

## **On-line appendix for:**

Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, Ebonya Washington. 2010. "Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104 (4 November): 720-744.

### **Experiment Protocol and Variable Coding**

#### Phase 1: Identification of Latent Partisans and Measurement of Baseline Opinions

Latent partisans were identified from a random survey of registered but unaffiliated voters listed in the Connecticut voter file as of January 2008.

We processed the voter file to identify households (common telephone numbers or addresses) with valid CT telephone numbers and containing two or fewer registered voters, at least one of whom was unaffiliated. In households with two unaffiliated voters, we randomly selected which voter to interview. To ensure we could reach individuals for surveying and for our subsequent treatment, we further restricted the sample to eliminate records for registered voters with out of state mailing addresses, invalid mailing addresses, or discrepancies among the multiple addresses listed in the voter file. Finally, to maximize the returns to our survey efforts by avoiding calling individuals who had likely moved or had little likelihood of responding to any treatment, we restricted the sample to younger voters (18-49, inclusive) and to those that met a minimal engagement standard (Having voted in any election in 2006, 2004, or 2002 or being less than 21 or having registered after 2000). This list of 118,076 names and numbers was then randomly ordered for survey sampling reasons.

We were able to gather data for 3,787 complete surveys, of which we obtained a valid measure of partisanship for 3,539. Question wording and statistics on the distribution of measured partisan identification appear in the text.

**Primary Interest:** There will be a presidential primary election in Connecticut this February. This election will help determine the Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates. How interested are you in this election? Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in this election? (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much. All other responses coded missing)

**2000 Turnout:** Putting aside how you currently feel about President George Bush and former vice president Al Gore, do you remember whether or not you voted in the 2000 presidential election between Republican George Bush, Democrat Al Gore, and Green candidate Ralph Nader? (1=Yes, 0=No/Don't Know/Refused/Etc.)

**2000 Vote Choice (Asked only if 2000 Turnout=1):** Which one did you vote for? Vote for Bush/Gore: (1=Yes, 0=Other candidate/Didn't vote/Don't Know/Refused/Etc.)

**Economy Retrospective Judgment:** Thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse? If Better/Worse: Much [Better/Worse] or somewhat [Better/Worse]? (2=Much Better, 1=Better, Somewhat or Don't Know response to second question, 0=Same/Don't Know, -1=Worse, Somewhat or Don't Know response to second question, -2=Much Worse).

**Unemployment Performance:** George Bush was elected president in November 2000 and took office in January 2001. He will soon be leaving office next year after eight years as president. Would you say that compared to 2000, the level of unemployment in the country has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse? If Better/Worse: Much [Better/Worse] or somewhat [Better/Worse]? (2=Much Better,

1=Better, Somewhat or Don't Know response to second question, 0=Same/Don't Know, -1=Worse, Somewhat or Don't Know response to second question, -2=Much Worse).

Bush/Congress Approval: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president? The Democratic party currently controls the Congress. Do you approve or disapprove of the performance of Congress? If Approve/Disapprove: Strongly or not strongly? (2=Strongly Approve, 1=Approve, not strongly, 0=Don't Know, -1=Disapprove, not strongly, -2=Strongly Disapprove).

### Phase 2: Mail Information about Voting Rules

Balance statistics for treatment and control groups, by pre-survey status and partisanship appear in Table A1 in the Appendix.

### Phase 3: Measure Post Primary Opinions and Behaviors

The Voting and Party Alignment Scale is coded as the sum of these four measures:

1. Post-survey 2000 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (1 if respondent reports voting for Bush in 2000 and felt closer to Republicans in pre-survey or if respondent reports voting for Gore in 2000 and felt closer to Democrats in pre-survey, 0 otherwise). 2000 Vote is measured and coded in the same way as on the pre-survey.
2. Post-survey Nov. 2008 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (1 if respondent reports will vote for Republican in 2008 and felt closer to Republicans in pre-survey or if respondent reports will vote for Democrat in 2008 and felt closer to Democrats in pre-survey, 0 otherwise). Question: Who do you think you will likely vote for in the election for President this coming November, the Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, or the candidate of some other party? If Don't Know, this probe is used: Needless to say, the election for president of the United States is a long time away in November, but I'd like to ask you for your best guess about who you will vote for in the election for president in November.
3. Post-survey evaluation of Republicans aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (If latent Republican, 2=very positive, 1=somewhat positive, 0=DK/Neutral, -1=somewhat negative, -2=very negative, scale reversed if latent Democrat.). Question wording was from battery that asked respondents to evaluate several actors using: Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. Actor in this case was Republican Party.
4. Post-survey evaluation of Democrats aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (If latent Democrat, 2=very positive, 1=somewhat positive, 0=DK/Neutral, -1=somewhat negative, -2=very negative, scale reversed if latent Republican.). Question wording same as above. Actor in this case was Democratic Party.

Post-survey evaluation of Bush aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship & Post-survey evaluation of Congress aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship. Question wording same as in pre-survey, responses flipped for individuals aligned with opposing party (e.g., Democrats evaluating Bush, Republicans evaluating Congress).

Post-survey evaluation of Reagan aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (Coded same as for Republican Party alignment). Actor in this case was Former President Ronald Reagan.

Post-survey evaluation of Carter aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (Coded same as for Democratic Party alignment). Actor in this case was Former President Jimmy Carter.

The Policy Evaluations Alignment Scale is coded as the sum of these four measures:

1. Post-survey Iraq Policy aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (If latent Republican, 2=strongly agree, 1=partially agree, 0=DK/feel neutral, -1=partially disagree, -2=strongly disagree, scale reversed if latent Democrat). I'm going to read you a number of positions that a candidate might take. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree with this position, partially agree, feel neutral, partially disagree, or strongly disagree. Favors keeping American troops in Iraq until the mission there is complete, no matter how long this takes
2. Post-survey Taxing Rich aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship (If latent Democrat, 2=strongly agree, 1=partially agree, 0=DK/feel neutral, -1=partially disagree, -2=strongly disagree, scale reversed if latent Republican). I'm going to read you a number of positions that a candidate might take. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree with this position, partially agree, feel neutral, partially disagree, or strongly disagree. Favors increasing taxes for upper-income taxpayers to fund health care for the uninsured.
3. Post-survey Retrospective Economy aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship. Same question wording as in pre-survey. Responses reversed coded for latent Democrats.
4. Post-survey Unemployment Performance aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship. Same question wording as in pre-survey. Responses reverse coded for latent Democrats.

General Election Interest (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much): There will be a presidential election in November. How interested are you in this election? Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in this election?

Tried to persuade others (1=Yes, 0=No/Don't Know): Here is a list of things some people do during election year. Which if any did you do in the last six months? Talked to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular candidate?

Tried to get information (1=Yes, 0=No/Don't Know): Here is a list of things some people do during election year. Which if any did you do in the last six months? Looked for information about one or more of the candidates running for the nomination, for example by reading the newspaper, watching TV, or searching on the Internet?

Gave campaign donation (1=Yes, 0=No/Don't Know): Here is a list of things some people do during election year. Which if any did you do in the last six months? In the last 6 months, did you contribute MONEY to an individual candidate, party group, a political action committee, or any other organization that supported a candidate or a ballot proposition?

Participation, Campaign Treatment Index is coded as the sum of these four measures:

We have a series of questions about any contact you may have had since January 1 on behalf of any candidate. Please tell us whether you have been contacted in this way during the last 6 months. Have you... (1 point for each yes, 0 for No/DK.)

1. Received a letter or piece of mail from a campaign?
2. Received a phone call from a campaign?

3. Had a face-to-face conversation or contact with someone from a campaign?
4. Received a request to donate money to a campaign?

Additionally, to supplement the voter file measure of gender (which was missing for many individuals), the interviewer coded gender.

Table A1: Sample Statistics for Sent Mail and Not Sent Mail Groups

Variable	LATENT DEMOCRATS		LATENT REPUBLICANS	
	Lean D, Control	Lean D, Treatment	Lean R, Control	Lean R, Treatment
Age, years (voter file)	38.200 [8.3544]	37.741 [8.4974]	39.787 [7.5695]	39.981 [7.0676]
Year registered, missing=2007 (voter file)	2001.501 [5.1257]	2001.548 [5.7615]	2000.264 [5.7942]	2000.600 [6.237]
Year registered missing	0.062 [.2416]	0.084 [.2781]	0.062 [.2417]	0.098 [.298]
Female (voter file)	0.574 [.495]	0.559 [.4971]	0.500 [.501]	0.517 [.5007]
Gender missing in voter file	0.073 [.2607]	0.087 [.2814]	0.105 [.3067]	0.106 [.308]
Two registered people in household (voter file)	0.248 [.4325]	0.211 [.4082]	0.267 [.4435]	0.291 [.4549]
Voted in 2006	0.532 [.4995]	0.546 [.4985]	0.597 [.4915]	0.543 [.4991]
Voted in 2004	0.621 [.4857]	0.632 [.4828]	0.690 [.4634]	0.657 [.4757]
Voted in 2002	0.215 [.4113]	0.224 [.4173]	0.322 [.468]	0.268 [.4437]
Voted in 2000	0.264 [.4412]	0.275 [.447]	0.314 [.465]	0.325 [.4691]
Voted in 1998	0.064 [.2456]	0.098 [.297]	0.085 [.2798]	0.064 [.2455]
Voted in 1996	0.047 [.2109]	0.078 [.2678]	0.070 [.2552]	0.060 [.2386]
Pre-survey Interest in Primary (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)	1.453 [.6936]	1.382 [.72]	1.395 [.6893]	1.313 [.7227]
Pre-survey Report Voting in 2000 (1=yes)	0.767 [.4231]	0.783 [.4129]	0.841 [.3663]	0.845 [.3623]
Pre-survey Report Voting for Bush in 2000 (1=yes)	0.129 [.3351]	0.131 [.3376]	0.647 [.4787]	0.645 [.4793]
Pre-survey Report Voting for Gore in 2000 (1=yes)	0.497 [.5005]	0.550 [.4981]	0.093 [.291]	0.091 [.2875]
Pre-survey Economy Retrospective Judgement (2=MB, 1=B, 0=Same/DK, -1=W, -2=MW)	-1.258 [.7756]	-1.240 [.7777]	-0.787 [.8399]	-0.741 [.9313]
Pre-survey Unemployment Performance (2=MB, 1=B, 0=Same/DK, -1=W, -2=MW)	-0.665 [.885]	-0.629 [.8689]	-0.125 [.8971]	-0.087 [.9331]
Pre-survey Bush Approval (2=SA, 1=WA, 0=DK, -1=WD, -2=SD)	-1.503 [.9529]	-1.429 [1.014]	0.081 [1.4572]	0.230 [1.5196]
Pre-survey Congress Approval (2=SA, 1=WA, 0=DK, -1=WD, -2=SD)	-0.101 [1.3057]	0.068 [1.2892]	-0.466 [1.3013]	-0.562 [1.2685]
Chi-squared statistic for test of random assignment	22.844		13.790	
P-value of Chi-squared statistic	0.297		0.841	
Observations	451	451	258	265

Standard deviations in brackets

Table A2: Test for Non-Random Panel Attrition

	(1)	(2)
	Completed Post-Treatment Survey (1=yes)	
Pre-treatment, Latent Democrat	0.003 [0.042]	0.059 [0.056]
Age, years (voter file)	0.005 [0.013]	-0.007 [0.019]
Age squared	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]
Year registered, missing=2007 (voter file)	0.002 [0.003]	0.005 [0.004]
Year registered missing	-0.089 [0.055]	-0.135* [0.072]
Two registered people in household (voter file)	-0.131*** [0.029]	-0.140*** [0.040]
Female (voter file)	0.028 [0.027]	0.012 [0.038]
Gender missing in voter file	-0.010 [0.050]	-0.049 [0.066]
Voted in 2006	0.037 [0.028]	0.069* [0.039]
Voted in 2004	0.011 [0.032]	-0.052 [0.044]
Voted in 2002	0.079** [0.037]	0.099* [0.053]
Voted in 2000	0.011 [0.036]	0.027 [0.048]
Voted in 1998	0.145** [0.057]	0.157** [0.078]
Voted in 1996	-0.078 [0.058]	-0.171** [0.079]
Pre-survey Interest in Primary (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)	0.020 [0.018]	0.003 [0.025]
Pre 2000 vote aligned with pre PID	0.049* [0.028]	0.070* [0.039]
Pre Econ Retrospective rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)	-0.015 [0.017]	-0.045** [0.023]
Pre Econ Unemployment performance rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)	0.005 [0.015]	0.017 [0.021]
Pre Bush Approval rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)	0.021* [0.012]	0.021 [0.016]
Pre Cong Approval rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)	0.009 [0.010]	0.014 [0.014]
Sent Mail	0.008 [0.026]	16.069 [12.867]
Sent Mail * Pre-treatment, Latent Democrat		-0.129 [0.084]
Sent Mail * Age, years (voter file)		0.023 [0.026]
Sent Mail * Age squared		0.000 [0.000]
Sent Mail * Year registered, missing=2007 (voter file)		-0.008 [0.006]
Sent Mail * Year registered missing		0.089 [0.112]
Sent Mail * Two registered people in household (voter file)		0.024 [0.058]
Sent Mail * Female (voter file)		0.038 [0.055]
Sent Mail * Gender missing in voter file		0.064 [0.100]
Sent Mail * Voted in 2006		-0.058 [0.057]
Sent Mail * Voted in 2004		0.140** [0.064]
Sent Mail * Voted in 2002		-0.045 [0.076]
Sent Mail * Voted in 2000		-0.046 [0.073]
Sent Mail * Voted in 1998		0.000 [0.116]
Sent Mail * Voted in 1996		0.214* [0.119]
Sent Mail * Pre-survey Interest in Primary (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)		0.041 [0.036]
Sent Mail * Pre 2000 vote aligned with pre PID		-0.053 [0.057]
Sent Mail * Pre Econ Retrospective rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)		0.069** [0.034]
Sent Mail * Pre Econ Unemployment performance rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)		-0.029 [0.030]
Sent Mail * Pre Bush Approval rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)		0.000 [0.024]
Sent Mail * Pre Cong Approval rel. pre PID (-2 to 2)		-0.013 [0.020]
Constant	-2.941 [6.323]	-10.600 [8.792]
Observations	1325	1325
R-squared	0.046	0.063
F-statistic for test of joint significance of Sent Mail and all Sent Mail interactions.		1.137
p-value of F-statistic statistic		0.301

Note: OLS coefficients with robust (Huber/White) standard errors in brackets. \*\*\* denotes p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \* p<.10, two-tailed tests. Sample is latent partisans interviewed in pre-survey who had valid addresses and had not moved before treatment was applied. See text for details of sample construction.

Table A3: Summary Statistics for Outcome Measures among Latent Partisans

Variable	(1)
Post-Identify With Pre-Survey Latent Party (1=yes)	0.220 [.4148]
Post-Survey Directional Party ID Relative to Pre-Survey Latent Party (1=Strongly against to 7=Strongly with)	5.043 [.9536]
Registered with party closest to pre-survey PID	0.117 [.3221]
Voted in 2008 primary	0.073 [.2596]
Voting and Party Alignment Scale (-4 to 6)	2.489 [1.717]
Voting and Party Alignment Scale adding Congress/Bush (-8 to 10)	3.734 [2.9424]
Voting and Party Alignment Scale also adding Reagan/Carter (-12 to 14)	4.404 [3.5274]
Policy evaluations alignment scale (-8 to 8)	2.499 [3.8543]
Tried to get information (1=yes)	0.876 [.3304]
Tried to persuade others (1=yes)	0.242 [.4286]
Gave campaign donation in prev. 6 mos. (1=yes)	0.924 [.2653]
General Election Interest (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)	1.731 [.495]
Campaign Treatment Index (0-4)	0.780 [1.0033]
Observations	418

Standard deviations in brackets. Sample is latent partisans in pre-survey who had valid addresses and had not moved before treatment was applied and who also completed post-survey. See text for details of sample construction.

Table A4: Regression Analysis of Effect of Being Sent Mail on Political Opinions by Item

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Post-survey 2000 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey Nov. 2008 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey evaluation of Reps aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey evaluation of Dems aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey evaluation of Bush aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey evaluation of Congress aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey evaluation of Reagan aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey evaluation of Carter aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey Iraq Policy aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey Taxing Rich aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey Retrospective Economy aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	Post-survey Unemployment Performance aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship
Sent Mail	0.066* [0.037]	0.051 [0.047]	0.036 [0.084]	0.143* [0.081]	-0.009 [0.077]	0.042 [0.111]	0.088 [0.098]	-0.074 [0.101]	0.081 [0.124]	-0.057 [0.132]	-0.030 [0.058]	-0.114 [0.078]
Leaned to Deems in pre-survey	0.023 [0.056]	0.097 [0.084]	-0.307** [0.138]	0.246* [0.139]	0.753*** [0.142]	-0.530*** [0.196]	-2.255*** [0.153]	0.590*** [0.164]	0.259 [0.210]	0.630*** [0.220]	2.419*** [0.120]	0.653*** [0.138]
Age, years (voter file)	0.038** [0.016]	-0.002 [0.026]	-0.015 [0.042]	-0.045 [0.040]	-0.027 [0.038]	0.094 [0.059]	-0.017 [0.052]	0.054 [0.045]	0.057 [0.063]	0.166** [0.064]	-0.036 [0.032]	-0.023 [0.038]
Age squared	-0.000** [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.002*** [0.001]	0.001 [0.000]	0.000 [0.001]
Year registered, missing=2007 (voter file)	0.001 [0.004]	0.001 [0.005]	0.013 [0.010]	-0.003 [0.009]	0.017** [0.009]	0.012 [0.012]	0.008 [0.012]	-0.006 [0.011]	0.002 [0.016]	0.000 [0.017]	0.007 [0.007]	0.001 [0.009]
Year registered missing	0.034 [0.075]	-0.059 [0.117]	-0.160 [0.211]	0.134 [0.194]	-0.233 [0.219]	0.094 [0.252]	-0.192 [0.215]	-0.164 [0.213]	0.379 [0.277]	0.156 [0.301]	-0.231* [0.130]	0.084 [0.192]
Two registered people in household (voter file)	-0.080 [0.054]	-0.099 [0.063]	-0.220* [0.120]	-0.141 [0.113]	-0.100 [0.099]	-0.234 [0.156]	-0.076 [0.122]	-0.229* [0.131]	0.143 [0.166]	-0.516*** [0.180]	-0.090 [0.083]	0.002 [0.108]
Female (1=yes) VF/Survey	0.086** [0.038]	0.079 [0.049]	0.016 [0.086]	0.205** [0.085]	0.090 [0.081]	0.079 [0.116]	-0.055 [0.102]	0.105 [0.106]	-0.020 [0.132]	-0.077 [0.134]	0.050 [0.066]	0.044 [0.082]
Voted in 2006	0.027 [0.043]	0.011 [0.054]	0.096 [0.095]	-0.064 [0.095]	0.016 [0.082]	-0.292** [0.120]	0.259** [0.114]	0.062 [0.117]	-0.022 [0.150]	0.062 [0.150]	-0.046 [0.072]	0.036 [0.094]
Voted in 2004	0.082 [0.051]	-0.026 [0.103]	0.195* [0.103]	-0.069 [0.106]	0.018 [0.089]	0.179 [0.142]	-0.169 [0.125]	-0.106 [0.131]	-0.340** [0.160]	-0.198 [0.157]	-0.011 [0.082]	-0.153 [0.101]
Voted in 2002	-0.083* [0.049]	0.009 [0.062]	-0.158 [0.125]	-0.108 [0.115]	0.088 [0.124]	-0.039 [0.146]	0.048 [0.141]	0.187 [0.139]	0.062 [0.180]	0.114 [0.186]	0.013 [0.073]	-0.051 [0.099]
Voted in 2000	0.072 [0.055]	-0.056 [0.065]	-0.044 [0.130]	-0.085 [0.119]	-0.102 [0.119]	0.203 [0.154]	0.028 [0.146]	0.145 [0.151]	-0.110 [0.192]	0.216 [0.191]	0.026 [0.073]	0.035 [0.105]
Voted in 1998	-0.032 [0.061]	0.010 [0.090]	-0.119 [0.193]	-0.056 [0.155]	0.094 [0.148]	-0.148 [0.227]	-0.207 [0.170]	-0.011 [0.175]	-0.017 [0.218]	-0.280 [0.247]	0.021 [0.097]	0.004 [0.139]
Voted in 1996	-0.016 [0.090]	0.027 [0.099]	0.191 [0.221]	0.445*** [0.156]	-0.120 [0.175]	-0.096 [0.258]	0.254 [0.216]	0.008 [0.175]	0.066 [0.249]	0.377 [0.244]	-0.039 [0.115]	0.262 [0.188]
Pre-survey Interest in Primary (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)	0.006 [0.028]	0.086** [0.037]	0.141** [0.065]	-0.011 [0.065]	-0.021 [0.067]	0.028 [0.084]	0.111 [0.076]	0.035 [0.082]	-0.031 [0.100]	0.093 [0.101]	0.090* [0.050]	0.031 [0.057]
Pre-survey 2000 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	0.591*** [0.048]	0.021 [0.053]	0.049 [0.099]	0.177* [0.096]	0.126 [0.094]	0.080 [0.129]	0.118 [0.114]	0.054 [0.121]	0.163 [0.155]	-0.024 [0.150]	0.074 [0.072]	-0.070 [0.088]
Pre-survey Unemployment performance rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.050** [0.024]	-0.011 [0.029]	0.107** [0.051]	-0.017 [0.051]	0.112** [0.052]	-0.001 [0.075]	0.156** [0.065]	0.066 [0.067]	0.060 [0.075]	0.305*** [0.085]	0.080** [0.035]	0.349*** [0.050]
Pre-survey Economy Retrospective Judgment rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	-0.046* [0.025]	0.044 [0.032]	0.117** [0.055]	0.087 [0.053]	0.085 [0.055]	-0.020 [0.081]	0.015 [0.064]	0.114* [0.065]	0.228*** [0.081]	-0.062 [0.090]	0.291*** [0.045]	0.231*** [0.055]
Pre-survey Bush Approval rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.033* [0.018]	0.076*** [0.023]	0.221*** [0.041]	0.142*** [0.039]	0.603*** [0.049]	0.100* [0.054]	0.167*** [0.044]	0.025 [0.049]	0.210*** [0.061]	0.029 [0.067]	0.005 [0.031]	0.086** [0.037]
Pre-survey Congress Approval rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.013 [0.015]	0.045** [0.019]	-0.073** [0.034]	0.198*** [0.033]	0.039 [0.032]	0.475*** [0.044]	-0.029 [0.041]	0.221*** [0.040]	0.067 [0.050]	0.080 [0.054]	0.031 [0.022]	0.090*** [0.030]
Constant	-2.087 [8.168]	-0.950 [11.000]	-26.593 [20.700]	7.215 [17.349]	-33.903** [17.187]	-25.947 [24.799]	-14.045 [23.424]	10.170 [21.164]	-4.828 [32.109]	-2.292 [33.439]	-13.902 [14.965]	-1.029 [18.134]
Observations	399	399	399	399	399	399	399	399	411	411	411	411
R-squared	0.490	0.150	0.236	0.234	0.699	0.337	0.506	0.224	0.209	0.153	0.872	0.551

Note: OLS coefficients with robust (Huber/White) standard errors in brackets. \*\*\* denotes  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .10$ , two-tailed tests. Sample is latent partisans in pre-survey who had valid addresses and had not moved before treatment was applied and who had completed post-survey. See text for details of sample construction.

Table A5: Robustness of Table 4 Results For Voting and Party Alignment Scale

Sample	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Voting and Party Alignment Scale (-4 to 6)		Post-Survey Alignment Index minus Pre-survey Alignment Index	Voting and Party Alignment Scale (-4 to 6)			
	All Latent Partisans			Latent Democrats Latent Republicans			
Sent Mail	0.274*	0.267*	0.414*	0.267	0.294*	0.286	0.309
	[0.143]	[0.146]	[0.222]	[0.162]	[0.163]	[0.202]	[0.274]
Leaned to Dems in pre-survey	0.033	-0.009	-2.125***	0.947***	0.976***		
	[0.239]	[0.184]	[0.233]	[0.174]	[0.170]		
Age, years (voter file)	-0.025	0.019	-0.109	0.086			
	[0.071]	[0.072]	[0.110]	[0.081]			
Age squared	0.000	0.000	0.001	-0.001			
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.001]			
Year registered, missing=2007 (voter file)	0.011	-0.001	-0.002	0.008			
	[0.016]	[0.017]	[0.023]	[0.020]			
Year registered missing	-0.183	-0.126	-0.651	0.059			
	[0.359]	[0.362]	[0.538]	[0.395]			
Two registered people in household (voter file)	-0.517***	-0.494**	-0.784***	-0.375			
	[0.193]	[0.199]	[0.276]	[0.230]			
Female (1=yes) VF/Survey	0.415***	0.409***	0.392*	0.437**			
	[0.149]	[0.153]	[0.236]	[0.173]			
Voted in 2006	0.067	0.053	0.157	0.082			
	[0.171]	[0.170]	[0.260]	[0.189]			
Voted in 2004	0.157	0.238	0.071	0.362*			
	[0.191]	[0.190]	[0.293]	[0.202]			
Voted in 2002	-0.222	-0.198	-0.167	-0.222			
	[0.188]	[0.191]	[0.276]	[0.226]			
Voted in 2000	-0.132	-0.022	0.293	-0.143			
	[0.195]	[0.200]	[0.284]	[0.234]			
Voted in 1998	-0.201	-0.283	-0.694**	-0.126			
	[0.241]	[0.248]	[0.331]	[0.294]			
Voted in 1996	0.592**	0.527	0.174	0.588			
	[0.299]	[0.325]	[0.436]	[0.377]			
Pre-survey Interest in Primary (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)	0.242**	0.226**	-0.231				
	[0.110]	[0.111]	[0.164]				
Pre-survey Alignment index (Below four items)		0.301***					
		[0.032]					
Pre-survey 2000 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	0.806***						
	[0.166]						
Pre-survey Unemployment performance rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.133						
	[0.090]						
Pre-survey Economy Retrospective Judgment rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.217**						
	[0.093]						
Pre-survey Bush Approval rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.464***						
	[0.062]						
Pre-survey Congress Approval rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.171***						
	[0.060]						
Constant	-20.905	3.415	6.865	-16.536	1.712***	2.692***	1.704***
	[32.732]	[33.223]	[45.646]	[39.060]	[0.155]	[0.144]	[0.183]
Observations	411	411	411	411	411	265	146
R-squared	0.363	0.320	0.216	0.130	0.081	0.008	0.009
P-value of treatment effect (one-sided)	0.028	0.034	0.032	0.050	0.036	0.080	0.131

Note: OLS coefficients with robust (Huber/White) standard errors in brackets. \*\*\* denotes p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \* p<.10, two-tailed tests. Sample, except for columns (6) and (7), is all latent partisans in pre-survey who had valid addresses and had not moved before treatment was applied and who also completed post-survey. See text for details of sample construction.

Table A6: Regression Analysis of Effect of Treatment on Reported Campaign Treatment by Item

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Items in Treatment Index			
	Asked for cash (1=yes)	Campaign face to face contact or conversation (1=yes)	Received campaign phone (1=yes)	Received campaign mail (1=yes)
Sent Mail	0.011 [0.037]	0.005 [0.023]	-0.019 [0.043]	-0.046 [0.046]
Leaned to Deems in pre-survey	-0.152** [0.060]	-0.025 [0.044]	0.077 [0.075]	-0.142* [0.081]
Age, years (voter file)	-0.003 [0.019]	0.003 [0.010]	-0.004 [0.021]	0.023 [0.021]
Age squared	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]
Year registered, missing=2007 (voter file)	0.006 [0.004]	0.004 [0.003]	0.007 [0.005]	0.014*** [0.005]
Year registered missing	0.052 [0.100]	-0.026 [0.061]	-0.028 [0.117]	-0.233** [0.107]
Two registered people in household (voter file)	-0.101** [0.046]	-0.012 [0.029]	0.103 [0.063]	0.017 [0.065]
Female (1=yes) VF/Survey	-0.041 [0.041]	0.018 [0.022]	0.025 [0.045]	-0.021 [0.048]
Voted in 2006	0.070 [0.044]	-0.001 [0.029]	-0.056 [0.051]	0.031 [0.056]
Voted in 2004	0.002 [0.048]	0.015 [0.027]	0.033 [0.058]	-0.030 [0.062]
Voted in 2002	0.049 [0.054]	0.017 [0.040]	0.006 [0.063]	0.117* [0.066]
Voted in 2000	0.041 [0.053]	0.057 [0.042]	0.074 [0.063]	0.160** [0.068]
Voted in 1998	0.005 [0.068]	-0.001 [0.053]	-0.089 [0.081]	0.008 [0.091]
Voted in 1996	-0.087 [0.072]	-0.106*** [0.037]	-0.055 [0.090]	-0.053 [0.109]
Pre-survey Interest in Primary (2=Very, 1=Somewhat, 0=Not Much)	0.034 [0.025]	-0.006 [0.016]	-0.017 [0.035]	-0.033 [0.035]
Pre-survey 2000 vote aligned with pre-survey latent partisanship	0.032 [0.041]	-0.025 [0.025]	-0.016 [0.051]	-0.022 [0.055]
Pre-survey Unemployment performance rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.021 [0.023]	0.023* [0.014]	0.000 [0.028]	0.038 [0.030]
Pre-survey Economy Retrospective Judgment rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.061** [0.024]	0.014 [0.014]	-0.041 [0.031]	0.035 [0.032]
Pre-survey Bush Approval rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	0.000 [0.018]	0.007 [0.010]	-0.001 [0.020]	0.024 [0.020]
Pre-survey Congress Approval rel. pre-survey latent partisanship (-2 to 2)	-0.018 [0.015]	0.010 [0.009]	0.004 [0.017]	0.008 [0.019]
Constant	-12.256 [8.033]	-7.444 [5.723]	-14.429 [9.220]	-28.426*** [9.247]
Observations	407	407	407	407
R-squared	0.072	0.045	0.053	0.087

Note: OLS coefficients with robust (Huber/White) standard errors in brackets. \*\*\* denotes  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .10$ , two-tailed tests. Sample is latent partisans in pre-survey who had valid addresses and had not moved before treatment was applied and who also completed post-survey. See text for details of sample construction.