

Why Do Students Vote?

A Study on College Student Government Elections

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1 Introduction

Research in voter turnout is primarily focused on state and federal elections (Lewis and Rice (2005)). Smaller local elections are vastly understudied. The same holds for student government elections, although they could serve as an interesting setup to analyze voter turnout. Although barriers to voting in student government elections are low, compared to national races, turnout rates are also relatively low (Lewis and Rice (2005)). However, the role of student governments is critical. Elected members of student governments around the country work closely with university administration, faculty and staff to represent the interests of all college students and student organizations. Their role during the COVID-19 pandemic has been heightened, as they have taken part in the the evaluation of testing and vaccination campaigns and incentives to boost health and wellness on campus. This paper aims to investigate the profile of college voters and their connection to candidates. I analyze the network connections between voters and candidates represented by their on-campus engagement to student organizations. I test whether interpersonal relationships with candidates are more prominent for students that decide vote.

At the college level, discussions about elections and politics are even more important for students' future civic engagement. Discussing politics generally enhances knowledge of public affairs (Bennett et al. (2000)), improves political tolerance (Mutz (2002)), heightens

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political sophistication among participants in face-to-face discussions (Gastil and Dillard (1999)), and significantly increases opinion quality (Wyatt et al. (2000)). On the contrary, relatively infrequent political discussion can contribute to a culture of conformity and intolerance, especially if discussion partners lack diversity (Gibson (1992)). Political discussion is imperative in the formation of one's political attitudes and behavior (Kent and Niemi (1981)). It is also found that political discussion is an indicator of increased political sophistication and attentiveness (Inglehart (1979)). Political socialization research has focused on the role of parents, extracurricular activities, and school curriculum during adolescence on shaping early adult political behavior (Beck and Jennings (1982) and Torney-Purta et al. (2004)). More interestingly, Settle et al. (2011) found that social integration in high school and the network's perceptions of one's own social integration affect one's later political behavior as a young adult. This finding suggests that political involvement at an early age can have long-lasting impact which is why voter turnout in college should be studied more thoroughly.

Several papers in the literature examine the decision to vote and the importance of networks (Huckfeldt and Sprague (1987), Zuckerman et al. (1994), Oliver (2003), Paskeviciute and Anderson (2005), Campbell (2006)). Bond et al. (2012) found that voting increased not only for individuals who received a voting promotion message but also for their friends, highlighting the importance of voting cascades. Nickerson (2008) found that 60% of the propensity to vote is passed onto another member of the household suggesting that civic participation norms are passed on within a network. Garn and Copeland (2014) analyzed school board elections and found that voters cared most about candidate character which they evaluated from information of their social networks. Such cascades within social networks have also been supported in the experimental literature of cooperative games as well (Fowler and Christakis (2010)). Hence, the importance of networks and connections is supported in the literature. I compliment the findings of this stream of work employing social network theory in my analysis. I construct the relationships between students and candi-

dates by assuming that students who belong in the same organization are “friends” as they will be the first to know that someone in their organization is running for a position in the student government. I then test whether being in the same organization as a candidate or having less degrees of separation affects the probability to vote. I also examine the effects of the voters’ interests on the probability of voting. Interests are defined from the type of organization they decide to join (a career, social, political group etc).

More specifically, this paper extends the work of Klofstad (2010) who studied the causal effect of political discussions and peer effects on participation in civic activities. Utilizing random roommate assignment, Klofstad (2010) found that discussing politics and current events in their dormitories increased students’ civic engagement. This effect was not only present in the students’ first year of study but was also persisting in their fourth year. The mechanism that drove this result was students’ initial civic participation after engaging in civic talk. While causal inference is challenging in this paper’s setup, I find that social connections are strong elements of civic participation and potentially stronger than political interests.

2 Data

In this study, I partnered with the Student Government and Assessment units within the department of Student Life at the University of South Carolina (UofSC) to obtain administrative data at the student level around the 2020 and 2021 elections. UofSC is a public research university of the Southeastern Conference (SEC) with over 34,000 students. On average, of 19% of the student body votes in student government elections based on data from 2014-2021. At the time of elections, polls are typically open for 24 hours and all eligible student voters receive an email with a link to vote online. In 2020, elections came to a close in February 26th. In 2021, elections came to a close in February 24th.¹ While I do not

¹In the 2020 elections, the student body president was elected among two candidates with 59% of total votes, the student vice president was elected among two candidates with 61% of the total votes while the

observe in the data who students voted for, I observe whether they voted or not.

Similar to other SEC universities, UofSC has a long-standing tradition in student organizations. There are various organizations that focus on academics, career choices, sports, socialization, politics, social justice, advocacy and volunteering. Organizations are categorized as social or hobby, political, advocacy or activism, volunteer or service, career or learning, honorary, sport, faith or spiritual, and staff-led clubs based on their primary mission. Student organizations are renewed in the beginning of each semester. In the spring of 2020, there were 503 different student organizations of which about 90% were retained through spring 2021. New organizations were also created resulting in a total of 536 student organizations in the spring of 2021. Student organization records are verified and maintained throughout the semester by students². The average number of student organization members was 42 in spring 2020 and 52 in spring of 2021.³ There was no significant change in internal policies that can be linked to the higher involvement of students between the two years. In the dataset I use, I focus on students who are involved in at least one organization. That way, I can construct their network, identify their interests and the degrees of separation from a candidate.

Three data sources were combined to create the 2020 and 2021 datasets utilized in this study; the enrolled active students at the time of the elections, the student voters and the student organization members. The enrolled active students' database includes demographic and academic information on the entire student body around the time of elections. These controls include the sex, race and ethnicity of students whether they live off-campus or in a certain dorm, classification based on credit hours and college. The student voter dataset

treasurer and the speaker of the senate were elected uncontested. In 2021, the vice president and speaker of the senate were elected, among two candidates for each position, in the first round with 53% and 66% of the total votes, respectively. While, the student body president and treasurer positions were elected, among four candidates for each position, in the second round of elections with 51% and 53% of the total votes, respectively.

²Several student organizations are heavily advised by staff to verify their student members as their verification guarantees that their involvement will be added to their extra-curriculum transcript.

³Student organizations that run in spring of 2020 but not in spring of 2021 had an average of 25 members, potentially suggesting that their inactivity is linked to lack of interest. New organizations that replaced them had an average of 29 members.

does not include who students voted for but a dummy variable indicating whether they voted in each election cycle or not. The student organization dataset includes the student organizations students were a part of. The combined dataset also includes information on candidates, election winners and the organizations they were a part of.

Such detailed student level data are essential to the analysis of the student social networks. In the network, each node is a student that is part of a student organization. Edges connect students who are part of the same student organization. In the absence of individual level data on involvement, it would be harder to accurately predict which students are connected and how. Student organizations are especially important in this analysis since political campaigns are heavily advertised in student organizations. Moreover, if a student is part of an organization and running for a position in student government, his or her peers in the same organization will be informed about it, through campaigning, regardless of the size of the organization. Hence, the assumed connections are particularly significant for the problem at hand. Student controls are also valuable to describe the involved students and voters and to check for the robustness of results. In many cases such detailed administrative data are not collected, combined or shared.

3 Econometric Specification

To assess the empirical effects of involvement on the probability of voting, I estimate an equation for the probability of voting. I consider the following panel fixed effects logit estimation:

$$P(\text{Vote}_{it} = 1) = \frac{\exp(\alpha_i + x_{it}\beta)}{1 + \exp(\alpha_i + x_{it}\beta)} \quad (1)$$

where x_{it} is a vector of covariates that contains the involvement metric, year, cohort and college fixed effects in the full specification. The involvement metrics include an indicator of being part in the same organization as a presidential candidate, being part of a student

organization of a specific interest, the number of friends one has in their network and the degrees of separation from a candidate. To improve statistical inference, standard errors are bootstrapped.

4 Results

4.1 Descriptives

Table 1 presents the basic characteristics of the two networks formed around the 2020 and 2021 elections. In 2020 there are about 13,000 students involved in a student organization, out of which only around 4,000 vote in the student government elections. The involved students form over one million connections with each other. While this is a high number the density of the network is very low as most students belong in one organization and hence, the number of potential connections to the number of actual ones is very low. Similarly in 2021, there are about 14,000 involved students out of which about 3,600 vote. They form a little less than two million connection while the density of the entire network is very low. The average number of neighbors a student had in 2020 was around 184 while in 2021 it was 254. These high number of “friends” is mostly skewed by the very large organizations on campus. On average students are less than 3 nodes away while the longest path in the network is 7 students away in 2020 and 6 in 2021.

In graphs 1 and 2, I plot the 2020 and 2021 networks, respectively, at the organization level. Within each node there are numerous students (184 and 254 on average) connected all with each other. While the network would be interesting to visualize at the student level it would not very informative as it would be very dense when looking at students who belong in the same organization but, very sparse otherwise. Note that organizations are connected only when students belong to more than one organization. The colors of the nodes represent whether and which candidate is part of an organization; red for the presidential candidate,

blue for the vice president, yellow for the treasurer and green for the speaker of the senate. The size in panels (a) represents the number of members of each organization, and in panels (b) the number of voters within those organizations. Clearly, the nodes are smaller when looking at the number of voters since there are less students who voted compared to the total number of student organization members. However, it is interesting that the nodes that shrink less from panels (a) to (b) are the ones in which candidates are involved. This is particularly obvious for the two large red nodes in the 2020 network and the yellow and green ones in the 2021 network. This is an indication that when students are in the same organization as a candidate with 0 degrees of separation they are more likely to vote.

Table 2 describes the composition of involved students population, votes and non-voters. At UofSC there are about 64% female, 78% White, 8% Black, 7% Asian, less than 1% of American Indian and Hawaiian, less than 5% Mixed race and Hispanic involved students. 74% of involved students live off campus, 12% are freshmen. 20% are sophomores, 24% are juniors, 37% are seniors and 7% are graduate students. The most popular organizations are the social organizations and the career and learning ones. Sport clubs, advocacy and activist clubs, honorary, volunteer and service, faith and spiritual, political and staff-led clubs follow in order of preference.

Table 3 presents t-statistics on the mean comparisons of demographics between voters and non voters. Involved voters are significantly more likely to be female, white or black, freshmen, sophomore, junior or senior, involved in social and hobby, advocacy and activist, honorary, volunteer, political or staff-led clubs. On the contrary, involved voters are significantly less likely to be Asians, American Indians, Hawaiians, Mixed race or Hispanic. They are also less likely to live off-campus, be seniors or graduate students, involved in a career or learning, sport and faith and religious club.

4.2 Main results

Table 4 presents the effect of being on the same organization with a presidential candidate on the probability of voting. As expected there is a high and significant correlation between being in the same organization as a presidential candidate and the likelihood of civic engagement. This result suggests that the organization networks are playing a significant role in civic engagement. The coefficients are relatively robust to the addition of cohort and college fixed effects.

Table 5 presents the effect of being a member in an organization of specific interest on the probability of voting. The base category is the social and hobby clubs as they are the ones with the largest participation. Being part of a political, advocacy and activism, volunteer and service, career and learning, honorary or faith and spiritual club does not seem to have a significantly higher correlation with the probability of voting, compared to participating in a social or hobby type of club. This is an interesting finding as one would assume that interest in politics, advocacy and activism, volunteer and service would increase more the probability of voting compared to being a part of a social and hobby type of club. This is probably driven by the fact that most candidates are a part of large social clubs (like fraternities and sororities) and as described by the previous table proximity to a candidate matters a lot. This seems to indicate that in this context political interests may play less of a significant role compared to social connections. At the same time, being a part of a sport club is related with a lower and being a part of a staff-led group is related with a higher likelihood of voting. Similar to the previous results, the coefficients are relatively robust to the addition of cohort and college fixed effects.

Table 6 presents the results of having one more connection on the probability of voting. It seems that simply having more connections does not seem to play a significant role in the probability of voting. This result seems to suggest that mere connections are not enough to boost the probability of voting. Students need to know the “right” people to receive the information needed to increase their civic engagement. Once again the coefficients are

relatively robust to the addition of cohort and college fixed effects.

Table 7 presents the results of the degrees of separation from a candidate. It seems that being more separated from a candidate (ie having a less direct connection) decreases the probability of voting. This is aligned with the result from table 4. Proximity to a candidate seems to be driving a higher probability of voting.

4.3 Robustness checks

Table 8 presents the effect of being on the same organization with any candidate on the probability of voting. There is an even higher correlation between being in the same organization as any candidate and the likelihood of civic engagement, compared to the effect of being in the same organization with a presidential candidate. This result verifies the previous observation that the organization networks are playing a significant role in civic engagement. Moreover, the effect may be larger capturing the effectiveness of knowing not just the presidential candidate but any other candidate in the ballots.

For the next set of robustness checks, I estimate the effect of the number of friends and degree of separation accounting for students weights in forming connections. In the main results, students were considered friends with others in the network regardless of the number of organizations they were a part of. However, all relationships should not be treated evenly to guarantee the quality of the result. Otherwise, information could flow in the network through weak paths to highly connected individuals when a longer path through stronger connections may yield a superior result. In order to take this into consideration, one needs to transform the number of connections from a simple count to a cost. The most straightforward way to do so is by taking the inverse of the number of organizations students are a part of. Using this weight as the weight of the interactions between student I re-calculate the number of friends and degrees of separation from a candidate. Both measures are not as intuitive as before hence, I decided to standardize them for easier interpretation of the coefficients.

Tables 9 and 10 present the results using the weighted network metrics. The results in both tables are aligned with the main results. Moreover, having more friends increases the probability of voting but the effect is not statistically significant. At the same time, being farther from a candidate decreases the probability to vote. In fact, a standard deviation increase in the degree of separation is related with a 36 percentage point decrease on the probability of voting. Note that using the weighted network changes the magnitude of the effect as the new weighted measures are not expressing the same change. More importantly the effects have the same sign and significance levels.

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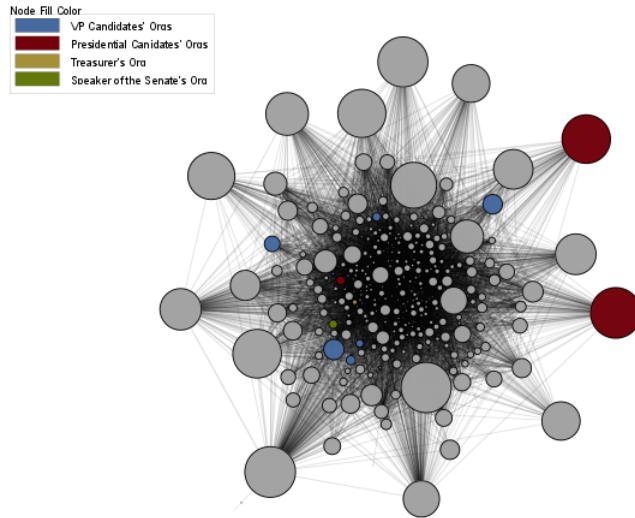
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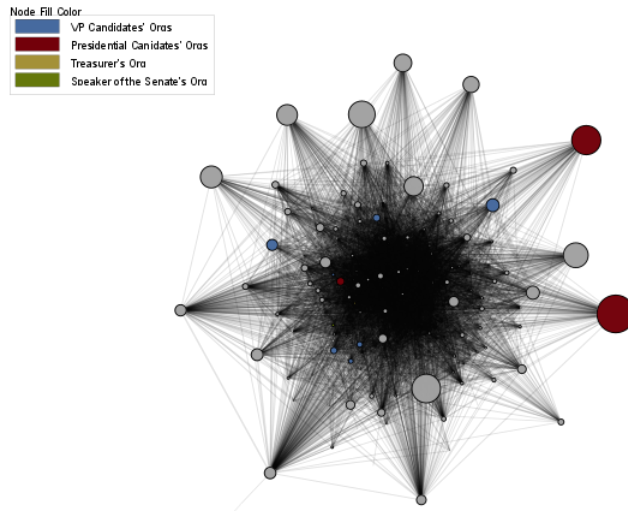
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Figure 1: 2020 Student Organizations Network

(a) Nodal Size Based on the Size of each Student Organization



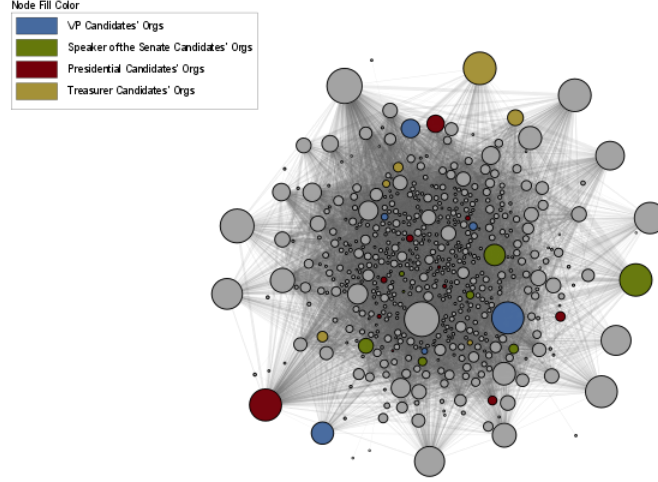
(b) Nodal Size Based on the Number of Voters in each Student Organization



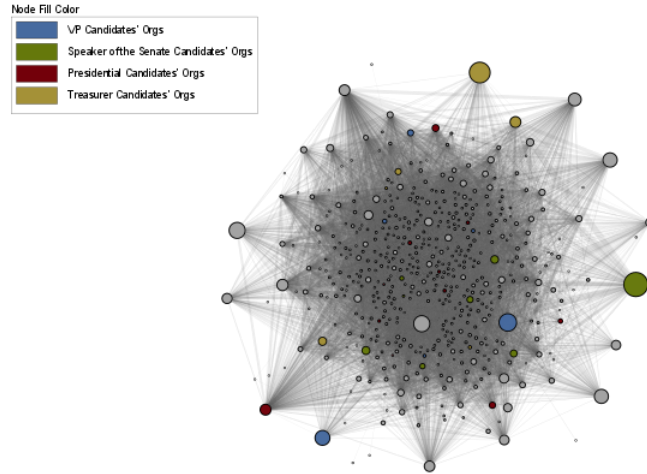
Note: Each node in the network represents a student organization during the 2020 student government elections. Organizations that are not connected to the biggest component are omitted. Dark red nodes have as a member at least one presidential candidate. Blue nodes have as a member at least one candidate running for the vice president position. Yellow nodes have as a member at least one candidate running for the treasurer position. Green nodes have as a member at least one candidate running for the speaker of the senate position. The thickness of an edge represents the number of students that are part of the two organizations that are connected through this edge. The size of each node on the top graph indicates the number of students involved in that organization. The size of the nodes on the bottom graph indicate the number of students who voted and are a part of that organization.

Figure 2: 2021 Student Organizations Network

(a) Nodal Size Based on the Size of each Student Organization



(b) Nodal Size Based on the Number of Voters in each Student Organization



Note: Each node in the network represents a student organization during the 2021 student government elections. Organizations that are not connected to the biggest component are omitted. Dark red nodes have as a member at least one presidential candidate. Blue nodes have as a member at least one candidate running for the vice president position. Yellow nodes have as a member at least one candidate running for the treasurer position. Green nodes have as a member at least one candidate running for the speaker of the senate position. The thickness of an edge represents the number of students that are part of the two organizations that are connected through this edge. The size of each node on the top graph indicates the number of students involved in that organization. The size of the nodes on the bottom graph indicate the number of students who voted and are a part of that organization.

Tables

Table 1: Network Measures

	2020 Network	2021 Network
Nodes	12,963	14,172
–Nodes - Voters	3,923	3,698
–Nodes - Non-Voters	9,040	10,474
Edges	1,196,825	1,801,086
Network Density	0.014	0.018
Avg. Number of Neighbors	184.652	254.175
Avg. Path Length	2.662	2.483
Longest Path in Network	7	6

Note— General description of the networks at the student-level.

Table 2: Descriptives For Voters and Non-Voters

Variables	All Students		Non-Voters		Voters	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
% Female	0.643	0.479	0.604	0.489	0.735	0.441
% White	0.780	0.414	0.769	0.421	0.805	0.396
% Black	0.077	0.267	0.074	0.262	0.084	0.278
% Asian	0.058	0.234	0.069	0.253	0.033	0.180
% American Indian	0.002	0.046	0.002	0.047	0.002	0.043
% Hawaiian	0.001	0.036	0.002	0.041	0.000	0.019
% Mixed Race	0.041	0.198	0.044	0.204	0.034	0.182
% Hispanic or Latino	0.048	0.214	0.049	0.215	0.046	0.210
% Living Off-Campus	0.741	0.438	0.794	0.405	0.615	0.487
% Freshman	0.119	0.324	0.115	0.320	0.129	0.335
% Sophomore	0.200	0.400	0.172	0.377	0.268	0.443
% Junior	0.239	0.427	0.227	0.419	0.270	0.444
% Senior	0.367	0.482	0.388	0.487	0.317	0.465
% Graduate	0.074	0.261	0.097	0.296	0.016	0.126
% in Social or Hobby club	0.549	0.498	0.488	0.500	0.697	0.459
% in Career or Learning club	0.420	0.494	0.428	0.495	0.400	0.490
% in Sport club	0.151	0.358	0.162	0.369	0.122	0.328
% in Advocacy or Activist club	0.145	0.352	0.129	0.335	0.183	0.386
% in Honorary club	0.073	0.260	0.070	0.255	0.082	0.274
% in Volunteer or Service club	0.059	0.237	0.055	0.228	0.071	0.257
% in Faith or Spiritual club	0.051	0.219	0.052	0.222	0.046	0.210
% in Political club	0.022	0.146	0.018	0.134	0.030	0.172
% in Staff-led club	0.017	0.130	0.012	0.108	0.030	0.170

Note— Mean and standard deviation summary of the main variables for all involved students, non-voters and voters of the 2020 student government elections.

Table 3: Mean Comparisons For Voters and Non-Voters

Variables	Non-Voters		Voters		Difference	Std. Error
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
% Female	0.604	0.489	0.735	0.441	0.131	(0.006)***
% White	0.769	0.421	0.805	0.396	0.035	(0.005)***
% Black	0.074	0.262	0.084	0.278	0.010	(0.004)***
% Asian	0.069	0.253	0.033	0.180	-0.035	(0.003)***
% American Indian	0.002	0.047	0.002	0.043	-0.000	(0.001)
% Hawaiian	0.002	0.041	0.000	0.019	-0.001	(0.000)***
% Mixed Race	0.044	0.204	0.034	0.182	-0.009	(0.003)***
% Hispanic or Latino	0.049	0.215	0.046	0.210	-0.002	(0.003)
% Living Off-Campus	0.794	0.405	0.615	0.487	-0.179	(0.006)***
% Freshman	0.115	0.320	0.129	0.335	0.013	(0.004)***
% Sophomore	0.172	0.377	0.268	0.443	0.096	(0.006)***
% Junior	0.227	0.419	0.270	0.444	0.043	(0.006)***
% Senior	0.388	0.487	0.317	0.465	-0.071	(0.006)***
% Graduate	0.097	0.296	0.016	0.126	-0.081	(0.003)***
% in Social or Hobby club	0.488	0.500	0.697	0.459	0.209	(0.006)***
% in Career or Learning club	0.428	0.495	0.400	0.490	-0.028	(0.007)***
% in Sport club	0.162	0.369	0.122	0.328	-0.040	(0.005)***
% in Advocacy or Activist club	0.129	0.335	0.183	0.386	0.054	(0.005)***
% in Honorary club	0.070	0.255	0.082	0.274	0.012	(0.004)***
% in Volunteer or Service club	0.055	0.228	0.071	0.257	0.016	(0.003)***
% in Faith or Spiritual club	0.052	0.222	0.046	0.210	-0.006	(0.003)**
% in Political club	0.018	0.134	0.030	0.172	0.012	(0.002)***
% in Staff-led club	0.012	0.108	0.030	0.170	0.018	(0.002)***

Note— Mean comparisons of the main variables for non-voters and voters of the student government elections. The last column presents the mean comparison tests using robust standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 4: Being on the Same Organization as a Presidential Candidate on the Probability of Voting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Same Org as Pres. Candidate	0.4189*** (0.0763)	0.4152*** (0.0766)	0.4099*** (0.0770)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of being in the same organization as a presidential candidate on the probability of voting. All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 5: Type of Organization on the Probability of Voting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Club Member	0.0838 (0.3995)	0.0979 (0.3998)	0.1074 (0.4011)
Advocacy or Activist Club Member	-0.1003 (0.1166)	-0.1207 (0.1165)	-0.1223 (0.1176)
Volunteer or Service Member	-0.0999 (0.1489)	-0.1060 (0.1500)	-0.1124 (0.1513)
Career or Learning Club Member	0.0998 (0.0841)	0.0849 (0.0855)	0.0817 (0.0859)
Honorary Club Member	0.0966 (0.1462)	0.0971 (0.1458)	0.1002 (0.1466)
Sport Club Member	-0.2844* (0.1560)	-0.2673* (0.1570)	-0.2663* (0.1594)
Faith or Spiritual Club Member	0.2507 (0.2408)	0.2306 (0.2402)	0.2401 (0.2403)
Staff-lef Club Member	0.4344* (0.2317)	0.4504* (0.2324)	0.4586** (0.2329)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of participating in different types of organizations on the probability of voting. All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 6: Number of Friends on the Probability of Voting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Number of Friends	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of the number of friends that are part of the same organization on the probability of voting. All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 7: Being on the Same Organization as a Presidential Candidate
on the Probability of Voting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Degrees of Separation from any Candidate	-0.7617*** (0.0545)	-0.7623*** (0.0549)	-0.7645*** (0.0552)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of the degree of separation from a presidential candidate on the probability of voting. All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 8: Being on the Same Organization as any Candidate
on the Probability of Voting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Same Org as any Candidate	0.8453*** (0.0613)	0.8478*** (0.0618)	0.8516*** (0.0623)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of being in the same organization as any candidate on the probability of voting. All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 9: Number of Friends on the Probability of Voting (with Weights)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Number of Friends	0.0355 (0.0367)	0.0275 (0.0372)	0.0264 (0.0373)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of the number of friends that are part of the same organization on the probability of voting. The number of friends metric considers the weights of students' interactions calculated as the inverse of the number of engagements. All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.

Table 10: Being on the Same Organization as a Presidential Candidate on the Probability of Voting (with Weights)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Degrees of Separation from any Candidate	-0.3686*** (0.0346)	-0.3669*** (0.0349)	-0.3677*** (0.0349)
Observations	27,114	27,114	27,114
Mean dep. variable	0.29	0.29	0.29
Cohort FE	No	Yes	Yes
College FE	No	No	Yes

Note— Average marginal effects from estimating equation 1 and the effect of the degree of separation from a presidential candidate on the probability of voting. The degrees of separation metric considers the weights of students' interactions calculated as the inverse of the number of engagements (Newman (2004)). All estimations include year fixed effects and bootstrapped standard errors. *, **, *** denotes significant at 10, 5, and 1 percent, respectively.