Chapter – IV

Impact of social Networking on political processes

"If you want to liberate people, give them the Internet"-Wael Ghonim[1]

Communication is an important part of the politics. Political communication in modern world is a very vast, spreading social field of virtually infinite varieties. Social media has encompassed many different forms of associations and networks. The emergence of new forms of social involvement all suggest important interface between media and democracy. Over the last few years there emerged an alternative streams that opens new directions within political communication.

In mid of 1990s the argument has been that online discussions will create a conversational democracy, where 'citizens and political leaders interact in new and exciting ways.' However it is the emergence of interactive Web 2.0 applications such as blogs, microblogging, social networks and photo and video sharing sites that are increasingly enlisted in political participation.

Internet as playing a key role in shaping politics and cultural life, computer mediated communication (CMC) have transformed society into a networked society where information exchange is instantaneous and global. The nature of socio-political relationships has shifted toward networked individualism. With this shift individuals have multiple and shifting work partners and partial involvement with shifting set of workgroups that are not based on location, but rather based on the

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[1] Wael Ghonim,.(2011) *Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People Is Greater Than the People in Power:* A Memoir, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publisher, New York

network ties of the individual. In addition many contacts initiated through online social networks transition to offline meetings.

4.1 Traditional Media and Social Media

Social media have a huge capacity to influence traditional media. All newspapers and television now have reporters who continuously monitor Facebook and Twitter for getting breaking news. The way traditional and social media connect and converge with each other has a profound impact on modern political communication. This connectivity and convergence between traditional and social media becomes imperative in the case of India and other developing countries where the reach of the internet is still limited.

Social media is more democratic since anyone with access to the Internet can raise an issue in the public arena. Yet, it would not be possible for social media alone to reach beyond their core audience and influence wider sections of society unless they collaborate with traditional media. Similarly, in order for traditional media to reach out to a transnational audience, they need to take the help of social media. The Anna Hazare movement, which began through social media, got momentum after news channels started providing relentless coverage. Similarly, Modi is highly depended exclusively on social media for political communication. It is important therefore to understand different roles played by traditional and social media in reaching to different segments of the population. However, the presence in social media has become vital for politicians who want to connect with the youth and the middle classes and want to play a generously proportioned role in the national political arena. The coming of social media has certainly had a democratizing effect on the functioning of newspapers and news channels. The

earlier monopoly of newspapers and news channels over providing news and breaking stories has been dismantled with the coming and spread of social media. Newspapers and news channels are now operating under the fear of losing their credibility to the social media. It is now difficult for traditional news media to hide a story from the public because of the fear that such stories might get published in a blog or get circulated on social networks. This pressure of the social media has certainly democratized the existing public sphere and enhanced the accountability of public officials. The recent exposure of many scandals in India has become possible because of the social media.

Once the issue was exposed on the social media, public pressure started building on traditional media to take up the issue. The exposure of the 2G scam is one such case where the social media played a leading role. New media is a broad term in media studies that emerged in the latter part of the 20th century. For example, new media holds out a possibility of on-demand access to content anytime, anywhere, on any digital device, as well as interactive user feedback, creative participation and community formation around the media content.

Another important promise of new media is the "democratization" of the creation, publishing, distribution and consumption of media content. Facebook is an example on the social media model, in which most users are participants. The new media as well as mass movement and both are complementing each other. Though new media users are very few in number, yet a large audience rates new media as the best available platform to voice one's opinion about a movement. New media may be defined as latest tool of communication which has all the aspects of decoding message effectively through integrated platforms. The rise of new media

has increased communication between people all over the world and the Internet. It has allowed people to express themselves through blogs, websites, pictures, and other user-generated media. The pioneering thinker about the media, Marshall Mc Luhan, coined the term, "The Global Village" in the 1960s to express his belief that electronic communication would unite the world.

The advent of the Internet over the past 10 years has paralleled the emergence of globalisation as a concept. Proponents and critics of globalisation have very different perspectives on the Internet's role. As per the opinion of Jones: Social entrepreneurs will progressively adapt new media and production structures by creating non territorial virtual communities around the world. Previously marginalized groups, ranging from rights activists to political dissident to digital artists, are connecting with each other through the Web to create meaningful social and political virtual communities. Jurgen Habermass suggested the term 'Public Sphere' where people could gather together to voice their own opinions and discuss political and social issues. In the digital era new media is often compared to Habermass's utopian idea of public sphere. The work of Marshall McLuhan was conceived of as the interaction of people, messages, and media systems within that media ecology's notion of print culture is comparable to Habermas's idea of the bourgeois public sphere. When Marshall McLuhan first coined the phrases "global village" and "the medium is the message" in 1964 no-one could have predicted today's information-dependent planet. No one that is except for a handful of science fiction writers and Marshall McLuhan. Cyberspace is becoming more and more user-friendly each day. William Gibson a science fiction writer coined the term cyberspace. The term was used to describe a world of global computer networks, linking all people, technologies and sources of information in the world, through

which one could move and navigate as if through a virtual space."Virtual communities" are being established online and transcend geographical boundaries, eliminating social restrictions.

The Internet with its transnational many-to-many communication facility offers a revolutionary potential for social movements to go online and circumvent the 'official' messages of political and commercial organisations and the traditional media, by speaking directly to the citizens of the world. Furthermore the use of electronic mail (e-mail), mailing lists, websites, electronic forums and other online applications provide powerful media tools for coordinating the activity of often physically dispersed movement actors. Moreover, ICTs may also contribute to the important function of social movements of shaping collective identity and countering the claims and arguments of established political interests.

4.2 Social Media and Politics

In democratic societies, social movements are one of the major social forms through which collectively give voice to concerns about the rights and welfare. The collective actions associated with social movements to play an important role in bringing about social change in political, religious, educational, health, corporate, government and other institutional arenas.

Social media has emerged as a vital tool of communication and has created new ways of mobilizing public opinion and inspiring participation in political and civic activities, ranging from joining online petition and social groups, posting short messages on Twitter, expressing supports through blogs and uploading videos on YouTube. The WikiLeaks's recent online expose of US foreign policy clearly

demonstrates the disruption caused by social media. Such disruption has enabled citizens to discuss and share political information with friends and networked citizens, and critically monitor the actions of governments.

Can social media be used for an effective political communication in India where access to Internet is still limited and what extent political parties and candidates as well as oppositional politics are using social media for political campaign, is it possible to reach to the non-internet users through social media? Before answering these questions it is important to look at some of the statistics about the internet penetration and social media uses in India. A report by the Internet and Mobile Association of India shows that as of June 2012, there were 137 million claimed Internet users; 99 million in urban cities and 38 million in rural villages. Of these 137 million Internet users, 111 million (80 million in urban cities and 31 million in rural villages) are active Internet users; they use the Internet at least once a month.[2]

In the recent General election all parties effectively used the social media to connect with online citizens. Besides being active on Twitter and Facebook, political leaders went for a live chat on Google hangout[3] with Netizen. Through social media campaign, endeavour is made to influence the first time voters youth, who certainly are more familiar to digital culture. At the same time, the middle classes are also quite active on social media. Anna Hazare, in his agitation over the issue of the Jan Lokpal Bill, effectively used the social media to mobilize the youth and the middle classes. The effective use of social media not only brought the issue into cyber space and made it more global, but also garnered huge support for the

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[2] IAMAI
[3] Live chatting portal for mass engagement by google.

anti-corruption campaign. It showed the effectiveness of social media for political mobilization. Using social media for entertainment doesn't stop one to use it for political activities. Politics has certainly entered social networking sites, which has opened up new avenues for conducting politics.

Most of Internet users use the Internet to extend their online participation in various socio-political activities. Scholars agree that the Internet impacts civic engagement and social movement activity. Current study of National Capital Territory Delhi presents an organizational and political uses of the Internet for information exchange relate to increased online civic engagement. The Internet as a platform for action is most appropriate for soft collective actions. Internet and collective action is the relationship between online and offline collective action. The Internet is a place where otherwise isolated, distant individuals and networks can come together and work toward forms of collective action Internet plays a major role in mobilizing participants for global days of action.

Political alienation in Delhi has grown in the late 1990s just because of the corruption and non-stable governments, as India also getting shape of postmodern society so political alienation is rising in urban India, political alienation refers to an individual citizen's relatively enduring sense of estrangement from or rejection of the prevailing political system. Political alienation falls into two broad categories: "Political incapability and Political discontentment. In the first instance, alienation is forced upon the individual by his environment, whereas in the second case it is voluntarily chosen by him"[4]. There are four different ways in which political alienation may be expressed:

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[4]http//.www.Wikipedia/Political alienation

1. Political powerlessness: An individual's feeling that he cannot affect the actions of the   government.

2. Political meaninglessness: An individual's perception that political decisions are unclear and unpredictable.

3. Political normlessness: An individual's perception that norms or rules intended to govern political relations are broken down, and that departures from prescribed behavior are common.

4. Political isolation: An individual's rejection of political norms and goals that are widely held and shared by other members of a society.

Political alienation is adversely related to Political Process and democracy. These are some main distinguishing of the political alienation as:

o   Abstention

o   Political Apathy

o   Democratic Deficit

o   Disfranchisement

o   Protest vote

o   Political efficacy

Political alienation is very harmful for democracy it causes democratic deficit, there are certain majors to improve the political engagement, these are the seven principles for improving political engagement:

- ➢ Encourages contact between people and parties.

- ➢ Develops reciprocity and cooperation among citizens.

- ➢ Encourages active learning.

- ➢ Provides prompt feedback.

- ➢ Emphasizes issues.

- ➢ Communicates high expectations.

- ➢ Respects diverse for change.

In modern era of ICTs, Social networking is a platform for socialization and deeping the sensibility on the social issues. Social networking emerged as a field of political communication for the interaction between media and political system; locally, nationally and internationally. Political communication focuses on the analysis of:

- • The Political content of Media.

- • The actors and agencies involved in the production of content.

- • The effect.

- • Impact of political system on media.

- • Impact of the new media system on Politics.

'Political communication is a connection between politicians, voters and media. It is the connection and interdependency between politics media and

society.'[5] Internet-based communication may have the potential to create a paradigm shift in regards to political communication in two ways. One is the populist model in which everyone can participate in the political process, and the other is based on a 'cyber-salon' setting where 'anyone can engage in deliberative discourse directed toward improving public life, with the process guided by clearly specified rules of engagement to produce well-reasoned outcomes.'[6] Recent some cases of SNS activities create a new discourse related to SNS interface to political leaders and Parties.

4.2.1 Shaheen Dhada Case

Shaheen Dhada and her friend Renu was arrested in the charge of hurting religious sentiments for harmless post on Facebook questioning Mumbai shutdown after the death of Shiv Sena supremo Bal Thackeray. Both girls were charged under the IT Act Article 66A.4Shaheen had reportedly written on her Facebook wall that "People like Thackeray are born and die daily and one should not observe a 'bandh' for that and Renu was arrested for liking the post. Court sentenced them to fourteen day judicial custody. However, they were granted bail soon after they furnished personal bonds. A mob of suspected Shiv Sainiks had on Sunday destroyed the public property after the girl posted the comment. Police action against the girls as absurd, Press Council of India chief Markandey Katju asked Maharashtra chief minister Prithviraj Chavan to look into the issue. He also demanded immediate action against the policemen involved. Janata Party leader Subramanian Swamy also condemned the arrests, demanding that the CM apologise for reckless disregard

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[5]Caramani Deniele (Gibson K Rachel & Rommele Andrea). *Comparative Politics,* Oxford University Press Delhi 2006.P-474

[6] Rosenberry, (2005) *Journalism and Citizenship: New Agendas in Communication*, Routledge P-34

of the Constitution and fundamental rights by the state administration. The police have now gone on the defensive and said they had no choice after the Sena activists complained. Telecom and IT minister Kapil Sibal said he was deeply saddened by the arrest of the two girls over the Facebook post questioning Mumbai's shutdown over Shiv Sena head Bal Thackeray's funeral and said the IT Act should not be used to strangle dissent. I am deeply sad, it is just their point of view and enforcement of these laws is not to ban people from expressing their views, he said.[7]

Shaheen and her friend Rinu Srinivasan were arrested on November 19 by the police on the complaint of the local Shiv Sena under the IPC section of 295 (a) against them for hurting religious sentiments, but later changed it to IPC section 505 (2). The nationwide outrage over the arrests soon after the Supreme Court questioned the legality of the arrests, the state director general of police and the government decided to drop the charges against Shaheen and Rinu. The continuing support for Shaheen is evidenced by the two-dozen Facebook profiles in her name, like 'Shaheen Dhada Official' and 'Support Shaheen Dhada'. Called to share their experiences with students and faculty, Shaheen and Rinu called to Indian Institute of Management, Ahmadabad, on December 21-22.

4.2.2 Ambikesh Mahapatra Case

Professor Ambikesh Mahapatra teaches chemistry at Jadavpur University was arrested by West Bengal police for allegedly posting on the internet cartoons teasing West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee. Court released him on bail,

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[7] http://ww.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2235386/Woman-arrested-Facebook-like-Shaheen-Dhada-friend-Renu-jailed-post-Bal-Thackeray.html#ixzz305GGvgOJ. Visited on , 29 November 2012

police say he disseminate doctored images of Ms Mamta Banerjee and former Railway Minister Dinesh Trivedi, whom she dismissed. The cartoon went viral on the social networking site Facebook, Ms Banerjee dismissed Mr Trivedi in March for not consulting her before presenting the railway budget, which included small but controversial fare increases. The cartoon is a take on Oscar-winning late Bengali filmmaker Satyajit Ray's film Sonar Kella, or The Golden Fort. It criticises Ms Banerjee's performance as a former railway minister. It also pokes fun at her for sacking Mr Trivedi from the same role.

Prof Mahapatra was arrested for dissemination of derogatory messages against respectable people, he had been charged under India's information technology Act. Prof Mahapatra was also attacked on Thursday night, allegedly by supporters of Ms Banerjee's Trinamool Congress party. His fellow professors and intellectuals have condemned his arrest, calling it an attack on free speech.

4.2.3 Aseem Trivedi Case

Cartoonist Aseem Trivedi was arrested during the Anna Hazare protest in charge of sedition for displaying cartoon in November 2011. The arrest was The Mumbai police produced carried out on the basis of a complaint filed by Amit Katarnayea, a legal advisor for a Mumbai-based NGO. Katarnayea had approached the Mumbai police in December 2011 with his complaint against Trivedi's allegedly derogatory sketches, depicting the National Emblem and the Parliament in a bad light.[8] The complainant said that the cartoon was uploaded on social networking sites, thereby hurting the sentiments of the nation.

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[8]   http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/anti-corruption-cartoonist-aseem-trivedi-arrested-on-sedition-charges/1/216643.html

Trivedi himself believes he has done nothing wrong, when the court asked Trivedi if he had sought any advocate to represent him, Trivedi said, I do not need any counsel. I do not even remember on which sketches of mine the police have arrested me. The police have arrested me for expressing my anger against the government. And if I am an accused by expressing my views, then yes in that case I prefer to be behind bars than to enjoy my freedom in this way. "The court after hearing the arguments remanded him in police custody till September 16. Members of India Against Corruption (IAC) claimed that the cases were imposed on Trivedi by the government, as the government was angry with their anti-corruption campaign. Trivedi was charged with sedition under Section 124 (A) of the Indian Penal Code. The cartoonist was also charged under the IT Act and the 1971 National Emblem Act. Trivedi's cartoons reportedly depicted the Parliament as a commode and showed the National Emblem with wolves instead of lions.

4.2.4 Ravi Srinivasan Case

Ravi Srinivasan becomes the first person in India to be arrested for a tweet. The 46 year old runs a packaging business in Pondicherry. On October 20, 2012 he posted a tweet to his 16 followers saying that Karti Chidambaram, a politician belonging to India's ruling Congress party and son of Finance Minister P Chidambaram, had 'amassed more wealth than Vadra.'He was indicating to Robert Vadra son-in-law of Congress party chief Sonia Gandhi, who was at the centre of a political row after allegations over his links with a top property scam. Mr Vadra denies the charges, Karti Chidambaram did not take the tweet in good humour and filed a police complaint on 29 October. He later tweeted 'Free speech is subject to reasonable restrictions. I have a right to seek constitutional/legal remedies over

defamatory/scurrilous tweets'. The police in Pondicherry acted with unusual speed. They arrested Mr Srinivasan early next morning, charged him under Section 66A of India Information Technology Act and demanded 15 days of police custody. Pondicherry's chief judicial magistrate declined remand and granted bail. There was an explosion of support for Mr Srinivasan, who denied apologising. He became a hero on prime-time television. His Twitter following (@ravi_the_indian) grew from 16 to 2,300 in 48 hours.

4.3 SNS Impact on Politics

Social media and Internet arose the new ways to conduct politics. 'In a recent study conducted by the IRIS Knowledge Foundation and the Internet and Mobile Association of India, claimed that results of 150 parliamentary constituencies in the next general election could be decided by 'Facebook users, making them the newest vote-bank with the power to shape Indian politics.[9]' One might as well question the validity of the findings as majority of the people in India use social media for entertainment. But one needs to understand that political participation is not stationary. Some people regularly follow political events, whereas others become interested only during a crisis or an important political event, such as an election or social movement. Among Internet users a large chunk participate in politics through the internet, but they are drawn into politics because a major personality is involved or during a major crisis. Notwithstanding the low level of the internet penetration in India, social media has been able to reach beyond its core audience. This is because of the new space created on account of the interface between print, television and the internet, which can change the essence of

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[9] IAMAI report " Social Media And LokSabha Election,2013

politics, is conducted in India. All political parties now have their presence on social media and having their party website detailing the activities and programs of the parties. Majority of politicians have their Twitter account and Facebook pages.

People are actively taking part in major events such as budget sessions, parliamentary discusses and politicians break the news by posting a message on Twitter and WhatsApp. Social media literacy is fast becoming a sign of forward-looking and development oriented leaders, ready to take up the new challenges in a globalized India. The presence in social media has become authoritative for candidates and political parties because of the changing expectation of the voters towards their elected legislatures. Realizing the importance of social media, the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh opened his Twitter account in year 2012 to provide up-to-date information about the achievements of his government to the people.

4.3.1 Changes in Social media

Social media has changed the way of people communication. Engaging with social media is a community activity, so it's important to understand that influencing social media is a much more diverse and difficult task than working with traditional media. There are eight major changes due to social media.

The first change specific to social media is the anonymity of its agents, which means that those who write and comment often use nicknames or aliases. Even though anonymity provides an opportunity to comment on delicate issues, it can also sometimes lead to "flame wars" and avoiding responsibility.

The second change is the richness and diversity of information social media provide. Users are no longer dependent on a single source for their news and other data any more, but can flexibly use several different media side by side

The third change is omnipresent there are no longer any isolated places or hiding holes. The private and public lives of society's most influential figures have merged and become public space. Many a politician has had to face the fact that a phrase taken out of context or a joke they told during a private conversation has been recorded by outsiders and quickly made public on the Internet.

The fourth change is speed. News and information are spread more quickly than ever before, and the demand for speed can also lead to reports without any confirmation. William Davidow[10], an engineer and technology investor describes the current era using the term "over connected": we are too often and too quickly in contact and can't process new information adequately due to haste. He cites the example of the modern stock exchange that has become a particularly fickle monster due to computerization and automation.

The fifth change is the multitude of roles that users assume, and their relationships to each other. The lack of a clear hierarchy is characteristic of social media. A good example is the online encyclopedia, Wikipedia, which doesn't really have a main editor, but an army of tens of thousands of writers, inspectors, and editors. So, if inaccuracies are found, to whom at Wikipedia should complaints be directed? The answer to this: don't complain, instead supplement the article in question and correct perceived mistakes alone.

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[10] William H Davidow, . *Marketing High Technolog*y, Simon & Schuster Free press (1996)

The sixth change is the move from objectivity to subjectivity; for example, in the United States, some of the so called traditional mainstream media have abandoned the promotion of equality and pluralism. One case observed across different social media platforms has been the rumor that the current president of the United States, Barack Obama, is a Muslim. Over 20% of Americans still believe that Obama is a Muslim, even though this false information has been repeatedly refuted.

The seventh change is, the new ability to combine different kinds of recorded information in very flexible ways. Social media is not just text, pictures, audio, video, and animation, but all of these combined. With today's compact video cameras, sound recorders, laptop computers and other mobile devices, combined with affordable software, one can easily create and edit impressive presentations.

The eighth change is the near absence of traditional methods of regulation. A government can attempt to restrict the content of social media, but traditional censorship cannot keep up with ever-changing web pages. China and Saudi Arabia, for example, tightly controls their citizen's use of the Internet and social media. On the other hand, it is technically difficult to interfere in even in the most radical web-distributed propaganda.[11]

Social media development into an important way to influence society is part of the advancement of information and communication technologies. The first noteworthy trend has been the evolution of the Internet. The modern Internet is often called "Web 2.0". The central components of Web 2.0 are the different social media and social web communities. Tim O'Reilly Invented the term "Web 2.0" in 2005, is just a name for the evolution of Internet-based communications, and it

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[11] Impact of Social Networking Sites on Politics Published by Fisher Digital Publications, 2009 known as the Minnesota E-Democracy

shows that networking and electronic interaction have advanced to the next level. The quick development of mobile technology and different mobile terminals has been important for the creation and use of social media. A modern, well-equipped smartphone can be a pocket-sized mega-studio.

SNS is impacting on politics in multi dimension it effect the views, perception, ideology and voting behaviour. Social movements and political protests have a great impact of online communication as Arab revolution and recent Delhi cases. Impact on SNS on politics is can be measure under the different aspects as:

4.3.2 SNS as Opinion leaders

Opinion leader is a term to describe the process of formation of our views, ideologies and their subsequent manifestation into our actions, the opinion leaders paved the way for the revolutions altogether, completely changing the faces of the entire countries, with their opinion and succeeding actions. Today, with the changing contemporary scenario there is someone else who has taken on the role of opinion leaders, and that is Social Media. The following are the ways in which it has proved itself to be an opinion leader. Opinion leader basically communicate messages to a primary group, influencing the attitudes and behaviour change of their followers, and in the same way, the various channels of social media/networking also tends to influence the attitudes as well as behaviours and changes their outlook towards certain concrete beliefs. Advertisers are using the opinion leader to carry and 'trickle down' its message to influence its target group. It is in the same way, the various parties such as BJP, AAP also tend to choose various social media venues such as facebook or twitter, to disseminate the messages, about their Leaders, agenda and future plan through these channels,

believing that these venues would act as reinforces of their messages to target audiences.

4.3.3 Personalization of Politics

In a trend in all liberal democracies, politics has become increasingly personalized. It is now usual for governments to be named after their leader, rather than after the party that holds office, particularly if the party and its leader have won successive elections. This is a phenomenon which is often traced to the election of Margaret Thatcher in Britain in 1979 and Ronald Reagan in the United States in 1980, two strong, charismatic leaders whose profile within the electorate easily eclipsed that of their respective parties. Manuel Castells explained in his book Communication Power "where does power lie in the global network society?"[12] He tries to show that communication is the central power in contemporary society by analyzing and presenting numerous empirical examples and by drawing on data from many studies. Castells analysis of what he has termed the network society, from a specific perspective the one power. He argues that global social network of social networks that make use of global digital communication networks are the vital source of power and counter-power in contemporary society, he argue that digital communication convert the party politics in to the personalize politics. Now a day every political party advertising on the basis of a single foreface as in India Modi is BJP and BJP is Modi, Arvind kejriwal is the face of AAP and Rahul Gandhi for Congress. It made political campaigning very convenient it is very easy for political parties to choose a netty image leader and focus all campaigning on a particular person it works according to simulation theory of Jean Buardliard. Barack Obama's 2008 US presidential

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[12] Manual Castells,(2005) *Communication Power*, Oxford University Press Landon p-42

election campaign has been described as the first electoral campaign in which the use of social media had a crucial impact. The core of the web-based campaign was a well-designed, versatile and dynamic website, "my.barackobama.com".

4.3.4 Revolution through Revolution

21st century recognised as the era of ICTs revolution but the revolution gave birth to another revolution in over the world major effect is stared in Arabian countries. Democratic movement in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria have a great impact of the IT revolution in movement.

4.3.4.1Arab Spring

The Arab Spring laid a series of revolutionary movements that are unique in that they utilized social media as an effective means to spread information and promote insurgent agendas. This revelation deserves consideration in all future discussions of revolutions and the concepts of ideology, narrative, momentum, unifying motivations and information system. The Arab Spring uprisings are the first collective movements of their kind in the Middle East after the internet and social media revolutions of the early 21st centuries and tactics, techniques and procedures utilized by resistance populations during the Arab Spring give the new way for future movements. The future of revolutionary movements in globalized societies will involve social media/SNS is assured, but the degree to which it will is yet to be determined.[13]

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[13] Lindsey. A, Richard, *What the Arab Spring Tells Us About the Future of Social Media in Revolutionary Movemen*ts, July 29, 2013 Small war journal.

Messaging, information, ideology and narrative are only an aspect of a successful insurgency, although a truly necessary aspect of revolution, as Barrie Axford says in "the digital public sphere, if such it is, may increase the number and range of participants but, in terms of outcomes, it could still be argued that bombs, guns and Apache attack helicopters tip insurrections and win revolutions."[14] The mobilization of ideas and people is a consistent requirement throughout, and clandestine communication can be enhanced with social media. It has been seen in Syria, social media offers a medium for obtaining international sympathy and support for a people movement.

> "The information revolution and particularly the daily dose of uncensored television coming out of local TV stations like al-Jazeerah and international coverage by CNN and others, is shaping public opinion , which, in turn, is pushing Arab governments to respond. We don't know, and the leaders themselves don't know, how that pressure impact on Arab policy in the future."-Dale Eickelman[15]

> "While Arab politics remain largely undemocratic, structural shifts in the means of public communication and opinion formation have contributed to the emergence of a transnational Arab public sphere that increasingly shapes politics through the region. New media incuding satellite television stations such as al-jazeerah, Arabist and Islamist newspaper distributed free of charge on the internet, and rapid distribution of news via email, listserves, and instant messaging, have given citizens in state such as Jordon, Egypt, Lebanon and throughout North Africa

[14]Barrie Axford,. *"Talk About a Revolution: Social Media and the MENA Uprisings." Globalizations,* Vol. 8, No. 5 (October 2011): 681-686.

[15] Dale F. Eickelman, *'Bin Laden, the Arab* "Streert", and the Middle East's Democracy Deficit', *currently History* (January 2002), 36-9.

and the Gulf the means to undermine state censorship and control. This public sphere does not substitute for democracy; it has few institutional channels by which to translate its preferences into outcomes, and it has met with substantial state counter-pressures. However, it also has dramatically reshaped the dynamics of Arab politics and conceptions of Arab political identity."-Mark Lynch[16]

Propaganda is one of the greatest tools, is made easier and more efficient by technology. Furthermore recruiting new insurgents made much easier by social media creativity of its users as its major limitation, social media will probable play larger role in future revolutionary movements for both insurgents and counterinsurgents. Rebels used YouTube and social networking to provide real-time footage of the conflict, portraying the regime in a negative light. This enriched content that makes YouTube one of the most explosive forms of social networking, as there is a vast difference in sometime saying what is phenomenon via Twitter.

In Syria, disabling the cell network to counter this reality would only play into the protesters hands, but it was this cell network that was being used so effectively against the regime. In 2012, Alex Choudhary and others compiled hundreds of thousands of tweets concerning Egypt during its 2011 revolution to analyze what 'trended' an overall picture of the Twitter scene in Egypt shows that the population was alienated, they were thirsty for updates on events and they still cared about personal-level stories during the revolution. Negative tweets about Mubarak's government, tweets about personal adversity and tweets about events affecting each dominated Egypt in 2011. Over 5 million Egyptians were on Facebook at the start of the revolution and the page 'We Are All Khaled Saheed' is

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[16] Mark Lynch, '*Beyond the Arab Street: Iraq and Arab Public Sphere'*, Politics and Society, 31/1 (March 2003), 55.

credited with aiding youth movements in organizing and facilitating messaging and outreach to other populations, including the 18 day occupation of Teharir Square. Facebook users in Egypt rose from 450,000 to 3 million in the six months following the revolution, and now stand at 5 million.[17]

In Egypt, the role social media played in the most recent revolution may be dwarfed by the role it plays in the next one, as the population appears to be embracing ICTs. Information can take many weaponized forms, but for the revolutionary simply spreading the occurrence of true events may be advantageous. In both Syria and Egypt, government forces activities focussed at population and resources control measures (PRCM) played into revolutionary hands and legitimized the narrative and ideology of the partisans, insurgents, opposition and rebels of these nations. The modern, globalized world is also information-starved, and social media has adapted to this reality. The Arab Spring ushered in a new age in revolutionary movements, as it was the first string of such movements to integrate social media in achieving its goals.

4.3.4.2 Anti-corruption movement in Delhi

Anna Hazare`s, "India Against Corruption" became the first ever campaign which hit the cyberspace to in a great extent. Social networking platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have done a lot. Facebook massively hit in the country, has let people articulate their sentiments the way they want. A number of Facebook Pages have been created keen to Anna Hazare's movement. A NGO 'India Against Corruption' (IAC) supported the campaign, owns a Facebook page

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[17] Emma Hall,. "*Year after Arab Spring, Digital, Social Media Shape Region's Rebirth*." Advertising Age, Vol. 83, No. 24 (2012), 10

and has more than 454,000 likes during the movement, and many other groups and communities have been created in the name of fight against corruption. People are tagging their friends in images and texts related to the cause.

The democratic set-up has allowed everybody to keep their views, whether one agrees or disagree. Facebook is a tools used extensively for garnering more public opinion. The dynamics of Facebook is such that one cannot simply ignore what others are doing. Internet & Social Media sites have been abuzz with articles/messages and opinions showed the support for Anna Hazare's fight against corruption and his support for Jan Lokpal Bill. Facebook had over 100 pages dedicated to Anna Hazare and his campaign and have garnered over 200,000 likes in just two days. People were deeply followed the updates on Anna Hazare's fast and how the political drama in Delhi has been unfolded. Twitter, the popular micro blogging site, has also pushed the movement further. Some of the recent hot trends in Twitter have been identified as 'isupportannahazare', 'annahazare', 'kiranbedi', 'janlokpal' etc.

In a statement, the then Law Minister Salman Khurshid said, 'We were caught unawares because Anna's movement was a remarkable combination of traditional politics and unconventional modern practices. We were at a disadvantage because we did not use the social media as effectively as Anna's movement did.' Mass movement refers to the concept which is supported by a large segment of population. In India had witnessed many movements beginning from the struggle for independence to the current Anna Hazare's Anti-Corruption Movement. Media's inevitable role in success of a campaign is well establish and played a vital role to make any campaign a success. The definition of media in postmodern world

has changed and it has turned into an integrated platform that deals with different modes of communication to make it more effective.[18]

4.3.4.3 Nirbhaya Case

The Delhi gang rape case was not perceived as 'just another' crime against a woman, rather it turned out to be a public brutality, that finds a common platform in new media, with a lot of social, political and legal implications. People from every section of society gathered at their own will. There was no big rally led by any leader. The cause became important and platform was provided by new media especially social networking. The Delhi gang rape protest not only fell on the streets but also took virtual world by storm. On Google Trends' search volume index, 'Delhi gang rape,' 'Rape in Delhi' and 'gang rape victim' has been among the top search phrases in India, reaching a peak on 20 December 2012. The highest volumes were from Delhi and adjoining states like Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan. Within 10 days of the incident Facebook groups 'Gang raped in Delhi' created on December 20, 2012 and 'Delhi for Women's Safety' created on December 18, 2012 received 5046 and 4263'Likes' respectively. Other Facebook groups such as 'another girl gang raped in Delhi Can we stop it?', 'Delhi Gang Rape Please Don't Ignore "Must Read" For Damini', and 'Delhi Gang Rape Protest' emerged as individual fight against such crimes.

India has been abuzz with news of the protests, making 'Delhi Gang rape' and 'Raisina Hill' the top trending hash tag in India. The political class in India has been shaken by the speed and efficiency with which the protests were coordinated.

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[18]Aatish Parashar,. *An Analysis of New Media`s Role in Mass Movements*, Guru govind Singh Indraprastha University New Delhi

Minister of State for Human Resource Development Shashi Tharoor said, 'the social networking space is a 'parallel universe to the mainstream media' and that stories on these platforms have a 'resonance of their own'. It is a medium that allows big issues to be made out of issues that mainstream media ignore but politicians cannot.'

New Media is becoming more significant in disseminating the information instantly. Themedium provides a larger platform to discuss the ongoing issues and share a range of sentiments. Among all the mass medium the Internet has become the largest audience participation platform, due to its interactive nature. The virtual world is gradually finding its social relevance and people notwithstanding their geographical location are able to view/review/analyze events across the world. The massive protest of Delhi Gang Rape in the virtual world certainly indicates the growing power of this media and its impact on the masses, especially the youth. It also challenges the popular notion that mass movements are largely governed on the call of a leader. There was no leader in Delhi's demonstration. There was common cause to raise voice against the atrocities of society and new media became the favourable platform to showcase their anger.[19]

Minister of State, Shashi Tharoor and Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Omar Abdullah who have large followings on Twitter, said that with net penetration of less than 12 per cent, no serious politician can mount a significant poll campaign based on social media, let alone win an election. Expressing the views on internet and publishing on the Internet is different than importing and exporting books,

[19]Bekkers,V.,Beunders,H.,Edwards,H.&Moody,A.(2011). *New Media, Micro mobilization andPolitical Agenda Setting: Crossover Effects in Political Mobilization and Media Usage*. The Information Society: An International Journal , 2011, Vol. 27, No. 4.http://dx.doi.org.

magazines, and newspapers. The Internet is a new forum where is something unparalleled in the idea of simultaneous, low-cost publication available to readers around the world. Speakers reach listeners in many places where they never could have been heard before. Online learning and online book, article, news, blogs, intellectuals discourse is available to listeners have access to the speech of individuals who may have a freedom to publish that is unknown in the listener's own country. Speakers and listeners got closer in Internet savvy states.

4.4 Mass Addressing Through SNS

Internet was heralded as a potential remedy for the decline in political participation that had been observed in the literature. Some claim that the Internet does little to help mobilize citizens. As the recent creation of social networking sites such as Facebook has transformed the meaning of citizen activism and furthered what has recently been referred to as **micro–activism**. Political participation on the Internet should be seen as Slacktivism or as virtual activism. Slacktivism, since the site also try to mobilize users off–line and in this sense reaches beyond the virtual world. In this sense, the ambitions reach beyond the typical slacktivist portrayal of diminishing political engagement to effortless and to some extent meaningless activities. Nevertheless, the core of the project exists in sending newsletters on ongoing petition signings and trying to collect funding for the causes. In this, it resembles other projects accused of Slacktivism.[20] The state of political participation has been a matter of concern in the established democracies in recent years. Most notably, Robert Putnam has argued that citizens are becoming "lonely bowlers" who no longer interact socially, and as a consequence no longer willing to take part

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[20] http://avaaz.org/en/highlights/, accessed 1 February 2013.

in political matters (Putnam, 2000). According to Putnam, the media — particularly TV but also the Internet — have helped decrease stocks of social capital, and thereby also the willingness among citizens to engage in political activities.

New forms of participation involve the use of the Internet for political purposes. Participation on the Internet may involve electronic versions of traditional forms of participation, such as electronic and online voting or online petition signing, also new term micro–activism to refer to the small scale, many–to–many forms of politically oriented communication forms of cyber involvement such as politically motivated.

Taking online petitions as an instructive example, the Internet has made it much easier to arrange campaigns, spread the word, and even signing them. Although signing a petition is hardly complicated offline, they are now easier to find and the signature can be given with the simple click of a button. Internet could have detrimental effects on the overall levels of political engagement and especially the effectiveness of engagement in achieving stated political goals.

4.5 Election campaigning tool

The 16th LokSabha elections rise attention was paid to conversations on social media, measuring which politicians were trending in search volume and counting retweets and followers, while Narendra Modi have second position in twitter popularity Index and Dalai Lama have first rank(Annuxer-1).[21] The first-time many voters, around 150 million form part of the 'connected' generation this year, and most parties took steps to reach out to voters online and on social media.

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[21] Tweeter Indian influence index by Pinstorm (http://pinstorm.com/ii/#resident-individuals)

Facebook, for instance, states that Narendra Modi's fan base grew by 14.86 percent between April 7 and May 12, the duration of the elections. Arvind Kejriwal's count increased by 8.16 percent during the same period, according to Facebook elections were announced on March 05 and May 16, the counting day, 29 million people made 227 million poll-related interactions (posts, comments, shares, and likes), with 13 million people on Facebook posting 75 million updates related to Narendra Modi. Vikas Pande media advisor for the BJP campaign, speaks about how social media helped skirt the mainstream media. In fact even with two of the popular portal of YouTube 'Narendra Modi' and 'I Support Narendra Modi', has been a hike in the number of subscribers. Social networking played an important role in reaching out to people even in tier-two and tier-three cities, places like Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Indore etc. the reach of the Internet, no matter how limited, helped voters obtain information, not only about political leaders, but the elections.

The website of the Election Commission of India shows that the BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party) won a vote share of 171657549 votes which accounted to 31 percent of the total votes given. The Congress came in second with 10,69,38,242 votes that accounted for 19.3 percent of the total votes, while the Aam Aadmi Party, which was second only to the BJP in terms of online trends, got 1,13,25,635 just about 2 percent votes. The big difference between AAP's virtual world interested and real world performance should be study in a positive manner because it is the youngest party in this election and gain all popularity just because of SNS activities, Congress woke up to the impact of social media messaging very late.

Going further he also mentions that the impact of SNS was felt more on the first-time voters, who wanted to hear a positive message. For instance the AAP

spoke about corruption and the problems plaguing the country. The sad part with the Congress was that they really didn't have any story to tell or any message to give. This impacted the decision of the first time voter a lot. Data released by Twitter from January 1 till May 12 shows the graph for the political parties and the rise and fall in the number of tweets. Keeping in sync with real time happenings, the popularity of the BJP soared slowly with the last months leading to the elections showing a huge spike, while AAP and Congress were far behind. The popular slogan about Narendra Modi`s cyber campaign "the Cyber army campaigning".

Social Bakers, a company that offers tools for monitoring and analyzing social media, offers a detailed breakdown of the performance of the main political parties, including the percentage of shares, comments and likes that the posts by the parties and politicians generated.[22]The trends observed for the time period of April 19 to May 18 show how the popularity of the BJP surged, with Modi related interactions hitting a record of over 15 lakhs, Kejriwal at just over a lakh and Digvijaya Singh of the Congress at just 19,500. When you look at the performance of these individuals and their parties in the elections, it's easy to infer a relation between social media and actual results.

This is made clearer the huge amount of activity on Twitter on the counting day with 2 million tweets related to the election in a single day. Rishi Jaitly, Twitter India Market Director says, similarly to the Obama campaign, everyone knew that this Lok Sabha election would also be influenced by social media, particularly with over 150 million first time voters between the age of 18-23 years. Everyone could see Tweets from the main parties, politicians and voters on their mobile devices, on their TV screens or in their daily news reports, or follow

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[22] http://www.socialbakers.com visited on May 22, 2014

key political and media accounts via a missed call to consume their tweets as text messages. The 2014 elections saw a glimpse of social media being used Five years down the line, political parties, will have fully understood the importance of reaching out to the people in urban and rural India. It will also encourage more and more people to come out and volunteer in all these areas. As of now it was more of the urban educated youth that did the volunteering.[23]

4.6 Easy reach to larger population

Based on the number of eligible voters, data of actual voter turnout from the Election Commission of India and field interviews, the report estimates that there could be a vote swing of 3%-4% in 24 states – states where the internet users are sizeable. The vote swingers can be pre-dominantly young men and non-working women whose affiliation towards social media is high. Talking to representatives of major political parties in India, the report also found that parties have earmarked around 2%-5% of their election budgets for social media. While political parties are gradually investing in social media, corporate have long realized the importance of the medium. The corporate are spending nearly 13% of their digital advertising budget on social media in financial year 2012-2013.Predictably, the report finds that the highest proportion of social media usage in the Top 4 Metros & the Non Metros was among the demographic segment "Young Men" with 30% and 26% penetration levels respectively. Interestingly, the report finds that younger women are increasingly using social media, whereas, in the Other Metros & Small Metros, "College Going Students" show the highest proportion of social media usage. "Working Women" demographic segment is observed as having the lowest

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[23] http://gadgets.ndtv.com/social-networking/features/did-social-media-really-impact-the-indian-elections-527425

proportion of social media usage in Other, Small & Non-Metros whereas they show a moderate proportion of social media usage in the Top 4 Metros.[24]

These findings of the Internet and Mobile Association of India (IAMAI), the umbrella organisation representing online and mobile value added services, triggered off a serious examination of the links between social media and electoral outcomes. The study, jointly conducted by IAMAI and IRIS Knowledge Foundation, has claimed that in 160 constituencies, Facebook would be a critical tool which could influence people's voting choices. The researchers have based their assertion on the grounds of a young demographic; the upsurge of popular protests and citizen activism in the past few years — often organised digitally; and growing urbanisation. The study also claimed that the number of social media users in India has now reached a 'critical mass'. "It is not the number of likes and tweets that are going to determine the probability of winning of a certain candidate but the ability of a candidate to engage with the electorate, by rising above the media clutter, and by trying to get his or her message across to the voter directly."

The study has evaluated the number of social media users in each constituency, the margin of victory in that seat in the previous election, and whether there is enough critical mass of Facebook users to impact the results in the seat. The variations across States is however clear. For instance, in Delhi, all seven seats are 'high-impact constituencies', while in Bihar, only four of the 40 seats fall in the category reflecting low levels of net penetration, social media use and Facebook's potential to bridge the gap in swing seats.

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[24] The Hindu, New Delhi, April 11, 2013

4.7 Social Networking and Political Communication in India

India is the largest democracy in all over the world, having 814.5 million voters for 543 LokSabha seats, in an average every constituency seat have more than 15 million voters. Election commission generally gives only 17 days' time for candidates to campaign and convince the voter about his agendas and views. It is very to tuff task for candidates to cover all voters of his continuance, hence using limited amount of many and resources. Social networking is a remedy to disseminate the information and advertising while SNS is a free resource to develop real time communication with voters. So online social networking is in important tool for future of the democratic representation.

4.7.1 Electronic Voting

Electronic voting (e-voting) is voting using electronic systems to aid cast and counting votes. Electronic voting technology can include punched cards, optical scan voting systems and specialized voting kiosks including self-contained "direct-recording electronic" voting systems. It is a form of computer-mediated voting in which voters make their selections with the aid of a computer. The voter usually chooses with the aid of a touch-screen display, although audio interfaces can be made available for voters with visual disabilities. It can also involve transmission of votes via private computer networks or the Internet. In general, two main types of e-Voting can be identified:[25]

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[25] Zissis, D.; Lekkas (2011). *"Securing e-Government and e-Voting with an open cloud computing architecture"*. Government Information Quarterly **28** (2): 239–25

- e-voting which is physically supervised by representatives of governmental or independent electoral authorities (e.g. electronic voting machines located at polling stations)

- remote e-voting where voting is performed within the voter's sole influence, and is not physically supervised by representatives of governmental authorities (e.g. voting from one's personal computer, mobile phone, television via the internet (also called i-voting).

Electronic voting technology can speed the counting of ballots and can provide improved accessibility for disabled voters. However, there has been contention, especially in the United States, that electronic voting, especially DRE voting, could facilitate electoral fraud.

4.7.1.1 Internet-voting

As use of the Internet spread rapidly in the 1990s and early 21st century, it seemed that the voting process would naturally migrate there. In this scenario, voters would cast their choices from any computer connected to the Internet—including from their home. This type of voting mechanism is sometimes referred to as I-voting. Beyond voting in regularly scheduled elections, many saw in the emergence of these new technologies and opportunity to transform democracy, enabling citizens to participate directly in the decision-making process. However, many countries decided that the Internet was not secure enough for voting purposes. Limited I-voting trials have been undertaken in some countries, including Estonia, Switzerland, France, and the Philippines. The case of Estonia is especially enlightening: although the country's infrastructure for digital democracy

is highly developed, use of the Internet has been at times massively disrupted by denial-of-service attacks. This has forced the country to maintain its traditional voting infrastructure alongside the I-voting option.

Besides denial-of-service attacks on the Internet, security experts worry that many personal computers are vulnerable to penetration by various types of malware (malignant software). Such attacks can be used to block or substitute legitimate votes, thereby subverting the electoral process in a possibly undetected way.

A third concern about I-voting relates to the possibility of voter coercion and vote selling, which in principle can more easily occur when voting does not take place in a controlled environment. However, there is no consensus about the seriousness of this problem in stable democracies. Furthermore, this objection also applies to absentee ballots, which have been broadly used in the past, as well as vote-by-mail.[26]Because of security and access concerns, most large-scale electronic voting is currently held in designated precincts using special-purpose machines.

I-voting in Indian prospective, currently NRIs can only vote in their constituencies, barely anyone has travelled to the country for exercise his or her franchise. Election commission has recently received several requests regarding this matter, including one from RajyaSabha MP and industrialist Naveen Jindal and the also from Ministry of External Affairs. This option, however, will not be available for the 2014 general elections.

According to rough estimates, more than two crore Indians settled abroad, of which most of could easily be of eligible for voting. They could hold

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[26] www.britannica.com/topic/voting/I-voting

considerable sway in election results, especially in states such as Punjab, Gujarat and Kerala, where a number of emigrants are very high. Amit Mukherjee file a case in Supreme Court in this regard for demanding I-voting, but hopes of NRIs to cast votes in the ongoing general elections through Internet were rushed, Supreme Court saying that any interim relief at this stage may open a Pandora box[27]. However, the bench decided to methodically deliberate on the demand for extending the right of voting through electronic format of Internet to NRIs registered as voters in different places in the country. NRIs were given voting rights in 2010 through an amendment in the 'Representation of People Act, 1951'.To allow them to vote from overseas, the Election Commission will have to recommend another amendment to the law ministry. It will also have to ensure that the secrecy of the ballot is maintained and security concerns are addressed. Of the three options — postal ballot, voting at an Indian mission abroad or online voting — officials favour the last. Indian missions do not have enough resources to organize voting and there isn't enough time to mail paper ballots abroad and get them back in time for counting.

The state election commission of Gujarat implemented the country's first internet voting initiative during the Gandhinagar municipal corporation elections in April 2011. The online voting system was run by Tata Consultancy Services. 85 % respondent of primary survey favored the E-voting as it is a convenient to cast vote and essay way to involve in active politics.
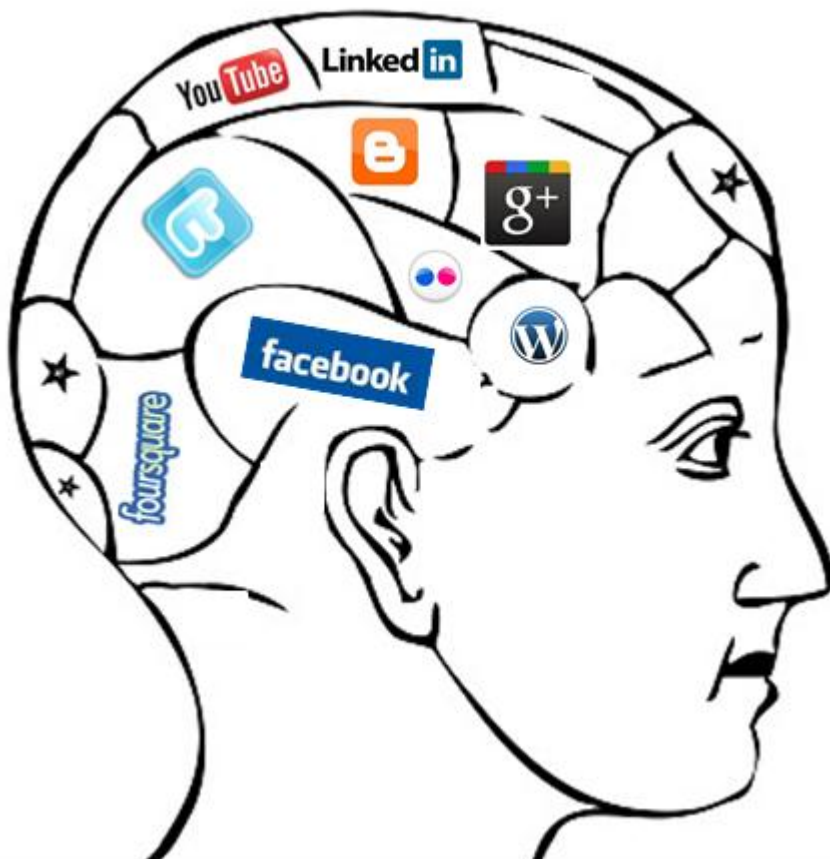
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[27] Press Trust of India | New Delhi | April 11, 2014

4.7.2 Know your candidates

The new tool will allow citizens to get easy access to relevant information about political candidates contesting from their constituency and their incumbent Member of Parliament. This tool incorporates publicly available information sourced from Indian organizations such as the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR), PRS Legislative Research and Liberty Institute India. The tool will provide information for each sitting Lok Sabha MP and contesting candidates such as their disclosed educational background, financial details and social media presence (wherever available) including video bios of the candidates provided by Ping networks. Mapped onto Google Maps interface, citizens will be able to find the information by using pin codes of their area or by zooming on their locality on the map. The tool will be updated regularly to provide information about all candidates as they get finalised and will be made available at least a week before the voting day in each constituency. The site also includes features such as elections related News Videos, Search Trends, G+ Hangout Series, and an interactive Pledge to Vote campaign.[28] Most of the half mobile internet users are blow the 25 years. There are 431 million internet facility enable mobile phones in India but only 156 million have an internet connection and 110 million are the active mobile internet users. While About 1.9 million tablet owners in India and 51% out of them spend 2 hours per day on it and more than 100 million facebook users, 33 million twitter users, 18 million LinkedIn users, 22 million google+ users in India who have a real time watch on all activities public life. Civic Engagement on the Internet for collective action can be measured through the absolute number, as on July 2013, it is true that internet penetration is comparatively low in India standing at about 11

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[28] http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-04-08/news/48971403_1_google-india-rajan-anandan-google-maps

per cent, the FB users are almost equivalent to the entire population of UK. Seventy

five per cent of Indians who are active Internet users use social networking sites

like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube etc. IRIS Knowledge Foundation[29] exposed

that Facebook could make a difference in constituencies where the number of

Facebook users are more than the margin of victory in the last LokSabha election,

or where its users account for over 10 per cent of the voting population.

[29] http://www.iriskf.org