

## Online Supporting Information

# The ‘Social’ Part of Social Desirability: How Social Networks Influence the Survey Response

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## A. Observational data

**The South Bend Study:** [Huckfeldt and Sprague \(2006\)](#) combined a three-wave panel survey with validated records of respondents' participation in elections. These data have been used in many prominent studies of social influence (e.g., [Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1995](#); [Kenny, 1992](#); [Klofstad, McClurg and Rolfe, 2009](#); [Mutz and Mondak, 1997](#)). The survey's first wave contacted approximately 1,500 respondents within the South Bend metropolitan area and the second and third waves of the study attempted to recontact these individuals, supplementing panel attrition with new respondents. We restrict our analysis to the 1,510 individuals who responded to the third wave, which included both the turnout measure and name generator. Self-reported turnout was measured with the item, "In talking to people about the election, we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote for one reason or another. How about you? Did you vote this fall, or did something keep you from voting?" [with response options: "Yes, voted"/ "No, did not vote"]. The name generator focused on up to three people with whom the main respondent discussed politics: "Can you give me the FIRST names of the three people you talked with most about the events of the past election year? These people might be from your family, from work, from the neighborhood, from church, from some other organization you belong to, or they might be from somewhere else."

Respondents were randomly selected within 16 South Bend neighborhoods. Thus, with over 90 respondents per neighborhood, the sample is intended to be representative within neighborhoods, but not of South Bend as a whole. In all South Bend analyses, we cluster the standard errors on neighborhoods to account for this sampling strategy. Huckfeldt and Sprague accessed the Indiana voter file to provide a validated turnout measure for these respondents.

**The Williamsburg Study:** This multiwave panel, collected by [Miller et al. \(2015\)](#), surveys William & Mary students around the time of the May 2010 Williamsburg municipal elections. The survey targeted all 5,726 students on the college master email list. We restrict our

analysis to the 1,735 students older than 18 years who responded to both the first and third waves.

The first wave, collected from late February to early March, included measures of respondents' social networks, demographics, and political attitudes. The name generator focused on up to five friends among the students at William & Mary: "One of the purposes of this survey is to examine the flow of political information on campus between people who know each other. We are particularly interested in knowing whether people who are friends have similar opinions and thoughts about politics. To help us answer this question, we are asking you to give first and last names of up to five of your closest friends who attend William and Mary."

The third wave, collected immediately following the election, included the self-reported turnout measure. The survey text read, "Did you vote in the May 4th city council election?" ["Yes"/"No"]. The survey only asks the turnout question to respondents who reported that they were registered to vote in the City of Williamsburg. In our analysis, respondents who reported that they were not registered are treated as non-voters. Restricting the sample to registered voters yields analogous conclusions. The data also provide validated turnout measures from the Williamsburg voter file.

**CCES:** Our new data come from a name generator battery included on two modules of the 2016 CCES pre-election wave. The name generator collected up to three names with the prompt, "From time to time, people discuss government, elections, and politics with other people. Who are the people with whom you discuss these matters? These people might or might not be relatives. Can you think of anyone? Please enter their first name in the box below."

A post-election wave collected self-reported turnout, yielding 1,512 valid responses from across the US. We draw the turnout and control variables from the CCES common content data posted to <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/GDF6ZO> on 2018-02-10. The post-election turnout item read, "Which of the following statements best describes you?" [respondents are coded as voters if they chose, "I definitely voted in the General Election on November 6."].

Unlike the other datasets, the CCES provides two ways to measure validated turnout. These methods differ based on how respondents who are not matched to a voter file are handled. In the main text, we follow convention by treating these unmatched respondents as nonvoters. [Berent, Krosnick and Lupia \(2016\)](#) argue that this approach introduces too much error because respondents may go unmatched due to poor record keeping rather than abstention. To address this concern, an alternative approach is to exclude unmatched respondents from analysis, identifying respondents as nonvoters only if they were explicitly reported as such in the voter file. In [SI E](#), we reestimate our models with this alternative specification, yielding almost identical results.

## Comparing the datasets

Together, these three datasets offer useful variation in both measurement and context, as summarized in [Table A1](#). The South Bend Study and the CCES both collected up to three names, targeting associates with whom they discussed politics. The Williamsburg Study collects up to five names, targeting close friends. Though political discussion networks differ from friendship networks, they often overlap because people tend to discuss politics most frequently with those whom they discuss other important matters: their significant others, close friends, and family ([Huckfeldt, Johnson and Sprague, 2004](#); [Klofstad, McClurg and Rolfe, 2009](#)). The South Bend Study included both the name generator and turnout measure on the same post-election wave. The other two datasets collected the name generator before the election and turnout after, establishing temporal precedence. The South Bend Study and the CCES each rely on respondents' perceptions of network participation while the Williamsburg Study provides validated turnout for network members. The South Bend PIs did not validate the participation of discussants identified by the main respondents and the identities of these discussants have been anonymized, preventing a new validation effort. The South Bend study PIs also attempted to interview some of the discussants identified by the main respondents. In principle, we could instead rely on discussants' self-reported turnout. Unfortunately, this "snowball" sample was much smaller than the main respondent sample. Main respondent's provided turnout reports of 4,153 discussants while only 891

**Table A1:** Comparing the observational datasets

	South Bend	Williamsburg	CCES
Year	1984	2011	2016
Validated turnout	Yes	Yes	Yes
Self-reported turnout	Yes	Yes	Yes
Name generator	Yes	Yes	Yes
Maximum number of names elicited	3	5	3
Type of network	Political discussion	Friendship	Political discussion
Network measured prior to turnout	No	Yes	Yes
Network participation	Perceived	Validated	Perceived
Survey mode	Face-to-face	Online	Online
Sampling Frame	Local	Local	National
Electoral context	Presidential	Municipal	Presidential
N - total	1,510	1,735	1,512
N - validated voters	1,010	400	960
N - nonvoters	500	1,335	552

of these discussants provided self-reports. Given the similarity between main respondents' perceptions of discussant characteristics and discussants' own self-reported characteristics (Huckfeldt, 2001), we rely on the larger sample. The Williamsburg Study provides validated turnout measures for both respondents and their friends. To avoid simultaneity bias, we use the friends' validated turnout in the 2009 VA gubernatorial election. The CCES name-generator battery collected only first names. Asking only for first names increases response rates but prevents a validation effort. The South Bend Study relied on face-to-face interviews while the other two studies were self-administered online. Since self-administered online studies may reduce social desirability bias (Holbrook and Krosnick, 2010), these two datasets provide hard tests for the theory. The South Bend Study and Williamsburg Studies focus on specific communities while the CCES draws respondents from across the country. Finally, the Williamsburg Study focuses on a low-turnout local election while the remaining two studies focus on high-turnout national elections. Despite these broad differences, each dataset suggests a heretofore overlooked social component of turnout overreports, as we show in the main text.

## B. Variable definitions

We describe below how we constructed each variable we use in our analysis. The South Bend study included some items in all three waves and others only the first time the respondent was interviewed. For items included in all waves, we use the most recent wave before the election. Below, we list the relevant items we use from each wave. The item names include a letter indicating their wave followed by a unique numeric identifier, as described in the codebook available at <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR06522.v1>. Likewise, we list CCES variable names from the 'CCES Guide 2016.pdf' (dated August 16, 2017) available at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/GDF6Z0>. For the Williamsburg data, we describe the items here since no public codebook exists.

Turnout - Self-Reported: 0 = Did not report voting; 1 = Reported voting

**South Bend source:** C27: “In talking to people about the election, we find that a lot of people weren’t able to vote for one reason or another. How about you? Did you vote this fall, or did something keep you from voting?”

**Williamsburg source:** Wave C: Respondents were first asked “Are you currently registered to vote in the City of Williamsburg?”. Those answering yes were then asked “Did you vote in the May 4th city council election?”. We code respondents as voters if they answered yes to the first question and non-voters if they answered no to either question.

**CCES source:** (Common content) CC16\_401

Turnout - Validated: 0 = Not in file as voter; 1 = In file as voter

**South Bend source:** (Indiana voter file) vtpg84.

**Williamsburg source:** Williamsburg voter file.

**CCES source:** (Common content) CL\_E2016GVM

**Network Participation:** ranges from 0 (none of named discussants are voters) to 1 (all named discussants are voters)

**South Bend source:** The number of named discussants the respondent perceived as voters divided by the number of named discussants. Unlike the other two surveys, the South Bend Study provided a ‘don’t know’ option for this question. We treat ‘don’t know’ responses as perceived non-voters because people rarely can confirm someone is a non-voter. The results are almost identical when treating ‘don’t know’ responses as missing and imputing them. The name generator text was: “Can you give me the FIRST names of the three people you talked with most about the events of the past election year? These people might be from your family, from work, from the neighborhood, from church, from some other organization you belong to, or they might be from somewhere else. All I need are the first names.” Perceptions of discussant turnout come from (C149-C151).

**Williamsburg source:** The number of named friends casting validated votes in the 2009 VA gubernatorial election divided by the total number of named friends. Friends are identified with the name generator (Wave A): “One of the purposes of this survey is to examine the flow of political information on campus between people who know each other. We are particularly interested in knowing whether people who are friends have similar opinions and thoughts about politics. To help us answer this question, we are asking you to give first and last names of up to five of your closest friends who attend William and Mary. Your responses will remain completely confidential, and the friends listed below will never know you named them in the survey.”

**CCES source:** (Module) The number of named discussants the respondent perceived as voters divided by the number of named discussants. The name generator text was: “From time to time, people discuss government, elections and politics with other people. I’d like to ask you about the people with whom you discuss these matters. These people might or might not be relatives. Can you think of anyone? Please enter their first name in the box below. Is there anyone else you talk with about these matters? Please enter their first name in the box below. If you cannot think of anyone, please hit next.” Perceptions of discussant turnout come from

the question, “Do you think the person/people you named will vote for Clinton, Trump, some other candidate, or will not vote?”

**Education:** Amount of education, divided into quartiles.

**South Bend source:** C178; B202; A102

**Williamsburg source:** Derived from the Wave A item: “When do you expect to graduate from William & Mary?”

**CCES source:** (Common content) educ. Before creating quartiles, we collapse “Some college” and “2-year” responses into a single category.

**Income:** Family income, divided into quintiles.

**South Bend source:** C232; B249; A142

**Williamsburg source:** Derived from the Wave A item: “How would you describe your family’s economic status?”

**CCES source:** (Common content) faminc. Before creating the quintiles, all values at or above \$150,000 were collapsed into a single category because the response options are not mutually exclusive (e.g., some are coded as “\$150,000 or more” while others are coded as “\$200,000 - \$249,999.”

**Race/Ethnicity:** White, non-Hispanic; Black; Other

**South Bend source:** C217; B230; A139

**Williamsburg source:** Derived from the Wave A item: “What term best describes your race?”

**CCES source:** (Common content) race

**Marital Status:** 0 = Widowed, divorced, separated, or never married; 1 = Married

**South Bend source:** C177; B201; A101

**Williamsburg source:** NA (not included in the survey)

**CCES source:** (Common content) marstat



Church Attendance: Frequency of church attendance

**South Bend source:** C211; B224; A133

**Williamsburg source:** NA (not included in the survey)

**CCES source:** (Common content) pew\_churatd

Age: Age in years, divided into quintiles

**South Bend source:** 1984 - C212/B225/A134

**Williamsburg source:** NA (not included in the survey)

**CCES source:** (Common content) 2016 - birthyr

Gender: Female or male?

**South Bend source:** crsex; brsex; rsex. These items are interviewer assessments rather than self-reports.

**Williamsburg source:** Wave A: “Are you: []Female []Male”

**CCES source:** (Common content) gender

Political Interest: Interest in politics, government, or public affairs

**South Bend source:** B136; A64

**Williamsburg source:** Wave A: “In general how interested are you in national politics?”

**CCES source:** (Common content) newsint

Party ID Strength The absolute value of a seven-point party ID scale with pure independents centered at zero.

**South Bend source:** The seven-point scale is built through branching items B237-B239 or A73-A75.

**Williamsburg source:** Constructed from the Wave A item: “How would you describe your party affiliation?”

**CCES source:** (Common content) pid7

**Ideology Strength** The absolute value of the left-right ideology scale with moderates centered at zero.

**South Bend source:** The seven-point scale is built through branching items B233-B235 or A65-A67.

**Williamsburg source:** The absolute value of a seven-point ideology scale with moderates centered at zero. Ideology is constructed from the Wave A item: “How would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is very liberal and 7 is very conservative?”

**CCES source:** (Common content) ideo5.

**Recent Mover:** 0 = Has not moved in last two years; 1 = Has moved in last two years

**South Bend source:** C213; B226; A135

**Williamsburg source:** NA (not included in the survey)

**CCES source:** (Common content) CC16\_361

**No Network:** 0 = Identified one or more discussants with the name generator; 1 = Identified no discussants.

## C. Summary statistics

This section provides summary statistics for the variables defined in SI-B.

- Statistics for the South Bend study are presented in Table [C1](#) on page SI-11.
- Statistics for the Williamsburg study are presented in Table [C2](#) on page SI-12.
- Statistics for the 2016 CCES are presented in Table [C3](#) on page SI-13.

**Table C1:** Summary statistics for the South Bend data

Variable	Value(s)	Mean	Std. Dev.
Network Participation	[0-1]	0.93	0.18
Age	Quintile 1	0.2	–
	Quintile 2	0.2	–
	Quintile 3	0.2	–
	Quintile 4	0.2	–
	Quintile 5	0.2	–
	Missing	0.01	–
Church Attendance	Never	0.08	–
	Seldom	0.23	–
	A few times a year	0.12	–
	Once/twice a month	0.13	–
	Once a week	0.4	–
	Missing	0.05	–
Education	Quartile 1	0.25	–
	Quartile 2	0.25	–
	Quartile 3	0.25	–
	Quartile 4	0.25	–
	Quartile Missing	0	–
Gender	Male	0.45	–
	Female	0.55	–
Ideology Strength	Moderate	0.01	–
	Moderate, leans liberal/conservative	0.25	–
	Weak liberal/conservative	0.25	–
	Strong liberal/conservative	0.19	–
	Missing	0.3	–
Income	Quintile 1	0.18	–
	Quintile 2	0.18	–
	Quintile 3	0.18	–
	Quintile 4	0.18	–
	Quintile 5	0.18	–
	Missing	0.09	–
Political Interest	0 (least interested)	0.05	–
	1	0.12	–
	2	0.26	–
	3 (most interested)	0.41	–
	Missing	0.17	–
Marital Status	Not married	0.25	–
	Married	0.75	–
	Missing	0	–
Party ID Strength	Independent	0.08	–
	Lean D/R	0.22	–
	Not very strong D/R	0.22	–
	Strong D/R	0.29	–
	Missing	0.19	–
Race/Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	0.93	–
	Black	0.04	–
	Other	0.02	–
	Missing	0.01	–
Recent mover	No	0.98	–
	Yes	0.02	–
	Missing	0	–
Self-reported Turnout	No	0.11	–
	Yes	0.89	–
Validated Turnout	No	0.33	–
	Yes	0.67	–

**Table C2: Summary statistics for the Williamsburg data**

Variable	Value(s)	Mean	Std. Dev.
Network Participation	[0-1]	0.42	0.43
Age	Missing	1	-
Church Attendance	Missing	1	-
Education	Quartile 1	0.25	-
	Quartile 2	0.25	-
	Quartile 3	0.25	-
	Quartile 4	0.25	-
	Quartile Missing	0.01	-
Gender	Male	0.38	-
	Female	0.61	-
	Missing	0.01	-
Ideology Strength	Moderate	0.17	-
	Moderate, leans liberal/conservative	0.32	-
	Weak liberal/conservative	0.27	-
	Strong liberal/conservative	0.11	-
	Missing	0.13	-
Income	Quintile 1	0.18	-
	Quintile 2	0.18	-
	Quintile 3	0.18	-
	Quintile 4	0.18	-
	Quintile 5	0.18	-
	Missing	0.08	-
Political Interest	0 (least interested)	0.02	-
	1	0.13	-
	2	0.45	-
	3 (most interested)	0.34	-
	Missing	0.06	-
Marital Status	Missing	1	-
Party ID Strength	Independent	0.09	-
	Lean D/R	0.28	-
	Not very strong D/R	0.27	-
	Strong D/R	0.22	-
	Missing	0.14	-
Race/Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	0.75	-
	Black	0.04	-
	Hispanic	0.04	-
	Other	0.1	-
	Missing	0.08	-
Recent mover	Missing	1	-
Self-reported Turnout	No	0.67	-
	Yes	0.33	-
Validated Turnout	No	0.77	-
	Yes	0.23	-

**Table C3: Summary statistics for the CCES data**

Variable	Value(s)	Mean	Std. Dev.
Network Participation	[0-1]	0.91	0.25
Age	Quintile 1	0.2	–
	Quintile 2	0.2	–
	Quintile 3	0.2	–
	Quintile 4	0.2	–
	Quintile 5	0.2	–
Church Attendance	Never	0.27	–
	Seldom	0.22	–
	A few times a year	0.13	–
	Once/twice a month	0.08	–
	Once a week	0.2	–
	More than once a week	0.08	–
Education	Missing	0.01	–
	Quartile 1	0.25	–
	Quartile 2	0.25	–
	Quartile 3	0.25	–
	Quartile 4	0.25	–
Gender	Male	0.46	–
	Female	0.54	–
Ideology Strength	Moderate	0.35	–
	Liberal/conservative	0.43	–
	Very liberal/conservative	0.17	–
	Missing	0.05	–
Income	Quintile 1	0.18	–
	Quintile 2	0.18	–
	Quintile 3	0.18	–
	Quintile 4	0.18	–
	Quintile 5	0.18	–
	Missing	0.11	–
Political Interest	0 (least interested)	0.04	–
	1	0.12	–
	2	0.28	–
	3 (most interested)	0.55	–
	Missing	0.01	–
Marital Status	Not married	0.44	–
	Married	0.56	–
Party ID Strength	Independent	0.16	–
	Lean D/R	0.19	–
	Not very strong D/R	0.24	–
	Strong D/R	0.39	–
	Missing	0.02	–
Race/Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	0.74	–
	Black	0.1	–
	Hispanic	0.07	–
	Other	0.1	–
Recent mover	No	0.79	–
	Yes	0.21	–
	Missing	0	–
Self-reported Turnout	No	0.08	–
	Yes	0.92	–
Validated Turnout	No	0.37	–
	Yes	0.63	–

## D. Multiple imputation details

To avoid bias emerging from listwise deletion, we use 50 imputations of the explanatory variables. The practice of dropping all cases with even a single missing value, commonly referred to as listwise deletion, reduces the model's degrees of freedom unnecessarily. Further, it biases the coefficient estimates anytime people with missing responses differ systematically from those with complete responses. Multiple imputation addresses both problems, preserving all valid responses and reducing the bias arising from differences between observed and missing cases (for details, see [Rubin, 2009](#)). Though many imputation methods exist, we rely on conditional multiple imputation because it tends to perform better than alternative approaches on the categorical and ordinal variables commonly included in surveys ([Kropko et al., 2014](#)). We generated the imputations using the `mice` 2.30 package ([Buuren and Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011](#)) in R 3.3.3 ([R Core Team, 2017](#)).

Rather than assuming that responses are missing at random, we use a multiple imputation procedure to model the missing data, treating the cases as missing at random, *conditional on the predictors in the imputation model*. Therefore, this approach is increasingly useful as the imputation model improves. For imputation models, prediction is the criterion of interest rather than causal identification. Therefore, adding additional variables that improve prediction are useful regardless of whether (or how) they are causally related to the imputed variable ([King et al., 2001](#)). We therefore include as predictors all other variables from our models. To minimize functional form assumptions, we use untransformed variables in the imputation models. After the imputations, we discretize age, education, and income and transform party identification and ideology to measures of partisan and ideological extremity.

Since non-response is strongly related to media consumption ([Berinsky, 2007](#); [Keeter et al., 2006](#)), we also include measures of media use as additional predictors in the imputation models. The South Bend study and the CCES both provide two items that measure how often respondents watch and read the news.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the Williamsburg survey lacked

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<sup>1</sup>The South Bend measures come from items C6 and C7. The CCES items are indicators constructed from common content item CC16\_300b.

analogous items. The CCES common content also included two five-item batteries that measure media use and social media use.<sup>2</sup> We include each scale item as a separate predictor. Finally, we include neighborhood fixed effects as predictors in the South Bend imputations and state fixed effects for the CCES imputations.<sup>3</sup>

## E. Full observational model results

In all models, we control for the predictors of overreporting and turnout drawn from [Ansolabehere and Hersh \(2012\)](#). We also include a variable indicating whether the respondent failed to identify any associates with the name generator battery. We do not exclude these individuals from analysis because respondents failing to name discussion partners are nonetheless typically embedded in meaningful political communication networks ([Eveland, Hutchens and Morey, 2013](#)).

For the Williamsburg analyses, we must deviate from the [Ansolabehere and Hersh \(2012\)](#) controls in several ways. Since student samples provide little variation in respondents' age, education, income, or marital status, the survey omitted these items. It also omitted a measure of respondents' church attendance. We proxy for age and education with indicators of respondents' academic class standing. We proxy for income with an item asking about respondents' socioeconomic status.

To conserve space, we report only the coefficients associated with network participation in the main text. The tables below display the complete results from those logistic regression models. In addition, the last columns in each table provide an alternative specification of validated turnout. As we explain in the main text, validated voting measures typically treat unmatched respondents as nonvoters, but [Berent, Krosnick and Lupia \(2016\)](#) argue that this approach introduces too much error. To address this concern, we also report results from models where we exclude unmatched respondents from analysis, ensuring that all observations have been validated.

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<sup>2</sup>The media use items are CC16\_300\_1–CC16\_300\_5. The social media use items are CC16d\_300\_1–CC16d\_300\_5.

<sup>3</sup>In South Bend, the neighborhood identifiers are items `adnhd`, `bdnhd`, `cadnhd`. We use the most recent non-missing value. In the CCES, we use the post-election common content item, `inputstate_post`



**Table E1:** Nonvoters embedded in more participatory networks are more likely to report that they voted.

	South Bend		Williamsburg		CCES		CCES - Matched	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Intercept	0.17 (0.25)	-3.25*** (0.70)	-2.17*** (0.11)	-3.56*** (0.47)	0.59 (0.51)	-2.18** (0.96)	-0.55 (0.60)	-3.54** (1.77)
Network Participation (as a proportion)	0.73** (0.35)	1.05** (0.45)	2.29*** (0.52)	2.08*** (0.54)	1.20** (0.58)	1.64** (0.72)	1.92*** (0.74)	2.43** (1.03)
Church Attendance Frequency	—	0.23*** (0.08)	—	—	—	0.20 (0.13)	—	0.03 (0.18)
Political Interest	—	0.82*** (0.14)	—	0.32** (0.14)	—	0.48** (0.21)	—	0.80** (0.36)
Party ID Strength	—	0.27* (0.14)	—	0.04 (0.12)	—	0.54*** (0.16)	—	0.38 (0.29)
Ideology Strength	—	-0.33* (0.18)	—	0.03 (0.11)	—	-0.52* (0.30)	—	-0.60 (0.58)
Education	—	0.06 (0.12)	—	0.35*** (0.08)	—	0.51** (0.20)	—	0.62* (0.34)
Income	—	0.18 (0.13)	—	-0.02 (0.07)	—	0.10 (0.16)	—	0.22 (0.26)
Indicators (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No network	—	-0.57 (0.49)	—	0.04 (0.19)	—	-0.05 (0.77)	—	3.42* (1.96)
Female	—	-0.19 (0.23)	—	-0.49*** (0.18)	—	-0.35 (0.41)	—	-0.52 (0.66)
Married	—	-0.23 (0.30)	—	—	—	0.11 (0.40)	—	0.56 (0.64)
Recent Mover	—	0.44 (0.75)	—	—	—	-1.26*** (0.42)	—	-2.34*** (0.69)
Race/Ethnicity Dummies (ref. = White, non-Hispanic)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Black	—	1.43*** (0.51)	—	-0.11 (0.49)	—	-0.98 (0.71)	—	-1.69 (1.20)
Hispanic	—	—	—	-0.44 (0.56)	—	0.98 (0.89)	—	-2.03* (1.04)
Other	—	-0.82 (1.02)	—	0.02 (0.28)	—	1.23** (0.62)	—	-0.33 (0.81)
Age Dummies (ref. = Quintile 1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age - Quintile 2	—	-0.00 (0.36)	—	—	—	-0.40 (0.48)	—	0.66 (0.87)
Age - Quintile 3	—	0.80 (0.54)	—	—	—	-0.09 (0.59)	—	-0.65 (0.92)
Age - Quintile 4	—	0.65 (0.53)	—	—	—	-1.11 (0.74)	—	-1.73 (1.10)
Age - Quintile 5	—	2.39*** (0.47)	—	—	—	-0.43 (0.75)	—	-0.90 (1.46)
AIC	630.29	473.04	1008.46	984.47	487.17	409.23	227.70	196.69
N - Observations	500	500	1335	1335	552	552	183	183
N - Imputations	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50

\*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

Note: This table displays coefficients from logistic regression models in which overreporting is regressed on network participation. Standard errors are provided in parentheses. The errors in the South Bend models are corrected for clustering at the neighborhood level. The CCES estimates rely on post-election weights.

**Table E2:** Models relying on self-reported turnout suggest greater social influence than do models relying on validated turnout.

	South Bend		Williamsburg		CCES		CCES - Matched	
	Self Report	Validated	Self Report	Validated	Self Report	Validated	Self Report	Validated
Intercept	-2.05*** (0.46)	-0.82** (0.42)	-1.18*** (0.27)	-1.07*** (0.30)	-0.47 (0.87)	-0.58 (0.75)	0.33 (0.94)	-0.33 (0.91)
Network Participation (as a proportion)	0.73* (0.40)	0.05 (0.23)	2.26*** (0.38)	1.91*** (0.38)	1.13** (0.54)	-0.28 (0.45)	1.69*** (0.61)	-0.11 (0.56)
Church Attendance Frequency	0.29*** (0.07)	0.13*** (0.03)	—	—	0.18 (0.14)	0.02 (0.06)	0.15 (0.18)	0.07 (0.09)
Political Interest	0.59*** (0.10)	0.05 (0.08)	0.23*** (0.08)	0.16* (0.09)	0.63*** (0.21)	0.49*** (0.15)	0.72*** (0.25)	0.55*** (0.20)
Party ID Strength	0.44*** (0.13)	0.21*** (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	0.43*** (0.16)	0.00 (0.09)	0.37* (0.21)	-0.00 (0.13)
Ideology Strength	-0.34*** (0.12)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.33 (0.28)	0.04 (0.15)	-0.76** (0.36)	0.14 (0.23)
Education	0.23** (0.10)	0.19** (0.09)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.25*** (0.05)	0.29 (0.20)	-0.15* (0.08)	0.47** (0.23)	0.04 (0.12)
Income	0.18* (0.11)	0.02 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08 (0.17)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.18)	0.02 (0.11)
Indicators (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No network	-0.73 (0.44)	-0.44* (0.23)	-0.37*** (0.13)	-0.58*** (0.15)	-0.29 (0.66)	-0.27 (0.36)	2.13** (0.87)	-0.25 (0.54)
Female	-0.03 (0.18)	0.02 (0.17)	-0.31*** (0.11)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.42 (0.40)	0.13 (0.18)	-0.34 (0.52)	0.25 (0.27)
Married	0.03 (0.22)	0.23* (0.13)	—	—	0.13 (0.35)	0.03 (0.19)	0.30 (0.36)	-0.02 (0.28)
Recent Mover	-0.21 (0.62)	-0.77*** (0.21)	—	—	-0.81** (0.33)	0.31 (0.22)	-0.89* (0.46)	0.38 (0.31)
Race/Ethnicity Dummies (ref. = White, non-Hispanic)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Black	0.05 (0.32)	-1.03*** (0.31)	-0.54 (0.34)	-0.78* (0.42)	-0.84 (0.79)	0.09 (0.35)	-1.21 (1.01)	-0.10 (0.53)
Hispanic	—	—	-0.13 (0.28)	-0.01 (0.30)	0.60 (0.87)	-0.51 (0.35)	-0.36 (0.96)	0.04 (0.52)
Other	-1.20** (0.59)	-0.86** (0.42)	-0.28 (0.19)	-0.44** (0.22)	0.78 (0.54)	-0.41 (0.32)	0.25 (0.66)	-0.19 (0.49)
Age Dummies (ref. = Quintile 1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age - Quintile 2	0.49* (0.30)	0.61*** (0.20)	—	—	-0.71 (0.45)	-0.12 (0.25)	-1.53** (0.71)	-0.44 (0.35)
Age - Quintile 3	1.20*** (0.40)	0.87*** (0.18)	—	—	-0.26 (0.55)	0.32 (0.27)	-0.79 (0.85)	0.50 (0.41)
Age - Quintile 4	1.32*** (0.41)	1.03*** (0.23)	—	—	-0.71 (0.83)	0.61** (0.29)	-1.80* (0.94)	0.39 (0.48)
Age - Quintile 5	1.56*** (0.33)	-0.76*** (0.18)	—	—	-0.05 (0.66)	0.84*** (0.31)	-1.14 (0.86)	0.41 (0.43)
AIC	834.75	1694.83	2123.64	1804.75	590.78	1661.27	383.35	998.63
N - Observations	1510	1510	1735	1735	1512	1512	1143	1143
N - Imputations	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50

\*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

Note: This table displays coefficients from logistic regression models in which self-reported or validated turnout is regressed on network participation. Standard errors are provided in parentheses. The errors in the South Bend models are corrected for clustering at the neighborhood level. The CCES estimates rely on post-election weights.

## F. Experimental name generator details

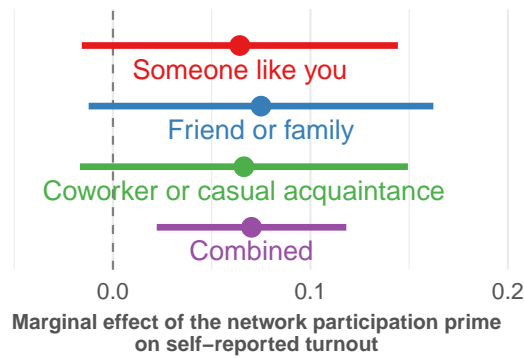
The experiment was administered on a post-election module of the 2016 CCES (N = 841). The full text of the experimental name generator read [experimental treatments in brackets, with color added to differentiate experimental groups]:

Lots of people vote in federal elections, but many others do not. [(no cue) / Nationwide, approximately 37% of eligible voters cast votes in the 2014 U.S. elections / Nationwide, approximately 59% of eligible voters cast votes in the 2012 U.S. elections] Think about a specific [close friend or family member / coworker or casual acquaintance / person like you] who you believe [voted / did not vote] in the General Election on November 8. What is that person's first name?

All treatments were assigned randomly and independently from one another with equal probability of each value. The turnout estimates from the national turnout cue groups come from McDonald (2016). Some people may have been unable to think of a voter or non-voter in their network. Others gave obviously false names like "Hillary Clinton." Since we cannot be certain respondents imagined a real associate, our results represent intention-to-treat (ITT) effects, providing a more conservative test of our theory. Further, the survey allowed responses to skip questions and thus two people did not respond to the turnout report and 10-16 others did not respond to the other dependent variables. SI I documents this non-response and provides sensitivity analysis demonstrating that the conclusions are robust to any possible assumptions about the true values of the missing variables.

## G. Treatment effects by the type of relationship elicited

**Figure G1:** The effect of the network participation prime remains consistent across types of relationships



Note: In the experiment, the name generator asked respondents to think of a voter or non-voter from one of the following three randomly-assigned groups: a “close friend or family member”, a “coworker or casual acquaintance”, or a “person like you”. This figure displays the estimated effect of the network participation prime for each type of relationship as well as the estimate when all three groups are combined. The dots and lines represent estimates and 95% confidence intervals from difference in means tests. These values represent the expected change in an individual’s probability of reporting that they voted when asked to think of an associate who voted rather than an associate who abstained. The point estimates are substantively similar in each group, though the precision of the estimates is lower within each group than when combined due to reduced power. The data come from the 2016 post-election CCES module.

## H. Balance statistics

Tables H1-H3 present balance statistics for each randomly assigned variable in the CCES experiment. In the tables, the means reflect proportions of respondents with each value of the pre-treatment covariates examined in the observational study. The p-values come from regressions of treatment assignment on the covariates. For the binary network participation prime, shown in Table H1, the p-values come from logistic regression. For the trichotomous treatments shown in Table H2 (the national treatment) & Table H3 (the type of relationship the name generator elicited), the p-values come from multinomial logistic regressions. In all three models, missing covariate values are treated as distinct categories. In the tables, the covariates are ordered by the minimum p-value.

In general, the covariates appear balanced across treatments, but Table H1 suggests respondents in the `associate_voted` group differ somewhat from the `associate_abstained` respondents in terms of their income, age, and partisan strength. We therefore estimated models controlling for these covariates. Since these covariates include missing values, we rely on the imputed data from the observational study and combine the estimates using Rubin's rules. After including controls, respondents in the `associate_voted` group were 4 percentage points more likely to report voting than respondents in the `associate_abstained` group (95% CI = [0.4, 8.3];  $p = 0.03$ ). And, with these controls, the `associate_voted` group still tended to feel greater social pressure. Compared to the `associate_abstained` group, these respondents expected their associate to be 0.61 more disappointed on the three-point scale (95% CI = [0.49, 0.72];  $p < 0.001$ ).

Table H2 suggests some imbalance across values of the national turnout cue for church attendance, income, education, and age. Much like the network participation prime effects, the effect of the national turnout cue on perceptions of national turnout remains after controlling for these covariates. Conditional on these controls, respondents' estimates of the national turnout rate were five percentage points lower if they received the 37% cue compared to no cue (95% CI = [-7.8, -1.8];  $p = 0.002$ ); and three percentage points lower if they received the 37% cue compared to the 59% cue (95% CI = [-6.5, -0.5];  $p = 0.02$ ).

**Table H1:** Balance statistics for the network participation prime

Covariate	Covariate Value	Mean		p-value
		1. Non-Voter	2. Voter	
Income	Quintile 1	0.2	0.15	baseline
	Quintile 2	0.17	0.18	0.1
	Quintile 3	0.14	0.21	0
	Quintile 4	0.19	0.16	0.62
	Quintile 5	0.18	0.18	0.17
	Missing	0.1	0.11	0.36
Age	Quintile 1	0.19	0.21	baseline
	Quintile 2	0.24	0.17	0.01
	Quintile 3	0.23	0.18	0.04
	Quintile 4	0.19	0.21	0.63
	Quintile 5	0.16	0.24	0.39
Party ID Strength	Independent	0.13	0.17	baseline
	Lean D/R	0.19	0.17	0.06
	Not very strong D/R	0.23	0.23	0.19
	Strong D/R	0.39	0.41	0.23
	Missing	0.05	0.03	0.02
Church Attendance	Never	0.28	0.27	baseline
	Seldom	0.22	0.22	0.81
	A few times a year	0.11	0.15	0.2
	Once/twice a month	0.08	0.09	0.69
	Once a week	0.22	0.21	0.61
	More than once a week	0.09	0.06	0.17
Ideology Strength	Missing	0.01	0	0.73
	Moderate	0.31	0.34	baseline
	Liberal/conservative	0.45	0.41	0.19
	Very liberal/conservative	0.17	0.18	0.84
	Missing	0.07	0.07	0.85
Political Interest	0 (least interested)	0.05	0.05	baseline
	1	0.14	0.1	0.22
	2	0.27	0.26	0.68
	3 (most interested)	0.53	0.57	0.8
	Missing	0.01	0.01	0.99
Gender	Male	0.44	0.43	baseline
	Female	0.56	0.57	0.43
Race/Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	0.73	0.74	baseline
	Black	0.1	0.09	0.62
	Hispanic	0.06	0.07	0.72
	Other	0.11	0.1	0.76
Marital Status	Not married	0.48	0.48	baseline
	Married	0.52	0.52	0.71
Education	Quartile 1	0.25	0.25	baseline
	Quartile 2	0.24	0.26	0.77
	Quartile 3	0.26	0.24	0.75
	Quartile 4	0.25	0.25	0.89
Recent mover	No	0.77	0.79	baseline
	Yes	0.23	0.21	0.88

**Table H2:** Balance statistics for the national turnout cue

Covariate	Covariate Value	Mean			p-value	
		1. No cue	2. 37% cue	3. 59% cue	1 v 2	1 v 3
Church Attendance	Never	0.26	0.27	0.3	baseline	baseline
	Seldom	0.21	0.22	0.22	0.77	0.64
	A few times a year	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.61	0.43
	Once/twice a month	0.1	0.07	0.09	0.09	0.32
	Once a week	0.23	0.24	0.17	0.54	0.06
	More than once a week	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.95	0.56
	Missing	0	0.01	0.01	0	0
Income	Quintile 1	0.17	0.14	0.23	baseline	baseline
	Quintile 2	0.18	0.17	0.19	0.77	0.33
	Quintile 3	0.19	0.2	0.14	0.44	0.03
	Quintile 4	0.2	0.18	0.16	0.79	0.01
	Quintile 5	0.16	0.18	0.19	0.7	0.19
	Missing	0.1	0.14	0.09	0.16	0.1
Education	Quartile 1	0.27	0.26	0.23	baseline	baseline
	Quartile 2	0.27	0.23	0.24	0.97	0.43
	Quartile 3	0.23	0.24	0.28	0.47	0.02
	Quartile 4	0.24	0.27	0.25	0.24	0.07
Age	Quintile 1	0.2	0.18	0.23	baseline	baseline
	Quintile 2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.83	0.34
	Quintile 3	0.17	0.22	0.21	0.27	0.88
	Quintile 4	0.23	0.21	0.15	0.97	0.02
	Quintile 5	0.2	0.19	0.21	1	0.8
Marital Status	Not married	0.52	0.42	0.49	baseline	baseline
	Married	0.48	0.58	0.51	0.03	0.14
Political Interest	0 (least interested)	0.05	0.04	0.07	baseline	baseline
	1	0.13	0.1	0.12	0.59	0.72
	2	0.25	0.3	0.25	0.09	0.92
	3 (most interested)	0.56	0.54	0.55	0.25	0.99
	Missing	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.23	0.67
Ideology Strength	Moderate	0.32	0.29	0.37	baseline	baseline
	Liberal/conservative	0.44	0.44	0.39	0.62	0.14
	Very liberal/conservative	0.18	0.2	0.15	0.36	0.22
	Missing	0.06	0.07	0.09	0.14	0.29
Gender	Male	0.46	0.45	0.41	baseline	baseline
	Female	0.54	0.55	0.59	0.66	0.19
Race/Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	0.73	0.76	0.71	baseline	baseline
	Black	0.1	0.08	0.1	0.83	0.72
	Hispanic	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.74	0.72
	Other	0.11	0.09	0.12	0.26	0.82
Party ID Strength	Independent	0.14	0.15	0.16	baseline	baseline
	Lean D/R	0.18	0.17	0.2	0.86	0.86
	Not very strong D/R	0.23	0.25	0.21	0.49	0.56
	Strong D/R	0.42	0.4	0.4	0.88	0.86
	Missing	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.81	0.31
Recent mover	No	0.77	0.78	0.79	baseline	baseline
	Yes	0.23	0.22	0.21	0.72	0.35

Likewise, the national turnout cue still has little impact on turnout once these controls are added. Conditional on these controls, respondents with the 37% cue were one percentage point *more* likely to report voting than those who received no cue (95% CI = [-3.4, 5.1];  $p = 0.70$ ) and four percentage points more likely to report voting than those who received the 59% cue (95% CI = [-0.4, 9.3];  $p = 0.07$ ). Thus, consistent with the main text, the estimated conditional effects are in the opposite direction as we would expect if perceptions of national turnout levels increased overreporting.



**Table H3:** Balance statistics for the type of relationship elicited

Covariate	Covariate Value	Mean			p-value	
		1. Friend/Family	2. Coworker/Acquaintance	3. Person like you	1 v 2	1 v 3
Church Attendance	Never	0.27	0.3	0.26	baseline	baseline
	Seldom	0.21	0.23	0.21	0.95	0.86
	A few times a year	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.63	0.11
	Once/twice a month	0.08	0.07	0.1	0.59	0.3
	Once a week	0.22	0.19	0.23	0.18	0.92
	More than once a week	0.1	0.07	0.04	0.11	0.03
Marital Status	Missing	0.01	0.01	0	0.77	0.68
	Not married	0.5	0.49	0.43	baseline	baseline
	Married	0.5	0.51	0.57	0.48	0.05
Gender	Male	0.47	0.43	0.41	baseline	baseline
	Female	0.53	0.57	0.59	0.34	0.06
Race/Ethnicity	White, Non-Hispanic	0.72	0.7	0.77	baseline	baseline
	Black	0.1	0.11	0.07	0.26	0.69
	Hispanic	0.09	0.04	0.06	0.09	0.4
	Other	0.09	0.14	0.09	0.15	0.98
Income	Quintile 1	0.2	0.17	0.17	baseline	baseline
	Quintile 2	0.16	0.19	0.18	0.23	0.36
	Quintile 3	0.18	0.16	0.19	0.88	0.87
	Quintile 4	0.14	0.19	0.2	0.15	0.22
	Quintile 5	0.2	0.18	0.16	0.84	0.51
	Missing	0.11	0.12	0.1	0.34	0.92
Education	Quartile 1	0.26	0.23	0.27	baseline	baseline
	Quartile 2	0.23	0.28	0.24	0.22	0.88
	Quartile 3	0.26	0.23	0.26	0.9	0.69
	Quartile 4	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.43	0.6
Party ID Strength	Independent	0.15	0.14	0.15	baseline	baseline
	Lean D/R	0.17	0.2	0.18	0.24	0.75
	Not very strong D/R	0.24	0.22	0.23	0.86	0.95
	Strong D/R	0.41	0.4	0.4	0.74	0.8
	Missing	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.8	0.54
Ideology Strength	Moderate	0.35	0.32	0.31	baseline	baseline
	Liberal/conservative	0.41	0.43	0.44	0.39	0.29
	Very liberal/conservative	0.18	0.17	0.18	0.92	0.65
	Missing	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.27	0.31
Political Interest	0 (least interested)	0.05	0.05	0.06	baseline	baseline
	1	0.12	0.11	0.12	0.75	0.71
	2	0.28	0.28	0.24	0.67	0.47
	3 (most interested)	0.54	0.55	0.57	0.7	0.95
	Missing	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.9	0.43
Age	Quintile 1	0.2	0.2	0.2	baseline	baseline
	Quintile 2	0.21	0.2	0.19	0.82	0.61
	Quintile 3	0.22	0.2	0.19	0.83	0.56
	Quintile 4	0.18	0.19	0.23	0.92	0.52
	Quintile 5	0.2	0.21	0.2	0.99	0.58
Recent mover	No	0.78	0.79	0.78	baseline	baseline
	Yes	0.22	0.21	0.22	0.55	0.98

## I. Attrition during the experiment

Of the 841 post-treatment respondents in the CCES module, 39 provided no response to one or more of the dependent variables used in the experimental study. Tables I1-I3 examine how this attrition was distributed across the randomly assigned variables. Despite some attrition, the effects reported in the main text are not sensitive to attrition, as we demonstrate below.

Attrition was greatest for responses to the question asking about how disappointed the associate elicited by the name generator would be to learn the respondent did not vote. Table I1 suggests that the attrition was greater among respondents asked to name a non-voter ( $n = 11$ ) than among respondents asked to name a voter ( $n = 5$ ). Given this difference, we can investigate how non-response might bias the effect of the network participation prime on perceived social pressure. The estimates in the main text omit the missing responses, which relies on the strong assumption that the observations are missing completely at random. Under this assumption, the treatment effect is .62 (95% CI = [.51, .73];  $p < 0.001$ ). That is, respondents primed to think of an associate who voted expected this associate to be about .62 more disappointed on the three-point scale than respondents primed to think of a non-voter. To provide a lower bound on the estimate, we can instead impute the minimum value of disappointment for all missing responses assigned to think of a voter. Likewise, we can impute the maximum value of disappointment for all missing responses assigned to think of a non-voter. These extreme assumptions bias the estimate toward the null, but nonetheless suggest a substantively similar treatment effect of .57 (95% CI = [.46, .68];  $p < 0.001$ ). To estimate the upper bound due to missing values, we can instead impute the maximum value of disappointment for the `associate_voted` group and the minimum value for the `associate_abstained` group. Again this strong assumption leads to the same substantive conclusion with a treatment effect of .64 (95% CI = [.54, .75];  $p < 0.001$ ).

The network turnout estimate also has greater non-response among the `associate_abstained` group. As we show in the main text, omitting missing cases leads to a near-zero treatment effect equal to -0.8 on the 101-point scale (95% CI = [-3.2, 1.6];  $p = 0.51$ ). Again, even the most extreme assumptions about the true values of these cases leads to the

**Table I1:** Number of cases missing (and percent missing) for each dependent variable across values of the network participation prime

DV	Treatment Value	
	Non-Voter	Voter
Disappointment	11 (2.7%)	5 (1.1%)
National Turnout Estimate	6 (1.5%)	4 (0.9%)
Network Turnout Estimate	9 (2.2%)	2 (0.5%)
Self-Reported Turnout	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.2%)

**Table I2:** Number of cases missing (and percent missing) for each dependent variable across values of the national turnout cue

DV	Treatment Value		
	No cue	37% cue	59% cue
Disappointment	4 (1.3%)	6 (2.2%)	6 (2.2%)
National Turnout Estimate	4 (1.3%)	3 (1.1%)	3 (1.1%)
Network Turnout Estimate	3 (1%)	5 (1.8%)	3 (1.1%)
Self-Reported Turnout	0 (0%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.4%)

**Table I3:** Number of cases missing (and percent missing) for each dependent variable by the type of relationship elicited

DV	Treatment Value		
	Friend/Family	Coworker/Acquaintance	Person like you
Disappointment	5 (1.8%)	4 (1.5%)	7 (2.4%)
National Turnout Estimate	3 (1.1%)	3 (1.1%)	4 (1.4%)
Network Turnout Estimate	4 (1.4%)	1 (0.4%)	6 (2%)
Self-Reported Turnout	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.7%)

same conclusion. If we impute these cases to create an upper bound on the effect as above, the estimated effect is 0.4 (95% CI =  $[-2.1, 3.0]$ ;  $p = 0.73$ ). And if we impute the cases to estimate the lower bound, the estimated effect is -2.0 (95% CI =  $[-4.5, 0.5]$ ;  $p = 0.12$ ).

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