

Media's Role in Promoting Voting Participation: A Case Study on Zilla Parishad Election

Mst. Rajia Sultana¹

Abstract: The role of media and democratic elections are inextricably related. Focusing on the Zilla Parishad Election in 2022, the study explores the roles of media to promote voting participation like conducting free and fair election, making voter awareness, candidate identity, creating election environment such as evaluation of election manifesto, positive and negative campaign techniques, maintaining a code of conduct and ensuring accountability of concerned election officials. In this study, data have been collected from primary and secondary sources and qualitative and quantitative research methods have been applied. The information of three categories of population in Zilla Parishad elections like general voters, elected representatives and journalists is investigated here. Based on open ended answer from a representational survey directed during election campaign from combination of interviewed data analysis, media shapes voting behavior by reconfigures reinforcing believe, agenda setting and reporting violence incidents related to electoral corruption. Notably, The findings suggest that media plays a massive role in promoting voting participation which establishes a participatory society.

Keywords: Media, Election, Political Participation, Agenda Setting, Zilla Parishad Election

Introduction

The media disseminate the news in all sectors of society, particularly election related news. The news media provides such information and people keep themselves updated by following the news (Haugsgjered & Kardsen, 2022). Direct communications are possible between voter and candidate through mass media in election race and ideal campaign system. The media is one of the agents of political socialization as it imparts to gather political knowledge through political education. Mass media influence voter turnout, polarization, and electoral consequence (Fujiwara et al., 2020). Whether voters perceive progressing or deteriorating real-world situations and whether they vote for the candidate of the incumbent party or for the candidate of the opposition parties depends on whether real-world conditions for them improve or deteriorate in accordance with the media (Kleinnijenhuis et al., 2019). During elections, when the public has little interest in any particular political party, it resorts to media content to attract attention and persuades them to vote for them (Mirza et al., 2022). The media gather information for citizens about election promises. Media logics remain ubiquitous in the disclosure of election promises. Voters tend to use the media as their main source of information about election manifesto (Engün & Karsten, 2019). A democratic life is based on the premise that all members of society actively participate in the political process (Hummill et al., 2021).

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Begum Rokeya University, Rangpur, rajia.brur@gmail.com

Also, social media have become a relevant and important platform for political communication. At the same time, candidates and legislators use social media to communicate with journalists and to get their message through the public (Gilandi et al., 2022). Advertising in media during election campaign comes in two main forms: in the form of 'paid' media, as political advertising bought by the political parties, and in the 'unpaid' media as news and media events during the election campaign (Forrest and Marks, 1999). Mass media enhance social mobilization by shaping public opinion through mass communication. In every society, the mass media is a powerful way in serving various news. Mass media creates a political platform through news coverage on political matters where citizens are motivated. An ideal state can be established by free and fair elections. Free press promotes accountability and balances power.

Conceptual Framework Election Campaign

The vital point of democracy is election campaign. Voters are exposed to a more intense flow of political material during this time of the election cycle than at any other, and politicians are fighting for attention by posing for pictures and television shows. Election campaigns offer voters the chance to become politically informed and involved in addition to being straightforward contests for votes (Hansen & Pedersen, 2014). Three stages of campaigning are distinguished: pre-modern (in newspapers), modern (in television), and post-modern (in digital media). It is likely that modern democracies will reach the third stage of campaigning, which is marked by a heavy reliance on new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Plasser presents that there have been some changes between the pre-modern and present campaign namely— party and candidate focused campaign, party competition, electoral system, the legal regulation of election campaigns, campaign management, campaign expertise and use of political consultants, the nature of public and private media system and the varieties of political culture (Rune, 2010). During political campaigns, social media has become a candidate's go-to means of communication. Through social media sites like Facebook and Twitter, candidates may interact with voters directly organise supporters, and shape public opinion. In light of these fundamental shifts in political communication, aspirants for office have a wider array of tactical options at their disposal (Stier et al. 2018). Twitter turned into a major battleground in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, with candidates and their followers actively participating in campaigns and using the platform to tweet their thoughts. In the meantime, there was cause for alarm because of the different rumours that were circulating on social media during the election. The well-known rumour busting website Snopes.com has verified 1,723 rumours, of which 303 are concerning Donald Trump and 226 are about Hillary Clinton. These rumours can have a detrimental effect on their campaigns (Jin et al., 2017).

Media

Media inform, delight and entertain us. They touch our emotions, challenge our intellects, rebuke our intelligence, and shape our realities (Baran, 2010). Mass media are the vehicles through which messages are spread to mass audience. Mass media are everywhere all the time. The news media are called the fourth estate and often known as the fourth branch of government. These terms indicate the independence of the media in

reporting on the government. The media are a kind of watchdog for the citizens (Vivian, 2011). Election is to in democratic governance, which explains the scrutiny that news media coverage receives. Also, the partisanship inherent in a campaign helps ensure that media missteps are identified quickly. Some criticism of media are related to news and others are related to paid advertisements (Vivian, 2011). Media bring entertainment and present news. But they seldom generate social energy, argument socio-political viewpoints, or encourage political action (Jeffrey, 2010). The masses relies on the news media as the main source of information and the basis on which they form their opinions and voting decisions. The news media both print and electronic media are the most important channels for the propagation of culture, ideas, and opinions (Hasan, 2010). Three types of media play significant role in covering election-related news. such as-

- a. Electronic Media
- b. Print media, and
- c. Social media.

Agenda-setting theory

Presumably, news media with an emphasis on substantive news are more likely to establish the media agenda and thus influence the public agenda than entertainment-oriented media. The media agenda demonstrates that, compared to other agendas, the media agenda is characterized by high levels of responsiveness and volatility (Luo et al., 2019). Newspapers, television channels, social media, and online media play role in agenda setting rigorously. Because media have the ability to influence all audiences from grass-roots level to higher levels. In a political regime, the media is connected to government interests and the state intervention in the newsroom (Luo et al., 2019). The media agenda should be determined by viewers and readers which can be either soft news or hard news. To promote a candidate or party in an election, the media use agenda-setting theory to shape the public opinion of the electorate. That is, it gives voters a chance to make a judgement about a candidate or party. Media can create a positive or negative image through agenda setting and creating public awareness by influencing public opinion by highlighting important societal and political issues. Two issues are clarified in the agenda-setting theory. Such as-

(a) media agenda

(b) public agenda

We know that audiences try to perceive the world through the eyes of media. For example, before the election, the media disseminate all the information related to the election and turn the election into a media agenda, where other important issues could have been included on the media agenda. Here, framing and priming are important issues. On the other hand, the public agenda is the reaction to those information that the media tell us a important and people accept this data prominently. Notably, media agenda help convert public agenda into policy agenda.

Literature Review and Research Gap

This research examines how media influence to increase voting participation in elections. There are some established research traditions relating to the topic and their findings like

voters agenda setting and gaining awareness about elections through print media, electronic media, and largely social media have played effective role to complete the research. Krishnan (2017) investigates political debate, statutory provision and freedom of expression. He explores how mass media shape public opinion by making people aware about election. The book identifies the ways in which various types of media influence politics it argues that the modern media in all its forms are expanding the scope of political pluralism. Norris and Merloe (2002) discuss the conduct of media monitoring in the formation of democratic government. Authors deals with the significance of the ownership and control of the mass media and the difference between state controlled versus private control and broadcast versus print media. McCombs and Shaw (1972) conducted a primary investigation of the news media's agenda-setting impact during the 1968 U.S presidential election. They made a cross-sectional survey among undecided registered voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, asking them to outline the key factors of the campaign. Goldzweig, Lupian and Resende (2019) explain SWOT analysis for EOM's in social media monitoring and threats to electoral integrity in social media. In their book, they discuss in the book how non-governmental actors play role in election. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1941) investigate whether personal relationships more influence than formal media in the campaign. They used the two-step flow of communication theory, where information flows through radio and print media. Opinion leaders participate more in political discussion than respondents. The formal media make several boomerangs, so face-to-face campaigns have huge impacts on campaigns. for that. Personal influence plays an important role in making up a voters mind to make final decision about the candidate or party more than the formal media. Lee (2020) led the initial investigation of the usage of social media networking. Political involvement and more attention from voters in the election campaign Applying the regression method, he observed that the media create positive attitudes among voters. Gilandi, Gesslen, and Müllen (2002) investigate political, traditional, and social media agenda. These literatures are limited in several regards, such as how the media increases voting participation, which is not analyzed clearly. According to the survey, the study finds that the media create an electoral environment and increase voter participation by conducting violence-free and transparent elections.

Methods

Case Selection and Data

In this research, Panchagarh Zilla Parishad election was selected as the case by which election is held in every five years. Election and election campaigns receive massive media attention (Haugsgjerd and Karlsen, 2022). Like any other election the media also influence in the Zilla Parishad election in Bangladesh. Elected representatives of the Union Parishad, Upazilla Parishad and Municipalities are the voters. Ultimately, 612 voters participated in the Zilla Parishad election. Panchagarh Zilla Parishad consists of five upazillas, three municipalities, and 43 Union Parishads. The election was held on October 17, 2022. In order to find out the effect of media on elections to promote voting participations, 70 voters, 20 representatives, and 10 journalists were interviewed as respondents.

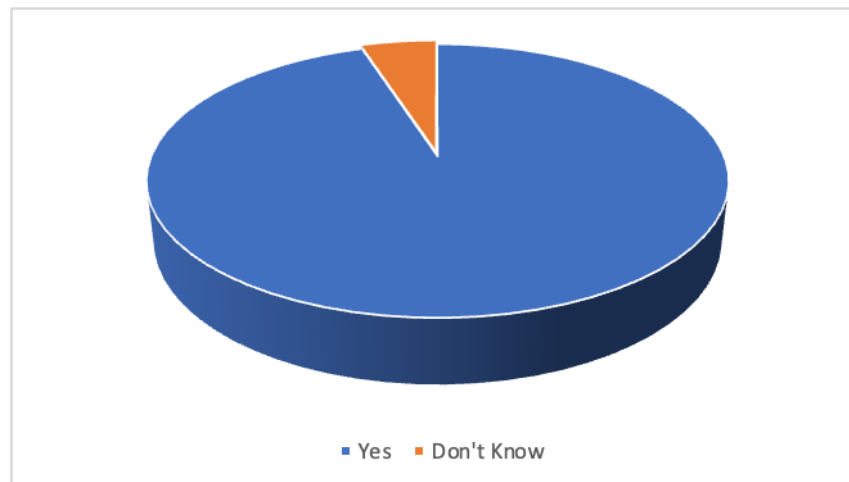
Data Collection and Data Analysis

In the study, both qualitative and quantitative research method have been followed. Purposive sampling method was used for this research. Information has been collected through interview method by asking direct questions. Data have been collected by structural, open- ended and close-ended questions to learn the impact of media to promote voting participation. The primary data have been collected through interview. On the other hand, the secondary data have been gathered from books, journals, newspaper reports. To make the study effective, collected data from both primary and secondary sources were applied. Arranging the random information from the research area, the data have been analyzed through various statistical tools.

Role of Mass Media in Election

Election schedule announcement, nomination process, election campaign, polling process, counting results and its publication relating to news are illustrated by media. Elections and development of state are closely related to each other. Figure 1 shows that 95% respondents think that media play a pivotal role in conducting free and fair elections. Media usually present news with the fact check so that voters can get a real scenario. Respondents utters that media censorship and freedom are very significant for the news coverage. If journalists face challenges like threats, intimidation and harassment, they cannot present the true news.

Figure 1. Role of media to promote voting participation



Source: The author analyzed the answers of the respondents

Factors influencing media on election are discussed below according to respondents' answer-

Free and Fair Election

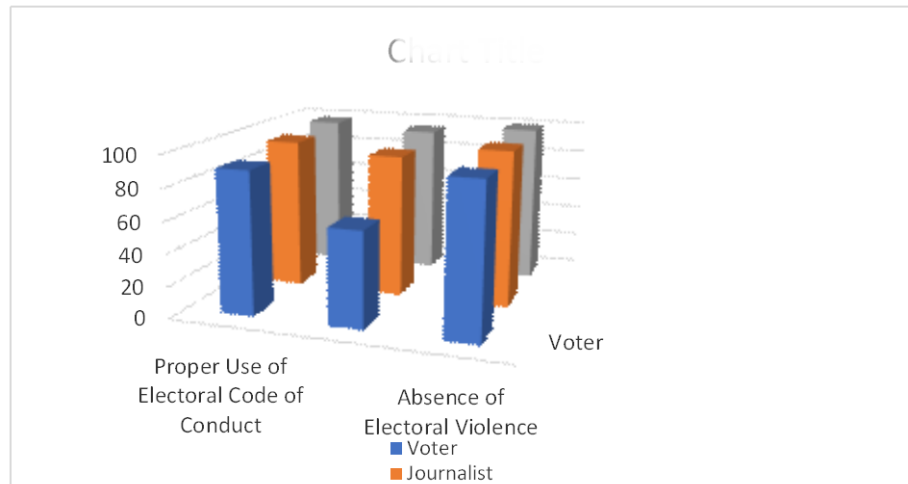
Due to party symbol in elections, political parties should nominate qualified and ideal candidates so that no electoral corruption take place and development of the constituency and electoral environment is created. Candidates and political parties try to win the sympathy and gain the trust of voters by responsible media performances. Respondents state that in order to make an election fair and impartial, function of police administration, media, election commission, and election observers need to be coordinated. Media should cover the electoral corruption related news like vote rigging and hijacking of ballot boxes or any terrorist activities to create a fair and impartial electoral environment.

Making Voter Awareness

Media inform the voters about voting, polling stations and voting process in EVM machine. Media play pivotal role in creating positive perception about the EVM process in the rural environment as the EVM system is new to the majority of voters as they are uneducated and traditional minded. Before the election, people can learn about the candidates who will be given priority by evaluating their activities. The main function of mass media is to increase voters participation and ensure a quality election through awareness. The respondents think that the mass media are one of the sources of election related news. Young voters are dependent on the media for electoral news as they lack experience. Media creates curiosity among voters about the candidates strengths and weakness. Before the elections, the candidates make various promises for the development of constituency and address the local needs of the voters in order to gain the support of the voters.

Creating Election Environment

The media helps create a congenial atmosphere of voting before the election. Prospective candidates go to various socio-political events where they speak to the general people and share picture of the event on social media. On the day announcement of schedule and final submission of nomination, the media remain very active. Thus, the media helps create an effective electoral environment which facilitates consolidating democracy.

Figure 2. The Role of the Media in Conducting a Free and Fair Election

Source: The author analyzed the responses of the respondent

Adhering to the Electoral Code of Conduct

The election commission is a constitutional institution. So, the commission forms the code of conduct in the elections as per the constitution. The main objective of the electoral code of conduct is to ensure a level playing field in elections. The results (figure 2) demonstrate that the whole election process is a procedural matter to be conducted under the code of conduct (Voters 90%, Journalists 95% and Representatives 98%). So, in order to conduct fair and impartial elections, various strategies related to election campaigns are mentioned in detail in the electoral code of conduct in elections. Electoral rules and regulation in the areas such as poster size, rules for placing posters, permission to hold meetings, establishment of an electoral camp, distribution of foods and gifts to voters, provocative speech and prohibiting the entry of unauthorized persons in polling stations are strongly mentioned in the code of conduct. Since the election commission is the government during the election, if anyone violates the electoral code of conduct, the election commission is expected to take appropriate action.

Ensuring Accountability of Election Officials

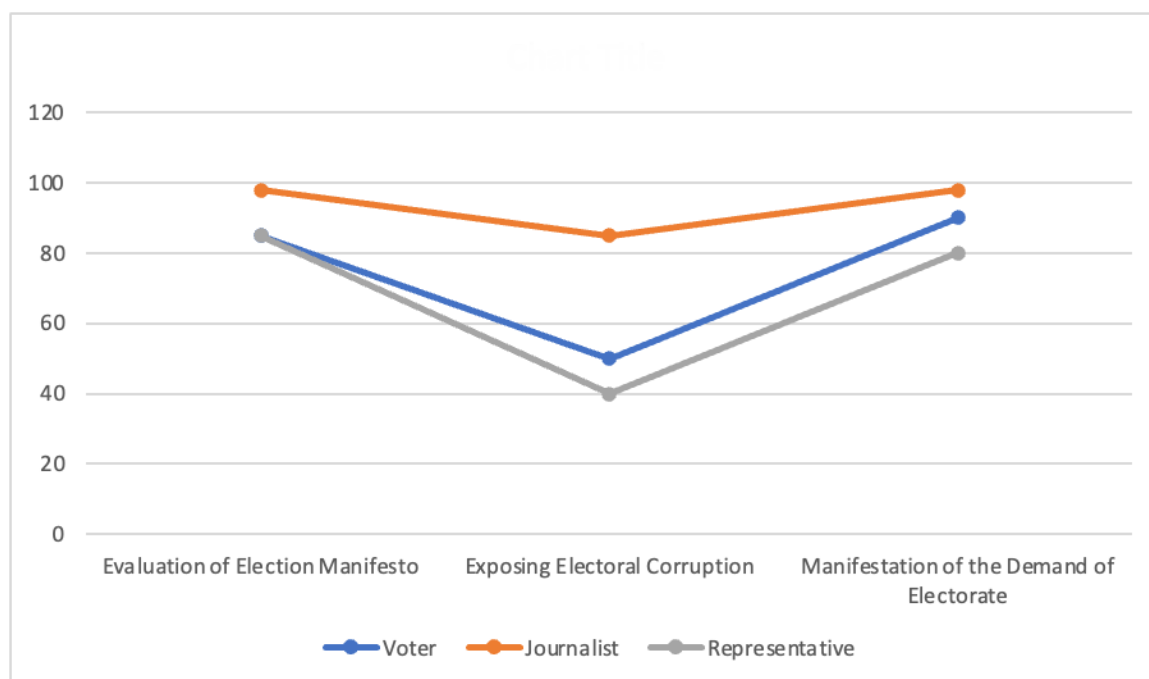
Figure 2 reveals that there are certain concerned persons like the returning officer, the presiding officer, polling agents, and law enforcement forces to make the election free and impartial. Obtaining the necessary equipment for the election from the election office, peaceful polling, and peaceful counting of votes ensure these officials (Voters 60%, Journalists 90% and Representatives 95%). The presiding officer will inform the returning officer if there are any problems in polling like encroachment of polling stations, clashes between different groups, illegally filling ballot box, proxy voting etc. Polling officers ensure proper entry of voters into polling booths and ensure that no more than one person enters the secret booth. Respondents think that elections can be credible if the responsible officials of the elections perform their duties properly. If the law and order forces are active, people can go to vote freely without fear of violence. On election

day, mass media take various statements regarding fair elections of the responsible officials and make the voters aware by promoting the statements. The respondents said that the Panchagarch Zilla Parishad elections were fair and the responsible election officials performed their duties properly.

Electoral Violence

Respondents state that (Figure 2) due to election related violence, voter turnout at the polling booths decreases and it disrupts the actual polling environment. It is necessary to abandon the politics of revenge and hold elections through politics for public welfare (Voters 95%, Journalists 98% and Representatives 100%). The beauty of democracy is revealed when elections are held without violence and qualified candidates are elected. Respondents have said that the Panchagarh Zilla Parishad elections have been violence-free.

Figure 3. Election-related News Coverage in the Media



Source: The author analyzed the answer of respondents

Evaluation of the Election Manifesto

Candidates make various promises in the election manifesto to draw the attention of the voters. The mass media ensure the accountability of the candidates by presenting the election manifesto to the public and through interviews the candidate's pledge to fulfill the promises. According to the manifesto of the winning candidate of the Zilla Parishad election, he will honestly execute the development allocation given by the government to the zilla Parishad. He also made various promises such as making visible constructions,

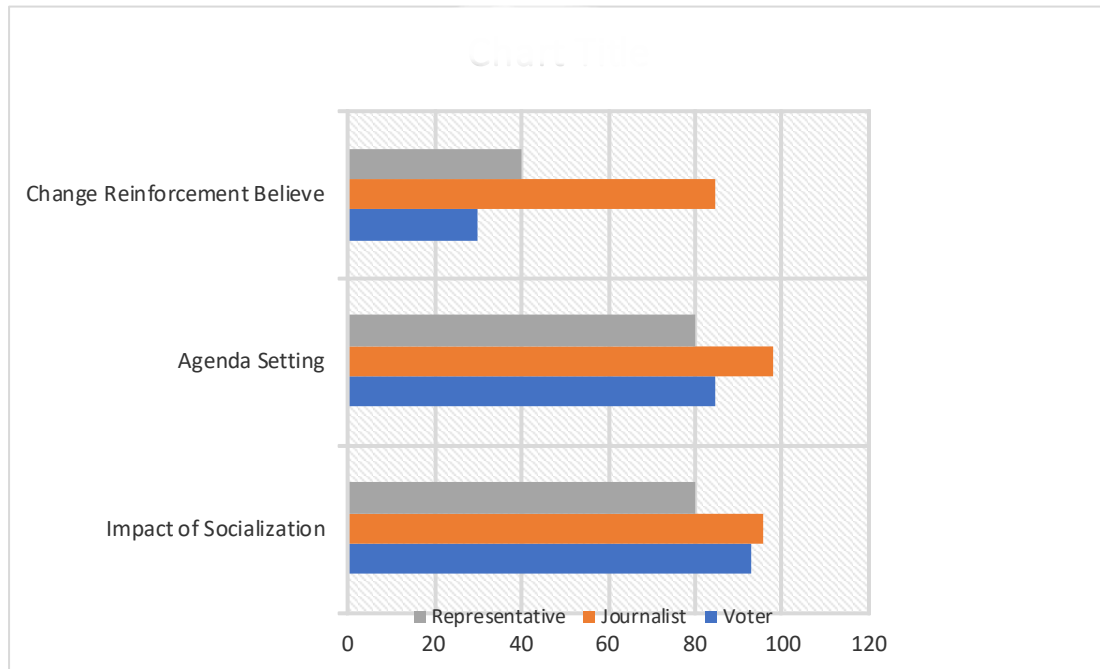
giving grants to the university students and improving the health sector. Respondents have uttered that the election manifesto is very significant for the election as it helps the voters to make the right choice by evaluating the previous performance of the candidates and the parties (voter 85%, journalists 98%, and representatives 85%). Respondents express that however, making and breaking (if partially) electoral promises have become a political culture in the politics of Bangladesh. Whatever promises the candidates have made, they forget the promises after winning elections. The candidates of developed country are more focused on the fulfillment of the election promises. Instead of making cheap and impossible promises, candidates need to be aware of the promises and be determined to keep the promises to establish a democratic society. Respondents express that elected candidates can raise their voices through the media if they fall victim to dirty politics while fulfilling their promises. The candidates for the Panchagarh Zilla Parishad election have prioritized some promises in their election manifesto.

Exposing Electoral Corruption

The study indicates that elections become unfair and lack of transparency if their present electoral corruptions such as proxy voting, ballot box hijacking, illegally filling ballot boxes, vote buying, velitation between groups etc. (voter 50%, journalists 85%, and representatives 40%). Media are aware of the voters by informing about electoral corruption related news.

Manifestation of the Demands of the Electorate

Figure 3 shows that based on the demands of the voters, the candidates and parties prepare an election manifesto and publish it through the media (voter 90%, journalists 98%, and representatives 80%). It is obvious that before the election, the media channels are very active and promote the demands of the people. In the Panchagarh Zilla Parishad election, the demands of the elected representatives as voters are the implementation of projects along with elected representatives of the local government, ensuring the right to education, the development of the communication system, women empowerment, preventing child marriage, a strong stand against drugs etc. Elected representatives do welfare activities as required by the electorate. If the electorate is aware of the demands, the possibility of indiscipline is reduced.

Figure 4. Role of the Media in Changing Voting Behavior

Source: The author has analyzed the answer of the respondents

Role in Agenda Setting

The mass media can exchange the thinking patterns of voters. It is clear that the media provides information to us repeatedly. Through the media, candidates can set an agenda by knowing what the voters demand and voters can set the voting agenda by evaluating the candidates (voter 85%, journalists 98%, and representatives 80%). Voters can set the agenda by evaluating candidates' morality, qualification, biographical information, political thinking, and personality as well as by advertizing with symbols in order to set the agenda of voters. Sometimes, voters are influenced by turning the media agenda into the public agenda. The media usually highlights what information they want to focus and hide, which is all part of agenda setting. Candidates set an agenda to gain support from voters by eliciting their demands, and voters can also set an agenda by evaluating the activities of the candidates through the media. That is, media create a bridge between the candidates and the voters in terms of agenda setting in the election. In the Panchagarh Zilla Parishad, it has been seen that the candidates played a role in shaping the public agenda by turning their agenda into media agenda. The media influence the electorate's agenda-setting by creating news packages through election-related message framing. Media agenda always influence voter agenda because the media influence how voters think about current issues.

Change Reinforcement Believe

It is possible to change the existing beliefs about the election through the political socialization of the candidates through the media (voter 30%, journalists 85%, and representatives 40%). For, media help people think in a new way, their thinking patterns change. Respondents said that the media must be able to change reinforcing beliefs by openly exposing the activities of candidates or parties. Respondents also told that voters could make decisions on new ideas by comparing their previous ideas with the new ideas. There is a lot of reinforcing thought about election violence. If the media promote elections as peaceful, voter participation increases in the election. The essential agent of socialization is the media (voter 93%, journalists 96%, and representatives 80%). Political knowledge is created through socialization.

Role of the Media on Election Day

Basically, media channels have access to the polling stations from early in the morning of the polling day and a very active role is expected. The media broadcast all matters related to elections, such as the beginning and end of polling, voting environment, voter participation rate, opinion of voters about voting, law enforcement activities, electoral violence related news, and election monitoring by the election commission. Another positive aspect of active media channels is the absence of violence because media channels broadcast live on polling days. Also, the media publicize various rules and regulations, such as the voting rules, rules inside the polling and voting booth and the secret booth. Respondents say that there is always a special interest in knowing the results of the vote after voting. As a result, the general people have to fully trust the media to know the results. At this time, media inform viewers by announcing the election results in advance. Media keep the voters to update of news regularly regarding obtained votes. Even they show the gap between expected votes of each candidate and obtained votes of each candidate. That is, after counting the votes, the media publishes the final results of the election. Also, the media publish the interview of the winning candidate about his election journey and thoughts towards the voters.

Conclusion

The study implies that media have recently had a greater impact on news content because the media shape public opinion through the coverage of election-related news and ensure a level playing field for elections. Candidates spread their multidimensional strategies to the voters through media and the media reports news in balanced way by spreading information through framing to influence peoples voting behavior. The media play an undeniable role in mobilizing, educating, and enlightening voters. Media coverage is a number of variables, such as partisan learning, prior knowledge, opinions, and assessment of current concerns that significantly influence voter behaviour. The research has shown that media were active in Zilla Parishad election campaign and election day situation and ensure democratic atmosphere during voting. Besides playing a role in the campaign, Media create close communication with the voters by providing updates of all the information related to the elections. By gaining political knowledge through the

media, the voters in the zilla Parishad election selected their preferred candidates in peaceful voting. Media perform all functions that are related to election such as raising consciousness of voting, election campaign, creating election environment, ensuring accountability of election officials, evaluation of election manifestos containing candidates' promises, elimination of electoral violence, changing or reinforcing belief and agenda setting. But here media must be independent and neutral because people will be led in wrong way if media fail to reveal realistic news. More specifically, if there is yellow journalism in elections, the democratic environment will be hampered. Above all, electoral democracy will be established if media and responsible officials in elections perform their duties properly. Panchagarh Zilla Parishad elections was peaceful in light of proper use of EVM method, definite monitoring of election commission, and proper functioning of concerned officers along with law-and-order forces. Finally, the study elucidates with detailed analysis that the media has strongly increased voting participation by influencing voting behavior through all the news coverage related to elections.

Reference

- Baran, S. J. 2010. Introduction to Mass Communication Media Literacy and Culture, Tata McGraw Hill Education Private Limited.
- Ergün, E., and Karsten, N. (2019). Media Logic in the Coverage of Election Promises: Comparative Evidence from the Netherlands and the US, 125. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41269-019-00141-8>
- Forrest, J., and Marks, N. (1999). The Mass Media, Election Campaigning, and Voter Response: The Australian Experience, SAGE Publications, (101), 99–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068999005001006>
- Fujiwara, T., Müller, K., and Schwarz, C., 2020. The Effects of Social Media and Social Media on Elections: Evidence from the United States, 1-35. DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.3719998
- Gilardi, F., Gessler, T., Kubil, M., and Müller, S. (2002). Social Media and Political Agenda Setting, Political Communication 39(1), 39-6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2021.1910390>
- Goldzweig, R. S., Kirova, I., Lupian, B., Resende, M. M. and Morgan, S. (2019). Social Media Monitoring during Election: Cases and Best Practice to Inform Electoral Observation Missions. Open Society European Policy Institute, 1-41
- Hammill, A., Ruper, V., and Hope, W. (2021). Age and Environmental Citizenship: A Case Study of Media Coverage of the 2019 Local Body Elections in New Zealand, Journal and Media, 62 (3), 321-334 <https://doi.org/10.3390/Journalmedia2030019>
- Hansen, M., & Pedersen, R., (2014). Campaigns Matter: How Voters Become Knowledgeable and Efficacious During Election Campaigns, Political Communication, 31(2), 303-324, DOI: 10.1080/10584609.2013.815296
- Hasan, S. (2010). Mass Communication: Principles and Concepts, CBS Publishers & Distributors Pvt. Ltd.

- Haugsgjered, A., and Karlsen, R. (2022), Election Campaigns, News Consumption Gaps, and Social Media: Equalizing Political News Use When It Matters? *The International Journal of Press and Politics*, 29(2), 1-23, <https://doi.org/11.1177/19401612221112014>.
- Jeffrey, R., (2010). *Media, and Modernity: Permanent black*.
- Jin, Z., Cao, J., Guo, H., Zhang, Y., Wang, Y., Luo, J. (2017). Detection and Analysis of 2016 US Presidential Election Related Rumors on Twitter. In: Lee, D., Lin, YR., Osgood, N., Thomson, R. (eds) *Social, Cultural, and Behavioral Modeling. SBP-BRiMS 2017. Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, vol 10354. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60240-0_2
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., Van Hoof, M.J., and Atteveldt, w.v. (2019). The Combined Effects of Mass Media and Social Media on Political Perceptions and Preferences, *Journal of Communication*, 650–673. DOI: 10.1093/joc/jqz038
- Krisnan, B. (2017). *Modern media, Election and Democracy*. SAGE Publishing India
- Lazarsfeld, p., Berelson, b. & Gahdet, H. (1944). *The People's Choice: How the Voters Makes up his Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New-York: Columbia University Press
- Lee, H. (2020). *Voters' Involvement, Attitude, and Confidence in the Era of New Media* Palgrave 6(2), 1-7
- <https://www.researchgate.net/ Publication/338438270>. DOI: 10.1057/541599-019-0368-9
- Luo, Y., Burley, H., Moe, A., and Sui, M. X. (2018). A Meta- analysis of New Media's Public Agenda Setting Effects, 1972-2015. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 96(1), 150-172
- McCombs, M. E., and Shaw. D. L. (1972). The Agenda Setting Theory of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly* (36), 176-187
- Mirza, A., Gul, A., and Ain, G., 2022. Role of News Media in Enhancing Voter Engagement: A Literature- and Review-Based Study Trends in Contemporary Scientific Research (TCSR), 15–26, DOI: 10.528/zenodo6309844
- Norris, R. and Merloe, P. (2002). *Media Monitoring to Promote Democratic Elections*. Democratic Institution for International Affairs (NDI)
- Rune, k. (2010), Does New Media Technology Drive Election Campaign Change? *Information Polity*, 15 (3), 215-225, DOI-10.3233/IP-2010-0208.
- Sebastian Stier, Arnim Bleier, Haiko Lietz & Markus Strohmaier (2018). Election Campaigning on Social Media: Politicians, Audiences, and the Mediation of Political Communication on Facebook and Twitter, *Political Communication*, 35(1), 50-74, DOI: 10.1080/10584609.2017.1334728
- Vivian, J, 2010. *The Media of Mass Communication*, Pearson Education, Inc.,
-