

Politics, Communication and Democracy

View Online



-
1.
Curran, J., Taylor & Francis Group: Media and power. Routledge, London (2002).
 2.
Nielsen, R.K.: The Power of Platforms. Inaugural Lecture, Oxford University. (2018).
 3.
United Kingdom - Reuters Institute Digital News Report,
<http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2018/united-kingdom-2018/>, (2018).
 4.
Ananny, M.: Networked press freedom: creating infrastructures for a public right to hear. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (2019).
 5.
Bell, E.: Who owns the news consumer: Social media platforms or publishers? Columbia Journalism Review. (2016).
 6.
Sloan, L., Quan-Haase, A.: The Sage handbook of social media research methods. SAGE Inc, Thousand Oaks, CA (2016).

7.

Nechushtai, E.: Could digital platforms capture the media through infrastructure? Journalism. 19, 1043–1058 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917725163>.

8.

Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2017, <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/>.

9.

Nielsen, R.K.: Varieties of Online Gatekeeping. SSRN Electronic Journal. (2014). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2675055>.

10.

Kleis Nielsen, R., Ganter, S.A.: Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms. New Media & Society. 20, 1600–1617 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817701318>.

11.

Peters, C., Broersma, M.J. eds: Rethinking journalism again: societal role and public relevance in a digital age. Routledge, London, [England] (2017).

12.

Perloff, R.M., Ebooks Corporation Limited: The dynamics of political communication: media and politics in a digital age. Routledge, New York (2014).

13.

Pew Research Centre: The Modern News Consumer.

14.

Pew Research Centre: Election 2016: Campaigns as a Direct Source of News.

15.

Pew Research Centre: The Modern News Consumer.

16.

Waisbord, S.: Truth is What Happens to News. *Journalism Studies*. 19, 1866–1878 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1492881>.

17.

Toril Aalberg and James Curran ed: How media inform democracy: a comparative approach. Routledge, New York, N.Y. (2012).

18.

C. Edwin Baker: Media, markets, and democracy. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2002).

19.

Curran, J.: Media and power. Routledge, London (2002).

20.

Geneva Overholser, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, ed: The press. Oxford University Press, New York, NY (2005).

21.

J. Curran, S. Iyengar, A. Brink Lund, I. Salovaara-Moring: Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy: A Comparative Study. *European Journal of Communication*. 24, 5–26 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323108098943>.

22.

Graber, Doris: THE MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY: Beyond Myths and Stereotypes. Annual Review of Political Science. 6, 139–160 (2003).

23.

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

24.

Nielsen, R.K.: The One Thing Journalism Just Might do for Democracy. Journalism Studies. 18, 1251–1262 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1338152>.

25.

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

26.

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

27.

Schudson, M., Dawson Books: Why democracies need an unlovable press. Polity Press, Cambridge (2008).

28.

Frank Esser, Jesper Stromback ed: Mediatization of politics: understanding the transformation of western democracies. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2014).

29.

Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, Wilbur Schramm: Four theories of the press. University

of Illinois Press, Chicago, Ill (1984).

30.

John Street: Mass media, politics and democracy. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

31.

Jesper Strömbäck: In Search of a Standard: four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. *Journalism Studies*. 6, 331–345 (2005).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700500131950>.

32.

David Tewksbury, Jason Rittenberg: News on the internet: information and citizenship in the 21st century. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2012).

33.

Van Aelst, P., Strömbäck, J., Aalberg, T., Esser, F., de Vreese, C., Matthes, J., Hopmann, D., Salgado, S., Hubé, N., Stępińska, A., Papathanassopoulos, S., Berganza, R., Legnante, G., Reinemann, C., Sheafer, T., Stanyer, J.: Political communication in a high-choice media environment: a challenge for democracy? *Annals of the International Communication Association*. 41, 3–27 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2017.1288551>.

34.

JOHN ZALLER: A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen. *Political Communication*. 20, 109–130 (2003).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600390211136>.

35.

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

36.

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

37.

David Held: Models of democracy. Polity, Oxford (1996).

38.

Brady, A.-M.: Plus ça change?: Media Control Under Xi Jinping. Problems of Post-Communism. 64, 128–140 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2016.1197779>.

39.

Stockmann, D.: Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

40.

Repnikova, M.: Media Openings and Political Transitions: versus. Problems of Post-Communism. 64, 141–151 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1307118>.

41.

King, G., Pan, J., Roberts, M.E.: How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument. American Political Science Review. 111, 484–501 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055417000144>.

42.

Roberts, M.E.: Censored: distraction and diversion inside China's great firewall. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey (2018).

43.

Liberation Technology. Journal of Democracy. 21, 69–83 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0190>.

44.

Egorov, G., Guriev, S., Sonin, K.: Why Resource-poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data. *The American Political Science Review*. 103, 645–668 (2009).

45.

Freedom of the Press 2017,
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2017>.

46.

Guriev, S., Treisma, D.: How Modern Dictators Survive: Cooptation, Censorship, Propaganda, and Repression. CEPR discussion papers. (2015).

47.

Daniel C. Hallin, Paolo Mancini: Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

48.

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

49.

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

50.

Pearce, K.E., Kendzior, S.: Networked Authoritarianism and Social Media in Azerbaijan. *Journal of Communication*. 62, 283–298 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01633.x>.

51.

Reuter, O.J., Szakonyi, D.: Online Social Media and Political Awareness in Authoritarian Regimes. *British Journal of Political Science*. 45, 29–51 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123413000203>.

52.

Rød, E.G., Weidmann, N.B.: Empowering activists or autocrats? The Internet in authoritarian regimes. *Journal of Peace Research*. 52, 338–351 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343314555782>.

53.

Brady, A.-M.: Mass Persuasion as a Means of Legitimation and China's Popular Authoritarianism. *American Behavioral Scientist*. 53, 434–457 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764209338802>.

54.

Brady, A.-M. ed: China's thought management. Routledge, London (2014).

55.

Chen, Y., Yang, D.Y.: The Impact of Media Censorship: Evidence from a Field Experiment in China,
https://calendar.mit.edu/event/the_impact_of_media_censorship_evidence_from_a_field_experiment_in_china#.XDN7q2ngqUk, (2018).

56.

Creemers, R.: Cyber China: Upgrading Propaganda, Public Opinion Work and Social Management for the Twenty-First Century. *Journal of Contemporary China*. 26, 85–100 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2016.1206281>.

57.

Ebooks Corporation Limited: The Internet, social media, and a changing China. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia (2016).

58.

Dimitrov, M.K.: The Political Logic of Media Control in China. *Problems of Post-Communism*. 64, 121–127 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1318346>.

59.

Hassid, J.: Safety Valve or Pressure Cooker? Blogs in Chinese Political Life. *Journal of Communication*. 62, 212–230 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01634.x>.

60.

HOBBS, W.R., ROBERTS, M.E.: How Sudden Censorship Can Increase Access to Information. *American Political Science Review*. 112, 621–636 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000084>.

61.

Huhe, N., Tang, M., Chen, J.: Creating Democratic Citizens: Political Effects of the Internet in China. *Political Research Quarterly*. 71, 757–771 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912918764338>.

62.

King, G., Pan, J., Roberts, M.E.: How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. *American Political Science Review*. 107, 326–343 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000014>.

63.

Peter Lorentzen: China's Strategic Censorship. *American Journal of Political Science*. 58, 402–414 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12065>.

64.

MacKinnon, R.: China's 'Networked Authoritarianism'. *Journal of Democracy*. 22, 32–46 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2011.0033>.

65.

Meng, B., SpringerLink (Online service): The Politics of Chinese Media: Consensus and Contestation. Palgrave Macmillan US, New York (2018).

66.

Miller, B.A., Gallagher, M.: Astroturfing in China: Three Case Studies, <http://blakeapm.com/>.

67.

Qin, B., Strömberg, D., Wu, Y.: Why Does China Allow Freer Social Media? Protests versus Surveillance and Propaganda. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 31, (2017).

68.

Rawnsley, G.D., Rawnsley, M.-Y.T. eds: Routledge handbook of Chinese media. Routledge, London (2018).

69.

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

70.

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

71.

Susan L. Shirk ed: Changing media, changing China. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2011).

72.

D. Stockmann, M. E. Gallagher: Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China. *Comparative Political Studies*. 44, 436–467 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414010394773>.

73.

Stockmann, D.: *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

74.

Sullivan, J.: China's Weibo: Is faster different? *New Media & Society*. 16, 24–37 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812472966>.

75.

Tager, J., Glenn Bass, K., Lopez, S.: Forbidden Feeds: Government Controls on Social Media in China, <https://pen.org/research-resources/forbidden-feeds/>, (2017).

76.

L. Tang, H. Sampson: The interaction between mass media and the internet in non-democratic states: The case of China. *Media, Culture & Society*. 34, 457–471 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711436358>.

77.

Wang, H., Sparks, C., Lü, N., Huang, Y.: Differences within the mainland Chinese press: a quantitative analysis. *Asian Journal of Communication*. 27, 154–171 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2016.1240818>.

78.

Xin, X.: Popularizing party journalism in China in the age of social media: The case of Xinhua News Agency. *Global Media and China*. 3, 3–17 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2059436418768331>.

79.

Yang, G.: Internet Activism & the Party-State in China. *Daedalus*. 143, 110–123 (2014).
https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00276.

80.

Peidong, Y.: 'Positive Energy': Hegemonic Intervention and Online Media Discourse in China's Xi Jinping Era. *China: An International Journal*. 16, 1–22 (2018).

81.

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

82.

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

83.

Wolfsfeld, G.: Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. Routledge, New York (2011).

84.

Berry, M.: No alternative to austerity: how BBC broadcast news reported the deficit debate. *Media, Culture & Society*. 38, 844–863 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443715620931>.

85.

Boden, H.: In Search of Unbiased Reporting in Light of Brexit, Trump and Other Reporting Challenges in the UK and US - Shorenstein Center. (2017).

86.

Entman, R.M.: Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power. *Journal of Communication*. 57, 163–173 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00336.x>.

87.

Hackett, R.A.: Decline of a paradigm? Bias and objectivity in news media studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. 1, 229–259 (1984). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295038409360036>.

88.

Kenski, K., Jamieson, K.H. eds: *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. Oxford University Press, New York (2014).

89.

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

90.

Aday, S., Livingston, S., Hebert, M.: Embedding the Truth. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 10, 3–21 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X05275727>.

91.

Bell, C.V., Entman, R.M.: The Media's Role in America's Exceptional Politics of Inequality. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 16, 548–572 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161211417334>.

92.

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

93.

Boykoff, M.T., Boykoff, J.M.: Climate change and journalistic norms: A case-study of US

mass-media coverage. *Geoforum*. 38, 1190–1204 (2007).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.01.008>.

94.

Gamson, W.A., Modigliani, A.: Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*. 95, (1989).

95.

Beharrell, P., Hoggart, R., Glasgow Media Group: *Bad news: Volume 1*. Routledge, Abingdon (2010).

96.

Beharrell, P., Hoggart, R., Glasgow Media Group: *Bad news: Volume 1*. Routledge, Abingdon (2010).

97.

Lawrence, R.G.: Framing Obesity. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 9, 56–75 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X04266581>.

98.

US Election Analysis 2016,
<http://www.electionanalysis2016.us/us-election-analysis-2016/introduction/>.

99.

Lundström, R.: Framing fraud: Discourse on benefit cheating in Sweden and the UK. *European Journal of Communication*. 28, 630–645 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323113502737>.

100.

Philo, G., Briant, E., Donald, P.: The role of the press in the war on asylum. *Race & Class*. 55, 28–41 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396813497873>.

101.

Roggeband, C., Vliegenthart, R.: Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995–2004. *West European Politics*. 30, 524–548 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380701276352>.

102.

Rose, M., Baumgartner, F.R.: Framing the Poor: Media Coverage and U.S. Poverty Policy, 1960–2008. *Policy Studies Journal*. 41, 22–53 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12001>.

103.

Semetko, H.A., Valkenburg, P.M.V.: Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*. 50, 93–109 (2000). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x>.

104.

Smith, D., Deacon, D.: Immigration and the British news media: Continuity or change? *Sociology Compass*. 12, (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12618>.

105.

American Behavioral Scientist : Special Issue Title: Framing Irregular Immigration in Western Media: Voices, Stories and Audience Impact. 59, (2015).

106.

Van Gorp, B.: Where is the Frame? *European Journal of Communication*. 20, 484–507 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323105058253>.

107.

Johnston, H., Noakes, J.A., Ebooks Corporation Limited: Frames of protest: social movements and the framing perspective. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, Lanham, MD (2005).

108.

Wolfsfeld, G.: Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. Routledge, New York (2011).

109.

Bennett, W.L., Lawrence, R.G., Livingston, S.: None Dare Call It Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal. *Journal of Communication*. 56, 467–485 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00296.x>.

110.

Entman, R.M.: Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame After 9/11. *Political Communication*. 20, 415–432 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600390244176>.

111.

Shehata, A.: Facing the Muhammad Cartoons: Official Dominance and Event-Driven News in Swedish and American Elite Press. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 12, 131–153 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X07307869>.

112.

Entman, R.M., Usher, N.: Framing in a Fractured Democracy: Impacts of Digital Technology on Ideology, Power and Cascading Network Activation. *Journal of Communication*. 68, 298–308 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqx019>.

113.

Bennett, W.L.: Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*. 40, 103–127 (1990). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1990.tb02265.x>.

114.

Bennett, W.L., Livingston, S.: Editors' Introduction: A Semi-Independent Press: Government Control and Journalistic Autonomy in the Political Construction of News. *Political Communication*. 20, 359–362 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600390244086>.

115.

Kenski, K., Jamieson, K.H. eds: The Oxford handbook of political communication. Oxford University Press, New York (2014).

116.

Ciboh, R.: Journalists and Political Sources in Nigeria. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 22, 185–201 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216681164>.

117.

Cook, T.E.: Governing with the news: the news media as a political institution. University of Chicago Press, Chicago (2005).

118.

Beharrell, P., Hoggart, R., Glasgow Media Group: Bad news: Volume 1. Routledge, Abingdon (2010).

119.

Beharrell, P., Hoggart, R., Glasgow Media Group: Bad news: Volume 1. Routledge, Abingdon (2010).

120.

Lawrence, R.G.: Framing Obesity. Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics. 9, 56–75 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X04266581>.

121.

Lundström, R.: Framing fraud: Discourse on benefit cheating in Sweden and the UK. European Journal of Communication. 28, 630–645 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323113502737>.

122.

Miller, D.: Official sources and 'primary definition': the case of Northern Ireland. *Media, Culture & Society*. 15, 385–406 (1993). <https://doi.org/10.1177/016344393015003004>.

123.

Philo, G., Briant, E., Donald, P.: The role of the press in the war on asylum. *Race & Class*. 55, 28–41 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396813497873>.

124.

Semetko, H.A., Valkenburg, P.M.V.: Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*. 50, 93–109 (2000). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x>.

125.

Carragee, K.M., Roefs, W.: The Neglect of Power in Recent Framing Research. *Journal of Communication*. 54, 214–233 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2004.tb02625.x>.

126.

Chong, D., Druckman, J.N.: Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 10, 103–126 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>.

127.

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

128.

Entman, R.M.: Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 43, 51–58 (1993). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>.

129.

Gamson, W.A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., Sasson, T.: Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 18, (1992).

130.

Gamson, W., Ryan, C.: Thinking about Elephants. Toward a Dialogue with George Lakoff. *Public Eye Magazine*. (2005).

131.

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

132.

Pan, Z., Kosicki, G.: Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*. 10, 55–75 (1993). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963>.

133.

Perloff, R.M.: *The dynamics of political communication: media and politics in a digital age*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY (2018).

134.

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

135.

Van Gorp, B.: The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication*. 57, 60–78 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x>.

136.

Vliegenthart, R., van Zoonen, L.: Power to the frame: Bringing sociology back to frame

analysis. *European Journal of Communication*. 26, 101–115 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323111404838>.

137.

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

138.

Matthes, J., Kohring, M.: The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Communication*. 58, 258–279 (2008).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x>.

139.

Murray, R.: *Cracking the highest glass ceiling: a global comparison of women's campaigns for executive office*. Praeger Publishers, Santa Barbara, Calif (2010).

140.

Harp, D., Loke, J., Bachmann, I.: Hillary Clinton's Benghazi Hearing Coverage: Political Competence, Authenticity, and the Persistence of the Double Bind. *Women's Studies in Communication*. 39, 193–210 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2016.1171267>.

141.

Higgins, M., McKay, F.M.: Gender and the development of a political persona: The case of Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon. *British Politics*. 11, 283–300 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2015.44>.

142.

Miller, M.K., Peake, J.S.: Press Effects, Public Opinion, and Gender. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 18, 482–507 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161213495456>.

143.

McGregor, S.C., Lawrence, R.G., Cardona, A.: Personalization, gender, and social media:

gubernatorial candidates' social media strategies. *Information, Communication & Society*. 20, 264–283 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1167228>.

144.

Meeks, L.: Is She "Man Enough"? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage. *Journal of Communication*. 62, 175–193 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01621.x>.

145.

Perry, S.: Gender Difference in French Political Communication: From Handicap to Asset? *Modern & Contemporary France*. 13, 337–352 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09639480500177773>.

146.

Ward, O.: Intersectionality and Press Coverage of Political Campaigns. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 22, 43–66 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216673195>.

147.

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

148.

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

149.

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

150.

Aday, S., Devitt, J.: Style over Substance: Newspaper Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's

Presidential Bid. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 6, 52–73 (2001).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/108118001129172134>.

151.

Adcock, C.: The Politician, The Wife, The Citizen, and her Newspaper. *Feminist Media Studies*. 10, 135–159 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680771003672254>.

152.

Bachmann, I., Harp, D., Loke, J.: Covering Clinton (2010–2015): meaning-making strategies in US magazine covers. *Feminist Media Studies*. 18, 793–809 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1358204>.

153.

Bauer, N.M.: Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates. *Political Psychology*. 36, 691–708 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12186>.

154.

Campus, D.: Women political leaders and the media. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2013).

155.

Carroll, S.J.: Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic. *Politics & Gender*. 5, (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X09000014>.

156.

Craig, S.C., Rippere, P.S.: He Said, She Said: The Impact of Candidate Gender in Negative Campaigns. *Politics & Gender*. 12, 391–414 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X15000550>.

157.

Dunaway, J., Lawrence, R.G., Rose, M., Weber, C.R.: Traits versus Issues. *Political Research Quarterly*. 66, 715–726 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912913491464>.

158.

Escobar-Lemmon, M.C., Hoekstra, V., Kang, A., Kittilson, M.C.: Just the Facts? Media Coverage of Female and Male High Court Appointees in Five Democracies. *Politics & Gender*. 12, 254–274 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000234>.

159.

Fahey, A.C.: French and Feminine: Hegemonic Masculinity and the Emasculation of John Kerry in the 2004 Presidential Race. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*. 24, 132–150 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393180701262743>.

160.

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

161.

Garcia-Blanco, I., Wahl-Jorgensen, K.: The Discursive Construction of Women Politicians in the European Press. *Feminist Media Studies*. 12, 422–441 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2011.615636>.

162.

Hayes, D., Lawless, J.L.: A Non-Gendered Lens? Media, Voters, and Female Candidates in Contemporary Congressional Elections. *Perspectives on Politics*. 13, 95–118 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714003156>.

163.

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

164.

Heflick, N.A., Goldenberg, J.L.: Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 45, 598–601 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.008>.

165.

Heflick, N.A., Goldenberg, J.L., Cooper, D.P., Puvia, E.: From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 47, 572–581 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.020>.

166.

Jamieson, K.H.: *Beyond the double bind: women and leadership*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY (1995).

167.

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

168.

Kittilson, M.C., Fridkin, K.: Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective. *Politics & Gender*. 4, (2008).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X08000330>.

169.

Lachover, E.: Signs of change in media representation of women in Israeli politics: Leading and peripheral women contenders. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*. 18, 446–463 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915610991>.

170.

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

171.

Ross, K., Comrie, M.: The rules of the (leadership) game: Gender, politics and news. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*. 13, 969–984 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911433255>.

172.

Meeks, L.: Getting Personal: Effects of Twitter Personalization on Candidate Evaluations. *Politics & Gender*. 13, 1–25 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000696>.

173.

Semetko, H.A., Boomgaarden, H.G.: Reporting Germany's 2005 Bundestag Election Campaign: Was Gender an Issue? *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 12, 154–171 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X07307383>.

174.

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

175.

Trimble, L., Wagner, A., Sampert, S., Raphael, D., Gerrits, B.: Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975–2012. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 18, 462–481 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161213495455>.

176.

Trimble, L., Raphael, D., Sampert, S., Wagner, A., Gerrits, B.: Politicizing Bodies: Hegemonic Masculinity, Heteronormativity, and Racism in News Representations of Canadian Political Party Leadership Candidates. *Women's Studies in Communication*. 38, 314–330 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2015.1062836>.

177.

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

178.

Valenzuela, S., Correa, T.: Press Coverage and Public Opinion On Women Candidates. *International Communication Gazette*. 71, 203–223 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048508100913>.

179.

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

180.

Wagner, A., Trimble, L., Sampert, S., Gerrits, B.: Gender, Competitiveness, and Candidate Visibility in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian Party Leadership Contests. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 22, 471–489 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161217723150>.

181.

Ward, O.: Seeing Double: Race, Gender, and Coverage of Minority Women's Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives. *Politics & Gender*. 12, 317–343 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000222>.

182.

Wasburn, P.C., Wasburn, M.H.: Media coverage of women in politics: The curious case of Sarah Palin. *Media, Culture & Society*. 33, 1027–1041 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711415744>.

183.

Kenski, K., Jamieson, K.H. eds: The Oxford handbook of political communication. Oxford University Press, New York (2014).

184.

Wolfsfeld, G.: Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication. Routledge, New York (2011).

185.

Boczkowski, P.J., Papacharissi, Z. eds: **Trump and the media. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (2018).

186.

W. Lance Bennett, Shanto Iyengar: A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. Journal of Communication. 58, 707–731 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00410.x>.

187.

Heinz Brandenburg, Marcel Van Egmond: Pressed into Party Support? Media Influence on Partisan Attitudes during the 2005 UK General Election Campaign. British Journal of Political Science. 42, 441–463 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123411000445>.

188.

Curran, J.: Media and power. Routledge, London (2002).

189.

D. T. Denver: Elections and voters in Britain. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2012).

190.

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

191.

Iyengar, S., Kinder, D.R.: News that matters: television and American opinion. University of

Chicago Press, Chicago (2010).

192.

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

193.

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

194.

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

195.

Doris A. Graber: Media power in politics. CQ Press, Washington, DC (2011).

196.

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

197.

Diana Carole Mutz: Impersonal influence: how perceptions of mass collectives affect political attitudes. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1998).

198.

D. C. Mutz, L. Young: Communication and Public Opinion: Plus Ça Change? Public Opinion Quarterly. 75, 1018–1044 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfr052>.

199.

NEWTON, K.: May the weak force be with you: The power of the mass media in modern politics. *European Journal of Political Research*. 45, 209–234 (2006).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00296.x>.

200.

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

201.

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

202.

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

203.

Lynn Vavreck: *The message matters: the economy and presidential campaigns*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ (2009).

204.

Lynda Lee Kaid: *Handbook of political communication research*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, N.J. (2004).

205.

Lawrence Leduc: Opinion change and voting behaviour in referendums. *European Journal of Political Research*. 41, 711–732 (2002). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00027>.

206.

Schuck, A.R.T., de Vreese, C.H.: Reversed Mobilization in Referendum Campaigns: How Positive News Framing Can Mobilize the Skeptics. *The International Journal of*

Press/Politics. 14, 40–66 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161208326926>.

207.

C. H. de Vreese, Holli A. Semetko: Political campaigning in referendums: framing the referendum issue. Routledge, London (2004).

208.

C. H. de Vreese: The dynamics of referendum campaigns: an international perspective. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2007).

209.

M. Wettstein: Frame Adoption in Referendum Campaigns: The Effect of News Coverage on the Public Salience of Issue Interpretations. *American Behavioral Scientist*. 56, 318–333 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426328>.

210.

Chadwick, A.: *The hybrid media system: politics and power*. Oxford University Press, New York (2017).

211.

Grasseger, H., Krogerus, M.: *The Data That Turned the World Upside Down*. Motherboard. (2017).

212.

Baldwin-Philippi, J.: The Myths of Data-Driven Campaigning. *Political Communication*. 34, 627–633 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1372999>.

213.

50,000 Heck*ng Facebook Ad Variants?! – Steve Olson – Medium.

214.

Chadwick, A., Howard, P.N., Dawson Books: Routledge handbook of internet politics. Routledge, London (2010).

215.

Vaccari, C., Ebooks Corporation Limited: Digital politics in Western democracies: a comparative study. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland (2013).

216.

Klinger, U., Russmann, U.: "Beer is more efficient than social media"—Political parties and strategic communication in Austrian and Swiss national elections. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*. 14, 299–313 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2017.1369919>.

217.

Magin, M., Podschuweit, N., Haßler, J., Russmann, U.: 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*. 20, 1698–1719 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1254269>.

218.

Theviot, A.: 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*. 14, 158–177 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1057/fp.2016.7>.

219.

Digital-Born and Legacy News Media on Twitter during the UK General Election, <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.

221.

Jungherr, A.: Four Functions of Digital Tools in Election Campaigns. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 21, 358–377 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216642597>.

222.

Magin, M., Podschuweit, N., Haßler, J., Russmann, U.: 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*. 20, 1698–1719 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1254269>.

223.

Magin, M., Podschuweit, N., Haßler, J., Russmann, U.: 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*. 20, 1698–1719 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1254269>.

224.

Dommett, K., Temple, L.: Digital Campaigning: The Rise of Facebook and Satellite Campaigns. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 71, 189–202 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsx056>.

225.

Wring, D., Mortimore, R., Atkinson, S. eds: *Political Communication in Britain*. Springer International Publishing, Cham (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-40934-4>.

226.

Holtz-Bacha, C., Just, M.R.: *Routledge handbook of political advertising*. Routledge, New York, NY (2017).

227.

Alexander, J.C.: The performance of politics: Obama's victory and the democratic struggle for power. Oxford University Press, New York (2010).

228.

Boczkowski, P.J., Papacharissi, Z. eds: Trump and the media. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (2018).

229.

Enli, G.: 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*. 32, 50–61 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116682802>.

230.

Karpp, D.: Digital politics after Trump. *Annals of the International Communication Association*. 41, 198–207 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2017.1316675>.

231.

Faris, R.M., Roberts, H., Etling, B., Bourassa, N., Zuckerman, E., Benkler, Y.: Partisanship, Propaganda, and Disinformation: Online Media and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election. (2017).

232.

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

233.

Kim, Y.M., Hsu, J., Neiman, D., Kou, C., Bankston, L., Kim, S.Y., Heinrich, R., Baragwanath, R., Raskutti, G.: The stealth media? Groups and targets behind divisive issue campaigns on Facebook. *Political Communication*. 35, 515–541 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2018.1476425>.

234.

Kreiss, D., McGregor, S.C.: Technology firms shape political communication: The work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google with campaigns during the 2016 US presidential cycle. *Political Communication*. 35, 155–177 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1364814>.

235.

Kreiss, D.: Trump, Breitbart, and the Rejection of Multicultural Democracy – Medium. (2017).

236.

Lawrence, R.G., Boydston, A.E.: What We Should Really Be Asking About Media Attention to Trump. *Political Communication*. 34, 150–153 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1262700>.

237.

Lilleker, D., Jackson, D., Thorsen, E., Veneti, A. eds: US Election Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign. Bournemouth University, Fern Barrow, Poole, Dorset, BH12 5BB, UK (2016).

238.

Patterson, T.E.: 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).

239.

Penney, J.: Social Media and Citizen Participation in "Official" and "Unofficial" Electoral Promotion: A Structural Analysis of the 2016 Bernie Sanders Digital Campaign. *Journal of Communication*. 67, 402–423 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12300>.

240.

Sides, J., Farrell, H.: The Science of Trump: Explaining the Rise of an Unlikely Candidate. The Monkey Cage (2016).

241.

Boczkowski, P.J., Papacharissi, Z. eds: Trump and the media. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (2018).

242.

Wells, C., Shah, D.V., Pevehouse, J.C., Yang, J., Pelled, A., Boehm, F., Lukito, J., Ghosh, S., Schmidt, J.L.: How Trump Drove Coverage to the Nomination: Hybrid Media Campaigning. *Political Communication*. 33, 669–676 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1224416>.

243.

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

244.

Downs, W.M.: There Goes the Neighbourhood? The 'Americanisation' of Elections, with Evidence from Scotland's Parliament. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 65, 758–777 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsr034>.

245.

Caramani, D. ed: Comparative politics. Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom (2017).

246.

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

247.

Holtz-Bacha, C., Just, M.R.: Routledge handbook of political advertising. Routledge, New York, NY (2017).

248.

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

249.

Scammell, M.: Consumer democracy: the marketing of politics. Cambridge University Press, New York (2014).

250.

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

251.

Reinemann, C. ed: Political communication. De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin (2014).

252.

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

253.

Tenscher, J., Mykkänen, J., Moring, T.: Modes of professional campaigning: A four country comparison in the European parliamentary elections, 2009. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 17, 145–168 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161211433839>.

254.

Tenscher, J., Koc-Michalska, K., Lilleker, D.G., Mykkänen, J., Walter, A.S., Findor, A., Jalali, C., Róka, J.: The professionals speak: Practitioners' perspectives on professional election campaigning. European Journal of Communication. 31, 95–119 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323115612212>.

255.

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

256.

Baldwin-Philippi, J.: Using technology, building democracy: digital campaigning and the construction of citizenship. Oxford University Press, New York (2015).

257.

Bennett, W.L., Segerberg, A., Knüpfer, C.B.: The democratic interface: technology, political organization, and diverging patterns of electoral representation. *Information, Communication & Society*. 21, 1655–1680 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1348533>.

258.

Bruns, A., Enli, G., Skogerbø, E., Larsson, A.O., Christensen, C. eds: The Routledge companion to social media and politics. Routledge, London (2015).

259.

Chadwick, A., Stromer-Galley, J. eds: Special Issue Title: Digital Media, Power, and Democracy in Election Campaigns. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 21,.

260.

Dimitrova, D.V., Matthes, J.: Social Media in Political Campaigning Around the World: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. 95, 333–342 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699018770437>.

261.

Freelon, D., Karpf, D.: Of big birds and bayonets: hybrid Twitter interactivity in the 2012 Presidential debates. *Information, Communication & Society*. 18, 390–406 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.952659>.

262.

Gibson, R.K., McAllister, I.: Normalising or equalising party competition? Assessing the impact of the web on election campaigning. *Political Studies*. 63, 529–547 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12107>.

263.

Karpf, D.: *The MoveOn effect: the unexpected transformation of American political advocacy*. Oxford University Press, New York (2012).

264.

Karpf, D.: *Analytic activism: digital listening and the new political strategy*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY (2016).

265.

Kreiss, D.: *Taking our country back: the crafting of networked politics from Howard Dean to Barack Obama*. Oxford University Press, New York (2012).

266.

Coleman, S., Freelon, D. eds: *Handbook of digital politics*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, Cheltenham (2015).

267.

Kreiss, D.: *Prototype politics: technology-intense campaigning and the data of democracy*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY (2016).

268.

Kreiss, D.: Seizing the moment: The presidential campaigns' use of Twitter during the 2012 electoral cycle. *New Media & Society*. 18, 1473–1490 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814562445>.

269.

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

270.

Lilleker, D.G., Tenscher, J., Štětka, V.: Towards hypermedia campaigning? Perceptions of new media's importance for campaigning by party strategists in comparative perspective. *Information, Communication & Society*. 18, 747–765 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.993679>.

271.

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

272.

Stromer-Galley, J.: Presidential campaigning in the Internet age. Oxford University Press, New York (2014).

273.

Vaccari, C.: From echo chamber to persuasive device? Rethinking the role of the Internet in campaigns. *New Media & Society*. 15, 109–127 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812457336>.

274.

Vaccari, C.: Digital politics in Western democracies: a comparative study. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland (2013).

275.

Fisher, J. ed: The Routledge handbook of elections, voting behavior and public opinion. Routledge, London, [England] (2018).

276.

Dawson Books: Populist political communication in Europe. Routledge, New York, NY (2017).

277.

US Election Analysis 2016,
<http://www.electionanalysis2016.us/us-election-analysis-2016/introduction/>.

278.

Mark Rice-Oxley: How to spot a populist. Guardian. (2018).

279.

Ernst, N., Esser, F., Blassnig, S., Engesser, S.: 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*. (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161218819430>.

280.

Wettstein, M., Esser, F., Schulz, A., Wirz, D.S., Wirth, W.: 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*. 23, 476–495 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161218785979>.

281.

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

282.

Elena Block: The Populist Communication Style: Toward a Critical Framework. *International Journal of Communication*. 11, (2017).

283.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., de Vreese, C.: How the Media Shape Perceptions of Right-Wing Populist Leaders. *Political Communication*. 28, 182–206 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2011.564605>.

284.

Bos, L., Brants, K.: Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands. *European Journal of Communication*. 29, 703–719 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323114545709>.

285.

de Vreese, C.H., Esser, F., Aalberg, T., Reinemann, C., Stanyer, J.: Populism as an Expression of Political Communication Content and Style: A New Perspective. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 23, 423–438 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161218790035>.

286.

Jagers, J., Walgrave, S.: Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research*. 46, 319–345 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00690.x>.

287.

Jensen, M.J., Bang, H.P.: Populism and Connectivism: An Analysis of the Sanders and Trump Nomination Campaigns. *Journal of Political Marketing*. 16, 343–364 (2017).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2017.1345846>.

288.

Kavada, A.: Editorial: media and the 'populist moment'. *Media, Culture & Society*. 40, 742–744 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718772144>.

289.

ProQuest (Firm): Trump and the media. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (2018).

290.

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

291.

Murphy, J., Devine, D.: Does Media Coverage Drive Public Support for UKIP or Does Public Support for UKIP Drive Media Coverage? *British Journal of Political Science*. 1–18 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000145>.

292.

Rooduijn, M.: The Mesmerising Message: The Diffusion of Populism in Public Debates in Western European Media. *Political Studies*. 62, 726–744 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12074>.

293.

Thesen, G.: News content and populist radical right party support. The case of Denmark. *Electoral Studies*. 56, 80–89 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.09.003>.

294.

Vliegenthart, R., Boomgaarden, H.G., Van Spanje, J.: Anti-Immigrant Party Support and Media Visibility: A Cross-Party, Over-Time Perspective. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 22, 315–358 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2012.693933>.

295.

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

296.

Wood, M., Corbett, J., Flinders, M.: 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. 18, 581–598 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148116632182>.

297.

Political populism: a handbook, Heinisch: Christina Holtz-Bacha, Oscar Mazzoleni (eds.). Nomos, Baden-Baden (2017).

298.

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

299.

Rovira Kaltwasser, C., Taggart, P.A., Ochoa Espejo, P., Ostiguy, P. eds: The Oxford handbook of populism. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2017).

300.

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

301.

March, L.: Left and right populism compared: The British case. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations. 19, 282–303 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148117701753>.

302.

Moffitt, B., Tormey, S.: Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatisation and Political Style. Political Studies. 62, 381–397 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12032>.

303.

Mudde, C.: The Populist Zeitgeist. Government and Opposition. 39, 542–563 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x>.

304.

Mudde, C., Rovira Kaltwasser, C.: *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

305.

Mudde, C., Rovira Kaltwasser, C.: *Populism: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press, New York (2017).

306.

Oliver, J.E., Rahn, W.M.: Rise of the. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 667, 189–206 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216662639>.

307.

Pauwels, T.: Measuring Populism: A Quantitative Text Analysis of Party Literature in Belgium. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*. 21, 97–119 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2011.539483>.

308.

Rooduijn, M., Pauwels, T.: Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis. *West European Politics*. 34, 1272–1283 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2011.616665>.

309.

Snow, D., Moffitt, B.: Straddling the divide: mainstream populism and conservatism in Howard's Australia and Harper's Canada. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 50, 271–292 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2012.692922>.

310.

Stoker, G., Hay, C.: Understanding and Challenging Populist Negativity towards Politics: The Perspectives of British Citizens. *Political Studies*. 65, 4–23 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321715607511>.

311.

Weyland, K.: Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics. *Comparative Politics*. 34, (2001). <https://doi.org/10.2307/422412>.

312.

Sevenans, J.: One concept, many interpretations: the media's causal roles in political agenda-setting processes. *European Political Science Review*. 10, 245–265 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773917000078>.

313.

Wolfsfeld, G.: *Making sense of media and politics: five principles in political communication*. Routledge, New York (2011).

314.

Dekker, R., Scholten, P.: Framing the Immigration Policy Agenda. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 22, 202–222 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216688323>.

315.

Elmelund-Præstekær, C., Wien, C.: What's the Fuss About? The Interplay of Media Hypes and Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 13, 247–266 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161208319292>.

316.

Ihlen, Ø., Thorbjørnsrud, K.: Making news and influencing decisions: Three threshold cases concerning forced return of immigrants. *European Journal of Communication*. 29, 139–152 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323114523149>.

317.

Melenhorst, L.: The Media's Role in Lawmaking. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 20, 297–316 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161215581924>.

318.

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

319.

Robinson, P.: Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics. European Journal of Communication. 16, 523–544 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323101016004005>.

320.

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. 1, 99–107 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635207087630>.

321.

Reinemann, C. ed: Political communication. De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin (2014).

322.

Van Aelst, P., Walgrave, S.: Information and Arena: The Dual Function of the News Media for Political Elites. Journal of Communication. 66, 496–518 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12229>.

323.

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

324.

Schnell, K.C., Frauke: Assessing the Democratic Debate: How the News Media Frame Elite Policy Discourse. Political Communication. 18, 183–213 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1080/105846001750322970>.

325.

Joly, J.: Do the Media Influence Foreign Aid Because or in Spite of the Bureaucracy? A Case Study of Belgian Aid Determinants. *Political Communication*. 31, 584–603 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2013.879361>.

326.

Jones, B.D., Baumgartner, F.R.: From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing. *Policy Studies Journal*. 40, 1–20 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2011.00431.x>.

327.

Kenamer, J.D.: *Public opinion, the press, and public policy*. Praeger, Westport, Conn (1994).

328.

Kingdon, J.W.: *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. Longman, New York (2003).

329.

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

330.

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

331.

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

332.

Walgrave, S., Soroka, S., Nuytemans, M.: The Mass Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power. *Comparative Political Studies*. 41, 814–836 (2008).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006299098>.

333.

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

334.

Yanovitzky, I.: Effects of News Coverage on Policy Attention and Actions. *Communication Research*. 29, 422–451 (2002). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650202029004003>.

335.

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

336.

Gilboa, E.: The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations. *Political Communication*. 22, 27–44 (2005).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600590908429>.

337.

Livingston, S.: Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention - Shorenstein Center,
<https://shorensteincenter.org/clarifying-the-cnn-effect-media-effects-and-military-intervention/>, (1997).

338.

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

339.

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

340.

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