

Online Appendix

A Online Appendix Tables and Figures

Table A-1: National Mobile Phone and Internet Penetration Rate

	coef	coef
	(SE)	(SE)
ANC Vote Share	-0.020 (0.005)	-0.044 (0.006)
DA Vote Share	0.030 (0.009)	-0.035 (0.01)
Pop ('000)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)
Pop under 25 ('000)	0.006 (0.001)	0.013 (0.001)
Fraction Male	0.200 (0.018)	0.030 (0.021)
Frac Black	0.119 (0.009)	0.084 (0.01)
Frac Coloured	0.021 (0.006)	0.053 (0.008)
Frac English Speaking	-0.003 (0.006)	0.091 (0.008)
Frac w/ HS Diploma	0.244 (0.011)	0.211 (0.015)
Frac w/ Electricity	0.083 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.004)
Frac w/ Computers	0.026 (0.015)	0.518 (0.016)
Frac w/ Internet Access	0.064 (0.012)	
Constant	0.513 (0.012)	0.012 (0.014)
Number of observations	4,276	4,276
Mean of Dep Var:	0.888	0.248

OLS regressions using census data at the ward level on all wards in South Africa, weighted by ward-level population to be nationally representative.

Table A-2: Responses to What's Up questions (Passive Unincentivized Phase 2).

	(1) WhatsUp Ever (binary)	(2) Campaign Rallies (0-3)	(3) Voter Intimidation (0-3)	(4) Violence is justified (0-3)	(5) Satisfied Democracy (0-3)	(6) Trust ANC (0-4)	(7) Trust DA (0-4)
USSD Non-Experimental	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.251 (0.161)	0.010 (0.162)	-0.463** (0.213)	0.317** (0.128)	0.139 (0.204)	0.045 (0.253)
English Social Media	0.100*** (0.002)	-0.168*** (0.053)	-0.098* (0.053)	-0.170*** (0.061)	-0.271*** (0.048)	-0.741*** (0.063)	-0.231*** (0.077)
Afrikaans Social Media	0.056*** (0.007)	0.181*** (0.057)	0.165*** (0.058)	0.177*** (0.060)	-0.175*** (0.057)	-0.550*** (0.084)	1.095*** (0.077)
Zulu Social Media	-0.014*** (0.004)	0.410*** (0.053)	-0.196*** (0.063)	-0.274*** (0.061)	0.130** (0.052)	0.677*** (0.067)	-0.086 (0.074)
Twitter/Gtalk	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.323 (0.396)	-0.605 (0.388)	-0.725* (0.429)	-0.527 (0.388)	-1.089** (0.509)	0.154 (0.642)
Observations	90646	5150	5112	5089	5172	5275	5229
Mean for USSD standard	0.008	1.667	1.744	1.704	2.281	3.202	2.023
R squared	0.040	0.013	0.005	0.009	0.012	0.046	0.037

Notes: Table analyzes the response rates (Column 1) and actual answers to the 'What's Up' questions, which were asked without response incentives in Phase 2 and required users to navigate through a menu to answer them. The USSD Experimental groups are the omitted category, so the comparisons provided in the table are observational differences across channels. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A-3: Responses to VIP questions (Passive Unincentivized Phase 2).

	(1) VIP Ever (binary)	(2) Registered to vote (binary)	(3) Likely to vote (0-3)	(4) Zuma Performance (0-3)	(5) Local Govt Performance (0-3)	(6) Attend Rally (binary)	(7) Attended Protests (0-2)
USSD Non-Experimental	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.040 (0.038)	-0.075 (0.088)	-0.259** (0.116)	-0.113 (0.116)	-0.149*** (0.049)	-0.267*** (0.085)
English Social Media	0.189*** (0.002)	-0.160*** (0.012)	-0.415*** (0.028)	-0.637*** (0.038)	-0.464*** (0.039)	-0.175*** (0.016)	-0.205*** (0.029)
Afrikaans Social Media	-0.037*** (0.007)	-0.040* (0.021)	-0.239*** (0.063)	-0.300*** (0.052)	0.298*** (0.054)	-0.047** (0.023)	-0.106*** (0.037)
Zulu Social Media	0.016*** (0.006)	0.077*** (0.013)	0.216*** (0.032)	0.707*** (0.036)	0.160*** (0.040)	0.139*** (0.015)	0.097*** (0.026)
Twitter/Gtalk	-0.009 (0.006)	0.007 (0.069)	-0.176 (0.220)	-1.205*** (0.134)	-0.625*** (0.174)	-0.423*** (0.093)	-0.484*** (0.142)
Observations	90646	9300	9175	9150	9291	9224	9206
Mean for USSD standard	0.013	0.792	3.730	1.969	1.924	0.727	1.012
R squared	0.075	0.016	0.018	0.066	0.017	0.020	0.009

Notes: Table analyzes the response rates (Column 1) and actual answers to the ‘VIP’ questions, which were asked without response incentives in Phase 2 and required users to navigate through a menu to answer them. The USSD Experimental groups are the omitted category, so the comparisons provided in the table are observational differences across channels. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A-4: Responses to Thermometer questions (Pushed twice Unincentivized Phase 2).

	(1) Answered first push (binary)	(2) Support ANC (binary)	(3) Support DA (binary)	(4) Answered second push (binary)	(5) Support ANC (binary)	(6) Support DA (binary)
USSD Non-Experimental	0.007 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.023)	0.006 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.010 (0.029)	0.018 (0.021)
English Social Media	-0.092*** (0.002)	-0.179*** (0.037)	0.092*** (0.030)	-0.061*** (0.002)	-0.188*** (0.030)	0.102*** (0.024)
Afrikaans Social Media	-0.004*** (0.001)	0.170 (0.139)	-0.112 (0.091)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.282*** (0.087)	-0.104* (0.063)
Zulu Social Media	-0.003*** (0.001)	0.157* (0.093)	-0.203*** (0.029)	-0.005*** (0.001)	0.172** (0.074)	-0.188*** (0.032)
Observations	72306	4227	4227	72306	3286	3286
Mean for USSD standard	0.021	0.700	0.116	0.017	0.728	0.117
R squared	0.039	0.007	0.005	0.021	0.022	0.010

Notes: Table analyzes the response rates (Column 1) and actual answers to the two ‘Thermometer’ polling questions, which were pushed out by text message to all users for whom we had a phone number and not incentivized. The USSD Experimental groups are the omitted category, so the comparisons provided in the table are observational differences across channels. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A-5: Responses to Push questions (Pushed Thrice incentivized Phase 2).

	(1) Ever answer push (binary)	(2) Campaigning door-to-door (binary)	(3) Voter indimidatation (binary)	(4) Vote buying with food (binary)	(5) Political rallies (binary)	(6) Political violence (binary)	(7) Political protests (binary)
USSD Non-Experimental	0.004 (0.007)	-0.079** (0.040)	0.015 (0.042)	0.007 (0.042)	0.044 (0.040)	-0.093** (0.043)	0.106*** (0.040)
English Social Media	-0.178*** (0.002)	0.061 (0.056)	-0.005 (0.052)	0.019 (0.055)	0.035 (0.048)	0.030 (0.057)	-0.014 (0.062)
Afrikaans Social Media	-0.004* (0.002)	0.026 (0.139)	-0.031 (0.194)	-0.130 (0.256)	0.070 (0.142)	-0.329 (0.200)	-0.176 (0.228)
Zulu Social Media	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.104 (0.136)	0.176 (0.111)	0.020 (0.120)	0.057 (0.129)	0.052 (0.133)	0.003 (0.129)
Observations	73802	1704	1693	1562	1823	1622	1614
Mean for USSD standard	0.043	0.634	0.646	0.685	0.636	0.688	0.676
R squared	0.077	0.004	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.005	0.004

Notes: Table analyzes the response rates (Column 1) and actual answers to the three ‘Push’ polling questions, which were pushed out by text message to all users for whom we had a phone number and incentivized using the initial treatment status for USSD users. The USSD Experimental groups are the omitted category, so the comparisons provided in the table are observational differences across channels. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A-6: Responses to Voter Experience Survey (Incentivized post-election).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Ever answer (binary)	Length of Queue (minutes)	Materials Correct (binary)	Confidence in IEC (0-3)	Voter intimidation (binary)	Electoral tension (0-2)	Electoral violence (binary)
USSD Non-Experimental	0.011* (0.006)	0.868 (1.212)	0.004 (0.011)	-0.053 (0.042)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.188*** (0.049)	-0.029 (0.025)
English Social Media	-0.120*** (0.002)	1.886* (1.114)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.051 (0.040)	0.048** (0.023)	-0.002 (0.044)	0.024 (0.023)
Afrikaans Social Media	-0.012*** (0.001)	-4.244 (6.551)	-0.018 (0.075)	0.030 (0.201)	-0.128 (0.123)	0.079 (0.255)	-0.229** (0.096)
Zulu Social Media	-0.011*** (0.001)	-3.887 (3.500)	0.059*** (0.011)	0.208* (0.120)	-0.191** (0.083)	-0.005 (0.211)	-0.038 (0.093)
Observations	90646	4545	4381	4726	4571	4172	4591
Mean for USSD standard	0.183	19.887	0.949	2.527	0.433	1.224	0.415
R squared	0.054	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.003	0.001

Notes: Table analyzes the response rates (Column 1) and actual answers to the ‘Voter Experience’ questions, which were pushed out by text message to all users for whom we had a phone number and incentivized using the initial treatment status for USSD users. The USSD Experimental groups are the omitted category, so the comparisons provided in the table are observational differences across channels. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A-7: Engagement by Channel

	Yes, every vote matters (1)	No but I'll vote anyway (2)	No so I'm not voting (3)	Not Registered (4)
USSD non-experimental	83.54%	8.59%	1.12%	6.75%
USSD Experimental	79.19%	9.05%	1.91%	9.84%
English Social Media	70.24%	7.39%	6.98%	15.41%
Zulu Social Media	58.99%	18.44%	6.67%	15.89%
Afrikaans Social Media	64.58%	6.81%	1.64%	10.76%
Twitter/GTalk	78.45%	9.25%	1.64%	10.66%

Cells give fraction of each channel (rows) that give each response to the engagement question *"It's election time! Do u think ur vote matters?"* (columns) from the VIP:Voice data among those who answered the question and were of voting age.

Table A-8: PCM Recruitment Experiment

Phase 1 Recruitment.	USSD Standard	USSD Free	USSD Lottery
Total # Solicited via PCM	13.8m	16.1m	19.9m
Total # Registered	7,258	8,146	24,762
<i>Registered as % of PCMs</i>	0.0526%	0.0506%	0.1244%
<i>Difference with Standard</i>		-0.002%	0.0546%
<i>P-value on test of difference with Standard</i>		0.020	0.00003

Notes: Table provides the number of Please Call Me messages sent out by USSD treatment arm, and then the number of registered participants who clicked through from links from each kind of PCM. Because multiple PCMs may have been sent to the same person, the third row represents the yield rate per PCM, not per person. P-values on differences calculated by creating an inflated dataset with the number of PCMs sent and using successful registration as the outcome variable, with a robust regression including dummies for the treatment arms.

Table A-9: **Balance of Randomized Monitoring Invitations.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	USSD Free	USSD Lottery	Social Media	Any Phase 2	Any Demog	High Engagement	Age	Male	Voted 2009
Incentivized to monitor	-0.004 (0.003)	0.003 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	-0.153 (0.098)	0.007 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)
Observations	50814	50814	50814	50814	50814	50799	20435	21269	19542
Mean for unincentived	0.144	0.442	0.227	0.501	0.424	0.710	24.469	0.477	0.404
R squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Notes: Table analyzes the balance of the randomized experiment through which a high-engagement sample of users were invited to serve as Citizen Observers for the election. The table uses the invitation to participate as an election monitor as the right hand side variable, explaining a set of covariates observed prior to the time at which these invitations were sent out. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A-10: **Balance of the Actual Invitations Sent to Monitor.**

	(1) Any Phase 2	(2) Any Demog	(3) Volunteer Sample	(4) High Engagement	(5) Age	(6) Male	(7) Voted 2009
High Monitoring Incentive	0.017 (0.015)	0.011 (0.013)	0.001 (0.006)	0.055 (0.035)	0.773 (1.325)	0.032 (0.076)	-0.034 (0.086)
Observations	1862	1862	1862	792	145	155	138
Mean for unincentived	0.102	0.077	0.014	0.614	26.203	0.290	0.607
R squared	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.002	0.001	0.001

Notes: Table analyzes the balance of the quasi-experiment through which a sample almost entirely consisting of USSD Standard users were given a High incentive to serve as Citizen Election Monitors (50R) relative to a Low incentive (5R). This variation was generated by a data error and is not a clean randomized experiment. The table uses the actual invitation to participate as an election monitor as the explanatory variable, with a set of covariates observed prior to the time at which these invitations were sent out as the outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Figure A-1: Project Timeline

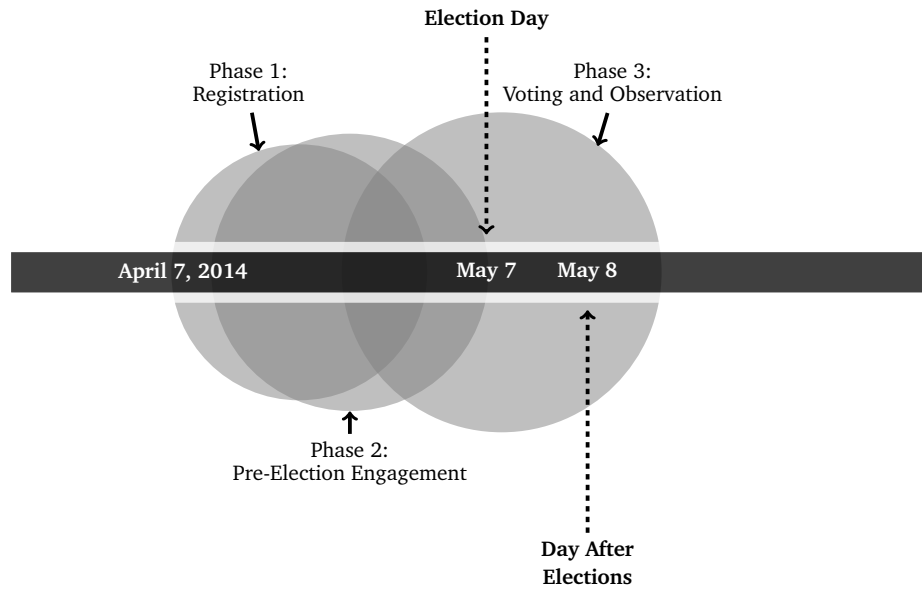


Figure A-2: VIP:Voice Ad in Livity Magazine



Advertorial | Brought to you by Proekelt Foundation

WHAT:

VIP:VOICE is South Africa's largest citizen-based election platform. It allows us, the youth, to engage with election-related info through the day we put our all-important X on the ballot paper. VIP:VOICE is a multi-channel engagement portal. This means VIP:VOICE has created a number of applications on social networks for us to engage in, voice our opinions, monitor election activity and view all kinds of info regarding our 2014 elections.

WHY:

VIP:VOICE enables citizens like us to play a vital role in the electoral process and helps make politicians accountable to us, their voters.

HOW:

You can join the VIP:VOICE community as a follower, or on a more active level as a citizen reporter so that you can report on anything election-based, at any time, in a variety of ways.

10 Autumn 2014

VIP:VOICE IS A SNAPSHOT OF WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE ELECTION FROM THE GROUND UP. YOU DECIDE HOW YOU WANT TO ENGAGE AND ON WHICH PLATFORM!

- USSD:** DIAL *120*7692*14
- MXIT:** ADD VIPVOICE2014 AS A CONTACT TO GET STARTED
- TWITTER:** FOLLOW @VIPVOICE2014 AND DM US TO BEGIN! #VIPVOICE2014
- G CHAT:** SEND A CHAT TO VIPVOICE2014@GMAIL.COM TO GET STARTED.
- MOBI:** INTERACT ON THE MOBI SITE [HTTP://YAL.MOBI/VIP/](http://YAL.MOBI/VIP/)
- VLIVE:** PARTICIPATE ON VLIVE [HTTP://LIVE.VODAFONE.COM/YAL](http://LIVE.VODAFONE.COM/YAL)



DID YOU KNOW...

VIP:VOICE IS EXPECTED TO BE THE LARGEST ELECTION ENGAGEMENT PLATFORM EVER!

It is designed to empower and engage South African citizens during the election process right up through Election Day. The plan is to use the knowledge gained from VIP:VOICE to create future platforms for election campaigns based in South Africa and in other countries, so that peeps can connect on a broader scale when it comes to their local elections.

Citizen monitoring is an exciting opportunity for us to get involved, report what's happening in our communities and keep our elections free and fair.



NEW-SCHOOL = COOL

The old-school way of monitoring election processes has rarely engaged with South Africans like us. VIP:VOICE is the new-school way of sourcing information, by creating citizen reporters who will help observe the election process on the ground by placing the power in the hands of the voters.

Technology is taking over, let's unite it with the power of people to improve elections!

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Figure A-3: USSD Interface for Engagement Question

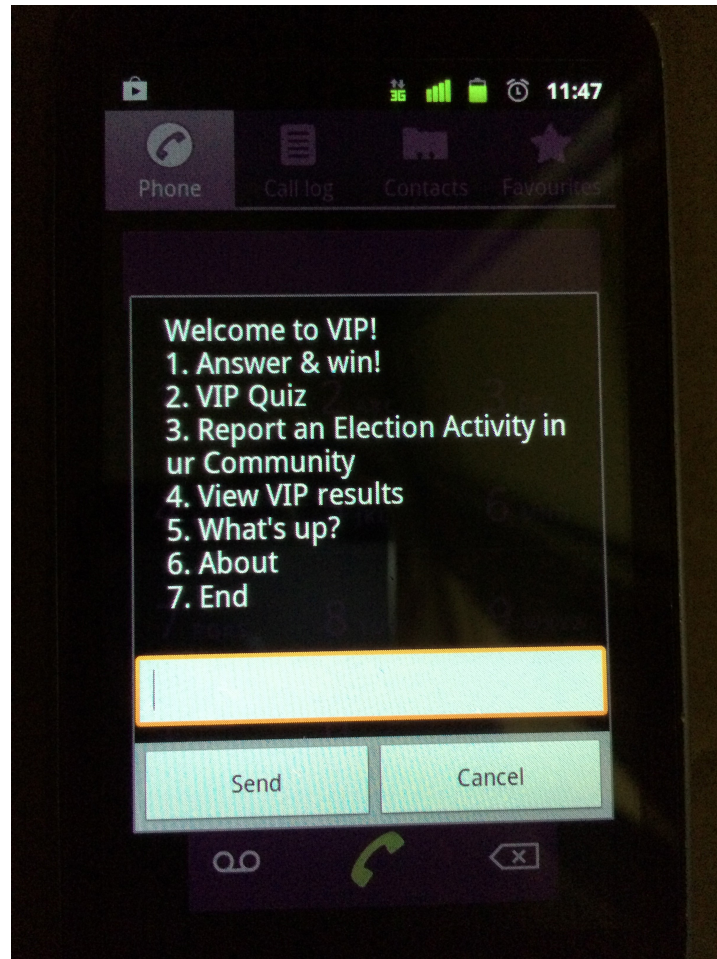


Figure A-4: USSD Interface for Citizen Observing

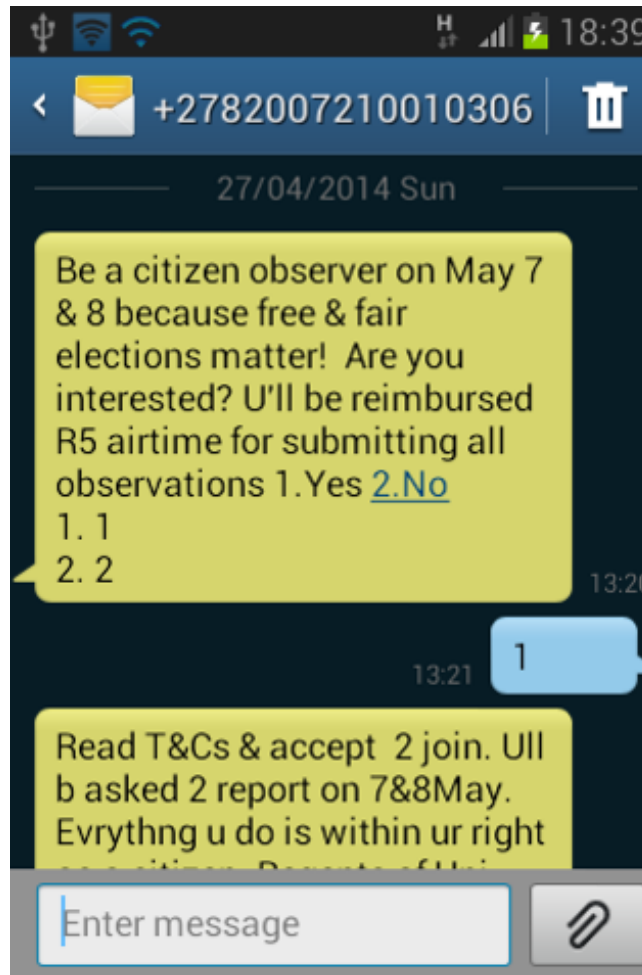


Figure A-5: Report on Election Activities

VOICE [My Profile](#)

[< Back | Election Activity](#)

Share your story

What type of report would you like to submit?

- Party agents going door to door to mobilize voters
- Party agents intimidating voters
- Party agents distributing food/money/gifts
- Campaign rallies
- Campaign related violence
- Protests/demonstration

Where did this event happen?

Please be as specific as possible and give address

Please be as specific as possible and give address and city.
E.g. 12 Main Street, Pretoria.

Describe the event:

Submit

[Back · Home](#)

[Back to Top](#)

Search

[Terms](#) · [Sign Out](#)
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Figure A-6: Ushahidi Dashboard map showing geographic distribution of citizen election reports in Phase 2



Figure A-7: Example of Declaration of Results Forms Photographed by Citizens via Photo Quick Count

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N Results Slip National Ballot 2014 **N**
2014 NATIONAL ELECTION

Page 1 of 2

Eastern Cape
NMA - Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth)
VD 10250626
GERTRUDE SHOPE PRIMARY SCHOOL

Counting Officer: Numbulele Josephine
ID Number: 6302050618085
Contact Number: 0848879821
Registered Voters: 1996

Party Name	Party Code	Result	Party Signature
VRYFRONT PLUS	VF PLUS	-	
WORKERS AND SOCIALIST PARTY	WASP	01	
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	ACDP	03	
AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CONGRESS	AIC	36	
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	1272	4700
AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONVENTION	APC	05	
AGANG SOUTH AFRICA	AGANG SA	01	
AL JAMA'AH	IQ_ABBR	01	
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION	AZAPO	02	
BUSHBUCKRIDGE RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION	ERA	-	
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE	COPE	21	
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	DA	89	
ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS	EFF	83	
FIRST NATION LIBERATION ALLIANCE	FNLA	-	
FRONT NATIONAL/FRONT NATIONAL	FN	-	
INDEPENDENT CIVIC ORGANISATION OF SOUTH AFRICA	ICGSA	-	
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP	-	
KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE	KISS	01	
KINGDOM GOVERNANCE MOVEMENT	KGM	02	
MINORITY FRONT	MF	-	
NATIONAL FREEDOM PARTY	NFP	-	
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	PAC	32	400
PAN AFRICANIST MOVEMENT	PAM	-	
PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE	PA	02	
PEOPLES ALLIANCE	PAL	-	
UBUNTU PARTY	UBUNTU	-	
UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	UCDP	-	
UNITED CONGRESS	UNICO	-	
UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	UDM	10	

Counting Officer Signature: 

Counting Officer Name: N.J. MANKELA
Counting Officer ID Number: 6302050618085

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Figure A-8: Strata of election day observation, nation-wide

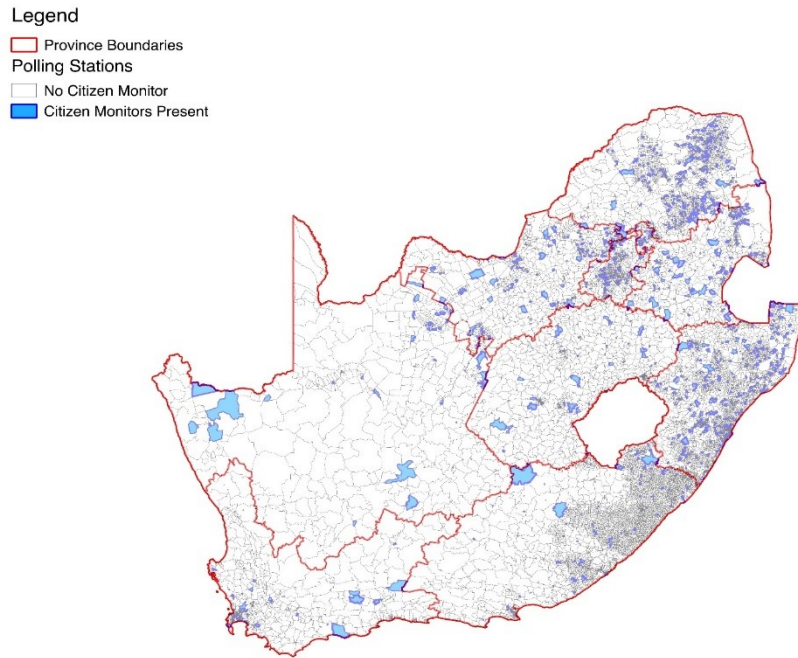
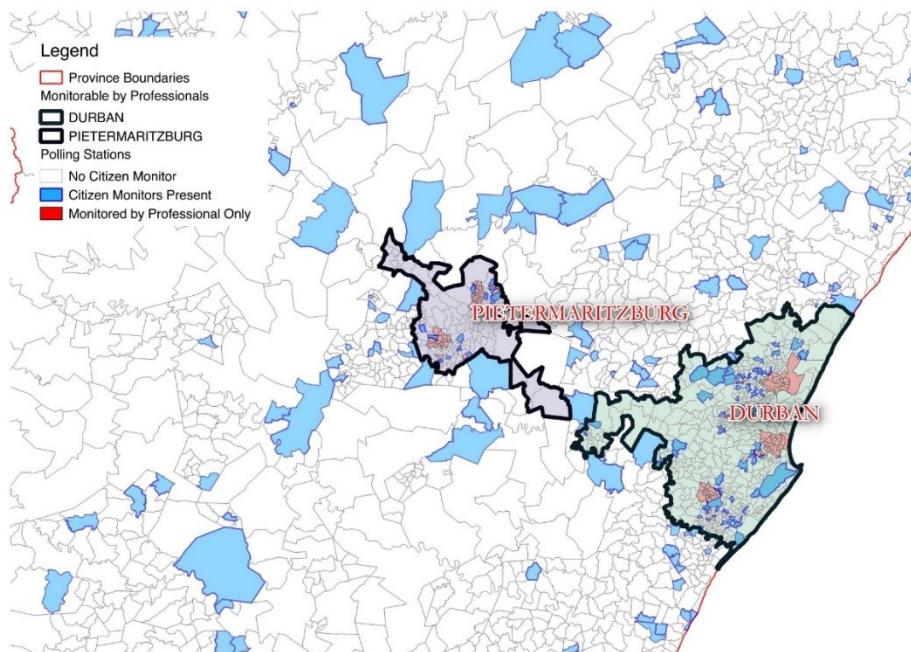


Figure A-9: Strata of election day observation near Durban, citizen and professional



B Survey Question Wording

B.1 Phase 1: Please Call Me!

Control

Join VIP:Voice to help make elections 2014 free and fair. Dial *120*7692*2# Standard rates charged

Treatment 1 – Lottery

Join VIP:Voice 2 help make elections 2014 free & fair. Dial *120*7692*3# & stand a chance 2 win R55 airtime

Treatment 2 – Subsidy

Join VIP:Voice to help make elections 2014 free and fair. Dial *120*4729# 2 participate for free

Engagement Question.

It's election time! Do u think ur vote matters?

1. YES every vote matters
2. NO but I'll vote anyway
3. NO so I'm NOT voting
4. I'm NOT REGISTERED to vote
4. I'm TOO YOUNG to vote

Dis stemyd! Dink jy jou stem maak saak?

1. JA elke stem tel
2. NEE maar ek stem nogtans
3. NEE ek gaan NIE stem nie
4. Ek's NIE GEREGISTEREER om te stem nie
4. Ek's TE JONK om te stem

Yiskhathi sokhetho! Liyasiza yini ivoti lakho?

1. YEBO lelo nalelo voti libalulekile
2. CHA kodwa ngizovota
3. CHA Yingakho ngingavoti
4. ANGIKUBHALISELANGA ukuvota
4. Ngisemncane; angivoti

After answering the voting question, users were then given the opportunity to immediately accept the Terms and Conditions of joining the platforms. Alternatively, they were given the opportunity to read in more depth about the Terms and Conditions. This choice was presented as follows:

Please accept the terms and conditions to get started.

1. Accept & Join
2. Read t&c
3. Quit

Aanvaar asb bepalings & voorwaardes om te begin.

1. Aanvaar & Sluit aan
2. Lees B&V
3. Onttrek

Yamukela le imigomo nemibandela ekuvumela ukuqala.

1. Yamukela ujoyine
2. Funda imigomo nemibandela
3. Phuma

B.2 Phase 2: Pre-election digital surveys

Welcome Menu

Welcome to VIP!

1. Answer & win!
2. VIP Quiz
3. Report Election

Activity

4. View VIP results...
5. What's up?
6. About
7. End

Welkom by VIP!

1. Antwoord & wen!
2. VIP-vasvra
3. Rapporteer verkiesingsaksie
4. Sien VIP-uitslae...
5. Wat gaan aan?
6. Omtrent
7. Eindig

Siyakwamukela ohlelweni i-VIP!

1. Phendula uwine!
2. Imibuzo ye-VIP
3. Bika umcimbi wokhetho
4. Bheka imiphumela ye-VIP..
5. Kwenzenjani?
6. Ngalokhu
7. Qeda

B.2.1 Demographic Survey: Answer & Win

I am...

1. Male
2. Female

Ek is...

1. Manlik
2. Vroulik

Ngingo...

1. wesilisa
2. wesifazane

How old are you?

1. u14
2. 15-19
3. 20-29
4. 30-39
5. 40-49
6. 50+

Hoe oud is jy?

1. o14
2. 15-19
3. 20-29
4. 30-39
5. 40-49
6. 50+

Uneminyaka emingaki?

1. ngaphansi kweyi-14
2. 15-19
3. 20-29
4. 30-39
5. 40-49
6. ngaphezu kwengama-50

Did you vote in the 2009 election?

1. Yes
2. No, could not/was not registered
3. No, did not want to
4. No, other
5. Skip

Het jy in die 2009-verkiesing gestem?

1. Ja
2. Nee, kon/was nie geregistreer
3. Nee, wou nie
4. Nee, ander
5. Slaan oor

Wavota yini okhethweni lwango-2009?

1. Yebo
2. Cha, angikwazanga/ngangingabhalisanga
3. Cha, angithandanga
4. Cha, okunye
5. Eqa

I am...

1. Black African
2. Coloured
3. Indian/Asian
4. White
5. Other
6. Skip

Ek is...

1. Swart Afrikaan
2. Bruin
3. Indiër/Asies
4. Wit
5. Ander
6. Slaan oor

Ngi...

1. ngumAfrika oNsundu
2. yiKhaladi
3. ngowomdabu waseNdiya/waseEshiya
4. Mhlophe
5. ngokunye
6. Eqa

For those users who entered on our smart phone channels, where we did not necessarily have their phone numbers, we also asked individuals for their phone numbers.

Please give us your cellphone number so we can send you your airtime!

Gee vir ons jou selnommer sodat ons vir jou lugtyd kan stuur!

Sicel inombolo yeselula yakho ukuze sikwazi ukukuthumelel i-airtime yakho!

B.2.2 What's Up

The "What's Up" Section of questions asked a mixture of demographic and political questions, which we were interested in collecting, but which could not fit in the other sections of the platform. These were, therefore, questions to which we expected lower response rates because they were not incentivized. Moreover, no push messaging went out to encourage people to fill them out in Phase 2b.

The questions were worded as follows in our three languages:

How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in South Africa?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
5. Skip

Hoe tevrede is jy met die manier waarop demokrasie werk in Suid-Afrika?

1. Baie tevrede
2. Ietwat ontevrede
3. Ontevrede
4. Baie ontevrede
5. Slaan oor

Ugculiseke kangakanani yindlela intando yabantu esebenza ngayo kuleli?

1. Ngigculiseke kakhulu
2. Ngigculisekile ngandlela thile
3. Angugculisekile
4. Angigculisekile neze
5. Eqa

During the past two weeks, how frequently have campaign rallies occurred in your community?

1. Often
2. Several times
3. Once or twice
4. Never
5. Skip

Gedurende die laaste twee weke, hoe dikwels het daar verkiesingsaamtrekke in jou gemeenskap plaasgevind?

1. Dikwels
2. Verskeie male
3. Een of twee maal
4. Nooit
5. Slaan oor

Emasontweni amabili edlule abe maningi kangakanani amarali okukhankasela ukhetho emphakathini wangakini?

1. Kangingi
2. Izikhathi ezimbalwa
3. Kanye noma kabili
4. Nakanye
5. Eqa

During the past 2 weeks, how often have party agents gone door to door in ur community?

1. Often
2. Several times
3. Once or twice
4. Never
5. Skip

Gedurende die laaste twee weke, hoe dikwels het partyagente van deur tot deur in jou gemeenskap gegaan om stemme te werf?

1. Gereeld
2. Baie male
3. Een of twee maal
4. Nooit
5. Slaan oor

Emasontweni amabili edlule abezinhlangano bangene kangakanani imizi ngemizi ngakini benxexa abavoti?

1. Kangingi
2. Izikhathi ezimbalwa
3. Kanye noma kabili
4. Nakanye
5. Eqa

During the past two weeks, how frequently have party agents intimidated voters in your community?

1. Often
2. Several times
3. Once or twice
4. Never
5. Skip

Gedurende die laaste twee weke, hoe dikwels het partyagente kiesers in jou gemeenskap geïntimideer?

1. Gereeld
2. Baie male
3. Een of twee maal
4. Nooit
5. Slaan oor

Emasontweni amabili edlule abamele izinhlangano babesabise kangakanani abavoti ngakini?

1. Kangingi
2. Izikhathi ezimbalwa
3. Kanye noma kabili
4. Nakanye
5. Eqa

During the past two weeks, how frequently have party agents

Gedurende die laaste twee weke, hoe dikwels het partyagente kiesers

Emasontweni amabili edlule abamele izinhlangano babesabise

intimidated voters in
your community?

1. Often
2. Several times
3. Once or twice
4. Never 5. Skip

How much do you trust
the ANC?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not much
4. Not at all
5. No opinion
6. Skip

How much do you trust
the Democratic Alliance
(DA)?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not much
4. Not at all
5. No opinion
6. Skip

How much do you trust
the Economic Freedom
Fighters (EFF)?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not much
4. Not at all
5. No opinion
6. Skip

During the past year,
how often have u or
anyone in ur family gone
without enough food to
eat? 1. Never

2. Once or twice
3. Sometimes
4. Many times
5. Always
6. Skip

In South Africa, it is
sometimes necessary to
use violence for a just
cause:

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree

in jou gemeenskap
geïntimideer?

1. Gereeld
2. Baie male
3. Een of twee maal
4. Nooit
5. Slaan oor

Hoeveel vertrou jy die
ANC?

1. Baie
2. Biejie
3. Nie veel nie
4. Glad nie
5. Geen opinie
6. Slaan oor

Hoeveel vertrou jy die
Demokratiese Alliansie
(DA)?

1. Baie
2. Biejie
3. Nie veel nie
4. Glad nie
5. Geen opinie
6. Slaan oor

Hoeveel vertrou
jy die Ekonomiese
Vryheidvegters (EFF)?

1. Baie
2. Biejie
3. Nie veel nie
4. Glad nie
5. Geen opinie
6. Slaan oor

Gedurende die laaste
jaar, hoeveel maal het
jy of iemand in jou
familie nie genoeg kos
gehad om te eet nie?

1. Nooit
2. Een of twee maal
3. Soms
4. Baie maal
5. Altyd
6. Slaan oor

In Suid-Afrika is dit
soms nodig om geweld
te gebruik vir 'n saak
waarin jy glo:

1. Stem sterk saam
2. Stem ietwat saam
3. Stem nie heeltemal

kangakanani abavoti
ngakini?

1. Kaningi
2. Izikhathi ezimbalwa
3. Kanye noma kabili
4. Nakanye
5. Eqa

Uyethemba kangakanani
i-ANC?

1. Kakhulu
2. Kakhudlwana
3. Hhayi kakhulu
4. Nakancane
5. Anginakuphawula
6. Eqa

Uyethemba kangakanani
iDemocratic Alliance
(DA)?

1. Kakhulu
2. Kakhudlwana
3. Hhayi kakhulu
4. Nakancane
5. Anginakuphawula
6. Eqa

Uyethemba kangakanani
iEconomic Freedom
Fighters (EFF)?

1. Kakhulu
2. Kakhudlwana
3. Hhayi kakhulu
4. Nakancane
5. Anginakuphawula
6. Eqa

Gedurende die laaste
jaar, hoeveel maal het
jy of iemand in jou
familie nie genoeg kos
gehad om te eet nie?

1. Nooit
2. Een of twee maal
3. Soms
4. Baie maal
5. Altyd
6. Slaan oor

Kuleli zwe kuye kube
nesidingo sokusebenzisa
udlame ukufeza inhloso
ethile:

1. Ngiivuma kakhulu
2. Ngiyavuma ngandlela
thile

4. Strongly disagree
5. Skip

- saam
4. Stem glad nie saam
 5. Slaan oor

3. Ngiyaphika ngandlela thile.
4. Ngiphika kakhulu
5. Eqa

Sometimes not voting is the best way to express your political preferences:

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree
5. Skip

Deur nie te stem nie druk jy jou politieke voorkeure die beste uit:

1. Stem sterk saam
2. Stem ietwat saam
3. Stem nie heeltemal saam
4. Stem glad nie saam
5. Slaan oor

- Ukungavoti kuye kube yindlela yokuveza ukuzikhethela ngokwepolitiki:
1. Ngivuma kakhulu
 2. Ngiyavuma ngandlela thile
 3. Ngiyaphika ngandlela thile
 4. Ngiphika kakhulu
 5. Eqa

B.2.3 Push Questions

During the past year, have you attended a demonstration or protest?

1. Yes, many
2. Yes, a few
3. No
4. Skip

Gedurende die laaste jaar, het jy aan 'n betoging of protesoptog deelgeneem?

1. Ja, baie
2. Ja 'n paar
3. Nee
4. Slaan oor

Onyakeni odlule, wawuhambela yini umbhikisho?

1. Yebo, eminingi
2. Yebo, embalwa
3. Cha
4. Eqa

Are you registered to vote in the upcoming elections?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure
4. Skip

Is jy geregistreer om in die komende verkiesing te stem?

1. Ja
2. Nee
3. Onseker
4. Slaan oor

Ukubhalisele yini ukuvota ezinkethweni ezizayo?

1. Yebo
2. Cha
3. Anginasiqiniseko
4. Eqa

How likely is it that you will vote in the upcoming election?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely
5. Unsure
6. Skip

Wat is die kans dat jy in die komende verkiesing sal stem?

1. Beslis
2. Byna seker
3. Nie groot kans
4. Beslis nie
5. Onseker
6. Slaan oor

Maningi kangakanani amathuba okuba uvote okhethweni oluzayo?

1. Maningi kakhulu
2. Akhonywana
3. Ayangabazeka kancane
4. Awekho nhlobo
5. Anginasiqiniseko
6. Eqa

Which political party do you feel close to?

1. ANC
2. Agang
3. COPE
4. DA
5. EFF
6. IFP
7. Other

By watter politieke party voel jy tuis?

1. ANC
2. Agang
3. COPE
4. DA
5. EFF
6. IFP
7. Ander

Iyiphi inhlangotho yezepolitiki esenhlziyweni yakho?

1. ANC
2. Agang
3. COPE
4. DA
5. EFF
6. IFP

8. I don't feel close to a party
9. Skip

During the past year, has your community had demonstrations or protests?

1. Yes, several times
2. Yes, once or twice
3. No
4. Skip

If your community has had demonstrations or protests in the last year, were they violent?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable
4. Skip

How easy is it for your neighbors to find out if you voted?

1. Very easy
2. Somewhat easy
3. Somewhat difficult
4. Very difficult
5. Skip

People in my neighborhood look down on those who do not vote:

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree
5. Skip

How do you rate the overall performance of President Zuma?

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Just Fair
4. Poor
5. Skip

How do you rate the overall performance of your local government councilor?

8. Voel nie tuis by een nie
9. Slaan oor

Gedurende die laaste jaar, het jou gemeenskap betogings of proteste gehad?

1. Ja verskeie kere
2. Ja een of twee keer
3. Nee
4. Slaan oor

As jou gemeenskap wel betogings of proteste gehad het, was daar geweld?

1. Ja
2. Nee
3. Nie van toepassing
4. Slaan oor

Hoe maklik kan jou bure uitvind of jy gestem het?

1. Baie maklik
2. Redelik maklik
3. Ietwat moeilik
4. Baie moeilik
5. Slaan oor

In my gemeenskap sien mense neer op jou as jy nie gaan stem nie:

1. Stem sterk saam
2. Stem saam
3. Stem nie heeltemal saam
4. Stem glad nie saam
5. Slaan oor

Hoe slaan jy President Zuma se algehele prestasie aan?

1. Uitstekend
2. Goed
3. Middelmatig
4. Swak
5. Slaan oor

Hoe slaan jy die algehele prestasie van jou plaaslike regeringsraadslid aan?

7. Enye
8. Ayikho esenhlziyweni yami
9. Eqa

Onyakeni odlule, umphakathi wangakini ube nayo yini imibhikisho?

1. Yebo, izikhathi eziningana
2. Yebo, kanye noma kabili
3. Cha
4. Eqa

Uma kuwkuthi umphakathi wangakini waba nayo imibhikisho ngonyaka odlule, yayinodlame yini?

1. Yebo
2. Cha
3. Awufanele lo mbuzo
4. Eqa

Kulula kangakanani komakhelwane bakho ukwazi ukuthi uvotile?

1. Kulula kakhulu
2. Kulula kancane
3. Kunzinyana
4. Kulukhuni kakhulu
5. Eqa

Abantu esakhelene nabo bamthatha kancane ongavoti:

1. Ngivuma kakhulu
2. Ngiyavuma kancane
3. Ngiyaphika kancane
4. Ngiphika kakhulu
5. Eqa

Ukuklelisa kanjani ukusebenza kukaMengameli Zuma ngokubanzi?

1. Kuhle kakhulu
2. Kuhle
3. Kuyagculisa khona
4. Akukuhle
5. Eqa

Ukuklelisa kanjani ukusebenza kwekhansela lendawo ngokubanzi?

1. Kuhle kakhulu

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Just Fair
4. Poor
5. Skip

Which party has contacted you the most during this election campaign?

1. None, I have not been contacted
2. ANC
3. Agang
4. COPE
5. DA
6. EFF
7. IFP
8. Other
9. Skip

During the past two weeks, have you attended a campaign rally?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Skip

1. Uitstekend
2. Goed
3. Middelmatig
4. Swak
5. Slaan oor

Watter party het jou die meeste gedurende hierdie verkiesingsveldtog gekontak?

1. Nie een het my gekontak nie
2. ANC
3. Agang
4. COPE
5. DA
6. EFF
7. IFP
8. Ander
9. Slaan oor

Het jy 'n verkiesingsaamtrek gedurende die laaste twee weke bygewoon?

1. Ja
2. Nee
3. Slaan oor

2. Kuhle
3. Kuyagculisa khona
4. Akukuhle
5. Eqa

Iyiphi inhlango ekuthinte kaningi kunezinye ngalo mkhankaso wokhetho?

1. Ayikho, angithintwanga
2. ANC
3. Agang
4. COPE
5. DA
6. EFF
7. IFP
8. Enye
9. Eqa

Emasontweni amabili edlule, ngabe uwuyihambele yini irali yomkhankaso?

1. Yebo
2. Cha
3. Eqa

Open-Ended Survey Reports on Campaigning Activity:

Choose report:

1. Party going door-to-door
2. Party intimidating voters
3. Party giving food/money
4. Campaign rally
5. Campaign violence
6. Protest/Demonstrtn

Verslag tipe:

1. Party wat van deur tot deur gaan
2. Party wat kiesers intimideer
3. Party wat kos/geld/geskenke uitdeel
4. Verkiesingsaamtrek
5. Verkiesinggeweld
6. Protes/Betoging

Khetha uhlobo lombiko:

1. Inhlango ihamba imizi ngemizi
2. Inhlango isabisa abavoti
3. Inhlango isabalalisa ukudla/imali/izipho
4. Irali yomkhankaso
5. Udlame lokukhankasa
6. Umbhikisho

What is the title of your report?

Where did this event happen? Please be as specific as possible and give address and city.

Please select your

Wat is jou verslag se titel?

Waar het hierdie voorval plaasgevind? Wees asb baie spesifiek en gee adres en stad/dorp.

Kies asb jou ligging uit

Sithini isihloko sombiko wakho?

Wenzekephi lo mcimbi? Khomba indawo ngangokusemandleni unikeze ikheli nedolobha.

Khetha indawo yakho

location from the options below:
1. *Location 1*
2. *Location 2*
3. *Location 3*
4. More

die opsies hieronder:
1. *Location 1*
2. *Location 2*
3. *Location 3*
4. Meer

kulezi ezilandelayo:
1. *Location 1*
2. *Location 2*
3. *Location 3*
4. Ezinye

Thank u for ur report!
Keep reporting & u may have a chance to be an official election day reporter where u can earn airtime or cash for ur contribution.

Dankie vir jou verslag!
Hou aan om verslag te doen & jy staan dalk 'n kans om as amptelike stembagverslaggewer gekies te word en lugtyd of kontant vir jou bydrae te verdien.

Siyabonga ngombiko wakho! Qhubeka nokubika, ungaba sethubeni lokukhethwa njengozobika ngokusemthethweni ngosuku lokhetho, lapho ungazitholela khona i-airtime noma ukheshi ngosizo lwakho.

Digital Follow up

On April 19th and April 29th, we sent out the following message to all users, where only the only difference were platform specific instructions to respond to the message, which would be contained in the <ENTER PLATFORM> part of the message below.

On VIP:Voice 72000+ S.Africans believe their vote counts.Ur voice matters 2!<ENTER PLATFORM> & complete Answer&Win 4 a chance to win R55 airtime!

On April 21st we pushed a message telling people about the result of the VIP quiz so far and encouraging users to also participate. We did not distinguish between users who had already completed the section, so the message may have been redundant for some users.

On VIP:Voice 53% have reported protests in ur communities in the last year. Is that true 4 u? <ENTER PLATFORM> to have ur voice heard in VIP Quiz!

This message was followed up by a message on April 29th updating the statistics from the “Answer & win” Section, which showed a dramatic increase the percentage of our users who had witnessed protests.

On VIP:Voice 66% have reported protests in ur communities in the last year. Is that true 4 u? Dial *120*4279# to have ur voice heard in VIP Quiz!

Also on April 21, we also pushed a message exclusively to our smart phone channels, asking people to fill out the “Answer & win” section.

So far VIPs rated Pres.Zuma’s performance: 25% excellent. 35% poor. How do u rate him?Reply VIP &complete Answer&Win 4 a chance to win R55!

We also followed up with a message on April 29th telling people about the updated statistics on Jacob Zuma, which had barely budged in the preceding 8 days.

So far VIPs rated Pres.Zuma’s performance: 26% excellent. 34% poor. How do u rate him?Reply VIP &complete Answer&Win 4 a chance to win R55!

B.3 Phase 3: Digital Recruitment for Real World Participation

B.3.1 GOTV Messaging

We were also interested in how to use our platform to promote turnout. Hence, we ran an experiment with one treatment group and two control groups to test the efficacy of information treatments through the platform. We carried this out on the sub-sample of the people in our platform for whom we had a phone number and who had signed the Terms and Conditions by the time the messaging went out. This was XXX percent of XXX.

Within the sub-sample, everyone for whom we had a phone number when the message was sent out was randomized into one of three groups. In the control group, we sent no message. In the two treatment groups, the messaging read as follows:

Treatment 1

Make a choice, have a voice, vote!

Treatment 2

Make a choice, have a voice, vote! Your inked finger will show everyone that you have voted!

Treatment 2 wanted to measure whether social pressure potentially increased people's propensity to vote.

In order to measure the outcome of these measures, we sent everyone in our sub-sample a follow up SMS on whether they voted. The text read as follows

VIP wants to know if you voted? Reply 1 for Yes. Reply 2 for No.

If platform users responded, we asked them to dial into a separate USSD channel.

Join thousands of other South Africans and report about ur voting experience! Dial *120*4729*2# t to have ur voice count.

If they responded no, we simply thanked them for their response with the following message:

Thanks for ur response

If they dialed back into the system, we asked respondents to questions to attempt to verify their voting behavior. These questions were designed to ameliorate potential social desirability bias in respondents' saying they had voted, when in reality they had not.

What colours were the ballots at your voting station?

1. white&pink
2. green&yellow
3. pink&blue
4. blue&yellow
5. none of above
6. skip

If your phone has a camera, pls mms us a photo of your inked finger to show your vote! U will be sent airtime for ur MMS. Send to vipvoice2014@gmail.com

B.3.2 Recruiting Citizen Observers to Monitor

The message protocol was as follows:

Treatment

Be a citizen observer on May 7 & 8 because free & fair elections matter! Get R55
airtime for submitting all
observations. Are you interested?

1. Yes
2. No

Control

Be a citizen observer on May 7 & 8 because free & fair elections matter! Are you
interested? U'll be reimbursed R5
airtime for submitting all observations

1. Yes
2. No

Users could take three actions after being sent this message. First, they could choose not to respond. Second, they could choose to respond by answering "No." If participants did respond they were not interested by answering "No," then they were thanked for their participation.

Third, users could respond in the affirmative by answering "Yes." If they answered yes and agreed to be part of the election observer team, then they had to go through two additional steps. First, they had to agree to a second set of Terms and Conditions. Second, if they agreed to the Terms and Conditions, then we asked them a series of questions to be able to ascertain their voting district. This series of questions went to all users, both in the treatment and control groups and were designed to so that each question was more specific than the previous, in order to ensure that we could appropriately ascertain each individuals voting district. The questions, which were asked sequentially, were as follows:

2 b observer we need 2 know where u vote! Tell us the Province u live in:

1. EC
2. FS
3. GP
4. KZN
5. Limp
6. MP
7. NCape
8. N West
9. WCape

Thanks! Now we need ur town, suburb or district so we r sure of ur voting station

What is the name of your voting station?

Pls type out. Example: KUNI PRIMARY SCHOOL

We'll use the IEC lookup service 2 confirm ur voting station with ur ID. Pls enter ID
number OR Write "NO" & we'll try 2

ensure u can still observe if we verify ur voting station

Those assigned to treatment group got a special message back about when they would be paid.

Thanks 4 volunteering 2 b an election observer! U will get R5
for airtime & R50 after u complete all tasks. U will get SMS
about where u will b observing soon!

B.3.3 Digital Observers: Follow-up

We sent our digital observers two sets of reminder messages.

Hi Citizen Observer! Ull b asked to see the results form at ur voting station the day after the election. We'll SMS u Thursday to get the result.

Hi Citizen Observer! Pls go see the results form at ur voting station now. We'll SMS to get your report and share with fellow citizens!

On Thursday, May 8th we sent out the following messages. We sent the messages in order and respondents only received the subsequent message, if they replied to the immediately preceding message. We decided to also ask for photos of the tallies, though it was not expected that respondents would be able to send a photo of the tally, since having a smart phone was not a requirement. We also had to ask respondents to send these photos vial email because the VUMI system itself had no way of storing images.

Hi Citizen Observer! Please answer when ur at station ready to make ur report: Is national results form posted at ur voting station? reply SMS 1 Yes 2 No

Pls SMS ANC vote total from national results form at ur voting station if you can't read SMS "NR"

Thx for ur response! You will get ur airtime shortly. Pls send a MMS photo of the national results form to vipvoice2014@gmail.com. R20 airtime if u send photo!

Thanks! You will receive your airtime soon!

B.3.4 Voter Experience Survey

On election day itself, everyone in the platform (including those who we had recruited as digital observers) who had signed the Terms and conditions and for whom we had a phone number (including all those who entered on other channels, but who provided us a phone number) was sent an SMS encouraging them to dial into a USSD number for free to tell us about their election day experience. The message read as follows:

Join thousands of other South Africans and tell us about your experience on election day! Dial*120*4729*1# It's free to dial!

If users timed out of the system, they got the following message:

Hi VIP! Make sure ur voice is heard. Please dial back in to *120*4729*1# to complete ur election experience questions! It's FREE.
VIP: Voice!

The questions themselves were designed to ask about election day problems known from the African context, as well as questions asking people to rate the process. The wording of the questions were the following:

How long are voters waiting in queue b4 voting?

1. less than 10min
2. 10-30 min
3. 30min to 1hr

4. more than 1hr
5. skip

Did the voting station have all necessary materials and working equipment?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know
4. skip

How would you rate the overall performance of IEC officials at the voting station?

1. excellent
2. good
3. fair
4. poor
5. skip

Did you observe party agents campaigning outside of the voting station?

1. yes
2. no
3. skip

Please report the environment outside the polling station:

1. very tense
2. somewhat tense
3. not tense
4. skip

Did you observe or hear about any violence in or around the polling station?

1. yes
2. no
3. skip

Did you observe or hear about any incidents of intimidation in or around the polling station?

1. yes
2. no
3. skip

Did the voting station provide adequate privacy to ensure ballot secrecy?

1. yes
2. no
3. skip