

Online Appendix for

“Don’t you plan on voting?” The motives and effects of peer pressure in voter mobilization

A Additional survey details

A.1 Initial Survey: Non-registrants’ WTP to share unregistered status

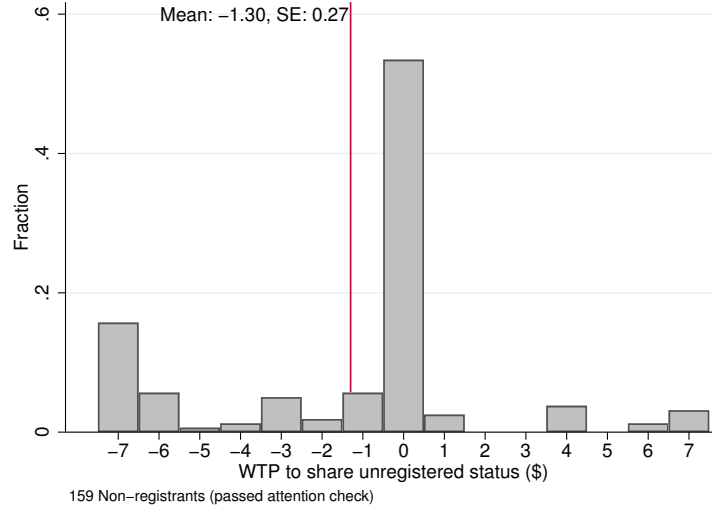
Before the end of the Initial Survey, the Non-registrants (i.e., the participants who were initially unregistered at the start of the study) took an additional section where they provided their willingness-to-pay to (not) share their registration status with other participants. Their WTP responses capture the loss of privacy and the welfare cost of revealing to others that they have not registered to vote, which could be damaging to their social reputation. They were informed that if their status was shared, they might also receive an email from another participant about the election. To reduce experimenter demand effects, the topic of the email was merely described as being “about the election” without specifying voter registration. The WTP was elicited through the same binary search procedure as for the Senders in Section 2.4. The Non-registrants, however, made only one WTP choice for sharing their status, as opposed to the three WTP choices made by Senders who were each assigned three potential Recipients.

Figure A.1 shows the distribution of the WTP responses from the Non-registrants who passed the attention check preceding the WTP elicitation. The average WTP is $-\$1.3$ ($SE=0.3$), and 36% of the Non-registrants strictly prefer not to share their information. Over half (53%) are indifferent, and 11% state a positive WTP. After the response of \$0, the most common WTP is the negative extreme of \$7, which holds 16% of the responses.

A.2 Verification, randomization, and matching procedure

Verification Before the Follow-up Survey, I verified all the self-reported Registrants (i.e., the participants who were initially registered at the start of the study) against the California state voter registration records using a combination of their name, date of birth, and email address. For those whom I could not find in the database, I sent them an email asking

Figure A.1: Non-registrants' willingness to share unregistered status



them to forward a screenshot verifying their voter registration online within 24 hours. The 24-hour rule disqualified Registrants who registered after starting the study, as voter registration applications took 48 hours to process. This verification process was preregistered, and (<https://doi.org/10.1257/rct.6364>) only verified Registrants were allowed to continue the study.

Randomization and matching The pre-specified randomization and matching process in this study was stratified on several levels, since there were separate treatments that needed to be randomized on both Non-registrant and Registrant sides, and the treatment for the Non-registrants required interaction from the Registrants. The process was conducted in the following steps after the Initial Survey.

For 10% of the Non-registrants, their WTP choices on the Initial Survey for sharing their name and voter registration status were exercised (Section A.1); one of the rows on the multiple price list was randomly selected, and their preferred option on that row was implemented. These Non-registrants with endogenous sharing or withholding of their information with other participants are excluded from the analysis in Section 3.4.

The remaining 90% of the Non-registrants shared their full name and registration status with Registrants on the Follow-up Survey, regardless of their WTP choices. Roughly two-thirds were assigned to either receive a Pressure Message from a Registrant Sender (treatment group), and the remaining one-third was assigned to not receive any message (control group) using stratified randomization based on bins for their WTP, gender, race/ethnicity, and age. More Non-registrants were assigned to the treatment group to counteract attrition

among the Registrant Senders.

The Non-registrants in the treatment group who were assigned to receive a Pressure Message were randomly matched to a Registrant Sender selected with uniform probability to be either (a) same gender and race/ethnicity, (b) same gender and different race/ethnicity, (c) different gender and same race/ethnicity, or (d) different gender and race/ethnicity. These randomly selected Registrant Senders were automatically assigned to the Pressure Message condition, saw their matched Non-registrant Recipient under the Direct Message condition, and had to send the Pressure Message directly to their matched Recipient to complete the study, regardless of their WTP choices.

Non-registrants in the 10% who endogenously shared their information with others were uniformly assigned to either the Direct Info, Anonymous Info, Direct Pressure, or Anonymous Pressure condition, and were matched with any remaining Registrant who had not been assigned to send a message. For these matched Registrant Senders, their WTP choices were binding on the Follow-up Survey. Therefore, for Senders in every experimental arm, there was a small chance that their WTP choices would be exercised *ex ante*.

The remaining Registrants who had not been selected as Senders were randomly assigned to the Info Message arm (roughly 40%) or to the Pressure Message arm (roughly 60%). The proportion of the two treatments was chosen to balance the number of times each Non-registrant's information was shared with other participants, and to favor more power in the Pressure Message treatment. Regardless of their WTP choices, these Registrant "Senders" were always assigned to not message anyone.

All Registrant Senders randomly drew three potential Recipients (or if they had already been assigned a Recipient, they drew two more) to be shown on the Follow-up Survey. The drawing procedure ensured that each Non-registrant would be shown under both the Direct and Anonymous Pressure Message conditions to two different Registrants, and at least once under the Info Message condition (which could be Direct or Anonymous). All Registrants (regardless of whether they were assigned to the Strong or Info Message condition) saw at least one Recipient under the Direct Message condition, and at least one Recipient under the Anonymous Message condition. Registrants assigned to the Pressure Message condition only saw Non-registrants as potential Recipients, while Registrants assigned to the Info Message condition could see both Non-registrants and other Registrants as potential Recipients.

Ultimately, the randomization ensured that a Non-registrant could receive only one message (if any), and a Registrant could send only one message (if any). The 90% of Non-registrants who shared their information irrespective of their preferences were randomly assigned to receive or not receive a Direct Pressure Message exogenously, regardless of their

Senders' WTP choices, which allows us to estimate the causal impact of the message on the Non-registrants' voter registration and turnout.

B Pre-analysis plan details

This study was preregistered on the AEA RCT Registry (<https://doi.org/10.1257/rct.6364>). The preregistration first lists the main outcomes of interest and the covariates. On the Sender's side, the primary outcome is reported as the Sender's willingness-to-pay to send the message, and the covariates are listed as the Sender's beliefs on the instrumental and affective effects of the message, as well as the relationship with the Recipient, gender, and race. On the Recipient's side, the primary outcome is voter registration and turnout, and the key covariate is assignment to the treatment of receiving a peer pressure message from a Sender. As pre-specified, these are the outcomes and covariates that appear in the analyses.

As for the empirical specifications, the table below links the equation number in the preregistration to the respective results in the paper. Any departures from the preregistration are noted with explanations.

Table A.1: Pre-analysis plan specification and results

Equation in preregistration	Result in paper	Departures from model
1	Figure 3b, Columns 1 and 3 in Table 1	–
2	Columns 2 and 4 in Table 1	Based on feedback, the full set of interactions between the Pressure Message, the Anonymity indicator, and the two Sender’s beliefs are included for completeness. The additional interaction terms do not meaningfully change the estimates on the pre-specified coefficients. Campus and experimental round fixed effects are also omitted in order to present the baseline average in the constant, but including them also does not alter the results.
3	Column 3 in Table A.6a	See note on additional interactions for Equation 2.
4	Figure 5	–
5, 6	–	This result is same in essence to that of Equation 4. Omitted for conciseness based on feedback.
7	Columns 7 and 8 in Table 2	See note on additional interactions for Equation 2. The category “Friends” includes all Recipients who are not Strangers, since there are a very limited number of non-Strangers.
8	Columns 1-6 in Table 2	See note on additional interactions for Equation 2.
9	Figure 8	–
10	–	Unable to perform due to limited number of non-Stranger Recipients.

Appendix Figures and Tables

Figure A.2: Within-Sender assignment of Direct and Anonymous Messages

If you're selected to message a participant, it could be 1 of 2 types:

1. **Direct Message:** You'll have to email your message to the participant directly from your lionelmessi@ucla.edu account.
2. **Anonymous Message:** We'll email your message on your behalf, say it's "from another participant", and [won't mention your name](#).

The type of message you'll have to send is different for each participant:

Participant	Message type
Heung-min Son	Direct
Alex Morgan	Anonymous
Sadio Mane	Anonymous

Figure A.3: Eliciting the Sender’s beliefs on the affective effect (Recipient’s (dis)like of the message)

(a) Pressure Message

Please indicate how much you agree/disagree with each statement. This is completely your own opinion.

Remember, these questions and any others marked with ★ could count for your \$1-correct-guess bonus!

Details

	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
★ Heung-min Son would like to receive my <u>Direct</u> Pressure Message about registering to vote	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
★ Alex Morgan would like to receive my <u>Anonymous</u> Pressure Message about registering to vote	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
★ Sadio Mane would like to receive my <u>Anonymous</u> Pressure Message about registering to vote	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Your answers to this question will NOT affect whether you’re selected to send a message.

(b) Info Message

Please indicate how much you agree/disagree with each statement. This is completely your own opinion.

Remember, these questions and any others marked with ★ could count for your \$1-correct-guess bonus!

Details

	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
★ Megan Rapinoe would like to receive my <u>Anonymous</u> Info Message about local legislative districts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
★ Zlatan Ibrahimovic would like to receive my <u>Direct</u> Info Message about local legislative districts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
★ Bruno Fernandes would like to receive my <u>Anonymous</u> Info Message about local legislative districts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Your answers to this question will NOT affect whether you’re selected to send a message.

Figure A.4: Eliciting the Sender's beliefs on the instrumental effect (likelihood of persuading the Recipient)

(a) Without Message

If you do NOT send them a message, how likely do you think each participant is to register to vote by the election?

Each of these guesses could count for the ★ \$1-correct-guess bonus!

[Details](#)

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

★ If I do NOT send **Heung-min Son** a message, I think Heung-min has a ___% chance of registering to vote by the election

○

★ If I do NOT send **Alex Morgan** a message, I think Alex has a ___% chance of registering to vote by the election

○

★ If I do NOT send **Sadio Mane** a message, I think Sadio has a ___% chance of registering to vote by the election

○

(b) With Message

Now if you sent a message saying they should register to vote, how do you think their chances would change?

In the last question, you predicted that their chances were (without any messages):

- Heung-min Son: 54%
- Alex Morgan: 55%
- Sadio Mane: 55%

Each of these guesses could count for the ★ \$1-correct-guess bonus!

[Details](#)

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

★ If I sent **Heung-min Son** a [Direct](#) Pressure Message, I think Heung-min's chances of registering would change from 54% to ___%

○

★ If I sent **Alex Morgan** an [Anonymous](#) Pressure Message, I think Alex's chances of registering would change from 55% to ___%

○

Figure A.5a: Eliciting the Sender’s willingness-to-pay to send the message

ix.

We understand you may or may not want to send a message for many reasons.

Now you may be able to choose whether to send a message.

Simply choose the option you prefer in each question. There's no right answer.

It's in your best interest to state your true preferences.

Which option do you prefer?

I am paying attention and making each of these choices carefully. <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Oh no! I'm not paying attention to these choices. <input type="radio"/>
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Do you want to send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message?

☒ Direct vs. Anonymous ☐ Message template

No <input type="radio"/>	Yes <input type="radio"/>
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Do you want to send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message?

☒ Direct vs. Anonymous ☐ Message template

No <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Yes <input type="radio"/>
--	------------------------------

Which option do you prefer? (Question 2 of 4)

Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5 <input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a <u>Direct</u> Pressure Message and get paid \$9 <input checked="" type="radio"/>
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Which option do you prefer? (Question 3 of 4)

Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5 <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a <u>Direct</u> Pressure Message and get paid \$7 <input type="radio"/>
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Which option do you prefer? (Question 4 of 4)

Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5 <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a <u>Direct</u> Pressure Message and get paid \$8 <input type="radio"/>
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Figure A.5b: Eliciting the Sender's willingness-to-pay to send the message

We've filled out the 15 rows of choices below to be logically consistent with your previous responses.

Please confirm that your choice in each row reflects your true preferences! Each row is a separate choice.

If you would like to change your choices, please use the back button.

	You want LEFT	You want RIGHT	
Row 1) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$12
Row 2) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$11
Row 3) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$10
Row 4) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$9
Row 5) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$8
Row 6) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$7
Row 7) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$6
Row 8) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$5	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 9) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$6	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 10) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$7	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 11) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$8	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 12) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$9	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 13) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$10	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 14) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$11	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5
Row 15) Don't send a message to any student and get paid \$12	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Send Heung-min Son a Direct Pressure Message and get paid \$5

Next, we'll explain what will happen with these choices. You'll be able to come back to change your choices if you'd like.

After you answer the same questions for the other two students, you'll end up with 45 rows of choices in total (15 rows × 3 students). Then, either:

A) 1 of the 45 rows will be randomly selected, and you'll get whichever option you chose in that 1 row. You'll be compensated the amount you chose.*

- OR -

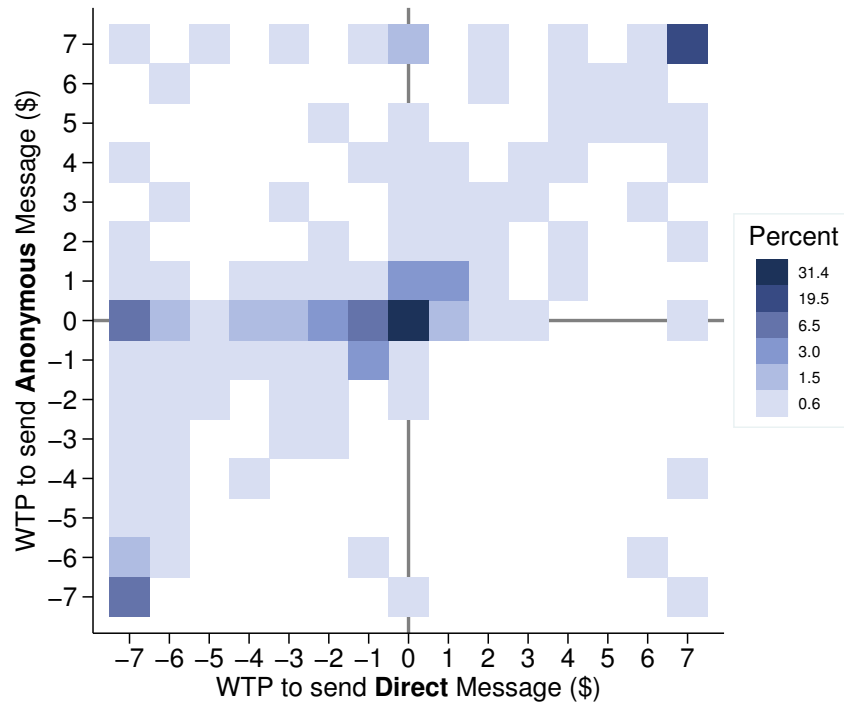
B) The computer will just randomly assign you to send a message or not. Your choices won't count in this case, so you'll be compensated the max \$12.*

It's okay if you don't fully understand this procedure! This has just been set up so that it's best for you to answer the questions truthfully.

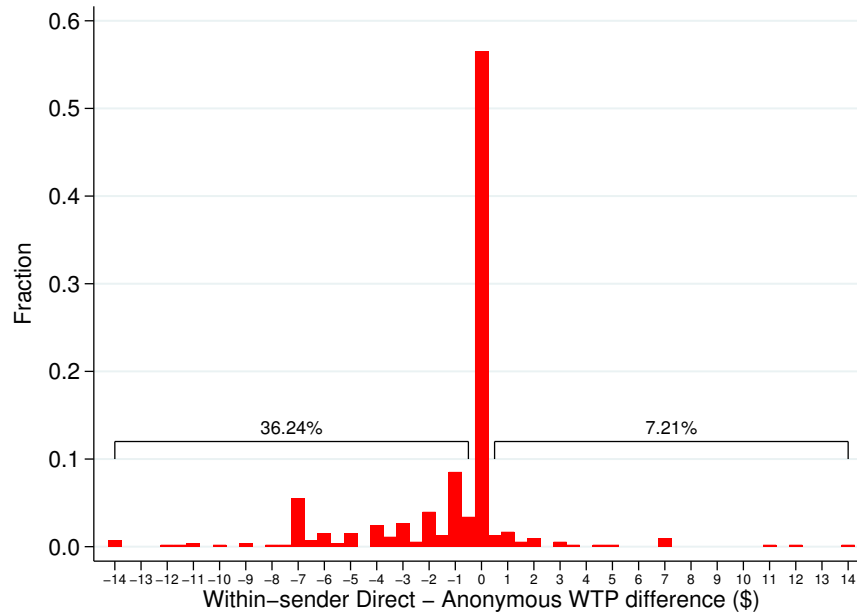
*Any bonuses from referrals and correct guesses will be added to this amount.

Figure A.6: Sender-level WTP distributions for Pressure Message

(a) Joint distribution of Direct and Anonymous



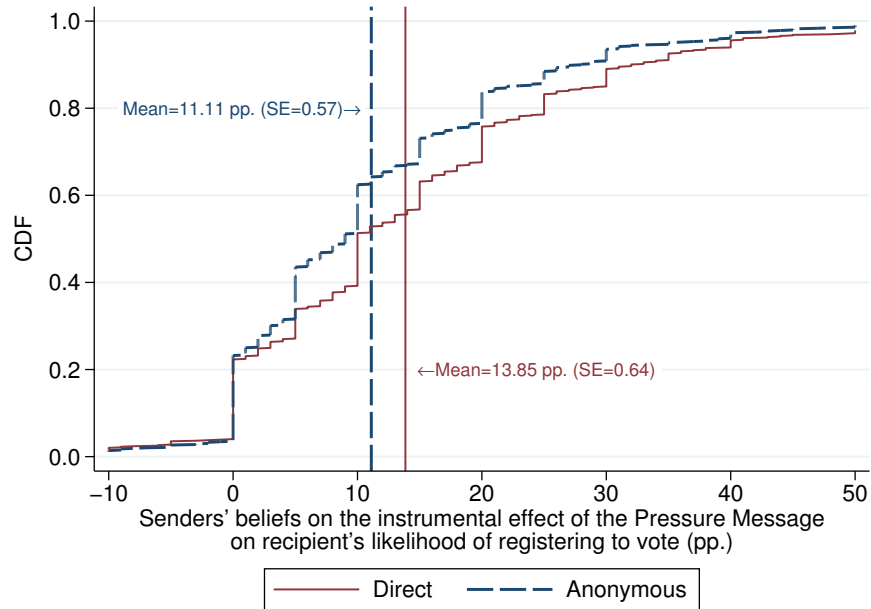
(b) Within-sender difference in Direct vs. Anonymous



Each Sender is assigned 3 potential Recipients. At least 1 of the 3 is assigned to be messaged directly, and at least another 1 of the 3 to be messaged anonymously. Consequently, 2 of the 3 potential Recipients have the same mode of delivery (Direct/Anonymous). For these 2 potential Recipients, the WTP is averaged within-Sender for these figures.

Figure A.7: Distribution of Senders' beliefs on the instrumental effect

(a) Pressure Message: Direct vs. Anonymous



(b) Pressure vs. Info Messages

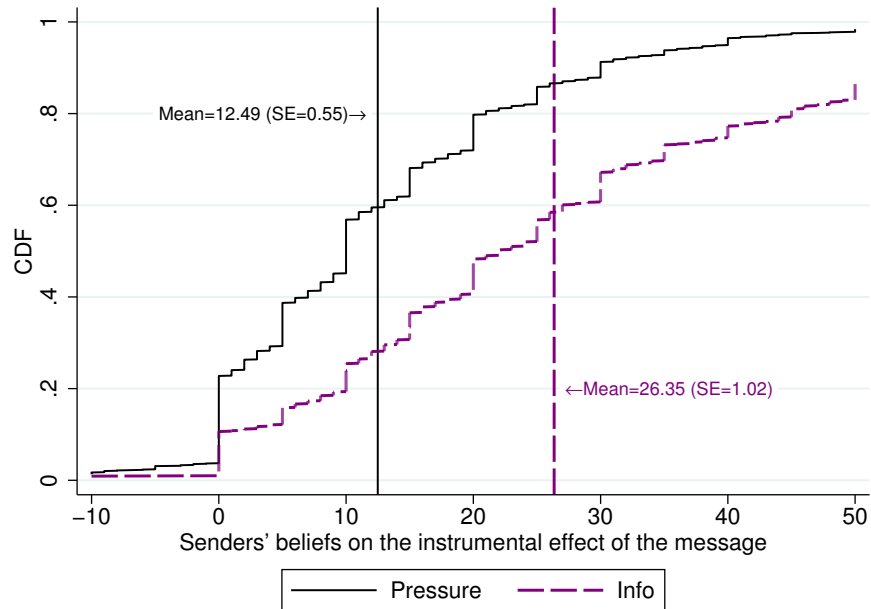
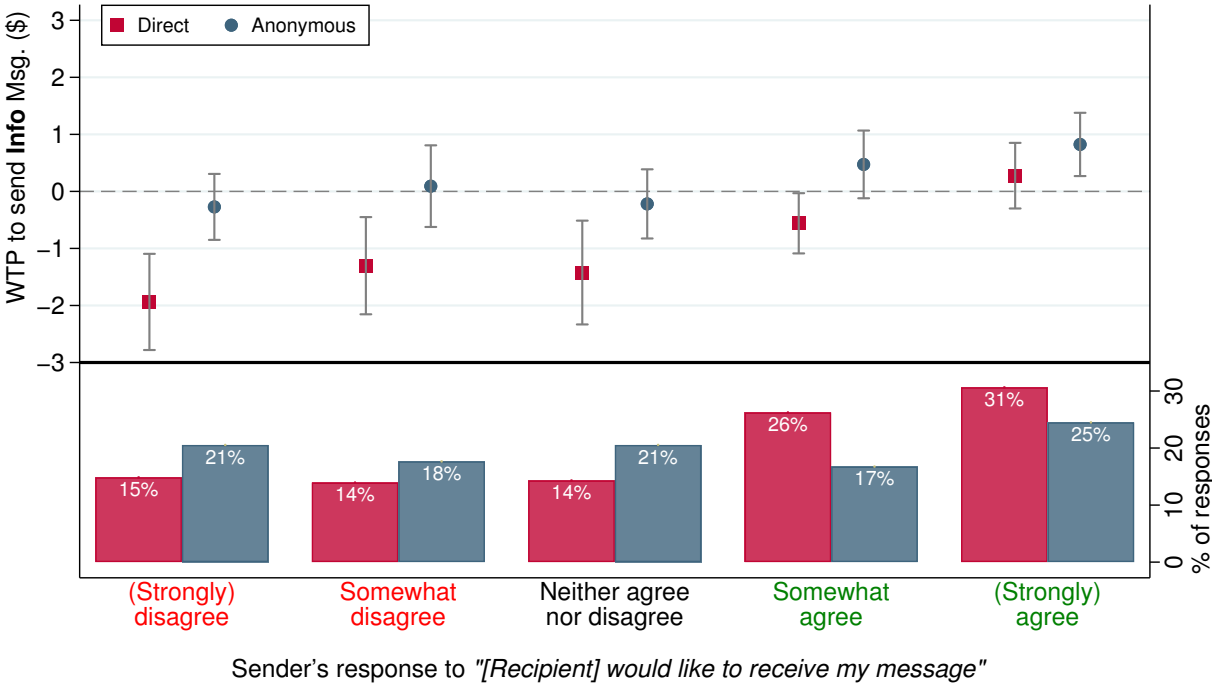


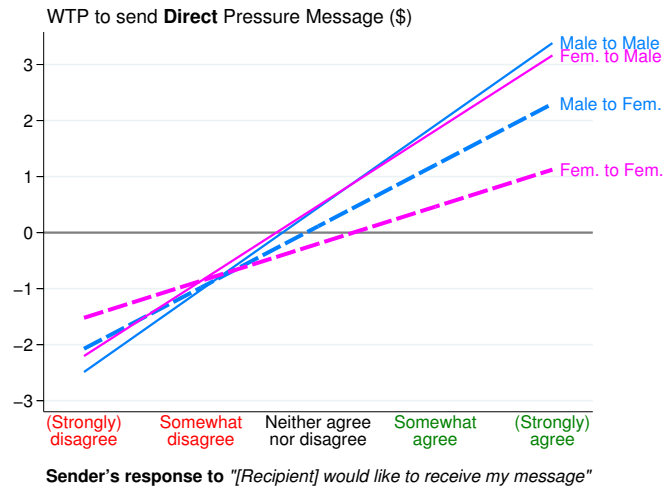
Figure A.8: Average WTP by beliefs on the affective effect for Info Message



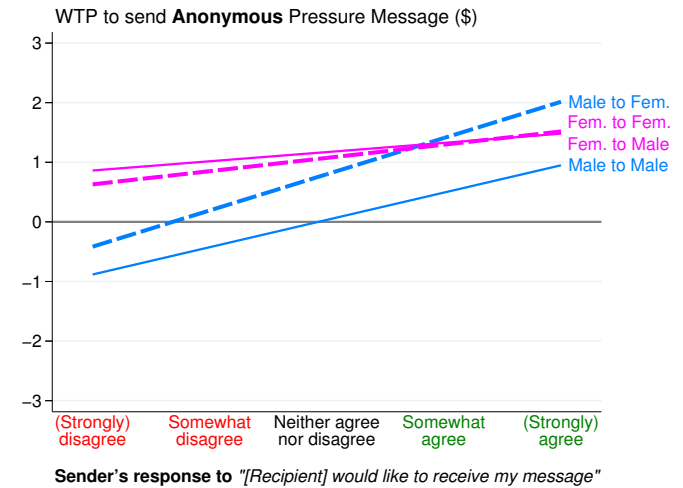
95% confidence intervals shown with standard errors clustered by Sender.

Figure A.9: WTP to send Pressure Message and beliefs on the affective effect: Heterogeneity by Sender and Recipient gender

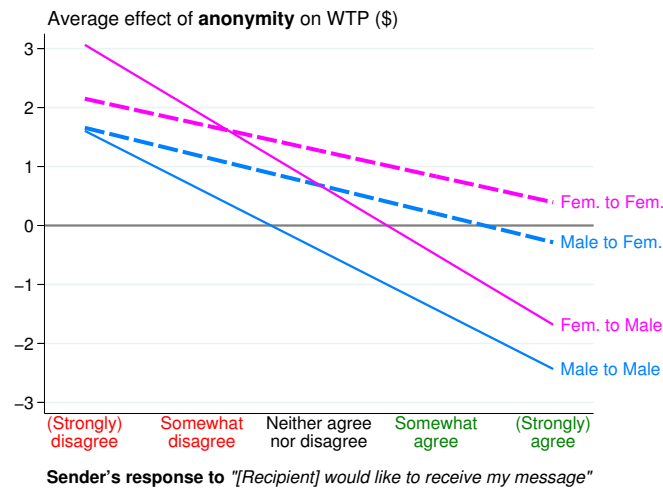
(a) WTP to send Direct Pressure Message



(b) WTP to send Anonymous Pressure Message

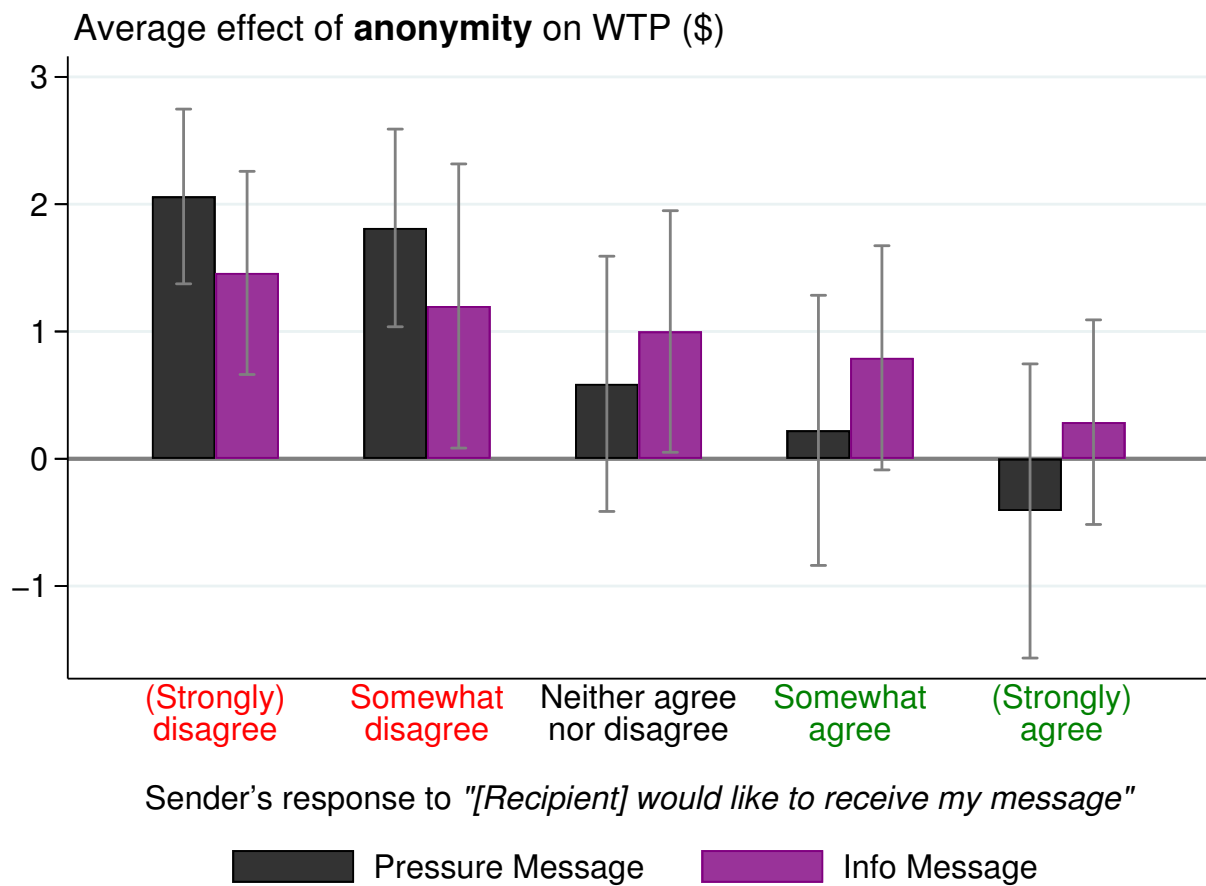


(c) Effect of anonymity



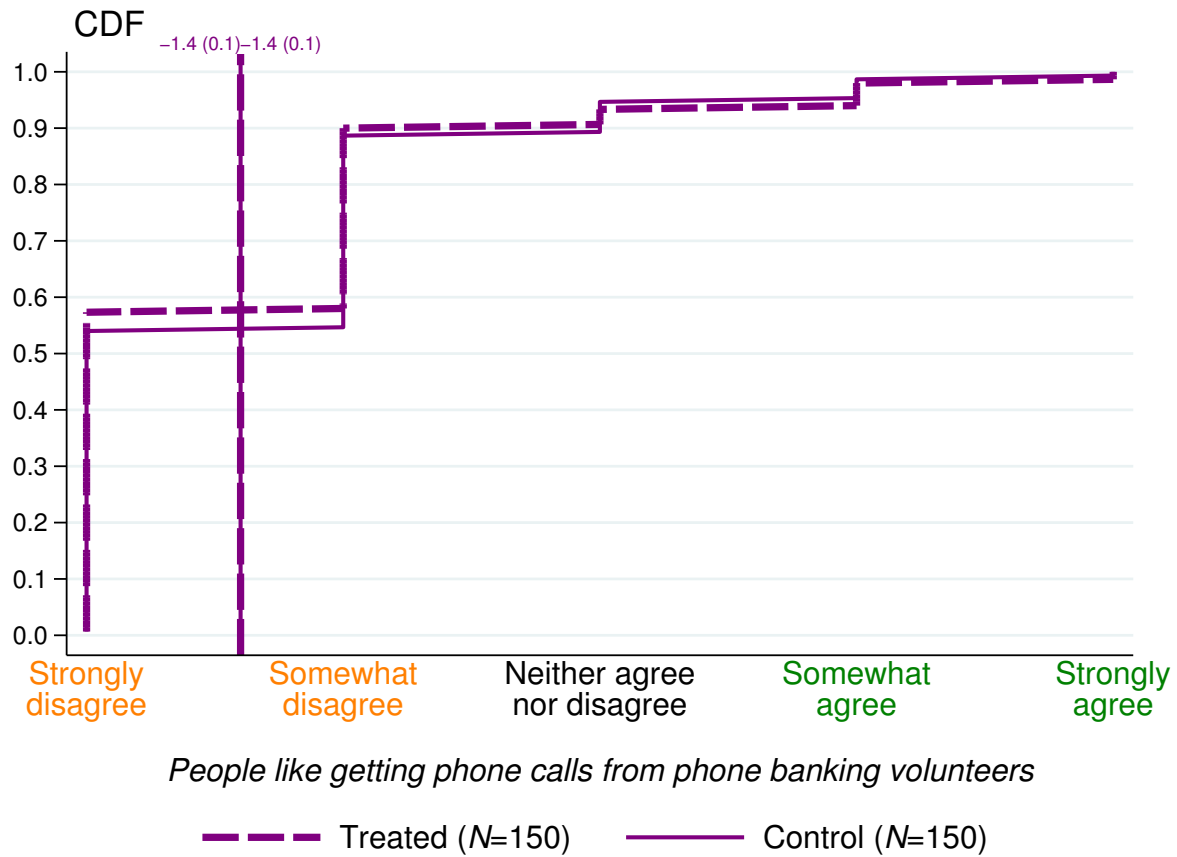
Figures A.9a-A.9c show the predicted values from Table A.5, which estimates the model in Column 2 of Table 1 separately for male and female/other Senders and for male and female/other Recipients. Figure A.9a (A.9b) shows the predicted relationship between the willingness to send the Direct (Anonymous) Pressure Message and the beliefs on the affective effect. Figure A.9c shows the predicted effect of anonymity across the affective beliefs.

Figure A.10: Effect of anonymity by message condition and beliefs on the affective effect (with confidence intervals)



This figure shows the average effect of anonymity within each bin of affective beliefs from Figure 5, with 95% confidence intervals with standard errors clustered by Sender.

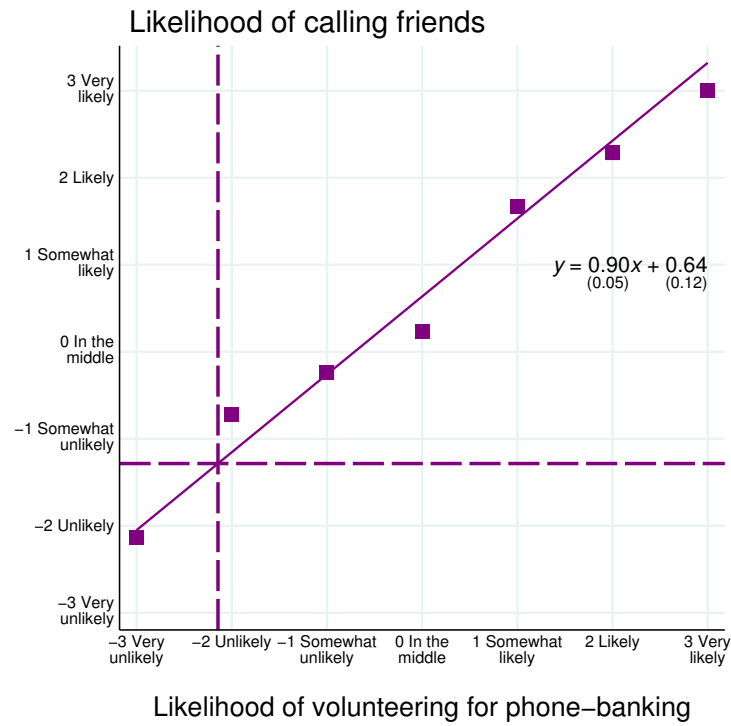
Figure A.11: Distribution of willingness to donate to phone-banking efforts



This figure shows the cumulative distribution function of the amount that participants are willing to donate (out of \$10) to their party's voter mobilization efforts such as phone-banking. The distributions are shown separately by party and treatment vs. control groups. Averages are shown with standard errors in parentheses.

Figure A.12: Likelihood of calling friends vs. strangers and affective beliefs

(a) Bin scatter between likelihood of calling friends vs. phone-banking strangers



(b) Bin scatter between affective effect on friends vs. strangers

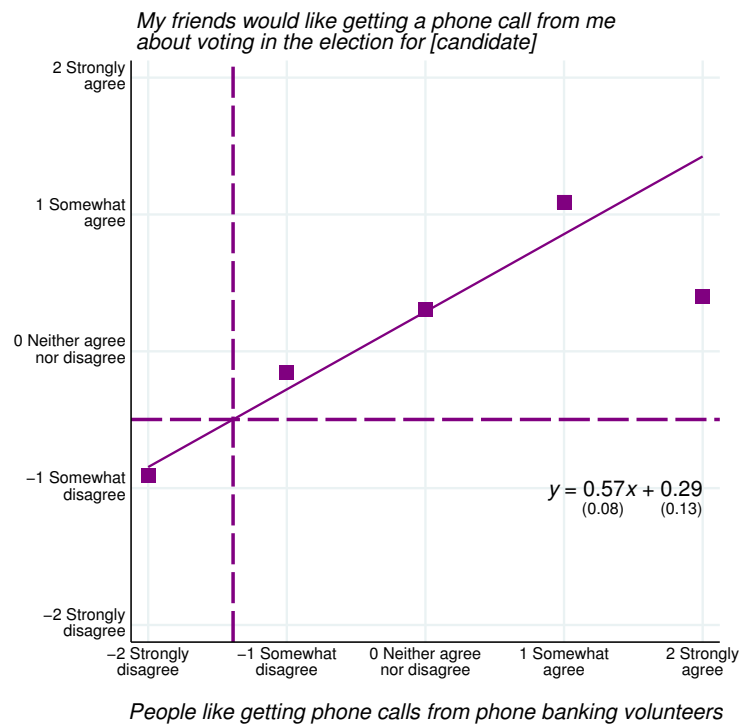
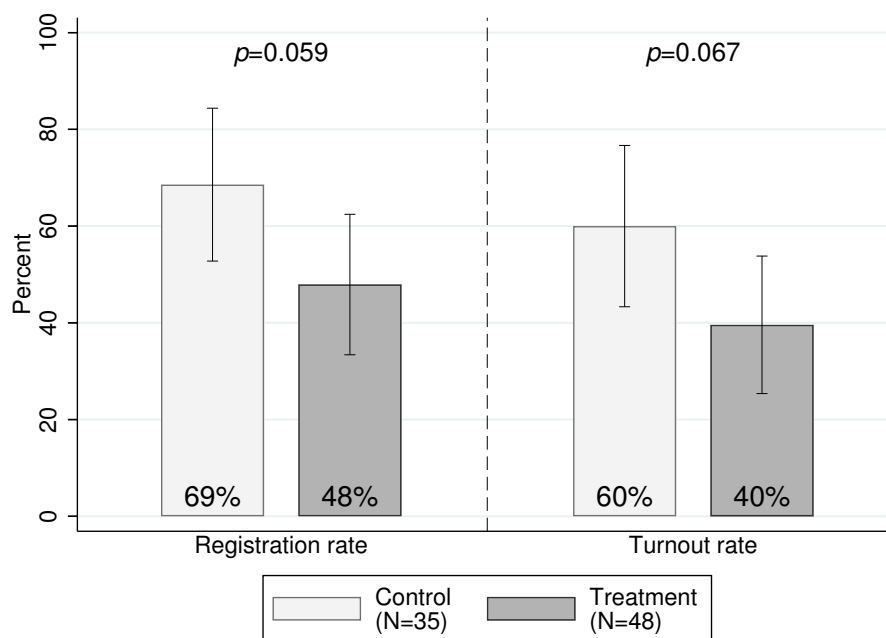


Figure A.13: Intend-to-treat effects of receiving peer pressure on electoral participation (excluding “pre-registered”)



95% confidence intervals are shown with robust standard errors.

Table A.2: Sample characteristics

	Registered	Non-registered	Difference (SE)	Diff. <i>p</i> -value
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	0.31 [0.46]	0.40 [0.49]	-0.09 (0.04)	0.03
Female/other	0.69 [0.46]	0.60 [0.49]	0.09 (0.04)	0.03
Age (years)	21.55 [3.09]	21.01 [2.52]	0.54 (0.22)	0.01
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>				
White	0.30 [0.46]	0.32 [0.47]	-0.02 (0.04)	0.65
Asian	0.45 [0.50]	0.41 [0.49]	0.04 (0.04)	0.31
Other	0.25 [0.43]	0.27 [0.45]	-0.02 (0.04)	0.52
<i>Degree</i>				
Masters/doctoral	0.13 [0.34]	0.07 [0.25]	0.07 (0.02)	0.00
Undergraduate	0.87 [0.34]	0.93 [0.25]	-0.07 (0.02)	0.00
STEM major/field	0.70 [0.46]	0.72 [0.45]	-0.03 (0.04)	0.51
Degree start year	2018.09 [1.25]	2018.32 [1.13]	-0.23 (0.10)	0.02
<i>Predictions</i>				
Current reg. rate (%)	60.98 [16.90]	55.62 [16.63]	5.35 (1.41)	0.00
Final reg. rate (%)	74.58 [14.52]	69.69 [16.25]	4.89 (1.35)	0.00
	894	165		

This table shows averages with standard deviations in brackets. The “reg. rate” predictions refer to the forecasts for the voter registration rates on the participant’s campus.

Table A.3a: Balance: Senders

	Pressure Msg.	Info Msg.	Difference (SE)	Diff. <i>p</i> -value
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	0.31 [0.46]	0.31 [0.46]	0.00 (0.03)	0.94
Female/other	0.69 [0.46]	0.69 [0.46]	-0.00 (0.03)	0.94
Age (years)	21.62 [3.27]	21.46 [2.81]	0.16 (0.20)	0.44
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>				
White	0.29 [0.46]	0.32 [0.47]	-0.03 (0.03)	0.40
Asian	0.47 [0.50]	0.42 [0.49]	0.05 (0.03)	0.11
Other	0.24 [0.43]	0.26 [0.44]	-0.03 (0.03)	0.36
<i>Degree</i>				
Masters/doctoral	0.14 [0.35]	0.12 [0.33]	0.02 (0.02)	0.49
Undergraduate	0.86 [0.35]	0.88 [0.33]	-0.02 (0.02)	0.49
STEM major/field	0.71 [0.46]	0.68 [0.47]	0.02 (0.03)	0.43
Degree start year	2018.09 [1.23]	2018.08 [1.28]	0.01 (0.09)	0.88
Current reg. rate (%)	60.53 [16.81]	61.63 [17.03]	-1.10 (1.15)	0.34
<i>Predictions</i>				
Final reg. rate (%)	74.20 [14.65]	75.13 [14.33]	-0.93 (0.98)	0.35
<i>Recipients characteristics</i>				
Mixed gender comp.	0.67 [0.47]	0.66 [0.48]	0.02 (0.03)	0.60
Mixed racial comp.	0.85 [0.36]	0.87 [0.33]	-0.03 (0.02)	0.28
All 3 Recipients are strangers	0.96 [0.19]	0.96 [0.20]	0.00 (0.01)	0.83
	527	367	0.86 (joint <i>F</i> -test)	

This table compares the average characteristics of the registered Senders assigned to the Pressure Message condition versus the Info Message condition. Standard deviations are shown in brackets, and robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A.3b: Balance: Non-registered Recipients

	Control (No Msg.)	Treatment (Direct Pressure Msg.)	Difference (SE)	Diff. <i>p</i> -value
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	0.39 [0.49]	0.40 [0.49]	-0.01 (0.08)	0.90
Female/other	0.61 [0.49]	0.60 [0.49]	0.01 (0.08)	0.90
Age (years)	21.06 [2.50]	20.67 [2.00]	0.40 (0.37)	0.29
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>				
White	0.34 [0.48]	0.33 [0.47]	0.01 (0.08)	0.91
Asian	0.38 [0.49]	0.47 [0.50]	-0.09 (0.08)	0.27
Other	0.28 [0.45]	0.20 [0.40]	0.08 (0.07)	0.24
<i>Degree</i>				
Masters/doctoral	0.06 [0.24]	0.05 [0.23]	0.01 (0.04)	0.83
Undergraduate	0.94 [0.24]	0.95 [0.23]	-0.01 (0.04)	0.83
STEM major/field	0.73 [0.45]	0.73 [0.45]	-0.00 (0.08)	0.99
Degree start year	2018.26 [1.19]	2018.42 [1.05]	-0.16 (0.19)	0.41
<i>Preference for sharing status</i>				
Indifferent	0.54 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]	0.05 (0.09)	0.59
Prefer not to share	0.37 [0.48]	0.38 [0.49]	-0.01 (0.08)	0.87
Prefer to share	0.09 [0.29]	0.13 [0.34]	-0.03 (0.05)	0.55
WTP to share status (\$)	-1.23 [3.22]	-1.38 [3.70]	0.15 (0.60)	0.80
<i>Predictions</i>				
Current reg. rate (%)	56.54 [15.75]	53.29 [18.20]	3.25 (2.93)	0.27
Final reg. rate (%)	70.58 [15.07]	67.67 [17.84]	2.91 (2.86)	0.31
	95	55		0.91 (joint <i>F</i> -test)

This table compares the average characteristics of the non-registered Recipients assigned to the treatment and control groups. Standard deviations are shown in brackets, and robust standard errors in parentheses. This table excludes 15 non-registered participants who received or did not receive a message endogenously depending on their or their Sender's WTP choices.

Table A.3c: Balance: Recipient relation to assigned Sender

	Same gender & race	Same gender, diff. race	Diff. gender, same race	Diff. gender & race	Referral
White male	5	3	2	1	2
White female	3	3	3	5	5
Asian male	2	3	4	2	2
Asian female	5	6	5	5	2
Other race male	2	3	3	2	1
Other race female	4	2	2	3	5

$\chi^2 = 11.09$ ($p=0.94$)

Table A.3d: Sample attrition

	Non-registered	Registered		
		(1) Info Message	(2) Pressure Message	(1)-(2) p -val.
Finished Initial Survey	165	461	657	
Finished Follow-up Survey	144	84% (386/461)	84% (549/657)	0.94
Sent required email	NA	99% (383/386)	99% (541/549)	0.32
Sent required confirmation email	NA	99% (382/385)	99% (471/474)	0.80
Sent required Direct email	NA	100% (1/1)	93% (70/75) ^A	1.00 ^C
Passed attention check	138	96% (367/383)	98% (529/541)	0.10
Completed study (final sample)	138	367	527^B	

This table shows the frequency of participants remaining after each sample restriction. The frequency is shown for the Senders separately by the Pressure and Info Message conditions. The last column shows the p -value of the difference in the frequency at each restriction.

^AAs pre-registered, 1 participant who finished the Follow-up survey, stated a WTP to send the Direct Message of less than \$12, and did not send the Direct Message is considered to have fulfilled the “Sent required Direct Message” condition.

^B2 participants stated that they did not know how to fill out the WTP responses in the open-ended feedback box. Consequently, although they completed all the study requirements, their WTP responses are not included in the analysis.

^C p -value calculated using Fisher’s exact test given the low counts in some of the 2x2 cells.

Table A.4: Sample characteristics: Supplementary General Population Survey sample

	U.S. Citizen Pop. (1)	Sample (2)	Diff. (SE) (1)-(2)	Treatment (3)	Control (4)	Diff. (SE) (3)-(4)
Republican	0.50	0.27 [0.44]	0.24 (0.03)	0.27 [0.44]	0.27 [0.44]	0.00 (0.05)
Female/other	0.51	0.63 [0.48]	-0.12 (0.03)	0.59 [0.49]	0.67 [0.47]	-0.08 (0.06)
<i>Age group</i>						
18-24	0.12	0.12 [0.33]	-0.01 (0.02)	0.10 [0.30]	0.15 [0.35]	-0.05 (0.04)
25-34	0.17	0.30 [0.46]	-0.13 (0.03)	0.33 [0.47]	0.27 [0.44]	0.07 (0.05)
35-44	0.16	0.24 [0.43]	-0.08 (0.02)	0.25 [0.43]	0.24 [0.43]	0.01 (0.05)
45-54	0.15	0.18 [0.39]	-0.03 (0.02)	0.15 [0.36]	0.21 [0.41]	-0.06 (0.04)
55-64	0.16	0.11 [0.31]	0.06 (0.02)	0.13 [0.33]	0.09 [0.28]	0.04 (0.04)
65+	0.24	0.04 [0.20]	0.19 (0.01)	0.04 [0.20]	0.05 [0.21]	-0.01 (0.02)
<i>Census region</i>						
Northeast	0.17	0.18 [0.38]	-0.00 (0.02)	0.19 [0.40]	0.16 [0.37]	0.03 (0.04)
Midwest	0.21	0.17 [0.37]	0.05 (0.02)	0.15 [0.35]	0.19 [0.39]	-0.04 (0.04)
South	0.39	0.37 [0.48]	0.01 (0.03)	0.39 [0.49]	0.35 [0.48]	0.04 (0.06)
West	0.23	0.28 [0.45]	-0.06 (0.03)	0.27 [0.44]	0.30 [0.46]	-0.03 (0.05)
<i>Prior political engagement</i>						
Ideology rating		-1.02 [2.05]		-1.15 [2.12]	-0.89 [1.98]	-0.26 (0.24)
Voted in 2020 election		0.92 [0.27]		0.91 [0.28]	0.93 [0.26]	-0.01 (0.03)
Political donation in 2024		0.23 [0.42]		0.25 [0.44]	0.20 [0.40]	0.05 (0.05)
Political sign in 2024		0.18 [0.39]		0.17 [0.38]	0.19 [0.40]	-0.02 (0.04)
<i>N/p-value</i>		300	0.00 (F-test)	150	150	0.15 (F-test)

This table shows the average characteristics of the Supplementary General Population Survey sample for the 2024 Election, with standard deviations shown in brackets. Column 1 shows the averages for the general population of U.S. citizens from the ACS 1-Year Estimates Public Use Microdata Sample 2023. Column 2 shows the averages for the survey sample, Column 3 for the treatment group, and Column 4 for the control group. Robust standard errors for the differences are reported in parentheses. “Republican” refers to the popular voteshare in Column 1, and to whether the respondent planned to vote for Donald Trump and JD Vance in the other columns. “Ideology rating” is the self-rated political ideology from -3 (Very liberal) to 3 (Very conservative). “Political donation in 2024” indicates that the respondent had made a political contribution in the year leading up to the 2024 election. “Political sign in 2024” means that the respondent had put up a political sign at their home or a political bumper sticker on their car.

Table A.5: Senders' WTP and beliefs for the Pressure Message: Heterogeneity by gender

		Female/other Sender		Male Sender					
<i>Recipient's gender:</i>		Fem./other	Male	Fem./other	Male				
Dep. Var.:	WTP to send Pressure Msg. (\$)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)-(2)	(3)-(4)	(1)-(3)	(2)-(4)
<i>Sender's beliefs on the effects of the message:</i>									
	Instrumental effect (10 pp.)	0.65	0.35	0.52	0.29	0.30	0.23	0.13	0.06
		(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.31)	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.36)
	Affective effect [-2, 2]	0.66	1.34	1.09	1.47	-0.68	-0.37	-0.43	-0.13
		(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.41)	(0.37)	(0.36)
	Anonymous Message	1.33	0.74	1.01	-0.65	0.60	1.65	0.33	1.38
		(0.33)	(0.50)	(0.61)	(0.71)	(0.59)	(0.96)	(0.69)	(0.86)
	Anonymous×Instrumental belief	-0.04	-0.03	-0.31	0.24	-0.01	-0.55	0.26	-0.28
		(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.45)	(0.29)	(0.45)	(0.32)	(0.50)
	Anonymous×Affective belief	-0.44	-1.19	-0.49	-1.01	0.75	0.52	0.05	-0.18
		(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.36)	(0.39)	(0.32)	(0.52)	(0.41)	(0.47)
	Constant	-1.10	0.01	-0.42	0.17	-1.11	-0.60	-0.67	-0.16
		(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.61)	(0.58)	(0.52)	(0.72)	(0.69)	(0.72)
Observations (Responses)		674	412	298	197	1086	495	972	609
Senders		343	268	147	124	362	165	490	392
R^2		0.13	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.15	0.18	0.15	0.19

OLS estimates with standard errors clustered by Sender in parentheses. These regressions replicate the specification in Column 2 of Table 1 on the subsample indicated in the column headers.

Table A.6a: Senders' WTP and beliefs across experimental conditions: Alternate specifications and robustness

	Pressure Message				Info Message									
Dep. Var.: WTP to send message (\$)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(2)-(6)	(3)-(7)	(1)-(9)	(9)-(10)
<i>Sender's beliefs on the effects of the message:</i>														
Instrumental effect (10 pp.)	0.52 (0.11)	0.52 (0.11)	0.08 (0.15)	0.65 (0.22)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.13 (0.18)	-0.16 (0.22)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.54 (0.13)	0.17 (0.17)	0.69 (0.24)	-0.15 (0.22)
Instrumental effect ²				-0.04 (0.04)				-0.02 (0.02)						
Affective effect [-2, 2]	0.99 (0.12)	0.97 (0.12)	0.64 (0.10)	0.95 (0.13)	0.55 (0.12)	0.54 (0.11)	0.17 (0.10)	0.52 (0.11)	0.50 (0.31)	0.56 (0.12)	0.44 (0.17)	0.46 (0.14)	0.49 (0.32)	-0.06 (0.32)
Affective effect ²				-0.10 (0.10)				0.11 (0.10)						
Anonymous Message	0.90 (0.24)	0.91 (0.24)	0.90 (0.18)	0.81 (0.36)	0.93 (0.26)	0.98 (0.24)	0.74 (0.19)	1.13 (0.39)	0.97 (0.93)	0.95 (0.25)	-0.07 (0.34)	0.16 (0.26)	-0.07 (0.94)	0.02 (0.92)
Anonymous×Instrumental effect	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.15 (0.25)	0.09 (0.09)	0.07 (0.08)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.18)	0.39 (0.29)	0.04 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.43 (0.30)	0.35 (0.30)
Anonymous×Instrumental effect ²				-0.04 (0.05)				0.02 (0.03)						
Anonymous×Affective effect	-0.68 (0.14)	-0.65 (0.14)	-0.38 (0.09)	-0.65 (0.14)	-0.30 (0.14)	-0.30 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.27 (0.14)	-0.23 (0.32)	-0.29 (0.15)	-0.36 (0.20)	-0.31 (0.14)	-0.44 (0.34)	0.06 (0.34)
Anonymous×Affective effect ²				0.01 (0.12)				-0.04 (0.11)						
Constant	-0.60 (0.24)	-0.12 (0.62)		-0.44 (0.35)	-0.89 (0.27)	-0.96 (0.67)		-1.27 (0.40)	-0.64 (0.61)	-0.91 (0.29)				
Sender controls		✓				✓					✓			
Sender fixed effects			✓				✓					✓		
<i>Recipients</i>														
Registered participants only	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓				✓	
Non-registered participants only										✓				
Observations (Responses)	1581	1581	1581	1581	1100	1100	1100	1100	97	1003	2681	2681	1678	1100
Senders	527	527	527	527	367	367	367	367	80	366	894	894	607	367
R ²	0.14	0.15	0.85	0.15	0.07	0.08	0.82	0.07	0.12	0.07	0.13	0.84	0.15	0.08

Coefficient estimates are from linear regressions with standard errors clustered by Sender shown below in parentheses. The dependent variable is the willingness-to-pay (WTP) to email the message. Sender controls include gender, standardized age, age squared, race/ethnicity, undergraduate degree, and STEM major/field. See notes in Table 1.

Table A.6b: Senders' WTP and beliefs across experimental conditions: Uncensored WTP

	Pressure Msg.	Info Msg.	
Dep. Var.: Uncensored WTP to send message (\$)	(1)	(2)	(1)-(2)
<i>Sender's beliefs on the effects of the message:</i>			
Instrumental: Persuasive effect of message (10 pp.)	1.23 (0.33)	-0.04 (0.13)	1.28 (0.35)
Affective: Recipient's (dis)like of message [-2, 2]	2.21 (0.32)	0.83 (0.19)	1.38 (0.38)
Anonymous Message	1.90 (0.62)	1.39 (0.46)	0.51 (0.77)
Anonymous×Instrumental belief	-0.17 (0.33)	0.17 (0.16)	-0.33 (0.36)
Anonymous×Affective belief	-1.41 (0.43)	-0.42 (0.23)	-0.98 (0.49)
Constant	-0.11 (0.66)	-1.41 (0.49)	1.31 (0.82)
Observations (Responses)	1581	1100	2681
Senders	527	367	894
R^2	0.08	0.06	0.10

OLS estimates with standard errors clustered by Sender in parentheses. The dependent variable is the *uncensored* willingness-to-pay (WTP) to send the message assigned to the Sender. For Senders who gave a WTP at the extremes (-\$7 or \$7), the survey asked them to provide their hypothetical WTP beyond these bounds. For these Senders, I use their hypothetical responses winsorized at the 10th and 90th percentiles, which correspond to -\$20 and \$40 for the Pressure Message and -\$15 to \$15 for the Info Message. See notes from Table 1.

Table A.6c: Senders' WTP and beliefs across experimental conditions: Additional sample checks

	Pressure Msg.		Info Msg.			
Dep. Var.: WTP to send message (\$)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)-(3)	(2)-(4)
<i>Sender's beliefs on the effects of the message:</i>						
Instrumental: Persuasive effect (10 pp.)	0.53 (0.11)	0.45 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.56 (0.13)	0.49 (0.13)
Affective: Recipient's (dis)like [-2, 2]	1.00 (0.12)	0.85 (0.12)	0.55 (0.11)	0.56 (0.12)	0.45 (0.17)	0.29 (0.17)
Anonymous Message	0.89 (0.24)	0.86 (0.24)	0.92 (0.26)	0.86 (0.26)	-0.03 (0.35)	0.00 (0.35)
Anonymous×Instrumental belief	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.12)	0.09 (0.09)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.15)	-0.15 (0.15)
Anonymous×Affective belief	-0.67 (0.14)	-0.63 (0.14)	-0.29 (0.14)	-0.33 (0.14)	-0.38 (0.20)	-0.30 (0.19)
Constant	-0.62 (0.24)	-0.96 (0.24)	-0.89 (0.27)	-0.94 (0.27)	0.27 (0.36)	-0.03 (0.36)
Including Senders who didn't send required email	✓		✓		✓	
Dropping uncensored WTP>15		✓		✓		✓
Observations (Responses)	1608	1464	1106	1079	2714	2543
Senders	536	488	369	360	905	848
R ²	0.15	0.13	0.07	0.07	0.13	0.12

Coefficient estimates are from linear regressions with standard errors clustered by Sender shown below in parentheses. The dependent variable is the willingness-to-pay (WTP) to email the message. Columns 1 and 3 additionally include Senders who did not send the required emails (Table A.3d). Columns 2 and 4 drop Senders who state an uncensored WTP greater than \$15. See notes in Table 1.

Table A.7: Beliefs and willingness for calling friends

Response	<i>N</i>	%
<i>From now until the election, how likely are you to call your friends about voting in the election for [candidate]?</i>		
Very unlikely	123	41
Unlikely	38	13
Somewhat unlikely	40	13
In the middle	24	8
Somewhat likely	28	9
Likely	22	7
Very likely	14	5
I already have	11	4
<i>My friends would like getting a phone call from me about voting in the election for [candidate]</i>		
Strongly disagree	86	29
Somewhat disagree	73	24
Neither agree nor disagree	60	20
Somewhat agree	63	21
Strongly agree	18	6
<i>If you called your friends instead of strangers, do you think you would have a lower or higher chance of getting them to vote for [candidate]?</i>		
Much lower	8	3
Somewhat lower	9	3
About the same	68	23
Somewhat higher	88	29
Much higher	37	12
Not applicable, all my friends are voting for [candidate] already	90	30
	300	100

Table A.8: Difference in likelihood of calling friends vs. volunteering for phone-banking

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Sample:</i>	All	Control	All	Control
<i>Beliefs on the relative effects of calling friends vs. strangers</i>				
Higher chance of persuading friends	0.60 (0.19)	0.83 (0.23)	0.53 (0.24)	0.82 (0.40)
Friends already voting for [candidate]	0.12 (0.21)	0.20 (0.26)	0.01 (0.26)	0.11 (0.36)
Δ Affective effect	0.42 (0.09)	0.28 (0.12)	0.41 (0.10)	0.26 (0.14)
Republican			-0.30 (0.21)	-0.49 (0.30)
Social Responsibility Scale			-0.05 (0.18)	-0.30 (0.27)
Prosocial Scale			0.09 (0.17)	0.14 (0.26)
<i>Big 5 Personality Traits</i>				
Extraversion			-0.10 (0.10)	-0.32 (0.18)
Agreeableness			-0.23 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.20)
Conscientiousness			0.02 (0.12)	0.02 (0.20)
Emotional Stability			-0.01 (0.11)	0.09 (0.19)
Openness to Experience			0.08 (0.13)	0.08 (0.21)
Political engagement index			0.30 (0.16)	0.24 (0.27)
State FE			✓	✓
<i>N</i>	289	145	289	145
<i>R</i> ²	0.18	0.16	0.30	0.35

This table shows OLS estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is the participants' predicted likelihood of calling friends about voting for their preferred candidate, with responses ranging from -3 (Very unlikely) to 3 (Very likely), minus their predicted likelihood of volunteering for phone-banking. "Higher chance of persuading friends" is an indicator for participants believing that they will have a higher chance of persuading their friends to vote for their preferred candidate compared to strangers. "Friends already voting for [candidate]" is an indicator for participants believing that all their friends are already voting for their preferred candidate. The omitted group for the beliefs on the instrumental effect of calling friends are participants who predict calling friends will have either the same or lower persuasive effect relative to calling strangers. " Δ Affective effect" is the difference in the belief on the affective effect for calling friends, minus that for phone-banking strangers. Columns 2 and 4 contain only participants in the control group. A small number of participants who state that they have already called their friends are excluded (Table A.7).

Table A.9a: Effect of information intervention on beliefs about phone-banking

	Instrumental beliefs	Affective beliefs
	(1)	(2)
Treatment group	-13.30 (2.20)	-0.03 (0.11)
Republican	0.80 (2.98)	0.02 (0.13)
Social Responsibility Scale	-6.54 (2.63)	0.05 (0.10)
Prosocial Scale	2.14 (1.87)	0.03 (0.10)
<i>Big 5 Personality Traits</i>		
Extraversion	-0.19 (1.37)	0.00 (0.06)
Agreeableness	2.65 (1.34)	-0.05 (0.08)
Conscientiousness	3.40 (1.72)	-0.02 (0.07)
Emotional Stability	1.22 (1.61)	0.17 (0.07)
Openness to Experience	1.34 (1.36)	0.03 (0.06)
Political engagement index	5.70 (2.29)	0.29 (0.10)
State FE	✓	✓
N	300	300
R^2	0.35	0.19

This table shows the results from Table 4a with the coefficients on the control variables. State fixed effects are included (not shown).

Table A.9b: Causal effect of instrumental beliefs on volunteering or donating for phone-banking

	Likelihood of volunteering [-3, 3]		Willingness to donate \$[0,10]	
	RF (1)	IV (2)	RF (3)	IV (4)
Treatment group	-0.08 (0.14)		-0.35 (0.41)	
<i>Beliefs on the effects of phone-banking</i>				
Instrumental belief (10 pp.)		0.06 (0.09)		0.27 (0.28)
Affective: Recipient's (dis)like [-2, 2]	0.72 (0.11)	0.68 (0.12)	0.40 (0.21)	0.22 (0.26)
Republican	0.25 (0.18)	0.24 (0.16)	-0.17 (0.47)	-0.18 (0.43)
Social Responsibility Scale	0.16 (0.14)	0.21 (0.14)	1.24 (0.39)	1.43 (0.38)
Prosocial Scale	0.12 (0.12)	0.10 (0.10)	-0.98 (0.31)	-1.03 (0.28)
<i>Big 5 Personality Traits</i>				
Extraversion	0.12 (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.08 (0.25)	0.09 (0.22)
Agreeableness	0.12 (0.09)	0.10 (0.09)	0.46 (0.30)	0.38 (0.29)
Conscientiousness	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.09)	0.11 (0.29)	0.02 (0.29)
Emotional Stability	0.09 (0.08)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.20 (0.27)	-0.20 (0.24)
Openness to Experience	0.26 (0.08)	0.25 (0.08)	0.09 (0.28)	0.06 (0.25)
Political engagement index	0.33 (0.15)	0.31 (0.14)	1.12 (0.33)	1.02 (0.30)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	300	300	300	300
<i>R</i> ²	0.49	0.51	0.23	0.25

This table shows the results from Table 4b with the coefficients on the control variables. State fixed effects are included (not shown).

Table A.10: Effect of receiving a Direct Pressure Message on rates of electoral participation

	Voter registration			Voter turnout		
	ITT	TOT		ITT	TOT	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Receiving Direct Pressure Message	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.19 (0.11)		-0.05 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.14)	
<i>Sender's beliefs on the effects of the message:</i>						
Instrumental: Persuasive effect of message (standardized)			0.00 (0.06)			-0.00 (0.06)
Affective: Recipient's (dis)like of message (standardized)			0.03 (0.06)			-0.01 (0.06)
Sender's WTP to send message (standardized)			0.02 (0.06)			-0.00 (0.06)
Constant	0.87 (0.05)	0.88 (0.05)	0.78 (0.05)	0.75 (0.06)	0.76 (0.06)	0.72 (0.05)
Treatment group only			✓			✓
N	150	130	74	150	130	74
K-P F-stat		116.01			116.01	

This table compares the voter registration and turnout rates between non-registered participants in the treatment group (assigned to receive a Direct Pressure Message) and in the control group (assigned to receive no message). Columns 1 and 4 show the intend-to-treat (ITT) results, and Columns 2 and 5 the treatment-on-treated (TOT) results. Columns 4 and 6 predict the effect of the message on the treatment group using the Sender's beliefs on the instrumental and affective effects of the message on the Recipient as well as the Sender's WTP to send the message. The Sender's beliefs and WTP have been standardized. Robust standard errors are displayed in parentheses.

Table A.11: Non-registered Recipients: Experimental outcomes

	Response in Follow-up Survey			
	Received email	Did not receive email	No response	Total
<i>Panel A. Control group</i>				
Did not register	0 [0%(↓) 0%(→)]	6 [12%(↓) 86%(→)]	1 [17%(↓) 14%(→)]	7 [13%(↓) 100%(→)]
Registered but did not vote	0 [0%(↓) 0%(→)]	6 [12%(↓) 86%(→)]	1 [17%(↓) 14%(→)]	7 [13%(↓) 100%(→)]
Registered and voted	0 [0%(↓) 0%(→)]	37 [76%(↓) 90%(→)]	4 [67%(↓) 10%(→)]	41 [75%(↓) 100%(→)]
Total	0 [0%(↓) 0%(→)]	49 [100%(↓) 89%(→)]	6 [100%(↓) 11%(→)]	55 [100%(↓) 100%(→)]
<i>Panel B. Treatment group</i>				
Did not register	10 [21%(↓) 45%(→)]	9 [27%(↓) 41%(→)]	3 [21%(↓) 14%(→)]	22 [23%(↓) 100%(→)]
Registered but did not vote	4 [8%(↓) 57%(→)]	2 [6%(↓) 29%(→)]	1 [7%(↓) 14%(→)]	7 [7%(↓) 100%(→)]
Registered and voted	34 [71%(↓) 52%(→)]	22 [67%(↓) 33%(→)]	10 [71%(↓) 15%(→)]	66 [69%(↓) 100%(→)]
Total	48 [100%(↓) 51%(→)]	33 [100%(↓) 35%(→)]	14 [100%(↓) 15%(→)]	95 [100%(↓) 100%(→)]

Format: Count [column frequency%(↓) row frequency%(→)]

This table tabulates non-registered participants by the post-election experimental outcome (did not register, registered but did not vote, registered and voted) and whether they indicated in the Follow-up Survey that they had received an email from another participant in the study about registering to vote. This table excludes 15 non-registered participants who received or did not receive a message endogenously depending on their or their Sender's WTP choices.