CHAPTER: 2
Review of Literature, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework
2. Review of Literature, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction: This chapter has been divided into two parts. The first part deals with the review of the literature relevant to this research work. The second part deals with the conceptual framework so as to bring clarity and standardization.

2.2. Review of Literature:

Political communication through social media is relatively a new subject. Since the very development of social media is a recent phenomenon so the subject still lacks a pioneering work on this subject. However, with the continuous attention and efforts few books and articles have popped up. Some of the important literatures reviewed are as follows-

“*The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication: Then, Now and Beyond*” (2017) edited by Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson provides contexts for viewing the field of political communication, examines political discourse, media and considers political communication’s evolution inside the altered political communication landscape. Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson bring together some of the most groundbreaking scholars in the field to reflect upon their areas of expertise to address the importance of their areas of study to the field, the major findings to date, including areas of scholarly disagreement, on the topics, the authors perspectives and unanswered questions for future research to address. Their answers reveal that political communication is a hybrid with complex ancestry, permeable boundaries and interests that overlap with those of related fields such as political sociology, public opinion, rhetoric, neuroscience and the new hybrid on the quad, media psychology.

Author Darren G Lilleker (2006) in his book named “*Key concept in Political Communication*” introduced the critical concepts, structures and professional practices
of political communication. The author explains over 50 core concepts in political communication which cement together various strands of theory. From aestheticisation to virtual politics, he explains, illustrates and provides selected further reading. He deals with both practical and theoretical issues important to political communication. He also critically analyze the recent development in this field.

Brian Mcnair (2003) wrote and explored in the book named “An Introduction to Political Communication” about the relationship between politics, the media and democracy in the UK, the USA and other contemporary societies. Brian McNair examines how politicians, trade unions, pressure groups, non-governmental organizations and terrorist organizations make use of the media. Separate chapters look at political media and their effects, the work of political advertising, marketing and public relations and the communication practices of organizations at all levels, from grassroots campaigning through to governments and international bodies.

“The Dynamics of Political Communication: Media and Politics in a Digital Age” written by Richard M Perloff (2017) explores some issues regarding current political communication theories and beliefs. These issues are:-What impact do news and political advertising have on us? How do candidates use media to persuade us as voters? Are we informed adequately about political issues? Do 21st-century political communications measure up to democratic ideals? Author Richard M. Perloff details the fluid landscape of political communication and offers us an engaging introduction to the field and a thorough tour of the discipline. He examines essential concepts in this arena, such as agenda-setting, agenda-building, framing, political socialization, and issues of bias that are part of campaign news. Designed to provide an understanding and appreciation of the principals involved in political communication along with methods of research and hypothesis-testing, each chapter includes materials that
challenge us by encouraging reflection on controversial matters and providing links to online examples of real-life political communication.

“I am a troll: Inside the secret world of the BJP’s digital army” written by Swati Chaturvedi (2016) tells that BJP’s digital army generates online hatred (trolls) for anyone perceived to be critical of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the government. “… online trolls usually have Hindu right-wing views and highly nationalist. They tend to attack anyone who appears to be against the government, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the nation,” Chaturvedi says in introduction. However, the one which obtained the most public attention and was well-reported by the print media and television channels alike was the threat of boycotting e-commerce site Snapdeal, if it did not fire its brand ambassador Aamir Khan who had been ridiculed by the right-wing nationalists for his remarks on growing intolerance in the country. The poisonous campaign launched by the BJP’s social media team proved Aamir’s point on intolerance. More interestingly, she also informs how BJP was the first Indian political party to understand the power of social media and the Internet, having set up party website way back in 1995. Prime Minister Modi set up his personal website in 2005 and joined Twitter in 2009. In contrast, Indian National Congress built its site in 2005 whereas Rahul Gandhi joined Twitter only in 2015. No wonder, BJP has had a clear cyber advantage over Congress.

“Social Media: A Critical Introduction” wrote by Christian Fuchs (2014) examines social media from a critical perspective. Critical, for Fuchs, refers explicitly to Marxism and neo-Marxism, with power and resource distribution the key focal points. A Marxist take on social media examines exploitation and domination by studying both political economy and political communication of social media. That is a critical perspective looks at who owns the means of production in both the financial and attention
economies and how various media perpetuate, reflect or potentially upend an inherently exploitative capitalism. Fuchs tackles many of the Big Questions within social media studies including the reality of participatory democracy, exploitation and surveillance on social network sites, the costs and benefits of “free” services and potentials for alternative media. Fuchs examines social media as a potential participatory democracy, granting expressive voice to previously silenced masses. Fuchs says that to analyze privacy, we have to look at “privacy for whom?” Fuchs argues that current implementations of privacy rights disproportionately favor financial privacy of the elite while exploiting individual privacy. He argues that privacy analyses that focus on individual user practices, and which promote more careful privacy decisions at the individual level are misguided.

In “Sense of Media and Politics: Five Principles in Political Communication”, Gadi Wolfsfeld (2011) proposes five central principles in examining the relationship between the media and politics. Focusing on democratic countries, he discusses first the perspective of political actors constantly competing over the news to push out political messages (1st and 2nd principles). Next Wolfsfeld takes the perspective of the media, focusing on how journalists turn political information into news (3rd and 4th principles), and finally looking at the effect of media on ordinary citizens (5th principle). The first principle, political power can usually be translated into power over the news media, highlights that those who have political power not only find it much easier to get coverage, but also are in a much better position to get their message across. The second principle, when the authorities lose control over the political environment they also lose control over the news, is used to explain the varied roles the news media plays during times of war and in attempts to make peace. There is no such thing as objective journalismconsiders the subjectivity of news media, and the preference given to a specific message or actor instead of another. The most important factors in
determining which events get selected have to do with what Wolfsfeld labels cultural, ideological and commercial biases. The forth principle deals with another form of news bias: The media are dedicated more than anything else to telling a good story and this can often have a major impact on the political process. It can be easily noticed that journalists seem to be increasingly concerned about grabbing our attention rather than providing us with intelligent coverage. The final principle, the most important effects of the news media on citizens tend to be unintentional and unnoticed focuses on the impact of the media on the way people think and behave, and is exemplified with several social psychology experiments. Wolfsfeld discusses three types of influence: framing, agenda setting, and priming. These go unnoticed by citizens who are usually unaware of their impact, and are unintentional because when journalists decide what is most newsworthy they are unlikely to think about how this will influence peoples political priorities.

“The Internet and the 2016 Presidential Campaign” edited by Jody C Baumgartner, Terri L. Towne (2017) explores that the Internet campaign are now considered to be standard fare, there were a number of new developments in 2016. This book attempts to cover Internet campaigning developments in a comprehensive fashion. How are campaigns making use of the Internet to organize and mobilize their ground game? The book also examines how citizens made use of online sources to become informed, follow campaigns, and participate. Contributions also explore how the Internet affected developments in media reporting, both traditional and non-traditional, about the campaign. What other messages were available online, and what effects did these messages have had on citizens attitudes and vote choice? The book examines these questions in an attempt to summarize the 2016 online campaign.

In The Content Analysis Guidebook author Kimberly Neuendorf (2002) provides an accessible core text for upper-level undergraduates and graduate students across the
social sciences. Comprising step-by-step instructions and practical advice, this text unravels the complicated aspects of content analysis. Content analysis is one of the most important but complex research methodologies in the social sciences. This book provides readers numerous examples from across the social sciences, Sidebars that describe innovative and wide-ranging content analysis projects, from both academia and commercial research.

**Author Klaus Krippendorff (2018) in “Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology”** introduces the most current method of analyzing the textual fabric of contemporary society. A scholar can learn from this book to treat data not as physical events but as communications that are created and disseminated to be seen, read, interpreted, enacted, and reflected upon according to the meanings they have for their recipients. Interpreting communications as texts in the contexts of their social use distinguishes content analysis from other empirical methods of inquiry. This author wants to show the readers how to trace the analytical paths and apply evaluative techniques. This book tells about most current techniques and research on content analysis, including new information on reliability and social media.

**Social Media Data Extraction and Content Analysis wrote by Shalin Hai-Jew (2016)** explores various social networking platforms and the technologies being utilized to gather and analyze information being posted to these venues. Highlighting emergent research, analytical techniques, and best practices in data extraction in global electronic culture, this publication is an essential reference source for researchers, academics, and professionals. The author try to explore how to conduct research using social media, contributors from a wide range of fields, such as computer engineering, economics, and education, discuss modeling with social data, analytics from the online crowd, tapping specific social media platforms, and applied uses of social media data for awareness and problem solving. By this book, he tries to explore the value of a network in the new
Internet economy, evaluating the usability of social media web sites and applications using an eye-tracking method, conducting sentiment analysis and post-sentiment data exploration through automated means, social network synthesis: a dynamic approach for building distance education programs, and Facebook content analysis: Australian banks' social media community engagement.

“Social Media and Election Campaigns: Key Tendencies and Ways Forward” edited by Gunn Enli & Hallvard Moe (2017) tries to throw the light on further research in the fields of social media and political communication by moving beyond the hype and avoiding the most eye-catching and spectacular cases. It looks at stable democracies without current political turmoil, small countries as well as large continents, and minor political parties as well as major ones. Investigating emerging practices in the United States, Europe, and Australia, both on national and local levels, enables us to grasp contemporary tendencies across different regions and countries. By this book authors provide empirical insights into the diverse uses of different social media for political communication in different societies. Contributors look at the ways in which novel arenas connect with other channels for political communication, and how politicians as well as citizens in general use social media services. Presenting state-of-the-art methodological approaches, drawing on a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses, the book brings together an interdisciplinary group of researchers in order to address emerging practices of the mediation of politics, campaign communication, and issues of citizenship and democracy as expressed on social media platforms.

In “The Big Connect: Politics in the Age of Social Media” wrote by Shalini Chopra (2014) traces the advent of social media in India and how politics and lobbying has now shifted to the virtual floor. The writer argues that though a post, a pin, or a tweet may not translate into a vote, it can definitely influence it. With comparisons to the Obama campaign of 2008 and 2012 and analysis of the social media campaigns of political
bigwigs like Narendra Modi, Rahul Gandhi, and Arvind Kejriwal—the author discusses about the role of a digital community in Indian politics. Author also tries to put words to what is a commonly talked about phenomenon in various social circles around the country. It serves as a handy backgrounder on how Indian politics has come to be in the age of social media—aggressive, no-holds barred, with no apparent place for subtleties. This book mainly in two parts—first, where it draws on case studies from around the world to try and explain the very phenomenon and second, where it seeks to encapsulate its India-specific influence. While the former makes for a quick glance-through, the latter makes for a gripping read—especially for a Twitter user for nearly six years.

“The Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics” edited by Kerric Harvey (2013) explores how the rise of social media is altering politics both in the United States and in key moments, movements, and places around the world. Its scope encompasses the disruptive technologies and activities that are changing basic patterns in American politics and the amazing transformations that social media use is rendering in other political systems heretofore resistant to democratization and change. In a time when social media are revolutionizing and galvanizing politics in the United States and around the world, this encyclopedia is a must-have reference. It reflects the changing landscape of politics where old modes and methods of political communication from elites to the masses (top down) and from the masses to elites (bottom up) are being displaced rapidly by social media, and where activists are building new movements and protests using social media to alter mainstream political agendas. By this book, the editor explores social media’s impact on politics, such as “Activists and Activism,” “Issues and Social Media,” “Politics and Social Media,” and “Popular Uprisings and Protest.”
‘India Connected: Mapping the Impact of New Media’ edited by Dr. Sunetra Sen Narayan and Dr. Shalini Narayanan (2016) try to create awareness about digital divide that has become the new caste system of the world. Dr. Narayanan says, digital divide is created due to factors like gender discrimination, income, differently abled people, literacy, and connectivity or speed. If we control them, we can bridge the gap.” Editors try to analysis of the growth of new media in Digital India from a perspective of broad communications and interdisciplinary. Editors try to provide answers to the questions like: Can new media help in bringing about development or contribute to social movements? Who is left out of the new media equation? How is the public sphere affected by it? How will it be regulated?

“Citizen Participation and Political Communication in a Digital World” edited by Alex Frame & Gilles Brachotte (2015) tells about the arrival of media revolution, bringing with it new tools and possibilities for direct political action. Through specialized online platforms, mainstream social media or blogs, citizens in many countries are increasingly seeking to have their voices heard online, whether it is to lobby, to support or to complain about their elected representatives. Politicians, too, are adopting "new media" in specific ways, though they are often criticized for failing to seize the full potential of online tools to enter into dialogue with their electorates. Bringing together perspectives from around the world, this book examines emerging forms of citizen participation in the face of the evolving logics of political communication, and provides a unique and original focus on the gap which exists between political uses of digital media by the politicians and by the people they represent.

“Political Internet: State and Politics in the Age of Social Media” by Biju P.R.(2016) investigates the Internet as a site of political contestation in the Indian context. It widens the scope of the public sphere to social media, and explores its role in shaping the
resistance and protest movements on the ground. Author also explores the role of the Internet, a global technology, in framing debates on the idea of the nation state, especially India, as well as diplomacy and international relations. He also discusses the possibility of whether Internet can be used as a tool for social justice and change, particularly by the underprivileged, to go beyond caste, class, gender and other oppressive social structures. A tract for our times, this book will interest scholars and researchers of politics, media studies, popular culture, sociology, international relations as well as the general reader.

In “Social Media and Everyday Politics”, Tim Highfield (2017) examines political talk as everyday occurrences on Twitter, Facebook, blogs, Tumblr, Instagram, and more. He considers the personal and the political, the serious and the silly, and the everyday within the extraordinary, as politics arises from seemingly banal and irreverent topics. The analysis features international examples and evolving practices, from French blogs to Vines from Australia, via the Arab Spring, Occupy, #jesuischarlie, Eurovision, #blacklivesmatter, Everyday Sexism, and #illridewithyou. Social Media and Everyday Politics contests two contrasting approaches to social media research: the one that valorizes its political significance and the other that treats it as an entirely personal space. Instead, Highfield conceptualizes social media as a technological innovation that fosters interactions between personal and political lives. The implications of such fostered interaction remain unascertained. Highfield’s mapping of social media’s transformative effects is thus not entirely conclusive; but it is a useful point of departure for future research. As such, the book informs not only media and technology literatures, but also sociological and anthropological studies of the postmodern society that is socially mediated by this transforming invention called ‘social media’.
The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics (2015) edited by Axel Bruns, Gunn Enli, Eli Skogerbo, Anders Olof Larsson and Christian Christensen explore the comprehensive study of recent political uses of social media. There are many books which focus on use of social media in political communication but they only focus on United States and United Kingdom. This book provides a global research of across six continents.

Social Media in Politics: Case Studies on the Political Power of Social Media (2014) edited by Bogdan Patrut and Monica Patrut, investigates the emergence of power through social media. This book deals with how social media has created the enormous impact on political campaign, electoral marketing, social revolution etc. Social Media in Politics, also analyses the case studies from across the world.

(R)evolutionizing Political Communication through Social Media (2016), by De elan, Tomadeals with how social media affected the political communication. This book also provides some good case study of Mexico, Greece and European election.

An Introduction to Political Communication (2011) by Taylor & Francis analysis the relationship between politics, media and democracy. This book explores the role of social media in political campaign.

The Book Social Media Reader (2012), edited by Michael Mandiberg, is the first collection to address the collective transformation with pieces on social media, peer production, copyright politics, and other aspects of contemporary internet culture from all the major thinkers in the field.

Social Media: Usage and Impact (2012), edited by Hana S. Noor Al-Deen and John Allen Hendricks, provides a comprehensive and scholarly analysis of social media. The contributors examine the implementation and effect of social media in various
environments, including educational settings, strategic communication (often considered to be a merging of advertising and public relations), politics, and legal and ethical issues.

**Tweets and the Streets (2012)**, by Paolo Gerbaudo, analyses the culture of the new protest movements of the 21st century. From the Arab Spring to the 'indignados' protests in Spain and the Occupy movement, Paolo Gerbaudo examines the relationship between the rise of social media and the emergence of new forms of protest.

**In Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People Is Greater Than the People in Power: A Memoir (2012)**, WaelGhonim chronicles his journey from Google executive to online revolutionary and the role of the Internet in fomenting and supporting the protests behind the Arab Spring.

The above review indicates that research and analysis has been initiated in this field. However, these works lacks in-depth examination into political communication and social media. The above review also shows that there is complete lack of work in Indian context. Thus this research work tries to fulfill this gap.
2.3. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical is the ‘blueprint’ or guide for a research. It is a framework based on an existing theory in a field of inquiry that is related and/or reflects the hypothesis of a study. It is a blueprint that is often ‘borrowed’ by the researcher to build his/her own house or research inquiry. It serves as the foundation upon which a research is constructed. This study “Political Communication through Social Media: A Study of Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly Election 2017” is based on Rhetoric theory of Communication. This theory has been explained further in following way-

2.3.1. Rhetoric Theory of Communication

This theory is very simple but important in the field of communication. Rhetorical communication is simply a way to win over an audience. This refers to language that is used to inform, persuade, or motivate audiences. Rhetoric uses language to appeal mainly to emotions, but also in some cases to shared values or logic. This term has been used in many subjects like literature, politics, and advertising and so on.

The study of rhetoric is very old and traces its history from the ancient Greece. According to Aristotle, rhetoric uses three primary modes of persuasion: ethos, logos, and pathos.

- Ethos appeals to the character of the writer or speaker-stating that his or her background, credentials, or experience should convince you of the accuracy of the argument.
- Logos appeals to logic or reason-often citing facts, figures, and statistics.
- Pathos appeals to emotion, empathetic responses, or shared moral values.

Rhetoric has long been associated with political discourse since the ancient Greeks viewed public political participation as a valuable part of a civilized society. Today, rhetoric is used by members of both parties to encourage voting for a particular
candidate or to support specific issues.\textsuperscript{51} Thus, this theory explains not only the importance of individual personality but also the facts and figure with values.

**Aristotle Model of Communication**

Aristotle Model can be broadly divided into 5 primary elements: **Speaker, Speech, Occasion, Audience** and **Effect**. For instance, a politician (speaker) gives a speech to get votes from the civilians (audience) at the time of election (occasion). The civilians only vote if they are influenced by the things the politician says in his speech so the content must be very impressive to influence the mass and the speaker must design the message very carefully.\textsuperscript{52} This can be outlined in following way-

![Aristotle Model of Communication Diagram](https://www.businesstopia.net/communication/aristotles-model-communication)

(Figure: 3)

Thus the above model clearly explains that audience decision depends on speech of the speaker on a particular occasion. Any move by the audience depends on effects made by the speaker.


2.3.2. Digital Rhetoric

With the development of the society and technology the term rhetoric has also traveled a long way and has taken many shapes. One of the most important forms is Digital rhetoric. Digital rhetoric is a way of informing, persuading, and inspiring action in an audience through digital media. It is an advancing form of communication composed, created, and distributed through multimedia platforms. Rhetoric combines multiple methods such as persuasion, effective writing, and effective speaking to present information in inventive ways.

The meaning of rhetoric has changed over time, developing with changes in technologies. Online media are increasingly used as communication and information platforms, and since more text is placed online, there is more opportunity for persuasion through innovative and creative means. Because of this shift in rhetoric, the relationship between writers and readers has changed in form, communication style, and effectiveness. Digital rhetoric is advancing and changing how people choose to communicate their ideas with broader audiences. Thus, the very meaning has changed. Virtual world has created new avenues both for the speakers and the audience which is wider and complex than what it was before.

2.3.2.1. Digital Rhetoric and its Use in Politics

In contemporary world digital rhetoric has created a bridge between politicians and the citizens. As we have seen media has been digitalizing itself, thus paving the way of digital rhetoric. Politicians and political parties found great opportunity in it for communicating with masses.

Politicians have been known to use digital rhetoric as a tool to communicate information to the citizens. Likewise, digital rhetoric has enabled increasing political participation. In 2008, the first wide scale political campaign through Twitter was utilized by President Obama. This success is measured in the over half a billion dollars raised through the internet. This use of social media has become a large asset for all political candidates and is currently utilized by all. The 2016 elections brought social media to the forefront and all presidential candidates utilized different forms of

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persuasion in their 140 character tweets.\textsuperscript{54} Thus, its success in USA election paved the way for others. Now, in almost all the country where social media exist political parties are utilizing for influencing the mass and spreading their ideologies including India.

2.4. Conceptual Framework

A concept brings clarity and uniformity in a research work. Though, various concepts has different meaning and uses at different places and context. Thus, it is important to explain some of the concept used in this research work. These are as follows-

2.4.1. Political Concept:

Communication is central to politics. Weather it is between voters and politicians or among the parties or national or international bodies’ communication plays a key role. Though it has been defined in a different ways some of the important are as follows-

2.4.1.1. Political Communication:

Political Communication is a sub-field of Political Science and Communication, which deals with the production, dissemination, procession and effects of information, both through media and interpersonal approach, within a political context.\textsuperscript{55} Political communication is such an emerging field. Its piecemeal origins date back several centuries, but a self-consciously cross-disciplinary focus is of more recent vintage...“by means of which political influences are mobilized and transmitted” between “formal governmental institutions, on the one hand, and citizens voting behavior, on the other hand.”\textsuperscript{56} Political communication is a process that includes political institutions and actors, the news media and, importantly, citizens. Every act of political communication produced by parties, interest groups, or the media is geared toward citizens, to inform them, to influence them. It is the interaction between these three groups that matter in political communication. Within politics, communication flows move in many directions: downward from governing authorities to citizens, horizontally between

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid
\textsuperscript{56} Nimmo and Keith Sanders, Handbook of Political Communication, (USA: SAGE Publications, 1981), 12
political actors, including news media, and upward from citizens and groups to the political institutions.\textsuperscript{57}

With the analysis of above definition it can be said that political communication is a sub-field of Political Science and Communication which is used to mobilize and influence the institutions and masses. Though, the traditional media generally had one way flow. Now can flow from either way from top to bottom and from bottom to top. This flow can be depicted by following picture-

**Tradition Political Communication process:**

Linear, Top-down process from leaders to people

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\textsuperscript{57}Aalep, WHAT IS POLITICAL COMMUNICATION ?http://www.aalep.eu/what-political-communication, (accessed Oct. 11, 2018)
Brian McNair writes in his book *An Introduction to Political Communication* that political communication should be simply defined as “purposeful communication about politics.” This incorporates:

1. All forms of communication undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectives.

2. Communication addressed to these actors by non-politicians such as voters and newspaper columnists.

3. Communication about these actors and their activities, as contained in news reports, editorials, and other forms of media discussion of politics.

Thus, MacNair says that political communication should have a purpose, a goal. With these purpose or goal politicians try to influence the voters and various communities to project their agenda.
2.4.1.2. Political Parties

Political parties are an important agent in modern democratic world. They all have their own ideologies, agenda and world view.

Political parties are considered by many as intermediate organizations between the citizen and the state. They are regarded as having an important place in a democracy, carrying the weight of expectation and aspiration upwards from citizen to state, and the burden of policy downwards, from state to citizen. In this process they perform multiple functions and develop multiple personalities.59

World biggest democracy India has multi-party system. These parties are divided into various level i.e. national party, state party and regional party. The Election Commission has laid down certain criteria for a party to be recognized as national or state level parties. 60

National Parties live up to at least one of the following qualifications to be recognized as a national party:

1. It has to win a minimum of 2 percent of the seats in the Lok Sabha from at least 3 different states.
2. In General Elections, the party must manage to win 6 percent of the votes and win at least 4 Lok Sabha seats as well.
3. The party is recognized as ‘State Level Party’ in 4 or more states.

State Party

A party has to live up to at least one of the following qualifications to be acknowledged as a state party.

1. The party has to win at least 3 seats or 3 percent of the seats in the state legislative assembly.
2. It has to win minimum 1 seat in the Lok Sabha for every 25 seats or any fraction allotted to that concerned state.

59 Peter Ronald DeSouza, E Sridharan, *India’s Political Parties*, (New Delhi: SAGE Publishing India, 2006), 01
60 Anil Kumar, *Political Parties in India*, (Chattisgarh: Educreation Publishing, 2017), 1-2
3. In a particular election, the party has to bag at least 6 percent of the total votes, and also win 1 Lok Sabha and 2 Assembly seats.

4. The status of a state party can still be bestowed upon an entity even if it fails to win any seats in the Lok Sabha or the Assembly, if it manages to win at least 8 percent of the total votes cast in the entire state.

Thus, parties in India work at various levels. Their ideology and issues are also related according to their level. Though, the recent experience shows that these parties try to make alliance during elections. Many parties are formed during election only and they disappear after the result is declared. However it can be said that these parties reflects the multicultural aspects of India.

2.4.1.3. Parliament

Since India has a parliamentary system of government so it will be useful to discuss about this system. It is a form of government. In this system parliament holds the right to make and execute laws. Here generally head of the state is different from the head of the government. With little bit of differences it has many variations in different countries. However it will more fruitful to discuss Indian parliamentary system. The Parliament of the Union consists of the President, the Lok Sabha (House of the People) and the Rajya Sabha (Council of States). The President is the head of state, and he appoints the Prime Minister, who runs the government, according to the political composition of the Lok Sabha. Although the government is headed by a Prime Minister, the Cabinet is the central decision making body of the government. Members of more than one party can make up a government, and although the governing parties may be a minority in the Lok Sabha, they can only govern as long as they have the confidence of a majority of MPs, the members of the Lok Sabha. As well as being the body, which determines whom, makes up the government, the Lok Sabha is the main legislative body, along with the Rajya Sabha.61

2.4.1.4. Legislative Assembly

A legislative assembly or Vidhan Sabha is a legislative body in a state of India. It is the lower house of a state legislature (The legislative council is the upper house in those states which have bicameral legislature). The Vidhan Sabha is the assembly comprising

the members elected directly by the people of the state through adult electoral suffrage. Through the elections to the legislative assembly, the state’s Chief Minister, his Council of Ministers and rest of the MLAs are elected. There is no uniform number of seats allocated to state assemblies; it differs from state to state. The number of seats for a particular assembly is fixed and decided by the Election Commission of India on the basis of the population of the respective states. For instance, the legislative assembly of Uttar Pradesh has the highest number of assembly seats with 404 because the state’s population is also the highest amongst all the Indian states. Similarly, the legislative assembly of Sikkim has merely 32 seats owing to its small population.62

Qualification for Membership of the Vidhan Sabha63

A person seeking membership of the Vidhan Sabha must possess the following qualifications:

1. He must be a citizen of India.
2. He must not be less than 25 years of age.
3. He must have a sound mind.
4. He must not have any criminal record declared by a competent court.
5. He must not be bankrupt.
6. He should be a voter from any constituency of the concerned state.

2.4.1.5. Election:

India is a constitutional democracy with a parliamentary system of government, and at the heart of the system is a commitment to hold regular, free and fair elections. These elections determine the composition of the government, the membership of the two houses of parliament, the state and union territory legislative assemblies, and the Presidency and vice-presidency.

63 Ibid
Elections are conducted according to the constitutional provisions, supplemented by laws made by Parliament. The major laws are Representation of the People Act, 1950, which mainly deals with the preparation and revision of electoral rolls, the Representation of the People Act, 1951 which deals, in detail, with all aspects of conduct of elections and post election disputes. The Supreme Court of India has held that where the enacted laws are silent or make insufficient provision to deal with a given situation in the conduct of elections, the Election Commission has the residuary powers under the Constitution to act in an appropriate manner. Elections for the Lok Sabha and every State Legislative Assembly have to take place every five years, unless called earlier. 64

2.4.2. Social Media:
The most important concept of this research work is social media. Various platform and writer has defined this concept differently. Some of the definitions are generally based on its characteristics. Some of these have been discussed here as follows-

**Definition of Social Media:**
Social media is a catch-all term for a variety of internet applications that allow users to create content and interact with each other. This interaction can take many forms, but some common types include:65

- Sharing links to interesting content produced by third parties
- Public updates to a profile, including information on current activities and even location data
- Sharing photos, videos and posts
- Commenting on the photos, posts, updates, videos and links shared by others

James L. Horton highlighted seven characteristics that emerged from the definitions of social media:66

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1. Internet-based but not in totality as the internet is the organizing agent but communication is personal. Meetup.com, for example, uses the internet to set up local face-to-face meetings.

2. User-generated and published information. User generation is loosely defined as the users often republish information they discovered elsewhere.

3. Community sharing – posts and comments, file sharing and community of interest which varies by individual and group as well as being active or passive.

4. Multimedia – Social media makes use of all media forms (audiovisual and print media) even haptic communication (mechanical simulation of touch).

5. Immediacy – It takes minimal time to publish anything on social media.

6. Collapsed geographically i.e. there is no distance in social media.

7. Incorporate old and new internet technologies – Social media incorporate all of the technologies developed over the time spanning from e-mail through forums, instant messaging, file sharing, video transmission and more.

Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein define social media as “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content.”

David Landsbergen defines social media in such a way - social media is a set of tools that service several social communications needs. Social media is a tool that: 1)
allows individuals to more easily use human networks; 2) expects interactive rather than broadcast communications; 3) is powerful because it uses not only text, but video and audio as well (“multimedia”) and 4) relies on measures and objectives to facilitate communication.\textsuperscript{68}

In other words, Social Media is an important means of communication where people create, share, exchange and comment among themselves in virtual communities and networks. Social media also employs mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, create, discuss, and modify user-generated contents. It provides opportunities to communicate between organizations, communities and individuals. There are various types of social media used by people and organization. For example collaborative projects such as Wikipedia, blogs such as Blogger, micro blogging sites such as Tweeter, social networking sites like Facebook, video-sharing content communities like YouTube, and virtual worlds like Second Life etc.

Writer of the book \textit{Social Media}, Swarn Suman defines social media in a broader context. He writes, Social Media is\textsuperscript{69} -
- Extension of our society.
- Extension of our natural tendency of being social.
- Fusion of technology and social behavior.
- New term for online sociality.
- Extension of our mental self.
- Extension of reality.
- Democratization of media.


\textsuperscript{69} Swarn Suman, \textit{Social Media}, (New Delhi: Haper Collins, 2014)
Types of Social Media

With the development of technology and the platform various types of social media has come to fore. It has their own advantage and disadvantages.

Gitanjali Laad and Gerald Lewis have described the types, examples and description of social media in a simple and effective way through a table. By expanding their work, here types of social media is being described below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Networking</td>
<td>Facebook, LinkedIn, Google Plus</td>
<td>Allows users to add friends, send messages, and share content. People on social networking sites group in communities of like-minded persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Bookmarking</td>
<td>Digg, Reddit, Delicious</td>
<td>Allows users to share their favorite online content with one another while also creating online bookmarks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td>Blogger, Wordpress, Livejournal, Tumblr</td>
<td>Online journals where the author can write (blog) about any topic of interest. The blogger can also use the blog to share content picked up from other social media sites (e.g., YouTube, Issue) by taking advantage of the simple embedded codes offered by those content hosts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro-Blogs</td>
<td>Twitter, Tumblr</td>
<td>Allows users to send short 140 character messages in real time to large audiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative Projects/Wikis</td>
<td>Wikipedia, Google Docs</td>
<td>Online content created as a result of multiple users working on the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Photo Sharing</strong></th>
<th>Flickr, Photobucket, Picasa, Spotify</th>
<th>Allows users to upload photos to share either privately with only selected other users or publicly.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Video Sharing</strong></td>
<td>YouTube, Vimeo, Dailymotion</td>
<td>Allows users to upload video to share either privately with only selected other users or publicly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Document Sharing</strong></td>
<td>Slideshare.net, Scribd, Docstoc</td>
<td>Allows users to upload files as PDFs, PPT and convert them to work with online presentation applications. The presentation tools include embedded codes and email options to share the content online.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intellectual Property Sharing</strong></td>
<td>Creative Commons</td>
<td>Licensing rights and permissions for others to use photos by simply embedding the codes in their blogs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Online Virtual World</strong></td>
<td>Second Life, Active World, Twinity</td>
<td>Provides the experience of being social in online 3-D virtual environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Questions and Answers</strong></td>
<td>Google Answer, Yahoo Questions, Facebook Q &amp; A</td>
<td>Allows users to ask random questions, and anyone can answer and start a conversation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 1)
Thus, the above types give various opportunity and facility to the users. The most important aspects of these social media are its being interactive and wider accessibility. It is also important to note that it is continuously evolving their form and providing greater prospects to politicians and political parties.

2.4.2.1. Social Networking Sites (SNS)
Social networking sites are another tools or platform through which users connects with each other’s. According a website InvestopediaSocial networking is the use of internet-based social media programs to make connections with friends, family, classmates,
customers and clients. Social networking can occur for social purposes, business purposes or both through sites such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram etc.\textsuperscript{71}

In the social networking sites, different from the other mass communication tools, sending messages and receiving feedback both occur at the same time; this provides a more effective communication between the parties. However, the users in the social networking sites environment are producers at the same time. Namely, the people using the social networking sites produce the content of the media themselves. Social networking sites, compared to other mass communication tools, are communication environments with availability at individual levels. Whereas, the tools such as television, radio, newspaper etc. send their messages to the masses. On the other hand, social networking sites are also collectively used.\textsuperscript{72}

\textbf{2.4.2.2. Social Media Guidelines from the Election Commission of India}\textsuperscript{73}

The Commission’s attention was drawn to use of social media for election campaigning and also certain violations of the Electoral Law in the social media, which need to be regulated in the interest of transparency and level playing field in the elections. Social media refers to the means of interactions among people in which they create, share, and/or exchange information and ideas in virtual communities and networks. It differentiates from traditional/industrial media in many aspects such as quality, reach, frequency, usability, immediacy, and permanence. The prevalence of Web and social media has increased over the years and there have been demands from the political and social groups to regulate the social media during elections as other media is regulated.


There are broadly five different types of social media:

a) Collaborative projects (for example, Wikipedia)

b) Blogs and micro blogs (for example, Twitter)

c) Content communities (for example, YouTube)

d) Social networking sites (for example, Facebook)

e) Virtual game-worlds (e.g., Apps)

Legal provisions relating to election campaigning apply to social media in the same manner in which they apply to any other form of election campaigning using any other media. Since social media is a relatively new form of media, it appears necessary to clarify to all concerned by the following instructions:

A. Information to be given by candidates about their social media accounts. Candidates are required to file affidavits in Form-26 at the time of filing of nominations. Detailed instructions and the format in which the affidavits have to be filled were issued vide the Commission’s letter No. 3/4/2012/SDR dated 24, August, 2012. Para 3 of this Form requires that email ID of the candidate, if any, should be communicated to the Commission in this Form. The Commission finds it necessary that authentic social media accounts of candidates should also be informed to the Commission. This information should be furnished in the said Para 3 as follows:

“My contact telephone no.(s) is/are………………..,

my email ID (if any) is …………………., and

my social media accounts (if any) are……………………….”

B. Pre-Certification of Political Advertisements In pursuance of the Hon’ble Supreme Court of India’s Order in SLP (Civil) N. 6679/2004, dated 13 April,2004, the Commission issued detailed instructions on this subject vide its order no. 509/75/2004/JS-1/4572 dated 15.04.2004. In this order, it was stated that every registered/national and State political party and every contesting candidate proposing to issue advertisements on television channels and/ or on cable network will have to apply to Election Commission of India/designated officer for pre-certification of all political advertisements on
electronic media before the publication. The order was further modified and consolidated vide Commission’s order dated 27.08.2012, wherein Media Certification and Monitoring Committees at district and State levels were given the responsibilities of pre-certification of such advertisement along with other functions viz acting against Paid News etc. Since social media websites are also electronic media by definition, therefore, these instructions of the Commission contained in its order No.509/75/2004/JS-1/4572 dated 15.04.2004 shall also apply mutatis mutandis to websites including social media websites and shall fall under the purview of pre-certification. You are, therefore, requested to ensure that no political advertisements are released to any internet based media/websites, including social media websites, by political parties/candidates without pre-certification from competent authorities in the same format and following the same procedures as referred in the aforesaid orders.

C. Expenditure on campaigning through internet including social media websites. According to Section 77, sub section (1), of Representation of the People Act, 1951, every candidate is required to keep a separate and correct account of all expenditure in connection with the election incurred or authorized by him or by his election agent between the date on which he has filed nomination and the date of declaration of the result thereof, both dates inclusive. The Hon’ble Supreme Court of India had directed in Common Cause Vs. Union of India in 2005 that political parties should also submit a statement of expenditure of elections to the ECI and such statements are required to be submitted within 75 days of assembly elections and 90 days of Lok Sabha elections. It is obvious that expenditure on election campaign through any advertisement in social media is a part of all expenditure in connection with the elections.

For the sake of removing any ambiguity, it is hereby directed that candidates and political parties shall include all expenditure on campaigning, including expenditure on advertisements on social media, both for maintaining a correct account of expenditure and for submitting the statement of expenditure. This, among other things, shall include payments made to internet companies and websites for carrying advertisements and also campaign related operational expenditure on making of creative development of content, operational expenditure on salaries and wages paid to the team of workers employed by such candidates and political parties to maintain their social media accounts, etc.

D. Application of Model Code of Conduct to content on internet including social media. The Commission has a model code of conduct in place during the elections in respect of political parties and candidates which remains in force from the date the elections are announced by the Commission till the completion of elections. It is clarified that the provisions of model code of conduct and related instructions of the
Commission issued from time to time shall also apply to the content being posted on the internet, including social media websites, by candidates and political parties.

E. As far as the content posted by persons other than candidates and political parties is concerned, the Commission is considering the matter in consultation with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology on practical ways to deal with the issue, in so far as they relate to, or can be reasonably connected with, the election campaigning of political parties and candidates. These instructions may please be brought to the notice of all concerned including candidates, political parties, media and election observers for immediate necessary action.

2.5. **Summary:** The above discussion shows that many articles, books and research papers have been written with the development of social media. Though there is a lack of study on political communication and social media especially in Indian context. This study tries to fill this gap. Theory important to this research work has also been discussed. Further the researcher tries to explain various concepts used in this study to bring more clarity.