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

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Abstract

Existing evidence on the impact of door-to-door canvassing comes from small-scale experiments that assign treatment at the individual level (at which voter choices are difficult to measure), and assume greater control over canvassers' selection and behavior than is typical to most campaigns. This paper takes a different approach by assigning entire precincts to either a control group or a treatment group, in a countrywide experiment during François Hollande's campaign in the 2012 French presidential elections. Overall, activists supporting the Parti Socialiste's candidate knocked on five million doors. Visits did not affect voter turnout, but increased Hollande's vote share in the first round at the expense of his right-wing opponents, and accounted for one fifth of his victory margin in the second round. This impact largely persisted in later elections, suggesting that even brief one-on-one discussions can have a large and lasting persuasion effect.

JEL Codes: D72, D83, P16.

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1 Introduction

Consumers and voters base their economic and political decisions on preferences and beliefs shaped by their direct observations and the communication they receive. The strategies used to persuade them have long been studied (see for instance the pioneering work on electoral campaigns by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, 1944) and a growing literature provides causal evidence on the drivers and effects of persuasive communication (see DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2010 for an overview). Studies conducted in a variety of contexts have focused in particular on a powerful vector of persuasion: targeted appeals transmitted in one-on-one discussions. Elections are an important but also, to some extent, the ideal setting to evaluate the impact of such discussions: important, as since the 2000 American presidential election, electoral campaigns have relied on an increasing number of direct and personal interactions between door-to-door canvassers and voters (Bergan, Gerber and Green, 2005; Hillygus and Shields, 2014; Issenberg, 2012); and ideal, as electoral results provide an accurate measure of voter preferences expressed through their participation and their ballot choice, enabling an assessment of the effect of these interactions.

Still, the fact that campaigns strategically target potential supporters (e.g., Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1992; Wielhouwer, 2003) makes identifying the effect of door-to-door canvassing non-trivial. Starting with the early study of Gosnell (1926) and the seminal work of Gerber and Green (2000), a large experimental literature addresses this issue by randomly selecting voters to receive the visit of political activists before the election (see Gerber and Green, 2008 for a review). Many of these studies are conducted in partnership with political parties or nonpartisan organizations that are routinely involved in electoral campaigns. However, two features of these framed field experiments call for caution when drawing lessons about the effect of one-on-one discussions in real-world settings.

First, existing experiments are conducted at a much smaller scale than most actual campaigns, allowing the researchers and the hierarchy of the campaign (the principal) to carefully select activists that will interact with voters (the agent) and to control the content of their discussions. In real campaigns, scope for control is much more limited and the principal-agent problem is more acute, which may lower the impact (Enos and Hersh, 2015). Results from framed get-out-the-vote experiments themselves show that quality matters (e.g. Nickerson, 2007), and evidence from other contexts suggests that interventions generating large effects in a small, controlled setting may become unimpactful when they are scaled up (e.g. Banerjee, Duflo and Glennerster, 2008; Grossman, Humphreys and Sacramone-Luz, 2015).

Second, in existing studies of door-to-door efforts, randomization is typically conducted at the individual or household level, with important consequences for outcome measurement. These randomized evaluations can adequately estimate the effect of door-to-door canvassing on voter turnout, which in many countries

is recorded at the individual level, and made publicly available. However, they are less suited to measure the effect of the visits on voter choices which, of course, are secret. Some studies resort to polling to construct a close outcome: vote intention or, after the election took place, self-reported vote (e.g., Arceneaux, 2007; Arceneaux and Nickerson, 2010; Bailey, Hopkins and Rogers, 2014; Barton, Castillo and Petrie, 2014; Dewan, Humphreys and Rubenson, 2014). Unfortunately, for all its merits, randomization does not eliminate traditional survey biases. In phone surveys, response rates to questions on self-reported vote are typically as low as 15 percent (e.g., Barton, Castillo and Petrie, 2014), and there is ample evidence that questions on political behavior are particularly prone to misreporting, including overreporting for the winner (e.g., Wright, 1993; Atkeson, 1999; Campbell, 2010). An additional concern is that these biases might differ between treatment and control individuals (e.g., Cardy, 2005; Bailey, Hopkins and Rogers, 2014; Gelman et al., 2015). A possible alternative is to run randomized evaluations of door-to-door canvassing not at the individual level, but at the precinct level, at which administrative records of vote shares are available (Arceneaux, 2005). However, this is logistically demanding, as it requires the participation of a large number of precincts to secure sufficient statistical power. Neither the implied number of activists nor the campaign apparatus required to organize them are typically available to the researcher.¹

The author’s involvement as one of the three national directors of François Hollande’s field campaign for the 2012 French presidential election provided a unique opportunity to run the first countrywide and well-powered, precinct-randomized evaluation of the impact of door-to-door canvassing. This paper reports the results of this field experiment.

From 1 February 2012, which was 11 weeks before the first round of the election, up until the second round on 6 May 2012, an estimated 80,000 left-wing activists knocked on 5 million doors to encourage people to vote for the candidate of the Parti Socialiste (PS), making this campaign the largest door-to-door effort in Europe to date. I created randomized lists of precincts to be treated, however one aspect of the limited control of the candidate’s central team over local activists was that a large fraction of territories that participated in the door-to-door campaign did not participate in the experiment, as they did not use the randomization lists. Therefore, I use daily reports entered by canvassers on the campaign website and their responses to a post-electoral online survey to identify which territories did indeed use the randomization lists. In these territories, precincts and municipalities which collectively contained 5.02 million registered citizens were randomly assigned to either a control or a treatment group, and a subset of treatment precincts were

¹Existing studies exploit quasi-experimental variations in the media coverage of precincts or counties (e.g., Simon and Stern, 1955; DellaVigna and Kaplan, 2007) or conduct precinct-level randomized evaluations of interventions that require fewer human resources than door-to-door canvassing: direct mail (Gerber, 2004; Rogers and Middleton, 2015), phone calls (Shaw et al., 2012; Kendall, Nannicini and Trebbi, 2015), radio ads (Panagopoulos and Green, 2008), or assignment of independent election observers (Enikolopov and Korovkin, 2013). However, there are strong reasons to believe that personal discussions – the distinctive feature of door-to-door canvassing, and the issue addressed by this paper – might affect voter choice in a different way than other types of contacts: their effect on the decision to vote is itself different (e.g., Gerber and Green, 2000).

allocated to the canvassers. I evaluate the effects of the door-to-door visits using official election results at the precinct level.

Surprisingly, door-to-door canvassing did not affect voter turnout. However, it increased François Hollande’s vote share in precincts allocated to canvassers by 1.9 and 2.0 percentage points in the first and second rounds of the presidential elections, respectively. These estimates control for the imperfect compliance of the canvassers with their allocated lists of precincts, and are significant at the 5 percent level. Multiplying these estimates by the fraction of French doors knocked, I obtain that the canvassing campaign accounted for approximately one third of Hollande’s lead in the first round and one fifth of his victory margin at the second round.

The scale of the study also facilitated the assessment of downstream effects. While transitory shocks to voter turnout have been found to generate persistent effects due to long-lasting impact of the shocks themselves or to habit formation (Gerber, Green and Shachar, 2003; Meredith, 2009; Davenport et al., 2010; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, 2012; Fujiwara, Meng and Vogl, 2015), the present study is the first to show that vote choice too can persist. In fact, the impact of the visits almost entirely persisted in the subsequent parliamentary elections held one month after the presidential vote. Overall, door-to-door canvassing increased the vote share obtained by Parti Socialiste candidates in these elections by 0.3 percentage points. This effect was larger than the victory margin of members of parliament from the PS elected in 2012 in 3.5 percent of the constituencies. Persistence to the 2014 European elections was smaller (about 40 percent of the original effect) and at the limit of statistical significance.

Finally, I discuss possible interpretations of the results. Although I cannot directly test them, examining the effects of the visits on the vote shares of other candidates provides suggestive evidence. The first and, to me, most likely interpretation, is that the results were driven by a persuasion effect. An alternative interpretation is that the door-to-door visits increased the participation of left-wing supporters, and that they demobilized an equal number of supporters of other parties. Of all types of voters, those who could be deemed most likely to feel cross-pressured and thus demobilized are probably the supporters of the far-right candidate Marine Le Pen, many of whom used to vote left and still maintain leftist preferences on economic issues. However, her vote share was unaffected, making the persuasion interpretation more likely than demobilization. Two different mechanisms may have driven the persuasion effect of the visits: canvassers may have persuaded voters by changing their preferences on some political issues or by changing their beliefs about the quality of the PS and of its candidate. The short average length of the visits did not allow for in-depth conversations, making the first mechanism unlikely. Instead, the fact that most voters that were canvassed had never been visited by a political activist before makes the second mechanism, a shift in the perception of the quality of candidate and party, more plausible. In addition, the increase of Hollande’s

vote share was a result of his taking votes away from right-wing candidates rather than from other left-wing candidates. But right-wing voters could be deemed less susceptible to align their preferences with the political agenda of Hollande than voters supporting other left-wing candidates, who naturally offered a closer ideological platform. This again makes it less likely that voters' political preferences changed, and more likely that their beliefs about the PS and its candidate did.

Overall, the results suggest that in elections of very high salience, voter outreach methods will have little effect on turnout, but that interpersonal discussions can have a large and long-lasting persuasion effect.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides more background information on François Hollande's door-to-door campaign and on the 2012 and 2014 elections in France. Section 3 describes the experimental sample. Section 4 evaluates the overall impact of the door-to-door canvassing visits on voter turnout and vote shares in the presidential elections and in the following elections. Section 5 interprets the results, and Section 6 concludes.

2 Setting

2.1 The 2012 and 2014 French elections

In 2012, France elected both a new president and a new National Assembly. Presidential elections in France have two rounds, with the two candidates achieving the highest vote shares in the first round going on to the second. Turnout in the first round of presidential elections on 22 April 2012 was 79.5 percent of registered citizens.² Nicolas Sarkozy, the incumbent and candidate of the right-wing Union pour la Majorité Présidentielle (UMP), and François Hollande, the candidate of the left-wing Parti Socialiste (PS), obtained respectively 27.2 percent and 28.6 percent of the votes and qualified for the second round (see Figure 1). Compared to the 2007 presidential election, François Bayrou, the centrist candidate, lost over half of his vote share (9.1 percent compared to 18.6 percent), and the far-left candidates' portion became marginal (1.7 percent compared to 5.8 percent). The vote share of Marine Le Pen, 17.9 percent, was the highest ever obtained by her party, the far-right Front National (FN). Voter turnout in the second round, on 6 May, was high again at 80.4 percent, and François Hollande was elected President with 51.6 percent of the votes.

Similarly to the presidential elections, the parliamentary elections consist of two rounds, unless one candidate obtains more than 50 percent of the votes in the first. Unlike in the presidential elections, all candidates who obtain a number of votes higher than 12.5 percent of registered citizens in the first round can

²In France, voter turnout is computed as the fraction of number of votes cast over the number of registered citizens. Turnout figures reported throughout the paper follow this convention. Since the door-to-door canvassing campaign started after the registration deadline of 31 December 2011, it could not affect the number of registered citizens.

compete in the second, but in most cases that is only two candidates. The 2012 parliamentary elections took place on 10 and 17 June. Turnout was 57.2, then 55.4 percent – far lower than in the presidential elections, and lower than the previous parliamentary elections. This confirms the lesser salience of parliamentary elections in the minds of voters, as well as a general declining trend of turnout (Figure 2). The PS candidates won in 49 percent of the constituencies.

In order to examine the long-run effect of the door-to-door visits, I include the 2014 European elections in the analysis.³ These elections took place on 25 May. Unlike the presidential and parliamentary elections, the European elections use the proportionality rule, and France is divided into seven large European constituencies. Only 42 percent of the voters participated in these elections and the PS suffered a major defeat. Its candidates ranked third in all the constituencies, behind the lists of the UMP and of the FN.

2.2 Electoral campaigns in France vs. the United States

Among the many differences between French and American electoral campaigns, at least three should be emphasized here: funding, distribution of media access, and field activities. François Hollande’s 2012 campaign spent 29 million dollars, 38 times less than Barack Obama’s 1.107 billion dollars. The bulk of Obama’s money was spent on radio and television advertising. Instead, all French radio and TV channels were mandated to give equal coverage to the campaign of each of the 12 candidates before the first round. Similarly, between rounds, they had to give equal coverage to Sarkozy and Hollande: in France, candidates do not compete using TV ads. As a result, one might hypothesize that French campaigns put relatively more emphasis on the recruitment of volunteers and that they select their field campaign methods with great care. On the contrary, until recently, French political parties allocated few resources to the recruitment, training, and coordination of activists. In addition, local units of the PS were largely autonomous and free to choose their own campaign methods. Although it had once been common, door-to-door canvassing had progressively been replaced by other more impersonal techniques, such as handing out flyers in public places, or dropping them in mailboxes (Liegey, Muller and Pons, 2013). By 2012, only a very few areas saw frequent door-to-door canvassing (Lefebvre, 2005).

Two factors explain the emphasis the PS placed on canvassing during the 2012 presidential election. First, the 2008 campaign of Barack Obama generated unusual levels of public attention and enthusiasm across France. Prominent French politicians and think tanks called for an adoption of American electoral and campaign practices, including the organization of large field campaigns (Terra Nova, 2009). The second

³In 2014, France also held municipal elections. However, the political orientation (left, right, etc.) of the candidates is only known in 27 percent of the municipalities, those with more than 1,000 inhabitants. Moreover, in these municipalities, the vast majority of candidates run under affiliations which are not endorsed by a national party, such as PS or UMP. Given the low resulting statistical power, I do not include the municipal elections in the analysis.

factor, as in the United States, was academic research: the first French randomized evaluation of a door-to-door canvassing get-out-the-vote effort (Pons and Liegey, 2015) aided in convincing the PS to scale up the method for the 2012 presidential election.⁴

2.3 François Hollande’s 2012 door-to-door canvassing campaign

Four days after the second round of the presidential election, all 9,227 activists with an active profile on Hollande’s campaign website received an email invitation to take an online anonymous survey. 2,126 (23.0%) responded, of whom 1,972 (92.8%) had participated in the door-to-door canvassing campaign (Table 1). This survey, although likely not representative due to the low response rate, provides useful insights about the profile of the local activists. French political parties have a stronger membership base than American ones. On one hand, this provided Hollande’s campaign with a large number of highly motivated volunteers: 87 percent respondents reported participating in three or more rounds of door-to-door canvassing, and 38 percent in more than ten. On the other hand, many of these volunteers saw political activism as an important part of their identity and they were reluctant or at best unaccustomed to welcome newer activists who were not official party members. As a result, by the end of the campaign, although most respondents report that their team included sympathizers or tried to recruit some, only 12 percent of them were actually sympathisers involved in a campaign for the first time, while 79 percent were official members of the PS. Relatedly, two thirds of the canvassers were over 46 years old, reflecting the skewed age pyramid of PS members. These figures show a stark contrast with the average American campaign volunteer who is younger and less likely to be an official party member (Fisher, 2012) but echo the demographic mismatch between activists and voters highlighted in the case of the US by Enos and Hersh (2015). Only, in this campaign, activists were older than voters on average, not younger.

As another consequence of the overwhelming presence of PS members among activists, the campaign could and had to rely extensively on the preexisting structure of the party. The vast majority of the field organizers coordinating the volunteers were themselves members and, often, heads of local units of the PS, and most of the départements⁵ coordinators had preexisting responsibilities within the party. As a result, the campaign had direct authority neither on the field organizers, nor on the départements’ coordinators. Different was the status of fifteen field-based regional coordinators, who assisted in the national organization of the campaign and in the monitoring of activists. Unlike field organizers and départements’ coordinators, these regional coordinators were paid by the central campaign and worked under its authority. Finally, 150

⁴Liegey, Muller and Pons (2013) examine at greater length the different steps through which the PS progressively adopted door-to-door canvassing as the preferred field campaigning strategy from 2010 to 2012.

⁵Départements are one of the three levels of government below the national level, between the region and the municipality. There are a total of 101 départements.

highly motivated and educated but unpaid national trainers were recruited. Every Saturday, they were sent to the local headquarters of the campaign across France to train field organizers and launch door-to-door canvassing drives, or widen the scope of ones in progress. The trainings revolved around role playing and taught field organizers how to train and coordinate volunteers themselves. Of respondents to the post-electoral survey, 59 percent had attended a training session. This effort addressed a real need: only 22 percent of the respondents had frequently done door-to-door canvassing before the campaign. The trainings emphasized a simple message: the field campaign was about door-to-door canvassing, and nothing else. Simplicity, it was thought, was key to achieving a radical change in campaign methods. The emphasis placed on door-to-door canvassing was also evident in the campaign material: in addition to leaflets, canvassers received door-hangers dedicated to the door-to-door canvassing campaign.

Instead of delivering a fully written-out script, the canvassers engaged in interactive discussions with voters who opened the door. These discussions usually lasted from one to five minutes, and their content could itself vary, as canvassers were encouraged to adapt their message to each voter's type, interests, and questions. To ensure that the intervention would nonetheless be administered uniformly, the training course was identical everywhere, and all canvassers received a toolkit with detailed instructions and advice on how to start and lead the conversations. The full toolkit is available in the Online Appendix. It highlighted the mobilization of left-wing voters as the main objective, as it seemed easier and more likely to win votes than persuading undecided voters, who are the second traditional target of partisan campaigns. Reflecting this strategic choice, canvassers were instructed to provide basic information systematically about the date of the election, the location and opening times of the poll office, and the name of the PS candidate. They urged people to vote, and to vote for Hollande, using general arguments about the importance of voting and of the forthcoming elections as well as personal examples and stories. At the end of the discussion, the canvassers typically gave their interlocutor some campaign literature: a thematic leaflet or a 23-page booklet summarizing François Hollande's platform. When no one opened, a leaflet was left on the door.

After each canvassing session, activists registered on the campaign's website could report the number of doors knocked and opened, the area covered, and provide qualitative feedback. In total, 14,728 reports were entered over the entire course of the campaign, many of which encompassed multiple canvassing sessions, conducted by different teams or on different dates. As a counterpart to the reporting, the website allowed activists to follow the progress of the campaign in their area. In addition, field organizers and départements' coordinators had access to a country map which color-coded the départements based on the numbers of doors knocked. Figure 3 shows snapshots of the maps for the five last weeks of the campaign. In some areas, however, field organizers and activists never registered on the campaign platform, and even when they did, they only reported a fraction of all doors knocked. With the help of the regional coordinators of the

campaign, we estimated this fraction département by département and inferred the total number of doors knocked. The scope of the campaign was without comparison in any previous door-to-door efforts of a French political party or organization: overall, approximately 5 million of doors were knocked, of which slightly more than one third were reported on the website.

Figure 4 plots the number of doors knocked over time as reported on the website. As is clear from this graph, the pace of the campaign was very slow until six weeks prior to the first round. It then increased gradually and reached its peak between the two rounds. Underlying this long-term trend, short-term weekly cycles are easily identifiable. Each week, the canvassing sessions took place mostly on Fridays and Saturdays. On average, the door-opening rate was high, around 48 percent, and activists usually worked in pairs.

In addition to the aforementioned trainings, a large and enthusiastic media coverage⁶ and the endorsement of door-to-door canvassing by many prominent figures of the PS contributed to motivating the canvassers.⁷ The activists’ own perception of door-to-door canvassing was important, too. At the end of the campaign, 61 percent of the respondents to the post-electoral survey deemed the canvassing campaign a really good method, while less than 1 percent said they would not do it again. For 27 percent, the main reason they liked the method was that it was an enriching experience. For 31 percent it was its effectiveness, and 31 percent saw door-to-door canvassing as an effective way to spread the ideas and values of the left. Let us assess now whether they were correct.

3 Sampling frame

3.1 Randomization

Before the start of the door-to-door campaign, I split France into 3,260 territories defined as a set of contiguous municipalities sharing a common zip code.⁸ Any new activist registering on the campaign’s website was allocated to the territory corresponding to his zip code and put in touch with the corresponding PS local unit.

The estimated number of doors that were actually knocked by the campaign corresponded to the initial objective: 5 million doors, or roughly 15 percent of all French dwellings. In each territory, the target number

⁶The door-to-door canvassing campaign was covered by 210 articles in French newspapers, 50 French television and radio reports, and 20 articles or TV and radio reports in foreign countries. In the United States, news reports included headlines such as “In France, Using Lessons From Obama Campaign” (*New York Times*, Steven Erlanger, April 21), “The American Connection” (*Slate*, Sasha Issenberg, April 20), “Décision 2012: A presidential election without political ads” (*NBC “Rock Center” footage*, Ted Koppel, April 18) and “Hollande uses Obama tactics to increase vote” (*Financial Times*, Hugh Carnegie, April 13).

⁷The former presidential candidate Ségolène Royal, the presidential candidate François Hollande and many of his future ministers took part in the door-to-door campaign (Liegey, Muller and Pons, 2013).

⁸There was one exception to this rule: in each département, zip codes with fewer than 5,000 registered citizens were subsumed under the same territory.

of doors was set proportionally to a proxy for the potential to win votes, \widetilde{PO} . This variable was defined as the fraction of nonvoters multiplied by the left vote share among active voters, each taken from the results of the second round of the 2007 presidential elections. This definition reflected the priority given to the mobilization of left-wing supporters over the persuasion of undecided voters.

In territories where the geographical boundaries of the electoral precincts were known for all or most municipalities, randomization was done at the precinct level.⁹ In the remaining territories, randomization was done at the municipality level. Henceforth, for conciseness, I designate the unit of randomization as “precincts”, even when the randomization was done at the municipality level. The randomization rule was designed in a way that ensured that precincts allocated to canvassers had the highest possible estimated potential to win votes \widetilde{PO} compatible with running an experiment.

I first grouped precincts of each territory in strata of five: the five precincts with the highest \widetilde{PO} were allocated to the territory’s first stratum, the five ranked immediately below were allocated to the second stratum, and so on until the last stratum, composed of the five or fewer remaining precincts. Second, in each territory, randomization was carried out in a (non-random) subset of strata, those with the highest \widetilde{PO} . In these strata, containing a total of 17.0 million registered citizens, 80 percent of the precincts were allocated to the treatment group, and only 20 percent to control, to avoid “sacrificing” too many precincts with high expected potential to win votes. Third, once the randomization was conducted, I only allocated a (non-random) subset of the treatment precincts, those with the highest \widetilde{PO} , to the canvassers. The number of strata within which randomization was carried out and, in these strata, the number of treatment precincts that were allocated to canvassers, varied from one territory to the other, depending on their target number of doors.¹⁰

To preserve the integrity of the randomization, treatment precincts not allocated to canvassers are maintained in the treatment group when estimating the impact of the campaign. To account for the fact that they were not allocated to the canvassers, I present both intent-to-treat (reduced form) estimates and treatment-on-the-treated estimates that instrument “allocated” with the treatment group.

3.2 Identification of territories which followed the randomization plan

In each territory, the list of allocated precincts and, when available, a list of voter addresses corresponding to these precincts, could be downloaded as excel files by the field organizers from their personal account on

⁹There does not exist any comprehensive database of the boundaries of French voter precincts, which are drawn by the municipalities. However, to organize its 2011 primary elections, the PS had collected voter registers in all sufficiently large municipalities. These voter registers indicate the address and precinct of each registered citizen and could thus be used to infer the geographical boundaries of the corresponding precincts.

¹⁰I assumed that each door would represent 1.4 registered citizens on average, a ratio obtained by dividing the total number of registered citizens, 46.0 million, by the total number of dwellings, 33.2 million.

the campaign’s website. A large fraction of territories which participated in the door-to-door campaign did not however use the list of allocated precincts. Reasons included never getting access to this list, in territories where no field organizer registered on the campaign website and downloaded the list, and local units of the PS prioritizing which areas to cover autonomously. In sum, the difficulties that even the most professional campaigns face to control the selection of political activists’ demographic characteristics and ideology (Enos and Hersh, 2015) extended in this election to controlling *where* activists campaigned. This resulted from the few resources available to the central team to coordinate the campaign locally, which limited efforts to encourage activists to register on the website and use the lists prepared by the central team: as mentioned in Section 2.3, the central team only directly hired and managed fifteen regional coordinators. Second, the campaign website was not as advanced as technological tools used by recent American campaigns. In particular, it did not provide maps of allocated precincts and did not allow activists to prepare walk lists for door-to-door sessions organized in these precincts. In US campaigns, such features foster use of the website and compliance with addresses or precincts deemed priority by the campaign’s analytics team. Instead, in this campaign, many groups of activists found it easier to campaign in areas that they already knew, including their own neighborhood. Third, the fact that many local units of the PS came up with their own prioritization of areas to cover reflects the fact that these units preexisted the campaign, and it echoes their culture of relative autonomy with respect to the hierarchy of the party and, a fortiori, with respect to the presidential candidate and his central team. Local units which did not follow the list of allocated precincts instead targeted areas based on their own understanding of electoral dynamics on their turf and a set of priorities, which included of course the presidential election, but also gave weight to strategic considerations pertaining to future local races in which members of the unit would compete.

Estimates of the effects of the campaign in territories that did not use the list of allocated precincts should be null in expectation, as areas covered in these territories are orthogonal to randomization. Including these territories in the analysis will decrease precision and may add noise, due to, for instance, tiny underlying differences between treatment and control areas, or non-zero correlation between random assignment and actual coverage in these areas. In fact, estimates presented in Tables A2 and A3 in the Appendix – that include territories that did not use the list of allocated precincts – are close to zero but consistent with substantial positive or negative effects on turnout and vote shares in territories that did use the lists.

Instead, the analysis below uses data from territories that used the list of allocated precincts and thus actually participated in the experiment. I identify these territories by combining two independent sources of information: responses to a question included in the postelectoral online survey on the use of allocated precincts, and daily reports entered by activists on the campaign website. Did at least one survey respondent based in the territory mention that local activists in this territory used the list of allocated precincts? Or

does the territory show at least one report indicating the precinct covered, signalling actual usage of the campaign website, and accountability with respect to precincts allocated by the campaign’s central team? 791 territories, accounting for 5.02 million registered voters verify either the first or the second criterion. This corresponds to 24.3 percent of all 3,260 territories and 29.5 percent of the 17.0 million registered voters. The main results shown below are based on these territories, which again verify either the first or the second criterion. For robustness, I also show results based on sets of territories characterized using only one of the two criteria. All results exclude precincts whose boundaries were changed ahead of the 2012 presidential election.¹¹

3.3 Imperfect compliance

Even in territories that used the lists of allocated precincts, compliance with these lists remained imperfect. In some cases, the number of canvassers was too small to cover all allocated precincts, and in others, canvassers covered precincts other than those allocated. Failure to account for the imperfect compliance with the lists of allocated precincts would lead to underestimate the impact of the visits. To account for it, I scale up the raw estimates by a factor of $\frac{1}{f_a - f_{\bar{a}}}$, where f_a (resp. $f_{\bar{a}}$) denotes the fraction of registered citizens that were reached by the campaign in allocated (resp. non-allocated) precincts. f_a and $f_{\bar{a}}$ can be rewritten as $f_a = \frac{x_a N}{N_a}$ and $f_{\bar{a}} = \frac{(1-x_a)N}{N_{\bar{a}}}$, where N is the total number of registered citizens reached by the campaign, N_a (resp. $N_{\bar{a}}$) is the number of registered citizens contained in allocated (resp. non-allocated) precincts, and x_a is the fraction of doors knocked that were located in allocated precincts. Using door-to-door reports indicating the precinct covered, I get $x_a = 72.5\%$. From voter rolls, $N_a = 2,486,941$ and $N_{\bar{a}} = 2,537,315$. Finally, based on the assessment that the door-to-door campaign knocked on the initial target number of doors overall, $N \simeq N_a$, and I get $f_a \simeq 72.5\%$, $f_{\bar{a}} \simeq 26.9\%$ and $\frac{1}{f_a - f_{\bar{a}}} \simeq 2.2$. Multiplying raw regression estimates by this factor, which I call the “imperfect compliance multiplier,” provides estimates of the effects of the campaign in precincts that were covered by canvassers and would not have been covered if they had not been allocated to them.

¹¹Each year, municipalities can add new precincts, merge existing precincts, or move boundaries, to take into account changes in the number of registered citizens in each neighborhood. Changes in boundaries are particularly common in pre-presidential election years as these elections are considered the most important and characterized by high voter turnout, implying large attendance in polling stations on Election Day. I identify boundaries’ changes based on changes in the number of precincts in a given municipality as well as changes in the number of registered citizens contained in each precinct.

4 Results

4.1 Verifying randomization

Randomization ensures that all observable and unobservable characteristics should be symmetrically distributed between treatment and control precincts. Table 2 verifies this for a series of observed characteristics. It presents summary statistics separately for the control and treatment groups. I also show the difference between the means of the two groups and report the p -value of a test of the null hypothesis that they cannot be distinguished from each other. Overall, precincts in the two groups are extremely similar. Out of 43 differences shown in Table 2, only one is significantly different from zero at the 5 percent level. In addition, I regress the treatment dummy on all characteristics included in Table 2 and test for their joint significance. I fail to reject the null.

The average precinct contained 1144 registered citizens. All 21 metropolitan French regions were represented in the sample. The municipality of the average precinct contained 32,000 citizens. In the municipality of the average precinct, 49 percent of the inhabitants were men, 35 percent were under 30 years old, 41 percent were between 30 and 60 years old, and 24 percent were older than 60.¹² The working population accounted for 72 percent of all people aged 15 to 64, of which 11 percent were currently unemployed, and median income was about 19,000 euros.

Finally, baseline participation, measured at the 2007 presidential election, was 84 percent, and the vote share of the PS candidate, Ségolène Royal, was 28 percent at the first round and 52 percent at the second round of this election. Although differences on these baseline outcomes between control and treatment precincts are not significant, the latter are slightly more to the left, and characterized by a slightly lower participation. Given the high correlation between electoral outcomes in the past and present, in the analysis below I control for baseline electoral outcomes.

4.2 Empirical strategy

I estimate the effect of door-to-door canvassing on voter turnout and vote shares at the 2012 presidential election as well as the 2012 parliamentary elections and the 2014 European elections. For each electoral outcome, I estimate two parameters of interest. First, I show the effect of a precinct being *assigned to the treatment group*, using the following OLS specification:

¹² Data on these municipality-level variables was obtained from the French Census Office.

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 T_i + X_i' \lambda_1 + \sum_s \delta_{i1}^s + \epsilon_{i1} \quad (1)$$

where Y_i is the outcome in precinct i , T_i is a dummy equal to 1 if the precinct was included in the treatment group, δ_{i1}^s are strata fixed effects, and X_i is a vector of controls. In all specifications, X_i includes a baseline measure of the outcome at the 2007 presidential election. In some specifications, it also includes the number of registered citizens; the size of the municipality; the share of men; the share of the population below 14, between 15 and 29, between 30 and 44, between 45 and 59, between 60 and 74, and above 75; the share of the working population; and the rate of unemployment.

Secondly, I evaluate the effect of a precinct being actually *allocated to canvassers* with the following specification:

$$Y_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 A_i + X_i' \lambda_2 + \sum_s \delta_{i2}^s + \epsilon_{i2} \quad (2)$$

where A_i is a dummy equal to 1 if the precinct was allocated to the canvassers, and is instrumented with T_i as follows:

$$A_i = a + bT_i + X_i' \lambda + \sum_s \delta_i^s + \nu_i$$

The estimation of this first stage equation is presented in the first column of Table 3.

In all tables that follow, I present estimates of equation (1) in panel A, and estimates of equation (2) in panel B. All regressions use within estimators and robust standard errors. The key coefficient of interest is β_2 , which indicates the effect of the door-to-door visits in precincts that were allocated to canvassers.

4.3 Effects on the 2012 presidential election

4.3.1 Voter turnout

The impact of the door-to-door visits on voter turnout in the 2012 presidential election is analyzed in Table 3. I use as the outcome voter turnout in the first round (columns 3 and 4), in the second round (columns 5 and 6), and averaged over the two rounds (columns 7 and 8). In the control group, 80.8 and 81.2 percent of the voters participated in the first and second rounds. Door-to-door canvassing had no significant effect on voter turnout in either the first or the second round. This is precisely estimated and effects of less than

1 percentage point can be rejected with a 95 percent level of confidence. These estimates are robust to the inclusion of the control variables. I do not find any significant impact of the door-to-door visits either on subsamples of territories identified as following the list of allocated precincts based only on canvassers' reports (Table A5 in the Appendix) or their answers to the postelectoral survey (Table A8).

4.3.2 Vote shares obtained by François Hollande

I now examine the impact of door-to-door canvassing on the vote shares obtained by François Hollande. As shown in Table 4, François Hollande obtained 29.9 percent of the votes in the control group in the first round and 56.0 percent in the second round. In areas allocated to canvassers, the door-to-door visits increased his vote share by 0.92 percentage points in the first round (column 1) and by 1.00 percentage point in the second round of the presidential election (column 3). These estimates are significant at the 5 and 1 percent level respectively. When I include control variables, I obtain very close estimates of 0.85 and 0.91 percentage points at the first and second rounds, both significant at the 5 percent level (columns 2 and 4). Applying the imperfect compliance multiplier of 2.2 computed in Section 3.4, I obtain effects of 1.88 percentage points and 2.00 percentage points in the first and second rounds. This measures the impact of the visits in precincts that were covered by canvassers and would not have been covered had they not been allocated to them. Again, I check the robustness of the results to restricting the sample to territories identified as following the list of allocated precincts based only on canvassers' reports (Table A6 in the Appendix) or their answers to the postelectoral survey (Table A9 in the Appendix). In the first subsample, the effect of the door-to-door visits was 0.66 and 0.74 percentage points in the first and second rounds. Both estimates are significant at the 10 percent level. In the second subsample, the effects were 1.11 and 0.83 percentage points, but only the former estimate is significant – and at the 10 percent level.

4.3.3 Vote shares of other candidates

The correlate of the positive effect of door-to-door canvassing on the vote share obtained by François Hollande in the first round is a negative effect on the vote shares of other candidates. In Table 5, I assess the extent to which the different candidates were affected.

Columns 1 and 2 are identical to columns 1 and 2 of Table 4, and they are included for reference only. The combined effect of the door-to-door visits on the vote shares of the right-wing candidates Nicolas Sarkozy and Nicolas Dupont-Aignan was negative, slightly smaller than the effect on Hollande's vote share (−0.68

percentage points), and significant at the 5 percent level (column 9). Scaled by the imperfect compliance multiplier, this corresponds to an effect of -1.50 percentage points. Instead, the effect on the vote shares of the candidates of the far-left (Philippe Poutou and Nathalie Arthaud) was close to 0 (column 1). The effect on vote shares of the centrist candidate, François Bayrou, and of other left-wing candidates (Eva Joly and Jean-Luc Mélenchon) was negative but not statistically significant (columns 5 and 7). The effect on the vote share of the far-right candidate, Marine Le Pen, was also small and non-significant, although positive (column 11). All these estimates are robust to the inclusion of control variables (even-numbered columns).

4.4 Effects on the 2012 parliamentary elections and the 2014 European elections

4.4.1 Voter turnout

I now investigate whether the effects of the visits were short-lived or whether they persisted in the first and second rounds of the 2012 parliamentary elections, which took place one month after the presidential, and in the 2014 European elections, which took place two years later. Tables 6 and 7 examine the effects on voter turnout and on the vote shares of PS candidates, respectively.

As expected, I find an effect on voter turnout neither in the parliamentary (Table 6, columns 3 and 4) nor the European elections (column 5). Similarly as for the presidential elections, the point estimates are small and not significant.

4.4.2 Vote shares of candidates of the Parti Socialiste

I now examine the impact of the visits on vote shares of PS candidates. Columns 1 and 2 of Table 7 are identical to columns 1 and 2 of Table 4. They show the impact of the door-to-door visits on François Hollande’s vote shares at the 2012 presidential election and are included for reference only. This effect translated into an effect of 1.65 percentage points, significant at the 5 percent level, on the vote share of PS candidates in the first round of the 2012 parliamentary elections (column 3). The effect was smaller (1.03 percentage points) and not significant at the second round of these elections (column 4). Remarkably, part of the effect persisted in the 2014 European elections, although the point estimate of 0.73 percentage points is only significant at the 10 percent level (column 5).

While columns 1 through 5 use expressed votes as the denominator to compute vote shares, columns 6 through 10 use registered voters as the denominator. Differently from participation and expressed votes, the number of registered voters is stable across elections. Thus, although a less common and intuitive outcome,

vote shares defined as a fraction of registered voters – instead of expressed votes – facilitates the comparison of the effect size across elections. Most of the effect of the visits on the vote share of Hollande in the presidential election persisted in the parliamentary elections one month later: the effect at the first round of these elections was even slightly larger (0.78 percentage points against 0.72 percentage points for the first round of the presidential election), but it was smaller and non-significant at the second round. As expected, persistence two years later at the European elections was smaller (0.31 percentage points, or about 40 percent of the original effect) – and using this definition of vote shares, the effect is no longer statistically significant.

5 Interpretation of the results

5.1 Effect on the overall election outcome

Point estimates of the effects of the door-to-door visits on the vote shares of François Hollande and Nicolas Sarkozy at the first round of the presidential elections are 1.88 and -1.50 percentage points respectively in precincts that were covered by canvassers and would not have been covered had they not been allocated to them. Assuming that the impact was of same magnitude in all precincts covered, and since the canvassers covered approximately 15 percent of all French households, I obtain that the door-to-door canvassing campaign increased François Hollande’s national vote share by 0.28 percentage points in the first round of the presidential elections and that it decreased Nicolas Sarkozy’s vote share by 0.23 percentage points. Overall, it thus accounted for about one third of Hollande’s 1.45 percentage point lead in the first round.

The effect on Hollande’s vote share in the second round was 2.00 percentage points, implying an increase of his national vote share by 0.30 percentage points. Since there were only two candidates in the second round, it was automatically mirrored by a negative effect of the same size on the vote share of Sarkozy: in total, the visits increased Hollande’s victory margin by 0.60 percentage points. Since Hollande won with 51.6 percent of the votes, against 48.4 for Sarkozy, the effect of door-to-door canvassing accounted for about one fifth of the victory margin.

Finally, taking into account the imperfect compliance and the fraction of addresses covered, I estimate that door-to-door canvassing increased PS candidates’ vote shares by 0.34 percentage points, on average, in the second round of the parliamentary elections. This is by no means negligible: PS candidates won by an even lower margin in 3.5 percent of the constituencies (9 out of 258) in which they won in the second round.

5.2 Persuasion vs. mobilization

There are several possible interpretations of the results. The first and, to me, most likely is that they were driven by a persuasion effect. This interpretation may seem at odds with the fact that the campaign gave priority to the mobilization of left-wing supporters. However, any precinct allocated to canvassers represents several hundreds of registered citizens. As a consequence, in each precinct, these citizens display a wide array of profiles. In particular, even in precincts with a large number of left-wing nonvoters, a majority of voters participate in the presidential elections, and many of them vote for right-wing candidates. In sum, although the main target of the campaign were left-wing nonvoters, only a minority of the people with whom the canvassers interacted corresponded to this type.

An alternative interpretation is that the door-to-door visits increased the participation of left-wing supporters, as was found by earlier studies (e.g., Green and Middleton, 2008; Liegey, Muller and Pons, 2013), and that they demobilized an equal number of right-wing voters. By improving the short-term opinions of François Hollande, visits from canvassers may have contradicted the partisan predispositions of these voters and generated psychological tension (Fiorina, 1976). But one response to cognitive dissonance is to avoid situations likely to increase it (Festinger, 1957, 1962) – which in this context would be to forego voting in the election. While not entirely implausible, this interpretation seems unlikely. First, to my knowledge, there has not been any evidence so far of cross-pressure reducing voter turnout. On the contrary, existing studies find that partisan campaign communication can increase turnout among supporters of other parties (Nickerson, Friedrichs and King, 2006; Arceneaux and Kolodny, 2009) or leave it unaffected (Foos and de Rooji, 2013). Second, of all types of voters, those that could have been deemed most likely to feel cross-pressured after the visit of François Hollande’s canvassers are probably the supporters of Marine Le Pen. Indeed, many voters of the Front National are former voters of the left, and many maintain leftist preferences on economic issues (Perrineau, 2005; Mayer, 2011).¹³ The visits could have awakened this past loyalty and created a tension with the voter’s new allegiance to the far-right. But as shown in Section 4.3.3, the visits did not affect the vote share of the far-right candidate.

If indeed the effects were obtained by persuading swing voters to vote left, what fraction were persuaded?

¹³In the one-dimensional representation of the political spectrum, the localization of the FN on the far right makes it the party most distant from the PS. But in France as in most Western European countries and the US, the left-right split has not one, but at least two dimensions, sociocultural and economic, which overlap only imperfectly (e.g., Lipset, 1959; Fleishman, 1988; Knutsen, 1995). On the sociocultural dimension, the platforms of the FN and the PS are diametrically opposed: vehement anti-immigrant positions and a model of authoritarian and closed society on one side; a pro-immigration stance and a model of open and libertarian society on the other (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998; Arzheimer, 2009; Mayer, 2013). On the economic dimension, however, the distance between the FN and the PS, which traditionally promotes state interventionism against economic liberalism, is much smaller. It has further decreased since Marine Le Pen succeeded her father as the leader of the FN in 2011. Her program for the 2012 election asked for a more protective state and more public services – two points that closely echoed the program of the PS. Together with anti-elite stances directed against the corrupt political establishment and the privileged few, this economic platform was designed to attract blue-collar workers, mid-level employees, and other groups exposed to unemployment and precariousness, which until recently largely supported the left.

Since 48 percent of the doors knocked by canvassers opened, I scale the point estimates by $\frac{1}{0.48}$ and find that 3.9 percent and 4.2 percent of the voters living in households that opened their door were persuaded to vote for François Hollande in the first and second rounds of the presidential elections.¹⁴ Using the definition of persuasion rate proposed by DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007), I compare these fractions to the fractions of control group voters who supported candidates other than François Hollande in the first and second rounds (respectively 70.1 percent and 44.0 percent). I obtain persuasion rates of, respectively, 5.6 percent and 9.5 percent. These rates are of the same order of magnitude but slightly smaller than the persuasion rates measured by studies that examine the impact of door-to-door canvassing on the decision to vote or not (see DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2010).¹⁵

5.3 Beliefs vs. preferences

Persuasion can affect behavior through different mechanisms (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2010). Canvassers may have persuaded voters by changing their preferences on some political issues or by changing their beliefs about the quality of Hollande. The short average length of the visits did not allow for in-depth conversations, making the first mechanism unlikely. The fact that most voters that were canvassed had never been visited by a political activist before makes the second mechanism more plausible: these novel and surprising visits sent a strong signal about the quality of the PS and its candidate. According to this interpretation, the voters were persuaded by the signal sent by the canvassers' presence more than by their specific arguments. Door-to-door canvassing contrasted with the idea that the political world is solely populated by politicians who do not care about what voters think.¹⁶ It showed that Hollande and his supporters were willing to bridge the gap with voters and it put forth the image of the PS as a modern and innovative party.

This interpretation is in line with theories of costly signalling such as laid out by Coate (2004), where voters do not know whether candidates are qualified and candidates use campaign resources to convey information about their qualifications. Although I cannot directly test this interpretation, the effects of the visits on the vote shares of other candidates of different political affiliations provide some empirical support. As shown in Section 4.3.3, the increase of Hollande's vote share was obtained by taking votes from right-wing candidates rather than from other left-wing candidates. But right-wing voters were ideologically more distant from

¹⁴This scaling assumes that, on average, households that opened their doors contained as many registered citizens as those that did not, and it considers as "treated" all citizens living in a household that opened its door, regardless of whether or not they interacted personally with the canvasser.

¹⁵For instance, using turnout as their outcome, Gerber and Green (2000); Green, Gerber and Nickerson (2003) find persuasion rates of door-to-door canvassing of 15.6 percent and 11.5 percent respectively.

¹⁶According to a survey conducted after the 2012 presidential elections, 71 percent of French people feel that politicians care little or not at all about what they think and 66 percent do not trust political parties (Cevipof, 2012).

Hollande. They could thus be deemed less susceptible to align their preferences with his political agenda than voters supporting other left-wing candidates, who offered a closer ideological platform. This again makes it less likely that voters' political preferences changed, and more likely that their beliefs about the PS and its candidate did.

5.4 Mechanisms underlying effect persistence

I finally discuss the persistence of the effect of the visits on vote shares obtained by left-wing candidates. If anything, the effect on Hollande's vote share was slightly larger at the second round of the presidential election than at the first round. This is likely explained by two facts. First, about 24 percent of the voters reached by the campaign were contacted between both rounds (see Figure 4). Second, most of the first round effect was obtained by persuading voters who would otherwise have voted for a right-wing candidate and could thus be expected to vote for Nicolas Sarkozy in the second round, absent the campaign.

Next, nearly all the original effect carried over to the 2012 parliamentary elections which took place one month later. This suggests that most voters persuaded by the visits were active voters, who participated not only in the presidential election but also in these lower salience elections, and that they were consistent in who they voted for. Finally, around 40 percent of the original effect carried over to the 2014 European elections. Although at the margin of statistical significance, this finding is perhaps all the more striking as the PS suffered an important defeat in the latter elections.

The persistence of the effect in the parliamentary and European elections can come from two channels, direct and indirect. First, the direct effect of the visits may have been long-lived: it is possible that the canvassers durably changed voters' beliefs about the quality of the PS (or changed voters' preferences). Second, voting for a PS candidate today may in itself increase the likelihood to vote for a PS candidate in the future. Multiple mechanisms may explain this habit formation, including cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957, 1962), or increased expressive utility of voting for this particular party. Existing evidence that documents persistence of electoral behavior focuses on voter turnout (Gerber, Green and Shachar, 2003; Meredith, 2009; Davenport et al., 2010; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, 2012; Fujiwara, Meng and Vogl, 2015). While estimates of the magnitude of persistence differ, Fujiwara, Meng and Vogl (2015) find that habit formation alone can generate near-to-full persistence of the impact of rainfall shocks on participation four years later. Our study complements this literature by showing that vote choice too can persist.¹⁷

¹⁷Mullainathan and Washington (2009) study a related but different outcome: how participation in US presidential elections shapes presidential opinion ratings two years after.

6 Conclusion

This paper reports the results of a countrywide field experiment conducted during François Hollande’s door-to-door campaign for the 2012 French presidential election. The campaign spanned all French regions, encompassed very different types of areas, from Paris to rural villages, and reached an estimated 5 million households, making it the largest door-to-door effort in Europe to date. The study contributes to a large literature on the drivers and effects of persuasive communication and extends it in three important directions. First, while targeted appeals transmitted in one-on-one discussions have been repeatedly highlighted as a particularly powerful vector of persuasion, the existing evidence comes from framed field experiments which can carefully select the agents carrying out these interventions, and control the content of their conversations. Results obtained in these settings may not fully extend to large-scale campaigns which typically lack such control, even when they are managed very professionally (Enos and Hersh, 2015). Second, existing studies of get-out-the-vote door-to-door efforts randomized at the individual or household level need to trust self-reports to measure the impact on vote choice. Instead, the large scale of the experiment enabled me to conduct the randomization at the precinct level while maintaining high statistical power. I can thus measure the impact on vote choice using official precinct-level election results. Third, I discuss important challenges inherent to embedding an experiment in such a large campaign and ways to address them effectively. For the implementing organization, the cost of giving up on covering areas deemed strategic but allocated to the control group may be particularly dissuasive when stakes are as high as during a presidential electoral campaign. The randomization rule was thus designed to ensure that precincts allocated to canvassers had the highest possible expected potential to win votes compatible with running an experiment. In addition, resources to ensure that all local units of the Parti Socialiste and the estimated 80,000 activists who took part in the campaign downloaded the lists of allocated precincts and followed these lists were scarce, creating a threat for the implementation of the randomization plan. As an alternative to monitoring, I combine two independent data sources – reports entered by local activists on the campaign website and answers to a postelectoral survey – to identify which territories used the list of allocated precincts. Estimates of the impact of the campaign are comparable in the sets of territories identified based on either of these datasets.

In the combined sample of 791 territories that participated in the experiment, accounting for 5.02 million registered voters, I find that door-to-door canvassing did not affect voter turnout. The scale of the experiment and the related statistical power allow me to rule out even small effects, positive or negative. Despite the lack of impact on turnout, door-to-door canvassing increased François Hollande’s vote share by 1.88 percentage points in the first round of the election and 2.00 percentage points in the second in precincts that were covered by canvassers and would not have been covered if they had not been allocated to them. Assuming that the

effect was of similar magnitude in all precincts, this accounted for approximately one third of Hollande’s lead in the first round and one fifth of his victory margin at the second round. At the same time, the intervention decreased the vote share obtained by the right-wing candidates, and left the vote shares of other candidates in the center, on the left, or on the far-right unaffected. Although several interpretations for this are possible, the most plausible is that the effects were obtained by persuading swing voters to vote left, rather than by mobilizing left-wing nonvoters and demobilizing opponents. The effect of the doorstep discussions persisted in the 2012 parliamentary elections, which took place one month later – and even to the 2014 European elections, though the effect is far weaker.

The lack of mobilizing impact of door-to-door canvassing stands in contrast to the findings of most previous field experiments conducted in a variety of contexts and countries, including during a partisan door-to-door campaign in France (Liegey, Muller and Pons, 2013). It may be explained by the very high salience that characterizes French presidential elections. A review of US experimental results conducted by Arceneaux and Nickerson (2009) finds that the effectiveness of door-to-door outreach is conditioned by voters’ baseline propensity to vote. In the context of high-turnout elections, campaigns can mobilize low-propensity voters. But even in presidential elections, voter turnout is much lower in the US than in the context of this study. The level of political awareness is high in French presidential elections, and encouragement to vote by friends and family members at its peak. As a result, there may simply have been no one left to mobilize.

On the other hand, the large persuasion impact of the campaign suggests that one-on-one discussions have a strong potential to shift people’s decisions even when the principal’s control on the campaign’s agents is limited. This finding may have implications that reach beyond political campaigns to persuasive communication directed at consumers, donors, or investors. Further research should test systematically the generalizability of these findings by identifying the conditions under which one-on-one discussions and other modes of persuasion are most effective. In the current context, two dimensions may have contributed to the large persuasion impact of door-to-door canvassing. First, the signal of quality sent by the visits may have mattered more than the actual content of the discussions, and it may have been all the stronger, as most voters contacted by the campaign had never been canvassed before. Conversely, the effect of persuasive communication may dampen as a larger number of political parties or companies engage in one-on-one discussions with voters or consumers. Second, the diversity of political parties and platforms in France results in weaker partisan affiliations and more frequent changes in vote choice than in bipartisan contexts, such as in the US. Further research could test whether the persuasion effect varies negatively with the intensity of preexisting voters’ partisan affiliations or preexisting consumers’ attachment to specific brands.

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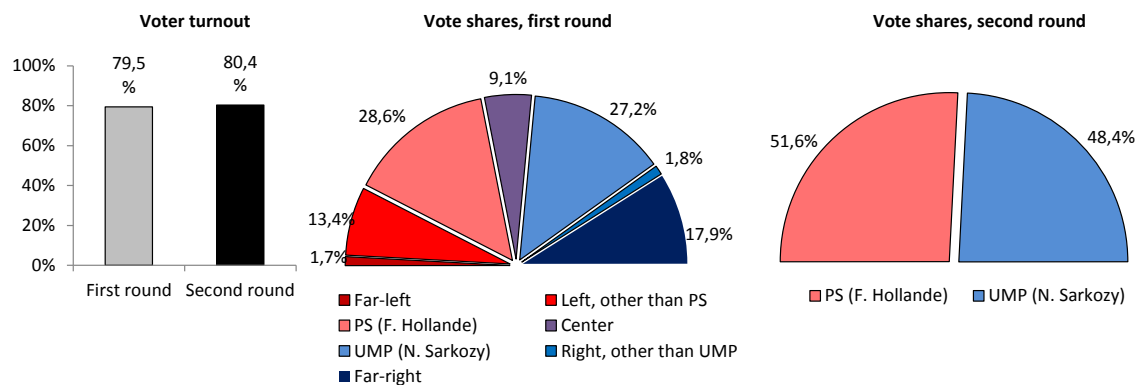
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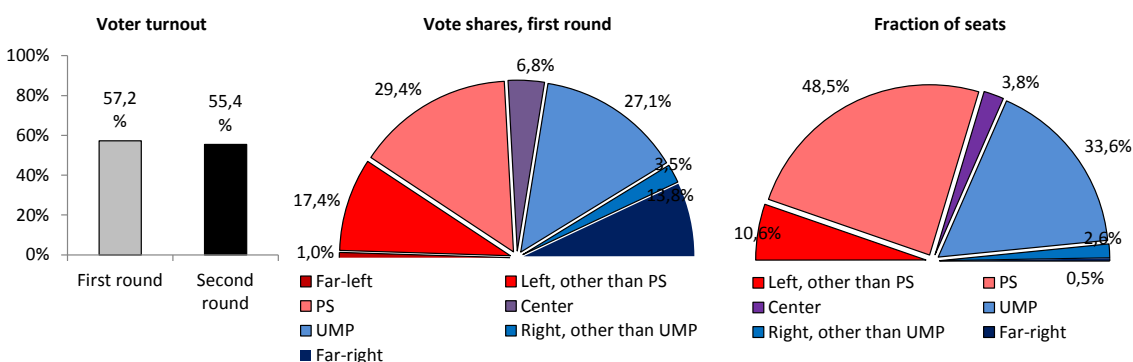
Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Results of the 2012 and 2014 elections

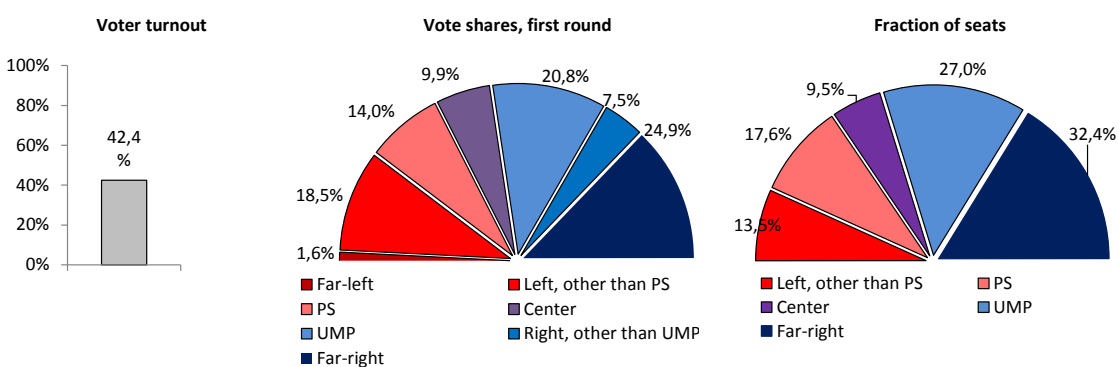
Presidential election, 2012



Parliamentary elections, 2012



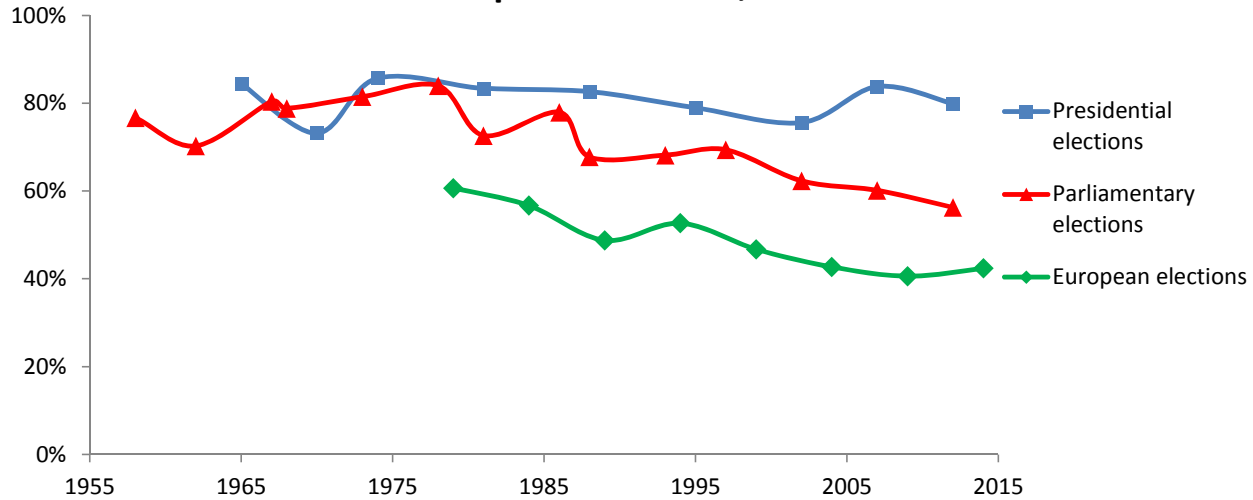
European elections, 2014



Source: French Ministry of the Interior

Notes: In the first round of the presidential election, the far-left candidates were Philippe Poutou (Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste) and Nathalie Arthaud (Lutte Ouvrière). The left candidates other than PS were Jean-Luc Mélenchon (Front de Gauche) and Eva Joly (Europe Ecologie les Verts). The center candidate was François Bayrou (Mouvement démocrate). The right candidate other than UMP was Nicolas Dupont-Aignan (Debout la République).

Figure 2. Turnout at French presidential, parliamentary, and European elections, 1958-2014



Source: French Ministry of the Interior

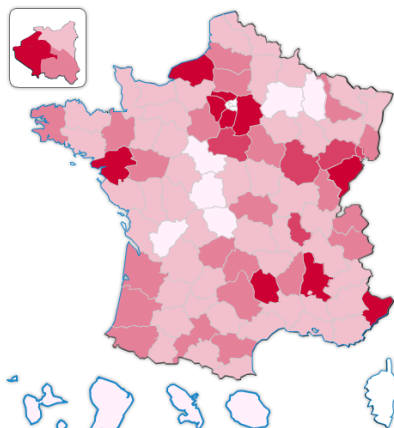
Notes: French turnout rates are computed using the number of registered citizens (rather than the number of eligible citizens) as the denominator. Turnout shown for the presidential and parliamentary elections is the average between the turnout at the first and second rounds.

Figure 3. Weekly progress of the campaign, by département

April 6th

Progress of
the campaign

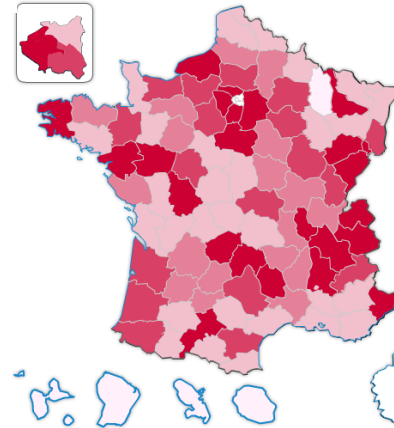
strong
weak



April 13th

Progress of
the campaign

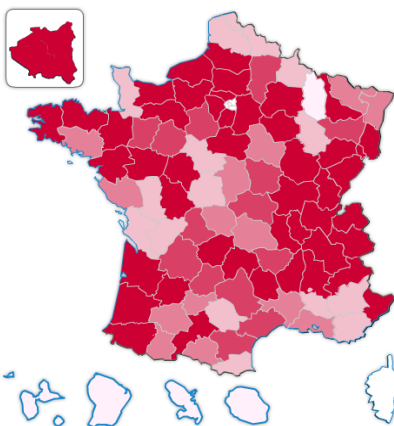
strong
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April 20th

Progress of
the campaign

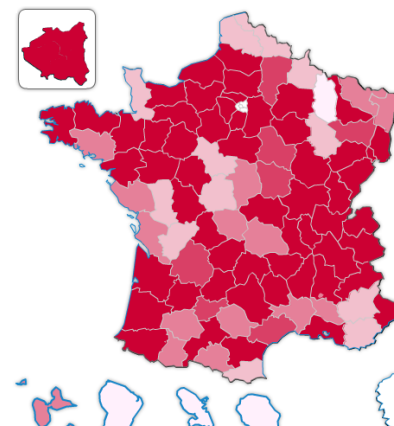
strong
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April 27th

Progress of
the campaign

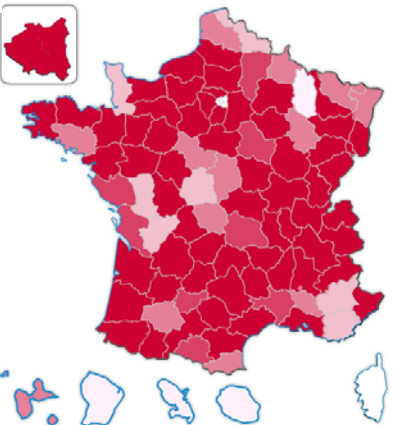
strong
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May 4th

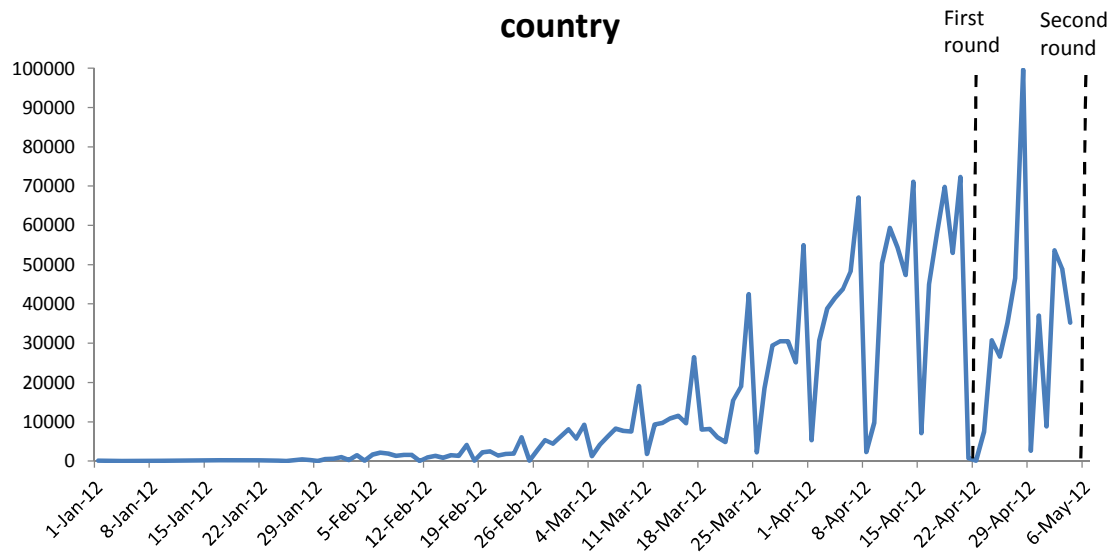
Progress of
the campaign

strong
weak



Notes: These maps show the advancement of the campaign against the initial objectives set in terms of number of doors to knock.

Figure 4. Daily number of doors knocked in the entire country



Notes: I plot the number of doors knocked by canvassers and reported by them on the campaign's website.

Table 1: Canvassers' profile and feedback on the campaign (post-electoral survey)

<i>Panel A. Canvassers' profile</i>		
Age		
29 or less		11.1%
30 - 45		23.0%
46 - 59		36.1%
60 and beyond		29.4%
Non-response		0.5%
Responsibilities within the campaign		
Volunteer		58.8%
Field organizer or head of local unit		37.1%
Département coordinator		4.2%
Non-response		0.0%
Relationship to Parti Socialiste		
Member for five years or more		52.0%
Member for less than five years		27.3%
Sympathiser and had previously been involved in a campaign		8.3%
Sympathiser and is involved in a campaign for the first time		12.4%
Non-response		
Previous field campaigning experience		
Had never done door-to-door canvassing		43.2%
Had done door-to-door canvassing a few times		34.5%
Had often done door-to-door canvassing		22.2%
Non-response		0.1%
<i>Panel B. Involvement in the campaign</i>		
Attended a training session on door-to-door canvassing?		
Yes		59.0%
No		41.0%
Non-response		
Number of door-to-door sessions taken part to		
1 to 2		13.3%
3 to 10		48.4%
More than 10		38.2%
Non-response		0.1%
Type of areas canvassed		
Big cities (more than 100 000 inhabitants)		25.4%
Middle-size cities (10 000 - 100 000)		47.2%
Rural areas (<10 000)		27.4%
Non-response		0.1%
Did you (or your local unit) use the list of priority polling stations or municipalities that was provided by the campaign?		
I never heard of this list		29.1%
We did not use this list at all, or only very little		16.3%
We used this list partially		11.2%
We went to almost all the priority polling stations or cities		43.5%
Non-response		0.0%

Notes: I report the responses of canvassers to an online voluntary postelectoral survey administered during the week following the second round of the 2012 presidential elections. N = 1,972.

Table 1 (cont.): Canvassers' profile and feedback on the campaign (post-electoral survey)

<i>Panel B. Involvement in the campaign (cont.)</i>	
Did you use the toolkits provided by the campaign?	
No	33.8%
Sometimes	43.7%
Yes, most of the time	22.5%
Non-response	0.0%
How much door-to-door canvassing did you do, compared with other campaign activities?	
I did some door-to-door canvassing, but mostly other activities	24.0%
I did as much door-to-door canvassing as other campaign activities	48.4%
I mostly did door-to-door canvassing	27.6%
Non-response	0.0%
Were there sympathisers in your local canvassers' team?	
Yes	70.7%
No	29.3%
Non-response	0.0%
Did your team try to recruit sympathisers for door-to-door canvassing?	
Yes	65.1%
No	34.9%
Non-response	0.0%
<i>Panel C. Canvassers' feedback on the campaign</i>	
Overall, what do you think of door-to-door canvassing?	
I will not do it again	0.8%
One should do some, but not more than other campaign activities	38.5%
It is a really good technique and should be of the main campaign activities	60.8%
Non-response	0.0%
If you like door-to-door canvassing, why so?	
It is good to take part in a large and countrywide campaign activity	6.9%
It is effective	31.0%
It is fun	2.5%
It is a good way to spread the ideas and values of the left	31.3%
It is an enriching experience	27.2%
Non-response	1.0%
Overall, how helpful was the support provided by the national team and the département's team?	
It was very helpful	49.3%
It was sometime helpful	48.0%
The less we see them, the better we are	2.7%
Non-response	
Overall, on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 means useless and 5 excellent) how did you like the web platform "Toushollande Terrain"?	
1	1.6%
2	7.6%
3	28.3%
4	41.4%
5	21.1%
Non-response	0.0%

Notes : I report the responses of canvassers to an online voluntary postelectoral survey administered during the week following the second round of the 2012 presidential elections. N = 1,972.

Table 2: Summary statistics

	Control group		Treatment group		<i>P-value</i>	Number of
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Treatment = Control	obs.
<i>Panel A. Electoral outcomes</i>						
Randomization at precinct level	0.369	0.483	0.368	0.482	0.978	2665
Number of registered citizens	1023.9	1234.6	1173.9	1806.8	0.024	2665
Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round	0.843	0.050	0.840	0.048	0.231	2665
Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round	0.837	0.045	0.836	0.045	0.675	2665
PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round	0.274	0.081	0.279	0.081	0.172	2665
PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round	0.515	0.103	0.516	0.101	0.743	2665
<i>Panel B. Location</i>						
Population of the municipality	33374.7	186828.2	31526.1	176568.6	0.837	2665
Region						
Ile-de-France	0.032	0.177	0.029	0.169	0.756	2665
Champagne-Ardenne	0.062	0.242	0.063	0.243	0.976	2665
Picardie	0.043	0.204	0.044	0.205	0.957	2665
Haute-Normandie	0.057	0.232	0.055	0.228	0.863	2665
Centre	0.026	0.161	0.029	0.168	0.745	2665
Basse-Normandie	0.045	0.208	0.045	0.207	0.966	2665
Bourgogne	0.017	0.129	0.021	0.144	0.528	2665
Nord-Pas-de-Calais	0.051	0.220	0.052	0.223	0.896	2665
Lorraine	0.009	0.097	0.013	0.112	0.511	2665
Alsace	0.026	0.161	0.027	0.163	0.930	2665
Franche-Comté	0.062	0.242	0.065	0.247	0.819	2665
Pays-de-la-Loire	0.070	0.255	0.073	0.259	0.833	2665
Bretagne	0.023	0.149	0.023	0.151	0.920	2665
Poitou-Charentes	0.049	0.216	0.047	0.212	0.859	2665
Aquitaine	0.043	0.204	0.041	0.198	0.780	2665
Midi-Pyrénées	0.038	0.191	0.033	0.178	0.582	2665
Limousin	0.115	0.320	0.112	0.315	0.825	2665
Rhône-Alpes	0.043	0.204	0.043	0.203	0.967	2665
Auvergne	0.040	0.195	0.040	0.197	0.953	2665
Languedoc-Roussillon	0.021	0.143	0.021	0.142	0.978	2665
Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur	0.125	0.331	0.124	0.330	0.965	2665
<i>Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality</i>						
Share of men	0.491	0.024	0.490	0.026	0.518	2665
Share of the population with age						
0 - 14	0.183	0.040	0.182	0.039	0.622	2665
15 - 29	0.164	0.045	0.164	0.048	0.941	2665
30 - 44	0.197	0.035	0.196	0.033	0.796	2665
45 - 59	0.213	0.033	0.211	0.035	0.472	2665
60 - 74	0.149	0.043	0.150	0.044	0.389	2665
75 and older	0.095	0.040	0.096	0.043	0.638	2665
Within population of 15 - 64						
Share of working population	0.724	0.054	0.721	0.055	0.283	2665
Share of unemployed (among working population)	0.109	0.048	0.111	0.050	0.336	2665
Median income	19174.3	3766.7	19233.7	3849.0	0.753	2514

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 3: Impact on voter turnout

	First stage		First round		Voter turnout Second round		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>								
Treatment	0.5364*** (0.0155)	0.5259*** (0.0160)	0.0011 (0.0016)	0.0015 (0.0015)	-0.0011 (0.0015)	-0.0005 (0.0015)	0.0001 (0.0014)	0.0006 (0.0014)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x		x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660
R-squared	0.233	0.293	0.299	0.368	0.233	0.293	0.312	0.374
Mean in Control Group	0.0000	0.0000	0.8081	0.8081	0.8122	0.8122	0.8101	0.8101
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>								
Allocated to canvassers			0.0021 (0.0030)	0.0029 (0.0029)	-0.0021 (0.0029)	-0.0009 (0.0028)	0.0002 (0.0027)	0.0011 (0.0026)
Strata fixed effects			x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls				x		x		x
Observations			2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660
R-squared			0.293	0.362	0.237	0.294	0.312	0.372

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 4: Impact on Hollande's vote share

	Hollande's vote share					
	First round		Second round		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>						
Treatment	0.0048** (0.0020)	0.0044** (0.0019)	0.0053*** (0.0019)	0.0048** (0.0019)	0.0048*** (0.0017)	0.0044*** (0.0017)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660
R-squared	0.497	0.504	0.626	0.637	0.634	0.641
Mean in Control Group	0.2994	0.2994	0.5597	0.5597	0.4295	0.4295
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>						
Allocated to canvassers	0.0092** (0.0037)	0.0085** (0.0037)	0.0100*** (0.0036)	0.0091** (0.0036)	0.0091*** (0.0032)	0.0084*** (0.0032)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660
R-squared	0.501	0.506	0.626	0.635	0.635	0.640

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 5: Impact on all parties' vote shares

	Hollande		Far-left		Left other than Hollande		Center		Right		Far-right	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>												
Treatment	0.0048** (0.0020)	0.0044** (0.0019)	0.0002 (0.0005)	0.0002 (0.0005)	-0.0019 (0.0018)	-0.0016 (0.0018)	-0.0011 (0.0011)	-0.0009 (0.0011)	-0.0036** (0.0016)	-0.0036** (0.0016)	0.0013 (0.0016)	0.0015 (0.0016)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x		x		x		x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660
R-squared	0.497	0.504	0.028	0.038	0.209	0.238	0.183	0.199	0.493	0.503	0.402	0.420
Mean in Control Group	0.2994	0.2994	0.0200	0.0200	0.1514	0.1514	0.0865	0.0865	0.2528	0.2528	0.1873	0.1873
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>												
Allocated to canvassers	0.0092** (0.0037)	0.0085** (0.0037)	0.0004 (0.0009)	0.0005 (0.0009)	-0.0036 (0.0034)	-0.0030 (0.0034)	-0.0020 (0.0020)	-0.0018 (0.0020)	-0.0068** (0.0031)	-0.0069** (0.0031)	0.0024 (0.0030)	0.0028 (0.0030)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x		x		x		x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660	2660
R-squared	0.501	0.506	0.027	0.037	0.204	0.234	0.188	0.201	0.494	0.504	0.400	0.418

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

The far-left candidates (columns 3 and 4) were Nathalie Arthaud (endorsed by Lutte Ouvrière) and Philippe Poutou (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire). The candidates on the left other than François Hollande (columns 5 and 6) were Eva Joly (Europe Ecologie Les Verts) and Jean-Luc Mélenchon (Front de Gauche). The candidate on the center (columns 7 and 8) was François Bayrou (Modem). The candidates on the right (columns 9 and 10) were Nicolas Sarkozy (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire) and Nicolas Dupont-Aignan (Debout la République). The candidate on the far right (columns 11 and 12) was Marine Le Pen (Front National).

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 6: Impact on voter turnout at the following elections

	Voter turnout				
	2012 presidential election		2012 parliamentary elections		2014 european elections
	First round (1)	Second round (2)	First round (3)	Second round (4)	(5)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>					
Treatment	0.0015 (0.0015)	-0.0011 (0.0015)	-0.0014 (0.0023)	-0.0001 (0.0026)	0.0011 (0.0028)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls	x	x	x	x	x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2443	2544
R-squared	0.368	0.233	0.250	0.123	0.167
Mean in Control Group	0.8081	0.8122	0.5884	0.5680	0.4457
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>					
Allocated to canvassers	0.0029 (0.0029)	-0.0009 (0.0028)	-0.0027 (0.0044)	0.0002 (0.0048)	0.0022 (0.0054)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls	x	x	x	x	x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2443	2544
R-squared	0.362	0.237	0.252	0.123	0.164

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects, control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization, and additional controls. Additional controls include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 7: Impact on vote shares of PS candidates at the following elections

	PS vote share as fraction of expressed votes				PS vote share as fraction of registered voters			
	2012 presidential election		2012 parliamentary elections		2012 presidential election		2012 parliamentary elections	
	First round (1)	Second round (2)	First round (3)	Second round (4)	First round (6)	Second round (7)	First round (8)	Second round (9)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>								
Treatment	0.0044** (0.0019)	0.0053*** (0.0019)	0.0086** (0.0039)	0.0057 (0.0048)	0.0037** (0.0016)	0.0037** (0.0017)	0.0041* (0.0025)	0.0029 (0.0030)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2443	2660	2660	2660	2443
R-squared	0.504	0.626	0.140	0.178	0.466	0.585	0.130	0.143
Mean in Control Group	0.2994	0.5597	0.3246	0.4545	0.2355	0.4241	0.1876	0.2481
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>								
Allocated to canvassers	0.0085** (0.0037)	0.0091** (0.0036)	0.0165** (0.0076)	0.0103 (0.0093)	0.0072** (0.0030)	0.0069** (0.0031)	0.0078* (0.0047)	0.0052 (0.0058)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Observations	2660	2660	2660	2443	2660	2660	2660	2443
R-squared	0.506	0.626	0.137	0.175	0.464	0.582	0.125	0.139

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects, control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization, and additional controls. Additional controls include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; above 10000), 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.

Supplementary Data

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

	Control group		Treatment group		P-value	Number of
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Treatment = Control	obs.
<i>Panel A. Electoral outcomes</i>						
Randomization at precinct level	0.211	0.408	0.214	0.410	0.737	12301
Number of registered citizens	993.2	1309.4	1012.5	1389.6	0.518	12301
Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, first round	0.848	0.051	0.847	0.052	0.168	12301
Voter turnout, 2007 pres. election, second round	0.845	0.046	0.844	0.047	0.324	12301
PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, first round	0.253	0.080	0.255	0.080	0.346	12299
PS vote share, 2007 pres. election, second round	0.488	0.104	0.490	0.104	0.432	12301
<i>Panel B. Location</i>						
Population of the municipality	11536.3	101266.3	11174.5	97737.6	0.873	12300
Region						
Ile-de-France	0.075	0.264	0.075	0.263	0.900	12301
Champagne-Ardenne	0.038	0.190	0.035	0.184	0.532	12301
Picardie	0.043	0.204	0.043	0.203	0.984	12301
Haute-Normandie	0.034	0.182	0.034	0.181	0.934	12301
Centre	0.058	0.234	0.058	0.234	0.997	12301
Basse-Normandie	0.039	0.194	0.042	0.200	0.596	12301
Bourgogne	0.042	0.200	0.041	0.199	0.893	12301
Nord-Pas-de-Calais	0.051	0.221	0.055	0.228	0.446	12301
Lorraine	0.046	0.209	0.045	0.208	0.918	12301
Alsace	0.024	0.154	0.025	0.157	0.811	12301
Franche-Comté	0.030	0.171	0.031	0.174	0.703	12301
Pays-de-la-Loire	0.060	0.237	0.062	0.242	0.650	12301
Bretagne	0.069	0.254	0.062	0.242	0.218	12301
Poitou-Charentes	0.046	0.209	0.045	0.208	0.918	12301
Aquitaine	0.057	0.232	0.060	0.237	0.644	12301
Midi-Pyrénées	0.054	0.227	0.053	0.225	0.868	12301
Limousin	0.021	0.144	0.019	0.137	0.547	12301
Rhône-Alpes	0.090	0.286	0.094	0.292	0.495	12301
Auvergne	0.032	0.175	0.032	0.176	0.948	12301
Languedoc-Roussillon	0.043	0.202	0.040	0.195	0.529	12301
Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur	0.033	0.178	0.032	0.177	0.891	12301
Corse	0.010	0.098	0.009	0.096	0.871	12301
DOM-TOM	0.005	0.072	0.006	0.079	0.570	12301
<i>Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality</i>						
Share of men	0.495	0.023	0.495	0.026	0.914	12300
Share of the population with age						
0 - 14	0.186	0.042	0.187	0.042	0.796	12300
15 - 29	0.151	0.040	0.152	0.039	0.177	12300
30 - 44	0.200	0.036	0.199	0.036	0.300	12300
45 - 59	0.215	0.035	0.215	0.036	0.906	12300
60 - 74	0.153	0.047	0.152	0.045	0.561	12300
75 and older	0.095	0.043	0.095	0.044	0.922	12300
Within population of 15 - 64						
Share of working population	0.728	0.057	0.727	0.057	0.457	12300
Share of unemployed (among working population)	0.101	0.048	0.103	0.050	0.161	12300
Median income	19045.6	3498.0	19007.6	3603.6	0.642	11488

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 they used the randomization lists or not)

	First stage		First round		Voter turnout		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>								
Treatment	0.4897*** (0.0071)	0.4863*** (0.0074)	-0.0007 (0.0007)	-0.0005 (0.0007)	-0.0011 (0.0007)	-0.0008 (0.0007)	-0.0008 (0.0007)	-0.0006 (0.0006)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x		x
Observations	12283	12282	12283	12282	12283	12282	12283	12282
R-squared	0.194	0.238	0.258	0.315	0.244	0.306	0.305	0.362
Mean in Control Group	0.0000	0.0000	0.8229	0.8229	0.8255	0.8255	0.8242	0.8242
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>								
Allocated to canvassers			-0.0015 (0.0015)	-0.0010 (0.0015)	-0.0023 (0.0015)	-0.0016 (0.0014)	-0.0017 (0.0014)	-0.0012 (0.0013)
Strata fixed effects			x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls				x		x		x
Observations			12283	12282	12283	12282	12283	12282
R-squared			0.261	0.316	0.247	0.306	0.307	0.363

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 A3: Impact on Hollande's vote share (all territories, whether they used the randomization lists or not)

	Hollande's vote share					
	First round		Second round		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>						
Treatment	0.0001 (0.0009)	0.0001 (0.0009)	0.0004 (0.0009)	0.0002 (0.0009)	0.0002 (0.0008)	0.0001 (0.0008)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	12281	12280	12282	12281	12280	12279
R-squared	0.465	0.475	0.610	0.618	0.622	0.628
Mean in Control Group	0.2788	0.2788	0.5293	0.5293	0.4041	0.4041

Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"

Allocated to canvassers	0.0003 (0.0018)	0.0001 (0.0018)	0.0009 (0.0019)	0.0005 (0.0019)	0.0005 (0.0016)	0.0002 (0.0016)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	12281	12280	12282	12281	12280	12279
R-squared	0.465	0.475	0.610	0.618	0.622	0.628

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 A4: Summary statistics (territories which used the randomization lists, based on reports)

	Control group		Treatment group		<i>P-value</i>	Number of
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Treatment = Control	obs.
<i>Panel A. Electoral outcomes</i>						
Randomization at precinct level	0.370	0.483	0.373	0.484	0.911	2375
Number of registered citizens	1066.0	1279.5	1204.5	1831.1	0.055	2375
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
<i>Panel B. Location</i>						
Population of the municipality	35376.1	197080.0	33426.0	186587.2	0.846	2375
Region						
Ile-de-France	0.015	0.121	0.012	0.109	0.657	2375
Champagne-Ardenne	0.070	0.255	0.070	0.256	0.958	2375
Picardie	0.042	0.201	0.043	0.203	0.936	2375
Haute-Normandie	0.061	0.240	0.059	0.236	0.877	2375
Centre	0.019	0.137	0.021	0.142	0.835	2375
Basse-Normandie	0.051	0.220	0.050	0.219	0.981	2375
Bourgogne	0.019	0.137	0.022	0.145	0.722	2375
Nord-Pas-de-Calais	0.051	0.220	0.050	0.219	0.981	2375
Lorraine	0.008	0.092	0.012	0.109	0.458	2375
Alsace	0.030	0.170	0.030	0.172	0.918	2375
Franche-Comté	0.063	0.244	0.068	0.252	0.727	2375
Pays-de-la-Loire	0.070	0.255	0.074	0.261	0.770	2375
Bretagne	0.023	0.151	0.024	0.154	0.905	2375
Poitou-Charentes	0.051	0.220	0.050	0.219	0.981	2375
Aquitaine	0.047	0.211	0.044	0.204	0.789	2375
Midi-Pyrénées	0.042	0.201	0.037	0.188	0.591	2375
Limousin	0.127	0.333	0.124	0.329	0.847	2375
Rhône-Alpes	0.047	0.211	0.046	0.210	0.982	2375
Auvergne	0.021	0.144	0.021	0.144	0.988	2375
Languedoc-Roussillon	0.015	0.121	0.015	0.120	0.990	2375
Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur	0.129	0.336	0.127	0.333	0.920	2375
<i>Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality</i>						
Share of men	0.491	0.023	0.489	0.024	0.186	2375
Share of the population with age						
0 - 14	0.184	0.038	0.183	0.037	0.600	2375
15 - 29	0.167	0.044	0.166	0.047	0.887	2375
30 - 44	0.198	0.033	0.198	0.032	0.715	2375
45 - 59	0.212	0.032	0.210	0.031	0.301	2375
60 - 74	0.146	0.039	0.148	0.041	0.213	2375
75 and older	0.093	0.039	0.094	0.041	0.562	2375
Within population of 15 - 64						
Share of working population	0.725	0.050	0.723	0.052	0.456	2375
Share of unemployed (among working population)	0.107	0.045	0.109	0.046	0.364	2375
Median income	19310.9	3814.4	19306.7	3902.6	0.983	2293

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 A5: Impact on voter turnout (territories which used the randomization lists, based on reports)

	First stage		First round		Voter turnout		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>								
Treatment	0.5183*** (0.0163)	0.5082*** (0.0169)	0.0001 (0.0015)	0.0006 (0.0015)	-0.0022 (0.0015)	-0.0015 (0.0015)	-0.0009 (0.0014)	-0.0004 (0.0014)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x		x
Observations	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370
R-squared	0.217	0.280	0.327	0.385	0.272	0.326	0.352	0.404
Mean in Control Group	0.0000	0.0000	0.8106	0.8106	0.8144	0.8144	0.8125	0.8125
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>								
Allocated to canvassers			0.0001 (0.0030)	0.0012 (0.0030)	-0.0042 (0.0029)	-0.0029 (0.0029)	-0.0019 (0.0028)	-0.0008 (0.0027)
Strata fixed effects			x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls				x		x		x
Observations			2370	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370
R-squared			0.327	0.383	0.280	0.329	0.356	0.404

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 A6: Impact on Hollande's vote share (territories which used the randomization lists, based on reports)

	Hollande's vote share					
	First round		Second round		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>						
Treatment	0.0034*	0.0031*	0.0038**	0.0034*	0.0034**	0.0031*
	(0.0018)	(0.0018)	(0.0019)	(0.0018)	(0.0016)	(0.0016)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370
R-squared	0.513	0.522	0.651	0.663	0.652	0.662
Mean in Control Group	0.2998	0.2998	0.5576	0.5576	0.4287	0.4287

Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"

Allocated to canvassers	0.0066*	0.0062*	0.0074**	0.0067*	0.0066**	0.0062*
	(0.0036)	(0.0036)	(0.0037)	(0.0036)	(0.0032)	(0.0032)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370	2370
R-squared	0.516	0.524	0.651	0.662	0.654	0.662

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 A7: Summary statistics (territories which used the randomization lists, based on survey)

	Control group		Treatment group		<i>P-value</i> Treatment = Control	Number of obs.
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
<i>Panel A. Electoral outcomes</i>						
Randomization at precinct level	0.575	0.496	0.564	0.496	0.783	950
Number of registered citizens	895.4	704.9	1066.5	1531.6	0.024	950
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
<i>Panel B. Location</i>						
Population of the municipality	47963.0	184809.9	43132.0	157339.9	0.742	950
Region						
Ile-de-France	0.065	0.246	0.062	0.240	0.881	950
Champagne-Ardenne	0.048	0.215	0.046	0.209	0.883	950
Picardie	0.043	0.203	0.047	0.212	0.806	950
Haute-Normandie	0.059	0.237	0.051	0.220	0.671	950
Centre	0.038	0.191	0.043	0.203	0.725	950
Basse-Normandie	0.043	0.203	0.042	0.200	0.946	950
Bourgogne	0.000	0.000	0.012	0.108	0.003	950
Nord-Pas-de-Calais	0.059	0.237	0.058	0.233	0.936	950
Lorraine	0.005	0.073	0.005	0.072	0.981	950
Alsace	0.016	0.126	0.024	0.152	0.489	950
Franche-Comté	0.070	0.256	0.075	0.263	0.822	950
Pays-de-la-Loire	0.054	0.226	0.048	0.215	0.770	950
Bretagne	0.011	0.103	0.010	0.102	0.973	950
Poitou-Charentes	0.043	0.203	0.038	0.191	0.758	950
Aquitaine	0.038	0.191	0.029	0.167	0.561	950
Midi-Pyrénées	0.022	0.145	0.020	0.139	0.874	950
Limousin	0.086	0.281	0.096	0.294	0.681	950
Rhône-Alpes	0.038	0.191	0.037	0.188	0.949	950
Auvergne	0.086	0.281	0.086	0.281	0.987	950
Languedoc-Roussillon	0.032	0.177	0.027	0.164	0.738	950
Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur	0.145	0.353	0.145	0.353	0.996	950
<i>Panel C. Sociodemographic characteristics of the population of the municipality</i>						
Share of men	0.484	0.022	0.486	0.029	0.307	950
Share of the population with age						
0 - 14	0.174	0.038	0.174	0.039	0.848	950
15 - 29	0.179	0.056	0.180	0.056	0.834	950
30 - 44	0.191	0.037	0.193	0.033	0.659	950
45 - 59	0.206	0.032	0.207	0.039	0.945	950
60 - 74	0.151	0.046	0.150	0.048	0.746	950
75 and older	0.098	0.039	0.097	0.040	0.844	950
Within population of 15 - 64						
Share of working population	0.717	0.057	0.712	0.055	0.286	950
Share of unemployed (among working population)	0.124	0.053	0.125	0.056	0.884	950
Median income	19073.2	4034.0	19231.8	3908.4	0.642	864

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 A8: Impact on voter turnout (territories which used the randomization lists, based on survey)

	First stage		First round		Voter turnout		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>								
Treatment	0.6251*** (0.0260)	0.6138*** (0.0265)	0.0023 (0.0028)	0.0015 (0.0027)	0.0014 (0.0026)	0.0014 (0.0026)	0.0019 (0.0025)	0.0015 (0.0024)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x		x
Observations	948	948	948	948	948	948	948	948
R-squared	0.317	0.378	0.300	0.389	0.223	0.289	0.302	0.378
Mean in Control Group	0.0000	0.0000	0.7800	0.7800	0.7858	0.7858	0.7829	0.7829
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>								
Allocated to canvassers			0.0038 (0.0046)	0.0025 (0.0044)	0.0022 (0.0043)	0.0023 (0.0042)	0.0031 (0.0040)	0.0025 (0.0040)
Strata fixed effects			x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome			x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls				x		x		x
Observations			948	948	948	948	948	948
R-squared			0.291	0.385	0.217	0.285	0.294	0.375

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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 A9: Impact on Hollande's vote share (territories which used the randomization lists, based on survey)

	Hollande's vote share					
	First round		Second round		Average of first and second rounds	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Panel A. ITT Estimation</i>						
Treatment	0.0068*	0.0067*	0.0052	0.0041	0.0056*	0.0051*
	(0.0037)	(0.0037)	(0.0034)	(0.0034)	(0.0030)	(0.0031)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	948	948	948	948	948	948
R-squared	0.516	0.527	0.634	0.648	0.646	0.651
Mean in Control Group	0.3239	0.3239	0.5962	0.5962	0.4600	0.4600
<i>Panel B. Instrumental variable estimation: "allocated to canvassers" instrumented with "treatment"</i>						
Allocated to canvassers	0.0111*	0.0110*	0.0083	0.0067	0.0090*	0.0083*
	(0.0060)	(0.0060)	(0.0054)	(0.0056)	(0.0049)	(0.0051)
Strata fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x
Control for past outcome	x	x	x	x	x	x
Additional controls		x		x		x
Observations	948	948	948	948	948	948
R-squared	0.517	0.527	0.634	0.648	0.647	0.651

Notes : The unit of observation is the unit of randomization (precinct, or municipality). ***, **, * indicate significance at 1, 5 and 10%. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

All regressions include strata fixed effects and control for past outcomes, measured at the level of randomization. Additional controls in even-numbered columns include the number of registered citizens in the precinct or municipality, the municipality's population, dummies for population brackets (less than 1999; from 2000 to 4999; from 5000 to 9999; from 10000 to 19999; above 20000), 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.

Figure A1. Door-to-door volunteer kit (Translated from French).

**FRANÇOIS
HOLLANDE
2012**



2012 electoral mobilization campaign
Door-to-door volunteer kit

Guide for a successful door-to-door campaign

Basic elements for a successful door-to-door campaign

Yes

No

Introduction to door-to-door approach

- **Introduce yourself** and explain 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 of practical details: election **date**, candidate's **name**, **location** of their polling station?

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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?

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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?

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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 in 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
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "When did you vote for the last time ? Why for those elections in particular ?" • "Do you know where the polling station is ? It's rue des Tulipes, near the primary school." • "Many people I've met in your area intend to vote for the presidential elections" • "You know, I think that voting is really important : <i>[then explain why it is important for you]</i>" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We really need people like you in this neighborhood. Would you be willing to help us ?" <i>If they do, write down the contact information.</i> • <i>If not</i> "I understand. Would you be interested in following François Hollande's campaign more closely ? Would you be willing to give me your contact information ?" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "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!

Socialist party / Left

Question / comment

Suggested answers

- *"Anyway, Left or Right-wing, it's all the same" / "Voting and politics are useless" / "you know, I'm not interested in politics"*

- Left and Right-wing are different. Right-wing has always promoted increased wealth : decrease of wealth and inheritance taxes, cut in working-class neighborhood public services, weakening of state schools, undermining purchasing power through VAT increase.
- 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.
- 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."
- "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, that's 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, Sarkozy defended workers"*

- All social improvements, within or outside business, are attributable to the Left-wing : there were the 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 doors
Total	... doors	... 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 campaign
☐ Answer a question : _____

☐ 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 campaign
☐ Answer a question : _____

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)

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

Figure A2. Door-to-door volunteer kit (Original Version).

**FRANÇOIS
HOLLANDE
2012**



Mobilisation 2012

Kit du volontaire en porte-à-porte

La liste de course du porte-à-porte réussi

Eléments de base du porte-à-porte réussi

Oui

Non

Introduction du porte-à-porte

- Se **présenter** et dire que nous sommes volontaires pour la campagne de François Hollande ?
- Demander si l'électeur est **inscrit** ?
 - S'il n'est pas inscrit :
 - Demander si d'autres dans sa famille le sont ?
 - Prendre congé rapidement sinon ?
- Rappeler les détails concrets : **date** de l'élection, **nom** du candidat, **localisation** du bureau de vote ?

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Echange

- Poser des **questions** au lieu de parler tout seul ?
- Rebondir sur les indices donnés par l'électeur sur son profil ?
- Utiliser un **langage simple** ?
- Mentionner des **exemples concrets** issu de notre expérience ?
- Parler à la **première personne de ses convictions** ?
- **Se concentrer sur l'objectif** (importance d'aller voter / importance de nous rejoindre) et éviter un long exposé du programme de FH ?

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Conclusion et bilan

- A-t-on identifié le **profil** de l'électeur ?
 - Sait-on s'il est abstentionniste ou électeur actif ?
 - Sait-on s'il est de gauche ou de droite ?
- Les militants ont-ils adopté l'**attitude adaptée** ?
 - Abstentionniste de gauche : les militants ont-ils dit pourquoi ils étaient convaincus qu'il était **important d'aller voter** ?
 - Electeur actif de gauche : lui a-t-on demandé de venir nous aider et demandé son contact ?
 - Autre : a-t-on pris **congé** au plus vite ?

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Fiche pour les militants : quelques exemples de formules pour le porte à porte

Se présenter

- « Bonjour ! Je m'appelle Françoise Dupont, je suis volontaire pour l'équipe de campagne de François Hollande, le candidat du Parti Socialiste à la Présidentielle. [Si vous habitez le quartier « J'habite dans votre quartier, rue des Roses », et] je suis venu vous parler des élections présidentielles qui auront lieu le 22 avril et les 6 mai prochains »
- « Etes-vous inscrit sur les listes électorales ? »
 - *S'il ne sait pas* : « avez-vous déjà voté ? »
 - *Si non* : « Peut-être votre femme / mari / vos enfants ont déjà voté ? Est-ce que je pourrai leur parler ? »
 - *Si non* : « Merci de votre accueil quand même. Vous savez, c'est très facile de s'inscrire aujourd'hui : j'espère qu'on pourra en reparler la prochaine fois que nous repasserons dans votre quartier »

Dialoguer avec votre interlocuteur – identifier le type d'électeur

- « Je suis venu vous voir parce que je pense qu'il est important d'aller voter pour les élections présidentielles du 22 avril et du 6 mai. Avez-vous l'intention d'aller voter ? »
- *Essayez de sentir si votre interlocuteur est de gauche ou de droite* : « Comment vous trouvez que ça s'est passé depuis l'élection de Sarkozy ? »

Abstentionniste de gauche	Electeur actif de gauche	Autre
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• « Quand êtes-vous allé voter pour la dernière fois ? Pourquoi à ce moment-là ? »• « Voyez-vous où est le bureau de vote ? C'est rue des Tulipes, dans l'école primaire »• « Beaucoup des gens que j'ai rencontrés ici ont l'intention d'aller voter pour les Présidentielles »• « Vous savez, pour moi, aller voter c'est vraiment important : <i>[expliquez pourquoi c'est important pour vous]</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• « Nous avons vraiment besoin de gens comme vous dans le quartier. Accepteriez-vous de nous aider ? » <i>Si oui, prendre ses coordonnées</i>• <i>Si non</i> « Je comprends. Est-ce que ça vous intéresserait de suivre plus en détails la campagne de François Hollande ? Accepteriez-vous de me donner vos coordonnées ? »	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• « Je comprends. Merci de votre accueil ».

Prendre congé

- « Merci de votre accueil ! Est-ce que je peux vous remettre la brochure de notre candidat ? »

N'oubliez pas de remplir la fiche de suivi !

Fiche pour les militants: suggestions de réponses à des questions ou remarques difficiles

Plus que votre argument, l'essentiel est que l'électeur sente que vous êtes convaincus !

Parti socialiste / gauche

Question / remarque

Suggestion de réponse

- « De toute façon, la gauche et la droite, c'est pareil » / « Voter, la politique, ça ne sert à rien » / « vous savez, moi, la politique, ça ne m'intéresse pas »

- La gauche est la droite ce n'est pas pareil. La droite n'a eu de cesse de favoriser la reproduction des richesses: Réduction de l'ISF et de l'impôt sur les successions, casse des services publics dans les quartiers populaires, affaiblissement de l'école publique, atteinte au pouvoir d'achat avec la hausse de la TVA.
- La gauche c'est le soutien à ceux qui ont le moins, c'est laisser le soin à ceux qui ont le plus de contribuer le plus, c'est favoriser les services de proximité, l'accès à la justice, aux soins, c'est la lutte pour le pouvoir d'achat.
- Quant à l'extrême droite, c'est une politique qui oppose et qui a partout échoué et conduit à la faillite: ex à Toulon, à Vitrolles à Marignane

- « On ne vous voit qu'au moment des élections »

- « Sans être toujours visible, notre action est permanente. Dans les villes, départements et régions nous atténuons les effets de la politique injuste du gouvernement à travers les services publics de proximité. Cela prend du temps, des énergies et la plupart des élus le font gratuitement »

- « Le PS / la gauche, ils ne sont pas d'accord entre eux »

- « Oui, nous ne sommes pas adeptes de la pensée unique, donc parfois nous ne sommes pas d'accord. »
- « Grâce aux primaires, un candidat s'est révélé et aujourd'hui tout le monde et derrière lui et c'est pour ça qu'il est plus fort que jamais nul candidat ne l'a été! »

François Hollande

- François Hollande est indécis

- « Pendant 5 ans, on a connu l'excitation permanente. F. Hollande a la sérénité la clairvoyance, c'est sa conception d'une présidence normale qui donne confiance. Quant à ses engagements: sa volonté de reprendre le contrôle de la finance, de revenir sur le traité européen qui ne prévoit que des plans de rigueur, son retrait de l'Afghanistan qu'il annoncera dès le 20 mai, au lendemain de son élection démontrent bien qu'il a cette capacité de prendre des décisions historiques.

Remarques d'un sympathisant FN

- « La gauche ne fait rien pour le peuple » / « En 2007, Sarko, au moins, il défendait les travailleurs »

- Toutes les avancées sociales, à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur de l'entreprise sont à mettre au crédit de la gauche: il y avait les RTT, la 5ème semaine de congés payés, la retraite à 60 ans, il y aura si nous l'emportons, le retour à la retraite à 60 ans pour ceux qui ont travaillé toute leur vie, la formation professionnelle tout au long de la vie pour ceux qui veulent progresser, la défense du CDI des jeunes et des seniors à travers le contrat de génération. Et plus globalement une vaste politique de soutien à l'industrie. Bref tout ce qui va dans le sens des travailleurs, des ouvriers et que n'a pas fait la droite

Remontée d'information : fiche de suivi du porte à porte

Mobilisation 2012

Fiche de suivi

Kit pour le porte-à-porte

Date : __/__/__

Bureau de vote : _____

Volontaire 1 : _____ / _____

Volontaire 2 : _____ / _____

Adresse	Nombre total de portes frappées (ouvertes + fermées)	Nombre de portes ouvertes
Total portes p

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

Téléphone :
 E-MAIL :
 @

☐ M. ☐ Mme
 NOM :
 PRENOM :
 Adresse : N° : Bât/Esc :
 Rue : Ville :
☐ 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 campagne
☐ Répondre à une question :

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

Imprimer fichier de suivi « M2012_Fiche remontée d'informations.pdf » et le distribuer à chaque binôme

Procédure à suivre pour la collecte et la remontée des données

- Chaque binôme reçoit et remplit cette fiche lors du porte-à-porte, en remplissant les cases « Total » et en inscrivant les coordonnées des contacts rencontrés
- Le mobilisateur est responsable que les informations soient remontées sur toushollande.fr :
 - La somme totale de portes frappées au cours de la séance dans le bureau de vote
 - La somme totale de portes ouvertes au cours de la séance dans le bureau de vote
 - La somme totale des contacts
 - Les contacts (nom, prénom, e-mail, téléphone, etc)