

Getting Out the People to Get Out the Vote – Expecting Fun Mobilizes Party Members to
Volunteer in Political Campaigns

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Abstract

Political participation is very important for a functioning democracy. Still, most citizens only vote, instead of participating in more impactful ways, such as volunteering in a political campaign. To encourage more people to actively participate, this paper aims at understanding the psychological factors behind the decision to politically volunteer and examines ways to mobilize people to participate. To do so, a questionnaire was filled in by 102 participants. Results indicated that the intention to volunteer in a political campaign was predicted by the perceived efficacy of volunteering, the perceived relevance of the election and the attitude towards volunteering, which was predicted by the belief that volunteering would be fun. Qualitative answers additionally indicated that the attitude towards the party also plays a role in the decision to volunteer. Based on these findings an intervention was developed that aimed at mobilizing party members to participate in a door-to-door canvassing campaign. This was done by randomly assigning 8000 new party members to four groups, with each group receiving a differently framed mail. It was found that the mail with the frame ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’ elicited significantly more clicks to the registration website than the ‘Core values of the party’ frame and the mail with a combination of both frames, but not significantly more clicks than the mail without any framing. These results indicate that parties should try to highlight the characteristics of the volunteering activity that are perceived as being ‘fun’ instead of their core values when mobilizing their party members.

Keywords: Political participation, volunteering, mobilisation.

Getting Out the People to Get Out the Vote – Expecting Fun Mobilizes Party Members to Volunteer in Political Campaigns

Political participation can take many forms: one can not only run for or hold an office, but also take part in demonstrations, sign petitions, donate money, join a party, share political content online, volunteer in a political campaign, and, of course, vote. Although there are so many possibilities to actively participate in and shape politics, many people only take part in the most basic act of democracy, namely voting (Theocharis, & van Deth, 2018). Although many people feel like they lack effective means to voice their preferences in political decision making (Katsanidou & Eder, 2018), most of them do not take part in forms of participation that allow for more impact than voting. In Germany, although 76.2% of the citizens voted in the last national election (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2018), only 1.3% are party members (Statista Research Departement, 2019).

The low rate of participation is not only disadvantageous for citizens who miss the opportunity to make their voice heard, but also for parties and other political organisations, who need active members to realize the political work at the basis and to take part in political campaigning (Matuschek, Lange, & Niesyto, 2016). We therefore need to understand why people participate in political campaigns in order to be able to work towards a higher number of citizens taking actively part in politics.

The question what drives political participation has been examined in political science and sociology (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995; Dalton, 2017; Scheufele, Nisbet, Brossard, & Nisbet, 2004; Vráblíková, 2014; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Carpini, 2006), but little research has investigated the motivation to participate in a political campaign from a sociopsychological point of view (for an exception, see Smith, 1994). Even less research looked at factors that are susceptible to change. More knowledge on these factors would enable parties to act on them in order to increase participation.

Therefore, this paper aims at better understanding these factors by first examining which motivations underlie political participation and subsequently testing which techniques can be used to mobilize party members to volunteer in political campaigns. This will be done in the context of the door-to-door-canvassing campaign of the German Green party for the European elections in 2019. As people who are not interested in politics are very unlikely to have any motivation to volunteer for a party or organization (Vedlitz and Veblen, 1980), this paper only looks at people with a certain degree of interest in politics.

Motivations to participate in political campaigns

The decision to become active and participate is the result of different motivations and considerations. First, the likelihood to act and participate is influenced by the intention to volunteer for a political campaign (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Quintelier & Blais, 2015; Sheeran, 2002). If one does not intend to participate in a campaign, one will be unlikely to end up volunteering. The intention to take part in a political campaign is expected to stem from four factors, namely one's attitude towards the party or organisation that is campaigning and its values (Clary et al., 1989; Smith, 1994), the attitude towards volunteering (Ajzen, 1991), the perceived relevance of the election (Losier, & Koestner, 1999), and the belief that volunteering can make a difference, thus the belief in efficacy (Bandura, 2010; Kenski, & Stroud, 2006).

Attitude towards party or organisation. The first factor that impacts whether someone intends to volunteer in a political campaign is whether he or she has a positive attitude towards the party or organisation that is campaigned for (Clary et al., 1998). One factor that impacts this attitude is the strength to which someone believes in the core values of the party or organisation. If someone does not agree with what a party or organisation stands for, why should he/she campaign for them? Thus, for someone to intend to volunteer in a campaign, he or she needs to actually see a cause to campaign for (Butt, Hou, Soomro, & Acquadro Maran, 2017).

Attitude towards volunteering. The second factor that influences the intention to participate politically is the positive attitude towards volunteering (Ajzen, 1991). Although people want to support causes they believe in, they also want to have a good time doing so (Karl, Peluchette & Hall, 2008; Matuschek et al., 2016). If someone thinks that, for example, door-to-door-canvassing is an activity that is boring, exhausting and full of encounters with unfriendly people, he or she will be very unlikely to participate in door-to-door-canvassing. But if door-to-door-canvassing seems like something interesting to fill your afternoon with and that enables you to have meaningful encounters and discussions with other citizens, you are much more likely to give it a try.

The positive attitude towards a certain kind of volunteering is not only affected by the belief that it is 'fun' to take part in it, but also by the extent to which it is a social activity (Butt et al., 2017; Dunn, Chambers, & Hyde, 2016). People have the need to belong to a group (Baumeister, & Leary, 1995) and the strong desire to create social bonds with other people (Cialdini, 2001). Therefore, activities where you expect to meet new people and become part of a group of likeminded others are more attractive than activities you do on your own (Bocsi, Fényes, & Markos, 2017). Thus, when you expect door-to-door-canvassing to

happen in a team, your attitude about it is likely much more positive than when you expect that you have to go alone.

Another factor which might affect the attitude towards volunteering is whether it is socially desirable to participate in a political campaign. People tend to adhere to what others expect them to do (Cialdini, & Trost, 1998). The 'injunctive norm' (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990) concerning political volunteering, thus whether relevant others expect you to and approve of volunteering in a political campaign, might therefore be a powerful factor influencing the attitude towards volunteering (Law, Shek, & Ma, 2011).

The last factor that might have an impact on one's attitude towards volunteering is whether one expects to get career advantages out of it (Handy et al., 2010), either because one strives for a political mandate or because one expects to learn skills that could be useful in one's job. When people expect participation to be beneficial for them, their attitude towards it will be more positive (Klandermans, 1984).

Perceived relevance of the election. The third factor that might influence whether someone intends to volunteer for a political campaign is the perceived relevance of the election (Losier, & Koestner, 1999). People tend to be more involved when something has a personal relevance to them (Hollander, 2007). If someone has the perception that the election and the outcome are not important and will not have any impact on his/her life, the perceived need to do something about it and change the outcome will be much smaller (Franklin, 2002). Therefore, also the intention to volunteer in a campaign trying to impact the election outcome will be smaller than when someone expects the election to have impactful consequences on his/her life.

The perceived relevance of the election might not only influence the intention to volunteer directly but might also have a moderating impact on the relation between the attitude towards a party and the intention to volunteer. If someone is strongly connected to the core values of a party, but feels like the election does not matter, he/she will probably not stand up for his/her values by volunteering, because he/she does not see the point in it. On the other hand, if the election is perceived as very important and crucial for the future, someone with a strong party-connection will probably be much more likely to volunteer in the campaign leading up to that election (Arceneaux & Nickerson, 2009).

Perceived efficacy of volunteering. The fourth factor is the belief that volunteering can actually make a difference, thus the perceived efficacy of volunteering (Bandura, 2010; Kenski, & Stroud, 2006). If someone has the feeling that, no matter how many doorbells he/she rings, it will never have any impact on the outcome of the election, he/she will

probably not intend to take the time to do this seemingly pointless work. But if he/she thinks that knocking on doors is a powerful tool to influence an election outcome this will likely translate into a higher intention to use that tool.

The perceived efficacy might not only influence the intention to volunteer directly, but also indirectly, by having an effect on the attitude towards volunteering. If volunteering is expected to work, one will likely have a more positive attitude towards it than when it is considered ineffective (Beets, Flay, Vuchinich, Acock, Li, & Allred, 2008). Therefore, the attitude towards volunteering might mediate the effect of the perceived efficacy of volunteering on the intention to volunteer.

From intention to behaviour. The four factors described above all have a positive impact on the intention to volunteer in a political campaign. But the intention to volunteer does not directly translate into the act of volunteering (Webb & Sheeran, 2006). This ‘intention-behaviour gap’ (Sheeran & Webb, 2016) can be explained by factors that hinder action although one generally wants to act. One important factor is the perception that one is not actually able to perform the behaviour one intends to exhibit (Ajzen, 1991; Bandura, 1977). For example, one might have the feeling of lacking the necessary skills to volunteer or not having the resources to spend a lot of time volunteering.

A model describing the motivations to volunteer

The above described processes and factors leading to the decision to volunteer in a political party or organisation have been put into a model (*Figure 1*). This study aims at testing whether the theoretical model described above holds (Study 1) and testing its implications in a real-life setting (Study 2).

Study 1 - Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed that investigated the underlying motivations to participate in a political campaign. As a questionnaire cannot reliably test whether someone who states to intend to volunteer in a political campaign will also go out and do so, the present study only looked at the factors predicting the intention to participate in political volunteering.

It is expected that this intention is predicted by someone’s attitude towards the party, the attitude towards volunteering, the belief in efficacy of volunteering and the perceived relevance of the election. The perceived relevance of the election is expected to mediate the effect of the attitude towards the party on the intention. Furthermore, the belief in efficacy of volunteering is expected to influence the intention to volunteer both directly and indirectly,

through the mediating factor attitude towards volunteering. The attitude towards volunteering is expected to be predicted by the belief that it would be a fun activity, the belief that it would be a social activity, the injunctive norm to volunteer and the belief that it would be beneficial for one's career.

Method

Participants

In the study 102 people participated, of which 10 were excluded due to terminating the questionnaire before the end, leaving 92 participants for analyses. Of the participants that were analysed 57 were women and 35 were men. Most of the participants (45.7%) fell in the age-range of 18-24 years, followed by 23.5% of the participants in the age-range of 25-35 years.

As the questionnaire was aimed at people generally interested in politics, participants were recruited via social media groups with political content and personal contacts. They were not reimbursed for participation and agreed to an informed consent before participating.

Measurements

The questionnaire consisted of 14 items (*Appendix A - B*). First the participant was asked whether he/she volunteered for a political party or organisation within the last six months, and if yes, how many hours per week. Second, there were two open question asking why he/she volunteers and what he/she likes best about it. These questions were only asked to people who indicated that they are already volunteering.

All following items consisted of statements or questions that were measured on a 5-point Likert scale. The scales ranged from 'I don't agree' (1) to 'I agree' (5) for statements and 'No' (1) to 'Yes' (5) for questions. The intention to volunteer for a political party or organisation was measured by asking participants to indicate to what extent they could imagine participating in ten different kinds of political volunteering, such as joining working groups, hanging posters or signing petitions.

To investigate underlying motivations to volunteer, participants had to indicate to what extent they agreed with ten statements (ex. 'I believe that political volunteering can really make a difference'), of which some were reverted. The statements were constructed to tap into the factors included in the model.

Most of the factors were measured by one item, except for the factors 'Believe in efficacy of volunteering', 'Perceived relevance of volunteering', and 'Intention to volunteer'. For these factors, a mean-score was calculated.

Furthermore, the perceived relevance of the upcoming European elections was assessed (ex. ‘The EU and the decisions of the European Parliament are influential on my daily life.’), as well as the general belief in the efficacy of voting (ex. ‘Voting gives me the opportunity to influence politics’). Finally, the intention to vote in the European elections was measured and it was asked whether the participant voted in the last elections.

The last five questions investigated the demographic background of the participants.

Data-analyses

First, descriptives were attained for all relevant variables.

To test the model described above, several analyses were conducted. First, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to test whether the independent variables ‘belief in the efficacy of volunteering’, ‘attitude towards volunteering’, ‘attitude towards a party’ and ‘perceived relevance of the election’ predicted the dependent variable ‘intention to volunteer’. The variable ‘intention to volunteer’ consisted of the mean-score of a participant’s intention to participate in the 10 different kinds of volunteering possibilities mentioned in the questionnaire.

In the next step, a mediation analysis was conducted to check for a possible mediating effect of the ‘attitude towards volunteering’ on the relation between ‘belief in the efficacy of volunteering’ and ‘intention to volunteer’, using the PROCESS add-on in SPSS, model 4 (Hayes, 2017).

Following, a moderation analysis making use of Process, model 1, was conducted to investigate whether the ‘perceived relevance of the election’ moderated the effect of ‘attitude towards a party’ on ‘intention to volunteer’.

Finally, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to investigate the influence of the independent variables ‘belief that volunteering is fun’, ‘belief in efficacy of volunteering’, ‘belief that volunteering is social’, ‘injunctive norm to volunteer’ and ‘belief in career advantages through volunteering’ on the dependent variable ‘attitude towards volunteering’.

To add some qualitative methods to the research, the questions to the open answers ‘Why do you participate in political campaigns’ and ‘What do you like best about political volunteering?’ were examined exploratorily by clustering them into categories and counting how often the different categories were mentioned. The answers were used to check whether they backed up the new model emerging from the quantitative results.

Results

Descriptives for all relevant variables can be found in Table 1.

A multiple regression was conducted to investigate whether the perceived relevance of the election, the belief in the efficacy of volunteering, the attitude towards volunteering and the attitude towards a party predicted the intention to volunteer. It was found that these variables together predict a significant amount of the variance in intention to volunteer, $F(4, 87) = 26.37, p < .000, R^2 = .55, R^2_{\text{Adjusted}} = .53$. When looking at the variables separately, attitude towards a party surprisingly did not significantly predict the intention to volunteer ($\beta = .01, t(87) = 0.08, p = .938$), whereas as hypothesized the perceived relevance of the election ($\beta = .19, t(87) = 2.49, p = .015$), the belief in the efficacy of volunteering ($\beta = .17, t(87) = 2.02, p = .047$), and the attitude towards volunteering ($\beta = .58, t(87) = 6.85, p < .000$) did significantly predict the intention to volunteer, with the attitude towards volunteering having the strongest impact on the intention.

To test whether the attitude towards volunteering mediates the effect of the belief in efficacy of volunteering on the intention to volunteer, a mediation analysis was conducted. As expected, there was not only a significant direct effect of the perceived efficacy of volunteering on the intention to volunteer, $b = .17, p = .024$, but also a significant indirect effect of the perceived efficacy of volunteering on the intention through the attitude towards volunteering, $b = .24, \text{BCa CI } [0.14, 0.36]$. This indicates that someone's attitude towards volunteering mediates the relationship between the perceived efficacy and the intention. Thus, if someone thinks that volunteering is effective, his/her attitude towards it becomes more positive and therefore he/she is more likely to intend to volunteer.

A moderation analysis was conducted to investigate whether the perceived relevance of an election moderates the effect of the attitude towards a party on the intention to volunteer. Against expectations, no significant moderation effect of the perceived relevance of an election on the effect of attitude towards a party on the intention to volunteer was found, ($\beta = -.34, t(88) = -0.52, p = .601$).

Finally, a multiple regression was conducted to predict the attitude towards volunteering based on the injunctive norm to volunteer, the expectation that volunteering would be fun, the belief in efficacy of volunteering, the expectation to meet new people while volunteering, and the expectation that volunteering would be advantageous for your career. Using the enter method it was found that these variables together explain a significant amount of the variance in the attitude towards volunteering, $F(5, 86) = 24.05, p < .000, R^2 = .58, R^2_{\text{Adjusted}} = .56$. When looking at the five predictor variables separately, only the expectation that volunteering would be fun significantly predicted the attitude towards volunteering ($\beta = .57, t(86) = 6.01, p < .000$), whereas the injunctive norm to volunteer ($\beta = .09, t(86) = 1.17, p$

= .245), the expectation to meet new people while volunteering ($\beta = .141$, $t(86) = 1.61$, $p = .111$), the belief in efficacy of volunteering ($\beta = .106$, $t(86) = 1.34$, $p = .183$), and the expectation that volunteering would be advantageous for your career ($\beta = .08$, $t(86) = 1.15$, $p = .253$) did not significantly predict the attitude towards volunteering.

Exploratory qualitative analysis revealed that of the 33 participants who volunteered in a political party within the last six months 12 participants could be categorized as doing so because of sharing core values with a party, 11 participants because they wanted to change something and three participants because of believing it to be fun or because of meeting new people. When looking at what they enjoyed the most about volunteering, the answers looked slightly different, with only one person stating to enjoy the core values of the party most, five stating that they enjoyed changing something and 21 participants saying they liked the social contact and the team-work most.

Discussion

The results indicate that the model explaining the intention to volunteer for a political party or organisation holds, although some effects were not confirmed. Therefore, an improved model was developed that takes the findings of the questionnaire into account (*Figure 2*).

When looking at the quantitative results, the intention to volunteer is predicted by only three factors, namely the perceived efficacy of volunteering, the attitude towards volunteering and the perceived relevance of the election. Against expectations, the attitude towards a party was not able to predict the intention to volunteer when looking at the regression analysis. But, when taking the answers to the open question ‘Why do you volunteer?’ into account, the picture looks quite different, with 36.4% of already volunteering participants stating to do so because they want to support the cause of a party. Apparently, although many people volunteer because they want to support the core values of a party, the attitude towards a party is not a predictor of the intention to volunteer. Thus, although some of the people who have a positive attitude towards a party do volunteer, some people with a positive attitude do not volunteer. Another explanation might be that people claim to volunteer because of the core values of the party although actually other factors influenced that decision. This could be a case of social desirability (Stocke & Stark, 2007), as people might think that political engagement should stem from standing in for values instead of wanting to have fun. Furthermore, it was also not found that the perceived relevance of an election moderated the effect of the attitude towards the party on the intention to volunteer.

When looking at the predictors of the attitude towards volunteering, it was confirmed that the expectation that volunteering would be fun is able to predict the attitude towards volunteering. Although the expectation that volunteering would be a social activity was not significant in predicting the intention, the qualitative analysis showed that participants who volunteer value the social contacts and the team work most about volunteering. Apparently, when considering to volunteer people underestimate the effect of socializing during an activity on how much they like the activity.

As the factors ‘injunctive norm to volunteer’ and ‘belief in career advantages through volunteering’ did not significantly predict the intention to volunteer, they will not be included in the updated model. An explanation, why the injunctive norm to volunteer did not influence the intention might be that politics are considered a field where differing opinions are expected and tolerated (Sullivan & Transue, 1999), therefore injunctive norms might be less powerful here. The belief in career advantages might also be of little influence in the field of politics as many party members, especially new members, do not aspire to hold an office, but to actively shape society (Simonson, Vogel, & Tesch-Römer, 2016).

Taking these findings together, the results indicate that the intention to volunteer in a political campaign is predicted by the belief in efficacy of volunteering, the perceived relevance of the election and strongly by someone’s positive attitude towards volunteering, which in turn was predicted by the expectation that volunteering would be fun. The qualitative part of the study indicated that people who volunteer often do so to support the core value of the party. Also, they enjoyed social contact and team work most about volunteering. These factors should therefore always be considered in addition to the new model when talking about motives to volunteer.

Study 2 – Intervention

How can the findings gathered in the previous study be used to actually mobilize people to participate in political campaigns? To investigate this question, a second study tested how party members could be activated via e-mail to take part in door-to-door canvassing.

Study 1 showed that the attitude towards volunteering, predicted by the belief that volunteering would be fun, is a strong predictor of the intention to volunteer, whereas the attitude towards the party is not. Still, parties often use their core values to mobilize members to participate. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate whether framing a request to participate in a door-to-door canvassing in terms of ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’ is more

effective in mobilizing party members than framing the request in terms of ‘Core values of the party’. Framing can be described as using certain words to put something in a certain context, which then gives rise to certain implicit associations and through this steers the interpretation into a certain direction (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981).

A framing intervention to mobilize party members

The present study tested which of the two frames mentioned above is more effective in mobilizing party members to volunteer. New party members were sent an e-mail with the request to participate in door-to-door canvassing. Two groups were sent a mail with one of the two above discussed frames each, one group received a mail with the combination of both frames and one group received a mail without framing. All mails contained a link to a registration form. Mobilization was measured by comparing the click-rates of the four mails.

Based on the results of Study 1 it was hypothesized that the mail with the framing ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’ would be more effective than the mail with the framing ‘Core values of the party’. Furthermore, it was expected that the mail without the frame would be less effective in mobilizing party members than the other three mails. No hypothesis is made with regard to whether the mail with the combination would work better or worse than using a single frame only.

Method

Participants

In total 8000 people participated in the study. There were 3491 women and 4489 males and 20 people who identified as divers. The participants were randomly selected out of the 24720 people that joined the party since 1st of January 2017. The intervention targeted new members as these are often quite motivated to take part but have not really found their place in the party yet. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups, each consistent of 2000 participants. The groups were comparable regarding mean age and gender distribution. As the study was a real-life observation, participants were not aware that they took part in the study. Therefore, no reimbursement was offered, and participants did not sign informed consents.

Procedure

Four different e-mails were sent, each e-mail to one group. The e-mails were sent from the mail account of the executive director of the party to enhance opening rates. In all four e-mails, participants were informed about door-to-door canvassing possibilities and were asked to find a door-to-door-action near them by clicking on a link that directed them to an

overview-map with the possibility to register for a door-to-door canvassing event. Bitly.com was used to register how many people in each group clicked on the link in the mail.

Framing. The four e-mails differed in the framing used to convince the readers. The first mail, with the frame 'Door-to-door canvassing is fun', highlighted that door-to-door-canvassing is a fun activity, that it is efficient, and that you get to know a lot of other party members and become part of a team. The second mail, with the frame 'Core values of the party', stated in a few sentences what the Green party is fighting for in the upcoming election. The third mail featured a combination of both frames, to test whether using both frames would mobilize even stronger than one frame alone. The fourth and last mail did not contain any relevant frame and functioned as a control-mail, to check whether using frames is actually more effective than not using frames. For the exact wording of the four mails, see Appendix D and E.

Other targeted factors. As this study aims at developing a mail that achieves an as high as possible mobilization result, other factors that showed to be influential on the intention to volunteer in Study 1 were targeted in all four mails.

The relevance of the upcoming elections was emphasised by stating that the danger of right-wing and anti-European parties taking over the European parliament is greater than ever.

Although not measured in Study 1, the belief that volunteering is easy and 'doable', is an important factor in promoting the translation of intention into behaviour (Bandura, 1977; Sniehotta, Scholz, & Schwarzer, 2005). To close the gap between intention and behaviour, it was stated in the mails that participation in door-to-door-canvassing is very easy and uncomplicated. Furthermore, it was emphasised that it is a short-term commitment. To account for the fact that many people think they do not have enough knowledge about the party to do door-to-door-canvassing, this fear was acknowledged and immediately refuted. Studies show that acknowledging and thereby validating reservations or resistance to comply has a strong effect on increasing compliance (Werner, Stoll, & Birch, 2002).

Additionally, self-efficacy was evoked by stating that door-to-door-canvassing is not about having long discussions, but more about reminding people of the election and leaving a positive impression. Through this, readers were expected to think 'that is not that hard, I am actually able to do that'. The feeling that one is able to perform an action makes the translation of an intention into a behaviour much more likely (Sniehotta et al., 2005).

Additional Techniques. Apart from the above described methods, several behavioural change techniques were implemented in all four e-mails. These techniques did not target specific factors but aimed at increasing overall click-rates.

All texts were written in mobilizing language, thus with short, simple sentences, using active words instead of passive ones and with direct requests to act. Furthermore, the wording of the party was used as much as possible, so that people recognize it. People tend to like something more if they have a sense of familiarity about it (Hansen & Wänke, 2009).

The e-mail started with the question ‘Do you really want to make a difference and renew Europe?’. This question implicates that this is the case, so hardly nobody will say ‘no’. Through this, the reader is placed in the role of someone who wants to change Europe and become active, a technique called ‘manded altercasting’ (Miller, Brickman, & Bolen, 1975). To adhere to the role, one has to comply with the request and volunteer in the political campaign.

Furthermore, commitment is evoked by answering the question with ‘yes’. The fact that this is a rhetorical question might support this effect, as people automatically answer with ‘yes’ to a rhetorical question. If someone says ‘yes’ once, he or she is much more likely to comply with a subsequent request (Burger, 1999). People have the need to be consistent in their thoughts and actions, thus if someone says that he/she wants to change Europe but refuses to take the necessary actions to do so, this would evoke cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance is the uncomfortable feeling of not acting congruent with one’s thoughts or feelings, which people strive to avoid (Festinger, 1962). Therefore, if someone answers this question with ‘yes’, he/she will probably want to be consistent with this commitment and comply with the request to volunteer.

Also, the call to action was very prominent, appearing twice in the mail (once in the middle and once in the end), written in bold letters and in direct, active words that requested to perform a concrete action. Clicking on it directly referred to a website where one could register for door-to-door-campaigning.

In Appendix C the techniques are indicated in the mail-texts.

Data-analyses

First, descriptives were attained for the click-rates of the four groups.

To investigate whether the four mails had different effects on the click-rates of potential volunteers, a Nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis Test with ‘Frame used’ as independent variable and ‘Click behaviour’ as dependent variable was conducted. To investigate which of the mails differed from each other, post hoc pairwise comparisons were employed.

To compare not only the four mails with each other, but also examine whether clicking on the mail could be predicted by the use of the two frames, a binary logistic regression with a 2x2 design was conducted with ‘Clicked’ (yes/no) as dependent variable and the variables

‘Door-to-door is fun frame included in mail’ (yes/no) and ‘Core values of party frame included in mail’ (yes/no) as predictors. A visualisation of the design can be found in Figure 3.

Results

The number of clicks and percentages for all four mails can be found in Table 2.

The Kruskal-Wallis Test revealed that click-rates were significantly affected by the frame someone received in the mail, $H(3) = 13.42, p = .004$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed that there were no significant differences in click-rates for people receiving the ‘No Framing’ mail compared to people receiving the ‘Door-to-door is fun’ mail ($p = 1.000, r = .01$), people receiving the ‘Green values’ mail ($p = .421, r = -.03$), and people receiving the ‘Combination’ mail ($p = .142, r = -.04$). There were also no significant differences in clicking behaviour between those receiving the ‘Green values’ mail and those receiving the ‘Combination’ mail ($p = 1.000, r = .01$). However, significant differences in clicking behaviour were found for people receiving the ‘Door-to-Door is fun’ mail compared to people receiving the ‘Green values’ mail ($p = .040, r = .04$) and compared to people receiving the ‘Combination’ mail ($p = .009, r = .05$).

Thus, using a ‘Door-to-door is fun’ frame is more effective in mobilizing party members than using a ‘Green values’ frame or a combination of both, but not more effective than using no frame at all.

The logistic regression showed that inclusion of the frame ‘Door-to-door is fun’ was not able to significantly predict whether someone clicked on the link or not ($p = .749$). Thus, receiving a mail that included this frame did not increase the chances of clicking on the link in comparison to receiving a mail that did not include this frame. Inclusion of the frame ‘Core values of the party’ significantly predicted click-behaviour, but with a negative direction ($OR = 0.72, CI [0.60, 0.86], p < .001$). Thus, receiving a mail that included this frame significantly lowered the chances of clicking on the link in comparison to receiving a mail that did not contain this frame. These results confirm that the frame ‘Core values of the party’ is less effective in mobilizing party members than the frame ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’.

Discussion

The first question this study tried to answer was whether one of the two frames ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’ and ‘Core values of the party’ is superior in mobilizing party members to sign up for door-to-door canvassing. The results showed that the ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’ frame was indeed significantly more effective than the ‘Core values of the party’ frame. Apparently, people are more motivated to participate in a political campaign

when they have a positive image of the volunteering itself than when they have a positive image of the party. This finding is in line with the model that was developed in Study 1 which found that someone's positive attitude towards political volunteering was predictive of the intention to participate in a political campaign, whereas someone's positive attitude towards a party was not. The present study shows that this is not only the case when people are asked about it theoretically in a questionnaire, but also in real-life situations.

This finding is quite surprising, as political participation is expected as something that stems from political values and beliefs, not from the desire to have fun. Politics are seen as serious, and political participation is often framed as 'civic duty' (Moeller, Kühne, & De Vreese, 2018). The idea that politics and participation could also be enjoyed is often perceived as a threat to this important and serious business (Thiel & Ertio, 2017). Therefore, parties often do not even consider trying to mobilize their members by highlighting the fun parts of volunteering, apparently at high costs. The present results indicate that communicating that political participation has many fun aspects is very promising when mobilizing party members to volunteer.

An alternative explanation for this effect might be that the mail was received by party members who should already have a positive attitude towards the party. Making the core values of the party salient might therefore not have been able to increase the attitude towards the party, as it was already high. Party members do not have to be convinced anymore of the 'why', but of the 'how' of volunteering, which is what the 'Door-to-door is fun' frame does.

Second, this study asked whether framing the request in terms of 'Door-to-door is fun' and/or in terms of 'Core values of the party' would be more effective in mobilizing members than not making use of these frames. The results showed that, different from what was expected, no significant differences were found between the click-rates for the mail without the frame and any of the three mails using frames. Apparently, using framing in a mail is not more effective in mobilizing party members to participate in door-to-door canvassing than not using frames. It might be that, although framing might have had an effect, another confounding variable concealed this effect. A factor which might have this effect is the length of the mails. The framing-mails had additional text-blocks containing the frame, making them longer than the mails without a frame. Earlier research found that short mails achieved higher response rates than long mails (Rettie & Chittenden, 2003).

Finally, it was investigated whether using a combination of both frames would be more effective than only using one frame. The results indicate that although the 'Combination' frame did not differ in effectiveness from the 'Core values of the party' frame,

it did work significantly less well than the 'Door-to-door canvassing is fun' frame. Apparently, not concentrating on one motivation to volunteer but highlighting two does not lead to more mobilization. It might also be the case that in the 'Combination' frame one of the two frames, probably the 'Door-to-door canvassing is fun' frame, had a mobilizing effect, but that the other frame had a demobilizing effect. For example, it might be that as the mail was sent during election campaign times participants did not only receive that mail, but also several others, all talking about green values in one or another way. Therefore, it might be the case that participants were 'overfed' with green values and therefore were demobilized by them.

Also, another explanation could be that again the length of the mail is an important factor, as the mail with the frame combination had two additional text-blocks incorporated, one for each frame. As explained above are short mails often more effective in eliciting clicks than long mails (Rettie & Chittenden, 2003).

Taking these results together, the present study shows that someone's positive attitude towards a volunteering activity is a stronger mobilization factor than someone's positive attitude towards the party, at least when speaking of members of that party. When people expect that participating in a political party would be a fun a social activity, they are thus much more motivated to take part in it than when they think that the core values of the party are very important. Furthermore, the results show that using frames in mobilizing emails is not always more effective than not using frames. When the chosen frame does not address the right factors in the recipients, it can even be less effective to use that frame than not to use it. This indicates that when mobilizing members, parties should rather use frames that increase the positive attitude towards the volunteering activity they are mobilizing for, such as the 'Door-to-door canvassing is fun' frame, than frames that increase the positive attitude towards the party, such as the 'Core values of the party' frame. Furthermore, they should refrain from using a combination of frames.

When looking at the results, it seems like overall click-rates are quite low. This impression rises from the fact that in the analysis all sent mails are taken into account, whereas not all mails were opened and read. As a mailing list similar to the one used in this mail and send from the same mail-address has an average opening rate of 30%, it can be assumed that each of the four different mails was opened by about 600 people. When considering this opening rate, click-rates range between 17.5% and 25.6%. These click-rates are very high, as the average click-rate for e-mail marketing is about 3.7% (GetResponse, 2017), a number that was confirmed by a research looking at mailings from a nonprofit

organization (Munz, Kung, & Alter, 2018). Apparently, the tested mails were highly effective in eliciting clicks, indicating that the additional techniques were able to mobilize members.

An important limitation concerning the results is that this study only measured click-rates, thus if someone clicked on the link in the mail that lead to the registration-website for door-to-door canvassing. Due to data protection policies it could not be measured whether people proceeded to register and whether they then also appeared at the event. The present study thus only measured verbal compliance, and not behavioural compliance. As verbal compliance rates are often higher than behavioural compliance rates (Feeley, Anker, & Aloe, 2012), it might be the case that many people complied verbally by clicking on the link, but subsequently did not follow through with behavioural compliance, thus participating in the event. Future studies should therefore examine whether the findings that were obtained in the present study can be replicated when looking at action-rates instead of click-rates.

Furthermore, it would be interesting for future research to investigate whether similar results can be found when looking at party sympathizers instead of party members. It might be the case that with sympathizers the ‘Core values’ frame might be more effective than the ‘Volunteering is fun’ frame, as they are presumably less convinced of the values of the parties than party members. It might be the case that before an attitude towards a specific volunteering action is formed, the attitude towards the party needs to be sufficiently positive to even consider volunteering for them. As in the present study all participants were party members and therefore already had a positive attitude towards the party, this effect might not be visible in the present results but might be found when also taking non-party members into account.

The findings of the present study show that parties should rather try to talk about how fun it is to participate in a political campaign than highlighting the values that stand behind this campaign when mobilizing members to volunteer. This might be quite challenging for parties, as they often see politics and campaigning as serious business that is about content, not about fun. Nevertheless, taking a new stance at mobilizing by showing members that it is actually also fun to participate in political campaigns might be very beneficial for parties and could be a big step in the direction of more participation in politics and democracy.

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Tables

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations (SD) of the Variables Relevant to the Model

Variable	Mean	SD
Intention to volunteer in political campaign	3.16	0.86
Intention to join working groups	3.34	1.50
Intention to join open discussions	2.94	1.39
Intention to hang posters	3.19	1.46
Intention to hand out flyers	2.84	1.45
Intention to help at information booths	2.83	1.45
Intention to join door-to-door canvassing	2.07	1.39
Intention to participate in demonstrations	3.87	1.25
Intention to sign petitions	4.34	0.93
Intention to share content online	3.34	1.30
Intention to donate	2.82	1.34
Perceived efficacy of volunteering	3.80	0.94
Perceived relevance of election	4.37	0.91
Positive attitude towards party	3.78	1.39
Positive attitude towards volunteering	3.51	1.62
Perceived injunctive norm to volunteer	4.07	1.04
Belief that volunteering is a social activity	4.24	0.93
Belief that volunteering is fun	3.99	1.07
Belief that volunteering is beneficial for career	3.10	1.25

Note. Answers were given on a Likert-Scale from 1 (I do not agree) to 5 (I agree).

Table 2

Number of Clicks, and Percentage of People That Clicked on the Link per Frame.

Frame	Number of clicks	Percentage
Door-to-door canvassing is fun	154	7.7%
Core values of the party	112	5.6%
Combination of frame	105	5.25%
No frame	140	7%

Note. Each frame was received by 2000 people. The percentage indicates the percentage of these people who clicked on the link.

Figures

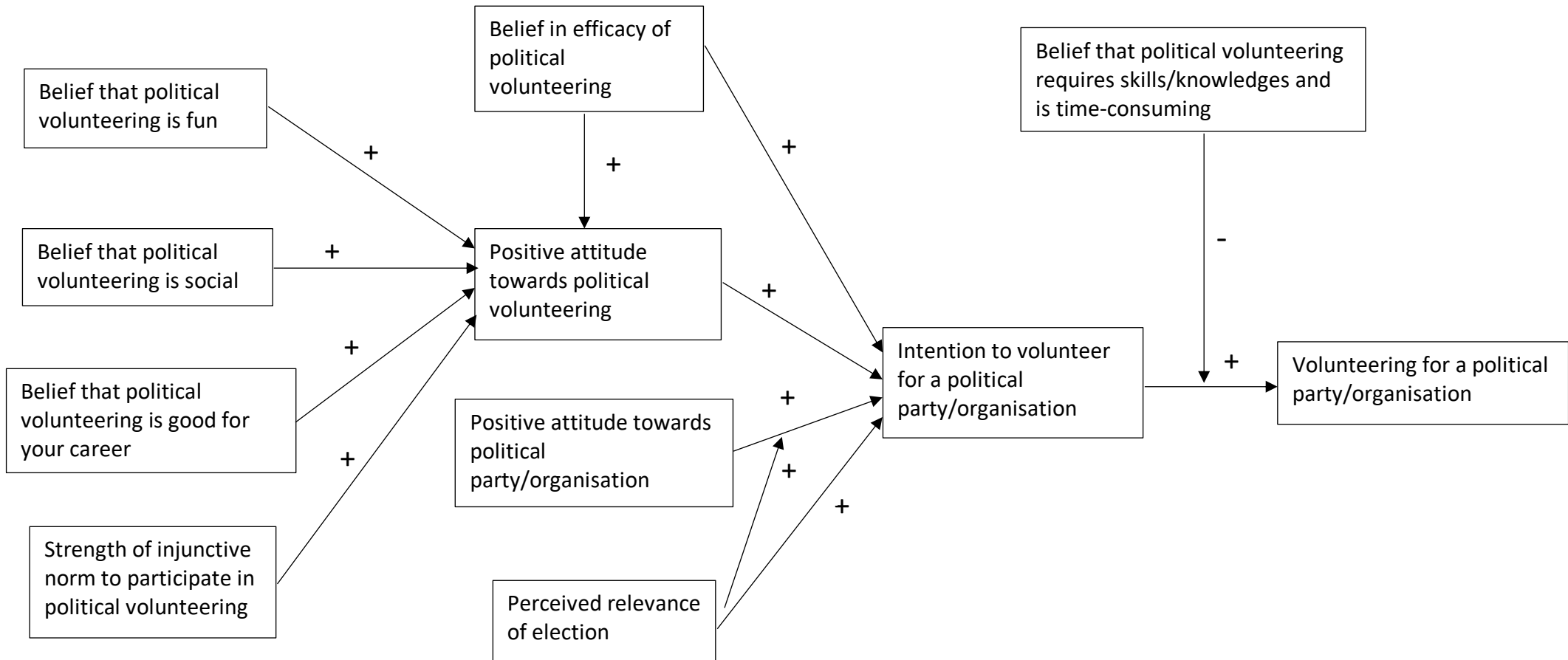


Figure 1. Theoretical model explaining the decision to volunteer in a political party/organization.

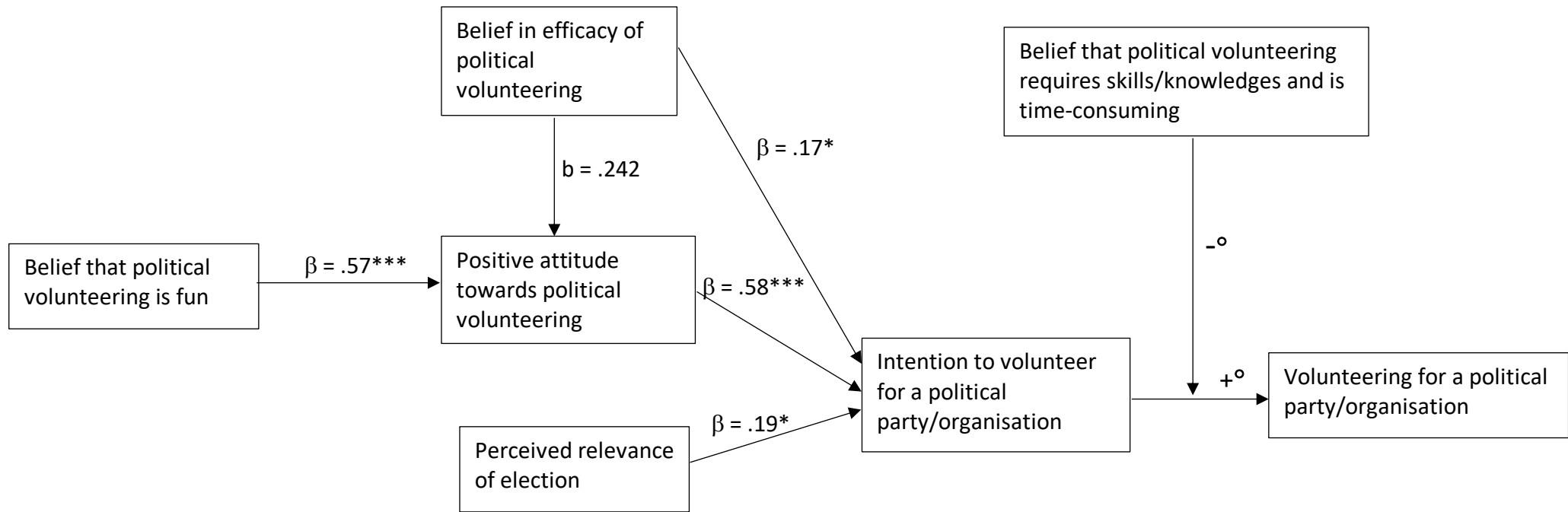


Figure 2. Updated and tested model describing the decision to volunteer in a political party/organisation.
 *p < .05. ** p < .01. ***p < .001. ° Relation not tested in questionnaire but found in literature research.

		'Door-to-door is fun' frame included in mail	
		Yes	No
'Core values of the party' frame included in mail	Yes	Mail 'Combination'	Mail 'Core values of the party'
	No	Mail 'Door-to-door is fun'	Mail 'No framing'

Figure 3. A visualisation of the 2x2 design used in the logistic regression. The figure shows which mails correspond to the different combinations of the two predictor variables 'Door-to-door is fun' frame included in mail' and 'Core values of the party frame included in mail'.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Questionnaire Study 1 - English

Thank you for taking part in this survey! For my master's thesis at Radboud University, I investigate political engagement, because the question of why people engage in politics is central to understanding how democracies work. That's why I want to hear your attitude, no matter whether you engage yourself or not!

Here are just a few statements in which you can specify how these statements apply to you. The survey takes a total of max. 5 minutes.

All your answers are processed anonymously. Since your participation is voluntary, you can of course stop at any time. For questions of any kind you can reach me at elisabeth.watzlawek@gmail.com.

By participating in the survey, you agree that you voluntarily participate and that your answers may be stored anonymously.

- I agree, start survey
- I disagree, poll will end.

I agree, start survey.

I disagree, end survey.

Skip To: End of Survey If Thank you for participating... = I disagree, end survey.

1. Have you volunteered for a party / political organization within the past six months?

Yes

No

Display This Question:

If Have you volunteered for a party / political organization... = Yes

2. How many hours a week do you volunteer in a party / political organization?

- Less than 1 hour
- 2-3 hours
- 4-6 hours
- 7-10 hours
- More than 10 hours

Display This Question:

If Have you volunteered for a party / political organization... = Yes

3. Why do you volunteer in a party / political organization?

Display This Question:

If Have you volunteered for a party / political organization... = Yes

4. What do you enjoy most about volunteering?

5. Would you volunteer in a party / political organization by ...

	No	Rather not	Neutral	Rather yes	Yes
... participating in working groups?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... joining an open discussion?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... hanging up posters?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... distributing flyers?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... helping at information booths?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... participating in door-to-door canvassing?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... participating in demonstrations?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... signing petitions?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... sharing content online?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... donating?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	I don't agree	I rather don't agree	Neutral	I rather agree	I agree
I do not have time for volunteering in a party / political organization.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that volunteering in a party / political organization can really make a difference.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do not feel like volunteering in a party / political organization.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is no party / political organization that reflects my political interests, that's why I do not volunteer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm interested in politics.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do not feel that volunteering in a party / political organization will help me to better assert my political views.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political involvement in party / political organization is not looked at positively in my circle of friends / family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that by volunteering in a party / political organization, I would meet new people with similar interests.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that volunteering in a party / political organization is fun.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Volunteering in a party / political organization gives me career benefits.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. Now a few general statements will follow. Please state to what extent you agree with the statements.

	I don't agree	I rather don't agree	Neutral	I rather agree	I agree
I intend to vote in the European elections in May.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The EU and the decisions of the European Parliament have an impact on my daily life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voting gives me the opportunity to influence politics.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I notice problems that are discussed in politics in my own life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. I voted in the last elections.

- Yes
- No
- No, I was too young.

10. I am...

- younger than 18
 - 18-24
 - 25-34
 - 35-44
 - 45-54
 - 55-65
 - older than 65
-

11. I am...

- male
 - female
 - divers
-

12. My highest level of education:

- Secondary school degree
- A-Levels
- Apprenticeship
- Bachelor
- Master
- Different, namely _____

13. I live...

... in the country

... in a city

14. I live...

... in one of the 'new' states

... in one of the 'old' states

... not in Germany

Thank you!

You made it, all questions are answered. If you still have questions, write me an email:
elisabeth.watzlawek@gmail.com.

Appendix B
Questionnaire Study 1 – Original in German

Vielen Dank, dass Du an dieser Umfrage teilnimmst! Für meine Masterarbeit an der Radboud Universität untersuche ich politisches Engagement, denn die Frage, warum sich Leute politisch engagieren, ist zentral, um zu verstehen, wie Demokratien funktionieren. Darum möchte ich auch Deine Einstellung dazu hören, ganz egal, ob du dich selbst engagierst oder nicht!

Es folgen gleich einige Aussagen, bei denen Du angeben kannst, inwiefern diese Aussagen auf Dich zutreffen. Die Umfrage dauert insgesamt max. 5 Minuten.

Alle Deine Antworten werden anonym verarbeitet. Da Deine Teilnahme freiwillig ist, kannst Du natürlich jederzeit stoppen. Für Fragen jeder Art kannst Du mich erreichen unter elisabeth.watzlawek@gmail.com.

Durch die Teilnahme an der Umfrage stimmst Du zu, dass Du freiwillig teilnimmst und dass Deine Antworten anonym gespeichert werden dürfen.

- Ich stimme zu, Umfrage beginnen
- Ich stimme nicht zu, Umfrage wird beendet

Skip To: End of Survey If Vielen Dank, dass Du an dieser Umfrage teilnimmst! Für meine Masterarbeit an der Radboud Universi... = Ich stimme nicht zu, Umfrage wird beendet

1. Hast du dich in den letzten sechs Monaten ehrenamtlich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation engagiert?

- Ja
 - Nein
-

Display This Question:

If Hast du dich in den letzten sechs Monaten ehrenamtlich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation e... = Ja

2. Wie viele Stunden pro Wochen engagierst du dich durchschnittlich ehrenamtlich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation?

- weniger als 1 Stunde
- 2-3 Stunden
- 4-6 Stunden
- 7-10 Stunden
- Mehr als 10 Stunden

Display This Question:

If Hast du dich in den letzten sechs Monaten ehrenamtlich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation e... = Ja

3. Warum engagierst du dich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation?

Display This Question:

If Hast du dich in den letzten sechs Monaten ehrenamtlich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation e... = Ja

4. Was macht dir bei deiner ehrenamtlichen Arbeit am meisten Spaß?

5. Würdest du dich ehrenamtlich in einer Partei/politischen Organisation engagieren, indem du...

	Nein	Eher nicht	Neutral	Eher ja	Ja
... an Arbeitsgruppen teilnimmst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... einen Stammtisch besuchst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... Plakate aufhängst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... Flyer verteilst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... Info-Stände betreust?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... bei Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf mitmachst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... an Demos teilnimmst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... Petitionen unterschreibst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... Inhalte online teilst?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... spendest?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. Inwiefern stimmst du folgenden Aussagen zu?

	Stimme nicht zu	Stimme eher nicht zu	Neutral	Stimme etwas zu	Stimme zu
Ich habe keine Zeit für ehrenamtliches Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich glaube, dass ehrenamtliches Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation wirklich etwas verändern kann.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich habe keine Lust auf ehrenamtliches Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es gibt keine Partei/politischen Organisation, die meine politischen Interessen widerspiegelt, darum engagiere ich mich nicht.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich interessiere mich für Politik.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich habe nicht das Gefühl, dass ich mit ehrenamtlichem Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation mein politischen Ansichten besser durchsetzen kann.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Politisches Engagement in Partei/politischen Organisation ist in meinem Freundeskreis/Familie nicht angesehen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich glaube, dass ich durch ehrenamtliches Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation neue Leute mit ähnlichen Interessen kennenlernen würde.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich glaube, dass ehrenamtliches Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation Spaß macht.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Ehrenamtliches Engagement in einer Partei/politischen Organisation bringt mir berufliche Vorteile.

8. Nun folgen noch ein paar allgemeine Aussagen. Bitte gib auch hier an, inwiefern du den Aussagen zustimmst.

	Stimme nicht zu	Stimme eher nicht zu	Neutral	Stimme etwas zu	Stimme zu
Ich habe vor, bei der Europawahl im Mai zu wählen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Die EU und die Entscheidungen des Europäischen Parlaments haben Einfluss auf mein tägliches Leben.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wählen zu gehen gibt mir die Möglichkeit, Einfluss auf die Politik auszuüben.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Probleme, die in der Politik diskutiert werden, merke ich auch in meinem eigenen Leben.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. Ich habe bei der letzten Wahl gewählt.

- Ja
 - Nein
 - Nein, ich war noch zu jung.
-

10. Ich bin...

- unter 18
 - 18-24
 - 25-34
 - 35-44
 - 45-54
 - 55-65
 - über 65
-

11. Ich bin...

- männlich
 - weiblich
 - divers
-

12. Mein höchster abgeschlossener Bildungsgrad:

- Hauptschulabschluss
- Realschulabschluss
- (Fach-)Abitur
- Ausbildung
- Bachelor
- Master
- Anders, nämlich _____

13. Ich wohne...

- ... eher ländlich
- ... eher städtisch

14. Ich wohne...

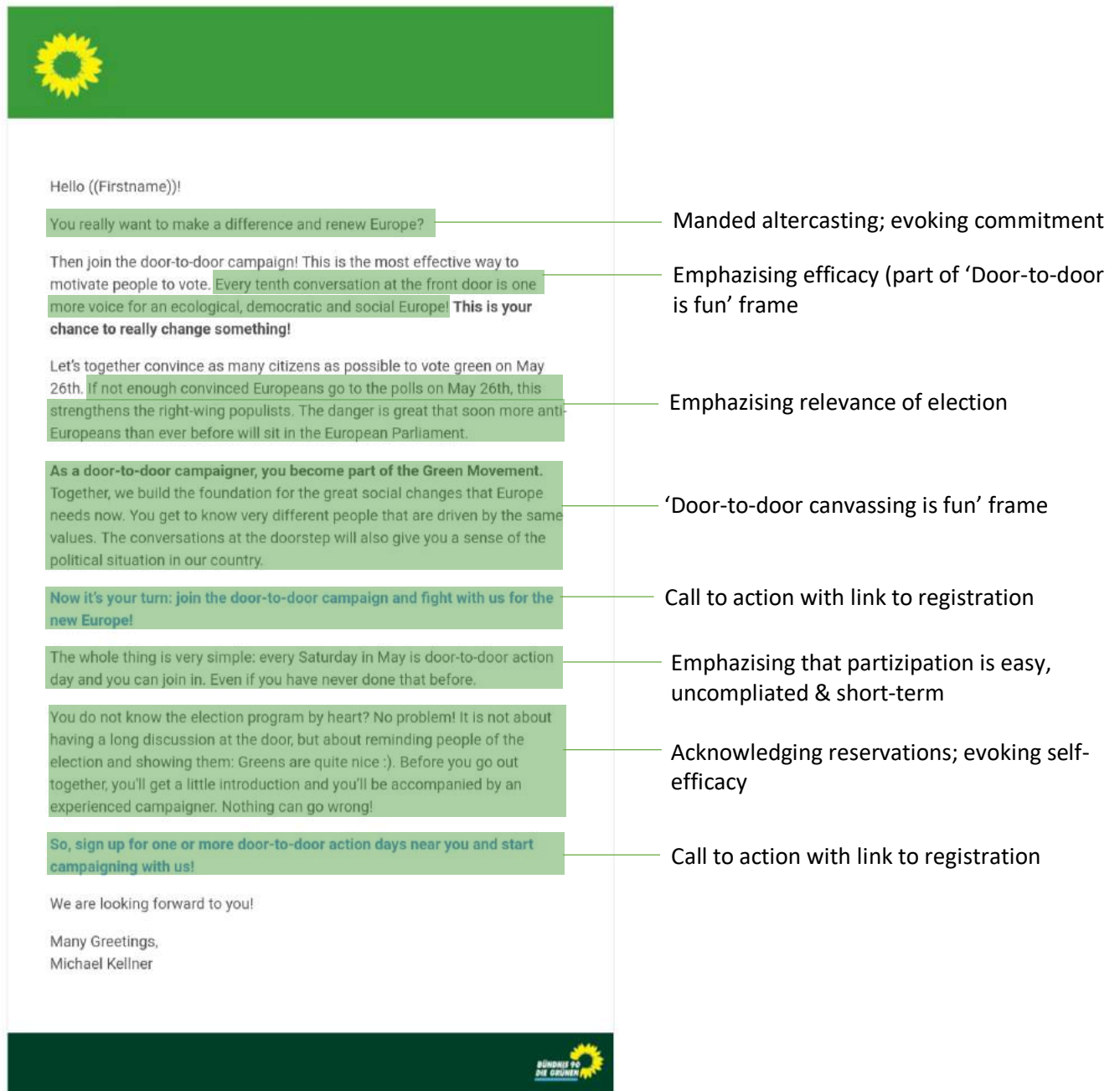
- ... in einem der 'neuen' Bundesländer
- ... in einem der 'alten' Bundesländer
- ... nicht in Deutschland

Danke!

Du hast es geschafft, alle Fragen sind beantwortet. Solltest du selbst noch Fragen haben, schreib mir doch eine Mail: elisabeth.watzlawek@gmail.com.

Appendix C


The behavioural change techniques used in the mails



The image shows a screenshot of an email from the Green Party. The email text is on the left, and on the right, several green boxes highlight specific phrases. Lines connect these boxes to descriptive text on the far right, identifying the behavioral change techniques used. The email content includes a personalized greeting, a question about making a difference, an invitation to a door-to-door campaign, a warning about the consequences of not voting, a description of the door-to-door experience, a call to action to join the campaign, a simplification of the task, an acknowledgment of potential concerns, and a final call to action to sign up for action days.

Annotations:

- Manded altercasting; evoking commitment** (linked to: "You really want to make a difference and renew Europe?")
- Emphasising efficacy (part of 'Door-to-door is fun' frame)** (linked to: "Every tenth conversation at the front door is one more voice for an ecological, democratic and social Europe!")
- Emphasising relevance of election** (linked to: "If not enough convinced Europeans go to the polls on May 26th, this strengthens the right-wing populists. The danger is great that soon more anti-Europeans than ever before will sit in the European Parliament.")
- 'Door-to-door canvassing is fun' frame** (linked to: "As a door-to-door campaigner, you become part of the Green Movement. Together, we build the foundation for the great social changes that Europe needs now. You get to know very different people that are driven by the same values. The conversations at the doorstep will also give you a sense of the political situation in our country.")
- Call to action with link to registration** (linked to: "Now it's your turn: join the door-to-door campaign and fight with us for the new Europe!")
- Emphasising that partizipation is easy, uncompliated & short-term** (linked to: "The whole thing is very simple: every Saturday in May is door-to-door action day and you can join in. Even if you have never done that before.")
- Acknowledging reservations; evoking self-efficacy** (linked to: "You do not know the election program by heart? No problem! It is not about having a long discussion at the door, but about reminding people of the election and showing them: Greens are quite nice :)")
- Call to action with link to registration** (linked to: "So, sign up for one or more door-to-door action days near you and start campaigning with us!")



Hello ((Firstname))!

You really want to make a difference and renew Europe?

We are at a crucial moment in European history: Are we falling back into dangerous nationalism? Is politics surrendering to globalization? Or are we renewing Europe as a strong community and building a Europe of climate protection, democracy and justice? For us the answer is clear: **We want to renew Europe's promise!**

What you can do? Join the door-to-door campaign and fight with us for the new Europe!

Let's together convince as many citizens as possible to vote green on May 26th. If not enough convinced Europeans go to the polls on May 26th, this strengthens the right-wing populists. The danger is great that soon more anti-Europeans than ever before will sit in the European Parliament.

This is your chance to really change something!


The whole thing is very simple: Every Saturday in May is door-to-door action day and you can join in. Even if you have never done that before.

You do not know the election program by heart? No problem! It is not about having a long discussion at the door, but about reminding people of the election and showing them: Greens are quite nice :). Before you go out together, you'll get a little introduction and you'll be accompanied by an experienced campaigner. Nothing can go wrong!

So, sign up for one or more door-to-door action days near you and start campaigning with us!

We are looking forward to you!

Many Greetings,
Michael Kellner



'Core values of the party' frame

Appendix D

The wording of all four mails – English

Frame ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’

Hello {{name}}!

You really want to make a difference and renew Europe?

Then join the door-to-door campaign! This is the most effective way to motivate people to vote. Every tenth conversation at the front door is one more voice for an ecological, democratic and social Europe! **This is your chance to really change something!**

Let's together convince as many citizens as possible to vote green on May 26th. If not enough convinced Europeans go to the polls on May 26th, this strengthens the right-wing populists. The danger is great that soon more anti-Europeans than ever before will sit in the European Parliament.

As a door-to-door campaigner, you become part of the Green Movement. Together, we build the foundation for the great social changes that Europe needs now. You get to know very different people that are driven by the same values. The conversations at the doorstep will also give you a sense of the political situation in our country.

Now it's your turn: join the door-to-door campaign and fight with us for the new Europe!

The whole thing is very simple: every Saturday in May is door-to-door action day and you can join in. Even if you have never done that before.

You do not know the election program by heart? No problem! It is not about having a long discussion at the door, but about reminding people of the election and showing them: Greens are quite nice :). Before you go out together, you'll get a little introduction and you'll be accompanied by an experienced campaigner. Nothing can go wrong!

So, sign up for one or more door-to-door action days near you and start campaigning with us!

We are looking forward to you!

Many Greetings,
Michael Kellner

Frame 'Core values of the party'

Hello {{name}}!

You really want to make a difference and renew Europe?

We are at a crucial moment in European history: Are we falling back into dangerous nationalism? Is politics surrendering to globalization? Or are we renewing Europe as a strong community and building a Europe of climate protection, democracy and justice? For us the answer is clear: **We want to renew Europe's promise!**

What you can do? Join the door-to-door campaign and fight with us for the new Europe!

Let's together convince as many citizens as possible to vote green on May 26th. If not enough convinced Europeans go to the polls on May 26th, this strengthens the right-wing populists. The danger is great that soon more anti-Europeans than ever before will sit in the European Parliament.

This is your chance to really change something!

The whole thing is very simple: Every Saturday in May is door-to-door action day and you can join in. Even if you have never done that before.

You do not know the election program by heart? No problem! It is not about having a long discussion at the door, but about reminding people of the election and showing them: Greens are quite nice :). Before you go out together, you'll get a little introduction and you'll be accompanied by an experienced campaigner. Nothing can go wrong!

So, sign up for one or more door-to-door action days near you and start campaigning with us!

We are looking forward to you!

Many Greetings,
Michael Kellner

Frame ‘Combination‘

Hello {{name}}!

You really want to make a difference and renew Europe?

We are at a crucial moment in European history: Are we falling back into dangerous nationalism? Is politics surrendering to globalization? Or are we renewing Europe as a strong community and building a Europe of climate protection, democracy and justice? For us it is clear: **We want to renew Europe’s promise!**

What you can do? Join the door-to-door campaign and fight with us for the new Europe! This is the most effective way to motivate people to vote. Every tenth conversation at the front door is one more voice for an ecological, democratic and social Europe!

Let’s together convince as many citizens as possible to vote green on May 26th. If not enough convinced Europeans go to the polls on May 26th, this strengthens the right-wing populists. The danger is great that soon more anti-Europeans than ever before will sit in the European Parliament.

As a door-to-door campaigner, you become part of the Green Movement. Together, we build the foundation for the great social changes that Europe needs now. You get to know very different people that are driven by the same values. The conversations at the doorstep will also give you a sense of the political situation in our country.

This is your chance to really change something!

The whole thing is very simple: Every Saturday in May is door-to-door action day and you can join in. Even if you have never done that before.

You do not know the election program by heart? No problem! It is not about having a long discussion at the door, but about reminding people of the election and showing them: Greens are quite nice :). Before you go out together, you’ll get a little introduction and you’ll be accompanied by an experienced campaigner. Nothing can go wrong!

So, sign up for one or more door-to-door action days near you and start campaigning with us!

We are looking forward to you!

Many Greetings,
Michael Kellner

No framing

Hello {{name}}!

You really want to make a difference and renew Europe?

Then join the door-to-door campaign! **This is your chance to really change something!**

Let's together convince as many citizens as possible to vote green on May 26th. If not enough convinced Europeans go to the polls on May 26th, this strengthens the right-wing populists. The danger is great that soon more anti-Europeans than ever before will sit in the European Parliament.

Now it's your turn: join the door-to-door campaign and fight with us for the new Europe!

The whole thing is very simple: Every Saturday in May is door-to-door action day and you can join in. Even if you have never done that before.

You do not know the election program by heart? No problem! It is not about having a long discussion at the door, but about reminding people of the election and showing them: Greens are quite nice :). Before you go out together, you'll get a little introduction and you'll be accompanied by an experienced campaigner. Nothing can go wrong!

So, sign up for one or more door-to-door action days near you and start campaigning with us!

We are looking forward to you!

Many Greetings,
Michael Kellner

Appendix E

The wording of all four mails – Originals in German

Frame ‘Door-to-door canvassing is fun’

Hallo {{Name}}!

Du willst wirklich etwas bewegen und Europa erneuern?

Dann mach mit beim Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf! Das ist die effektivste Methode, um Leute zum Wählen zu motivieren. Denn jedes zehnte Gespräch an der Haustür ist eine Stimme mehr für ein ökologisches, demokratisches und soziales Europa! **Das ist deine Chance, wirklich etwas zu verändern!**

Lass uns zusammen so viele Bürger*innen wie möglich davon überzeugen, am 26. Mai Grün zu wählen. Wenn nicht genügend überzeugte Europäer*innen am 26. Mai zur Wahl gehen, stärkt das die Rechtspopulisten. Die Gefahr ist groß, dass bald so viele Anti-Europäer wie nie im Europa-Parlament sitzen.

Als Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkämpfer*in wirst du Teil der Grünen Bewegung. Gemeinsam schaffen wir die Grundlage für die großen gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen, die Europa jetzt braucht. Du lernst ganz unterschiedliche Menschen kennen, die aber dasselbe antreibt. Durch die Gespräche an der Türschwelle entwickelst du außerdem ein Gespür für die politische Lage in unserem Land.

Jetzt bist du gefragt: mach mit beim Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf und kämpfe mit uns für das neue Europa!

Das Ganze ist ganz einfach: jeder Samstag im Mai ist Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstag und du kannst mitmachen. Auch, wenn du das noch nie gemacht hast.

Du kennst das Wahlprogramm nicht auswendig? Kein Problem! Es geht an der Tür nicht darum, lange Diskussionen zu führen. Sondern darum, an die Wahl zu erinnern und zu zeigen: Grüne sind ganz nett :). Bevor du zusammen mit anderen losziehst, bekommst du eine kleine Einführung und wirst von einer erfahrenen Wahlkämpfer*in begleitet. Es kann nichts schief gehen!

Also: Melde dich bei einem oder mehreren Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstagen in deiner Nähe an und starte mit uns in den Wahlkampf!

Wir freuen uns auf dich!

Viele Grüße,
Michael Kellner

Frame 'Core values of the party'

Hallo {{Name}}!

Du willst wirklich etwas bewegen und Europa erneuern?

Wir stehen an einem entscheidenden Moment in der Geschichte Europas: fallen wir zurück in einen gefährlichen Nationalismus? Kapitulierte die Politik vor der Globalisierung? Oder erneuern wir Europa als starke Gemeinschaft und bauen ein Europa des Klimaschutzes, der Demokratie und der Gerechtigkeit? Für uns ist klar: **Wir wollen Europas Versprechen erneuern!**

Was du tun kannst? Mach mit beim Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf und kämpfe mit uns für das neue Europa!

Lass uns zusammen so viele Bürger*innen wie möglich davon überzeugen, am 26. Mai Grün zu wählen. Wenn nicht genügend überzeugte Europäer*innen am 26. Mai zur Wahl gehen, stärkt das die Rechtspopulisten. Die Gefahr ist groß, dass bald so viele Anti-Europäer wie nie im Europa-Parlament sitzen.

Das ist deine Chance, wirklich etwas zu verändern!

Das Ganze ist ganz einfach: jeder Samstag im Mai ist Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstag und du kannst mitmachen. Auch, wenn du das noch nie gemacht hast.

Du kennst das Wahlprogramm nicht auswendig? Kein Problem! Es geht an der Tür nicht darum, lange Diskussionen zu führen. Sondern darum, an die Wahl zu erinnern und zu zeigen: Grüne sind ganz nett :). Bevor du zusammen mit anderen losziehst, bekommst du eine kleine Einführung und wirst von einer erfahrenen Wahlkämpfer*in begleitet. Es kann nichts schief gehen!

Also: Melde dich bei einem oder mehreren Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstagen in deiner Nähe an und starte mit uns in den Wahlkampf!

Wir freuen uns auf dich!

Viele Grüße,
Michael Kellner

Frame 'Combination'

Hallo {{Name}}!

Du willst wirklich etwas bewegen und Europa erneuern?

Wir stehen an einem entscheidenden Moment in der Geschichte Europas: fallen wir zurück in einen gefährlichen Nationalismus? Kapitulierte die Politik vor der Globalisierung? Oder erneuern wir Europa als starke Gemeinschaft und bauen ein Europa des Klimaschutzes, der Demokratie und der Gerechtigkeit? Für uns ist klar: **Wir wollen Europas Versprechen erneuern!**

Was du tun kannst? Mach mit beim Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf und kämpfe mit uns für das neue Europa! Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf ist die effektivste Methode, um Leute zum Wählen zu motivieren. Denn jedes zehnte Gespräch an der Haustür ist eine Stimme mehr für ein ökologisches, demokratisches und soziales Europa!

Lass uns zusammen so viele Bürger*innen wie möglich davon überzeugen, am 26. Mai Grün zu wählen. Wenn nicht genügend überzeugte Europäer*innen am 26. Mai zur Wahl gehen, stärkt das die Rechtspopulisten. Die Gefahr ist groß, dass bald so viele Anti-Europäer wie nie im Europa-Parlament sitzen.

Als Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkämpfer*in wirst du Teil der Grünen Bewegung. Gemeinsam schaffen wir die Grundlage für die großen gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen, die Europa jetzt braucht. Du lernst ganz unterschiedliche Menschen kennen, die aber dasselbe antreibt. Durch die Gespräche an der Türschwelle entwickelst du außerdem ein Gespür für die politische Lage in unserem Land.

Das ist deine Chance, wirklich etwas zu verändern!

Das Ganze ist ganz einfach: jeder Samstag im Mai ist Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstag und du kannst mitmachen. Auch, wenn du das noch nie gemacht hast.

Du kennst das Wahlprogramm nicht auswendig? Kein Problem! Es geht an der Tür nicht darum, lange Diskussionen zu führen. Sondern darum, an die Wahl zu erinnern und zu zeigen: Grüne sind ganz nett :). Bevor du zusammen mit anderen losziehst, bekommst du eine kleine Einführung und wirst von einer erfahrenen Wahlkämpfer*in begleitet. Es kann nichts schief gehen!

Also: Melde dich bei einem oder mehreren Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstagen in deiner Nähe an und starte mit uns in den Wahlkampf!

Wir freuen uns auf dich!

Viele Grüße,
Michael Kellner

No framing

Hallo {{Name}}!

Du willst wirklich etwas bewegen und Europa erneuern?

Dann mach mit beim Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf! **Das ist deine Chance, wirklich etwas zu verändern!**

Lass uns zusammen so viele Bürger*innen wie möglich davon überzeugen, am 26. Mai Grün zu wählen. Wenn nicht genügend überzeugte Europäer*innen am 26. Mai zur Wahl gehen, stärkt das die Rechtspopulisten. Die Gefahr ist groß, dass bald so viele Anti-Europäer wie nie im Europa-Parlament sitzen.

Jetzt bist du gefragt: mach mit beim Tür-zu-Tür-Wahlkampf und kämpfe mit uns für das neue Europa!

Das Ganze ist ganz einfach: jeder Samstag im Mai ist Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstag und du kannst mitmachen. Auch, wenn du das noch nie gemacht hast.

Du kennst das Wahlprogramm nicht auswendig? Kein Problem! Es geht an der Tür nicht darum, lange Diskussionen zu führen. Sondern darum, an die Wahl zu erinnern und zu zeigen: Grüne sind ganz nett :). Bevor du zusammen mit anderen losziehst, bekommst du eine kleine Einführung und wirst von einer erfahrenen Wahlkämpfer*in begleitet. Es kann nichts schief gehen!

Also: Melde dich bei einem oder mehreren Tür-zu-Tür-Aktionstagen in deiner Nähe an und starte mit uns in den Wahlkampf!

Wir freuen uns auf dich!

Viele Grüße,
Michael Kellner