

Supporting Information

Gerber et al. 10.1073/pnas.1513727113

SI Description of Sampling Strategy

For this study, we first obtained voter files from a private vendor for Missouri, Tennessee, and Michigan. In all of these states, unaffiliated voters (i.e., voters not registered with a political party) can vote in any party's primary elections without taking additional steps before arriving at the polls on Election Day. We then excluded records that, based on experience, are likely to be bad records or people who could not be reached by mail. Using the set of records that survived this screening, for each household with multiple registrants, we then randomly selected one voter from each household. We then selected a subset of these records (those with valid phone numbers for which the phone number was believed likely to be correct) for this experiment.

Every individual in the experimental samples was assigned to either control or a treatment group, but each individual in the samples did not have the same probability of being assigned to a treatment group. Assignment rates were based on two factors: individual vote history and political context. First, we constructed a dichotomous coding for whether an individual resided in a congressional district with a competitive or noncompetitive primary. Districts in our phone sample identified as having competitive partisan primaries are Michigan (Democratic: Districts 1, 8, 13, and 14; and Republican: Districts 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 11), Missouri (none), and Tennessee (Democratic: District 9; and Republican: District 4). Approximately 42% of our experimental subjects were selected from competitive districts, and about 58% were from noncompetitive districts.

Second, we tabulated the participation history of the voter. We partitioned the subjects into six groups based on their turnout histories as recorded in the voter file for the years 2008 to 2012. These six groups are listed.

- i) Primary voters (nonpresidential): voted in at least one non-presidential primary in 2008, 2010, or 2012.
- ii) Primary voters (only presidential): voted in at least one presidential primary in 2008 or 2012 but did not vote in a non-presidential primary in 2008, 2010, or 2012.
- iii) General election voters (nonpresidential): voted in at least one election between 2008 and 2012 other than the presidential general election in 2008 or 2012 and did not vote in any primary election in 2008, 2010, or 2012.
- iv) General election voters (only presidential): voted in a presidential election in 2008 or 2012 but did not vote in any other nonprimary election between 2008 and 2012 and did not vote in any primary election in 2008, 2010, or 2012.
- v) Never voters (new registrants): never voted but registered after November of 2012.
- vi) Never voters: never voted and registered before November of 2012.

We oversampled both types of general election voters (categories 3 and 4 above), thereby placing individuals who had previously voted but not in primary elections into treatment groups at a higher rate than the remainder of the sample. Furthermore, we undersampled primary voters (categories 1 and 2 above), thereby placing individuals who already showed a tendency to vote in primary elections into treatment groups at a lower rate than the remainder of the sample. Finally, we assigned never voters (categories 5 and 6 above) to treatment groups in proportion to their share in the overall sample. Specifically, for each of the states included in our phone experiment, we constructed state-level sampling weights, weighting each state's population using the following formula:

$$0.5 \times (\text{no. of people in categories 1 and 2}) \\ + 2 \times (\text{no. of people in categories 3 and 4}) \\ + \text{no. of people in categories 5 and 6.}$$

Then, within strata defined by state, district competitiveness, and vote history categories, individuals included in the phone experiment reported in the text were randomly assigned to the noun or verb versions of the survey, a standard GOTV message, or a placebo survey. For statistical reasons, twice as many individuals were assigned to the placebo group than to the other experimental treatments. The regression analysis reported in the text accounts for this stratified sampling process.

SI Scripts Used in the Work by Bryan et al. (2)

Experiment 1.

- i) How important is it to you to (vote/be a voter) in the upcoming election?
Not at all important
Not too important
Neither important nor unimportant
Somewhat important
Extremely important
- ii) How much do you care about (voting/being a voter) in the upcoming election?
Not at all
Not too much
Neither care nor don't care
Somewhat
Very much
- iii) How much do you want to (vote/be a voter) in the upcoming election?
Not at all
Not too much
Neither want nor don't want
Somewhat
Very much
- iv) How personally relevant is it to you to (vote/be a voter) in the upcoming election?
Not at all relevant
Not too relevant
Neither relevant nor irrelevant
Somewhat relevant
Extremely relevant
- v) How difficult or easy do you think it is to (vote/be a voter) in the upcoming election?
Very difficult
Somewhat difficult
Neither difficult nor easy
Somewhat easy
Very easy
- vi) How convenient do you think it is to (vote/be a voter) in the upcoming election?
Not at all convenient
Not too convenient
Neither convenient nor inconvenient
Somewhat convenient
Extremely convenient

- vii) How consistent are your thoughts and feelings about (voting/being a voter) in the upcoming election?
- Not at all consistent
Not too consistent
Neither consistent nor inconsistent
Somewhat consistent
Extremely consistent
- viii) How clear are your thoughts and feelings about (voting/being a voter) in the upcoming election?
- Not at all clear
Not too clear
Neither clear nor unclear
Somewhat clear
Extremely clear
- ix) To what extent are your thoughts about (voting/being a voter) in the upcoming election the same as your feelings about (voting/being a voter)?
- Not at all
Not too much
Neither the same nor not the same
Somewhat
Very much
- x) To what extent do your thoughts about (voting/being a voter) in the upcoming election differ from your feelings about (voting/being a voter)?
- Not at all
Not too much
Neither differ not do not differ
Somewhat
Very much
- Experiment 3.** The second experiment uses the same language except for minor word changes and always refers to “tomorrow’s” election.
- i) How important is it to you to (vote/be a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all important
Not too important
Neither important nor unimportant
Somewhat important
Extremely important
- ii) How much do you care about (voting/being a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all
Not too much
Neither care nor don’t care
Somewhat
Very much
- iii) How much do you want to (vote/be a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all
Not too much
Neither want nor don’t want
Somewhat
Very much
- iv) How personally relevant is it to you to (vote/be a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all relevant
Not too relevant

- Neither relevant nor irrelevant
Somewhat relevant
Extremely relevant
- v) How easy do you think it is to (vote/be a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all easy
Not too easy
Neither difficult nor easy
Somewhat easy
Very easy
- vi) How convenient do you think it is to (vote/be a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all convenient
Not too convenient
Neither convenient nor inconvenient
Somewhat convenient
Extremely convenient
- vii) How consistent are your thoughts and feelings about (voting/being a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all consistent
Not too consistent
Neither consistent nor inconsistent
Somewhat consistent
Extremely consistent
- viii) How clear are your thoughts and feelings about (voting/being a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election?
- Not at all clear
Not too clear
Neither clear nor unclear
Somewhat clear
Extremely clear
- ix) To what extent are your thoughts about (voting/being a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election the same as your feelings about (voting/being a voter)?
- Not at all
Not too much
Neither the same nor not the same
Somewhat
Very much
- x) To what extent are your thoughts about (voting/being a voter) in (tomorrow’s/today’s) election different from your feelings about (voting/being a voter)?
- Not at all
Not too much
Neither differ not do not differ
Somewhat
Very much

SI Telephone Treatment Scripts

VAR1: State.

VAR2: Day.

VAR3: Date.

Hi, could I speak to [name1] or [name2]? (Please enter identification number of target reached.)

Hi. My name is [interviewer’s first name], and I’m conducting a university research survey of registered voters. You can help us a lot by answering just a few questions. The survey is voluntary, and you don’t have to answer questions you don’t want to. I’m not selling anything, and the entire questionnaire will take fewer than 2 min to complete.

Are you currently a resident of [VAR1]?

- 01 Yes: Go to randomly assigned treatment
- 02 No: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 03 Other: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 04 Wouldn't disclose: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 20 Declined conversation: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 21 Do not call: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

Voting (Verb) Treatment. This [VAR2], [VAR1] will be holding primary elections to select which candidates will be on the ballot this November. Were you aware that [VAR1]'s primary elections will be held this [VAR2]?

- 1 Yes: Go to next question
- 2 No: Go to next question
- 96 Other: Go to next question
- 98 Refused: Go to next question
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How important is it to you to vote in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Not too important
- 3 Neither important nor unimportant
- 4 Somewhat important
- 5 Extremely important
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How much do you care about voting in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not too much
- 3 Neither care nor don't care
- 4 Somewhat
- 5 Very much
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How much do you want to vote in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not too much
- 3 Neither want nor don't want
- 4 Somewhat
- 5 Very much
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How personally relevant is it to you to vote in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all relevant
- 2 Not too relevant
- 3 Neither relevant nor irrelevant
- 4 Somewhat relevant
- 5 Extremely relevant
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How difficult or easy do you think it is to vote in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Very difficult
- 2 Somewhat difficult

- 3 Neither difficult nor easy
- 4 Somewhat easy
- 5 Very easy
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How convenient do you think it is to vote in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all convenient
- 2 Not too convenient
- 3 Neither convenient nor inconvenient
- 4 Somewhat convenient
- 5 Extremely convenient
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How consistent are your thoughts and feelings about voting in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all consistent
- 2 Not too consistent
- 3 Neither consistent nor inconsistent
- 4 Somewhat consistent
- 5 Extremely consistent
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How clear are your thoughts and feelings about voting in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all clear
- 2 Not too clear
- 3 Neither clear nor unclear
- 4 Somewhat clear
- 5 Extremely clear
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

To what extent are your thoughts about voting in the upcoming primary election the same as your feelings about voting?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not too much
- 3 Neither the same nor not the same
- 4 Somewhat
- 5 Very much
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

To what extent do your thoughts about voting in the upcoming primary election differ from your feelings about voting?

- 1 Not at all: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 2 Not too much: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 3 Neither differ nor not differ: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 4 Somewhat: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 5 Very much: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 96 Other: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 98 Refused: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

Voter (Noun) Treatment. This [VAR2], [VAR1] will be holding primary elections to select which candidates will be on the ballot this November. Were you aware that [VAR1]'s primary elections will be held this [VAR2]?

- 1 Yes: Go to next question
- 2 No: Go to next question
- 96 Other: Go to next question
- 98 Refused: Go to next question
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How important is it to you to be a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Not too important
- 3 Neither important nor unimportant
- 4 Somewhat important
- 5 Extremely important
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How much do you care about being a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not too much
- 3 Neither care nor don't care
- 4 Somewhat
- 5 Very much
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How much do you want to be a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not too much
- 3 Neither want nor don't want
- 4 Somewhat
- 5 Very much
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How personally relevant is it to you to be a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all relevant
- 2 Not too relevant
- 3 Neither relevant nor irrelevant
- 4 Somewhat relevant
- 5 Extremely relevant
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How difficult or easy do you think it is to be a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Very difficult
- 2 Somewhat difficult
- 3 Neither difficult nor easy
- 4 Somewhat easy
- 5 Very easy
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How convenient do you think it is to be a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all convenient
- 2 Not too convenient
- 3 Neither convenient nor inconvenient
- 4 Somewhat convenient

- 5 Extremely convenient
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How consistent are your thoughts and feelings about being a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all consistent
- 2 Not too consistent
- 3 Neither consistent nor inconsistent
- 4 Somewhat consistent
- 5 Extremely consistent
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

How clear are your thoughts and feelings about being a voter in the upcoming primary election?

- 1 Not at all clear
- 2 Not too clear
- 3 Neither clear nor unclear
- 4 Somewhat clear
- 5 Extremely clear
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

To what extent are your thoughts about being a voter in the upcoming primary election the same as your feelings about being a voter?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not too much
- 3 Neither the same nor not the same
- 4 Somewhat
- 5 Very much
- 96 Other
- 98 Refused
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

To what extent do your thoughts about being a voter in the upcoming primary election differ from your feelings about being a voter?

- 1 Not at all: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 2 Not too much: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 3 Neither differ nor not differ: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 4 Somewhat: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 5 Very much: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 96 Other: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 98 Refused: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

Placebo. How many times in the last 14 days have you been to the grocery store?

- 1 Response provided [do not record response]: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 96 Other: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 97 Don't know: Go to next question
- 98 Refused: Go to next question
- 99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

If you had to guess, how many times in the last 14 days have you been to the grocery store?

- 1 Response provided [do not record response]: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 97 Don't know: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

98 Refused: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

96 Other: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
98 Refused: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
99 Hung up: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

Standard GOTV Treatment. This [VAR2], [VAR1] will be holding primary elections to select which candidates will be on the ballot this November. Many [VAR1] citizens are expected to turnout for this [VAR2]'s election. Were you aware that [VAR1]'s primary elections will be held this [VAR2]?

- 1 Yes: Thank you for your help. Goodbye
- 2 No: Thank you for your help. Goodbye

SI Expected Turnout Calculation Details

Predicted turnout is calculated using a logit model that predicts turnout using strata (state \times district competitiveness \times vote history) and observed covariates (state \times [years since registered, years since registered missing, age, sex, sex unknown, and race indicators]) among cases in the labeled as voting condition.

Other Supporting Information Files

[Table S1 \(XLSX\)](#)

[Table S2 \(XLSX\)](#)

[Table S3 \(XLSX\)](#)

[Table S4 \(XLS\)](#)

[Table S5 \(XLSX\)](#)

[Table S6 \(XLSX\)](#)

[Table S7 \(XLSX\)](#)

[Table S8 \(XLSX\)](#)