

# Social Mobilisation in Partisan Spaces

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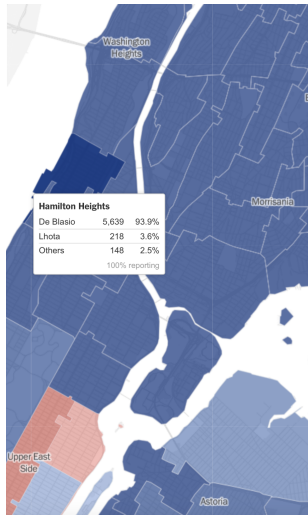
- How are politically meaningful, social interactions conditioned by the political context in which they take place?

## Political context and social influence

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- How are politically meaningful, social interactions conditioned by the political context in which they take place?
- Social context changes; e.g. partisan sorting (Hersh and Nall, 2013; Martin and Webster, 2018)

# My neighbourhood in New York



# Social influence in households and neighbourhoods

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- Large literature on neighbourhood effects (Cutts and Fieldhouse, 2009; Enos, 2017; Gay, 2012; Sinclair et al., 2012)

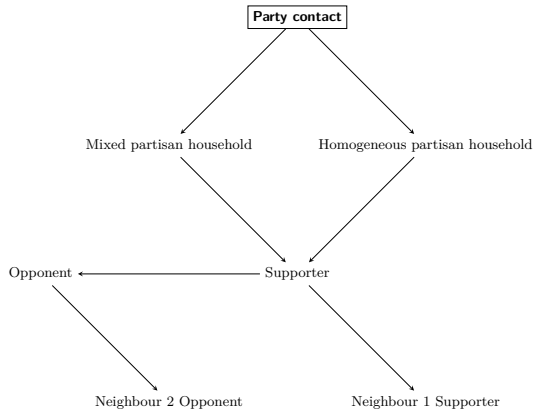
# Information sharing between household members and neighbours

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# Mobilisation dynamics within households



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  - ② Neighbours should be more likely to pass on information to co-partisans (Downs, 1957; Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1987).

# Pre-registration

Pre-registration: <http://egap.org/registration/4388>

# Definition of neighbourhood



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- 1 Same street

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- 2 Most proximate household on street

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- A large number of households was excluded pre-random assignment on treatment and control streets from the experiment (due to cost constraints as well as legal and strategic considerations).
- We focus on the households excluded pre-random assignment.

# Treatment



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- Appeal to vote for Labour in local and European elections.
- In line with our pre-analysis plan we merge the two treatment groups (to gain statistical power).

# Leaflets

## CAN YOU AFFORD 10 YEARS OF A TORY-RUN NHS?

Within 4 years in the cracks have begun to show in the NHS. It is harder to see a GP, nurse numbers have been cut and NHS waiting lists are rocketing.

"NHS waiting times are at highest for six years with 2.8 million waiting for surgery or other hospital procedures."

– Daily Mail, 18 April 2014

- Your guarantee of a GP appointment within 24 hours has been scrapped
- Thousands of nurses and NHS frontline staff have been cut

On May 23rd vote Labour.

A vote for the Labour Party is a vote to safeguard and restore the NHS.

## CAN YOU AFFORD 10 YEARS OF A TORY-RUN POLICE SERVICE?

Within 4 years in the cracks have begun to show in the police services. Police numbers have been cut, 999 response times have gone by up, and action against serious crimes is being cut.

"The number of police officers in England and Wales fell by almost 3,500 last year to the lowest level in more than a decade."

– Daily Mail, 30 January 2014

- Some towns have lost their neighbourhood police altogether.
- 999 response times have gone up so people are waiting longer in an emergency

On May 23rd vote Labour.

A vote for the Labour Party is a vote to safeguard and restore the Police Service.

# Party id data

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- Self-reported voting intention data collected by local party volunteers as part of voter identification routine.

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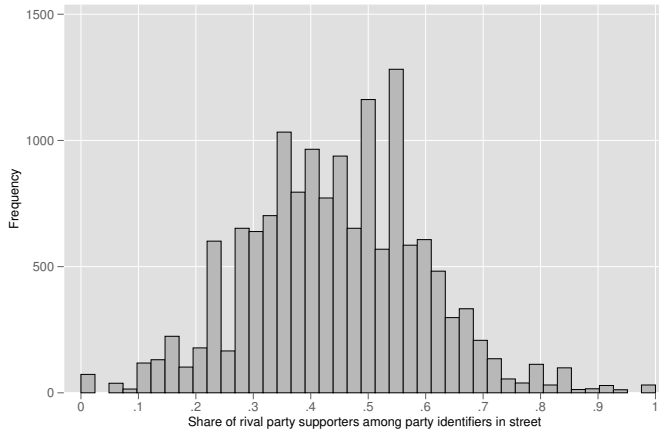
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## Party id data

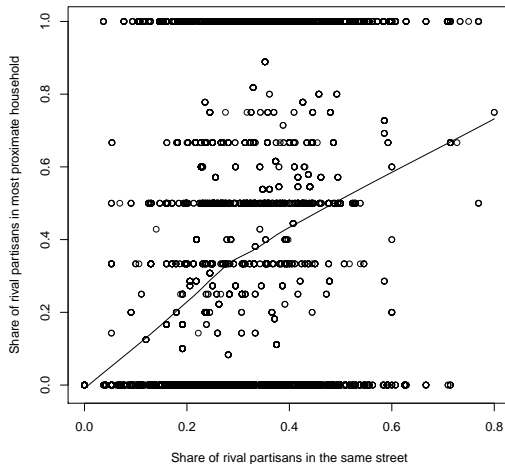
- Self-reported voting intention data collected by local party volunteers as part of voter identification routine.
- All major political parties in the UK collect canvassing data for GOTV targeting.
- Measurement instrument has been validated against a telephone survey and reliably identifies party supporters versus opponents (Foos, 2018).



# Share of rival partisans per street



# Correlation between share of rival party supporters in street and household



# Google maps API

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- Obtain the location (latitude and longitude) of experimental and non-experimental households by geocoding the household address using Google Maps API.

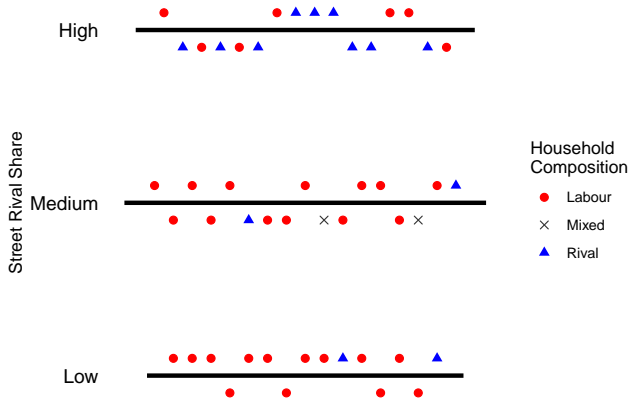
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- Obtain the location (latitude and longitude) of experimental and non-experimental households by geocoding the household address using Google Maps API.
- Identify closest household on the same street by Euclidean distance.
- Individual-level analysis conditioning on the share of rival partisans in the most proximate household.

# Schematic street map



# Analysis

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta Z_i + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

$$Y_j = \alpha + \beta Z_j + \epsilon_j \quad (2)$$

$$Y_j = \alpha + \beta_1 Z_j + \beta_2 X_{1ij} + \beta_3 X_{1ij} * Z_j + \epsilon_{ij} \quad (3)$$

$$Y_j = \alpha + \beta_1 Z_j + \beta_2 X_{2ij} + \beta_3 X_{2ij} * Z_j + \beta_4 X_{3ij} + \beta_5 X_{3ij} * Z_j + \beta_6 X_{2ij} * X_{3ij} + \beta_7 X_{2ij} * X_{3ij} * Z_j + \epsilon_{ij} \quad (4)$$

- $Y_i, Y_j$  validated individual-level turnout for experimental and non-experimental households
- $Z_i$  individual  $i$ 's location in household on treatment (1) or control (0) street
- $X_1$  share of rival party supporters on street
- $X_2$  share of rival partisans in closest household
- $\rho_w$  ward fixed effects
- Cluster-robust standard errors at street level



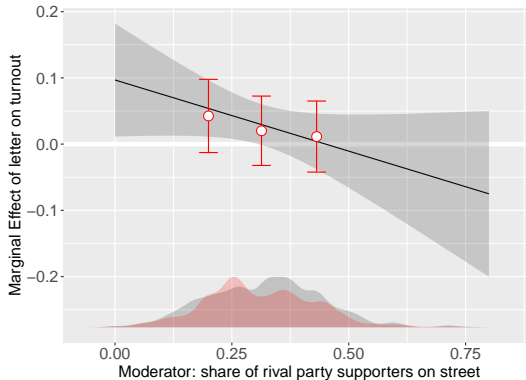
# ITT of leaflet on turnout of experimental and non-experimental households

|                         | Direct effects   | Indirect effects |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Control mean            | 0.489<br>(0.026) | 0.336<br>(0.020) |
| Leaflet                 | 0.028<br>(0.018) | 0.024<br>(0.013) |
| Block fixed effects     | Yes              | Yes              |
| Cluster standard errors | Yes              | Yes              |
| N individual            | 8375             | 16014            |
| N cluster               | 615              | 615              |

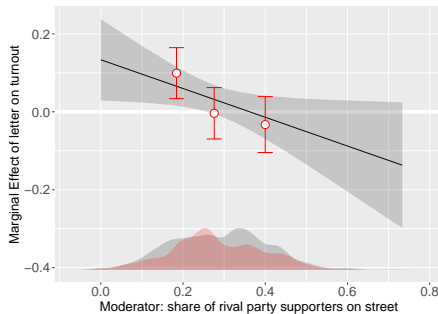
# ITTs of leaflet on turnout of non-experimental subjects

|                   | I                | II                | III              | IV                | V                | VI                |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Control           | 0.401<br>(0.025) | 0.296<br>(0.042)  | 0.420<br>(0.034) | 0.268<br>(0.054)  | 0.389<br>(0.028) | 0.291<br>(0.066)  |
| Leaflet           | 0.027<br>(0.017) | 0.097<br>(0.045)  | 0.027<br>(0.021) | 0.134<br>(0.055)  | 0.027<br>(0.022) | 0.069<br>(0.075)  |
| % rival partisan  |                  | 0.296<br>(0.111)  |                  | 0.467<br>(0.153)  |                  | 0.256<br>(0.169)  |
| % rival x leaflet |                  | -0.215<br>(0.132) |                  | -0.369<br>(0.182) |                  | -0.112<br>(0.197) |
| Blocks            | Yes              | Yes               | Yes              | Yes               | Yes              | Yes               |
| Cluster SE        | Yes              | Yes               | Yes              | Yes               | Yes              | Yes               |
| N individual      | 10231            | 10231             | 5606             | 5606              | 4625             | 4625              |
| N cluster         | 615              | 615               | 615              | 615               | 615              | 615               |

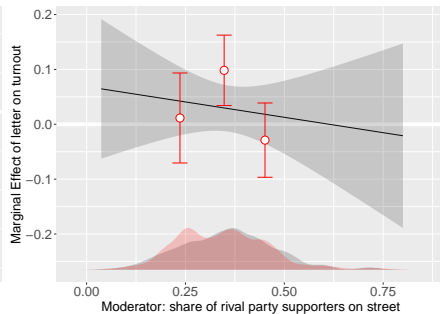
# Indirect effect, conditional on share of rival party supporters per street



# Indirect effects for Labour supporters, conditional on share of rival party supporters

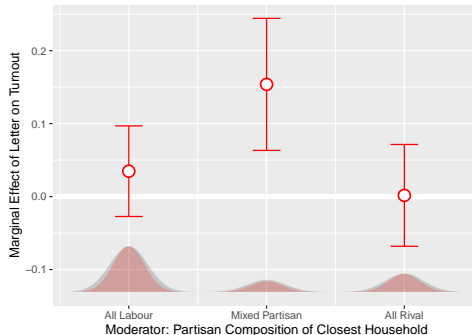


a) Labour supporters

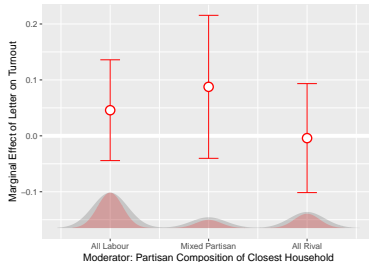


b) Rival party supporters

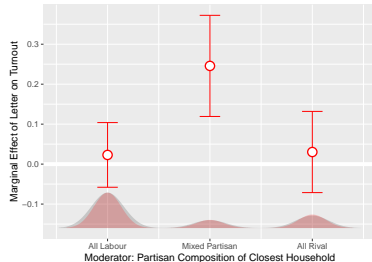
# Indirect ITT & share of rival party supporters in closest hh



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a) Labour supporters



b) Rival party supporters

# Conclusion

- Household dynamics have implications for political mobilization within neighbourhoods:

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- Household dynamics have implications for political mobilization within neighbourhoods:
  - 1 Labour canvassers mobilise Labour voters in homogeneous and mixed partisan households.
  - 2 Partisans mobilise each other within households.
  - 3 Labour partisans mobilise their Labour neighbours and rival partisans mobilise their neighbours who support the same rival party.



## Conclusion

- Social influence between neighbours is pervasive, but it is constrained by the partisan make-up of the neighbourhood.
- Different partisan contexts result in different patterns of social voter mobilization.
- Depending on the partisan balance of the neighbourhood, it can be unwise for political parties to contact supporters who live in mixed partisan households.

Thank you for your attention.

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