Supplemental Materials for

A Meta-Analysis of Voter Mobilization Tactics by Electoral Salience

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Contents:

I. Discussion of Adjustments to the Green and Gerber (2019) Meta-Analysis Dataset

Don Green generously provided the tables used in the meta-analyses in Green and Gerber (2019) and was an open collaborator in reviewing the studies. We reviewed each study in the dataset, and made three substantive changes to the structure of the data. We reviewed each of these changes with Don Green, and believe the notes below characterize corrections made to the dataset he plans to use in updating the meta-analyses in the next edition of the book. We also added information about the election context for our election salience measure for studies where this information was not included in the original spreadsheets.

Mail - No changes made to the effects reported for the studies. We excluded two studies using mailings to recruit voters to sign up for mail ballots, as this is a different process than the encouragement to vote in person for the other mail GOTV experiments (Mann and Kalla in 2011 and Mann and Fischer in 2016). We added the election context to the dataset because this information was unclear or missing from the Green and Gerber spreadsheet for 58 of 107 studies.

SMS - The two experiments in Malhotra et al 2011 were collapsed into a single average in the Green and Gerber spreadsheet, but are disaggregated in our data. Green and Gerber have also disaggregated these experiments in their dataset for future meta-analyses. We added the election context for all SMS studies to the dataset because this information was unclear or missing from the Green and Gerber spreadsheet.

Phones - No changes made to the effects reported for the studies. We added the election context to the dataset because this information was missing from the Green and Gerber spreadsheet for 16 of the 61 studies.

Canvassing - No changes made to the effects reported for the studies. We added the election context to the dataset because this information was missing from the Green and Gerber spreadsheet for 5 of the 56 studies.

II. Data Used To Calculate Meta-Analyses

On the following pages, we report all of the studies and attendant details from the GG set used to calculate our meta-analytic estimates. These data were used to calculate and create Figures 1-4 in the main text.

Table S1: Canvassing Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**CACE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2001G Green et al. (Bridgeport)	14.4	4.0	24.8	1.77
2001G Green et al. (Columbus)	9.7	-5.8	25.2	0.93
2001G Green et al. (Detroit)	7.8	-1.0	16.6	2.24
2001G Green et al. (Minneapolis)	10.1	-7.0	27.2	0.78
2001G Green et al. (Raleigh)	0.2	-6.1	6.5	3.35
2001G Green et al. (St. Paul)	14.4	1.9	26.9	1.32
2001G Michelson (Dos Palos)	4.1	-0.2	8.4	4.60
2002M Gillespie (Newark)	-7.9	-62.6	46.8	0.09
2002P Nickerson (Denver)	8.6	0.4	16.8	2.45
2002P Nickerson (Minneapolis)	10.9	2.9	18.9	2.52
2002R Gillespie (Newark)	1.2	-13.1	15.5	1.06
2003G Arceneaux (Kansas City)	7.0	-0.6	14.6	2.69
2003G Michelson (Phoenix)	12.9	9.4	16.4	5.16
2005G Anonymous (VA)	3.5	-1.2	8.2	4.32
2005G Nickerson (VA)	27.0	-3.2	57.2	0.27
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (CARECEN)	2.2	-1.3	5.7	5.16
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (CCAEJ)	43.1	18.6	67.6	0.40
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (SCOPE)	2.6	-3.9	9.1	3.25
2007G Davenport (Boston)	13.4	-0.3	27.1	1.14
2007P Bedolla & Michelson (AACU)	-1.4	-5.3	2.5	4.88
2008P Bedolla & Michelson (CARECEN)	4.0	-1.1	9.1	4.06
2008P Bedolla & Michelson (CCAEJ)	3.9	-1.6	9.4	3.81
2008P Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	1.0	-1.5	3.5	5.86
2008PP Bedolla & Michelson (CARECEN)	0.9	-5.4	7.2	3.35
2008PP Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	9.0	2.3	15.7	3.15
2008PP Bedolla & Michelson (SCOPE)	3.4	-1.1	7.9	4.46
2008P Bailey et al. (WI)	1.5	-2.4	5.4	4.88
2014R Green et al. (TX)	3.1	-0.4	6.6	5.16
2015M Michelson (WA)	11.0	0.0	22.0	1.63
2016P Michelson (WA)	1.0	-4.7	6.7	3.69
2016P Kalla & Broockman (NC)	2.3	0.3	4.3	6.24
2016P Broockman & Green (AZ)	2.6	-0.7	5.9	5.31
theta	4.58	2.973	6.182	
N	32			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	60%			
Q	76.75	$p < .001$		

Table S2: Canvassing Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**CACE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
1998G Gerber & Green (New Haven)	8.4	3.3	13.5	6.40
2000G Green & Gerber (OR)	8.4	-0.4	17.2	3.25
2002G Bennion (IN)	0.6	-9.4	10.6	2.68
2002G Gillespie (St. Louis)	0.8	-1.2	2.8	10.92
2002G Michelson (Fresno)	3.5	0.4	6.6	9.17
2002G Nickerson et al. (MI)	16.8	-14.4	48.0	0.34
2004G LeVan (Bakersfield)	24.2	9.5	38.9	1.40
2004G Matland & Murray (TX)	7.4	-1.0	15.8	3.47
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (AACU)	-3.4	-19.3	12.5	1.22
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (CARECEN)	-0.5	-6.2	5.2	5.72
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (CCAEJ)	4.4	-7.2	16.0	2.12
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	3.1	-4.5	10.7	3.98
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (SCOPE)	6.6	2.5	10.7	7.70
2006G Nickerson (Dearborn)	8.7	1.3	16.1	4.12
2006G Nickerson (Grand Rapids)	-0.4	-8.8	8.0	3.47
2008G Arceneaux et al. (CA)	10.7	-9.3	30.7	0.80
2008G Bedolla & Michelson (CARECEN)	0.7	-11.1	12.5	2.06
2008G Bedolla & Michelson (CCAEJ)	0.3	-8.5	9.1	3.25
2008G Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	1.2	-2.1	4.5	8.86
2008G Bedolla & Michelson (SCOPE)	0.5	-1.7	2.7	10.64
2010G Barton et al. (Midwest)	-7.7	-15.1	-0.3	4.12
2010G Bryant (San Francisco)	-32.9	-75.2	9.4	0.19
2010G Cann et al. (UT)	8.2	-0.8	17.2	3.14
2010G Hill & Lachelier (FL)	1.8	-16.4	20.0	0.95
theta	3.05	1.204	4.903	
N	24			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	49%			
Q	45.21	$p = .004$		

Table S3: Volunteer Call Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2003G Michelson et al. (NJ)	10.5	3.4	17.6	5.65
2003G Nickerson (MI)	1.4	-0.4	3.2	13.74
2003S McNulty (Cal Dems)	-5.3	-17.5	6.9	2.53
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (APALC)	2.7	-0.2	5.6	11.74
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (NALEO)	2.1	-2.6	6.8	8.67
2006S Middleton (CA)	3.9	1.5	6.3	12.79
2008P Bedolla & Michelson (OCAPICA)	11.1	7.0	15.2	9.64
2008P Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	-1.9	-7.8	4.0	6.99
2009G Green et al. (IA and MI)	-0.1	-3.4	3.2	11.03
2011G McCabe & Michelson (San Mateo County)	8.4	-1.6	18.4	3.46
2013G Collins et al. (VA)	7.8	-0.6	16.2	4.45
2013S Pringle et al. (Palo Alto)	4.4	0.1	8.7	9.31
theta	3.62	1.51	5.74	
N	12			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	67%			
Q	33.65	$p < .001$		

Table S4: Volunteer Call Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2000G Green & Gerber (Youth Vote 2000)	4.9	1.6	8.2	6.97
2000G Nickerson (Youth Vote)	2.3	-2.6	7.2	4.16
2002G McNulty (Cal Dems)	-8.5	-20.3	3.3	0.91
2002G McNulty (Youth Vote)	12.9	2.1	23.7	1.07
2002G Nickerson (Youth Vote Coalition)	0.5	-0.7	1.7	14.21
2002G Nickerson et al. (MI)	3.2	-0.1	6.5	6.97
2002G Ramirez (NALEO)	4.6	1.1	8.1	6.51
2002G Wong (Los Angeles County)	2.3	-2.4	7.0	4.42
2006G Barabas et al. (FL)	-3.0	-18.7	12.7	0.52
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (APALC)	5.3	0.6	10.0	4.42
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (APALC)	3.4	0.1	6.7	6.97
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (NALEO)	0.7	-2.2	3.6	8.00
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (OCAPICA)	2.8	-0.9	6.5	6.09
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	-1.0	-6.3	4.3	3.70
2006G Michelson et al. (Los Angeles County)	9.3	3.0	15.6	2.81
2008G Bedolla & Michelson (NALEO)	-1.2	-5.5	3.1	5.01
2010G Bryant (San Francisco)	-7.0	-23.7	9.7	0.47
2014G Bedolla et al. (NALEO)	1.2	0.2	2.2	14.88
2014G Bedolla et al. (CoCo)	14.3	-3.5	32.1	0.41
2014G Bedolla et al. (AAAJ)	2.2	-6.8	11.2	1.49
theta	2.28	1.12	3.43	
N	20			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	45%			
Q	34.51	$p = .016$		

Table S5: Professional Call Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2002P Green (PA)	-0.1	-10.9	10.7	0.51
2005G Panagopoulos (Albany)	0.1	-2.4	2.6	9.10
2005G Panagopoulos (Rochester)	0.9	-1.3	3.1	12.71
2008PP Nickerson & Rogers (PA)	2.8	0.3	5.3	9.10
2011G Mann & Kalla (ME)	7	-4.4	18.4	0.46
2013G Mann & Lebron (WA)	1.7	-1.6	5.0	5.32
2014P Gerber et al. (MI, MO, TN)	2.3	0.9	3.7	31.40
2014P Gerber et al. (MI, MO, TN)	1.4	0.0	2.8	31.40
theta	1.66	0.89	2.43	
N	8			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	0%			
Q	4.61	$p = .707$		

Table S6: Professional Call Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
1998G Gerber & Green (New Haven)	-1.9	-6.6	2.8	0.81
1998G Gerber & Green (West Haven)	-0.5	-4.4	3.4	1.15
2000G Green (NAACP)	2.3	-2.2	6.8	0.88
2002G Gerber & Green (IA and MI)	0.4	-0.6	1.4	11.12
2002G McNulty (No on D)	0.5	-4.6	5.6	0.69
2002G Nickerson (Youth Vote Coalition)	3.2	1.8	4.6	7.15
2004G Arceneaux et al. (IL)	2.0	-0.4	4.4	2.96
2004G Ha & Karlan (MO and NC)	0.8	-0.4	2.0	8.86
2008G Gerber et al. (ME, MO, and NJ)	0.1	-1.1	1.3	8.86
2010G Gerber et al. (CA, IA, and NV)	0.1	-1.1	1.3	8.86
2010G Gerber et al. (CO, CT, and FL)	1.3	-0.1	2.7	7.15
2010G Mann & Klofstad (IL, MI, NY, and PA)	0.4	-0.2	1.0	17.64
2010G Mann & Klofstad (11 states)	0.6	0.2	1.0	21.61
2014G Gerber et al. (CO)	1.2	-1.5	3.9	2.24
theta	0.74	0.31	1.17	
N	14			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	36%			
Q	20.28	$p = .088$		

Table S7: Robo Call Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2001G Nickerson (Seattle)	-0.6	-2.4	1.2	6.68
2006P Shaw et al. (TX)	0.4	-0.2	1.0	24.21
2008P,G Green (MI)	1.9	0.9	2.9	15.29
2014P Zelizer (TX)	0.6	0.0	1.2	24.21
2014P Kling & Stratmann (6 states)	0.3	-0.1	0.7	29.61
theta	0.58	0.08	1.09	
N	5			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	62%			
Q	10.55	$p = .032$		

Table S8: Robo Call Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2002G Ramirez (NALEO)	0	-0.4	0.4	69.23
2004G Green & Karlan (MO and NC)	0	-0.6	0.6	30.77
theta	0	-0.33	0.33	
N	2			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	67%			
Q	33.65	$p < .001$		

Table S9: Traditional Mail Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	ATE	95% conf. interval		Weight
1999G Gerber & Green (New Haven)	0.30	-0.09	0.69	4.00
1999G Gerber et al. (CT and NJ)	0.00	-0.20	0.20	4.50
2002M Gillespie (Newark)	-1.10	-6.00	3.80	0.2
2002P Cardy (PA)	-0.20	-1.18	0.78	2.20
2002P Gerber (PA)	-0.10	-0.69	0.49	3.30
2002S Gillespie (Newark)	-1.60	-5.52	2.32	0.20
2003M Niven (West Palm Beach)	1.40	-2.72	5.52	0.20
2005G Anonymous (VA)	0.00	-0.20	0.20	4.50
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (APALC)	0.00	-0.59	0.59	3.30
2006P Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	1.10	-0.47	2.67	1.20
2006P Gerber et al. (MI)	1.80	1.21	2.39	3.30
2007G Gerber et al. (MI)	1.80	0.04	3.56	1.00
2007G Panagopoulos (Gilroy)	-0.30	-3.04	2.44	0.50
2008P Enos (Los Angeles County)	2.00	-0.16	4.16	0.70
2008PP Barabas et al. (FL)	-2.70	-3.88	-1.52	1.80
2008PP Nickerson & White (NC)	0.80	-0.57	2.17	1.50
2009G Mann (Houston)	1.20	0.02	2.38	1.80
2009G Panagopoulos (NJ)	2.50	1.52	3.48	2.20
2009S Mann (Houston)	1.10	0.12	2.08	2.20
2009S Panagopoulos (Staten Island)	2.00	0.04	3.96	0.90
2010M Panagopoulos (Lancaster)	-1.10	-3.06	0.86	0.90
2010P Binder et al. (CA)	-0.10	-1.08	0.88	2.20
2010P Binder et al. (San Bernardino County)	-0.10	-1.08	0.88	2.20
2010P Panagopoulos (GA)	2.50	1.32	3.68	1.80
2011G Mann & Kalla (ME)	2.40	1.22	3.58	1.80
2011G Panagopoulos (Lexington)	1.00	-0.57	2.57	1.20
2011G Panagopoulos et al. (Hawthorne)	-0.40	-1.77	0.97	1.50
2011M Panagopoulos (Key West)	-0.10	-0.88	0.68	2.70
2011S Mann (NV)	0.90	0.31	1.49	3.30
2011S Panagopoulos (Charlestown)	-0.30	-1.28	0.68	2.20
2012M Panagopoulos (VA)	0.00	-1.18	1.18	1.80
2012P Condon et al. (IA)	0.40	-1.36	2.16	1.00
2012P Condon et al. (IA)	2.70	0.94	4.46	1.00
2012P Shi (NC)	-0.70	-1.68	0.28	2.20
2012R Gerber et al. (WI)	1.10	-0.27	2.47	1.50
2013G Biggers (VA)	0.10	-0.29	0.49	4.00
2013G Matland & Murray (MN, OH, TX & VA)	0.40	-0.19	0.99	3.30
2013M Matland & Murray (El Paso)	0.10	-0.68	0.88	2.70
2013M Murray & Matland (WI and TX)	0.40	0.01	0.79	4.00
2014P Green et al. (TX)	0.10	-0.88	1.08	2.20
2014P Hill & Kousser (CA)	0.50	0.30	0.70	4.50
2014P Hughes et al. (CA [information])	0.50	0.30	0.70	4.50
2014P Hughes et al. (CA [partisan])	0.50	0.30	0.70	4.50
2015M Michelson (WA)	6.40	3.26	9.54	0.40
2016P Costa et al. (PA)	4.50	0.19	8.81	0.20
2016S Hassell (MI)	0.40	-1.17	1.97	1.20
2017G Endres & Panagopoulos (VA)	0.00	-0.98	0.98	2.20
theta	0.46	0.26	0.66	
N	47			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	95%			
Q	301.89	$p < .001$		

Table S10: Traditional Mail Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
1998G Gerber & Green (New Haven)	0.50	-0.09	1.09	3.30
2000G Green (NAACP)	0.00	-0.98	0.98	1.7
2002G Ramirez (NALEO)	0.10	-0.10	0.30	5.80
2002G Wong (Los Angeles County)	1.30	-0.66	3.26	0.60
2004G Anonymous (MN)	-0.90	-2.27	0.47	1.00
2004G Matland & Murray (Brownsville)	2.90	0.74	5.06	0.50
2004G Trivedi (Queens County)	1.10	-2.23	4.43	0.20
2006G Anonymous (MD)	-0.40	-0.99	0.19	3.30
2006G Barabas et al. (FL)	0.30	-0.88	1.48	1.30
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (APALC)	1.10	0.12	2.08	1.70
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (OCAPICA)	-0.50	-2.07	1.07	0.80
2006G Bedolla & Michelson (PICO)	-3.20	-5.16	-1.24	0.60
2006G Gray & Potter (Franklin County)	-2.90	-8.19	2.39	0.10
2006G Mann (MO)	-0.06	-0.14	0.03	6.40
2008G Keane & Nickerson (CO)	-0.70	-1.29	-0.11	3.30
2008G Nickerson (APIAVote)	-1.20	-2.38	-0.02	1.30
2008G Nickerson (FRESC)	-0.20	-1.57	1.17	1.00
2008G Nickerson (Latina Initiative)	0.20	-0.39	0.79	3.30
2008G Nickerson (NCL)	1.50	0.32	2.68	1.30
2008G Nickerson (Voto Latino)	-0.60	-1.19	-0.01	3.30
2008G Rogers & Middleton (OR)	-0.10	-1.08	0.88	1.70
2010G Barton et al. (unknown state)	-2.20	-5.34	0.94	0.20
2010G Bryant (San Francisco)	1.70	-2.22	5.62	0.20
2010G Gerber et al. (CT)	2.00	1.02	2.98	1.70
2010G Gerber et al. (CT)	0.40	-0.78	1.58	1.30
2010G Gerber et al. (CT)	0.90	0.51	1.29	4.50
2010G Mann & Mayhew (ID, MD, NC & OH)	2.00	1.22	2.78	2.40
2010G Murray & Matland (TX and WI)	1.70	0.33	3.07	1.00
2010G Rogers et al. (17 states)	0.60	0.40	0.80	5.80
2012G Citrin et al. (VA and TN)	0.70	-0.08	1.48	2.40
2012G Doherty & Adler (battleground state)	0.10	-0.29	0.49	4.50
2012G Levine & Mann (GA and OH)	0.20	-0.39	0.79	3.30
2012G Mann et al. (FL)	0.03	-0.01	0.07	6.50
2014G Broockman & Green (CA)	0.30	0.10	0.50	5.80
2014G Cubbison (NC)	-0.10	-0.30	0.10	5.80
2014G Gerber et al. (17 states)	0.70	0.50	0.90	5.80
2014G Gerber et al. (AR, FL, GA, KS, MA, MI & WI)	0.40	0.20	0.60	5.80
2016G Costa et al. (CO)	3.50	0.95	6.05	0.30
theta	0.28	0.13	0.43	
N	38			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	90%			
Q	38.67	$p < .001$		

Table S11: Social Pressure Mail Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2006P Gerber et al. (MI)	5.20	4.81	5.59	7.80
2007G Gerber et al. (MI)	5.10	4.12	6.08	7.00
2007G Mann (KY)	2.70	2.31	3.09	7.80
2007G Panagopoulos (IA and MI)	2.20	0.63	3.77	6.00
2008PP Nickerson & White (NC)	1.00	0.41	1.59	7.60
2009G Larimer & Condon (Cedar Falls)	0.70	-4.00	5.40	2.00
2009G Panagopoulos (NJ)	2.00	1.02	2.98	7.00
2009S Abrajano & Panagopoulos (Queens)	1.10	0.32	1.88	7.30
2009S Sinclair et al. (Chicago)	4.40	3.22	5.58	6.70
2011G Panagopoulos et al. (Hawthorne)	2.20	1.02	3.38	6.70
2011M Panagopoulos (Key West)	1.10	0.12	2.08	7.00
2012P Condon et al. (IA)	2.80	1.62	3.98	6.70
2012R Rogers et al. (WI)	1.00	0.41	1.59	7.60
2015G Mann et al. (NJ, VA)	2.20	2.00	2.40	7.90
2016P Sweeney (IL)	1.70	-0.46	3.86	4.90
theta	2.45	1.67	3.23	
N	15			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	76%			
Q	188.31	$p < .001$		

Table S12: Social Pressure Mail Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2010G Anonymous (NV)	0.2	-0.78	1.18	19.4
2010G Murray & Matland (TX and WI)	1.5	0.13	2.87	16.8
2014G Gerber et al. (AK, GA, lA, MI, NC & TX)	0.8	0.41	1.19	22.5
2014G Gerber et al. (MS)	3.4	2.62	4.18	20.6
2016G Mann et al. (NC)	1	0.22	1.78	20.6
theta	1.38	0.31	2.45	
N	5			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	84%			
Q	226.63	$p < .001$		

Table S13: Warm SMS Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2006G Dale & Strauss (multiple states)	3.10	0.94	5.26	8.8
2012G Ternovski et al. (Rock The Vote)	0.60	0.01	1.19	29.8
2012G Ternovski et al. (Rock The Vote)	-0.32	-1.34	0.7	21.5
2014G Bedolla et al. (Oakland Rising)	10.86	1.99	19.74	0.7
2014G Bedolla et al. (CHIRLA)	-0.04	-5.27	5.2	1.9
2014G Bedolla et al. (Mi Familia Vota)	2.58	-2.2	7.36	2.2
2014G Bedolla et al. (SCOPE)	3.59	-2.37	9.54	1.4
2016G Bontha et al. (vote.org)	0.35	-0.02	0.72	33.8
theta	0.68	-0.05	1.41	
N	8			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	55%			
Q	15.67	$p = .028$		

Table S14: Cold SMS Experiments Included in High Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2016G Broockman & Green (One AZ)	0.44	-0.07	0.95	11.1
2016G Broockman et al. (multiple states)	0.03	-1.07	1.13	2.4
2016G Gold et al. (7 states)	0.18	-0.03	0.39	67.9
2016G Kalla (IL)	0.25	-0.14	0.64	18.7
theta	0.22	0.05	0.39	
N	4			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	0%			
Q	1.00	$p = .801$		

Table S15: Cold SMS Experiments Included in Low Salience Meta-Analytic Estimates

Study	**ATE**	**95% conf. interval**		**Weight**
2009M Malhotra et al (CA)	0.720	0.01	1.43	7.3
2010P Malhotra et al (CA)	0.860	0.19	1.53	8.1
2017S Mann (OR)	1.300	0.21	2.41	3.3
2017S Schwam-Baird et al. (AL)	-0.1000	-0.69	0.49	10
2017P Yan & Kalla (VA)	0.5900	0.38	0.8	34.7
2017G Schwam-Baird et al. (VA)	0.6000	0.4	0.8	36.6
theta	0.58	0.37	0.79	
N	6			
Within group heterogeneity				
I^2	35%			
Q	7.70	$p = .173$		

III. Facilitating Direct ITT Comparisons Across Tactics

On the following pages we report the calculations used to directly compare CACE estimates to ITT estimates using hypothetical contact rates. The data in Table S16 were used to produce Figure 5 in the main text. The data in Table S17 show the impact of using the commingled estimates vs. the low-salience estimates in a field plan and essentially serves as a companion to Table 2 in the main text, which calculates the impact from using the high-salience estimates compared the commingled estimates. Clearly, using the commingled estimates will result in a deficit of mobilized voters in high-salience contests and a larger than expected number of voters in low-salience contests.

Table S16: Predicted ITT Effects Based on Meta-Analytic Treatment Effects and Contact Rates[1]

Method	Salience	CACE	0%	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	55%	60%	65%	70%	75%	80%	85%	90%	95%	100%
Canvassing	High	3.05	0	0.153	0.305	0.458	0.61	0.763	0.915	1.068	1.22	1.373	1.525	1.678	1.83	1.983	2.135	2.288	2.44	2.593	2.745	2.898	3.05
	Low	4.58	0	0.229	0.458	0.687	0.916	1.145	1.374	1.603	1.832	2.061	2.29	2.519	2.748	2.977	3.206	3.435	3.664	3.893	4.122	4.351	4.58
Volunteer phones	High	2.28	0	0.114	0.228	0.342	0.456	0.57	0.684	0.798	0.912	1.026	1.14	1.254	1.368	1.482	1.596	1.71	1.824	1.938	2.052	2.166	2.28
	Low	3.62	0	0.181	0.362	0.543	0.724	0.905	1.086	1.267	1.448	1.629	1.81	1.991	2.172	2.353	2.534	2.715	2.896	3.077	3.258	3.439	3.62
Paid phones	High	0.74	0	0.037	0.074	0.111	0.148	0.185	0.222	0.259	0.296	0.333	0.37	0.407	0.444	0.481	0.518	0.555	0.592	0.629	0.666	0.703	0.74
	Low	1.66	0	0.083	0.166	0.249	0.332	0.415	0.498	0.581	0.664	0.747	0.83	0.913	0.996	1.079	1.162	1.245	1.328	1.411	1.494	1.577	1.66

[1] ITT estimates are calculated by multiplying meta-analytic CACE or TOT estimates by contact rates in 5% increments. For example, for Canvassing in High Salience, 3.05 * 0.05 = 0.1525 (rounded to 0.153)

Table S17: Calculating the Impact of Mobilization on One Million Registered Voters, Low Salience vs. Pooled Meta-analytic Estimates

	Meta-analytic Estimates from Table 1			ITT Meta-analytic Estimates			Expected net votes		
	Comm'ed Estimate	Low-Salience Only	Effect Type	Treatment Rate	Comm'ed Estimate	Low-Salience Only	Comm'ed Estimate	Low-Salience Only	Differ-ence
Canvassing	3.96%	4.58%	CACE	20%	0.79%	0.92%	7,920	9,160	16%
Volunteer Calls	2.80%	3.62%	CACE	10%	0.28%	0.36%	2,800	3,620	29%
Paid Calls	0.93%	1.66%	CACE	10%	0.09%	0.17%	930	1,660	78%
Social pressure mail	2.13%	2.45%	ITT	100%	2.13%	2.45%	21,300	24,500	15%
Non-SP mail	0.36%	0.46%	ITT	100%	0.36%	0.46%	3,600	4,600	28%
Cold SMS	0.42%	0.58%	ITT	100%	0.42%	0.58%	4,200	5,800	38%

Note: "Comm'ed" refers to commingled estimates that combine experiments conducted in both low- and high-salience elections

IV. Separating High-salience Elections: US Midterm vs. Presidential Elections

There are relatively few mobilization experiments available from U.S. Presidential general elections, including two types of experiments with only a single experiment and four types with 3-4 experiments (Table S17, column 5). Nonetheless, we explored disaggregating experiments in U.S. Midterm and U.S. Presidential cycles to examine potential differences since Presidential elections are higher salience than midterm elections.

The differences between Presidential and Midterms are substantively small and not statistically significant for volunteer phones ($p = 0.976$), paid phones ($p = 0.843$), robo call ($p = 1.000$). The GG set contains no cold SMS Midterm experiments, so we cannot make any comparison. The difference is also not statistically significant for non-social pressure ($p = 0.564$), but the decline from a statistically significant 0.43pp mean treatment effect in Midterms to a non-significant 0.05pp mean treatment effect in Presidentials is substantively noteworthy. The difference for canvassing is again non-significant ($p = 0.697$) so it is likely to be statistical noise, but the estimated mean treatment effect is (unexpectedly) higher for Presidentials than Midterms. There appears to be a statistically significant difference for social pressure mail ($p = 0.037$), but this is highly suspect due to only four Midterms experiments and only a single Presidential experiment. Only Warm SMS shows a meaningful and statistically significant difference ($p=0.008$), declining from 3.03pp to 0.35pp.

Looking across the N for Low Salience, Midterm and Presidential further highlight the skew in available experiments towards lower salience elections. We believe further gradations in salience, such as Midterm vs. Presidential, are likely to continue to reveal smaller effects in higher salience elections with sufficient studies, but the current evidence base is too small to support such claims.

Table S18: Impact of Meta-Analytic Estimates of Mobilization Tactics, Commingled vs. Low Salience vs. Midterm vs. Presidential

Tactic	Commingled Estimate	Low-Salience Only	U.S. Midterm Elections	U.S. Presidential
CACE Estimates				
Canvassing (n = 56)	3.96 pp (2.76, 5.17)	4.58 pp (2.97, 6.18) (n = 32)	2.88pp (0.52, 5.24) (n = 16)	3.72pp (0.20, 7.25) (n = 8)
Volunteer calls (n = 32)	2.80 pp (1.75, 3.86)	3.62pp (1.51, 5.74) (n = 12)	2.25pp (1.01, 3.49) (n = 17)	2.19pp (-1.53, 5.90) (n = 3)
Paid calls (n = 22)	0.93 pp (0.54, 1.33)	1.66pp (0.89, 2.43) (n = 8)	0.77pp (0.23, 1.31) (n = 10)	0.67pp (-0.10, 1.44) (n = 4)
ITT Estimates				
Robo calls (n = 7)	0.37 pp (-0.001, 0.74)	0.58pp (0.08, 1.09) (n = 5)	0.00pp (-0.39, 0.39) (n = 1)	0.00pp (-0.59, 0.59) (n = 1)
Social pressure mail (n = 20)	2.13pp (1.48, 2.78)	2.45 pp (1.67, 3.23) (n = 15)	1.48pp (0.06, 2.89) (n = 4)	1.00pp (0.33, 1.78) (n = 1)
Non-SP mail (n = 85)	0.36pp (0.24, 0.48)	0.46 pp (0.26, 0.66) (n = 47)	0.43pp (0.02, 0.66) (n = 22)	0.05pp (-0.24, 0.33) (n = 16)
Warm SMS (n = 9)	0.67pp (-0.04, 1.37)	2.90 pp (-10.25, 16.05) (n = 1)	3.03pp (1.08, 4.98) (n = 5)	0.35pp (0.00, 0.70) (n = 3)
Cold SMS (n = 10)	0.45pp (0.27, 0.64)	0.58pp (0.37, 0.79) (n = 6)	--- (n = 0)	0.22pp (0.05, 0.39) (n = 4)
Total N	N = 240	N = 125	N = 75	N = 40

Figure S1: Meta-Analytic Estimates of Canvassing Experiments by Low Salience, Midterm, and Presidential Election

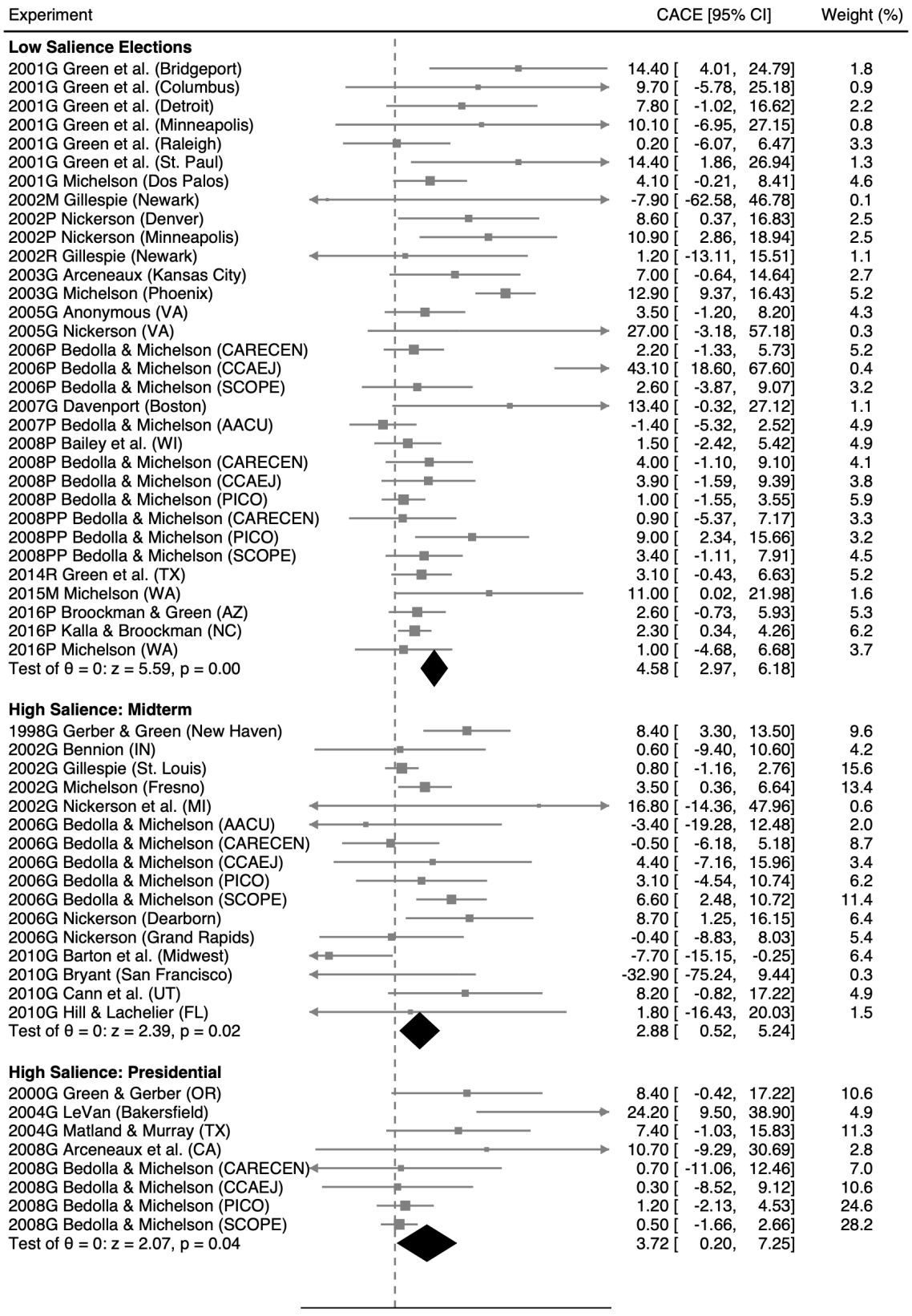
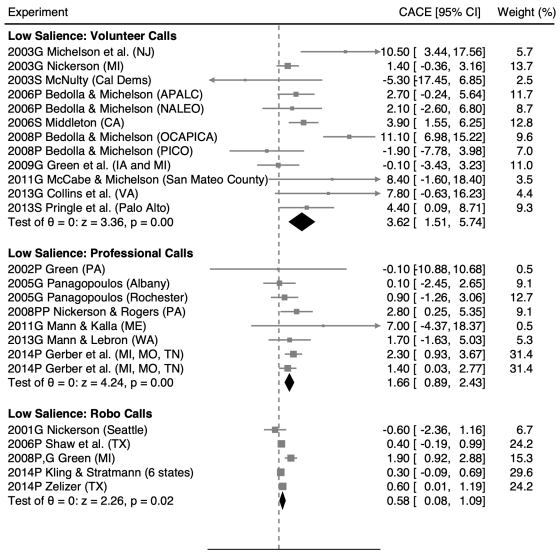
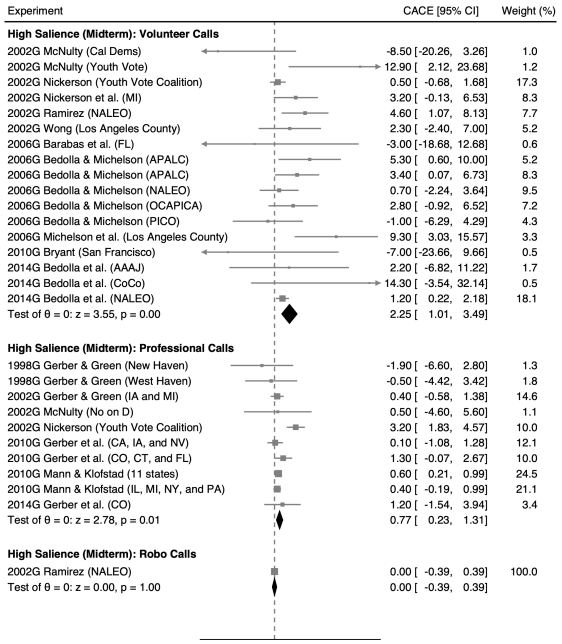


Figure S2: Meta-Analytic Estimates of Phone Experiments by Low Salience, Midterm, and Presidential Election and Type





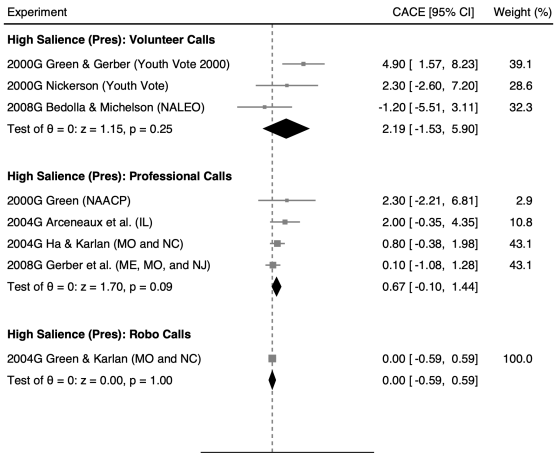
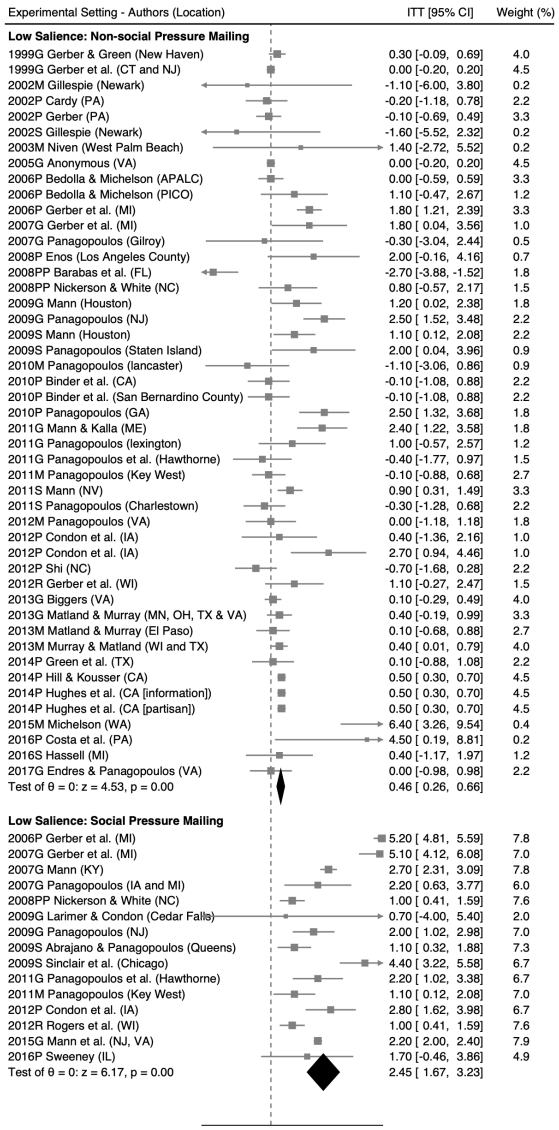
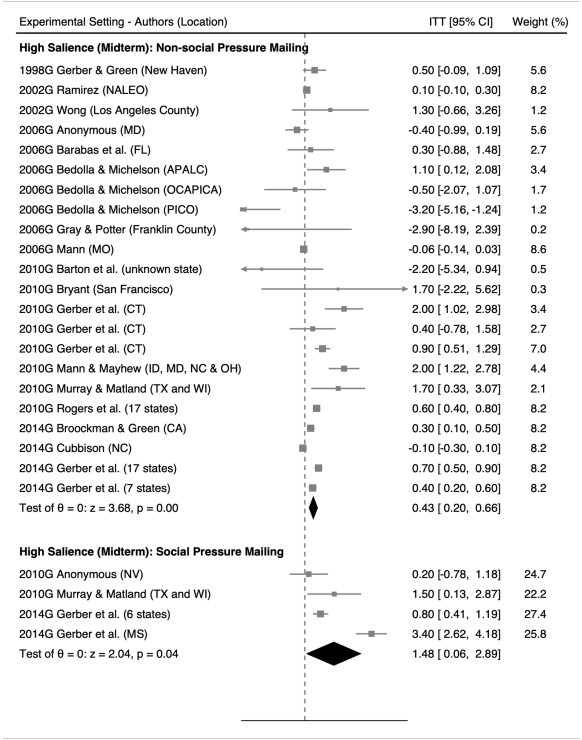


Figure S3: Meta-Analytic Estimates of Direct Mail Experiments by Low Salience, Midterm, and Presidential Election and Type





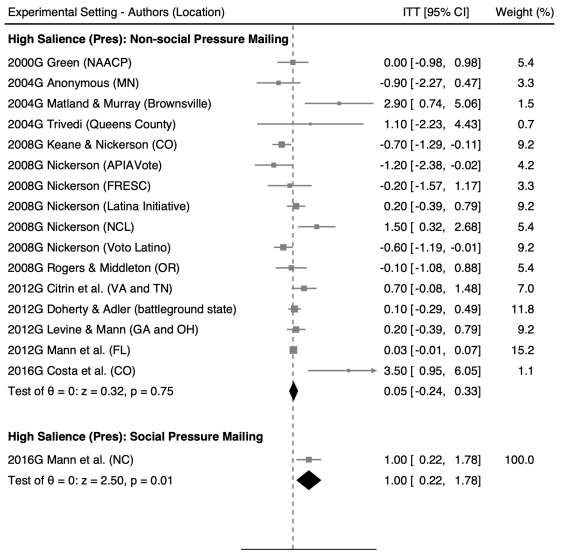


Figure S4: Meta-Analytic Estimates of SMS Experiments by Low Salience, Midterm, and Presidential Election and Type

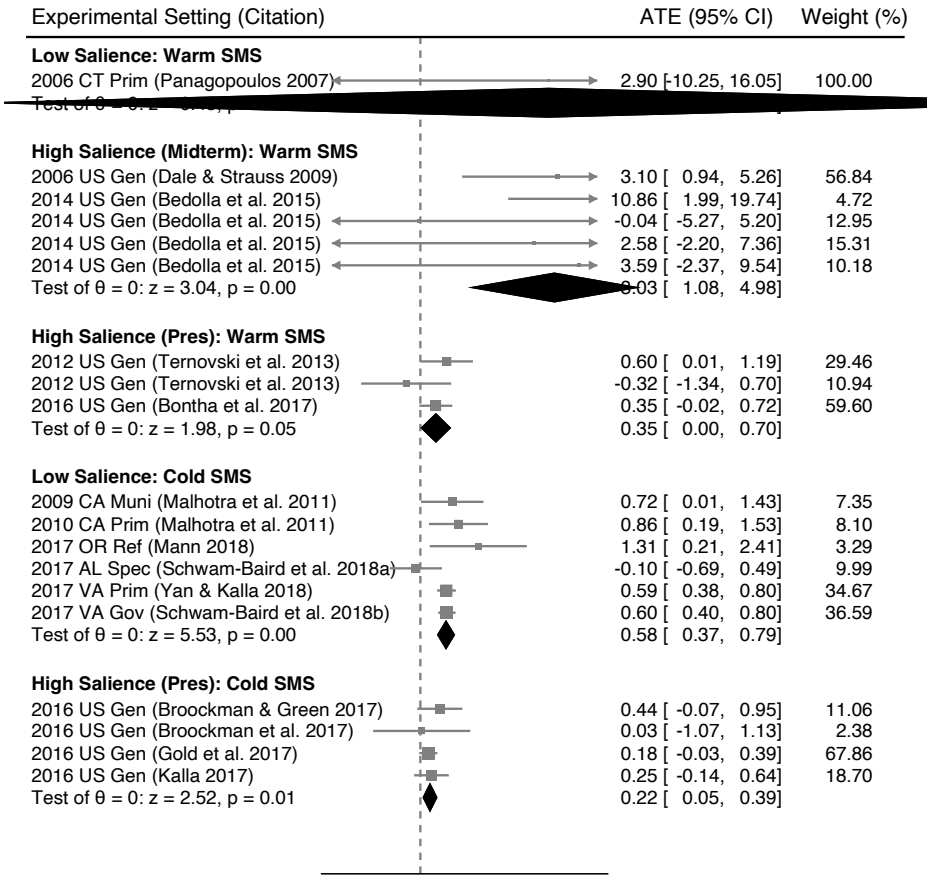
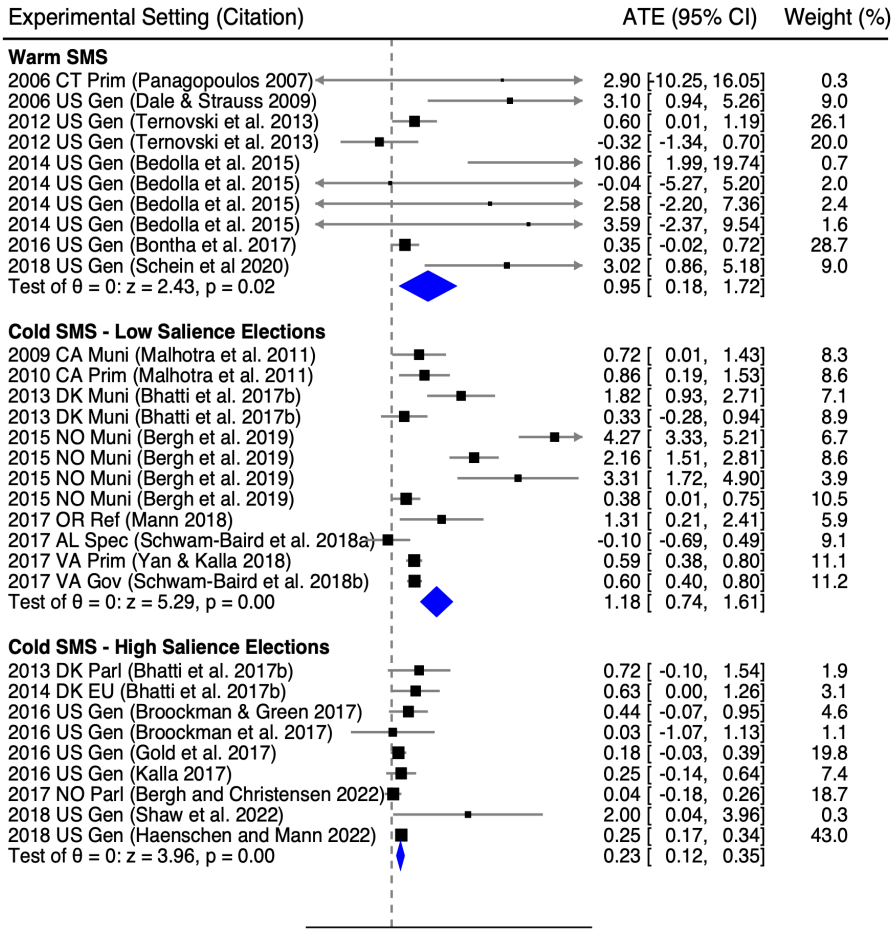


Figure S5: Meta-Analytic Estimates of SMS Experiments in US and Other Countries by Low vs. High Salience and Type



As discussed in the main text, we rely on the Green and Gerber (2019) meta-analysis dataset because we do not have the resources to conduct a full collection of experiments. We are even less confident in our ability to collect experiments from outside of the US since they may be published in many languages and/or they may only be available in the gray literature. In another project focusing on SMS experiments, we ran into both language barriers and indications of relevant gray literature so these concerns are not merely hypothetical. Conversely, using data from the other project, Figure S22 suggests adding experiments from other countries would not change the substantive inferences.

Figure S5 adds SMS experiments from other countries plus newer experiments in the US that we were able to identify in academic journals published in English to Figure 4 in the main text. No experiments were added for Warm SMS. Including 6 experiments from other countries increases the

estimated effect for the Low Salience Cold SMS from 0.58pp (0.37, 0.79) to 1.18pp (0.74, 1.61). Including 3 experiments from other countries produces a negligible shift in the High Salience Cold SMS from 0.25pp (0.18, 0.32) to 0.23pp (0.12, 0.35). Thus, the broader dataset reinforces the differences between effect sizes in low and high salience elections.

V. Search for Additions to the Green and Gerber (2019) Meta-Analysis Dataset

Since it has been four years since Green and Gerber updated their synthesis of voter mobilization field experiments, we attempted to identify more recent studies. Despite a good faith effort, we were unsuccessful in collecting a set of studies we could include with confidence. We focused on the Green and Gerber dataset in the original manuscript, because we doubted that we would be able to match the reach of Green and Gerber in identifying the gray literature studies that make up a large share of the experiments in the dataset.

Overall, more than a third of the relevant experiments (9 of 25) we were able to identify in searches conducted during the review process were already included in the GG set as gray literature citations in 2019; we were only able to identify 3 additional relevant gray literature citations. We see this as an indicator that their collection efforts are considerably more effective than ours in terms of ability to collect field experiments. Identifying published studies is straightforward, but finding experiments in conference papers, dissertations, and unpublished reports by civic and political organizations requires resources we do not have. While we work extensively with practitioners, we do not have the resources, reputation, or networks that Green and Gerber can utilize to collect experiments. We are deeply grateful for Green and Gerber's collection of experiments and their generosity in sharing the dataset, now more than ever.

We note in the manuscript that even Green and Gerber's prodigious investment in collecting US voter mobilization field experiments produces a dataset with unknown biases. Amending with a less robust data collection capacity would add more bias, and create an illusion of being up to date.

Procedure: We searched the published literature as well as the APSA 2022 and 2023 conference programs for gray literature.

APSA search: We searched for "field experiment" in the conference program and reviewed the abstracts of all papers fitting this description. We chose to use the APSA program for the prior two years under the

assumption that it would include works in progress and experiments that have not yet reached publication. We found a total of 8 field experiments pertaining to voter mobilization, only some of which were conducted in the U.S. context. Of those in the US, we found one each on: SMS, canvassing, leafleting, and general campaign messaging. Two are relevant to the meta-analysis, and two are about other tactics.

Google Scholar Search: We searched for "field experiment" "voter mobilization" and looked at results since 2019 (i.e., after Green and Gerber's data collection). We identified only 15 additional publications with voter mobilization field experiments in the US on canvassing, phone calls, mail or SMS. However, nine publications reported field experiments included in the GG set with gray literature (pre-publication) citations. Seven publications reported a total of 13 additional experiments (one publication reported one experiment in the GG set and two additional experiments): 3 canvassing experiments (2 high-salience, 1 low-salience), 1 high-salience phone experiment, 1 low-salience social pressure mail experiment, 5 non-social pressure mail experiments (3 high-salience, 2 low-salience), and three high salience SMS experiments (2 cold, 1 warm).

We also found 11 additional US field experiments related to voter turnout that did not fit within our meta-analyses: 4 encouraging voter registration, 4 encouraging use of mail ballots, and one each on novel tactics of billboards, yard signs, and chatbots.

Table S19: Publications with Voter Mobilization Field Experiments using Tactics in Meta-Analysis Since 2019 from Google Scholar

New Experiment	Tactic	Election	Salience	Citation
Yes	Canvas	2020G	high	Cohen, Hayley M., and Donald P. Green. 2023. "Connecting the Vote: Evaluating the Effect of Peer Encouragement on Turnout in the 2020 Election." papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4434105.
Yes	Canvas	2017G	low	Handan-Nader, Cassandra, Daniel E. Ho, Alison Morantz, and Tom A. Rutter. 2021. "The Effectiveness of a Neighbor-to-Neighbor Get-Out-the-Vote Program: Evidence from the 2017 Virginia State Elections." Journal of Experimental Political Science 8(2): 145–60.
Yes	Canvas	2018G	high	Shaw, Daron R., Lindsay Dun, and Sarah Heise. 2022. "Mobilizing Peripheral Partisan Voters: A Field Experimental Analysis From Three California Congressional Election Campaigns." American Politics Research 50(5): 587–602.
Yes	Paid Phone	2018G	high	Shaw, Daron R., Lindsay Dun, and Sarah Heise. 2022. "Mobilizing Peripheral Partisan Voters: A Field Experimental Analysis From Three California Congressional Election Campaigns." American Politics Research 50(5): 587–602.
Yes	Mail - non SP	2018G	high	Bankston, Levi, and Barry C. Burden. 2023. "Voter Mobilization Efforts Can Depress Turnout." Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties 33(1): 94–104.
Yes	Mail - non SP	2016G	high	Biggers, Daniel R. 2021. "Can the Backlash Against Voter ID Laws Activate Minority Voters? Experimental Evidence Examining Voter Mobilization Through Psychological Reactance." Political Behavior 43(3): 1161–79.
Yes	Mail - non SP	2017G	low	Biggers, Daniel R. 2021. "Can the Backlash Against Voter ID Laws Activate Minority Voters? Experimental Evidence Examining Voter Mobilization Through Psychological Reactance." Political Behavior 43(3): 1161–79.
Yes	Mail - non SP	2017G	low	Endres, Kyle, and Costas Panagopoulos. 2023. "Who Is Mobilized to Vote by Information about Voter ID Laws?" Politics, Groups, and Identities 11(1): 143–57.
Yes	Mail - SP	2019G	low	Hopkins, Daniel J., Susanne Schwarz, and Anjali Chainani. 2023. "Officially Mobilizing: Repeated Reminders and Feedback from Local Officials Increase Turnout." The Journal of Politics 85(2): 771–77.
Yes	Mail -non SP	2018G	high	Shaw, Daron R., Lindsay Dun, and Sarah Heise. 2022. "Mobilizing Peripheral Partisan Voters: A Field Experimental Analysis From Three California Congressional Election Campaigns." American Politics Research 50(5): 587–602.
Yes	Cold SMS	2018G	high	Shaw, Daron R., Lindsay Dun, and Sarah Heise. 2022. "Mobilizing Peripheral Partisan Voters: A Field Experimental Analysis From Three California Congressional Election Campaigns." American Politics Research 50(5): 587–602.
Yes	Cold SMS	2018G	high	Haenschen, Katherine, and Mann, Christopher B. 2022. Short but mighty: The effects of SMS mobilization, message, and timing among 7 million voters. Presented at 2019 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
Yes	Warm SMS	2018G	high	Schein, Aaron et al. 2021. "Assessing the Effects of Friend-to-Friend Texting onTurnout in the 2018 US Midterm Elections." In Proceedings of the Web Conference 2021, WWW '21, New York, NY, USA: Association for Computing Machinery, 2025–36. doi.org/10.1145/3442381.3449800.

New Experiment	Tactic	Election	Salience	Citation
No - Included as gray literature	Mail - non SP			Gerber, Alan, Mitchell Hoffman, John Morgan, and Collin Raymond. 2020. "One in a Million: Field Experiments on Perceived Closeness of the Election and Voter Turnout." American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 12(3): 287–325.
No - Included as gray literature	Mail - SP			Mann, Christopher B., Melissa R. Michelson, and Matt Davis. 2020. "What Is the Impact of Bilingual Communication to Mobilize Latinos? Exploratory Evidence from Experiments in New Jersey, North Carolina, and Virginia." Electoral Studies 65: 102132.
No - Included as gray literature	Mail - SP			Mann, Christopher B., Melissa R. Michelson, and Matt Davis. 2020. "What Is the Impact of Bilingual Communication to Mobilize Latinos? Exploratory Evidence from Experiments in New Jersey, North Carolina, and Virginia." Electoral Studies 65: 102132.
No - Included as gray literature	Mail - SP			Mann, Christopher B., Melissa R. Michelson, and Matt Davis. 2020. "What Is the Impact of Bilingual Communication to Mobilize Latinos? Exploratory Evidence from Experiments in New Jersey, North Carolina, and Virginia." Electoral Studies 65: 102132.
No - Included as gray literature	Phones			Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, Albert H. Fang, and Catlan E. Reardon. 2020. "When Does Increasing Mobilization Effort Increase Turnout? Evidence from a Field Experiment on Reminder Calls." American Politics Research 48(6): 763–78.
No - Included as gray literature	Phones - paid			Mann, Christopher B., Kevin Arceneaux, and David W. Nickerson. 2020. "Do Negatively Framed Messages Motivate Political Participation? Evidence From Four Field Experiments." American Politics Research 48(1): 3–21.
No - Included as gray literature	Phones - robo			Kling, Daniel T., and Thomas Stratmann. 2023. "Large-Scale Evidence for the Effectiveness of Partisan GOTV Robo Calls." Journal of Experimental Political Science 10(2): 188–200.
No - Included as gray literature	Phones - robo			Kling, Daniel, and Thomas Stratmann. 2020. "Repeated Treatment in a GOTV Field Experiment: Distinguishing between Intensive and Extensive Margin Effects." Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization 175: 413–22.
No - Included as gray literature	Phones - robo			Zelizer, Adam. 2020. "How Many Robocalls Are Too Many? Results from a Large-Scale Field Experiment." Journal of Political Marketing 19(4): 405–13.