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# 13. The Roles of the Internet and Social Media in Political Marketing and Voter Behaviour: A Study of Finnish Parliamentary Elections

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**Abstract:** This chapter explores the roles of the internet and social media (SM) in political marketing and voter behaviour. We specifically analyse how voters' use of both offline (television) and online (internet and SM) media to search for political information affects their voting preferences and decision-making. First, we examine how the use of offline and online media for political information differs among various voter groups based on voter demographics. Second, we investigate how the use of offline and online media is linked to voter choice (i.e., voting for a particular party). Our study is based on a voter survey of Finnish parliamentary elections in 2015. The results show a difference in the importance of online and offline media as a source of political information among voters, the role of internet and SM being remarkable only for younger voters (aged 18-24). We find that internet and SM are important source of political information especially for election day voters. In addition, we demonstrate a positive linkage between searching for political information and a voter's decision to vote for a particular party.

**Keywords**: political marketing; social media; public relations; elections; voter behaviour

## Introduction

In the field of political marketing, it is widely acknowledged that marketing management concepts can be applied seamlessly to understanding voter attitudes and behaviour in the political context (Harris and Lock, 2010; Winchester, Hall and Binney, 2016). A basic tenet of the research on political marketing is to consider voters as consumers and thereby examine voter behaviour in political markets in a similar manner as consumer behaviour in commercial markets (e.g., Cwalina, Falkowski and Newman, 2012; Harris and Lock, 2010; Smith and French, 2009; Winchester, Hall and Binney, 2014).

Political candidates and parties use direct and indirect promotional strategies to establish, maintain and enhance relationships with their voters as consumers (Cwalina *et al.*, 2012; Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2009). Specific political marketing tactics are used for various reasons, such as to increase voter loyalty and satisfaction or increase brand attractiveness (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013; Speed, Butler and Collins, 2015). Recently, the role of digital and social media (SM) technologies and applications has become increasingly important in shaping voter preferences (Grover *et al*., 2019) and creating awareness of political promotions (French and Smith 2010). There has been abundant interest among scholars in studying how parties, candidates and the public utilise SM for election campaigns and political communication (Jungherr, 2016). SM has emerged as a key channel for political marketing in elections and political campaigns, such as U.S. presidential elections and Britain's Brexit voting (Enli, 2017; Grover *et al*., 2019; Pich *et al.*, 2018). For example, Donald Trump's selection in the 2016 U.S. presidential election has been explained by successful multichannel campaigning, where SM communication was crucial (Enli, 2017).

Despite the increased scholarly attention towards internet and SM in political marketing, there is a need for more research on voters as consumers (Harris and Lock, 2010; Winchester *et al*., 2016) and factors affecting voters' decision-making (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005; Van Steenburg, 2015). In particular, little is known about how voters use various channels (both traditional and internet-based media) to search for political information and how this is related to their voting behaviour.

This chapter will address this gap in the literature by examining how the use of a particular source of political information is linked to voter behaviour. We analyse how voters' use of either traditional or internet-based channels to search for political information affects their voting preferences and decision-making. Thus, our study is two-fold: we begin by examining how the mode of political information search (online and offline) differs among various voter groups based on voter demographics and then investigate how the mode of political information search (online and offline) is linked to voter choice (i.e., voting for a particular party). Our study is based on a voter survey of Finnish parliamentary elections in 2015, comprising 1,587 voter responses (male 794, female 793).

Our results show that voters use more offline than online channels for searching political information. We also highlight the paradoxical role of younger voters (aged 18–24), who were the most active users of the internet and SM to search for political information, but were the least interested in politics and elections. We find that internet and SM are important source of political information especially for election day voters. In addition, we demonstrate a positive linkage between searching for political information and a voter's decision to vote for a particular party.

## Theoretical background

### *Political marketing and voter choice*

Since the introduction of the concept of political marketing (Kotler and Levy, 1969), research on political marketing has emerged as an established, multidisciplinary field of study (Cwalina, Falkowski and Newman, 2017; Harris and Lock, 2010; Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2007). The basic assumption in the political marketing is that voters' decision to vote for a particular party is equivalent to when a consumer shows a preference for certain commercial brands (e.g., Smith and French, 2009). There are clear parallels in the development of consumer and political markets, and the application of politics to marketing is widely acknowledged among scholars (Harris and Lock, 2010).

The purpose of political marketing is to attract voters by building images and offering promises of value to voter consumers to distinguish themselves from competitor candidates and parties (Kotler and Kotler, 1999). As in commercial marketing, it is equally important in political marketing to understand voters' needs, which can lead to more effective campaign communication and ultimately better election outcomes (Cwalina *et al*., 2012; Kotler and Kotler, 1999; Robinson, 2010).

There are differences between commercial and political marketing contexts. Political marketing is often highly person-focused and identified by a strong political leader, whose image plays an important role (Speed *et al*., 2015). The emotions and attitudes of consumer voters are even more crucial than in commercial markets (Kotler and Kotler, 1999). There are

different time dimensions in political markets: consumers make purchase decisions regularly in commercial markets, whereas consumer voters tend to only make voting decisions during the election cycle. Thus, political campaigning often intensifies right before elections. Additionally, the medium of exchange is non-financial (e.g., votes, information) in political markets, and voter consumers cannot be sure about the outcome of their votes (Egan, 1999; Lock and Harris, 1996). A specific characteristic of political markets is that they are a lower-involvement context; consumer voters might have a basic need to vote, but there is no need to evaluate their choices carefully before behaving (Winchester *et al*., 2016). Despite these differences, there is a wide consensus among researchers that the principles and procedures in both commercial and political markets are highly similar (e.g. Harris and Lock, 2010; Kotler and Kotler, 1999).

Earlier research has identified various factors explaining voters' decision-making and engagement in political processes, including interest in engaging in political processes, confidence in the political system, and the degree of satisfaction with politics, voting and politicians. Satisfaction can occur on two levels: with the candidate or party for which one has voted and with the current state of policy. Voter confidence can also be divided into two parts: confidence in the democratic process and in voting decisions (O'Cass, 2002; O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005; Winchester *et al*., 2016).

Voter behaviour is being analysed using the concepts and theories developed in mainstream marketing research, such as customer value (Brennan and Henneberg, 2008), brand equity (Ahmed, Lodhi and Ahmad, 2015; French and Smith, 2010) and consumer behaviour (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005). The decision to vote for a particular candidate or party in an election is driven by factors similar to those of consumer decisions in commercial markets.

These can include brand image (French and Smith, 2010), advertising (Van Steenburg, 2015), customer loyalty (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005), and consumer tastes, habits and preferences (Winchester *et al*., 2016). Past behaviour can also determine the voter consumer's decision. As shown by Winchester *et al*. (2016), the key driver of decision-making among young voters is their previous behaviour or the usage (i.e., voting the same party over time) of the political party.

*Political information search using online and offline channels*

Another key driver in voter consumer decision-making is the degree of the knowledge of political processes. This knowledge is closely related to political involvement as voter involvement in political processes can influence how voters perceive their degree of knowledge regarding elections, political parties and politicians (O'Cass, 2002; O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005). Voters can extend their degree of knowledge by searching for and collecting political information to support their decision-making as political consumers. However, there are certain hindrances to gaining political information. In low-involvement contests, such as political elections, voters may remain consciously uninformed or rely more on their own knowledge about politics (Falkowski and Cwalina, 2012). Similarly, voters with a high degree of loyalty and satisfaction to a particular party are less likely to search for information to inform their next decision (Winchester *et al*., 2016).

Earlier research has shown that the degree of searching for political information and the amount of information sought vary considerably among consumer voters when seeking information to assist their voting decisions (Apospori, Avlonitis and Zisouli, 2010; Winchester *et al*., 2016). As such, knowledge can be obtained through passive or active

information seeking, although consumers typically receive political information without intentional searches (Gattermann and De Vreese, 2017; Winchester *et al*., 2014; Winchester *et al*., 2016). A higher degree of information seeking is shown to predict higher voter involvement (Burton and Netemeyer, 1992; O'Cass, 2002), especially among younger voters (Winchester *et al*., 2016). However, more active information searches and increased knowledge do not increase younger adults' commitment to politics (Winchester *et al*., 2016). A higher degree of information search does have a positive effect on voter confidence: the more informed voters are, the more confident they are when voting for a particular candidate of a party (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005).

Consumer voters can search for political information through various channels, both online and offline (O'Cass, 2002; Winchester *et al*., 2016). As discussed above, earlier research has widely contributed to our knowledge of voter information searching via traditional offline channels. However, digitalisation and SM are transforming how the public engages in political processes (Borg and Koljonen, 2020; Strandberg and Carlson, 2017), and creating new forms of political participation (Boulianne, 2015; Vissers and Stolle, 2014).
Similarly, SM can play a substantial role in political processes and outcomes, as voters' use of SM can help predict and shape voter preferences. For example, Vepsäläinen, Li and Suomi (2017) showed that Facebook likes can predict the preference to vote for a particular party, and Grover *et al.* (2019) indicated that SM can polarise the political discussion and impact voting behaviour during the election.

Similarly, digital and SM technologies and applications have recently emerged as central channels for political marketing (Grover *et al*., 2019, Jungherr, 2016), highlighting the importance of SM in public relations (PR) of political actors (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013). The

results of Enli and Skogerbø (2013) indicate that politicians use SM for both marketing and dialogue purposes. Here, the role of various SM platforms varies: Facebook is more preferred for marketing purposes, whereas Twitter is more used for continuous dialogue with electorates.

To conclude, these changes in both technology and voter behaviour call for further understanding on how voters' use of the internet and SM for gaining political information affects their voting decisions and preferences. In this study, we address this gap by examining how the search for political information in both traditional (offline) and digital (online) channels is linked to voter characteristics and voter behaviour.

**Methodology**

Data for our study were drawn from the Finnish National Election Study 2015 (Grönlund and Kestilä-Kekkonen, 2018). At the time of our statistical analysis, this 2015 dataset was the most recent politically themed data available for research purposes. Access to the database was approved by the Finnish Social Science Data Archive. The survey data were originally collected by TNS Gallup immediately following the Finnish Parliamentary Election in April 2015. Turnout in the election was 70.1%, which is relatively high by international comparisons (Grönlund and Wass, 2015). Voting is voluntary in Finnish elections, and the mode of selection is based on proportional representation. For more information on the Finnish electoral system, see Jääskeläinen (2010).

A survey was originally sent to 11,500 people who were selected in the sampling frame. In total, 4,044 people refused to participate and 5,919 could not be reached, making the response

rate 13.7%. The respondents were chosen via simple random sampling with quotas to ensure that the data would represent the sample (i.e., the entire adult population of Finland with a right to vote). As shown in Table 13.1, the survey yielded 1,587 responses, which equally included female (n = 793) and male (n = 794) respondents. Advance voting was quite common (41% of respondents), which has been the case in many recent elections in Finland (Grönlund and Wass, 2015).

<TABLE 13.1 HERE>

The survey form included several opinion and attitude statements related to voting behaviour and political information searching. The respondents evaluated these statements with a Likert-type four-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree [within opinion-based statements]; 1 = very much, 4 = not at all [within questions regarding usage]). Questions considering information search were phrased from the standpoint of using a certain channel to gain political information (e.g., ‘How often did you follow parliamentary election-themed content from channel x?’).

We conducted our analysis in three parts. First, confirmatory factor analysis was used to identify factors for the mode of information search. Second, we conducted the Kruskal–Wallis test and Mann–Whitney U-test for analysing the relationship between information searches (both online and offline) and demographic factors (age and gender). Earlier research has found that age and gender are significant factors in explaining voter behaviour in general (O’Cass, 2002; O’Cass and Pecotich, 2005). We also used the Mann–Whitney U-test to analyse variation among voter groups (non-voters, advance voters and election day voters) in terms of information search. Previous research has shown that there are differences between

early- and late-deciding voters. Late-deciders are less attentive to campaign content (Henderson and Hillygus, 2016) and less predictable in their voting decisions, often showing more fluctuation in their opinions and party choices than early-deciders (Box-Steffensmeier *et al*., 2015). Finally, we conducted regression analysis to investigate the relationship between voting behaviour (voting for a particular party) and information search.

## Results

### *Information searches using online and offline channels*

As seen in Table 13.2, two independent factors were found in the factor analysis: 1) information searches online (SM, videos, blogs, candidate or party homepages, internet news) and 2) information searches through traditional media (in our case, following news and debates on television). The fact that television emerged as the central offline media for information searches aligns with previous studies, indicating that consumer voters typically consider television the main offline channel for gaining political information (e.g., Eshbaugh-Soha, 2016).

By distinguishing two separate channels for political information searches, we were able to conduct a more nuanced analysis compared to earlier studies (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005; Winchester *et al*., 2016) that were conducted on a general level without distinguishing offline and online information searches. Additionally, our results are enriched by channel-specific findings in terms of online information searches, which are rare in previous literature. Next, we elaborate on the differences between online and offline information searches and the implications for voter behaviour.

<TABLE 13.2 HERE>

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to evaluate the extent of their use of various information channels to collect political information on a scale between 1–4 (1 = very much, 4 = not at all). The results show a remarkable difference in the importance of online and offline media as a source of political information among voters (see Table 13.3). Information searches using SM platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, and video platforms, such as YouTube, were relatively rare (avg. 3.51 and 3.69, respectively). Furthermore, two-thirds (68%) of the respondents said that they had not searched for any political information from online channels. Offline channels were used remarkably more often than online channels, with the mean of the responses being 2.33. In addition, only 15% of the respondents said that they had not used offline channels at all, and over 50% reported that they used offline channels very or quite much.

<TABLE 13.3 HERE>

*Demographic factors explaining information searches*

Earlier research notes that demographic factors play a key role in determining voter behaviour (Cwalina *et al*., 2012; Winchester *et al*., 2016). We analysed the impact of two demographic factors, gender and age on political information searches. In the analysis, we

relied on non-parametric Mann–Whitney U-tests, as some of our variables were not normally distributed. The tests included composite variables retrieved from the factor analysis. Cronbach's alphas for the composite variables varied between 0.85–0.62, which is satisfactory.

The results showed differences among male and female voter consumers (Table 13.4). In general, the male respondents searched for political information via online and offline media more often than the female respondents. This difference was especially significant in the use of traditional media (debates and news on television) ($p = 0.000$, $Z = -5.03$), whereas in the use of the internet and SM, the difference between genders was significant only in terms of seeking information from internet news ($p = 0.004$, $Z = -2.85$).

<TABLE 13.4 HERE>

There was also variation in the search for political information among different age groups (see Table 13.5). The differences were statistically significant in all variables. Younger voters (aged 18–24) used traditional media as a source of political information remarkably less than older voters (age 65 or over). However, the difference in internet and SM use was the opposite: the younger the voter, the more they used online channels to gather political information. Here, the differences between younger (aged 18–24) and older (65 years or over) voters was most significant (means of the sum variables varied between 21.97 and 26.55). The results indicate that younger voters prefer the internet and SM as sources of political information, whereas older generations rely more on traditional media.

<TABLE 13.5 HERE>

*Information searches among voter groups*

Next, we analysed the relationship between voting behaviour and political information search. Here, we looked at the variation between voter groups in terms of information searches. We divided the respondents into three groups based on their voting behaviour: 1) voters who did not vote at all (n = 287, 18%), 2) advance voters (n = 660, 42%) and 3) election day voters (n = 636, 40%). In the analysis, we used the Kruskal–Wallis test to identify the differences among the sum variables. The differences were statistically significant in all sum variables (Table 13.6). The interest in political information was remarkably higher among advance and election day voters than non-voters in both offline and online channels. However, the difference among the voter groups was more significant in the use of traditional media than internet and SM. Interestingly, the importance of internet and SM for political information was larger for election day voters than advance voters, whereas advance voters favoured traditional media over internet and SM for gaining political information. This implies that using the internet and SM for political information is not dependent on whether the citizen voted, but internet and SM seems to be most important source of political information for election day voters.

<TABLE 13.6 HERE>

*Political information searches and voter choice*

Next, we investigated the relationship between information search and voter choice. We conducted linear regression analysis to study how voting for a particular party is explained by searching for political information from offline and online sources. We selected voters for the four biggest political parties in the election: The Centre Party (*Keskusta*) (n = 279), the Finnish Social Democratic Party (*Sosiaalidemokraatit, SDP*) (n = 203), the Finns Party (*Perussuomalaiset*) (n = 198) and the National Coalition Party (*Kokoomus*) (n = 176). Our dependent variable was dichotomic: (1) voting for a particular party and (0) not voting for a particular party. Independent variables were formed from variables identified in the factor analysis. In the model construction, we relied on the stepwise method and backward elimination, as it was assumed that factors explaining voting behaviour would vary across political parties.

The results showed a variation in the mode of information searching among voters, with the mode linked to voters' political preferences to vote for a particular party (Table 13.7). Searching for political information through the internet and SM explained voting for the SDP ($t = 2.846$, $p = 0.005$) but not the other three parties. This could indicate that only the SDP was able to reach their voters through online campaigning. Information searching via offline media was linked to voting for the National Coalition Party ($t = 2.439$, $p = 0.015$) and the SDP ($t = 2.028$, $p = 0.043$). Offline media was a central source of information especially for SDP voters, who used offline media remarkably more often than supporters of the other three parties. Given that both online and offline information searching was linked to voting for the SDP, it seems that their voters are more attentive in general when compared to voters of other major parties, and their campaign messages were successfully delivered on both online and offline platforms.

<TABLE 13.7 HERE>

Interestingly, voting for The Centre Party and The Finns Party was not explained by either offline or online political information searches. Accordingly, only voting for the SDP was explained by both online and offline political information searches. Thus, political information searching seems unequally important for voters, and it does not explain the voting decisions made by voters in terms of all political parties.

**Discussion and conclusions**

Identifying the characteristics of different voter consumer groups is important for targeting effective political marketing (O'Cass, 2002; O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005; Robinson, 2010). This study focused on investigating voter behaviour in terms of political information searching via both offline and online channels and how it varies among voter groups (e.g., by age, gender, voting profile and voting for a particular party). By focusing on both offline and online channels for political information, our study extends earlier political marketing research focusing on the relationships between political information search, voter behaviour, and voter decision-making. Moreover, our study offers a nuanced analysis of how voters' use of internet and SM as sources for political information is linked to their voting behaviour.

The role of SM as a political information source varies across voter groups. In line with other studies (Apospori *et al*., 2010; Leppäniemi *et al*. 2010; Winchester *et al*., 2016), we found that younger voters (aged 18–24) use the internet and SM for searching political information more extensively than older voters (aged 65 or older). However, younger voters are less

interested in politics in general and show the least loyalty to the party for whom they vote. In addition, their voting turnover is typically the lowest (Grönlund and Wass, 2016).

Our research is, to our knowledge, the first study to show how political information searches vary among voter types. Earlier research on voter behaviour has shown that late-deciders are less attentive to campaign content (Henderson and Hillygus, 2016) and less predictable in their voting decisions (Box-Steffensmeier et al., 2015). Our results expand these findings by showing that those who vote earlier (advance voters) use traditional media (television) for political information searches the most extensively, whereas late-deciders (election day voters) rely more on the internet and SM to support their voting decisions. This indicates that candidates or political parties increasing their campaigning on the internet and SM closer to election day could attract these late-deciders and increase the number of votes.

Our results show that using the internet and SM for political information searches is relatively low among voters, and its effects on voter choice (voting for a particular party) are rather low (in our study, it only affected voters for the SDP but not the other three major parties). Thus, our results resonate with the dilemma noted by Strandberg (2013), who analysed voter behaviour in the 2011 elections in Finland and found that despite voters' inactive use of online channels for political information, many candidates and parties were allocating increasing amounts of resources to promoting their political campaigns in online channels. This dilemma merits further investigation into why political marketing in SM does not attract voters in certain political contexts (such as Finland), while in other political systems (such as the U.S.), SM platforms have recently become a major arena for constructing candidates' image and even political agenda-setting, especially following Donald Trump's successful presidential election campaign in 2015 (Enli, 2017).

Earlier research has not found a direct effect between information searches and voting for a particular party (Burton and Netemeyer, 1992; O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005). Similarly, Vepsäläinen *et al*. (2017) found no relationship between SM likes and voter choice. However, we show that for some voters, searching for political information explained their decision to vote for a particular party (the SDP and the National Coalition Party), yet it did not determine voting decisions for other parties (the Finns Party and the Centre Party).

Our study is limited in that it was conducted in a stable Western democracy. As earlier research has noted, factors affecting voter behaviour and choice vary across political systems and cultures (e.g., Cwalina *et al*., 2004; Cwalina, Falkowski and Newman, 2010). Thus, one should be cautious when applying the results to other kinds of political systems, such as emerging democracies or non-democratic systems.

## Key lessons for future research

- Our study is among the first to investigate the differences between voters' use of online and offline channels for political information, and its relationship to voter behaviour and decision-making.
- Our results show that voters, in general, still primarily use traditional media as a source for political information. Younger voters (aged 18-24) are the most extensive users of internet and SM to search political information.
- We demonstrate that there is a positive linkage between searching for political information and a voter's decision to vote for a particular party.
- Our research is among the first to offer insights on how internet and SM are important source of political information especially for election day voters. Thus, political

marketers should increase the amount of advertising in internet and social media close to the election day, as election day voters rely more on the internet and SM to support their voting decisions.

**Disclaimer**

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## Table 13.1. Description of respondents

| | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Gender** | | |
| Female | 793 | 50 |
| Male | 794 | 50 |
| **Age** | | |
| 18–24 | 179 | 11,3 |
| 25–34 | 249 | 15,7 |
| 35–44 | 223 | 14,1 |
| 45–54 | 164 | 10,3 |
| 55–64 | 269 | 17,0 |
| Over 65 | 503 | 31,7 |
| **Voting decision** | | |
| I did not vote | 287 | 18,1 |
| I voted in advance | 660 | 41,6 |
| I voted on election day | 636 | 40,1 |
| N.A. | 4 | 0,3 |
| **N total** | 1 587 | |

## Table 13.2. Results of factor analysis

| Factor | Number of questions | Eigenvalue | Coefficient (%) | Cronbach alfa |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Information search through internet and social media | 7 | 3,92 | 21,38 | 0,86 |
| Information search through television | 2 | 2,58 | 13,03 | 0,81 |

**Table 13.3. The importance of online and offline media for information search, means and standard deviations** (1=using very much, 4=using not at all)

| | *avg.* | *s* |
|---|---|---|
| **Internet and social media** | | |
| Internet news regarding elections | 3,12 | 0,97 |
| Social media (FB, IG, Twitter) | 3,52 | 0,82 |
| Videoblogs (YouTube) | 3,69 | 0,65 |
| Candidate's or party's homepages | 3,61 | 0,68 |
| News broadcasting in internet | 3,57 | 0,75 |
| Blogs | 3,75 | 0,57 |
| Voting advice applications | 3,23 | 0,95 |
| **Traditional media** | | |
| Debates and interviews in TV | 2,64 | 0,92 |
| News and magazine programmes in TV | 2,33 | 0,93 |

**Table 13.4. Political information search among genders**

| | **Male** | | **Female** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *Z* | *p* |
| Online information | 24,11 | 4,25 | 24,49 | 4,19 | -2,04 | .041 |
| Offline information | 4,71 | 1,64 | 5,08 | 1,69 | -5,03 | .000 |

**Table 13.5. Political information search among age groups**

| | **18-24 yrs.** | | **25-34 yrs.** | | **35-44 yrs.** | | **45-54 yrs.** | | **55-64 yrs.** | | **65+ yrs.** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *p* |
| Online information | 21,97 | 4,43 | 22,20 | 4,26 | 23,06 | 3,83 | 23,60 | 4,49 | 25,22 | 3,93 | 26,35 | 3,14 | .000 |
| Offline information | 5,80 | 1,59 | 5,75 | 1,50 | 5,26 | 1,49 | 4,82 | 1,64 | 4,46 | 1,59 | 4,27 | 1,55 | .000 |

**Table 13.6. The use of online and offline sources for political information among voter groups**

| | **Non-voters** | | **Advance voters** | | **Election day voters** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *avg.* | *s* | *p* |
| Internet and social media | 25,60 | 3,66 | 24,28 | 4,29 | 23,78 | 4,26 | .000 |
| Traditional media | 5,95 | 1,55 | 4,51 | 1,62 | 4,87 | 1,60 | .000 |

**Table 13.7. The use of online and offline sources for political information explaining voter choice**

| **Explanatory factors** | *β* | *t* | *p* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Online information, SDP | .071 | 2,846 | .005 |
| Offline information, SDP | .051 | 2,028 | .043 |
| Offine information, The National Coalition Party | .061 | 2,439 | .015 |