# Ethics activity Summer Institute in Computational Social Science\*

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In August 2006, about 10 days prior to the primary election, 20,000 people living in Michigan received a mailing that showed their voting behavior and the voting behavior of their neighbors (Fig. 1). One piece mailings typically increase voter turnout by about one percentage point, but this one increased turnout by 8.1 percentage points, the largest effect seen up to that point (Gerber et al., 2008). The effect was so large that a political operative named Hal Malchow offered Donald Green \$100,000 not to publish the result of the experiment, presumably so that Malchow could make use of this information himself (Issenberg, 2012, p. 304). But, Alan Gerber, Donald Green, and Christopher Larimer did publish the paper in 2008 in the American Political Science Review.

When you carefully inspect the mailer in Gerber et al. (2008) you may notice that the researchers' names do not appear on it. Rather, the return address is to Practical Political Consulting. In the acknowledgment to the paper the authors explain: "Special thanks go to Mark Grebner of Practical Political Consulting, who designed and administered the mail program studied here."

In addition to these 20,000 mailers, the researchers also sent 60,000 other potentially less sensitive mailers (Fig. 2, 3, and 4) Then, there was a backlash from participants. In fact, Issenberg (2012, p. 198) reports that "Grebner [the director of Practical Political Consulting] was never able to calculate how many people took the trouble to complain by phone, because his office answering machine filled so quickly that new callers were unable to leave a message." In fact, Grebner noted that the backlash could have been even larger if they had scaled up the treatment. He said to Alan Gerber, one of the researchers, "Alan if we had spent five hundred thousand dollars and covered the whole state you and I would be living with Salman Rushdie." (Issenberg, 2012, p. 200).

This particular case is great for a discussion because it is interesting and important research, and it touches on many of the ethical issues that arise in computational social science. But it touches on these issues in unexpected ways, and so it can help us move beyond some stale debates that have been happening for a while. It is also a great case because there are no easy answers. Please discuss these question in your group:

- 1. Assess the ethical issues raised by this study. Please draw on any framework, principles, or ideas that you think are appropriate.
- 2. Given your assessment, what approaches would you take to address the ethical issues related to this study? These approaches could be related to the design, testing, or publishing of the study.
- 3. Would it impact your answer to the questions above if Mark Grebner was already sending out similar mailings at this time? More generally, how should researchers think about evaluating existing interventions created by practitioners?
- 4. How would your decisions in (2) impact the research objective (the ability to understand the cause of a difference in voting rates between the treatment and control group)?

<sup>\*</sup>We thank Don Green for advice that helped improve this activity. This activity is based on a similar activity in Chapter 6 of Salganik (2017).

Prepare a 5 minute presentation for us (people who are already familiar with this case and the ethical concepts that we have learned). All groups will present and then we will have a group discussion about similarities and differences in people's approaches.

If you have extra time: Ethical response surveys are a technique for collecting reactions to proposed study designs (Schechter and Bravo-Lillo, 2014). Building on what you did above, design an ethical response survey to compare three approaches to this style of experiment.

If you have even more extra time: Actually conduct the ethical response survey using participants on Amazon Mechanical Turk.

# Schedule

• About 1:30: Begin

• 2:30 - 3:30: Presentation

• 3:30 - 4:00: Discussion and wrap-up

# References

Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., and Larimer, C. W. (2008). Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 102(01):33–48.

Issenberg, S. (2012). The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns. Broadway Books, New York.

Salganik, M. J. (2017). Bit by Bit: Social Research in the Digital Age. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Schechter, S. and Bravo-Lillo, C. (2014). Using Ethical-Response Surveys to Identify Sources of Disapproval and Concern with Facebook's Emotional Contagion Experiment and Other Controversial Studies. *Microsoft Research Technical Report*, MSR-TR-2014-97.

## Neighbors mailing

30423-3 || || || ||

For more information: (517) 351-1975 email: etov@grebner.com Practical Political Consulting P. O. Box 6249 East Lansing, MI 48826 PRSRT STO U.S. Postage PAID Lansing, MI Permit #444

ECRLOT \*\*C050 THE JACKSON FAMILY 9999 MAPLE DR FLINT MI 48507

Dear Registered Voter:

#### WHAT IF YOUR NEIGHBORS KNEW WHETHER YOU VOTED?

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about the problem for years, but it only seems to get worse. This year, we're taking a new approach. We're sending this mailing to you and your neighbors to publicize who does and does not vote.

The chart shows the names of some of your neighbors, showing which have voted in the past. After the August 8 election, we intend to mail an updated chart. You and your neighbors will all know who voted and who did not.

#### DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY -- VOTE!

MAPLE DR 9995 JOSEPH JAMES SMITH 9995 JENNIFER KAY SMITH 9997 RICHARD B JACKSON 9999 KATHY MARIE JACKSON 9999 BRIAN JOSEPH JACKSON 9991 JENNIFER KAY THOMPSON 9991 BOB R THOMPSON 9993 BILL S SMITH	Aug 04 Voted	Nov 04 Voted Voted Voted Voted Voted Voted Voted	Aug 06
9989 WILLIAM LUKE CASPER		Voted	
9989 JENNIFER SUE CASPER		Voted	
9987 MARIA S JOHNSON	Voted	Voted	
9987 TOM JACK JOHNSON	Voted	Voted	
9987 RICHARD TOM JOHNSON		Voted	
9985 ROSEMARYS SUE		Voted	
9985 KATHRYN L SUE		Voted	
9985 HOWARD BEN SUE		Voted	
9983 NATHAN CHAD BERG		Voted	
9983 CARRIE ANN BERG		Voted	
9981 EARL JOEL SMITH			
9979 DEBORAH KAY WAYNE		Voted	
9979 JOEL R WAYNE		Voted	

Figure 1: Neighbor mailer from Gerber et al. (2008).

# APPENDIX A: MAILINGS Civic Duty mailing

30426-2 ||| || || XXX

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ECRLOT \*\*C002 THE JONES FAMILY 9999 WILLIAMS RD FLINT MI 48507

Dear Registered Voter:

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY AND VOTE!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about this problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

The whole point of democracy is that citizens are active participants in government; that we have a voice in government. Your voice starts with your vote. On August 8, remember your rights and responsibilities as a citizen. Remember to vote.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

Figure 2: Civic duty mailer from Gerber et al. (2008).

#### Hawthorne mailing

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ECRLOT \*\*C001 THE SMITH FAMILY 9999 PARK LANE FLINT MI 48507

Dear Registered Voter:

YOU ARE BEING STUDIED!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about this problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

This year, we're trying to figure out why people do or do not vote. We'll be studying voter turnout in the August 8 primary election.

Our analysis will be based on public records, so you will not be contacted again or disturbed in any way. Anything we learn about your voting or not voting will remain confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone else.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

Figure 3: Hawthorne mailer from Gerber et al. (2008).

## Self mailing

30422-4 ||| || || ||

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ECRLOT \*\*C050 THE WAYNE FAMILY 9999 OAK ST FLINT MI 48507

Dear Registered Voter:

WHO VOTES IS PUBLIC INFORMATION!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about the problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

This year, we're taking a different approach. We are reminding people that who votes is a matter of public record.

The chart shows your name from the list of registered voters, showing past votes, as well as an empty box which we will fill in to show whether you vote in the August 8 primary election. We intend to mail you an updated chart when we have that information.

We will leave the box blank if you do not vote.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

Figure 4: Self mailer from Gerber et al. (2008).