

## SUMMARY

The study of political communication has consistently been closely linked to the media and their development. In the last decade the focus has shifted to social media, due to their widespread use and, consequently, also due to their impact on the electoral process. The focus of political actors on social media has also led scholars to deal more closely with the possibility of the effect that social media may have on the election campaign and elections. As in more developed countries, so in Kosovo, the use of social media by political actors is increasing. Therefore, even this book addresses this topic, political communication on social media. Changes in political communication along with technological developments constitute an important part of this book. Every media revelation has transformed political communication, starting with the press, radio, television and finally, the internet. This transformation is in progress, especially now with the inclusion of social media that has given another dimension to communication in general and political communication in particular. The possibility of direct communication with the citizen and the exclusion of the journalist from the 'game' has made social media even more attractive for politicians. In the post-truth period, politicians, more and more, are preferring to use social media to communicate with the public also because of the ease and speed of information dissemination, but also for the possibility of interactivity between them, ie politicians-citizen and vice versa.

Researchers conclude that the way social media is used, as well as the purpose of their use varies from state to state, or even from region to region. It is indisputable that social media, Facebook or Twitter, have closed the distance between the politician and the citizen. Nowadays, the opportunity for the citizen to communicate with politicians is much greater, due to the fact that through social media, he can address the politician directly, express his concern and discuss the solution of the problem. Also, the politician, thanks to social media, can realize direct, fast, frequent and easy communication with citizens. But, politics wants to act as it suits it and these advantages offered by social media, sometimes seem to have fulfilled what politicians always aspire to, to have the media in hand and to be at their service by conveying the message to the public as they want. Practices shows that politicians tend to use the media as a propaganda tool and social media can be seen as the ideal means of communication to send the message to the public, without the intervention of an intermediary party. Consequently, the question arises, whether Facebook and Twitter have brought the politician closer to the citizen, intensifying and facilitating communication between them, or have they distorted political communication by producing propaganda and misinformation ?!

The object of the book is the use of social media by political parties for political communication with citizens, ie with voters in the general elections of 2017. In this book is analyzed the popularity of social media in the Kosovo political spectrum, the adaptation of political parties to the digital age communication, as well as the spread of personalization of political communication. Through the analysis of the use of

Facebook and Twitter by political parties during the 2017 general elections, it has been ascertained the way and degree of adaptation of politics with these social media. So, if these social media are used for information, notification or even for interaction with the public and their mobilization. An analysis with the same parameters was made in the election campaign of the three candidates for prime minister in the 2017 general elections.

The fundamental change in the relationship between the media and politics, especially after Donald Trump's victory in the 2016 presidential election in the United States of America, raises the need for more different studies that have happened and are happening in the media-politics relationship, as a result of the growing influence of social media. The shrinking role of traditional media as a bridge between politics and the public is the epilogue of the growth and development of new media in general, and social media in particular. Therefore, the purpose of this book is to analyze the media-political relationship of the digital age in the state of Kosovo. Considering the high level of internet coverage in Kosovar families, the Kosovar political spectrum is increasingly paying attention to social media to spread its ideas or agendas. The popularity of political parties on social media has increased over the years, as has the use of this type of media by political parties. The treatment of political communication that has social media as its main tool is lacking in Kosovar studies in this field, therefore this book will serve as a theoretical and practical basis for researchers of communication, media, political science, then for students, but also for drafters of communication strategies in Kosovar political parties.

The focus of the book is the 2017 general elections, the election campaign from May 31 to June 9, because, in that period, both politicians and voters are more active, which makes it more appropriate to study communication politics in Kosovo, in the digital age.

In this book, social media data collection was done with 'R' software. The data contains 1296 posts, of which 797 on Facebook and 519 on Twitter. Also, with the 'R' software, all existing data of Kosovar political parties and their leaders have been collected, from the day of their adoption with this new technology, starting from March 5, 2009, until the end of the general elections. of 2017.

This book analyzes the extension of Facebook in the Kosovar political spectrum, not only at the party level, but also the individual one, analyzing the candidates for MP, if they have adopted Facebook for the campaign, what are the commonalities and differences based on gender segregation as well as by age. The book also analyzes the campaigns of three candidates for prime minister on Facebook and Twitter. Also, part of the analysis are the previous years, since social media have started to be used by the Kosovar political spectrum.

Another analysis is that of coverage of the election campaign on television. Sample analysis are the central news editions of the three national televisions, Radio Television

of Kosovo (RTK), Kohavisioni (KTV) and Radio Television 21 (RTV21), during the period May 31 - June 10, ie 10 days of campaigning and the day of election silence. Through the analysis of the news contents, the agenda of the three televisions during the election campaign was determined, as well as the determination of the reporting tone, which was analyzed in all 11 editions and included 142 news related to the campaign. The book is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter builds the theoretical basis and the scope of the chapter is about the development of political communication, with the empowerment of social media as important tools in this form of communication. This chapter discusses the main theories of political communication in the digital age addressed by leading scholars Pippa Norris, Brian McNair, Darren Lilleker, Gianpietro Mazzoleni, Jay Blumler, Holly Semetko, Anthony Giddens, Doris Graber, Frank Esser, Jesper Stromback, Rasmus Kleis Vergeer and so on. Next, other important theories in media-politics relationship studies are examined. The biggest names in propaganda and public opinion studies are discussed: Edward Bernays, Noam Chomsky, Jacques Ellul, Harold Lasswell, Douglas Kellner, Walter Lippman and Giovanni Sartori.

The first chapter also deals with the forms of political communication, the types of election campaigns, the typology of Pippa Norris, Jay G. Blumler and Dennis Kavanagh, etc., the two theoretical models of the election campaign, according to the Italian professor Gianpietro Mazzoleni, planning and building the election campaign strategy according to French professor Philippe J. Maarek and the types of political parties based on their primary objective, according to Norwegian political scientist Karee Strøm and political marketing professor Jennifer Lees-Marshment.

The second chapter is devoted to theories related to social media and includes the most prominent scholars, Danah M. Boyd, Everett Rogers, Andrew Chadwick, Zizi Papacharissi, Samantha Bradshaw, Philip Howard, Nick Couldry, Manuel Castells, Homero Gil de Zúñiga and Clay Shirky. This section discusses technological determinism, Rogers's theory of diffusion of innovations, confronts two groups of scholars, those who see social media as a means of new opportunities for communication, rapprochement of politicians with the citizen, increasing freedom of expression, as well as the other group of scholars who emphasize 'echo chambers', who think that social media has facilitated the dissemination of propaganda and misinformation. Chadwick's theory of media hybridization and Castells's concept of 'mass self-communication' are two other theories that are part of the literature review. This chapter discusses social media in general and Facebook and Twitter in particular. Also deals with the effect of social media on changing the traditional-political media ratio and the changes that have taken place in the flow of information.

The Kosovar context opens the third chapter, analyzes the electoral system of Kosovo, gives a brief overview of the seven Kosovar political parties, which are also part of the study corpus. Also, this chapter deals with the adaptation of political parties to the digital age of political communication, the popularity of social media and the network of political parties on Facebook and Twitter, as well as the leaders of those

parties. Also, this chapter deals with the personalization of political communication. The fourth chapter raises the issue of online campaigns, propaganda, fake news, misinformation and looks at the legal framework of the use of social media during the election campaign. This section also discusses the types of fake news, the reasons that are considered motivation for distribution and some of the methods for verifying information in order to understand that it is fake news. In addition to foreign examples, this section also presents some cases from the Kosovar context of spreading fake news, the manner of distribution and the tricks used to make this news as distinct as possible that it is false. Last but not least, the phenomenon of 'fake news 2.0', deepfake and shallowfake, an even more advanced version of fake news, is discussed.

The use of Facebook during the election campaign is addressed in fifth chapter, analyzing the use of this social media by political parties, the adaptation of 320 candidates for MP with this social media, dividing them into two categories, by gender and by age. This section analyzes the activity of political parties on Facebook during the ten-day campaign, from the analysis of daily usage, the average of posts during the campaign and the interaction of political parties with followers. Also, the content of the messages of the political parties is analyzed, according to the type, mobilizer, or announcer and, according to the form, only text, or even the use of the photo, video and link, or posting of the 'event' form. This chapter also analyzes the campaign of the three candidates for prime minister and the use of Facebook to campaign by them, the analysis of daily use, the average number of posts during the campaign and the interactivity of political parties. The analysis of the messages of the three candidates for prime minister is done in the same framework of the type of text, as for the political parties. Populism and its use by the three candidates for prime minister is part of this subchapter. This section analyzes the spread of populist communication and, through content analysis, identifies both aspects of populist communication: content and style, using the division of types of populism by Belgian professors, Jan Jagers and Stefan Walgrave. Also, the interactivity created by adopting a populist communication style is analyzed, if populist posts have achieved more likes, comments and distribution, than non-populist messages.

Twitter is at the center of the analysis of the sixth chapter, which also analyzes the activity of political parties, their adoption on Twitter and the interactivity they have created in this social media. As for Facebook, in the case of Twitter, the same usage analysis is done during the election campaign, including the daily posting, the average of the posts, the interactivity produced as well as the analysis of the content of the messages. The analysis of political party messages on Twitter is done in the same framework of the type of text, mobilizing and announcing, as well as the use of photos or videos. Even in the case of Twitter, its use during the election campaign by the three candidates for prime minister is analyzed, their adoption on Twitter, daily posting, average posting, interactivity produced and analysis of the content of messages, with the same framework of the type of the text, as for political parties. This section also compares the interactivity of messages in Albanian and English during the Twitter campaign of the three candidates for prime minister.

Chapter seven deals with the analysis of television reporting for the 2017 election campaign, which briefly presents a history of media development in Kosovo, the Kosovar media system, built on models of the media system of various scholars, Paolo Mancini, Daniel Hallin, Zrinjka Perusko, Dina Vozab, Boguslaw Dobek-Ostrowska. The role of the journalist in political life is discussed, with special emphasis on the six basic functions of journalism according to Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim Vos. Also discussed are the elements of journalism introduced by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, and the position of the journalist as the 'gatekeeper' (information controller) in the present age. Also presented are the essential elements of the news according to 'Missouri Group', the evaluation of events by the journalist according to Milazim Krasniqi and other names of studies in the field of journalism, Thomas E. Patterson, Bajram Kosumi, Michael Schudson, etc. This chapter analyzes the coverage of the election campaign by the three national televisions included in the analysis, RTK, KTV and RTV 21. This section presents the changes in the way televisions covered the elections in Kosovo over the years, then the focus shifts to political advertising and the sponsored television campaign program, to continue with the coverage of the 2017 election campaign by all three televisions, in the space dedicated campaign-related news, daily news reporting, and other broadcasts during the election campaign.

This book identifies the extent of use and manner of use of social media by Kosovo political parties in the election campaign. Based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the use of social media by the Kosovar political spectrum, it can be concluded that the way of using Facebook and Twitter is a very important factor and, in the case of Kosovo, social media is seen by politicians as an important channel of communication, where, they can disseminate their thoughts, ideas and messages. Political parties in Kosovo do not use social media in order to bridge the gap with the public, or with their supporters. Instead, they want to seize the opportunity to send an unfiltered message to the public. The results show that, in Kosovo, the process of political communication via the Internet has produced more propaganda than it has intensified communication between political actors and citizens. However, the new era of political communication has created a new media for political actors, a very effective media, a media at a much lower cost than the possession of a traditional media, a media that offers the opportunity to target the public, depending on the message. The lack of 'gatekeepers' and the inability to always maintain a critical judgment of media content has created a precondition for politicians to continue with this way of using social media.

Analyzing the political communication in Kosovo in the digital age, respectively the use of social media, this book shows how political parties have adapted to this new era, how their popularity on social media has increased over the years, how it has increased also the use of this type of media by the parties and how the political parties attach great importance to the use of Facebook in their communication with the public, etc., the case of the 'NISMA' party that had created a Facebook page in the same day she was registered as a party, or 'Alternativa', that two days before registering with the CEC, she had already become active on Facebook, creating her own page.

Content analysis has enabled research into how political parties use social media in a wide range of contexts, because this analysis covers a range of events, themes and areas and does not focus exclusively on specific events, themes or areas. This research found that all political parties in Kosovo had the most propaganda messages in their posts. Over 50% of the messages did not cover any part of the party program, but were merely party propaganda, in an attempt to convince citizens of their vote. This trend was evident in all political parties, without distinction.

The research clearly illustrates the dominance of the Vetëvendosje, as the party with the largest Facebook network, more than all the other parties together, but also raises the issue of the need to use social media continuously, with certain strategies, otherwise, investing only in campaign time may not even be profitable or useful. In general terms, in the 2017 elections, every third candidate for MP had a Facebook page and this is an indicator of the high level of Facebook use in the Kosovo political spectrum. The average adaptation of Kosovar politicians to social media is higher than in some much more developed European countries, such as France, Sweden, Norway, which confirms that the economic situation of a country is not a determining factor for the adaptation of that country's political elite to new technologies.

In the 2017 election, political parties did not give much importance to Twitter, for two reasons. First, Twitter is not very widespread in Kosovar society and, second, it is considered more of a social media where our politicians address international factors. In the analysis of the language used by eight Kosovar politicians on Twitter, in a total of 7904 posts, 5567 times they wrote in English, while another 381 times, in other languages, French, German, Spanish, etc. So, in general, Twitter is used by the political elite more to address the foreign audience, as most of the messages are in foreign languages, so during the election campaign it was used less, because, in this period, politicians tried to communicate as much as possible with the voters, who are more on Facebook, as the most used social media in the country.

Based on the analysis of the campaign style, the findings of this book show that the election campaign was not aggressive, as dominated by positive messages, versus negative ones, or mutual attacks, made against parties, or various political actors. In terms of content analysis, in the context of the campaign model of the French professor, Philippe Maarek, the book concludes that the image building campaign has been more widespread in the 2017 election campaign in Kosovo, since, the word comes, both LDK and AAK, have campaigned more about the figures of the two candidates for prime minister, than for the respective party political programs.

In the way the television has covered the election campaigns in the period 2010-2017, there is a contraction of the space broadcast on the three national frequency televisions, RTK, KTV and RTV 21. An analysis of the airtime dedicated to the campaign in the central news editions, in three national televisions during the 2010 and 2017 elections, found that the percentage of time reserved for politicians decreased by 31.8%. A reduction in campaign coverage, in addition to the central

news editions, is also observed in election chronicles and debate shows. Also, political parties have invested less in political advertising and sponsored programs in the 2017 election campaign compared to the 2014 elections. All these changes are also a reflection of the development of new media, online media and social media , which have also influenced journalism, but also political communication strategies.

