Electronic Supplementary Material

Treatment Envelope for Ballot Secrecy Experiment in Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall:

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Treatment Letter for Ballot Secrecy Experiment in Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall:

<div align="center">

Page Gardner
Voter Participation Center

</div>

Dear <sfirst>,

Congratulations on registering to vote in Wisconsin. I want to remind you that the final recall election will be held on Tuesday, June 5, 2012. Polls will be open from 7 AM to 8 PM on Election Day.

As a new voter in Wisconsin you should know two things about your first visit to the polls.

Your ballot is secret. Poll workers keep only a list of who voted, not how they voted. No record of how you or any other voter filled out their ballot is created. Your ballot choices cannot be matched up with your name.

Additionally, voting booths provide a private place for you to fill out your ballot. You place your ballot into the voting machine on top of the locked 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 you for whom you voted, and campaigning is prohibited inside of or within 100 feet of any entrance to a polling place.

In Wisconsin, elections are administered by the Government Accountability Board. If you have any questions about the voting process, please visit their website at http://gab.wi.gov/elections-voting. You can also call 1-866-VOTE-WIS (1-866-868-3947) with any questions you have.

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

Sincerely,

Page Gardner
President
Voter Participation Center

Table S1: Effect of Secrecy Intervention on Voting in Wisconsin 2012 Gubernatorial Recall Election, Full Study Population

	(1) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)	(2) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)	(3) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)	(4) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)
Ballot Secrecy Treatment (Yes = 1)	0.011	0.013	0.009	0.011
	[0.007]*	[0.007]**	[0.006]*	[0.006]**
Years Since Registration Date			-0.125	-0.124
			[0.002]***	[0.002]***
Age on Election Day (Years)			-0.001	-0.001
			[0.000]***	[0.000]***
Age Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.070	-0.075
			[0.016]***	[0.016]***
Female (Yes = 1)			0.061	0.066
			[0.007]***	[0.008]***
Gender Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.009	-0.005
			[0.010]	[0.010]
Median Household Income (Thousands)			0.002	0.002
			[0.000]***	[0.000]***
Median Household Income Missing (Yes = 1)			0.049	0.058
			[0.015]***	[0.015]***
Asian (Yes = 1)			-0.025	-0.034
			[0.015]*	[0.016]**
Black (Yes = 1)			0.079	0.057
			[0.010]***	[0.012]***
Latino (Yes = 1)			0.005	-0.007
			[0.011]	[0.012]
Middle Eastern (Yes = 1)			0.041	0.014
			[0.024]*	[0.024]
Native American (Yes = 1)			-0.045	-0.027
			[0.030]	[0.054]
Race Missing (Yes = 1)			0.093	0.078
			[0.030]***	[0.031]**
Constant	0.281	0.280	0.542	0.553
	[0.005]***	[0.005]***	[0.024]***	[0.024]***
Observations	17360	17360	17360	17360
R-squared	0.000	0.000	0.224	0.210
Number of Townships		896		896
R-squared Within		0.000		0.210

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in brackets. Standard errors are robust in columns 1 and 3. Clustered standard errors for column 2 and 4 specifications yield smaller standard errors than those reported here. Dependent variable is vote in the 2012 Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall Election (Yes = 1). Registrants not matched to post-election file are counted as non-voters. *p < .1, **p < .05, ***p < .01, one-tailed tests for Ballot Secrecy Treatment.

Table S2: Effect of Secrecy Intervention on Voting in Wisconsin 2012 General Election, Full Study Population

	(1) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)	(2) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)	(3) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)	(4) Voted in 2012 General Election (Yes = 1)
Ballot Secrecy Treatment (Yes = 1)	-0.001	0.000	-0.003	-0.002
	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.007]
Years Since Registration Date			-0.084	-0.082
			[0.002]***	[0.002]***
Age on Election Day (Years)			-0.001	-0.001
			[0.000]**	[0.000]**
Age Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.107	-0.108
			[0.018]***	[0.019]***
Female (Yes = 1)			0.082	0.085
			[0.009]***	[0.009]***
Gender Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.001	0.004
			[0.012]	[0.012]
Median Household Income (Thousands)			0.002	0.002
			[0.000]***	[0.000]***
Median Household Income Missing (Yes = 1)			0.144	0.137
			[0.016]***	[0.017]***
Asian (Yes = 1)			0.017	0.014
			[0.017]	[0.018]
Black (Yes = 1)			0.095	0.089
			[0.012]***	[0.014]***
Latino (Yes = 1)			0.039	0.033
			[0.013]***	[0.014]**
Middle Eastern (Yes = 1)			0.066	0.050
			[0.026]**	[0.028]*
Native American (Yes = 1)			0.078	0.089
			[0.036]**	[0.063]
Race Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.011	-0.012
			[0.033]	[0.036]
Constant	0.404	0.403	0.525	0.533
	[0.005]***	[0.005]***	[0.027]***	[0.028]***
Observations	17360	17360	17360	17360
R-squared	0.000	0.000	0.110	0.096
Number of Townships		896		896
R-squared Within		0.000		0.096

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in brackets. Standard errors are robust in columns 1 and 3. Clustered standard errors for column 2 and 4 specifications yield smaller standard errors than those reported here. Dependent variable is vote in the 2012 Wisconsin General Election (Yes = 1). Registrants not matched to post-election file are counted as non-voters. *p < .1, **p < .05, ***p < .01, one-tailed tests for Ballot Secrecy Treatment.

Table S3: Logistic Regression, 2012 Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall Election

	Pre-2008 Registrants		Full Study Population	
	(1) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	(2) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	(3) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	(4) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)
Ballot Secrecy Treatment (Yes = 1)	0.095	0.081	0.053	0.057
	[0.058]*	[0.059]*	[0.034]*	[0.038]*
Years Since Registration Date		-0.339		-0.631
		[0.135]***		[0.012]***
Age on Election Day (Years)		-0.002		-0.007
		[0.003]		[0.002]***
Age Missing (Yes = 1)		-0.368		-0.413
		[0.153]***		[0.093]***
Female (Yes = 1)		0.596		0.376
		[0.072]***		[0.047]***
Gender Missing (Yes = 1)		0.237		-0.064
		[0.103]**		[0.066]
Median Household Income (Thousands)		0.001		0.011
		[0.002]		[0.001]***
Median Household Income Missing (Yes = 1)		-1.697		0.337
		[0.592]***		[0.076]***
Asian (Yes = 1)		0.311		-0.072
		[0.172]**		[0.085]
Black (Yes = 1)		0.676		0.477
		[0.098]***		[0.062]***
Latino (Yes = 1)		0.030		0.029
		[0.117]		[0.066]
Middle Eastern (Yes = 1)		0.328		0.284
		[0.337]		[0.122]***
Native American (Yes = 1)		-0.138		-0.260
		[0.478]		[0.198]*
Race Missing (Yes = 1)		0.630		0.564
		[0.339]**		[0.161]***
Constant	-1.912	-1.119	-0.940	0.057
	[0.042]***	[0.566]**	[0.024]***	[0.135]
Observations	10200	10200	17360	17360
Pseudo R-squared	0.000	0.020	0.000	0.187
Log-likelihood	-4022.620	-3943.786	-10395.690	-8453.167

Note: Cell entries are logistic regression coefficients with robust standard errors in brackets. Dependent variable is vote in the 2012 Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall Election (Yes = 1). Registrants not matched to post-election file are counted as non-voters. Columns 1 and 2 use subset of experimental subjects who were registered prior to the registration deadline for the 2008 General Election, analogous to Table 1. Columns 3 and 4 use full study population, analogous to Table S1. *p < .1, **p < .05, ***p < .01, one-tailed tests for Ballot Secrecy Treatment.

Table S4: Logistic Regression, 2012 Wisconsin General Election

	Pre-2008 Registrants		Full Study Population	
	(1) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	(2) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	(3) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	(4) Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)
Ballot Secrecy Treatment (Yes = 1)	0.022	0.007	-0.006	-0.016
	[0.044]	[0.044]	[0.031]	[0.033]
Years Since Registration Date		-0.278		-0.362
		[0.099]***		[0.010]***
Age on Election Day (Years)		-0.005		-0.004
		[0.003]**		[0.002]**
Age Missing (Yes = 1)		-0.526		-0.485
		[0.120]***		[0.083]***
Female (Yes = 1)		0.573		0.381
		[0.054]***		[0.041]***
Gender Missing (Yes = 1)		0.209		-0.008
		[0.076]***		[0.057]
Median Household Income (Thousands)		0.006		0.011
		[0.002]***		[0.001]***
Median Household Income Missing (Yes = 1)		-1.620		0.649
		[0.402]***		[0.072]***
Asian (Yes = 1)		0.108		0.083
		[0.133]		[0.076]
Black (Yes = 1)		0.673		0.437
		[0.075]***		[0.054]***
Latino (Yes = 1)		0.235		0.176
		[0.084]***		[0.058]***
Middle Eastern (Yes = 1)		0.315		0.301
		[0.243]*		[0.116]***
Native American (Yes = 1)		0.225		0.363
		[0.313]		[0.164]**
Race Missing (Yes = 1)		-0.489		-0.048
		[0.352]*		[0.154]
Constant	-0.921	-0.343	-0.390	0.064
	[0.031]***	[0.422]	[0.022]***	[0.121]
Observations	10200	10200	17360	17360
Pseudo R-squared	0.000	0.021	0.000	0.083
Log-likelihood	-6114.749	-5985.545	-11704.615	-10730.520

Note: Cell entries are logistic regression coefficients with robust standard errors in brackets. Dependent variable is vote in the 2012 Wisconsin General Election (Yes = 1). Registrants not matched to post-election file are counted as non-voters. Columns 1 and 2 use subset of experimental subjects who were registered prior to the registration deadline for the 2008 General Election, analogous to Table 2. Columns 3 and 4 use full study population, analogous to Table S2. *p < .1, **p < .05, ***p < .01, one-tailed tests for Ballot Secrecy Treatment.

Treatment Envelope for Group Competition Experiment in Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall:

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Treatment Letter for Group Competition Experiment in Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall:

Page Gardner
Voter Participation Center

Dear <sfirst>:

Being a voter is important, and in <city1> voting has fallen behind. According to publicly available voting records, in 2010, in the city of <city2> <city2_turnout>% of voters went to the polls.

And how did we do here in <city1>?

Barely <city1_turnout> % of our eligible voters made it to the polls in 2010.

Whether or not you are a voter is a matter of public record, and I noticed that in 2010 you did not have a chance to cast a ballot. So I am writing you today to say this – <city1> voters need to go to the polls on Tuesday, June 5th for the recall election.

I realize that there may be a very good reason why you did not vote in 2010. You may have been out of town, and many of us have busy days. But this year – with all of the problems facing our state – we need to find the time to vote.

I hope you agree.

So I urge you to lift <city1> to the top of the list. We care as much as they do in <city2>. You know that.

But knowing is one thing. Doing is another. Do something for Wisconsin. Do something for <city1>. Let's make a statement on June 5th – in <city1> we care too.

Thank you for doing your part and voting on June 5th.

Sincerely,

Page Gardner
Voter Participation Center

Town-level Variables used in Group Competition Experiment Treatment Letter:

Table S5: Variables Used in Group Competition Treatment Letter

city1	city2	city1_turnout	city2_turnout
Baraboo	Reedsburg	48.09%	53.50%
Stoughton	Oregon	60.52%	66.20%
Verona	Middleton	60.97%	61.94%
Belleville	New Glarus	64.24%	69.73%
Westby	Viroqua	66.34%	69.46%
Ripon	Berlin	54.45%	65.69%
Ashwaubenon	De Pere	49.93%	52.12%
Oshkosh	Fond du Lac	51.07%	54.76%
Neenah	Menasha	42.78%	51.78%
Sparta	Tomah	46.24%	51.71%
Cedarburg	Grafton	61.75%	62.15%
Evansville	Edgerton	59.39%	61.32%
Wisconsin Dells	Mauston	54.69%	57.96%
Franklin	Muskego	62.39%	71.39%
Oak Creek	Franklin	49.62%	62.39%
Elkhorn	Burlington	46.62%	56.71%
Watertown	Oconomowoc	54.59%	63.54%
Wisconsin Rapids	Marshfield	51.83%	56.88%
Greenfield	New Berlin	62.61%	67.36%

Table S6: Effect of Group Competition Intervention on Voting in Wisconsin 2012 Gubernatorial Recall Election

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)	Voted in 2012 Recall Election (Yes = 1)
Group Competition Treatment (Yes = 1)	0.004	0.002	0.003	0.001
	[0.010]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]
Years Since Registration Date			-0.001	-0.001
			[0.000]***	[0.000]***
Age on Election Day (Years)			-0.001	-0.001
			[0.001]	[0.001]
Age Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.064	-0.060
			[0.033]*	[0.032]*
Female (Yes = 1)			-0.010	-0.010
			[0.014]	[0.009]
Gender Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.012	-0.013
			[0.016]	[0.014]
Median Household Income (Thousands)			0.000	0.000
			[0.000]	[0.000]*
Median Household Income Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.041	-0.020
			[0.020]**	[0.014]
Asian (Yes = 1)			-0.029	-0.026
			[0.018]	[0.020]
Black (Yes = 1)			-0.037	-0.030
			[0.018]**	[0.018]
Latino (Yes = 1)			-0.035	-0.026
			[0.014]**	[0.011]**
Middle Eastern (Yes = 1)			-0.039	-0.028
			[0.022]*	[0.020]
Native American (Yes = 1)			-0.040	-0.056
			[0.011]***	[0.029]*
Race Missing (Yes = 1)			-0.049	-0.052
			[0.015]***	[0.011]***
Constant	0.041	0.042	0.154	0.146
	[0.007]***	[0.006]***	[0.036]***	[0.032]***
Observations	1517	1517	1517	1517
R-squared	0.000	0.000	0.024	0.021
Number of Townships		27		27
R-squared Within		0.000		0.021

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in brackets. Standard errors are robust in columns 1 and 3. Dependent variable is vote in the 2012 Wisconsin Gubernatorial Recall Election (Yes = 1). Registrants not matched to post-election file are counted as non-voters. Analyses use subset of experimental subjects who were registered prior to the registration deadline for the 2008 General Election, and who have not voted in any election since 2004. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01, two-tailed.

Table S7: Randomization Inference for Sharp Null of No Treatment Effect in Secret Ballot Studies

	Randomization Distribution								
	Estimated Average Treatment Effect	Two-tailed p-value	Two-tailed Absolute p-value	One-tailed p-value (greater)	One-tailed p-value (lesser)	Quantiles 2.5%	Quantiles 97.5%	s.d.	Expected Value
Wisconsin Study									
> 50 people per town, Recall Election	0.013	0.078	0.082	0.039	0.961	-0.015	0.015	0.008	0.000
> 50 people per town, General Election	0.010	0.328	0.329	0.164	0.836	-0.020	0.020	0.010	0.000
Connecticut Study									
2010 General Election	0.039	0.008	0.006	0.004	0.996	-0.027	0.030	0.014	0.000
2012 Elections Voted In (0-3)	0.032	0.090	0.082	0.045	0.961	-0.035	0.036	0.018	0.000
2012 Presidential Primary	0.006	0.072	0.075	0.036	0.985	-0.007	0.006	0.003	0.000
2012 Non-Presidential Primary	0.011	0.031	0.029	0.016	0.992	-0.009	0.010	0.005	0.000
2012 General Election	0.000	0.382	0.357	0.191	0.831	-0.031	0.032	0.016	0.000

Note: Two-tailed p-value is twice the smaller of the two one-tailed p-values. Two-tailed Absolute p-value is the proportion of randomizations that yield estimated ATE greater than or equal to absolute hypothesized ATE. One-tailed p-values, greater and lesser, are the proportions of randomizations yielding estimated ATE greater than or equal to hypothesized ATE or less than or equal to hypothesized ATE, respectively. Quantiles, s.d., and expected value are summary statistics of the randomization distribution. All randomization distributions were constructed using 10,000 permutations.