Memorandum

From: Applecart
To: Interested Parties
Date: Tuesday, August 9, 2016
Re: How a Targeted Turnout Bump Drove Tim Huelskamp Out of Washington

On August 2nd, Dr. Roger Marshall defeated three-term incumbent Tim Huelskamp in Kansas's "Big First" congressional district, the first incumbent GOP congressman to lose a primary in the district in over 70 years. While Huelskamp is the fourth incumbent to be ousted this year, he is the only GOP incumbent to lose a primary without redistricting being a factor. Marshall was a high quality and capable first-time candidate, who ran a strong campaign and received support from a range of outside groups. Marshall's victory, however, ultimately depended in large part on our data-driven turnout effort.

In early May, Applecart was hired to manage a Super PAC that would design and execute a data-driven plan to support Marshall's candidacy. We leveraged our cutting-edge Social Graph technology to persuade Republican voters to support Marshall over Huelskamp and to mobilize unprecedented numbers of low-propensity Marshall supporters to the polls on Election Day.

At Applecart, we create persuasion and GOTV contact universes based on real-world relationships. Using publicly available data, we build a map of connections between voters, which we call the Social Graph. We then utilize these links to persuade swing voters, shore up supporters, and get low propensity voters to the polls. Our Social Graph technology helps to optimize every aspect of voter-contact, which in this case meant mail, email, phones, and a full spectrum cookie-matched ad program deployed across several digital platforms. Though Marshall ultimately scored an impressive 12-point victory over Huelskamp on August 2nd, our late March viability study found Huelskamp polling at 44%, Huelskamp's 2014 opponent Alan LaPolice at 10%, and Marshall at 8%. LaPolice dropped his bid in early May, leaving Huelskamp in a one-on-one matchup with Marshall. After building a district-wide Social Graph, Applecart surveyed the district on dozens of potentially resonant research-driven positive and negative messages. Our June 1st poll found Huelskamp at 41% and Marshall at 22% with 37% undecided. Combining our polling, the Social Graph, and advanced modeling techniques, we found six clusters in the electorate. We then refined these clusters into eighteen overlapping segments of the electorate. Each segment corresponded to a creative messaging campaign aimed at persuasion.

We began launching digital advertisements and dropping mail pieces to these segments in early July. In all, we identified 135,726 target households and sent a total of 343,049 pieces of mail, delivering an average of five pieces of mail to the target households (See Appendix 1). Our digital advertisements generated 3,338,344 impressions across a wide variety of mediums. Our video advertisements were watched to completion 993,916 times (See Appendix 2).

Applecart's July 14th poll, executed two weeks before the election and ahead of a major barrage of outside spending, found Huelskamp and Marshall functionally tied. Huelskamp's support had been frozen in the low-40s, and Marshall's support had grown. We were well positioned for a large-scale GOTV blitz and got to work targeting 48,514 pro-Marshall voters with individualized social pressure GOTV mail, email, and digital ads.

Unlike conventional social pressure mailers, which show the vote histories of individuals' neighbors, our social pressure treatments reveal the vote histories of our targets' actual friends, coworkers, and family members based on the real-world relationships identified in the Social Graph. The digital component of the program had an impressive 3.08% interaction rate with the mobilization targets in our universe. We also delivered 186,965 emails to 12,896 targets over the eleven days before Election Day. Our first social pressure email had an astronomical open rate of 8.2%. The 38,143 emails we sent in three tranches on Election Day itself averaged an open rate of better than 1.7%.

Applecart's polling and other public and private polling as recently as the day before the election showed the race statistically tied between Marshall and Huelskamp. However, our GOTV program generated a massive increase in turnout among Marshall supporters. Across the district, turnout grew by an average of more than 30% when compared to 2014, and disproportionately spiked in counties that favored Marshall. This occurred, despite the fact that 2014 saw a competitive statewide primary for the US Senate at the top of the ballot that brought millions in television spending into the district. Only one county saw turnout decrease – Seward County – the largest of the strongly pro-Huelskamp counties in 2014. Huelskamp won the county by 28% in 2014. He won it by less than 1% this year.

Turnout increased where it counted the most for Marshall. Our social graph-based mobilization program was able to help effectively and efficiently target voters to maximize turnout in favor of Marshall. As importantly, our graph-based targeted ensured that we did not accidentally mobilize large numbers of Huelskamp supporters. In Huelskamp's best counties, turnout dropped from 2014 to 2016. While, turnout statewide averaged 33%, in counties where Huelskamp performed better in 2016 than in 2014 (Clay, Cloud, Ottawa), turnout was below the statewide average. In counties where Marshall vastly surpassed Huelskamp's 2014 opponent [Morton, Cheyenne, Hamilton], however, turnout shot above statewide averages.

County Name	Candidate Support Trend 2014 to 2016	Change in Huelskamp Opponent Vote Share (from 2014 to 2016)	Percent Change in County Turnout (from 2014 to 2016)
Clay	Lean Huelskamp	-2%	12%
Cloud	Lean Huelskamp	-1%	22%
Ottawa	Lean Huelskamp	5%	0%
Morton	Lean Marshall	21%	67%
Cheyenne	Lean Marshall	23%	122%
Hamilton	Lean Marshall	23%	63%

This dramatic targeted turnout shift was not a mere coincidence in a few counties, but the systematic effect of a highly effective data-driven turnout solution (See Appendix 3).

When the dust settled on Election Day, Marshall bested Huelskamp by an impressive 12.96%. Huelskamp received only 2,362 more votes in 2016 than he did in 2014. Marshall outstripped Huelskamp's 2014 opponent by 23,737 votes. Applecart's revolutionary social graph technology helped power the lion's share of that turnout bump. Between all of our persuasion and mobilization activities, our effort spent less than $500,000 from the PAC and a related c4, and Kansas' "Big First" will enjoy far better representation as a result.
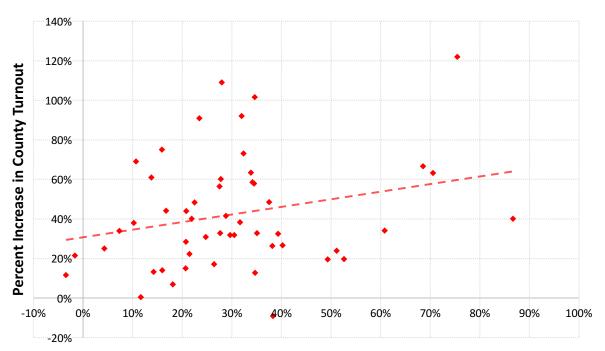
Appendix 1: Applecart's Mail Program in KS-01

Drop Date	Creative Title	Households
13-Jul	Pro-RM: "It's Time to Come Together"	11,125
13-Jul	Anti-TH: "Spending on Big Govt. Pet Projects, Variation 1"	40,630
13-Jul	Pro-RM: "Secure Border/Fund Military"	8,699
13-Jul	Anti-TH: "Lost Ag Committee Seat"	11,837
18-Jul	Anti-TH: "Wasting Tax Payer Dollars"	15,606
18-Jul	Anti-TH: "Cost Kansas Good-Paying Jobs"	26,547
18-Jul	Anti-TH: "Not Protecting Disaster Victims, Variation 1"	9,544
18-Jul	Anti-TH: "Not Protecting Veterans"	9,097
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Voted for Increasing Taxes"	15,568
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Not Protecting Disaster Victims, Variation 2"	9,523
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Typical Career Politician, Variation 1"	18,782
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Voted Against the Interests of Farmers"	8,686
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Spending on Big Govt. Pet Projects, Variation 2"	9,074
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Typical Career Politician, Variation 2"	26,480
22-Jul	Anti-TH: "Not Protecting Disaster Victims, Variation 3"	31,435
28-Jul	Anti-TH: "Not Protecting Disaster Victims, Variation 4"	22,121
28-Jul	Anti-TH: "Bob Dole Leads, TH Misleads"	31,712
28-Jul	Anti-TH: "Typical Career Politician, Variation 3"	36,583

Appendix 2: Applecart's Digital Program in KS-01

Product Type	Impressions
Persuasion Lists Targeted Cross Device Display	931,966
Persuasion Lists Targeted Cross Device Preroll Open Exchange	348,501
Persuasion Lists Facebook Newsfeed Display	284,910
Persuasion Lists Instagram Display	3,429
Persuasion Lists Targeted Cross Device Preroll Private Marketplace	47,017
Fifty-Plus Run of Network Cross Device Preroll	1,012,709
GOTV List Targeted Cross Device Display	309,216
GOTV List Facebook Newsfeed	48,514
YouTube Fifty-Plus Run of Network Cross Device Preroll	352,082
Total	*3,338,344*

Appendix 3: Change in County Turnout & Huelskamp Opponent's Vote Share from 2014-2016