

# Whoever Controls the Media Controls the Mind

## Role of Media Technology, its Operation in Gathering Political Influence

Ghurni Bhattacharya

**Abstract:-** This paper titled “Whoever Controls The Media Controls The Mind” explores around the role of media technology its operation in gathering political influence as it leaps off with the essence of actual meaning of media in the introductory phase differentiating from the definition of mass media revolving around certain aspects of evolution ,importance, forms ,purposes, professions involved ,active roles performed for societal betterment including all the negative effects and impacts in society and also integrating role of media in political operationalisation and gathering its influence thus concluding part reflects the title of the paper is appropriately justified through the entire argument of the paper .

### ➤ Purpose

Projects different forms of media’s contribution In channelization of politics and political influence such as winning election including its negative impacts viz politico media complex, internet shutdown, media blackout etc.

### ➤ Scope

Explores definition of media, its importance in society as well as significance in arena of politics involving several forms which favors political mobilization through its roles.

### ➤ Limitation

This paper is restricted to only secondary resources such as articles, bulletins, websites and books tried to draw a correlation of both global and Indian political mobilization.

### ➤ Methodology

This Paper draws largely from secondary books ,articles ,bulletins and websites mentioned in the bibliography section and Bibliography section

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the definition of media, its role in contemporary society and how it differentiates from the definition of mass media thus the evolution and progress of media and mass media ,its purpose ,importance in society and professions involved with media remains intertwined with its role ,mechanization and operationalisation in society as well as in the arena of politics and how different forms of media encourages political activism ,mobilization in today’s contemporary society which shapes the fabric of decision making capacity playing an active role in gathering political influence such as manipulating election results through direct and indirect mechanism of brand awareness ,political media complex thus determining and

highlighting upon the fact that “whoever controls the media controls mind”(Jim Morrison).

The term ‘Media’ in its modern sense of application was first stated by Marshall McLuhan. H.L Mencken used The phrase “mass media” in early 1923 in US and the term medium considered as the singular form of media signifying mode or carrier depicts one of the means or channels of general communication ,information or entertainment in society in the form of newspapers ,radio or television provided that there are several typology of media regulations ( Government regulations which further includes licensing ,Government endorsed appointments Internet regulations, Self regulation which can be further categorized at the regional level international organizations and NGO,Private sector ,fast checking and news literacy ).Media are the communication outlets used to register and present information indicating towards components of mass media viz print media ,publishing news media ,photography ,cinema ,broadcasting involving radio and television and advertising. Development of early writing and paper favored longer distance communication systems such as mail including the Persian or Roman empire as early forms of media where Howard Rheingold who helped and framed early forms of media such as Lascaux cave paintings which proceeds and seeks towards alternative ways to carry human communication beyond short range of voice such as smoke signal ,sculpture are notable. Media is also considered to be the sword arm of democracy as it acts as a watch dog by protecting and saving public interest against malpractices by raising public awareness. Internet is one of the most effective mechanism such as email Skype ,face book have made connections and brought people closer together but it is arguably signifies the hindrance of face to face communication .Consumer driven society involving electronic media and print media plays a pivotal role therefore more technologically advanced societies comprises of newer forms of media . The advertising role of media is considered to be a mechanism for sharing and distributing knowledge around the globe where emergence of internet can be considered as bridging the gap between developed and developing countries thus media can be considered as modern form of communication aiming at spreading knowledge barring discrimination. Telecommunication impacted communication thus first transatlantic two way radio broadcast took place in 1906 accompanied by analog telecommunication includes some radio systems ,historical telephony and digital communication including computer mediated communication ,telegraphy etc . The abrupt development of Electronic media usage has mixed social engagement effect where one report by Wellman illustrates 33 % of internet users supported internet as it improvises connections in major aspects while 23 % said internet had risen up the

quality of their communication with family members even it affected socio psychological impact among separate age group people such as 19 % of employed internet users said that the internet had increased the amount of time they spent working in home where as teenagers opined that internet had improved their connection to friends .Electronic media invites the new forms of tablets ,laptops ,desktops cell phones ,mp3 players and the rapid growth of technology intertwined with electronic media had shifted the definition of the term Media at a broader horizon. Following Marshal McLuhan “the medium is the message” where games are a medium to exchange information .Apart from that Media psychology, media and gender, media manipulation are other notable issues engaged in the field of Media as a form of communication.

Mass media ,a diverse and broad array of media technologies which reaches a larger audience with the help of mass communication .There are certain issues with the definition as in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century , mass media could be classified into eight mass media industries :books ,the internet ,magazines ,movies ,newspapers ,radio ,recordings and television but the emergence of digital communication that happened In late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century highlighted upon the fact that which mode or form of media should be considered as mass media therefore the notion of “seven mass media” includes PRINT (books,pamphlets,newspapers ,magazines etc)from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century ,Recordings (gramophone records ,magnetic tapes etc )from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century ,cinema from about 1900 radio from 1910,television from 1950 ,mobile phones from about 2000.and each field comprises of their own content notably technicians ,creative artists along with the fact that transmission of mass advertising to millions of people is another way of mass communication . John Thompson’s notion of mass media has certain traits engaging technical and institutional methods of production and distribution and incorporates comodification of symbolic forms. The term mass media can be often thought off as mainstream media which largely differs from alternative media from the perspective and content. Forty thousand years back paintings on the walls of a cave on the island of Sulawesi , Indonesia ,cave paintings in France and Spain considered as the first instance of communicating through a medium but the audience is restricted to small number .The essence of the history of mass media can be evidenced back in the traditional performances when drama was performed in various ancient cultures probably the first time termed as broadcasted to a large number of people .Diamond Sutra printed in china in 868 AD is the first dated printed books though evidence of printed books discovered earlier. Due to the slow spread literacy and high cost of paper the earliest printed mass medium was probably European popular prints from 1400 approximately which did not survive. The terminology “mass media originally derived with the establishment of print media ,the first example of mass media .Invention of printing press by Johannes Guttenberg opened the new horizon for mass production of books and in 1453 a latin bible was printed and this give rise to some first forms of mass communication .Newspapers developed from 1612 and

took until 19<sup>th</sup> century to reach mass due to the low literacy pace with the development of well knit transportation system.”Media “ started to be in effective use from 1920 but this notion is strictly restricted to the print media till Post second world war condition though the audio visual facility attracted audience as they were both the carriers of information and entertainment .The arrival of photography as a media changed the scenario. Matthew Brady whose photographs of the US Civil war was noted “home to us the terribly reality of war” by The New York times. By late 19<sup>th</sup> century new technology facilitated newspapers to print photographs. 1895 witnessed Lumiere brothers who showed first public demonstrations of moving pictures .A series of dots and dashes should be transmitted via telegraph wire and received the other end invented by Samuel Morse in 1835 through which messages could be sent over long distances with a high speed and telegraph messages were in use till 21<sup>st</sup> century .Instant two way voice communication was possible as telephone was invented by Alexander Graham Bell and in 1901 Guglielmo Marconi found a radio antenna which was attached to a kite which favors instant wireless communication later . Reginald Fessenden transmitted speech across Atlantic five years later .The technology of television kept improving since 1948 to 2017 and from APPRANET in 1974 with the birth of Google search Engine to evolution and modification of internet, Internet can be referred to as the mammoth of information delivery system. Indian context highlights upon the fact that The first newspaper started in 1780 when James Augustus Hickey started his Bengal Gazette and the first local newspaper named Samachar Darpan was launched in the year 1818 in Bengali language.Forms of mass media includes broadcast ,film,videogames,audio recording and reproduction,internet,blogs,RSS feeds,Podcast,Mobile,magazine ,newspaper, outdoor media. The content sequencing in broadcast is referred to as a schedule. Radio and television programs are presented in frequency bands along with cable television programs consisting more restricted audience. Broadcasting organization can broadcast programs simultaneously viz BBC ONE and TWO thereby digital radio and digital television follows multiplex programming .It is to be noted when broadcasting happens with the help of internet it is referred to as webcasting while the term film involves upon the notion of moving pictures which derives from the name of photographic film also known as film stock .Film occurring in series of frames with rapid succession then an illusion of motion is created and thereby films are produced by recording capturing objects and people with cameras ,creating animation techniques and special effects which is an important art form because it enlightens ,entertains and educates people .Blogging and internet are significant forms of media . Mobile which was first invented in Japan in 1979 and appeared as mass media in 1998 is an interactive media that encompasses a much wider reach comparing internet .Magazines are periodical publication both consumer and business as well as General interest magazines and special interest magazines whereas the most significance purpose of magazine is to inform people about important events or issues and this form

though thrived even after facing tough competition from technologies such as radio ,television and internet .Apart from that outdoor media including billboards,signs,placards, played a crucial role as form of mass media.Consistent coverage of media for many community ,groups and organization is beneficial which created a several impact on the functionality because if people comes to know about the functionability of the organization then gaining support would be maximized but if media attention priority exceeds the work then impact goes negative thereby differentiation occurs .The significance of media is nothing but covers a larger distance and hence reaches the message to the wider audience even fixation of target audience regulation is possible following it facilitates giving free public exposure to not only information about a particular event but publicity for a respective organization or group thus strengthening it's legitimacy and increasing of the profile among general public ,among decision makers and VIPs encouraging opportunity for swaying opinions thereby media ,source of immense knowledge transmits information and raises our consciousness where it does not puts forward its own perspectives on us and plays a role of the analyst being it a debatable topic possibly providing hence to raise voice against social evils by providing true pictures and live telecast for various events and in that way educates the society .Certain purposes of mass media viz advocacy involving business and social concerns thereafter advertising ,marketing public relations propaganda can be included .Another purpose which can be highlighted is entertainment throwing light upon traditional performance of acting ,music TV shows ,light reading ,computer games video along with that Public Service Announcements and emergency alerts which can be utilized as political device to communicate propaganda and agenda to the targeted public audience .Professions involving mass media includes Journalism, which is the field of collecting and gathering analyzing ,verifying and presenting information be it current events, trends issues thus encompassing people .Professionals involved thus widely regarded s the journalists which later throws a beam of light into the field of professional journalism "First rough draft of history "according to Phil Graham is subjected to News oriented journalism .Public relations ,both the art as well as science of managing communication between an organization and its public to establish , manage and sustain such as corporations ,Non profit organizations and politicians .Publishing engages production of literature and information which reaches out to public for observation .There are traditional circulation of information in the form of books and newspapers and emergence of digital information systems such as internet the scope of publication had risen to websites .The mode of publication is also business and legal concept which also illustrates upon the fact of software publishing is an industry between developer and the distributor .Apart from that there are several internet based profession such as you tuber or memer earned their fame and recreated their identity on the basis of their profession by creating and promoting video contents on the public video sharing online sites and many

YouTube celebrities created their professions through sponsorships ,advertisements etc.

In contemporary times when politicians are taking their positions ,evil nexus of mafia and crime syndicate horrifies the lives of common people media should take much more responsibility as the fourth pillar of democracy and it has an effective role to act against injustice oppression, misdeeds and partiality of the society coupled with agenda setting theory since the days of freedom struggle newspapers like Tilka's Maratha or Young India provided new zeal and encouragement to the freedom fighters and in the dawn of liberalization, privatization and globalization the world is in our drawing room with the effective role of television ,a visual tool which educates ,entertains and shapes up the opinions and through worldwide web people can raise their voice in the form of blogging ,website posts, social media like face book and twitter thus media helps in fighting against nepotism ,corruption etc.just like "the crusade" adopted by Indian media for nirbhaya rape case ,which shapes the public opinion thereby media is the cheapest means of mass education and for the reach of development goals in terms of literacy media plays a very significant role.

Roses have thorns ,so do media as it can consequence national and antinational strife and jeopardize social balance and harmony as it presents biased coverage fuels hatred and anarchy forgetting the notion of neutral journalism .in a developing country like India all the media channels in order to improvise their TRP neglects the crucial issues viz malnutrition ,gender gap thus non issues become issues and broadcasted without any homework thereby widespread manipulation and distortion of facts coupled with yellow journalism. The Government realized the potentiality and effectiveness of social media presenting an initiative like MyGov portal which can help in citizen-state interaction thus these social media handles are cross platforms where ideas could be exchanged implying upon the negativity of it as it causes the sufferings of mental trauma and instigates the notion of "Global epidemic of sameness . Hallin and Mancini(2004) described the extent of political biasness of media content and political affiliation of organization is measure of political parallelism which traced back In pre independence time in India as well as professionalization indicates that media is not suppressed by any pressure and which favors ethical norms but Indian media is not that autonomous hence standard of professionalism is low due to the factor of politicization as Indian media are highly commercialized accompanied by ethical values of Indian media deteriorated and media content is commercially motivated and entertainment oriented and it was to be noted according to Global Print Media major publication and international papers is not biasfree evidenced by 140<sup>th</sup> position among 197 countries by Annual index of media freedom brought by Reporters Without Borders Though free media is essential for India as according to the Delhi based Software Freedom Law centre India experienced and recorded highest number of Internet shutdowns (restriction imposed by Government on data service ),Kashmir being the

epicenter of it (145 days of Internet shutdown ) depriving the people and hampering their livelihoods along with media blackout revolves around censorship of news related to certain issues especially which is key feature of media remaining silent even in crucial issues highlighting upon the notion of politico media complex or political media complex .

The New political media encourages the production ,and exchange of political content on platforms within networks involving collaboration and interaction which has effective implication for democratic governance and political practices by altering the mechanism of operationalisation of political leaders .The political media system was complicated by the emergence of new media which sets agenda for public discussion issues by providing a forum for political discussions thus new media directly engages the public in political activities such as voting though the media disseminate unreliable uprising of political content .The fusion of politics and entertainment attracted audiences which political observers and scholars observed as “new media populism” that would bring more engagement as well as active role in political discourse as new media provides access to political information which fosters wide participation coupled with application of emerging digital communication and the digital environment ,platforms transformed the political media system where mention could be made of Obama’s team and their revolutionized utilization of social media in an unwinnable election as the campaigns extended to such a level that it used social media to gather data about political and preference of the people following which they created voter profiles viz young professional voters with customized messages and research highlights upon the fact that people’s access to social media networks has a tendency for active participation in politics though political division are reflected in media’s presence ,“echo chambers “where people select news ,information based on their political preference along with that notion of post truth media developed where accounts of election was infested with baseless rumors ,misinformation and the most extreme form of post truth reporting is the rise of fake news whose definition shifts overtime and is probably fluid. Media sometimes takes sides such as in recent Colombian election media played a key role in influencing public vote as well politicians don’t want audience to see The war with guerrilla because it would make population scared hence television plays a crucial role in political socialization and also increased number of voters and with the medium of newspaper government can be criticized for adopted actions but media and politicians portray a picture perfect setting of the world in front of commoners tending to conceal the truth .The role of free media in influencing political discourse during elections is mention worthy thus citizens are more turned towards the “fourth estate though the ethics of print and social media is debatable .Even Narendra Modi coined an interesting term “news traders “pointing out to a section of media who were hostile towards his perspectives and he interestingly cultivated social media as propaganda mechanism and thereby it is clear that no politicians barring their powerfulness neglects media thereafter media and

politics share a symbiotic relationship though the media being oligopoly is a disconcerting fact .Forensically it is examined that the power of the media internationally is to define politics .The new political sphere is full of commercials blog posts and hundreds of tweets .Through social media politicians reflected their message through endless commercials, observe direct responses to their deeds via face book or twitter thus social media shapes a new political dialogue thus Indian political field witnessed the ‘online battle’ between Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party .It is to be noted during the 2014 loksabha election internet users had risen up drastically with thirty seven percent of urban Indian registration irrespective of having voting rights all encouraged the voting pattern directly o indirectly where it was observed that India poll in 2014 with younger electorate as the election commission estimates that the number of first time voter would rise upto 149.36 million and this group were active social media users thus one of the positive effect of the emergence of social media is the youth is actively engaging into politics so social media have constructed the idea of “global village “which provides anonymity to its agents, users can use multiple media for in depth information side by side ,the private and public life of the people gets merged into public space ,through this mode information spread very swiftly where YouTube ,blogs,wiki,twitter face book plays a pivotal role and according to Jungherr (2016) twitter is one of the most widely adopted social media platforms for political purposes which includes both direct mobilization and indirect mobilization where press takes up an active role . The victory of AAP(AAm AAdmi Party and much of the election termed as the battle of perspectives and perceptions was fought in social media where out of 13 million registered voters 12.15 were online thus AAP collaborated street power with online media campaigns. Apart from that its not just about news but also about YouTube ,video roll outs which facilitated user to share video clips. It is mention worthy that in case of social media message is more important than the messenger thus media has become central to politics and public life in contemporary democracy. The political influence of media counts on influence of political opinions of voters ,determination of the behavior and of candidates and officials such as President Franklin Roosevelt’s Fireside chat which favors to heal economic depression and war as he communicated via radio and establishment of public agenda .Bharatiya Janata Party extensively used social media platforms and each political leaders have social media accounts even through NaMo App merchandise such as t-shirts ,mugs helps in effective political mobilization followed by examining several cartoons and memes also indicates political parties work whether in the form of sarcasm or praise germinating seeds of mobilization dependent upon the inclination towards that particular organization such as Rachita Taneja,s comic strip is of utmost importance in organizing anti –CAA and Anti NRC resistance following Hash tag trends (#SOSJaMIa,#SOSAMU) of serious brutalities happened in Jamia ,Sabarmati hostel of JNU are flooded in our news feeds and Smartphone which helped in mass mobilization

in support of resistance provided that any form of resistance poetry, songs videos going viral is also an important part organizing resistance .

## II. CONCLUSION

This title of the paper “Whoever controls the media, controls the mind “is justified throughout the argument of the paper as it is noticed how media with all its affectivities and negative impacts encourages political operationalisation through several mechanisms of its forms and ensures political mobilization, activism which is significant in the arena of politics as well as in today’s contemporary society and time which can be stated as research finding of the paper.

## REFERENCES

- [1]. Mass Media and Political Accountability-Timothy Besley,Robin burgess and Andrea Pratt
- [2]. Role Of Media In Indian Democracy –Thomas Jefferson
- [3]. Impact of Social Media on Politics –Surjit Kaur and Manpreet Kaur
- [4]. Media, Politics and Democracy :A Critical Perspective –Ekmel Gecer
- [5]. The Role Of Social Media In Creating Political Awareness And Mobilizing Political Protests A Focus on Turkey –Ender Yunus
- [6]. The Role Of Social Media In Modern –Day Politics
- [7]. Social Media –The New Power Of Political Influence –Suomen Toivo –Think Tank
- [8]. Role of Social Media in Political Campaigning and its Evaluation Methodology:A Review-K.Anil Kumar,Subhasree Natarnjan
- [9]. Internet Shutdown :An Ongoing Breach off Choie nd Freedom in Kashmir –Ishfaq Masjid
- [10]. Indian Media System :An Application of Comparative Media Approach –Sehrish Mushtaq and Fawad Baig
- [11]. Useof New Media in Indian Political Campaigning System –Rahul K
- [12]. Social Media for Political Mobilization in India :A Study –Meti V,Khandoba PK and Guru MC
- [13]. Indian Mass Media ,Development and Globalisation- Manvi Sharma
- [14]. Social Media and the Electoral Politics in India – Dikshita Buragohain
- [15]. Use of Social Media in India and Political Communication –Aasita Bali and Shivani Jagan
- [16]. News,Political Knowledge and Participation :The Differential Effects of News Media Exposure on Political Knowledge and Partipation –Claes H.de Vreese and Hajo Boomgaarden
- [17]. The Changing Face of Indian Media –Justice G.N Ray
- [18]. Framing as a theory of Media Effects –Dietram A.Scheufele
- [19]. Does Campaigning on Social Media Make a Difference ?Evidence from Candidate Use of Twitter during the 2015 and 2017 UK Elections –Jonathan Bright , Scott Hule ,Bharath Ganesh,Andrew Bulovsky,Helen Margetts and Phil Howard
- [20]. <https://feminisminindia.com/2020/01/15/social-media-protests-against-caa/?amp>
- [21]. <https://www.focusmagazine.in/why-mainstream-media-is-silent-on-bjp-governments-crony-capitalism-in-jharkhand/>
- [22]. <http://www.kolki.com/peace/Why-Media-Is-Silent-Mod.htm>
- [23]. <https://techterms.com/amp/definition/media>
- [24]. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politico-media\\_complex](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politico-media_complex)
- [25]. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media\\_\(communication\)](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_(communication))
- [26]. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mass\\_media](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mass_media)
- [27]. <https://owlcation.com/humanities/A-Short-History-of-Media>
- [28]. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/amgovernment/chapter/the-evolution-of-the-media/>
- [29]. <https://www.kom.lu.se/en/education/media-history/>
- [30]. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/media-history>
- [31]. <https://open.lib.umn.edu/mediaandculture/chapter/1-3-the-evolution-of-media/>
- [32]. <http://j387mediahistory.weebly.com/media-history-timeline.html>
- [33]. <http://www.nimc-india.com/history-mass-media-india.html>
- [34]. [https://www.ourcommunity.com.au/marketing/marketing\\_article.jsp?articleId=1593](https://www.ourcommunity.com.au/marketing/marketing_article.jsp?articleId=1593)
- [35]. <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-importance-of-media-How-is-it-used>
- [36]. <https://www.mediaglobal.org/the-definition-and-significance-of-media>
- [37]. <https://www.importantindia.com/24009/meaning-and-importance-of-media/>
- [38]. <https://almerja.com/en/more.php?pid=525>
- [39]. <https://www.native-english.ru/topics/mass-media-in-our-life>
- [40]. <https://jayasreesown.wordpress.com/2017/05/18/role-of-media-in-our-society/>
- [41]. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_media\\_use\\_in\\_politics](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_media_use_in_politics)
- [42]. <https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/the-new-media-s-role-in-politics/amp/>
- [43]. <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/media/role-of-media-in-politics-media-essay.php>
- [44]. <https://www.ethicssage.com/2016/10/the-role-of-the-media-in-politics.html>
- [45]. <http://www.elections.in/blog/role-of-media-in-indian-politics/>
- [46]. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-politicalscience/chapter/the-role-of-the-media-in-politics/>
- [47]. <https://m.grin.com/document/159845>
- [48]. <https://www.technologyreview.com/s/613104/the-new-medias-role-in-politics/amp/>
- [49]. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/02/how-social-media-is-transforming-indian-politics/>
- [50]. <https://www.aibd.org.my/node/1219>

- [51]. [https://m.economictimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/145-days-of-internet-shutdown-in-kashmir-no-word-on-service-restoration/amp\\_articleshow/72996839.cms](https://m.economictimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/145-days-of-internet-shutdown-in-kashmir-no-word-on-service-restoration/amp_articleshow/72996839.cms)
- [52]. <https://www.telegraphindia.com/amp/opinion/india-social-media-are-being-systematically-subdued-into-silence/cid/1689241>
- [53]. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media\\_blackout](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_blackout)
- [54]. <https://www.ndtv.com/topic/media-blackout>
- [55]. <https://theprint.in/india/modi-govt-warns-indian-media-against-broadcasting-images-of-anti-citizenship-law-protests/338975/?amp>
- [56]. <https://www.dailyo.in/lite/politics/citizenship-amendment-act-caa-national-register-of-citizens-nrc-new-york-times-washington-post-indian-muslims-false-propaganda-narendra-modi-anti-modi/story/1/32310.html>
- [57]. <https://www.livemint.com/politics/news/digital-campaign-urges-student-protesters-to-understand-cao-nrc/amp-11577209950078.html>
- [58]. <https://feminisminindia.com/2020/01/15/social-media-protests-against-cao/?amp>
- [59]. <https://www.newsgallery.com/article/full/role-social-media-and-art-in-anti-cao-and-anti-nrc-resistance/46476/>
- [60]. <https://www.thehindu.com/society/how-art-on-social-media-became-the-face-of-anti-cao-protests/article30379272.ece/amp/>
- [61]. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/government-and-opposition/article/what-affects-voter-turnout-a-review-articlemetaanalysis-of-aggregate-research/2CCC1F9A8B742953B2D10C87C13D9F12/core-reader>
- [62]. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5833811/>
- [63]. <https://firstmonday.org/article/view/5462/4403>
- [64]. <https://journalism.uoregon.edu/news/six-ways-media-influences-elections>
- [65]. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10584609.2018.1426662>
- [66]. <https://academic.oup.com/jcmc/article/22/6/320/4675176>
- [67]. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/2158244019864484>
- [68]. <https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/publication/polarisation-and-politicisation-the-social-media-strategies-of-indian-political-parties>
- [69]. <https://www.boell.de/en/2014/07/02/freedom-expression-media-india>
- [70]. <https://www.ushistory.org/gov/5d.asp>
- [71]. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0005>
- [72]. <https://www.thehinducentre.com/verdict/commentary/article5843621.ece>
- [73]. <https://inc42.com/resources/how-communication-technology-is-transforming-indian-politics/>
- [74]. <https://www.himalmag.com/media-modi-elections/>
- [75]. <https://www.india-seminar.com/2002/514/514%20mukul%20sharma.htm>