Revue de Traduction et Langues Volume 14 Numéro 02/2015, pp.41-51
Journal of Translation and Languages **مجلة الترجمة واللغات**
ISSN (Print): 1112-3974 **EISSN (Online): 2600-6235**

Facebook during American election Campaigns: a tool for mobilization, fundraising and voting influence

Ghermaoui Amel
Universiy of Mostaganem Abdelhamid Ibn Badis- Algeria
ghermaoui1983@hotmail.com

To cite this paper:
Ghermaoui, A. (2015). Facebook during American election Campaigns: a tool for mobilization, fundraising and voting influence. *Revue Traduction et Langues 14(2),* 41-51.

Abstract: *U.S politicians have introduced a modern way in their electoral campaigns through the use of social media sites in order to transmit their political messages for mobilization purposes. In fact, such sites allow candidates to market themselves and to facilitate interaction with their potential voters. Social media constitutes a shift in the media landscape, patterns a new guide for political communication, and allows candidates craft their political messages. Many scholars posit that traditional methods are losing ground in our modern times. Social networking sites like Face book show their successful use allowing reaching voters and influencing their choices. The purpose of this article is concerned with the analysis of the role this modern way plays taking the American election campaign case. As an example, Barack Obama's campaign is taken as an example*
Keywords: *American election campaigns, social media, voting, Facebook, Barack Obama.*
Résumé : *Les politiciens Américains ont introduit une nouvelle* stratégie *d'information concernant la campagne électorale en utilisant les réseaux sociaux et afin de mobiliser un grand nombre de citoyens. En effet, ce genre de sites permet aux candidats de promouvoir au mieux leur image et faciliter l'interaction avec leurs votants potentiels. Les réseaux sociaux offrent un remarquable outil médiatique, pour transmettre le message politique. Plusieurs érudits avancent que les méthodes traditionnelles utilisées sont en train de perdre du terrain en ces temps modernes. On constate que et les réseaux sociaux tel que Facebook sont ont démontré leur succès permettant d'atteindre les votants et influencer leur choix. Ainsi, l'objet de cet article est d'analyser le rôle que joue cet outil dans le cas des élections Américaines. La campagne électorale de Barack Obama est prise comme exemple. Organiser un champagne électoral.*
Mots clés : *campagne des élections Américaines, réseaux sociaux, vote, Facebook, Barack Obama*.

1. Introduction

Advances in technology, the internet in particular, impacted considerably the landscape of recent political campaigns. Technology has been widely used in political campaigns in different countries. Campaigns have got advantage of technology in order to "inform, target and mobilize voters" (Panagopoulos. C, 2009: 1). As an example, strategists utilise database management and web-based tools for the sake of identifying,

Corresponding author : Ghermaoui Amel

monitoring, and communicating with voters. On one hand, Campaigns rely on software tools to hire and direct staff and volunteers as well as realize campaign plans. Indeed, Software enables campaigners observe the different campaign contributions and expenses and disclose such information to the appropriate regulatory authorities. Pollsters as well utilise web-based tools to interview voters (Panagopoulos, 2009: 1).

Social media has a new character that technology did not have before. Social media is not only a progression in communication technology, it rather conceptualises a recent paradigm on how individuals communicate and engage with each other. The networker on such platforms does not wait for traditional media to explain news; he is rather able to interact with news as well as with his networks of friends and acquaintances beyond the borders of geography. Moreover, social media platforms do not rely on editors or gatekeepers; they are controlled by a given number of rules and codes that started to be developed in our modern times (Gainous and Wagner, 2014: 03).

Furthermore, social media is a two-way form of mass communication. More clearly, it functions in both ways enabling political parties, in the case of politics, to interact with one another instead of one speaking and the other listening. Campaigns used to convey a singular message from candidates via mass media to constituents and voters. Politicians utilized mass media to distribute political messages but citizens were a passive audience. Nevertheless, social media enables users to select the network they want to join as well as to be active members. Users can even be news designers not only receptacle. This revolutionary change in technology allows a new projection of politics and values in advertising and campaigning moments.

As stated earlier, the internet has drastically changed political campaign communication. Because in America public's access to the internet has reached more than 70%, the internet has become one of the most salient political campaign strategies (Panagopoulos, 2009: 2). Therefore, the aim of this paper is to highlight the role that social networking sites among which Facebook are playing in the American election campaign process, starting from mobilization and ending up by influencing voters' choices. The first part of this article will be a brief history of the use media, and technology in particular in the American political campaigns. The second part focuses on Facebook as a modern digital tool to promote American electoral campaigns.

2. In the American Election Campaigns: History of Social Media use

Computational technology revolution that altered the way people communicated with each other and the concept that portrayed people's exchange of ideas using such a technology was referred to as "information superhighway" (Katz, Barris, and Jain 22). At that time platforms like AOL, CompuServe, Prodigy and TelNet were used as channels for emails, bulletin boards and chat forums. In 1994 another site called WhiteHouse. gov was launched by the Clinton administration as a conduit for emails in order to keep in touch with the White House. This way of communication was brand new and emails at that time were gathered, printed and answered through White House form letters. However, this technology was not utilized for internal, interbranch or external communication for a considerable number of years (Katz, Barris and Jain, 2013: 22).

In 1996, presidential candidates were able to create websites and for the first time these websites were featured by the Republican and Democratic nominees. Each party did

its best to engage a broad sweep of the electorate. However, the Clinton-Gore and Dole-Kemp websites did not have a great impact because users were unable to use such a new technology. both campaigns failed at making a link between technology and political content in a proper manner. For instance, both posted audio and video files that contained speeches and rally appearances, allowed interested citizens to receive emails that contained campaign updated content, and unveiled information that concerned press releases and event schedules. Nevertheless, users at that time considered the content that was available online as a repetition to what was already transmitted on television via direct mail, telephone and many other traditional means of communication. Stated differently, such websites served as projections of existing content into the online world. Moreover, internet users of the time were rather using basic dial-up modems, and the websites required a much higher connection speed, "so the impact of any audio-visual content or interactive features were severely curtailed" (Katz, Barris, and Jain, 2013: 24).

However, the scandal of Monica Lewinsky was a turning point in the White House's capabilities to control the press, and its relationship with the American public. Furthermore, the role of the internet could not be ignored as it operated as a communication medium between the public and the White House. On another hand, the internet played a remarkable role in constructing public opinion that supported Bill Clinton and helped him survive impeachment proceedings. The scandal of Monica Lewinsky not only showed that the damaged information flows created by a scandal could be efficiently controlled, but it illustrated also that the White house was no longer able to turn a blind eye on the digital media content and features (Katz, Barris, and Jain, 2013:24).

Between 2000 and 2004, technology knowledge and access to the internet grew rapidly among citizens and politicians as well. Indeed, Bush and Kerry campaigns had websites that not only provided information, but they also played the role of organizational resources. Additionally, both campaigns used their websites to manage the press, post campaign advertisements and schedules, and to efficiently utilise their online talents for organization and mobilization. The Bush Cheney website offered event information and gave permission to registered users to download lists of registered Republicans in their voting precinct". It also provided innovative ways of physical outreach and recommended a narrative for door-to-door meetings. (Katz, Barris, and Jain, 2013:29)

In 2004 online communication witnessed a remarkable change when Democratic Presidential candidate Howard Dean became the first presidential candidate to create and use a blog. He successfully gathered campaign volunteers and supporters by means of the internet. He altered also campaign donations as he was able to raise forty million Dollars online from gifts given by online contributors. By doing so, "he consummated a shot-gun marriage between new technologies and time-honoured constant of politics, money" (Perloff, 2014:249). Moreover, in 2004 video files started to be used in the political world. For instance, a JibJab video was launched at that time which pictured John Kerry and George W. Bush in cartoon-like form singing *"this Land is Your Land" and it got 65 million hits*". (ibid, 249)

Between 2004 and 2008, the launch of social media sites started to exercise a drastic effect on the American political realm, and on the Obama campaign in particular. What makes these platforms different from any previous online platform is that they put

interactivity at the forefront of their interfaces. More importantly, the features of email, bulletin board and news media access are all included in one platform thanks to web 2.0 technology. The year 2008 witnessed "an interesting transition in the race between politics and industry". While the commercial realm had not yet considered social media as a requisite, the Obama campaign decided to engage itself in social media sphere. Teddy Goff, Director of New Media for Obama's 2008 campaign, described Obama's commitment to social media use in politics and claimed *"First of all the candidate himself, Senator Obama, was a person who cared about the internet. Cared about technology. And it was important to him that he be a savvy operator*" (Katz et al, 2013:30). The following table is a timeline of the most important campaign changes in the digital age.

1996	2000	2004	2006	2008	2012
• Presidential candidates create websites.	• Campaign websites become commonplace.	• Democratic candidate Howard Dean becomes first presidential candidate to develop blog. • Dean changes the nature of fundraising, raising money online from many small contributors.	• YouTube videos become more powerful as a video sinks Virginia Senate candidacy of George Allen.	• Obama brings campaign into the digital age, raising record amounts of small online donation; creating a campaign social network; posting numerous YouTube videos; and harnessing social media to link campaign to voluntee	• Social media use grows, becoming a regular part of campaigns. • Twitter becomes a major force in campaigns. • Microtargeting matures and expands.

Table1.Campaign Changes Timeline[1]

3. Facebook's role in American election campaigns

According to Slonick, the inclusion of social networking sites such as Facebook in the world of politics is not new. Since the site evolved from serving students to fulfilling the social needs of the general public, allowing people to communicate with one another.

Politics as well found its place on the Facebook platform. In 2004, Mark Zuckerberg, worked as a field organizer for Democratic presidential candidate, John Kerry. He presided GOTV[2] and mobilization actions. Because the launch of Facebook coincided

[1]Perloff, R.M. (2014), *The Dynamics of political Communication. Media and Politics in a Digital Age*, New York: Taylor and Francis p.249

[2]GOTV is an acronym for Get out to vote. This step precedes campaigns and it is a very important one. The techniques used during this phase include telephoning or sending audio messages to known supporters' days

with the 2004 primary season sessions, it is possible then to state that Zuckerberg's political as well as computing skills were commingling. Patterning a site that "encourages group formation, the basic skill required to make Facebook success, is quite similar to the ultimate goal of any political campaign-mobilization of voters behind a single candidate on Election Day*"* (Slotnick, 2009:251).

Before the advent of social media, candidates used to rely on themselves in order to create an adequate presence online. However, social networking sites, particularly Facebook, have opened new venues for candidates and furnished them with the proper platforms required to enter the online realm safely. As it is known, at the very beginning, Facebook was elite- based community and after two years it became public-based one. Thanks to this development, political candidates became capable of delving into the world of Facebook as they started using its advanced features to achieve their political goals (Slotnick, 2009:250).

In 2006, Facebook developed its platform to meet the users' and candidates' exigencies who wanted to utilize the site for political purposes by adding within the same platform a section called Election Pulse. The aforementioned feature enabled candidates who were running for a congressional or gubernatorial seat to have a generic profile that included the candidates' name, office, state, and party affiliation. Members could easily locate candidates making use of a listing of candidate profiles grouped by state and congressional district. According to Facebook's statistics of the 2006, 2.64% of its users supported a candidate and 1.5 million users either connected to a candidate or to a Facebook issue-based group. When the 2006 elections ended, Facebook altered its design in order to permit officeholders at all levels of office to create personal profiles (Williams and Gulati, 2009:274).

It is confirmed that Facebook displayed each candidate's profile and the number of supporters and unveiled a glimpse of every candidate's percentage of votes in the race.

Democrats as well as Republicans had an average of 2.146 supporters. Senator Hillary Clinton succeeded to gain the support of 12,038 Facebook users, which was considered the most considerable online support a candidate did ever have at that time. Other Democrat candidates like Bob Casey, Harold Ford, Sherrod Brown and Ned Lamont had 500 supporters. The Republican candidate who succeeded to gain the most support was Senator Rick Santorum registering 4.980 Facebook users as supporters (Williams and Gulati2009:275).

The remarkable efforts to includ Election Pulse within facebook site and the creation of virtual networks that connected candidates with their supporters encouraged a considerable number of candidates to use the site as part of their online strategies. In fact, approximately 32% of the candidates who were running for the senate and 13 % candidates running for the house brought updated information and content to their Facebook Election Pulse profile. However, only 21% of the senate candidates and 2.7% of the house candidates owned profiles on MySpace. Additionally, a small number of senate candidates, about 13 to 130 candidates, and no house candidates created their channels on YouTube. It is reasonable to state that candidates seemed to prefer Facebook over other

before the election or on the Election Day. Supporters are provided with transport and opinion polling during this period of campaigning (Wikipedia).

social media channels while utilising their online techniques to mobilize supporters (Williams and Gulati, 2009:275).

Williams and Gulati (2009) used data from 2006 which indicated that Democratic candidates were more likely than Republican candidates to embrace the Facebook community during that year. Two years later (2008), Campaigns showed a higher level of office and became more experienced and professional. They demonstrated their understanding of the importance of online social networking during campaign moments.

The total number of Facebook supporters of each party's candidates determined the partisan differences in their mobilization and political techniques. Democrats, on the other hand, were more willing to use the internet and social media in particular as a communication means and a campaign strategy than Republicans (p.277). Williams and Gulati (2009) confirmed that Facebook played a role both in the 2006 congressional races and the 2008 nomination contests showing that social networking sites like Facebook do have the ability to transform future campaigns and electoral processes (p.284).

Furthermore, during the 2008 presidential election, Social media sites exercised a revolutionized effect on campaigns. The campaign altered the ways that presidential candidates utilise in order to mobilize and influence voters and financial support. Obama's campaign made an important financial and staff digital communications' investments surpassing Dean's 2004 attempts to raise money online. It succeeded to raise a great amount of money via online donations and it created its own social network, My.BarakObama.com[3] through which the campaign requested money, enlisted volunteers, and encouraged people to take part in the campaign using various methods (Perloff, 2014:250).

The Site MybarackObama.com connected the social networking site Facebook with the common traditional methods of political mobilization and added new media functions like creating a blog.

Facebook was an edequate platform for the electorate mobilization. In fact, Obama reached more than 2 million supporters on various Obama Facebook sites (Perloff, 2014:250). According to Slotnick (2009), Obama's campaign was the only one present on the first day of the Facebook platform launch. The networking site enabled users to access videos and direct messages from the campaign and share them with their friends (p.253). The use of interactive technology was beneficial in the sense that *"it provided an inventory of grass roots supporters who could be contacted and mobilized throughout the campaign and for the future Democratic party efforts"* (Perloff, 2014:250). This is what one may call politico-social capital. Gainous and Wagner (2014) in their book *Tweeting to Power* acknowledge the power of social media networking sites in the political arena. In fact, they claim, "it is in the group formation and maintenance that the power of social media and the Internet may be most significant. If the Internet and SNSs in particular are bringing people together in not just social groups, but political ones, there is a large potential for the creation of social capital" (p99).

Furthermore, online videos, personal messages and many other new media outlets are as well used as an effective tool to create "informality" between the candidates and

[3]Chris Hughes, one of the co-founders of Facebook, helped the Obama Campaign to reach young supporters by designing the site My.BarakObama.com.

their supporters. Candidates usually include brief videos with their emails to give people a glimpse into their lives that are unknown. As a way of example, Obama's campaign included to its email a ten minutes video of a dinner during which he held a meeting with five small donors. It displayed him discussing with them about different topics, including comic books to his children. Such initiatives are intended to reinforce connections with ordinary citizens by emphasizing "a candidate's down-to-earth image". It is through the creation of a sense of intimacy that candidates can gain the support of ordinary citizens who are politically disengaged as well as collect an important online base of small first-time donors (Panagopoulos, 2009:3).

It is therefore reasonable to state that politicians have succeeded to personalize themselves online. Social platforms like Facebook and their architectures enable politicians and candidates in particular to construct their online self-presentations. By giving access to personal information and observations to social media users, candidates can look as "a real person". For example, Obama's online strategy focused on utilizing the personal as a "hook" to get the greatest number of engaged citizens. Facebook, as one of the social networking sites, was a "feeder system" to encourage people to participate in offline campaign activities like donating, participating in events and of course voting. The most efficient method to achieve this was to put into existence a "you centred campaign" that made supporters feel that they owned and controlled the campaign (Marichal, 2012: 141-142).

However, the question that one asks is what do candidates' Facebook pages exactly contain? If we consider the Facebook page of Barack Obama, according to slotnick, it is noticed that the candidate uses "About me" section and unveils his favourite books (Moby Dick, the Bible), favorite TV show (ESPN Sportscenter) and interests (Basketball, writing, loafing with kids). He also included links to different other social networking sites and posted a considerable number of notes that unveil the different opportunities to take part of online polls as well as text messaging. From this we can reach the conclusion that Obama's campaign understood perfectly the virtual realm and the importance of integrating many interactive means into the campaign's strategies. (Slotnick.A, 2009: 160-161).

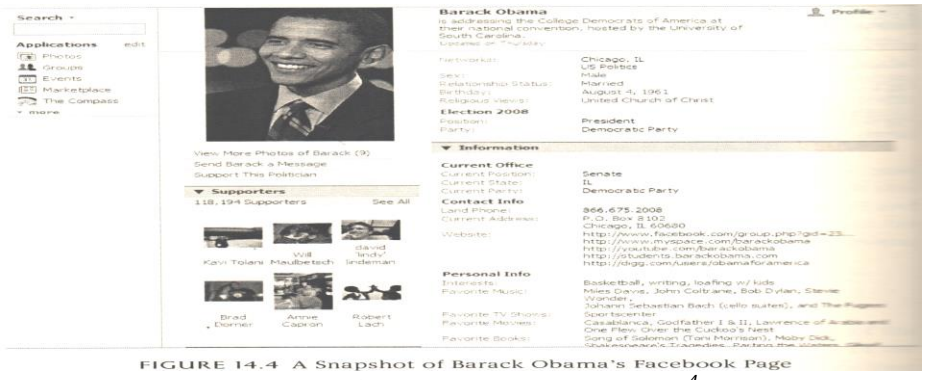


FIGURE 14.4 A Snapshot of Barack Obama's Facebook Page

Figure1. Obama's Facebook Page[4]

[4]Slotnick, A. (2009), Friend the President. Facebook and the 2008 Presidential Election. In Panagopoulos. C (ED), *Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign communications.* The United States of America: Rutgers, the State University, 262.

Weeks following the 2008 elections, the idea that the United States of America started a new epoch of citizen participation in governmental decision-making arouse interest of the technology enthusiasts. The reason behind this is the Obama campaigners' great work in using social networking sites to rise to power, and to the support of the internet-savvy followers who contributed in putting the first African-American US president in office (Katz.J. E, Barris.M and Jain.A, 2013:41). Additionally, on January 21, 2009, president Obama issued a memorandum on "transparency and open government". He also focused on the creation of a climate of openness. A section of that memorandum allowed social media enthusiasts to consider that a new era of citizen participation in governmental decision making began. In fact, it declared:

> Executive departments and agencies should offer Americans increased opportunities to participate in policymaking and to provide their Government with the benefits of their collective expertise and information. Executive departments and agencies should also solicit public input on how we can increase and improve opportunities for public participation in Government (Katz.J. E, Barris.M and Jain.A, 2013:112).

This section has provided those with the chance to encourage citizens who wanted to engage electronically in politics (Katz.J. E, Barris.M and Jain.A, 2013: 112)

It must be admitted then that online campaigning is becoming the most salient tool of elections, and what is also noticed is that every election is more interactive than the previous one. Statistics confirm the important impact that technology and social media in particular are exercising on campaigns. More than 77 % of Americans have cell phones, 81 % of 18- to 29-years- olds are active internet users, more than 72 % of the 18- to 29-years-olds utilize social networking sites. Since the majority of the young voting population spend much of their time online, it is impossible for campaigns to reach this group of people via newspapers, radio or TV. In order to have much influence on these individuals, campaigns have to communicate with them using websites and social media in particular (Perloff.R.M, 2014: 251).

Additionally, other statistics confirm that Americans indeed used social media networking sites during the 2010 elections. Fourteen percent of Americans received information about candidates from the aforementioned platforms. Seventeen percent of Americans asserted that they knew their friends' as well acquaintances' voting preferences via social media sites. Eleven million Americans "friended" a candidate or became a member of a group that served campaign purposes like a political party. Twelve percent published information that is related to politics and the campaign. Nine percent claimed that they became part of a political group on social media sites that supported a cause, and approximately 210.000 Americans advanced that they created a political group on social networking sites that supported a cause (Gainous.J and Wagner.K.M, 2014:27). All these numbers indicate that social media networking sites are strongly present in American election campaigns.

Social networking sites' role in campaigns cannot be ignored as they influence political behavior. Social media allows users to create online social networks that work

the same as traditional communities whose members meet, communicate, exchange ideas and information as well as encourage each other to take action but all this is done virtually. Social networking sites like Facebook enable the inclusion of various topics, events and politics. The possibility of forming large online networks concerning candidates, issues and ideas without giving importance to any geographic boundaries is a characteristic of contemporary campaigning. On another hand, candidates can communicate with their supporters by means of social networking sites'applications. As a way of example, Hillary Clinton created an interactive Facebook application which could be added to a Facebook user' profile as well as could attract the user's "friends" since it appears in their social network minifeed. Another example is when the ABC News utilised a Facebook application through which members could take part of debates, "answer surveys, voice their support for a candidate, discuss important issues, and even have the chance to get their responses aired during an ABC News broadcast*"*. Information garnered from such applications enabled candidates to analyse the significance of voters' concerns as well as allowed them reach voters who were not interested in politics (Panagopoulos.C, 2009:9).

In the past, personal interaction via either volunteers going door to door or participation in a town meeting used to be the primary elements campaign networks relied on. However, in our modern times, a global network of individuals who meet virtually has indeed substituted this sense of local and personal relationship building. Additionally, these virtual networks are created by means of the internet that enables individuals connect with each other. Platforms like Facebook allow the creation of such framework and help users design networks that help them communicate constantly and instantaneously. This change from personal networks to virtual ones has indeed influenced different aspects of life, including politics. The other advantage that Facebook is offering is that it allows election candidates reach masses using inexpensive and practically freeways. Candidates, therefore, do not spend time updating the campaigns' online content because their consultants are the ones who are in charge of handling, creating and monitoring the campaign's Facebook page (Slotnick.A, 2009: 255).

As a matter of fact, the role of Facebook during election campaigns is considerably acknowledged. This is confirmed by a study conducted by the authors of the article entitled "It's complicated: Facebook Users' political Participation in the 2008 Election" by which they wanted to observe college students' trends in Facebook use during the weeks prior to the 2008 presidential election. The results show that the social networking site Facebook fosters political activity by means of its social and technical tools. The platform allows users to encounter other users who share the same political attitudes and that was possible with the help of Facebook features like political groups and pages. On the other hand, the website gives the users the possibility to communicate with a large network of "friends" via private and public communication tools, providing those with a political cause to create political messages for evangelizing purposes. The findings of this piece of research confirm as well that Facebook can be an effective environment for political engagement, allowing young people to express and share political opinions. The most important result of this study is that political activity on Facebook is linked to political participation (Vitak.J, Zube.P, Smock.A, Carr.C. T, Elison.N, and Lampe.C, 2011:113).

Another study was conducted during the 2010 midterm election in which the authors wanted to determine the extent to which networks on Facebook are influential on the

choice of voting. The users taking part of the experiment were shown a non-partisan "get out to vote" message on their newsfeed section of their Facebook profile and that on the election Day. The message included "a reminder about the election, a clickable 'I vote' bottom, polling place information, and a counter" visualizing users who did vote as well as the pictures of the users' friends who confirmed that they voted. Control groups with reminders or without reminders that contained no information on their friends were as well utilized by the study's authors. The findings of the study confirmed that the users who received the message containing pictures of their friends were the ones who were more willing to vote (Gainous.J and Wagner.K.M, 2014:98). The study illustrates the power that Facebook can exercise on users' voting behavior.

In 2012, Facebook was used by the president Obama as an attempt to engage American citizens in decision-making. A vote via social media was organised by the White House and the decision was left to Facebook users. Citizens were required to save one of two turkeys by consulting the Facebook page of the White House. Users used Facebook to get more information about the birds, observe their pictures and have an idea about their preferred songs. The Facebook users were supposed to save one of the turkeys, whose names were Gobbler and Cobbler. At the end, the president pardoned and supported both turkeys This step was a very clever one: first it brought more traffic to the page of the white house; second the fact of voting provided users profiles which can be utilized in later times to give birth to a much more sizable network for the president and his administration. It is true that the voter was giving his support to one of the turkeys; however, he was indeed connecting to an important social media community. (GainousJ and Wagner.K.M, 2014:151).

4. Conclusion

All the literature in the field of online political campaigning confirms that policymakers have started to use effectively social media networks as well as other digital strategies in their campaigns, and the turkey voting on Facebook is one of them. It is reasonable then to state that social media is successfully and rapidly integrating into politics. Such strategies do not only allow candidates and political actors to market themselves, but they also alter the way citizens communicate with them. Social media tools and applications affected and still affect the way the electorate organizes itself, put limits to the traditional forms of political communication, and open the door for many other new forms. Changing "the calculus of information exchange is not just an abstraction. It has very real and durable consequences" (Gainous.J and Wagner.K.M, 2014:151).

In fact, Facebook is playing a remarkable role in sustaining the political process. Networking platforms like Facebook not only enable campaigns to communicate their theme and information on how to participate in the world of politics, but they also have the ability to render candidates more accessible and authentic. They may also help supporters discuss political issues in a professional manner. Facebook can personalize candidates as well as "facilitate interpersonal connections around activities" including politics. More than that, off-line meetings and connections are possible simply because Facebook organizes members according to their regional and organizational networks and makes profiles accessible within one's network. What is noticed in our modern times is that membership in traditional associations has decreased and online virtual platforms like

Facebook are taking the lead in fostering social capital which is used by candidates, elected officials and civic leaders to mobilize citizens for political purposes.

References

[1] GAINOUS.J &WAGNER. K.M. (2014). *Tweeting to power. The social Media Revolution in American Politics.* New York: Oxford University Press.

[2] KATZ. J.E, BARRIS. M &JAIN. A (2013), *The Social Media President. Barack Obama and the Politics of Digital Engagement*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

[3] MARICHAL. J. (2012), *Facebook Democracy. The Architecture of Disclosure and the Threat to Public Life*. England: José Marichal.

[4] PANAGOPOULOS.C.(2009), Technology and the Modern Political Campaign. The Digital Pulse of the 2008 Campaign in Panagopoulos. C (Ed.), *PolitickingOnline.TheTranformation of Election Campaign communications.* The United States of America: Rutgers, The State University.

[5] PERLOFF, R.M. (2014), *The Dynamics of political Communication.Media and Politics in a Digital Age.* New York: Taylor and Francis.

[6] SLOTNICK, A (2009), Friend the President.Facebook and the 2008 Presidential Election. In Panagopoulos. C (Ed.), *Politicking Online. The Transformation of Election Campaign communications*. The Unied States of America: Rutgers, The State University

[7] VITAK. J, ZUBE. P, SMOCK. A, CARR, C. T, ELLISON. N & LAMPE, C. (2011) It's Complicated: Facebook Users' Political Participation in the 2008 Election. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking (12)*.107-114.

[8] WILLIAMS. C B & GULATI.G. J. JEFF. (2009), The Political Impact of Facebook. Evidence from the 2006 Elections and the 2008 Nomination Contest. In Panagopoulos. C (ED), Politicking Online.*TheTranformation of Election Campaign communications*. The United States of America: Rutgers, The State University.

[9] WU, J. (N.D) An exploratory Study of American Youth's Political Engagement during the 2008 Presidential Election. [ac-journal.org/.../110108%20Facebook%20Politics.p..]

[10] XENOS. M. A, VROMEN. A & LOADER. B.D. (2014), The Great Equalizer.InLoader, D. B, Vromen. A & Xenos, A. M (Eds.), *The Networked Young Citizen,* New York: Taylor and Francis.