Demand for and Use of Political News by Youth Groups: The Mediating and Moderating Role of Media Impressions

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Abstract

Extant studies have explored the influence of media content on political perceptions and behavior from a media effect perspective, which essentially treats individuals as homogenized atoms. In addition, individuals are proactive and dynamic in their choice of media. Therefore, this study examines the relationship between the political news needs of young people and their use of such news from the perspective of "how individual needs influence media use." It also investigates the mechanisms by which media impressions play a role in this process. Based on the uses and gratifications theory, this study classifies political news needs into immediate needs and demand experiences and uses data from the "2019 Internet Users' Social Awareness Survey." The results show that the youth's demand for political news influences their use of such news, media impressions play a negative mediating role between the group's immediate demand and use of political news, and the impressions play both a positive mediating role and a negative moderating role between youth's demand experience and use of political news. Clarifying these relationships will help to increase the visibility and dissemination of political news among young people.

Keywords: Political News Use, Uses and Gratifications Theory, Media Impressions, Youth Groups, Mediating Effects, Moderating Effects



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Introduction

In his report to the 20th Party Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping (2022) pointed out that "when youth are strong, the country is strong." As youth are the future of any country, youth-related work in the new era should pay attention to their political leadership, cultivate their political thinking, and guide them in the right direction. In this context, political journalism is considered an important way for youth to gain political knowledge and increase their awareness (Strömbäck, 2005).

The lowering of the threshold of political news use has led to an increased likelihood of use by youth groups. On one hand, the successful penetration of new media technologies has increased the everydayness of politics (Chang and Xue, 2018); social media has provided individuals with greater access to news (Chan et al., 2021). Through data push, political news is everywhere. Moreover, all individuals, especially youth, have the right to publish political content in the public space that would otherwise be left unspoken. Thus, individuals' use of political news is no longer limited by the media but influenced by the media agenda and the public agenda to meet their needs for relevant political information (Lee and Oh, 2013). On the other hand, with the evolution of news production and conceptualization, political news has moved away from political propaganda, alleviating the reading exclusion of youth groups caused by grand narratives. Past research has pointed out that the propagandistic thinking of early Chinese political communication led to a bias toward propaganda programming in political communication research (Yu, 2019). However, most scholars now explicitly separate political news from political propaganda in their articulation of forms of political communication (Zhang and Zhao, 2011). Consequently, current political news exposure and content is more in tune with the media use habits of youth groups.

Currently, media use is mostly an independent variable in research and the factors that determine it are rarely considered (Drok et al., 2018). There is a wealth of research on new media news use, in relation to, for example, the impact of mobile news use on individual political knowledge (Ohme, 2020) and social media news use on news literacy (Chan et al., 2021). Dunja Antunovic (2018) and others have argued that the "Internet generation" youth group is more inclined to receive online news in the form of new media, but Katz (Chang and Xue, 2018) points out the need to be cautious about new media delivering serious political messages.

Thus, based on the data of the 2019 Chinese Internet Users' Social Awareness Survey, this paper considers the political news use of the youth group as the dependent variable, follows the uses and gratifications theory, and explores the influence of the needs of the youth group on political news use and the mediating and moderating role of media impressions. The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: The following section proposes the research hypothesis and research model based on the literature review. In the third part, the valid sample is screened and the variables measured through descriptive statistics and a factor analysis of the question items. The fourth section contains the correlation, main effect, and third effect analyses using SPSS. The final section presents the conclusions and discussions based on the research findings.

1 Literature Review and Research Hypothesis

According to previous research, users are often motivated and their individual needs influence media use. The development of Internet has allowed users to choose the content of the medium according to their own preferences (Chan et al., 2021). Some scholars have suggested that

youth have a high demand for political information (Yang and Wang, 2021), and that the stronger the individual demand, the more likely they are to use specialist news and information media (Yan, 2020). Therefore, this study hypothesizes that the demands of youth groups have a positive effect on youth political news use.

From the perspective of user demands, researchers have most commonly applied the uses and gratifications theory, which emphasizes the subjectivity of the audience and considers the individual as an "active audience" (Sundar and Limperos, 2013). In previous studies, this theory has been used to examine the motivation, satisfaction, and overall behavioral processes regarding media use (Ruggiero, 2000); in the Chinese context, scholars have also explored the relationship between motivation and media satisfaction among young people to suggest countermeasures for increasing news audience (Li and Zhang, 2018). However, there is little research that considers the media impression element of the theory.

Media impressions are a key concept in the uses and gratifications theory; they are "an evaluation of whether a medium meets an individual's real needs" (Guo, 2011) and can be expressed as media trust (Zheng, 2020). Research has shown that media trust has a positive effect on media use (Tsfati and Cappella, 2005) and that the lower an individual's media trust, the more likely they are to abandon the use of professional news (Wilner et al., 2022). Therefore, it is important to discuss the importance of media impressions in the study of political news use among young people. Consequently, this study discusses the moderating and mediating role of media impressions in the relationship between audience needs and media use through the basic model of "use and satisfaction." In this basic model , media impressions involve two pathways (Guo, 2011).

First, the theory of "demand - media impression - media contact" states that media impressions are one of the conditions for media contact, meaning the impressions influence the process from demand to media contact. Simultaneously, as "needs" are derived from certain social conditions and individual psychological factors, they can be considered as oriented needs, that is, immediate needs arising from an individual's perceived relevance and uncertainty in the present situation.

Second, the "type of gratifications - media impression - media contact" theory states that the type of satisfaction includes both satisfied and unsatisfied needs, either of which can influence subsequent media contact by changing the media impression. However, because the media experience created by the "gratification" affects subsequent media use, there is a certain temporal interval that can be considered as an individual's previous experience of need.

Accordingly, the following research hypotheses and conceptual model were derived for this study (see Figure 1):

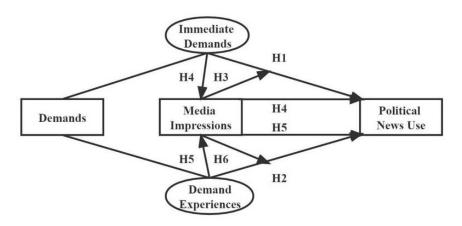


Figure 1: Conceptual model diagram.

- H1 The immediate demands of youth groups contribute positively to their use of political news.
- H2 The demand experiences of youth groups positively contribute to their use of political news.
- H3 Media impressions play a moderating role between the immediate demands for and use of political news by youth groups.
- H4 Media impressions mediate between the immediate demands for and use of political news by youth groups.
- H5 Media impressions mediate demand experiences and use of political news by youth groups.
- H6 Media impressions play a moderating role between demand experiences and use of demand for political news by youth groups.

2 Research Methodology

2.1 Data and Sample Description

The data for this study were obtained from the "2019 Survey on Social Awareness of Internet Users" conducted by Professor Ma Dayong of Renmin University of China. The survey was mainly conducted in October 2019, the questionnaires distributed through microblogging and WeChat platforms, and visitors restricted to using a single IP address to enhance the reliability of the questionnaires.

The sample selection criteria for this study were two fold: first, the age group of the sample was restricted to youths. Based on the definition of the age of "youth" in the Medium- and Long-Term Youth Development Plan (2016-2025) (14-35 years old)¹ and the characteristics of the sample, the age range of the youth group was 18-34 years old. Second, samples with missing values, such as specific questions with "don't know" options, were removed in line with previous studies (Qi et al., 2020). Finally, 2708 respondents constituted a valid sample for the subsequent analysis. As can be seen from Table 1, the age distribution of the sample was relatively even among the demographic variables, reflecting data reliability. Additionally, the political profile and education level shows a predominance of Communist Party members and a minority of postgraduate and higher education, indicating that the data were consistent with the actual situation.

¹ Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. (2017). Medium and long-term youth development plan (2016-2025). http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2017-04/13/content_5185555. httm#1[Accessed April 13,2017].

Sample characteristics	Classification	Number of people (pcs)	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	1681	62.1
Gender	Female	1027	37.9
	18-24 years	802	29.6
Age	25-29 years	1116	41.2
	30-34 years	790	29.2
Political	Communist Party member	672	24.8
affiliation	Non-Communist Party member	2036	75.2
	High school and below	696	25.7
Education level	Undergraduate/ specialist	1927	71.2
	Postgraduate and above	85	3.1

Table 1: Description of demographic variables in the sample.

2.2 Measurement of Variables

2.2.1 Youth Political Journalism Needs

The political news needs of youth groups include immediate demands and demand experiences. Regarding immediate needs, when a sudden relevant event occurs, it may lead to an increase in their information needs (Van Aelst et al., 2021); thus, there is a change in their need for information on an issue through media. At the same time, as political news is reported at the intersection of the political sphere and public events (You and Xu, 2015) and can involve national and political security (Duan, 2010), it mainly includes subjects such as the state and government (Qi et al., 2020). Therefore, after being asked whether they are worried about (1) national security (the country is facing internal and external problems and is in crisis), (2) ideological security (the mainstream official values are under attack and recognition is declining), (3) information security (personal information is leaked and state secrets are stolen by spies), (4) political security (the regime is unstable, the credibility of the government is declining, and the ruling party's position is challenged), (5) property security (the value of property is depreciated and confiscated by the government), devaluation of property, confiscation by the government or theft), and using a four-point scale (1="not worried at all," 2="not too worried," 3="quite worried," 4= "very worried"). The results of the principal component factor analysis were as follows: five items were analyzed as one factor, explaining 63.53% of the variance (KMO=0.87), and the five items were combined into "immediate need" $(M=2.82, SD=0.80, \alpha=0.86)$.

Meanwhile, demand experiences include interest satisfaction and ideological positions. To address interest satisfaction, the question "In general, are you interested in political news?" was used. This examines the political interest satisfaction of individuals resulting from previous political news. Next, since ideological stance is one of the elements of political attitudes (Ma

and Hou, 2022), and such attitudes are formed when people are exposed to attitude-related information through the media, the demand experience is also a process of establishing ideological stance. Referring to previous research (Ma and Liu, 2020), five questions were used to measure ideological stance: (1) Mao's faults were insignificant compared to his achievements; (2) the state does not need to exist if it cannot protect the interests of individuals, i.e. human rights take precedence over sovereignty; (3) there are no so-called "universal values" such as freedom, democracy and human rights in the world; (4) land property rights are not a universal value. (3) There are no so-called "universal values" such as freedom, democracy and human rights in the world; (4) Property rights should be owned by individuals, not by the state or the collective; (5) All areas related to national security and other important national livelihoods must be controlled by state-owned enterprises. The responses to the six questions were on a five-point scale (1="not interested at all," 2="not very interested," 3="generally interested," 4="moderately interested," 5="very interested"). The results of the principal component factor analysis were as follows: one factor for each of the six items explained 43.40% of the variance (KMO=0.79), and the six items were combined into "demand experience" $(M=3.62, SD=0.73, \alpha=0.74)$.

2.2.2 Youth Political News Use

Following Drok et al. (2018), this aspect was measured by asking the respondents the following question: "How much time do you spend browsing current affairs and political news?" A sixpoint scale was used (1="never watch," 2="watch 1-2 times a month," 3="watch several times a month," 4="watch weekly or a few times a week," 5="almost every day," 6="at least one hour a day"). This results in "political news use" (M=4.09, SD=1.25).

2.2.3 Media Impressions

Regarding the measurement of media impressions, the media will choose official media that balance traditional media and new media. Official media generally include media outlets headed by the Party and government propaganda departments such as CCTV, Xinhua News Agency, and People's Daily; the Global Times, which focuses on international news, is also included to broaden the scope of political news. Referring to previous research (Ardèvol-Abreu et al., 2018), the respondents were asked: "Do you think the following media reports are authentic and reliable?" (i) CCTV and its Weibo and WeChat public websites, (ii) Xinhua News Agency and its Weibo and WeChat public websites, (iii) Global Times and its Weibo and WeChat public websites. A five-point scale (1="completely false," 2="basically false," 3="half-half," 4="basically true," 5="completely true") was used. The results of the principal component factor analysis were as follows: one factor for each of the four items explained 60.03% of the variance (KMO=0.78), and the four items were combined into "media impressions" (M=3.95, SD=0.73, α =0.78).

2.2.4 Control Variables

The demographic variables of gender (1=male, 2=female; M= 1.38, SD=0.49), age (1=18-24 years, 2=25-29 years, 3=30-34 years; M=2.00, SD=0.77), political affiliation (1=Communist Party member, 2=non-Communist Party member; M=1.75, SD=0.43), and education (1=high school and below, 2=college/bachelor's degree, 3=master's degree and above; M=1.77, SD=0.49) were considered as control variables.

3 Research Findings

3.1 Correlation Analysis

Political news use, immediate need, need experience, and media impressions were analyzed for correlation. As shown in Table 2, political news use positively correlated with demand experience (β =0.266; p<0.01) and media impression (β =0.322; p<0.01) and negatively correlated with immediate demand (β =-0.080; p<0.01); media impression positively correlated with demand experience (β =0.415; p<0.01) and negatively correlated with immediate demand (β =-0.077; P<0.01); and the correlation between immediate demand and demand experience was not significant. The above data analysis indicates that the research model used in this study is reasonable and can be followed up with empirical manipulation.

	1	2	3	4	
1 Political news	1				
use	1				
2 Immediate needs	080**	1			
3 Experience in	.266**	0.014	1		
demand	.200	0.014	1		
4 Media	222**	077**	415**	1	
impressions	.322**	077**	.415**	1	
** Significant correlation at 0.01 level (two-tailed)					

Table 2: Correlation coefficients of the main variables.

3.2 Main Effect Analysis

A multiple regression analysis was conducted with political news use as the dependent variable and immediate demands and demand experiences as the independent variables. As can be seen from Table 3, the linear regression model of this study was significant (p<0.001). Among the control variables, age (β =0.154; p<0.001) and education (β =0.311; p<0.001) positively affected political news use. Among the independent variables, immediate demands (β =-0.119; P<0.001) had a significant negative effect on political news use, which did not hold for H1, and demand experience (β =0.443; P<0.001) showed a significant positive effect on political news use, which held for H2.

	В	Beta	T	P	
(Constant)	1.986		9.352	.000	
Immediate demands	-0.119	-0.076	-4.187	.000	
Demand Experiences	0.443	0.256	13.988	.000	
Age	0.154	0.094	5.039	.000	
Gender	0.067	0.026	1.393	0.164	
Political affiliation	-0.064	-0.022	-1.183	0.237	
Education level	0.311	0.121	6.52	.000	
Adjusted R-squared		0.105			
F		53.67			
P		.000			
Dependent variable: political news use					

Table 3: Multiple regression analysis of immediate demands and demand experiences on political news use.

3.3 Analysis of the Third Variable

3.3.1 The Moderating Effect of Media Impressions

Considering political news use as the dependent variable and immediate demand and demand experience as independent variables, the PROCESS plug-in (Model 1) in SPSS software was used to test the moderating effect of media impressions. After controlling for the demographic-related variables, the following results were obtained (Table 4): media impressions did not play a moderating role between youth's immediate demand and use of political news, the confidence interval was 0, and H3 did not hold. There was a significant negative moderating effect of media impressions between youth's experience of needing and using political news, with a confidence interval of -0 and a moderating effect size of -0.1467.

Туре	Effect value	Standard error	LLCI	ULCI	
Immediate demands * Media impressions	0.0161	0.0372	-0.0568	0.0889	
Demand experiences* Media impressions	-0.1467	0.037	-0.2193	-0.0742	
Dependent variable: political news use					

Table 4: Moderating effect of mediated impressions.

The moderating effect played by media impressions between demand experience and political news use was further analyzed by plotting the regression equation for high and low media impressions. As seen in Figure 2, in terms of regression coefficients, low media impressions (M-SD) were greater than high media impressions (M+SD), meaning that low media impressions had a stronger influencing ability than did high media impressions. Thus, demand experience has a greater impact on political news use when low media impressions are present, and media impressions reduce the positive impact of demand experience on political news use.

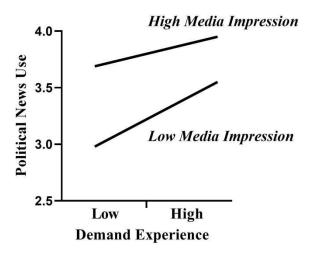


Figure 2: Moderating effects of high and low media impressions.

3.3.2 The Mediating Role of Media Impressions

The PROCESS plug-in in SPSS (Model 4) was chosen to test the mediating effect of media impressions. After controlling for the demographic-related variables, the following results were obtained (Table 5): media impressions had a significant positive mediating effect between youth political news demand experience and political news use, with a confidence interval not containing 0 and a mediating effect size of 0.167; H4 also held.

Media impressions, however, had a significant negative mediating effect between youth's immediate need for political news and political news use, with a confidence interval not containing 0 and a mediating effect size of -0.0315. Thus, immediate need was negatively related to media impressions, while media impressions were positively related to political news use.

Туре	Effect value	Standard error	LLCI	ULCI
Demand experiences → media impressions → political news use	0.167	0.0172	0.1337	0.2007
Demand experiences → media impressions	0.4136	0.0175	0.3794	0.4479
Media impressions → Political news use	0.4038	0.0341	0.3369	0.4706
Immediate demands \rightarrow media impressions \rightarrow political news use	-0.0315	0.0097	-0.0508	-0.0126
Immediate demands → media impressions	-0.0616	0.0172	-0.0954	-0.0279
Media impressions → Political news use	0.5112	0.0314	0.4496	0.5728

Table 5: Mediating role of media impressions.

4 Conclusion and Discussion

Youth groups have a distinctive approach to political attention (Yang and Wang, 2021), and examining the relationship between their political news use behavior and their demands is useful for enhancing the effectiveness of political communication. With the rise of online platforms, youth groups have been inclined toward discussion and dialogue-based political discourse, a two-way discursive interaction that facilitates political socialization (Marques and Maia, 2010) and means that youth groups are no longer entirely passive in their political news use. Therefore, in contrast to the media effects perspective (Ohme, 2020), which emphasizes the powerful effect of media on users, this study found that the political news use of youth groups is an active behavior influenced by their own political news needs. The specific findings are as follows (see Figure 3).

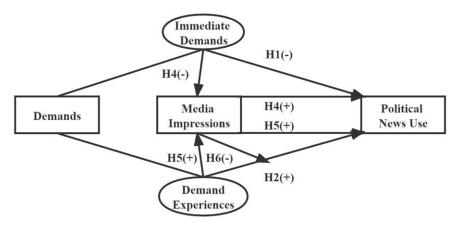


Figure 3: Study model diagram.

This study classifies needs into immediate demands and demand experiences. In contrast to the subdivision of demand content (Katz et al., 1973), this classification based on the temporal attributes of demand is more relevant to the formation of individual demand influenced by external and internal stimuli. In contrast to previous studies results (Van Aelst et al., 2021), the current study found that the higher the immediate needs of young people, the lower their use of political news. This suggests that youth do not increase their political news use when they are worried about a political issue. That is, political news, and even the media, are now capable of less social mobilization and may no longer be the preferred means of individual need satisfaction. This may be because political news is heavily propagandized and, therefore, rejected by young people.

In contrast, demand experience shows a positive correlation with political news use. As demand experiences include indicators of both interest in political news and ideological stance, young people's bias toward their inner thinking and subjective feelings means that they are more likely to expose themselves to political news that matches their individual needs and values. Thus, political news producers must determine the pain points of youth groups. Moving with the times, entertainment drives the political awareness of youth, and the fusion of politics and entertainment has converted potential users and increased the reach of political messages (Kim and Vishak, 2008). Therefore, using the entertainment format, political news can balance the weight of propaganda while avoiding abrupt integration into the information flow preferred by the youth.

In addition, using the uses and gratifications theory, this study focuses on the mechanisms by which media impressions play a role in the demand and use of political news. Previous research (Ha and Chan-Olmsted, 2004) has shown that factors related to media impressions, such as news media credibility and content quality, influence youth political news use outcomes. In this context, this study found that first, media impressions do not play a moderating role between immediate needs and political news use but a negative mediating role. This suggests a stable negative effect of immediate need on political news and predicts a poor impression of political news among youth. Notably, the vehicle involved in measuring media impressions is the official media, which is highly important in influencing audience trust in government (Pu et al., 2020), so the absence of impressions such as the credibility of political news may lead to a crisis of trust in government among youth and tarnish its image.

Second, media impressions play both a positive mediating and a negative moderating role between demand experiences and the use of political news. This means that young people are selectively use political news. On one hand, they view political news that is in line with their own preconceptions in an inclusive manner based on their demand experiences and have good media impressions. On the other, they simultaneously fight against political news that is incompatible with their preconceptions and resist using it. Overall, media impressions are positively correlated with political news use, in terms of both immediate demand and the mediating mechanism of participation in demand experiences, which can be facilitated by improving media impressions. The enhancement of media impressions of political news can be accomplished through political socialization. Agenda setting is a key component of political socialization (Kiousis et al., 2005), and political news should play an agenda-setting role in screening political issues for young people's attention. By alleviating their information anxiety and providing high-quality content, political news status and media impressions can be revived. Furthermore, political news producers must shift from the traditional model of a communicator's mindset and agenda-setting in the media and make good use of the public agenda to disseminate political information.

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