SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: FOLLOWING OF FACEBOOK AND TWITTER CONTENTS FLOATED BY PAKISTANI POLITICAL PARTIES FROM 1ST JUNE – 30TH JUNE 2021

Sher Muhammad Khan[*]
Department of Communication & Media Studies Hazara University Mansehra
sherm244@gmail.com

Azam Jan
Assistant Professor, Department of Communication & Media Studies Hazara University Mansehra
azamjancms@gmail.com

Noor Nabi Khan
Lecturer, Department of Communication & Media Studies Hazara University Mansehra
noor_cms27@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT
Social media is a direct source of communication that tries to connect people across the globe through text messages, video, and audio calling. In Pakistan, the use of social media has exponentially increased during the last decade. More people have access to social media and smart phones. Some network services in Pakistan are even providing free services to some social media platforms such as Facebook. This has made social media a leading channel through which politicians reach the public. They do it for the purpose of influencing constituents' opinions, recruiting volunteers and donors, and mobilizing voters. This study is an attempt in line with the same proposition. The current research makes use of contents analysis techniques. The study explores how major political parties; Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), Pakistan People Party (PPP) and Pakistan Tehreek – E- Insaaf (PTI) and their respective leaders reach; Shehbaz Sharif, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Imran Khan reach the public through their social media platforms to convey their messages. Political contents in the form of Facebook posts and tweets of the three major Pakistani political parties and their leaders during one month period are collected. Responses to the collected posts and tweets in terms of like, share, comments and re-tweets are quantified accordingly. The number of responses to political contents of a particular party and its leaders are taken as efforts towards political mobilization of the social media users. The findings suggest Imran Khan as the better followed leader on Facebook and Twitter than Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Shehbaz Sharif, whereas, PMLN as political party was followed more than PPP and PTI.
Keywords: Twitter, Facebook, Political Mobilization, Political Parties, Political Contents

INTRODUCTION
The world is passing through a digital era where social media is constantly affecting each aspect of human life, including politics. Social media has been playing an important role in empowering political parties and leaders to reach the masses directly without having to go through the gatekeeping process of traditional media. Mainstream media in Pakistan, being biased, has raised a question of its authenticity of the messages which has given a place to the direct access of leaders to the public through social media. The mainstream media in Pakistan belong either to the government or to private corporations that usually target profit maximization. In either case, it is hard for political or anti-governmental ideas to make their place in the mainstream media.

The current study, therefore, focuses on the question that how social media like Facebook and Twitter, serve as an alternative to the mainstream media for political activists where they can disseminate their ideas freely and efficiently. Mostly, the social media serves as an easily and ever available platform for political mobilization where the public can be easily and quickly convinced about

---

[*] Corresponding Author

one's ideas and performances. Through posts on Facebook and tweets on twitters, the political leaders influence the mindsets of the public and win over their sympathies. Quantification and analysis of these posts and tweets help mark the indicators of political mobilization.

Political Mobilization

Political mobilization is any verbal or physical effort to attract people more toward one's party or manifesto. It includes interaction with the people about various issues and highlighting the gravity of the situations. It also focuses on ensuring people's participation and mental preparedness toward one's strategies. Political mobilization is how a group transforms from a passive gathering of people into an active participant in public life. These groups can be based on caste, class, religion, ethnicity or nationality, gender, and specific subject matter. Political mobilization involves various traditional communities, civil society, and opinion leaders focused on a common goal or problem (Abbey, 2021).

During elections and other political events in Pakistan, political parties frequently hold rallies, and processions and the leaders address the crowds present or watching on television. The primary goal of these rallies and processions is to educate and mobilize the public about the political party's policies and practices and motivate them to join the party.

For political mobilization, social media is prevalent in Pakistani youth. They enjoy a great degree of freedom, as the users fulfill their needs from this sort of social media channels. The main aim of social media is to socialize people, but the effect may be positive or negative, which depends on its usage. Moreover, social networks directly influence social life and political relationships with one another. In Egypt, Japan, and Canada, social networks have increased political participation and mobilization (Attia, et al., 2011; Conroy et al., 2012; Ikeda & Richey, 2005; Lee, 2006). In 2009, Twitter played a significant role in Moldova's election. For support, connectivity, and sharing information, social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Text messaging, and Live Journal were used by campaigners and protesters (Hodge, 2010). Likewise, Facebook and Twitter played a crucial part in the revolutions in Yemen, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Egypt, and Bahrain (Attia & Friedman, 2012).

According to Mohammad (2016), political parties mobilize voters to support a standard set of interests, concerns, and goals. Parties play an essential role in the political process in many countries. They set political and policy agendas, choose candidates, run election campaigns, and oversee the activities of their elected officials. Political parties serve as a link between residents and the government, allowing citizens to voice in the country's affairs.

Ceron (2017) summarized some of the criteria of a political party. A party must meet certain conditions, including having some infrastructure, participation in elections, having a proper identity, providing competition in government, presenting candidates, and spreading views. If all of the above conditions are met, political parties are considered parties based on these criteria. The primary goal of political parties is to entice individuals to join them.

Social Media's Role in political Mobilization

Political leaders make use of social media to mobilize voters, political workers and the general public to get their attention and political support. It has been assumed that parties are much interested in citizen participation to achieve political success by winning an election and getting massive support from the general public. Hence, social media has become an essential tool of communication and has created new political mobilizing and encouraging its users in political activities quickly by joining their political groups through tweeting, status updating and expressing views. To mobilize the masses to avail themselves of their specific goals or political interests, the political leaders used to arrange Jalsas, corner meetings, or road rallies before the emergence of social media. Political leaders now make use of social media to disseminating information to their followers for their political purpose. Their messages reach millions of people around the globe simply by one click from their comfort zone to mobilize the masses.

According to Karamat and Farooq (2020), it is widely acknowledged that social media plays a very positive role in developed countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy, Australia, and Finland, among others. Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube, and so on are examples of social networking sites. All these gatekeeping free outlets play a vital role in political mobilization.

Social media has been used in many well-known political upheavals around the world. According to Courtright (2007), the Iraqi anti-war movement was one in which social media played a vital role in changing the situation. Activists used the internet to connect, organize, and raise awareness among decentralized networks, resulting in global protests that drew tens of millions of people. According to Eltantawy & Wiest (2011), and Sheedy (2011), social media played a role in the success

of anti-government demonstrations in Egypt, which resulted in the country's dictatorial leader resigning. Before the Arab Spring, the revolution in Iran and Moldova was also labeled as the "Twitter Revolution." It demonstrates that social media can affect social, political, and economic change. The mobilization in Egypt and Tunisia has given clues and evidence of how social media is a necessary means for the public. During the Arab spring, the activists of Egypt used different social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook to aware the masses and create practical mobilization in the revolt that happened in January and February 2011 in Egypt.

Social media and the internet have an 'incremental, contextual, and amplifying' effect (Ejaz, 2013). Political parties and leaders in Pakistan use social media to interact with citizens. They focus on youngsters, as this age group is rapidly growing on social media. Major political parties, including PTI, PPP, the PML-N, and others, are active on such platforms. Politicians and their parties now use social media to connect and organize people to participate in political process, with accounts and networks on Facebook, Twitter, Skype, and other platforms. On Facebook and Twitter, PTI and the PML-N are among the most popular political parties (Kugelman, 2012).

According to Doherty (2001), political parties have a more significant impact on society than any other group to ensure citizens' participation in politics. It is a dynamic process used to inspire the public to vote in elections to utilize their authority to elect their proper representatives to represent their wants, demands, and problems explicitly in the legislature or government.

Social Media's Role in Political Mobilization in Pakistan

In democratic systems, political mobilization is one of the critical elements in achieving political goals. To politically mobilize the public, politicians are using many platforms including social media. In the west, social media usage for political mobilization and awareness is very high and it plays an essential role in political mobilization. Conversely, in Pakistan since 2013, the social media has been evolving as a necessary platform for political discourses. The Pakistani politicians are now trying to be more reliable on social media because it is easily accessible. The more one can mobilize the more closely one is reaching their political goals.

In the past, political mobilization needed door to door campaigns. Leaders and workers were used to meet people in person or sending their letters through the post. To make their reach farther, they most often have to resort to Radio, Television and Newspapers. Now it has been replaced by one click on social media. Politicians usually, tweet, send a text through messenger and WhatsApp to convince individuals. The Internet first came to Pakistan in 1995. "According to the survey and internet world statistics in 2013, Pakistan ranked 8 out of 10 top Asian countries in using the internet" (Karamat, &Farooq 2020). According to Amjad (2012), today's political parties in Pakistan use social networking media. Most of political leaders and parties have their websites and Facebook pages.

Almost all parties have got their social media teams. Pak Sarzmeen Party is one of the most minor and newly designated parties. Still, it also has an organized social media team of 300 registered volunteers and 120 WhatsApp groups on the main level and other local level teams for election campaigns (Jahangir, 2018). Moreover, PTI is the vanguard party in the cyber battle ground. It had launched the first social media election campaign in 2013. According to PTI social media secretary, Mr. Arsalan Khalid, "they have not yet allocated any funds for the social media election campaign. PTI has volunteers almost 1,000 inland and 300 overseas, and "they are instructed properly by Imran Khan after every six months online to know their efficiency." "Unlike our opponents, our social media summit is not about numbers but the quality of training. In contrast, other parties especially, PPP and PML-N allocate funds for social media campaigns and spend millions of rupees (Jahangir, 2018). Now, PML-N has expanded its political activism via social media and Maryam Nawaz herself has gripped up intense social media campaigning. Moreover, according to Mr. Atif, the head of social media wing of PML-N, there are currently 1,000 active members who were endowed with the responsibility to run social media campaign" (Jahangir, 2018). Pakistan People Party also has an organized social media team which some volunteers run, and the prominent leader of PPP among these is the daughter of Benazir Bhutto, Bakhtawar Bhutto. She is the apex body to run the party's social media wing much like Maryam Nawaz of PML-N.

Objectives of the Study

Following are the key objectives of this research:

1. To explore whether the leading political parties - PTI, PPP, and PMLN use social networking sites to reach the public.

2. To surf the activities of the major political parties on social media for political mobilization.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are different theories that justify democratic mobilization. They include agenda-setting theory, growth theory, democratic process theory, and political mobilization theory. However, as a theoretical basis, this study uses political mobilization theory. Dalton (1984), Olson (1965), Eisinger (1982), and Zald & McCarthy (1987) are some of the early advocates of political mobilization theory. The theory describes how political leaders, political parties, and organizations use tactics to rally voters for support throughout campaigns and elections in a specific political structure. The political mobilization theory, according to Carlson, Tom, and Kim Strandberg (2005), encapsulates many positive visions about the potential to influence citizens' political engagement through social media like Facebook and Twitter. According to the theory, social media and door-to-door political mobilization campaigns have the ability to inform, educate, and mobilize the general public and voters. Organize and involve those who are actually on the margins of the political system so that they are progressively drawn into public life and democratic processes.

So far as the theoretical foundation of this research is concerned, it makes slightly different impression than the mentioned previous studies. The time period in which this study was undertaken marks the wide spread use of the social media. Now a days, social networking platforms are not only used by the general public to satisfy their socio-psychological needs, but also by the political leaders to reach out a large population for influencing their opinion. Thus, this research in line with the stated domain of political mobilization tends to add something to the exiting field.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The current study is quantitative and makes use of content-analysis techniques. The data is collected from Facebook pages, and Twitter accounts to analyze the impact of social media on political mobilization in Pakistan. The study focuses on finding out the practices of political parties on social media to motivate and mobilize their voters and the public about the policies of their respective parties. For data collection, Facebook and Twitter accounts of political parties and their leaders on the party's official website were accessed. The study focused only on those Pakistani political parties which have been in power since 2008 such as Pakistan People Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), and Pakistan Tehreek - E- Insaaf (PTI).

After accessing the Facebook and Twitter accounts, the data was gathered in terms of the exact figures of "posts" and "tweets" and subsequent likes, comments, and shares to know about the activeness of the stated three political parties and their leaders and subsequent political mobilization. Thus, the popularity of each of the political parties and politicians was judged by the "likes," "comments," and "shares" on their posts on Facebook and tweets on Twitter. Political mobilization tends to be ascertained by counting the total likes, comments, shares and re-tweets on the (Facebook) posts and (Twitter) tweets of the three political parties and their respective leaders. The study emphasized on analyzing the likes, shares, and comments on the posts of the national level head/president of each political party. Collected posts and tweets of Shehbaz Shrif (PMLN) Bilawal Butto Zardari (PPP) and Imran Khan (PTI) were considered for analysis.

RESULTS

The ensuing table describes one-month data (1st June – 30th June 2021) collected from Facebook and Twitter accounts of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz group (PMLN), Pakistan People Party (PPP) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI).The data reflects the number of likes, positive comments, negative comments, and number of share/r-tweets on the posts/tweets of the stated political parties in line with political mobilization.

The total number of posts of PML (N) on Facebook with regard to political mobilization during the stated period is 36. The total likes for the same posts are counted as 81571. Likewise, the total number of comments (positive: 3583 and negative: 3374) for the mentioned posts are measured as 6957. The total 'shares' for the same are counted as 8855. Similarly, the total number of posts of PPP (41), likes (10214), positive comments (7410), negative comments (1457), and shares (4704) are noted with respect to political mobilization. Likewise, the total number of posts (21), likes (131900), positive comments (817), negative comments (817), and shares (1518) are counted for PTI.

The study was mainly aimed to ensure political mobilization of their followers by the major political parties through social media. Data in the table suggests that the PMLN attracted more responses (97383) in terms of likes, comments and shares to its political contents than the PPP (23785) and PTI (16243). The results signify that the PMLN mobilized the public more than the other two political parties.

Before describing data collected from Twitter accounts of the major political parties, it is apt to mention the number of followers of the three major political parties on Twitter. According to Baker (2021), the total number of followers on Twitter for PMLN, PPP, and PTI is (1.6m), (831.6k) and (5m) respectively.

Table - 1 includes Twitter data with respect to the same political parties in connection with the above mentioned probing. The table shows the number of likes, positive comments, negative comments, and r-tweets on the tweets of these political parties.

The total number of tweets of PMLN during the stated period is 92. The total likes (75434), r-tweets (69413), positive comments (2884) and negative comments (4155) are counted for the same tweets. Similarly the total number of tweets of PPP (25), likes (2852), positive comments (116), negative comments (60), and r-tweets (1490) are noted during analysis. In the same manner, the total tweets of PTI are counted as 10. The likes (2960), r-tweets (486), positive comments (3274) and negative comments (608) are measured for the same tweets during the stated time period.

Data in the table indicates that the PMLN attracted more responses (151886) on Twitter in terms of re-tweets, likes, comments and shares to its political contents than the PTI (7328) and PPP (4518). Consequently, the PMLN helped mobilize the twitter users more than the PTI and PPP. (See below table 1 for further details)

Table No. 1: PMLN, PPP and PTI Facebook and Twitter Data (June 1–June 30)

Date	Political mobilization PMLN					Political mobilization PPP					political mobilization PTI				
Facebook data	No. of posts	No. of like	No. of+ Comments	No. of– comments	No. of	No. of Post	No. of like	No. of+ Comments	No. of – comments	No. of Shares	No. of post	No. of like	No. of+ Comments	No. of – comments	No. of Shares
1st to 30th June	36	81571	3583	3374	8855	41	10214	7410	1457	4704	21	131900	1867	817	1518
Twitter data	No. of tweets	No. of like	No. of + Comments	No. of - comments	No. of R-tweets	No. of tweets	No. of like	No. of + Comments	No. of – comments	No. of R-tweets	No. of tweets	No. of like	No. of + comments	No. of – comments	No. of R-tweets
1st to 30th June	92	75434	2884	4155	69413	25	2852	116	60	1490	10	2960	3274	608	486

Table 2 shows one-month data (1st June – 30th June 2021) collected from Facebook and Twitter accounts of Political Leaders, Shehbaz Sharif, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Imran Khan. The data indicates the number of likes, positive comments, negative comments, and number of shares/r-tweets on the posts/tweets of the aforesaid political leaders in line with political mobilization.

The total posts of Shehbaz Sharif on Facebook during the stated period are seven (7). The total 'likes' for the same posts are counted as 37300 with 'share' amounting to 21259, positive comments (1204) and negative comments (1564). Similarly, the total Facebook posts of Bilawal during the same time period are counted as eight (08). The mentioned posts are followed by 19544 'likes', 2342 'share' 1852 positive comments and 1836 negative comments. In the same manner, the overall Facebook articles posted by Imran Khan are 35. The 'like' 'share', positive comments and negative comments for the said posts are counted as 1040047, 227304, 49952 and 2584 respectively.

The tabulated data proposes that the PTI leader, Imran Khan attracted more responses (1319892) on Facebook in terms of likes, comments and shares to its political contents than Shehbaz Sharif (61327) and Bilawal (25485). The results signify that Imran Khan as a political leader mobilized

the public more than his counterparts. The study also shows the popularity of Imran Khan as a political leader.

Before explaining the data from Twitter accounts of the three political leaders, it is appropriate to mention the number of their followers. According to Baker (2021), the total followers of Shehbaz Sharif, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Imran Khan on Twitter are (5.1m), (3.9m), and (9.1m) respectively.

The overall tweets of Shehbaz Sharif during the one month period are measured as nine (09). The same tweets are responded with 3027 re-tweets. The total likes, positive and negative comments for the mentioned tweets are 6248, 4003, 1785 respectively. Similarly, Bilawal tweeted 13 times in line with political mobilization during the mentioned period. His tweets are followed by r-tweets (101621), likes (28079), positive comments (4489) and negative comments (3192). In the same manner, the overall tweets of Imran Khan during the mentioned period are counted as 12. The same tweets are followed in terms of r-tweets (44453), likes (245900), positive comments (8600) and negative comments (1780).

As per findings in the ensuing table, the PTI leader, Imran Khan attracted more responses (300733) for his tweets in terms of likes, comments and shares to its political contents than Bilawal (137381) and Shehbaz Sharif (15063). The results signify that Imran Khan as a political leader mobilized the public more than his counterparts on the Twitter. (See below table 2 for further details)

Table # 2: Political Leaders' Facebook and Twitter Data

Data	Political mobilization Shehbaz Sharif					Political mobilization Bilawal's					political mobilization Imran khan's				
Face book data	No. of posts	No. of like	No. of+ Comments	No. of – comments	No. of Shares	No. of posts	No. of like	No. of+ Commence	No. of – comment	No. of Shares	No. of posts	No. of like	No. of+ Commence	No. of –commence	No. of Shares
1st June to 30th June	7	37300	1204	1564	21259	08	19544	1852	1836	2342	35	1040047	49952	2584	227304
Twitter Data	No. of tweets	No. of like	No. of + Commence	No. of – comments	No. of R-tweets	No. of tweets	No. of like	No. of + Comments	No. of – commence	No. of R-tweets	No. of tweets	No. of like	No. of + comments	No. of –commence	No. of R-tweets
1st June to 30th	9	6248	4003	1785	3027	13	28079	4489	3192	101621	12	245900	8600	1780	44453

CONCLUSION

In line with this research, it was noted that Facebook and Twitter, free of gatekeeping play a vital role in creating political awareness and help them politically mobilized. Political parties share the content of their political advertising activities, and other announcements on social sites that cater to the public's attention, political workers, voters, and youngsters. The overall timeline distribution of Facebook and Twitter activity by political parties in Pakistan signals a strong relationship between Twitter and Facebook activities and political mobilization.

To sum up the probing, let's have a review of the results. The study found that the PMLN attracted more responses (97383) in terms of likes, comments and shares to its political contents than the PPP (23785) and PTI (16243). It is an indication that the PMLN mobilized the public more than the other two political parties. Likewise, with respect to the Twitter data, the PMLN attracted more responses (151886) on Twitter in terms of re-tweets, likes, comments and shares to its political contents than the PTI (7328) and PPP (4518). Consequently, the PMLN helped mobilize the twitter users more than the PTI and PPP. (as shown in table # 1)

So far as the political leaders' activities on Facebook are concerned, the collected data proposed that the PTI leader, Imran Khan attracted more responses (1319892) on Facebook in terms of likes,

comments and shares to its political contents than Shehbaz Sharif (61327) and Bilawal (25485). The results signify that Imran Khan as a political leader mobilized the public more than his counterparts. The study also showed the popularity of Imran Khan among Facebook users. Similarly, the PTI leader, Imran Khan attracted more responses (300733) for his tweets in terms of likes, comments and shares than Bilawal (137381) and Shehbaz Sharif (15063). The results concluded that Imran Khan as a political leader mobilized the public more than his counterparts on the Twitter. (as shown in table # 2)

Imran Khan is the most followed Facebook and Twitter user in Pakistan, and this speaks volumes about his popularity, at least in the online sphere. PTI utilized this quality attributed to Khan through their usage of Facebook and Twitter. The PTI party performed political activities on Facebook and Twitter around the Khan persona, and their posts and tweets were reflective of this approach. PML-N and PPP leaders Shehbaz Sharif and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari did not have a high following. But both parties and their leaders regularly use social media. Their online public engagements show that both parties and leaders influenced the public and increased their fans and followers.

Results of this research indicated that Facebook and Twitter can play a significant role, even in Pakistan's social and political environment. The three major Political parties and their leaders' online strategies on Facebook and Twitter signify that they use the medium robustly to involve more people in a democratic process, especially the youth, by providing them knowledge about politics.

REFERENCES

Abbey, H. A. (2021). *Social Networking as a Motivator for Social Gathering,* Doctoral dissertation, Walden University.

Attia, A. M., Aziz, N., Friedman, B., & Elhusseiny, M. F. (2011). Commentary: The impact of social networking tools on political change in Egypt's "Revolution 2.0". *Electronic commerce research and applications*, *10*(4), 369-374.

Attia, A. M., Aziz, N., & Friedman, B. A. (2012). The impact of social networks on behavioral change: a conceptual framework. *World Review of Business Research*, *2*(2), 91-108.

Amjad, A. (2012). Social media: from Innovation to revolution. *Retrieved on*, *18*(07), 2012.

Conroy, M., Feezell, J. T., & Guerrero, M. (2012). Facebook and political engagement: A study of online political group membership and offline political engagement. *Computers in Human behavior*, *28*(5), 1535-1546.

Ceron, A. (2017). *Social media and political accountability: Bridging the gap between citizens and politicians*. Springer.

Courtright, D. (2007). The movement against war in Iraq. *Nonviolent social change: the bulletin of the Manchester college peace studies institute*.

Carlson, T., & Strandberg, K. (2005). The 2004 European parliament election on the web: Finnish actor strategies and voter responses. *Information Polity*, *10*(3, 4), 189-204.

Doherty, I. (2001). Democracy out of balance. *Policy Review*, (106), 25-35.

Dalton, R. J. (1984). Cognitive mobilization and partisan realignment in advanced industrial democracies. *The Journal of Politics*, *46*(1), 264-284.

Eltantawy, N., & Wiest, J. B. (2011). Social media in the Egyptian revolution: Reconsidering resource mobilization theory. *International Journal of Communication, 5*, ISSN: *1932-8036, 1207-1224*.

Eijaz, A. (2013). Impact of New Media on Dynamics of Pakistan Politics. *Journal of Political Studies*, 20 (1), 113-130

Eisinger, P. K. (1982). Black employment in municipal jobs: The impact of black political power. *American Political Science Review*, 76 (2), 380-392.

Hodge, N. A. T. H. A. N. (2010). Israelis nix op after Facebook fiasco. *Dangerroom, Wired. com*, *3*.

Ikeda, K. I., & Richey, S. E. (2005). Japanese network capital: The impact of social networks on Japanese political participation. *Political behavior*, *27*(3), 239-260.

Jahangir, R. (2018). Situationer: Pakistan's social media conundrum as election looms. DAWN.COM. *Retrieved 10 January 2021, from https://www.dawn.com/news/1395835*.

Karamat, A., & Farooq, D. A. (2020). Emerging role of social media in political activism: Perceptions and practices. *South Asian Studies*, *31*(1).381 – 396

Kugelman, M. (2012). Social media in Pakistan: Catalyst for communication not change. NOREF Report. *Retrieved from Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre website:*

http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/70df3ab24b007358 a91879dfd3354e96. pdf.

Lee, K. M. (2006). Effects of Internet use on college students' political efficacy. *Cyber psychology & Behavior*, *9*(4), 415-422.

Mohammed, O. A. (2016). Political Parties and Democratic Practices in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *Journal of International Politics and Development (JIPAD)*, *14*(1), 115.

Olson, M. (1965).*The logic of collective action*, cambridge, mass. Harvard Univ. Pr.

Sheedy, C. S. (2011). Social media for social change: A case study of social media use in the 2011 Egyptian revolution. *Capstone Project*, *28*(4), 1-58.

Zald, M. N., & McCarthy, J. D. (1987). Resource Mobilization and Social Movements." S. 15-42. *Zald, Mayer N., und John D. McCarthy (Hg.), Social Movements in an Organizational Society. Collected Essays. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers*.