

Universidade do Minho Escola de Economia e Gestão

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Brazil's Online Politics: Effects of the Media on Millennial's Voting Intention and Political Involvement Juliana Silva

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Brazil's Online Politics: Media Effects on Millennial's Voting Intention and Political Involvement

Dissertação de Mestrado Mestrado em Marketing e Estratégia

Trabalho efetuado sob a orientação da **Professora Doutora Cláudia Simões** 

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# STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

#### Resumo

**Título:** Brazil's Online Politics: Media Effects on Millennial's Voting Intention and Political Involvement

Muitos dos conceitos tradicionais de marketing como *branding* e *stakeholders* estão a ser aplicados no âmbito político, gerando um aumento no uso de práticas de marketing de sucesso, como as mídias sociais (Keating & Melis, 2017; Nielsen, 2017; Parsons & Rowling, 2018). Para os *millennials*, o marketing online é parte da sua vida diária e alguns estudos apresentam que esse novo canal de comunicação é fundamental para partidos, instituições e políticos que desejam atingir essa geração (Parsons & Rowling, 2018; Towner & Munoz, 2016). Portanto, o objetivo da presente investigação é entender em que medida o uso de mídia em massa ou mídias sociais como fonte de informação política e o *engagement* com essas mídias sociais afetarão a intenção de voto e o envolvimento político dos *millennials* no Brasil. Um questionário estruturado foi aplicado numa amostra final de 51 elementos, e a análise de dados foi realizada através de teste t e correlações a fim de testar as hipóteses apresentadas. 4 das 5 hipóteses foram aceitas e sugerem que as mídias sociais têm grande influência na intenção de voto e no envolvimento político dos *millennials* brasileiros. É, desta forma, uma ferramenta fundamental para aumentar a participação política nesta geração.

Palavras-chave: marketing político, mídias sociais e millennials.

## Abstract

**Title:** Brazil's Online Politics: Media Effects on Millennial's Voting Intention and Political Involvement

Many of the traditional marketing concepts such as branding and stakeholders are now being applied into politics, increasing the usage of trending marketing practices such as social media (Keating & Melis, 2017; Nielsen, 2017; Parsons & Rowling, 2018). For millennials, online marketing is a part of their day to day life and some studies argue that this new communication channel is fundamental for parties, institutions and politicians who wish to target this generation (Parsons & Rowling, 2018; Towner & Munoz, 2016). Therefore, the purpose of this research is to understand to what extent does the usage of mass media or social media as source for political information and social media engagement will affect voting intention and political involvement among Brazilian millennials. A structured questionnaire was applied with a final sample of 51 elements, and data analysis was performed using t test and correlations to test the hypothesis presented. 4 of 5 hypotheses were accepted and suggest that social media has a great influence on Brazilian millennial's voting intention and political involvement. It is therefore a fundamental tool to increase political participation among this generation.

Keywords: political marketing, social media, millennials

## SUMMARY

DIREITOS DE AUTOR E CONDIÇÕES D	E UTILIZAÇÃO DO TRABALHO POR TERCEIROS	II
AGRADECIMENTOS		III
STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY		IV
RESUMO		V
LIST OF TABLES		IX
1. INTRODUCTION		1
1.1 PRESENTING POLITICAL MARKE	TING AND MILLENNIALS	1
1.2 WHY SOCIAL MEDIA AND BRAZ	ווג?	2
1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PURE	POSE	3
2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETIC	AL FOUNDATION	3
2.1 POLITICAL MARKETING		3
2.1.1 Social Media		6
2.1.2 Social Media in Politics	5	8
2.2 MILLENNIALS		9
2.3 Trust		11
2.4 ENGAGEMENT		14
2.5 CONCEPTUAL MODEL		17
2.5.1 Trust on Mass Media a	ınd Social Media	17
2.5.2 Social Media Engagem	ent	
2.5.3 Media and Political Inv	volvement	
3. METHODOLOGY		19
3.1 RESEARCH PURPOSE		19
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN		
3.3 POPULATION AND SAMPLE		
3.4 QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMEN	T AND APPLICATION	21
3.4.1 Questionnaire structur	е	
3.5 DATA ANALYSIS		
4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS		
4.1 SAMPLE PROFILING		
4.2 Mass Media Channel and S	OCIAL MEDIA PAGE	29

4.	3	Hypothesis Discussion		
	4.3.1	1 Trust on social media and trust on mass media		
	4.3.2	Mass media, social media and voting intention	34	
	4.3.3	Social media engagement, voting intention and political involvement	35	
5.	CONC	CLUSION RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS		
5.	1	CONCLUSION		
5.	2	2 MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS		
5.	3	LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE INVESTIGATION		
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY41				
ΑΤΤΑ	ATTACHMENT 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE			
ATT	ATTACHMENT 2 - CORRELATION BETWEEN ITEMS OF EACH VARIABLE			

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1 - ATTRIBUTES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS	12
FIGURE 2 – CONCEPTUAL MODEL	17

# LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1 - CONSTRUCTS AND SCALES	22
TABLE 2 – ORIGINAL AND FINAL ITEMS	22
TABLE 3 - SECTIONS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE	27
TABLE 4 - DEMOGRAPHIC SAMPLE PROFILING	29
TABLE 5 - MASS MEDIA CHANNELS AND SOCIAL MEDIA PAGES	30
TABLE 6 - RELIABILITY TEST	31
TABLE 7 - MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM CORRELATION COEFFICIENT FOR EACH SCALE	32
TABLE 8 - COMPARISON BETWEEN MASS MEDIA TRUST AND SOCIAL MEDIA TRUST	33
TABLE 9 - T TEST BETWEEN MASS MEDIA TRUST AND SOCIAL MEDIA TRUST	33
TABLE 10 - CORRELATION BETWEEN MASS MEDIA AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT	34
TABLE 11 - CORRELATION BETWEEN MASS MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA TRUST AND VOTING INTENTION	35
TABLE 12 - CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL MEDIA ENGAGEMENT AND VOTING INTENTION	
TABLE 13 - CONCLUSION OF HYPOTHESES	37

## 1. Introduction

This chapter in composed by a brief introduction to the research theme, justification, and presentation of the research problem. Here it will be presented why the theme of social media in politics is relevant for political marketing and why Brazil is a good option to focus this research.

## 1.1 Presenting political marketing and millennials

A lot has been studied in the field of marketing about the importance of emotions when it comes to catching the viewer's attention, rather than information-oriented campaigns. This is also true in political marketing (Serazio, 2017). Additionally, many of the traditional marketing concepts such as branding and stakeholders are now being applied into politics, increasing the usage of trending marketing practices such as online marketing and relationship marketing through social media (Keating & Melis, 2017; Nielsen, 2017; Parsons & Rowling, 2018). However, these new trends and practices can still be seen as challenging for political parties, specially due to the high vulnerability they encounter by dealing with the online environment (Parsons & Rowling, 2018) and the growing privacy concerns among some parts of the public (Maduku, 2019).

For millennials, on the other hand, online marketing is a part of their day to day life and some studies argue that this new communication channel is fundamental for parties, institutions and politicians who wish to be popular among these younger voters (Parsons & Rowling, 2018; Towner & Munoz, 2016). For instance, Boufides, Corcoran, Matthews, Herrick and Baker (2019) argue that millennials tend to be driven by causes instead of loyalty for public institutions and that social media is a channel used to express their values and opinions about these causes. Nevertheless, some authors also argue if social media is indeed effective on politically mobilizing millennials users and even if digital marketing practices are effective on this generation at all (Keating & Melis, 2017; Smith, 2011).

Independently of their political positions, it can be stated that millennials have a distinctive set of social characteristics that differentiate them from previous generations (Valentine & Powers, 2013). In addition to the previously mentioned tendency of valorizing social causes over loyalty (Boufides et al., 2019), this generation is known specially for their

liberal and global perspectives on politics (Fisher, 2018), their growing concerns about sustainable consumption (Heo & Muralidharan, 2019) and, of course, the influence of technology on their lifestyle (Valentine & Powers, 2013).

Taking all previously mentioned characteristics into consideration, millennials represent a big challenge for the contemporary political marketing (Fisher, 2018). Even though they present some similarities with young voters of other generations, such as low participation rates on voting and lack of knowledge about the voting process, never before the internet has played such an important role on political process (Haenschen & Jennings, 2019). As a result, researches that share more knowledge about how digital tools can be applied on political process, and specially its influence on millennials voting decisions, are fundamental for the development of political marketing field of study (Maduku, 2019; Towner & Munoz, 2016).

## 1.2 Why social media and Brazil?

According to Statista (2020), the number of social network users in the world is projected to reach 3.4 billion by 2024, maintaining its status as the most important online activity. In this giant community of users, individuals feel freer to talk about all types of subject and take a stand to whatever their beliefs are (Fenton & Barassi, 2011; Hultman, Ulusoy, & Oghazi, 2019; Loader & Mercea, 2011). In the light of current events such as United States 2016 and Brazilian 2018 presidential elections, the world has watched as the relevance of online media in politics increased (Haenschen & Jennings, 2019). With the use of Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, many political actors have suffered heavy criticism while still managing to acquire millions of followers, likes and shares (Keating & Melis, 2017; Maduku, 2019).

Brazil is following the growing tendency of the world, with over 66% of its population as active users of social media (Statista, 2020b). Still, little work has been presented regarding the usage of social media in regions other than North America and Asia (De Oliveira, Huertas, & Lin, 2016) Additionally, social media played a fundamental role during the 2018 presidential election and is an ongoing discussion in Brazil, especially regarding fake news. In fact, in 2019 an inquiry was opened in the Federal Supreme Court to investigate the spreading of fake news attacking public democratic organizations (BBC, 2020). Such effort to further understand the usage of social media (SM) in the country shows the need for additional academic research to understand the effects of SM usage and what are its practical consequences to political actors.

## 1.3 Research problem and purpose

In the light of what has been presented, it is proposed the following research problem: to what extent does social and mass media trust and engagement affect voting intention and political involvement among Brazilian millennials?

The purpose of this research is to understand to what extent does the usage of mass media or social media as source for political information and social media engagement will affect voting participation among Brazilian millennials. Furthermore, social media engagement will also be related to political involvement, more specifically to what extent one will affect the other.

Additionally, this study has the following specific purposes:

- Understand the difference between social media and mass media trust as source for political information,
- 2. Comprehend the effect of social media and mass media trust on voting intention,
- 3. Understand the relationship between social media engagement and voting intention,
- 4. Test the relationship between social media engagement and political involvement.

## 2. Conceptual and theoretical foundation

In this chapter some key concepts considered fundamental for the full understanding of this research will be presented, as well as the conceptual model. It is divided in 5 sections: political marketing, millennials, trust, engagement and, finally, the conceptual model approaching the constructs of this investigation.

## 2.1 Political Marketing

Political marketing has been known in the last years as the subject that studies how

politicians and politics in general are using tools traditionally related to marketing to promote themselves before, during and after elections (Elhajjar, 2018). Making a direct comparison to commercial marketing, it is believed that nowadays politics can be seen as the products or brands, thus transforming political parties into companies (Ahmed, Lodhi, & Ahmad, 2017; Chowdhury & Naheed, 2020; Elhajjar, 2018). And, just like businesses, marketing in politics has rapidly involved into a multimillionaire profitable market, subsequently attracting a great number of academic research and different applications (Guzmán, Paswan, & Van Steenburg, 2015).

Political marketing is used specially to target voters and investors using an emotional captivating approach, in order to build a relationship between political parties, politicians and voters (Simons, 2020). Also, the word stakeholder can be used in this political marketing context, representing a large number of groups that impact on the political environment, such as media and different groups of interest (Ormrod, 2017). The use of relationship marketing with stakeholders is now an ongoing discussion, where creating long lasting relationships and being able to customize strategy is the key to succeed, what has also been called "market oriented politics" (Harmes, 2016; Ormrod, 2017).

A concept that is constantly seen when talking about political marketing is branding and the importance of brands in political marketing (Nielsen, 2017). The concepts of brand and branding in politics have been used for a wide variety of meanings (Nielsen, 2017), but some researchers have tried to explain its meaning and importance. Ahmed et al. (2017) for instance, explained that branding in politics can be seen in two different dimensions: practical and theoretical. Practically speaking, it provides a better understanding on the dynamics of politics, its associated costs, the needs and preferences of the voters and specially its importance to the future development of the nation. A complementary concept is presented by Nielsen (2016) that refers to political brand using identification and differentiation as the main components of his definition, meaning the capacity of a party to be remembered by its name and how it stands out in comparison with other political parties.

On the other hand, the theoretical front would be related to researchers' interest on studying more about the voter decisions and take a closer look on the mindset that drives their behavior (Ahmed et al., 2017). Guzmán et al. (2015), for example, discuss the concept of self-referencing, meaning that voters have a tendency of evaluating the candidates by mirroring themselves and their own characteristics aiming to find congruencies. In addition,

C. Pich & Armannsdottir (2018) attempt to apply the 'brand image framework' to understand the brand efforts of UK Conservative Party in the 2010 General Election also demonstrates how the theoretical optics can be relevant to the study of political brands.

The 'brand image framework' is based on six variables: strenght, uniqueness, expectations, perceptions and associations, experiences and evaluations (Han, Boshoff, Venter, & Bosch, 2006; C. Pich & Armannsdottir, 2018). Originally it was proposed in the context of higher education institutions, yet C. Pich & Armannsdottir (2018) relied upon these six variables and discussions within focus groups to access the political brand image of the party, the party leader and the party policy. Other researches referring to variations of 'political brand image' could not be found, sustaining the argument that this field of study lacks academic study (C. Pich & Armannsdottir, 2018).

Strenght is related to the complexity of the brand's identity; and uniqueness, as the name suggests, is associated with the brand's unique aspects. Expectations, perceptions and associations, experiences and evaluations are all based on the opinion of stakeholders and users: what they expact from the brand's performance, brand associations that mold stakeholder's perceptions, how is their experience when in contact with the brand and, finally, how they evaluate the brand image based on their perceptions, expectations and experiences (Han et al., 2006; C. Pich & Armannsdottir, 2018).

Indeed, other authors have also shared their concern with the lack of theoretical foundation and research related to political brand or branding (Guzmán et al., 2015; Marder, Marchant, Archer-Brown, Yau, & Colliander, 2018), leading to a discussion about the reliability of the studies developed so far in this subject (Nielsen, 2017). Yet, some have succeeded in approaching political brand in different perspectives, such as how the internal market responds to party's branding efforts (Christopher Pich, Dean, & Punjaisri, 2016), how the brand equity traditional marketing concept can be applied to politics (Ahmed et al., 2017) and the interaction of voters with political brands through Social Networks Site (SNS) (Marder et al., 2018).

Indeed, research that approaches the usage of online marketing tools are becoming more usual (Fisher, 2018; Haenschen & Jennings, 2019). Taking into consideration the importance of political digital marketing for the current study, it is presented below as a separated subject.

#### 2.1.1 Social Media

Although the definition of social media may seem simple and common knowledge among its users, it may vary according to the perspective and objective of its use. From a generic user point of view, social media is a digital environment where users co-create content and interact with one another. Kapoor et al. (2018, p. 536) for instance present social media as "... a digital space created by the people for the people and provides an environment that is conductive for interactions and networking to occur at different levels (for instance, personal, professional, business, marketing, political, and societal)".

On the other hand, it is possible to define social media in a more practical and marketing-biased perspective as social media is "... another type of digital marketing channel that marketers can use to communicate with consumers through advertising" (Appel, Grewal, Hadi, & Stephen, 2020, p. 80). In fact, both definitions are connected in a sense that the relevance of social media in its user's life is what enabled it to become such a fundamental tool for digital marketers nowadays.

For instance, Facebook (2020) has reported that over a hundred billion messages and one billion stories are shared every day on this media, approximately 12 messages per habitant on all planet. Social media has become an important part of people's lives in the last decade and there is no doubt about its magnitude (Alalwan, Rana, Dwivedi, & Algharabat, 2017; Kapoor et al., 2018). Practically, companies have used social media to create closer relationships with the public, families have used it to maintain long-distance communication and even the public sector have enjoyed the benefits of applying social networks on their marketing activities (Alalwan et al., 2017; Dwivedi et al., 2020).

Even so, in the latest years, the initial public excitement about potential benefits of social media has given way to discussions under the long term effects of its massive usage in the modern society, especially among younger generations (Allcott, Braghieri, Eichmeyer, & Gentzkow, 2020). One of these effects is the usage of social media as the main source of information (Kapoor et al., 2018). Similar to what was experienced in the past with television (Allcott et al., 2020), social media offers such practicality and large diverse amounts of data that it is naturally becoming a main source of information to most users (Appel et al., 2020). This relates to data gathered in past research about the trust of users in social media. Warner-Søderholm et al. (2018) for instance, presented in their quantitative research that trust in

social media is greater among younger users, especially those under twenty years old and also among women. Furthermore, the heavy use of social media has led us to increase the trust on everything shared there. The more we follow and interact with others, more we tend to trust them (Warner-Søderholm et al., 2018)

Among social media trust, three other topics are commonly found in academic literature about social media marketing (SMM): influencer marketing (Appel et al., 2020), electronic word of mouth (E-WOM)(Chu & Kim, 2018; Ismagilova, Slade, Rana, & Dwivedi, 2020; Kunst & Vatrapu, 2018) and fake news (Koidl & Kapanova, 2020).E-WOM has increasingly received attention from practitioners as its relevance to decisions on online purchases in constantly recognized (Kunst & Vatrapu, 2018). This concept can be defined as any user-generated review or statement published online and available for others, whether positive (P-WOM) or negative (N-WOM) (Chu & Kim, 2018). This statement will reflect the opinion of its author regarding a product, company, brand or service and ultimately influences other shoppers on their decision-making process (Ismagilova et al., 2020), thus presenting companies with a cheaper alternative to traditional online advertising (Cheong, Muthaly, Kuppusamy, & Han, 2020).

Taking into consideration that SM is a place where people are stimulated to share their own opinion, it holds naturally a high concentration of E-WOMs (Appel et al., 2020). Plus, as social media are becoming more optimized to allow in-app purchases, for example, the importance of user-generated reviews in these platforms is constantly growing (Izquierdo-Yusta, Pick, Anguera, & Huete-Alcocer, 2017). However, in their study composed by in-depth interviews with university students, Cheong, Muthaly, Kuppusamy, & Han (2020) have suggested that the relevance of social media E-WOMs may be lower for users than those found on shopping websites, as they present a higher number of reviews gathered in only one place.

Even so, E-WOMs in social media will not stop and companies that have not yet taken advantage of it, must start right away. And one of the most common solutions, also considered a natural component on the future of social media (Appel et al., 2020) is the use of influencers.

Influencers are individuals with a significant number of followers on SM, with the ability to generate valuable content for their followers, that will eventually influence others (Wiedmann & von Mettenheim, 2020). They are recognized as influencers because they have built a reputation around a certain topic attracting other people that share the same interest

and, therefore, building a highly qualified and targeted audience. Their qualified audience is what attracts brands and companies to look for partnership with them, also known in SM as Ads (Childers, Lemon, & Hoy, 2019). This collaboration between brands and influencers is denominated influencer marketing, and is a fundamental strategy for any B2C digital marketing strategy (Farivar, Wang, & Yuan, 2020).

As user-generated content, any Ad on social media that results from influencer marketing can be also considered E-WOM (Childers et al., 2019). And it is, therefore, susceptible to generate false or misleading information, also known as fake news (Talwar, Dhir, Singh, Virk, & Salo, 2020). This topic has received increased attention after the 2016 US and 2018 Brazilian presidential elections, which were heavily influenced by the spread of user-generated fake news (Clayton et al., 2019). The situation can easily get out of control, especially if the user who created the content is a public figure, such as an influencer, an artist or even a politician.

## 2.1.2 Social Media in Politics

The usage of social media (SM) in politics has been vastly discussed, especially after important events around the world, such as the 2010's revolutionary wave of pro-democracy protests, known as Arab Spring, used this kind of online media to spread and share political opinions and begin several discussions about their political leaders (Keating & Melis, 2017; Maduku, 2019; Wolfsfeld, Segev, & Sheafer, 2013). The same is true most recently, with social media playing a decisive role in general elections in countries, such as, the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and Brazil (BR) (Hultman et al., 2019). One could think that, thanks to the introduction of this media and its universalized access (Loader & Mercea, 2011), the worldwide population would be more participative on political decisions (Haenschen & Jennings, 2019; Parsons & Rowling, 2018), translating on higher voting rates. However, this is not true. On some developed countries, general and specially young voters are showing less to exercise their democratic right to vote (Keating & Melis, 2017). In fact, more than 50% of the Portuguese population did not participate on the 2019 Republic Assembly election (PORDATA, 2019) and more than 20% of Brazilians also abstained from the 2018 presidential election in the country, where the vote is both a duty and a right (Damé, 2018).

This data does not mean that social media is not effective on spreading news and open

discussions on politics, but perhaps supports the argument that political parties and politicians are not using it right (Klinger, 2013; Parsons & Rowling, 2018). Although social media is vastly known as the technology that enabled the general population to become more than passive receivers of political information (Fenton & Barassi, 2011; Hultman et al., 2019; Loader & Mercea, 2011), arguments that support the little use of its full potential towards younger generations (Bennett, 2012), and even the fear of its power presented by political figures (Parsons & Rowling, 2018) are also frequent.

When it comes to the public in general, however, there is a different scenario. Differently than its leaders, the public as individuals are becoming more and more empowered in social media (Hultman et al., 2019), leading social and political changes around the globe (Fenton & Barassi, 2011) and personalizing politics to fit each other's best interests (Bennett, 2012). On the other hand, some argue that the fact of having access to SM actually reduces the need to protest, since one is already expressing themselves online (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). In their study Wolfsfeld et al. (2013) showed that higher SM penetration resulted in fewer political protests, providing a different perspective into the discussion of the influence of SM in voters and general public political behavior.

Nevertheless, no one can deny the increasing usage of social media in politics (Fenton & Barassi, 2011; Hultman et al., 2019; Parsons & Rowling, 2018) and the growing financial effort invested in this media by political actors (Haenschen & Jennings, 2019). Therefore, it is fundamental to understand its effects on voters' intentions.

#### 2.2 Millennials

Millennials, also known as Generation Y, are a generational cohort and, although the exact years division between generations is widely discussed, for the purpose of this research millennials are individuals born between 1983 and 1994 (Deloitte, 2019). As a great number of these individuals are now economically active/independent, the growth of their importance for marketeers and businesses cannot be challenged (Heo & Muralidharan, 2019; Keating & Melis, 2017; Moreno, Lafuente, Carreón, & Moreno, 2017). The new challenges and behavioral changes they portrait, however, is still of great interest for academics and corporate studies.

As this generation approaches their 40's, many differences can be withdrawn from its

antecessors. In addition to being constantly in contact with technology (Moreno et al., 2017), these individuals are also more interested in engaging with brands (Smith, 2011). In fact, the success of cause-related marketing campaigns among millennials comes from the fact that they are more willing to become loyal to brands that support social causes. (Partouche, Vessal, Khelladi, Castellano, & Sakka, 2020)

Even so, when it comes to sustainable consumption, there are disagreements among researchers. (Heo & Muralidharan, 2019) Despite being recognized as a generation that seeks an ethical and responsible way of life in an effort of distancing themselves from materialism (Partouche et al., 2020), it has also been said that they have a difficulty when it comes to converting environmental concerns into actions (Heo & Muralidharan, 2019). Therefore, marketers have faced a difficult challenge when it comes to targeting these individuals, as traditional media are not as appealing as they were before (Valentine & Powers, 2013) and their consumption behavior is still under discussion.

In fact, as their purchasing power and access to information increases and their life aspiration changes, they become even more relevant and attractive for companies who wish to sell physical goods or services (Deloitte, 2019; Keating & Melis, 2017; Moreno et al., 2017). With politics, it is not different. Previous studies have shown how millennials have significantly different political opinions and political content sources if compared to older generations (Fisher, 2018; Towner & Munoz, 2016). Towner & Munoz (2016) present in their study that Boomers, the generation before Millennials, will go for traditional media (such as TV or radio) for political information, as generation Y will pay more attention – and be more influenced by – online sources.

Millennial's trust in mass media sources, however, have not changed from Boomers generation, as millennials still do not trust completely on the information provided by mass media (Grosser, Hase, & Wintterlin, 2019; Towner & Munoz, 2016). Thanks to this distrust, internet has been playing a decisive role on their lives. Electronic Word-of-Mouth (E-WOM), online shopping and social media are common topics when it comes to millennials way of life (Cheong et al., 2020; Heo & Muralidharan, 2019; Smith, 2011). Even though they are increasingly participative in social media, millennials also have their share of concerns, especially with the risks involving purchases on these media, which could eventually decrease their level of engagement in social networks (Y. Wang & Herrando, 2019).

Additionally, privacy is a constant topic when discussing social media amongst

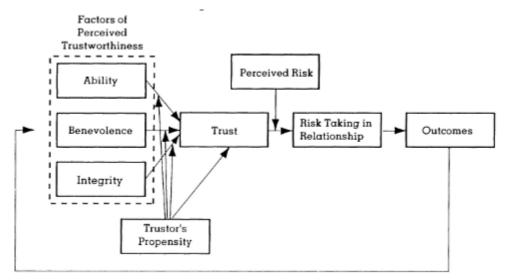
millennials (Y. Wang & Herrando, 2019), rapidly increasing after the scandals involving Facebook and Cambridge Analytica in 2019. This ultimately leads to more serious concerns regarding legal regulations and a decrease of the perceived trustworthiness in this media (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

#### 2.3 Trust

The concept of trust has been widely applied in previous research (Levi & Stoker, 2000) and accepts the existence of two main characters: the person who deposits trust (or trustor) and the person who is worthy of trust (or trustee) (Ben-Ner & Halldorsson, 2010). Therefore, trust can be defined "...as the perception of the trustor about the degree to which the trustee would satisfy an expectation about a transaction constituting risk" (Moturu & Liu, 2011, p. 242). This expectation is influenced by some characteristics, that often include regularity, fairness, and efficiency. These characteristics are hardly universal, as they will vary depending on the situation and objects involved (Moturu & Liu, 2011).

The deposit or withdraw of trust will depend on singularities of both the trustor and the trustee (Heyns & Rothmann, 2015; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Levi & Stoker (2000) establish in their study that the trustee carries a set of attributes or factors that eventually results in their perceived trustworthiness, also known as attributes of trustworthiness. These attributes are what give the trustor an assurance that the trustee will fulfill their part on the transaction in place and eventually determine the extent to which a trustee is worthy of trust (Mayer et al., 1995). In Figure 1, Mayer et al. (1995) present three attributes of trustworthiness, or factors of perceived trustworthiness: ability, benevolence and integrity.





#### Source: Mayer et al. 1995; 715

Ability is related to the trustee's competence or skills on a specific domain (Mayer et al., 1995). For instance, when it comes to politicians, profound knowledge in economics and international relations are highly appreciated abilities. However, for the domain of politics, the ability to play tennis is not. Therefore, ability is domain-specific, meaning that this factor may vary according to the scenario in place (Levi & Stoker, 2000). Other studies may mention ability using synonymous, such as competence or expertise (Mayer et al., 1995).

Benevolence is related to the intention of the trustee to do good to the trustor (Mayer et al., 1995). In other words, the commitment carried by the trustee that they will act in the interests of the trustor (Levi & Stoker, 2000). Benevolent political leaders, for example, will have a commitment to their voters as well as to the general welfare of the public institution they represent, seeking a constant balance between both dimensions (Heyns & Rothmann, 2015).

Integrity is related to the "trustor's perception that the trustee adheres to a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable." (Mayer et al., 1995, p.719). Therefore, one's perceived level of integrity will be defined by how similar their principles are compared to the trustor's principles. How integrity is judged may be affected by a great number of factors such as reputation and past behaviors. However, how perceived integrity is build is not as relevant as the level of perceived integrity to building general perceived trustworthiness, reason why these factors will not be further discussed (Heyns & Rothmann, 2015).

The 3 factors that build perceived trustworthiness will result in a decision by the trustor to trust or not to trust, but that will be also influenced by characteristics of the trustor himself, such as his propensity to trust (Mayer et al., 1995).

Besides the widely application of the presented framework in academic papers, some argue that this subjective construct lacks broader application for public organizations and governments, especially in developing countries (Grimmelikhuijsen & Knies, 2017; Zhao & Hu, 2017). Additionally, a great number of research in this topic argues that trust in public organizations and governments by the public is decreasing (Bovens & Wille, 2008; Foster & Frieden, 2017; Van de Walle, Van Roosbroek, & Bouckaert, 2008; Webster, 2018; Zhao & Hu, 2017). In a research performed annually by the Organization for Economic co-operation and Development, participants are asked "In this country, do you have confidence in the national government?". The percentage of respondents that answered yes for that question in Brazil decreased from 41.5% in 2006 to 20% in 2018 (Economic & Co-operation and Development, 2018), portraying the decrease of trust in the Brazilian government by the public.

Studies also apply the concept of trust in politics use different approaches for this construct. Foster & Frieden (2017) for instance developed a more practical study by discussing the trust in government in EU using socio-economical parameters, such as income, level of education and cultural characteristics. These authors emphasize on the Eurozone Crisis and how it impacted trust on public organizations. Christensen & Lægreid (2005) found similar results in their study, namely that people with higher education seem to have more trust on the government then those with lower levels of education.

Still under the topic of integrity, when discussing trust or trustworthiness in politics it is impossible not to approach fake news and how they have influenced perceived trustworthiness on the political scenario and on social media in general (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Clayton et al., 2019; Talwar et al., 2020). Ultimately, fake news is the term commonly used to describe false and unverified news that are published in social media (SM), usually with the main goal of misleading the public to serve other particular agendas (Talwar et al., 2020). Although SM is known to be an easily accessible and universalized media (García-Perdomo, Salaverría, Kilgo, & Harlow, 2018; Hultman et al., 2019; Loader & Mercea, 2011), this type of behavior will have big impact on millennials, since candidate evaluation by this generation is highly influenced by online media (Clayton et al., 2019; Towner & Munoz, 2016). Therefore, the existence of such misleading and unverified information and the facility to which it can reach a large number of people will ultimately affect millennial's perceived trustworthiness towards social media (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Song & Lee, 2016; Towner & Munoz, 2016).

#### 2.4 Engagement

Before social media engagement, customer engagement was already highly important for any business-to-consumer (B2C) brand, thanks to the development of relationship marketing philosophies in the 90s (de Oliveira Santini et al., 2020; Prentice, Wang, & Loureiro, 2019). In customer engagement, the consumer is seen not in a passive-only role, but as an active actor in the consumer-brand relationship (Dolan, Conduit, Frethey-Bentham, Fahy, & Goodman, 2019; Obilo, Chefor, & Saleh, 2020), moving past the act of buying and including other non-buying behaviors (Kumar, Rajan, Gupta, & Pozza, 2019).

In fact, a large number of research involving engagement will approach this subject in a practical and objective way. Ott & Theunissen (2015) approach engagement strategies after social media crisis in three multinational firms. Voorveld, van Noort, Muntinga, & Bronner (2018) talk about engagement with paid social media advertisements. Dolan, Conduit, Frethey-Bentham, Fahy, & Goodman (2019) provide results that testify the different engagement behavior as a result of different types of content. Nevertheless, there is still a wide variety of definitions to engagement but with little consensus (Hollebeek, Glynn, & Brodie, 2014; Syrdal & Briggs, 2018).

This could be because the term has been used in so many different areas of study since the 20th century (Eccles, 2016). Before being applied to marketing, 'engagement' was used in other social sciences such as psychology and organizational behavior (Hollebeek et al., 2014) and until this day can be found in a wide variety of researches from different areas of knowledge. However, a concept that has been applied in many studies that approaches engagement in marketing is consumer brand engagement (CBE) (Obilo et al., 2020).

Hollebeek, Glynn, & Brodie (2014, p.54) define CBE as "a consumer's positively valanced brand-related cognitive, emotional and behavioral activity during or related to focal consumer/brand interactions", thus presenting three dimensions that relate to the cognitive, emotional and behavioral facets of engagement: cognitive processing, affection and activation (Hollebeek et al., 2014). Cognitive processing is related to the level of though generated by

the customer during an interaction with a specific brand, about this brand (Hollebeek et al., 2014). In the scale proposed by these authors, this dimension is composed of items like "using [brand] gets me to think about [brand]" and "I think about [brand] a lot when I'm using their products". These items are meant to measure the involuntary brand-related triggered in the mind of customers when using the brand's products. Dessart, Veloutsou, & Morgan-Thomas (2015) have additionally stated that this cognitive dimension is composed of two subdimensions: attention and absorption. In fact, 'cognitive' is a concept or dimension shared among several authors when discussing engagement (Dessart et al., 2015; Eccles, 2016; Mollen & Wilson, 2010).

Affection differentiates itself from cognitive processing as it relates to consumer's feelings rather than thoughts. This dimension is defined by Hollebeek et al. (2014, p.154) as "a consumer's degree of positive brand-related affect in a particular consumer/brand interaction". In their study, this dimension is represented by four items, including "I feel very positive when I use [brand]" and "I'm proud to use [brand]".

Finally, activation is behavior-related as it approaches the actions taken by the consumer (involving the energy spent, time and effort invested) in an interaction with a given brand (Hollebeek et al., 2014). Nevertheless, Syrdal & Briggs (2018) found that the behavioral dimension of the concept is not recognized by consumers. In a qualitative study on social media engagement, authors have shared on their findings that, when approached with the concept of engagement, consumers do not take into consideration the act of liking or sharing, as marketing professionals generally do. On consumers point of view, engagement is a "state of mind in which they often feel a sense of enjoyment coupled with a high degree of involvement" (Syrdal & Briggs, 2018, p.17).

Opposing to that non-behavioral vision and to the CBE scale (Hollebeek et al., 2014) there is the study of Obilo et al. (2020) that aimed to revisit what was previously proposed about CBE scale of measurement. These authors have proposed a new conceptualization of engagement that is limited only to behaviors, therefore contradicting the well discussed cognitive dimension.

Whatever dimensions will result in engagement, it is widely accepted that customers that engage create an affective relationship with brands, which eventually leads to loyalty (Prentice et al., 2019). As a result, engaged customers are more likely to buy from the brand they engage with, as well as advocate for it, thus increasing the chances of acquiring new possible clients for that brand (Giakoumaki & Krepapa, 2020; Obilo et al., 2020).

Upon the realization that engaged customers could decrease the cost of acquisition of new clients and organically increase brand awareness, big enterprises have invested millions to develop strategies that will generate engagement, whether it is offline or online (Hollebeek et al., 2014). When it comes to online engagement, this is mostly done through SM, where brands are able to develop a closer relationship with their followers (Syrdal & Briggs, 2018). Known as social media engagement (SME), this has been one of the most important outcomes of any digital marketing strategy and an important digital performance indicator (de Oliveira Santini et al., 2020; Giakoumaki & Krepapa, 2020; Obilo et al., 2020).

In their study on customer engagement in social media, de Oliveira Santini et al. (2020) have presented four perspectives highlighted after extensive research of conceptualizations and measurements on customer engagement: intrinsic motivations, psychological mind states, customer activities and contributions to firms.

In the perspective of intrinsic motivations the authors state that users are looking to interact with online communities and with brands online, thus generating online engagement (de Oliveira Santini et al., 2020). Similarly, X. Wang & Liu (2019) create a parallel between social interactions in SM and engagement, where interactions with others in SM will lead to social benefits (increase of social capital, for example) and these social benefits will motivate users to increase social media engagement. Even so, de Oliveira Santini et al. (2020) highlight that common motivations like gaining more likes and followers, also known as extrinsic motivations, are not supported by this dimension,.

Online engagement through psychological mind is about the consumer's vision of the brand as a part of himself/his life or the feeling of attachment with a brand, which eventually generates emotions (de Oliveira Santini et al., 2020). This positive strong feeling between brand and user may result in brand love and is related to the individual's self-concept (Prentice et al., 2019), a "consumer's predisposition to include brands as part of their self-concept" (Giakoumaki & Krepapa, 2020, p. 458). Although consumers may have a high brand engagement self-concept, this does not necessarily mean they will perform some action towards the brand. This action, on the other hand, is approached by consumer engagement in the perspective of customer activities (de Oliveira Santini et al., 2020).

Even so, if a consumer engagement actually translates in actions, the question of whether that action adds value to the firm is still not approached, as to why the last perspective of consumer engagement as contributions to firms is so fundamental to fully understand all possible angles of consumer engagement (de Oliveira Santini et al., 2020).

### 2.5 Conceptual model

The conceptual model presented takes into consideration the main subjects of this research and how they relate with each other, as well as the hypothesis that will be mentioned further on the paper (Figure 2).

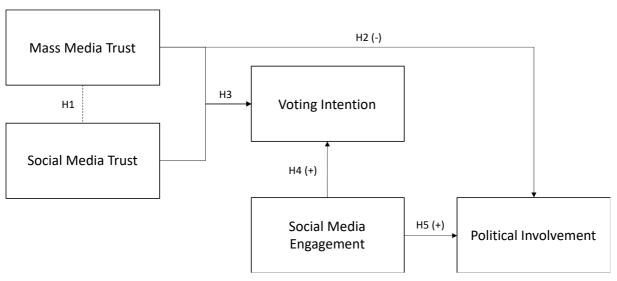


Figure 2 – Conceptual Model

After the definition of a research problem, it is important to understand what is needed to achieve the proposed problem. In this matter, hypothesis are commonly used to break down the research problem into subcomponents, defining more specifically the information required (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015). A brief theoretical support for the proposed hypothesis is presented below.

## 2.5.1 Trust on Mass Media and Social Media

In a research performed by Deloitte (2019) with 13.416 millennials from different countries, about 27% stated as having zero trust on media for accurate information. This mistrust also relates to political leaders, to the extent that 45% of participants said they do not trust their own political or religious leaders (Deloitte, 2019). Taking into consideration the mistrust of millennials regarding mass media, hypotheses 1 and 2 are presented.

Hypothesis 1: Millennials' present higher trust on information shared on politician's social media page than on information shared about a politician by mass media channels.

Hypothesis 2: Trust on information shared about a politician on mass media channels negatively influences political involvement among millennials.

Still under the topic of trust on political information, generation Y voters are expected to turn to other sources for political information and political engagement, such as social media (Keating & Melis, 2017). As a result, political parties and candidates have in their hand an important opportunity to communicate with voters, especially with millennials. However, to decide where to allocate more investment, politicians must understand which source of information will have a bigger impact on voting rates: mass media or social media. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is presented below.

Hypothesis 3: Trust on information shared on politician's social media page will have a higher influence on voting intention than trust on information shared about a politician by mass media channels.

#### 2.5.2 Social Media Engagement

There is no doubt that millennials are strongly engaged in social media (Deloitte, 2019). Also, social media has become a community place where, not only generation Y, but other generations feel more comfortable to speak freely about sensible political subjects. Individuals do not rely anymore solely on what is presented by the mass media and have access to the real-life experiences of others, feeling the urge to speak up more about what they believe on their social media (Fenton & Barassi, 2011; Keating & Melis, 2017; Towner & Munoz, 2016). However, it is necessary to understand how and if these individuals use social media to engage specifically with political parties or candidates, by performing actions such as talking directly to them, tagging them on posts, frequently visiting their profile and others.

Taking into consideration the high engagement millennials have presented on social media about sensitive political subjects, hypothesis two is presented.

Hypothesis 4: Engagement with a politician's social media page has a positive influence in voting intention.

#### 2.5.3 Media and Political Involvement

As previously presented, millennials may have a trusting issue when it comes to information shared by their political leaders. However, social media has an important role in voting decision, serving as an unbiased discussion arena (Keating & Melis, 2017) and also as an important source of political information for millennials (Bode, 2016; Towner & Munoz, 2016). Considering the importance that social media has on the daily lives of millennials, hypothesis 5 is presented below.

Hypothesis 5: Engagement with a politician's social media page positively influences political involvement among millennials.

#### 3. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the research will be detailed, presenting the research purpose, design, data collection and analysis. The research design will describe how the author will prove the hypotheses presented. It can be seen as a more detailed and practical-oriented presentation of the research problem (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015). It is important to effectively communicate the research design to readers and reviewers, as well as choose the best design in order to produce researches that are reliable, with effectiveness and efficiency (Blair, Cooper, Coppock, & Humphreys, 2019; Malhotra & Birks, 2015).

The research design will often approach six main subjects: the information needed to achieve the proposed problem, the general definition of the design (such as exploratory or conclusive), the description of the method (such as surveys or observations), the pre-test of the proposed method, the detailing of the sample and the demonstration of quantitative or qualitative nature of data analysis (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015).

#### 3.1 Research purpose

The purpose of this research is to understand to what extent does the usage of mass media or social media as source for political information and social media engagement will affect voting intention among Brazilian millennials. Furthermore, social media engagement will also be related to political involvement, more specifically to what extent one will affect the other.

#### 3.2 Research Design

Conclusive research is used when the researcher has a clear definition of what he needs and specific hypotheses. Therefore, the conclusive research will help test these hypotheses by measuring or classifying relationships between independent and dependent variables, for instance proving the effect of one variable in the other (Malhotra & Birks, 2015). This concept is also known as causality, meaning the probability of a certain event occurring is increased by the occurrence of another. (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015)

To test the proposed hypothesis, a structured online survey is required to collect data on mass media trust, social media trust, social media engagement, voting intention and political involvement. As the information required is objective and proposed questions are unbiased, this research is classified as conclusive causal research (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015). A quantitative research is proposed given the nature of data collection mechanism and further analysis.

#### 3.3 Population and Sample

Sampling is a concept that defines the portion of a given population from whom the researcher is going to obtain information. The population, on the other hand, is a larger group of elements that match the characteristics required by the study (Malhotra & Birks, 2015). Defining the correct population is the first step to the sampling process and to do so one needs to define whose opinions are important to achieve the objectives proposed (McDaniel & Gates, 2015).

For the purpose of this study, the characteristics elected to form the target population are the following:

- Born from 1983 to 1994.
- Is currently a registered voter in Brazil.
- Voted on the last presidential election in Brazil.
- Is an active member in at least one social media.

Any element that fits all four criteria is allowed to participate on the online survey. Furthermore, this research will be using nonprobability sampling method, more specifically convenience sampling (Malhotra & Birks, 2015). Also, thanks to the characteristics of the population (some information is not publicly available) and the data collection method), the listing of all elements and calculation of the chance of each one to be chosen, as well as the sampling error and size is limited. (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015). Even though, for the purpose of this research the expected sample size is 100.

#### 3.4 Questionnaire development and application

Data collection in quantitative researched commonly involves a survey. This implies the application of a formal questionnaire to a sample of a given population. Usually, questions and answers are standardized in order to maintain a consistency throughout the entire process, leading to a disadvantage regarding the low malleability of the questionnaire for respondents, which may not be willing to answer questions accordingly. Specially in researches that require a deep understanding about feelings or beliefs, such as the present, the choices of correct wording and phrasing are even more important and play a fundamental role to the validity of the survey (McDaniel & Gates, 2015).

A few characteristics of internet-based survey portraits why this is the best method for this investigation. In this technique, problems are answered through structured surveys, meaning questions and their order of presentation are standardized, as well as the answers (Malhotra & Birks, 2015). This results in the decrease of interviewer bias, reduced costs and higher speed of application (Malhotra & Birks, 2015; McDaniel & Gates, 2015). Additionally, taking in consideration that the sample required is already familiar with the usage of internet, this proves to be a great alternative to reach a greater number of people.

## 3.4.1 Questionnaire structure

Five constructs are used to develop the proposed questionnaire: trust on mass media, trust on social media, social media engagement, voting intention and political involvement. To measure these constructs, scales are chosen according to their effectiveness regarding the data required. Selected constructs and scales are presented on Table 1.

Table 1 - Constructs and Scales

Construct	Original Scale	
Mass Media Trust (mmt)	Prochazka and Schweiger (2019), adapted from	
	Kohring and Mattes (2007)	
Social Media Trust (smt)	Prochazka and Schweiger (2019), adapted from	
	Kohring and Mattes (2007)	
Social Media Engagement (sme)	Hopp and Gallicano (2016)	
Voting Intention (vi)	A. Jamal, et al. (2019)	
Political Involvement (pi)	A. Jamal, et al. (2019)	

Original scales were adapted to fit the purpose of this investigation. Some wording adaptations were needed to use Mass Media trust (mmt) and Social Media trust (smt) and engagement (sme) in the political scenario. Furthermore, some questions were removed from the original mass media trust scale to fit the reality of social media. Original and adapted items are presented on table 2.

Table 2 – Original and Final Items

	Dimensions	Original Items	Items
Adapted from ser (2019)		The media pay the necessary attention to important topics.	This media channel pays the necessary attention to important topics related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt1)
Gi '	of Topics	The media assign important topics an adequate status.	This media channel assigns important topics related to POLITICIAN A an adequate status. (mmt2)
rust ( and	ectivit	The media report on important topics in an adequate frequency.	This media channel reports on important topics related to POLITICIAN A in na adequate frequency. (mmt3)
Mass Media T Prochazka	Š	The media report on important topics on the necessary regular basis.	This media channel reports on important topics related to POLITICIAN A on the necessary regular basis. (mmt4)

	Dimensions	Original Items	Items
Media Trust (mmt) - Adapted from Prochazka and Schweiger (2019)	Selectivity of Facts	The media address the essential points of the topics.	This media channel addresses the essential points related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt5)
		The media coverage's focus is on the important facts.	This media channel coverage's focus is on important facts related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt6)
		The media provide all important information regarding current topics.	This media channel provides all important information regarding current topics related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt7)
hazka and		Media reporting includes different points of view.	Media reporting includes different points of view on topics related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt8)
om Proch	tions	The information in the news coverage would be verifiable if examined.	The information related to POLITICIAN A in the news coverage would be verifiable if examined. (mmt9)
apted 1	f depic	The reported information is true.	The reported information related to POLITICIAN A is true. (mmt10)
ıt) - Ad	Accuracy of depictions	Media reports recount the facts truthfully.	Media reports recount the facts related to POLITICIAN A truthfully. (mmt11)
Trust (mm	rust (mm	I receive correct facts regarding the topics which are covered.	I receive correct facts regarding topics related to POLITICIAN A which are covered in this media. (mmt12)
	Mass Media	Journalists express criticism in an adequate manner.	Journalists express criticism in na adequate manner. (mmt13)
Mass		The journalists' opinions are well- founded.	The journalists' opinions are well- founded. (mmt14)
		The journalists' conclusions are well- reflected.	The journalists' conclusions are well- reflected. (mmt15)
	noſ	I feel that journalistic assessments are useful.	I feel that journalistic assessments are useful. (mmt16)

Table 2 – Original and Final Items (continuation)

	Dimensions	Original Items	Items
Social Media Trust (smt) - Adapted from Prochazka and Schweiger (2019)	Selectivity of Topics	The media pay the necessary attention to important topics.	This page pays the necessary attention to important topics related to POLITICIAN A. (smt1)
		The media assign important topics an adequate status.	This page assigns important topics related to POLITICIAN A an adequate status. (smt2)
		The media report on important topics in an adequate frequency.	This page reports on important topics related to POLITICIAN A in na adequate frequency. (smt3)
and Schw		The media report on important topics on the necessary regular basis.	This page reports on important topics related to POLITICIAN A on the necessary regular basis. (smt4)
chazka		The media address the essential points of the topics.	This page addresses the essential points related to POLITICIAN A. (smt5)
from Proc	of Facts	The media coverage's focus is on the important facts.	This page coverage's focus is on important facts related to POLITICIAN A. (smt6)
Adapted	Selectivity of Facts	The media provide all important information regarding current topics.	This page provides all important information regarding current topics related to POLITICIAN A. (smt7)
st (smt) -	S	Media reporting includes different points of view.	Content in this page include different points of view on topics related to POLITICIAN A. (smt8)
Aedia Tru	ctions	The information in the news coverage would be verifiable if examined.	The information related to POLITICIAN A in this page would be verifiable if examined. (smt9)
Social N		The reported information is true.	The shared information related to POLITICIAN A in this page is true. (smt10)
	Accuracy of depi	Media reports recount the facts truthfully.	Media reports recount for facts related to POLITICIAN A truthfully. (smt11)
	Acc	I receive correct facts regarding the topics which are covered.	I receive correct facts regarding topics related to POLITICIAN A which are covered in this media. (smt12)

Table 2 – Original and Final Items (continuation)

	Dimensions	Original Items	ltems
(2016)	Presence	I find content posted on my favorite blog to be disagreeable/agreeable	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be agreeable. (sme1)
		I find content posted on my favorite blog to be not involving /involving	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be involving. (sme2)
		I find content posted on my favorite blog to be not absorbing/absorbing	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be absorbing. (sme3)
Salliciano		I find content posted on my favorite blog to be not personable/personable	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be personable. (sme4)
b and 0		I find content posted on my favorite blog to be useless/useful	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be useful. (sme5)
Social Media Engagement (sme) - Adapted from Hopp and Galliciano (2016)	Utility	I find content posted on my favorite blog to be not valuable/valuable	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be valuable (sme6)
		I find content posted on my favorite blog to be worthless/worthwhile	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be worthwhile (sme7)
		I find content posted on my favorite blog to be not relevant to me/relevant to me	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be relevant to me (sme8)
gemen		How likely are you to recommend the blog to someone?	How likely are you to recommend this page to someone? (sme9)
Social Media Enga	Virality	How likely are you to discuss the information presented in your "offline" life with someone?	How likely are you to discuss the information presented in your "offline" life with someone? (sme10)
		How likely are you to talk about articles posted on the blog with someone you know (either online or in person)?	How likely are you to talk about articles posted on this page with someone you know (either online or in person)? (sme11)
		How likely are you to share a link to one of the blog posts through an online tool, such as e-mail or social media?	How likely are you to share a link to one of this page posts through an online tool, such as e-mail or social media? (sme12)

# Table 2 – Original and Final Items (continuation)

	Dimensions	Original Items	Items
n (vi) - n A.		I am planning to vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	I plan to vote for POLITICIAN A in the upcoming elections in Brazil. (vi1)
ntention ed from		I am likely to vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	I am likely to vote for POLITICIAN A in upcoming elections in Brazil. (vi2)
Voting Intention (vi) Adapted from A.		I intend to vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	I intend to vote for POLITICIAN A in upcoming elections in Brazil. (vi3)
Adapted (2019)		Dutch politics is a relevant part of my life	Brazilian politics is a relevant part of my life (pi1)
· _		Dutch politics is significant to me	Brazilian politics is significant to me (pi2)
Political Involvement from A. Jamal, et a		I am involved in Dutch politics	I am involved in Brazilian politics (pi3)
litical Ir from A.		I am interested in Dutch politics	I am interested in Brazilian politics (pi4)
Pol f		Dutch politics means a lot to me	Brazilian politics means a lot to me (pi5)

Table 2 – Original and Final Items (continuation)

Respondents were asked upfront to think of the Politian they voted for in the last Brazilian presidential election to answer all questions. This figure is referred to as "POLITICIAN A" throughout the questionnaire. In addition, key control questions were placed before mass media and social media sections to control the data retrieved. Respondents were asked to choose the mass media channel and social media page they are more familiar with and consider them to answer the questions that followed. The entire questionnaire with control questions is presented on ATTACHMENT 1.

Apart from the control questions mentioned above, non-comparative interval Likert scale varying from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) was applied on all selected scales to allow final relations to be drawn from collected data. Likert scales measure the degree of agreement of the user regarding one object, not comparing one object with another but analyzing one at a time - also known as non-comparative analysis (Malhotra & Birks, 2015). Since variables used in this study do not have an absolute zero starting point and are more related to one's opinions regarding a given subject, this scale allowed a much more effective quantification and measurement of attitudes and motivations.

The questionnaire was developed using Google Forms and was composed by 55

questions divided in 5 sections: Introduction to the questionnaire, mass media trust (17 questions), social media trust and engagement (25 questions), voting intention and political involvement (9 questions), and personal information (4 questions).

It was first tested with 3 users that fit the sample required. From that test three feedbacks were received, which required 2 modifications: one question from the voting intention and political involvement session was deleted (there were two very similar questions and was confusing to the user) and another question was added to the personal information section (it was suggested by one of the respondents and considered relevant for the purpose of this study). Therefore, the final questionnaire had 55 questions, with the division indicated on table 3 below.

Section	Subject	Number of Items	Control Question
Section 1	Introduction	0	No
Section 2	Mass Media Trust	17	Yes
Section 3	Social Media Trust and Engagement	25	Yes
Section 4	Voting Intention and Political Involvement	8	No
Section 5	Personal Information	5	No
Total		55	

Table 3 - Sections of the Questionnaire

As the questionnaire was applied in Brazil, all questions were translated to Portuguese by the author. Original and translated questions are also referenced on ATTACHMENT 1.

The questionnaire was applied online from September 30th until October 14th and shared in social media tools such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram and WhatsApp. Taking into consideration that millennials are comfortable with the use of such tools on a daily basis this was the most effective way to reach the target audience.

#### 3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis will be performed using the software SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). To test the presented hypothesis, correlations will be drawn from the collected data.

#### 4. Analysis and Results

In the present section the characterization of the sample will be presented as well as results of correlations between variables that will prove or deny previously presented hypothesis. Finally, a discussion about the results of such correlations will be presented.

#### 4.1 Sample Profiling

Sample size for the current study was 51, all with ages between 27 and 38, registered voters in Brazil, users of at least one social media and voted on the last Brazilian presidential election. Originally 56 answers were received, but 4 did not qualify as millennials and 1 respondent was not able to choose a mass media channel on control question 1, choosing "none" as his final answer. The fact that this user was not able to choose a mass media trust. Demographic information about the sample can be observed on Table 4.

Most of the respondents were younger millennials with ages between 27 and 30 (49%). When it comes to gender, there was a balance between feminine (49%) and masculine (50%). At scholarly level more than 50% of respondents stated to have completed a master's degree or post-graduation (54%), while 37% had completed bachelor's degree and 5% had completed high school. Most respondents were from the South (37%), Northeast (31%) and Southeast (27%) regions of Brazil. Almost half of the sample identified themselves mostly with left political ideology (49%), followed by right (17%) and center-left (11%). 13% preferred not to answer this question, which was the only non-mandatory question.

28

Variable	Options	Quantity	% of total
Age	27 - 30	25	49,02%
	31 - 34	15	29,41%
	35 - 38	11	21,57%
Gender	Feminine	25	49,02%
	Masculine	26	50,98%
	Others	0	0%
	Prefer not to say	0	0%
Scholarly Level	Completed Middle School	0	0%
	Completed High School	3	5,88%
	Incompleted Bachelor's Degree	1	1,96%
	Completed Bachelor's Degree	19	37,25%
	Completed Master's Degree or Post-Grad	28	54,90%
	Completed Doctorate	0	0%
Region of birth-state	Central-west	1	1,96%
	Northeast	16	31,37%
	North	1	1,96%
	Southeast	14	27,45%
	South	19	37,25%
Political Ideology	Center	1	1,96%
	Center-right	2	3,92%
	Center-left	6	11,76%
	Right	9	17,65%
	Left	25	49,02%
	Extreme Left	1	1,96%
	Extreme Right	0	0%
	Prefer not to say	7	13,73%

Table 4 - Demographic Sample Profiling

## 4.2 Mass Media Channel and Social Media Page

As previously mentioned, two control questions were added at the beginning of Mass Media Trust and Social Media Trust sections. Respondents were asked to choose which mass media channel and "Politician A" social media page they were more familiarized with. Results are detailed on Table 5.

In mass media channel, 73% of the respondents stated to be more familiarized with Globo, which shows a clear advantage over CNN (13%) and all other options presented. When it comes to "Politician A" social media page, Instagram has the preference of millennials as 60% of them are more familiarized with this social media, followed by Twitter (33%), Facebook

(6%) and LinkedIn (2%).

Variable	Options	Quantity	% of total
Mass Media Channel	Band News	1	2%
	CNN	7	14%
	Globo	38	75%
	Jovem pan e Youtube	1	2%
	JPan	1	2%
	SBT	2	4%
	Valor econômico	1	2%
Social Media Page	Página do POLÍTICO A no Facebook	3	6%
	Página do POLÍTICO A no Instagram	31	61%
	Página do POLÍTICO A no LinkedIn	1	2%
	Página do POLÍTICO A no Twitter	16	31%

Table 5 - Mass Media Channels and Social Media Pages

#### 4.3 Hypothesis Discussion

Here it will be determined whether the hypothesis previously presented will be proved by the data collected. To do so, Spearman correlation coefficient was applied to test hypothesis that required correlation. Spearman correlation coefficient determines how strong is the association between two variables and it may vary from -1.0 to +1.0. Strong relationship between two variables will have a coefficient closer to 1, whilst the negative or positive sign will determine if this relationship is negative or positive, respectively (Birks & Malhotra, 2006).

Although all scales selected for this study were already applied and tested in previous papers, it was applied a reliability test using Cronbach's alpha to test their internal consistency. Alpha value ranges from 0 to 1, whereas 0.6 is considered the lowest acceptable level of reliability (Birks & Malhotra, 2006). On table 6, Cronbach's alpha for all variables is presented, together with average and standard deviation. Variables are mass media trust, social media trust, social media engagement, voting intention and political involvement.

Table	6 -	Reliability	/ Test
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Variable	Dimension	ltem	Average	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha per dimension
Mass Media	Selectivity of	mmt1	4,25	1,671	0,929
Trust	Topics	mmt2	4,1	1,64	
		mmt3	4,55	1,847	
		mmt4	4,35	1,874	
	Selectivity of	mmt5	4,24	1,861	0,874
	Facts	mmt6	4,02	1,594	
		mmt7	4,18	1,936	
		mmt8	3,73	1,856	
	Accuracy of	mmt9	4,96	1,833	0,969
	depictions	mmt10	4,69	1,805	
		mmt11	4,53	1,837	
		mmt12	4,67	1,862	
	Journalistic	mmt13	4,65	1,864	0,943
	Assessment	mmt14	4,78	1,803	
		mmt15	4,75	1,874	
		mmt16	5,06	1,793	
Social Media	Selectivity of	smt1	6,04	1,216	0,951
Trust	Topics	smt2	5,69	1,49	
		smt3	5,65	1,369	
		smt4	5,71	1,527	
	Selectivity of	smt5	5,75	1,495	0,882
	Facts	smt6	5,73	1,511	
		smt7	5,29	1,641	
		smt8	4,78	2,013	
	Accuracy of	smt9	5,08	1,534	0,961
	depictions	smt10	5,04	1,523	
		smt11	5,18	1,322	
		smt12	5,14	1,47	
Social Media	Presence	sme1	5,24	1,531	0,934
Engagement		sme2	5,24	1,668	
		sme3	5,31	1,581	
		sme4	5,31	1,349	
	Utility	sme5	5,65	1,426	0,968
		sme6	5,2	1,4	
		sme7	5,47	1,419	
		sme8	5,53	1,332	

Variable	Dimension	ltem	Average	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha per dimension
Social Media	Virality	sme9	5,24	1,773	0,951
Engagement		sme10	5,43	1,781	
		sme11	5,49	1,725	
		sme12	5,04	1,969	
Voting Intention		vi1	5,57	2,156	0,983
		vi2	5,76	2,026	
		vi3	5 <i>,</i> 53	2,203	
Political		pi1	5 <i>,</i> 69	1,503	0,932
Involvement		pi2	5,73	1,471	
		pi3	3,98	1,954	
		pi4	5,43	1,889	
		pi5	5,2	1,887	

Table 6 - Reliability Test (continuation)

All scales present Cronbach's Alpha above 0,9, which indicates a good internal reliability. Additionally, it was performed a correlation test between all items for each variable. On Table 7 are presented the minimum and maximum correlation coefficient for each dimension.

Table 7 - Minimum and maximum correlation coefficient for each scale

Scale	min	max
mass media trust		0,962
social media trust	0,379	0,898
social media engagement	0,313	0,957
voting intention	0,938	0,965
political involvement	0,631	0,907

For scales of mass media trust, social media trust and social media engagement there were correlation coefficients bellow 0,5, which indicates a weak correlation between some of the items. Even so, most of the correlations were highly significant. Complete results can be found on Attachment 2.

With the purpose of calculating the correlation between dimensions previously proposed on hypothesis, it was created a new set of variables by grouping all elements in each

dimension using the average for further analysis.

#### 4.3.1 Trust on social media and trust on mass media

As a result of data analysis, it is possible to state that millennials trust more on information shared on politician's social media page than on information broadcasted by mass media channels. The average value for the dimension of mass media trust was 4,46, while social media trust resulted in an average of 5,42, as observed on Table 8.

Table 8 - Comparison between mass media trust and social media trust

	Mean	Ν	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mass Media Trust	4,468137	51	1,4267737	0,1997883
Social Media Trust	5,421568627	51	1,305800283	0,182848613

Further analysis between the two scales was performed in order to detect if the means were statistically different. The results presented on Table 9 confirm such hypothesis.

Table 9 - T test between mass media trust and social media trust

	Paired Differences						Signif	icance
Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Interva	nfidence I of the rence			One- Sided p	Two- Sided p
			Lower	Upper	t	df		
-0,95343	1,74662	0,24458	-1,44468	-0,46219	-3,898	50	<,001	<,001

This result supports the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Millennials' present higher trust on information shared on politician's social media page than on information shared about a politician by mass media channels.

Millennial's mistrust on information shared by mass media channels could lead to a higher political involvement as this generation would question all information presented and look for more trustworthy information resources (Keating & Melis, 2017). By doing so they could be more politically involved by sharing information with others and leading political movements. However, this could not be proved by data analysis. Table 10 shows that correlation coefficient between Mass Media Trust and Political Involvement is -0,047.

Although the number suggests a negative correlation, it is insignificant. Therefore, the following hypothesis has not been confirmed:

Hypothesis 2: Trust on information shared about a politician on mass media channels negatively influences political involvement among millennials.

Table 10 - Correlation between mass media and political involvement

	Political Involvement
Spearman Correlation	-0,047
Sig. (1-tailed)	0,372
Ν	51
	Sig. (1-tailed)

4.3.2 Mass media, social media and voting intention

As portrayed on Table 11, the Spearman correlation coefficient between Mass Media Trust and Voting Intention is -0,053, while the coefficient between Social Media Trust and Voting Intention is 0,536. The negative sign indicates that the correlation between Mass Media trust and voting intention is negative, yet it is considered to be non-significant. By looking at the correlation between Social Media Trust and Voting Intention it is possible to see that this correlation is positive and moderate.

From these results it is possible to state that an individual that trusts information shared on politician's social media page has a higher chance of voting for this politician on future elections. On the other hand, there is no clear indication that trusting information presented about a politician on mass media will significantly influence on voting decision. From this analysis, the following hypothesis was confirmed:

Hypothesis 3: Trust on information shared on politician's social media page will have a higher influence on voting intention than trust on information shared about a politician by mass media channels.

		Voting Intention
Mass Media Trust	Spearman Correlation	-0,053
	Sig. (1-tailed)	0,355
	Ν	51
Social Media Trust	Spearman Correlation	,536**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	<,001
	Ν	51

Table 11 - Correlation between mass media and social media trust and voting intention

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

#### 4.3.3 Social media engagement, voting intention and political involvement

From results presented on Table 12, correlation coefficient between social media engagement and voting intention is 0,530. This positive number indicates that one dimension positively influences on the other. Yet, it is considered to be a moderate correlation. Whereas correlation coefficient between social media engagement and voting is 0,381. This number indicates a positive correlation between the two dimensions, also considered a moderate correlation.

Social media has proven to be a great tool for brands that wish to engage more with their audience, especially if they are millennials (Smith, 2011). Even so, it is too limited to think that only corporations can benefit from this, as politicians must be not only present in social media, but also creating appealing content that leads to higher engagement to create their political brand (Fenton & Barassi, 2011; Keating & Melis, 2017; Towner & Munoz, 2016). By engaging more with a politician's social media page, millennials are more likely to vote for that political on upcoming elections. Additionally, this generation will become more politically informed and educated, thus increasing the chances that they will be involved in politics. Given the results found, the following hypotheses were confirmed:

Hypothesis 4: Engagement with a politician's social media page has a positive influence in voting intention.

Hypothesis 5: Engagement with a politician's social media page positively influences political involvement among millennials.

			Political
		Voting Intention	Involvement
Social Media Engagement	Spearman Correlation	,530**	,381**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	0,001	0,003
	Ν	51	51

Table 12 - Correlation between social media engagement and voting intention

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

## 5. Conclusion research implications

Main conclusions drawn from this study will be presented in this chapter, as well as limitations found during its development. These limitations should be taken into consideration in future studies.

## 5.1 Conclusion

Although many studies in the field on political marketing can be found, most of them will approach political branding (Guzmán et al., 2015; Marder et al., 2018) and the use of social media as a tool to interact with voters (Fisher, 2018; Haenschen & Jennings, 2019). Few studies will prove the effect of social media engagement on voter's decision making. Even so, after Arabic Spring and controversial presidential elections in the United States and Brazil, academic contribution in the field of digital political marketing has increased and shows potential for more practical quantitative studies (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Keating & Melis, 2017).

Although some studies have concluded that social media is a great tool for political mobilization and will result in higher political involvement, others will show that higher social media penetration led to fewer political protests (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). Even so, does fewer political protests means less political involvement or does it simply show that this involvement is taking place somewhere else?

Given that, differently than older generations, millennials turn to social media for political information and trust less on mass media, the assumption that social media will have a higher impact on their voting decision and political involvement than mass media is a possible assumption (Cheong et al., 2020; Heo & Muralidharan, 2019; Smith, 2011). This assumption was reflected on presented hypotheses to the extent that 4 out of 5 hypotheses presented proved to be significant, as presented on Table 13.

Table 13 - Conclusion of hypotheses

millennials.

Hypothesis	Conclusion
Hypothesis 1: Millennials' present higher trust on information shared on politician's social media page than on information shared about a politician by mass media channels.	Accepted
Hypothesis 2: Trust on information shared about a politician	Non-
on mass media channels negatively influences political	significant
involvement among millennials.	
Hypothesis 3: Trust on information shared on politician's	Accepted
social media page will have a higher influence on voting intention than trust on information shared about a politician	
by mass media channels.	
Hypothesis 4: Engagement with a politician's social media	Accepted
page has a positive influence in voting intention.	
Hypothesis 5: Engagement with a politician's social media	Accepted
page positively influences political involvement among	

From hypothesis 1, we can assume that millennials indeed present less trust on information shared by mass media than information shared by the politician himself, even if that information is biased as it is shared on his own social media page. If we assume that information shared by the politician himself on his social media is more personal than information shared by mass media, this behavior among millennials is expected since this generation looks for a more personal and personalized experience, as well as closer relationship with brands (Partouche et al., 2020; Smith, 2011).

It was assumed that, because millennials trust less on mass media, they would look for other sources for political information and become more comfortable to actively talk about politics on social media, therefore positively influencing their political involvement. However, hypothesis 2 has proven to be incorrect since the correlation coefficient did not support a significant relationship between these two dimensions.

On the same sense of hypothesis 1, hypothesis 3 has also proven to be significant. Trust on information shared by mass media about a politician has less impact on voting intention than information shared on politician's social media page. This assumption is also supported by studies about the millennial generation and their patterns of behavior towards social media (Valentine & Powers, 2013). Towner & Munoz (2016) have reached a similar conclusion, as their finding suggest that online sources will have a higher impact on candidates' perception for millennials than for older generations.

Political engagement has shifted in the last decades as traditional engagement (such as voting or volunteering for political parties) has decreased in some developed countries (Keating & Melis, 2017), while the use of social media as an arena for political discussions has increased (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Appel et al., 2020; Towner & Munoz, 2016). This related to results found in hypothesis 4 and 5, as engagement with information shared on a politician's social media page positively influences millennial's intention to vote for that politician in future elections and their political involvement.

Finally, it can be concluded from the current investigation that social media has a great influence on Brazilian millennial's voting intention and political involvement, and it is therefore a fundamental tool to increase political participation among this generation. In Brazil where the debate about social media usage in politics is escalating daily, millennials may be the most impacted generation when it comes to the dissemination of false information regarding elections, public policies and, more currently, Covid-19. Whether social media will be used to mobilize millions of people to the streets to fight racism or lead millions of people to believe that Covid-19 is a simple flu, it will always depend on who is the mind behind the screen.

## 5.2 Managerial Implications

This study presented important conclusions for political marketers that must take into considerations the particularities of generation Y and their social media behavior in any upcoming elections in Brazil. As this generation is entirely in voting age, they are an important segment that requires special attention and tools. By understanding the negative perception of millennials regarding information shared on mass media channels and their preference for

politician's social media page, it is important that this media is used correctly in order to have a positive impact on a politician's performance. By creating more personal content and generating engagement, followers are more likely to vote for this candidate and become more politically involved, possibly inviting other people to join their community.

The fact that generation Y presents a lack of trust in information shared by mass media offers an opportunity for them to rethink their strategy when it comes to political subjects. Mass media channels must find a way to present this information in a more personal way and should create online strategies to position themselves as reliable online source for political information. This update is mandatory for news network that wish to target younger generations, as this behavior is expected to continue and increase in the next years.

#### 5.3 Limitations and suggestions for future investigation

What most impacted and limited this study was the difficulty of obtaining respondents. Although the questionnaire was shared on personal social media profiles with more than 2,000 followers and on public groups that were targeted at Brazilians on Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp and LinkedIn it is possible that the length and depth of the questions negatively impacted the participants' willingness to finish it. For future research it is suggested that the length of the questionnaire is decreased and that it stays online for more time to attract more respondents and allow more trustworthy results.

When drawing conclusions for this study, it was found that the trust dimension is very complex and could have been more detailed in order to offer more insightful conclusions as to why millennials trust more on social media than on mass media. Therefore, a suggestion for future investigation is to focus only on the trust construct. This could produce interesting insights both for mass media channels and for political marketers around millennials behavior.

Another suggestion for future research is to create a cross-country study that compares results from Brazil with another country where vote is not mandatory. Because voting is mandatory in Brazil, this could naturally lead to higher levels of political involvement and engagement with a politician's social media page, whereas in other countries the behavior could be distinct.

Finally, it could also be interesting to understand if millennial's behavior will shift in the next years. Later elections have been surrounded by scandals around fake news that are mostly spread around using social media networks. Especially in Brazil this discussion is

39

receiving more attention every month, with politician's accounts being blocked or limited for sharing disrespectful or untruthful information. This could compromise this generation's trust on social media and make them turn to other sources for political information, maybe even back to traditional mass media channels.

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# **ATTACHMENT 1 - Questionnaire**

	Items	Translation to Portuguese
cion 1	Please select the mass media channel you use/watch the most:	Por favor selecione o canal de mídia em massa que você mais utiliza/assiste:
Control Question 1	a) Globo b) CNN c) SBT d) SBT e) Other (add)	a) Globo b) CNN c) Record d) SBT e) Outra opção (adicionar)
Instructions	For all the questions in this form, consider the politician you voted on the last presidential election. This politician will be referred to as "POLITICIAN A" from now on. For the following questions, please consider POLITICIAN A and the mass media channel selected on the previous question.	Para todas as questões deste formulário, pense no político no qual você votou nas últimas eleições presidenciais. Este será referido como "POLÍTICO A" daqui em diante. Para as questões a seguir, favor considerar o POLÍTICO A e o canal de mídia em massa selecionado na questão anterior.
	This media channel pays the necessary attention to important topics related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt1)	Esse canal presta a atenção necessária à assuntos importantes relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (mmt1)
	This media channel assigns important topics related to POLITICIAN A an adequate status. (mmt2)	Esse canal atribui um status adequado à assuntos importantes relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (mmt2)
ust	This media channel reports on important topics related to POLITICIAN A in na adequate frequency. (mmt3)	Esse canal reporta assuntos importantes relacionados ao POLÍTICO A numa frequência adequada. (mmt3)
Media Trust	This media channel reports on important topics related to POLITICIAN A on the necessary regular basis. (mmt4)	Esse canal reporta assuntos importantes relacionados ao POLÍTICO A regularmente. (mmt4)
Mass M	This media channel addresses the essential points related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt5)	Esse canal aborda assuntos essenciais relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (mmt5)
	This media channel coverage's focus is on important facts related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt6)	A cobertura desse canal foca em assuntos importantes relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (mmt6)
	This media channel provide all important information regarding current topics related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt7)	Esse canal fornece todas as informações importantes a respeito dos assuntos atuais relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (mmt7)

Items from the questionnaire and their translation to Portuguese

	Items	Translation to Portuguese
	Media reporting includes different points of view on topics related to POLITICIAN A. (mmt8)	As reportagens desse canal incluem diferentes pontos de vista sobre assuntos relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (mmt8)
	The information related to POLITICIAN A in the news coverage would be verifiable if examined. (mmt9)	As informações relacionadas ao POLÍTICO A nesse canal seriam confirmadas, se examinadas. (mmt9)
ust	The reported information related to POLITICIAN A is true. (mmt10)	As informações relacionadas ao POLÍTICO A reportadas são verdadeiras. (mmt10)
Mass Media Trust	Media reports recount the facts related to POLITICIAN A truthfully. (mmt11)	As reportagens deste canal recontam fatos relacionados ao POLÍTICO A de forma verídica. (mmt11)
Mass	I receive correct facts regarding topics related to POLITICIAN A which are covered in this media. (mmt12)	Eu recebo fatos corretos a respeito de assuntos relacionados ao POLÍTICO A cobertos por esse canal. (mmt12)
	Journalists express criticism in na adequate manner. (mmt13) The journalists' opinions are well- founded. (mmt14)	Os jornalistas desse canal expressam criticismo de maneira adequada. (mmt13) As opiniões dos jornalistas são bem fundamentadas. (mmt14)
	The journalists' conclusions are well- reflected. (mmt15)	As conclusões dos jornalistas são bem refletidas. (mmt15)
	I feel that journalistic assessments are useful. (mmt16)	Eu sinto que a avaliação jornalística é útil. (mmt16)
Question 2	Please select POLITICIAN'S A social media page you are more familiarized with:	Por favor selecione a página de mídia social do POLÍTICO A que você mais acompanha:
Covered in this metal         Journalists express         adequate manner         The journalists' op         founded. (mmt14)         The journalists' correflected. (mmt15)         I feel that journali         useful. (mmt16)         Please select POLI         page you are more         O         I pollITICIAN'S A         C)POLITICIAN'S A         O)POLITICIAN'S A         O)POLITICIAN'S A	a)POLITICIAN'S A Facebook page b)POLITICIAN'S A Instagram page c)POLITICIAN'S A Twitter page d)POLITICIAN'S A LinkedIn page	a) Página do POLÍTICO A no Facebook b) Página do POLÍTICO A no Instagram c) Página do POLÍTICO A no Twitter d) Página do POLÍTICO A no LinkedIn
Instructions	For the following questions, please consider the POLITICIAN'S A social media page selected on the previous question.	Para as questões a seguir, favor considerar a página de mídia social do POLÍTICO A selecionada na questão anterior.

	Items	Translation to Portuguese
	This page pays the necessary attention to	Essa página presta a atenção necessária à
	important topics related to POLITICIAN A.	assuntos importantes relacionados ao
	(smt1)	POLÍTICO A. (smt1)
	This page assigns important topics related	Essa página atribui um status adequado a
	to POLITICIAN A an adequate status.	assuntos importantes relacionados ao
	(smt2)	POLÍTICO A. (smt2)
	This page reports on important topics	Essa página reporta assuntos importantes
	related to POLITICIAN A in na adequate	relacionados ao POLÍTICO A em uma
	frequency. (smt3)	frequência adequada. (smt3)
	This page reports on important topics	Essa página reporta assuntos importantes
	related to POLITICIAN A on the necessary	relacionados ao POLÍTICO A
	regular basis. (smt4)	regularmente. (smt4)
	This page addresses the essential points	Essa página aborda os assuntos essenciais
	related to POLITICIAN A. (smt5)	relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (smt5)
	This page coverage's focus is on	A cobertura dessa página foca em fatos
'ust	important facts related to POLITICIAN A.	importantes relacionados ao POLÍTICO A.
аТ	(smt6)	(smt6)
Social Media Trust	This page provides all important	Essa página fornece todas as informações
Σ	information regarding current topics	importantes a respeito dos assuntos
cia	related to POLITICIAN A. (smt7)	atuais relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (smt7)
So	Content in this page include different	O conteúdo dessa página inclui diferentes
	points of view on topics related to	pontos de vista sobre assuntos
	POLITICIAN A. (smt8)	relacionados ao POLÍTICO A. (smt8)
	The information related to POLITICIAN A	As informações relacionadas ao POLÍTICO
	in this page would be verifiable if	A nessa página seriam confirmadas, se
	examined. (smt9)	examinadas. (smt9)
		As informações compartilhadas
	The shared information related to	relacionadas ao POLÍTICO A nessa página
	POLITICIAN A in this page is true. (smt10)	são verdadeiras. (smt10)
		Os conteúdos dessa página recontam
	Media reports recount for facts related to	fatos relacionados ao POLÍTICO A de
	POLITICIAN A truthfully. (smt11)	forma verídica. (smt11)
	I receive correct facts regarding topics	Eu recebo fatos corretos a respeito de
	related to POLITICIAN A which are	tópicos relacionados ao POLÍTICO A
	covered in this media. (smt12)	cobertos por essa página. (smt12)
lia nt	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted	Eu concordo com o conteúdo sobre o
/ed mei	on this page to be agreeable. (sme1)	POLÍTICO A postado nessa página (sme1)
Social Media Engagement		
ocić 1ga	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted	Eu acho o conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A
Er S	on this page to be involving. (sme2)	postado nessa página envolvente (sme2)

	Items	Translation to Portuguese
	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be absorbing. (sme3)	eu acho o conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A postado nessa página cativante (sme3)
	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be personable. (sme4)	Eu acho o conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A postado nessa página pessoal (sme4)
	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be useful. (sme5)	Eu acho o conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A postado nessa página útil (sme5)
	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be valuable (sme6)	Eu acho o conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A postado nessa página valioso (sme6)
ment	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be worthwhile (sme7)	Eu acho que a leitura do conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A postado nessa página vale a pena (sme7)
Social Media Engagement	I find content about POLITICIAN A posted on this page to be relevant to me (sme8)	Eu acho o conteúdo sobre POLÍTICO A postado nessa página relevante (sme8)
al Media	How likely are you to recommend this page to someone? (sme9)	Qual a probabilidade de você recomendar essa página para alguém? (sme9)
Socia	How likely are you to discuss the information presented in your "offline" life with someone? (sme10)	Qual a probabilidade de você discutir as informações ali apresentadas com alguém presencialmente? (sme10)
	How likely are you to talk about articles posted on this page with someone you know (either online or in person)? (sme11)	Qual a probabilidade de você falar sobre artigos postados nessa página com alguém que você conhece (online ou pessoalmente)? (sme11)
	How likely are you to share a link to one of this page posts through an online tool, such as e-mail or social media? (sme12)	Qual a probabilidade de você compartilhar um link para um conteúdo dessa página através de uma ferramenta online, como e-mail ou mídias sociais? (sme12)
ntion	I plan to vote for POLITICIAN A in the upcoming elections in Brazil. (vi1)	Eu planejo votar no POLÍTICO A nas próximas eleições no Brasil. (vi1)
Voting Intention	I am likely to vote for POLITICIAN A in upcoming elections in Brazil. (vi2)	É provável que eu vote no POLÍTICO A nas próximas eleições no Brasil. (vi2)
Voti	I intend to vote for POLITICIAN A in upcoming elections in Brazil. (vi3)	Eu pretendo votar no POLÍTICO A nas próximas eleições no Brasil. (vi3)

	Items	Translation to Portuguese
	Brazilian politics is a relevant part of my	A política brasileira é parte relevante da
nt	life (pi1)	minha vida (pi1)
me		A política brasileira é significativa para
lve	Brazilian politics is significant to me (pi2)	mim (pi2)
סאר		Eu estou envolvido(a) na política
Political Involvement	I am involved in Brazilian politics (pi3)	brasileira (pi3)
itic		Eu sou interessado(a) na política
Pol	I am interested in Brazilian politics (pi4)	brasileira (pi4)
		A política brasileira significa muito para
	Brazilian politics means a lot to me (pi5)	mim (pi5)
	How old are you?	Qual a sua idade?
	-) 27 20	-) 27 20
	a) 27-30 b) 31-34	a) 27-30 b) 31-34
	c) 35-38	c) 35-38
	d) None of the above	d) Nenhuma das anteriores
		a) Nemituria das ancenores
	You identify yourself as:	Com qual gênero você se identifica?
ion		
nati	a) Feminine	a) Feminino
orn	b) Masculine	b) Masculino
Inf	c) Others	c) Outros
Personal Information	d) Prefer not to say	d) Prefiro não dizer
rso		
Ре	What is your scholarly loval?	
	What is your scholarly level?	Qual o seu grau de escolaridade?
	a) Completed Middle School	Qual o seu grau de escolaridade:
	b) Completed High School	a) Ensino Fundamental Completo
	c) Completed High School	b) Ensino Médio Completo
	d) Completed Master's Degree or Post-	c) Ensino Superior Completo
	Graduation	d) Pós-Graduação ou Mestrado Completo
	e) Completed Doctorate	e) Doutorado Completo
	f) Other (indicate)	f) Outro (indicar)
	/ · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	,

Itomo fuene the evention noise		Deutwarrage	(acationation)
Items from the questionnaire	and their translation to	Portuguese	(continuation)

	Items	Translation to Portuguese
	Select the region of your birth-state:	Selecione a região do seu estado natal:
Personal Information	<ul> <li>a) North (Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins)</li> <li>b) Northeast (Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Sergipe)</li> <li>c) Center-west (Goiás, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul)</li> <li>d) Southeast (Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo)</li> <li>e) South (Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>a) Norte (Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins)</li> <li>b) Nordeste (Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Sergipe)</li> <li>c) Centro-oeste (Goiás, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul)</li> <li>d) Sudeste (Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo)</li> <li>e) Sul (Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande</li> </ul>
Personal	Grande do Sul) With what political ideology do you identify the most?	do Sul) Com qual ideologia política você mais se identifica?
	<ul> <li>a) Extreme Left</li> <li>b) Left</li> <li>c) Center-left</li> <li>d) Center</li> <li>e) Center-right</li> <li>f) Right</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>a) Extrema esquerda</li> <li>b) Esquerda</li> <li>c) Centro esquerda</li> <li>d) Centro</li> <li>e) Centro direita</li> <li>f) Direita</li> </ul>
	g) Extreme right h) Prefer not to say	g) Extrema direita h) Prefiro não dizer

# ATTACHMENT 2 - Correlation between items of each variable

## Correlation between items of mass media trust

Items	mmt1	mmt2	mmt3	mmt4	mmt5	mmt6	mmt7	mmt8	mmt9	mmt10	mmt11	mmt12	mmt13	mmt14	mmt15	mmt16
mmt1	1	0,837	0,789	0,769	0,688	0,621	0,616	0,281	0,493	0,464	0,489	0,542	0,485	0,364	0,462	0,335
mmt2	0,837	1	0,715	0,646	0,661	0,512	0,612	0,462	0,46	0,47	0,467	0,509	0,502	0,413	0,47	0,27
mmt3	0,789	0,715	1	0,85	0,794	0,71	0,66	0,366	0,591	0,586	0,585	0,624	0,511	0,366	0,48	0,437
mmt4	0,769	0,646	0,85	1	0,79	0,774	0,732	0,379	0,4	0,4	0,438	0,464	0,46	0,277	0,385	0,291
mmt5	0,688	0,661	0,794	0,79	1	0,754	0,782	0,604	0,56	0,552	0,589	0,594	0,613	0,456	0,562	0,391
mmt6	0,621	0,512	0,71	0,774	0,754	1	0,725	0,428	0,439	0,391	0,434	0,488	0,467	0,308	0,397	0,3
mmt7	0,616	0,612	0,66	0,732	0,782	0,725	1	0,532	0,526	0,514	0,592	0,616	0,677	0,504	0,591	0,389
mmt8	0,281	0,462	0,366	0,379	0,604	0,428	0,532	1	0,626	0,553	0,589	0,552	0,654	0,687	0,606	0,456
mmt9	0,493	0,46	0,591	0,4	0,56	0,439	0,526	0,626	1	0,83	0,838	0,864	0,669	0,711	0,69	0,67
mmt10	0,464	0,47	0,586	0,4	0,552	0,391	0,514	0,553	0,83	1	0,962	0,908	0,715	0,765	0,738	0,698
mmt11	0,489	0,467	0,585	0,438	0,589	0,434	0,592	0,589	0,838	0,962	1	0,918	0,757	0,784	0,754	0,701
mmt12	0,542	0,509	0,624	0,464	0,594	0,488	0,616	0,552	0,864	0,908	0,918	1	0,801	0,812	0,835	0,719
mmt13	0,485	0,502	0,511	0,46	0,613	0,467	0,677	0,654	0,669	0,715	0,757	0,801	1	0,852	0,873	0,748
mmt14	0,364	0,413	0,366	0,277	0,456	0,308	0,504	0,687	0,711	0,765	0,784	0,812	0,852	1	0,894	0,684
mmt15	0,462	0,47	0,48	0,385	0,562	0,397	0,591	0,606	0,69	0,738	0,754	0,835	0,873	0,894	1	0,772
mmt16	0,335	0,27	0,437	0,291	0,391	0,3	0,389	0,456	0,67	0,698	0,701	0,719	0,748	0,684	0,772	1

Correlation between items of social media trust

Item	smt1	smt2	smt3	smt4	smt5	smt6	smt7	smt8	smt9	smt10	smt11	smt12
smt1	1	0,835	0,754	0,825	0,831	0,844	0,606	0,379	0,674	0,68	0,643	0,702
smt2	0,835	1	0,847	0,864	0,898	0,832	0,693	0,537	0,711	0,737	0,678	0,76
smt3	0,754	0,847	1	0,878	0,825	0,803	0,831	0,618	0,756	0,679	0,698	0,75
smt4	0,825	0,864	0,878	1	0,817	0,796	0,73	0,506	0,736	0,667	0,71	0,722
smt5	0,831	0,898	0,825	0,817	1	0,889	0,741	0,56	0,768	0,716	0,701	0,781
smt6	0,844	0,832	0,803	0,796	0,889	1	0,727	0,546	0,743	0,7	0,675	0,774
smt7	0,606	0,693	0,831	0,73	0,741	0,727	1	0,613	0,745	0,644	0,695	0,729
smt8	0,379	0,537	0,618	0,506	0,56	0,546	0,613	1	0,634	0,623	0,691	0,7
smt9	0,674	0,711	0,756	0,736	0,768	0,743	0,745	0,634	1	0,838	0,851	0,891
smt10	0,68	0,737	0,679	0,667	0,716	0,7	0,644	0,623	0,838	1	0,871	0,855
smt11	0,643	0,678	0,698	0,71	0,701	0,675	0,695	0,691	0,851	0,871	1	0,883
smt12	0,702	0,76	0,75	0,722	0,781	0,774	0,729	0,7	0,891	0,855	0,883	1

Correlation between items of social media engagement

Item	sme1	sme2	sme3	sme4	sme5	sme6	sme7	sme8	sme9	sme10	sme11	sme12
sme1	1	0,808	0,754	0,7	0,735	0,696	0,712	0,732	0,664	0,505	0 <i>,</i> 478	0,521
sme2	0,808	1	0,957	0,722	0,683	0,69	0,746	0,726	0,603	0,342	0,369	0,454
sme3	0,754	0,957	1	0,731	0,627	0,676	0,726	0,679	0,601	0,313	0,353	0,465
sme4	0,7	0,722	0,731	1	0,662	0,655	0,674	0,663	0,537	0,351	0,397	0,462
sme5	0,735	0,683	0,627	0,662	1	0,827	0,884	0,901	0,769	0,628	0,617	0,618
sme6	0,696	0,69	0,676	0,655	0,827	1	0,889	0,887	0,811	0,591	0,605	0,686
sme7	0,712	0,746	0,726	0,674	0,884	0,889	1	0,913	0,861	0,654	0,664	0,716
sme8	0,732	0,726	0,679	0,663	0,901	0,887	0,913	1	0,793	0,585	0,546	0,655
sme9	0,664	0,603	0,601	0,537	0,769	0,811	0,861	0,793	1	0,74	0,792	0 <i>,</i> 834
sme10	0,505	0,342	0,313	0,351	0,628	0,591	0,654	0,585	0,74	1	0,92	0,822
sme11	0,478	0,369	0,353	0,397	0,617	0,605	0,664	0,546	0,792	0,92	1	0 <i>,</i> 877
sme12	0,521	0,454	0,465	0,462	0,618	0,686	0,716	0,655	0,834	0,822	0,877	1

Correlation between items of voting intention

Item	vi1	vi2	vi3
vi1	1	0,965	0,954
vi2	0,965	1	0,938
vi3	0,954	0,938	1

# Correlation between items of political involvement

Item	pi1	pi2	pi3	pi4	pi5
pi1	1	0,829	0,631	0,689	0,741
pi2	0,829	1	0,631	0,806	0,849
pi3	0,631	0,631	1	0,679	0,701
pi4		0,806			0,907
pi5	0,741	0,849	0,701	0,907	1