

Use Your Vote

General
Election
2017

Report



Executive Summary

by David Babbs, Executive Director, 38 Degrees



Democracy works better when more people get involved. That's why millions of us take part in 38 Degrees: we think politics is too important to leave to politicians. It's also why, when Theresa May announced a snap election, 38 Degrees-ers sprung into action with one simple goal in mind: to motivate more people to use their vote.

Over 200,000 38 Degrees members took part in the decision to create an ambitious plan to increase turnout for the 2017 General Election. We created adverts seen by over four million people encouraging them to register to vote. We launched a new voter advice app used by over one million people. We ran a programme of livestreamed hustings to give voters more opportunities to hear directly from their local candidates, with footage from these events viewed by over 2 million people. And we took to the streets too, kicking off a huge on-the-ground effort to increase turnout in the marginal seats of Bath and Hove.

38 Degrees-ers believe people power works - and nowhere is that more obvious than at the ballot box. But 38 Degrees members also wanted to prove that our efforts can make a difference - and that is where this report comes in.

Alongside our nationwide voter participation and voting information programmes, we decided to construct two rigorous tests in specific constituencies, to establish the impact of different voter turnout tactics more scientifically. We approached Professor Peter John, Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at UCL and a recognised expert in public participation. He helped us design a randomised controlled trial [RCT], to evaluate to an academic standard whether or not our turnout campaigns worked. This was, to my knowledge, the largest such experiment ever conducted in the UK.

I'm delighted that we were able to demonstrate that this work can make a difference. In Hove, the work of 38 Degrees-ers increased turnout by up to 2%. That's an impressive feat. To put it in context: 52 MPs in June were elected on less than a 2% margin.



The snap election announcement gave us only just four weeks to turnaround a huge canvassing operation, complete with scientific benchmarking. Hundreds showed up at short notice to pound the streets in Bath and Hove come rain or shine, knocking on doors, delivering leaflets and phone messages to over 77,000 voters. 25,000 other 38 Degrees-ers from all across the UK generously donated fivers and tenners to make the experiment happen: no big donors or political parties involved to sway the outcome.

Independent elections expert Professor Peter John has verified the impact of our Use Your Vote campaign - and you can read his take below. I wanted to say - to all the 38 Degrees members who turned out and made a difference - thank you, and congratulations for the role you played in making this happen.



Foreword

by Professor Peter John,
Professor of Political Science
and Public Policy, University
College London (UCL)



38 Degrees approached me to help design and evaluate a scientific experiment (known as a Randomised Control Trial - RCT) during the 2017 General Election. The purpose was to test whether door-knocking, leafleting, or telephoning were better placed to raise voter turnout. This was part of their ambitious non-partisan effort to increase turnout of all available voters in the constituencies of Hove and Bath - key battlegrounds of the three major political parties.

After careful examination of the electoral registers post election, my assessment is that the 38 Degrees campaign had significant impact in Hove, raising turnout between 1-2 percentage points. Door-knocking and telephoning worked well as methods of contact. This is a striking result to have achieved in just four weeks, especially in a swing seat where there were many political parties and other campaigns vying for voters attention. To put this result in context of votes across the UK: there are currently 52 seats in the Westminster Parliament where the margin of victory is 2% or less.

In Bath, it looks like the campaign did not raise turnout: a probable combination of fewer voters being contacted and a constituency-wide drop in turnout caused by most of the student population leaving before voting day.

The overall lesson is that a targeted campaign based on telephoning or canvassing can make a difference to voter turnout. Given how close the races are in so many constituencies after the 2017 election, voters will know that their vote really counts and that local campaigns can be crucial to raising democratic engagement.

The RCT experiment explained

by Professor Peter John

38 Degrees chose an experimental approach, known as a randomised controlled trial [RCT], to evaluate whether a turnout campaign worked or not. This involved placing certain households in a randomly allocated control group (receiving no interventions) while other groups of voters received different kinds of intervention.

RCTs have grown very much in popularity in recent years as a favoured method of finding out what works in public policy, marketing and recently, in politics. The idea of using randomisation goes back to the nineteenth century, and was developed further in the early twentieth century, becoming a commonly accepted method of evaluating interventions. RCTs become universally used to assess medical treatments, testing whether new medicines or procedures benefit patients. There were also early experiments testing whether voter mobilisation campaigns work. Harold Gosnell in 1927 carried out a large-scale voter turnout RCT in Chicago¹.

The comparison of outcomes between treatment groups and the control group tells the researcher whether an intervention worked or not. The results also reveal by how much a treatment works, such as percentage point differences. Researchers trust the results from trials because the only factor that distinguishes people in the treatment/intervention group from those in the control is that they get the treatment or intervention.

It's possible to be confident in the results because of randomisation. In the treatment/intervention group there are men, women, and people of different ages and backgrounds, but randomisation means there is the same balance of people in the control group. If there were no experimental intervention taking place, then both groups would produce the same outcomes, say for a medical condition. But if one group gets an intervention and

¹ Gosnell, Harold F. 1927. *Getting-Out-The-Vote: An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

the control group is left alone, any difference in outcomes between the groups is only attributable to the intervention. Thus RCTs can make a very strong claim for understanding causal effects. With other methods of evaluation, the researcher cannot be sure that some other factor caused the difference in outcomes other than the intervention, such as the characteristics of the people in the sample.

Nowadays trials are applied more generally to public policy and politics. There has been a particular expansion in the study of politics, targeted at evaluating campaigns to increase voter turnout. These were developed in the USA at Yale University, pioneered by the political scientists Don Green and Alan Gerber, summarised in their book *Get Out the Vote*.²

These political scientists, along with other colleagues and students, have done many hundreds of experiments, testing whether contacting voters, such as telephoning them, door-knocking, leafleting, e-mailing, etc., works. As a result, researchers know that these campaigns from non-partisan organisations in general work, at least in the US. There are fewer studies in other countries, but they also work well, usually lifting voter turnout by several percentage points. It was this model that 38 Degrees developed in partnership with myself, who had already carried out these experiments in the UK.³ The 38 Degrees campaign is, to date, the biggest scale non-partisan RCT that has been carried out in the UK to measure voter turnout.

Shortly after the calling of the General Election in April 2017, 38 Degrees launched its turnout campaign in two marginal constituencies. The campaign was designed for maximum effect on voter turnout in a concentrated area and where voting would make a difference, because of the narrow margins between the winning and runner up parties in the General Election of 2015.

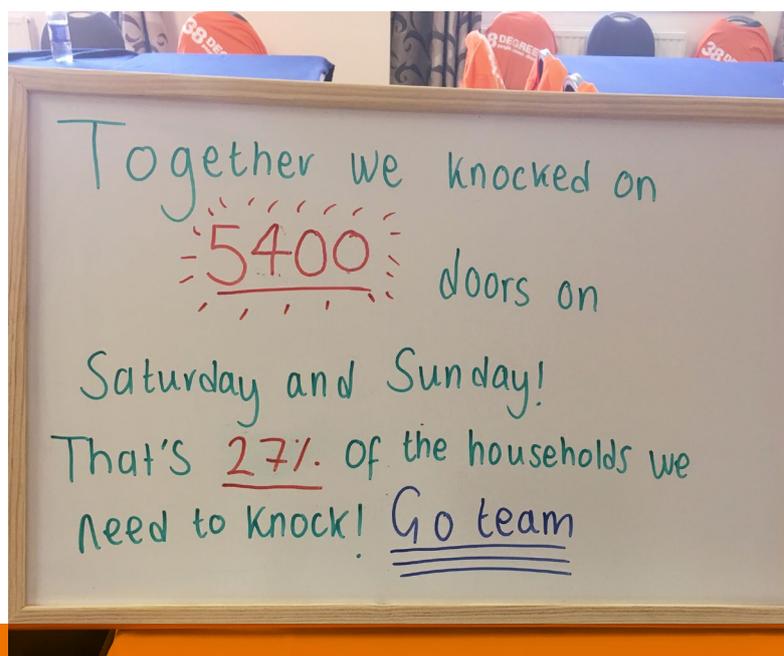
2 Green, Donald P. and Alan S. Gerber. 2015. *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 3rd edition.

3 For example, Peter John and Tessa Brannan (2008). How Different Are Telephoning and Canvassing? Results from a 'Get Out the Vote' Field Experiment in the British 2005 General Election. *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(3), 565-574.

In addition, it was important to carry out the intervention where there were large numbers of 38 Degrees members who could participate in the effort. This choice of areas had the impact of making the campaign visible to members, but also meant that it took place in areas where voter turnout was already high, and where voters were already receiving a large number of messages from the political parties to vote. Voters may already have been mobilised to vote before getting the message or messages from 38 Degrees. The expectation was that the campaign would make a difference, but even a small percentage difference would be very important for voters and could affect the outcome itself.⁴

One further consideration in selecting the constituencies was not to be biased for or against one political party as the goal was purely to increase turnout. This meant the two areas had different kinds of political races. One area was the constituency of Bath, which had been won by the Conservative Party in 2015, but was under challenge by the Liberal Democrats, who held it from 2010-2015. Hove was narrowly won by Labour in 2015, but was under challenge by the Conservatives. In these two constituencies chosen by 38 Degrees, the three main parties in England

4 A median constituent size in the UK is over 72,000, with 2% of a constituency around 2000 people. At the 2017 election, over 50 seats were won by less than 2% majority. <http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/elections-and-voting/constituencies/> X, 2



were in play. 38 Degrees was not indicating a vote for any political party was preferred, just that casting one's vote was important.

38 Degrees carried out the intervention through its campaign team and volunteers in the constituencies. In order to ensure all voters were contacted in a short space of time, they also contracted some of the phone activity to a telephone canvassing company (for treatment groups T4 and T5, see below). I advised on study design and carried out the analysis for this report. I'd like to thank Florian Foos of King's College London for advice on the statistical analysis and for checking the data.

The approach was to source electoral registers for all eligible voters then to exclude those who could not easily be accessed by the campaign, such as those in gated communities and care homes. These exclusions were based on local knowledge. Postal voters are usually excluded in voter turnout interventions on the grounds that many of them cast their vote early, before the canvass. This project included them, largely because the electoral registration data does not contain a list of those who had applied for a postal vote in the past. It is possible that the campaign contacted many of these people who had already voted which weakened the impact of the intervention.

38 Degrees also wanted to exclude their members from the intervention on the grounds that they probably would not need to be mobilised and it would be odd receiving these messages. In the end this was only done for Bath.⁵

There were five treatment groups, which emerged from discussions at 38 Degrees. These were based on a reading of the literature, practical considerations about how much canvassing could be done in a short period of time, and the statistical power of the experiment.

These groups, which were the same for Bath and Hove, were:

- T1** – door knock
- T2** – phone
- T3** – door knock + leaflet
- T4** – phone + leaflet
- T5** – door knock + phone + leaflet
- T6** – Control

The appendix contains more details about the intervention and the contacts made.

⁵ For Bath, the file was composed of 64,949 cases (households). Comparing 38 Degrees member lists produced 3,567 cases which were removed from the data, yielding 61,435 cases. For Hove, there were 65,535 cases. It was not possible to remove the member data from the Hove sample because the data was less fine-grained, making it harder to identify the members.



Executing the campaign:

the ground operation in Hove by Georgie Laming, lead organiser in Hove, 38 Degrees

I worked on our field campaign in Hove where we were able to increase turnout by up to 2%. I led a small team of campaigners, canvassers and volunteers to speak to as many people as possible before election day. **The message was simple and clear: no matter who you vote for, we wanted everybody to get out and use their vote.** As 38 Degrees members we believe that you should have your voice heard not just at election times but all year round. And with the prospect of a snap election that could determine five years of policy and the terms of our exit from the EU, we knew we had to do something big.

On the day the snap election was called, the office team had just finished our morning team meeting, setting out the campaigns we would prioritise that week. That all went out of the window as we started sending emails to thousands of 38 Degrees members asking them what we should all do together. The decision: encourage everyone to vote.

A week later, I was packed up and on a train down to Hove to assemble our team. We arrived with one laptop, a hotel conference room as our base and not much else. By the end of the campaign, we had set up an entire office complete with a dedicated team of canvassers and volunteers.

With such a big task ahead of us, we chose to prioritise three main tactics; door knocking, leafleting and phone calls. We knew from research that these were the most effective voter mobilisations strategies. And in true 38 Degrees style, we didn't want to do things by halves. We set ourselves some high and ambitious targets: we wanted to knock on every door in Hove at least twice (40,000 doors!) in the space of three weeks, as well as call 20,000 people and deliver 63,000 leaflets.

The most important part of being a member of 38 Degrees is being able to demonstrate our collective power to make change happen. Working with Professor Peter John, we decided that we needed scientific proof of what 38 Degrees members and staff can do. Professor John helped us to divide up the list of voters in the constituency into different groups. Each one would get a combination of communication from us, except the control group, helping us to determine which tactics worked best so that the next time an election comes round, we can dust off our election plan and do it bigger and better.

Unlike big political parties, we don't have access to lots of data on voters or fancy technology to help us plan a voter turnout campaign. So the first few days were spent sitting on the floor, plotting out maps and 'cutting turf', which means working out the best canvassing routes.

From there on in it was all go. We knew we needed a lot of people power to hit our targets so we hosted two 'Super Saturdays', training loads of local 38 Degrees members on the best persuasion



techniques to get people voting on election day. Volunteers learnt how to help local residents make a plan to vote on polling day. For example, they asked key questions such as “What time are you planning on going to the polling station?” and “Will you take anyone else with you to vote?”. These questions on the doorstep helped thousands of people to plan their vote.

When we embarked on this campaign, I was apprehensive that we could reach 40,000 doors and that people might not be receptive to messages encouraging them to vote. But as always, 38 Degrees members got their hands dirty. Every day volunteers turned up whether in burning heat or pouring rain, to go out and talk to voters. Members like Graham, who’d never taken part in campaigning in his local area, but who joined us day after day to talk to voters, and even trained up other volunteers to go with him!

With only three weeks to go, we still had a lot of door-knocking and phone calls to get through so thousands of 38 Degrees members chipped in small donations to hire a team of callers to make phone calls as well as training up volunteers. Again,

38 Degrees members delivered. In one evening we made over 7000 phone calls and later we would find out from Professor Peter John that phone calls made by 38 Degrees members were so much more persuasive than those of the paid canvassers.

After a rocky start, creating complicated plans and maps by hand, we finally reached a milestone: in one weekend our canvassers and volunteers knocked on half of the doors in the constituency. From there, the operation ran like clockwork and by election day we were onto our fourth attempt at knocking on doors in the constituency.

The campaign itself is mostly a blur of orange shirts and clipboards but there are some memories too great not to share. From one member of the public that pretended to be a dog to scare a canvasser away to the woman who shouted down the road to a volunteer that she had made her postal vote because of them!

That just leaves me now to say a massive thank you to all of the 38 Degrees members, canvassers and staff who threw their all into our ambitious campaign. I cannot wait to see what we all do together at the next election.



The results in Hove

by Professor Peter John

With all the data collected and analysed, here is a snapshot of the overall results from Hove:

Table 1: Contacts made with citizens in Hove.

Treatment	T1 Door knock	T2 Phone call	T3 Door knock + leaflet	T4 Phone call + leaflet	T5 Door knock + phone call + leaflet
Contacted electors	5,722	1,640	5,828	700	1,284
Total in group	10,847	10,904	10,812	10,912	11,088
Contact rate (%)	52.8	15.0	53.9	6.4	11.6

This table shows that, even though 38 Degrees only had four weeks to execute the treatments, the campaign gained a good contact rate which exceeded normal door-knocking and telephone contact rates in many UK studies.⁶

For Hove, the final results are represented represented in Table 2:

These results tell us that the campaign worked for most treatment groups, with T1, T2, and T3 yielding over 68 percent of the vote compared to 66.5 percent in the control, differences of over 1.5 percentage points. Each of these differences with the control group is statistically significant. The impact for door knocking is 1.62 percentage points; telephoning did rather better at 2.3 percent; and door-knocking with the leaflet (T3) achieving a 1.56 percentage point difference.

T4 and T5 yield less of a difference from the control at 0.7 percentage points each so did not appear to make an impact at this sample size. At first glance this might seem puzzling, but is explained by the lower contact rate for these groups (see appendix). The telephoning for T4 and T5 was done by a private company rather than the volunteers who executed telephone canvassing in T2 – suggesting a volunteer-led campaign has a more positive effect on increasing turnout.

Overall, these results show that the campaign in Hove succeeded in increasing turnout by up to 2%. There is also a clear and noticeable impact of the medium used to encourage voter turnout: telephone canvassing and door-knocking having the clearest positive impact.

Table 2: Voter turnout in Hove by treatment group.

	T1 Door knock	T2 Phone call	T3 Door knock + leaflet	T4 Phone call + leaflet	T5 Door knock + phone call + leaflet	T6 Control group	Total
N turnout	7,389	7,505	7,369	7,333	7,296	7,296	44,333
% turnout	68.12	68.83	68.06	67.20	67.20	66.50	67.65
N Total	10,847	10,904	10,813	11,088	11,088	10,972	65,536
% Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

⁶ See John and Brannan (2008).

The results in Bath

by Professor Peter John

For Bath, the final results are represented in the following table:

Table 3: Voter turnout in Bath by treatment group.

	T1 Door knock	T2 Phone call	T3 Door knock + leaflet	T4 Phone call + leaflet	T5 Door knock + phone call + leaflet	T6 Control group	Total
N turnout	6,597	7,163	6,787	6,763	6,615	6,742	40,667
% turnout	66.02	64.60	66.97	65.14	66.70	67.96	66.20
N Total	9,992	11,089	10,134	10,382	9,918	9,920	61,435
% Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The turnout in the whole group is lower than the average at the election of 74.3 percent, which is attributed to a couple of reasons: perhaps most significantly, for the treatment groups in Bath, 38 Degrees members were removed from the experiment. These voters probably would have had very high turnout if included.

The table 3 shows no effect of treatments compared to control, and they may even have had a negative impact. In some cases, voters can receive information that causes them not to be engaged or conflicts with other prior-held views. However, the datasets in Bath here are more consistent with a view that the campaign had no effect (see further analysis in the appendix).

There are two probable factors that help explain the differences between the Bath and Hove results. Firstly, as shown in the lower turnout across the constituency of Bath, the area experienced a demographic shift as a large proportion of the university student population departed for their end of term before voting day. Another key factor is the significantly lower contact rate that was achieved in Bath compared to Hove: a trickier

terrain with lower population density accounts for the fewer doors knocked successfully in Bath. This, combined with much less data obtained across the telephone treatment groups, meant that it is harder to see any significant results in the Bath data.

There are therefore useful lessons from comparing the two campaigns: the successful execution of the turnout messages and the requirement to reach a sizable proportion of the constituency with your campaign are key variables to determining success and a provable increase in turnout.



Appendix

by Professor Peter John

Below are further details about the treatment interventions and the data used to measure the results.

Setting up the experiment:

The electoral data for Bath and Hove was randomised by household so as to ensure smooth canvassing and telephoning. One person could door-knock or telephone each household to talk to the person who answered the door or telephone rather than ask for a person randomly selected from the electoral register, which is awkward to do and can reduce contact overall.

The names and addresses were used to contract the sample into a list of households; then randomised into the six equally-proportioned groups using the randomising software, randomizr (this is a clustered design where outcomes are still measured at the individual level and is common in experimental research). This file was used by randomizr to generate the treatment and control group for each constituency.

Executing the campaign:

Door-knocking (T1) was carried out by a team of 38 Degrees members and paid employees. Canvassers were presented with a script, which guided their door knock conversation. They received a training session on how to do a call and a practice run. Safety procedures and commonly asked queries were also run through in detail, so that canvassers felt confident to execute their message. Canvassers were allocated to prescribed routes, and a record was made whether contact occurred. There was one call back for voters who did not answer the door.

T2 (telephone canvassing) was administered by 38 Degrees members using the same script based on sourced landline telephone numbers. These numbers were not publicly obtainable for the whole sample, and 38 Degrees excluded anyone who had indicated through the Telephone Preference Service that they did not wish to receive calls. In addition, not everyone could be contacted or be prepared to listen to a message delivered over the phone.

The same procedures were followed in T3 and T4 as in T1 and T2 except that households were sent a leaflet in addition. For T4 and T5 the phone calls were carried out by a private company, and the telephone canvassers were trained by 38 Degrees to deliver the messages to voters.

The canvassing treatments were administered in the week starting 22 May and the telephoning treatment from 31 May, up the election day on 8 June. 38 Degrees kept a record of the contact made with each elector.

Data Protection:

For the duration of the campaign, 38 Degrees and Professor Peter John worked together to ensure the correct and proper use of voter data, and to make sure that all sensitive information was held privately and securely. All data included in this report is anonymised, and all electoral data was derived from publicly available sources.

The contact data:

The following table is a record for Hove.

Table 4: Contacts with citizens in Hove.

Treatment	T1 Door knock	T2 Phone call	T3 Door knock + leaflet	T4 Phone call + leaflet	T5 Door knock + phone call + leaflet
Contacted electors	5,722	1,640	5,828	700	1284
Total in group	10,847	10,904	10,812	10,912	11,088
Contact rate (%)	52.8	15.0	53.9	6.4	11.6

Table 4 shows that the campaign gained a good contact rate (bearing in mind there are some electors who did not have telephone numbers in the dataset). It is better than an equivalent single constituency experiment done in the 2005 General Election by Professor Peter John and Tessa Bannan. It can also be assumed that as only one contact was made in the household, other electors in the household might also be affected by the treatment. There was a lower contact rate for T4, which is puzzling because the phone calling company was using the same data sources for this group. The triple treatment was more disappointing with only 11.6 percent direct contact. This difference in contact probably affected the results.

There was less successful contact attempts in Bath meaning there is less data available for analysis. The results of the Bath campaign are below;

- 4,108 received a door knock and a leaflet
- 514 received a doorknock, leaflet and a phone call
- 4,750 received a leaflet
- 546 received a leaflet and phone call

The data was not fine-grained enough to break down into treatment group contact rates, but the total number of electors contacted in any way was 9,991, about a quarter of the numbers contacted in Hove despite the same sample size. If leaflet only contacts are taken out, 5,161 electors were either door knocked or telephoned or both, which is much less than the 15,174 who were directly contacted in Hove. These differences become crucial when interpreting the results.

Outcome data for individual electors were sourced directly from the local registration offices and were inputted from pdfs. Some registration areas were found to not be part of the sample and were not part of the originally sourced data, explaining why the totals in the sample are less than the total number of voters in each constituency (other explanations are the exclusions and also late registration, which was a feature of the 2017 election).

Table 5: Probit regression on treatments: Hove.

VARIABLES	A Vote	B Vote
T1 <i>Door knock</i>	0.0450* (0.0216)	0.0448* (0.0216)
T2 <i>Phone call</i>	0.0649** (0.0217)	0.0657** (0.0217)
T3 <i>Door knock + leaflet</i>	0.0432* (0.0216)	0.0438* (0.0216)
T4 <i>Phone call + leaflet</i>	0.0194 (0.0216)	0.0197 (0.0215)
T5 <i>Door knock + phone call + leaflet</i>	0.0194 (0.0215)	0.0194 (0.0215)
Telephone		0.253*** (0.0145)
Postcode		0.0400** (0.0150)
Constant	0.426*** (0.0153)	0.381*** (0.0158)
Observations	65,535	65,535

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Statistical analysis:

It's useful to probe the results with regression to examine the impact of clustering and covariates on the data.⁷

The main regression follows in Table 5, with the first column of just the treatments and then added to the covariates.

The results show that T1, T2 and T3 are statistically significant as in the bivariate analysis and these estimates are not greatly affected by the inclusion of covariates, which is to be expected because the sample is balanced.

It is important to know whether these results are not a function of the number of treatment groups. Sometimes it is possible to get results by chance because of a large number of groups in the experiment. It is possible to adjust the p-values to take account of multiple comparisons using the Bonferroni correction.⁸ The p-values are based on column B in Table 6.

The correction only yields T2 as the group where turnout was raised. If a very cautious approach is taken to the analysis, this suggests that even in Hove it is not possible to categorically reject the hypothesis that the campaign overall had no effect, except for telephoning.

Table 6: Corrected p-values from Table 2, column 2 (Bonferroni).

	Unadjusted p-values	Unadjusted significance	Adjusted p-values	Adjusted significance
T1	0.038	TRUE	0.190	FALSE
T2	0.002	TRUE	0.010	TRUE
T3	0.043	TRUE	0.215	FALSE
T4	0.360	FALSE	1.000	FALSE
T5	0.341	FALSE	1.000	FALSE

⁷ These control for the impact of clustering by estimating robust standard errors.

⁸ See Alexander Coppock (2015), '10 Things to Know about Multiple Comparisons', <http://egap.org/methods-guides/10-things-you-need-know-about-multiple-comparisons>, Accessed 14 December 2017.

Table 7: Probit regression on treatments: Bath.

VARIABLES	A Vote	B Vote
T1 <i>Door knock</i>	-0.0536* (0.0226)	-0.0518* (0.0225)
T2 <i>Phone call</i>	-0.0923** (0.0285)	-0.0660** (0.0253)
T3 <i>Door knock + leaflet</i>	-0.0275 (0.0232)	-0.0275 (0.0232)
T4 <i>Phone call + leaflet</i>	-0.0775* (0.0312)	-0.0673* (0.0271)
T5 <i>Door knock + phone call + leaflet</i>	-0.0351 (0.0227)	-0.0337 (0.0226)
Telephone	n/a	0.231*** (0.0143)
Gender	n/a	-0.254*** (0.00872)
Constant	0.467*** (0.0160)	0.946*** (0.0244)
Observations	61,435	61,435

Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

For Bath, as before, the data does not have many covariates. But it is possible to create a gender variable based on the titles in the Bath dataset, as well as using the telephone numbers, of which both predict turnout. Balance tests, done by regression with treatment allocation as the response variable, do not show imbalance. There is imbalance between control and T2 with respect to gender, but no other significant imbalances. The conclusion to draw is that the allocation is balanced according to the variables that are observed.

Regression analysis shown in Table 7, presented with and without the covariates. It shows two of the treatments to be non-significant, T3 and T5, with significant estimates for the other treatments, T1, T2 and T4. The regression with covariates produces slightly lower estimates of the treatments consistent with minor imbalance, but does not alter the basic results.

Implementation of the correction for multiple comparisons as before, yields the following p-values, shown in Table 8, again using the Bonferroni correction.

Table 8 shows that when multiple comparisons are taken into account only T2 has a statistically significant negative effect. Overall, the campaign had no effect in Bath, which is probably consistent with the lack of contact overall as discussed above.

Table 8: Corrected p-values from Table 7, column B.

	Unadjusted p-values	Unadjusted significance	Adjusted p-values	Adjusted significance
T1 <i>Door knock</i>	0.018	TRUE	0.090	FALSE
T2 <i>Phone call</i>	0.001	TRUE	0.005	TRUE
T3 <i>Door knock + leaflet</i>	0.236	FALSE	1.000	FALSE
T4 <i>Phone call + leaflet</i>	0.013	TRUE	0.065	FALSE
T5 <i>Door knock + phone call + leaflet</i>	0.122	FALSE	0.610	FALSE

Thank yous

Lots of people came together to make the Use Your Vote campaign happen, we'd like to personally thank a few who made the impossible, possible:

Professor Peter John & University College London

King's College London

Bath & North East Somerset Council

Brighton & Hove City Council

Confero

GetUp! Especially Tim McEwan and Bridger Rossiter

All the canvassers, especially Abe, Florian, Gill, Myles, Isla, Sarah and Rachel

38 Degrees members who volunteered

And finally, thank you to the 25,469 38 Degrees members who donated to the Use Your Vote campaign.

About 38 Degrees

38 Degrees brings together millions of us from all across the United Kingdom. We're independent of all political parties, and funded by thousands of individual donations from members. We work together to make people-powered change happen on issues that matter to all of us. We believe that democracy works better when more people are involved.

Anyone can get involved with 38 Degrees. 38 Degrees members share a desire for a fairer, better, more sustainable society, and come together to decide which issues we campaign on and the actions we'll take to help us achieve that. We're united by a set of values; to defend freedom and fairness, protect rights, promote peace, preserve the planet and deepen democracy.

38 Degrees aims to put power into people's hands. We aim to help to strengthen democracy by giving 38 Degrees members a new way to be involved in politics. We want to be more than just voters and ensure our voices are heard all of the time, not just once every five years.





38 DEGREES
people. power. change.