719	100	39711	100	30303	100	137470	100	281929	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	250	10	501	9.8	178	10.2	347	10	313	9.9	1701	10	3290	10
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	2255	90	4590	90.2	1568	89.8	3121	90	2833	90.1	15321	90	29688	90
Total	2505	100	5091	100	1746	100	3468	100	3146	100	17022	100	32978	100

Notes: Cells contain counts and percentages. Sample restricted to households where all subjects in the household did not vote in the 2010 or 2012 elections. Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table A3. Distribution of Households and Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm (6-Arm Coding) Among Full Sample

	State (Randomization Block)													
	Arkansas		Georgia		Louisiana		Michigan		North Carolina		Texas		Total	
Treatment Condition	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I. Number of Households by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2,206	9.1	3,202	9.1	1,123	9.1	3,473	9.1	2,664	9.1	11,932	9.1	24,600	9.1
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	4,409	18.2	6,401	18.2	2,247	18.2	6,947	18.2	5,329	18.2	23,878	18.2	49,211	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message	4,410	18.2	6,401	18.2	2,243	18.2	6,946	18.2	5,330	18.2	23,881	18.2	49,211	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message (with disappointment appeal)	4,410	18.2	6,403	18.2	2,245	18.2	6,947	18.2	5,333	18.2	23,871	18.2	49,209	18.2
Personalized URL	4,409	18.2	6,403	18.2	2,243	18.2	6,948	18.2	5,328	18.2	23,871	18.2	49,202	18.2
Personalized URL (as a postcard)	4,413	18.2	6,402	18.2	2,245	18.2	6,949	18.2	5,328	18.2	23,877	18.2	49,214	18.2
Total	24,257	100	35,212	100	12,346	100	38,210	100	29,312	100	131,310	100	270,647	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	247	10	495	10	175	10.3	341	10	306	10	1,654	10	3,218	10
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	2,216	90	4,446	90	1,531	89.7	3,080	90	2,766	90	14,911	90	28,950	90
Total	2,463	100	4,941	100	1,706	100	3,421	100	3,072	100	16,565	100	32,168	100
II. Number of Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2,301	9.1	3,326	9.1	1,153	9.1	3,621	9.1	2,757	9.1	12,532	9.1	25,690	9.1
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	4,577	18.1	6,642	18.2	2,312	18.2	7,257	18.3	5,471	18.1	25,016	18.2	51,275	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message	4,600	18.2	6,646	18.2	2,315	18.2	7,214	18.2	5,497	18.1	25,052	18.2	51,324	18.2
Ballot Secrecy Message (with disappointment appeal)	4,591	18.2	6,635	18.2	2,318	18.2	7,208	18.1	5,539	18.3	24,984	18.1	51,275	18.2
Personalized URL	4,573	18.1	6,611	18.1	2,310	18.1	7,221	18.2	5,511	18.2	25,088	18.2	51,314	18.2
Personalized URL (as a postcard)	4,582	18.2	6,658	18.2	2,322	18.2	7,211	18.1	5,534	18.3	25,060	18.2	51,367	18.2
Total	25,224	100	36,518	100	12,730	100	39,732	100	30,309	100	137,732	100	282,245	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	250	10	502	9.9	179	10.2	347	10	313	9.9	1,707	10	3,298	10
Ballot Secrecy Message (with sticker)	2,255	90	4,593	90.1	1,573	89.8	3,127	90	2,839	90.1	15,386	90	29,773	90
Total	2,505	100	5,095	100	1,752	100	3,474	100	3,152	100	17,093	100	33,071	100

Notes: Cells contain counts and percentages. Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table A4. Distribution of Households and Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm (3-Arm Coding) Among Full Sample

	State (Randomization Block)													
	Arkansas		Georgia		Louisiana		Michigan		North Carolina		Texas		Total	
Treatment Condition	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I. Number of Households by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2,206	9.1	3,202	9.1	1,123	9.1	3,473	9.1	2,664	9.1	11,932	9.1	24,600	9.1
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	13,229	54.5	19,205	54.5	6,735	54.6	20,840	54.5	15,992	54.6	71,630	54.6	147,631	54.5
Any Personalized URL	8,822	36.4	12,805	36.4	4,488	36.4	13,897	36.4	10,656	36.4	47,748	36.4	98,416	36.4
Total	24,257	100	35,212	100	12,346	100	38,210	100	29,312	100	131,310	100	270,647	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	247	10	495	10	175	10.3	341	10	306	10	1,654	10	3,218	10
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	2,216	90	4,446	90	1,531	89.7	3,080	90	2,766	90	14,911	90	28,950	90
Total	2,463	100	4,941	100	1,706	100	3,421	100	3,072	100	16,565	100	32,168	100
II. Number of Subjects by State and by Treatment Arm														
A. Under 55 Experiment														
Control	2,301	9.1	3,326	9.1	1,153	9.1	3,621	9.1	2,757	9.1	12,532	9.1	25,690	9.1
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	13,768	54.6	19,923	54.6	6,945	54.6	21,679	54.6	16,507	54.5	75,052	54.5	153,874	54.5
Any Personalized URL	9,155	36.3	13,269	36.3	4,632	36.4	14,432	36.3	11,045	36.4	50,148	36.4	102,681	36.4
Total	25,224	100	36,518	100	12,730	100	39,732	100	30,309	100	137,732	100	282,245	100
B. Over 55 Experiment														
Control	250	10	502	9.9	179	10.2	347	10	313	9.9	1,707	10	3,298	10
Any Ballot Secrecy Message	2,255	90	4,593	90.1	1,573	89.8	3,127	90	2,839	90.1	15,386	90	29,773	90
Total	2,505	100	5,095	100	1,752	100	3,474	100	3,152	100	17,093	100	33,071	100

Notes: Cells contain counts and percentages. Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX B:

ADDITIONAL DETAILS ABOUT STATE POLITICAL CONTEXTS IN THE 2014 MIDTERM GENERAL ELECTION

The VPC conducted these field experiments in six states – Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, North Carolina, and Texas – during the November 4, 2014 midterm general election. The 2014 midterm election witnessed sweeping Republican gains in both chambers of Congress and in gubernatorial elections. Republicans picked up a net 13 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, gained 9 Democratic seats in the U.S. Senate to win majority control of the upper chamber, and netted 2 governorships which included picking up 3 states from retiring Democratic governors. Consistent with past research, average turnout in the midterm election was much lower than in the preceding presidential election. Across the six states in these field experiments, turnout (defined as the total number of ballots cast for the highest office divided by an estimate of the voting eligible population) was on average 19.2 percentage points higher in the 2012 general election than in the 2014 general election.[4]

Examining state-level variation in political context allows us to further refine our understanding of how electoral institutions and election intensity affect message effectiveness. Specifically, describing the range of alternatives to Election Day voting that registrants have (i.e., early voting and no-excuse absentee voting[5]) and the contests on the ballot help us form expectations about the expected baseline level of turnout by state (for instance, as a function of barriers to voting or election salience) and whether we might expect a large effect of ballot secrecy communications on turnout. We briefly summarize background information about the types of electoral institutions present and what other issues and races were on the ballot in these six states in Table B1.

The left panel of Table B1 presents a summary of the alternatives to Election Day voting available to registrants by state. Of the six states included in the study, only two states (Georgia and North Carolina) allow early voting both in person and by mail via absentee ballot. Three states (Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas) allow early voting but only in person. The sixth state, Michigan, allows neither early voting nor absentee voting by mail. None of the states are all-mail voting states.

The right panel of Table B1 describes contests and items on the ballot by state that could affect the 2014 general election's salience, baseline turnout levels, and the distribution of registrants who would potentially vote in a given election. All six states in the study had a contested U.S. Senate race, but only the races in Louisiana and North Carolina were arguably competitive. Four of the six states (Arkansas, Georgia, Michigan, and Texas) held gubernatorial elections in 2014. Of these, only the gubernatorial election in Michigan was considered a toss-up due to incumbent Republican Governor Rick Snyder's low approval ratings.[6] Finally, Arkansas and Georgia had statewide ballot initiatives on widely salient issues[7] that could have also spurred greater interest and turnout in the election.

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[4] Among the six states in these experiments, the turnout rate in the 2012 general election ranged from 49.6% to 64.9% whereas the turnout rate in the 2014 general election ranged from 28.3% to 43.8%. Data for these statistics are from the United States Election Project, http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/voter-turnout-data.

[5] None of the states in the study are all-mail voting states.

[6] The 2014 Michigan gubernatorial race was declared a toss-up by Cook Political Report, RealClearPolitics, and Rasmussen as of one week prior to the election. See, for example: http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2014/governor/mi/michigan_governor_snyder_vs_schauer-3506.html; and http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/election_2014/2014_gubernatorial_races.

[7] In Arkansas, there were statewide ballot initiatives on increasing the minimum wage and on legalizing alcohol sales. In Georgia, there was a ballot initiative on limiting income taxes.

Table B1. State Political Contexts, Competitiveness, and Voting Alternatives during the 2014 Midterm General Election

	Alternatives to Election Day Voting			On the Ballot		
State	In-Person Early Voting?	No-Excuse Absentee Voting?	All-Mail Voting?	Contested U.S. Senate Election?	Contested Gubernatorial Election?	Statewide Ballot Initiatives
Arkansas	Y	N	N	Y*	Y	Increase minimum wage; legalize alcohol sales
Georgia	Y	Y	N	Y*	Y*	Limit income taxes; penalties for reckless driving
Louisiana	Y	N	N	Y*	N	14 legislatively referred constitutional amendments
Michigan	N	N	N	Y	Y*	Two initiatives that change gaming regulation for wolves
North Carolina	Y	Y	N	Y*	N	Amendment allowing defendants to waive jury rights
Texas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Reallocate money to transportation

Notes: An asterisk denotes a competitive race, defined as a "toss-up" election by the Cook Political Report (November 14, 2014). Information about voting alternatives collected from the National Conference on State Legislatures. Information about contests on the ballot collected from state-specific Secretary of State websites.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX C:

TREATMENT MAILINGS

Ballot Secrecy Treatment with Post-Script Only (Under 55 Experiment)

Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

You may be called after the election to discuss your experience at the polls.

Dear <mfirst>,

Congratulations on registering to vote in <state>. I want to remind you of the general election to be held on Tuesday, November 4. <p_hours>.

We thought you might like to know a few things about your first visit to the polls.

Your ballot is secret. Poll workers keep only a list of who voted, not how someone votes. No record of how you or any other voter filled out his or her ballot is created other than by your anonymous ballot. Your choices cannot be matched to your name.

Voting booths provide a private place for you to fill out your ballot. You place your ballot into a locked voting machine or ballot box without anyone else looking at it.

Voting is free of intimidation of any kind. A set of rules is enforced at each polling place to ensure that voters are comfortable casting votes for whomever they prefer. For example, poll workers are not permitted to ask who you voted for, and campaigning is prohibited inside of or near polling places.

<reg_stat>.

No matter who you are planning to support, we hope your first vote will be an exciting and enjoyable experience.

Sincerely,

Page Gardner
President
The Voter Participation Center

P.S. We hope to see your name on the rolls of those people who voted in 2014, and we look forward to hearing about your experience voting. <id_req>.

VPC14_016 ♻
Data obtained from publicly available state voter files.
This mailing has been paid for by the Voter Participation Center (VPC). VPC is a non-government, nonprofit, and nonpartisan 501(c)(3) research organization. www.voterparticipation.org. <VPC_D2>.

Ballot Secrecy Treatment with Disappointment Prime (Under 55 Experiment)

Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

You may be called after the election to discuss your experience at the polls.

Dear <mfirst>,

Congratulations on registering to vote in <state>. I want to remind you of the general election to be held on Tuesday, November 4. <p_hours>. **Please don't disappoint us by choosing not to be a voter this year.**

We thought you might like to know a few things about your first visit to the polls.

Your ballot is secret. Poll workers keep only a list of who voted, not how someone votes. No record of how you or any other voter filled out his or her ballot is created other than by your anonymous ballot. Your choices cannot be matched to your name.

Voting booths provide a private place for you to fill out your ballot. You place your ballot into a locked voting machine or ballot box without anyone else looking at it.

Voting is free of intimidation of any kind. A set of rules is enforced at each polling place to ensure that voters are comfortable casting votes for whomever they prefer. For example, poll workers are not permitted to ask who you voted for, and campaigning is prohibited inside of or near polling places.

<reg_stat>.

No matter who you are planning to support, we hope your first vote will be an exciting and enjoyable experience.

Sincerely,

Page Gardner
President
The Voter Participation Center

P.S. We hope to see your name on the rolls of those people who voted in 2014, and we look forward to hearing about your experience voting. <id_req>.

VPC14_080 ♻
Data obtained from publicly available state voter files.
This mailing has been paid for by the Voter Participation Center (VPC). VPC is a non-government, nonprofit, and nonpartisan 501(c)(3) research organization. www.voterparticipation.org. <VPC_D2>.

Ballot Secrecy Treatment with "I Voted" Sticker (Under 55 Experiment)

Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

You may be called after the election to discuss your experience at the polls.

Dear <mfirst>,

Congratulations on registering to vote. With <state>'s important statewide election on Tuesday, November 4, I know you will go to the polls.

To recognize your participation, I have enclosed an "I Voted" sticker for you to wear on Election Day.

As a new voter in <state>, we thought you might like to know a few things about your visit to the polls.

Your ballot is secret. Poll workers keep only a list of who voted, not how someone votes. No record of how you or any other voter filled out his or her ballot is created other than by your anonymous ballot. Your choices cannot be matched to your name.

Voting booths provide a private place for you to fill out your ballot. You place your ballot into a locked voting machine or ballot box without anyone else looking at it.

Voting is free of intimidation of any kind. A set of rules is enforced at each polling place to ensure that voters are comfortable casting votes for whomever they prefer. For example, poll workers are not permitted to ask who you voted for, and campaigning is prohibited inside of or near polling places.

<reg_stat>.

<p_hours>. If you need information on the candidates, visit www.Vote411.org.

So congratulations! And when you go to the polls, I hope you will wear your sticker with pride.

On Tuesday, November 4, the opportunity is yours. So make your voice heard.

Sincerely,

Page Gardner
President
The Voter Participation Center

P.S. We hope to see your name on the rolls of those people who voted in 2014, and we look forward to hearing about your experience voting. <id_req>.

VPC14_020 ♻
Data obtained from publicly available state voter files.
This mailing has been paid for by the Voter Participation Center (VPC). VPC is a non-government, nonprofit, and nonpartisan 501(c)(3) research organization. www.voterparticipation.org. <VPC_D2>.

Personalized URL Treatment, Sent as Letter (Under 55 Experiment)

Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

You may be called after the election to discuss your experience at the polls.

Dear <mfirst>,

For important information you need to vote on Tuesday, November 4, please visit:

<PURL>

When you visit your site, you will find the name and location of your polling place, what you need to bring with you in order to vote, and the candidates who will be on your ballot.

This website was created with personalized information just for you. We have created your personal website in the hopes that it will help you VOTE. When we check the voting records after the November 4 election, we hope to see that you made it to the polls!

Sincerely,

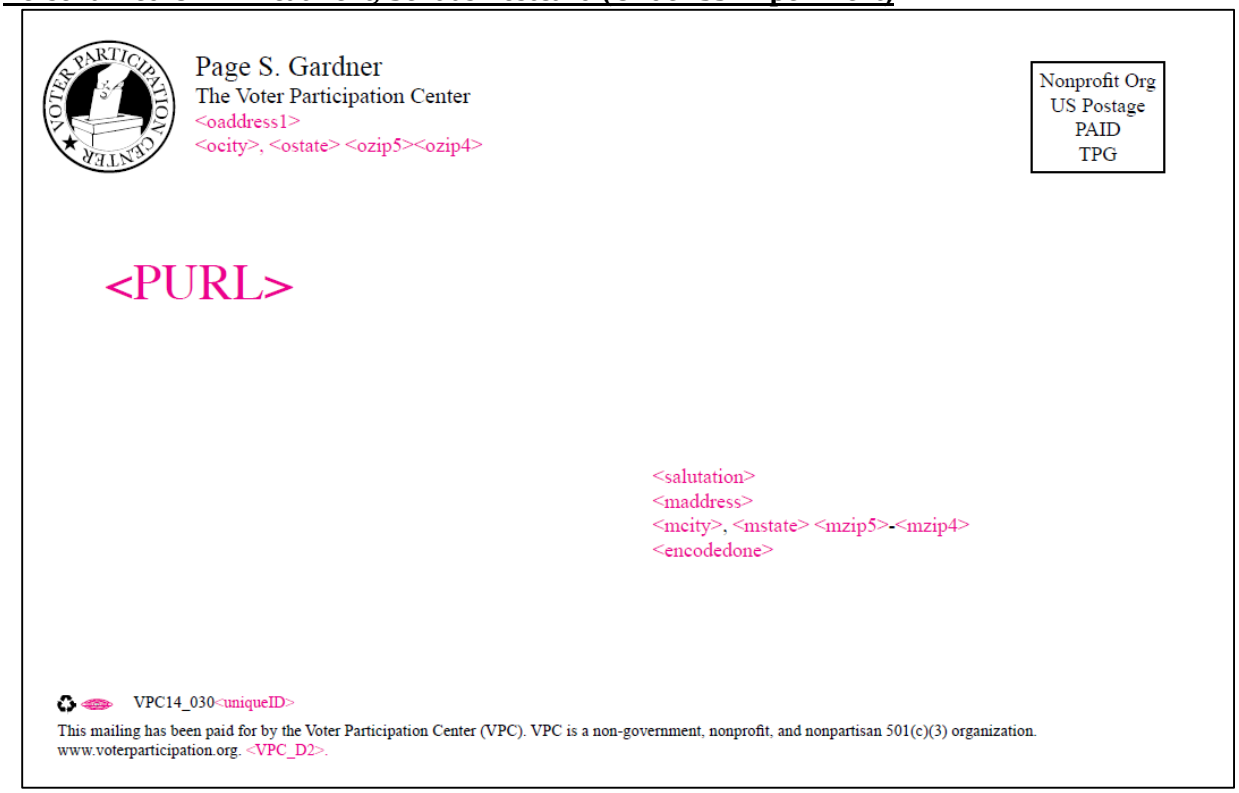
Page Gardner
President
The Voter Participation Center

P.S. No one can know how you vote, but whether or not you vote is a matter of public record. <id_req>.

VPC14_029

This mailing has been paid for by the Voter Participation Center (VPC). VPC is a non-government, nonprofit, and nonpartisan 501(c)(3) research organization. www.voterparticipation.org. <VPC_D2>.

Personalized URL Treatment, Sent as Postcard (Under 55 Experiment)



Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

Nonprofit Org
US Postage
PAID
TPG

<PURL>

<salutation>
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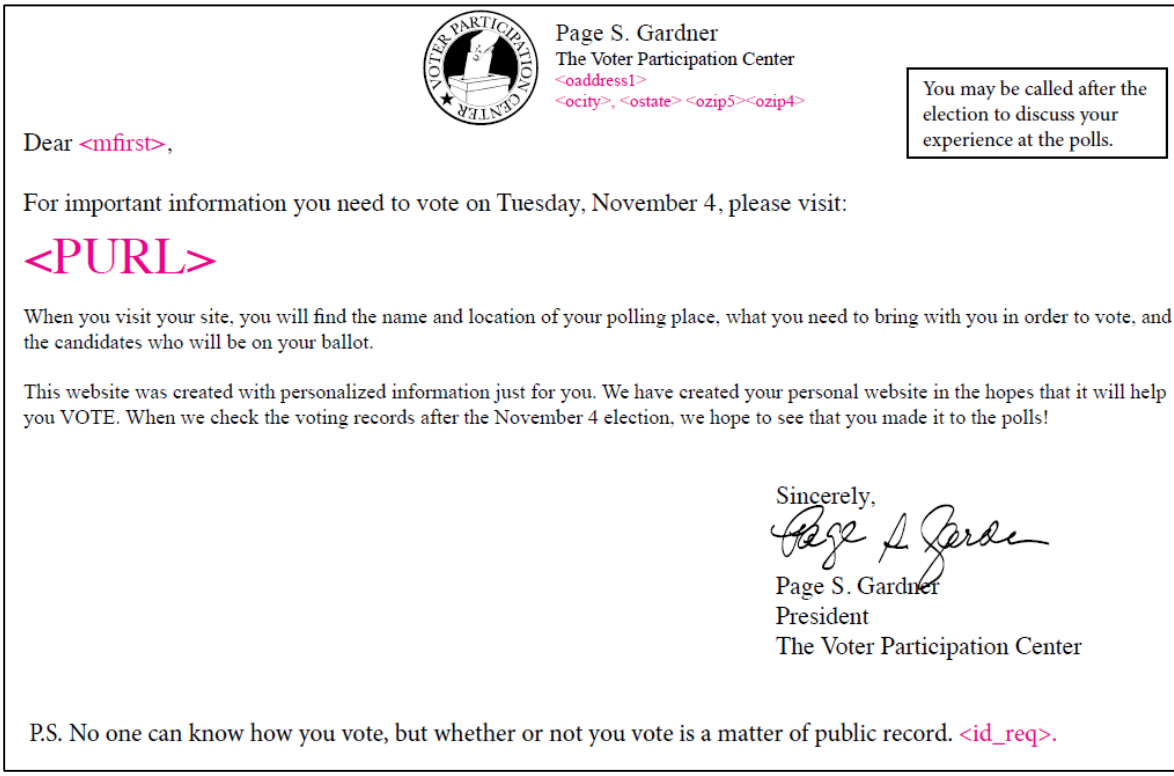
VPC14_030<uniqueID>

This mailing has been paid for by the Voter Participation Center (VPC). VPC is a non-government, nonprofit, and nonpartisan 501(c)(3) organization. www.voterparticipation.org. <VPC_D2>.



Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

You may be called after the election to discuss your experience at the polls.

Dear <mfirst>,

For important information you need to vote on Tuesday, November 4, please visit:

<PURL>

When you visit your site, you will find the name and location of your polling place, what you need to bring with you in order to vote, and the candidates who will be on your ballot.

This website was created with personalized information just for you. We have created your personal website in the hopes that it will help you VOTE. When we check the voting records after the November 4 election, we hope to see that you made it to the polls!

Sincerely,

Page S. Gardner
President
The Voter Participation Center

P.S. No one can know how you vote, but whether or not you vote is a matter of public record. <id_req>.

Ballot Secrecy Treatment with "100% Voter" Sticker (Over 55 Experiment)

Page S. Gardner
The Voter Participation Center
<oaddress1>
<ocity>, <ostate> <ozip5><ozip4>

You may be called after the election to discuss your experience at the polls.

Dear <mfirst>,

Congratulations on registering to vote. With <state>'s important statewide election on Tuesday, November 4, I know you will go to the polls.

To recognize your participation, I have enclosed an "100% Voter" sticker for you to wear on Election Day on Tuesday.

As a new voter in <state>, we thought you might like to know a few things about your first visit to the polls.

Your ballot is secret. Poll workers keep only a list of who voted, not how someone votes. No record of how you or any other voter filled out his or her ballot is created other than by your anonymous ballot. Your choices cannot be matched to your name.

Voting booths provide a private place for you to fill out your ballot. You place your ballot into a locked voting machine or ballot box without anyone else looking at it.

Voting is free of intimidation of any kind. A set of rules is enforced at each polling place to ensure that voters are comfortable casting votes for whomever they prefer. For example, poll workers are not permitted to ask who you voted for, and campaigning is prohibited inside of or near polling places.

<reg_stat>.

<p_hours>. If you need information on the candidates, visit www.Vote411.org.

So congratulations! And when you go to the polls, I hope you will wear your sticker with pride.

On Tuesday, November 4, the opportunity is yours. So make your voice heard.

Sincerely,

Page Gardner
President
The Voter Participation Center

P.S. We hope to see your name on the rolls of those people who voted in 2014, and we look forward to hearing about your experience voting. <id_req>.

VPC14_079 ♻
Data obtained from publicly available state voter files.
This mailing has been paid for by the Voter Participation Center (VPC). VPC is a non-government, nonprofit, and nonpartisan 501(c)(3) research organization. www.voterparticipation.org. <VPC_D2>.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX D:

SENSITIVITY ANALYSES, ROBUSTNESS CHECKS, AND ADDITIONAL ANALYSES

This section presents results for sensitivity analyses, robustness checks, and additional analyses.

D.1 ITT Estimates for the Under 55 Experiment, Excluding Subjects Age 55 and Older

We conduct a sensitivity analysis further restricting the Under 55 analysis sample to households where all subjects are under age 55. The VPC originally defined the Under 55 experiment to include households where any subject in the household was younger than 55 years old, so this further sample restriction offers a more exact test. Of the 281,929 subjects in the Under 55 analysis sample, 3,479 (about 1.23%) are in a household where at least one subject is age 55 or older. Results are shown in Table D1. We find no material difference in the main results when using a stricter sample definition.

Table D1. Effect of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters Under Age 55

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Under 55 Experiment, Households where All Subjects are Under Age 55 and Registered Nonvoters		
	Base Specification	With State-by-Covariate Interactions	Unweighted and Without HH-Level Clustered SE
Treatment: Ballot Secrecy	0.010	0.010	0.010
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***
Treatment: Personalized URL	0.008	0.008	0.008
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***
Age	-0.003	-0.013	-0.003
	[0.001]***	[0.002]***	[0.000]***
Age squared (divided by 100)	0.009	0.023	0.009
	[0.001]***	[0.004]***	[0.001]***
Flag: Missing age	0.165	0.193	0.150
	[0.049]***	[0.049]***	[0.027]***
Household size = 2	0.010	0.010	0.012
	[0.004]**	[0.004]**	[0.003]***
Household size = 3	0.000	0.002	-0.010
	[0.021]	[0.021]	[0.011]
Household size = 4	-0.069	-0.064	-0.077
	[0.048]	[0.048]	[0.040]*
Race/Ethnicity: Black	-0.024	-0.040	-0.026
	[0.002]***	[0.007]***	[0.002]***
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	-0.050	-0.059	-0.049
	[0.002]***	[0.011]***	[0.002]***
Race/Ethnicity: Other	-0.027	-0.065	-0.022
	[0.004]***	[0.015]***	[0.003]***
Marital Status: Married	0.085	0.105	0.085
	[0.004]***	[0.016]***	[0.002]***
Marital Status: Unknown	0.158	0.037	0.191
	[0.052]***	[0.087]	[0.028]***
Gender: Female	0.014	0.021	0.015
	[0.002]***	[0.006]***	[0.001]***
State: GA	-0.010	-0.292	-0.009
	[0.004]**	[0.046]***	[0.003]***
State: LA	0.068	-0.239	0.071
	[0.006]***	[0.068]***	[0.004]***
State: MI	-0.077	-0.002	-0.077
	[0.004]***	[0.045]	[0.003]***
State: NC	-0.001	-0.134	-0.005
	[0.004]	[0.049]***	[0.003]*
State: TX	-0.064	-0.254	-0.066
	[0.003]***	[0.038]***	[0.002]***
Constant	0.189	0.344	0.189
	[0.010]***	[0.035]***	[0.007]***
Observations	278462	278462	278462
Adjusted R-squared	0.030	0.030	0.030
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.130	0.130	0.130
State-Covariate Interactions?	N	Y	N
Weighted?	Y	Y	N
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Y	Y	N

Standard errors in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are under age 55 and registered nonvoters.
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

D.2 ITT Estimates by Household Size

Table D2. Effect of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters, by Household Size

	(1)	(2)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Under 55				Over 55	
	One-Person Households		Two-Person Households		One-Person Households	
	Base Specification	With State-by-Covariate Interactions	Base Specification	With State-by-Covariate Interactions	Base Specification	With State-by-Covariate Interactions
Treatment: Ballot Secrecy	0.009	0.009	0.017	0.018	0.000	0.001
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.010]*	[0.010]*	[0.008]	[0.008]
Treatment: Personalized URL	0.007	0.007	0.026	0.026		
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.011]**	[0.011]**		
Age	-0.004	-0.014	0.008	0.003	0.040	0.029
	[0.001]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.006]	[0.008]***	[0.034]
Age squared (divided by 100)	0.009	0.023	-0.005	0.000	-0.028	-0.021
	[0.001]***	[0.004]***	[0.002]***	[0.007]	[0.006]***	[0.025]
Flag: Missing age	0.171	0.194	-0.165	-0.184		
	[0.049]***	[0.050]***	[0.017]***	[0.041]***		
Race/Ethnicity: Black	-0.023	-0.037	-0.024	-0.064	-0.031	-0.068
	[0.002]***	[0.008]***	[0.011]**	[0.027]**	[0.012]***	[0.040]*
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	-0.048	-0.064	-0.043	0.042	-0.055	-0.157
	[0.002]***	[0.011]***	[0.010]***	[0.055]	[0.013]***	[0.062]**
Race/Ethnicity: Other	-0.033	-0.068	0.000	0.057	-0.099	-0.211
	[0.004]***	[0.015]***	[0.013]	[0.076]	[0.014]***	[0.060]***
Marital Status: Married	0.082	0.119	0.083	0.006	0.110	0.143
	[0.004]***	[0.017]***	[0.010]***	[0.042]	[0.013]***	[0.057]**
Marital Status: Unknown	0.165	0.078	0.204	-0.033		
	[0.053]***	[0.087]	[0.116]*	[0.071]		
Gender: Female	0.015	0.020	0.008	0.028	0.036	-0.018
	[0.002]***	[0.007]***	[0.005]	[0.023]	[0.009]***	[0.039]
State: GA	-0.013	-0.287	0.028	-0.265	-0.031	-0.138
	[0.004]***	[0.047]***	[0.019]	[0.117]**	[0.019]*	[1.290]
State: LA	0.064	-0.245	0.128	-0.246	0.147	-1.188
	[0.006]***	[0.070]***	[0.029]***	[0.183]	[0.026]***	[1.893]
State: MI	-0.078	-0.009	-0.066	-0.156	-0.101	-1.347
	[0.004]***	[0.046]	[0.016]***	[0.116]	[0.019]***	[1.311]
State: NC	-0.004	-0.129	0.041	-0.062	0.053	-1.218
	[0.004]	[0.050]***	[0.020]**	[0.128]	[0.021]**	[1.386]
State: TX	-0.065	-0.262	-0.056	-0.073	-0.089	-0.227
	[0.004]***	[0.038]***	[0.015]***	[0.094]	[0.017]***	[1.169]
Constant	0.196	0.353	-0.018	0.056	-1.116	-0.669
	[0.010]***	[0.037]***	[0.029]	[0.089]	[0.262]***	[1.113]
Observations	259369	259369	20822	20822	31184	31184
Adjusted R-squared	0.030	0.030	0.050	0.070	0.040	0.050
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.130	0.130	0.140	0.140	0.250	0.250
State-Covariate Interactions?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Weighted?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Robust standard errors in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are registered nonvoters. Models are not estimated for 3- and 4-subject households in the Under 55 experiment or for 2- and 3-subject households in the Over 55 experiment due to insufficient sample size and inadequate statistical power.

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

We also partition the analysis sample by household size and re-estimate the ITT for households containing one or two subjects for the Under 55 experiment and for households containing one subject for

the Over 55 experiment. We do not estimate the ITT for households with 3 or 4 subjects in the Under 55 experiment or for households with 2 or 3 subjects in the Over 55 experiment due to small sample sizes and concerns about inadequate statistical power. Results are shown in Table D2. Among one-person households in both experiments, the results are substantively equivalent to the estimates pooling across household size. The estimated ITT effects of ballot secrecy treatments on turnout is larger among two-person households in the Under 55 experiment: ballot secrecy treatments increase turnout rates from 14% to 15.7%, an increase of 1.7 percentage points that is statistically significant at the 10% level. The estimated effects of ballot secrecy treatments on turnout in two-person households are about twice the magnitude of the effects in one-person households. As a diagnostic test, we believe this suggests that some type of within-household violation of the noninterference assumption is plausible. However, the present design does not provide leverage to assess whether the differences in observed effects by household size are the result of spillovers or a magnified treatment dosage. Thus additional investigation would be required in future research to better understand why we observe differences in estimated effects by household size.

D.3 ITT Estimates by Demographic Subgroup (Age, Gender, Race)

We conducted an additional exploratory analysis of the effect of ballot secrecy interventions on turnout in the 2014 general election by demographic subgroups from each experiment. We conduct subgroup analyses among the subset of recently registered nonvoters belonging to single-person households in order to hold constant within-household demographic variation present in households with two or more subjects. Figure D1 displays the estimated effect of the ballot secrecy interventions by subgroup with 95% confidence intervals from the primary regression specification. Tables D3-D5 present regression estimates corresponding to these analyses.

Effects by Age Category. The top set of coefficient plots in Panel A of Figure D1 presents a more fine-grained analysis of the conditional effects of ballot secrecy interventions on turnout in the 2014 election by age. We partition subjects from the Under 55 experiment into roughly 10-year age groups ranging from 17-24, 25-34, 35-44, and 45-54 and subjects from the Over 55 experiment into age groups ranging from 55-64, 65-74, 75-84, and 85-90 and estimate the effect of ballot secrecy interventions on turnout by subgroup.

Consistent with the pooled analyses conducted for each experiment, we find significant positive effects across recently registered nonvoters in the Under 55 experiment and null effects in the Over 55 experiment. Among recently registered nonvoters under age 55, the ballot secrecy treatment increases turnout by 0.7 percentage points in the 17-24 age group (s.e.=0.003; $p=0.03$, two-tailed; n=134,508), 1.3 percentage points in the 25-34 age group (s.e.=0.005; $p=0.004$, two-tailed, n=67,938), and 2.6 percentage points in the 45-54 age group (s.e.=0.009; $p=0.005$, two-tailed; n=22,366). For subjects age 35-44, however, we find that ballot secrecy treatments increase turnout by only 0.3 percentage points (s.e.=0.007; $p=0.702$, two-tailed; n=34,051), an estimate which is not statistically significant. In the Over 55 experiment, the estimated conditional effects of the ballot secrecy treatment by age group are substantively small in magnitude and effects are imprecisely estimated due to small subgroup sample sizes and inadequate statistical power. Ballot secrecy messages increase turnout by 0.4 percentage points in the 55-64 age group (s.e.=0.01; $p=.658$, two-tailed; n=18,929), decrease turnout by 1.2 percentage points in the 65-74 age group (s.e.=0.016; $p=.445$, two-tailed; n=8,751), increase turnout by 2.7 percentage points in the 75-84 age group (s.e.=0.026; $p=.301$, two-tailed; n=2,879), and decrease turnout by 4 percentage points in the 85-90 age group (s.e.=0.056; $p=.477$, two-tailed; n=625).

Effects by Race. Panels B and C in Figure D1 present estimates of subgroup ITT effects by race among recently registered nonvoters in single-person households for the Under 55 and Over 55 experiments, respectively. We partition subjects in the analysis sample into four exclusive and complete

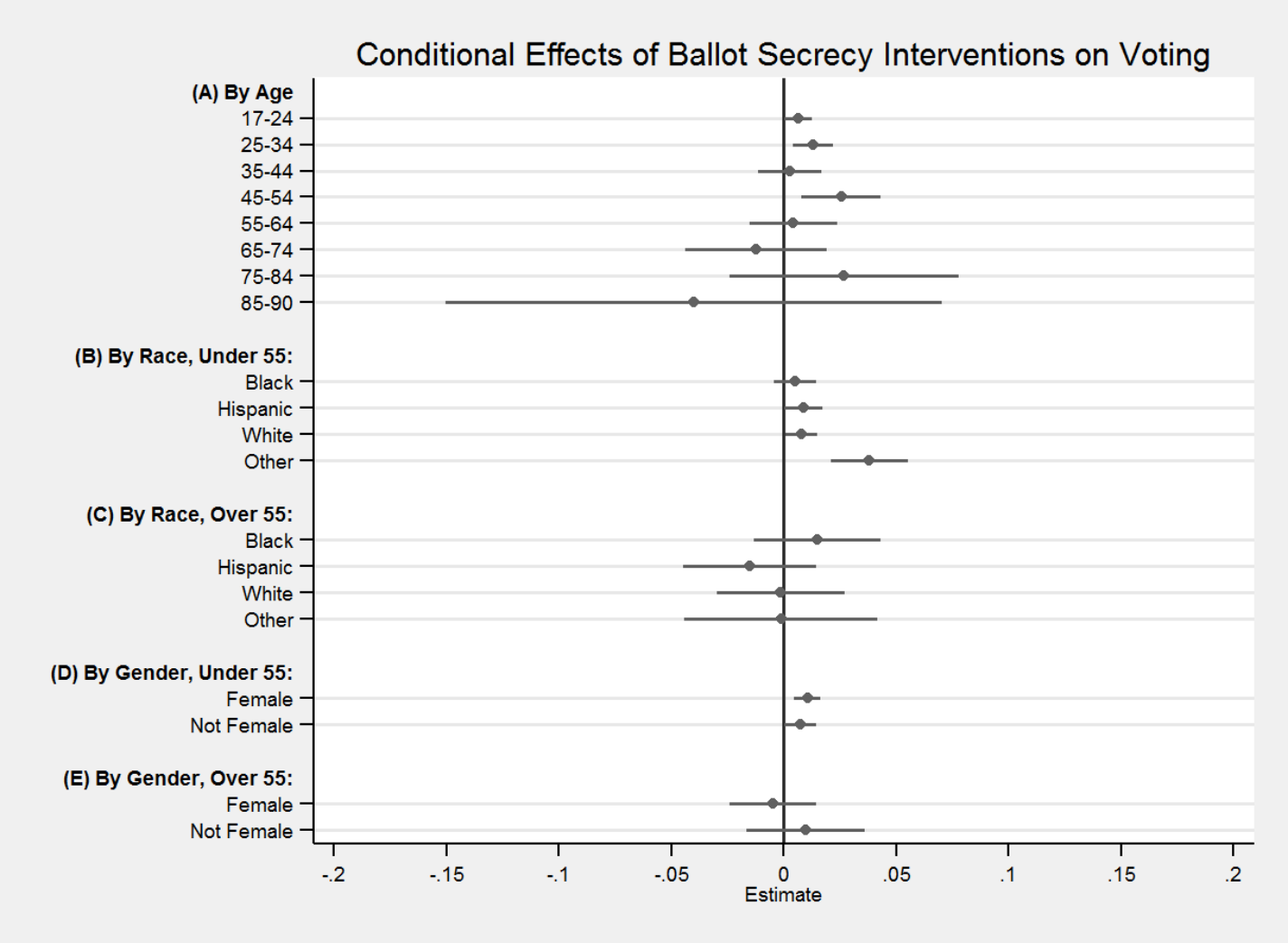
racial subgroups -- Black, Hispanic, White, and other[8] -- and report estimates from the primary model specification fit to data for each subgroup. As shown in Panel B, in the Under 55 experiment the ballot secrecy treatment has a significant and positive impact for Hispanics, whites, and subjects in the other race category, but no effect on turnout among Blacks. Ballot secrecy messages increase turnout among Hispanics by 0.9 percentage points (s.e.=0.004; *p=0.036,* two-tailed; *n=56,061*), increase turnout among whites by 0.8 percentage points (s.e.=0.004; *p=0.024*, two-tailed; *n*=121,697), and increase turnout among subjects in the other race category by 3.8 percentage points (s.e.=0.009; *p<0.001*, two-tailed; *n*=16,787). Among Blacks in the Under 55 experiment, we estimate that ballot secrecy messages increase turnout by 0.5 percentage points, but this effect is imprecisely estimated (s.e.=0.005; *p=.287*, two-tailed; *n*=64,824) and indistinguishable from zero. For older recently registered nonvoters in the Over 55 experiment, we estimate null effects of the ballot secrecy treatment on turnout for all four racial subgroups.

Effects by Gender. We present estimates of ballot secrecy treatment effects on turnout by gender and experiment in Figure D1, Panels D and E. Subjects are identified as either female, male, or gender undetermined. To avoid attrition and to create strata with ample sample sizes and statistical power sufficient for subgroup analyses, we combined the "male" and "unknown" gender categories to create a binary indicator measuring whether a subject identified as a female or not. In the Under 55 experiment, the ballot secrecy treatment increased turnout among female recently registered nonvoters by 1.1 percentage points (s.e.=0.003; *p*=0.001, two-tailed; *n*=157,687) and among non-female recently registered nonvoters by 0.8 percentage points (s.e.=0.004; *p*=0.036, two-tailed; *n*=101,682). In the Over 55 experiment, the ballot secrecy treatment had no effect on turnout in either gender subgroup.[9]

[8] While the data file we received from the VPC contained more granular information about subjects' race, we combine all subjects who are not Black, Hispanic, or White into a residual "other" category in the interest of having adequate subgroup sample sizes for the sake of statistical power. In the Under 55 experiment, there are 16,787 recently registered nonvoters in a single-person household for whom the race variable is coded "other race." Of these 16,787 subjects, 11,045 (65.8%) are Asian, 3,759 (22.4%) are Middle Eastern, 1,084 (6.46%) are Native American, 156 (0.93%) identify with some other race, and 743 (4.42%) decline to report their race. In the Over 55 experiment, there are 3,189 recently registered nonvoters in a single-person household for whom the race variable is coded "other race." Of these 3,189 subjects, 2187 (68.6%) are Asian, 730 (22.9%) are Middle Eastern, 205 (6.4%) are Native American, and 67 (2.1%) decline to report their race.

[9] The ballot secrecy treatment decreased turnout by 0.5 percentage points among female recently registered nonvoters in the Over 55 experiment (*p*=.636, two-tailed; *N*=20,780) and increased turnout by 1 percentage point among non-female recently registered nonvoters (*p*=0.464, two-tailed; *N*=10,404). Both are imprecisely estimated and indistinguishable from zero.

Figure D1. Conditional Effects of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters in Single-Person Households, by Demographic Subgroup



Notes: The coefficient plot displays estimated Intent-to-Treat effects with 95% confidence intervals by subgroup among recently registered nonvoters in households containing only one subject. Regression tables containing full estimation results corresponding to the results summarized in this figure may be found in the Supplemental Appendix.

Table D3. Effect of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters in Single-Person Households, by Age Category

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Under 55				Over 55			
	17-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85-90
Treatment: Ballot Secrecy	0.007	0.013	0.003	0.026	0.004	-0.012	0.027	-0.040
	[0.003]**	[0.005]***	[0.007]	[0.009]***	[0.010]	[0.016]	[0.026]	[0.056]
Treatment: Personalized URL	0.007	0.006	0.000	0.019				
	[0.003]**	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.009]**				
Age	-0.228	0.044	0.057	-0.093	0.018	0.509	0.158	2.738
	[0.015]***	[0.013]***	[0.028]**	[0.045]**	[0.083]	[0.156]***	[0.272]	[2.159]
Age squared (divided by 100)	0.521	-0.072	-0.069	0.096	-0.009	-0.366	-0.102	-1.561
	[0.036]***	[0.023]***	[0.035]**	[0.046]**	[0.070]	[0.113]***	[0.172]	[1.237]
Race/Ethnicity: Black	-0.018	-0.035	-0.020	-0.032	-0.011	-0.034	-0.124	-0.119
	[0.003]***	[0.005]***	[0.008]**	[0.010]***	[0.015]	[0.024]	[0.036]***	[0.068]*
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	-0.046	-0.057	-0.036	-0.050	-0.028	-0.075	-0.136	-0.174
	[0.003]***	[0.005]***	[0.008]***	[0.011]***	[0.016]*	[0.025]***	[0.039]***	[0.089]**
Race/Ethnicity: Other	-0.035	-0.051	-0.014	-0.053	-0.064	-0.131	-0.180	-0.215
	[0.006]***	[0.006]***	[0.009]	[0.013]***	[0.018]***	[0.029]***	[0.041]***	[0.098]**
Marital Status: Married	0.012	0.089	0.100	0.111	0.094	0.113	0.201	0.265
	[0.007]*	[0.006]***	[0.008]***	[0.010]***	[0.016]***	[0.026]***	[0.052]***	[0.137]*
Marital Status: Unknown	0.200							
	[0.084]**							
Gender: Female	0.011	0.017	0.023	0.020	0.045	0.036	0.019	-0.064
	[0.002]***	[0.004]***	[0.006]***	[0.008]***	[0.012]***	[0.019]*	[0.032]	[0.078]
State: GA	-0.022	0.005	0.020	-0.002	-0.051	0.004	0.030	-0.220
	[0.005]***	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.016]	[0.024]**	[0.035]	[0.064]	[0.144]
State: LA	0.048	0.091	0.097	0.085	0.138	0.162	0.115	0.184
	[0.008]***	[0.011]***	[0.019]***	[0.021]***	[0.032]***	[0.049]***	[0.089]	[0.184]
State: MI	-0.050	-0.085	-0.089	-0.085	-0.129	-0.034	-0.117	-0.218
	[0.005]***	[0.007]***	[0.013]***	[0.017]***	[0.024]***	[0.039]	[0.062]*	[0.151]
State: NC	-0.025	0.005	0.027	0.047	0.041	0.086	0.089	-0.202
	[0.005]***	[0.009]	[0.016]*	[0.019]**	[0.027]	[0.039]**	[0.071]	[0.157]
State: TX	-0.070	-0.049	-0.070	-0.077	-0.117	-0.038	-0.042	-0.151
	[0.004]***	[0.007]***	[0.012]***	[0.014]***	[0.021]***	[0.031]	[0.057]	[0.142]
Constant	2.619	-0.513	-0.954	2.443	-0.459	-17.338	-5.863	-119.381
	[0.155]***	[0.192]***	[0.543]*	[1.114]**	[2.442]	[5.387]***	[10.754]	[94.153]
Observations	134508	67938	34051	22366	18929	8751	2879	625
Adjusted R-squared	0.020	0.030	0.030	0.030	0.040	0.030	0.050	0.060
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.110	0.130	0.160	0.170	0.230	0.290	0.220	0.290
State-Covariate Interactions?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Weighted?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Robust standard errors in brackets. Sample restricted to households containing only one subject who is a registered nonvoter.
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table D4. Effect of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters in Single-Person Households, by Race

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Under 55				Over 55			
	Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Black	Hispanic	White	Other
Treatment: Ballot Secrecy	0.005	0.009	0.008	0.038	0.015	-0.015	-0.001	-0.001
	[0.005]	[0.004]**	[0.004]**	[0.009]***	[0.014]	[0.015]	[0.014]	[0.022]
Treatment: Personalized URL	0.005	0.009	0.005	0.020				
	[0.005]	[0.004]**	[0.004]	[0.009]**				
Age	-0.005	-0.001	-0.004	0.002	0.040	0.039	0.050	0.028
	[0.001]***	[0.001]	[0.001]***	[0.002]	[0.015]***	[0.016]**	[0.013]***	[0.022]
Age squared (divided by 100)	0.010	0.006	0.010	0.001	-0.029	-0.027	-0.033	-0.021
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.003]	[0.011]***	[0.012]**	[0.009]***	[0.016]
Flag: Missing age	0.185	-0.159	0.183	0.227				
	[0.084]**	[0.043]***	[0.064]***	[0.174]				
State: GA	-0.002	0.009	-0.024	0.002	-0.045	0.041	-0.024	0.025
	[0.007]	[0.013]	[0.006]***	[0.016]	[0.026]*	[0.066]	[0.034]	[0.058]
State: LA	0.077	0.071	0.047	0.140	0.169	0.445	0.002	0.363
	[0.009]***	[0.022]***	[0.009]***	[0.027]***	[0.034]***	[0.091]***	[0.043]	[0.097]***
State: MI	-0.062	-0.033	-0.092	-0.004	-0.143	0.059	-0.117	-0.006
	[0.008]***	[0.015]**	[0.005]***	[0.017]	[0.032]***	[0.078]	[0.028]***	[0.059]
State: NC	0.015	-0.008	-0.018	0.056	0.112	0.048	0.012	0.086
	[0.008]*	[0.013]	[0.006]***	[0.019]***	[0.034]***	[0.070]	[0.032]	[0.066]
State: TX	-0.065	-0.057	-0.066	-0.046	-0.120	-0.041	-0.074	-0.032
	[0.006]***	[0.010]***	[0.005]***	[0.015]***	[0.025]***	[0.057]	[0.027]***	[0.052]
Marital Status: Married	0.122	0.062	0.074	0.082	0.137	0.104	0.723	0.069
	[0.009]***	[0.006]***	[0.007]***	[0.011]***	[0.022]***	[0.020]***	[0.024]***	[0.030]**
Marital Status: Unknown	0.210	0.675	0.113	0.359				
	[0.097]**	[0.117]***	[0.065]*	[0.229]				
Gender: Female	0.035	0.020	0.003	-0.011	0.070	0.025		-0.011
	[0.004]***	[0.003]***	[0.003]	[0.006]*	[0.014]***	[0.015]		[0.022]
Constant	0.174	0.100	0.225	0.038	-1.115	-1.160	-1.459	-0.798
	[0.021]***	[0.020]***	[0.017]***	[0.038]	[0.504]**	[0.531]**	[0.436]***	[0.724]
Observations	64824	56061	121697	16787	9742	7755	10498	3189
Adjusted R-squared	0.030	0.030	0.020	0.040	0.060	0.040	0.020	0.040
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.140	0.090	0.140	0.110	0.270	0.210	0.280	0.180
State-Covariate Interactions?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Weighted?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Robust standard errors in brackets. Sample restricted to households containing only one subject who is a registered nonvoter.

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table D5. Effect of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters in Single-Person Households, by Gender

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Under 55		Over 55	
	Female	Not Female	Female	Not Female
Treatment: Ballot Secrecy	0.011	0.008	-0.005	0.010
	[0.003]***	[0.004]**	[0.010]	[0.013]
Treatment: Personalized URL	0.008	0.005		
	[0.003]**	[0.004]		
Age	-0.002	-0.005	0.050	0.013
	[0.001]***	[0.001]***	[0.009]***	[0.015]
Age squared (divided by 100)	0.007	0.011	-0.035	-0.008
	[0.001]***	[0.002]***	[0.007]***	[0.011]
Flag: Missing age	0.152	0.200		
	[0.062]**	[0.074]***		
State: GA	-0.014	-0.011	-0.007	-0.078
	[0.006]**	[0.006]*	[0.023]	[0.032]**
State: LA	0.063	0.065	0.141	0.148
	[0.008]***	[0.009]***	[0.032]***	[0.043]***
State: MI	-0.078	-0.078	-0.096	-0.104
	[0.005]***	[0.006]***	[0.023]***	[0.038]***
State: NC	-0.007	-0.001	0.056	0.048
	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.025]**	[0.040]
State: TX	-0.071	-0.057	-0.072	-0.136
	[0.005]***	[0.005]***	[0.020]***	[0.030]***
Marital Status: Married	0.088	0.071	0.158	0.063
	[0.005]***	[0.006]***	[0.020]***	[0.018]***
Marital Status: Unknown	0.170	0.152		
	[0.067]**	[0.080]*		
Race/Ethnicity: Black	-0.011	-0.042	-0.026	-0.742
	[0.003]***	[0.004]***	[0.013]**	[0.022]***
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	-0.041	-0.062	-0.077	-0.729
	[0.003]***	[0.004]***	[0.014]***	[0.026]***
Race/Ethnicity: Other	-0.042	-0.029	-0.140	-0.760
	[0.005]***	[0.006]***	[0.017]***	[0.027]***
Constant	0.191	0.225	-1.436	0.534
	[0.014]***	[0.016]***	[0.311]***	[0.481]
Observations	157687	101682	20780	10404
Adjusted R-squared	0.020	0.030	0.040	0.040
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.140	0.120	0.270	0.210
State-Covariate Interactions?	N	N	N	N
Weighted?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Y	Y	Y	Y

Robust standard errors in brackets. Sample restricted to households containing only one subject who is a registered nonvoter.
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

D.4 ITT Estimates of the Personalized URL Treatment on Turnout in the 2014 Election

We briefly comment on our estimates of the effect of sending the personalized URL mailing on turnout among recently registered nonvoters in the Under 55 experiment. The results corresponding to this discussion are presented in Table 1 in the main text.

Sending a personalized URL mailer increases turnout by 0.8 points relative to a 13% mean control group turnout rate (s.e.=0.002; p<.01, two-tailed; n=281,929). While the estimated mean effect of the ballot secrecy treatment on turnout is greater than the mean effect of the personalized URL treatment on turnout, the difference between the two is not statistically significant.

We conduct a Wald test of the null hypothesis that the effect of the ballot secrecy mailer relative to control and the effect of the personalized URL mailer relative to control are equal and fail to reject the null hypothesis (p=0.235). As noted in the main essay, this may be due to the fact that the personalized URL treatment combines multiple pieces of information, including a subtle ballot secrecy message.

D.5 Additional Detail on State-Specific ITT Estimates

This section presents a more detailed presentation of results summarizing the state-specific ITT estimates shown in Table 2 in the main text.

As the left panel shows, in the Under 55 experiment the ballot secrecy treatment significantly increases turnout among recently registered nonvoters in four of the six states. In Georgia, the ballot secrecy treatment increases participation rates from 16% in the control group to 17.9%, a statistically significant difference of 1.9 points (s.e. = 0.007; *p=.006*, two-tailed; *n*=36,503). In Louisiana, the ballot secrecy treatment increases voting rates from 23% in the control group to 25.7%, a difference of 2.7 points (s.e.=0.013; *p=0.047*, two-tailed; *n*=12,719). Smaller but significant effects are observed in Michigan and Texas. The ballot secrecy treatment increases participation rates from 10% in the control group to 11.3% in Michigan, a difference of 1.3 points (s.e.= 0.005; *p=.019*, two-tailed; *n*=39,711), and from 10% in the control group to 10.7% in Texas, a difference of 0.7 points (s.e.=0.003; *p=.015*, two-tailed; *n*=137,470). The other two states also deserve note. In Arkansas, we observe a substantively important effect of the ballot secrecy treatment on turnout. Turnout is 17% in the control group and 18.2% in the ballot secrecy treatment group. The estimated effect of 1.2 points (s.e.=0.009; *p=0.147*, two-tailed; *n*=25,223) is comparable to the statistically significant differences observed in Michigan but there are insufficient subjects from Arkansas to estimate this effect precisely. Finally, in North Carolina, we find a null effect of the ballot secrecy treatment on turnout; the estimated difference in turnout rates between the ballot secrecy treatment group and the control group is -0.4 points, which is not statistically significant (s.e.=0.008; *p=0.622*, two-tailed; *n*=30,303).

The right panel shows state-specific ITT estimates from the Over 55 experiment. The subsamples by state in the Over 55 experiment are generally too small to provide adequate statistical power to make useful inferences. In all but one state, we fail to reject the null hypothesis that the ballot secrecy treatment has no effect. We estimate that the ballot secrecy treatment increases turnout rates among recently registered nonvoters over 55 in Arkansas (1.5 points), Georgia (3.5 points), and North Carolina (2.8 points), but only the effect in Georgia is marginally statistically significant at the 10% level (s.e.=0.021; *p=0.095*, two-tailed; *n*=5,091). Interestingly, the ballot secrecy treatment decreases turnout rates among recently registered nonvoters in Louisiana (-2 points), Michigan (-1.5 points), and Texas (-1.7 points). While none of these estimates are statistically significant, the estimate for Texas is on the cusp of the 10% threshold (s.e.=0.011; *p=.107*, two-tailed; *n*=17,022).

D.6 Details on the Design and Analysis of a Companion Field Experiment Testing the Effect of Sending an Information-Only GOTV Mailer on Turnout among Registered Non-Voters in the 2014 General Election in Florida, Iowa, and Kansas

We briefly describe the design and analysis of a companion field experiment (implemented by the same organization that implemented the main experiment reported in this article) testing the effect of sending an information-only GOTV mailer on turnout among registered non-voters in the 2014 general election. (Note: This experiment is referenced in the Discussion section of the manuscript).

The same non-governmental and non-partisan group conducted a separate field experiment during the 2014 general election, where registered non-voters in Florida, Iowa, and Kansas were randomly sent either an information-only GOTV mailer reminding them about the upcoming and providing information about where and when to vote (including a map of their polling place) or no mailer. Importantly, the information-only mailer had no social pressure or ballot secrecy language. The same sample definition procedures were used to define the subject pool in these three states. This experiment included 95,430 subjects, who are defined as recently registered nonvoters in a household with at least one registrant who is under 55 years old.

In this experiment, the randomization procedure was clustered at the household level and blocked by state of residence. The distribution of households and subjects assigned to treatment and control are summarized in Table D6.

Table D6. Number of Households and Subjects Assigned to Treatment, by State

	Control		Treatment		Total	
State	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. Number of Households by State and Treatment Arm						
Florida	34844	0.5	34844	0.5	69688	1
Iowa	6054	0.499	6070	0.501	12124	1
Kansas	3936	0.498	3968	0.502	7904	1
Total	44834	0.5	44882	0.5	89716	1
B. Number of Subjects by State and Treatment Arm						
Florida	37397	0.5	37357	0.5	74754	1
Iowa	6271	0.501	6248	0.499	12519	1
Kansas	4057	0.497	4100	0.503	8157	1
Total	47725	0.5	47705	0.5	95430	1

To estimate the ITT effect of sending the information-only GOTV mailer on turnout, we regress turnout in 2014 (1=Yes, 0=Otherwise) on treatment (1=assigned to treatment, 0=assigned to control) and a series of controls that include age, age squared divided by 100, dummy variables for the subject's race or ethnicity (other, Black, and Hispanic; white is omitted); dummy variables for the subject's gender (female and unknown; male is omitted); dummy variables for the subject's marital status (unknown and married; single is omitted); dummy variables for the subject's state of residence (IA and KS; FL is omitted); and dummy variables for household size (2, 3, and 4; single-person household dummy is omitted). Standard errors are clustered at the household level, and we weight observations using inverse probability weights equal to the inverse of the probability of assignment to the observed treatment assignment.

The estimated effect of sending the information-only GOTV mailer on turnout is shown in Table D7.

Table D7. Effect of Standard GOTV Mailer on Voting in 2014 Among Recently Registered Nonvoters

Variable	(1) Base Specification	(2) With State-by Covariate Interactions	(3) Unweighted and Without HH-Level Clustered SE
Standard GOTV Treatment (1=Yes)	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Age	0.001	0.001*	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Age Squared (Divided by 100)	0.005***	0.004***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Race/Ethnicity: Other	-0.039***	-0.059***	-0.039***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Race/Ethnicity: Black	-0.006*	-0.003	-0.006*
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	-0.058***	-0.062***	-0.058***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Gender: Female	0.016***	0.016***	0.016***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Gender: Unknown	0.083***	0.086***	0.083***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Marital Status: Unknown	-0.005	-0.019***	-0.005
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Marital Status: Married	0.079***	0.078***	0.079***
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.009)
State: Iowa	0.006	0.148***	0.006
	(0.004)	(0.052)	(0.004)
State: Kansas	-0.051***	-0.144***	-0.051***
	(0.004)	(0.053)	(0.004)
Household Size: 2	0.015***	0.018***	0.015***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Household Size: 3	0.008	0.009	0.008
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.008)
Household Size: 4	-0.001	0.003	-0.001
	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.023)
Constant	0.143***	0.147***	0.143***
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Observations	95,430	95,430	95,430
R-squared	0.019	0.021	0.019
State-Covariate Interactions?	No	Yes	No
Weighted?	Yes	Yes	No
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Yes	Yes	No
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.193	0.193	0.193

Standard errors in parentheses.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.7 ITT Estimates Without Excluding Ever-Voters

The population of interest in the study is defined as recently registered non-voters. As such, conditioning on recently registered non-voters is necessary to conduct a fair test given the prior literature. We show in Table D8 that the main findings are not sensitive to this sample restriction.

Table D8. Effect of Ballot Secrecy Interventions on Voting in 2014 Among Original Subject Pool, Including Ever-Voters

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Under 55, Including Ever-Voters			Over 55, Including Ever-Voters		
	Base Specification	With State-by-Covariate Interactions	Unweighted and Without HH-Level Clustered-SE	Base Specification	With State-by-Covariate Interactions	Unweighted and Without HH-Level Clustered-SE
Treatment: Ballot Secrecy	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.004	-0.003	-0.004
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]
Treatment: Personalized URL	0.008	0.008	0.008			
	[0.002]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***			
Voted in 2010: 1=Yes, 0=No	0.135	0.383	0.134	0.256	1.082	0.292
	[0.059]**	[0.155]**	[0.034]***	[0.096]***	[0.059]***	[0.073]***
Voted in 2012: 1=Yes, 0=No	0.21	0.837	0.243	0.33	-0.147	0.185
	[0.042]***	[0.007]***	[0.024]***	[0.095]***	[0.047]***	[0.061]***
Age	-0.002	-0.01	-0.002	0.043	0.032	0.039
	[0.001]***	[0.002]***	[0.000]***	[0.008]***	[0.033]	[0.004]***
Age squared (divided by 100)	0.006	0.017	0.006	-0.03	-0.023	-0.027
	[0.001]***	[0.003]***	[0.001]***	[0.006]***	[0.025]	[0.003]***
FLAG: Missing age	0.161	0.191	0.146			
	[0.049]***	[0.049]***	[0.027]***			
Household size = 2	0.008	0.008	0.01	0.134	0.129	0.109
	[0.004]**	[0.004]**	[0.003]***	[0.027]***	[0.026]***	[0.011]***
Household size = 3	0.02	0.028	0.006	-0.116	-0.126	-0.117
	[0.019]	[0.018]	[0.009]	[0.082]	[0.087]	[0.087]
Household size = 4	0.05	0.059	-0.023			
	[0.089]	[0.090]	[0.026]			
Race/Ethnicity: Black	-0.024	-0.041	-0.025	-0.028	-0.068	-0.031
	[0.002]***	[0.007]***	[0.002]***	[0.012]**	[0.040]*	[0.007]***
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	-0.048	-0.058	-0.048	-0.066	-0.147	-0.069
	[0.002]***	[0.012]***	[0.002]***	[0.012]***	[0.060]**	[0.007]***
Race/Ethnicity: Other	-0.027	-0.054	-0.022	-0.109	-0.209	-0.113
	[0.004]***	[0.016]***	[0.003]***	[0.015]***	[0.058]***	[0.009]***
Marital Status: Married	0.085	0.104	0.085	0.116	0.154	0.117
	[0.004]***	[0.016]***	[0.002]***	[0.013]***	[0.054]***	[0.007]***
Marital Status: Unknown	0.158	0.034	0.192			
	[0.052]***	[0.087]	[0.029]***			
Gender: Female	0.014	0.02	0.014	0.032	-0.006	0.026
	[0.002]***	[0.006]***	[0.001]***	[0.009]***	[0.038]	[0.006]***
State: GA	-0.01	-0.249	-0.009	-0.03	0.097	-0.021
	[0.004]**	[0.042]***	[0.003]***	[0.019]	[1.277]	[0.010]**
State: LA	0.068	-0.198	0.072	0.156	-1.065	0.145
	[0.006]***	[0.062]***	[0.004]***	[0.025]***	[1.795]	[0.013]***
State: MI	-0.077	-0.009	-0.078	-0.095	-1.336	-0.106
	[0.004]***	[0.042]	[0.003]***	[0.020]***	[1.305]	[0.011]***
State: NC	0	-0.1	-0.004	0.063	-1.314	0.068
	[0.004]	[0.044]**	[0.003]	[0.021]***	[1.371]	[0.011]***
State: TX	-0.064	-0.219	-0.066	-0.086	-0.287	-0.097
	[0.003]***	[0.034]***	[0.002]***	[0.017]***	[1.159]	[0.009]***
Constant	0.165	0.295	0.162	-1.228	-0.776	-1.08
	[0.009]***	[0.033]***	[0.007]***	[0.258]***	[1.104]	[0.150]***
Observations	282245	282245	282245	33071	33071	33071
R-squared	0.028	0.032	0.029	0.055	0.065	0.055
Adjusted R-squared	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.05
Control Group Mean Turnout	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.26	0.26	0.26
State-Covariate Interactions?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Weighted?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Household-Level Clustered SE?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Robust standard errors in brackets

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX E:

BALANCE TABLES AND RANDOMIZATION CHECKS

Table E1. Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.249	0.251	0.249
	[.4326]	[.4336]	[.4326]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.218	0.222	0.222
	[.4128]	[.4154]	[.4153]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.074	0.074	0.074
	[.262]	[.2624]	[.2611]
Marital Status: Married	0.092	0.094	0.094
	[.2884]	[.2915]	[.2919]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.002	0.001	0.002
	[.0423]	[.0378]	[.0393]
State: GA	0.130	0.130	0.129
	[.3359]	[.3358]	[.3356]
State: LA	0.045	0.045	0.045
	[.2069]	[.2076]	[.2076]
State: MI	0.141	0.141	0.141
	[.3481]	[.348]	[.3476]
State: NC	0.107	0.107	0.108
	[.3096]	[.3096]	[.31]
State: TX	0.488	0.487	0.488
	[.4999]	[.4998]	[.4999]
Age	27.602	27.768	27.805
	[10.0384]	[10.1241]	[10.1474]
Age squared (divided by 100)	8.626	8.736	8.761
	[6.803]	[6.8888]	[6.9172]
FLAG: Missing age	0.002	0.002	0.002
	[.0437]	[.0412]	[.0412]
Gender: Female	0.604	0.602	0.603
	[.489]	[.4895]	[.4893]
Observations	25663	153719	102561
F test p value: 0.933			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Under 55 years of age only.

Table E2. Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.313	0.311
	[.4636]	[.4628]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.250	0.254
	[.4328]	[.4353]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.113	0.115
	[.3164]	[.3188]
Marital Status: Married	0.145	0.147
	[.3521]	[.3542]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
State: GA	0.152	0.155
	[.3593]	[.3615]
State: LA	0.054	0.053
	[.2263]	[.2237]
State: MI	0.106	0.105
	[.3072]	[.3067]
State: NC	0.095	0.095
	[.2934]	[.2938]
State: TX	0.517	0.516
	[.4998]	[.4997]
Age	63.957	64.124
	[7.6408]	[7.6739]
Age squared (divided by 100)	41.489	41.708
	[10.4266]	[10.4681]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.676	0.657
	[.4681]	[.4749]
Observations	3290	29689
F test p value: 0.781		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Over 55 years of age only.

Table E3. Arkansas, Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Arkansas Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.296	0.298	0.296
	[.4566]	[.4573]	[.4564]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.077	0.083	0.075
	[.2665]	[.2752]	[.2626]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.040	0.032	0.033
	[.197]	[.1771]	[.1795]
Marital Status: Married	0.054	0.058	0.053
	[.225]	[.2337]	[.2233]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.003	0.003	0.002
	[.051]	[.0571]	[.0478]
Age	25.778	26.059	26.053
	[9.3673]	[9.5147]	[9.5405]
Age squared (divided by 100)	7.522	7.696	7.698
	[6.2978]	[6.389]	[6.3912]
FLAG: Missing age	0.004	0.005	0.004
	[.0589]	[.0691]	[.0651]
Gender: Female	0.580	0.564	0.569
	[.4937]	[.4959]	[.4952]
Observations	2301	13767	9155
F test p value: 0.329			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Arkansas, under 55 years of age only.

Table E4. Arkansas, Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Arkansas Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.464	0.454
	[.4997]	[.498]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.052	0.070
	[.2225]	[.2546]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.044	0.051
	[.2055]	[.22]
Marital Status: Married	0.116	0.108
	[.3209]	[.3101]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Age	63.636	63.830
	[7.4747]	[7.2873]
Age squared (divided by 100)	41.052	41.273
	[10.1446]	[9.867]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.700	0.677
	[.4592]	[.4677]
Observations	250	2255
F test p value: 0.885		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Arkansas, over 55 years of age only.

Table E5. Georgia, Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Georgia Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.495	0.488	0.483
	[.5]	[.4999]	[.4997]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.091	0.101	0.109
	[.2878]	[.3019]	[.3119]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.072	0.078	0.080
	[.2583]	[.2682]	[.2709]
Marital Status: Married	0.101	0.099	0.106
	[.301]	[.2985]	[.308]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.006	0.005	0.006
	[.0773]	[.0717]	[.0774]
Age	28.844	28.647	28.708
	[10.2611]	[10.321]	[10.2596]
Age squared (divided by 100)	9.372	9.272	9.294
	[7.0653]	[7.1456]	[7.0625]
FLAG: Missing age	0.005	0.005	0.005
	[.0713]	[.0703]	[.0714]
Gender: Female	0.604	0.602	0.603
	[.4891]	[.4896]	[.4892]
Observations	3326	19912	13265
F test p value: 0.142			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Georgia, under 55 years of age only.

Table E6. Georgia, Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Georgia Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.591	0.575
	[.4922]	[.4945]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.084	0.104
	[.2774]	[.3055]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.124	0.116
	[.3296]	[.3204]
Marital Status: Married	0.154	0.160
	[.361]	[.3666]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Age	64.256	64.435
	[7.3742]	[7.6615]
Age squared (divided by 100)	41.830	42.106
	[10.0018]	[10.4606]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.609	0.594
	[.4885]	[.4912]
Observations	501	4590
F test p value: 0.764		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Georgia, over 55 years of age only.

Table E7. Texas, Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Texas Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.172	0.175	0.174
	[.3772]	[.3797]	[.3793]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.367	0.369	0.367
	[.482]	[.4826]	[.482]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.087	0.088	0.086
	[.2811]	[.2829]	[.2806]
Marital Status: Married	0.109	0.111	0.111
	[.3116]	[.3143]	[.3137]
Marital Status: Unknow n	0.001	0.000	0.001
	[.0283]	[.02]	[.0219]
Age	28.331	28.584	28.610
	[10.4708]	[10.5489]	[10.5616]
Age squared (divided by 100)	9.123	9.283	9.301
	[7.1127]	[7.2047]	[7.2332]
FLAG: Missing age	0.001	0.001	0.001
	[.0296]	[.0231]	[.0245]
Gender: Female	0.609	0.606	0.607
	[.4879]	[.4887]	[.4885]
Observations	12510	74920	50052
F test p value: 0.641			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Texas, under 55 years of age only.

Table E8. Texas, Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Texas Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.187	0.194
	[.39]	[.3951]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.419	0.411
	[.4935]	[.492]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.125	0.134
	[.3311]	[.3408]
Marital Status: Married	0.172	0.176
	[.3772]	[.3807]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Age	63.999	64.097
	[7.8051]	[7.7331]
Age squared (divided by 100)	41.568	41.682
	[10.6712]	[10.5442]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.651	0.637
	[.4767]	[.4808]
Observations	1701	15322
F test p value: 0.792		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Texas, over 55 years of age only.

Table E9. North Carolina, Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	North Carolina Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.274	0.273	0.277
	[.4461]	[.4457]	[.4474]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.104	0.110	0.110
	[.3055]	[.3133]	[.313]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.059	0.063	0.060
	[.2353]	[.2431]	[.2379]
Marital Status: Married	0.069	0.067	0.067
	[.2534]	[.2499]	[.2496]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]	[0]
Age	25.046	25.193	25.287
	[9.5252]	[9.5355]	[9.6279]
Age squared (divided by 100)	7.180	7.256	7.321
	[6.3054]	[6.3223]	[6.4172]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[.011]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.561	0.569	0.567
	[.4964]	[.4953]	[.4956]
Observations	2756	16505	11043
F test p value: 0.954			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of North Carolina, under 55 years of age only.

Table E10. North Carolina, Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	North Carolina Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.399	0.350
	[.4906]	[.4769]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.080	0.109
	[.2715]	[.3122]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.080	0.084
	[.2715]	[.2775]
Marital Status: Married	0.118	0.114
	[.3234]	[.3179]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Age	64.780	64.483
	[8.0503]	[7.5535]
Age squared (divided by 100)	42.610	42.150
	[11.1152]	[10.3161]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.719	0.716
	[.4503]	[.4511]
Observations	313	2833
F test p value: 0.448		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of North Carolina, over 55 years of age only.

Table E11. Michigan, Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Michigan Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.153	0.159	0.153
	[.3598]	[.3653]	[.3603]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.046	0.048	0.051
	[.2104]	[.2129]	[.2193]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.075	0.069	0.068
	[.2641]	[.2527]	[.2512]
Marital Status: Married	0.077	0.082	0.084
	[.2663]	[.2749]	[.2769]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]	[0]
Age	26.735	26.793	26.867
	[8.5577]	[8.6867]	[8.7676]
Age squared (divided by 100)	7.880	7.933	7.987
	[5.7969]	[5.9028]	[5.979]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	[.0166]	[.0192]	[.0083]
Gender: Female	0.634	0.632	0.630
	[.4818]	[.4822]	[.4829]
Observations	3620	21675	14417
F test p value: 0.596			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Michigan, under 55 years of age only.

Table E12. Michigan, Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Michigan Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.187	0.197
	[.3907]	[.3976]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.063	0.071
	[.244]	[.256]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.138	0.120
	[.3457]	[.3252]
Marital Status: Married	0.061	0.065
	[.2388]	[.2466]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Age	63.490	64.092
	[7.4788]	[8.0795]
Age squared (divided by 100)	40.867	41.731
	[10.1522]	[11.1115]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.839	0.809
	[.3684]	[.3931]
Observations	347	3121
F test p value: 0.281		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Michigan, over 55 years of age only.

Table E13. Louisiana, Under 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Louisiana Under 55		
	Control	Ballot Secrecy	Personalized URL
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.532	0.541	0.533
	[.4992]	[.4984]	[.499]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.059	0.059	0.058
	[.236]	[.2358]	[.234]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.046	0.048	0.050
	[.2098]	[.2131]	[.2169]
Marital Status: Married	0.053	0.062	0.059
	[.2242]	[.2406]	[.2352]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.009	0.006	0.007
	[.0929]	[.0776]	[.0854]
Age	28.582	29.001	28.900
	[9.6203]	[9.8213]	[9.9344]
Age squared (divided by 100)	9.094	9.375	9.339
	[6.6417]	[6.7539]	[6.9136]
FLAG: Missing age	0.010	0.007	0.008
	[.1017]	[.0811]	[.0879]
Gender: Female	0.614	0.625	0.628
	[.4871]	[.4843]	[.4835]
Observations	1150	6940	4629
F test p value: 0.908			

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Louisiana, under 55 years of age only.

Table E14. Louisiana, Over 55: Balance Test among Recently Registered Nonvoters

	Louisiana Over 55	
	Control	Ballot Secrecy
Race/Ethnicity: Black	0.607	0.633
	[.4899]	[.4821]
Race/Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.039	0.052
	[.1949]	[.2227]
Race/Ethnicity: Other	0.067	0.059
	[.2514]	[.2351]
Marital Status: Married	0.118	0.108
	[.3235]	[.3102]
Marital Status: Unknown	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Age	62.629	63.315
	[6.3359]	[6.9513]
Age squared (divided by 100)	39.623	40.571
	[8.5229]	[9.3817]
FLAG: Missing age	0.000	0.000
	[0]	[0]
Gender: Female	0.674	0.588
	[.47]	[.4924]
Observations	178	1568
F test p value: 0.270		

Note: Standard deviations in brackets. Sample restricted to households where all subjects are recently registered nonvoters. Residents of Louisiana, over 55 years of age only.