

Politics, Communication and Democracy

[View Online](#)

[1]

J. Curran and Taylor & Francis Group, Media and power. London: Routledge, 2002. [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203417744>

[2]

R. K. Neilsen, 'The Power of Platforms. Inaugural Lecture, Oxford University', 2018, [Online]. Available:
<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/risj-review/lecture-power-platforms>

[3]

'United Kingdom - Reuters Institute Digital News Report'. 2018. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2018/united-kingdom-2018/>

[4]

M. Ananny, Networked press freedom: creating infrastructures for a public right to hear. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2019. [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.7551/mitpress/9780262037747.001.0001/upso-9780262037747>

[5]

E. Bell, 'Who owns the news consumer: Social media platforms or publishers?', Columbia Journalism Review, 2016, [Online]. Available:
https://www.cjr.org/tow_center/platforms_and_publishers_new_research_from_the_tow_center.php

[6]

L. Sloan and A. Quan-Haase, *The Sage handbook of social media research methods*, First edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Inc, 2016. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://methods.sagepub.com/book/the-sage-handbook-of-social-media-research-methods>

[7]

E. Nechushtai, 'Could digital platforms capture the media through infrastructure?', *Journalism*, vol. 19, no. 8, pp. 1043–1058, Aug. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1464884917725163.

[8]

'Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2017'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/>

[9]

R. K. Nielsen, 'Varieties of Online Gatekeeping', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2014, doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2675055.

[10]

R. Kleis Nielsen and S. A. Ganter, 'Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms', *New Media & Society*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 1600–1617, Apr. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1461444817701318.

[11]

C. Peters and M. J. Broersma, Eds, *Rethinking journalism again: societal role and public relevance in a digital age*. London, [England]: Routledge, 2017. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781317506416>

[12]

R. M. Perloff and Ebooks Corporation Limited, *The dynamics of political communication: media and politics in a digital age*. New York: Routledge, 2014. [Online]. Available: <http://GLA.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1575976>

[13]

Pew Research Centre, 'The Modern News Consumer', [Online]. Available: <http://www.journalism.org/2016/07/07/the-modern-news-consumer/>

[14]

Pew Research Centre, 'Election 2016: Campaigns as a Direct Source of News', [Online]. Available: <http://www.journalism.org/topics/2016-election/>

[15]

Pew Research Centre, 'The Modern News Consumer', [Online]. Available: <http://www.journalism.org/2016/07/07/the-modern-news-consumer/>

[16]

S. Waisbord, 'Truth is What Happens to News', *Journalism Studies*, vol. 19, no. 13, pp. 1866–1878, Oct. 2018, doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2018.1492881.

[17]

Toril Aalberg and James Curran, Ed., *How media inform democracy: a comparative approach*, vol. Series: Routledge new developments in communication and society research. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2012.

[18]

C. Edwin Baker, *Media, markets, and democracy*, vol. Series: Communication, society, and politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

[19]

J. Curran, *Media and power*. London: Routledge, 2002. [Online]. Available:

<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203417744>

[20]

Geneva Overholser, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ed., *The press*, vol. Series: Institutions of American democracy series. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=84383&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

[21]

J. Curran, S. Iyengar, A. Brink Lund, and I. Salovaara-Moring, 'Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy: A Comparative Study', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 5–26, Mar. 2009, doi: 10.1177/0267323108098943.

[22]

Graber, Doris, 'THE MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY: Beyond Myths and Stereotypes.', *Annual Review of Political Science.*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 139–160, 2003, [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=10609378&site=ehost-live>

[23]

Denis McQuail, *Media performance: mass communication and the public interest*. London: Sage Publications, 1992.

[24]

R. K. Nielsen, 'The One Thing Journalism Just Might do for Democracy', *Journalism Studies*, vol. 18, no. 10, pp. 1251–1262, Oct. 2017, doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2017.1338152.

[25]

M. Scammell, 'Rethinking the Media's Duties to Democracy: watchdog, information and representation'. 2005. [Online]. Available:
<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-11/Journalism%20Democracy%20%26%20Public%20Interest.pdf>

[26]

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

[27]

M. Schudson and Dawson Books, *Why democracies need an unlovable press*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9780745675312>

[28]

Frank Esser, Jesper Stromback, Ed., *Mediatization of politics: understanding the transformation of western democracies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://www.palgraveconnect.com/doifinder/10.1057/9781137275844>

[29]

Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, *Four theories of the press*. Chicago, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

[30]

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

[31]

Jesper Strömbäck, 'In Search of a Standard: four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism', *Journalism Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 331–345, Aug. 2005, doi: 10.1080/14616700500131950.

[32]

David Tewksbury and Jason Rittenberg, *News on the internet: information and citizenship in the 21st century*, vol. Series: Oxford studies in digital politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

[33]

P. Van Aelst et al., 'Political communication in a high-choice media environment: a challenge for democracy?', *Annals of the International Communication Association*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 3-27, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1080/23808985.2017.1288551.

[34]

JOHN ZALLER, 'A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen', *Political Communication*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 109-130, Apr. 2003, doi: 10.1080/10584600390211136.

[35]

Benjamin R. Barber, *Strong democracy: participatory politics for a new age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

[36]

Robert Alan Dahl, *Democracy and its critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

[37]

David Held, *Models of democracy*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Polity, 1996.

[38]

A.-M. Brady, 'Plus ça change?: Media Control Under Xi Jinping', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 64, no. 3-4, pp. 128-140, Jul. 2017, doi: 10.1080/10758216.2016.1197779.

[39]

D. Stockmann, *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2012. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139087742>

[40]

M. Repnikova, 'Media Openings and Political Transitions: versus',
Problems of Post-Communism, vol. 64, no. 3-4, pp. 141-151, Jul. 2017, doi:
10.1080/10758216.2017.1307118.

[41]

G. King, J. Pan, and M. E. Roberts, 'How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument', American Political Science Review, vol. 111, no. 03, pp. 484-501, Aug. 2017, doi: 10.1017/S0003055417000144.

[42]

M. E. Roberts, Censored: distraction and diversion inside China's great firewall. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018. [Online]. Available:
<https://press.princeton.edu/titles/11341.html>

[43]

'Liberation Technology', Journal of Democracy, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 69-83, 2010, doi:
10.1353/jod.0.0190.

[44]

G. Egorov, S. Guriev, and K. Sonin, 'Why Resource-poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data', The American Political Science Review, vol. 103, no. 4, pp. 645-668, 2009, [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/27798530>

[45]

'Freedom of the Press 2017'. [Online]. Available:
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2017>

[46]

S. Guriev and D. Treisma, 'How Modern Dictators Survive: Cooptation, Censorship, Propaganda, and Repression', CEPR discussion papers, 2015, [Online]. Available: https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://cepr.org/active/publications/discussion_papers/dp.php?dpno=10454

[47]

Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, Comparing media systems beyond the western world, vol. Series: Communication, society and politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

[48]

E. Morozov, The net delusion: how not to liberate the world. London: Allen Lane, 2011.

[49]

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

[50]

K. E. Pearce and S. Kendzior, 'Networked Authoritarianism and Social Media in Azerbaijan', Journal of Communication, vol. 62, no. 2, pp. 283–298, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01633.x.

[51]

O. J. Reuter and D. Szakonyi, 'Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes', British Journal of Political Science, vol. 45, no. 01, pp. 29–51, Jan. 2015, doi: 10.1017/S0007123413000203.

[52]

E. G. Rød and N. B. Weidmann, 'Empowering activists or autocrats? The Internet in authoritarian regimes', Journal of Peace Research, vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 338–351, May 2015, doi: 10.1177/0022343314555782.

[53]

A.-M. Brady, 'Mass Persuasion as a Means of Legitimation and China's Popular Authoritarianism', *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 53, no. 3, pp. 434–457, Nov. 2009, doi: 10.1177/0002764209338802.

[54]

A.-M. Brady, Ed., *China's thought management*, vol. 40. London: Routledge, 2014.

[55]

Y. Chen and D. Y. Yang, 'The Impact of Media Censorship: Evidence from a Field Experiment in China'. 2018. [Online]. Available: https://calendar.mit.edu/event/the_impact_of_media_censorship_evidence_from_a_field_experiment_in_china#.XDN7q2ngqUk

[56]

R. Creemers, 'Cyber China: Upgrading Propaganda, Public Opinion Work and Social Management for the Twenty-First Century', *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 26, no. 103, pp. 85–100, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1080/10670564.2016.1206281.

[57]

Ebooks Corporation Limited, *The Internet, social media, and a changing China*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. [Online]. Available: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=4540252>

[58]

M. K. Dimitrov, 'The Political Logic of Media Control in China', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 64, no. 3–4, pp. 121–127, Jul. 2017, doi: 10.1080/10758216.2017.1318346.

[59]

J. Hassid, 'Safety Valve or Pressure Cooker? Blogs in Chinese Political Life', *Journal of*

Communication, vol. 62, no. 2, pp. 212–230, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01634.x.

[60]

W. R. HOBBS and M. E. ROBERTS, 'How Sudden Censorship Can Increase Access to Information', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 112, no. 03, pp. 621–636, Aug. 2018, doi: 10.1017/S0003055418000084.

[61]

N. Huhe, M. Tang, and J. Chen, 'Creating Democratic Citizens: Political Effects of the Internet in China', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 4, pp. 757–771, Dec. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1065912918764338.

[62]

G. King, J. Pan, and M. E. Roberts, 'How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 107, no. 02, pp. 326–343, May 2013, doi: 10.1017/S0003055413000014.

[63]

Peter Lorentzen, 'China's Strategic Censorship', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 58, no. 2, pp. 402–414, Apr. 2014, doi: 10.1111/ajps.12065.

[64]

R. MacKinnon, 'China's "Networked Authoritarianism"', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 32–46, 2011, doi: 10.1353/jod.2011.0033.

[65]

B. Meng and SpringerLink (Online service), *The Politics of Chinese Media: Consensus and Contestation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2018. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-46214-5>

[66]

B. A. Miller and M. Gallagher, 'Astroturfing in China: Three Case Studies'. [Online]. Available: <http://blakeapm.com/>

[67]

B. Qin, D. Strömberg, and Y. Wu, 'Why Does China Allow Freer Social Media? Protests versus Surveillance and Propaganda', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2017, [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/44133953>

[68]

G. D. Rawnsley and M.-Y. T. Rawnsley, Eds, *Routledge handbook of Chinese media*, Paperback edition. London: Routledge, 2018.

[69]

M. Repnikova, *Media politics in China: improvising power under authoritarianism*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: University Printing House, 2017.

[70]

M. E. Roberts and B. M. Stewart, 'Localization and Coordination: How Propaganda and Censorship Converge in Chinese Newspapers - Working paper'. 2014. [Online]. Available: <https://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/~media/Files/Research/fordcenter/text-as-data-2014/RobertsStewartPropaganda.ashx>

[71]

Susan L. Shirk, Ed., *Changing media, changing China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. [Online]. Available: <http://GLA.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=602492>

[72]

D. Stockmann and M. E. Gallagher, 'Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 436–467, Apr. 2011, doi: 10.1177/0010414010394773.

[73]

D. Stockmann, *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139087742>

[74]

J. Sullivan, 'China's Weibo: Is faster different?', *New Media & Society*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 24–37, Feb. 2014, doi: 10.1177/1461444812472966.

[75]

J. Tager, K. Glenn Bass, and S. Lopez, 'Forbidden Feeds: Government Controls on Social Media in China'. 2017. [Online]. Available: <https://pen.org/research-resources/forbidden-feeds/>

[76]

L. Tang and H. Sampson, 'The interaction between mass media and the internet in non-democratic states: The case of China', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 457–471, May 2012, doi: 10.1177/0163443711436358.

[77]

H. Wang, C. Sparks, N. Lü, and Y. Huang, 'Differences within the mainland Chinese press: a quantitative analysis', *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 154–171, Mar. 2017, doi: 10.1080/01292986.2016.1240818.

[78]

X. Xin, 'Popularizing party journalism in China in the age of social media: The case of Xinhua News Agency', *Global Media and China*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 3–17, Mar. 2018, doi: 10.1177/2059436418768331.

[79]

G. Yang, 'Internet Activism & the Party-State in China', *Daedalus*, vol. 143, no. 2, pp. 110–123, Apr. 2014, doi: 10.1162/DAED_a_00276.

[80]

Y. Peidong, "'Positive Energy": Hegemonic Intervention and Online Media Discourse in China's Xi Jinping Era', *China: An International Journal*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 1–22, 2018, [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://muse.jhu.edu/article/688045>

[81]

D. C. Hallin and P. Mancini, *Comparing media systems beyond the western world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

[82]

D. McQuail, *Media performance: mass communication and the public interest*. London: Sage Publications, 1992. [Online]. Available: <https://contentstore.cla.co.uk//secure/link?id=34349f5a-ef40-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

[83]

G. Wolfsfeld, *Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication*. New York: Routledge, 2011. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

[84]

M. Berry, 'No alternative to austerity: how BBC broadcast news reported the deficit debate', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 844–863, Sep. 2016, doi: 10.1177/0163443715620931.

[85]

H. Boden, 'In Search of Unbiased Reporting in Light of Brexit, Trump and Other Reporting Challenges in the UK and US - Shorenstein Center', 2017, [Online]. Available: <https://shorensteincenter.org/unbiased-reporting-brexit-trump-uk-us/>

[86]

R. M. Entman, 'Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 163–173, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00336.x.

[87]

R. A. Hackett, 'Decline of a paradigm? Bias and objectivity in news media studies', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 229–259, Sep. 1984, doi: 10.1080/15295038409360036.

[88]

K. Kenski and K. H. Jamieson, Eds, *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.001.0001>

[89]

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

[90]

S. Aday, S. Livingston, and M. Hebert, 'Embedding the Truth', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 3–21, Jan. 2005, doi: 10.1177/1081180X05275727.

[91]

C. V. Bell and R. M. Entman, 'The Media's Role in America's Exceptional Politics of Inequality', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 548–572, Oct. 2011, doi: 10.1177/1940161211417334.

[92]

R. Benson, *Shaping immigration news: a French-American comparison*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[93]

M. T. Boykoff and J. M. Boykoff, 'Climate change and journalistic norms: A case-study of US mass-media coverage', *Geoforum*, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 1190–1204, Nov. 2007, doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.01.008.

[94]

W. A. Gamson and A. Modigliani, 'Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 95, no. 1, 1989, [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/2780405>

[95]

P. Beharrell, R. Hoggart, and Glasgow Media Group, *Bad news: Volume 1*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=455480>

[96]

P. Beharrell, R. Hoggart, and Glasgow Media Group, *Bad news: Volume 1*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=455480>

[97]

R. G. Lawrence, 'Framing Obesity', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 56–75, Jul. 2004, doi: 10.1177/1081180X04266581.

[98]

'US Election Analysis 2016'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.electionanalysis2016.us/us-election-analysis-2016/introduction/>

[99]

R. Lundström, 'Framing fraud: Discourse on benefit cheating in Sweden and the UK', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 28, no. 6, pp. 630–645, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1177/0267323113502737.

[100]

G. Philo, E. Briant, and P. Donald, 'The role of the press in the war on asylum', *Race & Class*, vol. 55, no. 2, pp. 28-41, Oct. 2013, doi: 10.1177/0306396813497873.

[101]

C. Roggeband and R. Vliegenthart, 'Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995-2004', *West European Politics*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 524-548, May 2007, doi: 10.1080/01402380701276352.

[102]

M. Rose and F. R. Baumgartner, 'Framing the Poor: Media Coverage and U.S. Poverty Policy, 1960-2008', *Policy Studies Journal*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 22-53, Feb. 2013, doi: 10.1111/psj.12001.

[103]

H. A. Semetko and P. M. V. Valkenburg, 'Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 50, no. 2, pp. 93-109, Jun. 2000, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x.

[104]

D. Smith and D. Deacon, 'Immigration and the British news media: Continuity or change?', *Sociology Compass*, vol. 12, no. 9, Sep. 2018, doi: 10.1111/soc4.12618.

[105]

'American Behavioral Scientist : Special Issue Title: Framing Irregular Immigration in Western Media: Voices, Stories and Audience Impact', vol. 59, no. 7, 2015, [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/absb/59/7>

[106]

B. Van Gorp, 'Where is the Frame?', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 484–507, Dec. 2005, doi: 10.1177/0267323105058253.

[107]

H. Johnston, J. A. Noakes, and Ebooks Corporation Limited, *Frames of protest: social movements and the framing perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005. [Electronic resource]. Available: <http://www.GLA.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1322109>

[108]

G. Wolfsfeld, *Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication*. New York: Routledge, 2011. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

[109]

W. L. Bennett, R. G. Lawrence, and S. Livingston, 'None Dare Call It Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 467–485, Sep. 2006, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00296.x.

[110]

R. M. Entman, 'Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame After 9/11', *Political Communication*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 415–432, Oct. 2003, doi: 10.1080/10584600390244176.

[111]

A. Shehata, 'Facing the Muhammad Cartoons: Official Dominance and Event-Driven News in Swedish and American Elite Press', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 131–153, Oct. 2007, doi: 10.1177/1081180X07307869.

[112]

R. M. Entman and N. Usher, 'Framing in a Fractured Democracy: Impacts of Digital Technology on Ideology, Power and Cascading Network Activation', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 68, no. 2, pp. 298–308, Apr. 2018, doi: 10.1093/joc/jqx019.

[113]

W. L. Bennett, 'Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 103–127, Jun. 1990, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1990.tb02265.x.

[114]

W. L. Bennett and S. Livingston, 'Editors' Introduction: A Semi-Independent Press: Government Control and Journalistic Autonomy in the Political Construction of News', *Political Communication*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 359–362, Oct. 2003, doi: 10.1080/10584600390244086.

[115]

K. Kenski and K. H. Jamieson, Eds, *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.001.0001>

[116]

R. Ciboh, 'Journalists and Political Sources in Nigeria', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 185–201, Apr. 2017, doi: 10.1177/1940161216681164.

[117]

T. E. Cook, *Governing with the news: the news media as a political institution*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

[118]

P. Beharrell, R. Hoggart, and Glasgow Media Group, *Bad news: Volume 1*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=455480>

[119]

P. Beharrell, R. Hoggart, and Glasgow Media Group, *Bad news: Volume 1*. Abingdon:

Routledge, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=455480>

[120]

R. G. Lawrence, 'Framing Obesity', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 56–75, Jul. 2004, doi: 10.1177/1081180X04266581.

[121]

R. Lundström, 'Framing fraud: Discourse on benefit cheating in Sweden and the UK', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 28, no. 6, pp. 630–645, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1177/0267323113502737.

[122]

D. Miller, 'Official sources and `primary definition': the case of Northern Ireland', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 385–406, Jul. 1993, doi: 10.1177/016344393015003004.

[123]

G. Philo, E. Briant, and P. Donald, 'The role of the press in the war on asylum', *Race & Class*, vol. 55, no. 2, pp. 28–41, Oct. 2013, doi: 10.1177/0306396813497873.

[124]

H. A. Semetko and P. M. V. Valkenburg, 'Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 50, no. 2, pp. 93–109, Jun. 2000, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x.

[125]

K. M. Carragee and W. Roefs, 'The Neglect of Power in Recent Framing Research', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 214–233, Jun. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2004.tb02625.x.

[126]

D. Chong and J. N. Druckman, 'Framing Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 103–126, Jun. 2007, doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054.

[127]

H. A. Semetko and M. Scammell, *The SAGE handbook of political communication*. London: SAGE, 2012.

[128]

R. M. Entman, 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 51–58, Dec. 1993, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.

[129]

W. A. Gamson, D. Croteau, W. Hoynes, and T. Sasson, 'Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 18, 1992, [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/2083459>

[130]

W. Gamson and C. Ryan, 'Thinking about Elephants. Toward a Dialogue with George Lakoff', *Public Eye Magazine*, 2005, [Online]. Available: http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v19n2/gamson_elephants.html

[131]

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

[132]

Z. Pan and G. Kosicki, 'Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse', *Political Communication*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 55–75, 1993, doi: 10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963.

[133]

R. M. Perloff, *The dynamics of political communication: media and politics in a digital age*, Second edition. New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5108778>

[134]

S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, and A. E. Grant, *Framing public life: perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003.

[135]

B. Van Gorp, 'The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 60–78, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x.

[136]

R. Vliegenthart and L. van Zoonen, 'Power to the frame: Bringing sociology back to frame analysis', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 101–115, Jun. 2011, doi: 10.1177/0267323111404838.

[137]

E. P. Bucy and R. L. Holbert, *Sourcebook for political communication research: methods, measures, and analytical techniques*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

[138]

J. Matthes and M. Kohring, 'The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 58, no. 2, pp. 258–279, Jun. 2008, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x.

[139]

R. Murray, *Cracking the highest glass ceiling: a global comparison of women's campaigns for executive office*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger Publishers, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9780313382499>

[140]

D. Harp, J. Loke, and I. Bachmann, 'Hillary Clinton's Benghazi Hearing Coverage: Political Competence, Authenticity, and the Persistence of the Double Bind', *Women's Studies in Communication*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 193–210, Apr. 2016, doi: 10.1080/07491409.2016.1171267.

[141]

M. Higgins and F. M. McKay, 'Gender and the development of a political persona: The case of Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon', *British Politics*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 283–300, Sep. 2016, doi: 10.1057/bp.2015.44.

[142]

M. K. Miller and J. S. Peake, 'Press Effects, Public Opinion, and Gender', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 482–507, Oct. 2013, doi: 10.1177/1940161213495456.

[143]

S. C. McGregor, R. G. Lawrence, and A. Cardona, 'Personalization, gender, and social media: gubernatorial candidates' social media strategies', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 264–283, Feb. 2017, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2016.1167228.

[144]

L. Meeks, 'Is She "Man Enough"? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 62, no. 1, pp. 175–193, Feb. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01621.x.

[145]

S. Perry, 'Gender Difference in French Political Communication: From Handicap to Asset?', *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 337–352, Aug. 2005, doi: 10.1080/09639480500177773.

[146]

O. Ward, 'Intersectionality and Press Coverage of Political Campaigns', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 43–66, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1177/1940161216673195.

[147]

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

[148]

'Women and Journalism | Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism'. [Online]. Available: <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/our-research/women-and-journalism>

[149]

L. Aaldering and D. J. Van Der Pas, 'Political Leadership in the Media: Gender Bias in Leader Stereotypes during Campaign and Routine Times', *British Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1–21, Mar. 2018, doi: 10.1017/S0007123417000795.

[150]

S. Aday and J. Devitt, 'Style over Substance: Newspaper Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Bid', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 52–73, Mar. 2001, doi: 10.1177/108118001129172134.

[151]

C. Adcock, 'The Politician, The Wife, The Citizen, and her Newspaper', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 135–159, Jun. 2010, doi: 10.1080/14680771003672254.

[152]

I. Bachmann, D. Harp, and J. Loke, 'Covering Clinton (2010–2015): meaning-making strategies in US magazine covers', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 18, no. 5, pp. 793–809, Sep. 2018, doi: 10.1080/14680777.2017.1358204.

[153]

N. M. Bauer, 'Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates', *Political Psychology*, vol. 36, no. 6, pp. 691–708, Dec. 2015, doi: 10.1111/pops.12186.

[154]

D. Campus, *Women political leaders and the media*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://www.palgraveconnect.com/doifinder/10.1057/9781137295545>

[155]

S. J. Carroll, 'Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 5, no. 01, Mar. 2009, doi: 10.1017/S1743923X09000014.

[156]

S. C. Craig and P. S. Rippere, 'He Said, She Said: The Impact of Candidate Gender in Negative Campaigns', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 12, no. 02, pp. 391–414, Jun. 2016, doi: 10.1017/S1743923X15000550.

[157]

J. Dunaway, R. G. Lawrence, M. Rose, and C. R. Weber, 'Traits versus Issues', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 3, pp. 715–726, Sep. 2013, doi: 10.1177/1065912913491464.

[158]

M. C. Escobar-Lemmon, V. Hoekstra, A. Kang, and M. C. Kittilson, 'Just the Facts? Media Coverage of Female and Male High Court Appointees in Five Democracies', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 12, no. 02, pp. 254–274, Jun. 2016, doi: 10.1017/S1743923X16000234.

[159]

A. C. Fahey, 'French and Feminine: Hegemonic Masculinity and the Emasculation of John Kerry in the 2004 Presidential Race', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 132–150, Jun. 2007, doi: 10.1080/07393180701262743.

[160]

C. J. Calhoun, *Habermas and the public sphere*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992.

[161]

I. Garcia-Blanco and K. Wahl-Jorgensen, 'The Discursive Construction of Women Politicians in the European Press', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 422–441, Sep. 2012, doi: 10.1080/14680777.2011.615636.

[162]

D. Hayes and J. L. Lawless, 'A Non-Gendered Lens? Media, Voters, and Female Candidates in Contemporary Congressional Elections', *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 13, no. 01, pp. 95–118, Mar. 2015, doi: 10.1017/S1537592714003156.

[163]

D. Hayes and J. L. Lawless, *Women on the run: gender, media, and political campaigns in a polarized era*. New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

[164]

N. A. Heflick and J. L. Goldenberg, 'Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 598–601, May 2009, doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.008.

[165]

N. A. Heflick, J. L. Goldenberg, D. P. Cooper, and E. Puvia, 'From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 572–581, May 2011, doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.020.

[166]

K. H. Jamieson, *Beyond the double bind: women and leadership*. New York, NY: Oxford

University Press, 1995.

[167]

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

[168]

M. C. Kittilson and K. Fridkin, 'Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 4, no. 03, Sep. 2008, doi: 10.1017/S1743923X08000330.

[169]

E. Lachover, 'Signs of change in media representation of women in Israeli politics: Leading and peripheral women contenders', *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 446–463, Apr. 2017, doi: 10.1177/1464884915610991.

[170]

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

[171]

K. Ross and M. Comrie, 'The rules of the (leadership) game: Gender, politics and news', *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, vol. 13, no. 8, pp. 969–984, Nov. 2012, doi: 10.1177/1464884911433255.

[172]

L. Meeks, 'Getting Personal: Effects of Twitter Personalization on Candidate Evaluations', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 13, no. 01, pp. 1–25, Mar. 2017, doi: 10.1017/S1743923X16000696.

[173]

H. A. Semetko and H. G. Boomgaarden, 'Reporting Germany's 2005 Bundestag Election Campaign: Was Gender an Issue?', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 154–171, Oct. 2007, doi: 10.1177/1081180X07307383.

[174]

M. L. Thomas and A. Bittner, Eds, *Mothers and others: the role of parenthood in politics*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2018.

[175]

L. Trimble, A. Wagner, S. Sampert, D. Raphael, and B. Gerrits, 'Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975–2012', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 462–481, Oct. 2013, doi: 10.1177/1940161213495455.

[176]

L. Trimble, D. Raphael, S. Sampert, A. Wagner, and B. Gerrits, 'Politicizing Bodies: Hegemonic Masculinity, Heteronormativity, and Racism in News Representations of Canadian Political Party Leadership Candidates', *Women's Studies in Communication*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 314–330, Jul. 2015, doi: 10.1080/07491409.2015.1062836.

[177]

L. J. (Linda J. Trimble, Ms. Prime Minister: gender, media, and leadership. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

[178]

S. Valenzuela and T. Correa, 'Press Coverage and Public Opinion On Women Candidates', *International Communication Gazette*, vol. 71, no. 3, pp. 203–223, Apr. 2009, doi: 10.1177/1748048508100913.

[179]

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

[180]

A. Wagner, L. Trimble, S. Sampert, and B. Gerrits, 'Gender, Competitiveness, and Candidate Visibility in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian Party Leadership Contests', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 471–489, Oct. 2017, doi: 10.1177/1940161217723150.

[181]

O. Ward, 'Seeing Double: Race, Gender, and Coverage of Minority Women's Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives', *Politics & Gender*, vol. 12, no. 02, pp. 317–343, Jun. 2016, doi: 10.1017/S1743923X16000222.

[182]

P. C. Wasburn and M. H. Wasburn, 'Media coverage of women in politics: The curious case of Sarah Palin', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 33, no. 7, pp. 1027–1041, Oct. 2011, doi: 10.1177/0163443711415744.

[183]

K. Kenski and K. H. Jamieson, Eds, *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.001.0001>

[184]

G. Wolfsfeld, *Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication*. New York: Routledge, 2011. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

[185]

P. J. Boczkowski and Z. Papacharissi, Eds, ***Trump and the media*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5326880>

[186]

W. Lance Bennett and Shanto Iyengar, 'A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 58, no. 4, pp. 707–731, Dec. 2008, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00410.x.

[187]

Heinz Brandenburg and Marcel Van Egmond, 'Pressed into Party Support? Media Influence on Partisan Attitudes during the 2005 UK General Election Campaign', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, no. 02, pp. 441–463, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1017/S0007123411000445.

[188]

J. Curran, *Media and power*. London: Routledge, 2002. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203417744>

[189]

D. T. Denver, *Elections and voters in Britain*, 3rd ed., vol. Series: Contemporary Political Studies. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

[190]

David M. Farrell & Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Ed., *Do political campaigns matter?: campaign effects in elections and referendums*. London: Routledge, 2002.

[191]

S. Iyengar and D. R. Kinder, *News that matters: television and American opinion*, Updated ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

[192]

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

[193]

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

[194]

Paul Manning, *News and news sources: a critical introduction*. London: SAGE, 2001.

[195]

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

[196]

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

[197]

Diana Carole Mutz, *Impersonal influence: how perceptions of mass collectives affect political attitudes*, vol. Series: Cambridge studies in political psychology and public opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[198]

D. C. Mutz and L. Young, 'Communication and Public Opinion: Plus Ça Change?', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 5, pp. 1018–1044, Dec. 2011, doi: 10.1093/poq/nfr052.

[199]

K. NEWTON, 'May the weak force be with you: The power of the mass media in modern politics', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 209–234, Mar. 2006, doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00296.x.

[200]

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

[201]

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

[202]

John Street, *Mass media, politics, and democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

[203]

Lynn Vavreck, *The message matters: the economy and presidential campaigns*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. [Electronic resource]. Available: <http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9781400830480>

[204]

Lynda Lee Kaid, *Handbook of political communication research*, vol. Series: LEA's communication series. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004.

[205]

Lawrence Leduc, 'Opinion change and voting behaviour in referendums', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 711–732, Oct. 2002, doi: 10.1111/1475-6765.00027.

[206]

A. R. T. Schuck and C. H. de Vreese, 'Reversed Mobilization in Referendum Campaigns: How Positive News Framing Can Mobilize the Skeptics', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 40–66, Nov. 2008, doi: 10.1177/1940161208326926.

[207]

C. H. de Vreese and Holli A. Semetko, *Political campaigning in referendums: framing the referendum issue*, vol. Series: Routledge research in political communication. London: Routledge, 2004.

[208]

C. H. de Vreese, *The dynamics of referendum campaigns: an international perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. [Electronic resource]. Available: <http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9780230591189>

[209]

M. Wettstein, 'Frame Adoption in Referendum Campaigns: The Effect of News Coverage on the Public Salience of Issue Interpretations', *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 318–333, Mar. 2012, doi: 10.1177/0002764211426328.

[210]

A. Chadwick, *The hybrid media system: politics and power*, Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190696726.001.0001>

[211]

H. Grasseger and M. Krogerus, 'The Data That Turned the World Upside Down', *Motherboard*, 2017, [Online]. Available: https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/mg9vvn/how-our-likes-helped-trump-win

[212]

J. Baldwin-Philippi, 'The Myths of Data-Driven Campaigning', *Political Communication*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 627–633, Oct. 2017, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2017.1372999.

[213]

'50,000 Heck*ng Facebook Ad Variants?! – Steve Olson – Medium', [Online]. Available: <https://medium.com/@steveolson/50-000-heck-ng-facebook-ad-variants-31eed233ac4a>

[214]

A. Chadwick, P. N. Howard, and Dawson Books, *Routledge handbook of internet politics*.

London: Routledge, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9780203962541>

[215]

C. Vaccari and Ebooks Corporation Limited, *Digital politics in Western democracies: a comparative study*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. [Online]. Available: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3318750>

[216]

U. Klinger and U. Russmann, "'Beer is more efficient than social media"—Political parties and strategic communication in Austrian and Swiss national elections', *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 299–313, Oct. 2017, doi: 10.1080/19331681.2017.1369919.

[217]

M. Magin, N. Podschuweit, J. Haßler, and U. Russmann, 'Campaigning in the fourth age of political communication. A multi-method study on the use of Facebook by German and Austrian parties in the 2013 national election campaigns', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 20, no. 11, pp. 1698–1719, Nov. 2017, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2016.1254269.

[218]

A. Theviot, 'Towards a standardization of campaign strategies dictated by the Obama "model"? The case of "American-style" canvassing during the 2012 French presidential election campaign', *French Politics*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 158–177, Jun. 2016, doi: 10.1057/fp.2016.7.

[219]

'Digital-Born and Legacy News Media on Twitter during the UK General Election'. [Online]. Available:
<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-11/Digital-Born%20and%20Legacy%20News%20Media%20UK%20Factsheet.pdf>

[220]

'Volume 14, Issue 2, June 2016', Volume 14, Issue 2, June 2016, [Online]. Available: <https://link-springer-com.login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/journal/41253/14/2>

[221]

A. Jungherr, 'Four Functions of Digital Tools in Election Campaigns', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 358–377, Jul. 2016, doi: 10.1177/1940161216642597.

[222]

M. Magin, N. Podschuweit, J. Haßler, and U. Russmann, 'Campaigning in the fourth age of political communication. A multi-method study on the use of Facebook by German and Austrian parties in the 2013 national election campaigns', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 20, no. 11, pp. 1698–1719, Nov. 2017, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2016.1254269.

[223]

M. Magin, N. Podschuweit, J. Haßler, and U. Russmann, 'Campaigning in the fourth age of political communication. A multi-method study on the use of Facebook by German and Austrian parties in the 2013 national election campaigns', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 20, no. 11, pp. 1698–1719, Nov. 2017, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2016.1254269.

[224]

K. Dommett and L. Temple, 'Digital Campaigning: The Rise of Facebook and Satellite Campaigns', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 71, no. suppl_1, pp. 189–202, Mar. 2018, doi: 10.1093/pa/gsx056.

[225]

D. Wring, R. Mortimore, and S. Atkinson, Eds, *Political Communication in Britain*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-40934-4.

[226]

C. Holtz-Bacha and M. R. Just, *Routledge handbook of political advertising*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2017. [Electronic resource]. Available:

<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315694504>

[227]

J. C. Alexander, *The performance of politics: Obama's victory and the democratic struggle for power*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199744466.001.0001>

[228]

P. J. Boczkowski and Z. Papacharissi, Eds, *Trump and the media*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5326880>

[229]

G. Enli, 'Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 50–61, Feb. 2017, doi: 10.1177/0267323116682802.

[230]

D. Karpf, 'Digital politics after Trump', *Annals of the International Communication Association*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 198–207, Apr. 2017, doi: 10.1080/23808985.2017.1316675.

[231]

R. M. Faris, H. Roberts, B. Etling, N. Bourassa, E. Zuckerman, and Y. Benkler, 'Partisanship, Propaganda, and Disinformation: Online Media and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election', 2017, [Online]. Available: <https://cyber.harvard.edu/publications/2017/08/mediacloud>

[232]

S. Issenberg, *The victory lab: the secret science of winning campaigns*, First paperback edition. New York: B/D/W/Y, Broadway Books, 2013.

[233]

Y. M. Kim et al., 'The stealth media? Groups and targets behind divisive issue campaigns on Facebook', *Political Communication*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 515–541, Oct. 2018, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2018.1476425.

[234]

D. Kreiss and S. C. McGregor, 'Technology firms shape political communication: The work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google with campaigns during the 2016 US presidential cycle', *Political Communication*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 155–177, Apr. 2018, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2017.1364814.

[235]

D. Kreiss, 'Trump, Breitbart, and the Rejection of Multicultural Democracy – Medium', 2017, [Online]. Available: <https://medium.com/@dkreiss/trump-breitbart-and-the-rejection-of-multicultural-democracy-90f3f776bebd>

[236]

R. G. Lawrence and A. E. Boydstun, 'What We Should Really Be Asking About Media Attention to Trump', *Political Communication*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 150–153, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2016.1262700.

[237]

D. Lilleker, D. Jackson, E. Thorsen, and A. Veneti, Eds, *US Election Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign*. Bournemouth University, Fern Barrow, Poole, Dorset, BH12 5BB, UK, 2016. [Online]. Available: <http://www.electionanalysis2016.us/>

[238]

T. E. Patterson, 'Pre-Primary News Coverage of the 2016 Presidential Race: Trump's Rise, Sanders' Emergence, Clinton's Struggle - Shorenstein Centre on Media, Politics and Public Policy', 2016, [Online]. Available: <https://shorensteincenter.org/pre-primary-news-coverage-2016-trump-clinton-sanders>

[239]

J. Penney, 'Social Media and Citizen Participation in "Official" and "Unofficial" Electoral Promotion: A Structural Analysis of the 2016 Bernie Sanders Digital Campaign', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 67, no. 3, pp. 402–423, Jun. 2017, doi: 10.1111/jcom.12300.

[240]

J. Sides and H. Farrell, *The Science of Trump: Explaining the Rise of an Unlikely Candidate*. The Monkey Cage, 2016. [Online]. Available: <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Science-Trump-Explaining-Unlikely-Candidate-ebook/dp/B01IL9DTG8>

[241]

P. J. Boczkowski and Z. Papacharissi, Eds, *Trump and the media*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5326880>

[242]

C. Wells et al., 'How Trump Drove Coverage to the Nomination: Hybrid Media Campaigning', *Political Communication*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 669–676, Oct. 2016, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2016.1224416.

[243]

J. G. Blumler, 'Guest contribution by Jay G. Blumler: "The Fourth Age of Political Communication"'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.fgpk.de/en/2013/gastbeitrag-von-jay-g-blumler-the-fourth-age-of-political-communication-2/>

[244]

W. M. Downs, 'There Goes the Neighbourhood? The "Americanisation" of Elections, with Evidence from Scotland's Parliament', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 65, no. 4, pp. 758–777, Oct. 2012, doi: 10.1093/pa/gsr034.

[245]

D. Caramani, Ed., *Comparative politics*, Fourth edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2017.

[246]

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

[247]

C. Holtz-Bacha and M. R. Just, *Routledge handbook of political advertising*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2017. [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315694504>

[248]

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

[249]

M. Scammell, *Consumer democracy: the marketing of politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139046107>

[250]

J. Strömbäck and L. L. Kaid, *The handbook of election news coverage around the world*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

[251]

C. Reinemann, Ed., *Political communication*, vol. volume 18. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2014.

[252]

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

[253]

J. Tenscher, J. Mykkänen, and T. Moring, 'Modes of professional campaigning: A four country comparison in the European parliamentary elections, 2009', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 145–168, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1177/1940161211433839.

[254]

J. Tenscher et al., 'The professionals speak: Practitioners' perspectives on professional election campaigning', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 95–119, Apr. 2016, doi: 10.1177/0267323115612212.

[255]

D. M. West and Brookings Institution, *Air wars: television advertising and social media in election campaigns, 1952-2016*, 7 edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE/CQ Press, 2018.

[256]

J. Baldwin-Philippi, *Using technology, building democracy: digital campaigning and the construction of citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190231910.001.0001>

[257]

W. L. Bennett, A. Segerberg, and C. B. Knüpfer, 'The democratic interface: technology, political organization, and diverging patterns of electoral representation', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 21, no. 11, pp. 1655–1680, Nov. 2018, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2017.1348533.

[258]

A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbø, A. O. Larsson, and C. Christensen, Eds, *The Routledge*

companion to social media and politics. London: Routledge, 2015. [Online]. Available: <http://GLA.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=4218813>

[259]

A. Chadwick and J. Stromer-Galley, Eds, 'Special Issue Title: Digital Media, Power, and Democracy in Election Campaigns', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 21, no. 3, [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/hijb/21/3>

[260]

D. V. Dimitrova and J. Matthes, 'Social Media in Political Campaigning Around the World: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 95, no. 2, pp. 333–342, Jun. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1077699018770437.

[261]

D. Freelon and D. Karpf, 'Of big birds and bayonets: hybrid Twitter interactivity in the 2012 Presidential debates', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 390–406, Apr. 2015, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2014.952659.

[262]

R. K. Gibson and I. McAllister, 'Normalising or equalising party competition? Assessing the impact of the web on election campaigning', *Political Studies*, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 529–547, Aug. 2015, doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12107.

[263]

D. Karpf, *The MoveOn effect: the unexpected transformation of American political advocacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199898367.001.0001>

[264]

D. Karpf, *Analytic activism: digital listening and the new political strategy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016. [Online]. Available:

<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190266127.001.0001>

[265]

D. Kreiss, *Taking our country back: the crafting of networked politics from Howard Dean to Barack Obama*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. [Electronic resource]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199782536.001.0001>

[266]

S. Coleman and D. Freelon, Eds, *Handbook of digital politics*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2015.

[267]

D. Kreiss, *Prototype politics: technology-intense campaigning and the data of democracy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199350247.001.0001>

[268]

D. Kreiss, 'Seizing the moment: The presidential campaigns' use of Twitter during the 2012 electoral cycle', *New Media & Society*, vol. 18, no. 8, pp. 1473–1490, Sep. 2016, doi: 10.1177/1461444814562445.

[269]

D. G. Lilleker and N. A. Jackson, *Political campaigning, elections and the internet: comparing the US, UK, France and Germany*, vol. 4. London: Routledge, 2011.

[270]

D. G. Lilleker, J. Tenscher, and V. Štětka, 'Towards hypermedia campaigning? Perceptions of new media's importance for campaigning by party strategists in comparative perspective', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 18, no. 7, pp. 747–765, Jul. 2015, doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2014.993679.

[271]

R. K. Nielsen, *Ground wars: personalized communication in political campaigns*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012.

[272]

J. Stromer-Galley, *Presidential campaigning in the Internet age*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199731930.001.0001>

[273]

C. Vaccari, 'From echo chamber to persuasive device? Rethinking the role of the Internet in campaigns', *New Media & Society*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 109–127, Feb. 2013, doi: 10.1177/1461444812457336.

[274]

C. Vaccari, *Digital politics in Western democracies: a comparative study*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. [Online]. Available:
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3318750>

[275]

J. Fisher, Ed., *The Routledge handbook of elections, voting behavior and public opinion*. London, [England]: Routledge, 2018. [Online]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315712390>

[276]

Dawson Books, *Populist political communication in Europe*, vol. 1. New York, NY: Routledge, 2017. [Online]. Available:
<https://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9781315623016>

[277]

'US Election Analysis 2016'. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.electionanalysis2016.us/us-election-analysis-2016/introduction/>

[278]

Mark Rice-Oxley, 'How to spot a populist', Guardian, Dec. 2018, [Online]. Available:
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/dec/03/what-is-populism-trump-farage-orban-bolsonaro>

[279]

N. Ernst, F. Esser, S. Blassnig, and S. Engesser, 'Favorable Opportunity Structures for Populist Communication: Comparing Different Types of Politicians and Issues in Social Media, Television and the Press', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, Dec. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1940161218819430.

[280]

M. Wettstein, F. Esser, A. Schulz, D. S. Wirz, and W. Wirth, 'News Media as Gatekeepers, Critics, and Initiators of Populist Communication: How Journalists in Ten Countries Deal with the Populist Challenge', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 476–495, Oct. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1940161218785979.

[281]

D. Albertazzi and D. McDonnell, *Twenty-first century populism: the spectre of Western European democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

[282]

Elena Block, 'The Populist Communication Style: Toward a Critical Framework', *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 11, 2017, [Online]. Available:
<https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/5820>

[283]

L. Bos, W. van der Brug, and C. de Vreese, 'How the Media Shape Perceptions of Right-Wing Populist Leaders', *Political Communication*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 182–206, Apr.

2011, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2011.564605.

[284]

L. Bos and K. Brants, 'Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 29, no. 6, pp. 703–719, Dec. 2014, doi: 10.1177/0267323114545709.

[285]

C. H. de Vreese, F. Esser, T. Aalberg, C. Reinemann, and J. Stanyer, 'Populism as an Expression of Political Communication Content and Style: A New Perspective', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 423–438, Oct. 2018, doi: 10.1177/1940161218790035.

[286]

J. Jagers and S. Walgrave, 'Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 46, no. 3, pp. 319–345, May 2007, doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00690.x.

[287]

M. J. Jensen and H. P. Bang, 'Populism and Connectivism: An Analysis of the Sanders and Trump Nomination Campaigns', *Journal of Political Marketing*, vol. 16, no. 3–4, pp. 343–364, Oct. 2017, doi: 10.1080/15377857.2017.1345846.

[288]

A. Kavada, 'Editorial: media and the "populist moment"', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 742–744, Jul. 2018, doi: 10.1177/0163443718772144.

[289]

ProQuest (Firm), *Trump and the media*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5326880>

[290]

G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, and B. Horsfield, *The media and neo-populism: a contemporary comparative analysis*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2003.

[291]

J. Murphy and D. Devine, 'Does Media Coverage Drive Public Support for UKIP or Does Public Support for UKIP Drive Media Coverage?', *British Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1–18, Jul. 2018, doi: 10.1017/S0007123418000145.

[292]

M. Rooduijn, 'The Mesmerising Message: The Diffusion of Populism in Public Debates in Western European Media', *Political Studies*, vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 726–744, Dec. 2014, doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12074.

[293]

G. Thesen, 'News content and populist radical right party support. The case of Denmark', *Electoral Studies*, vol. 56, pp. 80–89, Dec. 2018, doi: 10.1016/j.electstud.2018.09.003.

[294]

R. Vliegthart, H. G. Boomgaarden, and J. Van Spanje, 'Anti-Immigrant Party Support and Media Visibility: A Cross-Party, Over-Time Perspective', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 315–358, Aug. 2012, doi: 10.1080/17457289.2012.693933.

[295]

W. Wirth, 'The appeal of populist ideas, strategies and styles: A theoretical model and research design for analyzing populist political communication — NCCR Democracy'. 2016. [Online]. Available: <http://www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch/publications/workingpaper/wp88>

[296]

M. Wood, J. Corbett, and M. Flinders, 'Just like us: Everyday celebrity politicians and the pursuit of popularity in an age of anti-politics', *The British Journal of Politics and*

International Relations, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 581–598, Aug. 2016, doi: 10.1177/1369148116632182.

[297]

Political populism: a handbook, Heinisch: Christina Holtz-Bacha, Oscar Mazzoleni (eds.), 1st edition., vol. Band 3. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017.

[298]

R. Inglehart and P. Norris, 'Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash', SSRN Electronic Journal, 2016, doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2818659.

[299]

C. Rovira Kaltwasser, P. A. Taggart, P. Ochoa Espejo, and P. Ostiguy, Eds, The Oxford handbook of populism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198803560.001.0001>

[300]

J.-W. Müller, What is populism? Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

[301]

L. March, 'Left and right populism compared: The British case', The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 282–303, May 2017, doi: 10.1177/1369148117701753.

[302]

B. Moffitt and S. Tormey, 'Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatisation and Political Style', Political Studies, vol. 62, no. 2, pp. 381–397, Jun. 2014, doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12032.

[303]

C. Mudde, 'The Populist Zeitgeist', Government and Opposition, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 542–563, Sep. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x.

[304]

C. Mudde and C. Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139152365>

[305]

C. Mudde and C. Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism: a very short introduction*, vol. 510. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

[306]

J. E. Oliver and W. M. Rahn, 'Rise of the', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 667, no. 1, pp. 189–206, Sep. 2016, doi: 10.1177/0002716216662639.

[307]

T. Pauwels, 'Measuring Populism: A Quantitative Text Analysis of Party Literature in Belgium', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 97–119, Feb. 2011, doi: 10.1080/17457289.2011.539483.

[308]

M. Rooduijn and T. Pauwels, 'Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis', *West European Politics*, vol. 34, no. 6, pp. 1272–1283, Nov. 2011, doi: 10.1080/01402382.2011.616665.

[309]

D. Snow and B. Moffitt, 'Straddling the divide: mainstream populism and conservatism in Howard's Australia and Harper's Canada', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 271–292, Jul. 2012, doi: 10.1080/14662043.2012.692922.

[310]

G. Stoker and C. Hay, 'Understanding and Challenging Populist Negativity towards Politics: The Perspectives of British Citizens', *Political Studies*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 4–23, Mar. 2017, doi: 10.1177/0032321715607511.

[311]

K. Weyland, 'Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 34, no. 1, Oct. 2001, doi: 10.2307/422412.

[312]

J. Sevenans, 'One concept, many interpretations: the media's causal roles in political agenda-setting processes', *European Political Science Review*, vol. 10, no. 02, pp. 245–265, May 2018, doi: 10.1017/S1755773917000078.

[313]

G. Wolfsfeld, *Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication*. New York: Routledge, 2011. [Online]. Available: <https://login.uofglasgow.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203839874>

[314]

R. Dekker and P. Scholten, 'Framing the Immigration Policy Agenda', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 202–222, Apr. 2017, doi: 10.1177/1940161216688323.

[315]

C. Elmelund-Præstekær and C. Wien, 'What's the Fuss About? The Interplay of Media Hypes and Politics', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 247–266, Jul. 2008, doi: 10.1177/1940161208319292.

[316]

Ø. Ihlen and K. Thorbjørnsrud, 'Making news and influencing decisions: Three threshold cases concerning forced return of immigrants', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 139–152, Apr. 2014, doi: 10.1177/0267323114523149.

[317]

L. Melenhorst, 'The Media's Role in Lawmaking', *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 297–316, Jul. 2015, doi: 10.1177/1940161215581924.

[318]

K. Milne, *Manufacturing dissent : single-issue protest, the public and the press*. Demos, 2005. [Online]. Available: <https://www.demos.co.uk/files/manufacturingdissent.pdf>

[319]

P. Robinson, 'Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 523–544, Dec. 2001, doi: 10.1177/0267323101016004005.

[320]

S. Aday and S. Livingston, 'Taking the state out of state—media relations theory: how transnational advocacy networks are changing the press—state dynamic', *Media, War & Conflict*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 99–107, Apr. 2008, doi: 10.1177/1750635207087630.

[321]

C. Reinemann, Ed., *Political communication*, vol. volume 18. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2014.

[322]

P. Van Aelst and S. Walgrave, 'Information and Arena: The Dual Function of the News Media for Political Elites', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 66, no. 3, pp. 496–518, Jun. 2016, doi: 10.1111/jcom.12229.

[323]

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

[324]

K. C. Schnell Frauke, 'Assessing the Democratic Debate: How the News Media Frame Elite Policy Discourse', *Political Communication*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 183–213, Apr. 2001, doi: 10.1080/105846001750322970.

[325]

J. Joly, 'Do the Media Influence Foreign Aid Because or in Spite of the Bureaucracy? A Case Study of Belgian Aid Determinants', *Political Communication*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 584–603, Oct. 2014, doi: 10.1080/10584609.2013.879361.

[326]

B. D. Jones and F. R. Baumgartner, 'From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing', *Policy Studies Journal*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 1–20, Feb. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1541-0072.2011.00431.x.

[327]

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

[328]

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

[329]

S. Koch-Baumgarten and K. Voltmer, *Public policy and mass media: the interplay of mass communication and political decision making*, vol. 66. London: Routledge/ECPR, 2010. [Electronic resource]. Available: <http://lib.myilibrary.com/browse/open.asp?id=257161&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

[330]

S. Koch-Baumgarten and K. Voltmer, *Public policy and mass media: the interplay of mass communication and political decision making*, vol. 66. London: Routledge/ECPR, 2010.

[331]

B. I. Page and R. Y. Shapiro, *The rational public: fifty years of trends in Americans' policy preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

[332]

S. Walgrave, S. Soroka, and M. Nuytemans, 'The Mass Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 814–836, Jun. 2008, doi: 10.1177/0010414006299098.

[333]

S. Walgrave and P. Van Aelst, 'The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory', *Journal of Communication*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 88–109, Mar. 2006, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00005.x.

[334]

I. Yanovitzky, 'Effects of News Coverage on Policy Attention and Actions', *Communication Research*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 422–451, Aug. 2002, doi: 10.1177/0093650202029004003.

[335]

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

[336]

E. Gilboa, 'The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations', *Political Communication*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 27–44, Feb. 2005, doi: 10.1080/10584600590908429.

[337]

S. Livingston, 'Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention - Shorenstein Center', vol. Research Paper R-18. The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, 1997. [Online]. Available: <https://shorensteincenter.org/clarifying-the-cnn-effect-media-effects-and-military-intervention/>

[338]

P. Robinson, The CNN effect: the myth of news foreign policy and intervention. London: Routledge, 2002. [Electronic resource]. Available: <http://lib.myilibrary.com/browse/open.asp?id=10716&entityid=https://idp.gla.ac.uk/shibboleth>

[339]

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

[340]

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