

Supplemental Appendix

Storefront Campaigning

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Section A2.4: Interview Protocol

Interviews for this project were collected in two stages: in 2019 in Iowa during Darr's visits to Democratic field offices in the state, and in 2022 virtually with former staffers via Zoom. The 2019 IRB protocol was updated and revised to include Whyard in 2022. These were semi-structured interviews in which we used these questions as the basis for a conversation about field offices. The 2022 interviews included questions about 2024 that were not asked in 2019.

Data:

- What kinds of data are sent to campaign headquarters? How frequently?
- What kinds of data are received from campaign headquarters, and how does that inform your work?
- Who determines which messages you discuss (if any) at the doors and on the phones?

Training:

- Are you given specific targets for voter contact, or for volunteer recruitment?
- Are your volunteers experienced caucus-goers? (for Iowa)
- How much responsibility are you encouraged to give volunteers?
- Do you have a core group of volunteers, or are you actively recruiting more temporary helpers?

Media:

- For reporters:
 - Is local organizing activity an attractive subject for coverage? Why?
 - Do campaigns initiate your coverage of their events? Are you concerned about providing them publicity?
 - Who are your contacts on the campaigns: local organizers or state-level press staff? Who initiates these stories?
- For field staffers:
 - Do you try to cultivate or avoid media attention?
 - What are the instructions you give your organizers about dealing with the press?
 - What do you think is the best way to attract press coverage, if you want it?

Motivations:

- Where are you from and how did you end up in [Iowa/New Hampshire/South Carolina/General Election State]?
- What impact have you seen from your organizing efforts in this community? Do you think you are increasing support for [candidate]?
- What role do you expect field operations to play in a victory for [candidate]? Do you think it will have been worth it even if [candidate] loses?
- Are you worried that participation in a presidential campaign may distract people in this community from participating locally?

General Election Staff Questions:

Republican staff

- How important was utilizing the field offices to performing field activities? Did you notice a “jump” in volunteer performance once you opened up field offices in your state (phones, doors, trainings)?
- Was there an increase in the number of trained volunteers in a given region when a field office was up and running?
- Did you feel the discrepancy between Trump Victory and Biden’s ground-game, given the fact Biden had no offices and did not knock doors, gave you more confidence in winning your state? Did you see this as an important advantage?
- Was the success Obama had with community organizing a factor that went into your decision to invest heavily in field offices?
- How do you decide on where to place a field office?
- Do you foresee a change in strategy on investing heavily in field offices in future pres. /statewide elections? Why or why not?

Democratic staff

- With the success of not having an in-person presence from the 2020 election, do you anticipate a shift in strategy away from the traditional ground-game and diverting resources primarily to digital organizing going forward?
- Will future field office placement be much more strategic going forward, or perhaps gone entirely?
- Without field offices in 2020, how did this impact your ability to train/activate volunteers as compared to other cycles?
- How much did 3rd party organizations help you in digital organizing?

Table A3.1 Democratic and Republican field office placement by Republican normal vote, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Obama 2012	(2) Romney 2012	(3) Clinton 2016	(4) Trump 2016	(5) Trump 2016
Opponent office	1.613* (0.033)	0.277* (0.006)	0.929* (0.037)	0.182* (0.007)	-
Republican normal vote	-0.634* (0.127)	0.188* (0.053)	-0.380* (0.106)	0.180* (0.047)	0.084 (0.071)
Battleground	0.387* (0.106)	0.074 (0.044)	0.352* (0.090)	0.123* (0.040)	0.692* (0.060)
Median age	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.003* (0.001)
Population	0.998* (0.067)	0.108* (0.029)	1.059* (0.054)	0.198* (0.025)	-1.339* (0.258)
Population ²	-0.049* (0.010)	-0.030* (0.004)	-0.098* (0.008)	-0.022* (0.003)	-0.043* (0.006)
Median income	-0.321* (0.142)	0.061 (0.059)	-0.208 (0.119)	-0.207* (0.053)	0.563* (0.065)
Percent Black	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001 (0.001)
Percent Hispanic	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.084 (0.125)	0.085 (0.055)	0.081 (0.081)
Percent without high school diploma	0.278 (0.263)	-0.080 (0.109)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Percent with college degree	0.445 (0.241)	0.315* (0.100)	0.007* (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Constant	0.225 (0.204)	-0.110 (0.084)	-0.015 (0.164)	0.029 (0.072)	0.008 (0.108)
Observations	3,110	3,110	3,109	3,109	3,110
R-squared	0.687	0.652	0.547	0.451	0.422

Table A3.2 Democratic and Republican field office placement in swing and core counties, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Obama 2012	(2) Romney 2012	(3) Clinton 2016	(4) Trump 2016	(5) Trump 2020
Opponent office	1.602* (0.032)	0.278* (0.006)	0.916* (0.037)	0.181* (0.007)	-
Swing county	0.034 (0.034)	0.062* (0.017)	0.023 (0.038)	-0.009 (0.019)	0.064* (0.028)
Core county	0.277* (0.036)	0.053* (0.015)	0.182* (0.029)	0.018 (0.013)	0.005 (0.025)
Battleground	0.375* (0.104)	0.052 (0.043)	0.338* (0.088)	0.089* (0.039)	0.648* (0.058)
Median age	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.003* (0.001)
Population	0.997* (0.066)	0.103* (0.028)	1.050* (0.054)	0.194* (0.025)	-1.346* (0.257)
Population ²	-0.049* (0.010)	-0.030* (0.004)	-0.097* (0.008)	-0.022* (0.003)	-0.043* (0.006)
Median income	-0.322* (0.139)	0.076 (0.058)	-0.210 (0.116)	-0.170* (0.052)	0.565* (0.065)
Percent Black	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)
Percent Hispanic	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.070 (0.122)	0.045 (0.054)	0.053 (0.078)
Percent without high school diploma	0.212 (0.261)	-0.077 (0.109)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Percent with college degree	0.325 (0.238)	0.295* (0.099)	0.007* (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Constant	-0.161 (0.178)	-0.040 (0.077)	-0.262 (0.142)	0.144* (0.065)	0.079 (0.094)
Observations	3,110	3,110	3,109	3,109	3,110
R-squared	0.691	0.652	0.551	0.449	0.423

Table A3.3a Democratic and Republican field office placement in urban and rural counties, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Obama 2012	(2) Romney 2012	(3) Clinton 2016	(4) Trump 2016	(5) Trump 2020
Opponent office	1.609* (0.033)	0.275* (0.006)	0.919* (0.037)	0.180* (0.007)	
Rurality	-0.064 (0.043)	-0.036* (0.018)	-0.087* (0.036)	-0.019 (0.016)	-0.043 (0.023)
Battleground	0.579* (0.101)	0.032 (0.042)	0.487* (0.085)	0.073 (0.038)	0.673* (0.056)
Median age	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Population	1.003* (0.068)	0.093* (0.029)	1.050* (0.055)	0.188* (0.026)	-1.329* (0.257)
Population ²	-0.050* (0.010)	-0.029* (0.004)	-0.097* (0.008)	-0.021* (0.004)	-0.042* (0.006)
Median income	-0.527* (0.146)	0.066 (0.060)	-0.401* (0.120)	-0.175* (0.053)	0.557* (0.065)
Percent Black	0.003* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003* (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)
Percent Hispanic	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.189 (0.121)	0.027 (0.054)	0.037 (0.078)
Percent without high school diploma	0.467 (0.268)	-0.069 (0.111)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)
Percent with college degree	0.833* (0.233)	0.240* (0.096)	0.009* (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Constant	-0.286 (0.180)	0.022 (0.074)	-0.318* (0.143)	0.161* (0.063)	0.071 (0.085)
Observations	3,110	3,110	3,109	3,109	3,110
R-squared	0.685	0.651	0.546	0.449	0.423

Table A3.3b Democratic and Republican field office placement by county ideology, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Obama 2012	(2) Romney 2012	(3) Clinton 2016	(4) Trump 2016	(5) Trump 2020
Opponent office	1.616* (0.032)	0.277* (0.006)	0.925* (0.037)	0.181* (0.007)	
Ideology score (higher = more conservative)	-0.399* (0.066)	0.134* (0.027)	-0.205* (0.056)	0.059* (0.025)	0.047 (0.037)
Battleground	0.376* (0.104)	0.084 (0.043)	0.372* (0.088)	0.096* (0.039)	0.687* (0.059)
Median age	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.003* (0.001)
Population	0.961* (0.067)	0.119* (0.029)	1.046* (0.055)	0.200* (0.025)	-1.352* (0.258)
Population ²	-0.045* (0.010)	-0.032* (0.004)	-0.096* (0.008)	-0.022* (0.003)	-0.043* (0.006)
Median income	-0.357* (0.140)	0.068 (0.058)	-0.255* (0.116)	-0.174* (0.051)	0.568* (0.066)
Percent Black	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)
Percent Hispanic	-0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.110 (0.123)	0.056 (0.055)	0.073 (0.079)
Percent without high school diploma	0.302 (0.262)	-0.084 (0.108)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Percent with college degree	0.234 (0.248)	0.398* (0.102)	0.007* (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Constant	0.015 (0.184)	-0.058 (0.076)	-0.160 (0.148)	0.124 (0.065)	0.050 (0.089)
Observations	3,109	3,109	3,109	3,109	3,110
R-squared	0.689	0.653	0.547	0.450	0.422

Table A3.3c Democratic and Republican field office placement by county volunteering rate, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Obama 2012	(2) Romney 2012	(3) Clinton 2016	(4) Trump 2016	(5) Trump 2020
Opponent office	1.622* (0.033)	0.276* (0.006)	0.931* (0.038)	0.181* (0.007)	-
County-level volunteering rate	0.725 (0.375)	-0.354* (0.155)	-0.032 (0.319)	-0.024 (0.141)	-0.015 (0.216)
Battleground state	0.537* (0.101)	0.034 (0.042)	0.467* (0.085)	0.066 (0.038)	0.667* (0.057)
Median age	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.003* (0.001)
Population	1.033* (0.067)	0.093* (0.029)	1.075* (0.055)	0.190* (0.026)	-1.317* (0.259)
Population ²	-0.053* (0.010)	-0.029* (0.004)	-0.099* (0.008)	-0.021* (0.004)	-0.043* (0.006)
Median income	-0.403* (0.144)	0.063 (0.059)	-0.315* (0.119)	-0.165* (0.053)	0.557* (0.066)
Percent Black	0.004* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003* (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)
Percent Hispanic	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.204 (0.124)	0.027 (0.055)	0.048 (0.080)
Percent without high school diploma	0.456 (0.270)	-0.139 (0.111)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Percent with college degree	0.722* (0.239)	0.269* (0.098)	0.009* (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Constant	-0.348 (0.186)	0.074 (0.077)	-0.298* (0.148)	0.168* (0.065)	0.098 (0.087)
Observations	3,058	3,058	3,059	3,059	3,059
R-squared	0.687	0.654	0.547	0.452	0.423

Table A3.3d Democratic and Republican field office placement by civic organizations per county, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Obama 2012	(2) Romney 2012	(3) Clinton 2016	(4) Trump 2016	(5) Trump 2020
Opponent office	1.620* (0.033)	0.275* (0.006)	0.930* (0.038)	0.181* (0.007)	-
Civic organizations in county	0.019 (1.353)	-1.387* (0.557)	-1.513 (1.146)	-0.228 (0.506)	-0.605 (0.755)
Battleground state	0.556* (0.101)	0.031 (0.042)	0.473* (0.085)	0.067 (0.038)	0.669* (0.057)
Median age	0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.001)
Population	1.024* (0.068)	0.087* (0.029)	1.063* (0.056)	0.188* (0.026)	-1.318* (0.259)
Population ²	-0.052* (0.010)	-0.028* (0.004)	-0.098* (0.008)	-0.021* (0.004)	-0.043* (0.006)
Median income	-0.420* (0.147)	0.039 (0.061)	-0.352* (0.122)	-0.170* (0.054)	0.556* (0.066)
Percent Black	0.003* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003* (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)
Percent Hispanic	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.207 (0.123)	0.029 (0.054)	0.045 (0.079)
Percent without high school diploma	0.410 (0.270)	-0.132 (0.111)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Percent with college degree	0.745* (0.247)	0.322* (0.102)	0.009* (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Constant	-0.312 (0.185)	0.041 (0.076)	-0.315* (0.147)	0.165* (0.065)	0.085 (0.088)
Observations	3,058	3,058	3,059	3,059	3,059
R-squared	0.687	0.654	0.548	0.452	0.423

Table A4.1 Change in vote share and office placement across elections, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Change in Democratic vote share, 2008-12	(2) Change in Democratic vote share, 2012-16	(3) Change in Republican vote share, 2012-16	(4) Change in Republican vote share, 2016-20
Office in current election	0.085 (0.266)	0.998 (0.628)	-0.617 (0.843)	-1.079* (0.219)
Office in previous election	-0.284 (0.260)	0.813* (0.314)	-1.938* (0.365)	-1.103* (0.369)
Current office X previous office	0.475 (0.366)	0.334 (0.704)	-0.430 (0.956)	1.168* (0.463)
Unemployment change, year before election	-0.087 (0.152)	-0.990* (0.282)	1.178* (0.307)	0.831* (0.127)
Population growth, year before election	0.002 (0.017)	0.152* (0.033)	-0.170* (0.036)	-0.108* (0.017)
Percent Black	9.864* (0.795)	11.857* (1.282)	-7.997* (1.396)	-2.625* (0.892)
Percent Hispanic	6.544* (1.139)	-1.629 (1.728)	2.126 (1.877)	10.356* (0.715)
Median age	-0.013 (0.017)	-0.130* (0.023)	0.204* (0.024)	0.053* (0.014)
Median income	1.125 (0.639)	14.688* (1.008)	-18.491* (1.102)	-3.675* (0.801)
Population	0.113 (0.379)	2.495* (0.534)	-1.033 (0.637)	12.765* (3.099)
Democratic vote share in previous election	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.083* (0.012)	-0.027* (0.013)	-0.049* (0.008)
Constant	-3.624* (0.965)	-6.124* (1.340)	4.915* (1.599)	3.378* (1.095)
Observations	717	800	800	1,118
R-squared	0.427	0.726	0.703	0.515

Table A4.2 Influence of Democratic and Republican field offices on partisan vote share by opponent, swing, and core counties, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Democratic vote share, 2012	Democratic vote share, 2016	Republican vote share, 2012	Republican vote share, 2016	Republican vote share, 2020
Campaign has its own field office in county	0.175 (0.264)	0.523* (0.127)	-0.399 (0.337)	-0.512 (0.509)	0.436 (1.078)
County competitiveness (Opponent county omitted)					
Swing county	-1.095* (0.304)	0.134 (0.351)	0.794 (0.411)	1.137* (0.381)	1.509 (1.188)
Core county	0.126 (0.656)	1.071* (0.454)	0.125 (0.565)	1.122* (0.496)	2.145 (1.622)
Office X swing county	1.033 (0.533)	-0.299 (0.367)	-0.382 (0.459)	-0.291 (0.489)	-1.463 (1.197)
Office X core county	0.194 (0.423)	-0.130 (0.326)	0.534 (0.356)	-0.017 (0.580)	-1.469 (1.113)
Population growth, year before election	0.006 (0.021)	0.023 (0.031)	-0.011 (0.017)	-0.051 (0.034)	-0.099* (0.043)
Population	0.199 (0.537)	0.415 (0.541)	-0.061 (0.507)	0.411 (0.538)	0.701* (0.036)
Percent Black	0.096* (0.013)	0.243* (0.014)	-0.097* (0.012)	-0.217* (0.013)	-1.606 (10.238)
Percent Hispanic	0.068* (0.025)	0.143* (0.022)	-0.073* (0.024)	-0.165* (0.022)	-0.247* (0.022)
Median income	1.903 (1.208)	-3.313 (1.817)	-1.655 (0.924)	1.618 (2.906)	-0.071* (0.018)
Party vote share, prior election	0.993* (0.028)	0.743* (0.030)	0.994* (0.029)	0.769* (0.032)	0.186 (2.504)
Percent with a college degree	-0.025 (0.030)	0.432* (0.020)	-0.004 (0.033)	-0.486* (0.026)	-0.511* (0.028)
Change in unemployment, year before election	-0.064 (0.458)	-0.745* (0.296)	0.188 (0.499)	0.850* (0.270)	-0.197 (0.132)
Constant	-4.222* (1.086)	-10.729* (0.866)	4.441 (2.696)	31.186* (1.976)	30.223* (2.214)
Observations	717	800	717	800	1,118
R-squared	0.979	0.983	0.977	0.979	0.964

Table A4.3 Field office effectiveness by county rurality, measured as urban, suburban, or rural, 2012, 2016, and 2020.

	(1) Democratic vote share, 2012	(2) Democratic vote share, 2016	(3) Republican vote share, 2012	(4) Republican vote share, 2016	(5) Republican vote share, 2020
Campaign has its own field office in county	-0.068 (0.365)	0.477* (0.209)	0.174 (0.274)	-0.402 (0.288)	-0.082 (0.240)
Rural-urban scores (3 category) (Urban omitted)					
Suburban	-0.652 (0.349)	-0.268 (0.320)	0.457 (0.307)	0.435 (0.308)	0.593* (0.194)
Rural	-0.903 (0.466)	-0.536 (0.359)	1.077* (0.405)	1.359* (0.422)	0.879 (0.446)
Office in county X Suburban	0.657 (0.365)	-0.160 (0.301)	-0.188 (0.618)	0.590 (0.854)	0.176 (0.257)
Office in county X Rural	-0.315 (0.507)	-0.768 (0.974)	-0.658 (0.594)	0.136 (0.499)	-0.677 (0.404)
Population growth, year before election	0.008 (0.019)	0.013 (0.030)	-0.012 (0.016)	-0.034 (0.028)	-0.010 (0.022)
Population	0.141 (0.435)	0.296 (0.532)	-0.239 (0.420)	0.551 (0.531)	3.594 (6.283)
Percent Black	0.099* (0.014)	0.243* (0.015)	-0.096* (0.012)	-0.218* (0.014)	-0.096* (0.028)
Percent Hispanic	0.067* (0.024)	0.143* (0.023)	-0.069* (0.025)	-0.165* (0.023)	0.051* (0.013)
Median income	0.672 (1.339)	-4.003 (1.970)	-0.322 (1.250)	3.200 (2.814)	-1.039 (1.532)
Party vote share, prior election	0.994* (0.017)	0.772* (0.022)	0.996* (0.019)	0.794* (0.023)	0.880* (0.026)
Percent with a college degree	-0.015 (0.029)	0.433* (0.020)	-0.006 (0.028)	-0.491* (0.025)	-0.170* (0.013)
Change in unemployment, year before election	0.038 (0.408)	-0.737* (0.312)	0.046 (0.456)	0.864* (0.258)	-0.077 (0.096)
Constant	-3.040* (1.156)	-10.820* (0.769)	3.053 (2.338)	28.951* (2.131)	11.838* (1.853)
Observations	717	800	717	800	1,118
R-squared	0.979	0.982	0.977	0.980	0.985

Table A4.4a: Estimates of any contact by campaigns, 2012, 2016, and 2020. Data from CCES.

	(1) 2012	(2) 2016	(3) 2020
Dem. office in county	1.150* (0.067)	1.114* (0.050)	-
Rep. office in county	1.207 (0.169)	1.110 (0.124)	1.320* (0.087)
Dem. X Rep. office in county	0.914 (0.134)	0.960 (0.086)	-
Battleground state	1.670* (0.106)	1.488* (0.126)	1.384* (0.111)
Registered voter	2.629* (0.167)	1.206* (0.055)	0.930 (0.044)
Voted in prev. election	1.866* (0.062)	1.751* (0.082)	1.850* (0.069)
Age	1.033* (0.001)	1.024* (0.001)	1.009* (0.001)
Female	0.973 (0.026)	0.932* (0.024)	0.922* (0.022)
Black	0.867* (0.041)	0.940 (0.047)	0.929 (0.053)
Hispanic	0.687* (0.045)	0.865* (0.045)	0.751* (0.033)
Asian	0.576* (0.056)	0.715* (0.042)	0.595* (0.027)
Other race	1.230* (0.068)	1.245* (0.074)	1.165* (0.071)
Union member	1.339* (0.085)	1.418* (0.054)	1.279* (0.058)
Former union member	1.132* (0.019)	1.126* (0.017)	1.194* (0.019)
Military	1.168 (0.202)	1.367* (0.036)	1.321* (0.157)
Homeowner	1.411* (0.048)	1.119* (0.029)	1.085* (0.044)
Born again evangelical	0.999 (0.017)	0.944 (0.036)	1.081* (0.017)
College degree or higher	1.576* (0.043)	1.488* (0.037)	2.041* (0.059)
Income below median	1.495* (0.032)	0.769* (0.022)	
Married	1.006 (0.030)	1.006 (0.025)	1.025 (0.023)
Constant	0.049* (0.005)	0.133* (0.019)	0.412* (0.037)
Observations	43,766	42,938	47,367

Table A4.4b: Estimates of in-person contact by campaigns, 2012, 2016, and 2020. Data from CCES.

	(1) 2012	(2) 2016	(3) 2020
Dem. office in county	1.066 (0.095)	1.145 (0.100)	-
Rep. office in county	1.248 (0.210)	0.906 (0.314)	1.204* (0.085)
Dem. X Rep. office in county	1.118 (0.182)	1.265 (0.459)	-
Battleground state	1.007 (0.147)	1.161 (0.155)	1.256* (0.114)
Registered voter	1.363* (0.183)	1.580* (0.180)	1.280* (0.152)
Voted in prev. election	1.105 (0.074)	1.075 (0.050)	1.190* (0.075)
Age	0.993* (0.001)	0.987* (0.002)	0.992* (0.001)
Female	0.965 (0.026)	0.979 (0.035)	0.783* (0.027)
Black	0.812* (0.071)	1.006 (0.094)	0.806* (0.078)
Hispanic	0.890 (0.108)	0.887 (0.068)	0.979 (0.069)
Asian	0.937 (0.173)	0.849 (0.116)	0.854 (0.188)
Other race	1.049 (0.058)	1.114 (0.119)	1.054 (0.102)
Union member	1.243* (0.085)	1.462* (0.118)	1.173* (0.069)
Former union member	1.039 (0.020)	1.083* (0.026)	1.031 (0.023)
Military	0.972 (0.300)	0.986 (0.038)	3.105* (0.870)
Homeowner	1.133* (0.052)	1.305* (0.095)	1.485* (0.057)
Born again evangelical	1.004 (0.023)	0.971 (0.056)	0.925* (0.025)
College degree or higher	1.184* (0.039)	1.139* (0.054)	1.170* (0.054)
Income below median	0.981 (0.039)	0.984 (0.034)	
Married	1.119* (0.044)	1.230* (0.056)	1.162* (0.040)
Constant	0.178* (0.033)	0.181* (0.027)	0.077* (0.011)
Observations	30,911	24,340	31,600

Table A4.4c: Estimates of phone contact by campaigns, 2012, 2016, and 2020. Data from CCES.

	(1) 2012	(2) 2016	(3) 2020
Dem. office in county	1.079 (0.068)	0.991 (0.045)	-
Rep. office in county	1.238* (0.124)	1.124 (0.122)	1.246* (0.083)
Dem. X Rep. office in county	0.865 (0.089)	0.899 (0.139)	-
Battleground state	1.619* (0.152)	1.506* (0.144)	1.191* (0.102)
Registered voter	1.432* (0.141)	1.116 (0.118)	0.979 (0.066)
Voted in prev. election	1.102 (0.055)	1.348* (0.084)	1.144* (0.042)
Age	1.015* (0.002)	1.018* (0.002)	1.006* (0.001)
Female	1.132* (0.043)	1.129* (0.035)	1.054* (0.021)
Black	0.619* (0.033)	1.023 (0.061)	1.026 (0.063)
Hispanic	0.748* (0.079)	0.909 (0.098)	0.889 (0.066)
Asian	0.756 (0.169)	0.920 (0.113)	0.753* (0.065)
Other race	0.813* (0.051)	0.975 (0.084)	1.071 (0.058)
Union member	0.999 (0.054)	0.979 (0.059)	1.196* (0.051)
Former union member	0.975 (0.018)	0.979 (0.021)	1.036* (0.014)
Military	0.664* (0.139)	0.969 (0.029)	0.937 (0.166)
Homeowner	1.820* (0.077)	1.377* (0.057)	1.358* (0.033)
Born again evangelical	0.964 (0.023)	0.902* (0.038)	1.005 (0.017)
College degree or higher	0.947 (0.047)	0.910* (0.033)	1.027 (0.030)
Income below median	1.126* (0.031)	0.866* (0.028)	
Married	1.221* (0.042)	1.083* (0.042)	1.064* (0.026)
Constant	0.608* (0.090)	0.552* (0.077)	0.580* (0.073)
Observations	30,911	24,340	31,600

Table A4.4d: Estimates of email/text contact by campaigns, 2012, 2016, and 2020. Data from CCES.

	(1) 2012	(2) 2016	(3) 2020
Dem. office in county	1.161* (0.045)	1.031 (0.039)	-
Rep. office in county	1.070 (0.104)	1.057 (0.157)	1.090 (0.069)
Dem. X Rep. office in county	0.895 (0.067)	1.091 (0.172)	-
Battleground state	1.053 (0.081)	0.877* (0.056)	1.117 (0.116)
Registered voter	1.236* (0.114)	0.722* (0.052)	0.621* (0.065)
Voted in prev. election	1.606* (0.084)	1.447* (0.075)	1.309* (0.070)
Age	1.010* (0.001)	1.005* (0.001)	0.988* (0.002)
Female	0.801* (0.024)	0.733* (0.017)	0.872* (0.029)
Black	1.253* (0.071)	0.816* (0.036)	0.896 (0.052)
Hispanic	0.775* (0.064)	0.757* (0.048)	0.849 (0.084)
Asian	0.798* (0.083)	0.795* (0.066)	0.786* (0.091)
Other race	1.603* (0.086)	1.375* (0.127)	1.203* (0.078)
Union member	1.194* (0.063)	0.899 (0.057)	0.957 (0.088)
Former union member	1.117* (0.020)	1.034 (0.019)	1.082* (0.023)
Military	1.112 (0.250)	1.108* (0.033)	0.302* (0.076)
Homeowner	0.762* (0.025)	0.672* (0.025)	0.757* (0.030)
Born again evangelical	1.062* (0.020)	0.839* (0.029)	1.151* (0.025)
College degree or higher	1.982* (0.082)	1.611* (0.051)	2.039* (0.078)
Income below median	1.309* (0.034)	0.783* (0.019)	-
Married	0.909* (0.020)	0.866* (0.028)	1.040 (0.030)
Constant	0.286* (0.042)	1.491* (0.156)	7.584* (1.182)
Observations	30,911	24,340	31,600

Table A4.4e: Estimates of mail contact by campaigns, 2012, 2016, and 2020. Data from CCES.

	(1) 2012	(2) 2016	(3) 2020
Dem. office in county	1.081 (0.049)	0.968 (0.069)	
Rep. office in county	1.137 (0.117)	0.943 (0.066)	1.090 (0.080)
Dem. X Rep. office in county	0.988 (0.102)	1.089 (0.093)	
Battleground state	1.199* (0.098)	1.182* (0.070)	1.603* (0.175)
Registered voter	1.473* (0.142)	1.408* (0.117)	1.312* (0.085)
Voted in prev. election	1.867* (0.112)	1.782* (0.093)	1.279* (0.044)
Age	1.010* (0.001)	1.008* (0.002)	1.009* (0.001)
Female	0.990 (0.022)	0.918* (0.025)	0.976 (0.024)
Black	0.526* (0.024)	0.587* (0.031)	0.689* (0.042)
Hispanic	0.672* (0.046)	0.653* (0.038)	0.739* (0.044)
Asian	0.813 (0.115)	0.759* (0.066)	0.698* (0.053)
Other race	1.171* (0.068)	1.121* (0.064)	0.995 (0.062)
Union member	1.064 (0.052)	0.905* (0.043)	1.068 (0.059)
Former union member	1.048* (0.014)	1.030 (0.020)	1.053* (0.015)
Military	0.920 (0.185)	1.175* (0.032)	0.498* (0.080)
Homeowner	1.254* (0.035)	1.144* (0.043)	1.169* (0.038)
Born again evangelical	0.979 (0.018)	0.943 (0.031)	1.007 (0.021)
College degree or higher	1.544* (0.044)	1.315* (0.031)	1.327* (0.037)
Income below median	1.156* (0.023)	0.869* (0.029)	
Married	1.004 (0.031)	0.978 (0.028)	1.017 (0.028)
Constant	0.226* (0.027)	0.269* (0.034)	0.336* (0.031)
Observations	30,911	24,340	31,600