# SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICS: A STUDY ON USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS BY POLITICAL LEADERS IN MIZORAM

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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award of any pervious degree to me or to do the best of the best of my knowledge to

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(MARIA LALMUANKIMI)

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#### 1.1.Introduction

Using social media as a tool of political communication has become a phenomenon all over the world, especially in democratic countries like America, India and so on. The most notable political leader who effectively used social media is said to be Barack Obama in the 2008 US Presidential campaign election (Smith, 2011). Social media played a significant role in that campaign and eventually led to Obama's victory over John McCain (Smith, 2011). In Indian context, the review of the literature reveals that there are several studies regarding the use of social media platforms for political communication. Pathak (2014) in his study titled "A study on the use of social networking sites during Lok Sabha Elections-2014 by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)" reveals that the BJP party successfully used social media platforms in promoting their party and the party president Narendra Modi. The study further emphasize that BJP leaders keep themselves updated by surfing the internet, posting of statuses, share personal views at international online platform (Pathak, 2014).

In the light of previous studies the current study is set out to examine the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram. The study attempts to dissect how political leaders in Mizoram are using various social media platforms. It also focuses on the use of social media platforms by political parties in Mizoram. To meet the research objectives the study employs survey method and case study method. The study is built upon the theory 'Uses and Gratifications Theory' put forth by Elihu Katz, Jay G. Blumler, and Michael Gurevitch. The theory deals with how users make use of mass media rather than previous theory which focuses on what mass media do to audience. The theory is perfect for this study because the content of the social media platforms are generated by users. Hence, in the current study, politicians are users and the study is committed to study the use of social media platforms by political leaders and political parties.

## 1.2.Background of the study

Judith S. Trent and Robert V. Friedenberg in the book, 'Political Campaign Communication' discussed the importance of communication in election campaign. They said that the freedom to actively participate in the election process is the core

values of democracy. To engage voters with political campaign, politicians and political parties adopt certain strategy of communication. They trace how technology has been used in political communication. They further argued that technology elevated the political campaign communication opening a more effective platform for political parties to promote their candidate. The use of Radio for political communication in the 1920s marks the beginning of employing technology in political communication. Followed by the use of television commercial spots by Dwight Eisenhower in the 1952 United States presidential campaign and the list of using technology for political communication go on. Recently the use of social media for political communication has been the centre of political communication research (Trent & V.Friedenberg, 1995).

Steven Foster in his book 'Political Communication' said that the communication between political parties or politicians and voters is a very important thing in democratic country where voters elect their representatives. He said that there are three stages of development in political communication which are classified into three era; Pre modern era, modern era and postmodern era. In the pre modern era only a few people are engaging in political communication and political parties carry out political campaign a few weeks prior to election. And also very little thought was given to media and public relations professionals. In the modern era political campaign took longer period than the pre modern era. This period saw the emergence and development of communication technologies like the Television and Radio. These communication technologies were quickly used for political communications and political parties started hiring media professionals to manage the party media representation. In the postmodern era communication took to a higher level with the digital technologies powered by the internet. Political communication has never reached larger voters than the internet based digital communication technology. He concludes that politicians and political parties are likely to adopt digital communication more and more in the future to come (Foster, 2010).

The formation of the present state of Mizoram can be traced back to as far as the 1891 when Mizoram which was then known as Lushai Hills under the administration of the British Empire (Lawmzuala, 2002). In 1898, the two administrative

subdivisions of the Lushai Hills were clubbed into one district under jurisdictions of Assam (Lawmzuala, 2002). After India got Independence the Lushai Hills was given the status of Autonomous District Council and in 1972 it was elevated to Union Territory and finally was given a Statehood in 1987, after 20 years of fighting for Independence by the Mizo National Front (Lalrawnliana, 2001). The election of Lushai Hills Advisory council held in the year 1948 was the first electoral politics that Mizoram experienced (Lalremruata, 2016). During the period of Union Territory (1972-1986) there were four elections to Legislative Assembly (Lalrawnliana, 2001). From 1987 to 2019 when Mizoram attained its Statehood, there has been 8 elections to the Member of Legislative Assembly. Mizo Union which was founded by R. Vanlawma in 1946 was the first political party in Mizoram (Lawmzuala, 2002). A few years later other political parties such as United Mizo Freedom Organization (UMFO) and the Pawi Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU) were established (Lalremruata, 2016). These three political parties were the main political parties during the time when Lushai Hills was a district of Assam (Khuma, 1999). The Union Territory period and the early period of statehood saw the birth of major political parties such as People's Conference (PC), Indian National Congress and Mizo National Front (Khuma, 1999). Today there are several regional and national political parties; however, Indian National Congress and Mizoram National Party are the two major political parties in Mizoram.

Although there is hardly any scholarly article on the use of social media for political campaigns, there are several news reports that highlight the use of social media as one of election campaign strategies. The economic times reports that political parties in Mizoram are using social media to woo voters and to engage voters, especially the younger generations to participate in political discussions on several *Facebook* groups such as those of 'Zoram Thlirtu', 'Dingdi', 'Zoram Khawvel' and 'Special Report'. It also report that Zoram Nationalist Party leader Lalduhawma and Zodintluanga, one of the leaders of Congress party are using social media platforms like *Facebook* to built relationships with voters. Furthermore, it is reported that two of the major political parties in Mizo National Front (MNF) and Congress youth leaders used social media platforms for political purpose. One political party even

trained and encourages their party workers to use social media platforms for political campaign (economictimes, 2013).

The Election Commission and Mizoram Peoples Forum (MPF) which is a church based election watch dog in the state of Mizoram have imposed several restrictions during election campaign especially in traditional mass media; social media provides the platform where users can freely express their political feelings without any restrictions (Lalbiakmawia, 2016; Ngente, 2016).

## 1.3. History and development of social media

Each mass media technology developed were new media, however, currently mass media technology are classified into traditional media and new media. Traditional media refers to the print and electronic media which includes radio and television. On the other hand, new media mainly points at the internet based communication which includes computers, mobile phones and other internet accessible devices.

The core characteristic of social media is its instant communication ability. This characteristic of instant communication has its root when communication was done in the form of sending letters. For many centuries sending letters to far off places is the only way to communicate (Brown, 1998). Man began to think of a faster means to communicate to one another at a faster pace. This led to the invention of the Telegraph in 1792 and the pneumatic post in 1865 (Turow, 2009). Apart from these the first form of mass media the printing press was invented by Guttenberg in the year 1451. The printing press gives birth to the mass of production of newspaper that allows information to reach to a large audience (Turow, 2009). During the 1800s a more sophisticated means of communication technology was invented. It was the telephone in 1890 and the radio in 1891 (Turow, 2009). These two communication technologies enable communication to take place faster than the previous form of communication. In 1926 John Logie Baird put forward his invention before public in London (Turow, 2009). Television allows the sending of audio visual message to a large and diverse audience.

Man's thirst for new discoveries and inventions results in the development of communication technologies. New ideas and techniques generate and regenerate and eventually a computer was invented in 1622 but it was used as a medium of

communication only after the invention of the internet (Turow, 2009). Powered by the internet, technological devices such as computers, mobile phones, laptops, and tablets etc. are all connected in a network system. This form of communication is termed new media. Today, various forms of mass media through which sending of information took place from one source to a wide and diverse audience are categorized into old media and new media (Turow, 2009). Old media also known as traditional media includes the print media and electronic media. New media are all those technological devices which are connected by the internet (Turow, 2009). And social media is a subset of new media.

At the turn of the millennium communications took a great leap and give birth to countless arrays of social media platforms. During the initial stage of the internet, CompuServe is the only internet that can be access by the masses. In 1979 UseNet was developed which allow its users to communicate via virtual newsletter. An online site that allows users to interact with other users, BBSS (Bulletin Board Systems) was developed in the late 1970s (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). A few years later online services such as CompuServe and Prodigy were developed successively. It was the first time of incorporating chat program into online site services. In 1985 General Electric subsidiary (GEIS) developed Genie which is text based online services (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Over the years developments were made on the existing social interactions online services and gradually by the year 1988 IRC (Internet Relay Chat) was developed that allow users not only to exchange text but also share files and links. All of these sites did not have the exact characteristics of modern day social media platforms; however it led to its development (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Six Degrees that allows users to create a user profile and befriend other users was launched for public use in 1997. Six Degrees is said to be the first modern social media. It was popular among users until it was shut down in 2001 (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Similar sites like Asian avenue, Migente and black planet were developed following the launched of Six Degrees. Innovations were made and in 1999 LiveJournal which is an online blogs that allow users to interact with other users. Computer network based online games developers also made online games social by

allowing players to interact with other players (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). This kind of game started gaining popularity in the early 2000s. MMORPGS (Massively multiplayer online role-playing games) is the first online games that provide players social interaction (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Within a few years modern social media were developed continuously with new features. The first modern social media Friendster was launched in 2002 but was shut down (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Following the launching of Friendster, another social media such as those of Hi5 (2003), LinkedIn (2003), MySpace (2003), Facebook (2004), Orkut (2004), YouTube (2005), Twitter (2006) and many more started to emerge as the leading social media platforms (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). According to the features it provides, social media platforms are categorized into Social Networks, Social News, Bookmarking Sites, Media Sharing, Micro blogging Sites, Blog Comments and Forums. New ideas and innovations are incorporated even today (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

## 1.4. Social media and public sphere

Public Sphere is a concept that is conceived during the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Jurgen Habermas. He defines the term public sphere as "a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space" (Habermas, 1991). He further said that public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state" (Habermas, 1991). The main idea behind the concept is that public sphere is a space where people come together and share their thoughts concerning society related issues. There are times when the conclusions of these results influence political decisions. The time when Habermas conceived the concept of public sphere was the time when the principles of democracy were used to discussed among the bourgeois in Western Europe (Habermas, 1991). During this time the elite society in Europe began to develop the foundation of modern day democracy (Habermas, 1991). These elite people would come together and discuss at length political issues and usually make conclusions in coffee houses (Habermas, 1991). As time went by democracy is born and many countries follow the ideology of democracy. In this way public sphere is essential for

the formation and shaping of public opinion which eventually is the stronghold of democracy.

Several scholars through their studies also support this thought and established that media play a very important role in shaping public opinion. Habermas in his book 'The Structural transformation of the Public Sphere' further argues that the press creates an environment for the existence of discussions and debate for those who are involved in politics in Europe (Habermas, 1991). However, people who participate in these discussions must be educated and civilized because possessing these qualities makes them aware of the social and political issues (Habermas, 1991). According to Habermas to have a critical thinking for the improvement of political issues, the public must be well informed and equip themselves with the essential knowledge to have a rational discussion in public space afterwards. Even though Habermas sees media as an important agent in disseminating information which can shape public opinion, after the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it changed its course by becoming deceiver tool that turned the public into a passive consuming audience. In these sense the general public do not really have the space or means to participate in public sphere (Habermas, 2006).

The backdrop of Habermas idea of public sphere is that public sphere is dominated by the elite society and the general public does not have a part in the public communication process. The need of communication is very high for those who are contesting elections as people elect their representatives in a democratic country to run the government. The advent of development in communication is a boon for politicians and political parties to reach out to the people. Earlier studies have shown that mass media played a very crucial part in political communications. For the past few years several scholars focused on the role of social media played in the field of politics. During the latter half of the 19th century newspaper in United Kingdom used to add public opinion, criticism and comments apart from regular news. But this is limited to certain section of the society only and participants are usually the elite society (McNair, 2009). After the invention of Television, public centric debate and opinion poll were broadcast. But public sphere provided by newspaper and television

cannot include majority of the public, it is reachable only by a small section of the public.

The cyberspace is the new public space and it allows the participation of the public on a larger scale crossing geographical boundaries as compared to the traditional media (Papacharissi, 2002). According to scholars, public opinion is shaped through exchanges in the online platforms. Social Media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and others have elevated the interaction between individuals. Individuals of the same interest come together in one platform and exchange their ideas freely. These social media platforms provide the general public to raise their voice on any issue (Rawnsley, 2005). It creates a space where people can freely exchange thoughts and ideas. In tandem with the growing technology and the expansion internet connectivity across the globe the term 'citizen journalism' is now a familiar terminology in the media world. The notion of citizen journalism is understood as the contribution of news or articles by ordinary citizens without having any journalism background (Green, 2010). Internet with its distinguishing characteristics of easy access, user generated content, audio-visual, text and instant users' feedback attributes to the rise of citizen journalism (Green, 2010). This brings people together and discusses issues in society which further leads to political and civic participation. Political and civic participation is terms that is closely related but differ in certain ways. Political participation is the activities that aim to directly or indirectly influence in the election of political officials, or the public policy (Green, 2010). Whereas civic participation is the activities that aims to highlight society issues and make people aware of the importance to address issues by coming together as a citizen (Green, 2010).

Communication technology based on Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 allow all users to discuss and express their thoughts in public on any issue. This has brought about a new dimension in the discussion of public sphere (Shirky, 2011). Social media platforms bring about a new notion of public sphere and public opinion. Scholars termed this new notion as 'networked public sphere' (Shirky, 2011). The popular use of social media to shape public opinion is the viral 'Arab Spring'. In the paper "The Revolutions were tweeted: Information Flows During the 2011 Tunisian and

Egyptian Revolutions" by Lotan et al. discussed in detail the networked production and dissemination of news on *Twitter* during snapshots of the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. They argue that information is produced by activists, bloggers, journalists, mainstream media outlets, and other engaged participants. The authors collected data using *twitter* application programming interface (API) and their findings suggest that news on *Twitter* is being co-constructed by bloggers and activists alongside journalists (Lotan, Graeff, Ananny, Gaffney, Pearce, & Boyd, 2011).

In Rahaghi's (2012) paper titled "New tools, old goals: comparing the role of technology in the 1979 Iranian revolution and the 2009 green movement" pointed out the role of communication technologies in the success and failure in modern revolutions. In this article the author made a comparison on the use of traditional media and new media which came to light by conducting a case study on the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 2009 Green Movement in Iran. The author concluded that although technology played a significant role it cannot replace structure, leadership, grassroots organizing, and a concrete agenda people can rally behind. The result of the case study reveals that one using audio cassettes and pamphlets succeed, but the other using *Twitter* and *Facebook* failed. And because of this reason the author argues that technology alone cannot replace the fundamentals of organization, but it can help enhance and facilitate them. This clearly reveals that social media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and mobilize citizens (Rahaghi, 2012).

Public political participation is one of the key factors to sustain the principles of democracy. When the freedom of speech and expression is rendered to the public in an online environment, it can bring about positive change in the society (Cram, 2015). Internet gives citizens the right platform to disseminate their ideas, thoughts and views on any issue globally. It provides users of internet to raise their voice and opinion which are often neglected by professional journalists. The contribution of citizen journalism has been noted recently and is gaining importance in defending the foundations of democracy (Rogers, 2018).

Noor (2017) in the article 'Citizen Journalism Vs Mainstream Journalism: A Study on Challenges Posed by Amateurs' argued that alongside mainstream journalism

which are run by professional journalists, citizen journalism run by ordinary citizen also emerge as an important source of news for people. However, mainstream journalism is not likely to be replaced by citizen journalism as it is still in its initial stage. It further argued that citizen journalism is not only a source of news for the people but also for professional journalists as some of the news highlighted by citizen journalists are often inaccessible for professional journalists. Hard news requires on the ground reporting. There are times when it is difficult for professional journalists to acquire videos, image and other necessary information in some incidents. In times like these ordinary citizens' posts on social media then became important sources for them (Noor, 2017).

Apart from being an important news source for professional journalists, citizen journalists' roles in bringing social changes in society are acknowledged by scholars through various empirical studies. Saka (2018) in the article 'The role of social media based citizen journalism practices in the formation of contemporary protest movements' highlighted the role played by citizen journalists in organizing the world famous 2013 Gezi Park protests in Turkey. The study argues that citizen journalism successfully bring together people by creating an online community and organized the protest successfully (Saka, 2018).

## 1.5. Motivations for using social media in politics

Social media such as *Facebook*, *Twitter* are adopted by political parties as a tool for political communication at the international and national level. Several studies reveals that social media does prove to be an effective medium to reach out to voters, especially in a big democratic countries like the United States of America and India. Keeping in mind the increasing number of social media users, regional political parties felt the need to create online identities and connect to voters. In the study 'The use of *Twitter* by members of the United States Congress' Golbeck, Grimes and Roger in 2010 analyzed 6,000 posts from all members of Congress using *Twitter*. The result reveals that the Congress member used *Twitter* to post information, locations and activities, official business, external communication, internal communication, personal message, request for action and fundraising. The

researcher concludes that members of the Congress utilize *twitter* as a tool for self promotion (Golbeck, Grimes, & Rogers, 2010).

Caplan (2013) in the article titled, 'Social Media and Politics: *Twitter* Use in the Second Congressional District of Virginia' study how Republican Congressman Scott Rigell and Democratic candidate Paul Hirschbiel candidates in the 2nd Congressional District of Virginia cultivate *Twitter* to attract voters in the 2012 election. Using content analysis, the study revealed that the two congressional candidates primarily used *Twitter* to post information and *tweet* about their current activity. The study also found that Rigell posted more direct communication tweets, internal and external compared to Hirschbiel. However, Hirschbiel used personal messages to attract followers. The tactical strategies employed by Rigell and Hirschbiel were determined to be calculated methods by which the candidates hoped to motivate citizens, activate voters and differentiate themselves from their competitors (Caplan, 2013).

In the study 'Picturing the Party: 'Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections' by Filimonov et.al activities of Swedish parties' on Instagram during the 2014 elections were explored. The study aims to find out whether Instagram was used to (1) broadcast campaign messages, (2) mobilize supporters, (3) manage the party's image, and (4) amplify and complement other campaign material (i.e., hybrid campaign use). Using content analysis the study analyzes 220 party postings on Instagram. These posts were collected during the hot phase of the campaign. The result shows that the platform was mainly used for broadcasting rather than for mobilization. The image the parties were presenting leaned toward personalization with a strong presence of top candidates in their postings. Top candidates were primarily displayed in a political/professional context. Finally, half of the analyzed postings showed signs of hybridized campaign practices. The presented findings give a first glimpse of how political parties use and perform on Instagram (Filimonov, Russmann, & Svensson, 2016).

## 1.6.Research gap

There are several studies done in this area but majority of the studies are done in American context. There are only few studies in Indian context. The review of the literature reveals that research in this particular area in Mizoram context is very scarce. Social media platforms are one of the primary resources for political information. Keeping in mind the role played by social media platforms in politics the study seek to the use of various social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

## 1.7. Significance of the study

Users of social media are increasing with each passing year. Social media platforms with its distinguishing characteristics of users generated content makes it an ideal platform for people to raise their voice and opinions on any issues. At the present context research in this area is very scarce in Mizoram when it holds a very important place in the virtual reality world. It is hoped that this study will contribute in the knowledge of social media and political communication in Mizoram. There are studies on how political parties and political leaders are effectively using or exploiting social media for political communication and to disseminate their propaganda worldwide and nationwide. But the detailed study on how the political leaders in Mizoram is yet to be done, therefore, it is significant to study and examine how the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

#### 1.8. Theoretical framework

Social Media is becoming an important area of studies. There are politicians who successfully use social media to win election and also to pump out their messages or propaganda or both. However, despite the importance of using social media, there is a little knowledge of how and why Mizoram politicians are using it. Over the years scholars are developing better scales and measurement instruments for social media usage. It is hoped that by applying uses and gratifications theory, this research seeks to provide a better and more comprehensive understanding of why politicians in Mizoram use the medium. With the advent of various social media platforms, scholars started applying uses and gratification theory to it. It is very convenient to apply uses and gratification theory to social media platforms as they as user generated contents.

Among the various previous researches available, the current study research is built upon the study conducted by Katz, Gurevitch and Haas, 'Social and psychological functions of the media' in 1973 and also the 1979 study conducted by Palmgreen and Rayburn. Katz, Gurevitch and Haas developed thirty five (35) needs that motivate people to use media and put them into five categories: cognitive needs (e.g., acquiring information, knowledge, and understanding), affective needs (e.g., emotion, pleasure and feelings), personal integrative needs (e.g., credibility, stability, and status); social integrative needs (e.g., interacting with family and friends); and tension release needs (e.g., escape and diversion) (Katz, 1987; Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 2016). Palmgreen and Rayburn 1979 study was selected because of three reasons; firstly they were the first to focus on both uses and gratifications. Secondly, it was selected because they developed a scale to study uses and gratifications which can be replicated. And thirdly, they conducted a study on television which is audiovisual medium and this is somewhat similar to social media platforms which also have audio-visual as one of its characteristics. Likewise the survey questionnaire is designed using the themes derived from the two studies (Palmgreen, Wenner, & Rayburn, 1980).

## 1.9. Purpose of the study

The main purpose of the study is to understand the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

The specific objectives are;

- To identify the motivations (gratifications sought) by social media platforms users among political leaders in Mizoram.
- To find out the perceived satisfaction (gratifications obtained) among political leaders in Mizoram.
- To analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained in using social media platforms.
- To study the use of social media platforms for political communication.

## 1.10. Research questions

The research questions for the current study were generated by previous research in which various social media platforms are used in the political arena.

RQ 1. What are the social media user motives (gratifications sought)?

- RQ 2. What are the perceived gratifications obtained in using social media?
- RQ 3. What is the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained?
- RQ 4. What are the various types of social media platforms used by political parties in Mizoram?
- RQ 5. What are the reasons (motivations) of using social media platforms?
- RQ 6. What is the online perception of women involved in Mizoram politics?
- RQ 7. What is the status of online public participation in political discussion?

## 1.11. Hypotheses

Research question 3: "What is the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained?" suggest the following predictions:-

- H1. There exist a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Facebook*.
- H2. There exist a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Instagram*.
- H3. There exist a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *YouTube*.
- H4. There exist a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *WhatsApp*.

#### 1.12. Research methodology

To obtain detailed answers to the proposed research questions and to test the hypotheses, a triangulation research design which incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods was adopted. The research design consisted of (1) case study and (2) survey methods. A triangulation or mixed method is "one in which the researcher collects, analyzes, and integrates both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or multiple studies in a sustained program of inquiry. It emphasizes the advantages of using triangulation approach is that qualitative and quantitative approach has its own strengths and weaknesses and using both approaches in one study could mean that the weaknesses of one approach are cancelled out by the strengths of the other" (Creswell, 2014). This study also uses both qualitative and quantitative to complement each other. The whole study was structured into two

phases. The first phase focuses on case study and the second phase deals with survey method.

## Phase 1- Case Study

To deal with the objective; to study the use of social media platforms for political communication, case study method was employed. According to Wimmer and Dominick case study method is useful for a researcher who wishes to understand or explain a phenomenon and is most valuable when the researcher wants to obtain a wealth of information about the research topic (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015). Case study method is a common qualitative research technique that uses various data sources to systematically investigate individuals, groups, organizations or events (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015). Case study may also use other techniques such as direct observation, interview, documents, archival records, physical artefact and participant observation for data collection (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015). Hence, the study employs in-depth interview and content analysis method for data collection.

**Sample selection:** To obtain answer to the research objective; to study the use of social media platforms for political communication, eight (8) case studies were selected using purposive sampling technique. The selected samples were; Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP), Mizo National Front (MNF), Indian National Congress (INC)-Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Zoram People Movement (ZPM), People's Right to Information and Development Implementation Society of Mizoram (PRISM), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Mizo Special Report, Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani. Zoram National Party is currently dissolved however it was selected for the study because it is known that the party used Facebook in the 2013 General Legislative Assembly Election. Among the six (6) selected political parties five (5) of them are registered and one (1) is not a registered political party. The registered political parties include two (2) national political parties; Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party and the other three (3) political parties; Zoram Nationalist Party, Mizo National Front and People's Right to Information and Development Implementation Society of Mizoram (PRISM) are regional parties. The unregistered political party is Zoram Peoples Movement (ZPM). ZPM is an alliance of three political parties. It is not a registered political party at the time of the

November 2019 general election and its candidate contested as an independent candidate. However, it was selected because the alliance has an intention of registering as a party. The registered and unregistered political parties were selected for case study because they were the leading political parties in Mizoram. Sample to study the online representation of women involved in politics the study purposively select Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu, the lone woman Minister in the Congress government and Lalriliani, the wife of Ex-Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla. To find out the presence of political posts on social media, Mizo Special Report which is a *Facebook* group was selected. *Facebook* was selected because it has the largest number of users among social media platforms and Mizo Special Report was selected because it is a news and information group which has a large number of followers.

Data collection for Case study 1-6: Case study 1-6 deals with the use of social media platforms by political parties in Mizoram and data were collected using indepth interview and content analysis technique. Two (2) leaders each from the selected political party were interviewed for 1 hour to 2 hours. The interview data were recorded using mobile phone voice recorder and notes was also taken. Important conversations were extracted and were carefully analyzed. Data was also collected using content analysis method. Facebook and Instagram were selected for content analysis because the interview result reveals that all the selected political parties have official account in Facebook or Instagram or both. WhatsApp was excluded because the researcher was not a member of the political parties WhatsApp group and thereby has no access to the content. Although YouTube started playing an important role in Mizoram politics it was excluded from the study because the study focus only on the official social media account of the selected sample and the selected political party has no official YouTube channel yet. Data collection begins from May, 2016 and ended in the month of January, 2019.

**Data collection for case study 7:** Case study 7 deals with the online representation of women involved in Mizoram politics. The study purposively selected Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu, the lone woman Minister in the Congress government

and Lalriliani, the wife of Ex-Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla. Content analysis was employed for data collection.

**Universe:** The universe of the study is *Facebook* because *Facebook* is considered to be the most interactive platform and has the largest number of users among social media platforms.

**Selection of sample:** Five (5) random posts of Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani from *Mizo Special Report* and *Special Report* respectively were selected for the study.

**Unit of analysis:** Number of reactions, comments, files, pictures and videos are the unit of analysis.

Case study 8: Case study 8 was an attempt to find out presence of posts related to politics in social media. Content analysis was used for data collection. Most content analysis in mass media involves multistage sampling that includes three stages: sampling of content sources, selection of dates and selection of content (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015).

**Sampling stage 1(sampling of content sources):** Selection of Mizo *Facebook* Group.

**Sampling stage 2 (selection of dates):** Three months posts from the month of May-June, 2018 were chosen for the study.

**Sampling Stage 3 (selection of content):** Posts, reactions and comments during the months of May, 2018- June, 2018 were the unit of analysis.

#### Phase 2- Survey

Using survey method the study attempts to answer the objectives: to identify the motivations (gratifications sought) by social media platforms users among political leaders in Mizoram, to find out the perceived satisfaction (gratifications obtained) among political leaders in Mizoram and to analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained in using social media platforms.

**The target population:** The target populations for the study were political leaders in Mizoram. Political leaders refer to those who held positions in political parties and also those who actively participate in political parties.

**Sampling procedure:** The samples for the study were drawn using multistage sampling.

**Selection of area:** The first stage is the selection of area and the area chosen for the study is Mizoram which is one of the states in the North Eastern part of India.

**Selection of districts:** There are 8 districts in the state of Mizoram and Aizawl District is chosen for the study as all political party headquarters are situated in Aizawl, the capital of the state of Mizoram.

Selection of respondents: The respondents for the study were chosen from four (4) registered political parties and one (1) unregistered political party. Five political parties namely Mizo National Front, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Bharatiya Janata Party, Zoram People Movement and Peoples Representation for Identity and Status of Mizoram were chosen using purposive sampling technique because they are the leading and the most active political parties in Mizoram. Since the population of the selected political parties is infinite and 50 respondents were selected to represent each selected political parties. The study focuses on the use of social media platforms, however, the study select only *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *YouTube* and *WhatsApp* which are apparent to be the most popular social media platforms. The respondents who use all four social media platforms were selected to answer the questionnaire.

Questionnaire design: To understand the uses and gratification patterns of social media usage by political leaders in Mizoram, the study employs questionnaire survey. The survey questionnaire was distributed and collected the month of December 2018 and January 2019 among the leaders of the selected political parties. The distributed questionnaire was in Mizo language which is the official language in the state of Mizoram. The questionnaire is divided into five (5) sections. The first sections deals with demographic profile, section 2 is social media diet, section 3 is Frequency of social media use, section 4 deals with the motivations (gratification sought) and section 5 deals with perceived gratification obtained. Among the various social media platforms available only four social media platforms; *Facebook, Instagram, YouTube* and *WhatsApp* were included in the study.

# 1.13. Chapterization

## **Chapter 1: Introduction:**

Chapter 1 focuses on the explanation of the background of the study, the research gap and rationale for the study. I also cover the scope of the study, the main purpose of the study, methodology, brief profiles of the samples for the study and outlines of the whole thesis.

### Chapter 2: Social Media and Politics: A Review

In this chapter the researcher presents vast arrays of reviews of literature that consists of an explanation of concepts and also provides an insight into previous studies related to the thesis topic. The chapter begins with the definition of social media and describes its functions. Then it continues with the explanation of social media, its types and characteristics. The chapter also contains an elaboration on the relationship between social media and politics. The chapter ends with a review on the use of social media in Mizoram.

# **Chapter 3: Social Media and Political Communication:**

It is a case study and data collected using in-depth interviews are presented in a descriptive manner. This chapter covers the nature of how the selected political parties used various social media platforms for political communication. It also talks about the issues and challenges faced in using social media for political communication.

# Chapter 4: Uses and Gratifications of Social Media Platforms by Political Leaders:

The results of data collected using case study method were presented in this chapter. This chapter covers data presentation and analysis. The data is presented using tables, charts and statistics and the interpretation are provided for each of the tables, charts and statistics.

### **Chapter 5: Findings and Conclusion:**

In this chapter the findings from case study and survey data are presented. It also deals with the conclusion of the findings.

#### 2.1 Social Media: An Introduction

This section deals with defining the term and concept of social media. Apart from defining the term social media this section also focuses on clarifying the characteristics of social media. It also gives the different categories and social media platforms. And also presents a brief overview on the leading social media platforms. It discusses in a nutshell the history and application of the leading social media platforms. Furthermore, it talks about the history and development of social media and also deals with social media and the network society.

#### 2.1.1. Definition

According to Antony Mayfield social media is best understood as a "group of new kinds of online media, which share the characteristics of a) participation- social media encourages contributions and feedback from everyone who is interested. It blurs the line between media and audience. b) Openness- most social media services are open to feedback and participation. They encourage voting, comments and the sharing of information. There are rarely any barriers to accessing and making use of content – password-protected content is frowned on. c) Conversation-whereas traditional media is about "broadcast" (content transmitted or distributed to an audience) social media is better seen as a two-way conversation. d) communitysocial media allows communities to form quickly and communicate effectively. Communities share common interests, such as a love of photography, a political issue or a favorite TV show. e) Connectedness-most kinds of social media thrive on their connectedness, making use of links to other sites, resources and people" (Mayfield, 2008). It may be said that social media is the latest form of information technology man has created. It has elevated the way information is shared within the society. The term social media may be defined as a "wide range of Internet based and mobile services that allow users to participate in online exchanges and contribute user- created content" (Dewing, 2012). Social media may also be understood as "Internet-based software and interfaces that allow individuals to interact with one another, exchanging details about their lives such as biographical data, professional information, personal photos and up-to-the-minute thoughts" (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

## 2.1.2. History and Development of Social Media

Each mass media technology developed were new media, however, currently mass media technology are classified into traditional media and new media. Traditional media refers to the print and electronic media which includes radio and television. On the other hand, new media mainly points at the internet based communication which includes computers, mobile phones and other internet accessible devices.

The core characteristic of social media is its instant communication ability. This characteristic of instant communication has its root when communication was done in the form of sending letters. For many centuries sending letters to far off places is the only way to communicate (Brown, 1998). Man began to think of a faster means to communicate to one another at a faster pace. This led to the invention of the Telegraph in 1792 and the pneumatic post in 1865 (Turow, 2009). Apart from these the first form of mass media the printing press was invented by Guttenberg in the year 1451. The printing press gives birth to the mass of production of newspaper that allows information to reach to a large audience (Turow, 2009). During the 1800s a more sophisticated means of communication technology was invented. It was the telephone in 1890 and the radio in 1891 (Turow, 2009). These two communication technologies enable communication to take place faster than the previous form of communication. In 1926 John Logie Baird put forward his invention before public in London (Turow, 2009). Television allows the sending of audio visual message to a large and diverse audience.

Man's thirst for new discoveries and inventions results in the development of communication technologies. New ideas and techniques generate and regenerate and eventually a computer was invented in 1622 but it was used as a medium of communication only after the invention of the internet (Turow, 2009). With the internet technological devices such as computers, mobile phones, laptops, and tablets etc. are all connected in a network system. This form of communication is termed new media. Today, various forms of mass media through which sending of information took place from one source to a wide and diverse audience are categorized into old media and new media (Turow, 2009). Old media also known as traditional media includes the print media and electronic media. New media are all

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At the turn of the millennium communications took a great leap and give birth to countless arrays of social media platforms. During the initial stage of the internet, *CompuServe* is the only internet that can be access by the masses. In 1979 *UseNet* was developed which allow its users to communicate via virtual newsletter. An online site that allows users to interact with other users, *BBSS* (*Bulletin Board Systems*) was developed in the late 1970s (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). A few years later online services such as *CompuServe* and *Prodigy* were developed successively. It was the first time of incorporating chat program into online site services. In 1985 *General Electric Subsidiary* (*GEIS*) developed *Genie* which is text based online services (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Over the years developments were made on the existing social interactions online services and gradually by the year 1988 *IRC* (*Internet Relay Chat*) was developed that allow users not only to exchange text but also share files and links. All of these sites did not have the exact characteristics of modern day social media platforms; however it led to its development (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Six Degrees that allows users to create a user profile and befriend other users was launched for public use in 1997. Six Degrees is said to be the first modern social media. It was popular among users until it was shut down in 2001 (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Similar sites like Asian avenue, Migente and black planet were developed following the launched of Six Degrees. Innovations were made and in 1999 LiveJournal which is an online blogs that allow users to interact with other users. Computer network based online games developers also made online games social by allowing players to interact with other players (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). This kind of game started gaining popularity in the early 2000s. MMORPGS (Massively multiplayer online role-playing games) is the first online games that provide players social interaction (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Within a few years modern social media were developed continuously with new features. The first modern social media *Friendster* was launched in 2002 but was shut down (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Following the launching of *Friendster*,

another social media such as those of *Hi5* (2003), *LinkedIn* (2003), *MySpace* (2003), *Facebook* (2004), *Orkut* (2004), *YouTube* (2005), *Twitter* (2006) and many more started to emerge as the leading social media platforms (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). According to the features it provides, social media platforms are categorized into Social Networks, Social News, Bookmarking Sites, Media Sharing, Micro blogging Sites, Blog Comments and Forums. New ideas and innovations are incorporated even today (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

#### 2.1.3. Main Characteristics of Social Media

The core characteristic of social media is that it is a user generated content. Apart from this, it also has distinguished characteristics, they are as follows;

- **Free web space**: The social media websites provide the users or the so called audience with free web space to upload their personalized content (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- Unique web address: The audiences are provided with a personalized unique web address to have a unique identity, which makes them to share their content in real time, it remains intact till the time they maintain their online account (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- **Possibility of Building Profiles**: With the possibility of building personalized profiles, social media enables an individual to have access to the likeminded people to interact with each other. It is also possible to conceal the profile from pirates and making it accessible to only a desired group of people (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- Virtual Connections with Friends and Relatives: Social media websites turns to be the platform for virtual meetings. People, who are miles away from each other, can get in touch virtually with each other through such website enabled chat engines. The websites even make it possible to share valuable files, photos and multimedia content with each other (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- **Real Time Content Upload Facility**: Through social media, it is possible for the audience to have a chance to upload their personalized content or other

- files as the services are open round the clock 24x7 for all 365 days in a year (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- Feedback: With the online social networks, feedback, the key element in the
  communication process becomes vital. Feedback is immediate like in face to
  face communication through new media or social media communication,
  provided the responder is also online, at the time when the sender initiates the
  dialogue (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- **Time stamp**: Each and every post in social media has a timestamp indicating if the post is either fresh or stale. Depending on the freshness of the post, the responder may either choose to respond or not to respond (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

### 2.1.4. Categories of Social Media Platforms

It is essential to understand the different types of social media along with their pros and cons, before comprehending entire aspects pertaining to social media as a whole and social media marketing in general. There are six different types of social media, they all share common characteristics and services. For instance, *Facebook* has a micro blogging features with their status update feature. Similarly, *YouTube* and *Flickr* have comment systems similar to that of blogs. The following are various categories of social media:-

- **Social Networks**: Social networks offer services that allow you to connect with other people of similar interests and background. In general, they consist of a profile, various ways to interact with other users, ability to set up groups, etc. The most popular in this category are *Facebook* and *LinkedIn* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- Social News: Social news web portals offer services that allow people to post various news items or links to outside articles and then allow their users to cast votes on the items. The voting is the mainstay social aspect as the items that get the most votes are displayed the most prominently. The community decides which news items get seen by more people. The most popular in this category are-*Digg* and *Reddit* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

- **Bookmarking Sites**: These are the web portals that provide services to allow you to manage, save and organize links to various websites and resources around the Internet. Most allow you to tag your links to make them easy to search and share. The most popular in this category are-*Delicious* (*del.icio.us*) and *StumbleUpon* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- **Media Sharing**: Media Sharing Sites offer services that allow you to upload and share various media such as profiles, commenting, etc. The most popular in this category are- *YouTube* and *Flickr* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- Microblogging Sites: Microblogging is a new trend in which the service providers focus on short updates that are pushed out to anyone subscribed to receive updates. The most popular in this category is *Twitter* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).
- **Blog Comments and Forums**: Blog comments are similar to online forums that allow members to hold conversations by posting messages with the only exception that they are attached to blogs and usually the discussion centers on the topic of the blog post. There are many popular blogs and forums (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

### 2.1.5. An Overview of Leading Social Media Platforms

The following are some of the leading social media platforms:-

#### 1. Facebook

Facebook is a social networking site founded by Mark Zukerberg in February 2004. The birth of Facebook begins in 2003 when Mark Zukerberg was still studying psychology at Harvard University (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Hignett, 2015). Although he studied psychology he was interested in computer programming and in 2003 he developed a website called 'coursematch' later known as 'Facemash' (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Coursematch is the first website he developed which allow users to view their fellow students who took the same course as them while the second website 'Facemash' allow users to rate people's attractiveness (Hignett, 2015). Facemash can be used by students of Harvard University and was later extended to Ivy League University students (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). He further developed his website and named it 'Thefacebook' (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). A few hours after

it's launched there were 1,200 Harvard students who sign up for it (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). This version allows users to create a profile and upload pictures, share their interests and connect with other students. With an improvement, modern day 'Facebook' was launched on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 2004, the website became open to high school students and after that; Facebook was open to the public (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Anyone who attain the age of thirteen (13) and above can create an account using a valid email addresses or mobile phone number. Currently Facebook is the number one social media with over 1 billion users all over the world (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). There are no separate charges of use for it; anyone who has internet access can use it in computer, laptop, tablets or mobile phones (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

Facebook assist its members with a way to keep in touch or reconnect with old friends, family members classmates and also help to connect with new people (Hignett, 2015). To connect with others, user must send friend request (Hignett, 2015). Facebook provide a great deal of privacy settings and features which users can set them according their preference (Hignett, 2015). People who have account can post words (text), pictures, videos which will appear in the newsfeed of their friends and also comments, send instant messages to other posts (Hignett, 2015). Users can opt to display their relationship status, religious views, political views, age, location and other details (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Apart from this there are several applications on Facebook website, play numerous varieties of games or send virtual gifts to friends for users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). There are three ways to sign up on Facebook; one is a normal Facebook account, second is Facebook page. With normal Facebook account one can create Facebook groups and Facebook page is to connect others by inviting other users to follow the page (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Facebook also allow users to make advertisements but laid down certain rules to be followed by users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Facebook advertising is used for political advertisements and national importance. However, to utilize these users must get authorization from Facebook Company.

#### 2. Twitter

Twitter is a micro blogging social networking service. It was launched for public use in 21, 2006 by Jack Dorsey, Evan Williams, Biz Stone, and Noah Glass with its headquarters in San Francisco, USA and has more than 25 offices around the world (Hignett, 2015). It allow users to create a post up to 140 characters known as 'tweets', but it was recently extended to 280 characters (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Twitter services are available to both the registered and non registered users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). However, registered users can read and post tweets, while unregistered users can only read them. Twitter services are available to the users through the website interface, mobile device app or SMS. From the moment of launching, it gained users all over the world. In the website it describes itself as "a service for friends, family, and coworkers, to communicate and stay connected through the exchange of quick, frequent messages". Users can write short updates which is known as 'tweets' which is limited to 280 characters or fewer (Twitter, 2008). This 'tweets' of users appear Twitter's home page, and all users' 'tweets' are publicly available, however, private messages will not appear in the home page. The public history of Twitter updates can be search using Twitter's own search engine. Twitter updates or 'tweets' can also be sent using mobile phone text messaging via Twitter's mobile phone website from a user's Twitter home page, or from several software applications designed to use Twitter's services (Hignett, 2015). Twitter users connect each other by following each other and receive updates from other users they follow. These updates received from other users that they follow can be viewed via the same way they send updates using mobile phone, the web, or applications that are designed for using Twitter (Hignett, 2015). Twitter provide the facility for users to choose how they prefer to receive updates of other users. They are; @-Used for addressing, # is used for tagging http://\_is used for linking and RTused for republishing (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017)

# 3. YouTube

*YouTube* is a video-sharing website created by three former *Paypal* employees Chad Hurley, Steve Chen and Jawed Karim (Hignett, 2015). It was launched for public use on February 15, 2005 and it's headquarter is in San Bruno, California, United States

(Hignett, 2015). After *Google* bought the services in November 2006, it operates as one of *Google's* subsidiaries (Hignett, 2015). *YouTube* can be used by registered and unregistered users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Unregistered users can view contents, however, cannot upload contents. To use *YouTube* one must create a login id with a valid email address (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It allows users to upload videos, rate, like a video, share, report, comment to video, subscribe other users, and add a video to playlist (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). *YouTube* can be used by both individual and corporate users (Hignett, 2015). To make the quality of the video users are enabled to incorporate other technologies like *WedM*, *H.264/MPEG-4 AVC*, and *Adobe Flash Video* (Hignett, 2015). Users can upload any kind of video clips, TV show clips, music videos, audio recordings, movie trailers, and other content such as video blogging, short original videos, and educational videos on their channel (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). However, restrictions are made to videos that are considered as potentially disgusting. These videos are available only to registered users over the age of 18 (Hignett, 2015).

# 4. Instagram

Instagram also IG and insta is an online photo sharing, video sharing and social networking service created by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger (Hignett, 2015). It was launched in October 2010 but it was later bought by Facebook. Inc (Hignett, 2015). In the beginning it was available for use on iOS and after one and a half year a version for Android devices was released (Hignett, 2015). And on November 2012 a feature-limited website interface was released (Hignett, 2015). An app for Windows 10 Mobile and Windows 10 was released in April 2016 and October 2016 respectively which allows users to upload geotag photos and videos to the service (Hignett, 2015). Instagram users are allowed to take pictures and videos (up to 15 seconds initially and up to 60 seconds from July 2015) (Hignett, 2015). And they can share these pictures and videos either publicly or privately using the app specified for Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, and Flickr (Hignett, 2015).

Like other social media platforms there is no separate charges for using *Instagram*, anyone who has access to the internet can use it. To use the service one must create an account using valid phone number or email id and once a person who has an

account can link it to other social networking sites such as those of Facebook or Twitter (Hignett, 2015). Users can share photos and videos uploaded in *Instagram* to these sites (Hignett, 2015). Users connect each other by following each other (Hignett, 2015). The application provide a vast array of advanced creative tools which allow users to change brightness, contrast, saturation, shadows, bring to lights and angles on the photos (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It allows users to upload personal and biographical information on a user's profile (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). The application confines photo to square shape (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users can add digital filters to change images, apart from adding a border or picture frame (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Tilt- Shift adds a focus point-either a line or a circle- to user's image allowing form effects such as miniaturizing conveying an area of focus to the image (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). A hashtag (#) provides an easy way for image to be found and a way to find an image with a large theme (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). These hashtags can bring users with similar features together, forming smaller niche communities within the platform (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). There is also a feature, as in Facebook wherein users can like the photograph (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). On *Instagram*, there are three ways to share photos and videos-publicly, privately and directly (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). The last option i.e. direct sharing means sharing a particular photo privately to a limited number of people, whether or not you follow them or they follow you (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Instagram was taken over by Facebook in April 2012. As of September 30, 2016, *Instagram* has 500 million users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

### 5. WhatsApp

WhatsApp is a messenger mobile application created by Jan Koum and Brian Acton in 2009 (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). In the beginning it was launched as a cross-platform instant messaging application for smart phone as an alternate of the existing SMS (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). In late January 2015 it was made available for use in PCs through a web client known as WhatsApp Web (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Koum on his Facebook page has announced that the WhatsApp Web is only an extension of WhatsApp user's mobile phones and that all the activities on the PC are available on the phone (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

To use the application one must download the application and install it on their smart phone using a valid phone number (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). There is no separate charge for it; anyone who has an internet connection can access the application (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). In the initial stage users are able to send text messages (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). As of 2019 users can send and receive text messages, photos, videos, documents, and location, as well as voice calls (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). All messages and calls are secured with end-to-end encryption which means that there is no third party involved including *WhatsApp* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). In 2014 *WhatsApp* was bought by *Facebook* for \$19 billion but continue to operate as a separate app (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

#### 6. LinkedIn

LinkedIn is a professional networking platform which allows business owners and people of the same interest to connect with each other (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users create profile using valid email address and connect with each other by inviting other users and non users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It was created by Reid Haffman on 14th December, 2002 and was made available to the public on 5th May, 2013 (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It is meant for people who are engaged in business and employment sector (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It is a useful platform for business owners and also both employers and job seekers (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). LinkedIn's main source of revenue is from selling users information to recruiters and sales professionals (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Apart from getting revenues from selling users information it also receives funds from Sequoia Capital, Greylock, Bain Capital Ventures, Bessemer Venture Partners and the European Founders Fund (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

It has its headquarters situated in California and opened its office in various parts of the world including Omaha, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Washington, São Paulo, London, Dublin, Amsterdam, Milan, Paris, Munich, Madrid, Stockholm, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Japan, Australia, Canada, India and Dubai (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). The company employee consisted of different races from all over the world (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Due to the fact that it spread across the globe the services is available in different languages including

Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Romanian, Russian, Turkish, Japanese, Czech, Polish, Korean, Indonesian, Malay, and Tagalog (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

Users are also enabled to create groups and the one who created the group is the one who facilitate and manage the group (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users created groups that are employment, professional and career related groups (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). And among these groups employment group is the majority groups (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users can make their group private in which contents are available only to members of the group or they can make the contents of the group available to internet users in general but one who is not a user of *LinkedIn* app cannot post messages (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). One problem faced by members of *LikedIn* group is spamming (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). However, there are firms that offer spamming service to tackle this problem (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). One advantage of being a member of the group is that the group updated its members via email keeping them updated professional news and information (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

#### 7. Pinterest

Pinterest is a photo sharing social bookmarking sites created by Ben Silbermann, Paul Sciarra and Evan Sharp (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It was launched for public use on March 2010 (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). To use it one must register them using a valid email address in the Pinterest website or mobile application (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Pinterest is a catalog of ideas that motivates users to do things (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). It is an online pin board in which users can share only an image (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Each image shared on Pinterest is called a pin and when other users repost it is called repin (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users are allowed to group as many pins as they like and categorized them in what is known as pin boards in their profile (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

Users are enabled to personalize their use of *Pinterest* by pinning items, creating boards and also interact with other users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users will get unique and personalized display in their feed (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users can also browse others content in their feed, save individual pins and add them to their

own pin board using the 'Pin It button' tools provided by the company (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Content to be uploaded to a board using the Pin It button is also available outside of *Pinterest* (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Users are enabled to download contents outside of *Pinterest* by downloading it to the bookmark bar on a web browser or using the webmaster directly available on the website (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

There are other means to register to use *Pinterest*. One way is by receiving an invitation from others who are registered *Pinterest* users (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Another way is to place a request to the *Pinterest* website but this process requires more time than other methods (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). One can also create a *Pinterest* account by linking *Pinterest* to *Facebook* or *Twitter* account (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). If an account is created and linked using *Facebook* or *Twitter* users have the option to turn on notification whenever a user reposts or repin an image to their own board (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). Apart from this, users are provided with several features to maintain their privacy and are also provided with several tools to customize their profile (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017).

#### 2.2. Social media and information society

In 1964 media prophet Marshall McLuhan prophesied that there will come a time when the world the world's culture will shrink and expand at the same time due to pervasive technological advances that allow instant sharing of messages. He termed this phenomenon as 'Global Village' (McLuhan, 1994). "Today, after than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in the global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned" (McLuhan, 1994). When Marshall McLuhan observed media, technology and communication, he foresee that this would interconnect the world as one crossing geographical boundaries. His observation led him to coin the popular term 'global village'. He saw media, technology and communication as electronic nervous system which will be a part of popular culture and predict its social effect. The term global simply means that the electronic nervous system will enable people from different corners of the world to share messages and information in an instant which could happen only in a limited space or a village.

Another important insight on media and communication is "the medium is the message" concept by Marshall Mcluhan (McLuhan, 1994). When he said "the medium is the message" he means that the qualities of the medium have as much effect as the information it carries. For instance, watching a Television has different effects than reading a newspaper although it carries the same message. In a newspaper messages are described in words and in Television messages are displayed in audio and visual. Taking a note on the effects of Television among viewers, he took great interest in the effects of Television and call television as a "cool" medium. His theory was supported by the findings of medical studies which showed that television has a great on people because people to settle into passive brain wave patterns. During his time television is the most sophisticated form of communication technology man has invented. Scholars argue that the internet is more concerned with McLuhan's "global village" (McLuhan, 1994).

Manuel Castells in his book 'Network Society' discussed about the social implications of globalization and the role of electronic communication technologies in society. He established that throughout history there has always been a social network in one way or the other. However, the information communication technology (ICT) helps to create a more sophisticated and sustainable new kinds of social relationships. He said that a network society is, "a society whose social structure is made up of networks powered by micro-electronics-based information and communications technologies". With the advent of the internet the world becomes one big society (Castells, 2004).

Castells argues there are three processes which led to the emergence of this new social structure in the late 20th century (Castells, 2004). They are;

- The restructuring of industrial economies to accommodate an open market approach.
- The freedom-oriented cultural movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the civil rights movement, the feminist movement and the environmental movement.
- The revolution in information and communication technologies

According to him the rise of the industrial revolution shape the economic system which leads to the emergence of open market between countries of the world and this phenomenon weakens the walls built by the nation's state thereby leading to social inclusion and exclusion within and between countries. The cultural movements during the 1960s and early 1970s created a condition for the birth of human rights. And these two phenomenons of individual autonomy and open market created a condition for open network structure for communication. Castells concluded that 'the culture of freedom was decisive including network technologies which, in turn, were the essential infrastructure for business to operate its restructuring in terms of globalization'.

Social media with its characteristics of user generated contents and instantaneous has strengthens the connection between people all over the world. The role played by social media in the society has both positive and negative sides. The positive side includes enhancing communication and social connection. As social media sites allow users to stay connected with others crossing geographical boundaries in real time. With the emergence of internet superhighway people can communicate with other people from far off places by sending text messages, pictures, video, documents etc in an instant. Scholars saw this phenomenon of sharing information and social interaction in correspond to Marshall McLuhan's 'global village'. This has strengthens relationships and elevates communication flow worldwide.

Farhud (2016) in the article 'Positive Implications of Society Media' highlight the various roles social media played in society. The article touch upon howsocial media enhanced communication and social connection. It also promotes political and civic participation. Furthermore he said that social media has been successfully used in the education and health sector. However, despite several benefits prolonged exposer can lead to depression and can increase the risk of suicide. The negative implications of social media also result in cyber bullying (Farhud, 2016).

### 2.3. Social media and public sphere

Public Sphere is a concept that is conceived during the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Jurgen Habermas. He defines the term public sphere as "a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space" (Habermas, 1991). He

further said that public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state" (Habermas, 1991). The main idea behind the concept is that public sphere is a space where people come together and share their thoughts concerning society related issues. There are times when the conclusions of these results influence political decisions. The time when Habermas conceived the concept of public sphere was the time when the principles of democracy were used to discussed among the bourgeois in Western Europe (Habermas, 1991). During this time the elite society in Europe began to develop the foundation of modern day democracy (Habermas, 1991). These elite people would come together and discuss at length political issues and usually make conclusions in coffee houses (Habermas, 1991). As time went by democracy is born and many countries follow the ideology of democracy. In this way public sphere is essential for the formation and shaping of public opinion which eventually is the stronghold of democracy.

Several scholars through their studies also support this thought and established that media play a very important role in shaping public opinion. Habermas in his book 'The Structural transformation of the Public Sphere' further argues that the press creates an environment for the existence of discussions and debate for those who are involved in politics in Europe (Habermas, 1991). However, people who participate in these discussions must be educated and civilized because possessing these qualities makes them aware of the social and political issues (Habermas, 1991). According to Habermas to have a critical thinking for the improvement of political issues, the public must be well informed and equip themselves with the essential knowledge to have a rational discussion in public space afterwards. Even though Habermas sees media as an important agent in disseminating information which can shape public opinion, after the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it changed its course by becoming deceiver tool that turned the public into a passive consuming audience. In these sense the general public do not really have the space or means to participate in public sphere (Habermas, 2006).

The backdrop of Habermas idea of public sphere is that public sphere is dominated by the elite society and the general public does not have a part in the public communication process. The need of communication is very high for those who are contesting elections as people elect their representatives in a democratic country to run the government. The advent of development in communication is a boon for politicians and political parties to reach out to the people. Earlier studies have shown that mass media played a very crucial part in political communications. For the past few years several scholars focused on the role of social media played in the field of politics. During the latter half of the 19th century newspaper in United Kingdom used to add public opinion, criticism and comments apart from regular news. But this is limited to certain section of the society only and participants are usually the elite society (McNair, 2009). After the invention of Television, public centric debate and opinion poll were broadcast. But public sphere provided by newspaper and television cannot include majority of the public, it is reachable only by a small section of the public.

The cyberspace is the new public space and it allows the participation of the public on a larger scale crossing geographical boundaries as compared to the traditional media (Papacharissi, 2002). According to scholars, public opinion is shaped through exchanges in the online platforms. Social Media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and others have elevated the interaction between individuals. Individuals of the same interest come together in one platform and exchange their ideas freely. These social media platforms provide the general public to raise their voice on any issue (Rawnsley, 2005). It creates a space where people can freely exchange thoughts and ideas. In tandem with the growing technology and the expansion internet connectivity across the globe the term 'citizen journalism' is now a familiar terminology in the media world. The notion of citizen journalism is understood as the contribution of news or articles by ordinary citizens without having any journalism background (Green, 2010). Internet with its distinguishing characteristics of easy access, user generated content, audio-visual, text and instant users' feedback attributes to the rise of citizen journalism (Green, 2010). This brings people together and discusses issues in society which further leads to political and civic participation. Political and civic participation is terms that is closely related but differ in certain ways. Political participation is the activities that aim to directly or indirectly

influence in the election of political officials, or the public policy (Green, 2010). Whereas civic participation is the activities that aims to highlight society issues and make people aware of the importance to address issues by coming together as a citizen (Green, 2010).

Communication technology based on Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 allow all users to discuss and express their thoughts in public on any issue. This has brought about a new dimension in the discussion of public sphere (Shirky, 2011). Social media platforms bring about a new notion of public sphere and public opinion. Scholars termed this new notion as 'networked public sphere' (Shirky, 2011). The popular use of social media to shape public opinion is the viral 'Arab Spring'. In the paper "The Revolutions were tweeted: Information Flows During the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions" by Lotan et al. discussed in detail the networked production and dissemination of news on *Twitter* during snapshots of the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. They argue that information is produced by activists, bloggers, journalists, mainstream media outlets, and other engaged participants. The authors collected data using *twitter* application programming interface (API) and their findings suggest that news on *Twitter* is being co-constructed by bloggers and activists alongside journalists (Lotan, Graeff, Ananny, Gaffney, Pearce, & Boyd, 2011).

In Rahaghi's (2012) paper titled "New tools, old goals: comparing the role of technology in the 1979 Iranian revolution and the 2009 green movement" pointed out the role of communication technologies in the success and failure in modern revolutions. In this article the author made a comparison on the use of traditional media and new media which came to light by conducting a case study on the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 2009 Green Movement in Iran. The author concluded that although technology played a significant role it cannot replace structure, leadership, grassroots organizing, and a concrete agenda people can rally behind. The result of the case study reveals that one using audio cassettes and pamphlets succeed, but the other using *Twitter* and *Facebook* failed. And because of this reason the author argues that technology alone cannot replace the fundamentals of organization, but it

can help enhance and facilitate them. This clearly reveals that social media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and mobilize citizens (Rahaghi, 2012).

Public political participation is one of the key factors to sustain the principles of democracy. When the freedom of speech and expression is rendered to the public in an online environment, it can bring about positive change in the society (Cram, 2015). Internet gives citizens the right platform to disseminate their ideas, thoughts and views on any issue globally. It provides users of internet to raise their voice and opinion which are often neglected by professional journalists. The contribution of citizen journalism has been noted recently and is gaining importance in defending the foundations of democracy (Rogers, 2018).

Noor (2017) in the article 'Citizen Journalism Vs Mainstream Journalism: A Study on Challenges Posed by Amateurs' argued that alongside mainstream journalism which are run by professional journalists, citizen journalism run by ordinary citizen also emerge as an important source of news for people. However, mainstream journalism is not likely to be replaced by citizen journalism as it is still in its initial stage. It further argued that citizen journalism is not only a source of news for the people but also for professional journalists as some of the news highlighted by citizen journalists are often inaccessible for professional journalists. Hard news requires on the ground reporting. There are times when it is difficult for professional journalists to acquire videos, image and other necessary information in some incidents. In times like these ordinary citizens' posts on social media then became important sources for them (Noor, 2017).

Apart from being an important news source for professional journalists, citizen journalists' roles in bringing social changes in society are acknowledged by scholars through various empirical studies. Saka (2018) in the article 'The role of social media based citizen journalism practices in the formation of contemporary protest movements' highlighted the role played by citizen journalists in organizing the world famous 2013 Gezi Park protests in Turkey. The study argues that citizen journalism successfully bring together people by creating an online community and organized the protest successfully (Saka, 2018).

## 2.4. Social media and democracy

In a democratic country mass media is considered as the fourth pillar of democracy. Closely related to democracy is the idea of 'Free Press' (Baran & Davis, 2012). The concept of Free Press was put forth by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm in their book called "Four Theories of the Press" (Kumar, 2012). These four theories of the press were collectively termed the 'Normative theories' (Kumar, 2012). It talks about the relationship between the press and the government rather than the press and the audience. Mass Media operates within the framework of the four theories of the press. The four theories of the press are; Authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, social responsibility theory and the soviet media theory (Baran & Davis, 2012).

- Authoritarian theory: Authoritarian theory explains how the government or authorities interfere in all forms of communication through mass media. Under this theory the press is controlled by the government. The main idea behind controlling the press is that the government is protecting the people and the country from internal or external threats disseminated through mass media. The authority also has the rights to give permit to any media and control it by providing license to the media and make certain censorship. Violation of government rules and regulations by the press is liable for license cancellation. To ensure that there is peace and normalcy within the country the government has the right to restrict any sensitive issues from the press (Kumar, 2012).
- **Libertarian theory:** The Libertarian theory argues against the authoritarian theory of the press. It originates from the libertarian thoughts during the 16th century in Europe. The main point of libertarian theory argument is that people are capable of deciding what is good and what is bad. And there is no need for government censorship and intervention. The theory advocates the idea of individualism and limited government interference in the press (Baran & Davis, 2012).
- Social responsibility theory: Social responsibility theory is a mixture of libertarian thoughts and authoritarian. This theory suggests that there should

be free press and that there should not be any censorship or control from the side of the government. However, the content of the press should be discussed in public panel and if there is an obligation from public interference or professional self regulations or both, the press should accept it at any cost. In social responsibility theory, the press is not owned by the government sector but is owned by private sector enterprises (Baran & Davis, 2012).

• Soviet media theory: The soviet media theory has its origins from Marxist, Leninist and Stalinist thoughts, with a mixture of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel ideology. It is also known as "The Communist Media Theory". In this theory the press is controlled and owned by the government. The government dictates the press so as to serve the working class. There can be no private ownership of the press (Baran & Davis, 2012).

In India there is no mention of the freedom of the press in the constitution, however, the press enjoys the freedom to collect and disseminate information under its freedom under the "the right to freedom of speech and expression" (Article 19(1) a) which is provided to every citizen of India under the constitution (Basu, Law of the Press in India, 1980). However, this right to freedom of speech and expression is limited by the restrictions mentioned under sub clause of the article (Basu, 1980). It is mentioned that freedom of speech and expression is restricted when the sovereignty and integrity of India and the security of the state is being under threat. It also gives restrictions when it can damage the friendly relations India had with foreign states, when it disturbed public order (Basu, 1980). It further restricts the right to freedom of speech and expression in order to preserve decency and morality (Basu, 1980). There are also restrictions made in relation to contempt of court, defamation, or incitement to an offense (Basu, 1980). Laws pertaining to curb the right to freedom of speech and expression are official secret act and prevention of terrorist activities (POTA) (Basu, 1980). Although users of social media can freely express their thoughts and ideas on any issue, however their rights are limited by legislation laid down in the constitution. In India all citizens enjoy the freedom to express their thoughts and ideas across various social media platforms. However,

certain limitations are implied under the Information Technology Act, 2000 (Rattan, 2017).

- 1. Under Chapter XI of the Act, Sections 65, 66, 66A, 6C, 66D, 66E, 66F, 67, 67A and 67B contain punishments for computer related offences which can also be committed through social media viz. tampering with computer source code, committing computer related offences given under Section 43, sending offensive messages through communication services, identity theft, cheating by personating using computer resource, violation of privacy, cyber terrorism, publishing or transmitting obscene material in electronic form, material containing sexually explicit act in electronic form, material depicting children in sexually explicit act in electronic form, respectively (Farroq, 2011; Kumar A., 2000; Rattan, 2017).
- 2. Section 69 of the Act grants power to the Central or a State Government to issue directions for interception or monitoring or decryption of any information through any computer resource in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of India, defense of India, the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, for preventing incitement to the commission of any cognizable offence, for investigation of any offence (Farroq, 2011; Kumar A., 2000; Rattan, 2017).
- 3. Section 69A grants power to the Central Government to issue directions to block public access of any information through any computer resource on similar grounds (Farroq, 2011; Kumar A., 2000; Rattan, 2017).
- 4. Section 69B grants power to the Central Government to issue directions to authorize any agency to monitor and collect traffic data or information through any computer resource for cyber security (Farroq, 2011; Kumar A., 2000; Rattan, 2017).
- 5. Section 79 provides for liability of intermediary. An intermediary shall not be liable for any third party information, data or communication link made available or hosted by him (Farroq, 2011; Kumar A., 2000; Rattan, 2017).

Among all the provision laid down in the IT Act, Section 66A has been in the news in recent times, albeit for all the wrong reasons (Rattan, 2017). Section 66A of the Information Technology Act, 2000 inserted vide Information Technology (Amendment) Act, 2008 provides punishment for sending offensive messages through communication service, etc. and states (Rattan, 2017):

Any person who sends, by means of a computer resource or a communication device-

- (a) Any information that is grossly offensive or has menacing character (Rattan, 2017);
- (b) Any information which he knows to be false, but for the purpose of causing annoyance, inconvenience, danger, obstruction, insult, injury, criminal intimidation, enmity, hatred, or ill will, persistently by making use of such computer resource or a communication device (Rattan, 2017)
- (c) Any electronic mail or electronic mail message for the purpose of causing annoyance or inconvenience or to deceive or to mislead the addressee or recipient about the origin of such messages shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and with fine (Rattan, 2017).

Electronic mail and electronic mail message simply means a message or information in the form of text, pictures, audio, video or any other electronic record that is created, transmitted or received on a computer, computer system or communication device (Rattan, 2017). State authorities are concerned with the fact that internet based communication technologies can be misused and because of several incidents lead to the formation of the Information and Technology Act 2000 (Rattan, 2017). To successfully use social media as a medium to engage with the general public, it is essential that there must be freedom in internet and social media use. From time to time the government has curb internet freedom in India in the past. This limit the extensive use of the internet for political purposes, however, there is a lot more freedom in using social media.

#### 2.5. Traditional mass media and political communication

Oxford dictionary of Media and Communication (2011) define it as 'the various technological means of producing and disseminating messages and cultural forms (notably news, information, entertainment, and advertising) to large, widely dispersed, heterogeneous audience' (Chandler & Munday, 2011, p. 257). In the world today these include television, radio, cinema, newspapers, magazines, bestselling books, audio CDs, DVDs, and the internet'. The print media and the electronic media are known as traditional media and internet based mass media are

known as new media. The mass media (a plural form) refer to the organized means of communicating openly, at a distance and to a large number of people in a short space of time (Kumar, 2012). They were born into the context and conflicts of this age of transition and have continued to be deeply implicated in the trends and changes of society and culture, as experienced at the personal level as well as that of society and the 'world system' (Kumar, 2012). In other words we can say that mass communication operates using technological device to send out messages. Oxford dictionary of journalism (2014) define the term media as 'the plural form of medium (often misused as if it were singular) that encompasses journalism as part of a much broader field of public communication organizations, including newspapers, magazines, radio stations, TV channels, the film industry, the music industry, websites, advertising, and public relations' (Harcup, 2014, p. 174).

The Politicians and political parties are learning how to communicate with the voters effectively. Effective communication is not only important to those who runs for election but is also important for those who hold power to sustain their image. According to Herbert E Alexander effective communication is important for two reasons. One reason is that it is effective communication which elects men to the nation's offices (Alexander, 1969). And another reason is that it is effective communication which enables men to exercise control over the direction and activity of the government and to incorporate certain opinions and preferences in the policies and laws of the land (Alexander, 1969). He said that a candidate "competes for the attention of the voter not only against his opponents for the same office but also against others on the same ticket who likewise wishes to be visible and popular. He has to compete against nonpolitical communicators who, like him, want to attract the attention of an audience-the candidate on television has to lure the viewer away from other advertisers as well as from entertainment programs. The candidate furthermore has to compete against the everyday forces of work, play, and leisure which divert the voter from instruments of political communication" (Alexander, 1969). The direct impact of media propaganda on audiences gives birth to the Hypodermic theory. For a few years the hypodermic theory was accepted until it was contested by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet based on their findings on the 1940 US Presidential election (Katz, 1987). They studied the impact of mass media has on people and found out that the campaign propaganda had a very little impact among the people. Their findings led to the development of 'limited effects' or 'the social influence model' (Katz, 1987). Since mass media is considered as the fourth pillar of democracy, the need of communication is very high for those who are contesting elections as people elect their representatives in a democratic country to run the government. The advent of development in communication is a boon for politicians and political parties to reach out to the people. Earlier studies have shown that mass media played a very crucial part in political communications. The advent of communication technology aided political parties and politician to reach to their voters on a larger scale. During the 1920s-1930s researchers studied the use of radio by Adolf Hitler to disseminate his propaganda (Carpini, 1993). One important strategy of political campaign is political advertising. During the early 1980s political advertising on television became very popular in the United States and had become a crucial strategy of political communication for those who seek votes (Trent & V.Friedenberg, 1995). The use of televised political advertising became popular after General Dwight D. Eisenhower used it in the 1952 US Presidential election. 40 commercial ads titled "Eisenhower Answers America" in which people would ask questions and Eisenhower answers (Allen, 1993).

In a democratic state political communication and mass media are intertwined. Since in a democracy people elect their representatives and to win this election people formed political organization called political parties. The core principle of democracy is election. Election is important because it enabled citizens to freely participate in the selection of official leaders who will hold power and authority on their behalf. In this way political election campaign is a must for those who run for elections. To select their representative the people must know which candidate or political party will best serve their interest and candidates or political parties also needs to sell out their goals. In this process political campaigns become crucial and it is through communication that political campaign begins. According to Judith S. Trent and Robert V Friedenberg election campaign includes 'verbal and non-verbal communication such as those of candidates and their staffs debate, appear on

television, answer call-in questions on radio and television talk shows, prepare and present messages for media commercials, take part in parades and rallies, wear funny hats, submit to media interviews, write letters and position papers, and speak at all forms of public gatherings. They kiss babies, shake hands at factory gates and supermarkets, prepare and distribute literature, produce campaign videotapes, wear campaign buttons, and establish phone banks to solicit money, workers, and votes' (Trent & V.Friedenberg, 1995). All of these are counted as political communication as it tries to portray the candidate according to the likings of the public. It is rather difficult to single out which is counted as political communication.

Brian McNair in his book 'An Introduction to Political Communication' point out that political communication could be identified in terms of the intentions of its senders to influence the political environment ( (McNair, 2003; McNair, 2011). Based on these perceptions, he elaborate political communication as a not only verbal or written statements, but also visual means of signification such as dress, make-up, hairstyle, and logo design, i.e. all those elements of communication which might be said to constitute a political 'image' or identity (McNair, 2003; McNair, 2011). John F. Kennedy was also popular in using television to build his image. John F. Kennedy political debate helped him building his image as a confident man that people could put their trust into (Suddu, 2012). Politician and political parties are employing mass media as a tool to convey their message to the public. Even though traditional mass media is effectively used by politicians, there are times when it is hard to pump out their messages as mass media ownership is in the hands of other people. In this way social media provide ample space for political parties and politicians to get their message out to the public.

### 2.6. Uses of social media platforms in the global and Indian politics

The review of the literature reveals that social media platforms were successfully used for political campaign by politicians and political parties. These new forms of media is assume as a central role in attracting voters and especially the new generation of young adults. Social media helps political parties and candidates in more effectively reach large number of voters in a short amount of time. Unlike traditional media social media allow politicians to directly engage with their potential

voters. Social media allows political parties and candidates to share their beliefs; goals and accomplishments directly with voters, making them feel more directly involved with the campaign (Hendricks & Jr., 2010). It also allows candidates to give their supporters a behind-the scenes view of their campaign and more easily track engagement. These new forms of media also facilitate the collection of news most relevant to crucial target groups. Political parties and politicians are aware of the possibility of engaging with citizens are using social media platforms such as those of Facebook, Twitter, blogs and so on (Hendricks & Jr., 2010). The idea behind using social media platforms is that if the general public is constantly exposed to political contents, they are likely to express their liking for a particular political party or politicians. This will eventually indicate that they are interest in politics which is assumed to have a positive influence on their voting behavior. Golbeck et al (2010) in their joint paper titled "Twitter Use by the US Congress" attempted to find out how members of legislators, members of the United States Congress in particular use twitter. The authors read and coded 6,000 posts from all members of Congress using Twitter which were divided into categories like information, locations and activities, official business, external communication, internal communication, personal message, request for action and fundraising. The authors found that informational post most common comprising more than half of all the posts. Their analysis reveals that members of the Congress utilize twitter as a tool for self promotion. This study focuses on how members of Congress use twitter alone. It did not include the comments or response given by citizens (Golbeck, Grimes, & Rogers, 2010).

One of the most notable uses of social media platforms for political campaign is the Obama Campaign. The November 2008 US election saw the success of utilizing social media platforms. Since Obama is already at ease in using technology, he is not hesitated in incorporating social media as a campaign strategy (Solop, 2010, p. 37). In the November 2008 campaign Obama had Chris Hughes who is one of the founders of the most popular social media platforms *Facebook*. Chris Hughes main work is creating and maintaining an online social networking community which has certain similarities to that of *Facebook* (Solop, 2010, p. 38). Hughes creates a Web site called "my.barackobama.com" also known as "myBO" (Solop, 2010, p. 38). This

website is designed in such a way that visitors are allowed to create personal profiles, create blogs, share information with their neighbors, organize and advertise local events, and request donations. It got so popular that this site became the key factor in collecting funds from the public. By the end of the primary election campaign Obama manage to raise more than two million donations of \$200 or less (Solop, 2010, p. 38). This site was successfully used in soliciting donations, organizing volunteers, and promoting Barack Obama. By the time the campaign was over more than two million people created profiles on "myBO" and also volunteers "planned 200,000 offline events, formed 35,000 groups, posted 400,000 blogs, and raised \$30 million on 70,000 personal fund-raising pages (Solop, 2010, p. 38)." Apart from this Obama also adopted *Twitter* as one of his campaign strategy. There were only 3.5 million *Twitter* accounts worldwide at the time of the November 2008 election. Out of these 3.5 million *twitter* accounts Obama had about 118,000 followers (Solop, 2010, p. 40). On 29<sup>th</sup> April, 2007 Obama make his first tweet:-

"Thinking we're only one signature away from ending the war in Iraq. Learn more at www.barackobama.com". (Solop, 2010, p. 41)

At the beginning Obama use *twitter* to express his opposition to the Iraq war and after a few weeks he started using it for other purposes like announcing his locations and the upcoming campaign venue. Solop (2010) said that Obama *Twitter* was guided by two factors; one is the present schedule of presidential election milestone i.e. from the pre-primary, the primary campaign and to the general election. In each phase of the campaign process Obama achieve certain goals in each of them. The second factor is that in their process of using social media platforms Obama and his campaign team realized the strength and power of social media platforms and this serve as the guiding factor in their use of social media platforms. Beside *Twitter* during the November 2008 US Presidential election Obama also use other social networking sites such as those of MySpace. One of Obama's supporters Joe Anthony set up a page called "MySpace.com/barackobama" for Obama. Joe Anthony later maintained a site called "all things Obama". When Obama announced his presidential candidacy in February 2007 the page has more than thirty thousand friends. "MySpace.com/barackobama" and the "all things Obama" site were mainly

used to answer emails and pointing people to voter registration sites. As the campaign kicks off the number of Obama's friends on MySpace increased. Obama also use *Facebook*. With *Facebook* co-founder Chris Hughes on his campaign team Obama has several advantages in using *Facebook*. Apart from his personal account and page he has a Facebook group called "Barack Obama for President in 2008" which has over fifty thousand members.

Smith (2011) in her research titled "Social Media and Political Campaigns", observe four main questions: (1) was there significant use of social media in past political campaigns, namely the 2008 campaign of President Barack Obama? (2) Has social media continued to be used in subsequent political campaigns? (3) If social media has been used, have there been any problems with its use? (4) What is the best way to utilize social media in future political campaigns? The author concluded that social media played a significant role in political campaign and will continue to play an important role in the future to come. The author also makes a conclusion that there was significant use of social media in the 2008 presidential campaign, specifically by President Barack Obama. From the statistics obtained from the work performed by Doris Graber, that social media played a role in Obama's victory over John McCain in the 2008 presidential election. The author state that social media has continued to be increasingly used in political campaigns since the flagship social media use in the 2008 campaign. This study clearly highlight that social media plays a vital role in political campaign (Smith, 2011).

Caplan (2013) in the article titled, 'Social Media and Politics: *Twitter* Use in the Second Congressional District of Virginia' study how Republican Congressman Scott Rigell and Democratic candidate Paul Hirschbiel candidates in the 2nd Congressional District of Virginia cultivate *Twitter* to attract voters in the 2012 election. Using content analysis, the study revealed that the two congressional candidates primarily used *Twitter* to post information and *tweet* about their current activity. The study also found that Rigell posted more direct communication tweets, internal and external compared to Hirschbiel. However, Hirschbiel used personal messages to attract followers. The tactical strategies employed by Rigell and Hirschbiel were determined to be calculated methods by which the candidates hoped

to motivate citizens, activate voters and differentiate themselves from their competitors (Caplan, 2013).

Another example is the 2014 Indian election, in this election the Bharatiya Janata Party extensively use social media platforms and their prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi has the greatest number of followers on Twitter and the most number of likes on his Facebook pages among all other politicians. Based on this cases it is assumed that if the general public are exposed to political contents during election campaign process it could lead to interest in political activity. By the time when Narendra Modi won the 2014 India election and took an oath for prime ministership, he has more than 16 million likes on his *Facebook* page, making him the second most liked political leaders in the world. Likes and comments on social media indicate that the person who like or comment has interest in political activity (Narasimhamurthy, 2014).

Pathak (2014) in his study titled "A study on the use of social networking sites during Lok Sabha Elections-2014 by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)" argues that the 2014 elections have been very different from the previous ones; never before have elections created so much buzz, especially among the youngsters. For wooing the youngsters BJP and other political parties are borrowing strategies employed by U.S. President Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign, with the use of Thunderclap, an online platform which helps to make content viral. The author conducted an online survey and found out that the BJP enjoyed a higher positive momentum through SNSs. This study focuses on the use of Social Networking Sites by Political Party (BJP) in the Lok Sabha election – 2014 in India. BJP leaders keep themselves updated by surfing the internet, posting of statuses, share personal views at international online platform. In the present era, SNSs have become one of the largest online platforms in the world for sharing real time information.

Wani & Alone (2014) in their paper titled "A Survey on the Impact of Social Media on Election System" argues that for the first time in India social media was used so extensively during elections. They conduct a study using survey method which clearly reveals that Narendra Modi is the most active and popular personality on twitter. Twitter including all other popular social networking sites and the news

channels' exit polls became the key ingredient for success of Modi and his BJP party (Wani & Alone, 2014).

A Case Study of Delhi Assembly elections 2013 by Kaveri Devi Mishra Dr. Sridhar Krishnaswami established that Delhi Assembly polls were a proof that social media has the power to shape agenda in Delhi during the 2013 assembly elections. The authors of this study hold that the Aam Aadmi Party owes its success to their active involvement in social media during the election campaign. They see social media as a new revolution in regards to political campaign and electoral process and promote participation, transparency and accountability through debate and discussion. The Aam Aadmi Party use various social media platforms including Facebook, Twitter, Google hangouts and YouTube as one of their election campaign strategies. The party President Arvind Kejriwal had 900,000 followers on Twitter and he strongly believe that social media is one of the most important tools in the election campaign. From the beginning of the election campaign process the party members use social media, text and voice messaging and mobile internet to mobilize voters and also use social media platforms to solicit donations for the campaign. The party aggressive and friendly approaches on using social media win the hearts of many voters especially the youth. Throughout the election campaign the AAP members pump out their agenda of change and clean politics via various social media outlets (Mishra & Krishnaswamy, 2015).

Contrary to this study Dr. Anita Kaluvoya in her study Social Media Use by Political Parties in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh find out that the reach and influence of social media is much lesser in regional level in comparison to national level. The Congress party creates online account only on March 2014 i.e. only after the 2013 election even though the party was in power in these two states for a long time. The opposition parties; TDP, YSRCP, CPI (M), Loksatta and TRS open online account just before the 2013 election. Both national party i.e. the Congress and BJP does not have any regional official websites or Facebook or Twitter accounts. Among the opposition Loksatta come out as the most active in engaging with young voters. The author concludes that both Telangana and Andhra Pradesh gave lesser importance to social media platforms (Kaluvoya, 2015).

In the study 'Picturing the Party: 'Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections' by Filimonov et.al activities of Swedish parties' on Instagram during the 2014 elections were explored. The study aims to find out whether Instagram was used to (1) broadcast campaign messages, (2) mobilize supporters, (3) manage the party's image, and (4) amplify and complement other campaign material (i.e., hybrid campaign use). Using content analysis the study analyzes 220 party postings on Instagram. These posts were collected during the hot phase of the campaign. The result shows that the platform was mainly used for broadcasting rather than for mobilization. The image the parties were presenting leaned toward personalization with a strong presence of top candidates in their postings. Top candidates were primarily displayed in a political/professional context. Finally, half of the analyzed postings showed signs of hybridized campaign practices. The presented findings give a first glimpse of how political parties use and perform on Instagram (Filimonov, Russmann, & Svensson, 2016).

The use of social media platforms became an important strategy for politicians and political parties who are constantly trying to win the hearts of the people. One of the most important strategies political advertising found its way into various social media platforms such as Facebook, *YouTube* and other social media platforms. Social Media such as *YouTube* and *Facebook* has a policy regarding elections and politics advertising. The policy of *Facebook* on political advertising says that, "Advertisers can run ads about social issues, elections or politics; provided that the advertiser complies with all applicable laws and the authorization process required by *Facebook* may restrict issue, electoral or political ads. Any advertiser running ads about social issues, elections or politics who is located in or targeting people in designated countries must complete the authorization process required by *Facebook* except for news publishers identified by *Facebook*. This applies to any ad that:

- Is made by, on behalf of or current or former candidate for public office, a
  political figure, a political party, a political action committee or advocates for
  the outcome of an election to public office, or
- Is about any election, referendum or ballot initiative, including "get out the vote" or election information campaigns; or

- Is about any social issue in any place where the ad is being run; or
- Is regulated as political advertising

Advertisers running these ads, regardless of location, targeting or news exemptions, must comply with all applicable laws and regulations, including but not limited to requirements involving; Disclaimer, disclosure and ad labeling, blackout periods, foreign interference or spending limits and reporting requirements. Ads must not run in or be targeted at the state of Washington when the ads relate to Washington's state or local elected officials, candidates, elections or ballot initiatives". *Facebook* also provide resources in the Help Centre on how to run ads about social issues, elections or politics. Advertisers who wish to use this can begin the authorization process at facebook.com/id.

Richterich (2018) in her article titled 'How Data-Driven Research Fuelled the Cambridge Analytica Controversy' discussed the *Facebook*- Cambridge Analytica data scandal that erupted on March 2018 following a report by 'The New York Times' and 'The Observer'. The report says that the company had acquired and used personal data about *Facebook* users without their consent. This scandal cause a controversial topic and the company had to close it down in 2018. Cambridge Analytica Ltd (CA) was a British political consulting firm started in 2013 and having offices in London, New York City, and Washington, DC. Cambridge Analytica harvest data using data mining, data brokerage and data analysis with strategic communication during the process of elections. Their method of analysis was perceived as effective and prior to this scandal Cambridge Analytica Ltd (CA) was said to be involved in 44 US political races in 2014, Ted Cruz presidential campaign in 2015 and Donald Trump presidential campaign in the US (Richterich, 2018).

#### 2.7. Use Of Social Media in Mizoram

The state of Mizoram formerly known as the Lushai Hills falls under the administrative jurisdiction of Assam during the colonial period (Khuma, 1999, p. 15). It was only in 1891 that the Lushai Hills has its own administrative set up advocated by the British in which the Lushai Hills territory was divided into North and South subdivisions (Khuma, 1999, p. 15). The North Lushai Hills which was under Assam and the South Lushai Hill under the umbrella of the Government of

Bengal was clubbed into one district starting from 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1898 (Khuma, 1999, p. 15). When India got Independence in 1947, Lushai Hills was conferred the status of Autonomous District Council (Lawmzuala, 2002, p. 6; Khuma, 1999, p. 55). After a few decades the Lushai Hills was upgraded to the status Union Territory on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1972 with Mizoram as its name officially (Lalrawnliana, 2001, p. 14). After 20 years of insurgency Mizoram attained statehood in the year 1986. Till now there has been 11 Assembly Elections so far.

The first political party Mizo Union was formed in 1946 by R. Vanlawma (Lawmzuala, 2002, p. 6). One year later the second political party United Mizo Freedom Organization UMFO was formed (Sangzuala, 1996, p. 79). In 1949, the Pawi Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU) was formed to be the third political party in Mizoram (Lalremruata, 2016). These three political parties exist as the main political parties during the time when the Lushai Hills is under Assam (Lalremruata, 2016). During the Union Territory and the beginning of the statehood era several political parties were formed.

The first form of mass media to enter Mizoram is the print media. The first newspaper Laishuih was published in 1898 (Thanmawia, 1996). A few years later other newspaper such as Mizo leh Vai chanchin 1902, Kristian Tlangau 1911, Tlawmngaihna 1934, LSA Chanchinbu 1935 were published (Thanmawia, 1996). Today, there are around 90 newspapers published in all the Eight (8) districts of Mizoram (Thanmawia, 1996). The exact year when the first radio is hard to trace, however, it is estimated that the radio has entered Mizoram during the early 1950s (Lalrinawma, 2015). For a long time people use radio as their main source of information and for listening to music. Television entered the soil of Mizoram during the beginning of the 1980s (Lalrinawma, 2015; Lalfakzuala, 2008). Before 1990 there is no private television and doordarshan is the only media institution to relay television programs in India (Lalfakzuala, 2008). It 1991 the first Cable TV, Sky Link (Best Vision) was set up Aizawl. With this Cable TV being set up people were able to watch STAR TV programmes (Lalrinawma, 2015). After a few years later other Cable TV were set up not only in Aizawl but also in other districts as well (Lalrinawma, 2015). Telecommunication system was available during the early 1950

but it was only available for government officials (Lalrinawma, 2015). The general public started using telecommunication system in the early 1980s (Lalrinawma, 2015). On January 31, 2004, Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) started giving mobile phone connection in Mizoram (Lalrinawma, 2015). For a long time BSNL was the sole provider of telecommunication service (Lalfakzuala, 2008; Lalrinawma, 2015). Today, other services like Vodafone, Airtel, and other service providers are giving mobile and internet connections (Lalrinawma, 2015). A few years after BSNL started giving out mobile phone connections it started giving Dial-Up connection in 1999 (Lalrinawma, 2015). In 2006 BSNL introduce Broadband connections and in 2008 it started giving High-Speed Broadband (Lalrinawma, 2015). During the late 2000s other mobile and internet service providers like Tata Photon, Docomo, Reliance 3G and other mobile and internet service providers entered Mizoram (Lalrinawma, 2015).

Many previous studies show that social media is used for several reasons. A study conducted by R. Lalrinhlua (2011) in his paper "Mobile Phone Usage among Rural Youth in Mizoram" examines the use of mobile phones by rural youth in Mizoram. The author draws conclusions from a survey based exploratory study that some of the important reasons that the youth express are – sending important news faster, stay connected with family, useful in times of emergency, to stay connected with girlfriend/boyfriend and others, to socialize, to make voice calls and sending a text message, for listening to music and for entertainment and fun. At the same time the respondents also dislike using mobile phones for certain reasons such as: easy access to pornographic images, waste of money and time, distract studies, easy to misuse etc.

Lalremruati Khiangte and R N Mishra (2016) in their article titled 'A Descriptive Study of Blogging by the Mizo' study Mizo bloggers and their society. And also study the ways in which Mizo bloggers view the society through blogging. Their study reveals that blogging has become an important online space to express ideas, thoughts and opinions on any issues for Mizo Diaspora. The study also found out that educated Mizo bloggers used blogging to cover important issues in society which are neglected by mainstream media. This shows that blogging which is also considered

as citizen journalism has enabled ordinary mizo citizens from all over the world to participate in Mizo society.

The use of social media as a tool for political campaign came to light from an article in the Economic Times in which it was reported that Rothuama Sailo who is a close friend of the party President of Zoram Nationalist Party mentioned that political parties in Mizoram have been using social media platforms and mobile phones to attract voters, especially the youths, in the 2013 Legislative Assembly Election (economictimes, 2013). From this article reveal the following different ways of using social media for politics. They are;-

- 1. Zoram Nationalist Party President Lalduhawma has an account on *Facebook*. ZNP President used his *Facebook* account to communicate with the public.
- 2. ZNP use *Facebook* to send the party press releases to local media persons through *Facebook*. The party uses *Facebook* and other social media platforms to issue press statements even from remote villages.
- 3. Facebook is also used as a platform for political discussion by youth leaders of Congress and Mizo Nationalist Front (MNF). Facebook groups like Zoram Thlirtu, Dingdi, Zoram Khawvel and Special Report, have been used by young politicians to express their views of their parties and the groups have become an important platform for political debate. One political party even organized training for young party workers on how to use social media to the maximum advantage of the party for the coming years.

#### 2.8. History and development of uses and gratifications theory

The uses and gratification theory has a long standing history and is applied to different forms of mass media including radio, television, newspaper, magazines, internet, mobile phones, social media and so on. The theory looks into the perspective of the audience on mass media rather than from the angle of mass media. It is recognized as a sub tradition of mass media effects the theory revolves around two main questions; the uses and gratifications theory is a result of previous studies. Beginning of the mass media theory media is perceived to have a direct control over its audiences. Theories that established the idea that audiences are passive and helpless on the effect of mass media are the magic bullet or the hypodermic theory.

The premise of uses and gratification is said to have its roots in the social and psychological needs (West & Turner, 2010). The uses and gratification theory is in opposition to the direct effect of mass media. Beginning of the 1940s scholars began to see a different pattern of mass media and its audience's behavior. It 1944 Herzog conducted a study on why people listened to various soap operas by interviewing soap opera fans. The interview result reveals three gratifications categories on why people listen soap operas, they are; emotional, wishful thinking and learning (West & Turner, 2010). Apart from Herzog study the study of Abraham Maslow in 1954 is also said to be one of the origin of Uses and Gratifications theory (West & Turner, 2010). Abraham Maslow studies how people actively seek to satisfy their needs based on hierarchy and finally develop a theory what is known as 'Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs" which are illustrated in the form of a pyramid that includes from bottom up biological/physical, security/safety, social/belonging, ego/self respect and self-actualization at the top most (West & Turner, 2010). In the same year Maslow construct his 'Hierarchy of Needs'; Wilbur Schramm developed a formula to predict what mass media an individual would select that helps in calculating the amount of an individual's expected gratification from the medium over how much effort they had to make in achieving the expected gratification (West & Turner, 2010).

A few years later in 1969 Jay Blumer and Dennis McQuail studied the 1964 United Kingdom election (Katz, 1987). They conducted a study which main aim is to categorize the motives of watching certain political programs on television by the people (Katz, 1987). In order to understand the potential effects of mass media they classify television viewers according to their needs (Katz, 1987). This laid the foundation of their further research into this area. In 1972 the study was continued with another scholar Joseph Brown (Katz, 1987). After interviewing different types of mass media audiences they were able to identify four (4) categories of the uses of different types of mass media; diversion, personal relationships, personal identity and surveillance (Katz, 1987). Following this research Blumler, Brown, Elihu Katz, Michael Gurevitch and Hadassah Haas further investigate media uses and gratifications in 1973-74 (Katz, 1987). Their works in 1974 became the basic

assumption for Uses and Gratifications Theory (Katz, 1987). The main assumptions are:

- 1. The audience is active and thus the use of mass media is goal directed.
- 2. The audience makes motivated choices, based on previous experience with the media
- Media selection and use are purposive and motivated and people take the initiative in selecting and using communication vehicles to satisfy felt needs and desires.
- 4. The media compete with other sources of need satisfaction.

Social and psychological functions of the media, Katz et at 1973 developed 35 needs that motivate people to use media and put them into five categories: cognitive needs, affective needs, personal integrative needs, social integrative needs and tension release needs (Katz, 1987). McQuail 1983 summarized four common reasons for media use: information, personal identity, integration and social interaction and entertainment. The early research on uses and gratifications focused on identifying the motivations (reason for using media) (Katz, 1987). It was Philip Palmgreen, Lawrence A. Wenner, J. D. Rayburn II who study whether audiences get what they seek in using media. In their 1980 study, they focus on studying of gratifications sought (GS) and gratifications obtained (GO) from the most popular television news programs indicate that each GS correlated either moderately or strongly with its corresponding GO (Palmgreen, Wenner, & Rayburn, 1980). However, they also argue that audiences do not always obtain gratification (Palmgreen, Wenner, & Rayburn, 1980). Gratifications sought refer to the various reasons for using a medium in order to fulfill their sociological or psychological needs which are also known as motivations and gratifications obtained are the "perceived personal outcomes" of these motivations. Following the work of previous researches the theory of Uses and Gratification is applied to new media like mobile phones, internet and various social media platforms.

Papacharissi & Rubin (2000) in their study, 'Predictors of Internet Use' focuses on the motivations for using the internet among 279 college students. Using survey method the study found out five (5) motivations for using the internet, they are; interpersonal utility, pass time, information seeking, convenience and entertainment. Among the five (5) motivations of using internet the study shows that information and entertainment factor has the highest mean scores. Convenience factor was also a salient factor while pass time and interpersonal utility were less salient (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000). Shao (2009) in the study titled, 'Understanding the appeal of usergenerated media: a uses and gratification perspective' look into detail how and why people use UGM, and what factors make UGM particularly appealing, through a uses and gratifications perspective. The study argues that individuals take with UGM in different ways for different purposes: they consume contents for to fulfill their information, entertainment, and mood management needs. The study also found out that users participate through interacting with the content as well as with other users for enhancing social connections and virtual communities. Furthermore, the study argues that users produce their own contents for self-expression and selfactualization (Shao, 2009). The study conducted by Aihabash et.al (2012) explored the motivations of online social network use among a sample of the general population in Taiwan (N=4,346). The study investigated how seven different motivations to use Facebook predicted the intensity of Facebook use and contentgeneration behaviors on Facebook. The study showed that the motivation to use Facebook for posting and viewing status updates was the strongest predictor of Facebook intensity, while the motivation to view and share photographs was the strongest predictor of content-generation behavior on the site (Aihabash, Park, Konova, Chiang, & Wise, 2012). Another study that shapes the current study was the study conducted by Whiting & Williams (2013) titled, 'why people use social media: A uses and gratifications approach'. The study explores and discusses the uses and gratifications that consumers receive from using social media. The study employs an exploratory study in which 25 in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals who use social media. The interview result reveals ten (10) uses and gratifications for using social media. The ten uses and gratifications are: social interactions, information seeking, pass time, entertainment, relaxation, communicatory utility, convenience utility, expression of opinion, information sharing, and surveillance/knowledge about others (Whiting & Williams, 2013).

### 3.1. Case Study 1: The Use of Social Media Platforms by Zoram Nationalist Party

Name of Political Party : Zoram Nationalist Party

Party Headquarter : Aizawl Mizoram

Year of active : 1997 -2019
Party President : Lalduhawma

Zoram Nationalist Party was one the major political party in Mizoram. ZNP, formerly known as Mizoram National Front (Nationalist) was formed in 1997 by Lalduhawma, former Member of Parliament, and Ex-President formed after internal conflicts in the Mizo National Front following the party general election in 1997. Displeased with the outcome of the party, he left and formed a new political party i.e., Zoram Nationalist Party. The party won two seats each in the 2003 and 2008 election. It also participate in the 2013 state legislative assembly election however, it did not win any seat. Being a regional party, its policy and ideology has nationalist intentions based on the overall security, stability and development of the Mizo people living within the state and also beyond state. Development in agriculture and market security for the farmers was one of its manifestos including the formation of Lok Ayukta and hand holding policy of skill development to counter the increasing unemployment rate.

The party started using *Facebook* prior to the 2013 Assembly election but some members felt that it was best to delete it and it was permanently deleted. However, a new party official *Facebook* group and page was created in 2013. Since the party decided to work with other parties for the coming 2018 Legislative Assembly election, the party official *Facebook* account was not used as focus was given to the alliance social media account.

The party official *Facebook* account was created with the intention of attracting educated and young voters. It was mainly used to post the activities of the party, party manifesto, action plans and tour of party leaders. It was also used to disseminate party press release. Social media platform was very convenient because it is easy to use and they do not have to spend extra money for it. The party was forerunner in using *Facebook* as one of political campaign strategy among Mizo

political parties. The party felt that using social media platforms such as *Facebook* was necessary because people were using it as one of their main source of news and information. In the 2013 general election the party use *Facebook* to promote the party and party candidate but unfortunately did not win any single seat. Members of the party were very disappointed but the party leader; Lalduhawma said that the miserable performance of the party in the election is due to others factors, but not the accountability of use of social media as political platform. He believes in it and he himself continues to use his personal *Facebook* account. He said that social media plays an important role as it is now one of the fastest media, reaching thousands and thousands of voters at the palm of the hand instantly, thus plays an important role for turning information into their favor. He encouraged members of the party to continue using not only *Facebook* but other social media platforms as well in the future to come.

Activities in Zoram Nationalist Party Official Facebook Group: The party official Facebook group was a private group created in 2013. It has 229 members as of June 2015. The name of the group was ZORAM NATIONALIST PARTY (ZNP). There was very less activity in the group. There were only 11 activities out of which 72.73% was photos and 27.27% was files. There were no events, album, video and files shared in the group.

Table-1: Activities in Zoram Nationalist Party Official Facebook Group

Activities	Frequency (N=11)	Percentage
Photos	8	72.73
Files	3	27.27
	3	
Total	11	100

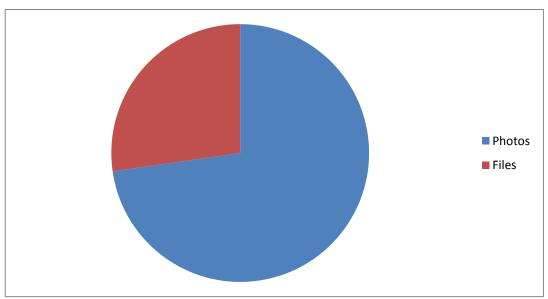


Figure-1: Activities in Zoram Nationalist Party Facebook Group

Figure-2: Zoram Nationalist Party Official Facebook Group



# ZORAM NATIONALIST PARTY(ZNP) >

**PRIVATE GROUP · 229 MEMBERS** 

Source: Facebook

#### 3.2. Case Study 2: The Use of Social Media Platform by Mizo National Front

Name of Political Party : Mizo National Front

**Headquarter** : Aizawl, Mizoram

Year of Active : 1960-Present
Party Preseident : Zoramthanga

The Lushai's or Mizo considered themselves as an autonomous race living in their own land prior to the British rule. As a district under Assam, the Mizo's feels they were neglected by the Assam government which was deepened by the 48 years cyclic ecological phenomenon known as 'mautam' which occur in the region. This 'mautam' involve bamboo flowering followed by exponential growth in rat population leading to crop damage and eventually cause widespread famine in the region. Deeply unsatisfied by the efforts by the Indian government in their handling and negligence of the famine in the region, the Mizo Cultural Society formed in 1955 was converted to Mizo National Famine Front in 1960 with Pu R Dengthuama as its President and Pu Ladenga its Secretary. Though, MNFF was not a political party, its effort in countering the government against their inactivity in helping the famine struck people and demanding relief captured the heart of the Mizo people and evokes their nationalistic sentiments. Thus, by 1961 the Mizo National Famine Front was converted to a political party on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1961 with Laldenga as President, JF Manliana as Vice President and R Vanlawma its Secretary (Zoramthanga, 2017). The Mizo people infuriated by the lethargic reaction in countering the dreadful famine welcome the newly formed party with open arms. The Mizo National Party gained immense popularity in a short span of time and with Laldenga, a naturally gifted orator as its leader. The Mizo National Front reinforces the patriotic feelings of the people and the fact that Mizo's traditionally are a race with autonomy over their own land prior the British era (J.V.Hluna, 2004). It unites the Mizo inhabited area which now falls under Tripura, Manipur in India and part of Myanmar and Pakistan as a result of geographical division of the then Lushai Hills by the British for easier administration melts over the hearts of the people resulting in mass mobilization. Some of the educated and elite sections were

skeptical about it, but none dare to stand against, seeing the intensity among the common mass. (Prassad, 1992) After 20 years of going underground fighting for independence from India, the MNF and central government of India signed peace accord in 1986; the state of Mizoram was born. In 1987 the first state assembly election was held in which the party won the seat. Currently there were eight (8) assembly election held in the state and out of the eight assembly elections the Mizo National Front formed the government for 4 terms (Zoramthanga, 2017).

After the 2013 Mizoram Legislative Election the party decided to use social media platforms as a tool for political communication. The party started using *Facebook* on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 2014, a few months after the 2013 general election. The party also creates an *Instagram* account on March, 2017. The *Instagram* account was managed by the Youth and IT affairs department. Some members of the party especially the youth upload video clips of speech by party leaders in their personal *YouTube* channel as the party did not have official *YouTube* channel yet. At the moment the party did not discuss about creating party official *YouTube* channel. Members and leaders of the party use *WhatsApp* a lot to communicate with each other. There were more than 10 *WhatsApp* group.

The party *Facebook* account was created to disseminate news and events of Mizo National Front Headquarters. It was also created for its members far and near to discuss any issues, it can be political and non-political. The party create an *Instagram* account hoping to attract the youth. The party has decided to have its presence in every social media platforms which are popularly used by the people of Mizoram. However, due to busy time schedule they could not make posts as frequently as they want.

The party leaders felt that it was very important for political parties to keep themselves in the public eyes and social media is the perfect platform to do so as it is low cost, instant and the audience is large. The main idea behind using social media was to post functions and events organized by the party. There were times when political leaders visit different parts of the state for different purposes, in such occasion one or more than one person was assigned to report back to the party headquarter. WhatsApp was very useful in this regards. Videos, pictures and

description of the functions were sent via *WhatsApp*. The people in charge of *Facebook* and *Instagram* filter and select those reports and post them in different groups on *Facebook* and in the party official *Instagram* account. The party also tries to build positive party image by posting good services and good deeds done by party leaders.

There were several times when the party wanted to make press release to be disseminated via different forms of mass media to reach to a large number of people but when the party was on the opposition side it is difficult to find a space in newspaper, television and radio. Without having to put great effort in trying to spread their party press release in conventional mass media, social media provide the platform to disseminate their press release. One of the main aims of political parties was to find and expose the weaknesses of other political parties in order to securely establish the stand of our political party. With this in mind the party used to generate posts related to satirical memes and political jokes. However, it was very hard to engage people in their official social media account; so, they turn to other Facebook groups like Mizo Special Report, Zoram politics etc. They could not be active as they want in *Instagram*. However, *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* were extensively used during election campaigns. They use Facebook to introduce the candidates who were contesting for elections and also to disseminate the party manifesto. They forward those same messages to all the groups in Facebook and WhatsApp.

Although social media provide an ample space for political parties to raise their voice it needs constant invigilation and there were days when it was very difficult to find the time for using social media. There were times when their attempts to promote their party backfire and people make fun of us. They have to be careful in how they build their party image in the eye of the public. There were also times when unexpected negative comments were received. But they have to keep in mind that other political parties were also among readers of their posts, so, it was important that they must learn how to react to negative comments and feedback. After using *Facebook* for several years they learn that it was very hard to engage members and followers of our party official social media platforms to have

discussions be it politics related or non-politics related issues. It was easier to have a discussion on other *Facebook* group rather than their party official *Facebook* group. So, they pay more attention to other *Facebook* groups than their party official *Facebook* group. Another important issues faced in using social media was that there were several fake news posted from fake accounts which could hamper the party image. It was very difficult to locate the person who posts this kind of false information.

Apart from official party social media groups, the party feels that it was important that their party leaders use social media platforms to strengthen the connection with public. However, due several reasons our political leaders were not able to actively engage in social media platforms other than *WhatsApp*. Younger members of the party operate on the behalf of some of their party leaders who were not in a condition to operate their personal social media accounts.

Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Group: Mizo National Front official Facebook group was MIZO NATIONAL FRONT (MNF). It was a private group in which there were 9100 members and there were 26 admins and moderators as of December, 2018. The group was created on 26 September, 2014. The following table shows the activities in the group. From the time the group was created the number of photos uploaded in the group was the highest which was 96.2%.

Table-2: Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Group

Activities	Frequency (N=900)	Percentage
Photos	866	96.2
Album	33	3.7
Files	1	0.1
Total	900	100

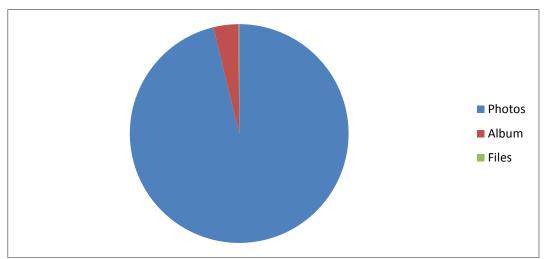


Figure-3: Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Group

Figure-4: Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Group



## MIZO NATIONAL FRONT (MNF) >

CLOSED GROUP · 9.1K MEMBERS

Source: Facebook

Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Page: Mizo National Front also created a Facebook page. The name of the page was Mizo National Front. It has 6,289 likes and follows 6,303 people as of December, 2018. Photos were the most frequently posts which was 95.77%. The second most frequently post was video which was 2.72% and there was 0.6% events organized and 0.15% files uploaded in the page.

Table-3: Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Page

Activities	Frequency (N=662)	Percentage
Photos	634	95.77
Events	4	0.6
Album	5	0.76
Video	18	2.72
Notes	1	0.15
Total	662	100

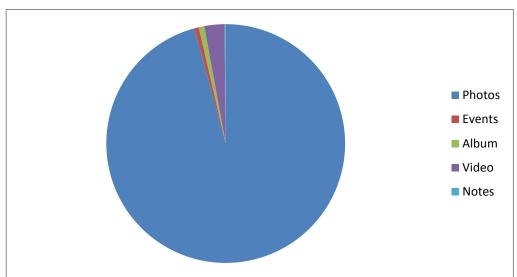


Figure-5: Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Page

Figure-6: Mizo National Front Party Official Facebook Page







Source: Facebook

Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official *Instagram* Account: Mizoram Nationalist Party creates an *Instagram* account in 2017. The name of the account is mizo\_national\_front\_. It has 1121 followers and follows 5668 others. Activities in the Mizo National Front official *Instagram* account were mainly posting photos. Out of the total posts 88% was photos and 12% was video.

Table-4: Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Instagram Account

Activities	Frequency (N= 50)	Percentage
Photos	44	88
Videos	6	12
Total	50	100

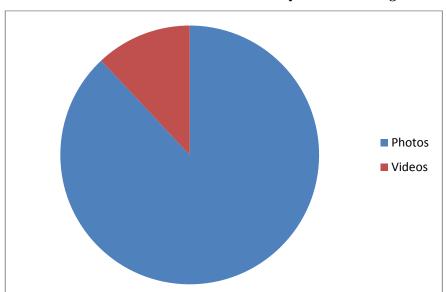


Figure-7: Activities in Mizo National Front Party Official Instagram Account

Figure-8: Mizo National Front Party Official Instagram Account



Source: Instagram

#### 3.3. Case study 3: The use of Social Media Platforms by Zoram People's Movement

Name of Political Party : Zoram People's Movement

**Headquarter** : Aizawl, Mizoram

Year of Active : 2018-Present
Party President : Lalduhawma,

Zoram People's Movement is one of the major regional parties in Mizoram. It was formed in 2018, a few months prior to the November 2018 Legislative Assembly Election. It was formed by the coming together of seven political parties; Zoram Nationalist Party, Mizoram People's Conference, Zoram Exodus Movement, Zoram Decentralisation Front, Zoram Reformation Front, Mizoram People's Party and National Congress Party. Zoram Nationalist Party leader Lalduhawma was unanimously elected as the president of the party. Under the leadership of Lalduhawma, the party went to their first Mizoram Legislative Assembly election 2018 and bagged 8 seats. The party official headquarter is in Aizawl and set up district headquarters in all of the other districts in Mizoram.

As soon as the alliance between different political parties was confirmed, the party started using social media platforms such as those of *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *WhatsApp* straight away. The leaders of the party have the opinion that using various social media platforms was crucial as users of social media were increasing with each passing years. The party created a page on *Facebook* a few months prior to the 2019 General Legislative Assembly Election held on November, 2018.

The party uses a picture of a hat which was the symbol of their MLA candidate as a profile picture and a picture of ginger and maize as cover picture to signify the party core policy; to uplift the poorest of the poor by promoting ginger cultivation. The maintenance of the party official *Facebook* page falls under the Media and Publicity department. However, anyone who was an active member can also create post. We also create an official account in *Instagram* because it was popular among the people of Mizoram especially the youth. It was maintained by the younger members of the Media and Publicity department. Apart from using *Facebook* and *Instagram* for political communication, members of the party also use *WhatsApp* extensively. There

were several party groups. It could be roughly said that one member was in at least 10 *WhatsApp* group related to party. The party did not have a separate channel under our party name but some members upload video of our leaders' speech using their personal account.

The party president and other top leaders were advised by friend, family and younger members of the party to use at least Facebook as a tool for political communication. They use Facebook and Instagram to build a relationship with not only party members but also all the citizens of Mizoram. The party hopes that by sharing the political activities of their party and leaders will create a bond with the people. As their party was the coming together of different political parties, the party official candidate had a little time to introduce themselves as ZPM official candidate for the November 2018 legislative election. For this election the party was not registered as a political party under the election commission of India and their candidate contested as independent candidate. To make the people aware of ZPM candidate among the independent candidate, the party use Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp as a tool to disseminate the profile of the party candidate, highlighting their personal and professional achievements. They also use all the three social media to disseminate the vision of our party MLA candidate for the betterment of the constituency in which they were going to represent. In the same manner they also disseminate party goals and manifesto.

Besides using newspapers and television to publicize the party 'Press Release', they extensively use *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* to publicize their party press release. Getting a space or spot in newspaper and television takes a lot of effort while using *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* was easier for them to disseminate press release. *Instagram* was not used as extensively as they use *Facebook* and *WhatsApp*. One of the intentions of creating an account on social media was to provide a space for our members from all parts of the state to discuss at length issues related to politics. They also use *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* to receive advice and encouragement from their supporters. Active members in the party were constantly checking social media to see if there were posts that could create a negative image for their leaders and their

party. If they saw such posts they immediately discuss about it and they usually respond to it.

Activities in Zoram People's Movement Official Facebook Page: Zoram People's Movement official Facebook page was Zoram People's Movement-ZPM. It has 14,643 likes and follows 14,640 as on December, 2018. The page was created on 21<sup>st</sup> September, 2018. The most frequent post in the official Facebook page of Zoram People's Movement was photos which was 99.2%. There were 0.6% videos and 0.1% each of events and notes posted in the official Facebook page of Zoram People's Movement.

Table 5: Activities in Zoram People's Movement Official Facebook Page

Activities	Frequency (N=1009)	Percentage
Videos	6	0.6
Photos	1001	99.2
Events	1	0.1
Notes	1	0.1
Total	1009	100

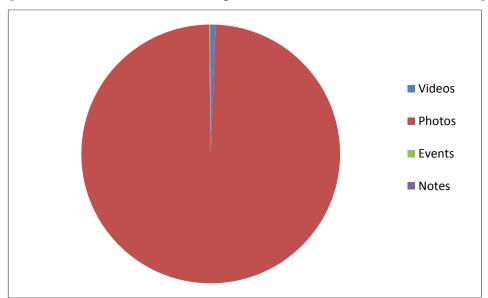


Figure-9: Activities in Zoram People's Movement Official Facebook Page

Figure-10: Zoram People's Movement Official Facebook Page







Source: Facebook

#### Activities in Zoram People's Movement Official Instagram Account

The official *Instagram* account of Zoram People's Movement was created in 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2018. The name of the account was zpm\_tangrualpawl. It has 1,820 followers and 2 followings as of December, 2018. Majority of the activities in the official instagram account of Zoram People's Movement was posting photos which was 98.91% and 1.09% was video clips.

Table 6: Activities in Zoram People's Movement Official Instagram Account

Activities	Frequency (N=276)	Percentage
Photos	273	98.91
Videos	3	1.09
Total	276	100

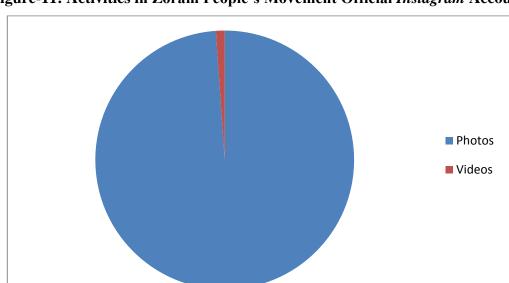


Figure-11: Activities in Zoram People's Movement Official Instagram Account

Figure-12: Zoram People's Movement Official Instagram Account



Source: Instagram

### 3.4. Case Study 4: The Use of Social Media by People's Right to Information and Development Implementation Society of Mizoram (Prism)

Name of Political Party : People's Right to Information and Development

Implementation Society of Mizoram (PRISM)

**Headquarter** : Aizawl Mizoram

Year of Active : 2018-present

The main aim of PRISM is to establish an efficient government that is free of corruption and unhealthy political system. People's Right to Information and Development Implementation Society of Mizoram functioned as an activist which main objective is to root out corruption and to combat other malpractices within and outside government which can hamper to the larger interest of the society. In 2018, it was officially declared a political party under the leadership of Vanlalruata. In the 2018 Mizoram Legislative Election the party contested in all 40 seats, however, came empty handed.

The party was formerly an NGO and from that time they use social media to disseminate their agendas. Back then they were just a small organization. They use Facebook a lot because it was cheap and very convenient to use. When they turn the organization into a political party their top leaders continue to use social media as a tool of political communication. The party also has official website and official Facebook page. They also have several WhatsApp groups where they discuss about political stuff. They create a page and a normal account on Facebook under the name PRISM Mizoram and Prisminfo respectively. But they use our Facebook page PRISM Mizoram rather than the normal Facebook account. They create Instagram account but could not be active due to lack of man power. They also create a Twitter account in 2018 and they plan to be active in the years to come. The party also plans to use YouTube to post political videos but was still under progress. Currently the party has more than 10 WhatsApp groups where members share information.

The main purpose of using social media platforms was to built their party image, to publicize their party goals which were good governance, administrative reform, health and education, agriculture and industrial policy, transportation and power, end corruption, financial reform and land reform. The party was still in its initial period

as a political party the party president said that using social media was very important for them because it was easy to use and also because it was cheap. The party president was the one who operate and manage all of the party official social media account and was assisted by a few other members of the party. It was very hard for small political party that did not even have one MLA to get a space in newspaper or television. Social media with its characteristics of user generated content provide that platform in which they could raise their voice and disseminate their agenda. The party use *Facebook* to publicize the negligence of the ruling party towards the running of the government and also to point out the wrong doings of other party. Due to lack of man power the currently did not use *Instagram*, *Twitter* and *YouTube* but the party plan to use them in the future.

The main problem they faced in using social media was that there were only a few people who give comments to their post. They felt that there were too many silent readers and they did not get the feedback they wished to receive. They wanted to build their party image as good as possible but without feedback from the side of the reader there were times when they are confused with what type of content they need to generate. To communicate with one another they mainly use *WhatsApp* to inform each other about their party committees, programmes and to discuss things. To send important documents to each other they use email.

Activities in PRISM Party Official Facebook Page: The official PRISM party official Facebook page was created in 2017. The name of the page was PRISM Mizoram and it has 6,202 likes with 6,311 followings as on December, 2018. The activities in the official Facebook page of PRISM includes posting photos which was 84.29%, videos which was 14.51% and event which was 1.2%.

Table 7: Activities in PRISM Party Official Facebook Page

Activities	Frequency (N=299)	Percentage
Event	4	1.2
Videos	43	14.51
Photos	252	84.29
Total	299	100

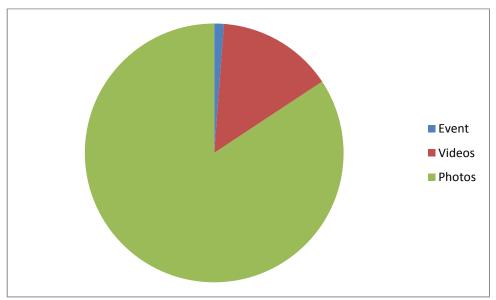
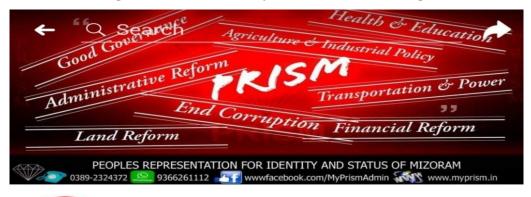


Figure-13: Activities in Prism Party Official Facebook Page

Figure-14: PRISM Party Official Facebook Page







Source: Facebook

## 3.5. Case Study 5: The Use of Social Media Platforms by Indian National Congress (Inc)- Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee

Name of Political Party: Indian National Congress (INC)- Mizoram Pradesh

**Congress Committee** 

**Headquarter** : Aizawl, Mizoram

Year of Active : 1885-Present
Party President : Lal Thanhawla

Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee is one of the branches of Indian National Congress which is a national political party formed in 1885. The Mizoram chapter of congress was formed on 11<sup>th</sup> April, 1961 under the leadership of A. Thanglura. A. Thanglura was formerly Assam MLA but he was asked to resign from his position due to internal conflict within his party Mizo Union. During the initial stage of the formation of the Indian National Congress it did not receive a warm welcome from the people as it was considered as an outsider's political party. However, after the Lushai Hills was elevated to the status of Union Territory in 1972 and the fact that the party merged with Mizo Union, the party started to gain popularity among the people. Upholding democracy, socialism, secularism, protecting the cultures and traditions of different descendants of Mizos, give preference to its people in every way etc.

Even though there are individual users of social media platforms among members of the party who constantly try to promote their party, it was only after the 2013 November Legislative Election that the party decided to create party official social media account. The party official *Facebook* account was created after the 2013 Legislative Assembly Election. The name of the official *Facebook* page was India National Congress- Mizoram. The party also has several *WhatsApp* groups which was mainly used for communication among members of the party. The party also creates official *Instagram* account. They used to discuss about having official party account in *Twitter* and also for the top party leaders but they have not started using it yet. Leaders of the party also felt that *YouTube* is going to be very useful for political campaign. However, they did not have official channel on *YouTube* but younger

members of the party used to upload speech of video clips by their leaders using their personal channel.

They mainly use the official Facebook page to publicize the party's visions and goals for the betterment of Mizoram. They also use it as a platform to build our party image in a positive way and to respond to false accusations. Members of the party especially the Media and Publicity members constantly check Facebook to see the presence of negative posts about the party leaders and party. And when there were such posts they discuss about it immediately whether to respond or not. They did not use Facebook or Instagram to communicate amongst themselves. They use WhatsApp to communicate among themselves apart from normal calls. There were more than 10 WhatsApp groups. There are some members who use YouTube for political campaign but the party did not have official channel. Members including party leaders felt that YouTube is a good platform to share speech of their leaders and also to share their party functions.

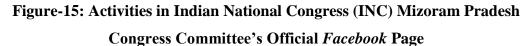
The party president Lal Thanhawla use to say that in order to stay alive as a political party, it was important to appear before the public eye in a positive or negative way. He further said that no news or information in the media is the end of a political party. It was hard to get the desired amount of time and space in other forms of media such as newspaper and television. Because of this reason social media was very convenient as they could express their thoughts and views in an instant. They mainly use their party official Facebook page and Instagram to post updated news and information of their party not only members but also to all the people of Mizoram. Recently they started using social media in election campaign by introducing the party candidate. They also highlight their party achievements. They use more of the party official Facebook than their Instagram account. Every political party has someone who invigilates Facebook, they call those people Facebooker. These people have several accounts and their main job was to expose the bad side of their rival party. This could be good in some way but there were so many fake accounts posting false news about their party and their leaders, sometimes it was a headache for them because it was rather confusing for them whether to respond to them or ignore them.

Activities in Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee's Official Facebook Page: The Indian National Congress (Inc) Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee's official Facebook page was created in August 2018. The name of the page was Indian National Congress- Mizoram. It has 12,100 likes and 12,097 follows as of December, 2018. Activities in Indian National Congress (INC)- Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee official Facebook page includes posting photos which was 84.10% and videos which was 15.90%.

Table-8: Activities in Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh

Congress Committee's Official Facebook Page

Activities	Frequency (N= 132)	Percentage
Photos	111	84.10
Videos	21	15.90
Total	132	100



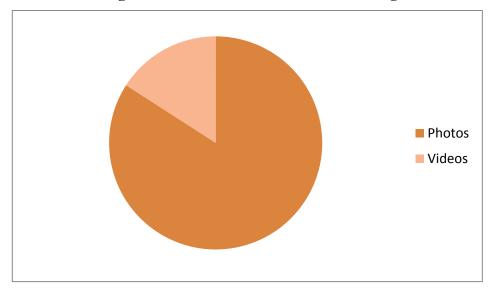


Figure-16: Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh Congress

Committee's Official Facebook Page







Source: Facebook

Activities in Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee's Official *Instagram* Account: The Indian National Congress (Inc) Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee's official *Instagram* account was created in 2017. The name of the account was incmizoram. It has 414 followers and 10 followings as of December, 2018. The majority of posts shared were photos (90.70%) and there was 9.30% videos shared in the party official *Instagram* account.

Table-9: Activities in Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh

Congress Committee's Official *Instagram* Account

Activities	Frequency (N=43)	Percentage
Photos	39	90.70
Videos	4	9.30
Total	43	100

Figure-17: Frequency Distribution of Activities in Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee's Official *Instagram* Account

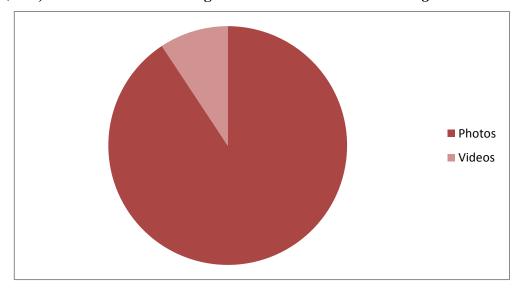


Figure-18: Indian National Congress (INC) Mizoram Pradesh Congress

Committee's Official Instagram Account



Source: *Instagram* 

### 3.6. Case Study 6: The Use of Social Media Platforms by Bharatiya Janata Party

Name of Political Party : Bharatiya Janata Party

**Headquarter** : Aizawl

Year of Active : 1992-Present

Party President : JV Hluna

Bharatiya Janata Party is one of the two major national political parties in Mizoram beside the Indian National Congress. It was establish in the early 1990s and make its first appearance in the election arena in the 1993 Legislative election. There were only a very few people involved in the party during its initial formation. The party President JV Hluna said that it is very hard to win the heart of the Mizo people for their party as it is perceived as a Hindu political party by the common masses. The party almost died but was revived and slowly gains popularity after the BJP takes over the central government under the leadership of the current Prime Minister Narendra Modi. After its fifth participation in the state Legislative Assembly election, the party bagged one seat in the November 2018 Legislative election.

There were individual users of social media platforms among members of the party including the party President. However, the party decided to create official social media account. After the 2013 Legislative Assembly Election the party creates official *Facebook* page, official *Instagram* account and several *WhatsApp* groups. Currently the party use only *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *WhatsApp* as official social media platforms. However, some party members used their personal *YouTube* account to upload videos of the local and central party leader's speech.

They mainly use the *Facebook* page to publicize their party visions and manifesto. *Facebook* was used as the main platform to build their party image in a positive way and also like other parties they used it to respond to false accusations and also to disseminate our party press release. They use *Facebook* and *Instagram* 'Live' features to publicize central party activities especially the Prime Minister's activities. They use the official party *Facebook* page and *Instagram* account hoping to build a bond between the public and the party. But they seldom get comments on their posts and they rarely receive inbox or direct message. However, the party plans to continue

using social media even though they find it hard to engage with the public. To communicate between party members they use their *WhatsApp* groups.

Some leaders of the party felt that it was hard to measure whether using social media was effective or not but they felt that using social media was necessary for the party in order to survive as it is not a very popular party among the Mizo people. And also it was the only space the party could get to publicized their agenda because even if the party organize public gathering, only very few people attend it. The main problem for the party in using social media was that the party leaders were too busy to manage the party official social media accounts and there were only a few people who could manage the party official social media accounts. The leaders of the party were aware of the fact that social media was a very important tools for political parties. They use to discuss how to use social media effectively and they hoped that in the future they will use social media effectively. It was well known that the party central leaders such as Narendra Modi, Amit Shah and others were effectively using various social media platforms by hiring expert. But in Mizoram due to several internal reasons the party was not in a position to hire experts to manage the party official social media accounts. Member learned how to use social media in a more effective manner from national and international political leaders and in the future the party plan to use *Twitter* for their party leaders but in the current situation they do not have enough people to manage social media platforms.

Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party Official Facebook Page: The name of the official BJP official Facebook page was BJP Mizoram. It has 5,023 likes and 5,079 follows as of December, 2018. It was created in 2016. The above table presents the activities in the official Facebook page of Bharatiya Janata Party, Mizoram. The number of posts in the party official Facebook page was photo which was 74.43% and there was 25.57% videos posted in the page.

Table-10: Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party Official Facebook Page

Activities	Frequency (N=669)	Percentage
Photos	498	74.43
Videos	171	25.57
Total	669	100

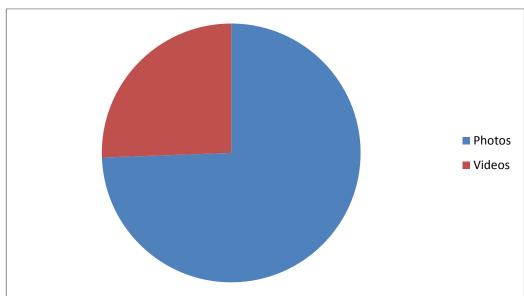


Figure-19: Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party Official Facebook Page

Figure-20: Bharatiya Janata Party Official Facebook Page



Source: Facebook

Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party Official *Instagram* Account: The official *Instagram* account for Bharatiya Janata Party was bjp4mizoram and it was created on August, 2016. It has 405 followers and 3 following as of December, 2018. Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party official *Instagram* account include posting photos (98.98%) and videos (1.02%).

Table-11: Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party Official Instagram Account

Activities	Frequency (N=294)	Percentage
Photos	291	98.98
Videos	3	1.02
Total	294	100

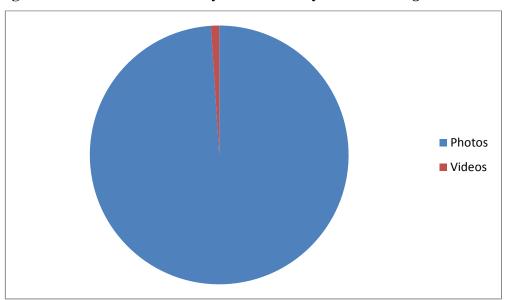


Figure-21: Activities in Bharatiya Janata Party Official Instagram Account

Figure-22: Bharatiya Janata Party Official Instagram Account



Source: Instagram

# 3.7. Case Study 7: The Online Perception of Women Involved in Politics Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

To dissect the online perception of women involved in politics the study selects the lone woman Minister Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu in the Congress government who was sworn in as the Minister of State on 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2017. For this study one (5) random post from *Mizo Special Report* were selected. The post selected were for the study were; post created by PC Sawma on 12<sup>th</sup> March, 2017, post created by CT Sangtea on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017, post created by Vanneihtluanga Vanchhawng on 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2017, post created by PC Sawma on 4<sup>th</sup> April, 2018 and posts created by Jon K Suante on 19<sup>th</sup> June, 2018.

Figure-23: Post on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu



27 Sep 2017 · ② · ...thlan tlin an ni tawh a. Tunah hian hmeichhe Minister hial kan lo nei leh ta hi a lawmawm takzet a ni" a ti. Minister of State thar Vanlalawmpui Chh...



**⊕**♥ 3.2K

266 comments

Figure-24: Post on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu



# PC Sâwma ► MIZO SPECIAL REPORT

12 Mar 2017 · 😂 · ...Mizoram Woman Commission Chairperson Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu MLA khuallian a ni. Thusawiin khuallian Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu Hra...



Sawmtei Cv Chongthu and 890 others 27 comments

Figure-25: Post on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu



# Jon K Suante ► MIZO SPECIAL REPORT

19 Jun 2018 · 😂 · ...hi a semchhuak a ni. Pi Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu chuan sawrkarin mipuite mamawhna hria a, Department kaltlanga tanpuina a sem ch...



🖒 Zela Ralte and 252 others

15 comments

Figure-26: Post on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu



## CT Sangtea ► MIZO SPECIAL REPORT

25 Aug 2017 · 😂 · ...leh Khawlailung VC te hnenah Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu Hrangturzo Bialtu MLA chuan Desktop Computer Set (CPU, Monitor, Printer, Mo...



**658** 

59 comments

Figure-27: Post on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu



## PC Sâwma ▶ MIZO SPECIAL REPORT

4 Apr 2018 · 😂 · ...Cooperation etc., nibawk Pi Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu chuan Mualcheng khawtlangin an din thar Primary Agriculture Credit Scheme a haw...



**184** 

6 comments

Reactions on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu: The different types of reactions on the post about the Minister of State Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu includes was like (98.18%), love (0.76%), haha (0.77%), wow (0.27%) and angry (0.02%). Among the reactions like, love and wow may be considered as positive reactions. Haha and angry reactions may be considered as reactions to express their dislike for the post and hence, negative reactions.

Table-12: Reactions on *Mizo Special Report* about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

Type of Reactions	Frequency (N=5186)	Percentage
Like	5092	98.18
Love	39	0.76
Wow	14	0.27
Haha	40	0.77
Angry	1	0.02
Total	5186	100

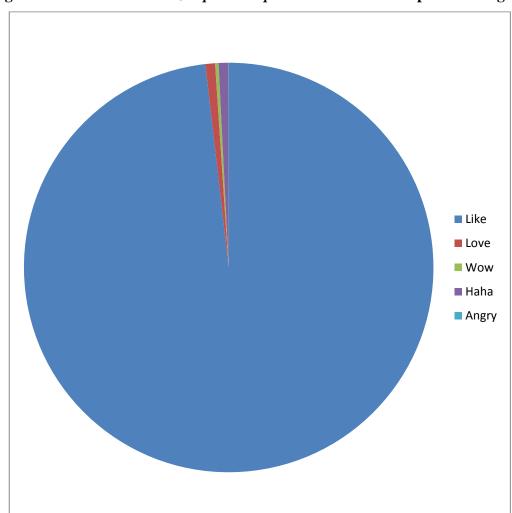


Figure-28: Reactions on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

Comments on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu: The comments were categorized into three (3) themes; positive, negative and others. Positive comments hold 72.39% out of the total comments. Positive comments include all those comments such as those of "I am proud of you" and words of congratulations. However, there are several comments criticized her but not because she was a woman but because they felt that she was not a competent Minister and that she became a Minister only because she got the favor of the Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla. All these comments were labeled as negative comments which hold 11.52% and 16.09% of the comments such as "up", comments on her looks and comments not related to the posts were put under the theme 'Other' as they are neither negative nor positive.

Table-13: Comments on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

Type of comments	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	270	72.39
Negative	43	11.52
Others	60	16.09
Total	373	100

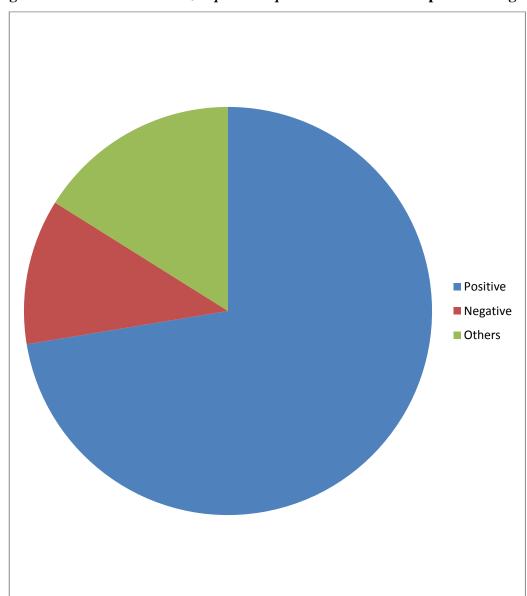


Figure-29: Comments on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

Figure-30: Comments on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

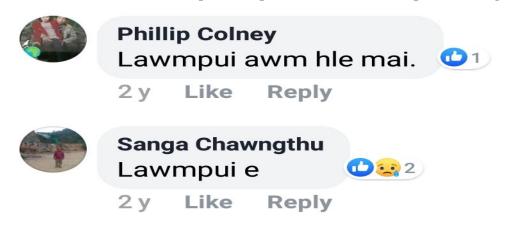


Figure-31: Comments on Mizo Special Report about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

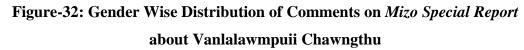


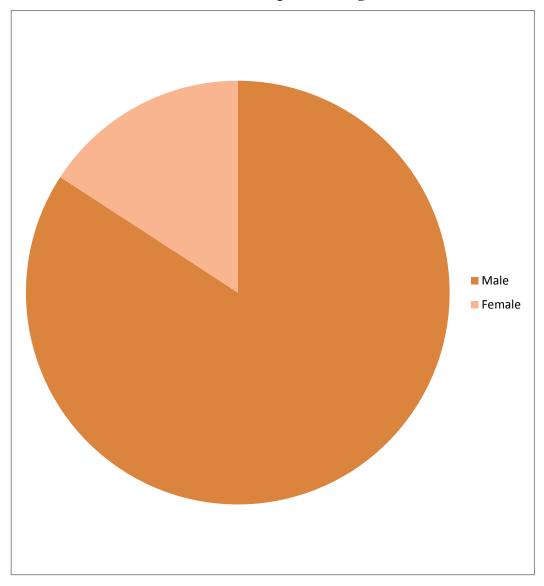
## Gender wise distribution of comments on Mizo Special Report about

**Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu:** The data reveals that majority of the comments comes from male which is 84.18% and only 15.82% of the comments were from females.

Table-14: Gender Wise Distribution of Comments on *Mizo Special Report* about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	314	84.18
Female	59	15.82
Total	373	100





### Lalriliani (Wife Of Ex-Cm Lal Thanhawla)

Wife of politicians are very important for their husband. In this way they are involved in several political activities to help their politician husband. To find out the perception of the people on wife of politicians who are involved in their husband work, the wife of ex Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla was selected for the study. For these purpose five (5) random posts from Special Report which is a popular Facebook group. The posts selected for the study were; post created by Lal Chhuana Renthlei on 24th January 2017, post created by Lal Chhuana Renthlei on 14th December, 2016, post created by Jon K Suante on 15th January, 2018, post created by Jon K Suante on 6<sup>th</sup> July, 2017 and post created by D.R. Zirliana on 11<sup>th</sup> January, 2017.

Figure-33: Post on Special Report about Lalriliani



## Lal Chhuana Renthlei ► SPECIAL REPORT

24 Jan 2017 · 3 · ...berte zing ami leh entawntlak Pi Lal Riliani w/o Pu Lal Thanhawla piancham vawi 74-na a ni a, a lawmpuiawm hle mai. "Aw nang Zofate ...





**⊕ ⇒ ○** Hminga Varte and 2.5k others

201 comments

Figure-34: Post on Special Report about Lalriliani



## **Lal Chhuana Renthlei** ► **SPECIAL REPORT**

14 Dec 2016 · 😂 · ...a an chuan laiin, Car chu tidingin, Pi Lal Riliani W/o Pu Lal Thanhawla Chief Minister chuan Red Kettle ah hian pawisa a thlak a ni. Hemi ...



Zualtei July Sailo and 2k others

529 comments

Figure-35: Post on Special Report about Lalriliani



## Jon K Suante ► SPECIAL REPORT

15 Jan 2018 ⋅ ♣ ⋅ ...a sawm bawk. Chief Minister tawiawmtu Pi Lal Riliani, President, Indian Society on Tobacco & Health (Mizoram Chapter) pawhin thu sa...



**418** 

34 comments

Figure-36: Post on Special Report about Lalriliani



## Jon K Suante ► SPECIAL REPORT

6 Jul 2017 · 😂 · ... Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) Patron Pi Lalriliani te chuan Mizoram Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) Town Area Committee, Serchhip i...



Alan Varte and 175 others

2 comments

Figure-37: Post on Special Report about Lalriliani



## D. R. Zirliana > SPECIAL REPORT

11 Jan 2017 · 😂 · ...'MAHCO Special Handloom Expo' hawngtu Pi Lal Riliani, President, IST&H (Mizoram Chapter) chuan "Thenawm state leh ram dangahte kan ...



1 Comment

**Reactions on Special Report about Lalriliani:** Reactions for the posts were 5160, in which 97.17% was like, 0.66% was love, 1.75% was haha, 0.29% was wow, 0.06% was angry and 0.07% was sad. Among the reactions like, love and wow may be considered as positive reaction. And haha, angry and sad may be regarded as negative reactions. There were more positive reactions than negative reactions.

Table-15: Reactions on Special Report about Lalriliani

Type of Reactions	Frequency (N=5160)	Percentage
Like	5014	97.17
Love	34	0.66
Wow	15	0.29
Haha	90	1.75
Angry	3	0.06
Sad	4	0.07
Total	5160	100

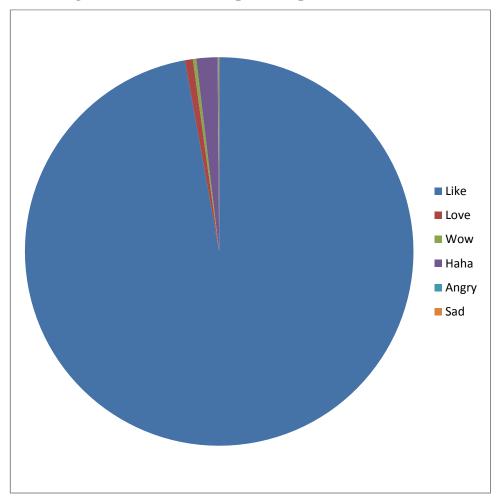


Figure 38: Reactions on Special Report about Lalriliani

Comments on *Special Report* about Lalriliani: There were 24.5% positive comments, 35% negative comments and 40.5% under the category 'others'. Positive comments include comments such as; "I admire her", "Hbd" and other words of admiration were labeled as positive feedback. Comments such as "she looks young and beautiful only because she never works" and sarcastic comments on how she accompanies her husband in his official activities were put under the negative comments. And comments that could not be regarded as positive or negative were put under 'others'.

Table 16: Comments on Special Report about Lalriliani

Type of comments	Frequency (N=968)	Percentage
Positive	237	24.5
Negative	339	35
Others	392	40.5
Total	968	100

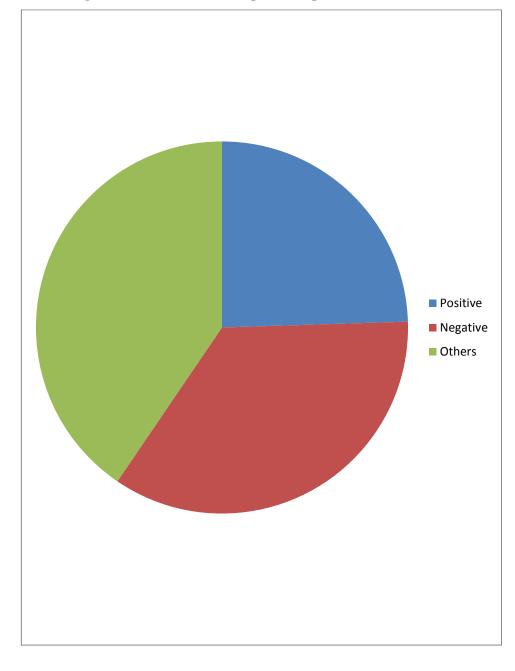


Figure-39: Comments on Special Report about Lalriliani

Figure-40: Comments on Special Report about Lalriliani



### Malsawm Tluanga Colney Hbd

2 y Like Reply



### Bonny F Lalthapuia Hbd

2 y Like Reply

Figure-41: Comments on Special Report about Lalriliani



### Chhuangtea Chhuntai

Lalpan veng zel che roh se.

3 y Like Reply



#### **Bsi Hauhnar**

Happy Birthday Dam reng ang che

3 y Like Reply



#### Saitea Fanai

pasal veng hneh ber

3 y Like Reply



### Becki Fanai

Kanpa nen an Birthday a in ang anih hi....Happy Birthday

3 y Like Reply



#### Lianzova Hualngo Rûn

Ka pi Happy birthday.

3 y Like Reply



#### **Steffy Pachuau**

pasal zui hneh ber hbd

3 y Like Reply



### **Grin Druzzyy Pachuau**

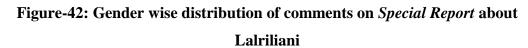
Pasal control thiam ber hbd 🚳

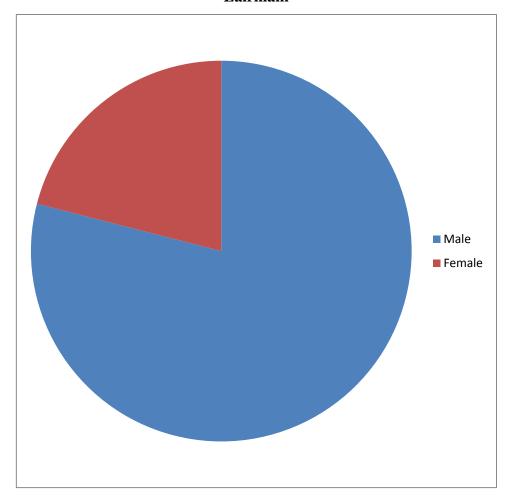
3 y Like Reply

Gender wise distribution of comments on *Special Report* about Lalriliani: The data reveals that majority of the comments comes from male which is 79% and only 21% of the comments were from females.

Table-17: Gender wise distribution of comments on *Special Report* about Lalriliani

Gender	Frequency (N=758)	Percentage
Male	607	79
Female	161	21
Total	758	100





### 3.8. Case study 8: The use of social media by the public

Figure-43: Screenshot of Mizo Special Report



## MIZO SPECIAL REPORT >

PRIVATE GROUP · 304K MEMBERS

There were several social media analytics tools. However, the researcher was not an admin of the selected sample *Facebook* group and because of this reason the researcher opted for manual data coding. All the posts during May, June and July, 2018 were carefully examined. After a thorough examination of all the posts the type of posts were divided into two categories. These two broad categories were again broken down into sub-categories.

**Distribution of the type of posts:** After a careful examination of each post, they are coded to two broad categories; political and non-political information. The total posts during the three months were 264. It was found out that during the three months under study out of 264 which was the total posts, there were 80.30% posts on issues related to non-political information and only 19.69% posts on issues that were related to political information.

Table 18: Type of posts on Mizo Special Report

Month and Year	No. of non-political posts (N=264)	No. Political post
May, 2018	77.01%	22.98%
June, 2018	85%	15%
July, 2018	79.38%	20.61%

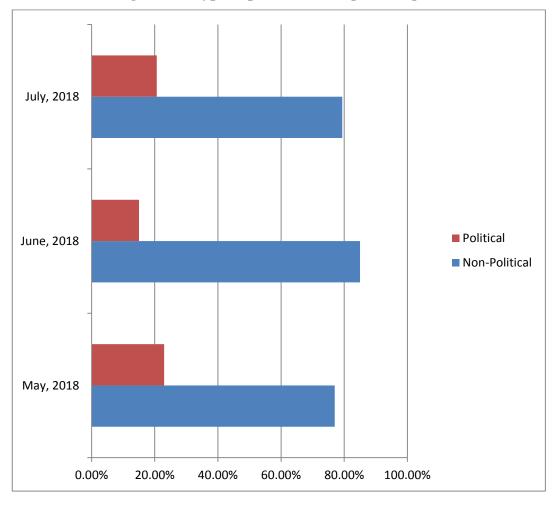


Figure-44: Type of posts on Mizo Special Report

**Distribution of non-political post:** The various types of non-political posts were categorized into 7 sub categories- Mizoram News (Mzr), Sports, Entertainment (E), Outside Mizoram News (O-Mzr), Charity (C), Breaking News (B.N) and Lost and Found (L & F). The total number of Mizoram News posted during the months of May- July, 2018 was 68.65%. Posts such as natural calamities, obituary, praising people for their good deeds and stories of successful people from all walks of life to challenge others comes under Mizoram news. Sports held the second highest number of posts. However, majority of sports news were mainly about football. Members also post their personal interest in the news and stories of their favorite celebrities which come under the head of entertainment. It was also found out that Mizo Diasporas living in different parts of the world also contribute news and stories on. Posts under the head charity include asking for donations to help sick and needy people. Breaking news includes natural calamities, sudden accidents and events happening within Mizoram. The study also reveals that people took to Facebook seeking help and advice when they lost their belongings. They also posts lost items with the intention of finding its rightful owners.

Table 19: Type of non-political post on *Mizo Special Report* (N=212)

Month	Mzr	Sports	O-Mzr	Е	С	B.N	L & F
May, '18	68.65%	4.47%	4.47%	1.49%	2.98%	13.43%	2.98%
June, '18	64.70%	17.64%	4.41%	4.41%	-	5.88%	2.94%
July, '18	62.33%	7.79%	2.59%	11.68%	2.59%	10.38%	2.59%

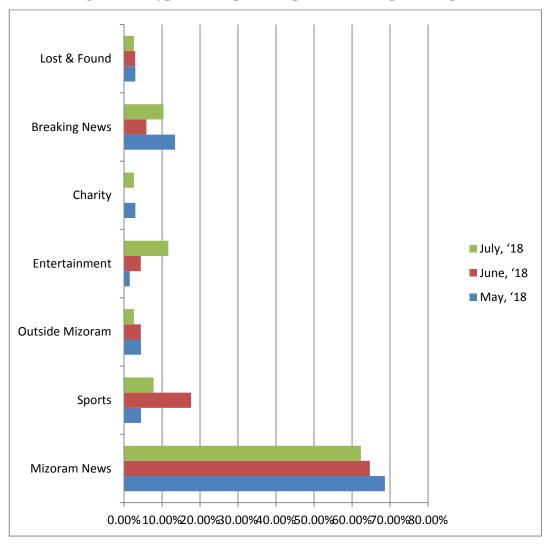


Figure 45: Type of non-political post on Mizo Special Report

**Distribution of Political Posts:** Political posts were also divided into four sub categories after a careful examination. They were; national politics, international politics and Mizoram political posts. Members' posts more news on Posts were mainly politicians' activities and press release by political parties. The total number of reactions is 10,054 and the total number of comments was 3,188. This clearly shows that members of Mizo Special Report were interested in Mizoram politics. During the three months under study there was only two post of national political news. The total number of reactions and comments reveals that members were less interested in national politics. There was a total number of 11 posts on news of international politics. The total number of reactions and comments which were 12,664 and 2,185 respectively reveal that members of the sample Facebook group were interested in international politics. Out of the 5 posts 3 of the posts were posted by one member of Mizo Special Report. These 3 posts in the month of May marked a history in Mizoram politics. It was about how the one who posted the news to bring to public notice about the false affidavit case he filed against the current Chief Minister of Mizoram Lal Thanhawla. An ordinary citizen do an investigative journalism in his own expense and file a case against the Chief Minister of Mizoram was never heard before. The total number of reactions and the total number of comments which was 5,000 and 965 respectively clearly reveal that this case capture the attention of members of *Mizo Special Report*.

Table 20: Type of political posts on *Mizo Special Report* (N=212)

Month	National Politics	International Politics	Mizoram Politics
May	5%	20%	75%
June	8.33%	33.33%	66.66%
July,	-	15%	85%

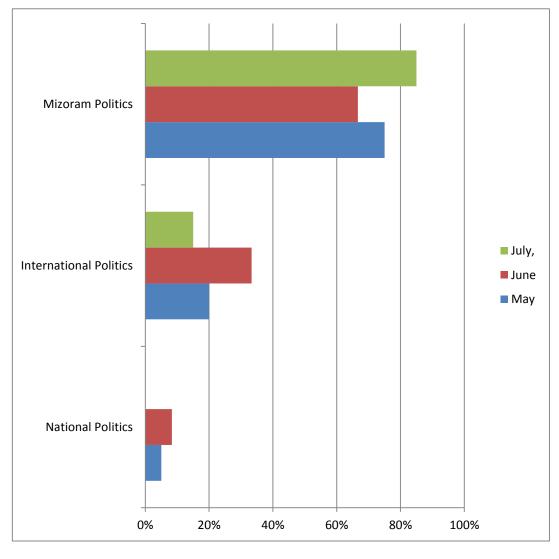


Figure-46: Type of political posts on Mizo Special Report

### 4.1. Demographic characteristics

This section of chapter 4 deals with the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Demographic characteristics were measured by political party affiliation, designation in the party, gender, age, education and marital status. Political party affiliation and designation in the party were open-ended questions to be filled in by the respondents. Gender was measured by the items: a) Male, b) Female, c) Others. Age group was measured by the items: a) Below 30, b) 30-40, c) 40-50, d) 50-60 and e) Above 60. Educational level was measured by the items: a) Below HSLC, b) HSLC or equivalent, c) HSSLC or equivalent, d) Bachelors degree, e) Masters degree, f) Doctorate Degree/Post Doctorate Degree, g) Professional and h) I did not have any formal education. Marital status was measured by the two items: a) Single and b) Married.

**4.1.1. Political party affiliation of the respondents:** Four (4) registered and one (1) unregistered political parties were selected for the study. They were Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Mizo National Front (MNF), Indian National Congress- Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC), People's Representation for Identity and Status of Mizoram (PRISM) and Zoram People Movement (ZPM). The four (4) former were registered political parties while the latter was unregistered political party. There were 50 respondents from each party.

Table 21: Political party affiliation of the respondents

Political Party	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Bharatiya Janata Party	50	20
Mizo National Front	50	20
INC-MPCC	50	20
PRISM	50	20
Zoram People Movement	50	20
Total	250	100

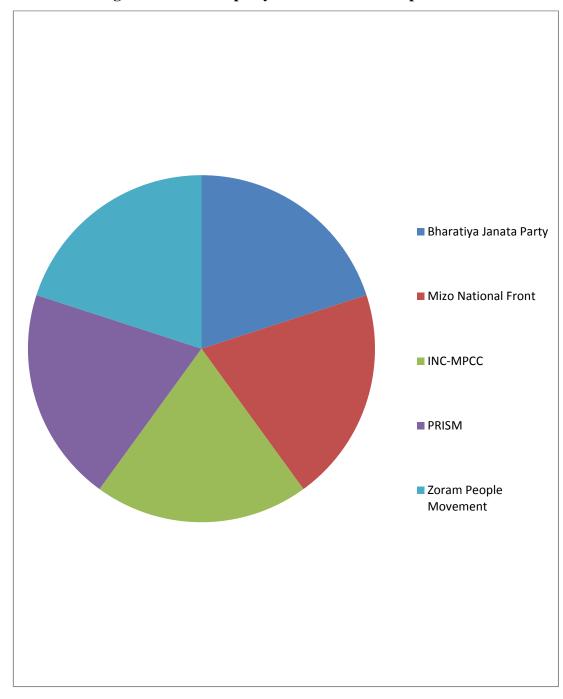
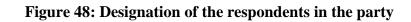


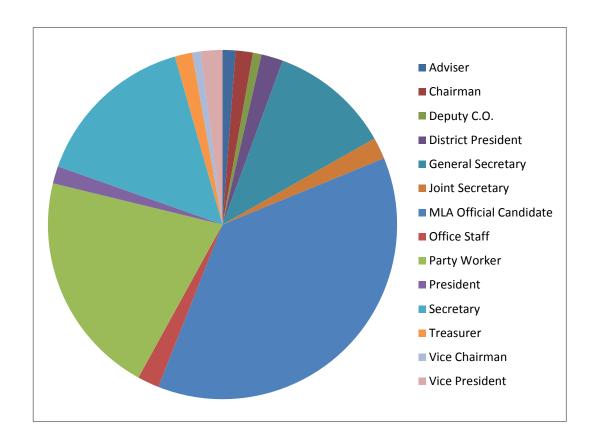
Figure 47: Political party affiliation of the respondents

**4.1.2. Designation of the respondents in the party:** The designation or the position held by the respondents includes Adviser, Chairman, Deputy C.O, District President, General Secretary, Joint Secretary, MLA Official Candidate, Office Staff, Party Worker, President, Secretary, Treasurer, Vice Chairman and Vice President. Among them the highest percentage was MLA official candidate which was 37.2% and the second highest was secretary which was 15.2%. The minimum were Chairman and Treasurer which both which were 8% only.

**Table 22: Designation of the respondents in the party** 

Designation	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Adviser	3	1.2
Chairman	4	1.6
Deputy C.O.	2	.8
District President	5	2.0
General Secretary	28	11.2
Joint Secretary	5	2.0
MLA Official Candidate	93	37.2
Office Staff	5	2.0
Party Worker	52	20.8
President	4	1.6
Secretary	38	15.2
Treasurer	4	1.6
Vice Chairman	2	.8
Vice President	5	2.0
Total	250	100.0

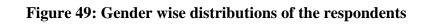


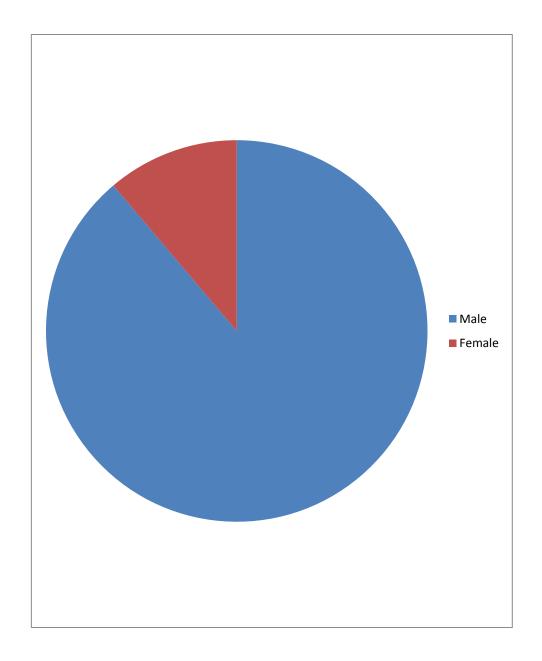


**4.1.3. Gender wise distributions of the distributions of the respondents:** Out of the total 250 respondents there are only 28 female respondents which is 11.2% while there is 222 male respondents with 88.8%.

**Table 23: Gender wise distributions of the respondents** 

Gender	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
		N=250
Male	222	88.8
Female	28	11.2
Total	250	100.0





**4.1.4. Age group of the respondents:** The age group of the respondent were divided into five (5) age group; below 30 years of age, 30 and 40 years of age, 40 and 50 years of age, 0 and 60 years of age and above 60 years of age. Majority of the respondents were between 40-50 years of age (30.4%). Only 14.4% of the questionnaire respondents were below 30 years old.

**Table 24: Age group of the respondents** 

Age group	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Below 30	2	0.8
30-40	36	14.4
40-50	76	30.4
50-60	67	26.8
Above 60	69	27.6
Total	250	100

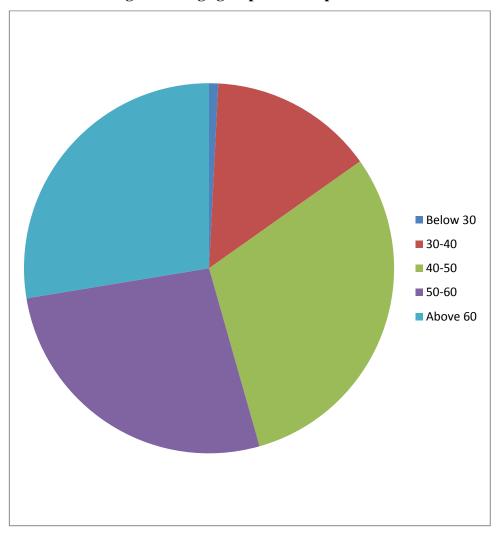


Figure 50: Age group of the respondents

**4.1.5. Educational qualification of the respondents:** The educational qualification of the respondents was categorized into 8 sub categories namely; below HSLC, HSLC or equivalent, HSSLC or equivalent, Bachelors degree, Masters degree, Doctorate degree, Post Doctorate Degree and Professional. Majority of the respondents has Bachelors degree (94%).

**Table 25: Educational qualification of the respondents** 

Educational Qualification	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Below HSLC	5	2
HSLC or equivalent	37	14.8
HSSLC or equivalent	46	18.4
Bachelors degree	94	37.6
Masters degree	32	12.8
Doctorate degree	16	6.4
Post doctorate degree	2	0.8
Professional	18	7.2
Total	250	100

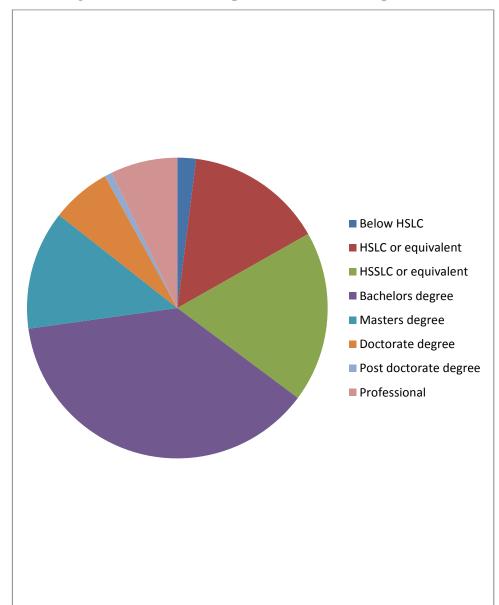
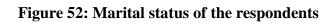


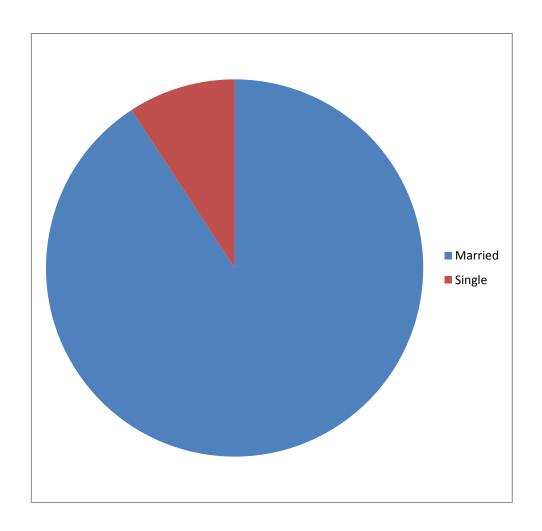
Figure 51: Educational qualification of the respondents

**4.1.6. Marital status of the respondents:** There were 250 questionnaire respondents and majority of the respondents were married with a percentage of 90.8 while there were only 9.2% respondents who are not married.

**Table 26: Marital status of the respondents** 

Marital Status	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Married	227	90.8
Single	23	9.2
Total	250	100





## 4.2. Social media diet

To explore the social media diet by political leaders in Mizoram the questionnaire include five (5) questions; Firstly the question "who introduce you to social media platforms?" was measured by the items a) Friends, b) Family, c) Colleagues and d) I don't remember. The second question "which device do you use the most for accessing social media platforms?" was measured by the items a) mobile phone, b) desktop, c) laptop and d) others. Thirdly, the question "which of the following social media do you think is the most effective medium for political campaign?" was measured by the items: a) Friendster, b) Facebook, c) WhatsApp, d) Instagram, e) YouTube, f) Twitter, g) LinkedIn, h) Pinterest, i) Google, j) Tumblr and k) Flickr. Fourthly, the question "which of the following social media do you use for political communication?" was measured by the items: a) Friendster, b) Facebook, c) f) Twitter, g) LinkedIn, h) Pinterest, i) WhatsApp, d) Instagram, e) YouTube, Google, j) Tumblr and k) Flickr. To this question the respondents can choose more than one items. And lastly the question "which mass media do you think is the best medium for political campaign?" was measured by the items: a) Print Media, b) Television, c) Radio and d) Social Media.

**4.2.1. Introducer:** Among the respondents 37.6% of them were introduced to social media by their friends. 24% of the respondents did not remember who introduced social media to them, 21.2% were introduced by their family and 17.2% were introduced to social media by their colleagues.

**Table 27: Introducer** 

Introducer	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Friends	94	37.6
Family	53	21.2
Colleague	43	17.2
I don't		
remember	60	24
Total	250	100

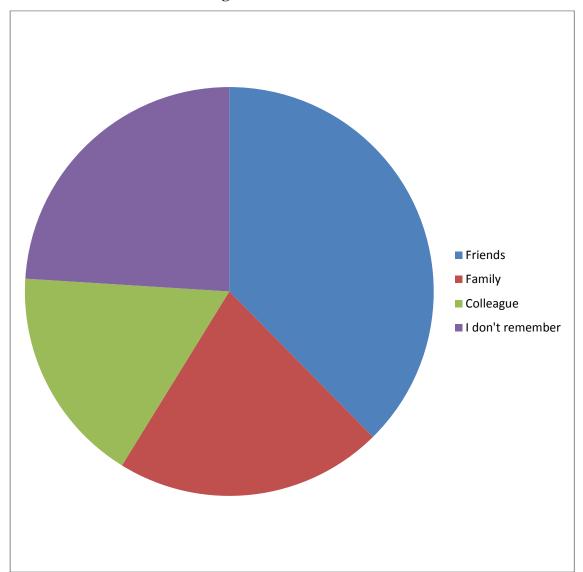


Figure 53: Introducer

**4.2.2. Social media used for political communication:** Out of the total 250 respondents all of them used *WhatsApp* and 52% used *Facebook* for political communication. There were 18% and 5% respondents who used *Instagram* and *Twitter* for political communication respectively.

Table 28: Social media use for political communication

Social Media	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
WhatsApp	250	100
Facebook	130	52
Instagram	18	7
Twitter	5	2
Total	250	100

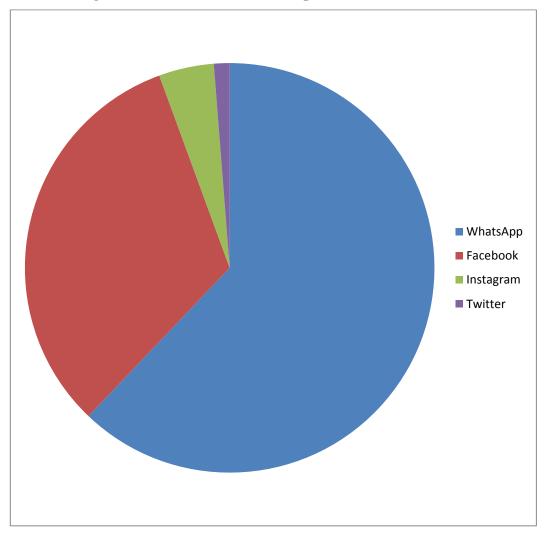


Figure 54: Social media used for political communication

**4.2.3 Preferred device to access social media:** The question includes devices such as Computer, Mobile Phone, Laptop and others; however, since all of the respondents choose only mobile phone, the other devices were not included in the table. And, hence, mobile phone was the preferred device to access social media.

Table 29: Preferred device used to access social media

Social Media Platform	Frequency (N=250)	Percentage
Mobile Phone	250	100
Total	250	100

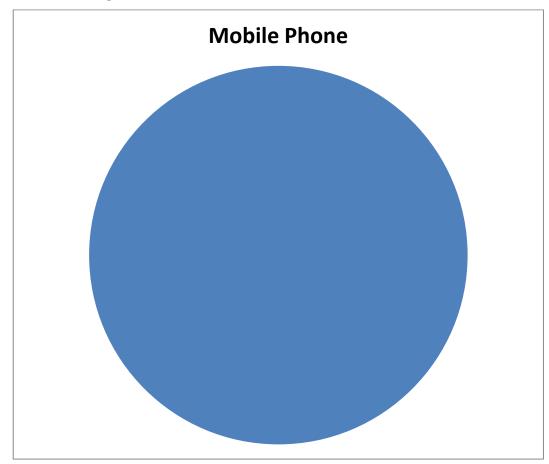


Figure 55: Preferred device used to access social media

**4.2.4. Most effective social media for election campaign:** The questionnaire includes eleven (11) leading social media but only *WhatsApp* and *Facebook* were included in the table as all the other social media platforms were not chosen by the respondents. 55.2% of the respondents think that *WhatsApp* was the most effective social media while 44.8% thinks that *Facebook* was the most effective social media platforms for election campaign.

Table 30: Most effective social media for election campaign

Social Media	Frequency	Percentage
WhatsApp	138	55.2
Facebook	112	44.8
Total	250	100

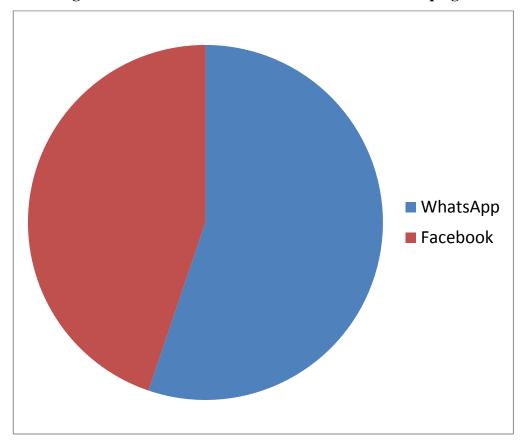


Figure 56: Most effective social media for election campaign

**4.2.5. Most effective media for election campaign:** Out of the total 250 respondent 96.4% thinks that social media was the most effective media. There was 2.8% respondent who thinks that the most effective media for election campaign was print media. Only 0.8% thinks that television was the most effective media for election campaign. No one chose Radio, so, it was not included in the table.

Table 31: Most effective media for election campaign

Mass Media	Frequency	Percentage
Print Media	7	2.8
Television	2	0.8
Social Media	241	96.8
Total	250	100

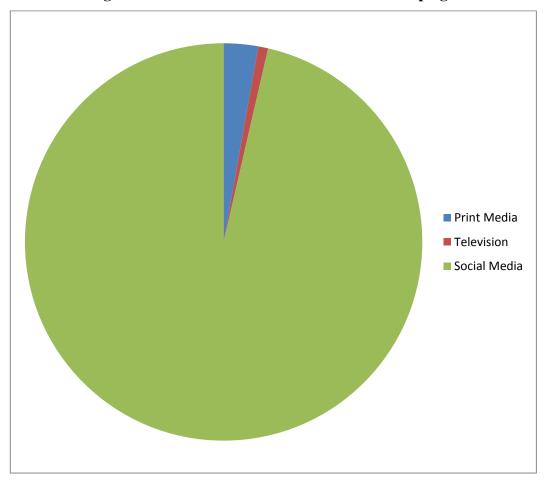


Figure 57: Most effective media for election campaign

## 4.3. Frequency of social media usage

Frequency of social media use was explored by two questions: Firstly, the question duration of social media use were measured categorically: 1) Less than 1 year, 2) 1 year, 3) 2 years, 4) 3 years or more separately for *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *YouTube* and *WhatsApp*. Secondly, the frequency of social media access was also measured categorically: 1) Always connected, 2) Once a day, 3) Several times a day, 4) Several times and a week, 5) Several times a month and rarely.

**4.3.1. Frequency of** *Facebook* **usage:** The frequency of *Facebook* use were categorized into five (5) level; Always connected, once a day, several times a day, several times a week, several times a month and rarely. Out of the 250 respondents 37.2% used *Facebook* several times a day.

Table 32: Frequency of Facebook usage

Facebook Usage	Frequency	Percentage
Always connected	44	17.6
Several times a day	93	37.2
Several times a week	22	8.8
Several times a month	4	16.6
Rarely	87	34.8
Total	250	100

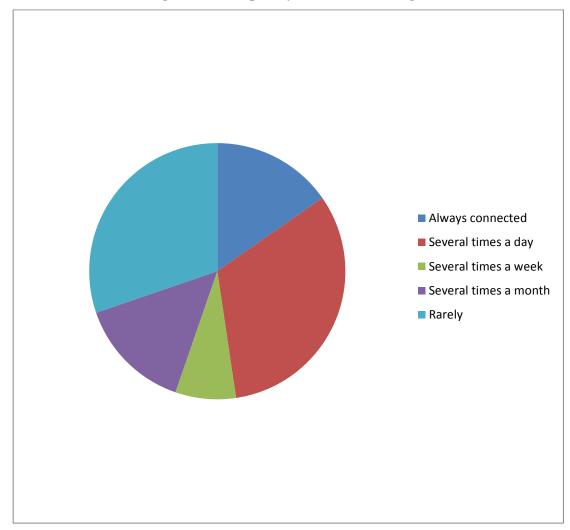
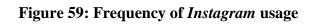


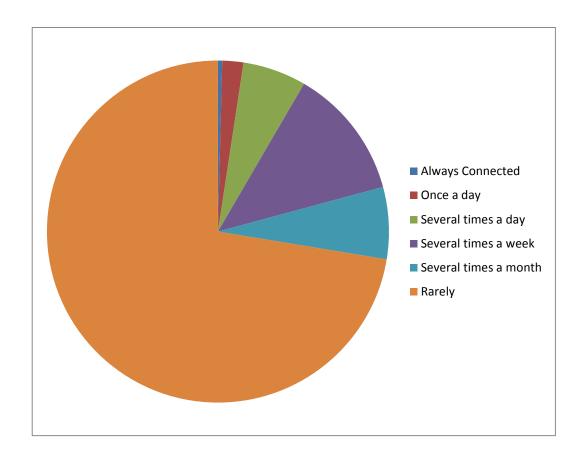
Figure 58: Frequency of Facebook usage

**4.3.2. Frequency of** *Instagram* **usage:** Out of the 250 survey questionnaire respondent majority of the respondents (72.4%) rarely use *Instagram*, 12.4% use it several times a week, 6.8% use it several times a month, 2.0% use it once a day and only .4% of the respondent were always connected to *Instagram*.

Table 33: Frequency of *Instagram* usage

Instagram Usage	Frequency	Percentage
Always Connected	1	.4
Once a day	5	2.0
Several times a day	15	6.0
Several times a week	31	12.4
Several times a month	17	6.8
Rarely	181	72.4
Total	250	100

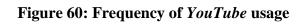


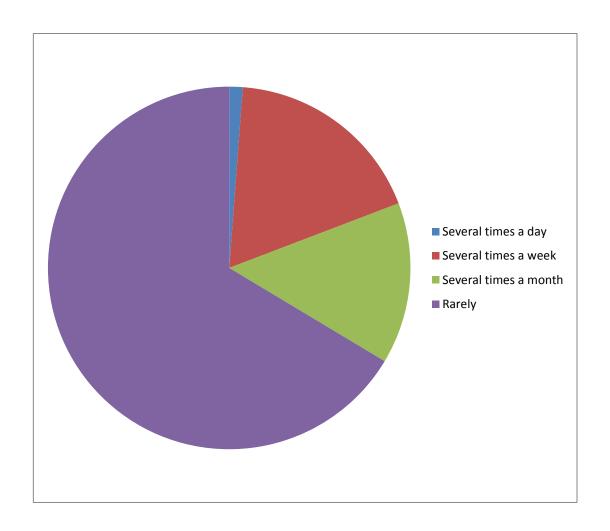


**4.3.3. Frequency of** *YouTube* **usage:** The level of frequency is categorized into 6 categories; Always connected, once a day, several times a day, several times a week, several times a month and rarely. Since no one opted for always connected and once a day, it is not included in the table. From the table it is clear that majority of the respondents (66.4%) rarely use *YouTube* and only 1.2% use it several times a day.

Table 34: Frequency of *YouTube* usage

YouTube Usage	Frequency	Percentage
Several times a day	3	1.2
Several times a week	45	18.0
Several times a month	36	14.4
Rarely	166	66.4
Total	250	100

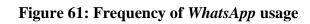


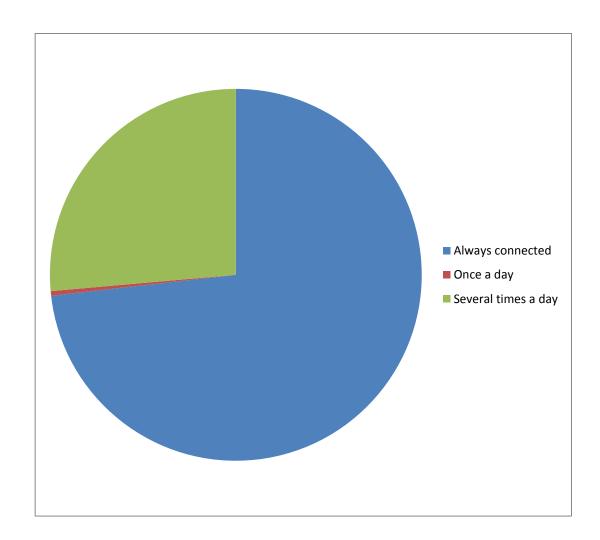


**4.3.4. Frequency of** *WhatsApp* **usage:** Among the 250 respondents 73.2% of them were always connected to *WhatsApp*, 26.4% used it several times a day and only .4% used it once a day. This table omits the other level of frequency of *WhatsApp* usage; always connected, several times a week and several times a month as no one chose them. This table clearly shows that the respondents were using *WhatsApp* very frequently.

Table 35: Frequency of WhatsApp usage

WhatsApp usage	Frequency	Percentage
Always connected	183	73.2
Once a day	1	.4
Several times a day	66	26.4
Total	250	100

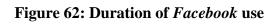


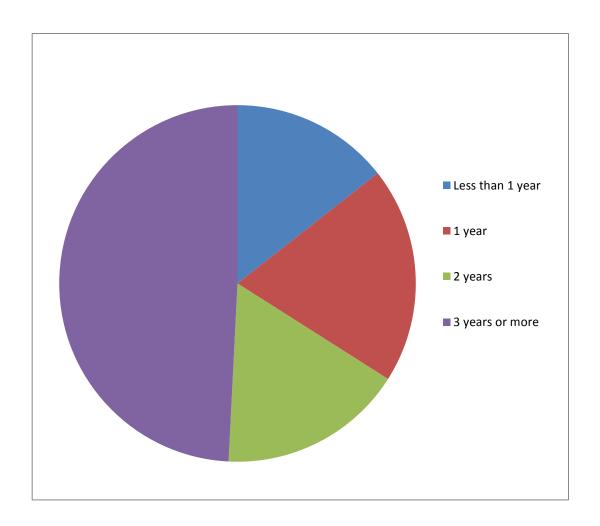


**4.3.5. Duration of** *Facebook* **use:** The duration of usage is categorized into four (4) categories; less than 1 year, 1 year, 2 years and 3 years or more. Majority of the respondents (49.2%) used *Facebook* for 3 years or more, 19.6% used it for 1 year, 16.8% used it for 2 years and 14.4% used it for less than 1 year.

Table 36: Duration of Facebook use

Duration	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 1 year	36	14.4
1 year	49	19.6
2 years	42	16.8
3 years or more	123	49.2
Total	250	100

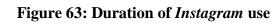


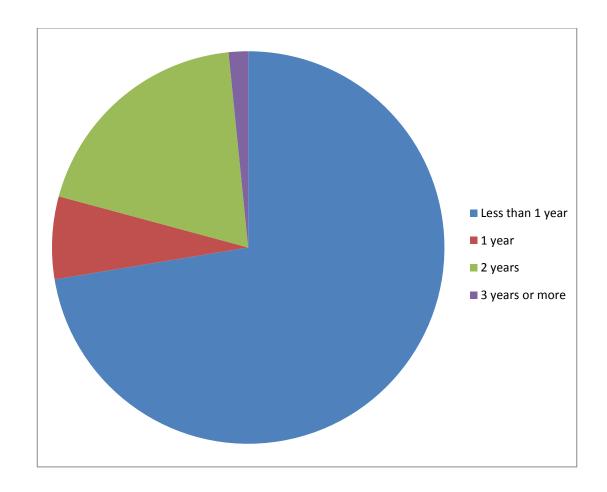


**4.3.6. Duration of** *Instagram* **use:** The level of duration is dived into four (4) categories; less than 1 year, 1 year, 2 years and 3 years or more. Majority of the respondents i.e. 72.4% used *Instagram* for less than a year.

Table 37: Duration of *Instagram* use

Duration	Frequency	Percentage	
Less than 1 year	181	72.4	
1 year	17	6.8	
2 years	48	19.2	
3 years or more	4	1.6	
Total	250	100	





**4.3.7. Duration of** *YouTube* **use:** The level of duration of use is categorized into four (4) categories; less than 1 year, 1 year, 2 years and 3 years or more. Out of the total 250 respondent majority of the respondents (57.6%) used *YouTube* for only less than 1 year and 48% of the respondents used it for 3 years or more.

Table 38: Duration of YouTube use

Duration	Frequency	Percentage	
Less than 1 year	144	57.6	
1 year	22	22 8.8	
2 years	36	14.4	
3 years or more	48	19.2	
Total	250	100	

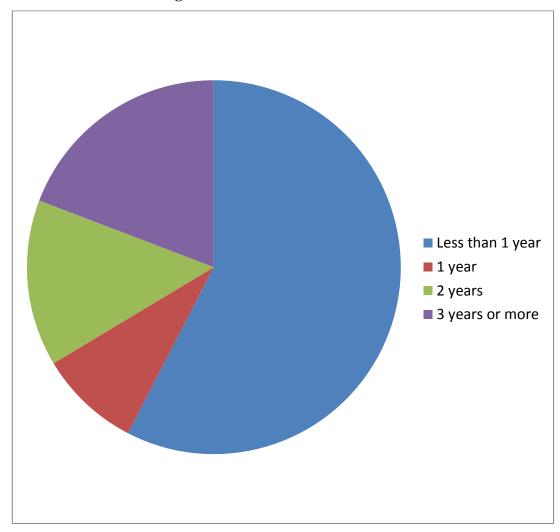
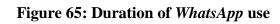


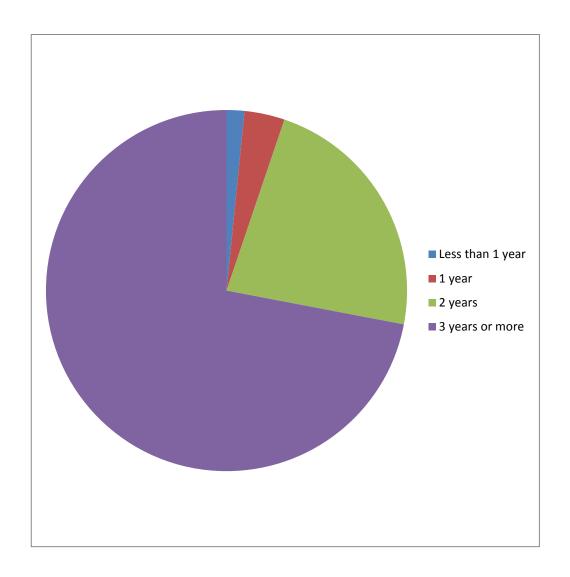
Figure 64: Duration of *YouTube* use

**4.3.8. Duration of** *WhatsApp* **use:** Out of the 250 respondents, majority of them that is 72% used *WhatsApp* for 3 year or more.

Table 39: Duration of WhatsApp use

Duration	Frequency	Percentage	
Less than 1 year	4	1.6	
1 year	9	3.6	
2 years	57	22.8	
3 years or more	ore 180 72		180
Total	250	100	





## 4.4. Gratification sought (motivations) in using social media

Motivations also known as gratifications sought to use social media platform i.e. Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and WhatsApp were separately measured by the following twenty three (23) measurement items under the five (5) categories of needs (cognitive needs, affective needs, personal integrative needs, social integrative needs, tension release needs) developed by Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973): Cognitive need was measured by four items; seek political information, seek general information, see what others are up to and learn interesting things. Affective need was measured by three (3) items; express political thoughts and feelings, express general thoughts and feelings and have fun. Personal integrative need was measured by four (4) items; political campaign, posting political activities, posting official business and self promotion. Social integrative need was measured using nine (9) items; share information with others, participate in political discussion, participate in general discussion, external communication, internal communications, bonding with citizens, keep in touch with family and friends, personal message and give or receive advice. And tension release need was measured by three (3) items; escape from feelings, pass time and entertainment. Each item was rated on a five-point Likert scales, from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agrees. To identify the most salient motivations a descriptive statistics was performed for each social media platforms.

**4.4.1. Gratifications sought (Motivations) in using** *Facebook:* Among the cognitive needs measurement items; seek political information (M=4.3, S.D=1.4) and seek general information (M=4.3, S.D=1.4) had the strongest mean score. See what others are up to (M=3.5, S.D=1.5) and learn interesting things (M=3.5, S.D=1.5) were also an important items. Among the affective needs; express political thoughts and feelings (M=3.3, SD=1.7) and express general thoughts and feelings (M=3.1, SD=1.5) had the highest score. Among the personal integrative needs measurement items; political campaign (M=3.3, SD=1.7) and posting political activities (M=3, SD=1.5) were the significant items. Among the social integrative needs measurement items; keep in touch with friends and family (M=3.3, SD=1.5), participate in political discussion (M=3.3, SD=1.7), share information with others (M=3.2, SD=1.6), participate in general discussions (M=3.2, SD=1.6) and external communication (M=3, SD=1.5), were the most significant items. There were no significant items among the three (3) items under tension release needs.

Table 40: Means and Standard Deviations for Facebook use Motivations

	Measurement items			
Motivations	"I use <i>Facebook</i> to/for"		S.D	
Cognitive needs				
	<ul> <li>Seek political information</li> </ul>	4.3	1.4	
	• Seek information (general)	4.3	1.4	
	• See what others are up to	3.5	1.5	
	<ul> <li>Learn interesting things</li> </ul>	3.3	1.6	
Affective needs				
	• Express political thoughts			
	and feelings	3.3	1.7	
	• Express general thoughts and			
	feelings	3.1	1.5	
	• Have fun	1.8	0.5	
Dorsonal integrative made				
Personal integrative needs	<ul> <li>Political campaign</li> </ul>	3.3	1.7	
	<ul> <li>Posting political activities</li> </ul>	3.3	1.5	
	~ ·	2.9	1.5	
	• Posting official business	2.9	1.3	
Conial interpretive monda	<ul> <li>Self promotion</li> </ul>	2.1	1.4	
Social integrative needs	• Share information with			
	others	3.2	1.6	
	• Participate in political	3 <b>.2</b>	1.0	
	discussion	3.3	1.7	
	• External communication	3	1.5	
	• Keep in touch with friends			
	and family	3.3	1.5	
	• Participate in general			
	discussions	3.2	1.6	
	<ul> <li>Bonding with citizen</li> </ul>	2.9	1.5	
	• Give or receive advice	2.9	1.4	
	Personal message	2.6	1.3	
	<ul> <li>Internal communication</li> </ul>	2.5	1.3	
Tension release needs			_	
	• Escape from feelings	1.8	0.5	
	• Entertainment	1.8	0.5	
	• Pass time	2.9	1.5	

**4.4.2. Gratifications sought (Motivations) in using** *Instagram:* Cognitive need was measured by four items and among these four items only one item i.e. see what others are up to (M=4.69, S.D=0.775) had a significant score. There was no significant score in affective needs, personal integrative needs and social integrative needs measurement items. And lastly tension release need was measured by three (3) items and among the three items only pass time (M=3.69, S.D=1.564) had a strong mean score.

Table 41: Means and Standard Deviations for *Instagram* use Motivations

	Measurement items		
Motivations	"I use Instagram to/for"	Mean	S.D
Cognitive needs			
	• See what others are up to	4.69	0.775
	<ul> <li>Seek general information</li> </ul>	2.01	1.137
	<ul> <li>Seek political information</li> </ul>	1.96	1.113
	<ul> <li>Learn interesting things</li> </ul>	1.95	1.063
Affective needs			
	• Express general thoughts		
	and feelings	1.63	0.596
	• Have fun	1.81	0.898
	• Express political thoughts and feelings	1.64	0.632
Personal integrative needs	and reenings	1.04	0.032
1 crsonar integrative needs	<ul> <li>Posting Political activities</li> </ul>	1.74	0.808
	<ul> <li>Posting official business</li> </ul>	1.74	0.808
	<ul><li>Political campaign</li></ul>	1.74	0.811
	<ul><li>Self promotion</li></ul>	1.73	0.785
Social integrative needs	sen promotion	1.75	0.703
Social integrative needs	• Share information with		
	others	1.65	0.637
	<ul> <li>Bonding with citizen</li> </ul>	1.7	0.745
	<ul> <li>External communication</li> </ul>	1.63	0.603
	<ul> <li>Personal message</li> </ul>	1.76	0.862
	• Give or receive advice	1.61	0.513
	• Internal communication	1.6	0.523
	• Keep in touch with friends		
	and family	1.96	1.136
	<ul> <li>Participate in political discussion</li> </ul>	1.59	0.516
	<ul> <li>Participate in general</li> </ul>	1.57	0.510
	discussions	1.59	0.493
Tension release needs			
	• Escape from feelings	1.6	0.499
	• Entertainment	1.89	0.961
	• Pass time	3.69	1.564

**4.4.3. Gratifications sought** (**Motivations**) **from using** *YouTube:* It is evident from the table that there was only one items i.e. see what others are up to (M=3.5, S.D=1.6) that was considered as significant among the items in cognitive needs. There were no important score among the items in affective needs, personal integrative needs and social integrative needs. However, entertainment (M=4.6, S.D=1.1) and pass time (M=3.7, S.D=1.6) had a significant score among the three (3) items under tension release needs.

Table 42: Means and Standard Deviations for YouTube use Motivations

Motivations	Measurement items "I use YouTube to/for"	Mean	S.D
Cognitive needs	Seek general information	1.8	0.9
	<ul> <li>Seek political information</li> </ul>	1.7	0.9
	• Learn interesting things	1.9	1.1
	• See what others are up to	3.5	1.6
Affective needs			
	• Express political thoughts and feelings	1.5	0.5
	• Have fun	1.7	0.9
Demonding and in	<ul> <li>Express general thoughts and feelings</li> </ul>	1.5	0.5
Personal integrative needs			
	<ul> <li>Political campaign</li> </ul>	1.5	0.5
	<ul> <li>Posting location and political activities</li> </ul>	1.5	0.5
	<ul> <li>Posting official business</li> </ul>	1.5	0.5
	• Self promotion as a politician	1.5	0.5
Social integrative needs			
	Give or receive advice     Dorticipate in general	1.5	0.5
	<ul><li>Participate in general discussions</li><li>Participate in political</li></ul>	1.5	0.5
	discussion	1.5	0.5
	Bonding with citizen	1.5	0.5
	• Internal communication	1.5	0.5
	<ul><li>External communication</li><li>Keep in touch with friends and</li></ul>	1.5	0.5
	family	1.5	0.5
	• Share information with others	1.5	0.5
Tension release needs			
	<ul> <li>Pass time</li> </ul>	3.7	1.6
	• Escape from feelings	1.6	0.5
	• Entertainment	4.6	1.1

**4.4.4.** Gratifications sought (Motivations) from using WhatsApp: Among the cognitive needs measurement items; seek political information (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), seek general information (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), learn interesting things (M=4.8, S.D=0.3) had the highest scores. Among the measurement items under the affective needs; express general thoughts and feelings (M=4.9, S.D=0.3) and express political thoughts and feelings (M=4.9, S.D=0.3) were the most salient items. Among the personal integrative needs; political campaign (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), posting location and political activities (M=4.6, S.D=0.8), posting official business (M=4.6, S.D=0.8) and self promotion (M=4.5, S.D=0.9) were the most important ones. Among the social integrative needs measurement items; personal message (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), internal communication (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), participate in general discussion (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), keep in touch with friends and family (M=4.8, S.D=0.4), give or receive advice (M=4.8, S.D=0.6), external communication (M=4.7, S.D=0.6), share information with others (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), bonding with citizen (M=4.7, S.D=0.7) and participate in political discussion (M=4.9, S.D=0.3) had the strongest scores. There were no important scores found among the tension release needs measurement items.

Table 43: Means and standard deviations for WhatsApp use Motivation

Matinations	Measurement items	Maan	C D
Motivations	"I use WhatsApp to/for"	Mean	S.D
Cognitive needs		4.0	0.2
	Seek political information	4.9	0.3
	Seek general information	4.9	0.3
	Learn interesting things	4.8	0.4
	See what others are up to	1.8	0.6
Affective needs			
	Have fun	1.8	0.5
	Express general thoughts and	4.9	0.3
	feelings Express political thoughts and	4.9	0.3
	feelings	4.9	0.3
Personal integrative needs			
	Political campaign	4.9	0.3
	Posting location and political		
	activities	4.6	0.8
	Posting official business	4.6	0.8
	Self promotion as a politician	4.5	0.9
Social integrative needs			
	Personal message	4.9	0.3
	Internal communication	4.9	0.3
	Participate in general discussions	4.9	0.3
	Keep in touch with friends and family	4.8	0.4
	Give or receive advice	4.8	0.6
	External communication	4.7	0.6
	Share information with others	4.9	0.3
	Bonding with citizen	4.7	0.7
	Participate in political discussion	4.9	0.3
Tension release needs	1 articipate in portion discussion	1.7	0.5
Tension release needs	Entertainment	1.8	0.5
	Escape from feelings	1.8	0.6
	Pass time		
	r ass time	1.8	0.6

#### 4.5. GRATIFICATIONS OBTAINED

Gratifications Obtained to use social media platform i.e. Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and WhatsApp were separately measured by the same measurement items as the gratifications sought. Cognitive needs was measured by four items; seek political information, seek general information, see what others are up to and learn interesting things. Affective needs was measured by three (3) items; express political thoughts and feelings, express general thoughts and feelings and have fun. Personal integrative needs was measured by four (4) items; political campaign, posting political activities, posting official business and self promotion. Social integrative needs was measured using nine (9) items; share information with others, participate in political discussion, participate in general discussion, external communication, internal communications, bonding with citizens, keep in touch with family and friends, personal message and give or receive advice. And tension release needs was measured by three (3) items; escape from feelings, pass time and entertainment. Each item was rated on a five-point Likert scales, from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agrees. To identify the most salient motivations a descriptive statistics was performed for each social media platforms.

**4.5.1. Gratifications obtained from using** *Facebook:* Among the cognitive needs measurement items; seek political information (M=4.2, S.D=1.4) and seek general information (M=4.2, S.D=1.4) had the highest mean score. The second highest scores were see what others are up to (M=3.4, S.D=1.5) and learn interesting things (M=3.2, S.D=1.5). Among the affective needs; express political thoughts and feelings (M=3.2, S.D=1.6) and express general thoughts and feelings (M=3.1, SD=1.5) are the important ones. Among the personal integrative needs measurement items; political campaign (M=3.3, S.D=1.6), posting location and activities (M=3, S.D=1.5) and posting political activities (M=3, S.D=1.5) were the significant items. Among the social integrative needs measurement items; keep in touch with friends and family (M=3.2, S.D=1.6), participate in political discussion (M=3.3, S.D=1.6), share information with others (M=3.2, S.D=1.5), participate in general discussions (M=3.2, SD=1.6), bonding with citizens (M=3, S.D=1.5) and external communication (M=3.1, SD=1.5), were the most significant items. There were no significant items under tension release needs.

Table 44: Means and S.D of gratifications obtained in using Facebook

	Measurement items		
Gratifications obtained	"Facebook help me in/to"	Mean	S.D
Cognitive needs	Seek political information	4.2	1.4
	<ul> <li>Seek general information</li> </ul>	4.2	1.4
	• See what others are up to	3.4	1.5
	<ul> <li>Learn interesting things</li> </ul>	3.2	1.5
Affective needs			
	Have fun	1.9	0.4
	<ul> <li>Express political thoughts and feelings</li> </ul>	3.2	1.6
	<ul> <li>Express general thoughts and feelings</li> </ul>	3.1	1.5
Personal integrative needs			
	<ul><li>Political campaign</li><li>Posting location and political</li></ul>	3.3	1.6
	activities	3	1.5
	<ul> <li>Posting official business</li> </ul>	3	1.5
Social integrative needs	• Self promotion as a politician	2.8	1.4
	External communication	3.1	1.5
	Give or receive advice	2.9	1.3
	• Share information with others	3.2	1.5
	<ul> <li>Personal message</li> </ul>	2.5	1.2
	Internal communication	2.4	1.1
	<ul><li>Participate in political discussion</li><li>Keep in touch with friends and</li></ul>	3.3	1.6
	family	3.2	1.4
	Participate in general discussions	3.2	1.6
	Bonding with citizen	3	1.5
Tension release needs			
	<ul> <li>Escape from feelings</li> </ul>	1.9	0.5
	• Entertainment	1.9	0.4
	• Pass time	2.9	1.4

**4.5.2. Gratifications obtained from using** *Instagram:* Among the measurement items under the cognitive needs only one item i.e. see what others are up to (M=4.6, S.D=0.8) had a significant score. There was no significant score in affective needs, personal integrative needs and social integrative needs measurement items. Among the measurement items in the tension release needs only pass time (M=3.7, S.D=1.5) had a strong mean score.

Table 45: Means and S.D of gratifications obtained in using *Instagram* 

M. C	Measurement items			
Motivations	"Instagram help me in/to"		S.D	
Cognitive needs	• What others are up to	4.6	0.8	
	<ul> <li>Learn interesting things</li> </ul>	1.9	1	
	• Seek general information	2	1.1	
	Seek political information     Funges political thoughts	2	1.1	
Affective needs	• Express political thoughts and feelings	1.6	0.6	
	<ul> <li>Express general thoughts and feelings</li> </ul>	1.6	0.6	
	<ul> <li>Have fun</li> </ul>	1.8	0.8	
Personal integrative needs	<ul><li>Political campaign</li><li>Posting location and political</li></ul>	1.8	0.8	
	activities	1.7	0.8	
	<ul> <li>Posting official business</li> </ul>	1.7	0.8	
	<ul><li>Self promotion as a politician</li><li>Share information with</li></ul>	1.7	0.8	
Social integrative needs	others	1.7	0.6	
	<ul> <li>Keep in touch with friends and family</li> </ul>	1.9	1	
	<ul> <li>Personal message</li> </ul>	1.8	0.8	
	External communication	1.6	0.6	
	<ul> <li>Give or receive advice</li> </ul>	1.6	0.5	
	<ul> <li>Participate in general discussions</li> <li>Participate in political</li> </ul>	1.6	0.5	
	discussion	1.6	0.5	
	<ul> <li>Internal communication</li> </ul>	1.6	0.5	
	<ul> <li>Bonding with citizen</li> </ul>	1.7	0.7	
Tension release needs	<ul> <li>Escape from feelings</li> </ul>	1.6	0.5	
	<ul><li>Entertainment</li><li>Pass time</li></ul>	1.9 3.7	0.9 1.5	

**4.5.3. Gratifications obtained from using** *YouTube:* There was two items; only see what others are up to (M=3.5, S.D=1.6) was significant among the other measurement items in cognitive needs. There were no important score among the items in affective needs, personal integrative needs and social integrative needs. However, in the tension release needs entertainment (M=4.6, S.D=1.1) and pass time (M=3.6, S.D=1.5) were important.

Table 46: Means and S.D of gratifications obtained in using YouTube

Gratifications Obtained	Measurement items "YouTube help me in/to"	Mean	S.D
	Touruoe neip me m/to	Mean	3.D
Cognitive needs	Carla annual information	1.0	0.0
	Seek general information	1.8	0.9
	• See what others are up to	3.5	1.6
	<ul> <li>Learn interesting things</li> </ul>	1.8	0.9
	• Seek political information	1.7	0.9
Affective needs			
	• Have fun	1.7	0.8
	<ul><li> Express my political thoughts and feelings</li><li> Express general thoughts and</li></ul>	1.6	0.5
	feelings	1.6	0.5
Personal integrative		1.	o =
needs	<ul><li>Self promotion as a politician</li><li>Posting location and political</li></ul>	1.6	0.5
	activities	1.6	0.5
	<ul> <li>Posting official business</li> </ul>	1.6	0.5
	<ul> <li>Political campaign</li> </ul>	1.6	0.5
a			
Social integrative needs	Internal communication	1.6	0.5
	External communication	1.6	0.5
		1.6	0.5
	Participate in political discussion		
	<ul><li>Personal message</li><li>Keep in touch with friends and</li></ul>	1.6	0.5
	family	1.6	0.5
	Participate in general discussions	1.6	0.5
	• Share information with others	1.6	0.5
	Give or receive advice	1.6	0.5
	Bonding with citizen	1.6	0.5
Tension release needs			
	• Entertainment	4.6	1.1
	• Pass time	3.6	1.5
	• Escape from feelings	1.6	0.6

#### **4.5.4.** Gratifications obtained from using *WhatsApp:*

Among the cognitive needs measurement items; seek political information (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), seek general information (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), learn interesting things (M=4.8, S.D=0.5) are the most salient items. In the measurement items in the affective needs; express general thoughts and feelings (M=4.9, S.D=0.4) and express political thoughts and feelings (M=4.9, S.D=0.3) had the strongest scores. Among the measurement items in personal integrative needs; political campaign (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), posting location and political activities (M=4.6, S.D=0.8), posting official business (M=4.6, S.D=0.8) and self promotion (M=4.6, S.D=0.9) are the most important items. Among the measurement items in social integrative needs; personal message (M=5, S.D=0.2), internal communication (M=4.9, S.D=0.2), participate in general discussion (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), keep in touch with friends and family (M=4.9, S.D=0.4), give or receive advice (M=4.7, S.D=0.6), external communication (M=4.8, S.D=0.5), share information with others (M=4.9, S.D=0.3), bonding with citizen (M=4.7, S.D=0.6) and participate in political discussion (M=4.9, S.D=0.3) were the most important items. And there were no significant items among the measurement items in the tension release needs.

Table 47: Means and S.D of gratifications obtained in using WhatsApp

	Measurement items		
Gratifications Obtained	"WhatsApp help me in/to"	Mean	S.D
Cognitive needs			
	• See what others are up to	1.8	0.5
	<ul> <li>Seek political information</li> </ul>	4.9	0.3
	<ul> <li>Seek general information</li> </ul>	4.9	0.3
	<ul> <li>Learn interesting things</li> </ul>	4.8	0.5
Affective needs			
	<ul> <li>Express general thoughts and feelings</li> </ul>	4.9	0.4
	<ul> <li>Express political thoughts and feelings</li> </ul>	4.9	0.3
	• Have fun	1.8	0.5
Personal integrative needs			
	<ul> <li>Posting location and political activities</li> </ul>	1.0	0.0
		4.6 4.6	0.8
	<ul><li>Posting official business</li><li>Self promotion</li></ul>	4.6 4.6	0.8
	<ul><li>Political campaign</li></ul>	4.9	0.3
Social integrative needs	1		
	• Give or receive advice	4.7	0.6
	Internal communication	4.9	0.2
	<ul> <li>Keep in touch with friends and family</li> <li>Participate in discussions</li> </ul>	4.9	0.4
	(general)	4.9	0.3
	• Share information with others	4.9	0.3
	<ul> <li>Personal message</li> </ul>	5	0.2
	<ul> <li>Bonding with citizen</li> </ul>	4.7	0.6
	• Participate in political discussion	4.9	0.3
	• External communication	4.8	0.5
Tension release needs	<b>.</b>	1.0	0.5
	• Pass time	1.8	0.5
	<ul><li> Escape from my feelings</li><li> Entertainment</li></ul>	1.9 1.8	0.7 0.5

4.6. Co-relation between gratification sought and gratification obtained: There was significant positive relationship between Facebook use gratification sought and gratification obtained in using Instagram and YouTube while there is a negative relationship between Facebook use motivation and gratification obtained in using WhatsApp. It is also evident that there the respondents obtain gratification in using Instagram. Furthermore there was a significant positive relationship between Instagram use motivation and gratification obtained in using Facebook, YouTube and WhatsApp. The study reveals that the respondents obtain gratifications in using YouTube. It is also event from the table that there is a significant positive relationship between the respondents reason for using YouTube and gratifications obtained in using Instagram, YouTube and WhatsApp. It is also clear from the above table that there is a significant positive relationship between respondents' reason for using WhatsApp and gratification obtained in using WhatsApp and YouTube. However, on the other hand there is a negative relationship between WhatsApp gratification sought and gratification obtained in using Facebook. And there is no significant relationship between WhatsApp gratification sought and gratification obtained in using Instagram.

Table 48: Co-relation between gratification sought and gratification obtained:

Pearson's r

Gratification Sought	Gratification Obtained			
	Facebook	Instagram	YouTube	WhatsApp
Facebook Use	.976**	.310**	.144*	-0.018
Instagram Use	.190**	.741**	.932**	.285**
Youtube Use	.184**	.737**	.933**	.287**
WhatsApp Use	-0.03	0.115	.268**	.828**

Source: Computed \*\*P<0.01

\*P<0.05

The study was set out to study the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram with four specific objectives; to examine the social media user motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram; to study the perceived satisfaction (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram; to analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratification obtained; to study the use of social media platforms for political communication. Chapters 1 discuss about the use of social media for political communication and present the status of social media in Mizoram politics. Chapter 2 identifies a huge research gap after reviewing the available literature on the subject and the current study was carried out to fill the gap. Chapter 3 concentrates on the use of social media for political communication. Chapter 4 analyzed the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

#### 5.1. Findings of objective 4 and chapter 3

Chapter 3 deals with the fourth objectives of the study which is to study the use of social media platforms for political communication.

#### **5.1.1.** Use of social media by political parties

#### Various types of social media platforms used by political parties in Mizoram

All the political parties under study have official account in *Facebook* and also create several *WhatsApp* group. Among the six (6) political parties under study, only 2 of them were not using *Instagram*. All the political parties who have party official *Facebook* and *Instagram* use more of their *Facebook* account than their *Instagram* account. Their party official *Facebook group* and *Instagram* were meant for communication from their party to the public and *WhatsApp* was used mainly for communication within party members.

#### **Motivations behind using social media platforms**

The main motivations in using social media are; to post political activities both individual and political party functions, to post good deeds done by their party, to bond with the public, to make press release, to check the ruling parties and as a tool of election campaign communication. Apart from official party social media groups, the party feels that it was important that their party leaders use social media platforms to strengthen the connection with public. However, due several reasons

their political leaders were not able to actively engage in social media platforms other than *WhatsApp*. For those who are not in a condition to operate their social media accounts which include *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *Twitter* were operated by surrogate.

The case studies reveal that the political parties in Mizoram were using social media platforms for political communication particularly *Facebook* and *Instagram*. They don't have many followers and they were still in the nascent stage. Fake news was a problem for the political parties. They also could not get feedback and still not have clarity on how to use the social media effectively. The senior politicians were old and they were lagging behind in using social media. The party official social media account were operated and maintained by the younger members of the party. Besides using newspapers and television to publicize their party 'Press Release', the party extensively uses *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* to publicize their party 'Press Release'. Still traditional door to door campaign is the main tool for political campaigns.

#### 5.1.2. Online perception of women involved in Mizoram politics

There was no presence of derogatory remarks on the gender of Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu. Majority of the comments were from men i.e 79%. The comments reveal that even men are proud of her and congratulates on her success. However, there are several comments criticized her but not because she was a woman but because they felt that she was not a competent Minister. The 98.18% like reactions on the posts on Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and the 97.19% like reactions on the posts about Lalriliani says that majority of the people who push the reactions agree with the post. There were 11.52% and 35% negative comments on the post about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani respectively. There were 72.39% and 24.5% positive comments on the posts about Lalriliani respectively. This suggest that woman participated in politics was accepted. However, the perception on the wife of politicians received a large number of negative comments.

#### 5.1.3. The use of social media platforms by the public

The study reveals the various types of non-political posts during the month of May-July, 2018. The various types of non-political posts were categorized into 7 sub categories- Mizoram News, Sports, Entertainment, Outside Mizoram, Charity,

Breaking News and Lost and Found. The total number of Mizoram News posted during the months of May- July, 2018 is 138 posts. Posts such as natural calamities, obituary, praising people for their good deeds and stories of successful people from all walks of life to challenge others comes under Mizoram news. Sports held the second highest number of posts. However, majority of sports news are mainly about football. Members also post their personal interest in the news and stories of their favorite celebrities which come under the head of entertainment. It is also found out that Mizo Diasporas living in different parts of the world also contribute news and stories on. Posts under the head charity include asking for donations to help sick and needy people. Breaking news includes natural calamities, sudden accidents and events happening within Mizoram. The study also reveals that people took to Facebook seeking help and advice when they lost their belongings. They also posts lost items with the intention of finding its rightful owners. There were also political posts which were divided into four sub categories after a careful examination. They were; national politics, international politics and Mizoram political posts. Members' posts more news on Posts are mainly politicians' activities and press release by political parties. The total number of reactions was 10,054 and the total number of comments was 3,188. This clearly shows that members of Mizo Special Group were interested in Mizoram politics.

#### 5.2. Findings of objectives 1, 2, 3 and chapter 4

This section present the findings of three main objectives of the study; to examine the social media user motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram, to study motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram and to analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratification obtained.

#### 5.2.1. Key findings from demographic characteristics

The key findings from the survey questionnaire on demographic characteristics were; there were 50 respondents each from Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Mizo National Front (MNF), Indian National Congress (INC), People's Representation for Identity and Status of Mizoram (PRISM) and Zoram People Movement (ZPM). Among the designation MLA Official Candidate (37.2%) holds the highest percentage. There

were more male respondents which were 88.8% and there were only 11.2% female. The majority age group was 40-50 years (30.4%) and there were 37.6% having a Bachelors degree.

#### 5.2.2. Key findings from social media diet

37.6% respondents said that it was their friends who introduce them to social media, 24% said they do not remember from where they have heard about using social media, 21.2% said it was from their family and 17.2% said that it was their colleague who introduced them to social media. Out of the total 250 respondents all of them use *WhatsApp* for political communication. 52% of the respondents said that they also use *Facebook* for political communication. 18% and 5% also said that they use *Instagram* and *Twitter* for political communication respectively. All of the respondents said that they were using Mobile phone to access social media. 55.2% thinks that *WhatsApp* was the most effective social media and 44.8% thinks that *Facebook* was the most effective social media platforms for election campaign. Out of the total 250 respondent 96.4% thinks that social media was the most effective social media platforms for election campaign.

#### 5.2.3. Key findings from frequency of social media

Out of the 250 respondent majorities of the respondents which was 37.2% said that they use *Facebook* several times a day, 72.4% rarely use Instagram, 66.4 rarely use YouTube, 1.2% said that they use it several times a day, 73.2% said that they were always connected to *WhatsApp*, 49.2% of the respondents have been using Facebook for 3 years or more, 72.4% use instagram for less than a year. 57.6% said that they have been using YouTube for only less than 1 year, 72% said that they have been using *WhatsApp* for 3 year or more

#### 5.2.4. Gratifications Sought (Motivations) in using social media

#### Cognitive needs

The study reveals that the survey questionnaire respondents the main reason behind using *Facebook* was to seek information including political information. The respondents also use *Facebook* to see what others are up to and also to learn other things beside news and information. *Instagram* was used to see what others are up to. *YouTube* was also use to see what others are up. The results also suggest that the

respondents use *WhatsApp* to seek general and political information, and to learn interesting things.

#### Affective needs

The study found out that the questionnaire respondents were using *Facebook* to express their thoughts and feelings that includes both general and political. Apart from *Facebook* the questionnaire respondents also use *WhatsApp* to express general and political thoughts and feelings.

#### Personal integrative needs

The survey questionnaire respondents use *Facebook* for political campaign and to post political activities. *WhatsApp* was also use for political campaign, posting location and political activities, posting official business and for self promotion.

#### Social integrative needs

The current study also found out that the questionnaire respondents mainly use *Facebook* to keep in touch with friends and family, participate in both political and general discussions, and share information with others and for communication with people who were not a member of their party. *WhatsApp* was use for personal message for communication within and outside their party, to participate in general and political discussions, to keep in touch with friends and family, give or receive advice, to share information with others and to bond with citizens.

#### Tension release needs

*Instagram* is mainly use to pass time. The respondents also use *YouTube* to pass time and for entertainment.

#### 5.2.5. Gratifications obtained from using social media

#### **Cognitive needs**

The gratifications obtained from using *Facebook* includes seeking political and general information, to see what others are up to and learn interesting thing. Using *Instagram* help the respondents to see what others are up to. The respondents also perceived that using *WhatsApp* has helped them to seek political and general information and also to learn interesting things.

#### Affective needs

The study shows that using *Facebook* helps the respondents to express political thoughts and feelings and also to express general thoughts and feelings. The respondents also feel that using *WhatsApp* also helped them to express general and political thoughts.

#### Personal integrative needs

Using *Facebook* helps the survey questionnaire respondents in political campaign posting location and activities and posting political activities. The respondents also perceived that using *WhatsApp* helped them in political campaign, in posting location and political activities, in posting official business and self promotion.

#### Social integrative needs

The questionnaire respondents perceived that using *Facebook* helped them to keep in touch with friends and family, to participate in political and general discussions, to share information with others, to participate both in general and political discussions, to bonding with citizens and to communicate with people who are not a member of their party. Using *Instagram* helped the respondents to see what others are up to. The respondents also perceived that using *WhatsApp* has helped them in personal message to communicate within and outside their party, to participate in general and political discussion, to keep in touch with friends and family, to give or receive advice, to share information with others and also to bond with citizen.

#### **Tension release needs**

The survey questionnaire respondents feel that using *Instagram* helped them to pass time. The respondents also feel that they using *YouTube* has entertained them and also helped them to pass time.

# 5.2.6. Relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained All the hypotheses are proven

- H1. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Facebook*.
- H2. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Instagram*.

- H3. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *YouTube*.
- H4. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *WhatsApp*.

#### **5.3. Conclusions**

#### 1. Broadcasting

Political parties Mizoram were using their official *Facebook*, *WhatsApp* and *Instagram* account to post political activities both individual and political party functions, to post functions and events organized by their party. Although political parties did have party official *YouTube* channel some party members were using it to disseminate their party leaders' speech, interviews and other political activities using their personal *YouTube* channel. Social Media was still in its budding stage.

#### 2. Manage the party's image

With the idea of building a positive image political parties in Mizoram were using their *Facebook* to post good deeds done by their party leaders, to make press release with the idea of building positive party image. One of the main aims of political parties was to find and expose the weaknesses of other political parties in order to securely establish the stand of their political party. With this in mind posts related to satirical contents, political jokes and memes were disseminated through social media platforms to highlight the weaknesses and wrong doings of the ruling party and other political parties.

#### 3. Social media for election campaign communication

Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram were extensively used for political campaign communication. Among the three social media platforms used by the party due to shortage of active members Instagram was not used frequently as the other two social media platforms. However, Facebook and WhatsApp are extensively used during election campaigns. Facebook was used to introduce the candidates who were contesting for elections and also to disseminate their party manifesto. Facebook was mainly used for communication between their party to potential voters and WhatsApp was used for communication within the party. Politician who contests for elections in other parts of India and the other parts of the world had successfully used various

social media platforms to collect fund from their supporters for their campaign expense. And political organizations also successfully use their social media platforms to mobilize the public in political and civic participation. However, in Mizoram political parties were not using their party official social media accounts for fund raising and did not use it to mobilization the public both in political and civic participation.

Majority of the respondents i.e., 96.4% thinks that social media was the most effective social media platforms for election campaign. And among various social media platforms the respondents were using *WhatsApp* (100%), *Facebook* (52%), *Instagram* (18%) and *Twitter* (5%) for political communication. However, only 37.2% used *Facebook* several times a day and majority of the respondents rarely used *Instagram* (72.4%) and *YouTube* (66.4%). On the otherhand 73.2% of the respondents were always connected to *WhatsApp*. Even though majority of the respondents thinks that social media platforms were the best means for election campaign they were using less of *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *YouTube*. This could be because majority of the respondents were above 40 years of age and were lagging behind in using social media platforms. The findings of case studies on how political parties used social media platforms also highlight the use of surrogacy. This suggest that although the questionnaire respondents believes that social media platforms were the most effective media for election campaign, there is a possibility that they are using surrogate.

#### 4. Social media and public sphere

As the election commission and Mizoram Peoples Forum (MPF) which is a church based election watch dog in the state of Mizoram have imposed several restriction during election campaign especially in traditional mass media, social media provide the platform where they can freely express their political feelings without any restrictions. For political parties it is very important to keep themselves in the public eyes and social media is the perfect platform to do so as it is low cost, instant and the audience is large. Political leaders are using their personal profiles to understand the political scenario, debates and discussions in the *Facebook* groups like *Mizoram Special Report*, *Zoram Politics* and *Save Mizoram*. Social media platforms allow all

users to discuss and express their thoughts in public on any issue. This has brought about a new dimension in the discussion of public sphere. Likewise *Facebook* groups such as *Mizo Special Report* is being used as a space by the general public to discuss about politics and non-political issues as well. In the past Mizo society political discussion was confined to 'Zawlbuk' was a bachelors' quarter that was accessible only by the male members of the society and the 'chief's hut' in which the chief and his elders discussed about the affairs of the society. Women and the younger generations have no space to raise their opinion and voice in matters concerning their society. Social media provide the platform for all irrespective of sex and age among the people of Mizoram. Everyone who has access to social media can raise their voice across all social media platforms.

#### 5. Uses and gratifications of social media by political leaders

Political leaders turn to WhatsApp and Facebook mainly for cognitive needs. They are using both WhatsApp and Facebook to acquire information including politics. They also turn to Facebook and WhatsApp to satisfy their affective needs that includes using WhatsApp and Facebook as a platform to express their thoughts and feelings on issues including politics and other issues. To satisfy their personal integrative needs political leaders also use WhatsApp and Facebook. WhatsApp and Facebook are used predominantly for political campaign, for posting locations, official business and activities. For self promotion they use WhatsApp which is very surprising because in other parts of the country and in other parts of the worlds political leaders are using other social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to promote themselves. To satisfy their social integrative needs political leaders in Mizoram are using Facebook and WhatsApp. They use Facebook and WhatsApp for communication within their party and also to communication with people outside their fellow party members. The data also reveals that Instagram and Youtube are used only to seek out their tension release needs i.e., they use *Instagram* to pass time and YouTube for entertainment. Instagram and YouTube are for namesake only and majority of them rarely use it. It is very surprising to see that the political parties and the political leaders in Mizoram are hardly using Twitter. Twitter is a popular platform meant for political communication. Although there are restrictions in traditional election campaigning, the political parties have not yet figured out the strength of social media and have not all used for influencing the voters.

Gender gap: The findings of the case study on women involved in politics which reveal that there were no derogatory remarks on the gender of women involved in politics, the comment sections were dominated by male as there was only 15.82% and 21% comments by female on the post of Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani respectively. There were also only 11.2 questionnaire respondents. Mizo society is a patriarchal society and likewise the administrations of state have been dominated by male members of the society. According to the 2011 census the Mizoram's population of the state was 1,091,014 of which 555,339 were male and 541,867 were female. Despite the little difference in the number of male and female Mizoram has succeeded in electing only Seven (7) women Member of Legislative Assembly. Among these seven women MLA only two of them; Lalhlimpuii Hmar and Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu were Ministers. While women in Mizoram have entered in workforce, education and other fields, there is a huge gap in the field of politics. The reason why there was less representation of women in politics was not manifested in the current study and hence further studies could be conducted in the future.

### APPENDIX I

### **SECTION 1-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

1. Survey No:				
2. Political Party Affiliation:				
3. Designation in the party:				
4. Please tick your gender.				
Male				
Female				
Others				
5. Please tick your age group.				
Below 30				
30-40				
40-50				
50-60				
Above 60				
6. Pease tick your educational qualification				
Below HSLC				
HSLC or equivalent				
HSSLC or equivalent				
Bachelors degree				
Masters degree				
Doctorate Degree/Post Doctorate Degree				
Professional				

I did not have any education

	Single			
	Married			
	<u> </u>			
0.1111	. 1		r o	
8. Wno 11	ntroduce you to soc	nai media piat	forms?	
	Friends			
	Family			
	Colleagues			
	I don't rememb	per		
	Mobile phone			
	Desktop			
	Laptop			
	Others			
	Others			
0 Which	of the following so	ocial media do	you think is the most	effective med
	itical campaign?	serar media do	you timik is the most	cricetive ince
Tor por	mear campaign.			
	Friendster		Google	
	Facebook		Tumblr	
	WhatsApp		Flickr	
	Instagram			
	YouTube			
	Twitter			

7. Please tick your Marital Status

LinkedIn

Pinterest

	ı
Friendster	
Facebook	
WhatsApp	
Instagram	
YouTube	
Twitter	
LinkedIn	
Pinterest	
Google	
Tumblr	
Flickr	

# 12. Which mass media do you think is the best medium for political campaign?

Print Media	
Television	
Radio	
Social Media	

# SECTION 2- FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL MEDIA USE

### 1. How long have you been using social media platforms?

Social Media Platforms	Less than 1	1 year	2 years	3 years
				or more
Facebook				
Instagram				
WhatsApp				
YouTube				

### 2. How often do you access the following social media

Social Media	Always	Once a	Several	Several	Several	Rarely
Platforms	connected	day	times a day	times	times a	
				a week	month	
Facebook						
Instagram						
WhatsApp						
YouTube						

### **SECTION 3- (GRATIFICATION SOUGHT)**

### 1. I use Facebook to/for

Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion					
Posting location and political activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political discussion					
Express political thoughts and feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion (general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings (general)					

# 2. I use Instagram to/for

Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion					
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political discussion					
Express political thoughts and					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion (general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

### 3. I use YouTube to/for

Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion					
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political					
discussion					
Express political thoughts and					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion					
(general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

# 4. I use WhatsApp to/for

Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion					
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political					
discussion					
Express political thoughts and					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion					
(general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

### SECTION 4-GRATIFICATION OBTAINED

# 1. Using Facebook help me to/in

Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion	_				
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political					
discussion					
Express political thoughts and					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion					
(general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

# 2. Using Instagram help me to/in

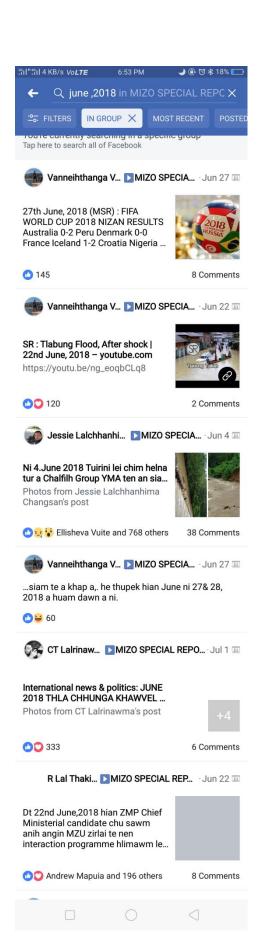
Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion as a politician					
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political					
discussion					
Express my political					
thoughtsand					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion					
(general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from my feelings					
Have fun					
Entertained					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express my thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

# 3. Using YouTube help me to/in

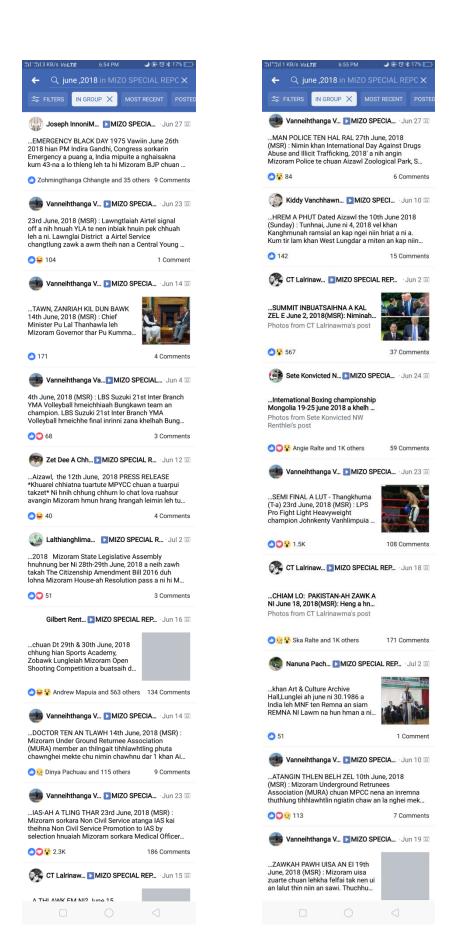
Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion					
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political discussion					
Express political thoughts and					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion					
(general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

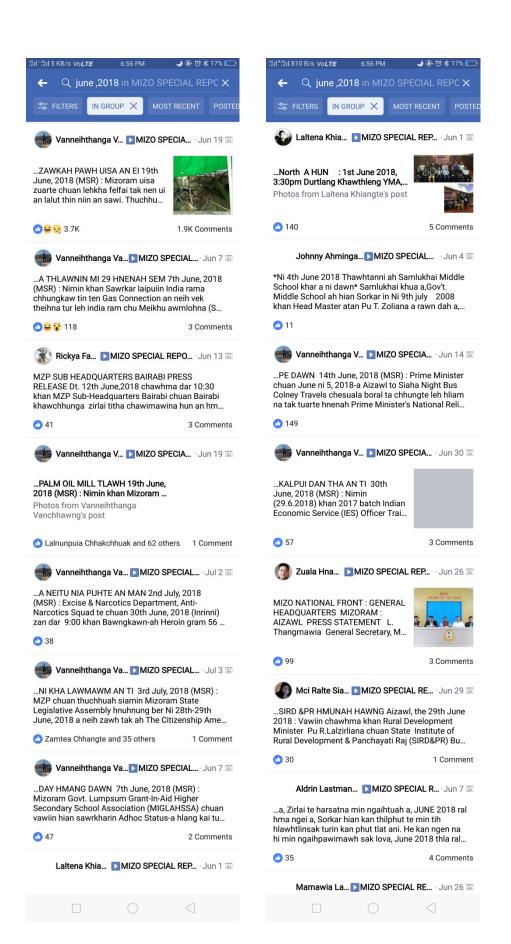
#### 4. Using WhatsApp help me to/in

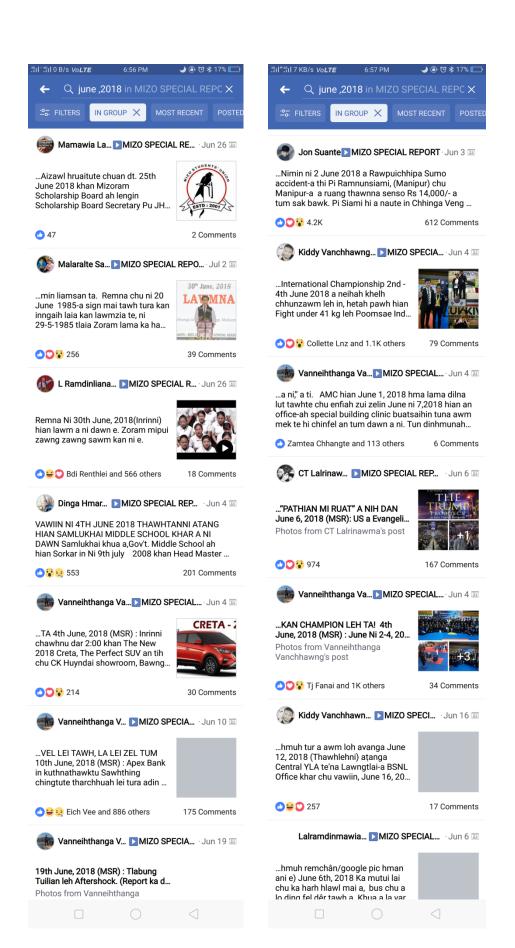
Items	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	disagree				Agree
Self promotion					
Posting location and political					
activities					
Posting official business					
Bonding with citizen					
External Communication					
Internal Communication					
Seek Political Information					
Political campaign					
Participate in political discussion					
Express political thoughts and					
feelings					
Keep in touch with friends and					
family					
Personal Message					
Seek information (general)					
Participate in discussion					
(general)					
Share information with others					
Learn interesting things					
Give or receive advice					
Escape from feelings					
Have fun					
Entertainment					
See what others are up to					
Pass time					
Express thoughts and feelings					
(general)					

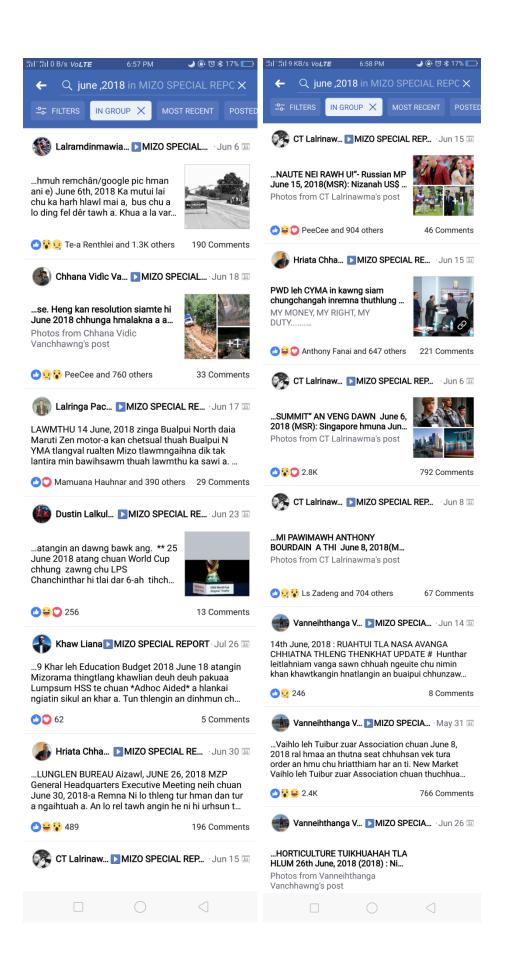


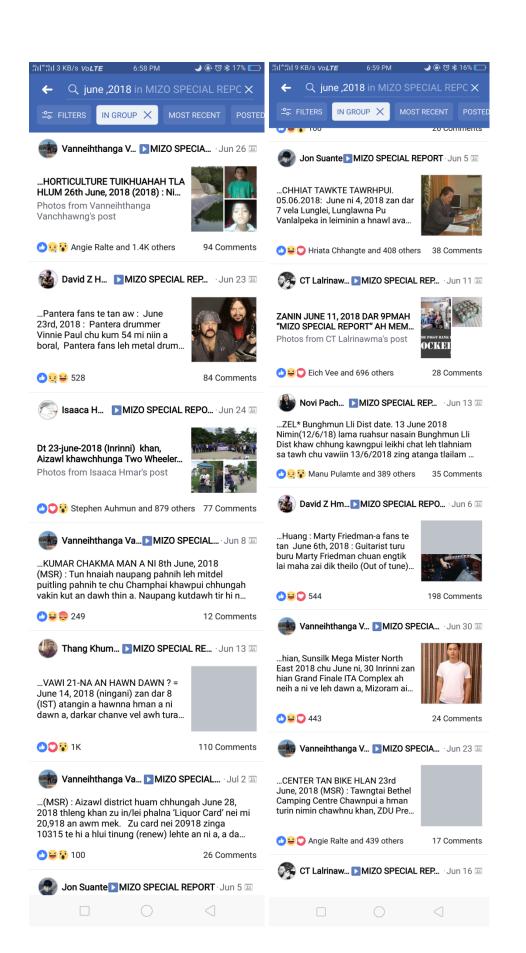


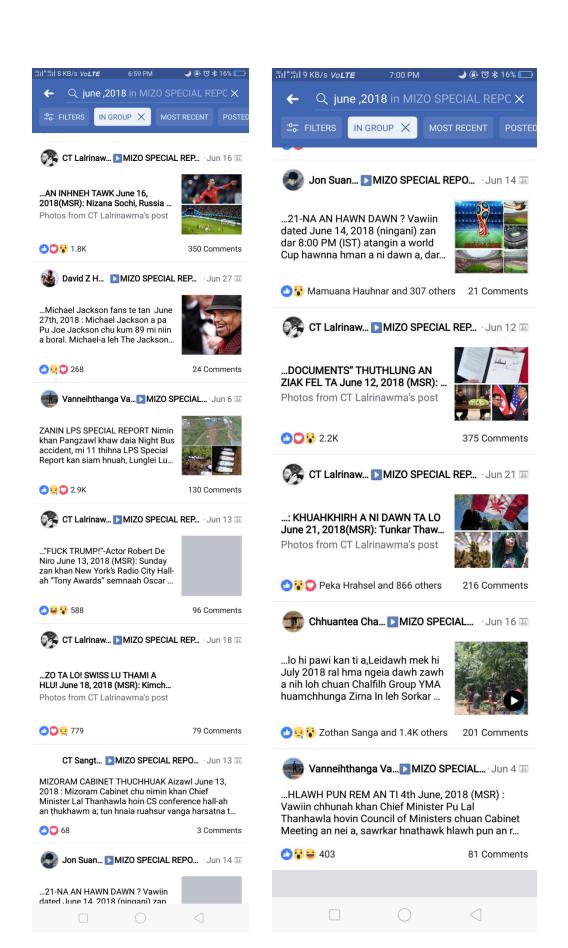


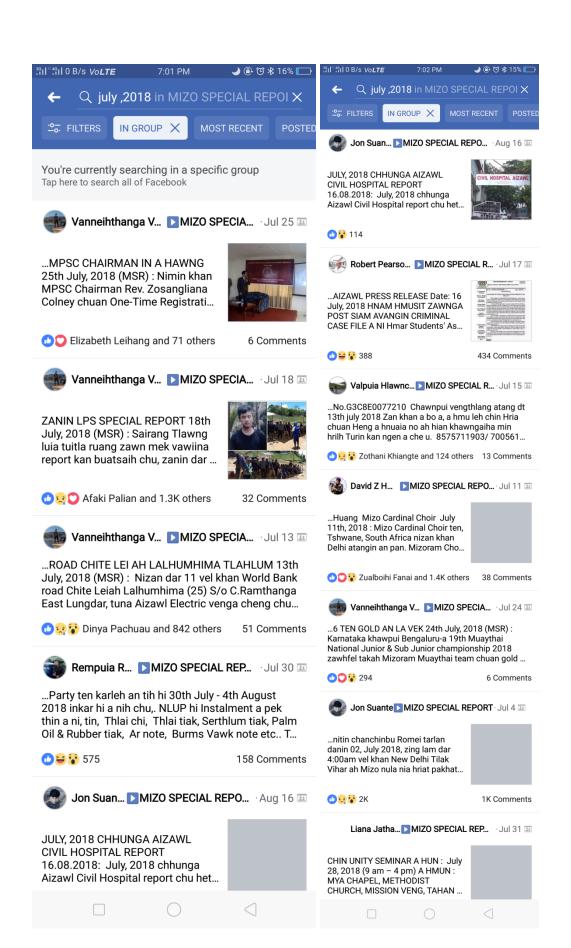






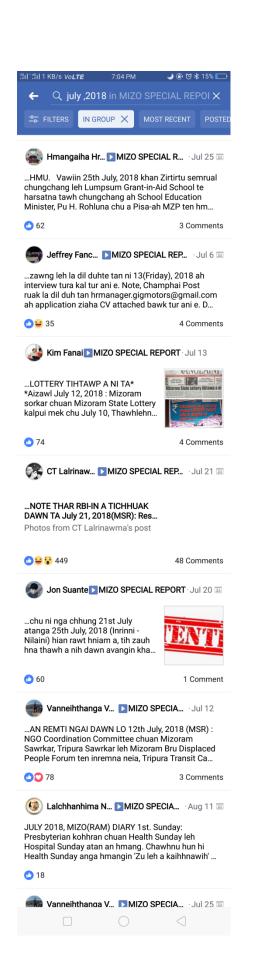




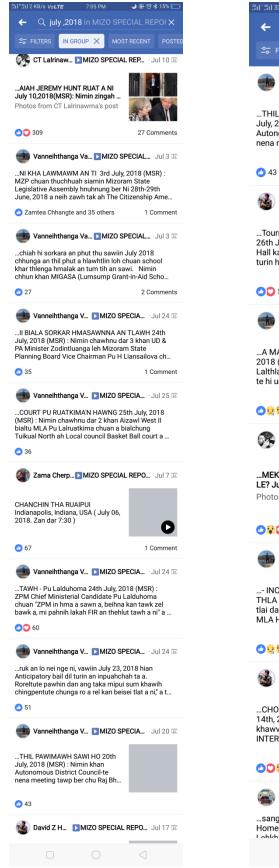


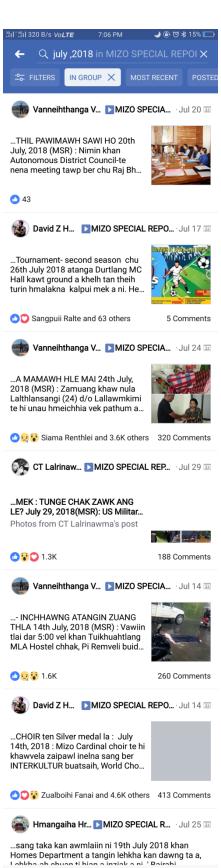






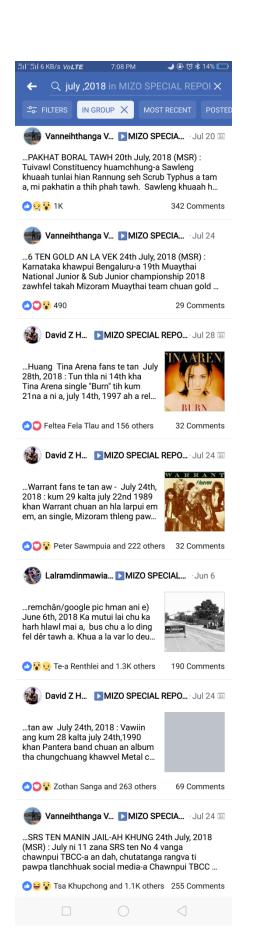


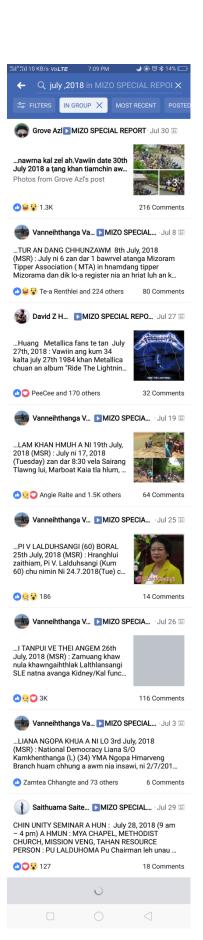


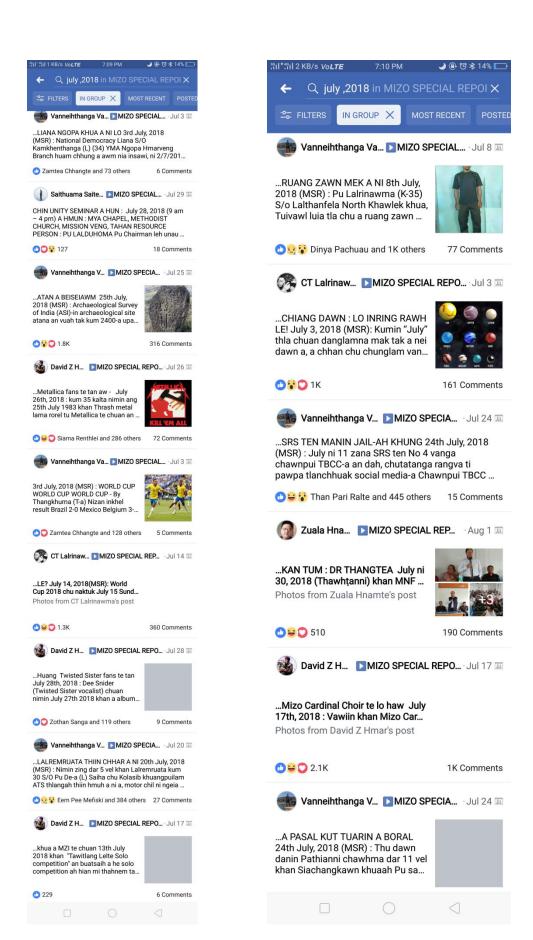














...Huang Dream Theater fans te tan July 7th, 2018: Vawiin ang kum 26 kalta 1992 khan progressive band ropui Dream Theater te chuan an al...





20 Comments



Vanneihthanga V... MIZO SPECIA... Jul 20 III

...HRUAITU PATHUMTE LIM AN HAL 20th July, 2018 (MSR): Mizoram BJP Reform Movement intiite chuan nimin khan Zemabawk YMA Hall-ah Reform Movement Conference an nei a, Mizoram BJP hruai...



6 Comments



Vanneihthanga V... MIZO SPECIA... Jul 20 III

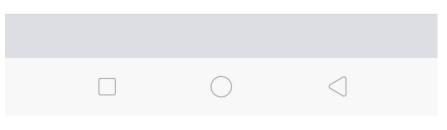
...ORGAN FAILURE VANGIN A BORAL 20th July, 2018 (MSR): 2012 Youth Icon-a 3-na Melody Lalsawithangi, K-28, d/o C. Lalbiakmawia chu niza...

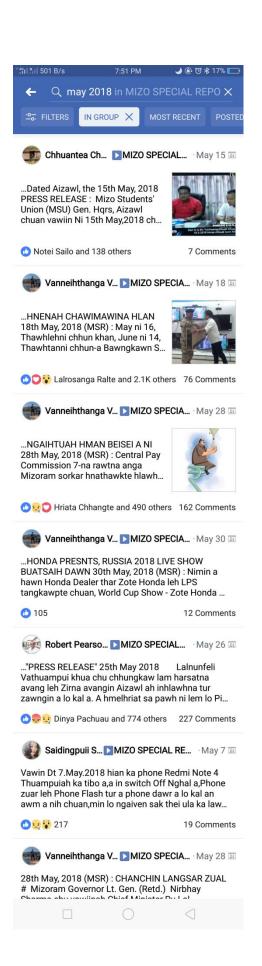




🖒 😥 💟 Zothan Sanga and 1.9K others

173 Comments

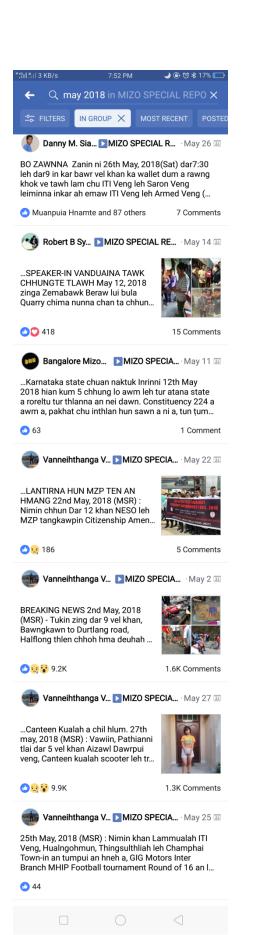


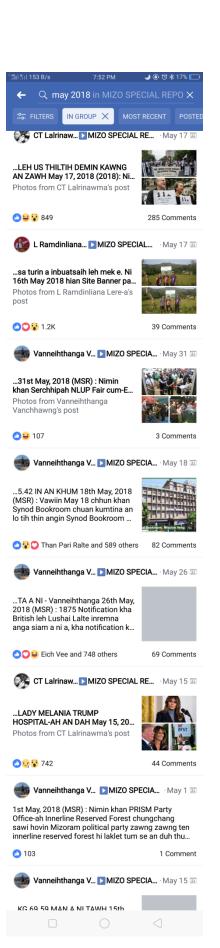


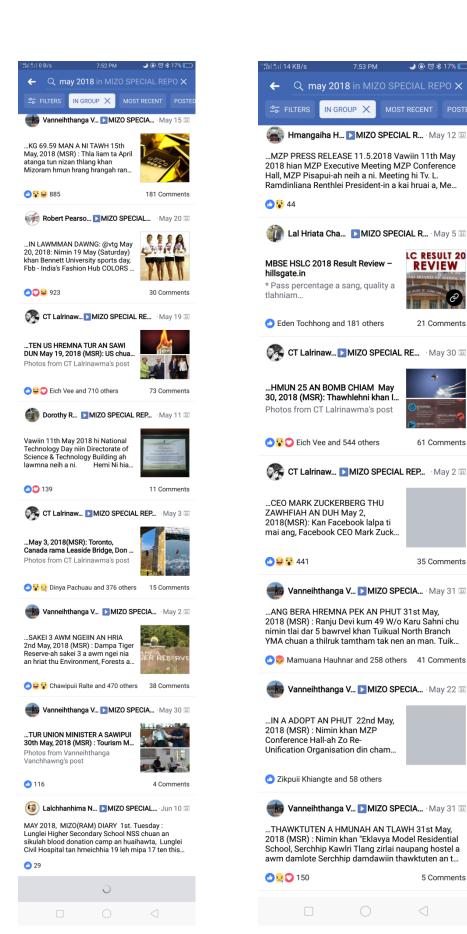


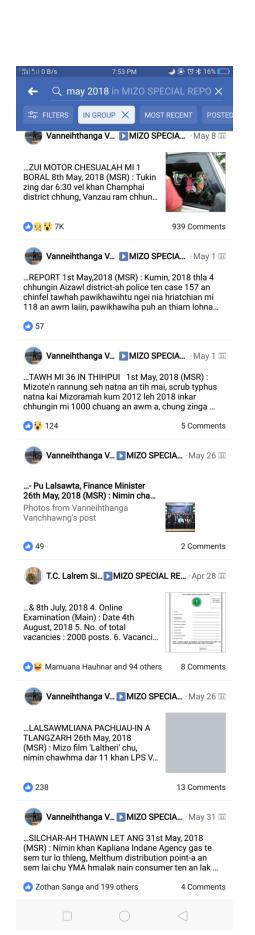


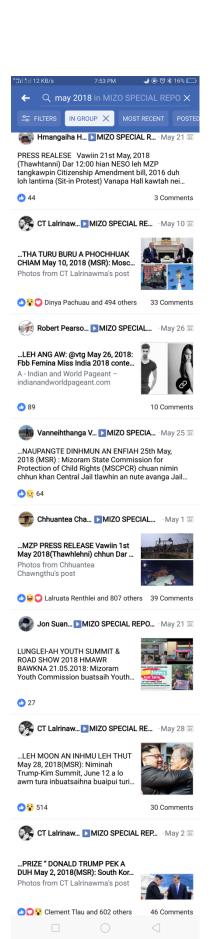


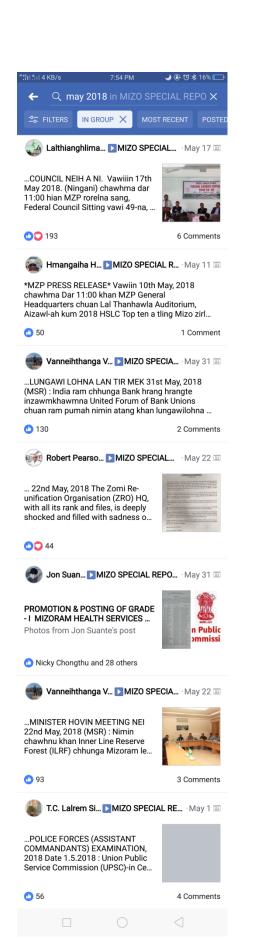


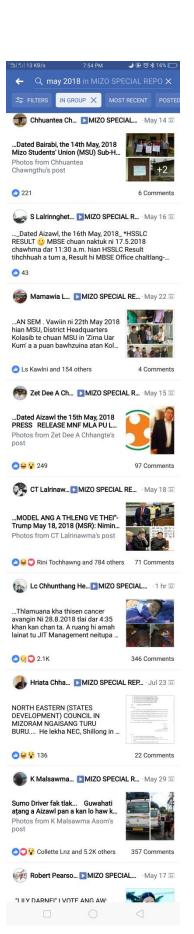


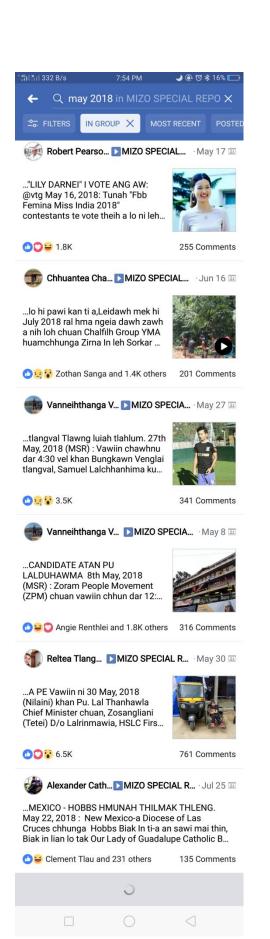










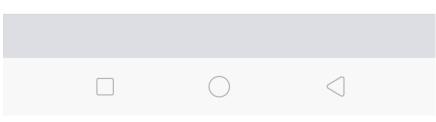






May 28, 2018. CHAPCHAR KUT 2018 / A VAWIKHAT NAN KUT SENSO AUDIT DAWN, RECEIPT LEH VOUCHER RTI-IN PE CHHUAK THE...









#### **PARTICULARS**

NAME OF CANDIDATE : MARIA LALMUANKIMI

DEGREE : DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT : MASS COMMUNICATION

TITLE OF THESIS : SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICS: A STUDY ON USE OF

SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS BY POLITICAL LEADERS

IN MIZORAM

DATE OF ADMISSION : 17.8.2015

APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL:

1. BOS : 15.10.2015

2. SCHOOL BOARD : 28.10.2015

MZU REGISTRATION NO. : 1800002

Ph. D REGISTRATION NO. & DATE : MZU/PH.D/383 OF 28.10.2015

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#### **ABSTRACT**

## SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICS: A STUDY ON USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS BY POLITICAL LEADERS IN MIZORAM

## A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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# DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, MANAGEMENT AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

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#### **ABSTRACT**

### SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICS: A STUDY ON USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS BY POLITICAL LEADERS IN MIZORAM

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#### Introduction

Using social media as a tool of political communication is becoming a phenomenon all over the world, especially in democratic countries like India. The most notable who effectively used social media is said to be Barack Obama in his 2008 Presidential campaign election. Smith (2011) studied how Barack Obama uses social media as a tool for political campaign in the 2008 presidential election campaign. The study found out that social media played a significant role in political campaign and will continue to play an important role in the future to come. It also added that social media played a role in Obama's victory over John McCain in the 2008 presidential election (Smith, 2011).

In Indian context, the review of the literature reveals that there are many studies regarding the use of social media platforms for political communication. Pathak (2014) in his study titled "A study on the use of social networking sites during Lok Sabha Elections-2014 by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)" reveals that the BJP party successfully used social media platforms in promoting their party and the party president Narendra Modi. The study further emphasize that BJP leaders keep themselves updated by surfing the internet, posting of statuses, share personal views at international online platform (Pathak, 2014).

In the light of previous studies the current study is set out to examine the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram. The study attempts to dissect how political leaders in Mizoram are using various social media platforms. It also focuses on the use of social media platforms by political parties in Mizoram. To meet the research objectives the study employs survey method and case study method. The study is built upon the theory 'Uses and Gratifications Theory', the theory put forth by Elihu Katz, Jay G. Blumler, Michael Gurevitch which deals with how users make use of mass media rather than previous theory which focuses on what mass media do to audience. The theory is perfect for this study because the content of the social media platforms are generated by users. Hence, in the current study, politicians are users and the study is committed to study the use of social media platforms by

political leaders and political parties. A brief introduction of social media and how it is used by political leaders is discussed below.

#### **Definition of social media**

It may be said that social media is the latest form of information technology man has created. It has elevated the way information is shared within the society. The term social media may be defined as a "wide range of Internet based and mobile services that allow users to participate in online exchanges and contribute user- created content" (Dewing, 2012). Social media may also be understood as "Internet-based software and interfaces that allow individuals to interact with one another, exchanging details about their lives such as biographical data, professional information, personal photos and up-to-the-minute thoughts" (Kasturi & Vardhan, 2017). According to Antony Mayfield social media is best understood as a "group of new kinds of online media, which share the characteristics of a) participation-social media encourages contributions and feedback from everyone who is interested. It blurs the line between media and audience. b) Openness- most social media services are open to feedback and participation. They encourage voting, comments and the sharing of information. There are rarely any barriers to accessing and making use of content - password-protected content is frowned on. c) Conversation-whereas traditional media is about "broadcast" (content transmitted or distributed to an audience) social media is better seen as a two-way conversation. d) communitysocial media allows communities to form quickly and communicate effectively. Communities share common interests, such as a love of photography, a political issue or a favorite TV show. e) Connectedness-most kinds of social media thrive on their connectedness, making use of links to other sites, resources and people" (Mayfield, 2008).

#### Use of social media by political leaders

In the study 'Picturing the Party: 'Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections' by Filimonov et.al activities of Swedish parties' on Instagram during the 2014 elections were explored. The study aims to find out whether Instagram was used to (1) broadcast campaign messages, (2) mobilize supporters, (3)

manage the party's image, and (4) amplify and complement other campaign material (i.e., hybrid campaign use). Using content analysis the study analyzes 220 party postings on Instagram. These posts were collected during the hot phase of the campaign. The result shows that the platform was mainly used for broadcasting rather than for mobilization. The image the parties were presenting leaned toward personalization with a strong presence of top candidates in their postings. Top candidates were primarily displayed in a political/professional context. Finally, half of the analyzed postings showed signs of hybridized campaign practices. The presented findings give a first glimpse of how political parties use and perform on Instagram (Filimonov, Russmann, & Svensson, 2016).

Another example is the 2014 Indian election, in this election the Bharatiya Janata Party extensively use social media platforms and their prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi has the greatest number of followers on Twitter and the most number of likes on his Facebook pages among all other politicians. Based on this cases it is assumed that if the general public are exposed to political contents during election campaign process it could lead to interest in political activity. By the time when Narendra Modi won the 2014 India election and took an oath for prime minister ship, he has more than 16 million likes on his *Facebook* page, making him the second most liked political leaders in the world. Likes and comments on social media indicate that the person who like or comment has interest in political activity (Narasimhamurthy, 2014).

Pathak (2014) in his study titled "A study on the use of social networking sites during Lok Sabha Elections-2014 by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)" argues that the 2014 elections have been very different from the previous ones; never before have elections created so much buzz, especially among the youngsters. For wooing the youngsters BJP and other political parties are borrowing strategies employed by U.S. President Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign, with the use of Thunderclap, an online platform which helps to make content viral. The author conducted an online survey and found out that the BJP enjoyed a higher positive momentum through SNSs. This study focuses on the use of Social Networking Sites by Political Party (BJP) in the Lok Sabha election – 2014 in India. BJP leaders keep themselves updated by surfing the internet, posting of statuses, share personal views

at international online platform. In the present era, SNSs have become one of the largest online platforms in the world for sharing real time information.

Wani & Alone (2014) in their paper titled "A Survey on the Impact of Social Media on Election System" argues that for the first time in India social media was used so extensively during elections. They conduct a study using survey method which clearly reveals that Narendra Modi is the most active and popular personality on twitter. Twitter including all other popular social networking sites and the news channels' exit polls became the key ingredient for success of Modi and his BJP party (Wani & Alone, 2014).

#### Research gap

There are several studies done in this area but the majority of the studies are done in American context. There are only few studies in Indian context. The review of the literature reveals that research in this particular area in Mizoram context is very scarce. Social media platforms are one of the primary resources for political information. Keeping in mind the role played by social media platforms in politics the study seek to find out why and how political leaders of Mizoram use social media platforms.

#### Scope of the study

Users of social media are increasing with each passing year. Social media platforms with its distinguishing characteristics of users generated content makes it an ideal platform for people to raise their voice and opinions on any issues. At the present context there is no studies done in this area when it holds a very important place in the virtual reality world. Research in this area is very scarce in Mizoram. It is hoped that this study will contribute in the academic field in the future. There are studies on how political parties and political leaders are effectively using or exploiting social media for political communication and their propaganda worldwide and nationwide. But the detailed study on how the political leaders in Mizoram is yet to be done, therefore, it is significant to study and examine how the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

#### **Purpose of the study**

The main purpose of the study is to understand the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

The specific objectives are;

- To examine the social media user motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram.
- To study the perceived satisfaction (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram.
- To analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained.
- To study the use of social media platforms for political communication.

#### **Research questions**

The research questions for the current study were built on previous research in which various social media platforms are used in the political arena.

- RQ 1. What are the social media user motives (gratifications sought)?
- RQ 2. What are the perceived gratifications obtained in using social media?
- RQ 3. What is the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained?
- RQ 4. What are the various types of social media platforms used by political parties in Mizoram?
- RQ 5. What are the reasons (motivations) of using social media platforms?
- RQ 6. What is the online perception of women involved in Mizoram politics?
- RQ 7. What is the status of online public participation in political discussion?

#### **Hypotheses**

Research question 3: "What is the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained?" suggest the following predictions:-

- H1. There is a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Facebook*.
- H2. There a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Instagram*.
- H3. There a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *YouTube*.
- H4. There is a positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *WhatsApp*.

#### Research methodology

To obtain detailed answers to the proposed research questions and to test the hypotheses, a triangulation research design which incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods was adopted. The research design consisted of (1) case study and (2) survey methods. A triangulation or mixed method is "one in which the researcher collects, analyzes, and integrates both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or multiple studies in a sustained program of inquiry. It emphasizes the advantages of using triangulation approach is that qualitative and quantitative approach has its own strengths and weaknesses and using both approaches in one study could mean that the weaknesses of one approach are cancelled out by the strengths of the other" (Creswell, 2014). This study also uses both qualitative and quantitative to complement each other. The whole study was structured into two phases. The first phase focuses on case study and the second phase deals with survey method.

#### **Phase 1- Case Study**

To deal with the objective; to study the use of social media platforms for political communication, case study method was employed. According to Wimmer and Dominick case study method is useful for a researcher who wishes to understand or explain a phenomenon and is most valuable when the researcher wants to obtain a wealth of information about the research topic (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015). Case study method is a common qualitative research technique that uses various data sources to systematically investigate individuals, groups, organizations or events (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015). Case study may also use other techniques such as direct observation, interview, documents, archival records, physical artefact and participant observation for data collection (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015). Hence, the study employs in-depth interview and content analysis method for data collection.

**Sample selection:** To obtain answer to the research objective; to study the use of social media platforms for political communication, eight (8) case studies were selected using purposive sampling technique. The selected samples were; Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP), Mizo National Front (MNF), Indian National Congress (INC)-Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Zoram People Movement (ZPM), People's Right to Information and Development Implementation Society of Mizoram (PRISM), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Mizo Special Report, Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani. Zoram National Party is currently dissolved however it was selected for the study because it is known that the party used Facebook in the 2013 General Legislative Assembly Election. Among the six (6) selected political parties five (5) of them are registered and one (1) is not a registered political party. The registered political parties include two (2) national political parties; Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party and the other three (3) political parties; Zoram Nationalist Party, Mizo National Front and People's Right to Information and Development Implementation Society of Mizoram (PRISM) are regional parties. The unregistered political party is Zoram Peoples Movement (ZPM). ZPM is an alliance of three political parties. It is not a registered political party at the time of the November 2019 general election and its candidate contested as an independent

candidate. However, it was selected because the alliance has an intention of registering as a party. The registered and unregistered political parties were selected for case study because they were the leading political parties in Mizoram. Sample to study the online representation of women involved in politics the study purposively select Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu, the lone woman Minister in the Congress government and Lalriliani, the wife of Ex-Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla. To find out the presence of political posts on social media, Mizo Special Report which is a Facebook group was selected. Facebook was selected because it has the largest number of users among social media platforms and Mizo Special Report was selected because it is a news and information group which has a large number of followers.

Data collection for Case study 1-6: Case study 1-6 deals with the use of social media platforms by political parties in Mizoram and data were collected using indepth interview and content analysis technique. Two (2) leaders each from the selected political party were interviewed for 1 hour to 2 hours. The interview data were recorded using mobile phone voice recorder and notes was also taken. Important conversations were extracted and were carefully analyzed. Data was also collected using content analysis method. Facebook and Instagram were selected for content analysis because the interview result reveals that all the selected political parties have official account in Facebook or Instagram or both. WhatsApp was excluded because the researcher was not a member of the political parties WhatsApp group and thereby has no access to the content. Although YouTube started playing an important role in Mizoram politics it was excluded from the study because the study focus only on the official social media account of the selected sample and the selected political party has no official YouTube channel yet. Data collection begins from May, 2016 and ended in the month of January, 2019.

**Data collection for case study 7:** Case study 7 deals with the online representation of women involved in Mizoram politics. The study purposively selected Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu, the lone woman Minister in the Congress government

and Lalriliani, the wife of Ex-Chief Minister Lal Thanhawla. Content analysis was employed for data collection.

**Universe:** The universe of the study is *Facebook* because *Facebook* is considered to be the most interactive platform and has the largest number of users among social media platforms.

**Selection of sample:** Five (5) random posts of Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani from *Mizo Special Report* and *Special Report* respectively were selected for the study.

**Unit of analysis:** Number of reactions, comments, files, pictures and videos are the unit of analysis.

Case study 8: Case study 8 was an attempt to find out presence of posts related to politics in social media. Content analysis was used for data collection. Most content analysis in mass media involves multistage sampling that includes three stages: sampling of content sources, selection of dates and selection of content (Wimmer & Dominick, 2015).

**Sampling stage 1(sampling of content sources):** Selection of Mizo *Facebook* Group.

**Sampling stage 2 (selection of dates):** Three months posts from the month of May-June, 2018 were chosen for the study.

**Sampling Stage 3 (selection of content):** Posts, reactions and comments during the months of May, 2018- June, 2018 were the unit of analysis.

#### **Phase 2- Survey**

Using survey method the study attempts to answer the objectives: to identify the motivations (gratifications sought) by social media platforms users among political leaders in Mizoram, to find out the perceived satisfaction (gratifications obtained)

among political leaders in Mizoram and to analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained in using social media platforms.

**The target population:** The target populations for the study were political leaders in Mizoram. Political leaders refer to those who held positions in political parties and also those who actively participate in political parties.

**Sampling procedure:** The samples for the study were drawn using multistage sampling.

**Selection of area:** The first stage is the selection of area and the area chosen for the study is Mizoram which is one of the states in the North Eastern part of India.

**Selection of districts:** There are 8 districts in the state of Mizoram and Aizawl District is chosen for the study as all political party headquarters are situated in Aizawl, the capital of the state of Mizoram.

**Selection of respondents:** The respondents for the study were chosen from four (4) registered political parties and one (1) unregistered political party. Five political parties namely Mizo National Front, Mizoram Pradesh Congress Committee, Bharatiya Janata Party, Zoram People Movement and Peoples Representation for Identity and Status of Mizoram were chosen using purposive sampling technique because they are the leading and the most active political parties in Mizoram. Since the population of the selected political parties is infinite and 50 respondents were selected to represent each selected political parties. The study focuses on the use of social media platforms, however, the study select only *Facebook, Instagram, YouTube* and *WhatsApp* which are apparent to be the most popular social media platforms. The respondents who use all four social media platforms were selected to answer the questionnaire.

**Questionnaire design:** To understand the uses and gratification patterns of social media usage by political leaders in Mizoram, the study employs questionnaire survey. The survey questionnaire was distributed and collected the month of December 2018 and January 2019 among the leaders of the selected political parties.

The distributed questionnaire was in Mizo language which is the official language in the state of Mizoram. The questionnaire is divided into five (5) sections. The first sections deals with demographic profile, section 2 is social media diet, section 3 is Frequency of social media use, section 4 deals with the motivations (gratification sought) and section 5 deals with perceived gratification obtained. Among the various social media platforms available only four social media platforms; *Facebook, Instagram, YouTube* and *WhatsApp* were included in the study.

The study was set out to study the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram with four specific objectives; to examine the social media user motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram; to study the perceived satisfaction (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram; to analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratification obtained; to study the use of social media platforms for political communication. Chapters 1 discuss about the use of social media for political communication and present the status of social media in Mizoram politics. Chapter 2 identifies a huge research gap after reviewing the available literature on the subject and the current study is carried out to fill the gap. Chapter 3 concentrates on the use of social media for political communication. Chapter 4 analyzed the use of social media platforms by political leaders in Mizoram.

## Findings of objective 4 and chapter 3

Chapter 3 deals with the fourth objectives of the study which is to study the use of social media platforms for political communication.

## Use of social media by political parties

## Various types of social media platforms used by political parties in Mizoram

All the political parties under study have official account in *Facebook* and also create several *WhatsApp* group. Among the six (6) political parties under study, only 2 of them are not using *instagram*. All the political parties who have party official *Facebook* and *instagram* use more of their *Facebook* account than their *instagram* account. Their official *Facebook group* and *Instagram* are meant for communication from their party to the public and *WhatsApp* is used mainly for communication within party members.

## **Motivations behind using social media platforms**

The main motivations in using social media are; to post political activities both individual and political party functions, to post good deeds done by their party, to bond with the public, to make press release, to check the ruling parties and as a tool of election campaign communication. Apart from official party social media groups, the party feels that it is important that their party leaders use social media platforms to strengthen the connection with public. However, due several reasons their political leaders are not able to actively engage in social media platforms other than *WhatsApp*. For those who are not in a condition to operate their social media accounts which include *Facebook*, *instagram* and *Twitter* are operated by younger members of the party on their behalf.

The case studies reveal that the political parties in Mizoram are using Social Media platforms for political communication particularly Facebook and Instagram. They don't have many followers and they are still in the nascent stage. Fake news is a problem for the political parties. Couldn't get feedback and still not have clarity on how to use the social media effectively. The senior politicians are old and they are lagging behind and hesitant to use Social Media. The party official social media account are operated and maintained by the younger members of the party. Besides using newspapers and Television to publicize their party 'Press Release', the party extensively uses Facebook and *WhatsApp* to publicize their party 'Press Release'. Still traditional door to door campaign is the main tool for political campaigns.

#### Online perception of women involved in Mizoram politics

There was no presence of derogatory remarks on the gender of Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu. Majority of the comments were from men i.e 79%. The comments reveal that even men are proud of her and congratulates on her success. However, there are several comments criticized her but not because she was a woman but because they felt that she was not a competent Minister. The 98.18% like reactions on the posts on Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and the 97.19% like reactions on the posts about Lalriliani says that majority of the people who push the reactions agree with the post. There were 11.52% and 35% negative comments on the post about Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani respectively. There were 72.39% and 24.5% positive comments on the posts about Lalriliani respectively. This suggest that

woman participated in politics was accepted. However, the perception on the wife of politicians received a large number of negative comments.

## The use of social media platforms by the public

The study reveals the various types of non-political posts during the month of May-July, 2018. The various types of non-political posts are categorized into 7 sub categories- Mizoram News, Sports, Entertainment, Outside Mizoram, Charity, Breaking News and Lost and Found. The total number of Mizoram News posted during the months of May- July, 2018 is 138 posts. Posts such as natural calamities, obituary, praising people for their good deeds and stories of successful people from all walks of life to challenge others comes under Mizoram news. Sports held the second highest number of posts. However, majority of sports news are mainly about football. Members also post their personal interest in the news and stories of their favorite celebrities which come under the head of entertainment. It is also found out that Mizo Diasporas living in different parts of the world also contribute news and stories on. Posts under the head charity include asking for donations to help sick and needy people. Breaking news includes natural calamities, sudden accidents and events happening within Mizoram. The study also reveals that people took to Facebook seeking help and advice when they lost their belongings. They also posts lost items with the intention of finding its rightful owners. There is also Political posts which also divided into four sub categories after a careful examination. They are; national politics, international politics and Mizoram political posts. Members' posts more news on Posts are mainly politicians' activities and press release by political parties. The total number of reactions is 10,054 and the total number of comments is 3,188. This clearly shows that members of Mizo Special Group are interested in Mizoram politics.

## Findings of objectives 1, 2, 3 and chapter 4

This section present the findings of three main objectives of the study; to examine the social media user motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram, to study motives (gratifications sought) among political leaders in Mizoram and to analyze the relationship between gratifications sought and gratification obtained.

## **Key findings from demographic characteristics**

The key findings from the survey questionnaire on demographic characteristics are; there are 50 respondents each from Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Mizo National Front (MNF), Indian National Congress (INC), People's Representation for Identity and Status of Mizoram (PRISM) and Zoram People Movement (ZPM). Among the designation MLA Official Candidate with 37.2% hold the highest percentage. There are more male respondents which are 88.8% and there are only 11.2% female. The majority age group is 40-50 years (30.4%) and there are 37.6% having a Bachelors degree.

# Key findings from social media diet

37.6% respondents said that it was their friends who introduce them to social media, 24% said they do not remember from where they have heard about using social media, 21.2% said it was from their family and 17.2% said that it was their colleague who introduced them to social media. Out of the total 250 respondents all of them use *WhatsApp* for political communication. Out of the 250 respondents 52% said that they also use *Facebook* for political communication. 18% and 5% also said that they use *Instagram* and *Twitter* for political communication respectively. All of the respondents said that they are using Mobile phone to access social media. 55.2% thinks that *WhatsApp* is the most effective social media and 44.8% thinks that *Facebook* is the most effective social media platforms for election campaign. Out of the total 250 respondent 96.4% thinks that social media is the most effective media.

#### Key findings from frequency of social media

Out of the 250 respondent majorities of the respondents which is 37.2% said that they use *Facebook* several times a day, 72.4% rarely use Instagram, 66.4 rarely use YouTube, 1.2% said that they use it several times a day, 73.2% said that they are always connected to *WhatsApp*, 49.2% of the respondents have been using Facebook for 3 years or more, 72.4% use instagram for less than a year. 57.6% said that they have been using YouTube for only less than 1 year, 72% said that they have been using *WhatsApp* for 3 year or more

## Gratifications Sought (Motivations) in using social media

# **Cognitive needs**

The study reveals that the survey questionnaire respondents the main reason behind using *Facebook* was to seek information including political information. The respondents also use *Facebook* to see what others are up to and also to learn other things beside news and information. *Instagram* was used to see what others are up to. *YouTube* was also use to see what others are up. The results also suggest that the respondents use *WhatsApp* to seek general and political information, and to learn interesting things.

#### **Affective needs**

The study found out that the questionnaire respondents were using *Facebook* to express their thoughts and feelings that includes both general and political. Apart from *Facebook* the questionnaire respondents also use *WhatsApp* to express general and political thoughts and feelings.

# Personal integrative needs

The survey questionnaire respondents use *Facebook* for political campaign and to post political activities. *WhatsApp* was also use for political campaign, posting location and political activities, posting official business and for self promotion.

#### Social integrative needs

The current study also found out that the questionnaire respondents mainly use *Facebook* to keep in touch with friends and family, participate in both political and general discussions, and share information with others and for communication with people who were not a member of their party. *WhatsApp* was use for personal message for communication within and outside their party, to participate in general and political discussions, to keep in touch with friends and family, give or receive advice, to share information with others and to bond with citizens.

#### Tension release needs

*Instagram* is mainly use to pass time. The respondents also use *YouTube* to pass time and for entertainment.

## Gratifications obtained from using social media

# **Cognitive needs**

The gratifications obtained from using *Facebook* includes seeking political and general information, to see what others are up to and learn interesting thing. Using *Instagram* help the respondents to see what others are up to. The respondents also perceived that using *WhatsApp* has helped them to seek political and general information and also to learn interesting things.

#### Affective needs

The study shows that using *Facebook* helps the respondents to express political thoughts and feelings and also to express general thoughts and feelings. The respondents also feel that using *WhatsApp* also helped them to express general and political thoughts.

# Personal integrative needs

Using *Facebook* helps the survey questionnaire respondents in political campaign posting location and activities and posting political activities. The respondents also perceived that using *WhatsApp* helped them in political campaign, in posting location and political activities, in posting official business and self promotion.

#### Social integrative needs

The questionnaire respondents perceived that using *Facebook* helped them to keep in touch with friends and family, to participate in political and general discussions, to share information with others, to participate both in general and political discussions, to bonding with citizens and to communicate with people who are not a member of their party. Using *Instagram* helped the respondents to see what others are up to. The respondents also perceived that using *WhatsApp* has helped them in personal message to communicate within and outside their party, to participate in general and political discussion, to keep in touch with friends and family, to give or receive advice, to share information with others and also to bond with citizen.

#### **Tension release needs**

The survey questionnaire respondents feel that using *Instagram* helped them to pass time. The respondents also feel that they using *YouTube* has entertained them and also helped them to pass time.

# Relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications obtained

#### All the hypotheses are proven

- H1. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Facebook*.
- H2. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *Instagram*.
- H3. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *YouTube*.
- H4. There is a significant positive relationship in gratification sought and gratification obtained in using *WhatsApp*.

#### **Conclusions**

## **Broadcasting**

Political parties Mizoram were using their official *Facebook*, *WhatsApp* and *Instagram* account to post political activities both individual and political party functions, to post functions and events organized by their party. Although political parties did have party official *YouTube* channel some party members were using it to disseminate their party leaders' speech, interviews and other political activities using their personal *YouTube* channel. Social Media was still in its budding stage.

## Manage the party's image

With the idea of building a positive image political parties in Mizoram were using their *Facebook* to post good deeds done by their party leaders, to make press release with the idea of building positive party image. One of the main aims of political parties was to find and expose the weaknesses of other political parties in order to securely establish the stand of their political party. With this in mind posts related to satirical contents, political jokes and memes were disseminated through social media platforms to highlight the weaknesses and wrong doings of the ruling party and other political parties.

## Social media for election campaign communication

Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram were extensively used for political campaign communication. Among the three social media platforms used by the party due to shortage of active members Instagram was not used frequently as the other two social media platforms. However, Facebook and WhatsApp are extensively used

during election campaigns. Facebook was used to introduce the candidates who were contesting for elections and also to disseminate their party manifesto. Facebook was mainly used for communication between their party to potential voters and WhatsApp was used for communication within the party. Politician who contests for elections in other parts of India and the other parts of the world had successfully used various social media platforms to collect fund from their supporters for their campaign expense. And political organizations also successfully use their social media platforms to mobilize the public in political and civic participation. However, in Mizoram political parties were not using their party official social media accounts for fund raising and did not use it to mobilization the public both in political and civic participation.

Majority of the respondents i.e., 96.4% thinks that social media was the most effective social media platforms for election campaign. And among various social media platforms the respondents were using WhatsApp (100%), Facebook (52%), Instagram (18%) and Twitter (5%) for political communication. However, only 37.2% used Facebook several times a day and majority of the respondents rarely used Instagram (72.4%) and YouTube (66.4%). On the otherhand 73.2% of the respondents were always connected to WhatsApp. Even though majority of the respondents thinks that social media platforms were the best means for election campaign they were using less of Facebook, Instagram and YouTube. This could be because majority of the respondents were above 40 years of age and were lagging behind in using social media platforms. The findings of case studies on how political parties used social media platforms also highlight the use of surrogacy. This suggest that although the questionnaire respondents believes that social media platforms were the most effective media for election campaign, there is a possibility that they are using surrogate.

# Social media and public sphere

As the election commission and Mizoram Peoples Forum (MPF) which is a church based election watch dog in the state of Mizoram have imposed several restriction during election campaign especially in traditional mass media, social media provide the platform where they can freely express their political feelings without any restrictions. For political parties it is very important to keep themselves in the public

eyes and social media is the perfect platform to do so as it is low cost, instant and the audience is large. Political leaders are using their personal profiles to understand the political scenario, debates and discussions in the *Facebook* groups like *Mizoram Special Report*, *Zoram Politics* and *Save Mizoram*. Social media platforms allow all users to discuss and express their thoughts in public on any issue. This has brought about a new dimension in the discussion of public sphere. Likewise *Facebook* groups such as *Mizo Special Report* is being used as a space by the general public to discuss about politics and non-political issues as well. In the past Mizo society political discussion was confined to 'Zawlbuk' was a bachelors' quarter that was accessible only by the male members of the society and the 'chief's hut' in which the chief and his elders discussed about the affairs of the society. Women and the younger generations have no space to raise their opinion and voice in matters concerning their society. Social media provide the platform for all irrespective of sex and age among the people of Mizoram. Everyone who has access to social media can raise their voice across all social media platforms.

# Uses and gratifications of social media by political leaders

Political leaders turn to WhatsApp and Facebook mainly for cognitive needs. They are using both WhatsApp and Facebook to acquire information including politics. They also turn to Facebook and WhatsApp to satisfy their affective needs that includes using WhatsApp and Facebook as a platform to express their thoughts and feelings on issues including politics and other issues. To satisfy their personal integrative needs political leaders also use WhatsApp and Facebook. WhatsApp and Facebook are used predominantly for political campaign, for posting locations, official business and activities. For self promotion they use WhatsApp which is very surprising because in other parts of the country and in other parts of the worlds political leaders are using other social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to promote themselves. To satisfy their social integrative needs political leaders in Mizoram are using Facebook and WhatsApp. They use Facebook and WhatsApp for communication within their party and also to communication with people outside their fellow party members. The data also reveals that *Instagram* and *Youtube* are used only to seek out their tension release needs i.e., they use *Instagram* to pass time and YouTube for entertainment. Instagram and YouTube are for namesake only and

majority of them rarely use it. It is very surprising to see that the political parties and the political leaders in Mizoram are hardly using *Twitter*. *Twitter* is a popular platform meant for political communication. Although there are restrictions in traditional election campaigning, the political parties have not yet figured out the strength of social media and have not all used for influencing the voters.

Gender gap: The findings of the case study on women involved in politics which reveal that there were no derogatory remarks on the gender of women involved in politics, the comment sections were dominated by male as there was only 15.82% and 21% comments by female on the post of Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu and Lalriliani respectively. There were also only 11.2 questionnaire respondents. Mizo society is a patriarchal society and likewise the administrations of state have been dominated by male members of the society. According to the 2011 census the Mizoram's population of the state was 1,091,014 of which 555,339 were male and 541,867 were female. Despite the little difference in the number of male and female Mizoram has succeeded in electing only Seven (7) women Member of Legislative Assembly. Among these seven women MLA only two of them; Lalhlimpuii Hmar and Vanlalawmpuii Chawngthu were Ministers. While women in Mizoram have entered in workforce, education and other fields, there is a huge gap in the field of politics. The reason why there was less representation of women in politics was not manifested in the current study and hence further studies could be conducted in the future.

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