Increasing Stimulus Payment Take-up in California: Results from a Phone and Email Campaign

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SUMMARY

In Fall 2021, The People Lab (TPL) and the California Policy Lab (CPL) partnered with the California Department of Social Services (CDSS) and Code for America (CfA) to conduct and evaluate a state-wide outreach effort aimed at delivering stimulus payments to low-income Californians. The outreach campaign reached nearly 430,000 low-income households in California. These households were enrolled in either the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, or CalFresh) or the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF, or CalWORKs), and were identified as having at least one likely “non-filer” — someone who had not filed or been claimed on a state tax return in 2018 and/or 2019 and who was therefore likely to miss out on tax-based benefits payments. In a randomized evaluation, we tested the impact of informational outreach delivered via recorded voice message or email on the initiation and submission of returns among likely non-filers through the simplified filing tool created by CfA: GetCTC.org. We also evaluated the effect of emphasizing the availability of live assistance, as well as the impact of different message language.

We find sending informational recorded voice messages and emails significantly increased the submission of returns from likely non-filers through the simplified filing tool, GetCTC.org:

- Households that received an email were more than five times as likely to submit a simplified return than households that did not (2.4% vs. 0.43%), and households that received a recorded voice message were more than twice as likely to submit a simplified return as those that did not (0.22% vs. 0.09%).

- Emphasizing the availability of live assistance via recorded voice message did not significantly impact return initiation or submission rates relative to other messages, although it did yield an increase in calls to the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline.

- Although email outreach significantly increased rates of return initiation and submission, we do not find significant differences in the effect of different email language: email messages that emphasized the simplified filing process slightly increased return initiations and submissions compared to email messages that emphasized that tax credits belong to recipients (psychological ownership), but these differences are small and inconclusive.
Both the return on investment and the tangible impact on households were large given the amount of tax credits available to each family that filed:

- Overall, 3,575 CDSS non-filing households (including 7,251 individuals) claimed $13.3 million in estimated refunds on accepted returns after receiving a message from CDSS. The average estimated refund amount was $3,761. Note, however, that this is not a causal estimate: some non-filers may have filed a return in this time period in the absence of CDSS's outreach campaign.

- Considering the per-unit cost of outreach (not including the fixed cost of the platform or labor costs), every $1 spent on delivering recorded voice messages generated an estimated $52 in additional refunds to CDSS non-filing households. Every $1 spent on delivering emails generated an estimated $10,737 in additional refunds.\(^1\) The difference reflects both the lower cost of delivering emails and the greater effectiveness of the email intervention.

Overall, the impact of this outreach campaign is more effective than other light-touch outreach in similar contexts. Research has found that, on average, light-touch government communications have around an 8% effect. The effects we find are larger, even in a hard-to-reach population. But while the outreach campaign successfully encouraged thousands of likely non-filers to file simplified returns, a large take-up gap remains. As such, future efforts and evaluations should aim to better understand how to reach and support those who face obstacles to filing over and above informational barriers.

THE POLICY PROBLEM

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the United States (US) government disbursed a range of income-based stimulus payments, including an expanded Child Tax Credit (CTC) and three rounds of federal stimulus payments, to provide economic aid quickly to middle- and low-income Americans. These were administered via the tax system. For the first time, eligibility for these credits was expanded to include Americans with little to no income. Combined, these payments lifted **11.7 million Americans** out of poverty in 2020 and reduced child poverty rates to a record low.

Because these credits were disbursed automatically through the tax system, families needed to file a tax return in order to receive them. As such, families whose income fell below the tax filing threshold — so-called “non-filers” — were at risk of missing out on these critical anti-poverty benefits. Research suggests that **25% of Californians** enrolled in safety net programs were at risk of missing out on the third round of pandemic-related stimulus payments because they had not filed a return. Similarly, roughly **25% of children** enrolled in CalFresh and/or CalWORKs were at risk of not receiving the expanded Child Tax Credit. These children and families are some of California’s most vulnerable — they tend to live in households with little to no wage earnings, often headed by a single adult.

Existing evidence suggests that people face myriad informational, logistical, and psychological barriers to accessing the social safety net. A large body of research has tested methods of reducing these barriers, with mixed results. In a large-scale experiment in California in 2018 and 2019, CPL and TPL found that providing information about the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) to eligible Californians had no impact on tax filing. However, 2021 brought about an unprecedented set of circumstances. Not only was it the first time Californians with no income were eligible for anti-poverty tax credits, but because of the pandemic, there was also a massive increase in the amount of available credits. Additionally, the IRS authorized the creation of a simplified filing tool through which non-filers could claim their credits. Within this context, CDSS decided to conduct a targeted outreach campaign to connect non-filers on its caseload with...
GetCTC.org, the simplified filing tool created by CfA for the purpose of helping non-filers claim federal anti-poverty tax credits.

**WHAT WE DID**

In Fall 2021, TPL and CPL supported CDSS in conducting a targeted outreach campaign to households that were currently enrolled in CalFresh and CalWORKs programs and that had not filed their taxes in either 2018 or 2019. Californians who met these criteria were likely eligible for stimulus payments but may not have received them automatically via the tax system. The non-filers were identified by matching tax filing data from 2018 and 2019 to CDSS case enrollment data from January 2018 through June 2020. Through this process, 934,684 individuals in 575,368 households were identified as likely non-filers. For households that had valid contact information (phone number and/or email), one adult per household was selected to receive outreach. In total, 428,886 people received an outreach message as part of this campaign and are included in the analysis presented in this report.

Outreach was conducted via recorded voice message (robocall) and email from September to November 2021 (see Appendix for message language). All households that had opted into receiving email communication from CDSS received one email ($N = 47,680$); all others received one recorded voice message ($N = 381,206$). Outreach messages informed recipients that they could receive more than $3,000 in combined federal stimulus payments, and the message was tailored based on whether the recipient was in a household with children: households with children received a message saying they could receive more than “$3,000 for each child under their care,” while households without children were told they could receive more than “$3,000 from the combined federal stimulus payments.”

Emails and recorded voice messages were sent in Spanish to households whose preferred language was Spanish based on CDSS case data. All other households received English messages. All messages directed recipients to visit GetCTC.org, the Simplified filing tool created by Code for America, to check their eligibility for and claim their credits. In addition, some messages specifically referred recipients to the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline, through which people could receive live assistance with the filing process.

All outreach messages were sent as part of a randomized evaluation aimed at answering three key research questions:

1. Does receiving information about available stimulus payments via recorded voice message or email increase claiming relative to not receiving any information?
2. Does emphasizing the availability of live assistance increase claiming relative to an information-only message?
3. Is an email message that emphasizes that the filing process has been simplified more or less effective at increasing claiming than a message that emphasizes psychological ownership?

In order to answer the first question, households were randomly assigned to receive messages on different days approximately one week apart. This allowed us to evaluate the impact of receiving a recorded voice message or email relative to receiving no outreach for a one-week period, while still ensuring that all households received outreach during the campaign. The staggered rollout of messaging also allowed CDSS to manage concerns about messaging volume.

In order to answer the second and third research questions, households were also randomly assigned to receive different recorded voice messages or email language. One limitation of the staggered timing approach, however, is that it only allowed us to capture the causal effect of receiving outreach (relative to not receiving outreach) during a one-week period. Consequently, while we are able to estimate the refund amounts claimed as a direct result of outreach during the week of the evaluation, we must make assumptions to extrapolate those impacts to the entire campaign. This approach may underestimate the true, cumulative effect of the outreach over the span of the campaign if the messages had an impact on filing beyond a one-week period.

**RETURN INITIATION AND SUBMISSION**

The non-filer outreach campaign ran from September 29, 2021 to November 9, 2021, with six main waves of messaging. Data on message recipients were linked to information about usage of the GetCTC.org filing tool and the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline using a privacy-preserving *hashed linkage method* developed by CPL. In total, 16,815 individuals (across 11,390 households) and 13,075 likely non-filers (across 10,491 households) initiated a return or were claimed on an
initiated return after receiving an outreach message. As shown in Figure 1, there was a sizable increase in returns initiated on GetCTC.org by CDSS non-filers on the days in which outreach messages were sent.

Looking at submissions, 10,284 likely non-filers (across 7,802 households) submitted a return (or were claimed on a submitted return) after receiving an outreach message and 44.6% of these were accepted. The most common reason why returns submitted by non-filers in our sample were not accepted was that the individual had already filed a 2020 return (48%), the dependent had already been claimed on another return (17%), or the individual’s Identity Protection PIN number was missing or incorrect (13%).

In total, 3,575 households had a return with at least one likely non-filer accepted after receiving an outreach message, and the average estimated refund amount per household was $3,761. Overall, approximately $13.3 million in estimated refunds can be linked to likely non-filer returns that were submitted and accepted after receiving an outreach message.

Approximately 88% of these households had no observed 2020 wage earnings. Among households with observed 2020 earnings, median wages were $6,507 and the average estimated refund amount was $4,141 — approximately 64% of annual median wage earnings.

These are not causal estimates of the effect of receiving outreach; we cannot say with certainty that these households would not have filed in the absence of receiving outreach. However, below we share the main findings from our experimental analysis, which allowed us to estimate the causal effects of the CDSS outreach campaign, as well as to extrapolate and estimate the refund amount that can be causally linked to the outreach campaign.

**OUR FINDINGS**

We estimate the short-term effect of receiving a recorded voice message or email by comparing people who received messages in the first wave to those who were randomly assigned to receive their messages later. For recorded voice messages, the first wave was sent on September 29, 2021, with later waves sent from October 5–11. The first wave of emails was sent on November 2, 2021, with the second wave sent on November 9. We measure the causal effect of receiving a recorded voice message by examining non-filer returns initiated or submitted from September 29 to October 4, when households in the

FIGURE 1. Likely non-filer returns started by date, August–November 2021

![Bar chart showing the number of returns started by date, August–November 2021. Green lines indicate primary recorded voice message and red lines indicate email send dates.](capolicylab.org)
first wave had received messages, but households in the subsequent waves had not. We do the same for email by examining non-filer returns initiated or submitted between November 2 and November 8, when households in the first wave had received emails but those in the second wave had not.

**Finding 1: Nonfiler outreach via recorded voice message and email significantly increased the likelihood that recipients initiated and submitted returns through the simplified filing tool.**

Households that received an email ($N = 47,680$) were 2.9 percentage points (pp) — or more than six times — as likely to initiate a return through the simplified non-filer portal during the week following the first wave of emails. Of households that received an email, 3.5% had a likely non-filer initiate a return, compared to 0.55% of households that did not receive an email. Households that received an email were also more than five times (1.95 pp) as likely to submit a return (2.38% vs. 0.43%). Because email timing was randomly assigned, these differences capture the causal effect of the email on the likelihood of filing a return.

Households that received a recorded voice message ($N = 287,769$) were 0.19 pp or 132% more likely to initiate a return through the simplified non-filer portal (0.33% vs. 0.14%). We find a similar effect on return submissions: 0.22% of households that received a recorded voice message had a likely non-filer submit a return in the subsequent week compared to 0.09% of households that did not receive a message.

Because these estimates are based only on the number of returns initiated and submitted in the week after the first messages were sent, they may be understating the longer-run impact of messaging. In particular, if messages induce some households to initiate returns more than a week after receiving the message, these estimates would not capture that effect.

**Finding 2: Emails had a larger impact on filing patterns for households without children, while recorded voice messages had a larger impact among households with children.**

The impact of receiving an email was significantly smaller for households with children than for households without children, while the impact of receiving a recorded voice message was significantly larger for households with children. Among households with children, receiving an email increased the likelihood that a likely non-filer submitted a return in the subsequent week by 1.1 pp relative to not receiving an email, compared to 2.4 pp among households without children. Households with children were about twice as likely and households without children were about six times as likely to submit a return after receiving an email, relative to similar households that had not yet received emails.

Among households with children, receiving a recorded voice message increased the likelihood that a likely non-filer submitted a return in the one week after receiving a message by 0.19 pp (147%) relative to not receiving a recorded voice message. In comparison, among households without children, receiving a recorded voice message increased the likelihood that a non-filer submitted a return within a week by 0.10 pp (132%) relative to not receiving a recorded voice message.

The email and voice message treatments were delivered to different populations, based on whether the household had opted into receiving email communication. The populations differed in observed ways — email households were more likely to have children, were younger, and were less likely to speak Spanish than voice message households — and potentially in unobserved ways, as well. While this does not affect the validity of the results, which are based on
random assignment within each population, it does make it challenging to understand the differences in treatment effects. In particular, we cannot be sure that the overall greater effectiveness of emails was due to the difference in treatment modality rather than to greater receptivity to outreach among the email opt-in population. A similar caveat applies to comparisons between households with and without children. Future research should seek to better understand variation in the impact of different communication modalities.

**Finding 3: Recorded voice calls with referrals to live assistance did not impact filing patterns — but did yield more calls to the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline (and decreased calls to the CDSS outreach line).**

Emphasizing the availability of live assistance by including the number of the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline, both in the outreach message and on the GetCTC.org landing page where recipients were directed, did not have a meaningful impact on the initiation or submission of returns by likely non-filers. In total, 144,069 households were assigned to receive a recorded voice message that either only included the GetCTC.org link or included the link plus the number for the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline. In both groups, approximately 1.8% of households had a likely non-filer initiate a return and 1.3% submitted a return in the four weeks after receiving a message.

However, including the number of the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline significantly increased the number of calls to that hotline and significantly decreased the number of callbacks to the CDSS outreach line (i.e., the CDSS phone number from which the recorded voice message was sent). On average, 0.17% of households that received the recorded voice message referring people to the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline called the hotline compared to 0.06% of households that received the standard recorded voice message. Meanwhile, 5.3% of households that received the standard recorded voice message called the CDSS outreach line back compared to 4.6% of households that received the recorded voice message directing people to the SimplifyCT tax filing hotline.

**Finding 4: The content of email messages, whether they focused on psychological ownership or the simplicity of the process, did not significantly impact filing rates.**

Email language that emphasized the simplified filing process had a positive, but not significant, impact on the initiation and submission of returns compared to email language that emphasized that tax credits belong to recipients (psychological ownership). On average, 3.5% of households that received an email emphasizing psychological ownership had a likely non-filer initiate a return in the subsequent week compared to 3.7% of households that received the simplified process email. This difference is smaller when looking at return submissions: 2.4% of households that received the psychological ownership email had a likely non-filer submit a return compared to 2.5% of households that received the simplified process email. Neither difference is statistically significant.

**Finding 5. The return on investment of this outreach campaign was very high, with every $1 spent on emails generating an estimated $10,737 in refunds and every $1 spent on recorded voice messages generating an estimated $52 in refunds.**

Using the causal estimates of the effect of outreach in a one-week period — which are conservative estimates — we find that every $1 spent on delivering recorded voice messages generated an estimated $52 in additional refunds to CDSS non-filing households. Every $1 spent on delivering emails generated an estimated $10,737 in additional refunds. The return on investment on emails is higher both because the per-unit cost of sending out emails is lower than recorded voice messages, and because the emails had larger effects in our experiment.

Estimating the overall dollars delivered as a direct result of this campaign is more challenging. We can directly observe in the data how many households had accepted returns at any point during our study. Specifically, we see that 3,575 households (with 7,251 individuals) had returns accepted after receiving an outreach message, and these returns were associated with an estimated $13.3 million in refunds. But this is not a causal estimate: some non-filers may have filed a return in this time period in the absence of CDSS’s outreach campaign. From the experiment, we can also observe how many households had a return accepted in a one-week period as a direct result of receiving either a recorded voice message or email.

To estimate what proportion of the overall $13.3 million in refunds can be directly attributed to the CDSS’s outreach campaign, we extrapolate from the one-week causal estimates. Our most conservative estimate assumes that the outreach only had an impact for one week and that all rounds of messaging had the same impact as what we observed in our one-week experiment. That is, we assume that emails
increased return submission by 1.9 pp, and that recorded voice messages increased submission by 0.13 pp, as reported above. Even with these very conservative assumptions, we can attribute approximately $2.4 million of the total $13.3 million in observed refunds to the outreach campaign. But it is possible that receiving outreach has an impact for longer than one week and that later rounds of messaging, closer to the November 15 filing deadline, had different impacts than earlier rounds. To estimate this impact, our less conservative estimates work backwards from the approximately 3,500 returns that we observe, and assume that the ratio of returns driven by the outreach campaign to those that would have occurred even in the absence of outreach is the same as what we observe in the one-week experiments. If we assume the ratio of returns is similar to the one we observe in the one-week recorded voice message experiment, an estimated $7.5 million can be attributed to the outreach campaign. If we assume the ratio of returns is similar to the one we observe in the one-week email experiment, an estimated $10.6 million can be attributed to the outreach campaign. While the range of estimates is large, in any scenario, the total estimated refund amount that resulted from this campaign far exceeds both the fixed and variable costs of conducting outreach.

**TABLE 1: Estimates of returns and dollars delivered as a direct result of CDSS outreach campaign**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assumptions</th>
<th>Estimated number of accepted returns resulting from outreach</th>
<th>Estimated total refunds resulting from outreach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Most conservative Outreach only had an impact for one week, the impact of outreach was the same over time, and the impact of outreach was precisely what we observe in the one week experiments.</td>
<td>631 returns</td>
<td>$2.4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Intermediate Outreach had an impact beyond one week, and the relative size of the impact is the same as we observe during the one-week recorded voice message experiment.</td>
<td>2,029 returns</td>
<td>$7.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Least conservative Outreach had an impact beyond one week, and the relative size of the impact is the same as we observe during the one-week email experiment.</td>
<td>2,864 returns</td>
<td>$10.6 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LEARNINGS AND NEXT STEPS

CDSS’s targeted outreach via recorded voice message and email significantly increased the rate of filing of simplified tax returns by likely non-filers. Moreover, both the return on investment and the impact for households that filed were large given the amount of tax credits available to each family that filed and the low per-household cost of the outreach. Among CDSS households that successfully filed a return, the average refund amount was $3,761. Nearly 90% of families with accepted returns had no observed 2020 earnings, making the tangible impact of these credits substantial for families that received them.

Because the design of this evaluation limits our ability to measure the causal impact of outreach beyond a one-week period, these findings may represent the lower bound of informational outreach in this context. Additionally, people must both receive and pay attention to outreach for it to be effective — the observed effects are capturing a combination of whether the messages were delivered as intended, whether they were attended to, and whether they motivated tax filing.

At the same time, a number of contextual factors may have made this outreach campaign more effective than prior efforts to increase tax filing in California. For one, this outreach was targeted toward likely non-filers. Second, this outreach campaign directed non-filers to the simplified filing tool, a relatively easy call to action compared to filing a full tax return. Finally, the outreach came during a first-time expansion of credits, both in dollar amounts and in eligibility criteria. This expansion came with a significant amount of publicity. As such, many outreach recipients may have heard of the credits previously, which may have reinforced the credibility of the received messages.

While both emails and recorded voice messages increased simplified filing rates, emails appear to have had a much larger impact on both the initiation and submission of returns. However, we cannot directly compare the impact of email to recorded voice messages given the different characteristics of households that had opted into email. Further research should explore both the impact of different communication modalities, as well as predictors of communication preferences.

Overall, around 2% of the approximately 430,000 households contacted had a likely non-filer successfully submit a return after receiving a message as part of the Fall 2021 outreach campaign. Although all 430,000 households had a likely non-filer based on 2018 and 2019 state tax data, some may have already received the credits at the time of the outreach campaign, while others may not have been eligible for the credits. Nonetheless, there remains a large remaining take-up gap that will require higher-touch methods to close. Future efforts and evaluations should aim to better understand the role of trust and credibility, the impact of using live assistance, the specific barriers to tax filing that families might face, and which populations are most responsive to which types of outreach.
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THE PEOPLE LAB

The People Lab (TPL) aims to empower the public sector by producing cutting-edge research on the people in government and the communities they are called to serve. Using evidence from public management and insights from behavioral science, we study, design, and test strategies that can solve urgent public sector challenges in three core areas: strengthening the government workforce, improving government-resident interactions, and reimagining evidence-based policymaking.

THE CALIFORNIA POLICY LAB

The California Policy Lab (CPL) seeks to improve the lives of Californians by working with the government to generate evidence that transforms public policy and to help address California’s most urgent issues, including homelessness, poverty, criminal justice reform, and education inequality. CPL facilitates close working partnerships between policymakers and researchers at the University of California to evaluate and improve public programs through empirical research and technical assistance.
APPENDIX: OUTREACH MESSAGES

Note: Messages were sent in English and Spanish; only the English versions are shown below.

Recorded Voice Messages

1. **Standard message for adults with children**

   Hello. This is a pre-recorded message from the California Department of Social Services. We are calling to inform you that the federal stimulus payments provide more than $3,000 for each child under your care, no matter your income. These payments will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   You can claim your payments online. Go to GetCTC.org/XXX to claim your payments today. Again that’s GetCTC.org/XXX to claim your payments today.

   Thank you for listening to this message from the California Department of Social Services. Press 0 to replay this message.

2. **Standard message for adults without children**

   Hello. This is a pre-recorded message from the California Department of Social Services. We are calling to inform you that you can receive more than $3,000 in combined federal stimulus payments, no matter your income. These payments will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   You can claim your payments online. Go to GetCTC.org/XXX to claim your payments today. Again that’s GetCTC.org/XXX to claim your payments today.

   Thank you for listening to this message from the California Department of Social Services. Press 0 to replay this message.

3. **Assistance message for adults with children**

   Hello. This is a pre-recorded message from the California Department of Social Services. We are calling to inform you that the federal stimulus payments provide more than $3,000 for each child under your care, no matter your income. These payments will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   Qualified tax preparers are available to help you claim your payments. Go to GetCTC.org/XXX to claim your payments today. Again that’s GetCTC.org/XXX. For direct assistance from a real person, call 1-877-XXX-XXXX. Again that number is 1-877-XXX-XXXX.

   Thank you for listening to this message from the California Department of Social Services. Press 0 to replay this message.

4. **Assistance message for adults without children**

   Hello. This is a pre-recorded message from the California Department of Social Services. We are calling to inform you that you can receive more than $3,000 in combined federal stimulus payments, no matter your income. These payments will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   Qualified tax preparers are available to help you claim your payments. Go to GetCTC.org/XXX to claim your payments today. Again that’s GetCTC.org/XXX. For direct assistance from a real person, call 1-877-XXX-XXXX. Again that number is 1-877-XXX-XXXX.

   Thank you for listening to this message from the California Department of Social Services. Press 0 to replay this message.
Emails

1. **Message A (psychological ownership) for adults with children**
   
   Subject line: CA Department of Social Services message on federal stimulus payments

   Hello,

   No matter what your income is, federal stimulus payments provide $3,000+ for each child under your care. We are contacting you because you may be eligible for these payments. It will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   The California Department of Social Services wants to help everyone get the money that belongs to them. Go to [https://www.getctc.org/XXX](https://www.getctc.org/XXX) to check your eligibility and claim your payments today. This tool is available at no cost.

   [CDSS logo]

2. **Message A (psychological ownership) for adults without children**

   Subject line: CA Department of Social Services message on federal stimulus payments

   Hello,

   No matter what your income is, you can receive $3,000+ from the combined federal stimulus payments. We are contacting you because you may be eligible for these payments. It will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   The California Department of Social Services wants to help everyone get the money that belongs to them. Go to [https://www.getctc.org/XXX](https://www.getctc.org/XXX) to check your eligibility and claim your payments today. This tool is available at no cost.

   [CDSS logo]

3. **Message B (simplified process) for adults with children**

   Subject line: CA Department of Social Services message on federal stimulus payments

   Hello,

   No matter what your income is, federal stimulus payments provide $3,000+ for each child under your care. We are contacting you because you may be eligible for these payments. It will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   Your time is valuable. We have simplified the filing process to make it easier for you to claim your payments online. You can complete it in one sitting. Go to [https://www.getctc.org/XXX](https://www.getctc.org/XXX) to check your eligibility and claim your payments today. This tool is available at no cost.

   [CDSS logo]

4. **Message B (simplified process) for adults without children**

   Subject line: CA Department of Social Services message on federal stimulus payments

   Hello,

   No matter what your income is, you can receive $3,000+ from the combined federal stimulus payments. We are contacting you because you may be eligible for these payments. It will not affect your ability to receive other public benefits.

   Your time is valuable. We have simplified the filing process to make it easier for you to claim your payments online. You can complete it in one sitting. Go to [https://www.getctc.org/XXX](https://www.getctc.org/XXX) to check your eligibility and claim your payments today. This tool is available at no cost.

   [CDSS logo]

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This research publication reflects the views of the authors and not necessarily the views of our funders, our staff, our advisory board, the California Department of Social Services, or the Regents of the University of California.

Endnotes

1 Because the platform is used for a wide range of outreach activities, its cost is not included in ROI calculations.

2 Note that these are the number of households in the final sample used for analysis. A small number of additional households may have received messages but are not included here because of data quality issues.

3 In total, 381,206 households received a recorded voice message. However, 93,437 of these households were initially supposed to receive text messages instead of recorded voice messages. Due to unanticipated limitations in text messaging capability, these households ultimately received recorded voice messages instead. They are excluded from the experimental analysis reported here.