Televised Political Adverts, Intermediation and Voting: Investigating Determiners of Electoral Choices in the Nigerian Elections of 2015

Murtada Busair Ahmad, *Ph.D.*
Kwara State University, Malete, Kwara State, Nigeria

Abstract
Even though empirical narratives about the influence of televised political messages on the electorates' voting behaviour are well documented; supremacy of televised political contents has been hypothetically challenged by other sociological and psychological variables, namely social media use, voters' attitude towards elections, opinion leadership, and interpersonal networking. Located in the two step-flow and individual differences theories, this paper investigates the extent to which televised political adverts had influenced voters 'decision in the 2015 Nigerian General Elections. Cross-sectional survey was applied to produce quantitative data from 208 respondents selected for examining the patterns of correlation between the predictors and electorates' voting decision while focus FGD was used to source in-depth information from 14 participants on

what influenced the electorates' voting decision. Findings revealed social media use, attitude towards elections as exerting more influence on the electorates' voting decision over and above exposure to televised political adverts and interpersonal networking. This is not to say that the televised adverts had no influence on the dependent variable. Both exposure to televised political adverts and interpersonal networking, as separate independent variables, were found to be significantly correlated with the electorates' voting decision, although they both explained lesser amount of variance in the dependent measure.

Keywords: Televised political adverts, Interpersonal networking, Opinion leadership, Voting decision, Electoral choices.

Background

The Nigerian General Elections that took place from February 2015 came with apprehensions and fears from within and outside Nigeria that the country might break up after the elections. The political campaign aggressions that ensued between the two major political parties, the then ruling People Democratic Party and the opposition All-Progressives Congress, were spread beyond the public sphere and mass media to homes where the future of the country was excitedly discussed. More so as the dates of the national elections were shifted twice by the electoral umpire, the Independent National Electoral Commission, at the behest of the

government at the centre, the political parties used every means at their disposal to discredit one another as well as their candidates nominated for electoral offices on radio, television, and in newspapers.

Dominating Nigerian national television networks, such as the National Television Authority (NTA) and allied television stations like the African Independent Television (AIT), carried many adverts of political propaganda aligning the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan with globally-acclaimed political colossus like Barack Obama, Nelson Mandela, and Martin Luther King Jnr. On the contrary, the main opposition presidential candidate was projected as a symbol of dictatorship, incompetence and failure. Such was the extent to which propaganda and hate speech were perpetuated on the local television channels and in the print media where sponsored opinion articles by the two sides were published.

The mass media are notably the most powerful source of information in modern democracies, though there have been arguments on whether such much pronounced power of the media sustains in the presence of other channels of information, which are also factored in the process of instilling awareness in the electorates about electoral manoeuvring, electoral behaviour, and related matters (Belluchi, Maraffi & Sagatti, 2007). Variables such as opinion leadership (Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 174), interpersonal discussants, partisan dispositions, informational biases, (Mogalhdes, 2007), media credibility (O'Keefe, 1980; Parley, 1996; Krauss, 1996), electorates' attitudes and behaviours **(Gunther,** Montero and Tocal, 2007)**,** and of course social media have been used to form rival hypotheses in explaining what determines voters' decision during elections.

Equivalent and potential as these predictors might have sounded to all sense of logic and reality, the crucial question that arises is: when they are assembled as rival factors, which of these

variables will display the most prognostic power of affecting the psyche of the electorates to vote for political candidates during elections? One thing seems closed to being realistic: the aforementioned independent variables could be differing, amidst multivariate equation, in terms of the perceived impact they might have exuded on decision to vote in the Nigerian national elections of 2015. Besides, whatever might have been the results of the predictors in their strive for winning the hearts of voters could presumably reveal the extent of voters' sophistication in dealing with the contents of mass media and other information sources when choosing political candidates in the elections.

Sophistication of voters may arise from the fact that they belong in the fold of the active audiences of mass media, who have been conceived as reacting differently to the contents of the message systems. Put differently, people do not interpret media massages in like manners because of the difference in their psychological make-up and personality traits (Baran & Davis, 2012, pp. 130-136). This reemphasizes the notion that the message systems function through a nexus of intervening factors. Therefore discussion about what instigated the Nigerian voters' decision in the 2015 national elections should be taken far remote from the peripheral and common factors. The decision to vote in the elections tends to be a complex issue that ought to be investigated with much consideration for other sociological and psychological factors which were presumed to have played some significant roles in the verdicts the Nigerian electorates gave at the polls.

Statement of Research Problem
Most of the worthy empirical investigations published so far on information sources and electoral behaviour (e.g. Aririgusoh, 2014) are mainly focused on mass media, specifically television, as a predictor or an independent variable with less or allusive attention to sources of influence such as interpersonal networks,

opinion leadership, electorates' attitudes towards elections and related variables. Also noticeable in the empirical studies are paucity of control variables in some of the existing research conducted on elections in Nigeria. Closely similar to this are conceptual studies on the subject matter, which give detailed elaboration on the role of social media in electoral mobilization (Ibrahim, 2014). The present study qualitatively and quantitatively examines the impact of mass media, specifically television, interpersonal networks, opinion leadership, electorates' attitudes and social media on voting decision in the Nigerian national elections that were held in 2015. With the application of multivariate statistical technique and for the purpose of elaboration, this study investigates the extent to which demographic and relevant social factors contribute to those sources of influence and voters' decision relationship. The research problem is articulated in the following research questions:

1. Did exposure to televised political adverts have more influence than use of social media on decision to vote for candidates in Nigerian national elections?
2. To what extent did interpersonal networking significantly influence voting decision in the presence of exposure to televised political adverts and social media use?
3. Did opinion leadership significantly influence the electorate voting decision in the presence of exposure to televised political adverts, social media use and interpersonal networking?
4. To what extent did voters' attitudes towards the elections significantly induce voting decision in the presence of exposure to televised political adverts, social media use and interpersonal networking?
5. Did voters' attitudes towards the elections moderate relationship between TV exposure and decision to vote?

Theoretical Framework / Literature Review

This study is situated within the basic assumptions of the Two-step Flow theory and Individual Differences theory. The rationale for the triangulated theoretical approach is contingent on the focus of this study which hovers on the political and democratic situation of the Nigerian electorates relative to their exposure to mass media and other information conduits prior to the national election in 2015. Besides, most submissions made in the literature, though without direct explanatory connection to the two theories, are intricately woven around the basic postulations of the two theories.

The Two-step Flow theory basically assumes that mass media messages first and foremost get to opinion leaders, at all level of society, who analyze and pass such information to others in their social circles. Such others are called opinion followers. The opinion leaders are assumed to be critical media users who are not easily manipulated by media messages (Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 174).

The Individual Differences theory supposes that because people are different in terms of psychological composition and because they perceive things differently, they are not influenced by the mass media the same way. Specifically, partial stimulus attribute in media messages interact differently with audiences personality characteristic (Baran & Davis, 2012, pp. 130-136).

Two-Step Flow Theory

Notwithstanding the barrage of criticism that trails after two-step flow, revealing its weaknesses, from within American and western societies (Rosenberry & Vicker, 2009, pp. 113-156; Baran & Davis, 2012, pp. 171-174), its relevance to the present study anchors on the existence of a relatively large number of voters in Nigeria who attributed their voting decision to other people whose opinions were highly valued and trusted. Suffice it

to say that civil society and political figures were not only consistently active in persuading the masses to participate in the Nigerian General Elections of 2015; they were also reported to have influenced persistently the voting decision of the political apathetic among the electorates throughout the election period. Such mediated reality in the Nigerian electoral event was not confined to the daily social interactions at that point in time; it was extended to the social media wherein issues of electoral and voting concerns were raised by political parties' agents for the consciousness of users, specifically the potential opinion followers.

Abound in the Facebook and twitter were the political issues raised by the opposition parties and their allies against the ruling party, its elective office holders, their performances at the helm of affairs, and the debauched state of the national economy. These issues were largely raised by the opinion leaders on the social media and were deliberately structured not only to reinforce the electorates' existing knowledge of election and voting, but also to influence their decision to vote for the opposition parties and specific political candidates that were nominated for the elections.

More to the point, digital naivety is somewhat well-pronounced among the electorates. Digital naivety can be attributed to two major reasons: lackadaisical attitude towards internet and social media use as well as to illiteracy and inability to use the internet or access the social media. Thus the notion of opinion leaders passing online information they receive about elections, voting, and similar political issues of concern to others, specifically the digitally naïve in the social order cannot be wished away.

The relevance of the two-step flow to the issues discussed in this study and to the data collected for empirical investigation is furthermore strengthened by the fact that a relatively large part of the electorates that voted in the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria

are uneducated and could only decode media messages that are produced in their mother tongues. So, it can be logically argued that inability of the illiterate segment of the electorates to access mass media messages, which are mostly produced in English, necessitates gate-keeping by those who do not only understand the language and receive most of the messages, but also have the ability to screen the messages and pass on news items that could compel others to share their views. This hypothetical position perhaps bears some connections with the trajectory of the two-step flow, which was developed and advanced with much consideration for what make the theory work in some places and situations.

Individual Differences Theory
This study fits into the individual differences theory because of the suggestion insinuated in the research questions that it was likely that influence of the media and other information channels could be mediated or moderated by specific personality attributes and factors. That is psychological traits such as intelligence; self esteem, curiosity, and aggressiveness are likely to be part of the explanation of voting decision of individuals who participated in the 2015 General Election that took place in Nigeria. This submission aligns with the fundamental position of the individual differences theory that emphasizes the fact that media messages have specific stimulus that exudes 'differential interaction with personality characteristics' of the audiences (DeFleur cited in Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 181). Therefore, the mitigating power of human differential attitudes on media effects is a big factor in the explanation of how media interact with audiences and the limitations of such interaction.

These two limited-effects theories emphasize the significance of multivariate explanations on barrier against media influence. Such multivariate explanation is summed-up by Berelson thus: "Some kinds of communication on some kind of

issues under have brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds conditions have some kinds of effect" (Berelson cited in McQuial, 2009, p. 457).

Corroborating Berelson's observation is Klapper's "…mass communication does not ordinarily serve a necessary or sufficient cause of audience effect, but rather functions through a nexus of mediating factors" (Klapper cited in McQuial, 2009, p. 457).

Voting, Intermediations and Information

Studies on what induce voters' turn-out in multiparty system elections have paid little attention to the roles of information and related sources (Banduchi & Karp, 2012). Whereas information sources have been identified as part of voters' sophistication factors, which are conceived as ability of individuals to link information to pre-existing political beliefs and willingness to gather political information (Kroh, 2012) for the purpose of ideological voting.

Explanation of how voters cope with the political environment complexity would remain inconclusive without inclusion of information sources as a calculus of voting (Klingemann & WelBels, 2012), specifically within the context of dissemination of political knowledge about choices and voting decision (Toka, 2012).

While explaining intermediation, information and electoral politics, Gunther, Montero and Puhle (2007) conceptually analyze the roles of mass media, social network and voters' attitude towards political system on voting decision in modern democracy. They discuss how television political messages may culminate in an increases personalization and trivialization of electoral politics specifically when it is used as weapon of attack on political opponents or reveal scandals in some political institutions. They however explain the limited power of TV when moderated or mediated by other

psychological and social factors like voters' differential attitudes towards political activities. Impact of voters' attitude and behaviour on voting decision has gained wider scholastic attention (Gunther, Montero and Tocal, 2007). Likewise, impact of age, religion, gender, education, income and marital status has been given much attention in the literature specifically on how they interrelate with media to define political participation and voting decision (Navitte, Blais, Gindengil, & Nadeau, 2012).

Operational Hypotheses

Considering the overwhelming evidence from the literature on media and voting behaviour, particularly the speculation that exposure to televised political campaign and advertisement has the power to override other information sources, and given the fact that political parties, especially the ruling party sponsored aggressive adverts against the oppositions, specifically against its presidential candidate, before and throughout the period of the Nigerian national election that took place in April 2013, it is assumed that voters' exposure to TV coverage of electoral campaigns will override social media use in terms of the variance that will be explained in the decision to vote during the national. Therefore it is postulated that:

> H_i: Voters' exposure to the televised political adverts will explain a significant amount of variance in decision to vote during the Nigerian national election above the one explained by social media use.

Considering the depth of discourse on interpersonal networking as a powerful predictor of voting behaviour and decision in the literature and in that people discuss politics and electoral activities at home with family members and at work places with peers in addition to the fact that they attend political campaign and contacted by diverse political structures and

associate with different political groups, it could be argued that information sourced through interpersonal networking would lead to distrust in most televised political messages sponsored by political candidates and their parties. This strongly suggests the extent to which interpersonal information sourcing compete with the media, television in particular, in influencing voting decision during election periods. Therefore, it is alternatively hypothesized that:

H_2: Voters' exposure to the televised political adverts will explain a greater amount of variance in the decision to vote during the Nigerian national election than Interpersonal networking will explain.

Against the backdrop of prevalence of opinion leadership in the Nigerian political system, the notion that a significant part of the Nigerian electorate still attributes their electoral decision and choices to their community and religious cannot be waved aside. This is real both in public places and on social media wherein the political apathetic move along the path of the political agile, as opinion followers, to embrace persuasions from some 'trustworthy personalities' to vote for specific political candidates. Besides, some ardent users of the social media play gatekeepers' role by passing online information about elections, voting, and similar political issues of concern to the digitally naïve and illiterates who are potential opinion followers in order to raise their consciousness about their electoral rights as Nigerian citizens. It is therefore hypothesized that:

H_3: Opinion leaderships will explain a significant amount of variance in decision to vote during the Nigerian national election over and above the one explained by exposure to televised

political adverts.

The Nigerian political situation seemed to be critical before the national election of 2015 because of many factors among which are corrupt practices in high places and the tendencies to frustrate the electoral processes by some powerful people in the ruling political party. Thus, it was likely that some people might have lost confidence in the electoral processes and displayed apathy towards voting. It is therefore proposed that:

H_4: Attitudes towards elections will explain a significant amount of variance in decision to vote during the Nigerian national election over and above the one explained by exposure to televised political adverts.

Coming from the individual differences theoretical orientation, psychological and attitudinal traits such as curiosity, intelligence, apathy, and distrust do affect individuals' decision making. Such personality attributes have been supposed to interact differentially with media messages when they flow into audiences (Defleur cited in Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 181). This suggests that people are likely not to be influenced by media messages the same way as the messages are moderated by individuals' attitudes. It is therefore postulated that:

H_5: A*ttitudes towards elections* will moderate relationship between *exposure to TV coverage of electoral campaigns and voters' decision to vote during the Nigerian national election* such that the influence will be higher among those who displayed negative attitudes.

Research Design/Method
This study took a mixed methods or triangulation approach to data gathering. While quantitative data were collected from a relatively

large sample size for the purpose of establishing relationship between predictors and outcome variables, qualitative data were subsequently garnered from a small sample of people in order to enrich the study with in-depth information. This pattern of sequence in data collection is acceptable because it facilitates the points of congruence in the research findings (Creswell, Plano Clark, Guttmann, & Hanson, 2006) as well as enables verification of statistical findings with the use of oral submission (Frey, Botan and Kreps, 2000, p. 222). The design is within a method that involves cross-sectional survey and FGD only. The basic assumption for the combination is to offset the weaknesses of one method by the strengths of the other (Tashakori &Teddies, 2007).

Quantitative Data Collection
Cross-sectional survey was used to collect data from a subset of the voting population to help answer questions on the predictors and outcome variables that were investigated. The study population was made up of voters residing in Ikorodu Local Government Area of Lagos State. As at the period of data collection, Ikorodu LGA approximate population is eight hundred and fifty-six thousand, nine hundred and five (856,905), as given by the statistics office of the local government. For sample selection, twelve (12) electoral wards were simple-randomly selected. From each wards four (4) streets were randomly selected, making forty-eight (48) streets. From each of the four streets, four houses were randomly picked, leading to selection of one hundred and ninety-two (192) houses in the entire local government area. Thereafter, two (2) persons who were expected to be of 18 year-old or above such age were purposively chosen from each house to help fill copies of the hand-delivered questionnaire, indicating that three hundred and eighty-four (384) formed the initial sample size for quantitative survey.

Data were collected with hand-delivered, self-administered copies of the questionnaire, which were distributed

to the selected individuals in the sample size. Six trained delivery persons assisted in questionnaire distribution and data collection. Only 259 copies were returned out of the whole 384 questionnaire copies that were distributed. Fifty-one out of the 259 retrieved copies were not appropriately filled; hence 208 copies, which translated into the final sample size and a response rate of over 53 percent, were used for data collation, data entry into Scientific Package for Social Research –SPSS (version 12), and data analysis.

Instrument Formation and Pre-testing

To detect and solve plausible problems in the questionnaire, like those of ambiguous wording and similar errors, a pilot study was conducted with 40 respondents from among students of Yaba College of Technology in Lagos State. Usability of the questionnaire was examined through the frequency distributions of the responses. Thus, any item that did not have enough heterogeneity of responses at the pre-test stage was dropped or appropriately reworded. Reliability was ensured through internal consistency analysis in the case of composite measures and indices.

Constructs and Measures
Decision to Vote for Candidates during Nigerian National Election

Decision to vote for candidates during the Nigerian national election is the only dependent variable used in this study. It is conceptualised as a voter's will and preparedness to practically participate in the Nigerian national elections of 2015 by actively voting for candidates of choice in the Presidential, Gubernatorial, Senatorial, House of Representatives and States Houses of Assembly elections. Operationally, decision to vote was indexed by respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to a set of statements, tapping scope, origin/anchor point, and intensity

dimensions of the variable on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree". Specifically, the respondents were asked, in a self-report fashion, to respond to the following 15 items/indexes:

> Voting is mandatory for me // for me no turning away from voting/people should elect the right leader/ people should come out to vote // voting is our civil responsibility// let us vote   to change Nigeria for better//Nigeria will develop if can vote in selfless leaders// national election must be conducted/ corrupt leaders will be removed if we all vote the honest//our suffering will stop once we vote in the trustworthy leaders// I have prepared to participate in the national election//I advice that all Nigerians to register for voting//I will remain in the polling centre till our votes are counted//every voters should be at the polling centre to know the election results//we should defend our votes against rigging

The voting decision indexes had a high Cronbach alpha of .89 on the SPSS reliability scale, suggesting consistent measure of the dependent variable.

Exposure to Televised Political Adverts

Exposure to televised political adverts is an independent variable in this study and is conceptualised as a voter's active viewership of diverse adverts on government-owned and privately-owned TV station sponsored by political parties and candidates, including adverts that they used to project positive images for themselves and adverts of hate speech that were used for negative projection of

their opponents before the commencement of the Nigerian national elections of 2015. Operationally, exposure to Televised Political Adverts was indexed by respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to a set of statements, tapping scope, origin/anchor point, and intensity dimensions of the variable on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree". Specifically, the respondents were asked, in a self-report fashion, to respond to initial 11 items/indexes out of which only four consistently hang together (Cronbach alpha: .84) to validly measure the variable. The four indexes are:

> I watch most of the political campaign on TV// we tune to the TV channels that cover election activities// before the elections I watched political news and interviews on TV// I watch the ruling party and opposition's arguments on TV.

The remaining seven indexes which were included in the questionnaire, but left out of the variable conversion owing to low score on the reliability scale are:

> Some political adverts I watch on TV are undemocratic // in my family we watch the good and bad of political games on TV // I watch most of the political interviews on daily basis//I watch TV because it tells the political events as they happen//what we see on Government TV channels are mere propaganda//my viewing of political news indicate that private TV are more liberal//some TV political messages we watch are of prejudice

Social Media Use

Social media use as a predictor in this study is conceptualised as voter's active use of Facebook, twitter, YouTube, Myspace, and similar channels and blogs for participation in discussing electoral and voting issues with friends, party members, political mentors, and political opponents before and during the Nigerian national elections of 2015. Operationally, social media use was measured by respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to a set of statements, tapping scope, origin/anchor point, and intensity dimensions of the variable on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree". Specifically, the respondents were asked, in a self-report fashion, to respond to 12 initial statements /indicators out of which only seven are consistent (Cronbach alpha: 63)   to measure the variable. The seven indexes are:

> Social   media instigated my decision to vote for specific political candidates// sensitive political issues on social media change my opinion about voting// my exposure to Facebook and twitter is a major factor for my interest in voting//social media make me to critically asses political candidates for better voting decision// with social media the electorates educate one another on voting// Most groups on social media prefer voting for new political candidates than incumbent candidates//what I have read

> on social media indicate that the electorates will deny most current political holders vote//my viewing of political news indicate that private TV are more liberal//some TV political messages we watch are of prejudice.

The residual five indexes which were included in the questionnaire, but were not part of the variable transformation owing to their low score on the reliability scale as well on the rotational matrix of factor analysis are:

> I rely more on social media for objective information on the election **//** I receive balance information about voting on Facebook and YouTube **//** opposition party used social media like Facebook and twitter educate voters**//**social media give conflicting information on candidates seeking electoral office for the second time**//** Social media reveal to me conflicting notions on why people should vote for the major opposition party.

Interpersonal networking

Interpersonal networking is an independent variable, which is conceptualised as a voter's interactions with family members, friends, peers, and political associates, having interpersonal communication about political, election, and voting-based issues, at homes, in transit, religious places, offices, market places,

schools and similar public arena. Interpersonal networking was operationally measured by respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to a set of statements, tapping scope, anchor point, and intensity dimensions of the variable on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree". Specifically, the respondents were asked, in a self-report style, to respond to 12 items/indexes out of which only nine are reliable (Cronbach alpha: 82)   for measuring the variable. The nine indexes are:

> People speak about their preferred political candidates in some of the gathering I attend // I debate with friends and peers the tone of media messages about the political candidates // my colleagues at workplace share their opinions on political candidates with me // people discuss with me their perceptions about political parties and candidates// media biases about electoral candidates are well discussed in public places// political parties' agents seek my support for their candidates during elections// I interrelate with both who share my views on the elections//through interpersonal communication with others I can predict whom they will vote for // reasonable presentation of manifestoes at political

> gathering instigates decision to
> vote.

The left over three indexes which were in the questionnaire, but were excluded from the variable transformation because their weak score on the reliability scale read:

> I listen to my friends discussing the election most of the time//at home my family members talk much about the national election//I was able to change my opinions about some electoral candidates when I attended their political campaign.

Opinion Leadership

Opinion Leadership is an independent variable in this study. It is as conceptualised as a voter's recognition of the fact that there are personalities in his community, who are critical media users and who are not easily manipulated by media messages. Therefore such users source information from the media, analyze and pass such information to others in the social circles. Opinion leadership was operationally measured by respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to a set of statements, tapping scope, anchor point, and intensity dimensions of the variable on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree". Specifically, the respondents were asked, in a self-report style, to respond to 12 items/indexes out of which only nine are reliable (Cronbach alpha: 73 for measuring the variable. The nine indexes are:

> I believe in political opinions of our community leaders//Most of what our religious leaders say about politics are correct//Our community leaders always sincere on political matters//Our parents'

156

opinion on politicians are taken serious//It is normal to listen to political opinions of our teachers//Most of the time political opinions of my seniors are appreciated//I rely on suggestions made on politics by our local leaders//I follow experienced political commentators in our locality//Our community leaders sensitize us about politics.

Social media use, interpersonal networking and opinion leadership are indicators of intermediation. Therefore intermediation is conceptualised in this study as any source of information that not only come in between mass media messages on 2015 elections in Nigeria and voters, but also serve as an interpreter of the messages for the purpose of ideological voting. Similar conceptualizations are documented in Banduchi and Karp (2012), Kroh (2012) and Klingemann and WelBels (2012).

Attitude Towards Elections

Attitude towards elections is a predictor conceptualised in this study as a voter's psychological disposition towards all the political actions and activities including cross-carpeting of politicians, impeachment of some of the political office holders, postponement of elections and similar political events and issues. Attitude towards elections is operationally measured as a predictor by respondents' degree of agreement or disagreement to a set of statements, tapping scope, origin/anchor point, and intensity dimensions of the variable on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 5 for "strongly agree". Specifically, the respondents were asked, in a self-report fashion, to respond to 10 items/indexes. Only seven of the indexes indicate reliably measure the variable (Cronbach alpha: .75). They are:
I perceive some political campaign messages as

> selfish**//** depreciating values of our
> political environment shifted my interest
> in voting**//** my political morale was low
> before the election period**//** I was
> apathetic to voting because of our
> economic setback// I thought that election
> results might be falsified**//** political office
> holders have failed in performance**//** there
> is too much electoral fraud in our voting
> system.

The other three indexes which gained respondents' attention, but could not form part of the variable transformation as they were found statistically unreliable are:

> Our politicians are mostly betrayers of
> democratic trust **//**I had stopped counting
> on our electoral system**//**most of the time I
> had doubt in the fairness in electoral
> results.

Control Variables

The control variables in the equation are age-group, gender, marital status, educational level and income level. Gender is basically a categorical variable (male = 1 and female =2) and marital status is measured a categorical variable (single =1, married =2, divorced =3, estranged =4, widow/widower =5). Education and income levels were separately conceptualised in the study as individual indicators of social status. Education level was a respondent's last educational qualification completed. Operationally, education level comprised of six categories: primary education was coded as "1"; secondary education was coded "2"; OND/ NCE was coded "3"; bachelor degrees/HND was coded "4" ; MSc/ MA/ M. Ed was coded "5"; and PhD was coded "6". Education level was used in the present study as a

control variable. Income level was conceptualised as the income category to which a respondent belonged in terms of amount of money he or she earned monthly either as an employee of an organization or as a self-employed person. Respondents were asked to specify their individual levels of income within twelve intervals given in the questionnaire. The twelve categories ranged from a N10, 000.00 -30,000.00 and N171, 000 and above. Income level served as a control variable.

Qualitative Method: Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

The qualitative segment of the triangular method is Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Two independent groups were purposefully created by the investigator in line with the research objectives. It is pertinent to note that the participants in the two groups, which participated in the two independent and different sessions, were not involved in the pilot study earlier mentioned. Thus, the groups were researcher-constituted groups. The first group (Group A) was made up of 3 male and 5 female students from Department of Mass Communication at Yaba College of Technology. The second group (Group B) was made up 3 males and 4 females, from across three departments in University of Lagos. The sample size was made up of 14 participants was in order, Babbie (2001, p. 75) and Deacon, Pickering, Golding, Murdock. (1999, p. 57) mention that the appropriate number of participants per focus group ranges between 5 and 15. Ages of the participants range between 21 and 35 in the two groups.

Each group was made up of participants of contrasting views on the subject-matter of this study. Discussions were based on the research issue and were anchored by the investigator. The entire discussions were tape-recorded for subsequent analysis. The participants were specifically asked to comparatively discuss the relative influences exerted by exposure to televised political adverts, social media use, interpersonal networking, and attitudes towards electing candidates on their decision to vote for candidates

in Nigerian national elections of 2015.

Data Analysis, Findings and Interpretations
Table 1: Regression Results Indicating Impact of Control and Predictor Variables on Decision to Vote for Candidates during Nigerian National Election 2015

	Dependent Variable	
	Decision to Vote for Candidates during Nigerian National Election 2015 (N=208)	
Independent Variables	**a**	**Incremental R^2(%)**
Block 1		
Gender	-.16**	
Religion	-.07	
Age Group	-.07	
Marital Status	.06	
Education Level	.01	
Income Level	.26**	33.9***
Block 2		
Exposure to TV	2.6*	2.9**
Block 3		
Social Media Use	.44**	13.4***
Block 4		
Interpersonal Networking	3.6*	1.8*
Block 5		
Attitudes towards elections	1.2**	4.6***
Block 6		
Opinion Leaders	.47***	2.6**
Block 7		
Exposure to televised **political adverts × attitude towards Elections**	2.4**	2.1**
Total Incremental R (%)		67.3**
***P .001 **P .005 *p .05 a Finalized Beta Coefficients		

Before running hierarchical multiple regressions, on the Scientific Package for Social Research - SPSS (version 12), for assessing the pattern of relationship between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable, preliminary analysis was conducted in order to ensure zero violation of the assumption of normality, linearity, multi-collinearity and homoscedasticity.

Table 1 indicates the pattern of correlation between each independent variable and the dependent measure (i.e. *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election*). In Table 1 all the predictors (*exposure to televised political adverts*, *social media use*, and *interpersonal networking*) projected as correlating with the dependent variable. In order to remove the effect of the demographic variables (*gender*, *religion*, *age-group*, *education level* and *income level, marital status*), they were entered into the first block as control variables in the regression, explaining 34% of the variance in the dependent variable (Incremental $R^2 = 33.9$, F $(6, 201) = 17.164$, P<.005).

A further reading of Table 1 reveals that *exposure to televised political adverts* associate significantly with the dependent variable. That is, *exposure to televised political adverts* surely predicts voters' *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election*. Clearly, the independent variable additively explains 37% of the variance in the dependent variable (Incremental $R^2 = 2.9$, F $(7, 200) = 16.648$, P<.05), with consideration given to the control variables.

In Table 1, it can also be seen that *social media use* (in the third block) and the dependent variable significantly correlate. Like the predictor in the second block, with contribution of 50% explanation of the total variance, *social media use* forecasts some voters' *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election* (Incremental $R^2 = 13.4$, F $(8, 199) = 25.075$, P<.005) after the effect of the demographic variables had been removed.

By having more percentage (51%) in terms of explaining the variance in the dependent measure, *interpersonal networking* is displayed in Table 1 as a relevant predictor. It translates *that interpersonal networking* has a lot to do with voters' *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election* as the statistics has shown (Incremental R^2 = 1.8, F (9, 198) = 23.022, P<.05), with the control variables taken care of.

Opinion Leadership appears in Table 1 scoring 58% explanation of the total variation in the dependent measure making it a stronger predictor in the equation. Statistically, *opinion leadership* correlates with voters' *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election* (Incremental R^2 = 2.6, F (11, 196) = 24.780, P<.005), after controlling for the demographics.

Attitude towards election is seen in Table 1 scoring 56% explanation of the total variation in the criterion variable making it a strong predictor in the equation. Statistically, *attitude towards election* appear to be correlating with voters' *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election* (Incremental R^2 = 4.6, F (10, 197) = 24.780, P<.005), after controlling for the demographic variables.

To investigate the role of *attitudes towards elections* in the decision of the masses to vote in the national election, an interaction variable was constructed. Purposely the interaction measure was created as a moderating variable through the combination of two variables namely, *exposure to TV* and *attitudes towards elections*. The moderator was formed with the aid of the transform technique in SPSS. Therefore, *exposure to televised political adverts × attitudes towards elections* was inserted as predictor into the fifth block of the regression analysis, accounting for 60% of the total variance. Table 1 explicitly shows that the interaction measure vibrantly correlate with *decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election as the statistics has shown*. (Incremental R^2 = 2.1, F (12, 195) = 24.827, P<.005).

The finalized beta in Table 1 indicates all the independent variables, except *education level* of respondents and *age-group* of respondents, as correlating with dependent variable: *religion* (= .07, p>.05); *gender* (= -.16, p<005); *age-group*(= -.07, p>05); *education level* (= .01 , p>.05); *income level*(= .26, p<005); *marital status* (= .06, p>05); *exposure to TV* (= 2.6, p<.05), *social media use*(= .47, p<005); *interpersonal networking* (= -3.6, p<.05); *attitudes towards elections* (= 1.2, p<.005); *opinion leadership* (= .47, p<.005); *exposure to televised political adverts× attitudes towards elections* (= -2.4, p<.005).

The findings displayed in Table 1 does not support the first hypothesis that *exposure to TV coverage of political adverts will explain a significant amount of variance in decision to vote during the national election above the one explained by social media use.* Even though the TV exposure variable significantly relates with decision to vote for candidates during Nigerian national election (Incremental R^2=3.8, P<.05), *social media use* is indicated as more and strongly correlating with the dependent measure (Incremental R^2=13.4, P<.005). Therefore the first hypothesis is not supported.

The rejection of the first hypothesis finds support in the qualitative data sourced from the FGD. Most of the discussants in the two groups stated that social media, especially Facebook and twitter influenced their voting decision more. They said that social media's messages counteracted TV channels' messages on electoral matters. A male participant submitted that "whenever we were deceived by television adverts against Buhari, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube would compensate us by telling us the facts."

The second hypothesis that *voters' exposure to televised political adverts will explain a greater amount of variance in the decision to vote during the national election than Interpersonal networking will explain* is supported by the findings in Table 1. Both *voters' exposure to the televised political adverts* and *interpersonal networking* variable are indicated to be

163

independently associated with the dependent variable, yet *voters'
exposure to televised political adverts* is indicated to be a stronger
predictor of the *decision to vote during the national election*
(Incremental R^2=3.8, P<.005). The correlation of *interpersonal
networking* with the dependent variable is significant at alpha
level of .05 (Incremental R^2=1.8, P<.05).

Somewhat the finding supporting the second hypothesis is
corroborated by what a participant in the FGD said about the
impact of the televised adverts on his decision to vote for the
incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan at the poll. He said
"Sincerely AIT and NTA television messages on the elections
convinced me more than any other source to re-elect PDP and
President Goodluck Jonathan. I watched the past history of
General Buhari, the APC's presidential candidate, and I felt I
should not vote for him." Of the entire participants in the two
focus discussion groups, only one participant mentioned this.
Therefore the submission can be considered as weak.

The third hypothesis speculating that opinion leadership
will explain a significant amount of variance in decision to vote
during the Nigerian national election over and above the one
explained by exposure to televised political adverts is not
supported as the incremental R of the opinion leadership variable
is smaller (2.6) compared to that of TV exposure variable (2.9),
though both predictors correlate with the dependent variable.
Findings from the FGD confirm that opinion leadership was able
to play a significant role during the elections because most of the
participants explained how their religious leaders and parents
convinced them to vote for specific candidates in the elections. A
female participant specifically said that "Social media and
television stations played vital roles in the election, but I relied
more on what my parent said about politics and elections… So
what I learnt from them about the political situation of the country
reinforced my attitude toward participating in the elections."
Another participant from a different group said: "…some people

still listen to opinion leaders who interpret what the media say. For example most people cannot use social media because they are illiterates. So the users tell them about political interactions on social media."

The fourth hypothesis is supported by the findings in Table 1. It is hypothesized that *attitudes towards elections will explain a significant amount of variance in decision to vote during the national election over and above the one explained by exposure to televised political adverts.* Glaringly it is revealed in Table 1 that attitude towards elections is stronger in relationship with the dependent variable (Incremental R^2=4.6, P<.005) than exposure to televised political adverts (Incremental R^2=3.8, P<.005). Even though the two predictors relate with the outcome variable at the significant level .005, their Incremental R^2 are different.

Findings in Table 1 also support the fifth hypothesis. The hypothesis reads that *attitudes towards elections* will moderate relationship between *exposure to televised political adverts* and *decision to vote during the Nigerian national election* such that the influence will be higher among those who displayed negative attitudes. The fourth hypothesis is supported because the interaction variable *(i.e. exposure to televised political adverts×attitudes towards elections)* and the dependent measure correlates significantly (Incremental R^2=1.6, P<.005) even after *exposure to televised political adverts* and *attitudes towards elections* had been entered independently into separate blocks. In addition, the finalized beta for the interaction variable which was significant and negative (=.-2.1, P < .005) supports the hypothesis. That is, one standard deviation increase in the level of the moderator variable diminishes the effect of *exposure to televised political adverts on the decision to vote during the national election* by a .2.1 standard deviation, indicating lower effects of the exposure on the decision to vote among those who share negative attitudes towards the elections (See Table 1).

The set of findings supporting both the fourth and fifth

hypotheses aligns with the submission made about voters' attitudes and beliefs by the most participants in the two focus group discussion. Most of the participants denounced the unnecessary adverts of hate speech against the main opposition presidential candidate and positive depiction of the incumbent. The adverts caused apathy in some of the participants. In the first group of the FGD, a participant vehemently stated that: "….I dislike the unnecessary positive depiction of President Jonathan. Too much of lies on NTA, Channel TV, AIT…they compared him to Mandela, Obama, and Martin Luther King. Big lies…big lies…The whole false shows on TV and rescheduling of dates for the elections made me dislike voting as I foresaw rigging. I did not vote". In the second group, another participant had this to say: "I must confess, I did not vote. Conflicting reports about Buhari not recognizing human right and too much of fictions and lies about Jonathan being perfect made me to have negative attitude." I refused to vote."

Discussion of Findings

The outcomes of this study seem to be quite interesting considering the significant correlation of all the independent variables with the dependent measure though at different level of significance. Put differently, the predictors are stronger than one another relative to how they affect the electorates' voting decision in the Nigerian national election that took place in 2015. The fact that social media came out as a stronger predictor compared to the televised political adverts does not mean that the latter is a weaker predictor. Most of what were discussed or debated on the social media took root in the symbolic world of television. This outcome might not be unconnected with trustworthiness and similar indicators of credibility that associate more with social media. This finding, which provides answer to the first research question of this study, is a replica of that of Johnson and Kaye (1998) which reported social and online media as a strong predictor of people's

electoral choice. In another study they conducted they attributed such influence of socio media on users' decision to specific factors such as believability, fairness, accuracy, and depth of information (Johnson & Kaye, 2000).

Unlike the social media, interpersonal networking, as a predictor of decision to vote trailed behind the televised adverts in the outcome of this study. This finding, which proffers answer to the second research question in this study, depicts the *televised adverts* variable as more powerful than *interpersonal networking* and thereby supporting the findings of Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer (2007).   In the study they carried out in Chile, Bulgaria and Uruguay, Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer found that exposure to television political messages induced political interest and propensity to participate in elections. Likewise, the   *televised political adverts* is depicted as more significantly correlating with *voters' decision*   over and above the extent of significant relationship between   *opinion leadership* and   *voters' decision*, agreeing with the finding of Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer (2007) that opinion given on electoral and voting decision without mobilization can be less effective.

This finding provides the answer to the third research question in this study, seeking to know the strength of opinion leadership in the scheme of voters' decision. Closely related to Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer' findings are that of Richardson and Beck (2007), which indicate that opinions work more on people with strong party loyalties provided that opinion givers and discussants in interpersonal networking give the preferred information.

Moreover, *'attitudes towards elections'* is a strong predictor as well as a strong moderator in this study. Its correlation with the dependent measure acquires a higher level of significance, indicating that attitudes play significant roles in the choice of candidates in the 2015 election in Nigeria. The results indicate lower effects of the televised political adverts on the decision to

vote among those who share negative attitudes towards the 2015 elections. Such lower effects are well-articulated in the submissions of participants in the Focus Group Discussion as they expressed lack of confidence in the electoral processes.

The participants denounced false images of the main opposition presidential candidate depicted on the government–owned TV channel and on some privately-owned TV stations. These findings align with the research outcome of Gunther, Montero, and Torcal (2007). Citing the Greece, Uruguay, Bulgaria and Portugal, Gunther and associates reported no significant statistical correlation between negative attitude to electoral process and voting decision of the electorates. Negative attitude towards electoral processes is a political disaffection, which refers to "the subjective feeling of the powerlessness, cynicism, and lack of confidence in the political process, politicians, and democratic institutions, but with no questioning of the regime" (Gunther, Montero, & Torcal, 2007).

The submissions of the participants on the political adverts and hate speech on the TV channels define the channels as low credibility sources. Low credibility sources can be inefficient **to** persuade the electorates to vote during elections (Wathen and Burkell, 2002). With the no significant correlation between attitudes towards election and the decision to vote in the 2015 election in Nigeria, a clear-cut answer is given to both the fourth and fifth research questions both of which investigate the role of electorates' attitude towards voting in the elections.

Conclusion

The story of televised political adverts, intermediation, and voting in the Nigerian national election that took place in 2015 entailed how five independent variables interact with the electorate's decision to make their choices among the political candidates at the polls. Basically, the investigation was weaved around the myth that the mass media cannot 'go it' alone in affecting the will of the

populace to vote in modern democracies. Supporting this initiation is the assumption that voters most of the time are proactive in interpreting media messages and in filtering out bias therein. This is not to say that the media have failed in its fundamental roles and influencing social and political activities like that of the subject-matter investigated in this paper. Yet, it is undeniable that there are other social, political and related factors that compete with the media in instigating audiences' decision whatsoever.

A multivariate approach was taken in this research to unravel the strength of specific sociological and psychological variables in predicting the Nigerian electorates' voting resolution. All the variables which were regressed on the dependent variable were found to be valid in terms of predicting the electorates' resolution. The only exceptions to such validity are some of the demographic ones that were used as control variables.

However, *social media use* and *attitudes towards the elections*, as separate independent variables were found to have more predictive power because they were more significantly aligned with the voting decision throughout the analysis. Both the quantitative and qualitative data which were separately collected on different locations and at different points in time for the purpose of this survey produced similar findings. Therefore the research outcomes could be said to have reflected, to a degree, the reality about the voters and elections at that particular point in time. However, interesting as the findings might be, they were limited to the data collected, period of the collection, the sample size, and the multivariate statistical technique applied. This limitation calls for further studies on elections in Nigeria and electorates' decision to vote.

Another subject matter of scholarly concern is that of media credibility earlier alluded to in the discussion of findings. It is conceived as a significant part of this study limitation which deserves to be recommended an integral part of further research

within the scope of media and elections. Media credibility has been conceptualized as media believability and trust in relation to the extent of their accuracy, balance, fairness and objectivity, coverage reliability, invasion of privacy and bias (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2002). Credibility is a baseline used to filter unbelievable information (Wathen and Burkell, 2002). Credibility is defined as "judgments made by a perceiver concerning the believability of a communicator" (O'Keefe, 1990, pp. 130-131) and an individual's personal perception of the true state of a piece of information (Eisend, 2006).

The basic suggestion offered here is that media credibility should be made a major independent variable in future election-inclined research. It is assumed that beyond the conceptual observations, media credibility predictive power could be empirically measured and defined in comparison with other perceived predictors of electorates' voting decision, including those whose impacts have been hypothesized in this study, when assembled in a multivariate equation.

References

Babbie, E.(2001). *The practice of social research*. 9th edition. Australia, Wardsworth.

Aririgusoh, S. (2014). Influence of TV on voters' choice of candidates in the Nigerian 2007 presidential election. In Oso, L., Olatunji, R., & Owen-Ibie, N. (Eds.). *Journalism and media in Nigeria: context, issues and practice.* (pp386-402), Ontario: Canada University Press.

Banduchi, S. A., & Karb, J. A. (2012). Electoral system, efficacy and voter turn-out. In Klingemann, H. & McAllister, L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems* (pp.109-137). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2012). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future*. New York: Wadsworth.

Belluchi, P., Maraffi, M., & Sagatti, P. (2007). Intermediation

through secondary associations: the organizational context of electoral behaviour. In Richard, G., Montero, J. R. & Puhle, H. (Eds.). *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents* (pp.135-182). New York: Oxford University Press.

Beaudoin, C. E., & Thorson, E. (2002). A marketplace theory of media use. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(3), pp. 241–262.

Creswell, J.W., Plano Clark, V. L., Gutmann., M. L., & Hanson, W. E. (2006). Advanced mixed methods design. In de Vause, D. (ed.), *Research Design,* Vol. 1 (pp.253-285). London: SAGE publications.

Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, Murdock, G. (1999). *Researching communication*. London. Arnold.

Eisend, M., (2006). Source credibility dimensions in marketing communication – A generalized solution. *Journal of Empirical Generalizations in Marketing Science,* 10(1), pp. 1-33.

Frey, L. R., Botan, C. H., & Kreps, G. L. (2000). *Investigating communication: An introduction to research method.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon

Gunther, R., Montero, J. R. & Puhle, H. (2007). Introduction: intermediation, information, and electoral politics. In Richard, G., Montero, J. R. & Puhle, H. (Eds.). *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents* (pp.29-74). New York: Oxford University Press.

Gunther, R., Montero, J. R. & Tocal, M. (2007). Democracy and intermediation: some attitudinal and behavioural dimensions. In Richard, G., Montero, J. R. & Puhle, H. (Eds.). *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents* (pp1-28). New York: Oxford University Press.

Holmberg, S. (2012). Candidates recognition in different electoral system. In Klingemann, H & McAllister, L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems*

(pp.158-170). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

Ibrahim, I. I. (2014). Media and politics: a study of Nigerian 2011 General Elections. In Oso, L., Olatunji, R., & Owen-Ibie, N. (Eds.). *Journalism and media in Nigeria: context, issues and practice.* (pp.410-427), Ontario: Canada University Press.

Johnson, T. J., & Kaye, B. K. (1998, Summer). Cruising is believing: Comparing internet and traditional sources on media credibility measures. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* 75(2), pp.325-340.

Johnson, T. J., & Kaye, B. K. (2000, Winter). Using is believing: The influence of reliance on the credibility of online political information among politically interested Internet users. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(4), pp.865-879.

Klingemann, H. (2012). the impact of political institution : a contribution of the "Comparative study of electoral system" (CSES) to   micro-macro theories of political attitude formation and voting behaviour. In Klingemann, H& McAllister. L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems* (pp2-27). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

Klingemann, H., WeBets, B., Gindengil, E. & Nadeau. . R.. (2012). How voters cope with the complexity of their political environment: differentiation of political supply, effectiveness of electoral institutions, and the calculus of voting . In Klingemann, H & McAllister. L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems* (pp.237-265). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

Krauss, E. S. (1996). Portraying the state: NHK television news and politics. In Phar, J & Krauss, E.S. (eds.), *Media and Politics in Japan* (pp.89-129), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kroh, M. (2012). The ease of ideological voting: voter

sophistication and party system. In Klingemann, H. & McAllister, L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems* (pp.220-236). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

Mogalhdes, P.C (2007).Voting and intermediation: Informational biases and electoral choives in comparative perspective. In Richard, G., Montero, J. R. & Puhle, H. (Eds.). *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents* (pp. 208-254). New York: Oxford University Press.

McQuail, D. (2009). *McQuail's Mass communication theory*. London: Sage Publications.

Navitte, N., Blais, A., Gindengil, E. & Nadeau. . R.. (2012). *Social economic status and non-voting: a cross-natinal comparative analysis*. In Klingemann, H & McAllister. L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems* (pp.88-108). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

O'Keefe, D. J. (1980). Political malaise and reliance on media. *Journalism Quarterly,* Spring, pp. 122-128.

O'Keefe, D. J., (1990). Persuasion: theory and research. *Newbury Park: CA: Sage.*

Pallant, J. (2007). *SPSS survival manual: a step by step guide to data analysis using SPSS for window*. 3rd edition. England, Open University Press. McGraw-Hill.

Parley, M, (1996). Japan press and the politics of scandal. In J. Phar & Krauss , E.S. (eds.), *Media and Politics in Japan* (pp.133-163), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press .

Richardson, B. & Beck, P.A. (2007). The flow of political information : personal discussants, the media, and partisans. In Richard, G., Montero, J.R. & Puhle, H. (Eds.). *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents* (pp181-207) New York: Oxford University Press.

Rosenberry, J. & Vicker, L. A. (2009). *Applied mass*

communication theory: A Guide for Media practitioners.
Boston: Pearson

Schmitt-Beck, R. & Voltmer, K. (2007). The mass media in the third-waves democracies: gravediggers or seedsmen of democratic consolidation? In Richard, G., Montero, J.R. & Puhle, H. (Eds.). *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents* (pp.74-134). New York: Oxford University Press.

Toka, G. (2012). The Expression versus instrumental motivation of turn-out, partisanship and political learning . In Klingemann, H & McAllister. L. (Eds.). *The comparative study of electoral systems* (pp. 269-288). Michigan: Oxford University Press.

Tashakori, A., & Teddies, C. (2007). Research design issues in mixed method and mixed model studies. In de Vaus, D. (Ed,), *Research Design,* Vol. IV (pp.287-308). London: SAGE Publications.

Wathen, C. N. And Burkell, J. (2002). Believe It or Not: Factors influencing credibility on the web. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 53(2), pp. 134–144.