# WILL A FIVE-MINUTE DISCUSSION CHANGE YOUR MIND? A COUNTRYWIDE EXPERIMENT ON VOTER CHOICE IN FRANCE

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Online Appendix

October 2017

# Appendix A. All territories, whether or not they used the randomization lists

**Table A1: Summary statistics (all territories, whether or not they used the randomization lists)**

| | Control group | | Treatment group | | *P* -value Treatment = Control | Number of obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | | |
| *Panel A. Electoral outcomes* | | | | | | |
| Randomization at precinct level | 0.308 | 0.462 | 0.316 | 0.465 | 0.431 | 14114 |
| Number of registered citizens | 988.1 | 1228.3 | 1004.8 | 1299.2 | 0.523 | 14114 |
| Potential to win votes, PO | 0.080 | 0.034 | 0.081 | 0.034 | 0.261 | 14114 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.848 | 0.051 | 0.847 | 0.052 | 0.168 | 12300 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.845 | 0.046 | 0.844 | 0.047 | 0.324 | 12300 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.253 | 0.080 | 0.255 | 0.080 | 0.345 | 12298 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.488 | 0.104 | 0.490 | 0.104 | 0.431 | 12300 |
| *Panel B. Location* | | | | | | |
| Population of the municipality | 24448.9 | 160702.8 | 24069.6 | 159674.5 | 0.911 | 14107 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Ile-de-France | 0.096 | 0.294 | 0.095 | 0.294 | 0.928 | 14114 |
| Champagne-Ardenne | 0.034 | 0.182 | 0.032 | 0.177 | 0.597 | 14114 |
| Picardie | 0.039 | 0.195 | 0.039 | 0.193 | 0.915 | 14114 |
| Haute-Normandie | 0.033 | 0.180 | 0.033 | 0.180 | 0.978 | 14114 |
| Centre-Val de Loire | 0.056 | 0.230 | 0.056 | 0.230 | 0.966 | 14114 |
| Basse-Normandie | 0.038 | 0.190 | 0.038 | 0.192 | 0.876 | 14114 |
| Bourgogne | 0.039 | 0.194 | 0.039 | 0.193 | 0.932 | 14114 |
| Nord-Pas-de-Calais | 0.049 | 0.216 | 0.052 | 0.223 | 0.464 | 14114 |
| Lorraine | 0.042 | 0.201 | 0.042 | 0.200 | 0.933 | 14114 |
| Alsace | 0.025 | 0.156 | 0.026 | 0.158 | 0.821 | 14114 |
| Franche-Comté | 0.027 | 0.162 | 0.028 | 0.165 | 0.769 | 14114 |
| Pays-de-la-Loire | 0.057 | 0.233 | 0.059 | 0.236 | 0.765 | 14114 |
| Bretagne | 0.063 | 0.243 | 0.056 | 0.231 | 0.211 | 14114 |
| Poitou-Charentes | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0.042 | 0.202 | 0.900 | 14114 |
| Aquitaine | 0.058 | 0.233 | 0.061 | 0.240 | 0.478 | 14114 |
| Midi-Pyrénées | 0.051 | 0.220 | 0.052 | 0.221 | 0.927 | 14114 |
| Limousin | 0.020 | 0.141 | 0.018 | 0.134 | 0.537 | 14114 |
| Rhône-Alpes | 0.089 | 0.285 | 0.092 | 0.289 | 0.672 | 14114 |
| Auvergne | 0.030 | 0.170 | 0.030 | 0.171 | 0.935 | 14114 |
| Languedoc-Roussillon | 0.044 | 0.205 | 0.042 | 0.200 | 0.620 | 14114 |
| Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | 0.039 | 0.195 | 0.039 | 0.194 | 0.949 | 14114 |
| Corse | 0.009 | 0.094 | 0.008 | 0.092 | 0.850 | 14114 |
| DOM-TOM | 0.017 | 0.131 | 0.019 | 0.135 | 0.641 | 14114 |
| *Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality* | | | | | | |
| Share of men | 0.493 | 0.023 | 0.493 | 0.025 | 0.834 | 14107 |
| Share of the population with age | | | | | | |
| 0 - 14 | 0.187 | 0.042 | 0.187 | 0.042 | 0.722 | 14107 |
| 15 - 29 | 0.155 | 0.043 | 0.156 | 0.043 | 0.218 | 14107 |
| 30 - 44 | 0.197 | 0.035 | 0.197 | 0.035 | 0.402 | 14107 |
| 45 - 59 | 0.212 | 0.034 | 0.212 | 0.035 | 0.875 | 14107 |
| 60 - 74 | 0.154 | 0.047 | 0.154 | 0.045 | 0.515 | 14107 |
| 75 and older | 0.094 | 0.043 | 0.094 | 0.043 | 0.744 | 14107 |
| Within population of 15 - 64 | | | | | | |
| Share of working population | 0.730 | 0.056 | 0.729 | 0.056 | 0.704 | 14107 |
| Share of unemployed (among working population) | 0.114 | 0.056 | 0.115 | 0.057 | 0.106 | 14107 |
| Median income | 19022.5 | 3684.7 | 18984.4 | 3776.2 | 0.636 | 13241 |

*Notes* : For each variable, I report the means and standard deviations in both the control group and the treatment group and indicate the *p* -value of the difference. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct or municipality).

**Table A2: Impact on voter turnout (all territories, whether or not they used the randomization lists)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | -0.0011 | -0.0006 | -0.0004 | -0.0012 | -0.0010 | -0.0008 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0006 |
| | (0.0008) | (0.0007) | (0.0007) | (0.0008) | (0.0007) | (0.0007) | (0.0007) | (0.0007) | (0.0006) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 14097 | 12282 | 12265 | 14097 | 12282 | 12265 | 14097 | 12282 | 12265 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.280 | 0.334 | 0.000 | 0.252 | 0.315 | 0.000 | 0.311 | 0.371 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.8137 | 0.8229 | 0.8229 | 0.8183 | 0.8255 | 0.8255 | 0.8160 | 0.8242 | 0.8242 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | -0.0022 | -0.0013 | -0.0009 | -0.0023 | -0.0021 | -0.0016 | -0.0023 | -0.0017 | -0.0012 |
| | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0013) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 14097 | 12282 | 12265 | 14097 | 12282 | 12265 | 14097 | 12282 | 12265 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table A3: Impact on Hollande's vote share (all territories, whether or not they used the randomization lists)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0004 | 0.0000 | -0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0003 | 0.0001 | 0.0006 | 0.0001 | 0.0000 |
| | (0.0011) | (0.0009) | (0.0009) | (0.0014) | (0.0009) | (0.0009) | (0.0012) | (0.0008) | (0.0008) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 14097 | 12280 | 12263 | 14096 | 12281 | 12264 | 14096 | 12279 | 12262 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.473 | 0.484 | 0.000 | 0.612 | 0.620 | 0.000 | 0.625 | 0.632 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.2910 | 0.2788 | 0.2788 | 0.5404 | 0.5293 | 0.5293 | 0.4157 | 0.4041 | 0.4041 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0007 | 0.0000 | -0.0001 | 0.0016 | 0.0007 | 0.0003 | 0.0012 | 0.0003 | 0.0000 |
| | (0.0022) | (0.0018) | (0.0018) | (0.0028) | (0.0019) | (0.0019) | (0.0023) | (0.0016) | (0.0016) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 14097 | 12280 | 12263 | 14096 | 12281 | 12264 | 14096 | 12279 | 12262 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix B. Territories characterized using only the 1st or the 2nd criterion

**Table B1: Summary statistics (territories which used the randomization lists, based on reports: first criterion)**

| | Control group | | Treatment group | | *P*-value Treatment = Control | Number of obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | | |
| *Panel A. Electoral outcomes* | | | | | | |
| Randomization at precinct level | 0.507 | 0.500 | 0.511 | 0.500 | 0.873 | 3045 |
| Number of registered citizens | 1046.5 | 1135.5 | 1156.9 | 1622.4 | 0.051 | 3045 |
| Potential to win votes, PO | 0.088 | 0.035 | 0.088 | 0.033 | 0.939 | 3045 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.845 | 0.050 | 0.842 | 0.047 | 0.306 | 2375 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.839 | 0.045 | 0.839 | 0.043 | 0.834 | 2375 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.272 | 0.078 | 0.276 | 0.077 | 0.279 | 2375 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.511 | 0.100 | 0.513 | 0.099 | 0.659 | 2375 |
| *Panel B. Location* | | | | | | |
| Population of the municipality | 72108.3 | 290052.8 | 69910.7 | 286805.5 | 0.867 | 3045 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Ile-de-France | 0.160 | 0.367 | 0.162 | 0.369 | 0.906 | 3045 |
| Champagne-Ardenne | 0.015 | 0.121 | 0.014 | 0.119 | 0.923 | 3045 |
| Picardie | 0.060 | 0.237 | 0.060 | 0.238 | 0.945 | 3045 |
| Haute-Normandie | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0.041 | 0.199 | 0.863 | 3045 |
| Centre-Val de Loire | 0.063 | 0.243 | 0.064 | 0.244 | 0.948 | 3045 |
| Basse-Normandie | 0.018 | 0.134 | 0.018 | 0.135 | 0.966 | 3045 |
| Bourgogne | 0.041 | 0.199 | 0.041 | 0.199 | 0.994 | 3045 |
| Nord-Pas-de-Calais | 0.018 | 0.134 | 0.019 | 0.137 | 0.859 | 3045 |
| Lorraine | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0.043 | 0.204 | 0.960 | 3045 |
| Alsace | 0.017 | 0.128 | 0.020 | 0.139 | 0.594 | 3045 |
| Franche-Comté | 0.026 | 0.161 | 0.027 | 0.161 | 0.979 | 3045 |
| Pays-de-la-Loire | 0.069 | 0.254 | 0.068 | 0.251 | 0.876 | 3045 |
| Bretagne | 0.058 | 0.234 | 0.062 | 0.242 | 0.677 | 3045 |
| Poitou-Charentes | 0.025 | 0.156 | 0.025 | 0.157 | 0.931 | 3045 |
| Aquitaine | 0.046 | 0.210 | 0.046 | 0.210 | 0.997 | 3045 |
| Midi-Pyrénées | 0.041 | 0.199 | 0.041 | 0.199 | 0.994 | 3045 |
| Limousin | 0.038 | 0.191 | 0.034 | 0.181 | 0.642 | 3045 |
| Rhône-Alpes | 0.122 | 0.328 | 0.118 | 0.323 | 0.794 | 3045 |
| Auvergne | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0.043 | 0.202 | 0.969 | 3045 |
| Languedoc-Roussillon | 0.028 | 0.165 | 0.027 | 0.162 | 0.888 | 3045 |
| Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | 0.023 | 0.150 | 0.023 | 0.148 | 0.930 | 3045 |
| Corse | 0.002 | 0.041 | 0.002 | 0.040 | 0.994 | 3045 |
| *Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality* | | | | | | |
| Share of men | 0.488 | 0.023 | 0.486 | 0.022 | 0.106 | 3045 |
| Share of the population with age | | | | | | |
| 0 - 14 | 0.183 | 0.037 | 0.182 | 0.036 | 0.575 | 3045 |
| 15 - 29 | 0.177 | 0.052 | 0.177 | 0.053 | 0.892 | 3045 |
| 30 - 44 | 0.197 | 0.031 | 0.196 | 0.031 | 0.669 | 3045 |
| 45 - 59 | 0.206 | 0.032 | 0.205 | 0.031 | 0.190 | 3045 |
| 60 - 74 | 0.145 | 0.038 | 0.147 | 0.040 | 0.279 | 3045 |
| 75 and older | 0.092 | 0.036 | 0.093 | 0.039 | 0.469 | 3045 |
| Within population of 15 - 64 | | | | | | |
| Share of working population | 0.727 | 0.049 | 0.725 | 0.051 | 0.396 | 3045 |
| Share of unemployed (among working population) | 0.121 | 0.048 | 0.123 | 0.048 | 0.622 | 3045 |
| Median income | 19371.4 | 3881.2 | 19359.0 | 3960.3 | 0.945 | 2963 |

*Notes* : For each variable, I report the means and standard deviations in both the control group and the treatment group and indicate the *p*-value of the difference. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct or municipality).

**Table B2: Impact on voter turnout (territories which used the randomization lists, based on reports: first criterion)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | -0.0007 | -0.0004 | 0.0000 | -0.0010 | -0.0023 | -0.0020 | -0.0009 | -0.0012 | -0.0009 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0016) | (0.0014) | (0.0013) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.359 | 0.428 | 0.000 | 0.294 | 0.360 | 0.000 | 0.368 | 0.433 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7972 | 0.8106 | 0.8106 | 0.8031 | 0.8144 | 0.8144 | 0.8001 | 0.8125 | 0.8125 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | -0.0012 | -0.0009 | 0.0000 | -0.0019 | -0.0044 | -0.0039 | -0.0015 | -0.0024 | -0.0018 |
| | (0.0030) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) | (0.0028) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) | (0.0028) | (0.0027) | (0.0026) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table B3: Impact on Hollande's vote share (territories which used the randomization lists, based on reports: first criterion)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0044 | 0.0037 | 0.0029 | 0.0036 | 0.0039 | 0.0035 | 0.0040 | 0.0036 | 0.0030 |
| | (0.0023) | (0.0018) | (0.0018) | (0.0028) | (0.0019) | (0.0018) | (0.0024) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 |
| R-squared | 0.002 | 0.524 | 0.542 | 0.001 | 0.656 | 0.670 | 0.001 | 0.658 | 0.672 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3166 | 0.2998 | 0.2998 | 0.5746 | 0.5576 | 0.5576 | 0.4456 | 0.4287 | 0.4287 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0080 | 0.0070 | 0.0057 | 0.0065 | 0.0075 | 0.0069 | 0.0072 | 0.0069 | 0.0059 |
| | (0.0042) | (0.0035) | (0.0035) | (0.0051) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) | (0.0044) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 | 3038 | 2370 | 2370 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table B4: Summary statistics (territories which used the randomization lists, based on survey: second criterion)**

| | Control group | | Treatment group | | *P*-value Treatment = Control | Number of obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | | |
| *Panel A. Electoral outcomes* | | | | | | |
| Randomization at precinct level | 0.725 | 0.447 | 0.714 | 0.452 | 0.720 | 1452 |
| Number of registered citizens | 919.6 | 581.6 | 1040.3 | 1248.1 | 0.016 | 1452 |
| Potential to win votes, PO | 0.104 | 0.039 | 0.103 | 0.036 | 0.677 | 1452 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.824 | 0.059 | 0.822 | 0.054 | 0.639 | 950 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.819 | 0.053 | 0.818 | 0.049 | 0.892 | 950 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.302 | 0.087 | 0.307 | 0.090 | 0.501 | 950 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.547 | 0.106 | 0.544 | 0.106 | 0.681 | 950 |
| *Panel B. Location* | | | | | | |
| Population of the municipality | 104405.8 | 331144.8 | 100554.4 | 326234.0 | 0.859 | 1452 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Ile-de-France | 0.181 | 0.386 | 0.181 | 0.385 | 0.998 | 1452 |
| Champagne-Ardenne | 0.049 | 0.216 | 0.051 | 0.219 | 0.896 | 1452 |
| Picardie | 0.042 | 0.201 | 0.041 | 0.199 | 0.963 | 1452 |
| Haute-Normandie | 0.045 | 0.208 | 0.042 | 0.201 | 0.812 | 1452 |
| Centre-Val de Loire | 0.059 | 0.236 | 0.061 | 0.239 | 0.913 | 1452 |
| Basse-Normandie | 0.028 | 0.165 | 0.031 | 0.173 | 0.782 | 1452 |
| Bourgogne | 0.035 | 0.184 | 0.034 | 0.182 | 0.966 | 1452 |
| Nord-Pas-de-Calais | 0.003 | 0.059 | 0.009 | 0.092 | 0.247 | 1452 |
| Lorraine | 0.045 | 0.208 | 0.045 | 0.208 | 0.989 | 1452 |
| Alsace | 0.024 | 0.155 | 0.023 | 0.151 | 0.904 | 1452 |
| Franche-Comté | 0.014 | 0.117 | 0.018 | 0.133 | 0.607 | 1452 |
| Pays-de-la-Loire | 0.080 | 0.272 | 0.075 | 0.263 | 0.759 | 1452 |
| Bretagne | 0.038 | 0.192 | 0.035 | 0.184 | 0.803 | 1452 |
| Poitou-Charentes | 0.021 | 0.143 | 0.021 | 0.142 | 0.974 | 1452 |
| Aquitaine | 0.038 | 0.192 | 0.036 | 0.186 | 0.856 | 1452 |
| Midi-Pyrénées | 0.031 | 0.175 | 0.031 | 0.173 | 0.968 | 1452 |
| Limousin | 0.024 | 0.155 | 0.024 | 0.153 | 0.972 | 1452 |
| Rhône-Alpes | 0.087 | 0.282 | 0.092 | 0.289 | 0.800 | 1452 |
| Auvergne | 0.035 | 0.184 | 0.034 | 0.182 | 0.966 | 1452 |
| Languedoc-Roussillon | 0.087 | 0.282 | 0.087 | 0.282 | 0.982 | 1452 |
| Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | 0.031 | 0.175 | 0.029 | 0.168 | 0.849 | 1452 |
| *Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality* | | | | | | |
| Share of men | 0.481 | 0.020 | 0.482 | 0.024 | 0.573 | 1452 |
| Share of the population with age | | | | | | |
| 0 - 14 | 0.175 | 0.036 | 0.174 | 0.036 | 0.662 | 1452 |
| 15 - 29 | 0.196 | 0.060 | 0.195 | 0.059 | 0.876 | 1452 |
| 30 - 44 | 0.191 | 0.033 | 0.192 | 0.030 | 0.706 | 1452 |
| 45 - 59 | 0.198 | 0.031 | 0.197 | 0.033 | 0.662 | 1452 |
| 60 - 74 | 0.144 | 0.043 | 0.146 | 0.044 | 0.661 | 1452 |
| 75 and older | 0.095 | 0.035 | 0.095 | 0.036 | 0.832 | 1452 |
| Within population of 15 - 64 | | | | | | |
| Share of working population | 0.715 | 0.053 | 0.711 | 0.053 | 0.302 | 1452 |
| Share of unemployed (among working population) | 0.140 | 0.053 | 0.140 | 0.054 | 0.962 | 1452 |
| Median income | 19071.7 | 4073.7 | 19125.6 | 4004.0 | 0.844 | 1366 |

*Notes* : For each variable, I report the means and standard deviations in both the control group and the treatment group and indicate the *p*-value of the difference. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct or municipality).

**Table B5: Impact on voter turnout (territories which used the randomization lists, based on survey: second criterion)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0021 | 0.0018 | 0.0005 | 0.0019 | 0.0011 | 0.0004 | 0.0020 | 0.0015 | 0.0006 |
| | (0.0027) | (0.0027) | (0.0026) | (0.0024) | (0.0026) | (0.0025) | (0.0025) | (0.0025) | (0.0024) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.343 | 0.470 | 0.001 | 0.264 | 0.348 | 0.001 | 0.336 | 0.437 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7649 | 0.7800 | 0.7800 | 0.7736 | 0.7858 | 0.7858 | 0.7692 | 0.7829 | 0.7829 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0032 | 0.0028 | 0.0009 | 0.0029 | 0.0017 | 0.0007 | 0.0030 | 0.0024 | 0.0009 |
| | (0.0041) | (0.0044) | (0.0042) | (0.0037) | (0.0041) | (0.0041) | (0.0038) | (0.0039) | (0.0038) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table B6: Impact on Hollande's vote share (territories which used the randomization lists, based on survey: second criterion)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0065 | 0.0073 | 0.0076 | 0.0026 | 0.0052 | 0.0050 | 0.0045 | 0.0058 | 0.0059 |
| | (0.0038) | (0.0036) | (0.0033) | (0.0044) | (0.0033) | (0.0032) | (0.0038) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 |
| R-squared | 0.002 | 0.553 | 0.577 | 0.000 | 0.647 | 0.676 | 0.001 | 0.671 | 0.689 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3477 | 0.3239 | 0.3239 | 0.6166 | 0.5962 | 0.5962 | 0.4821 | 0.4600 | 0.4600 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0100 | 0.0117 | 0.0124 | 0.0039 | 0.0082 | 0.0081 | 0.0069 | 0.0093 | 0.0096 |
| | (0.0058) | (0.0057) | (0.0054) | (0.0067) | (0.0053) | (0.0053) | (0.0057) | (0.0047) | (0.0046) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 | 1450 | 948 | 948 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix C. First stratum of each territory, or minimal sample

**Table C1: Summary statistics (first stratum of each territory)**

| | Control group | | Treatment group | | *P*-value Treatment = Control | Number of obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | | |
| *Panel A. Electoral outcomes* | | | | | | |
| Randomization at precinct level | 0.525 | 0.500 | 0.523 | 0.500 | 0.940 | 2811 |
| Number of registered citizens | 1106.4 | 1168.5 | 1225.0 | 1729.8 | 0.053 | 2811 |
| Potential to win votes, PO | 0.086 | 0.035 | 0.086 | 0.033 | 0.930 | 2811 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.847 | 0.050 | 0.844 | 0.048 | 0.349 | 2242 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.841 | 0.045 | 0.840 | 0.044 | 0.766 | 2242 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.270 | 0.077 | 0.275 | 0.076 | 0.305 | 2242 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.506 | 0.100 | 0.508 | 0.099 | 0.690 | 2242 |
| *Panel B. Location* | | | | | | |
| Population of the municipality | 62070.0 | 271997.2 | 59808.3 | 268375.3 | 0.860 | 2811 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Ile-de-France | 0.181 | 0.385 | 0.181 | 0.385 | 0.984 | 2811 |
| Champagne-Ardenne | 0.020 | 0.139 | 0.019 | 0.137 | 0.924 | 2811 |
| Picardie | 0.047 | 0.211 | 0.047 | 0.213 | 0.928 | 2811 |
| Haute-Normandie | 0.050 | 0.219 | 0.048 | 0.215 | 0.861 | 2811 |
| Centre-Val de Loire | 0.066 | 0.249 | 0.067 | 0.250 | 0.952 | 2811 |
| Basse-Normandie | 0.023 | 0.151 | 0.025 | 0.156 | 0.828 | 2811 |
| Bourgogne | 0.034 | 0.182 | 0.034 | 0.182 | 0.988 | 2811 |
| Nord-Pas-de-Calais | 0.020 | 0.139 | 0.022 | 0.146 | 0.759 | 2811 |
| Lorraine | 0.039 | 0.195 | 0.042 | 0.200 | 0.804 | 2811 |
| Alsace | 0.013 | 0.111 | 0.016 | 0.125 | 0.525 | 2811 |
| Franche-Comté | 0.027 | 0.162 | 0.027 | 0.162 | 0.980 | 2811 |
| Pays-de-la-Loire | 0.061 | 0.239 | 0.058 | 0.234 | 0.805 | 2811 |
| Bretagne | 0.066 | 0.249 | 0.071 | 0.256 | 0.719 | 2811 |
| Poitou-Charentes | 0.020 | 0.139 | 0.020 | 0.141 | 0.915 | 2811 |
| Aquitaine | 0.050 | 0.219 | 0.049 | 0.216 | 0.930 | 2811 |
| Midi-Pyrénées | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0.996 | 2811 |
| Limousin | 0.022 | 0.145 | 0.017 | 0.130 | 0.533 | 2811 |
| Rhône-Alpes | 0.129 | 0.336 | 0.124 | 0.330 | 0.764 | 2811 |
| Auvergne | 0.036 | 0.186 | 0.036 | 0.185 | 0.970 | 2811 |
| Languedoc-Roussillon | 0.022 | 0.145 | 0.021 | 0.143 | 0.925 | 2811 |
| Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | 0.030 | 0.172 | 0.031 | 0.172 | 0.984 | 2811 |
| Corse | 0.002 | 0.042 | 0.002 | 0.042 | 0.993 | 2811 |
| *Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality* | | | | | | |
| Share of men | 0.488 | 0.022 | 0.486 | 0.021 | 0.106 | 2811 |
| Share of the population with age | | | | | | |
| 0 - 14 | 0.186 | 0.036 | 0.185 | 0.035 | 0.592 | 2811 |
| 15 - 29 | 0.175 | 0.044 | 0.174 | 0.045 | 0.938 | 2811 |
| 30 - 44 | 0.199 | 0.031 | 0.198 | 0.030 | 0.549 | 2811 |
| 45 - 59 | 0.206 | 0.029 | 0.206 | 0.031 | 0.601 | 2811 |
| 60 - 74 | 0.144 | 0.035 | 0.146 | 0.036 | 0.200 | 2811 |
| 75 and older | 0.090 | 0.036 | 0.091 | 0.037 | 0.763 | 2811 |
| Within population of 15 - 64 | | | | | | |
| Share of working population | 0.731 | 0.049 | 0.729 | 0.049 | 0.617 | 2811 |
| Share of unemployed (among working population) | 0.118 | 0.046 | 0.120 | 0.048 | 0.486 | 2811 |
| Median income | 19665.4 | 3916.7 | 19652.2 | 4001.1 | 0.944 | 2743 |

*Notes* : For each variable, I report the means and standard deviations in both the control group and the treatment group and indicate the *p*-value of the difference. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct or municipality).

**Table C2. First stage (first stratum of each territory)**

| | No control | With controls | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Treatment | 0.5229 | 0.4789 | 0.4805 | 0.4793 | 0.4801 | 0.4800 | 0.4799 |
| | (0.0148) | (0.0189) | (0.0188) | (0.0188) | (0.0189) | (0.0188) | (0.0188) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Additional controls | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 2007 outcome controlled for | | Voter turnout, round 1 | Voter turnout, round 2 | Voter turnout, average | Vote share Royal, round 1 | Vote share Royal, round 2 | Vote share Royal, average |
| Observations | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2239 | 2239 | 2239 | 2239 |
| R-squared | 0.216 | 0.409 | 0.409 | 0.409 | 0.407 | 0.408 | 0.407 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 |

*Notes* : The table shows first stage results from Equation [3]. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns 2 through 7 control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization: voter turnout or vote share obtained by Ségolène Royal in the first round, in the second round, or averaged over both rounds of the 2007 presidential election. Additional controls include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

**Table C3: Impact on voter turnout (first stratum of each territory)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | -0.0005 | -0.0002 | 0.0000 | -0.0008 | -0.0019 | -0.0018 | -0.0007 | -0.0010 | -0.0009 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0016) | (0.0014) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.373 | 0.445 | 0.000 | 0.300 | 0.372 | 0.000 | 0.372 | 0.442 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7982 | 0.8099 | 0.8099 | 0.8042 | 0.8138 | 0.8138 | 0.8012 | 0.8119 | 0.8119 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | -0.0010 | -0.0005 | -0.0001 | -0.0015 | -0.0038 | -0.0037 | -0.0013 | -0.0020 | -0.0018 |
| | (0.0033) | (0.0032) | (0.0030) | (0.0031) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0031) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table C4: Impact on Hollande's vote share (first stratum of each territory)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0075 | 0.0057 | 0.0046 | 0.0071 | 0.0061 | 0.0053 | 0.0073 | 0.0057 | 0.0048 |
| | (0.0024) | (0.0018) | (0.0017) | (0.0029) | (0.0019) | (0.0017) | (0.0025) | (0.0016) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.557 | 0.584 | 0.003 | 0.667 | 0.684 | 0.004 | 0.681 | 0.700 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3107 | 0.2972 | 0.2972 | 0.5644 | 0.5510 | 0.5510 | 0.4375 | 0.4241 | 0.4241 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0143 | 0.0116 | 0.0095 | 0.0135 | 0.0125 | 0.0111 | 0.0139 | 0.0117 | 0.0100 |
| | (0.0045) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) | (0.0056) | (0.0039) | (0.0037) | (0.0048) | (0.0033) | (0.0030) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 | 2805 | 2239 | 2239 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table C5: Summary statistics (minimal sample: smallest set of strata of each territory which would be included in the randomization under any possible treatment assignment in lower-numbered strata)**

| | Control group | | Treatment group | | *P* -value Treatment | Number of obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | = Control | |
| *Panel A. Electoral outcomes* | | | | | | |
| Randomization at precinct level | 0.512 | 0.500 | 0.511 | 0.500 | 0.962 | 3313 |
| Number of registered citizens | 1023.0 | 1105.7 | 1142.0 | 1620.1 | 0.026 | 3313 |
| Potential to win votes, PO | 0.090 | 0.035 | 0.090 | 0.033 | 0.963 | 3313 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.843 | 0.050 | 0.840 | 0.049 | 0.254 | 2600 |
| Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.837 | 0.045 | 0.836 | 0.045 | 0.751 | 2600 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round | 0.273 | 0.078 | 0.280 | 0.081 | 0.110 | 2600 |
| PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round | 0.513 | 0.101 | 0.516 | 0.101 | 0.517 | 2600 |
| *Panel B. Location* | | | | | | |
| Population of the municipality | 66105.8 | 267056.1 | 63937.6 | 263842.3 | 0.852 | 3313 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Ile-de-France | 0.163 | 0.369 | 0.163 | 0.369 | 0.995 | 3313 |
| Champagne-Ardenne | 0.027 | 0.163 | 0.027 | 0.161 | 0.931 | 3313 |
| Picardie | 0.050 | 0.218 | 0.051 | 0.220 | 0.942 | 3313 |
| Haute-Normandie | 0.044 | 0.205 | 0.043 | 0.202 | 0.865 | 3313 |
| Centre-Val de Loire | 0.059 | 0.236 | 0.060 | 0.237 | 0.952 | 3313 |
| Basse-Normandie | 0.023 | 0.149 | 0.024 | 0.153 | 0.841 | 3313 |
| Bourgogne | 0.038 | 0.191 | 0.038 | 0.191 | 0.995 | 3313 |
| Nord-Pas-de-Calais | 0.017 | 0.128 | 0.019 | 0.137 | 0.660 | 3313 |
| Lorraine | 0.043 | 0.202 | 0.044 | 0.206 | 0.830 | 3313 |
| Alsace | 0.017 | 0.128 | 0.020 | 0.139 | 0.613 | 3313 |
| Franche-Comté | 0.023 | 0.149 | 0.023 | 0.150 | 0.978 | 3313 |
| Pays-de-la-Loire | 0.067 | 0.250 | 0.064 | 0.246 | 0.820 | 3313 |
| Bretagne | 0.059 | 0.236 | 0.063 | 0.243 | 0.726 | 3313 |
| Poitou-Charentes | 0.024 | 0.154 | 0.025 | 0.156 | 0.936 | 3313 |
| Aquitaine | 0.044 | 0.205 | 0.043 | 0.204 | 0.932 | 3313 |
| Midi-Pyrénées | 0.040 | 0.195 | 0.040 | 0.195 | 0.997 | 3313 |
| Limousin | 0.035 | 0.184 | 0.031 | 0.174 | 0.641 | 3313 |
| Rhône-Alpes | 0.114 | 0.318 | 0.110 | 0.313 | 0.793 | 3313 |
| Auvergne | 0.040 | 0.195 | 0.039 | 0.194 | 0.968 | 3313 |
| Languedoc-Roussillon | 0.044 | 0.205 | 0.043 | 0.202 | 0.865 | 3313 |
| Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | 0.029 | 0.168 | 0.029 | 0.168 | 0.986 | 3313 |
| Corse | 0.002 | 0.039 | 0.002 | 0.039 | 0.994 | 3313 |
| *Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality* | | | | | | |
| Share of men | 0.488 | 0.023 | 0.487 | 0.024 | 0.224 | 3313 |
| Share of the population with age | | | | | | |
| 0 - 14 | 0.182 | 0.038 | 0.181 | 0.037 | 0.645 | 3313 |
| 15 - 29 | 0.175 | 0.052 | 0.175 | 0.053 | 0.843 | 3313 |
| 30 - 44 | 0.196 | 0.033 | 0.195 | 0.032 | 0.877 | 3313 |
| 45 - 59 | 0.207 | 0.033 | 0.205 | 0.033 | 0.192 | 3313 |
| 60 - 74 | 0.147 | 0.042 | 0.149 | 0.043 | 0.389 | 3313 |
| 75 and older | 0.093 | 0.038 | 0.094 | 0.040 | 0.629 | 3313 |
| Within population of 15 - 64 | | | | | | |
| Share of working population | 0.725 | 0.052 | 0.723 | 0.054 | 0.393 | 3313 |
| Share of unemployed (among working population) | 0.123 | 0.050 | 0.124 | 0.051 | 0.713 | 3313 |
| Median income | 19271.8 | 3855.3 | 19297.3 | 3920.4 | 0.882 | 3173 |

*Notes* : For each variable, I report the means and standard deviations in both the control group and the treatment group and indicate the *p* -value of the difference. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct or municipality).

**Table C6. First stage (minimal sample: smallest set of strata of each territory which would be included in the randomization under any possible treatment assignment in lower-numbered strata)**

| | No control | With controls | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Treatment | 0.5703 | 0.5265 | 0.5281 | 0.5271 | 0.5272 | 0.5270 | 0.5268 |
| | (0.0138) | (0.0176) | (0.0176) | (0.0175) | (0.0176) | (0.0175) | (0.0175) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Additional controls | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 2007 outcome controlled for | | Voter turnout, round 1 | Voter turnout, round 2 | Voter turnout, average | Vote share Royal, round 1 | Vote share Royal, round 2 | Vote share Royal, average |
| Observations | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 2595 | 2595 | 2595 | 2595 |
| R-squared | 0.262 | 0.429 | 0.428 | 0.429 | 0.428 | 0.429 | 0.428 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 |

*Notes* : The table shows first stage results from Equation [3]. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns 2 through 7 control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization: voter turnout or vote share obtained by Ségolène Royal in the first round, in the second round, or averaged over both rounds of the 2007 presidential election. Additional controls include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

**Table C7: Impact on voter turnout (minimal sample: smallest set of strata of each territory which would be included in the randomization under any possible treatment assignment in lower-numbered strata)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0000 | 0.0006 | 0.0010 | -0.0005 | -0.0012 | -0.0009 | -0.0003 | -0.0002 | 0.0001 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.333 | 0.415 | 0.000 | 0.262 | 0.331 | 0.000 | 0.335 | 0.409 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7946 | 0.8077 | 0.8077 | 0.8009 | 0.8118 | 0.8118 | 0.7978 | 0.8098 | 0.8098 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | -0.0001 | 0.0012 | 0.0019 | -0.0008 | -0.0023 | -0.0018 | -0.0004 | -0.0004 | 0.0001 |
| | (0.0029) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) | (0.0027) | (0.0028) | (0.0027) | (0.0027) | (0.0026) | (0.0026) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table C8: Impact on Hollande's vote share (minimal sample: smallest set of strata of each territory which would be included in the randomization under any possible treatment assignment in lower-numbered strata)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0065 | 0.0047 | 0.0042 | 0.0056 | 0.0053 | 0.0047 | 0.0061 | 0.0047 | 0.0042 |
| | (0.0024) | (0.0020) | (0.0019) | (0.0028) | (0.0020) | (0.0019) | (0.0024) | (0.0017) | (0.0016) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.517 | 0.528 | 0.002 | 0.629 | 0.642 | 0.003 | 0.642 | 0.652 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3161 | 0.2997 | 0.2997 | 0.5750 | 0.5587 | 0.5587 | 0.4455 | 0.4292 | 0.4292 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0113 | 0.0087 | 0.0080 | 0.0099 | 0.0098 | 0.0090 | 0.0106 | 0.0088 | 0.0080 |
| | (0.0042) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) | (0.0048) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) | (0.0042) | (0.0032) | (0.0031) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 | 3306 | 2595 | 2595 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix D. Clustered standard errors

**Table D1: Impact on voter turnout (regular cluster robust standard errors at the level of the territory)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0016) | (0.0014) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.328 | 0.410 | 0.000 | 0.255 | 0.326 | 0.000 | 0.328 | 0.405 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7951 | 0.8081 | 0.8081 | 0.8014 | 0.8122 | 0.8122 | 0.7983 | 0.8101 | 0.8101 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0001 | 0.0015 | 0.0021 | -0.0009 | -0.0021 | -0.0015 | -0.0004 | -0.0001 | 0.0004 |
| | (0.0029) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) | (0.0028) | (0.0029) | (0.0027) | (0.0028) | (0.0027) | (0.0026) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Standard errors clustered at the level of the territory are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D2: Impact on Hollande's vote share (regular cluster robust standard errors at the level of the territory)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0063 | 0.0050 | 0.0044 | 0.0048 | 0.0053 | 0.0046 | 0.0056 | 0.0049 | 0.0043 |
| | (0.0025) | (0.0018) | (0.0019) | (0.0029) | (0.0020) | (0.0018) | (0.0025) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.516 | 0.528 | 0.001 | 0.632 | 0.645 | 0.002 | 0.645 | 0.655 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3157 | 0.2994 | 0.2994 | 0.5757 | 0.5597 | 0.5597 | 0.4457 | 0.4295 | 0.4295 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0112 | 0.0094 | 0.0084 | 0.0084 | 0.0099 | 0.0087 | 0.0098 | 0.0092 | 0.0081 |
| | (0.0044) | (0.0033) | (0.0037) | (0.0051) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) | (0.0044) | (0.0028) | (0.0028) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Standard errors clustered at the level of the territory are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D3: Impact on voter turnout (regular cluster robust standard errors at the level of the département)**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0016) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.328 | 0.410 | 0.000 | 0.255 | 0.326 | 0.000 | 0.328 | 0.405 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7951 | 0.8081 | 0.8081 | 0.8014 | 0.8122 | 0.8122 | 0.7983 | 0.8101 | 0.8101 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0001 | 0.0015 | 0.0021 | -0.0009 | -0.0021 | -0.0015 | -0.0004 | -0.0001 | 0.0004 |
| | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0029) | (0.0029) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) | (0.0028) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Standard errors clustered at the level of the département are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D4: Impact on Hollande's vote share (regular cluster robust standard errors at the level of the département)**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0063 | 0.0050 | 0.0044 | 0.0048 | 0.0053 | 0.0046 | 0.0056 | 0.0049 | 0.0043 |
| | (0.0025) | (0.0018) | (0.0019) | (0.0027) | (0.0020) | (0.0019) | (0.0025) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.516 | 0.528 | 0.001 | 0.632 | 0.645 | 0.002 | 0.645 | 0.655 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3157 | 0.2994 | 0.2994 | 0.5757 | 0.5597 | 0.5597 | 0.4457 | 0.4295 | 0.4295 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0112 | 0.0094 | 0.0084 | 0.0084 | 0.0099 | 0.0087 | 0.0098 | 0.0092 | 0.0081 |
| | (0.0045) | (0.0034) | (0.0035) | (0.0049) | (0.0037) | (0.0036) | (0.0044) | (0.0030) | (0.0029) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Standard errors clustered at the level of the département are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D5: Impact on voter turnout and on Hollande's vote share (wild cluster bootstrap at the level of the département)**

| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. Impact on voter turnout* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| P-value | 0.9712 | 0.6092 | 0.4924 | 0.7648 | 0.4952 | 0.5972 | 0.8884 | 0.9676 | 0.9028 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 |
| *Panel B. Impact on Hollande's vote share* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0063 | 0.0050 | 0.0044 | 0.0048 | 0.0053 | 0.0046 | 0.0056 | 0.0049 | 0.0043 |
| P-value | 0.0188 | 0.0084 | 0.0152 | 0.0812 | 0.0156 | 0.0244 | 0.0316 | 0.0044 | 0.0056 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 |

*Notes* : The table shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel A shows the effect on voter turnout, and Panel B the effect on Hollande's vote share. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). I use the wild cluster bootstrap procedure proposed by Cameron, Colin, Gelbach, and Miller (2008) to allow for correlation of the error terms at the level of the département, and report the corresponding p-value. I use 5,000 bootstrap iterations.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D6: Impact on voter turnout and on Hollande's vote share (wild cluster bootstrap at the level of the region)**

| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. Impact on voter turnout* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| P-value | 0.9720 | 0.5828 | 0.4564 | 0.7420 | 0.4776 | 0.5636 | 0.8832 | 0.9780 | 0.8748 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 |
| *Panel B. Impact on Hollande's vote share* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0063 | 0.0050 | 0.0044 | 0.0048 | 0.0053 | 0.0046 | 0.0056 | 0.0049 | 0.0043 |
| P-value | 0.0300 | 0.0264 | 0.0476 | 0.1936 | 0.0328 | 0.0372 | 0.0864 | 0.0140 | 0.0180 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 |

*Notes* : The table shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel A shows the effect on voter turnout, and Panel B the effect on Hollande's vote share. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). I use the wild cluster bootstrap procedure proposed by Cameron, Colin, Gelbach, and Miller (2008) to allow for correlation of the error terms at the level of the region, and report the corresponding p-value. I use 5,000 bootstrap iterations.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D7: Impact on voter turnout and on Hollande's vote share (pairs cluster bootstrap at the level of the département)**

| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. Impact on voter turnout* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| P-value | 1.0037 | 0.6229 | 0.5027 | 0.8050 | 0.5101 | 0.6203 | 0.9312 | 0.9665 | 0.8935 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 |
| *Panel B. Impact on Hollande's vote share* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0063 | 0.0050 | 0.0044 | 0.0048 | 0.0053 | 0.0046 | 0.0056 | 0.0049 | 0.0043 |
| P-value | 0.0243 | 0.0117 | 0.0289 | 0.1136 | 0.0231 | 0.0331 | 0.0435 | 0.0072 | 0.0127 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 |

*Notes* : The table shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel A shows the effect on voter turnout, and Panel B the effect on Hollande's vote share. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). I use the pairs cluster bootstrap procedure proposed by Esarey and Mengerthe (2017) to allow for correlation of the error terms at the level of the département, and report the corresponding p-value. I use 10,000 bootstrap iterations.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table D8: Impact on voter turnout and on Hollande's vote share (pairs cluster bootstrap at the level of the region)**

| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. Impact on voter turnout* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| P-value | 0.9641 | 0.6027 | 0.4739 | 0.7533 | 0.4978 | 0.5687 | 0.8899 | 0.9668 | 0.8785 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 |
| *Panel B. Impact on Hollande's vote share* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0063 | 0.0050 | 0.0044 | 0.0048 | 0.0053 | 0.0046 | 0.0056 | 0.0049 | 0.0043 |
| P-value | 0.0517 | 0.0433 | 0.0679 | 0.2214 | 0.0835 | 0.0647 | 0.1144 | 0.0343 | 0.0365 |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Number replications | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 | 10000 |

*Notes* : The table shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel A shows the effect on voter turnout, and Panel B the effect on Hollande's vote share. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). I use the pairs cluster bootstrap procedure proposed by Esarey and Mengerthe (2017) to allow for correlation of the error terms at the level of the region, and report the corresponding p-value. I use 10,000 bootstrap iterations.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix E. Trimming precincts with the largest number of reg. citizens

**Table E1. Impact on voter turnout, trimming the 5% precincts with the largest number of reg. citizens**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0009 | 0.0013 | 0.0011 | 0.0003 | -0.0005 | -0.0007 | 0.0006 | 0.0005 | 0.0003 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0016) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.282 | 0.349 | 0.000 | 0.212 | 0.260 | 0.000 | 0.282 | 0.339 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7935 | 0.8068 | 0.8068 | 0.8002 | 0.8113 | 0.8113 | 0.7968 | 0.8090 | 0.8090 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0016 | 0.0026 | 0.0023 | 0.0005 | -0.0009 | -0.0014 | 0.0010 | 0.0010 | 0.0006 |
| | (0.0031) | (0.0032) | (0.0031) | (0.0028) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0028) | (0.0029) | (0.0028) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses. I trim the 5% of precincts with the largest number of registered citizens.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table E2. Impact on Hollande's vote share, trimming the 5% precincts with the largest number of reg. citizens**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0060 | 0.0051 | 0.0045 | 0.0047 | 0.0053 | 0.0047 | 0.0054 | 0.0049 | 0.0044 |
| | (0.0024) | (0.0021) | (0.0020) | (0.0029) | (0.0020) | (0.0020) | (0.0025) | (0.0018) | (0.0017) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.499 | 0.514 | 0.001 | 0.615 | 0.627 | 0.002 | 0.627 | 0.639 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3169 | 0.2998 | 0.2998 | 0.5778 | 0.5614 | 0.5614 | 0.4473 | 0.4306 | 0.4306 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0110 | 0.0099 | 0.0089 | 0.0087 | 0.0104 | 0.0093 | 0.0098 | 0.0097 | 0.0087 |
| | (0.0045) | (0.0041) | (0.0039) | (0.0053) | (0.0040) | (0.0039) | (0.0045) | (0.0035) | (0.0034) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 | 3202 | 2472 | 2472 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses. I trim the 5% of precincts with the largest number of registered citizens.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table E3. Impact on voter turnout, trimming the 10% precincts with the largest number of reg. citizens**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | -0.0001 | 0.0005 | 0.0006 | -0.0003 | -0.0009 | -0.0009 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | -0.0001 |
| | (0.0017) | (0.0017) | (0.0017) | (0.0016) | (0.0017) | (0.0017) | (0.0016) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.277 | 0.340 | 0.000 | 0.204 | 0.245 | 0.000 | 0.276 | 0.327 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7921 | 0.8059 | 0.8059 | 0.7988 | 0.8103 | 0.8103 | 0.7954 | 0.8081 | 0.8081 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | -0.0003 | 0.0010 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0018 | -0.0018 | -0.0004 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 |
| | (0.0031) | (0.0033) | (0.0032) | (0.0029) | (0.0032) | (0.0032) | (0.0029) | (0.0030) | (0.0030) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses. I trim the 10% of precincts with the largest number of registered citizens.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population. Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table E4. Impact on Hollande's vote share, trimming the 10% precincts with the largest number of reg. citizens**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0064 | 0.0052 | 0.0045 | 0.0052 | 0.0054 | 0.0045 | 0.0058 | 0.0050 | 0.0043 |
| | (0.0026) | (0.0022) | (0.0021) | (0.0030) | (0.0022) | (0.0021) | (0.0026) | (0.0019) | (0.0018) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.497 | 0.514 | 0.001 | 0.608 | 0.622 | 0.002 | 0.622 | 0.636 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3191 | 0.3014 | 0.3014 | 0.5807 | 0.5640 | 0.5640 | 0.4499 | 0.4327 | 0.4327 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0114 | 0.0100 | 0.0088 | 0.0094 | 0.0104 | 0.0088 | 0.0104 | 0.0097 | 0.0084 |
| | (0.0046) | (0.0043) | (0.0041) | (0.0054) | (0.0043) | (0.0041) | (0.0046) | (0.0037) | (0.0036) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 | 3025 | 2296 | 2296 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses. I trim the 10% of precincts with the largest number of registered citizens.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix F. Using the change in the dependent variable as outcome

**Table F1: Impact on the difference between turnout at the 2012 and 2007 presidential elections**

| | Voter turnout: difference between 2012 and 2007 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | Second round | | Average of first and second rounds | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0018 | 0.0025 | -0.0009 | -0.0003 | 0.0004 | 0.0011 |
| | (0.0016) | (0.0016) | (0.0016) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Additional controls | | x | | x | | x |
| Observations | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.052 | 0.000 | 0.036 | 0.000 | 0.049 |
| Mean in Control Group | -0.0347 | -0.0347 | -0.0251 | -0.0251 | -0.0299 | -0.0299 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0034 | 0.0048 | -0.0018 | -0.0006 | 0.0008 | 0.0021 |
| | (0.0031) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0030) | (0.0027) | (0.0027) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Additional controls | | x | | x | | x |
| Observations | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

**Table F2: Impact on the difference between Hollande and Royal's vote share in 2012 and 2007**

| | Vote share: difference between Hollande (2012) and Royal (2007) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | Second round | | Average of first and second rounds | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0034 | 0.0031 | 0.0052 | 0.0045 | 0.0043 | 0.0038 |
| | (0.0021) | (0.0020) | (0.0020) | (0.0019) | (0.0017) | (0.0017) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Additional controls | | x | | x | | x |
| Observations | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.016 | 0.003 | 0.025 | 0.003 | 0.025 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.0254 | 0.0254 | 0.0451 | 0.0451 | 0.0352 | 0.0352 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment'* | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0063 | 0.0058 | 0.0097 | 0.0085 | 0.0080 | 0.0072 |
| | (0.0039) | (0.0039) | (0.0037) | (0.0037) | (0.0032) | (0.0032) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Additional controls | | x | | x | | x |
| Observations | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

# Appendix G. Treatment impact heterogeneity along PO

**Table G1: Impact on voter turnout, differentiated for high vs. low PO precincts**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment × Low PO | 0.0013 | 0.0020 | 0.0020 | -0.0004 | -0.0014 | -0.0013 | 0.0005 | 0.0003 | 0.0004 |
| | (0.0020) | (0.0019) | (0.0018) | (0.0019) | (0.0019) | (0.0018) | (0.0019) | (0.0018) | (0.0017) |
| Treatment × High PO | -0.0015 | -0.0006 | -0.0001 | -0.0009 | -0.0007 | -0.0001 | -0.0012 | -0.0005 | 0.0000 |
| | (0.0025) | (0.0026) | (0.0025) | (0.0023) | (0.0025) | (0.0024) | (0.0023) | (0.0024) | (0.0023) |
| Strata fixed effects and High PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.056 | 0.328 | 0.411 | 0.056 | 0.256 | 0.327 | 0.060 | 0.328 | 0.405 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7951 | 0.8081 | 0.8081 | 0.8014 | 0.8122 | 0.8122 | 0.7983 | 0.8101 | 0.8101 |
| Treatment × High PO | -0.0029 | -0.0026 | -0.0021 | -0.0005 | 0.0008 | 0.0012 | -0.0017 | -0.0008 | -0.0004 |
| - Treatment × Low PO | (0.0033) | (0.0033) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0032) | (0.0031) | (0.0030) | (0.0030) | (0.0029) |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers × Low PO | 0.0040 | 0.0062 | 0.0064 | -0.0013 | -0.0046 | -0.0042 | 0.0014 | 0.0010 | 0.0012 |
| | (0.0063) | (0.0060) | (0.0058) | (0.0059) | (0.0059) | (0.0057) | (0.0058) | (0.0056) | (0.0054) |
| Allocated to canvassers × High PO | -0.0020 | -0.0008 | -0.0001 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0016 | -0.0006 | 0.0000 |
| | (0.0031) | (0.0033) | (0.0031) | (0.0029) | (0.0032) | (0.0031) | (0.0029) | (0.0030) | (0.0029) |
| Strata fixed effects and High PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| Alloc. to canvassers × High PO | -0.0060 | -0.0071 | -0.0065 | 0.0001 | 0.0038 | 0.0041 | -0.0029 | -0.0016 | -0.0013 |
| - Alloc. to canvassers × Low PO | (0.0071) | (0.0070) | (0.0066) | (0.0067) | (0.0068) | (0.0066) | (0.0066) | (0.0064) | (0.0062) |

*Notes* : This table compares the effect on voter turnout in precincts with a PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) below the median ("Low PO" precincts) and above the median ("High PO"). Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). In Panel B, "Allocated to canvassers × Low PO" and "Allocated to canvassers × High PO" are instrumented with "Treatment × Low PO" and "Treatment × High PO" respectively. I also report point estimates and standard errors of treatment effects differences between High and Low PO precincts. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for the "High PO" dummy. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table G2: Impact on Hollande's vote share, differentiated for high vs. low PO precincts**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment × Low PO | 0.0049 | 0.0025 | 0.0024 | 0.0046 | 0.0034 | 0.0035 | 0.0047 | 0.0027 | 0.0028 |
| | (0.0026) | (0.0019) | (0.0019) | (0.0034) | (0.0021) | (0.0021) | (0.0028) | (0.0017) | (0.0017) |
| Treatment × High PO | 0.0082 | 0.0083 | 0.0070 | 0.0056 | 0.0077 | 0.0060 | 0.0069 | 0.0076 | 0.0062 |
| | (0.0039) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) | (0.0044) | (0.0036) | (0.0033) | (0.0039) | (0.0032) | (0.0030) |
| Strata fixed effects and High PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.032 | 0.517 | 0.529 | 0.060 | 0.633 | 0.645 | 0.054 | 0.646 | 0.655 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3157 | 0.2994 | 0.2994 | 0.5757 | 0.5597 | 0.5597 | 0.4457 | 0.4295 | 0.4295 |
| Treatment × High PO | 0.0033 | 0.0058 | 0.0045 | 0.0010 | 0.0043 | 0.0025 | 0.0021 | 0.0049 | 0.0034 |
| - Treatment × Low PO | (0.0048) | (0.0043) | (0.0041) | (0.0056) | (0.0042) | (0.0041) | (0.0048) | (0.0037) | (0.0035) |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers × Low PO | 0.0153 | 0.0080 | 0.0079 | 0.0143 | 0.0108 | 0.0112 | 0.0148 | 0.0087 | 0.0090 |
| | (0.0079) | (0.0061) | (0.0061) | (0.0103) | (0.0066) | (0.0068) | (0.0084) | (0.0054) | (0.0055) |
| Allocated to canvassers × High PO | 0.0100 | 0.0103 | 0.0088 | 0.0068 | 0.0095 | 0.0076 | 0.0084 | 0.0095 | 0.0078 |
| | (0.0049) | (0.0047) | (0.0045) | (0.0055) | (0.0045) | (0.0043) | (0.0048) | (0.0040) | (0.0038) |
| Strata fixed effects and High PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| Alloc. to canvassers × High PO | -0.0053 | 0.0023 | 0.0009 | -0.0076 | -0.0013 | -0.0037 | -0.0064 | 0.0008 | -0.0012 |
| - Alloc. to canvassers × Low PO | (0.0095) | (0.0079) | (0.0078) | (0.0119) | (0.0082) | (0.0083) | (0.0099) | (0.0069) | (0.0068) |

*Notes* : This table compares the effect on Hollande's vote share in precincts with a PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) below the median ("Low PO" precincts) and above the median ("High PO"). Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). In Panel B, "Allocated to canvassers × Low PO" and "Allocated to canvassers × High PO" are instrumented with "Treatment × Low PO" and "Treatment × High PO" respectively. I also report point estimates and standard errors of treatment effects differences between High and Low PO precincts. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for the "High PO" dummy. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table G3: Impact on voter turnout, interacting treatment with PO**

| | Voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0015 | 0.0042 | 0.0036 | -0.0015 | -0.0032 | -0.0035 | 0.0000 | 0.0005 | 0.0000 |
| | (0.0041) | (0.0041) | (0.0039) | (0.0038) | (0.0040) | (0.0040) | (0.0038) | (0.0038) | (0.0037) |
| Treatment × PO | -0.0126 | -0.0403 | -0.0295 | 0.0139 | 0.0239 | 0.0315 | 0.0007 | -0.0061 | 0.0026 |
| | (0.0465) | (0.0489) | (0.0468) | (0.0423) | (0.0476) | (0.0475) | (0.0425) | (0.0452) | (0.0444) |
| Strata fixed effects and PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.192 | 0.328 | 0.411 | 0.189 | 0.255 | 0.327 | 0.207 | 0.328 | 0.405 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.7951 | 0.8081 | 0.8081 | 0.8014 | 0.8122 | 0.8122 | 0.7983 | 0.8101 | 0.8101 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0038 | 0.0117 | 0.0110 | -0.0038 | -0.0100 | -0.0100 | 0.0000 | 0.0008 | 0.0005 |
| | (0.0098) | (0.0108) | (0.0104) | (0.0091) | (0.0103) | (0.0102) | (0.0090) | (0.0100) | (0.0096) |
| Allocated to canvassers × PO | -0.0313 | -0.1017 | -0.0895 | 0.0318 | 0.0793 | 0.0844 | 0.0003 | -0.0096 | -0.0014 |
| | (0.0847) | (0.0960) | (0.0917) | (0.0779) | (0.0914) | (0.0904) | (0.0777) | (0.0883) | (0.0859) |
| Strata fixed effects and PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : This table allows for treatment impact heterogeneity along PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) introduced as a continuous variable. Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). In Panel B, "Allocated" and "Allocated to canvassers × PO" are instrumented with "Treatment" and "Treatment × PO" respectively. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for PO. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table G4: Impact on Hollande's vote share, interacting treatment with PO**

| | Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0008 | -0.0052 | -0.0043 | 0.0001 | -0.0013 | 0.0001 | 0.0005 | -0.0034 | -0.0023 |
| | (0.0062) | (0.0060) | (0.0053) | (0.0069) | (0.0048) | (0.0046) | (0.0060) | (0.0047) | (0.0042) |
| Treatment × PO | 0.0579 | 0.1197 | 0.1032 | 0.0469 | 0.0772 | 0.0526 | 0.0524 | 0.0976 | 0.0773 |
| | (0.0728) | (0.0777) | (0.0673) | (0.0763) | (0.0585) | (0.0556) | (0.0677) | (0.0596) | (0.0521) |
| Strata fixed effects and PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.150 | 0.517 | 0.529 | 0.187 | 0.633 | 0.645 | 0.197 | 0.646 | 0.655 |
| Mean in Control Group | 0.3157 | 0.2994 | 0.2994 | 0.5757 | 0.5597 | 0.5597 | 0.4457 | 0.4295 | 0.4295 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0164 | 0.0024 | 0.0027 | 0.0108 | 0.0117 | 0.0131 | 0.0136 | 0.0059 | 0.0069 |
| | (0.0142) | (0.0136) | (0.0127) | (0.0170) | (0.0124) | (0.0123) | (0.0143) | (0.0111) | (0.0105) |
| Allocated to canvassers × PO | -0.0539 | 0.0706 | 0.0573 | -0.0291 | -0.0180 | -0.0434 | -0.0415 | 0.0328 | 0.0128 |
| | (0.1268) | (0.1328) | (0.1191) | (0.1432) | (0.1101) | (0.1075) | (0.1232) | (0.1050) | (0.0952) |
| Strata fixed effects and PO | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : This table allows for treatment impact heterogeneity along PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) introduced as a continuous variable. Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). In Panel B, "Allocated" and "Allocated to canvassers × PO" are instrumented with "Treatment" and "Treatment × PO" respectively. The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for PO. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix H. Seemingly unrelated regressions

**Table H1: Comparison between the impact on turnout and on Hollande's vote share**

| | Difference between the impact on turnout and on Hollande's vote share | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| Impact on turnout (1) | 0.0001 | 0.0008 | 0.0011 | -0.0005 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0002 | -0.0001 | 0.0002 |
| | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0015) | (0.0014) | (0.0014) |
| Impact on Hollande's vote share (2) | 0.0051 | 0.0040 | 0.0035 | 0.0041 | 0.0037 | 0.0032 | 0.0046 | 0.0037 | 0.0032 |
| | (0.0018) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) | (0.0022) | (0.0017) | (0.0016) | (0.0018) | (0.0014) | (0.0014) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 6794 | 5330 | 5330 | 6794 | 5330 | 5330 | 6794 | 5330 | 5330 |
| Ratio (1) / (2) | 0.013 | 0.204 | 0.305 | -0.119 | -0.302 | -0.254 | -0.045 | -0.017 | 0.062 |
| Test: (1) = (2) | | | | | | | | | |
| *p* -value | 0.023 | 0.099 | 0.176 | 0.052 | 0.006 | 0.014 | 0.023 | 0.019 | 0.045 |
| *F* -statistic | 5.16 | 2.72 | 1.83 | 3.78 | 7.68 | 6.08 | 5.14 | 5.51 | 4.02 |

*Notes* : This table compares the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]) on turnout and on Hollande's vote share (as a fraction of registered citizens). The two effects are estimated using a seemingly unrelated regressions framework. I compute the ratio between the effects on turnout and on Hollande's vote share. I also test the null hypothesis that the two effects are equal and report the corresponding *p* -value and *F* -statistic.

The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Standard errors clustered by unit of observation are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

**Table H2: Comparison between the impact on other parties' vote shares**

| | Difference between the impact on Right candidates and other candidates | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Far-left | | Left other than Hollande | | Center | | Far-right | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Impact on right (1) | -0.0037 | -0.0043 | -0.0037 | -0.0043 | -0.0037 | -0.0043 | -0.0037 | -0.0043 |
| | (0.0021) | (0.0016) | (0.0021) | (0.0016) | (0.0021) | (0.0016) | (0.0021) | (0.0016) |
| Impact on other party (2) | 0.0000 | 0.0003 | -0.0022 | -0.0011 | -0.0008 | -0.0007 | 0.0006 | 0.0016 |
| | (0.0004) | (0.0005) | (0.0017) | (0.0017) | (0.0010) | (0.0010) | (0.0018) | (0.0016) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | | x | | x | | x |
| Additional controls | | x | | x | | x | | x |
| Observations | 6794 | 5330 | 6794 | 5330 | 6794 | 5330 | 6794 | 5330 |
| Test: (1) = (2) | | | | | | | | |
| *p* -value | 0.080 | 0.006 | 0.634 | 0.213 | 0.182 | 0.073 | 0.134 | 0.019 |
| *F* -statistic | 3.06 | 7.62 | 0.23 | 1.55 | 1.78 | 3.21 | 2.24 | 5.52 |

*Notes* : This table compares the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]) on the vote share of the right-wing candidates and of other candidates. The effects are estimated using a seemingly unrelated regressions framework. I test the null hypothesis that the effects on the right and on another party's vote share are equal and report the corresponding *p* -value and *F* -statistic.

The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Standard errors clustered by unit of observation are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.

Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

# Appendix I. Using the difference between Hollande's vote share and voter turnout as outcome

**Table I1: Impact on the difference between Hollande's vote share and voter turnout**

| | Difference between Hollande's vote share and voter turnout | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First round | | | Second round | | | Average of first and second rounds | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Panel A. ITT Estimation* | | | | | | | | | |
| Treatment | 0.0051 | 0.0031 | 0.0025 | 0.0046 | 0.0046 | 0.0038 | 0.0048 | 0.0034 | 0.0027 |
| | (0.0022) | (0.0019) | (0.0018) | (0.0023) | (0.0017) | (0.0016) | (0.0021) | (0.0016) | (0.0015) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |
| R-squared | 0.002 | 0.469 | 0.509 | 0.001 | 0.570 | 0.597 | 0.002 | 0.576 | 0.606 |
| Mean in Control Group | -0.5518 | -0.5726 | -0.5726 | -0.3705 | -0.3881 | -0.3881 | -0.4612 | -0.4803 | -0.4803 |
| *Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"* | | | | | | | | | |
| Allocated to canvassers | 0.0090 | 0.0059 | 0.0047 | 0.0081 | 0.0086 | 0.0072 | 0.0085 | 0.0064 | 0.0052 |
| | (0.0039) | (0.0036) | (0.0034) | (0.0041) | (0.0033) | (0.0031) | (0.0037) | (0.0030) | (0.0029) |
| Strata fixed effects | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Control for past outcome and PO | | x | x | | x | x | | x | x |
| Additional controls | | | x | | | x | | | x |
| Observations | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 | 3390 | 2660 | 2660 |

*Notes* : This table estimates the impact of the visits on an outcome defined as the difference between Hollande's vote share (expressed as a fraction of registered citizens) and voter turnout. Panel A shows the effect of a precinct being assigned to the treatment group (ITT results from Equation [1]). Panel B shows the effect of a precinct being allocated to canvassers (2SLS results from Equation [2]). The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
All regressions include strata fixed effects. Regressions in columns (2), (5), and (8) also control for PO (proxy for the potential to win votes) and for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in columns (3), (6), and (9) include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality as well as the level and the five-year change of the following census variables: the municipality's population, the share of men, the share of different age groups (from 0 to 14; from 15 to 29; from 30 to 44; from 45 to 59; from 60 to 74; above 75), the share of working population, and the share of unemployed population among the working population.
Regressions controlling for past outcomes need to exclude precincts whose boundaries had changed after 2007, which explains the lower number of observations.

## Appendix J. Campaign material

**Figure J1. Door-to-door volunteer kit (Translated from French).**

# Guide for a successful door-to-door campaign

| | Basic elements for a successful door-to-door campain | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Introduction to door-to-door approach** | ▪ **Introduce yourself** and explain why you're involved in François Hollande's campaign ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Ask if the voter is **registered** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — If they are not registered : | | |
| | ▫ Ask if other family members are registered ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▫ Take your leave rapidly otherwise? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Remind them of practical details : election **date**, candidate's **name**, **location** of their polling station ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| **Dialogue** | ▪ Ask **questions** instead of doing all the talking ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ React to details indicated on the voter's profile ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Use **plain language** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Mention **concrete examples** from your own experience ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Talk about **your own convictions in the first person** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ **Stay focused on your goals** (importance of voting / importance of joining us) and avoid an extensive presentation of FH's program ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| **Conclusion and assessment** | ▪ Have we identified the voter's **profile** ? | | |
| | — Do we know if they are abstainers or active voters ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — Do we know if they are left or right-wing ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Have the activists adopted **the appropriate attitude** ? | | |
| | — Left-wing abstainers: have the activists explained why they believe it is **important to vote** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — Left-wing active voters : have they been asked to join and help us and to give their contact information ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — Others : have we **left** as soon as possible ? | ☐ | ☐ |

# Sheet for activists : examples of door-to-door phrases

## Introduce yourself

- "Good morning ! My name is Françoise Dupont, I work in François Hollande's presidential campaign team, for the Socialist party. [If you live in the area : "I live in your neighborhood, rue des Roses", and] I'm here to talk to you about the presidential elections to be held on 22 April and 6 May"
- "Are you registered on the voter rolls?"
    - *If they don't know* : "Have you ever voted ?"
    - *If not* : "Maybe your wife / husband / children have voted before ? Do you mind if I talk to them ?"
    - *If not* : " Thank you anyway for your time. You know, nowadays it's really easy to register : I hope we can talk about it again when we come back to your neighborhood."

## Dialoguing with the person – identifying the type of elector

- "I came here today because I think it's important to vote for the 22 April and 6 May presidential elections. Do you intend to vote ?"
- *Try to figure out if the person is Left or Right-wing* : "What is your view of the situation since Sarkozy's election ?"

| Left-wing abstainer | Left-wing active voter | Others |
|---|---|---|
| • "When was the last time you voted? Why for those elections in particular ?"<br>• "Do you know where the polling station is ? It's rue des Tulipes, near the primary school."<br>• "Many people I've met in your area intend to vote for the presidential election"<br>• "You know, I think that voting is really important : *[then explain why it is important for you]* | • "We really need people like you in this neighborhood. Would you be willing to help us ?" *If they do, write down the contact information.*<br>• *If not* "I understand. Would you be interested in following François Hollande's campaign more closely ? Would you be willing to give me your contact information ?" | • "I understand. Thank you for your time." |

## Leaving

- "Thank you for your time. May I give you our candidate's brochure ?"

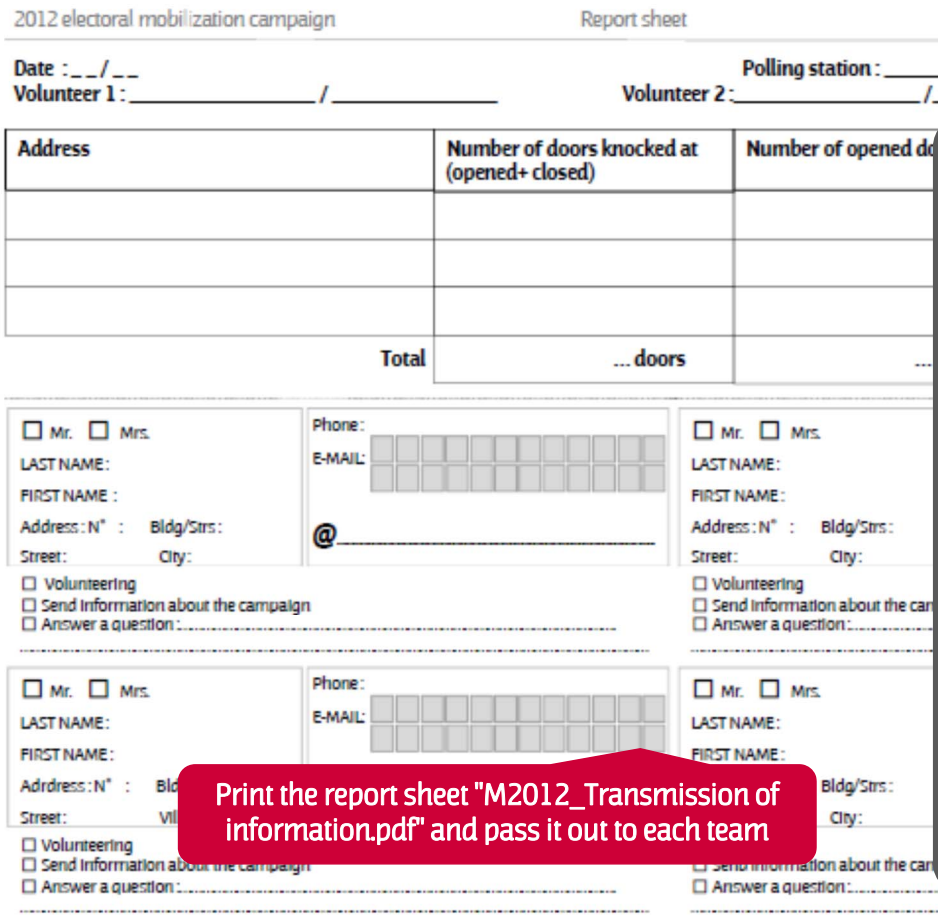
Do not forget to fill in the report sheet !

# Sheet for activists : suggested answers to difficult questions or comments

**The voter must feel your conviction, it's even more important than your arguments!**

| | Question / comment | Suggested answers |
|---|---|---|
| **Socialist party / Left** | ▪ *"Anyway, Left or Right-wing, it's all the same" / "Voting and poltilics are useless" / "you know, I'm not interested in politics"* | ▪ Left and Right-wing are different. Right-wing has always promoted increased wealth : a decrease of wealth and inheritance taxes, cut in working-class neighborhood public services, weakening of state schools, undermining purchasing power by VAT increase.<br>▪ Left-wing supports those who have the least, wants those who have the most to contribute the most, promotes local services, access to justice and health care and fights for purchasing power.<br>▪ As to the far-right, it's a policy of division that failed everywhere and led to bankruptcy: ex of Toulon, Vitrolles and Marignane. |
| | ▪ *"We only see you during election campaigns"* | ▪ "Even if it's not always visible, our action is ongoing. We mitigate the consequences of the government's unfair policy in towns, departments and regions through public local services. It requires time, energy and most of the elected officials do it for free." |
| | ▪ *"The Socialist party and Left-wing do not agree"* | ▪ "Indeed, we're not followers of a single ideology, so disagreements can arise."<br>▪ "Thanks to the primaries, a candidate has been elected and today everyone is behind him and that's the reason why he is stronger than any other one has ever been !" |
| **François Hollande** | ▪ *François Hollande is indecisive.* | ▪ "Over the past five years, we've been through constant unrest. F. Hollande has serenity and clear-sightedness, which is how he sees a normal and trustworthy presidency. As to his commitments : his will to take the finance control back, to reconsider the European treaty which forecasts only austerity measures and the withdrawal from Afghanistan he'll announce on 20 May, the day after his election, prove his real ability to take historic decisions." |
| **Remarks coming from a Far-right supporter** | ▪ *"Left-wing does nothing for the people" / "At least, in 2007, Sarko defended workers"* | ▪ All social improvements, within or outside business are attributable to the Left-wing : including days off for over time, the 5th week of paid holidays, retirement at 60, and if we win there will be a return to retirement at 60 for those who have worked for their whole life, vocational training throughout people's lives for those who want to progress, the defense of youngsters permanent contract through the generation contract. And more generally, a major initiative to support industry. In short, everything that serves the purpose of workers and that hasn't been achieved by the Right-wing. |

# Transmission of information : door-to-door report sheet



2012 electoral mobilization campaign — Report sheet — Door-to-door kit

Date : _ _ / _ _ — Polling station : _____

Volunteer 1 : _____ / _____ — Volunteer 2 : _____ / _____

| Address | Number of doors knocked at (opened+ closed) | Number of opened do |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| Total | ... doors | ... |

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs.
LAST NAME :
FIRST NAME :
Address : N° : Bldg/Strs :
Street : City :
Phone :
E-MAIL :
@_____
☐ Volunteering
☐ Send information about the campaign
☐ Answer a question : .....

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs.
LAST NAME :
FIRST NAME :
Address : N° : Bldg/Strs :
Street : City :
☐ Volunteering
☐ Send information about the ca
☐ Answer a question : .....

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs.
LAST NAME :
FIRST NAME :
Adrdress : N° : Bld
Street : Vil
Phone :
E-MAIL :
☐ Volunteering
☐ Send information about the campaign
☐ Answer a question : .....

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs.
LAST NAME :
FIRST NAME :
Bldg/Strs :
City :
☐ Send information about the ca
☐ Answer a question : .....

Print the report sheet "M2012_Transmission of information.pdf" and pass it out to each team

## Process to be followed to gather and pass on information

- **Every team** is given this sheet that must be filled during the canvassing by completing the boxes « Total » and writing down the contact information of the persons met.

- **The one who mobilises is responsible for the transmission of the information on the Website : toushollande.fr :**
  - The number of doors knocked at.
  - The number of opened doors.
  - The number of contacts.
  - The contacts information (last name, first name, e-mail, phone number, etc)

Figure J2. Guide for field organizers (Translated from French).

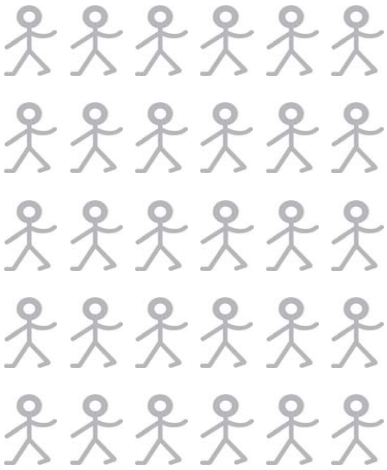
# Contents of the guide

# 1. Mobilize volunteers

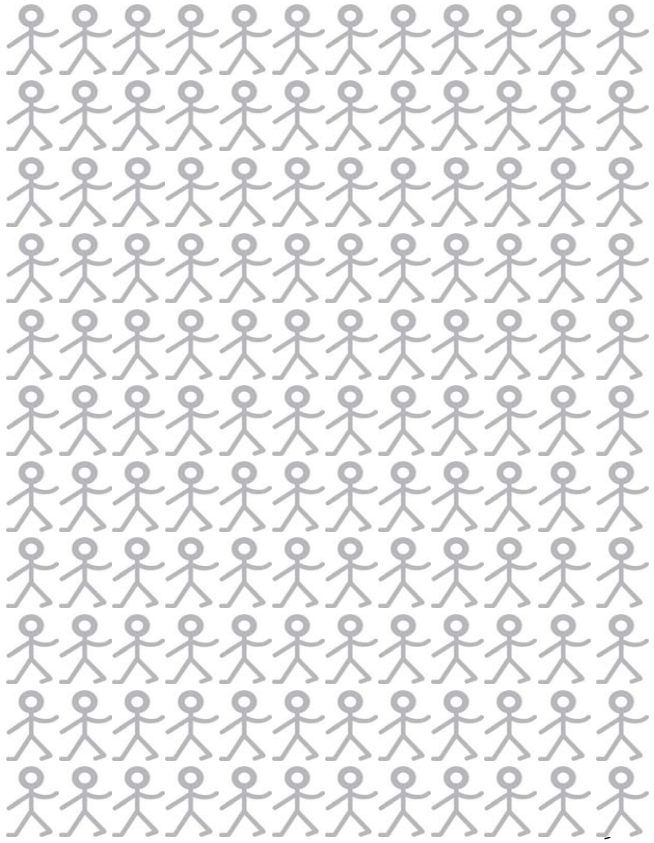
## An unprecedented number of volunteers to mobilize

**Our goal : 150 000 volunteers**

**Active campaigners**



**Nearly 5 times our active campaigners base**



## Get beginners started on door-to-door canvassing !

### Door-to-door canvassing…

- **It's easy**
  - Each session is preceded by some role-play or briefing
  - Experienced volunteer/beginner team
- **Everyone can do it**
  - No need to be an activist
  - No need to have detailed knowledge of the programme
  - You just have to want to help François Hollande win
- **You just need to free up two hours by 22nd April**
- **It takes place every Saturday : meeting point at 2 PM at the section premises**
- **It is a rewarding experience in direct contact with voters**
- **It works and and it will make a difference**

# How to mobilize potential volunteers ?

| | How ? | Who ? |
|---|---|---|
| **Mobilize our activists** | • **In all our sections** | • **All the activists** |
| **Recruit sympathizers** | • Thanks to **toushollande.fr**<br>• Throughout **door-to-door sessions**<br>• **All around you** | • **Primary voters** or **citizens** who expressed a desire to get involved into the campaign<br>• **Sympathizers who provide their contact information**<br>• **Among close friends or family** : everybody contacts a friend or family member who, in turn, contacts a friend or family member |

# What to offer activists and sympathizers ?

| | What to offer ? | When ? |
|---|---|---|
| **Mobilize our activists** | Presentation of the campaign and door-to-door training | • On weekdays |
| **Recruit sympathizers** | Presentation of the campaign and door-to-door training<br>+<br>Door-to-door sessions in the field | • On Saturday afternoons<br>– **1h30 of training** and presentation of the strategy<br>– **1h30 of door-to-door canvassing**, which experienced activists can attend |

Do not hesitate to institutionnalize this weekly meeting

# 2. Train volunteers

# 10 rules for a successful presentation of the campaign / door-to-door training

1. **Always start by thanking the volunteers** for their attendance – especially if they are sympathizers
2. **Speak of « start of the door-to-door campaign »** rather than « door-to-door training » : this clearly proves the volunteers you are already acting
3. **Collect the contact information** of all the people attending the session
4. **Use the medium of presentation** (if you don't have any overhead projector, you can print it) : this tool has been specifically created to help you animate the session and stick to your agenda
5. **Print the door-to-door volunteer kit** and pass it out at the end of the session
6. **Share the goals of our campaign with the volunteers** : insist on the extent of the campaign, on the chosen strategy
7. **Ask the volunteers questions** to involve them. You can, for example, ask them if they've ever done door-to-door canvassing.
8. **Always save some time for a « door-to-door » role play workshop** (see details page 9) : it is an important step to reassure volunteers and prove them door-to-door canvassing is not overly complex
9. **Systematically ask the volunteers to recruit other volunteers themselves** for the next sessions : mobilization always starts in one's environment
10. **Always set up a meeting for a door-to-door session** in the field within a two-day delay following a training

# Agenda of the 2 hour session to animate in your section

| Themes | Duration |
|---|---|
| • Round table introduction and sign-off sheets | • 5 mn |
| • Presentation of our strategy to win in 2012 : electoral mobilization and volunteers' roles | • 20 mn |
| • Door-to-door mobilization<br>✓ *« Door-to-door » role-play* | • 60 mn |
| • Summary : what do we have to keep in mind for door-to-door actions ? | • 10 mn |
| • Presentation of the follow-up sheets | • 10 mn |
| • Make an appointment for a door-to-door action within a two-day period | • 10 mn |

# Some tips to prepare and animate the « door-to-door » workshop

- **Explain the door-to-door mobilzation principles using the medium of presentation**
  - Project and pass the « Practical points for a successful door-to-door session » sheet
  - Project and pass the « A few greetings for door-to-door canvassing » sheet
  - Project and pass the « Suggested answers to difficult questions or comments » sheet
  - Project and pass the « Checklist for a successful door-to-door approach » sheet

- Role-play :
  - **2 activists form a team** (ask for experienced activists), **1 activist plays the voter's role** (a beginner)
  - Give the « Preparation sheet for role-plays » #1 and explain him what type of voter he is supposed to be
  - **5 mn door-to-door action** – time the exact duration
  - All the spectators (mobilizer included) must **fill the « Checklist for a successful door-to-door canvassing » in and note 3 positive points and 3 negative ones**
  - **Do not interrupt the play** before the end, except in the case of skidding or unrealistic situation
  - **Ask 2-3 activists** to give their point of view
  - **Summarize the important points** :
    - Do the activists **clearly identify the voter's type** (abstainer/ active, Left-wing/ Right-wing) by recognizing the cues he gave to them ?
    - Do they adopt the right attitude **according to the voter's type** ?
    - Do they express their **personal conviction** ?
    - Do they remind the voter **concrete details** ?

- Start over **3 times, giving the voter** the « Preparation sheet for role-plays » #2, 3 then 4

# Checklist for a successful door-to-door approach

| | Basic elements for a successful door-to-door approach | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Introduction to door-to-door approach** | ▪ **Introduce yourself** and explain why you're involved in François Hollande's campaign ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Ask if the voter is **registered** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — If they are not registered : | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▫ Ask if other family members are registered ? | | |
| | ▫ Leave quickly ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Remind them practical details : election **date**, candidate's **name**, and **location** of their polling station ? | | |
| **Dialogue** | ▪ Ask **questions** instead of doing all the talking ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ React to indications revealing the voter's profile ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Use **plain language** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Mention **concrete examples** from your own experience ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Talk about **your own convictions in the first person** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ **Stay focused on your goals** (importance of voting / importance of joining us) and avoid an extensive presentation of FH's programme ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| **Conclusion and assessment** | ▪ Have we identified the voter's **profile** ? | | |
| | — Do we know if they are abstainers or active voters ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — Do we know if they are left or right-wing ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | ▪ Have the activists adopted **the appropriate attitude** ? | | |
| | — Left-wing abstainer : have the activists explained why they believe it is **important to vote** ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — Left-wing active voter : have they been asked to join and help us and to give their contact information ? | ☐ | ☐ |
| | — Others : have we **left** as soon as possible ? | ☐ | ☐ |

# Preparation sheet for role-plays n° 1 – disillusionned Left-wing voter

| | Key questions | Options | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Electoral profile** | ▪ What type of voter ? | Left-wing abstainer ☑ / PS sympathizer ☐ / Non-PS active voter ☐ / Other ☐ | ▪ Youth living in a popular neighbourhood., searching for a job.<br>▪ Has never voted<br>▪ His/her main concern : unemployment |
| **Acquaintance with politics** | ▪ Is the voter familiar with politics ? With major current debates ? With the different parties and their programmes ? | Very poor ☑ / Poor ☐ / Good ☐ / Very good ☐ | ▪ Does not really follow political debates<br>▪ Is rather indifferent to the government policy<br>▪ Says : « politics is useless, Right-wing or Left-wing it's all the same » |
| **Acquaintance with François Hollande and PS** | ▪ Does the voter know who François Hollande is ? Is he familiar with the PS ? Does he more or less know François Hollande's programme ? | Very poor ☐ / Poor ☑ / Good ☐ / Very good ☐ | ▪ Has heard of François Hollande, but doesn't really know which party he belongs to<br>▪ Knows that his mayor's municipality is Left-wing, but doesn't know his political affiliation |
| **Position towards François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ What is the voter's attitude towards François Hollande ?<br>▪ What is the voter's attitude towards the PS ? | Challenging ☐ / Indifferent ☑ / Potential supporter ☐ / Active supporter ☐ | ▪ No manifest hostility towards the PS |
| **Maximum level of engagement** | ▪ How far is the voter ready to go if the activists are convincing ? | Nowhere ☐ / Vote (for François Hollande) ☑ / Give his/her contact information ☐ / Participate in the campaign ☐ | ▪ At best, is ready to say willvote if the activists show some understanding for his/her situation and speak with conviction of what François Hollande can do to reduce unemployement |

# Preparation sheet for role-plays n° 2 – sympathizer ready to become a volunteer

| | Key questions | Options | | | | Description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Electoral profile** | ▪ What type of voter ? | Left-wing abstainer ☐ | PS sympathizer ☑ | Active voter not PS ☐ | Other ☐ | ▪ Faithful Left-wing voter<br>▪ Voted Extreme Left-wing in 2002, Europe Ecologie at the European elections<br>▪ Gives proxies when absent |
| **Acquaintance with politics** | ▪ Is the voter familiar with politics ? With major current debates ? The different parties and their programmes ? | Very poor ☐ | Poor ☐ | Good ☐ | Very good ☑ | ▪ Very familiar with politics<br>▪ Doesn't like Sarkozy because of his tax and security policies<br>▪ Talkative : launches a debate on nuclear power with the activists |
| **Acquaintance with François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ Does the voter know who François Hollande is ? Is he familiar with the PS ? Does he more or less know François Hollande's programme ? | Very poor ☐ | Poor ☐ | Good ☑ | Very good ☐ | ▪ Knows who the primary candidates are |
| **Position towards François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ What is the voter's attitude towards François Hollande ?<br>▪ What is the voter's attitude towards the PS ? | Challenging ☐ | Indifferent ☐ | Potential supporter ☑ | Active supporter ☐ | ▪ Hesitates to share his/her time to get involved<br>▪ Doesn't know how to participate in the campaign |
| **Maximum level of engagement** | ▪ How far is the voter ready to go if the activists are convincing ? | Nowhere ☐ | Vote (for François Hollande) ☐ | Give his/her contact information ☐ | Participate in the campaign ☑ | ▪ Wouldn't want to become a party member<br>▪ If the door-to-door canvassers insist, may be willing to volunteer for the campaign to beat Nicolas Sarkozy |

# Preparation sheet for role-play n° 3 – not very politically aware but Right-wing voter

| | Key questions | Options | | | | Description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Electoral profile** | ▪ What type of voter ? | Left-wing abstainer ☐ | PS sympathizer ☐ | Active voter not PS ☐ | Other ☑ | ▪ Occasional voter : only votes at presidential elections<br>▪ Voted for Sarkozy in 2007 |
| **Acquaintance with politics** | ▪ Is the voter familiar with politics ? With major current debates ? The different parties and their programmes ? | Very poor ☐ | Poor ☑ | Good ☐ | Very good ☐ | ▪ Doesn't really like politics : « lots of talk but very little action »<br>▪ Likes Sarkozy, who fought for jobs and security |
| **Acquaintance with François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ Does the voter know who François Hollande is ? Is he familiar with the PS ? Does he more or less know François Hollande's programme ? | Very poor ☐ | Poor ☑ | Good ☐ | Very good ☐ | ▪ Knows François Hollande is the PS candidate |
| **Position towards François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ What is the voter's attitude towards François Hollande ?<br>▪ What is the voter's attitude towards the PS ? | Challenging ☑ | Indifferent ☐ | Potential supporter ☐ | Active supporter ☐ | ▪ Doesn't like the PS : « officials' party » ; says the word « assisted » during the conversation |
| **Maximum level of engagement** | ▪ How far is the voter ready to go if the activists are convincing ? | Nowhere ☑ | Vote (for François Hollande) ☐ | Give his/her contact information ☐ | Participate in the campaign ☐ | ▪ Doesn't like the PS |

# Preparation sheet for role-plays n° 4 – FN worker formerly Left-wing

| | Key questions | Options | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Electoral profile** | ▪ What type of voter ? | Left-wing abstainer ☐ · PS sympathizer ☐ · Active voter not PS ☐ · Other ☑ | ▪ Occasional voter : only votes at presidential elections<br>▪ Regularly voted before the 1990s<br>▪ Ready to vote for Marine Le Pen |
| **Acquaintance with politics** | ▪ Is the voter familiar with politics ? With major current debates ? The different parties and their programmes ? | Very poor ☐ · Poor ☑ · Good ☐ · Very good ☐ | ▪ Doesn't follow current politics anymore<br>▪ Likes Sarkozy's views about the value of work, but thinks he fights for the rich too much. |
| **Acquaintance with François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ Does the voter know who François Hollande is ? Is he familiar with the PS ? Does he more or less know François Hollande's programme ? | Very poor ☐ · Poor ☑ · Good ☐ · Very good ☐ | ▪ Knows François Hollande is the PS candidate<br>▪ Thinks François Hollande is a « candidate of the UMPS system » |
| **Position towards François Hollande and the PS** | ▪ What is the voter's attitude towards François Hollande ?<br>▪ What is the voter's attitude towards the PS ? | Challenging ☑ · Indifferent ☐ · Potential supporter ☑ · Active supporter ☐ | ▪ Voted for Mitterrand en 81, PC at municipal elections<br>▪ Says « for thirty years, the Left has done nothing for us » |
| **Maximum level of engagement** | ▪ How far is the voter ready to go if the activists are convincing ? | Nowhere ☐ · Vote (for François Hollande) ☑ · Give his/her contact information ☐ · Participate in the campaign ☐ | ▪ If the activists adopt a patronizing or accusatory tone, loses his/her nerves and slams the door<br>▪ If the activists express their Left-wing personal conviction and insist on the fact that François Hollande will fight harder for workers than Sarkozy, might say « I may vote for you » |

# Sheet for volunteers : examples of phrases for door-to-door approach

## Introduce yourself

- « Good morning! My name is Françoise Dupont, I work in François Hollande's presidential campaign team, for the Socialist party. [If you live in the area : « I live in your neighbourhood, rue des Roses », and] I'm here to talk to you about the presidential elections to be held on 22 April and 6 May »
- « Are you registered on the electoral roll ? »
    - *If they don't know* : « Have you ever voted ? »
    - *If not* : « Maybe your wife / husband / children have voted before ? Do you mind if I talk to them ? »
    - *If not* : « Thank you anyway for your time. You know, nowadays it's really easy to register : I hope we can talk about it again when we come back to your neighbourhood. »

## Dialoguing with the person – identifying the type of elector

- « I came here today because I think it's important to vote for the 22 April and 6 May presidential elections. Do you intend to vote ? »
- Try to figure out if the person is Left or Right-wing : « What is your view of the situation since Sarkozy's election ? »

| Left-wing abstainer | Left-wing active voter | Others |
|---|---|---|
| • « When was the last time you voted ? Why for those elections in particular ? »<br>• « Do you know where the polling station is ? It's rue des Tulipes, near the primary school. »<br>• « Many people I've met in your area intend to vote for the presidential elections »<br>• « You know, I think that voting is really important : (then explain why) | • « We really need people like you in this neighbourhood. Would you be willing to help us ? » *If they do, write down the contact information.*<br>• *If not* « I understand. Would you be interested in following François Hollande's campaign more closely ? Would you be willing to give me your contact information ? » | • « I understand. Thank you for your time. ». |

## Leaving

- «Thank you for your time. May I give you our candidate's brochure ? »

N'oubliez pas de remplir la fiche de suivi !

# Practical tips for a successful door-to-door campaign

- **Pairs**
  - Always come in pairs !
  - No need to live in the neighbourhood to go door-to-door somewhere
  - No need to be elected / experienced activists for a door-to-door campaign
  - Where possible, mix team : woman/ man, old / young, living in the neighbourhood /living elsewhere, elected / not-elected
  - One person in the team has to fill in the « opened doors/knocked at doors » follow-up sheet

- **Door-to-door time** :
  - Less than 2 mn if the voter is not targeted (neither Left-wing abstainer nor potential volunteer) !
  - 5 mn maximum if the voter is a Left-wing abstainer or a potential volunteer

- **Schedule**
  - Monday-Friday : from 5 P.M. to 8.30 PM (earlier in the countryside, later in cities)
  - Saturday : from 11 AM to 8 PM.
  - Sunday : from 2 PM to 8 PM

- **Equipment**
  - Distinctive signs (K-way, badges, t-shirts)
  - Flyers, brochures or door-hangers – Please keep the flyer and only give it out before you leave !
  - Follow-up and argument sheet

# 3. Organize door-to-door actions

## Institutionnalize at least one weekly slot dedicated to door-to-door canvassing

- It **drives the agenda of the field campaign**
- It allows you to **regularly meet a lot of volunteers**, to give an impression of massive presence to the voters
- This slot constitutes **a landmark for the new volunteers**
- Do not hesitate to **combine it with a training session**, on a Saturday afternoon for example : 1h30 training + 1h30 door-to-door canvassing
- You can obviously **collaborate with other mobilizers** to organize this slot

# Mobilizer's checklist to organize your door-to-door session

**Preparation**

- Have I determined the streets to be covered ? Are the volunteers informed ? ☐
- Am I sure all the teams will be present ? ☐
- Do I have all the badges / k-ways /PS stickers PS to identify us ? ☐
- Do I have tracts and door -hangers ? ☐
- Have I printed the volunteers' follow-up sheets ?
  - « A few greetings for door-to-door canvassing » sheet ? ☐
  - « Suggested answers to difficult questions or comments » sheet ? ☐
  - « Opened doors / knocked at doors » sheet ?
  - Contacts information sheet ? ☐
- Do I have a pen for each team so that they can fill these sheets ? ☐

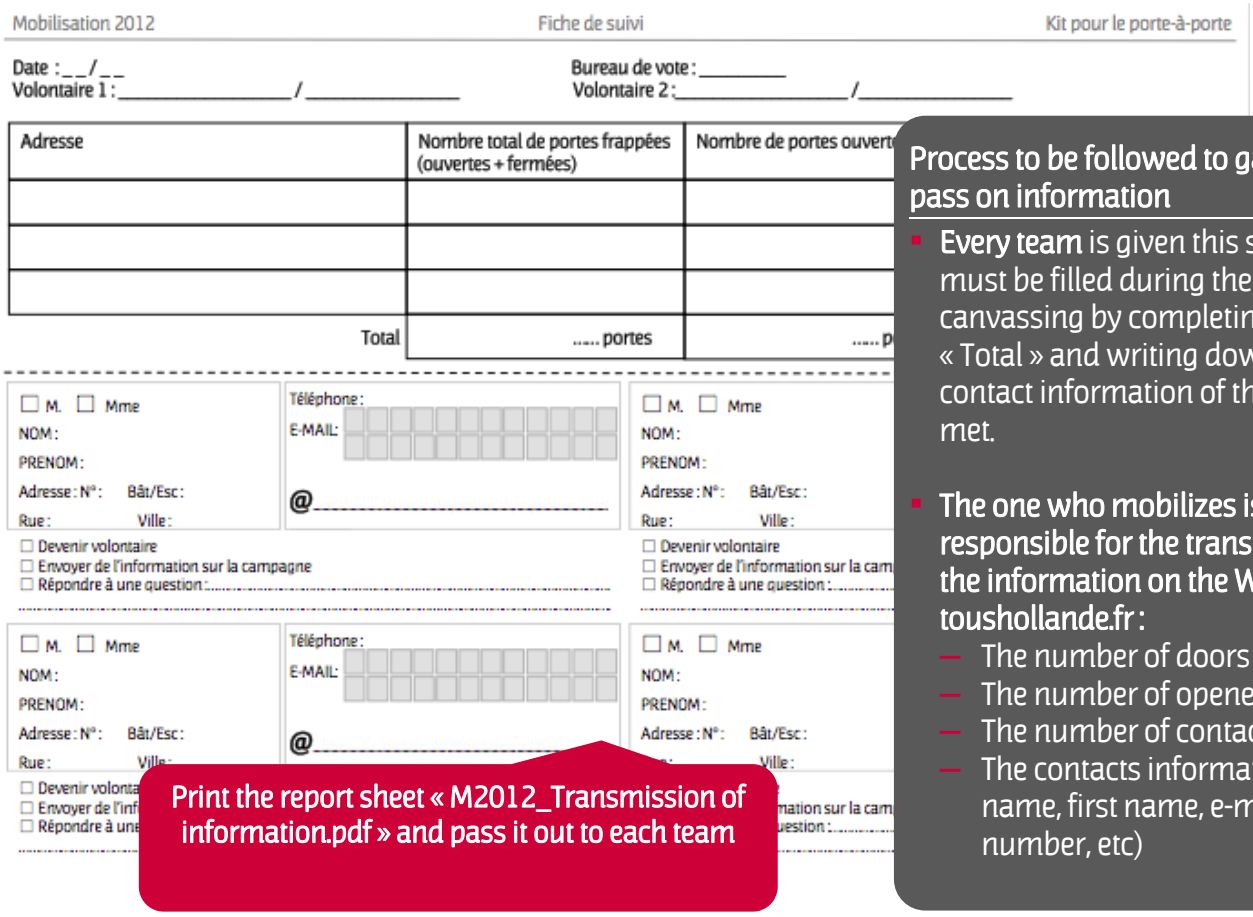
**Volunteers' follow-up sheets**

- Do the activists know how to fill the follow-up sheet ?
- Is there a designated person in charge of filling the door-to-door follow-up sheet ? ☐
- Are there designated persons in charge of the transmission of information on toushollande.fr ? ☐

**Post-door-to-door session**

- Have I made a 10 mn report with all the volunteers to collect their impressions ? ☐
- Have I collected the questions voters could ask and provided answers ? ☐

# Transmission of information : door-to-door report sheet



Mobilisation 2012 — Fiche de suivi — Kit pour le porte-à-porte

Date : __/__
Volontaire 1 : _____ / _____

Bureau de vote : _____
Volontaire 2 : _____ / _____

| Adresse | Nombre total de portes frappées (ouvertes + fermées) | Nombre de portes ouverte |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| Total | ..... portes | ..... p |

☐ M. ☐ Mme
NOM :
PRENOM :
Adresse : N° : Bât/Esc :
Rue : Ville :
Téléphone :
E-MAIL :
@ _____
☐ Devenir volontaire
☐ Envoyer de l'information sur la campagne
☐ Répondre à une question : .....

☐ M. ☐ Mme
NOM :
PRENOM :
Adresse : N° : Bât/Esc :
Rue : Ville :
☐ Devenir volontaire
☐ Envoyer de l'information sur la cam
☐ Répondre à une question : .....

☐ M. ☐ Mme
NOM :
PRENOM :
Adresse : N° : Bât/Esc :
Rue : Ville :
Téléphone :
E-MAIL :
@ _____
☐ Devenir volonta
☐ Envoyer de l'inf
☐ Répondre à une

☐ M. ☐ Mme
NOM :
PRENOM :
Adresse : N° : Bât/Esc :
Ville :
mation sur la cam
uestion : .....

Print the report sheet « M2012_Transmission of information.pdf » and pass it out to each team

## Process to be followed to gather and pass on information

- **Every team** is given this sheet that must be filled during the canvassing by completing the boxes « Total » and writing down the contact information of the persons met.

- **The one who mobilizes is responsible for the transmission of the information on the Website : toushollande.fr :**
  - The number of doors knocked at.
  - The number of opened doors.
  - The number of contacts.
  - The contacts information (last name, first name, e-mail, phone number, etc)

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For any questions, please contact your federal facilitator or write to mobilisation2012@francoishollande.fr

# Annexes : my action plan

# 15 days to come : good practice suggestions to implement in your section

**What other good experiences can you share ?**

## Good practice registered in sections or federations

**In my section**

- Appoint a person responsible for the 2012 Mobilisation tool to enter door-to-door reports and register the volunteers' contact information of those who are not necessarily familiar with Internet
- In your section, appoint « door-to-door experts » in charge of constituting teams with new volunteers
- Divide the largest sections in blocks and appoint a person responsible for each one
- Systematically reach out to the "20 euros subscribers" to offer them to become volunteers
- Always welcome new volunteers with friendly greetings and immedialtely after suggest them to go door-to-door

**In my area**

- Coordinate with the other mobilzers in your area to distribute the polling stations in the best manner
- Help comrades in the areas with higher priority polling stations.
- Organize spectacular actions (for example : all the sections going door-to-door at the same time) to improve visibility

**In my département**

- Request a meeting with your federal facilitator to
  - Review the campaign coordination within the federation
  - Coordinate with the MJS to improve the striking force
  - Coordinate with the PRG when they are locally present
  - Determine how to involve elected representatives in the best manner
  - Share good practices
  - Forward questions

# Practical implementation : my action plan for next weeks in my area

Fill during session

| | Action | When ? | Person who could help me |
|---|---|---|---|
| Recruitment | | | |
| Training | | | |
| Door-to-door | | | |
| Organization, coordination | | | |

Figure J3. Guide on the campaign website (Translated from French).

# Advantages of TousHollande Terrain

## What benefits does the tool provide to door-to-door canvassing

| | |
|---|---|
| **Access to new sympathizers** | ▪ An easy way to interact with **all the volunteers in your area, including primary voters wanting to take action in the field**<br>▪ Automatic access to **new volunteers** in your area |
| **A list of priority areas** | ▪ A map indicating the polling stations where **your action will be most effective** (polling stations with the largest proportion of Left-wing abstainers)<br>▪ The list of the addresses of these polling stations |
| **A follow-up of your progress** | ▪ A **concrete visualisation of your door-to-door action progress** |
| **Launching of field actions** | ▪ **The possibility of writing to one or several volunteers in your area** to invite them to field actions (training, door-to-door, others) |

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**Part One**

**Most frequent field mobilizers' use of Toushollande Terrain**

**6 core functionalities to help you organize your door-to-door campaign**

Part Two

A detailed description of the tool functions

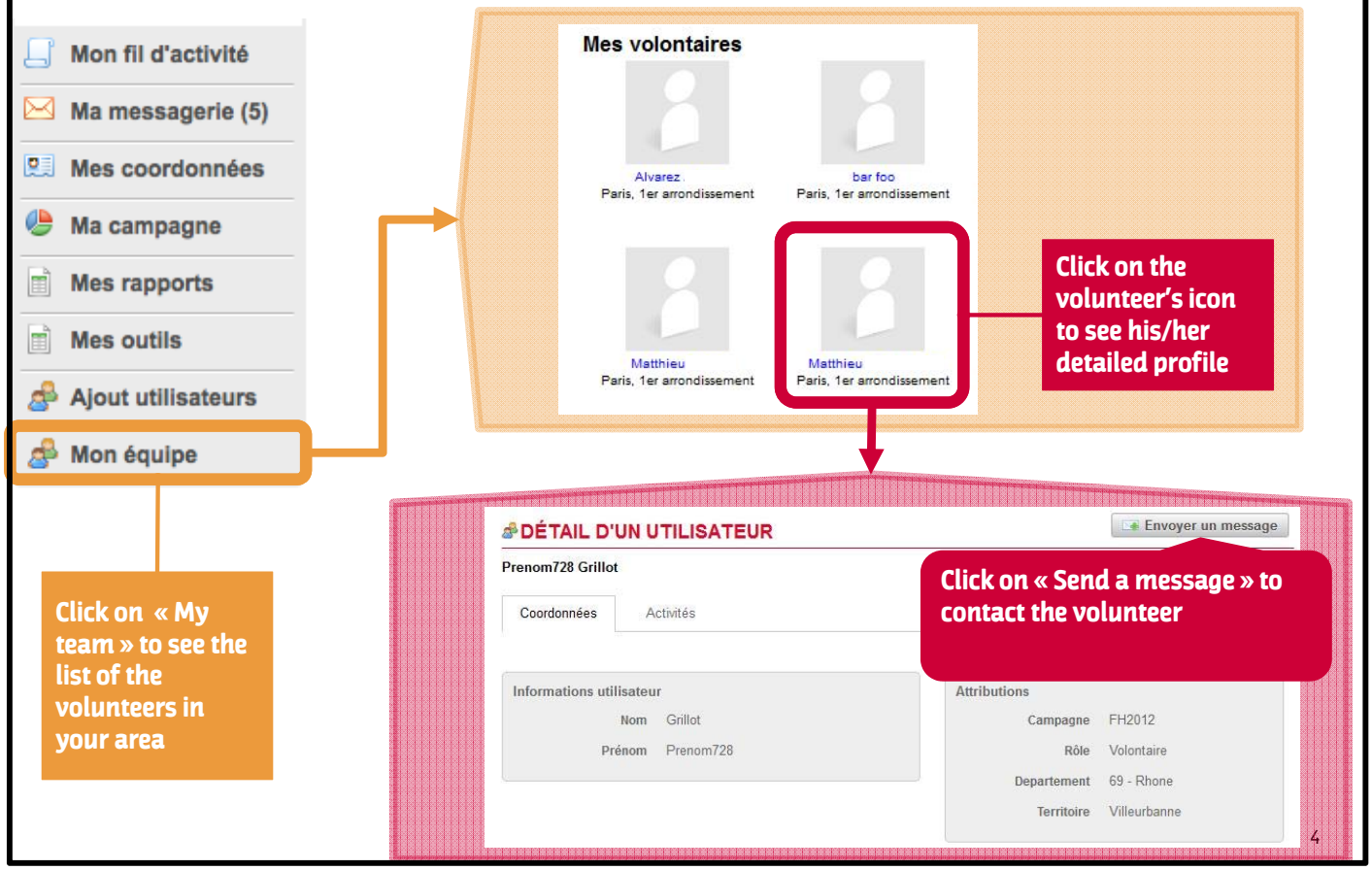
Discover, step by step, all you can do with toushollande.fr

# Most frequent field mobilizers' use

## 6 ways of using Toushollande Terrain in your campaign

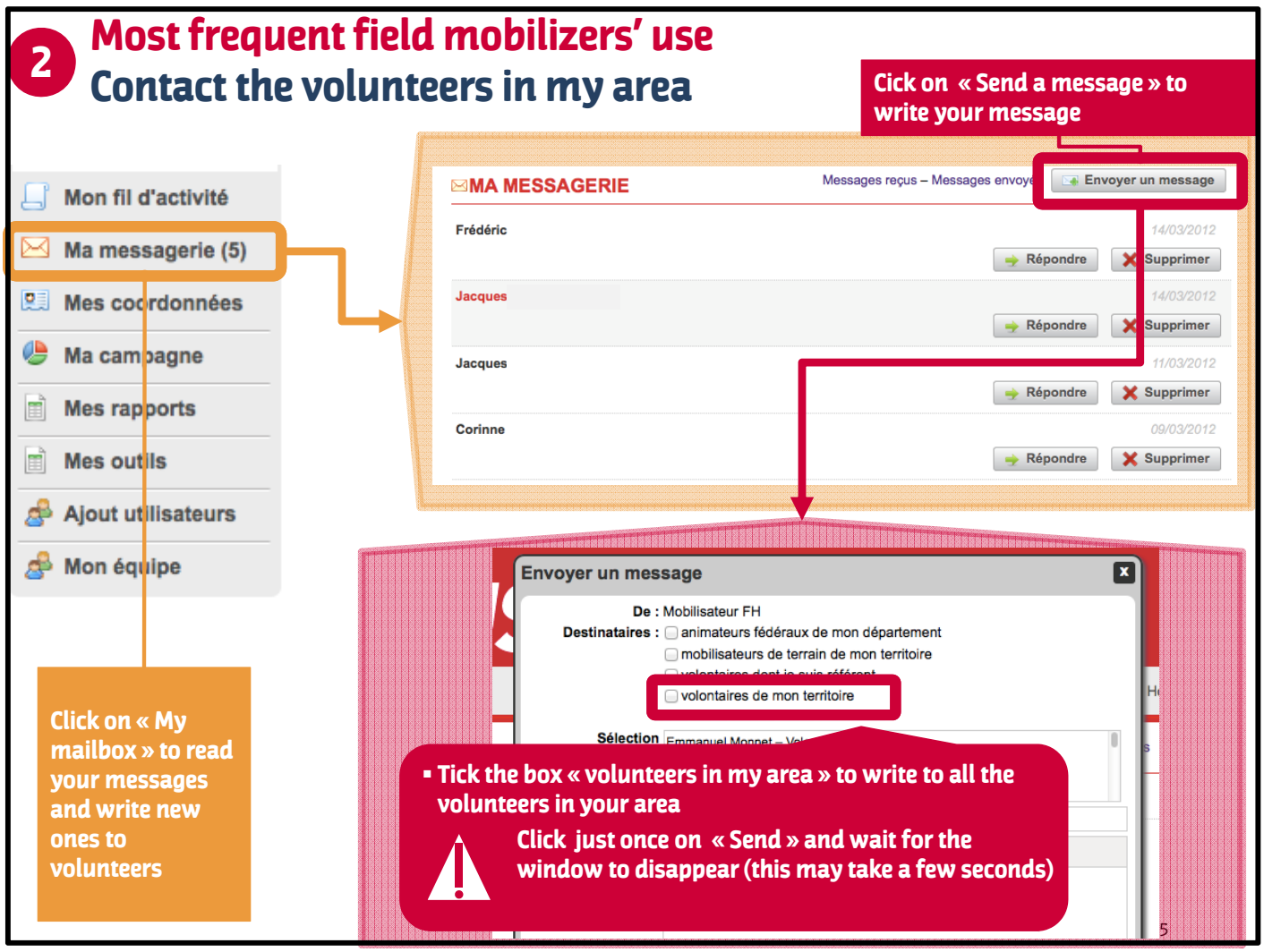
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | **Visualize the volunteers in my area** | How to locate the volunteers in my area and access their personal profile |
| 2 | **Contact the volunteers in my area** | Once the volunteers in my area are located, how to invite them to a door-to-door session |
| 3 | **Target the priority polling stations** | How to determine the door-to-door areas to cover first |
| 4 | **Write a report of door-to-door actions** | How to fill a door-to-door actions report |
| 5 | **Follow the door-to-door campaign** | How to visualize the door-to-door campaign progress on the scale of my area |
| 6 | **Invite volunteers on Toushollande Terrain** | How to invite volunteers on toushollande.fr |

# 1 Most frequent field mobilizers' use
## Visualize the volunteers in my area

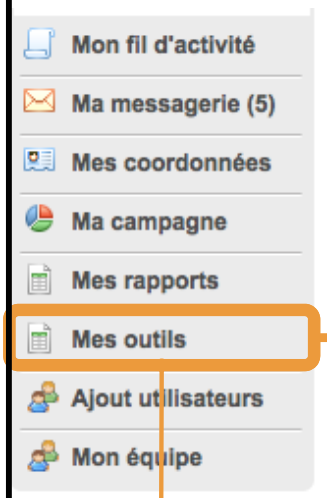


# 2 Most frequent field mobilizers' use

## Contact the volunteers in my area

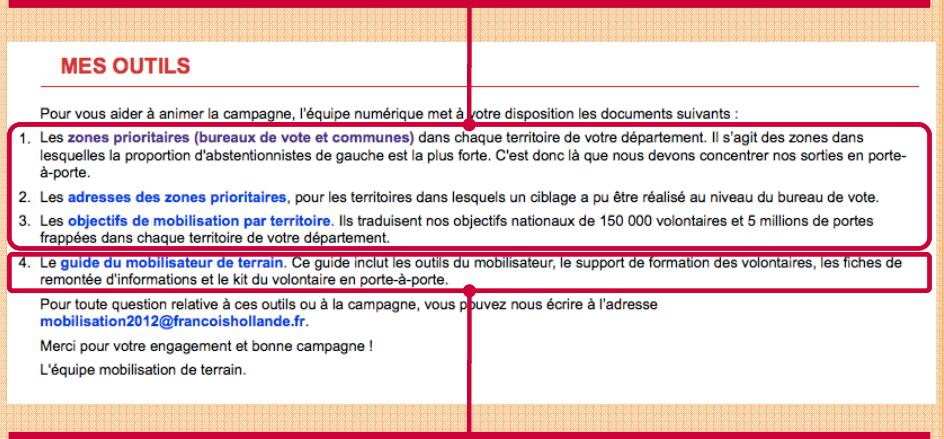


# 3 Most frequent field mobilizers' use
## Target the priority polling stations




Click on « My tools » to read your messages and write new ones to volunteers

- **Priority areas** : list of the priority polling stations (largest proportion of Left-wing abstainers) in each area
- **Addresses of priority areas** : list of the addresses of the priority polling stations
- **Mobilization goals by area** : application of national goals in one's area (number of doors to knock at, of mobilizers and of volunteers to recruit)



**MES OUTILS**

Pour vous aider à animer la campagne, l'équipe numérique met à votre disposition les documents suivants :

1. Les **zones prioritaires (bureaux de vote et communes)** dans chaque territoire de votre département. Il s'agit des zones dans lesquelles la proportion d'abstentionnistes de gauche est la plus forte. C'est donc là que nous devons concentrer nos sorties en porte-à-porte.
2. Les **adresses des zones prioritaires**, pour les territoires dans lesquels un ciblage a pu être réalisé au niveau du bureau de vote.
3. Les **objectifs de mobilisation par territoire**. Ils traduisent nos objectifs nationaux de 150 000 volontaires et 5 millions de portes frappées dans chaque territoire de votre département.
4. Le **guide du mobilisateur de terrain**. Ce guide inclut les outils du mobilisateur, le support de formation des volontaires, les fiches de remontée d'informations et le kit du volontaire en porte-à-porte.

Pour toute question relative à ces outils ou à la campagne, vous pouvez nous écrire à l'adresse **mobilisation2012@francoishollande.fr**.

Merci pour votre engagement et bonne campagne !

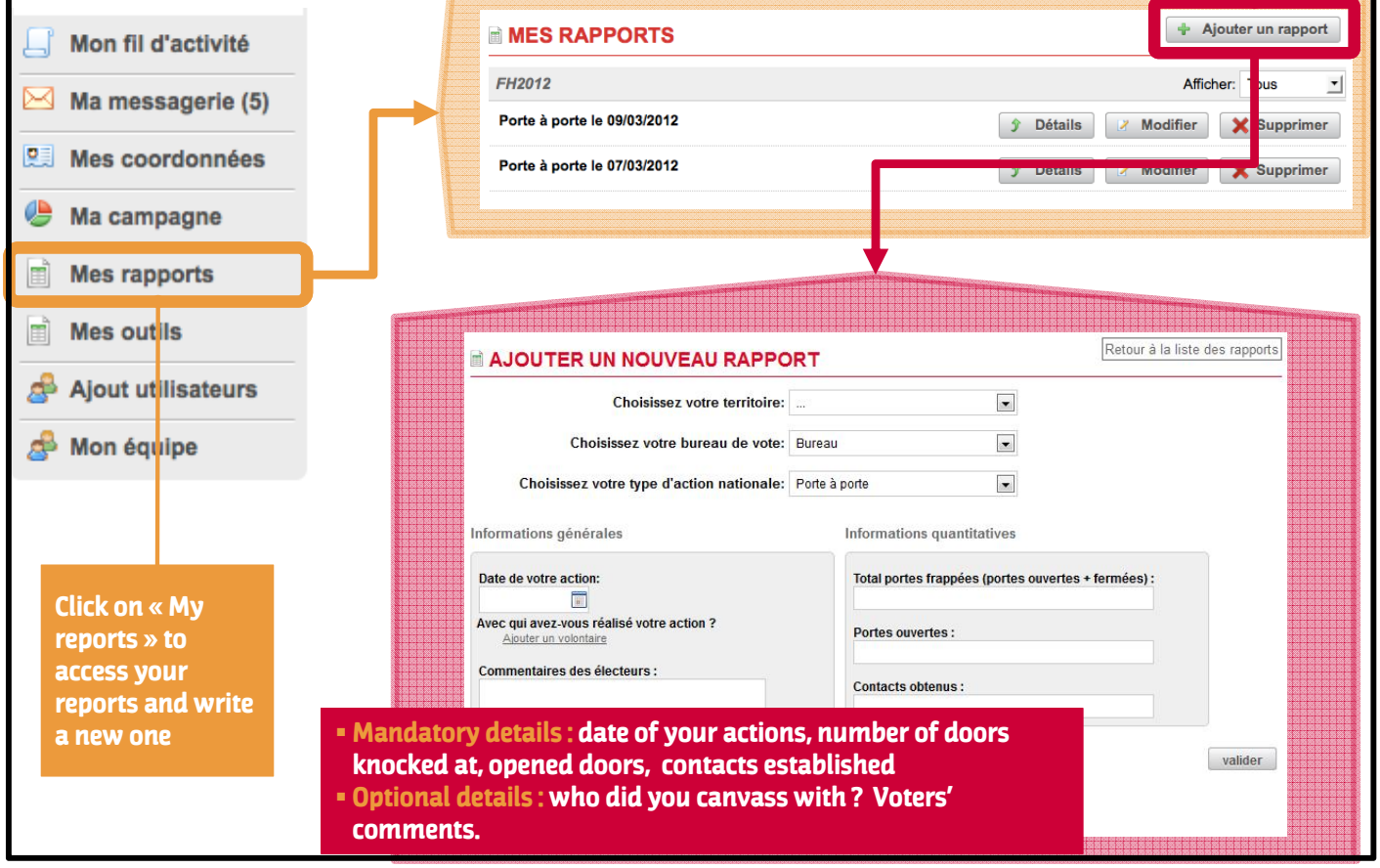
L'équipe mobilisation de terrain.

- **Field mobilizer guide** : it provides all the tools to assist the mobilizer in training volunteers and organize one's door-to-door campaign

# 4 Most frequent field mobilizers' use

## Write a report on Toushollande Terrain

Cick on « Add a report » to write your message



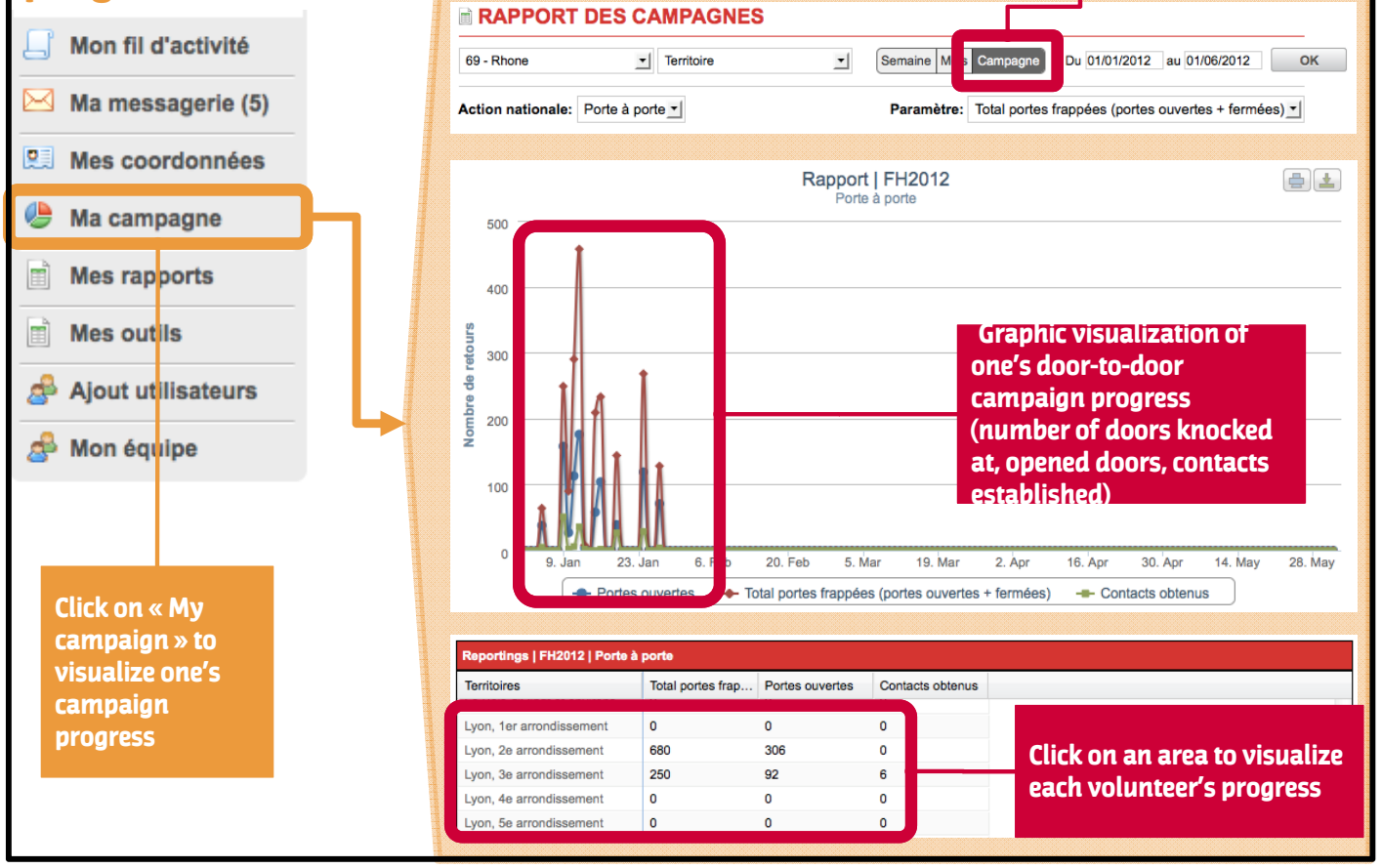

Click on « My reports » to access your reports and write a new one

- **Mandatory details :** date of your actions, number of doors knocked at, opened doors, contacts established
- **Optional details :** who did you canvass with ? Voters' comments.

# 5 Most frequent field mobilizers' use

## Follow the door-to-door campaign progress

Choose « My campaign » to visualize one's actions throughout the whole campaign (January-June)



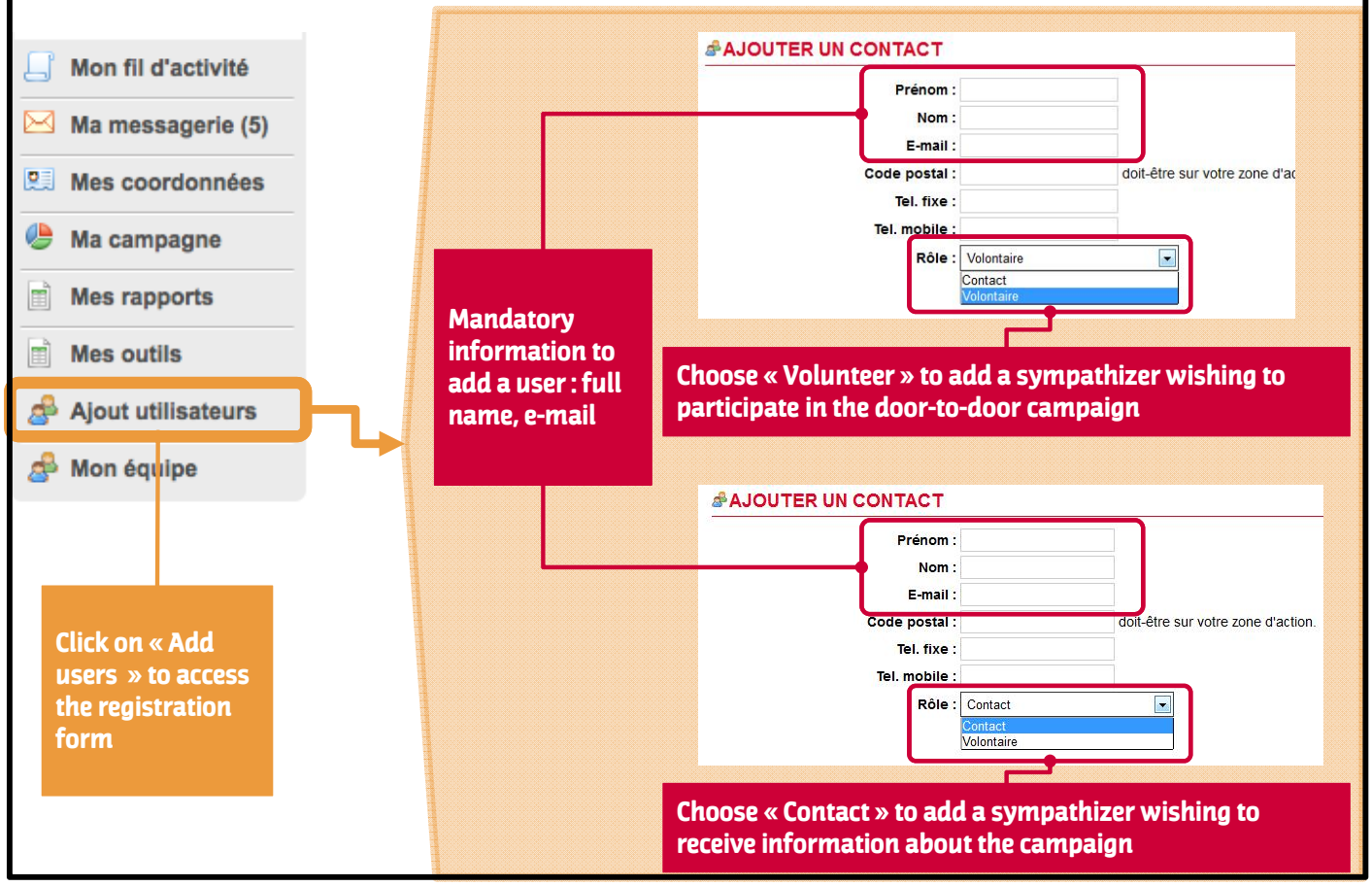

Click on « My campaign » to visualize one's campaign progress

Graphic visualization of one's door-to-door campaign progress (number of doors knocked at, opened doors, contacts established)

Click on an area to visualize each volunteer's progress

# 6 Most frequent field mobilizers' use

## Invite volunteers to register on Toushollande Terrain



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Part One

Most frequent field mobilizers' use of Toushollande Field

6 core functionalities to help you organize your door-to-door campaign

**Part Two**

**A detailed description of the tool functions**

**Discover, step by step, all you can do with toushollande.fr**

# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

## Opening page of « 2012 Mobilization »


### My news feed

**1** Find all your team members' reports

### My campaign

**4** Follow, on a day-to-day basis, the progress of your campaign in your area and in your entire department

### My team

**7** Visualize the profiles of all the parties involved in the campaign near you

### Advenced research

**8** You can search for users by fonction, department and area

### My mailbox

**2** Invite volunteers to participate in actions near you

### My contact information

**3** Enter your contact information to be readily accessible

### My reports

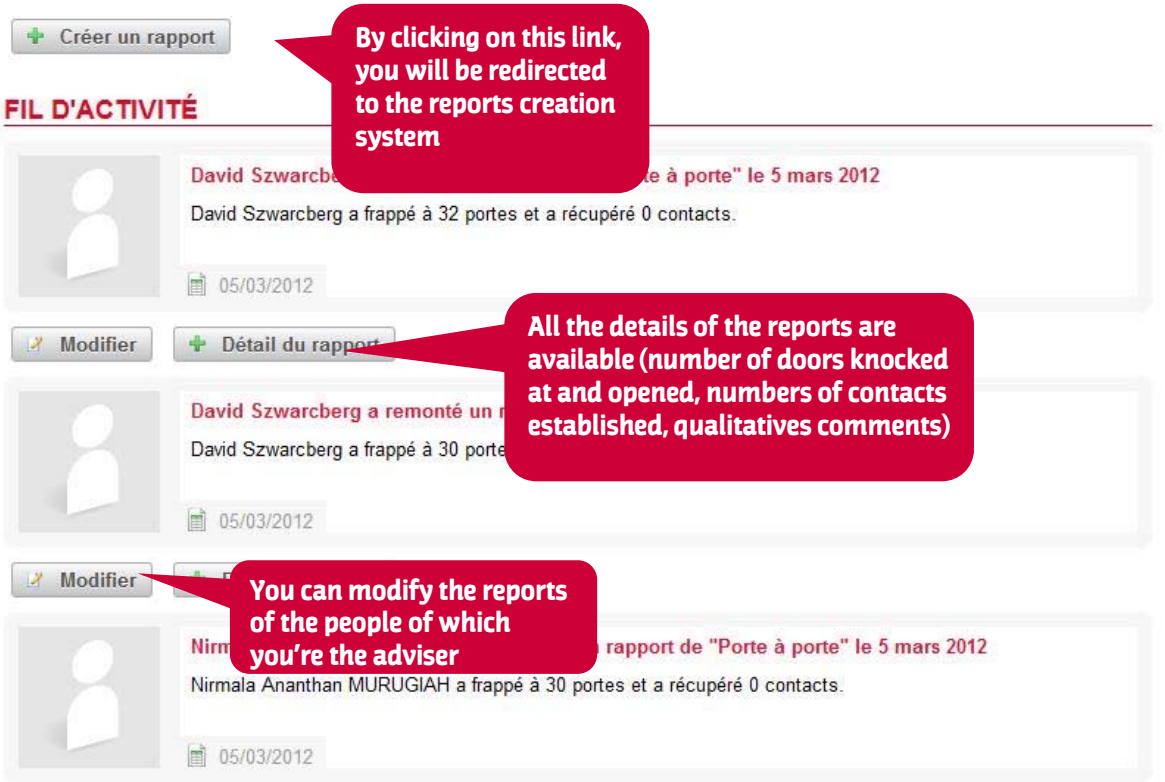
**5** Add door-to-door reports to monitor your progress and share your feedback with campaign facilitators

### Add users

**6** Invite all the sympathizers and activists who want to join toushollande.fr's web

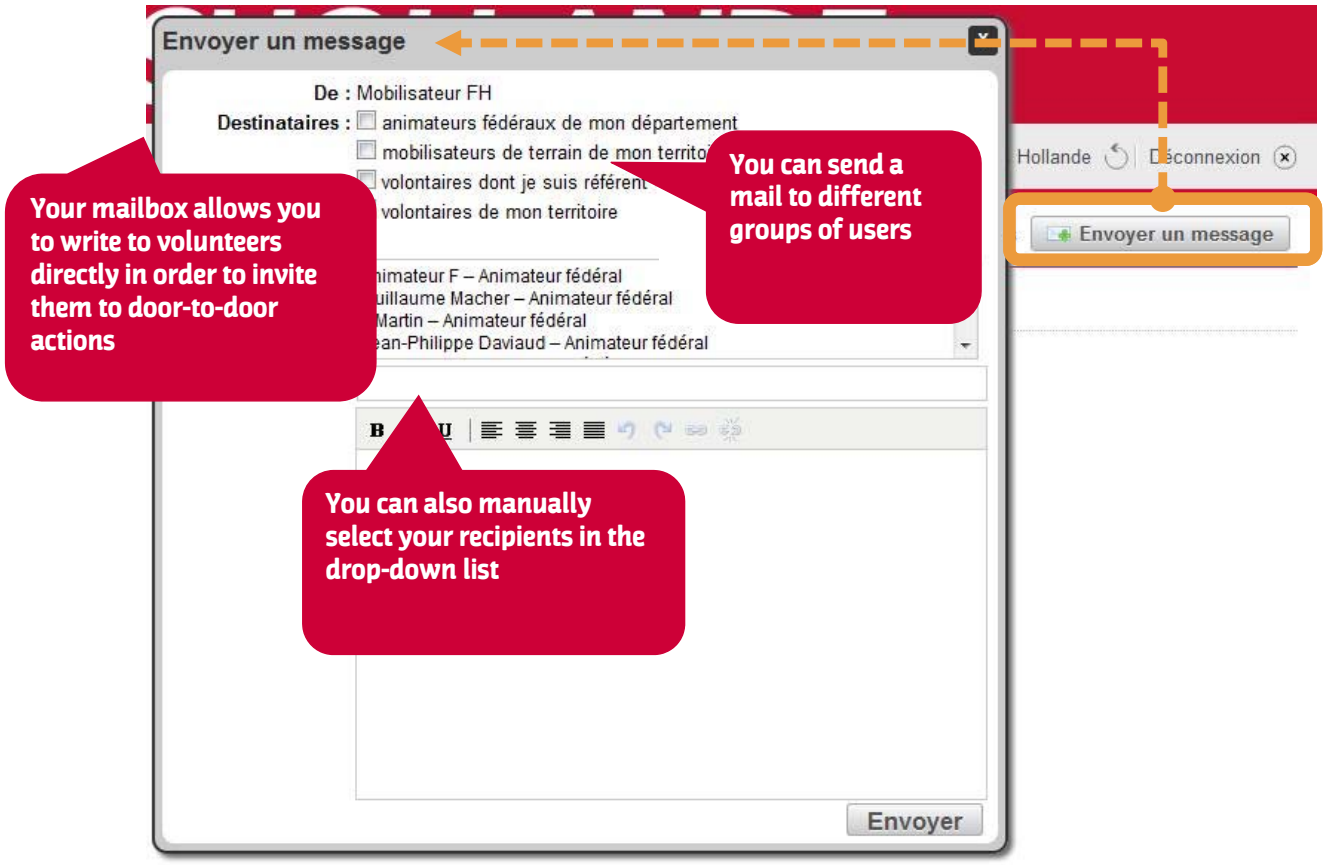
# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

## 1 My news feed : monitoring of your team reports



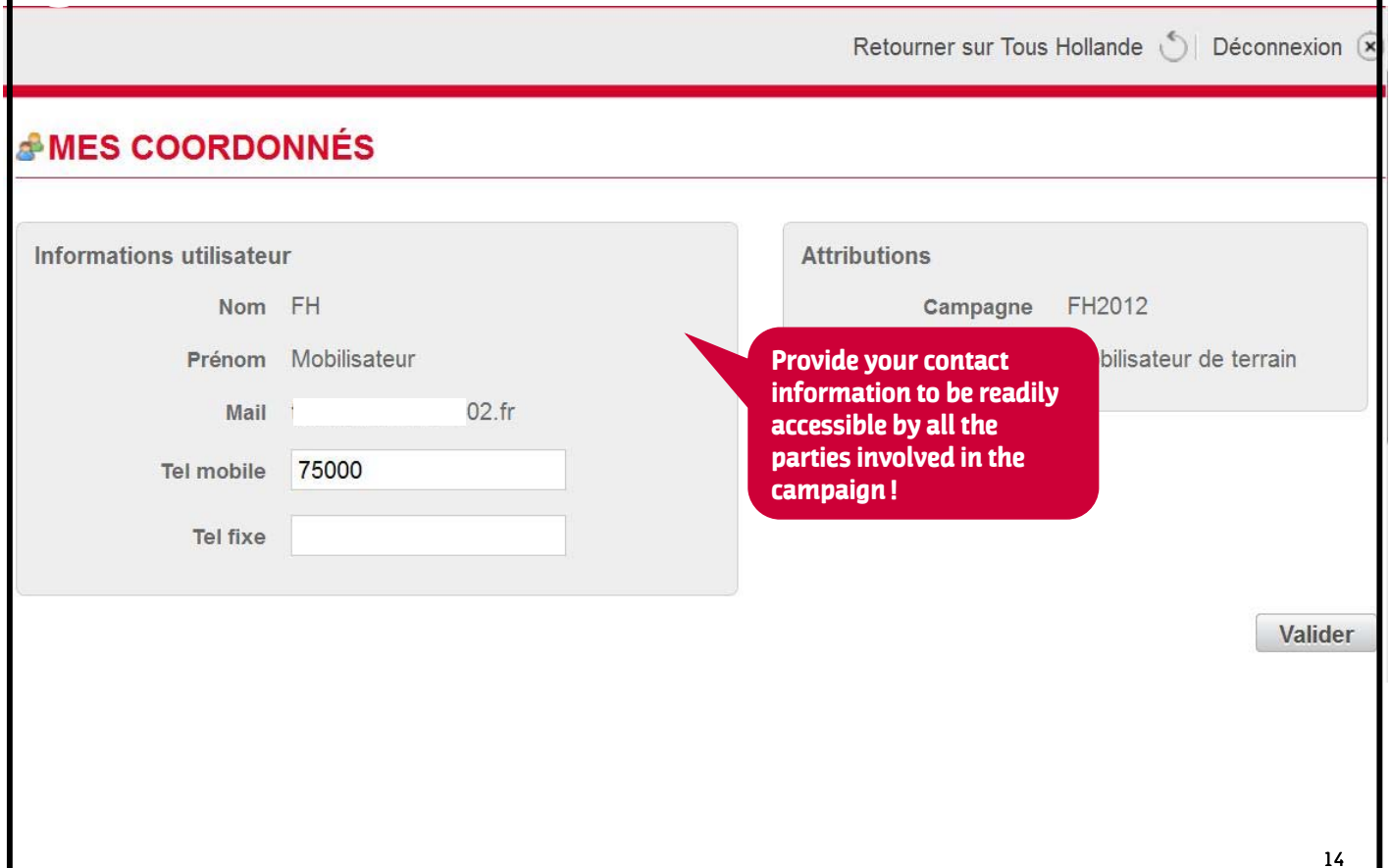
# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

## 2 Mailbox : contact the volunteers in your area



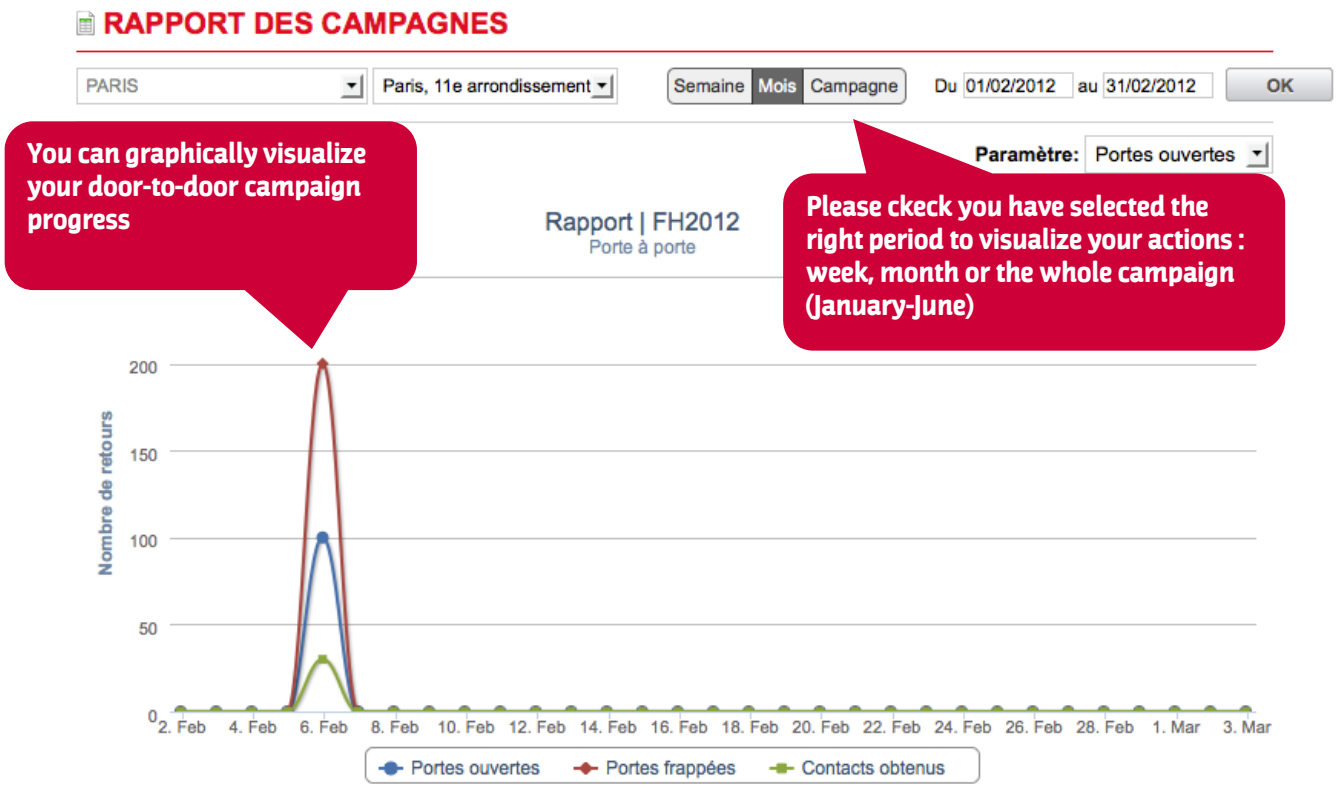
# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilisation » tool

## 3 My contact information



# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

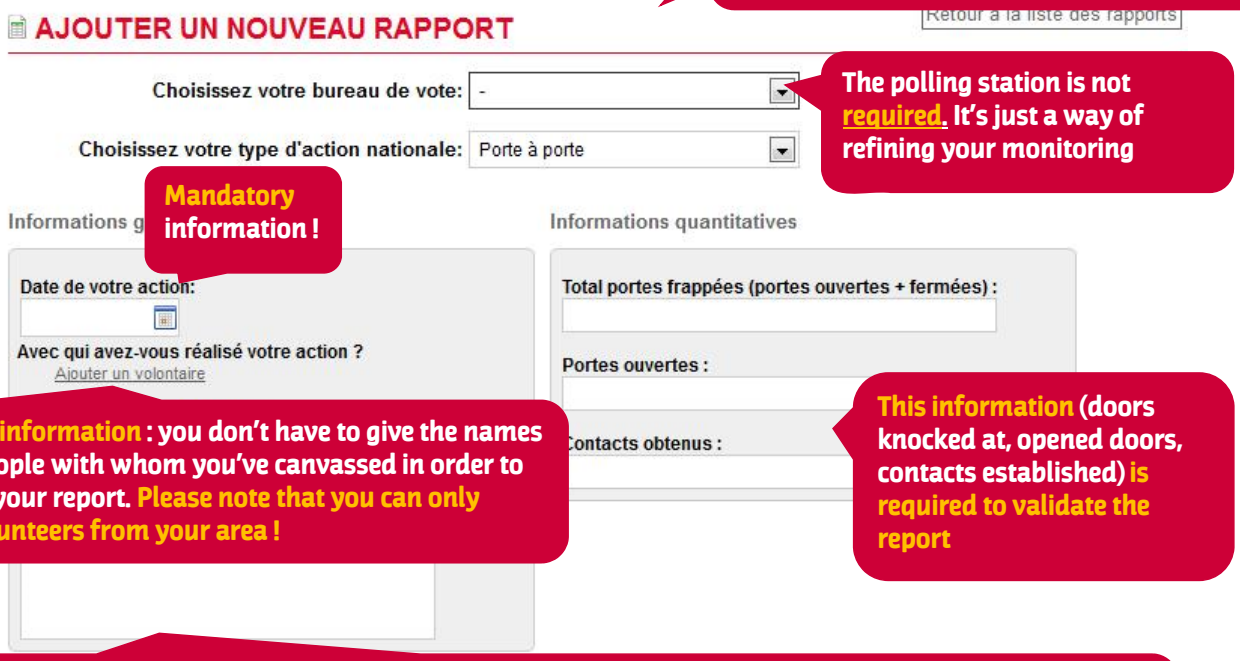
## 4 Follow the campaign progress



# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

## 5 Write a door-to-door report

Once your door-to-door mission is completed, make sure to create reports from the field volunteers' completed forms




The polling station is not required. It's just a way of refining your monitoring

Mandatory information !

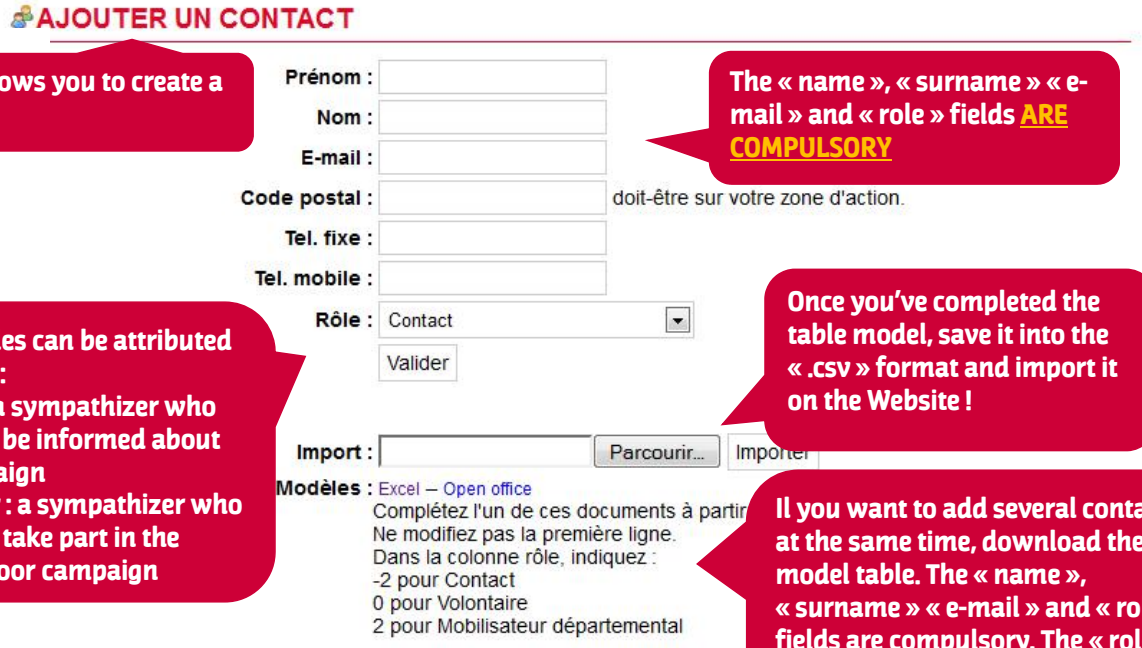
Optional information : you don't have to give the names of the people with whom you've canvassed in order to validate your report. Please note that you can only enter volunteers from your area !

This information (doors knocked at, opened doors, contacts established) is required to validate the report

Comments section : Following your door-to-door canvassing, you can add qualitative comments (on the voters' viewing of the campaign for example, on the campaign's main themes they consider important). You can also use this section to give the names of the volunteers not belonging to your area with whom you've canvassed.

# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

## 6 Enter the contacts information collected through door-to-door canvassing




This form allows you to create a new user

The « name », « surname » « e-mail » and « role » fields ARE COMPULSORY

Different roles can be attributed to the users :

- Contact : a sympathizer who wishes to be informed about the campaign
- Volunteer : a sympathizer who wishes to take part in the door-to-door campaign

Once you've completed the table model, save it into the « .csv » format and import it on the Website !

Il you want to add several contacts at the same time, download the model table. The « name », « surname » « e-mail » and « role » fields are compulsory. The « role » field must be filled taking into account the specified nomenclature

# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilization » tool

## 7 My team : to track all the members of my team

MON ÉQUIPE

**Your federal facilitators are your first points of contact for any questions, technical issues, material requests, tools & premises for volunteers' training, etc.**

Animateurs fédéraux de mon département


Animateur F


Guillaume Macher


J Martin


Jean-Philippe Daviaud


Sarah Proust

Mobilisateurs de mon territoire


Mobilisateur FH

**Here you will find the mobilizers of your area. You can communicate with them via your mailbox to organize door-to-door actions**

Mes volontaires


Alvarez Albert
Paris, 1er arrondissement

Par

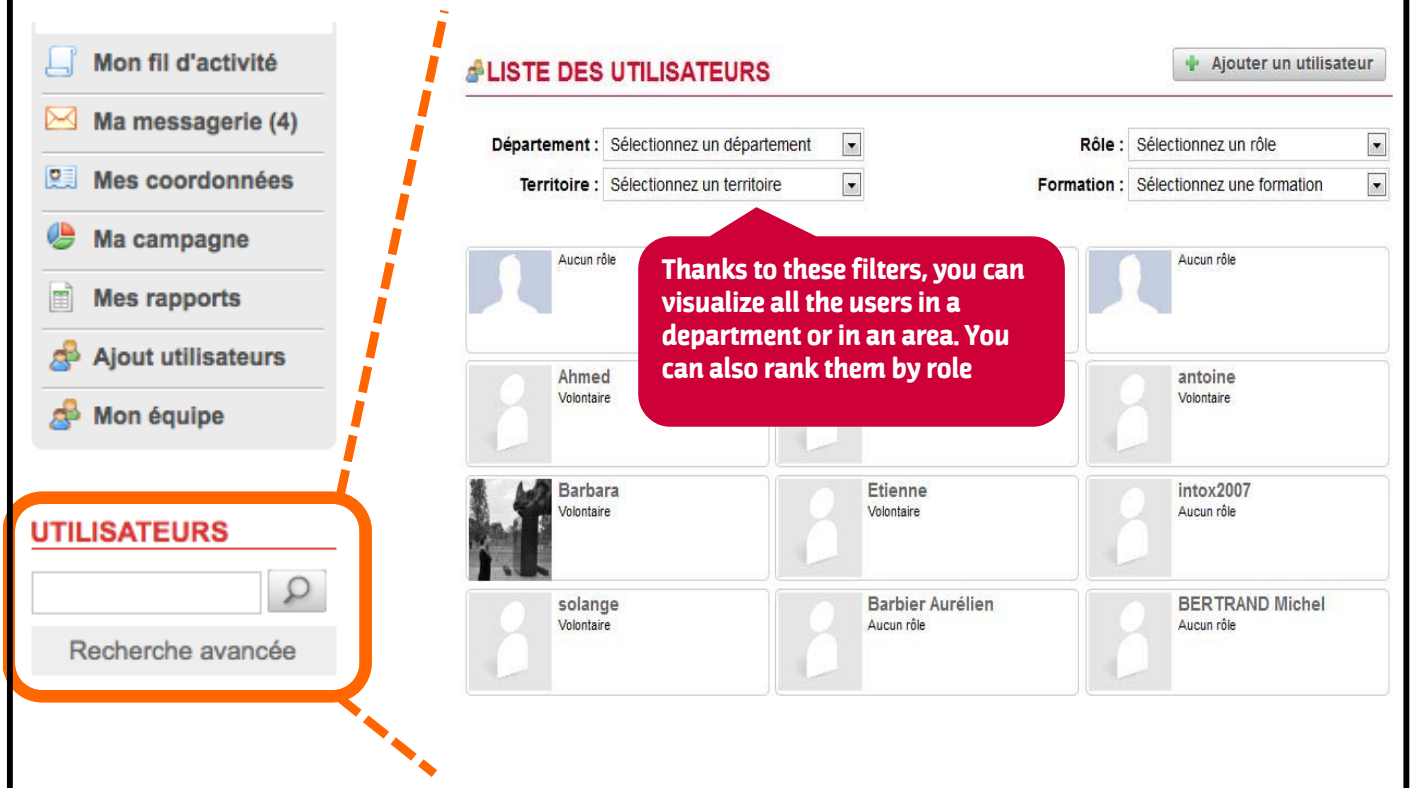
**Everytime a new volunteer arrives in your area, mobilizers are informed. It's up to you to offer them training and door-to-door**


chnoebelen
rondissement


Marlene Huard
Paris, 1er arrondissement

# Demonstration of the « 2012 Mobilisation » tool

## 8 Advanced search



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**For any questions, contact your federal facilitator or write to :**

**mobilisation2012@francoishollande.fr**

Figure J4. Door-hangers.