

Supplementary materials

A Comparisons in previous work

Table 1: Sampling and mode comparisons in previous research

Article	Internet non-probability	Internet probability	Mail	RDD	Face-to-face	Country
Ansolabehere and Schaffner (2014)	✓		✓	✓		United States of America
Berrens et al. (2003)	✓			✓		United States of America
Breton et al. (2017)	✓			✓		Canada
Bytzek and Bieber (2016)	✓	✓			✓	Germany
Chang and Krosnick (2009)	✓	✓		✓		United States of America
Malhotra and Krosnick (2007)	✓				✓	United States of America
Pasek (2016)	✓			✓		United States of America
Sanders et al. (2007)	✓				✓	Great Britain
Schoen and Faas (2005)	✓	✓			✓	Germany
Stephenson and Crête (2010)	✓			✓		Canada
Yeager et al. (2011)	✓	✓		✓		United States of America

B Comparing raw data with population benchmarks

Table 1: Comparing surveys with benchmarks, socio-demographics – Flemish region

Variable	Response	PartiRep	MEDW	Benchmark
Gender	Female	.492	.493	.506
		(.460, .523)	(.462, .523)	
Age	18-24	.112	.077	.103
		(.092, .131)	(.060, .093)	
	25-64	.683	.817	.661
		(.654, .712)	(.793, .841)	
	65 and +	.205	.106	.237
		(.180, .230)	(.087, .125)	
Education	None/Primary	.082	.038	.157
		(.065, .099)	(.027, .050)	
	Lower secondary	.183	.129	.243
		(.159, .207)	(.108, .149)	
	Higher secondary	.382	.398	.341
		(.351, .412)	(.368, .428)	
	Higher education	.354	.435	.259
		(.324, .383)	(.404, .465)	
Average difference		.044	.099	
MSE		.003	.013	

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported, based on raw (unweighted) data. Estimates in bold have confidence intervals that do not include the benchmark. Information on benchmarks obtained from the Ministry of Economic Affairs (<https://bestat.economie.fgov.be>).

Table 2: Comparing surveys with benchmarks, socio-demographics – Walloon region

Variable	Response	PartiRep	MEDW	Benchmark
Gender	Female	.500	.557	.513
		(.469, .531)	(.526, .588)	
Age	18-24	.120	.099	.113
		(.100, .140)	(.081, .118)	
	25-64	.681	.773	.668
		(.652, .709)	(.747, .799)	
Education	65 and +	.199	.128	.219
		(.175, .224)	(.107, .148)	
	None/Primary	.091	.031	.163
		(.074, .109)	(.021, .042)	
	Lower secondary	.258	.100	.282
	(.231, .285)	(.082, .119)		
	Higher secondary	.333	.378	.312
		(.304, .362)	(.348, .408)	
	Higher education	.317	.490	.243
		(.289, .346)	(.459, .521)	
Average difference		.031	.110	
MSE		.002	.017	

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported, based on raw (unweighted) data. Estimates in bold have confidence intervals that do not include the benchmark. Information on benchmarks obtained from the Ministry of Economic Affairs (<https://bestat.economie.fgov.be>).

C Comparing weighted data with population benchmarks

Table 1: Comparing weighted survey data with benchmarks, socio-demographics – Flemish region

Variable	Response	PartiRep	MEDW	Benchmark
Gender	Female	.507	.508	.506
		(.474, .540)	(.477, .541)	
Age	18-24	.111	.076	.103
		(.091, .132)	(.059, .093)	
	25-64	.659	.824	.661
		(.626, .692)	(.800, .848)	
	65 and +	.229	.100	.237
		(.199, .260)	(.081, .119)	
Education	None/Primary	.164	.057	.157
		(.131, .197)	(.040, .074)	
	Lower secondary	.146	.189	.243
		(.125, .166)	(.161, .218)	
	Higher secondary	.391	.395	.341
		(.359, .424)	(.363, .425)	
	Higher education	.299	.359	.259
		(.271, .327)	(.330, .388)	
Average difference		.027	.080	
MSE		.002	.009	

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported, based on raw (unweighted) data. Estimates in bold have confidence intervals that do not include the benchmark. Information on benchmarks obtained from the Ministry of Economic Affairs (<https://bestat.economie.fgov.be>).

Table 2: Comparing surveys with benchmarks, socio-demographics – Walloon region

Variable	Response	PartiRep	MEDW	Benchmark
Gender	Female	.520	.521	.513
		(.487, .554)	(.486, .556)	
Age	18-24	.103	.115	.113
	25-64	.681	.752	.668
		(.649, .713)	(.721, .784)	
65 and +	.216	.133	.219	
Education	None/Primary	.193	.070	.163
		(.158, .229)	(.047, .093)	
	Lower secondary	.200	.230	.282
	Higher secondary	.343	.374	.312
		(.312, .374)	(.342, .407)	
Higher education	.264	.326	.243	
		(.237, .290)	(.297, .355)	
Average difference		.025	.059	
MSE		.001	.005	

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported, based on raw (unweighted) data. Estimates in bold have confidence intervals that do not include the benchmark. Information on benchmarks obtained from the Ministry of Economic Affairs (<https://bestat.economie.fgov.be>).

D Comparing reported votes with election results

Table 1: Comparing surveys with benchmarks, voting and vote choice in regional elections – Flemish region

Variable	Response	PartiRep	MEDW	Benchmark
Turnout	Voted	.968	.954	.925
		(.955, .980)	(.938, .970)	
Vote choice	Flemish-nationalists	.345	.298	.321
		(.309, .380)	(.266, .330)	
	Christian-democrats	.183	.161	.206
		(.154, .212)	(.135, .186)	
	Liberals	.125	.118	.140
		(.100, .149)	(.095, .141)	
	Socialists	.146	.178	.139
		(.118, .175)	(.151, .206)	
	Greens	.098	.083	.086
		(.076, .119)	(.064, .102)	
	Extreme-right	.034	.061	.059
		(.022, .047)	(.044, .078)	
	Extreme-left	.022	.044	.026
		(.012, .032)	(.030, .058)	
	Blank/invalid	.024	.032	.052
		(.012, .035)	(.019, .044)	
Average difference		.020	.022	
MSE		.001	.001	

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported. Socio-demographic weight is applied. Information on turnout and vote shares obtained from the Ministry of Internal Affairs (<http://verkiezingen2014.belgium.be>).

Table 2: Comparing surveys with benchmarks, voting and vote choice in regional elections – Walloon region

Variable	Response	PartiRep	MEDW	Benchmark
Turnout	Voted	.954 (.937, .971)	.953 (.932, .973)	.879
Vote choice	Socialists	.324 (.283, .366)	.248 (.211, .285)	.309
	Liberals	.227 (.194, .260)	.260 (.226, .295)	.267
	Christian-democrats	.173 (.143, .204)	.122 (.096, .148)	.152
	Greens	.108 (.081, .136)	.075 (.054, .095)	.086
	Extreme-left	.058 (.039, .077)	.085 (.063, .107)	.058
	Blank/invalid	.019 (.008, .030)	.044 (.027, .062)	.074
		Average difference	.033	.034
MSE		.002	.002	

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported. Socio-demographic weight is applied. Information on turnout and vote shares obtained from the Ministry of Internal Affairs (<http://verkiezingen2014.belgium.be>).

E Comparison of the two surveys, multivariate models

Table 3: Multivariate logistic regression models explaining vote choice, Flemish region

	Christian-democrats	Flemish nationalists	Socialists	Liberals
Online survey	-4.168*	0.105	-5.770**	-1.634
	(1.758)	(1.359)	(1.800)	(1.770)
Female	0.053	-0.289	0.762**	0.041
	(0.221)	(0.216)	(0.258)	(0.266)
Online survey × Female	-0.471	0.445	-0.892*	0.171
	(0.344)	(0.338)	(0.399)	(0.405)
Age	0.020**	0.011	0.013	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Online survey × Age	-0.007	-0.017	-0.008	-0.009
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Education	0.002	-0.106	-0.452***	0.057
	(0.129)	(0.134)	(0.130)	(0.182)
Online survey × Education	0.274	0.066	0.224	-0.042
	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.234)	(0.263)
Left-right distance	-4.825***	-2.478**	-1.253	-1.493
	(1.167)	(0.866)	(0.938)	(1.156)
Online survey × Left-right distance	-0.225	-1.159	-1.935	-2.297
	(1.893)	(1.369)	(1.468)	(1.949)
Like/dislike party	6.975***	6.230***	7.068***	6.525***
	(1.019)	(0.574)	(0.945)	(0.870)
Online survey × Like/dislike party	5.178**	2.862**	7.574***	5.794***
	(1.694)	(1.082)	(1.761)	(1.726)
Economic evaluation	0.376	-0.755*	-0.172	0.336
	(0.300)	(0.314)	(0.376)	(0.374)
Online survey × Economic evaluation	-0.346	0.100	0.076	-0.653
	(0.484)	(0.472)	(0.602)	(0.566)
Flemish identity	-0.627	1.837**	-2.050**	-0.434
	(0.603)	(0.661)	(0.750)	(0.621)
Online survey × Flemish identity	-0.452	-3.098**	0.233	-2.684*
	(1.126)	(1.170)	(1.034)	(1.098)
Constant	-5.811***	-4.798***	-3.727**	-5.799***
	(0.927)	(0.881)	(1.231)	(0.929)
<i>N</i>	1402	1405	1402	1399
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.316	0.445	0.434	0.306

Note: Estimates of logistic regression analyses explaining voting for Christian-Democrats, Flemish-Nationalists, Socialists and Liberals in the Flemish region. Dependent variables were coded 1 if respondents reported to have voted for the party and 0 if they reported to have voted for another party (either one of the parties included in our analyses or a smaller party). Non-voters are excluded. Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 4: Multivariate logistic regression models explaining vote choice, Flemish region

	Socialists	Liberals	Christian-democrats
Online survey	-2.831 (1.806)	-2.355 (1.420)	-1.721 (2.136)
Female	0.582* (0.234)	-0.533* (0.228)	-0.246 (0.249)
Online survey × Female	-0.424 (0.389)	0.583 (0.374)	0.108 (0.392)
Age	0.020** (0.007)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
Online survey × Age	-0.016 (0.014)	0.029* (0.012)	-0.030** (0.012)
Education	-0.588*** (0.131)	0.371** (0.121)	0.174 (0.146)
Online survey × Education	0.393 (0.228)	-0.234 (0.228)	-0.087 (0.249)
Left-right distance	-0.927 (0.769)	-4.170*** (1.005)	-4.701*** (1.002)
Online survey × Left-right distance	-4.822*** (1.435)	-0.640 (2.290)	3.538* (1.461)
Like/dislike party	5.778*** (0.726)	5.315*** (0.922)	6.050*** (1.833)
Online survey × Like/dislike party	3.926** (1.511)	4.109** (1.408)	3.607 (2.173)
Economic evaluation	-0.004 (0.334)	-0.276 (0.296)	-0.390 (0.319)
Online survey × economic evaluation	-0.183 (0.548)	0.032 (0.455)	0.295 (0.489)
Walloon identity	-0.177 (0.446)	-0.603 (0.475)	-0.051 (0.602)
Online survey × Walloon identity	0.236 (1.024)	-2.214** (0.837)	-0.617 (1.070)
Constant	-3.437*** (0.821)	-3.333*** (0.811)	-4.881** (1.516)
<i>N</i>	1174	1170	1164
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.403	0.400	0.263

Note: Estimates of logistic regression analyses explaining voting for Socialists, Liberals and Christian-democrats in the Walloon region. Dependent variables were coded 1 if respondents reported to have voted for the party and 0 if they reported to have voted for another party (either one of the parties included in our analyses or a smaller party). Non-voters are excluded. Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

**F Comparison of the two surveys when explaining vote choice:
the effect of political interest**

Table 1: Comparison of the two surveys in logistic regression models explaining vote choice, Flemish region

Party	Independent variable	Main effect	Online survey	Interaction	Constant	N	Pseudo R ²
<i>Flemish region</i>							
Christian-democrats	Political interest	.353	-.377	.281	-1.621	1535	.004
Flemish-nationalists	Political interest	.329	-.175	-.119	-.738***	1535	.003
Socialists	Political interest	-.997*	.037	.587	-1.248***	1535	.009
Liberals	Political interest	.154	.009	-.124	-1.974***	1535	.000
<i>Walloon region</i>							
Socialists	Political interest	-.734	-.974**	1.044	-.221	1272	.012
Liberals	Political interest	.434	.067	.095	-1.314***	1272	.004
Christian-democrats	Political interest	.225	-.561	.165	-1.553***	1272	.008

Note: Estimates of logistic regression analyses explaining voting for the main parties in both regions. Dependent variables were coded 1 if respondents reported to have voted for the party and 0 if they reported to have voted for another party (either one of the parties included in our analyses or a smaller party). Non-voters are excluded. Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

G Comparison of non-validated measures

Marginal distributions in terms of socio-demographics and vote choices can be compared to the actual population parameters. The same does not hold for the large majority of measures that are traditionally included in election surveys. As a result, for such measures there is no way of knowing whether an estimate is a ‘correct’ reflection of the preferences, attitudes or the behavior of the target population. For studying the implications of transitioning from a probability face-to-face survey to a non-probability on-line survey, however, we can compare the distributions on a large number of variables to verify whether the samples differ significantly from one another with regard to these measures. For doing so, we compare means and additionally perform a more formal test of the equality of distributions of variables in the two surveys.¹

Figure 1 presents the mean values of seven political attitudes and two types of political behavior that were measured in similar wording in both surveys. The question wording for all variables is reported in Appendix H, which clarifies that there is only one item for which the question wording in the two surveys was identical; respondents’ evaluation of the state of the economy. For all other questions we should therefore keep in mind that differences could be driven by wording effects as well as by mode and survey effects. The point estimates of these variables, that were all rescaled to run from 0 to 1, are reported in Appendix I. All of these variables represent crucial indicators of democratic civic culture.

Comparing the means of the nine selected variables between the two samples, and doing so for both regions, we first observe that different mode and sampling approaches did not significantly affect the mean left-right placement in the samples. For all but one of the remaining sixteen comparisons (eight variables in two regions), however, we find that the mean responses for these political variables differed significantly between the two datasets.

In line with previous work comparing probability and non-probability online surveys (Malhotra and Krosnick 2007), we find that the online nonprobability-samples—in both regions—are significantly more interested in politics compared to respondents in the probability samples.

Looking at distributions for closeness to a party, which serves as a measure for partisanship, we somewhat surprisingly find that the PartiRep samples appear significantly and strongly more partisan than the MEDW-samples (even though the latter ones were found to be more interested in politics). Looking at the question wording of this measure in both surveys (see Appendix H), we suspect that this difference is mainly driven by question wording effects. That is, the PartiRep wording—that stressed the comparison between different parties and that asked respondents whether they felt ‘*a little closer*’ instead of ‘*closer*’—likely boosted the number of respondents affirming they felt close to a party (on the impact of ques-

1. We perform Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests.

tion wording on levels of partisanship in election studies, see Blais et al. (2001)).

For the next indicator, respondents' evaluation of the state of the national economy, we find that Flemish respondents in the PartiRep sample evaluated the economy significantly more positively compared to respondents in the MEDW-survey. For respondents in Wallonia, in contrast, the mean answers on this question are statistically indistinguishable.

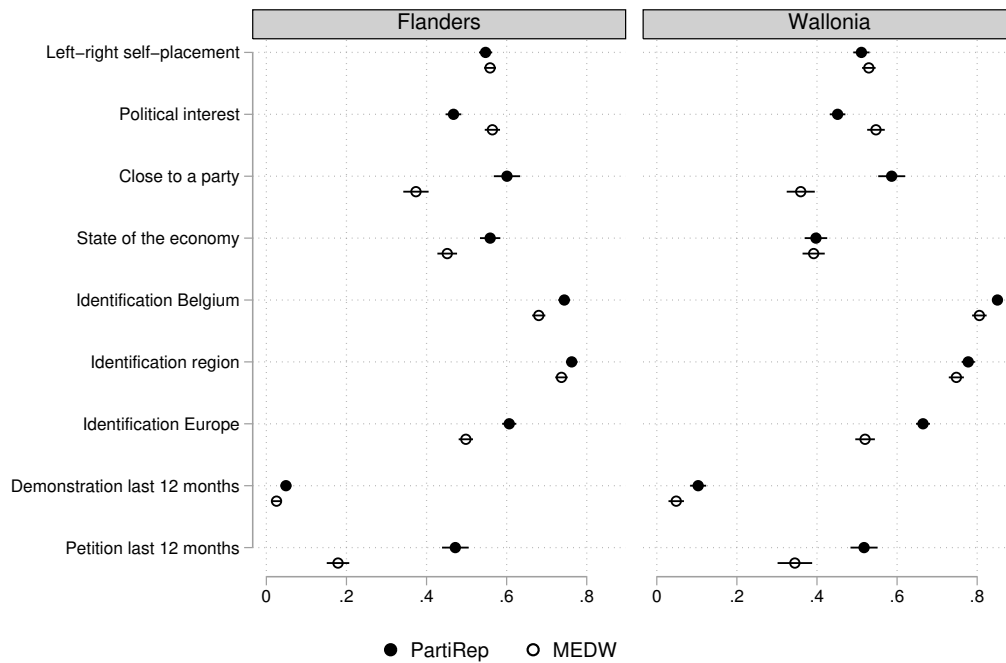
Looking at the variables that capture respondents' identification with different political entities (Belgium, the Flemish or Walloon region and Europe), then, an interesting pattern emerges; reported identifications are always at a significantly higher level in the PartiRep-data compared to what is found in the MEDW-survey. But there is no sign that the relative degree of regionalism differs between the samples. As a result, we cannot conclude that respondents in one survey are e.g., more regionalist than respondents in the other survey. The systematically higher levels of identification with all entities in the PartiRep data are therefore more likely to be a result of question-wording or mode-effects effects than a consequence of different sampling approaches. We do find significant differences in the mean responses on these identification-measures, however, implying that scholars who are interested in tracing the over-time evolution of e.g., the strength of Flemish nationalism (Billiet, Maddens, and Frogner 2006) have good reasons to be especially reticent about transitioning towards online non-probability samples.

Finally, both surveys included two questions that allow comparing the extent to which respondents participate politically. These indicators measure whether respondents had—during the last twelve months—participated in a demonstration and whether they had signed a petition. As clear from the estimates in Figure 1, respondents in the PartiRep sample in each of the two regions report having participated significantly more compared to the MEDW-respondents. This difference is particularly large for having signed a petition. This difference is somewhat surprising, as we found the MEDW-respondents to be more interested in politics compared to those who participated in the PartiRep survey. Here as well, however, wording effects might explain the difference. As evident from the question wording of the questions in Appendix H, in the PartiRep-survey, questions were preceded by an intro that potentially strengthens social desirability effects.

When we formally test the equality of the distributions of these variables by means of a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, the pattern that emerges is similar to what the comparison of means suggests (p-values of this test are reported in Appendix I). For most variables, differences between the two samples are significant. The exceptions are left-right ideology, respondents' evaluation in the economy (in the Walloon region) and whether respondents participated in a demonstration.

In summary, for the select number of political variables for which both surveys included measures that are reasonably similar, we find important differences in means between the two datasets. On a total of 18 comparisons, only three do not indicate a statistically significant difference between the the surveys in the distri-

Figure 1: Comparing attitudes measured in both surveys



Note: Sample means with 95% confidence intervals. Socio-demographic weights are applied.

butions of the responses. While a number of these differences could be related to differences in question wording for some variables, others can be attributed with more certainty to the different mode and sampling methods of both surveys. Most importantly, respondents in the PartiRep-sample appear to be somewhat less interested in politics. While we lack 'benchmarks' to ascertain which of both surveys is closest to the population estimate, the results in Figure 1 clarify that scholars who wish to study the extent to which citizens in Flanders and Wallonia are interested in politics or identify with a particular entity, for example, would come to different conclusions depending on which of both surveys they relied on. This issue is particularly important for those interested in trends over time and comparisons with earlier election surveys.

H Question wording for variables included in the comparison of marginal distributions (non-validated measures)

Left-right self-placement

- PartiRep (w1): In Politics, the concepts of 'left' and 'right' are often used. Could you situate your own opinions on a scale ranging from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'left' 10 means 'right', and 5 represents the centre?
- MEDW (w1): In politics, people sometimes talk about left and right. Where would you place each of the political parties on this scale, where 0 means 'extreme left' and 10 means 'extreme right'? Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Political interest

- PartiRep (w1): To what extent are you interested in politics in general? Give a value on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you are not interested in politics at all, and 10 means you are very interested in politics. Intermediate values allow you to nuance your answer.
- MEDW (w1): On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means no interest at all and 10 means a lot of interest, how interested are you in... (item 2) politics in general?

Close to a party (partisanship)

- PartiRep (w1): Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?
- MEDW (w1): In general, do you feel close to a political party?

State of the economy: sociotropic retrospective evaluation

- PartiRep (w2): Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of the Belgian economy has gotten better, stayed the same or gotten worse?
- MEDW (w1): Over the past twelve months, has the Belgian economy gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed the same?

Belgian/Flemish or Walloon/European identification

- PartiRep (w1): For each of the identities below, could you indicate to what extent they apply to you? You can do so using a scale ranging from 0 to 10, where 0 means not at all and 10 means a lot. To what extent do you feel Belgian/Flemish or Walloon/European?
- MEDW (w1): On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means not attached at all and 10 means strongly attached, how attached do you feel to Europe/Belgium/Wallonia or Flanders?

Took part in a demonstration

- PartiRep (w1): There are different ways to try to improve things in Belgium and to prevent things from going wrong. How often have you, during the last 12 months, done one of the following things? (item 2) Taking part in demonstrations?
 - Answer options Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never are recorded. Rarely, sometimes and often (= 1) / No (= 0)
- MEDW (w2): Over the last twelve months, have you... (item 3) Taken part in a demonstration? Yes (= 1) / No (= 0)

Signed a petition

- PartiRep (w1): There are different ways to try to improve things in Belgium and to prevent things from going wrong. How often have you, during the last 12 months, done one of the following things? (item 7) Signing a petition?
 - Answer options: Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never are recorded. Rarely, sometimes and often (= 1) / No (= 0)
- MEDW (w2): Over the last twelve months, have you... (item 4) Signed a petition? Yes (= 1) / No (= 0)

I Comparing marginal distributions, non-validated measures

Table 1: Comparing marginal distributions, non-validated measures - Flemish region

Variable	PartiRep	MEDW	F	p-value	Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (p-value)
Left-right self-placement	.547 (.008)	.559 (.008)	1.00	.317	.912
Political interest	.467 (.010)	.564 (.010)	48.81	.000	.000
Close to a party	.601 (.017)	.374 (.016)	95.59	.000	.000
Evaluation state of the economy	.559 (.013)	.452 (.013)	35.46	.000	.000
Identification Belgium	.744 (.008)	.680 (.008)	31.98	.000	.000
Identification Flemish region	.762 (.007)	.737 (.008)	5.58	.018	.041
Identification Europe	.606 (.009)	.498 (.009)	71.33	.000	.000
Took part in a demonstration	.049 (.007)	.025 (.006)	6.76	.009	.927
Signed a petition	.472 (.017)	.179 (.014)	174.52	.000	.000

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported. Socio-demographic weight is applied.

Table 2: Comparing marginal distributions, non-validated measures - Walloon region

Variable	PartiRep	MEDW	F	p-value	Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (p-value)
Left-right self-placement	.511 (.010)	.530 (.009)	1.89	.169	.527
Political interest	.451 (.010)	.547 (.011)	41.28	.000	.000
Close to a party	.586 (.017)	.359 (.018)	84.30	.000	.000
Evaluation state of the economy	.397 (.014)	.392 (.014)	.08	.776	.381
Identification Belgium	.851 (.006)	.806 (.009)	16.30	.000	.014
Identification Walloon region	.778 (.008)	.748 (.010)	5.43	.020	.001
Identification Europe	.665 (.009)	.520 (.012)	89.37	.000	.000
Took part in a demonstration	.103 (.010)	.048 (.010)	14.92	.000	.137
Signed a petition	.518 (.017)	.345 (.022)	38.14	.000	.000

Note: Means and 95%-confidence intervals are reported. Socio-demographic weight is applied.

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