

Chapter –II

Political Processes

“Political Process: It is not the function of our government to keep the citizens from falling into error: it is the function of the citizens to keep the government from falling into error”

-Robert H Jackson¹

2.1 Introduction

Democracy runs through in systematic structure. In every democratic country there is a political system and political process is most appropriate tools to analyse the political system. “The political process is the process of the formulation and administration of public policy usually by interaction between social groups and political institutions or between political leadership and public opinion based on the politics of the concerned society.”² Political process receives information and signals from the environment and then transforms this information and signals into authoritative or reliable in general political process includes different realistic originators like Election, attitude, voting behaviours, political participation, leadership, political recruitment, mass politics etc.

Political process is an essentially, liberal, interactive, contingency study; that focuses on the relations between governments and their challengers. It is a study of political actions designed to attain a purpose by the use of political power or by activity in political channels; specifically as participation in political organization, in elections and lobbying.

¹ Robert H. Jackson ‘an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court (1941–1954)’

² <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/political>

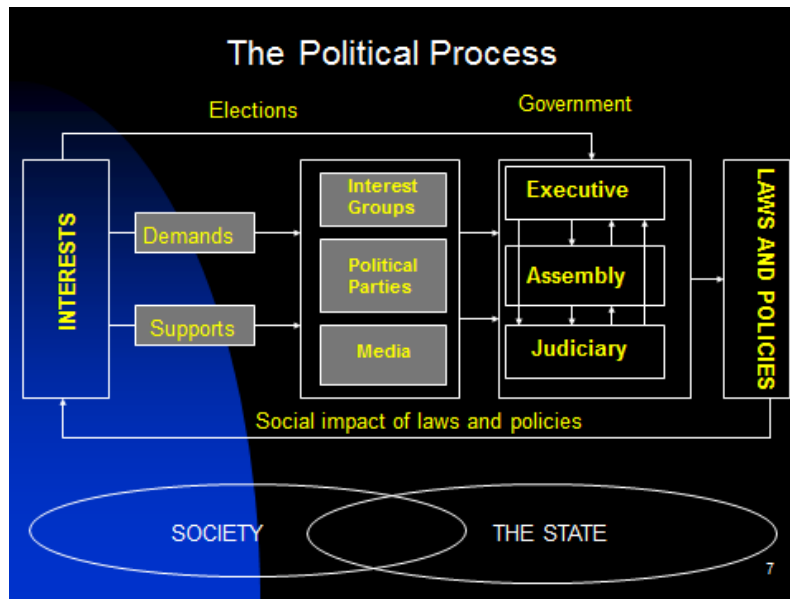
The term “political process” is coined by sociologists. It is an analysis related to movements or uprising in a particular field which changes the trends and create a new scope. Political process is related to political socialization. The term political process was first used by Charles Tilly in their article entitled political process in revolutionary France 1830-32.³

The political process theory/model is related to social movement mobilization. Political opportunities, mobilizing structure and framing processes are the key components/factors of political process theory. It focuses or pay attention towards different features of movements and their interaction. The attributes of social movements includes organisational structure, economic and political context. As per political process theory (PPT) social movements are the means to achieve political ends and resolve legitimate grievances. Charles Tilly’s “from mobilization to revolution (1978)”⁴ provides a foundation to PPT and provide/mentioned three components i.e. Interest, organisational and opportunity. The PPT was developed in U.S as a result of civil rights struggle. McAdam analysed the rise and fall of civil rights movements in these three components i.e.

1. Political opportunities
2. Indigenous organisational strength
3. Cognitive liberation

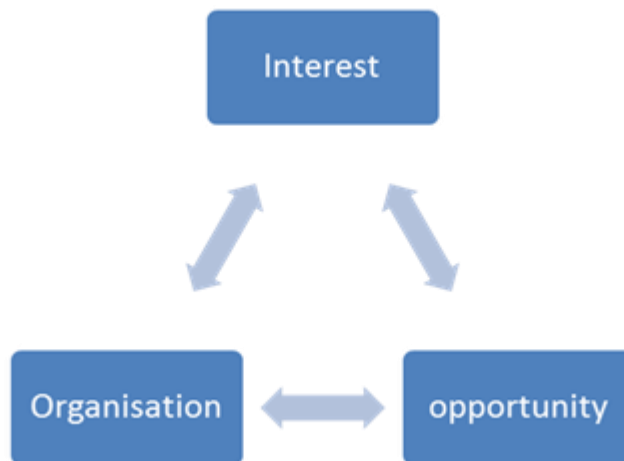
³ Doug McAdam (1982), “*political process and the development of black insurgency 1930-70, the university of Chicago press, P.36*”

⁴Neal Caren, (2007) ‘Political Process Theory’ in “Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology” available at www.blackwellreference.com



Graph 2.1: McAdam's PPT Model

The factors as mentioned by Charles Tilly and McAdam somehow similar and provide a base to PPT. we can say that these are the instigating elements of political processor mobilization.

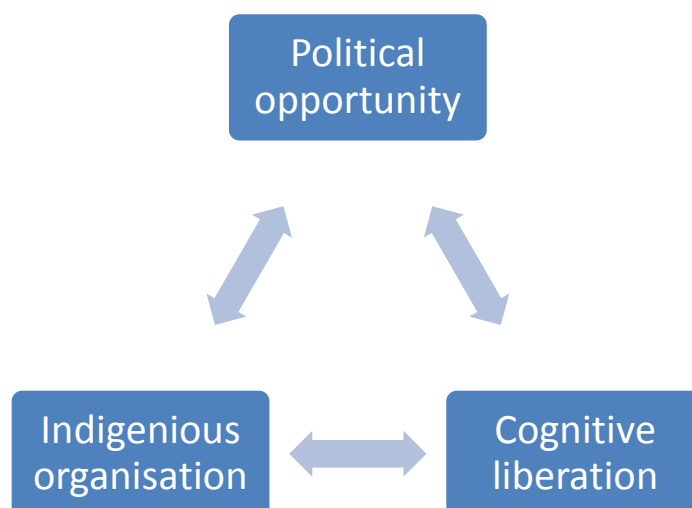


Political opportunity: It is the amount of political power and resulted from event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured.⁵

⁵ Doug McAdam (1982), "political process and the development of black insurgency 1930-70", The university of Chicago Press,P.41

Indigenous organization: The strength of different local organizations is helpful in mobilization or political process. These organisations are pre-existed organisations and these are political or potentially political.

Cognitive liberation: It is a result of group activity and derived from earlier two elements i.e. like and interests which represent the political gain from participation in political process. Through the political process theory is derived from sociology as described by Mc Adam started with social movement/revolution and resulted in political opportunities. It is an interactive and contingency model that focuses on the relations between governments and theory challengers. In every political system power has great influence and the flow of power has never stopped. To move through different links, institutions and channels which connect society with the state, in every political process, there are some inherent interests and these interests flow in the form of demands and supports through different models of communication interest groups, political parties and media social or mainstream. We can understand this model through the diagram:-



The political process, the power flows from the state as well as from the society. To fulfil the interests, the basic factor of the political process i.e. individual citizen communicates their demands through different modes.⁶

2.2 Political communication

Political communication is the transmission of information. Political communication focuses on the way of expression of about political matter, it includes public discussion (political speeches, news media coverage and ordinary citizens' talk) that considers who has authority to sanction, the allocation of public resources, who has authority to make decision. David L. Swanson and Dan Nimmo define political communication as "the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters."⁷ They emphasize the strategic nature of political communication, highlighting the role of opinion in political discourse. Brian McNair provides a similar definition when he writes that political communication is "purposeful communication about politics." McNair elaborated that this not only covers verbal or written statements, but also visual representations such as dress, make-up, hairstyle, logo design or overall presentation. With other words, it also includes all those aspects that develop a political identity or image.⁸

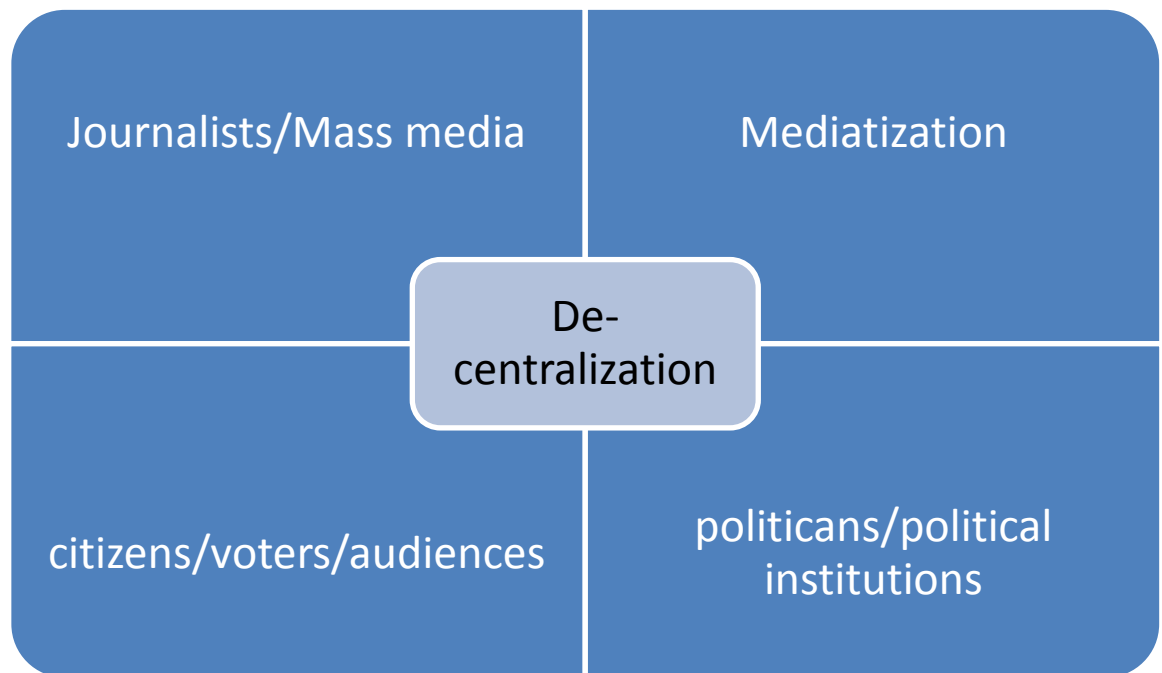
Political communication is an interactive process among different variables of political process like politicians, public and media. The process of political communication operates downwards, upwards as well as in horizontal

⁶ 'Political sociology : the study of politics and society available at [Http://wikipedia.com](http://wikipedia.com)

⁷ D Swanson., & D Nimmo. "*New Directions in Political Communication: A Resource Book.*" Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1990, p. 9.

⁸ B McNair, *An Introduction to Political Communication*, London: Routledge, 2003, p.24

way.⁹ In last few decades, political communications has changed in same context. These changes can be understood as taking place in two different although closely inter related dimension. The horizontal dimension indicates relation between politicians and the media while vertical dimension indicates the interaction between two factors i.e. political communication elites and the citizens.



‘Changes in political communication’¹⁰ are indicates the change in the medium of the communication in political sphere. The developments on horizontal and vertical dimensions are expressed by mediatisation and de centralization respectively.

In India also the political communication was prompted by two things; coalition politics and rise of information technology. The rise IT encouraged political communication and breaks away its unilateral mode. This had an innate

⁹ Pippa Norris (2004) "Political communications" prepared for the encyclopedia of the social sciences.

¹⁰ Kees Blant and Katrin voltmer(ed.) *Political communicationin Past modern Democracy*, , 2011 published by –Palgrave Mcmillian P.4

agenda of promoting technical aided human interaction. Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) was the first party that pioneered the new trend in India political communication. In 2004, 14th general elections BJP commissioning a professionally managed campaign targeting to encourage the urban voters.¹¹

2.3 Communication and Democracy

Communication is a crucial process in the democratic system. The representative democracy is based on the support of the people. This support is being channeled through communication. Communication is a necessary pre condition for representative democracy to function. Communication between parties and voters is necessary condition for the political system to run. Voter should be informed about political mandate, policy and alternative presented by the candidates or political parties; on other hand political representatives need to know the wishes and demands of those whom they are supposed to govern. Citizens in modern democracies are represented through parties (Sartori).

When we talk about democracy, it needs some democratic rules to execute in real manner. To quicken and strengthen the democratic process there is a need of informed citizenry, their active participation in process of government, delegation of power and responsibility.¹² Democracy has some basic features which are inherent in participative political decisions and involvement of every person in political processes. Real democracy can be established by ‘techno-

¹¹ Philip Behnke (2010) *India unwired_ why new media is not (yet) the message for political communication* , chapter-3, P.46 in “Social Media and Politics” edited published by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Singapore.

¹² *Encyclopedia of Americana*, Vol. 8 (New York: Americana Corporation, 1970)

managerial¹³ approach which focus on decentralization, transparency and accountability.

2.3.1 Democracy- Concept, Definition& Models

Generally democracy means rule by the people as contrasted with the rule by a person or a group. In a democracy, 'Power' is scattered, limited, controlled and exercised in rotation. Democracy also means government by consent, which can be elicited through elections that register voter's decision.¹⁴ Therefore, we can say that a form or system of government, which rule for the welfare of the people and by the people, is known as democracy. Anthony Arblaster stated, "Democracy refers to a situation where power and authority ultimately rest with the people. Democracy ensures the accountability of those holding power to the people who are the ultimate source of that power."¹⁵ Though democracy is a legitimate and universally appropriate form of government, different foundations or social preconditions produce quite different but possible democratic systems. The term democracy has been understood not only as a form of government but also as an ideal or as a way of life. The routes of democracy can be cultivated only with the help of deep citizenship. It is an era of great technological advancement which has impact over democracy and so to say, transforming democracy into e-democracy. It is only because of e-democracy; we can ensure the better electoral politics and mitigate the factors of bad means to win the elections. Through electronic means, the factors of money and muscle power can be reduced down tremendously. In other words, electronic intervention in democratic processes

¹³ Samuel John, "What is good governance" accessed on June 24, 2012. www.infochangeindia.org.

¹⁴ Sushila Ramaswami, *Political Theory: Ideas & Concepts* (New Delhi: Macmillan Publication, 2008), 377.

¹⁵ Janaki Srinivasan, "Democracy" in *Political Theory: An Introduction*, eds. Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Achary (Noida: Darling Kindersley, Pearson, 2010), 108.

will cater the need of correcting duplicate voters, maximizing voter turnout, Removing the possibility of booth capturing, manipulating local administration and so on and so forth. Hence, there is a need to understand the importance of ICTs for our democratic system at large. It will serve in two ways; one is related to complete electoral reform and is to bridge the gap between people and their representatives. Though Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) have started the use of electronic means in democratic process, there has been a lack of will power and understanding its importance. However, our fast changing society and economy coupled with revolutions in IT are transforming this dream into reality.¹⁶

According to Lipset, “Democracy may be defined as a political system, which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials and a social mechanism, which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office”.¹⁷

In short, democracy is associated with participation, competition, civil and political liberties. Historically it has been defended on the ground of fundamental values such as equality, liberties, moral self-development, social utility, satisfaction of wants, efficient decision etc. In present context people are treated as customer or consumer and government as service provider. This system ensures equality and self rule and allows equal opportunities and rights. Generally, democracy is a procedural concept, which is more than the presence of elections and liberties. A political system requires give and take compromises. It is perhaps the only known

¹⁶ Naveen Kumar and Pallav Pandey ‘ *Growing Electronic Intervention in Indian Democracy: A Case Study of Solving the Problem of Duplicate Voters in Goa*’ computer society of India. 2012

¹⁷, R.C. Vermani, “Theories of Democracy” in *An Introduction to Political Theory*, (New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 2002).

political system that can provide individuals the right, to be treated equally before the law and right to vote. According to Plato, “Democracy is the system of rule by the governed, with the alternative system of monarchy (rule by individuals), oligarchy (rule by a small elite group) and democracy (ruling class of property owners).¹⁸

The term ‘Democracy’ has three basic senses. In contemporary usage, direct democracy in which political decisions is exercised directly by the whole body of citizens, representative democracy in which citizens have the same rights through representatives that are chosen by them and responsible to them, liberal or constitutional democracy in which power are exercised within a frame work of constitutional provisions to guarantee all citizens some rights.¹⁹ David Held explains different ‘models of democracy’²⁰ i.e. classical democracy, republicanism, liberal democracy, competitive elitism, democratic autonomy and many more. Liberal democracy is an indirect and representative form of democracy and the inherent democratic elements reflects the belief that government should in some way be accountable or sensitive to the people.²¹ Indian democracy is a combination of liberal and representative democracy. It is the consent of the people, which makes government authority legitimate. It is an ethos, a social value, national commitment and lastly a way of life. Democracy entails a system of governance and keeps the rule of law, a free press, energetic civil society organizations and effective and independent public bodies.²²

¹⁸ *Encyclopedia of Americana*, Vol. 8 (New York: Americana Corporation, 1970)

¹⁹ *The New Encyclopedia of Britannica*, Vol. 4, 15th ed., 2007

²⁰, David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 2nd ed.(Stanford, C.A. : Stanford University Press, 1996), vii-xi

²¹, Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies* (London: Macmillan Press 1998), 46.

²² S.N. Yadav and Indu Baghel, eds., *Good Governance and Human Development* (New Delhi: Jananda Prakashan, 2009).

India is considered as 'World's largest Democracy' and there is no doubt that democracy is deepening in India from independence and need of the hour also. To fulfill the need of the hour, it is essential to move towards people or citizens centric political environment.

2.4 Political Processes of Democracy

In a democratic system multifold political processes work together as for demand or inputs and supply or outputs. Political process seen as a whole, not as a collection of different problems to be solved it is a sum of all activities of the government, civil society and citizen. Broadly political processes can be divided into major segments as:

Structural Processes: Structural Processes can be identifying easily, these processes are the major part of the government activities for the wellbeing of the state. It includes the action of legislature, Execution and Judiciary. Structural political processes have a great impact of the ruling government. These processes can be understood through the McKinsey` 7S model where he defines interrelationship between all these seven aspects: Structure, System, Strategy, Staff, Skill, Style and Shared values. Structural processes have these three categories:

- Decision Making (Executive)
- Law-Making/ Policy (Legislature)
- Elections

Nonstructural Processes: Nonstructural processes is an act of the civil society or citizen for their time being demands and issues. Making law and enforcement is a

duty of the government but on many occasions people demand new rule regulation or and changes through protest, lobbying, demonstration, influence and mass movement, these all activities create nonstructural political processes. These three are sub category of the nonstructural political processes.

- Dissent
- Influence
- Lobbying

To influence both structural and nonstructural political processes there are four major types of the groups in politics:

Anomic Groups

Spontaneous formations which arise to respond to a specific issue, usually in a crisis demonstrations, riots, not well-organized or sustained but may trigger off revolutions can be created by organized groups.

Nonassociational Groups

Like anomic groups, not well-organized unlike anomic groups are based on common identities, such as ethnicity, region, religion, occupation, etc. Can be very large or very small (residents of a village)

Institutional Groups

Formal groups created for the purpose of influencing government policy mostly elite groups, are created by people possessing significant social power businessmen,

military officers, bureaucrats, politicians, the clergy Possess large resources financial, organizational, etc. Often have direct channels of influence on policy.

Associational Groups

Created to represent on sustained basis diverse social interests trade unions, business sectors, ethnic, religious, civic groups, etc., lobbying and financing the election campaigns, put out their message through the media. A strong civil society is characterized by the existence of strong, well-organized non-elite associational groups which exert real influence on the political process.

Channels used to transmit demands in political processes

- Legal access channels
- Personal connections
- Mass media
- Political parties
- Legislatures
- Government bureaucracies
- Protest demonstrations, strikes
- Coercive methods
- Protest demonstrations, strikes
- Boycotts

- Riots

- Terrorism

- Coup d'état

2.5 Communication for Mass Mobilization

The increasing influence of electronic media in India was encouraged by economic liberalization in early 1990s. It gave citizens access to many news sources; in the 21st century the electronic media was revived by the internet revolution. As citizens started looking at the internet as an additional source of information, they began voicing their opinion through blogs, opinion polls and social networking websites. Election Commission of India, media coverage, opinion polls, blogs, internet related research organizations and social networking websites contributing a lot for new media revolution in politics.

India is a multilingual, multiethnic and multi-religious country with an excess of factors shaping the outline of political behavior but new technical advancement dilutes this idea through providing new regime. India continues to remain a Parliamentary democracy, also has close similarities with the American model of federalism. In 2009, the size of the Indian electorate was 714 million, making it the world's largest democracy. A closer examination of the Indian voting behavior indicates an overall decline, but not by a substantial margin. During first general election held in 1952, 61.16 percent of the voting population cast their ballots. In the 2009 general elections, voter turnout had dropped to 59.07 percent. The 2009 voter turnout figures were slightly more than that of the 2004 figure of 58.07 percent (Election Commission of India, Institute for Democratic Election

Assistance, 2010). The effect of social networking on political participation and voting behavior in the post liberalization era is a result of deep internet penetration through ITC revolution. Social networking sites have highest growth in India after 2005. In India, internet and cable television have brought about meaningful changes to public and private spheres of life more quickly than education, industrialization or any other socio economic factor. Electronic media had played no role for a decade after independence. Print media and radio served as the primary means of political information and mobilization. Mass media boosted in September 1959 as a result of the introduction of television to urban India. The emergence of television in postcolonial India was characterized by competing visions, In terms of influencing civic and political engagement, its influence was very least since the goals of the state regulated electronic media were restricted to educational and entertainment based programs. In 1991 the Indian television network was deregulated and cable satellite network emerged for the first time. From its modest beginning with two channels in 1990, the Indian audience got access to five hundred and fifteen cable satellite channels by June 2010. Moreover, there are a lot of twenty four hour news channels that would constantly engage in political and economic debates and conduct opinion/exit polls in election years. The number of satellite radio stations grew from six during the 1990s. These would include the community radio systems that became very successful in three states including Karnataka, Gujarat and Uttaranchal, serving as the key medium for engaging in grassroots activism. The deregulation of the television network in the 1990s was accompanied by the internet revolution. From 1992 to 2010, the number of internet users grew from none to 10% population Today internet has emerged as a new means for information delivery. The internet holds the promise of enhancing

democracy and changing traditional one way process of political communications the role of the internet in providing for political information becomes relevant since majority of the Indian population is relatively young because internet becomes a mobile based activity.

Communication is important tool in political processes. As traditional forms of communication like verbal or nonverbal, individual or mass communication there is another form of communication; computer mediated communication (CMC). From last few years this CMC has played a crucial role. Revolutions in Middle East brought attention to the use of social media or computer mediated communication for social movement mobilization. Even the “United States Social Forum (USSF) provides a comparison of mobilization through social media with face to face and mediated communication and it results reflects in Obama campaign.”²³

In Iran revolutions of social media worked as a tool of communication. In 2009 when Iranian president election protest began, to counter the protesters the regime censored newspapers and blocked the websites, in spite of all this, social media was used to broadcast the protests.

As estimated Iran has more bloggers per capita than any other nation. Any Iranian with a mobile phone could film the protests and the response of the security forces. Hour by hour, these clips found their way on YouTube and countless blogging sites.²⁴ The protests against Iranian presidential elections were

²³A. G, Schwarz “*Political Mobilization through online Social Networks*, Elizabeth University of California (2011)”.

²⁴D. Blair (2009) *Iran struggles to censor news of protests*.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iran/5543145/Iran-struggles-to-censor-news-of-protests.html>

nicknamed as Twitter revolution because of the activist's reliance on the social network for communication.

The recent popular mobilization against corruption in India inspired by Anna Hazare is an instance of political development / reform through communication. The use of social networking platforms to mobilize online and offline support is noteworthy, as the statistics provided by a blog shubha sengupta within four days of the existence of Anna's movement, it had 116,000 fans on face book, 5600 followers on twitter and the highest interaction rate of top ten face book pages in India.²⁵ According to an article in the economic times, the movements face book page is not only attracting comments in hundreds but also serving as an effective platform for the protesters in various cities. All these activities produce embarrassment for the government and sparked debated in all forms of media. The debated were especially about the role of democratically elected representative in initiating reforms.²⁶ Social media analyst Gourav Mishra estimates that the total online supporters for Anna movement were around 1.5 million people. The official page of India against corruption on face book reached more than 500,000 followers as on feb7, 2012.²⁷ In the social movement of Anna there is a huge use of media both social and mainstream work for the political reform through communication mechanism. The usage of social networking sites was unexpected. As an impact, the

²⁵ 'Anti-corruption movements and the 'twittering classes' in the past colony: An Indian case study by Ramaswami Harindranth and Sukhmani Khorana ANZCA conference2012, Adelaide, south Australia, Page-2 '

²⁶ Ibid P.4

²⁷ Sasha Bong 'Analyzing Social Media Momentum'
<http://lafollette.wise.edu/publicatioins/workshops/2012/India.pdf>

movements brought the issue of corruption to the centre stage and compelled the government to bend backwards to accommodate civil society demands.²⁸

Not only in the case Anna's movement and Nirbhaya case December 2012 Delhi rape case social media played a vital role in mobilization in 2012. The social networking sites not only play an important role in expressing the cumulative anger of the public, it virtually becomes the melting point expressing the anger, frustration and outrage against the failure of government²⁹ in effectively responding and handling to the incident. In Nirbhaya case, there was not pre organised or pre-determined plan. Without any pre planning mobilization happened through social media. On face book groups like night walkers, safe Delhi for women³⁰ called for and organise protests regularly. In this case mainstream media did not ensure coverage of everything happened; it was social media which speaks for million tongues and eyes.

As a result, this protest played a vital role in creating political will the issue of violence against women. Along with this, the protest put the issue over the top societal and political level. The appointment of judicial committee J.S Verma committees and the criminal law amendment, ordinance, 2013 was promulgated by the president.

The process continues to grow and since the ICTs revolution has been experiencing the gradual emergence of post-modern campaigns. In these contests, parties have become more pro-active, coordinated and systematic in their news

²⁸ Richa Singh(2014) '*New Citizens' Activism in India*' Published b Centre for Democracy and Social Action P.27

²⁹“ Social Media in Protests and Policy change: From Tahrir Square to Gezi Park” available on <http://www.iimkashipur.ac.in/en/academic/centers-of-excellence/public-policy-government/research/social-media-in-protests>

³⁰Richa Singh (2014) '*New Citizens's Activism in India*' Published by Centre for Democracy and Social Action

management and election targeting. The coterie of professional consultant's expert in advertising, public opinion, marketing and strategic news management have become more co-equal actors with politicians, assuming a more influential role within government. New information technologies, notably the explosion in Internet use, as well as the use of techniques like google hangout, daily tracking polls, opinion polls and focus groups are gradually facilitating more interactive formats between the new media, parties and the public. Newspaper party linkages are weakening and parties have adopted far more sophisticated techniques of political marketing, and the news media have diversified in channels and levels, but have these developments new citizen engagement within democracy.

This new scenario is presenting as 'golden age' of face-to-face electioneering. The new communication environment created by the digital and broadband convergence of technologies will pose major changes to campaign communications. Internet will transform politics to e-politics, like e-commerce.³¹

2.6 Media impacts on Politics

- Effect on public opinion, public policy
- Media monitors, shapes, determines public agenda
- Media covers politics—issues, leaders public consider important
- Also reports when officials ignore public opinion
- Does not force people to take sides, focuses attention on issues

³¹Pippa Norris , *Political Communications and Democratic Politics* (Eds John Bartle and Dylan Griffiths Political Communication Transformed: From Morrison to Mandelson) Basingstoke: Macmillan.(2004) P-7

Two Big Political Processes: two major political processes taken in this research work each from Structural and non-structural processes. Election is taken from the structural processes which includes administration, execution and party politics in itself. Social movements are chosen from dissent of non-structural political processes.

2.6.1 Election

Election is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses a representative to hold public office. Elections have been the usual mechanism by which modern representative democracy has operated since the 17th century. Elections may fill offices in the legislature, sometimes in the executive for regional and local government. This process is also used in many other private and business organizations, from clubs to voluntary associations and corporations. Election is the process of introducing fair electoral systems or improving the fairness or effectiveness of existing systems. Psephology is the study of results and other statistics relating to elections. When elections are called, politicians and their supporters attempt to influence policy by competing directly for the votes of constituents in what are called campaigns. Supporters for a campaign can be either formally organized and loosely affiliated and frequently utilize campaign advertising. The internet is now a core element of modern political campaigns. New Communication technologies like e-mail, web sites and podcasts enable faster communications for citizen movement and deliver a message to a large audience. These Internet technologies are used for cause-related fundraising, lobbying, volunteering and community building/organizing. Individual political candidates are also using the internet to promote their election campaign. In a study of

Norwegian election campaigns, politicians reported they used social media for marketing and for dialogue with voters. Facebook was the primary platform for marketing and Twitter was used for more continuous dialogue.

Signifying the importance of internet political campaigning, Barack Obama's presidential campaign trusted heavily on social media, and new media channels to engage voters, recruit campaign volunteers, and raise campaign funds. The campaign brought the spotlight on the importance of using internet in new-age political campaigning by utilizing various forms of social media and new media (including Facebook, YouTube and a custom generated social engine) to reach new target populations. The campaign's social website, my.BarackObama.com, utilized a low cost and efficient method of mobilizing voters and increasing participation among various voter populations. This new media was incredibly successful at reaching the younger population while helping all populations organize and promote action. Campaigning is hard work, Local candidates walk door-to-door, attend local functions. Candidates try to reach and attract enough voters to win. Candidates rely heavily on media.

2.7 Online Social Movement

From the early 21st century new forms of social mobilization began in India. Social movements gained a variety of names such as social movement, people's movement, popular movements etc. These movements emerged and highlighted some of the major issues as human rights, gender, corruption and environment. These movements largely distanced themselves from political parties and tried to cut across the ideologies of the political parties, many of them rooted themselves or sketched from ideologies of the Mahatma Gandhi, various shades

environmentalisms, gender politics and socialism. The most recent of social movements is 'Campaign against corruption' April 2011, led by a group of social activists- Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal. Jantar Mantar becomes the place of social movement and protests in the heart of New Delhi, capital of India. These movements got support from general masses and media. These movements are a landmark in the constitutional history of independent India.

Although the first online social network site launched in 1997, social movement research specifically focusing on online social networks, such as Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, and Twitter is not as robust as research focused on the Internet in general. Different from traditional websites, online social network sites are 'web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.'³² However, similar to other forms of Internet tools, most often, online social network sites are used to support existing offline social relations and social activities. Online social networks shows support for increased civic engagement by young online social network users.³³ Online social networks are described as websites that are ideal for encouraging interpersonal interaction, broadening social ties and providing valuable information about how to become civically and politically involved. Current research demonstrates blogging and online social networks have positive relationships with participation in civic organizations. Examining the role online social networks

³² Boyd & Ellison, (2007) *Internet History, The Handbook of Internet Studies* (edited by Mia Consalvo, Charles Ess) Wiley Publication.

³³ Pasek, More, and Romer (2009), Realizing the Social Internet? Online Social Networking Meets Offline Civic Engagement. *Journal of information technology & Politics*, 6(3), 197-215

played in different social movements; earlier researches show that positive relationship between online social network use and civic participation.³⁴

Micah M. White argues, “Political engagement becomes a matter of clicking a few links, promoting the illusion that surfing the web can change the world, clicktivism³⁵ is to activism as McDonalds is to a slow-cooked meal. It may look like food, but the life-giving nutrients are long gone.³⁶ He argues that political engagement becomes a matter of clicking a few links and neglects the vital. It reduces activism to a mere mouse click. Micah M. White goes on to argue that “clicktivism reinforces the fear of standing out from the crowd and taking a strong position”. Clicktivism will be the platform for future social revolution.



³⁴Zhang, Seltzer, and Bichard (2012) *Politics and the Twitter Revolution: How Tweets Influence*, Lexington Books UK.

³⁵ Janssen, Cory. "What is Clicktivism? - Definition from". Techopedia. Retrieved 2013-08-18

³⁶ White, Micah. "Clicktivism is Ruining Leftist Activism". Common Dreams. Retrieved 2013-08-18.