

Media And Democracy

[View Online](#)

1

Curran J, Ebooks Corporation Limited. Media and democracy. Oxford: : Routledge 2011.
<http://GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=672443>

2

Davis A. Political communication and social theory. London: : Routledge 2010.

3

Esser F, Pfetsch B. Comparing political communication: theories, cases, and challenges. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 2004.

4

Graber DA. Media power in politics. 6th ed. Washington, DC: : CQ Press 2011.

5

Kaid LL, Holtz-Bacha C. Encyclopedia of political communication. Los Angeles, Calif: : Sage Publications 2008.

6

Kuhn R. Politics and the media in Britain. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2002.

7

Lilleker DG. Key concepts in political communication. London: : Sage 2006.

8

McNair B. An introduction to political communication. Abingdon, Oxon: : Routledge 2011.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203828694>

9

Negrine RM. The transformation of political communication: continuities and changes in media and politics. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2008.

10

Negrine RM, Stanyer J. The political communication reader. New York, NY: : Routledge 2007.

11

Semetko HA, Scammell M. The SAGE handbook of political communication. London: : SAGE 2012.

12

Street J. Mass media, politics and democracy. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2011.

13

Swanson DL, Mancini P. Politics, media, and modern democracy: an international study of innovations in electoral campaigning and their consequences. Westport, Conn: : Praeger 1996.

14

Voltmer K. The media in transitional democracies. Cambridge: : Polity 2013.
<http://www.GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1315630>

15

Wolfsfeld G. Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. New York: : Routledge 2011.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

16

Overholser G, Jamieson KH. The press. New York, NY: : Oxford University Press 2005.
<http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=84383&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

17

Voltmer K. The media in transitional democracies. Cambridge: : Polity 2013.
<http://www.GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1315630>

18

Scammell M. Rethinking the Media's Duties to Democracy: watchdog, information and representation - draft paper. 2005.

19

Coronel S. Media as Watchdog.
<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/WorldBankReport/Chapter%205%20Coronel.pdf>

20

Zaller J. A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen. Political Communication 2003;**20**:109-30. doi:10.1080/10584600390211136

21

Coronel S. The Media as Watchdog.
2008.<https://ziaruldela5.files.wordpress.com/2009/09/coronel20watchdog.pdf>

22

Curran J, Taylor & Francis Group. Media and power. London: : Routledge 2002.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203417744>

23

Curran J, Iyengar S, Brink Lund A, et al. Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy: A Comparative Study. European Journal of Communication 2009;**24**:5–26.
doi:10.1177/0267323108098943

24

Norris P. A virtuous circle: political communications in postindustrial societies. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 2000.

25

Scammell M. Rethinking the Media's Duties to Democracy: watchdog, information and representation - draft paper. 2005.

26

Schudson M. The power of news. Cambridge, Mass: : Harvard University Press 1995.

27

Schudson M. Why democracies need an unlovable press. Cambridge: : Polity Press 2008.

28

Strömbäck J. In Search of a Standard: four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. Journalism Studies 2005;**6**:331–45.

doi:10.1080/14616700500131950

29

Aalberg T, Curran J. How media inform democracy: a comparative approach. New York, N.Y.: Routledge 2012.

30

Baker CE. Media, markets, and democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002.
<http://www.loc.gov/catdir/description/cam021/2001025498.html>

31

Graber, Doris. The Media and Democracy: Beyond Myths and Stereotypes. Annual Review of Political Science 2003;**6**:139–60.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=10609378&site=ehost-live>

32

Lichtenberg J. Democracy and the mass media: a collection of essays. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990.

33

McQuail D. Media performance: mass communication and the public interest. London: Sage Publications 1992.

34

Esser F, Stromback J. Mediatization of politics: understanding the transformation of western democracies. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2014.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.palgraveconnect.com/doifinder/10.1057/978137275844>

35

Siebert FS, Peterson T, Schramm W. Four theories of the press. Chicago, Ill: : University of Illinois Press 1984.

36

Street J. Mass media, politics and democracy. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2011.

37

Tewksbury D, Rittenberg J. News on the Internet: information and citizenship in the 21st century. New York: : Oxford University Press 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780195391961.001.0001>

38

Norris P. Public sentinel: news media & governance reform. Washington, D.C.: : The World Bank 2010.

39

Voltmer K. Mass media and political communication in new democracies. London: : Routledge 2006.
<http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9780203328668>

40

Waisbord S. Democracy, journalism, and Latin American populism. Journalism 2013;**14**:504-21. doi:10.1177/1464884912464178

41

Barber BR. Strong democracy: participatory politics for a new age. Berkeley: : University of California Press 1984.

42

Dahl RA. Democracy and its critics. New Haven: : Yale University Press 1989.

43

Held D. Models of democracy. 3rd ed. Cambridge: : Polity 2006.

44

Oates S. Glasnost 2.0. Demokratizatsiya Published Online First: 2014. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?ty=as&v=2.1&u=glasuni&it=search&s=RELEVANCE&p=EAIM&qt=SN~1074-6846~TI~Glasnost%202.0~~VO~22~~SP~277~~IU~2&im=DA~120140322∓sw=w>

45

Shirk SL. Changing media, changing China. Oxford: : Oxford University Press 2011. <http://GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=602492>

46

Voltmer K. The media in transitional democracies. Cambridge: : Polity 2013. <http://www.GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1315630>

47

Toepfl F. Why do pluralistic media systems emerge? Comparing media change in the Czech Republic and in Russia after the collapse of communism. Global Media and Communication 2013;9:239-56. doi:10.1177/1742766513504176

48

Egorov G, Guriev S, Sonin K. Why Resource-poor Dictators Allow Free Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data. The American Political Science Review 2009;103:645-68. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/27798530>

49

Freedom House. Freedom of the Press 2013.
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2013#.VbjggfnwCex>

50

Gehlbach S, Sonin K. Government Control of the Media. SSRN Electronic Journal Published Online First: 2011. doi:10.2139/ssrn.1315882

51

Hallin DC, Mancini P. Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 2012.

52

Norris P. Governance and Accountability - Public Sentinel: News Media & Governance Reform. The World Bank 2009. <http://go.worldbank.org/ZMCO1WV7Z0>

53

Waisbord S. Democratic Journalism and "Statelessness". Political Communication 2007;**24** :115-29. doi:10.1080/10584600701312837

54

Bandurski D, Hala M. Investigative journalism in China: eight cases in Chinese watchdog journalism. Hong Kong: : Hong Kong University Press 2010.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.5790/hongkong/9789622091733.001.0001>

55

Jonathan Hassid. Controlling the Chinese Media: An Uncertain Business. Asian Survey 2008;**48** :414-30.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2008.48.3.414>

56

King, et al G. How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. *American Political Science Review* 2013;107:326–43.
doi:10.1017/S0003055413000014

57

Lei Y-W. The Political Consequences of the Rise of the Internet: Political Beliefs and Practices of Chinese Netizens. *Political Communication* 2011;28:291–322.
doi:10.1080/10584609.2011.572449

58

Lorentzen P. China's Strategic Censorship. *American Journal of Political Science* 2014;58:402–14. doi:10.1111/ajps.12065

59

Stockmann D, Gallagher ME. Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China. *Comparative Political Studies* 2011;44:436–67. doi:10.1177/0010414010394773

60

Stockmann D. Media commercialization and authoritarian rule in china. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013.

61

Tang L, Sampson H. The interaction between mass media and the internet in non-democratic states: The case of China. *Media, Culture & Society* 2012;34:457–71.
doi:10.1177/0163443711436358

62

Yuezhi Z. Watchdogs on Party Leashes? Contexts and implications of investigative journalism in post-Deng China. *Journalism Studies* 2000;1:577–97.
doi:10.1080/146167000441312

63

Zhu J, Lu J, Shi T. When Grapevine News Meets Mass Media: Different Information Sources and Popular Perceptions of Government Corruption in Mainland China. Comparative Political Studies 2013;46:920-46. doi:10.1177/0010414012463886

64

Beumers B, Hutchings SC, Rulyova N. Globalisation, freedom and the media after Communism: the past as future. London: : Routledge 2009.

65

Gross P, Jakubowicz K, editors. Media transformations in the post-communist world: Eastern Europe's tortured path to change. Lanham: : Lexington 2013.

66

Oates S. Russian State Narrative in the Digital Age: Rewired Propaganda in Russian Television News Framing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17.
2014.<http://www.media-politics.com/presentationspublications.htm>

67

Oates S, Lokot T. Twilight of the Gods?: How the Internet Challenged Russian Television News Frames in the Winter Protests of 2011-12. SSRN Electronic Journal Published Online First: 2013. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2286727

68

Semetko HA, Scammell M. The SAGE handbook of political communication. London: : SAGE 2012.

69

Elisabeth Schimpfossl,Ilya Yablokov. Coercion or conformism? Censorship and self-censorship among Russian media personalities and reporters in the 2010s. Demokratizatsiya 2014;22
http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?p=EAIM&u=gla_suni&id=GALE|A368073878&v=2.1&it=r&sid=summon&userGroup=glasuni&authCount=1

70

Toepfl F. Making Sense of the News in a Hybrid Regime: How Young Russians Decode State TV and an Oppositional Blog. *Journal of Communication* 2013;63:244–65.
doi:10.1111/jcom.12018

71

Toepfl F. Managing public outrage: Power, scandal, and new media in contemporary Russia. *New Media & Society* 2011;13:1301–19. doi:10.1177/1461444811405021

72

Hallin DC, Mancini P. Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 2012.

73

Curran J. Media and power. London: : Routledge 2002.
<http://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=University%20of%20Glasgow&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203417744>

74

What If There Were No BBC Television? The Net Impact on UK Viewers. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
<http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publication/what-if-there-were-no-bbc-television>

75

Franklin B. Television policy: the MacTaggart lectures. Edinburgh: : Edinburgh University Press 2005.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748617173.001.0001>

76

The Absence of Trust James Murdoch's MacTaggart speech.

<http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/opinion/james-murdochs-mactaggart-speech/5004990.article>

77

Gardam T, Levy DA. The Price of Plurality - Choice, Diversity and Broadcasting Institutions in the Digital Age.
2008.<http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/broadcast/reviews-investigations/psb-review/psbplurality.pdf>

78

Public Service Broadcasting/ Media | LSE Media Policy Project.
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mediapolicyproject/category/public-service-broadcasting-media/>

79

Ofcom. <http://www.ofcom.org.uk/>

80

News consumption in the UK - 2013 report | Ofcom.
<http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/market-data-research/other/tv-research/news-2013/>

81

Reuters Institute for the study of Journalism. <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/>

82

Picard RG, Siciliani P. Is there Still a Place for Public Service Television?
2013.<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publication/there-still-place-public-service-television>

83

Mutz DC, Young L. Communication and Public Opinion: Plus Ca Change? *Public Opinion Quarterly* 2011; **75**:1018–44. doi:10.1093/poq/nfr052

84

Prior M. Media and Political Polarization. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2013; **16**: 101-27. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-100711-135242

85

Cox B, Demos (Organization : London, England). *Free for all?: public service television in the digital age*. London: : Demos 2004.

86

Curran J, Seaton J. *Power without responsibility: the press, broadcasting and the internet in Britain*. 7th ed. London: : Routledge 2010.

<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203871409>

87

Cushion S. *The democratic value of news: why public service media matter*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: : Palgrave Macmillan 2012.

88

Debrett M. *Riding the wave: public service television in the multi-platform era*. *Media, Culture & Society* 2009; **31**: 807-27. doi:10.1177/0163443709339466

89

Freedman D. *The politics of media policy*. Cambridge: : Polity Press 2008.

90

Hallin DC, Mancini P, American Council of Learned Societies. *Comparing media systems: three models of media and politics*. New York: : Cambridge University Press 2004.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.31807>

91

Kuhn R. Politics and the media in Britain. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2002.

92

Starkey G. Balance and bias in journalism: representation, regulation, and democracy. Hounds Mills, Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2007.

93

Allern S, Blach-Ørsten M. The News Media as a Political Institution. Journalism Studies 2011;12:92-105. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2010.511958

94

Aalberg T, Curran J. How media inform democracy: a comparative approach. New York, N.Y.: : Routledge 2012.

95

Ball T. The choice revolution. The Guardian Published Online First: 22AD.<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2003/aug/22/bskyb.broadcasting1>

96

Blumler JG, Broadcasting Standards Council. Television and the public interest: vulnerable values in West European broadcasting. London: : Sage Publications in association with the Broadcasting Standards Council 1992.

97

Cammaerts B, Carpentier N. Reclaiming the media: communication rights and democratic media roles. Bristol: : Intellect Books 2007.

98

Cushion S, Lewis J. Towards a 'Foxification' of 24-hour news channels in Britain?: An analysis of market-driven and publicly funded news coverage. *Journalism* 2009; **10**:131-53. doi:10.1177/1464884908100598

99

Hallin DC, Mancini P. Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 2012.

100

Holtz-Bacha C, Norris P. 'To Entertain, Inform, and Educate': Still the Role of Public Television. *Political Communication* 2001; **18**:123-40. doi:10.1080/105846001750322943

101

Lowe GF, Bardoel J. From public service broadcasting to public service media. Göteborg, Sweden: : Nordicom 2007.

102

Media Ownership Reform.
2014. <http://www.mediareform.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/FULL-PDF.pdf>

103

McChesney RW. Rich media, poor democracy: communication politics in dubious times. New Press pbk. ed. New York: : New Press 2000.

104

McQuail D. McQuail's reader in mass communication theory. London: : SAGE 2002.

105

McNair B. News and journalism in the UK. 5th ed. London: : Routledge 2009.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

oleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203881415

106

Westminster Media Forum, Nordicity. An international comparison of funding models and performance.
22AD.<https://www3.ebu.ch/contents/publications/presentations/public-service-broadcasting-an-1.html>

107

Paxman J. The James MacTaggart Memorial Lecture.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/newsnight/2007/08/the_james_mactaggart_memorial_lecture.html

108

Prior M. Post-broadcast democracy: how media choice increases inequality in political involvement and polarizes elections. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 2007.

109

Soroka S, Andrew B, Aalberg T, et al. Auntie Knows Best? Public Broadcasters and Current Affairs Knowledge. British Journal of Political Science 2013;**43**:719–39.
doi:10.1017/S0007123412000555

110

Curran J, Coen S, Soroka S, et al. Reconsidering 'virtuous circle' and 'media malaise' theories of the media: An 11-nation study. Journalism 2014;**15**:815–33.
doi:10.1177/1464884913520198

111

Holbrook TM. Do campaigns matter? Thousand Oaks, CA: : Sage Publications 1996.
<http://www.GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=997003>

112

Scammell M. Consumer democracy: the marketing of politics. New York: : Cambridge University Press 2014.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139046107>

113

Wolfsfeld G. Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. New York: : Routledge 2011.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

114

Enikolopov R, Petrova M, Zhuravskaya E. Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia. *The American Economic Review* 2011; **101**:3253–85. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/41408737>

115

Lawson C, McCann JA. Television News, Mexico's 2000 Elections and Media Effects in Emerging Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 2005; **35**:1–30. doi:10.1017/S0007123405000013

116

Porto MP. Framing Controversies: Television and the 2002 Presidential Election in Brazil. *Political Communication* 2007; **24**:19–36. doi:10.1080/10584600601128705

117

Bennett WL, Iyengar S. A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. *Journal of Communication* 2008; **58**:707–31. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00410.x

118

Curran J. Media and power. London: : Routledge 2002.
<http://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=University%20of%20Glasg>

ow&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203417744

119

Denver DT. Elections and voters in Britain. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2012.

120

Farrell DM, Schmitt-Beck R. Do political campaigns matter?: campaign effects in elections and referendums. London: : Routledge 2002.

121

Gavin NT, Sanders D. The Press and Its Influence on British Political Attitudes under New Labour. *Political Studies* 2003;51:573–91. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.00442

122

Iyengar S, Kinder DR. News that matters: television and American opinion. Chicago: : University of Chicago Press 1987.

123

Jamieson KH. Everything you think you know about politics-- and why you're wrong. New York: : Basic Books 2000.

124

Mutz DC. Impersonal influence: how perceptions of mass collectives affect political attitudes. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 1998.

125

Mutz DC, Young L. Communication and Public Opinion: Plus Ca Change? *Public Opinion Quarterly* 2011;75:1018–44. doi:10.1093/poq/nfr052

126

Newton K. May the weak force be with you: The power of the mass media in modern politics. *European Journal of Political Research* 2006;45:209–34.
doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00296.x

127

Norris P. *On message: communicating the campaign*. London: : Sage 1999.

128

Sabato L. *The year of Obama: how Barack Obama won the White House*. New York: : Longman 2010.

129

Brandenburg H, Van Egmond M. Pressed into Party Support? Media Influence on Partisan Attitudes during the 2005 UK General Election Campaign. *British Journal of Political Science* 2012;42:441–63. doi:10.1017/S0007123411000445

130

Campbell JE. Forecasting the 2012 American National Elections. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 2012;45:610–3. doi:10.1017/S1049096512000856

131

Crewe I, Gosschalk B, Bartle J. *Political communications: why Labour won the general election of 1997*. London: : Frank Cass 1998.

132

Just MR. *Crosstalk: citizens, candidates, and the media in a presidential campaign*. Chicago: : The University of Chicago Press 1996.

133

Lazarsfeld PF, Berelson B, Gaudet H. *The people's choice: how the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign.* 3d ed. New York: : Columbia University Press 1965.

134

Manning P. *News and news sources: a critical introduction.* London: : SAGE 2001.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781446265345>

135

Graber DA. *Media power in politics.* 6th ed. Washington, DC: : CQ Press 2011.

136

Miller WL. *Media and voters: the audience, content and influence of press and television at the 1987 General Election.* Oxford: : Clarendon Press 1991.

137

Popkin SL. *The reasoning voter: communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns.* 2nd ed. Chicago: : University of Chicago Press 1991.

138

Schudson M. *The power of news.* Cambridge, Mass: : Harvard University Press 1995.

139

Street J. *Mass media, politics and democracy.* 2nd ed. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2011.

140

Vavreck L. *The message matters: the economy and presidential campaigns.* Princeton, NJ: :

Princeton University Press 2009.

<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781400830480>

141

Kaid LL. Handbook of political communication research. Mahwah, N.J.: : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates 2004.

<http://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=University%20of%20Glasgow&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781410610584>

142

Leduc L. Opinion change and voting behaviour in referendums. European Journal of Political Research 2002;41:711-32. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.00027

143

Schuck ART, de Vreese CH. Reversed Mobilization in Referendum Campaigns: How Positive News Framing Can Mobilize the Skeptics. The International Journal of Press/Politics 2008;14:40-66. doi:10.1177/1940161208326926

144

Vreese CH de, Semetko HA. Political campaigning in referendums: framing the referendum issue. London: : Routledge 2004.

145

Vreese CH de. The dynamics of referendum campaigns: an international perspective. Basingstoke: : Palgrave Macmillan 2007.

<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780230591189>

146

Lawson C, McCann JA. Television News, Mexico's 2000 Elections and Media Effects in

Emerging Democracies. British Journal of Political Science 2005;35:1-30.
doi:10.1017/S0007123405000013

147

Voltmer K. Mass media and political communication in new democracies. London: : Routledge 2006.
<http://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=University%20of%20Glasgow&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203328668>

148

Porto MP. Framing Controversies: Television and the 2002 Presidential Election in Brazil. Political Communication 2007;24:19-36. doi:10.1080/10584600601128705

149

Robinson P. Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy. European Journal of Communication 2001;16:523-44.
doi:10.1177/0267323101016004005

150

Wolfsfeld G. Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. New York: : Routledge 2011.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

151

Bennett WL, Lawrence RG, Livingston S. None Dare Call It Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal. Journal of Communication 2006;56:467-85. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00296.x

152

Entman RM. Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame After 9/11. Political Communication 2003;20:415-32. doi:10.1080/10584600390244176

153

Elmelund-Praestekaer C, Wien C. What's the Fuss About? The Interplay of Media Hypes and Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 2008; **13**:247–66.
doi:10.1177/1940161208319292

154

Milne K. Manufacturing dissent: single-issue protest, the public and the press. London: : Demos 2005.

155

Walgrave S, Van Aelst P. The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory. *Journal of Communication* 2006; **56**:88–109.
doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00005.x

156

Iyengar S, Reeves R. Do the media govern?: politicians, voters, and reporters in America. Thousand Oaks, Calif: : SAGE Publications 1997.

157

Bennett WL, Lawrence RG, Livingston S. None Dare Call It Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal. *Journal of Communication* 2006; **56**:467–85. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00296.x

158

Davis A. Investigating Journalist Influences on Political Issue Agendas at Westminster. *Political Communication* 2007; **24**:181–99. doi:10.1080/10584600701313033

159

Koch-Baumgarten S, Voltmer K. Public policy and mass media: the interplay of mass communication and political decision making. London: : Routledge/ECPR 2010.
<http://lib.myilibrary.com/browse/open.asp?id=257161&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/s>

hibboleth

160

Graber DA, McQuail D, Norris P. The politics of news: the news of politics. Washington, DC: CQ Press 1998.

161

Robinson P. Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy. European Journal of Communication 2001; **16**:523-44.
doi:10.1177/0267323101016004005

162

Yanovitzky I. Effects of News Coverage on Policy Attention and Actions: A Closer Look Into the Media-Policy Connection. Communication Research 2002; **29**:422-51.
doi:10.1177/009365020229004003

163

Aday S, Livingston S. Taking the state out of state--media relations theory: how transnational advocacy networks are changing the press--state dynamic. Media, War & Conflict 2008; **1**:99-107. doi:10.1177/1750635207087630

164

Bennett WL. Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States. Journal of Communication 1990; **40**:103-27. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1990.tb02265.x

165

Bennett WL, Lawrence RG, Livingston S. When the press fails: political power and the news media from Iraq to Katrina. Chicago: : University of Chicago Press 2007.

166

Elmelund-Praestekaer C, Wien C. What's the Fuss About? The Interplay of Media Hypes and

Politics. The International Journal of Press/Politics 2008;13:247-66.
doi:10.1177/1940161208319292

167

Nacos BL, Shapiro RY, Isernia P. Decisionmaking in a glass house: mass media, public opinion, and American and European foreign policy in the 21st century. Lanham, Md: : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2000.

168

Iyengar S, Reeves R. Do the media govern?: politicians, voters, and reporters in America. Thousand Oaks, Calif: : SAGE Publications 1997.

169

Kennamer JD. Public opinion, the press, and public policy. Paperback ed. Westport, Conn: : Praeger 1994.

170

Kingdon JW. Agendas, alternatives, and public policies. 2nd ed. New York: : Longman 2003.

171

Miller D. Official sources and 'primary definition': the case of Northern Ireland. Media, Culture & Society 1993;15:385-406. doi:10.1177/016344393015003004

172

Page BI, Shapiro RY. The rational public: fifty years of trends in Americans' policy preferences. Chicago: : University of Chicago Press 1992.

173

Walgrave S, Soroka S, Nuytemans M. The Mass Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power: A Longitudinal Analysis of Media, Parliament, and Government in Belgium (1993 to 2000).

Comparative Political Studies 2007;41:814–36. doi:10.1177/0010414006299098

174

Bennett WL, Paletz DL. Taken by storm: the media, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy in the Gulf War. Chicago, Ill: : University of Chicago Press 1994.

175

Gilboa E. The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations. Political Communication 2005;22:27–44. doi:10.1080/10584600590908429

176

Livingston S. Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention.

<http://shorensteincenter.org/clarifying-the-cnn-effect-media-effects-and-military-intervention/>

177

Robinson P. The CNN effect: the myth of news foreign policy and intervention. London: : Routledge 2002.

<http://lib.myilibrary.com/browse/open.asp?id=10716&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

178

Wolfsfeld G. Media and political conflict: news from the Middle East. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 1997.

179

Callaghan K, Schnell F. Framing American politics. Pittsburgh, PA: : University of Pittsburgh Press 2005.

180

Berkeley Media Studies Group. Meta messaging framing your case and reinforcing your allies.
2005.<http://www.bmsg.org/resources/publications/meta-messaging-framing-your-case-and-reinforcing-your-allies>

181

Wolfsfeld G. Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. New York: : Routledge 2011.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

182

Bell CV, Entman RM. The Media's Role in America's Exceptional Politics of Inequality: Framing the Bush Tax Cuts of 2001 and 2003. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 2011; **16**:548-72. doi:10.1177/1940161211417334

183

Entman RM. Projections of power: framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy. Chicago, Illinois: : University of Chicago Press 2004.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780226210735>

184

Gamson WA, Modigliani A. Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology* 1989; **95**:1-37.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780405>

185

Hänggli R, Kriesi H. Political Framing Strategies and Their Impact on Media Framing in a Swiss Direct-Democratic Campaign. *Political Communication* 2010; **27**:141-57. doi:10.1080/10584600903501484

186

Lawrence RG. Framing Obesity: The Evolution of News Discourse on a Public Health Issue. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 2004;9:56–75.
doi:10.1177/1081180X04266581

187

Roggeband C, Vliegenthart R. Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995–2004. *West European Politics* 2007;30:524–48.
doi:10.1080/01402380701276352

188

Semetko H, Valkenburg P. Framing European politics: a content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication* 2000;50:93–109.
doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x

189

Van Gorp B. Where is the Frame?: Victims and Intruders in the Belgian Press Coverage of the Asylum Issue. *European Journal of Communication* 2005;20:484–507.
doi:10.1177/0267323105058253

190

Johnston H, Noakes JA. Frames of protest: social movements and the framing perspective. Lanham, MD: : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc 2005.
<http://www.GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1322109>

191

Carragee KM, Roefs W. The Neglect of Power in Recent Framing Research. *Journal of Communication* 2004;54:214–33. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2004.tb02625.x

192

Chong D, Druckman JN. Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2007;10:103–26. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054

193

Semetko HA, Scammell M. The SAGE handbook of political communication. London: : SAGE 2012.

194

Entman RM. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 1993;43:51–8. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

195

Gamson WA, Croteau D, Hoynes W, et al. Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality. *Annual Review of Sociology* 1992;18:373–93.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/2083459>

196

Gamson WA, Ryan C. Thinking about Elephants: Toward a Dialogue with George Lakoff. *The Public Eye Magazine*, 19. http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v19n2/gamson_elephants.html

197

Goffman E. Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience. Northeastern University Press ed. Boston: : Northeastern University Press 1986.

198

Pan Z, Kosicki G. Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication* 1993;10:55–75. doi:10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963

199

Reese SD, Gandy OH, Grant AE. Framing public life: perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world. Mahwah, N.J.: : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates 2003.

200

Van Gorp B. The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication* 2007;57:60–78.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x/abstract>

201

Vliegenthart R, van Zoonen L. Power to the frame: Bringing sociology back to frame analysis. *European Journal of Communication* 2011;26:101–15. doi:10.1177/0267323111404838

202

Chong D, Druckman JN. Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies. *The American Political Science Review* 2007;101:637–55.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/27644476>

203

Crigler AN. The psychology of political communication. Ann Arbor: : University of Michigan Press 1996.

204

Iyengar S. Is anyone responsible?: how television frames political issues. Chicago: : University of Chicago Press 1991.

205

Callaghan K, Schnell F. Framing American politics. Pittsburgh, PA: : University of Pittsburgh Press 2005.

206

McLeod D, Detenber B. Framing effects of television news coverage of social protest. *Journal of Communication* 1999;49:3–23. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02802.x

207

Price V, Nir L, Cappella JN. Framing Public Discussion of Gay Civil Unions. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 2005;69:179–212. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/3521577>

208

Scheufele D. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication* 1999;49:103–22. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x

209

Scheufele DA, Tewksbury D. Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication* 2007;57:9–20. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x

210

Schuck ART. Between Risk and Opportunity: News Framing and its Effects on Public Support for EU Enlargement. *European Journal of Communication* 2006;21:5–32. doi:10.1177/0267323106060987

211

Bucy EP, Holbert RL. Sourcebook for political communication research: methods, measures, and analytical techniques. New York: Routledge 2011.

212

Matthes J, Kohring M. The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Communication* 2008;58:258–79. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x

213

Davis A. Public relations, news production and changing patterns of source access in the British national media. *Media, Culture & Society* 2000;22:39–59. doi:10.1177/016344300022001003

214

Thrall AT, Stecula D, Sweet D. May We Have Your Attention Please? Human-Rights NGOs and the Problem of Global Communication. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 2014; **19**:135–59. doi:10.1177/1940161213519132

215

Waisbord S. Can NGOs Change the News? *International Journal of Communication* 2011; **5**. <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/787/515>

216

McNair B. An introduction to political communication. Abingdon, Oxon: : Routledge 2011. <https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203828694>

217

Benton J. NGOs and the News: Civil society's place in the new news ecosystem. Nieman Lab Published Online First:
10AD.<http://www.niemanlab.org/2010/05/ngos-and-the-news-civil-societys-place-in-the-new-news-ecosystem/>

218

Cottle S. News, public relations and power. London: : SAGE 2003.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781857022773>

219

Cottle S, Nolan D. Global Humanitarianism and the changing aid-media field. *Journalism Studies* 2007; **8**:862–78. doi:10.1080/14616700701556104

220

Dale S. McLuhan's children: the Greenpeace message and the media. Toronto, Ont: :

Between The Lines 1996.

221

Jong W de, Shaw M, Stammers N. Global activism, global media. London: : Pluto Press 2005.
<http://lib.myilibrary.com/browse/open.asp?id=175031&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

222

Graeff E, Stempeck M, Zuckerman E. The battle for 'Trayvon Martin': Mapping a media controversy online and off-line. First Monday 2014;**19**. doi:10.5210/fm.v19i2.4947

223

Jha S. Why they wouldn't cite from sites: A study of journalists' perceptions of social movement web sites and the impact on their coverage of social protest. Journalism 2008;**9** :711-32. doi:10.1177/1464884908096242

224

Olsen GR, Carstensen N, Høyen K. Humanitarian Crises: What Determines the Level of Emergency Assistance? Media Coverage, Donor Interests and the Aid Business. Disasters 2003;**27**:109-26. doi:10.1111/1467-7717.00223

225

Ramos H, Ron J, Thoms ONT. Shaping the Northern Media's Human Rights Coverage, 1986-2000. Journal of Peace Research 2007;**44** :385-406.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/27640537>

226

Van Leuven S, Joye S. Civil Society Organizations at the Gates? A Gatekeeping Study of News Making Efforts by NGOs and Government Institutions. The International Journal of Press/Politics 2014;**19**:160-80. doi:10.1177/1940161213514615

227

Aday S, Livingston S. Taking the state out of state--media relations theory: how transnational advocacy networks are changing the press--state dynamic. *Media, War & Conflict* 2008;1:99-107. doi:10.1177/1750635207087630

228

Bennett WL, Lawrence RG, Livingston S. When the press fails: political power and the news media from Iraq to Katrina. Chicago: : University of Chicago Press 2007.

229

Cottle S. News, public relations and power. London: : SAGE 2003.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781857022773>

230

Davis A. Public relations democracy: public relations, politics and the mass media in Britain . Manchester: : Manchester University Press 2002.

231

Davis A. Political communication and social theory. London: : Routledge 2010.

232

Davies N. Flat Earth news: an award-winning reporter exposes falsehood, distortion and propaganda in the global media. London: : Vintage Books 2009.

233

Fenton N. New media, old news: journalism & democracy in the digital age. Los Angeles, Calif: : SAGE 2010.

234

Gamson WA, Wolfsfeld G. Movements and Media as Interacting Systems. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 1993;528:114-25.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/1047795>

235

Gitlin T. *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left.* Berkeley: : University of California Press 1980.

236

Beharrell P, Glasgow University Media Group. *Bad news.* London: : Routledge & K. Paul 1976.

237

Beharrell P, Glasgow University Media Group. *More Bad News: Bad News Volume 2.* London: : Routledge & K. Paul 1976.

238

Lewis J, Williams A, Franklin B. *A Compromised Fourth Estate?* *Journalism Studies* 2008;9:1-20. doi:10.1080/14616700701767974

239

Manning P. *News and news sources: a critical introduction.* London: : SAGE 2001.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781446265345>

240

O'Neill D. From hunky heroes to dangerous dinosaurs. *Journalism Studies* 2007;8:813-30. doi:10.1080/14616700701504781

241

Powers M. The Structural Organization of NGO Publicity Work: Explaining Divergent Publicity Strategies at Humanitarian and Human Rights Organizations. International Journal of Communication 2014;8.<http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2517>

242

Ferguson M. Public communication: the new imperatives : future directions for media research. London: : Sage 1990.

243

Ridge-Newman A. Cameron's conservatives and the Internet: change, culture and cyber Toryism. Hounds Mills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: : Palgrave Macmillan 2014.

244

Trevor Thrall A. The Myth of the Outside Strategy: Mass Media News Coverage of Interest Groups. Political Communication 2006;23:407-20. doi:10.1080/10584600600976989

245

Wolfsfeld G. Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. New York: : Routledge 2011.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

246

Langer AI. The personalisation of politics in the UK: mediated leadership from Attlee to Cameron. Manchester: : Manchester University Press 2011.

247

Lichtenberg J. The Politics of Character and the Character of Journalism.
http://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/d02_lichtenberg.pdf

248

Scammell M. Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 2007; **611**: 176–92. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097916>

249

Street J. Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2004; **6**: 435–52.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-856X.2004.00149.x

250

Salmon C. *Communication yearbook* 34. London: : Routledge 2010.

251

Balmas M, Rahat G, Sheaffer T, et al. Two routes to personalized politics: Centralized and decentralized personalization. *Party Politics* 2014; **20**: 37–51.
doi:10.1177/1354068811436037

252

Corner J, Pels D. *Media and the restyling of politics: consumerism, celebrity and cynicism*. London: : SAGE 2003.

253

King AS. Leaders' personalities and the outcomes of democratic elections. Oxford: : Oxford University Press 2002.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/0199253137.001.0001>

254

Kriesi H. Personalization of national election campaigns. *Party Politics* 2012; **18**: 825–44.
doi:10.1177/1354068810389643

255

Lichtenberg J. The Politics of Character and the Character of Journalism.
http://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/d02_lichtenberg.pdf

256

Poguntke T, Webb P. The presidentialization of politics: a comparative study of modern democracies. Oxford: : Oxford University Press 2005.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/0199252017.001.0001>

257

Seaton J. Public, Private and the Media. *The Political Quarterly* 2003;74:174-83.
doi:10.1111/1467-923X.00527

258

Street J. Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2004;6:435-52.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-856X.2004.00149.x

259

Van Aelst P, Sheaffer T, Stanyer J. The personalization of mediated political communication: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism* 2012;13:203-20.
doi:10.1177/1464884911427802

260

Zoonen L van. Entertaining the citizen: when politics and popular culture converge. Lanham, Md: : Rowman & Littlefield 2005.

261

Coleman S. How the other half votes: Big Brother viewers and the 2005 general election. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2006;9:457-79. doi:10.1177/1367877906069895

262

Foley M. The British presidency: Tony Blair and the politics of public leadership. Manchester: : Manchester University Press 2000.

263

Jamieson KH. Eloquence in an electronic age: the transformation of political speechmaking. New York, NY: : Oxford University Press 1990.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.31820>

264

Just MR. Crosstalk: citizens, candidates, and the media in a presidential campaign. Chicago: : The University of Chicago Press 1996.

265

Karvonen L. The personalisation of politics: a study of parliamentary democracies. Colchester: : ECPR Press 2010.

266

Langer AI. A Historical Exploration of the Personalisation of Politics in the Print Media: The British Prime Ministers (1945-1999). *Parliamentary Affairs* 2007; **60**:371-87.
doi:10.1093/pa/gsm028

267

Langer AI. The Politicization of Private Persona: Exceptional Leaders or the New Rule? The Case of the United Kingdom and the Blair Effect. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 2010; **15**:60-76. doi:10.1177/1940161209351003

268

Manin B. The principles of representative government. Cambridge: : Cambridge University Press 1997.

269

Miller AH, Wattenberg MP, Malanchuk O. Schematic Assessments of Presidential Candidates. *The American Political Science Review* 1986; **80**: 521–40. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/1958272>

270

Mughan A. Media and the presidentialization of parliamentary elections. Basingstoke: : Palgrave 2000.

271

Rahat G, Sheaffer T. The Personalization(s) of Politics: Israel, 1949–2003. *Political Communication* 2007; **24**: 65–80. doi:10.1080/10584600601128739

272

Stanyer J. Intimate politics: publicity, privacy and the personal lives of politicians in media-saturated democracies. Cambridge: : Polity Press 2013.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780745676074>

273

Thompson JB. Political scandal: power and visibility in the media age. Cambridge: : Polity Press 2000.

274

Zoonen L van. Entertaining the citizen: when politics and popular culture converge. Lanham, Md: : Rowman & Littlefield 2005.

275

Wattenberg MP. The rise of candidate-centered politics: presidential elections of the 1980s. Cambridge, Mass: : Harvard University Press 1991.

276

American Behavioral Scientist: Special issue on 'Political Scandals & Media', vol 1. ;**47**:1031-9.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://abs.sagepub.com/content/47/8.toc>

277

American Behavioral Scientist: Special issue on 'Political Scandals & Media', vol. 2. ;**47**:1143-52.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://abs.sagepub.com/content/47/9.toc>

278

Parliamentary Affairs: Special issue on 'Public Images, Private Lives'. 2004;**57**.<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://pa.oxfordjournals.org/content/57/1.toc>

279

Childs S. Women and British party politics: descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation. London: : Routledge 2008.
<http://www.GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=332069>

280

Murray R. Cracking the highest glass ceiling: a global comparison of women's campaigns for executive office. Santa Barbara, Calif: : Praeger Publishers 2010.
<https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780313382499>

281

Miller MK, Peake JS. Press Effects, Public Opinion, and Gender: Coverage of Sarah Palin's Vice-Presidential Campaign. The International Journal of Press/Politics 2013;**18**:482-507. doi:10.1177/1940161213495456

282

Perry S. Gender Difference in French Political Communication: From Handicap to Asset? Modern & Contemporary France 2005;**13**:337-52. doi:10.1080/09639480500177773

283

Wasburn PC, Wasburn MH. Media coverage of women in politics: The curious case of Sarah Palin. *Media, Culture & Society* 2011;33:1027–41. doi:10.1177/0163443711415744

284

Counting Women In - Centre for Women and Democracy.
<http://www.cfwd.org.uk/current-projects/counting-women-in>

285

Women and Journalism | Reuters Institute for the study of Journalism.
<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publication/women-and-journalism>

286

Aday S, Devitt J. Style over Substance: Newspaper Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Bid. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 2001;6:52–73. doi:10.1177/108118001129172134

287

Bystrom DG. Gender and candidate communication: videoStyle, webStyle, newsStyle. New York: : Routledge 2004.

288

Carroll SJ. Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic. *Politics & Gender* 2009;5. doi:10.1017/S1743923X09000014

289

Heflick NA, Goldenberg JL. Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 2009;45:598–601. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.008

290

Gidengil E, Everitt J. Talking Tough: Gender and Reported Speech in Campaign News Coverage. *Political Communication* 2003;20:209–32. doi:10.1080/10584600390218869

291

Jamieson KH. Beyond the double bind: women and leadership. New York, NY: : Oxford University Press 1995.

292

Kahn KF. The political consequences of being a woman: how stereotypes influence the conduct and consequences of political campaigns. New York: : Columbia University Press 1996.

293

Lawrence RG, Rose M. Hillary Clinton's race for the White House: gender politics and the media on the campaign trail. Boulder, Colo: : Lynne Rienner Publishers 2010.

294

Murray R, Perry S. A Right Royal Mess: Why Did the French Say 'Non' to the Opportunity to Have a Woman President? authored by Murray, Rainbow. and Perry, Sheila.
2008.http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/8/0/4/3/pages280433/p280433-1.php

295

Norris P. Women, media, and politics. New York: : Oxford University Press 1997.

296

Perry S. Gender Difference in French PoliticalCommunication: From Handicap to Asset? Modern & Contemporary France 2005;13:337–52. doi:10.1080/09639480500177773

297

Sreberny A, Zoonen L van. Gender, politics and communication. Cresskill, N.J.: : Hampton Press 2000.

298

Semetko HA, Boomgaarden HG. Reporting Germany's 2005 Bundestag Election Campaign: Was Gender an Issue? *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 2007; **12**:154-71.
doi:10.1177/1081180X07307383

299

Zoonen L van. Entertaining the citizen: when politics and popular culture converge. Lanham, Md: : Rowman & Littlefield 2005.

300

Valenzuela S, Correa T. Press Coverage and Public Opinion On Women Candidates: The Case of Chile's Michelle Bachelet. *International Communication Gazette* 2009; **71**:203-23.
doi:10.1177/1748048508100913

301

Bruin M de, Ross K. Gender and newsroom cultures: identities at work. Creskill, NJ: : Hampton Press 2004.

302

Kaid LL. Handbook of political communication research. Mahwah, N.J.: : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates 2004.
<http://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=University%20of%20Glasgow&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9781410610584>

303

Calhoun CJ. Habermas and the public sphere. Cambridge, Mass: : MIT Press 1992.

304

Gardetto DC. Hillary Rodham Clinton, Symbolic Gender Politics, and the New York Times : January-November 1992. *Political Communication* 1997;14:225-40.
doi:10.1080/105846097199461

305

Heflick NA, Goldenberg JL, Cooper DP, et al. From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 2011;47:572-81. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.020

306

Conroy M, Oliver S, Breckenridge-Jackson I, et al. From Ferraro to Palin: sexism in coverage of vice presidential candidates in old and new media. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2015; 3:573-91. doi:10.1080/21565503.2015.1050412

307

Larson SG. American Women and Politics in the Media: A Review Essay. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 2001;34:227-30. <http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/1350209>

308

Jamieson KH. Eloquence in an electronic age: the transformation of political speechmaking. New York, NY: Oxford University Press 1990.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.31820>

309

Kittilson MC, Fridkin K. Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective. *Politics & Gender* 2008;4. doi:10.1017/S1743923X08000330

310

Meeks L. Is She "Man Enough"? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage. *Journal of Communication* 2012;62:175-93.
doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01621.x

311

Ross K, Byerly CM. Women and media: international perspectives. Malden, Mass: : Blackwell 2004.

312

Ross K. Women, politics, media: uneasy relations in comparative perspective. Cresskill, NJ: : Hampton Press 2002.

313

Sreberny A, Zoonen L van. Gender, politics and communication. Cresskill, N.J.: : Hampton Press 2000.

314

van Zoonen L. The personal, the political and the popular: A woman's guide to celebrity politics. European Journal of Cultural Studies 2006;9:287-301.
doi:10.1177/1367549406066074