ELECTION-RELATED MISINFORMATION ON SOCIAL MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF FAKE POLITICAL MESSAGES

Ritesh Gautam*

ABSTRACT

In contemporary times, social media platforms have been affecting people's political and social lives on a massive scale. On the other hand, these platforms are used by perpetrators of false information to mislead the masses. The phenomenon of fake news and misinformation is not new, but the proliferation of social media has made this issue more pressing. In 2016, the term "fake news" reemerged during US presidential elections. In a political scenario, disinformation and misinformation have the potential to influence political processes. Currently, social media platforms play a very significant role in political communication. Generally, preconceived notions and a set ideology about a political entity play a significant role in information processing. To fulfill the study's objectives, qualitative content analyses have been used. Different fake messages have been collected for content analysis, which went viral during the Indian General Elections 2019. To finalize the different fake messages, the Purposive sampling (non-probability) method has been adopted to fulfill specific criteria. Particularly in this research study, the analysis is based on five different categories or parameters suggested by Mike Cormack in his work on ideology. These five categories are Content, Structure, Absence, Style, and Mode of address. The study focuses on the role of fake messages in setting ideologies and agendas on social media platforms during the 2019 general elections. So, in this research study, different fake messages in the form of images and text have been considered for analysis. The analysis supports the theory of agenda building, and Narrative persuasion theory of communication.

_____

_____

Introduction

Social media platforms have a substantial impact on communication in contemporary times. Currently, social media platforms have significantly influenced individuals' political and social spheres to a large extent. The ease of manipulating and fabricating content has dramatically increased due to advancements in new media technology. Ultimately, social media platforms significantly amplify altered and deceptive information dissemination. The spread of fake news and misinformation is not new; however, the widespread use of social media increases the significance of this issue. The term "fake news" resurfaced during the US presidential elections 2016. Disinformation and misinformation possess the capacity to have an impact on political processes within a political context. The 2016 US presidential elections and Brexit campaigns were characterized by disinformation and fake news spread through various media channels and social networks, which were then amplified in the public domain. Wardle & Derakhshan define "fake news" as a broad word that includes three types of misleading information: misinformation (false information given without harmful intent), disinformation (false information shared to do harm), and malinformation (truthful information shared to cause harm). Undoubtedly, the phenomenon

* Ph.D. Student, Department of Mass Communication, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P., India.

of disseminating false information is pervasive globally. Especially in politics, it influences public sentiment and aligns political procedures with the interests of people in authority (Turcilo & Obrenovic, 2020).

The Electoral Commission of India found around 154 reported incidences of false news during the 2019 general elections (Lok Sabha Polls). The most significant number of cases were associated with Twitter, with a total of 97 cases, followed by Facebook, with 46 cases, and YouTube, with 11 cases. The Kofi Annan Foundation compiled some notable instances of fake news from throughout the globe. As per the foundation's findings, the 2019 General elections in India witnessed a 40 percent surge in the dissemination of false information, as reported by fact-checking news websites, compared to periods other than elections (Meredith, 2020). This research study aims to analyze the content of incorrect political statements messages circulated during the 2019 General elections in India.

Review of Literature

In recent years, social media platforms have fundamentally transformed communication. Digitalization and the convergence of technologies have profoundly transformed the communication process. Furthermore, the 21st Century is also experiencing a significant increase in the use of information as a weapon. The proliferation of fake news has been attributed to the recent widespread use of social media platforms during electoral processes and political campaigns. The term gained use during the political discussions surrounding the 2016 US presidential elections. One month following the elections, Hillary Clinton, the Democratic Party Candidate, contended that fake news posed a threat to democracy. She highlighted the widespread dissemination of harmful fake news and misleading propaganda through social media in recent years, emphasizing its tangible impact on society (Higdon, 2020).

A study conducted by Microsoft Research India, published in the Journal of South Asian History and Culture, and examined the 2019 General elections in India. The study uncovers that misinformation on social media platforms is disseminated through forwarded WhatsApp messages and frequently propagated by legal and political bodies (Deepak, 2022). Another study conducted by the fact-checking website Logically revealed that approximately 50,000 fabricated news articles were disseminated and circulated two million times throughout the 2019 General elections. Conversely, WhatsApp was largely utilized by all political groups to disseminate highly polarizing, altered, or openly inaccurate material. In the current context, false information is being intentionally exploited to promote specific agendas and political ideologies. This study examines the substance of fake political messages that gained widespread popularity on social media platforms during the 2019 General elections.

Significance of the Study

Social media platforms possess immense potential to reach millions of people rapidly during content transmission. Newman et al. found that WhatsApp has greatly enhanced political conversation and the dissemination of information in the majority of countries. Conversely, Facebook is widely regarded as the main platform for disseminating misinformation in nearly all nations. On the other hand, the creative use of social media platforms for political campaigns has been steadily rising globally. Political parties and their candidates employ various strategies to entice voters and supporters. These few instances will clarify the idea. In the 2010 UK elections, former Prime Minister David Cameron utilized the 'Webcameron,' an online video journal, to attract support from his constituents. During the 2008 US presidential elections, Barack Obama gained significant attention by effectively utilizing social media platforms, particularly Facebook, to generate financial support and disseminate campaign messages. Moreover, several media critics regarded those elections as the first Facebook elections. In the 2012 US Presidential elections, a news article indicated that 60 percent of prospective voters expected candidates to have an internet presence (Ravi, 2017).

Social media platforms, particularly Facebook, substantially impacted the 2014 General elections within the Indian setting. As of 2014, Facebook had 100 million users in India, making it more prominent internationally than in the United States. Following the completion of the seventh round of voting, there were around 49 million discussions on social media platforms relating to the Indian elections ("Social Media Changes Face of General Elections 2014," 2014). Also, the 2019 General elections witnessed a substantial influence of social media platforms, with WhatsApp specifically playing a pivotal role in election-related campaigning. Conversely, the prevalence of social media platforms also led to a significant increase in disinformation and fake news spread. This study has tried to identify the importance of social media platforms and the dissemination of content during the 2019 General elections.

Objectives of the Study

- To analyze the content of fake political messages that went viral during the 2019 General election campaign.
- To understand and analyze the different political ideologies through these messages.

Research Methodology

Qualitative content analysis has been employed to fulfill the study's objectives. An ideological analysis technique has been employed to decode various political messages and examine the different fake messages.

Sampling Plan

For content analysis, different fake messages that went viral during the Indian General Elections 2019 have been collected. To finalize the different fake messages, the Purposive sampling (non-probability) method has been adopted to fulfill specific criteria. Wimmer and Dominick define a purposive sample as respondents, subjects, or elements selected for specific characteristics or qualities. It eliminates those who fail to meet those criteria (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, pp. 96–97).

In this study, different fake messages have been selected for analysis across different formats, including images, text, and videos. The messages have been chosen based on their importance and relevance. These fake messages gained widespread popularity on social media platforms during the 2019 General elections campaign, which took place in seven phases from April 11 to May 19. Therefore, all those messages have been chosen throughout this specific time frame. Messages have been selected from the Alt News website (An Independent and non-profit fact-checking website based in Ahmadabad, India). Furthermore, these fake messages are selected on the following parameters.

Table 1: Parameters for the Selection of a Message

Sr. No.	Case (Fake Message)	Parameters
1.	Platform	Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp
2.	Content-Type	Image, Text, or Video
3.	Content effect	Misleading/ Manipulating
4.	Media History	Whether the message posted or shared before
5.	Fact checked	Whether the message is fake or not
6.	Political affiliation	Political orientation (shared by individual or political party followers)
7.	Total interactions (favs+tweets+comments)	>500

Design for Content Analysis

The Ideological analysis technique has been adopted to analyze these fake messages. Ideology may be understood as the dominant ideas of an individual, group, class, or society, the way meanings are socially produced, or even the false ideas upon which a social, political, or economic system is based. The term "ideology" was coined by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 1840s to describe the dominant ideas and representations in a given social order (Berger, 2000, pp. 127–129).

Bonnie S. Brennenmentioned that ideology had been a central concept in textual analysis. These texts represent dominant ideological positions within a culture at a specific historical place and time. So, with the help of this analysis, dominant ideologies, narratives, themes, patterns, and categories have been analyzed (Brennen, 2017, pp. 211–214). Particularly in this research study, the analysis is based on five different categories or parameters suggested by Mike Cormack in his work on ideology. These five categories are Content, Structure, Absence, Style, and Mode of address. All these categories have been analyzed on the following parameters –

Table 2: Mike Cormack's Different Categories

Content	Structure	Absence	Style	Mode of Address
Opinions, Beliefs, Values & other judgments, The vocabulary used, Conflicts, Characterization of people	The opening and closing aspects of a text	The elements that might have been expected in the text but are missing from it	Apart from language, use of color, design, or genre, Treatment	How text is addressed to users – direct or indirect address, Attributions

Content has been analyzed based on the following categories and parameters. The purpose of ideological analysis here in the study is to understand the dominant ideas produced with the help of false ideas and narratives to set particular ideologies to mislead the masses.

So, in this research study, ideological content analysis has been used to understand the role of ideology in constructing a specific view of reality through fake content.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The study has two objectives, which are examined and interpreted based on the data given below:

Message 1

The image, which is accompanied by text, pertains to a fake political message concerning Mamata Banerjee, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. This message became quite popular on social networking networks such as Facebook and X (previously known as Twitter). Based on Mike Cormack's classification, the text is divided into five categories to analyze the message.

Table 3: Different categories of the text

Content	Structure	Vocabulary Used	Style of presentation	Mode of Address
Anti-Hindu sentiments, Religious attributions, Educational aspects	The focus is on the image (photograph), mainly a gesture used to set an agenda.	Vitriolic, diatribe, Allegiance etc.	An old black and white colored photograph used (July 1, 1991) to establish a relationship	The indirect address used to influence social media users

Analysis and Interpretation of the Image

An old image (July 1, 1991) of West Bengal (India) CM Mamata Banerjee went viral (Image 1) on social media platforms with a claim that she is anti-Hindu and has adopted Islam. This image went viral during the 6th phase of the General Elections (debunked by fact-checkers on May 18, 2019).

Image 1

In this viral photograph, she greets Jyoti Basu (former West Bengal CM) with a gesture quite similar to adab, a greeting gesture. According to Cormack's different categories, when this structural part is analyzed, it is found that based on an old photograph, an agenda is framed based on false information and irrelevant facts.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Text

This message constructs a narrative about Mamata Banerjee, using fabricated content, suggesting that she holds an anti-Hindu stance. The text asserts that she embraced her mother's faith, Islam. The text's introductory sentence highlights the photograph's significance and the subject's gesture (adab). Thus, this framework establishes an agenda around her, followed by false attributions. She

possesses a Master's degree in Islamic history; however, her mother is not affiliated with the Muslim community. A fabricated narrative is constructed to deceive social media users during General elections by utilizing partial truths and false information.

Furthermore, the central theme and ideology of this content is anti-Hindu. In this viral text, Mamata Banerjee is targeted as anti-Hindu and connoted with words like vitriolic and diatribe, which denotes a language or behavior that is cruel and full of hatred. Furthermore, the word's connotations suggest that vitriolic words can hurt feelings, break hurts, and even lead to violence. On the other hand, the word diatribe refers to a forceful and bitter verbal attack on someone. Moreover, in this text, Mamata is shown as loyal to the minority community; the word used to denote loyalty is allegiance. The word allegiance comes from the French root liege, which denotes the loyalty of a liege-man (loyal follower) to his lord. So, the analysis of the viral text indicates how a narrative is built with fake structure and content to set an agenda to legitimate the fake content.

Message 2

The claim belongs to Yogi Adityanath, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, India, which gained widespread attention during the 2019 General elections. According to this viral message, it was alleged that CM Yogi made the statement, "If our government is voted out of power, I will ignite the entire country." This specific false message gained widespread popularity on Facebook. According to this message, the different categories of the text are listed below-

Table 4: Different Categories of the Text

Content	Structure	Absence	Style (of Presentation)	Mode of Address
Provocative, Misleading, Outrageous statement	The structure of the text is based on fake images (Screen grabs from the news channel) and false attributions.	There is no real context related to the statement that went viral.	Screengrab of a news channel is used to make it authentic	Indirect mode of address, mainly on Facebook.

The message is classified into five separate categories according to Mike Cormack's classification system, which are further examined in the following manner:

Analysis and Interpretation of the Image and Text

The analysis and interpretation of the text are based on Cormack's five categories of ideological analysis. When the *content and structure* of the text have been analyzed, it suggests that the text's language was provocative and misleading. As the text is fact-checked, it was found that CM Yogi never made such a statement in any public address. When the texts of some posts are analyzed, it has been found that Yogi Adityanath is connoted with terms like "bhogee" (a pleasure seeker). In some posts, it was also mentioned that he made such a statement in fear of defeat in the Lok Sabha (General elections) elections. Moreover, the structure of this content is based on a fake image (a screen grab that is being morphed).

Image 2

Furthermore, when other categories *(Absence and Style)* of the text are analyzed, it is found that a fake narrative is built with the help of a morphed image in the form or Style of a television screen grab. In reality, the screen grab belongs to a Gujarati News channel called Mantavya News, which broadcasts only in the regional language (Gujarati) news. Therefore, it is likely that a statement will be flashed in Hindi rather than Gujarati. So, apart from content, a morphed image is used to construct a reality based on a false statement. Moreover, finally, when the *mode of address* category is analyzed, it was found that Social media platforms like Facebook and X have been used to spread misinformation. The analysis also suggests that an indirect mode has been used (the News channel's screen grab) to gain attention and mislead the masses by spreading disinformation. In the viral message, a screen grab of a regional news channel was morphed, and an outrageous statement was falsely attributed to the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister. So, the analysis of the text shows how perpetrators of fake news constructed an agenda and fake narrative during the 2019 general elections.

Message 3

This message pertains to the electoral campaign of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). According to viral photographs, there are allegations that Jagannath Sarkar, a candidate of BJP in Ranaghat, West Bengal, India, dressed up as Hanuman, a Hindu deity, at an election rally. It has been noted that numerous Twitter users disseminated these photographs along with varying captions from their social media accounts. Based on this message, various categories of the text are shown below-

Table 5: Different categories of the text

Content (Language and Vocabulary used in the Text)	Structure	Absence	Style (of Presentation)	Mode of Address
• Clown, • Cartoon • Alien • Dhimmis • Hindi Imperialism • Religious ideology • Misleading	The structure of the text is based on the misleading images that went viral on social media platforms.	Absence of real context related to the viral images	A man dressed as a Hindu god represented a BJP candidate	Indirect mode of address: This fake message went viral on social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter

The message is classified into five separate categories according to Mike Cormack's classification, which is further examined as follows:

Image 3

Image 4

Analysis and Interpretation of the Image and Text

Analysis and interpretation of the text are based on Cormack's ideological analysis. Before analysis, it is essential to analyze the background of the message (Image 4). On April 22, 2019, several photographs were uploaded by Dilip Ghosh, the national vice president of BJP, on social media platforms. He shared these images with the caption – "Roadshow with Ranaghat Lok Sabha constituency candidate Jagannath Sarkar." Ghosh had uploaded several photographs, including those of a man dressed as Hanuman. So, in these photographs, it was visible that Jagannath Sarkar was campaigning alongside Ghosh and was not dressed as Hanuman.

When the text's *content and structure* have been analyzed, it is found to be misleading and out of context. On the other hand, when some viral posts were analyzed, then it was found that users used words like "Circus," "Clown," and "Cartoon" to address Jagannath Sarkar. Furthermore, one user (who claimed to be a TMC supporter) also mentioned the word "Alien" to BJP; that party is not familiar with Bengali and Bengali Hindu sentiments. On the other hand, BJP's Bengali supporters are connoted with terms like "dhimmis." An Arabic-origin word is a non-Muslim living in a state governed by Sharia law (Collins Dictionary). The viral text also claimed that the BJP promotes Hindu ideology and wants to establish Hindi imperialism in a diverse country like India.

Moreover, when the text's structure is analyzed, it has been found that irrelevant images are used to promote a fake narrative to mislead social media users during the General elections. Furthermore, when other categories *(Absence and Style)* of the text are analyzed, it is found that with the help of irrelevant photographs, a fake narrative is built that the BJP is promoting its specific religious ideologies during the elections. Further, it has been noted that out of many images, this specific photograph is commonly used to disseminate false information during elections. On the other hand, when the *mode of address* category is analyzed, it was found that indirect mode is used to promote specific ideology. Moreover, Social media platforms like Facebook and X are used as a mode or tool to reach out to the masses.

Message 4

This image is associated with the portrait of Bollywood celebrities Ranveer Singh and Deepika Padukone, which a Facebook page has shared. The image depicts saffron scarves bearing the 'Vote for BJP N Modi' inscription. Photographs primarily achieved viral status on popular social media platforms such as Facebook and X.
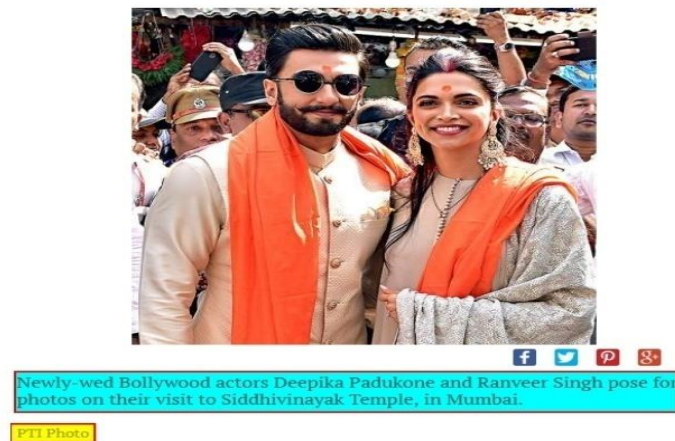
Image 5

Image 6

Analysis and Interpretation of the Image and Text

The text is analyzed and interpreted using Cormack's ideological analysis. Before the analysis, after fact-checking the viral message (Image 6), it was found that the photograph in concern was taken on November 30, 2018. Ranveer and Deepika visited the Siddhivinayak temple in Mumbai, where the photograph was taken. Furthermore, it was disseminated by multiple media outlets.

By analyzing the *content and structure* of the text, it is evident that a manipulated image was employed to promote a specific agenda, namely that the celebrities are showing support for the particular party in the General elections. This information is evident from the writing that is imprinted on the saffron scarves, specifically bearing the message 'vote for BJP N Modi.' Moreover, the structure of the text is derived from the digitally altered image. Moreover, upon analyzing other aspects *(Absence and Style)* of the text, it becomes evident that the saffron scarves in the image are employed to advance a narrative that favors the BJP during elections. Conversely, while analyzing the category of mode of approach, it has been discovered that the indirect method is employed to advocate for a specific ideology. Utilizing a manipulated image, including printed text, serves as a means to fabricate a false narrative and alter reality. In this case, Facebook functions as the primary platform for disseminating misinformation.

Message 5

This message pertains to Paresh Rawal, a former Member of Parliament and a Bollywood actor. According to a press article, an Indian politician was apprehended at Boston airport for drug possession. These newspaper clippings gained widespread popularity on social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter.

Image 7

Analysis and Interpretation of the Image and Text

The text is analyzed and interpreted using Cormack's ideological analysis. Prior to analysis, on verification, it was found that the viral message (Image 11) was based on a fabricated newspaper clipping, leaving the content false. As per this fabricated news article, an Indian politician was caught at the Boston airport for the unlawful possession of narcotics. Additionally, the story dated September 30, 2001, stated that the politician was allegedly the son of a former Prime Minister. The detained politician is believed to be Rahul Gandhi, a Congress party leader. However, Paresh Rawal did not explicitly refer to Rahul Gandhi in his tweet. However, other users directly attributed it to Rahul. Additionally, it was found that a claimed newspaper article was generated on the website *fodey.com*, which provides the ability to compose a narrative, assign a headline, choose the newspaper's name, and modify the publication date. The message's fact-checking reveals the construction of a false narrative through fabricated content.

After analyzing the *content and structure* of the material, it is evident that a fabricated newspaper clip was employed to establish a deceptive objective. Moreover, this information influences public opinion and constructs views during the electoral process. After analyzing the wording of specific viral tweets, it was found that Rahul Gandhi is being labeled as an individual with a disreputable character. Notably, a fabricated newspaper article can be used as the basis for creating a false text (caption) to tarnish someone's reputation during elections. The text's entire composition is founded around the fake newspaper article that gained widespread popularity on various social media platforms

Also, while analyzing other categories, such as *Absence and Style*, it is evident that no additional genuine reports are associated with this news story. Nevertheless, this newspaper excerpt was produced from the website, which can manufacture content like a newspaper article. Conversely, this counterfeit political message is disseminated in the format of a newspaper clipping to support the authenticity of the news. Additionally, while analyzing the mode of address category, it is evident that an indirect mode of address is employed to establish an agenda centered on a Congress leader during the Lok Sabha elections. Also, these issues are dealt with using social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter.

So, these images have been evaluated using Mike Cormack's categories to understand the ideologies and agendas stated during the General Elections 2019.

Results and Discussions

The qualitative content analysis of the various messages clearly shows the promotion of ideologies through disseminating fake news during elections

Key Findings of the Study

- Research shows that different political entities set out fake narratives and agendas against their opponents during these elections.

- Photoshopped, fabricated, and manufactured content is mostly used to mislead the masses through social media platforms.

- Fake newspaper clippings or photoshopped images of newspapers are used as a tool to spread disinformation.

- The photoshopped images of celebrities are also used as a tool for propaganda battles and for spreading misinformation during election campaigning.
- Different ideologies are promoted with the help of derogatory and provocative content.
- Positive-themed fake information is shared by different political parties to show themselves in a good light.

Moreover, the study supported the Agenda setting (agenda building), and Narrative persuasion theory of communication. The agenda-setting theory by McCombs and Shaw (1972) supports the idea that media do not tell people what to think but what to think about (Baran & Davis, 1994, p. 266). So, based on the analysis of these messages, it has been found that the agenda was set on social media platforms to mislead the masses. Similarly, the study also supports the concept of 'narrative persuasion theory,' which argues that absorption into a media narrative is a crucial mechanism in the story's power to influence real-world beliefs and behaviors (Baran & Davis, 1994, p. 246). So, analyzing these fake political messages shows how fake narratives are built on false information. Social media platforms substantially impact the dissemination of these messages on a broader level. Users must be able to recognize the accuracy of the information to prevent being misled by fake news. Therefore, this research supports these theories within the framework of this particular study.

Conclusion

The study shows the use of false political messaging during elections, which serves the dual purpose of misleading the general public and gaining an electoral advantage through the emergence of fabricated narratives and agendas. Also, the language and terminology employed in these messages frequently contain derogatory and offensive language to defame one's reputation or belittle others. Moreover, particularly, social media platforms amplify the influence of such messages. The study examines how various ideologies and agendas were established on social media platforms during the 2019 General elections.

Limitations of the Study

This research study has some limitations regarding its sample size because a limited number of messages have been studied.

Declaration of Conflicting Interest

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Finding

The author(s) received no financial assistance for this article's research, authorship, and/or publication.

References

1. Anstead, N. (2021). In *Fake News: What do we know and what should we do about...?* (pp. 15-30). New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd.
2. Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. S. (1994). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment and Future.*
3. Benkler, Y., & Roberts, H. (2018). *Network Propaganda.* New York: Oxford University Press.
4. Berger, A. A. (2000). Media and communication research methods : an introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches. In *SAGE Publications eBooks.* SAGE Publishing. http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BB16145783
5. Brennen, B. (2017). Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies. In *Routledge eBooks.* Informa. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315435978
6. Burkhardt, J. M. (2017). *Combating Fake News in the Digital Age.* American Library Association.
7. FB docus show struggle with misinfo, hate speech in India. (2021, October 25). *The Times of India.*
8. Giusti, S., & Piras, E. (2021). In *Democracy and Fake News: Information Manipulation and Post-Truth Politics* (pp. 25-45). New York: Routledge.
9. Gregor, M., & Petra, M. *Challenging Online Propaganda and Disinformation in the 21st Century.* Cham, Switerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

10. Giusti, S., & Piras, E. (2020d, December 29). *Democracy and Fake News: Information Manipulation and Post-Truth Politics (Politics, Media and Political Communication)* (1st ed.). Routledge.

11. Herman, E., & Chomsky, N. (1994). In *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* London: The Random House Group Limited.

12. Higdon, N. (2020). In *The Anatomy of Fake News: A Critical News Literacy Education* (pp. 50-85). Oakland, California: University of California Press.

13. Kumar, R. (2018b, February 27). *The Free Voice on Democracy, Culture and the Nation.* speaking tiger books.

14. Macnamara, J. (2020). *Beyond Post-Communication: Challenging Disinformation, Deception and Manipulation.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

15. McNair, B. (2018). FAKE NEWS. In *Falsehood, Fabrication and Fantasy in Journalism* (pp. 25-45). New York: Routledge.

16. Meredith, G. (2020, January 10). *» How Does the Age of Fake News Impact Democracy in the Developing World?* Kofi Annan Foundation. Retrieved September 8, 2022, from https://www.kofiannanfoundation.org/supporting-democracy-and-elections-with-integrity/annan-commission/post-truth-politics-afflicts-the-global-south-too/.

17. Pariser, E. (2011). The Filter Bubble: How the New Personalized Web Is Changing What We Read and How We Think. In *The Filter Bubble* (pp. 37–89). Penguin Books.

18. Ravi, B. K. (2017). *Modern Media, Elections and Democracy*. SAGE Publications.

19. Social media changes face of general elections 2014. (2014, May 6). *The Economic Times.*

20. Thomas, P. (2019). *The Politics of Digital India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

21. Turcilo, L., & Obrenovic, M. (2020). Misinfomation, Disinformation, Malinformation: Causes, Trends, and Their Influence on Democracy. *A Companion to Democracy*, 5–25.

22. Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2010). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction.* Cengage Learning.

☐◯☐