**If you follow me, I might (mis) lead you: Following Prime Ministerial Candidates on Social Networks as a Predictor of the Public Agenda during an Election Campaign**

**Abstract**

The current study investigates the effects of exposure to prime ministerial candidates’ social media platforms on voters' perception of agendas during Israel's general elections in April 2019. A total of 2,217 questionnaires that were answered during the four weeks preceding the 2019 elections surveyed respondents’ political orientations, their tendency to follow political candidates’ accounts on social media, and perceived agendas. Survey results revealed significant differences in agenda perceptions between respondents who followed both leading candidates, a single candidate, or no candidates. We also found significant differences when we examined the interaction between respondents’ voting intentions and following habits and their effect on the perceived agenda setting. Thus, the present study provides further proof of social networks vital role in political campaigns and their impact on the public agenda.

Keywords: Agenda-setting, Perceived Agenda, Social Media, Elections, Candidates' Accounts on Social Media, Voting Intention, Social Media Following Patterns

The age of social networks, originating in the mid-2000s, has brought about fundamental changes in every political system and every country where social media have permeated at the local, national and global level (Dubois & Dutton 2013; Elishar-Malka et al. 2020; Penney 2017; Spaeth 2009; Stromer-Galley 2014). During the April 2019 general election in Israel, social networks continued to gain traction as one of the most prominent and significant factors in the political communications arena, particularly during election campaigns, an effect which was also evident during Israel’s 2013 and 2015 elections (Samuel-Azran et al. 2015; Weimann-Saks et al. 2016). Besides countless campaign videos, posts, memes, tweets, and images posted by activists, campaign advisors, and parties, the personal accounts of prime ministerial candidates–who are also the heads of their political parties–were also actively used. On their personal Facebook and Twitter accounts, leading political contenders addressed news issues and current events in frequent posts. Published on sites that enjoy extensive publicity, these posts and tweets sought to broadcast candidates’ positions and contribute to agenda-setting and priming (Scheufele 2000; Weaver 2007). Thus, social network posts help define the list of issues perceived by the public to be of chief importance and therefore dictate how candidates will be judged and evaluated by what is perceived as serving the interests of various political contenders and their parties.

Considering insight into the practical political implications of the public’s perceptions of agendas in the age of social networks (Allcott 2017; Elishar-Malka et al. 2020; Weimann & Brosius 2017), the present study seeks to examine the effect of exposure patterns to leading candidates’ personal Facebook and Twitter accounts (the accounts of incumbent Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Benny Gantz, head of the largest rival party, Kachol-Lavan) on followers’ and potential voters’ perceptions of the relative importance of key agenda issues, during Israel’s April 2019 elections.

**Theoretical Framework**

*Media roles during elections*

A shared assumption among most political communication scholars identifies the media as a political player. This assumption implies that the media have far-reaching effects on the many facets and operative modes of the political system, particularly during election campaigns (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999; Patterson & Donsbach, 1998; Wolfsfeld, 2011).

As a new election campaign is unveiled, the political system faces a crucial trial: all players' behavioral patterns become more critical and significant. This holds all the more valid in an age in which candidates are required to conduct themselves as if in a ‘permanent campaign’: a campaign that stretches from one election to the next, rather than being confined to the formal election campaign (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999; Dunaway & Stein, 2013; Iyengar et al., 2004; Weimann & Wolfsfeld, 2002). For the most part, media studies have focused on two fields of activity: aspects of election propaganda and news coverage of election periods. Of particular interest are instances in which election propaganda seeps into the realms of news coverage and interpretation, cumulatively adding to other influences such as the effects of media coverage on a campaign’s content and messages (see, for example, Sheafer & Weimann 2005).

The emergence of new media, particularly the internet and social networks, has changed – and continues to change – patterns of activity during elections. Across the political arena, new media have opened up fresh avenues of campaign promotion and direct communication with the public, as well as the ability to monitor and follow election discourse beyond the confines of traditional mass media (Bennett & Iyengar 2008; Bennett & Pfetsch 2018; Chadwick & Stromer-Galley 2016; Elishar-Malka et al. 2020; Penney 2017; Spaeth 2009; Stromer-Galley 2014).

Although the use of social media in politics continues to expand worldwide, researchers do not concur on their impact, their influence, or their relationship with voting behaviors and decisions (Bennett & Pfetsch 2018; Chadwick & Stromer-Galley 2016; Gil de Zúñiga et al. 2014; Foot & Schneider 2006; Boulianne 2015; Gerbaudo 2012). Rahim (2019) has suggested that campaigns, in the age of social media, are more candidate-driven than issue-driven. Politicians can target audiences with specific demographic characteristics and political interests and tailor their communication to these audiences using Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter. This social media utilization enables candidates to reach broader voter segments, including smaller and weak-tie networks, with low-cost and self-driven campaigns. Studies have shown that politicians with higher social media engagement receive relatively more votes in national elections (Skovsgaard & Arjan 2013), as has been exemplified by cases from around the world (Spaeth, 2009; Rahim, 2019; Tarai 2019).

*Agenda Setting*

Controlling agendas in the media and among the public is of particular importance during election periods. Therefore, it is not surprising that agenda-setting theory has often focused on studying these periods. Agenda-setting theory addresses the mass media's power to influence public perceptions of salient political issues' relative importance. It posits that news media gatekeepers (journalists and editors) emphasize and highlight certain events, people, and issues while ignoring or minimizing others. The relative media salience of certain issues in a particular news source, or several news sources simultaneously, influences public agendas and public discourse, focusing on the issues most prominently covered by mass media outlets (McCombs & Shaw 1972).

According to Weaver, McCombs, and Shaw (2004), the analysis unit in most agenda-setting studies is the public issue (object). However, there remains the research dilemma of whether it is sufficient to examine the issues themselves or whether it is necessary to address their accompanying attributes as well. The authors assert that such attributes, which have been called “the second level of agenda-setting,” are granted directly or indirectly by journalists in media reports, and they emphasize particular aspects or attributes of the objects of news coverage. Over the years, studies have reaffirmed the theory’s basic assumptions (Dearing & Rogers 1996; Scheufele 2000; McCombs 2005, 2014; Brosius & Weimann 1996), in a manner which ostensibly seeks to establish a causal explanation. In addition to investigating correlations between the salience of issues in various media platforms and their perceived importance in the view of the public, various studies have manipulated individuals’ news consumption to confirm the correlations between news coverage and the public’s perception of the relative importance of election issues (Iyengar & Kinder 2010).

Most agenda-setting research focuses on an aggregate level in various contexts (Guo 2017). Shehata and Strömbäck (2013) suggest that continuous audience fragmentation processes decrease the likelihood that people are exposed to the same content as they consume an increasingly wide range of media, thus reducing the agenda-setting impact of traditional news media. Roessler (2008) has observed that studies concerning the individual-level effects of agenda-setting are rare compared to the extensive studies of agenda-setting's aggregate-level effects.

*Setting the Agenda in the Social Networks Landscape*

Agenda-setting theory is at the crux of controversy over media influence, the power of that influence, and the media’s relevance in the context of an ever-changing media landscape (Bennett & Iyengar 2008; Shehata & Strömbäck, 2013; Weimann & Brosius, 2017). The theory has increasingly been challenged over the past decade with the emergence and popularization of online social network platforms (Haim, Weimann & Brosius 2018; McCombs, Shaw &Weaver 2014). The character of the media landscape (increased fragmentation) and new use patterns alter production and consumption patterns and test the theory’s fundamental questions, such as the ability to define themes (issues) in an interactive setting and the possibility of examining the phenomena in a representative way when issues cross technology platforms (Ariel et al. 2017).

McCombs (2014) notes the interplay among different media outlets, resulting in inter-media agenda-setting effects. Some scholars suggest that social media have substituted the dominant agenda-setting role previously played by traditional media (Ceron et al. 2016; Newman, Dutton, & Blank 2012). Other scholars have demonstrated traditional media’s dominance, even in the social media environment (Vargo et al. 2014; Vargo 2011). For instance, Guo and Vargo (2015) found that traditional news media still set the public’s identification of candidates with issues in the presidential election.

Moeller (2010) divides agenda-setting among three major actors: the government, the mainstream media, and citizens. According to Moeller, the media landscape's transformation has left traditional media with less power than in the past to define media agendas. The change in power relations makes every individual, including “marginal players,” capable of bringing an event or topic to the center of the discourse. Regarding candidates’ agendas in their election campaigns, Johnson and Perlmutter (2010) note that prior to the Internet age, such political messages were under the candidate’s near complete control, and sponsored advertisements were displayed at the time and place and to the extent predetermined by their campaigns. In contrast, today, there is little centralized control over the content, as writers, editors, and distributors are neither concentrated in media organizations nor in politicians’ campaign headquarters.

Different social network platforms may be characterized by different user behaviors regarding agendas. One study found that Facebook users share a greater quantity of content than traditional media and tend to focus on few central issues, while Twitter users demonstrate a greater diversity of topics in shared content (Trilling et al. 2017). Varying use patterns on social networks may also affect agendas. Thus, Feezell (2018) found that random exposure to news issues on social media may influence agendas. Incidental exposure is apt to occur even when users avoid exposure to certain media outlets or politicians (for example, by sponsored advertising of a news post). Posegga and Jungherr (2019) found that agendas in Twitter tweets (messages) were only weakly correlated with public agendas as determined by public opinion polls. According to Posegga and Jungherr, this indicates the need to examine agendas in the context of the platform and its distinct characteristics (such as rhythm and scope) and not use them as a proxy measure for surveys. Towner and Muñoz (2018) have found that candidates’ Instagram photographs influence media agendas during election periods. Additional studies have reported on the complex correlations between agendas on Twitter and in the mass media. Twitter agendas were found to be influenced by media agendas (Conway et al. 2015), but Twitter was also found to be influential on specific issues or when it was used by specific candidates (Conway-Silva et al. 2018).

Considering these studies, it is clear why the question “Who sets the agenda?” has returned to the center of analytical discourse. Towner and Muñoz (2018) claim that recent findings regarding agendas on social media (online social networks) still do not delineate directionality of influence among politicians’ agendas as shared on their accounts, public agendas, as reflected in online settings, and media agendas. In contrast, McCombs and Valenzuela (2014) examine the status of agenda-setting theory and suggest that despite the diversity among various age groups in use patterns of media in general, and the internet in particular, studies from the second decade of the 21st century continue to reaffirm the correlation between the media salience of issues and their perceived importance by the public. Woolley et al. (2010) performed a content analysis of user content posted to online social networks during the 2008 United States presidential elections. Data analysis showed that content on social networks generally focused on particular issues, while groups identified with a particular candidate generated content that reflected central themes in the mass media during the same period.

Moreover, belonging to various social groups may influence people’s agenda-setting (Shaw et al., 1999). That is, belonging to a certain group or community may change, or mediate, media agendas. This claim may be significant, considering the increasing use of online social networks, such as Facebook, which allow friends and acquaintance circles and membership in various groups.

*Selective exposure to the media*

Selective exposure is the idea that people will expose themselves to contents and platforms according to their needs and inner worlds and avoid messages that might contradict these (Mutz, 2004; Messing & Westwood, 2014). Perhaps the most prominent scholars to address this concept in the early stages of communication and media studies were Paul Lazarsfeld and his partners in the classic ‘The People's Choice’ set of studies (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948). Even though the concept is associated with the "minimal effects" paradigm, it has become even more relevant in the new media era's abundant media landscape (Bennet & Iyengar, 2008; Iyengar et al., 2008). Wu and Gue (2020) suggest that agenda-setting studies consider this factor because of the inevitable selective exposure that the current era generates.

Scholars have found that, in addition to the current profusion of channels, platforms, and content, other external factors might influence selective exposure patterns (Messing & Westwood, 2014; Iyengar et al., 2008). Zillmann et al. (2004), for example, have shown how different frames on news sites will shape selective exposure among users. Iyengar et al. (2008) have highlighted the significant role people's perceptions of current issues have in determining their selective exposure patterns to campaign information. Their ‘issue public’ hypothesis might also be relevant to understanding people's agenda-setting processes, especially during elections.

*The current political communication arena in Israel*

The last few decades have seen a significant increase in media and election research in Israel. This increase is partly due to the country’s complex political reality, the series of governments that failed to reach full tenure and ended in early elections, and the constantly changing media landscape (Sheafer & Wolfsfeld 2009; Sheafer & Weimann 2005; Shamir & Shamir 2000; Shamir et al. 2008; Weimann & Wolfsfeld 2002).

In recent years, Israeli research has naturally ventured into examining the unique effects of new media on the political media arena, particularly during election campaigns. Although political players in Israel are slower to embrace technological innovations than their counterparts in many Western countries, the internet and social networks have become significant elements in the political arena (Haleva-Amir 2011; Lev-on 2011; Weimann-Saks et al. 2016; Samuel-Azran et al. 2015; Sheafer & Wolfsfeld 2009). This change is partially due to considerable and extensive social media activity on the part of voters.

Elections to the Knesset, Israel’s parliament, take place every four years (or fewer if the Knesset votes for dispersal). The elections of April 2019, the first among two rounds of elections that year, included three main camps: the dovish-left camp, the hawkish-right, and the socioeconomic-center camp. The hawkish-right camp included, among others, the prominent Likud party, headed by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu*.* Benny Gantz, prime ministerial candidate, and Netanyahu’s leading rival led KacholLavan, a ‘third way’ camp between the dovish and the hawkish camps, which focused on domestic socioeconomic policies (Freidberg 2019). In recent years, Israeli election campaigns have been characterized by the growing presence of social networks as a central arena for political activities and by their ever-dominant, confrontational, and violent public and political discourse. These two phenomena, which are known to be influenced by each other, seem to have deepened socio-political cleavages in Israeli society as a whole (Freidberg 2019).

**Research questions and hypotheses**

Considering the above literature review, the current study will explore two main research questions:

Q1: Do perceived agendas vary as a function of the respondent’s political views (voting intentions)?

We assume that perceived agendas will vary between Likud voters and Kachol-Lavan voters (H1).

Q2: Do perceived agendas vary as a function of which candidate or candidates the respondent follows on social networks?

We assume that perceived agendas will vary depending on whether the respondents follow Benjamin Netanyahu or Benny Gantz (H2), and whether they follow one candidate exclusively, both candidates, or no candidates (H3).

Q3:Is there an interaction between respondents’ voting intentions and following habits on perceived agenda-setting?

We assume that a significant interaction will be found (H4).

**Method**

*Participants*

The sample was obtained from an online Web Panel, based on data published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics Israel 2019.The total number of questionnaire respondents was 2,217 throughout the study period: The questionnaires were divided into four waves (once a week). The first wave included 527 respondents, the second wave included 565 respondents, the third wave included 562 respondents, and the fourth wave included 553 respondents. Respondents were aged 18 to 74, with a mean age of 41.8 (SD= 15.5). Of the respondents, 47.5% were men, and 52.5% were women. Most of the respondents were married (60%), non-religious (77%), and with academic education (64%). Regarding voting intentions, 21.1% reported they would vote for the Likud party, and 29% for Kachol-Lavan. On social media, 43% of respondents reported following any or several prime ministerial candidates. Of those, 69% followed Netanyahu on social networks, and 48% followed Gantz. 88% of them followed candidates on Facebook, while 18% followed them on Twitter.

*Research tools*

The research questions were examined through a structured questionnaire that included 20 closed questions. The questionnaire included the following variables: demographic details (e.g., gender, age, education, marital status); party for which they will vote; whether they follow prime ministerial candidates on social networks; which candidates they follow; traditional media consumption patterns (radio, television, newspapers); new media consumption patterns (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram, news sites, YouTube).

To assess respondents' perceived agenda, participants were asked to rank the five most prominent issues in their opinion (from first to fifth) from a list of 29 general issues. The list was created according to major news categories in the Israeli media and based on a similar list used by the authors in an earlier study (Weimann-Saks et al., 2016). Respondents’ assessments were then weighted regarding the perceived prominence of issues, and the ten most prominent issues were ranked. Each issue received a weighted score of the respondents’ ratings between 0 (if the participant did not rate the topic at all) and 10 (if the topic was ranked first).

*Research Process*

The questionnaires were distributed in the four weeks before the April 2019 elections. Each week, an online questionnaire was sent to approximately 530 participants. Potential respondents were asked a filter question: Do you have the right to vote in the upcoming elections? Those who indicated they do have a right to vote were sent the questionnaire for completion. The final sample included only questionnaires that were completely correctly by the end of the survey and after verifying the completion time (no less than 5 minutes and no more than 60 minutes). In the analysis of the findings, in all the study hypotheses, sex and age variables were statistically controlled. The study was conducted anonymously, and the response time of the entire study averaged about 15 minutes. The Institutional Ethics Committee of the researchers’ academic institute approved the study.

**Results**

Ten key issues were identified as prominent in respondents' views across all four surveys conducted in the four weeks leading up to the election. Table 1 presents the issues in descending order of importance as perceived by respondents one month before elections: a military-security incident[[1]](#footnote-2), investigations of the prime minister[[2]](#footnote-3), financial crisis, party and candidates, the health-care system, foreign affairs, poverty, coalition formation, education, and corruption. According to the data collected, a military-security incident was consistently the most prominent issue (average range 3-3.4) during all four weeks prior to the elections, followed by investigations of the prime minister (average range 2.7-2.9) and financial crisis (average range 2.6-2.8). Education (average range 2.2-2.5) and corruption (2.20-2.4) were consistently ranked at the list's bottom. Moreover, the relative ranking of the top three issues remained consistent during the entire month leading up to the election, and the remaining issues varied only slightly.

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| **Weeks prior to election** |  |  |  |  |
| Military/security incident | 3.0 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 |
|  |  | Investigations of the prime minister | 2.9 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 2.9 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | 2.8 | 2.7 |  |  |  | 2.6 |  | 2.8 |
| Party and candidates | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.8 |
|  |  |  | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.4 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 2.5 |  | 2.4 |  | 2.4 | 2.6 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2.5 | 2.4 |  | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| Coalition formation | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 2.4 |
| Education | 2.3 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 2.3 |
| Corruption | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.4 |

To examine trends in the prominence of issues across the four consecutive surveys, we calculated a mean ranking score of each week's issues.: The data were evaluated with a spearman rank-order correlation coefficient based on the calculated mean ranking score. Spearman correlation matrices yielded high significance values between the first survey (4 weeks before the elections) and the second (3 weeks before the elections) (r = .82, p< .05), third (r = .76, p< .01) and fourth (r = .81, p< .01) surveys; between the second survey (3 weeks prior the elections) and the third (r = .78, p< .01) and fourth (r = .69, p< .05) surveys; and finally between the third and fourth surveys (r = .96, p< .01).

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*Examining research hypotheses*

To examine differences in perceived agenda setting as a function of respondents’ political views (voting intentions) (H1), we conducted an independent samples t-test analysis to compare perceived agendas among Likud and Kachol-Lavan voters. The results among Likud voters were as follows, in descending order of prominence: military-security incident, investigations of the prime minister, financial crisis, and foreign affairs. The issues deemed least prominent among these voters were crime and violence, corruption, and coalition formation. In contrast, among Kachol-Lavan voters, the most prominent issues, in descending order, were as follows: military-security incident, investigations of the prime minister, financial crisis, and party and candidates. The least prominent issues among supporters of Kachol-Lavan were crime and violence, education, and corruption. Table 2 demonstrates the differences between Kachol-Lavan and Likud voters in the perceived prominence of issues.

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|  |  | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| Military/security incident\* | Likud | 3.24 | 1.03 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 3.02 | 1.18 |
| Investigations of the prime minister | Likud | 2.74 | 1.07 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.90 | 1.05 |
| Financial crisis | Likud | 2.76 | 1.13 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.71 | 1.28 |
| Party and candidates | Likud | 2.62 | 1.17 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.60 | 1.13 |
| Healthcare system\* | Likud | 2.14 | 1.04 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.31 | 1.03 |
| Foreign affairs\* | Likud | 2.83 | 1.21 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.40 | 1.09 |
| Welfare and poverty | Likud | 2.40 | 1.04 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.52 | 1.26 |
| Coalition formation\* | Likud | 2.03 | 1.11 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.61 | 1.10 |
| Education | Likud | 2.34 | 1.23 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.22 | 1.05 |
| Corruption | Likud | 2.19 | 0.99 |
| Kachol-Lavan | 2.36 | 1.14 |

\* p < 0.05

Table 2. Comparison between perceived prominence of issues among Likud and Kachol-Lavan voters.

As can be seen in Table 3, significant differences are evident between Likud and Kachol-Lavan voters. Thus, for example, among Likud voters, a military-security incident was more prominent than among Kahol-Lavan voters (t (504) =1.42, p < .05). Similarly, foreign affairs were perceived as more important among Likud voters (t (150) = 2.35, p < .05). Healthcare in Israel, however, was perceived as significantly more important among Kachol-Lavan voters (t (307) =1.72, p < .05), as was coalition formation (t (121) =1.6, p < .05).

An examination of the candidates’ accounts that respondents followed found that 80% of Likud voters only followed Netanyahu’s account, while 19% followed Netanyahu and Gantz. Among Kachol-Lavan voters, 48% only followed Gantz, and 47% followed both Netanyahu and Gantz. To examine the differences in perceived agenda as a function of the candidate the respondent followed on social networks (H2), an independent samples t-test was performed and revealed significant differences in the relative prominence respondents attributed to agenda issues based on their exposure to a single candidate’s posts on social media. Among respondents who followed Netanyahu, issues perceived as most prominent, in descending order, were as follows: military-security incident, investigations of the prime minister, foreign affairs, and party and candidates. The issues considered least prominent were healthcare, education, and corruption. Among respondents who followed Gantz, the most prominent issues, in descending order, were a military-security incident, investigations of the prime minister, financial crisis, and coalition formation. The issues deemed least prominent were crime and violence, corruption, and foreign affairs. Table 3 presents a comparison of each issue's relative perceived prominence based on which candidate respondents followed on social media and presents issues in which a significant difference was identified between respondents who exclusively followed a particular candidate.

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|   | Candidate followed | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| Military/security incident\* | exclusively Gantz | 3.01 | 1.21 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 3.39 | 1.05 |
| Investigations of the prime minister | exclusively Gantz | 2.93 | 1.08 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.75 | 1.04 |
| Financial crisis\* | exclusively Gantz | 2.97 | 1.24 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.49 | 1.13 |
| Party and candidates | exclusively Gantz | 2.78 | 1.11 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.68 | 0.96 |
| Healthcare system | exclusively Gantz | 2.59 | 0.99 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.35 | 1.07 |
| Foreign affairs\* | exclusively Gantz | 2.28 | 1.07 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.77 | 1.03 |
| Welfare and poverty | exclusively Gantz | 2.50 | 1.19 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.52 | 1.07 |
| Coalition formation\* | exclusively Gantz | 2.96 | 1.02 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.36 | 1.14 |
| Education | exclusively Gantz | 2.36 | 1.15 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 2.03 | 1.12 |
| Corruption | exclusively Gantz | 2.21 | 1.00 |
| exclusively Netanyahu | 1.93 | 0.90 |

\* p < .05

Table 3. Comparison between perceived prominence of issues among respondents who exclusively followed Gantz or Netanyahu.

As evident in Table 3, significant differences were found between respondents who exclusively followed Gantz or Netanyahu. Thus, for example, among Netanyahu’s exclusive followers, a military-security incident was perceived as more prominent than among Gantz’s followers (t (266) = 2.4, p < 0.05). Likewise, foreign affairs were perceived as significantly more prominent among Netanyahu’s followers (t (128) = 1.71, p < .05). Financial crisis, however, was considered more prominent among Gantz’s followers (t (178) = 1.9, p < .05), as was coalition formation (t (106) = 2.1, p < .05).

Examining the differences between respondents who exclusively followed a single candidate and those who followed both candidates or none (H3) reveals differences in the perceived importance of a military-security incident (F(2, 395) = 3.8, p < .05), with the highest perceived prominence reported among Netanyahu's exclusive followers (M = 3.38, SD = 1.04), followed by followers of both Netanyahu and Gantz (M = 3.13, SD = 1.13), and finally by exclusive followers of Gantz (M = 3, SD = 1.2). Additionally, differences were found in the perceived prominence of coalition formation (F (2, 108) =2.36, p<.05), with greatest perceived prominence among Gantz’s followers (M = 2.96, SD = 1.02), followed by followers of both Gantz and Netanyahu (M = 2. 39, SD = 1.2), and lastly by Netanyahu’s followers (M = 2.36, SD = 1.13).

 Table 4 displays the means of the prominence of the issues within every variation of the examined interaction: Intention to vote for the Likud party and following none of the candidates; intention to vote for the Likud party and exclusively following Gantz (the leader of the rival party Kachol-Lavan); intention to vote for Likud party and following its leader Netanyahu; intention to vote for Likud party and following both candidates (Gantz and Netanyahu); intention to vote for the Kachol-Lavan party and exclusively following Gantz (the leader of Kachol-Lavan party); intention to vote for the Kachol-Lavan party and following Netanyahu (the leader of the rival Likud party); and intention to vote for the Kachol-Lavan party and following both candidates.

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| **Issues** | **'Following' patterns of candidates on social media** | **Likud** | **Kachol-Lavan** |
| Investigations of the prime minister | None | (M=1.58, SD=1.22( | )M=1.91, SD=1.43( |
| Exclusively Gantz | )M=1.00, SD=0.23( | )M=2.28, SD=1.61( |
| Exclusively Netanyahu | )M=1.65, SD=1.29( | )M=2.50, SD=1.45( |
| Both | )M=1.71, SD=1.41( | )M=2.16, SD=1.60( |
| Healthcare system | None | )M=1.65, SD=1.21( | )M=1.91, SD=1.41( |
| Exclusively Gantz | )M=1.00, SD=0.40( | )M=1.90, SD=1.34( |
| Exclusively Netanyahu | )M=1.50, SD=1.09( | )M=1.58, SD=1.38( |
| Both | )M=1.36, SD=0.98( | )M=1.58, SD=1.07( |
| Foreign affairs | None | )M=1.26, SD=0.87( | )M=1.31, SD=0.89( |
| Exclusively Gantz | )M=1.00, SD=0.31( | )M=1.34, SD=0.93( |
| Exclusively Netanyahu | )M=1.57, SD=1.21( | )M=1.00, SD=0.58( |
| Both | )M=1.69, SD=1.41( | )M=1.26, SD=0.84( |
| Corruption | None | )M=1.32, SD=0.92( | )M=1.70, SD=1.28( |
| Exclusively Gantz | )M=1.67, SD=1.15( | )M=1.71, SD=1.20( |
| Exclusively Netanyahu | )M=1.22, SD=0.66( | )M=1.50, SD=1.00( |
| Both | )M=1.40, SD=0.99( | )M=1.86, SD=1.33( |

Table 4. The prominence of the issues within every variation of the interaction between respondents’ voting intentions and following habits

Table 4 shows that the prominence of investigation of the prime minister was higher among Kachol-Lavan voters, especially among Kachol-Lavan voters who exclusively followed a single candidate: it was highest among those who exclusively followed Netanyahu (M = 2.50, SD = 1.45), while slightly lower among those who exclusively followed Gantz (M = 2.28, SD = 1.61). Among respondents who followed neither candidate on social media, the healthcare system was ranked most prominent, both among Likud voters (M = 1.65, SD = 1.21) and Kachol-Lavan voters (M = 1.91, SD = 1.41), in comparison to respondents who reported all other following patterns, whether they exclusively followed a single candidate or followed both candidates.

Finally, to examine the interaction[F (7, 1076) = 6.48; p < .005].

**Discussion**

The present study sought to examine the influence on voters' agenda perception of voters’ exposure to the two leading prime ministerial contenders' Twitter and Facebook accounts in Israel’s April 2019 election.

Alongside a few significant differences between respondents' agenda perceptions, according to their voting intentions and following patterns, as will be discussed at length, a major similarity was evident throughout the study period: the study’s findings show that, the relative news prominence of various current issues, according to respondents’ perceptions, were nearly identical over the four weeks leading up to the election.

Comparing perceived agendas between groups of voters who supported each candidate highlights the impact of exposure to the candidates’ social media accounts. Thus, among respondents who followed both Benjamin Netanyahu and Benny Gantz on social media, those who intended to vote for Likud (Netanyahu’s party) and those who intended to vote for Kachol-Lavan (Gantz’s party) did not have significantly different perceptions of the relative prominence of various agenda issues. In contrast, a comparison of agenda perceptions between groups supporting each party observed clear and significant differences without considering the following patterns. These findings are consistent with earlier studies, such as those by Camaj and Weaver (2013) and Muddiman et al. (2014), which identified the impact of voters’ political orientation on their perception of agendas. These findings may indicate that the ways social media users choose to follow political candidates may significantly impact their agenda perceptions more than their political orientation.

When we compared four different groups - respondents that followed both candidates, respondents that followed a single candidate (Netanyahu or Gantz), and respondents that followed neither of them - we observed significant differences in perceptions of the relative prominence of various agenda issues. Focusing on the interaction between following patterns and voting intentions and its influence on respondents' perceived agendas, we could identify an even more specified division into eight profiles. Each such profile represents a different combination of the two independent variables, and the significant differences between them tell us the whole story: understanding the processes of agenda setting and perceiving is much more complex than one might at first believe. It requires that we take into consideration not only political orientations or following habits, but rather both variables. It also calls for the full comprehension of a political reality in which variations in the perceived agendas of different potential voters are immense.

These findings also have considerable significance in the broader sense, as they attest that our following habits on social media impact our perception of agendas. In a reality characterized by constant exposure to a wide range of information sources, confirming a correlation between social network activity and the shaping of agenda perceptions indicates their power and impact in the political media arena. A study by Ariel et al. (2017), which discusses the methodological dilemmas and challenges of researching agendas on social networks, notes that one of the major challenges is identifying processes that shape agenda-setting in a multi-platform environment that lacks established time slots (such as daily printed newspapers or an evening newscast on TV). Identifying leading candidates’ Twitter and Facebook accounts as prominent sources of influence on the public agenda provides a sort of anchor, or at least a starting point, in mapping processes in the online landscape.

An analysis of the study’s findings shows that examining exposure to the Facebook posts and Twitter accounts of leading political players is pivotal to understanding media's role in general, and social networks in particular, on voters’ decision-making processes in Israel’s 2019 elections. The current study shows that exposure patterns to the personal Facebook and Twitter accounts of leading candidates during an election season contribute to shaping followers’ perceptions of the public agenda. As agenda-setting is considered to impact potential voters’ decisions at the ballot, this sharpens the recognition of the practical political implications of following and exposure to social media accounts. The current study does not purport to present a direct correlation between social media exposure and voting patterns, but rather to identify how social media exposure shapes the perception of agendas, based on theories and research that suggest that agenda perceptions have significant implications on how voters evaluate candidates, and ultimately on how they decide to vote.

Alongside the study’s contributions to understanding the political significance of voters’ patterns of following leading candidates’ Facebook and Twitter accounts, some limitations can also be pointed out: the present study focused on the two leading prime ministerial candidates and their parties, rather than on all the political parties and their leaders in Israel’s April 2019 general election. It is possible that a comprehensive analysis of all the relevant political actors in that particular election would have yielded different results.

The study gathered data from a single election, especially considering that the April 2019 election was one of three general elections held over a year and a half in Israel, somewhat limiting the findings' generalizability. As part of further research, it may be beneficial to conduct a comprehensive comparison, both over a longer period and across multiple countries with similar elections systems worldwide. Future studies should examine other factors that may shape voters’ decision-making at the ballot. Another significant limitation that should be considered when planning future studies in the field involves potential explanations for the variation in following patterns and media exposure among potential voters. Explanations may arise from the field of political psychology, which we did not address in the current study. Another distinction that emerges from the present study that merits empirical and theoretical examination in future studies is that between exclusive followers, non-exclusive followers, and users exposed to content despite not having followed either candidate (users who were exposed to content from candidates’ social media accounts who did not actively follow these accounts), both in terms of their sociopolitical profile and the character of what shapes their perceptions of the agenda.

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1. During the study period, Israel was facing a military escalation in the prolonged conflict with the Gaza-based Hamas organization. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. The ongoing investigations against PM Netanyahu (in three different cases) were at their final stages, later followed by three indictments. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)