



ROLE OF NEW MEDIA IN TELANGANA MOVEMENT

KISHORE KUMAR GADARI,

M.L.A, Telangana and Research Scholar,
Dept. of Communication and Journalism, Osmania University.

ABSTRACT

Since the Seattle anti-globalization protests in 1999 the adoption of new information and communications technologies (ICTs) by social movement activists has offered the prospect of a serious challenge to traditional forms of political participation. With its transnational many-to-many communication facility, the internet offers revolutionary potential for social movements to speak directly to the citizens of the world, circumventing the 'official' messages of political organizations and traditional media. Furthermore, electronic mail, mailing lists, websites, electronic forums and other online applications provide powerful tools for coordinating activity among geographically dispersed individuals, and for shaping collective identity. Mobile phone emerged as a powerful instrument in the hands of people. In order to achieve the statehood for Telangana also new media were used widely by the netizens. This paper is an attempt to delineate the role played by new media during Telangana movement and to analyze their potential in shaping the public consensus for the cause of separate statehood for Telangana.

Keywords: New media, social media, internet and Telangana.

INTRODUCTION

New media is a broad term in media studies that emerged in the latter part of the 20th century. The meaning of the term is still elusive though it has a long history in social research as many scholars attempted to study its form, uses and implications since the 1960s and 1970s. The compression of time and space, due to the convergence of new media and globalization, has shrunk the world into a much smaller interactive field (Chen and Zhang 2010). After the invention of personal computers and ARPANET in the 1970s, they have become inevitable platforms for commerce, sociality and popular culture. The Internet did not emerge until 1982; it began its rapid ascent only in the early 1990s, when graphical interfaces became widely available and commercial interests were allowed to participate (Abbate 1999, Castells 2001). Subsequently, it democratized the flow of information, undermining top-down dependence on traditional media organizations with bottom-up sharing among new media users themselves.

However, it can be said that new media is associated with information communication technology or the Internet, and is an interactive form of communication. The emergence of new media especially smart phone has enabled the horizontal person-to-person mass communication of information and it facilitated people to vent their opinions, views, pleasantries and grievances through websites, social media, blogs and other user-generated media.

With its transnational many-to-many communication facility, the internet offers revolutionary potential for social movements to speak directly to the citizens of the world, circumventing the 'official' messages of political organizations and traditional media (DiMaggio, Paul 2000). Furthermore, electronic mail, mailing lists, websites, electronic forums and other online applications provide powerful tools for coordinating activity among geographically dispersed



individuals, and for shaping collective identity (Gamer 1990). It is evident that new media certainly fueled the Telangana movement; established political regimes of the time had also used them to counter the claims and arguments made by separate Telangana state proponents. ICTs are crucial for fostering collective identity, a perception among participants that they belong to the same social movement by virtue of the same grievances, which can then be mobilized for further collective action (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012).

The use of media in socio-political movements is not a new phenomenon either to India or world. The freedom fighters extensively used mass media to unite people against British colonial rule. Similarly, ICTs-mediated political and anti-graft movements were also witnessed in Egypt, Tunisia, and almost in all nations of Arab League and in developing countries. The most fascinating ability of the ICTs is that they enable common men to connect and organize themselves with little costs, and the world to bear witness. Certainly, new media have a wide variety of potentially useful applications, such as the ability to unite people more immediately and across greater distances. Rheingold (2000) observes that people in virtual communities use words on screens to exchange pleasantries and argue, engage in intellectual discourses, conduct commerce, make plans, brainstorm, gossip, feud, fall in love, create a little high art and a lot of idle talk.

While the most of mainstream media outlets are owned by Seemandhra businessmen, Telangana protesters often find themselves difficult to raise their voice through these platforms, but many a time they were deliberately ignored. In spite of all the censoring, prohibiting, and restraining efforts of the established authority and majority of mainstream media, new media users (Telangana protesters) overcame the obstacles, thanks to digital technology.

Certainly, the Telangana movement gained momentum following the self immolation of Kasoju Srikantha Chary in 2009, whose sacrifice became the name and face of the later phase Telangana movement's spirit in both real and virtual worlds. The new media gained significance as people lost confidence in mainstream media that had often neglected the culture and cause for separate Telangana. The Internet provides the opportunity to build virtual communities in which individuals participate with people from all over the world, people with whom they converse daily, people with whom they may have fairly intimate relationships but whom they may never physically meet (Holmes, 2005). Accordingly, people from various places in Telangana united together for the common cause and waged relentless ideological battle by means of these ICTs and gave considerable impetus to the movement.

During the course of the movement, thousands of protesters used to share the text messages, videos and songs about economic exploitation, hopeless poverty, cultural negation, unfair inequality in terms of employment and water share, police brutality and unjust judiciary and undemocratic polity in unified Andhra Pradesh state through the diversified digital platforms.



New media usually includes websites, e-mails, cellular phones, Wikipedia, Internet, computer multimedia, online newspapers, blogs, social network sites etc. In short, new media usually allows interactive user feedback and creative participation on any digital device through the Internet. Let's have a look at how these new media had helped protesters to overcome the communication barriers to further propel the movement.

MOBILE COMMUNICATION

Like the television in the 1950s and the Internet in the 1990s, mobile telephony has emerged as one of the defining communication technologies of our time (Castells et al. 2007). Mobile telephony term covers the use of portable mobile phones for telephone services, voice, data transmission, and fax communications. Through convergence, cellular technologies are now built into portable computers, making nomadic computing, or mobile computer communications, a reality (John Pavlik, 1995). Mobile phone technology has made possible to send text messages via a short message service (SMS) or multimedia message service (MMS) where users can share text, pictures and videos. In addition to social networks, cell phones played a crucial role in casting the light on the situation and spread the word about the Telangana agitation across the country.

Technology does not determine society: it is society, and can only be understood in social terms as a social practice. This means that the uses of wireless communication are fundamentally shaped and modified by people and organizations, on the basis of their interest, values, habits, and projects (Castells et. al, 2007). As mobile communication technology became a social resource in students' lives, the educational centers especially universities and colleges in Telangana turned hotbed for the movement where thousands of them used to gather to protest and spread awareness for the unfair treatment of Telangana citizens. With the help of mobile phones, students managed to assemble and demonstrate for the cause by flouting the restrictions imposed by the police. The protesters extensively used mobile phones to change their strategies in last minute in order to mislead the authoritarian regime, and successfully enforced bandhs and mobilized thousands of people for 'Assembly Muttadi'.

MMS& SMS

The pictures and MMS of Kasoju Srikantha Chary's sacrifice fueled the agitation across Telangana. The students of Osmania University spearheaded the movement following S. Yadagiri's self immolation on the campus. His video shared by students through mobile phones has ignited further the emotions and sentiments of people who in turn intensified their fight with unbeatable determination and dedication.

Even the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) founder and beacon for later phase movement K. Chandrasekhar Rao broke into tears due to the students' suicides and urged them not to resort such acts as separate state to be achieved is for them. The reach and impact of mobile phone



communication has obviously united together various sections of people and crystallized their common goal. The people found themselves new media as a last resort to raise their voices perceiving that mainstream media are not reflecting their views. The circulation of SMS aimed to create awareness about unjust meted out to Telangana in terms of employment, water share and fund allocation with figures and facts was the order of the day in Telangana.

In a personal interview, Osmania University Students Joint Action Committee (OUJAC) Chairman, Pidamarthi Ravi said:

Though mainstream media never paid attention to our cause, we inevitably used mobile phones and social media to mobilize people for meetings and to garner their support for bypolls held in Telangana. In many instances, we managed to escape police arrests with the help of cell phone. We used to know the up-to-date information about the all the possible means of government for containing the agitation. As most students lack mobile phones due to poor family backgrounds, we formed into groups with mobile phone owners among us. At one point of time government even tried to trap our phone calls but in vain.

Ringtones

During the course of the movement, the supporters of separate Telangana state set Telangana songs as ringtones for their mobile phone call alerts so as to keep its unique culture and the movement vibrant. While the ringtone is a remarkable cultural phenomenon that demonstrates a high degree of popularity, people used them to express explicitly in public spaces that their affiliation to Telangana cause. The ringtone's cultural implications are larger even than those of the mobile music devices like iPod because of its active presence in public and private communication.

Talking about ringtones and Telangana culture, OUJAC leader Palla Praveen Reddy said in a personal interview:

Song has a rich history in Telangana as it amassed people from all walks of life since Nizam's autocratic rule. We set them as ringtones to motivate and rededicate ourselves for the fight for separate state. Song and music are in the blood of Telangana people; both enthral people more than any other forms of communication. The ringtone particularly 'Okkara Iddara Vidyarthi Veerulu' helped us to stand shoulder to shoulder against police and state.

Ringtones like 'Amma Telanganama', 'Jana Jatharalo', 'Podusthunna Poddumeda', 'Jaya Jayahe Telangana', 'Koti Ratanala Veena', 'Nageti Sallalla', 'Dhagapadda Telangana', 'Nannu Ganna Talli', 'Na Chitti Chethulu', 'Oh Ramulamma', 'Osmania Campus Lo', 'Elamanda', 'Nee Padam Meeda Puttumachanai', 'Palleletla Kadulutunnayi Ante' etc have become ubiquitous in Telangana. These made people to feel a sense of oneness as they mirrored their culture and sufferings.



WEBSITES

As Telangana cause was presented with varied distortions in mainstream media that are owned by Andhra capitalists and politicians, people of Telangana found Internet as a last resort to raise their voice. As a result, the supporters of Telangana launched hundreds of websites to counterattack the claims of Andhraites. The usage of Internet against the vested interests of Andhra industrialists and political leaders has largely contributed for the mobilization of masses to fight for the cause. To speak of a social movement generally four elements should be present: (1) a network of organizations, (2) on the basis of a shared collective identity, (3) mobilizing people to join, mostly unconventional actions (4) to obtain social or political goals (Diani and Eyerman 1992; Duyvendak and Koopmans 1992).

The Telangana movement clearly incorporated all these elements to sustain the struggle as the dominant Andhra media turned a deaf ear to their relentless fight. While the state unable to afford to set up comprehensive censorship system, Internet users enjoyed a great freedom in echoing their cause to the outside world. The Internet enabled pro-Telangana groups to identify and publicise targets, garner support, organize and communicate information and instructions, recruit, raise funds, and as a means of promoting their various individual and collective aims. Hundreds of websites sprang up after 2006 highlighting the injustice meted out to Telangana in unified state. The websites provided information largely about the culture, literature, heritage, art, food and festivals of the region. The belief that the Telangana culture and language were neglected and belittled by Andhraites since formation of Andhra Pradesh has motivated pro-Telangana groups to strive for the unique Telangana dialect, history and literature through various websites.

After 2006, websites like www.greattelangana.info, www.missiontelangana.com, www.telanganajagruthi.org, www.123telangana.com, www.telanganatalkies.com, www.etelangana.org, www.telangananrforum.org, www.telanganaus.org, www.telanganafocus.com etc provided update events about the movement and repressive measures taken by the then governments. Almost all events that are related to Telangana movement were appeared on these websites. People are now free, and have the opportunity to create their own news as well as to get the other side of the story by getting news from the Internet which is seen as free from control (Rosenstiel, 2005). Apart from pro-Telangana websites, hundreds of websites related to news, politics and culture provided information about Telangana struggle by taking a neutral stand. While the mainstream media preferred to rely on sources with a political power base and take these views as the starting point of coverage, websites relied mainly on the views of marginalized sections whose voice was ignored for decades in unified state. The potential mobilizing role of these websites has constructed collective identity among the people. Assuming that the Semmandhra dominant mainstream media is biased, people relied mainly on these websites to know the truth behind the stories that opposed or favoured the formation of Telangana state.



The educated youth who became the target for these websites took up the responsibility of dissemination of information, garnering support among illiterate rural masses in Telangana. The aggrieved people of Telangana found a way to let their voice be heard, and retorted the interpretations or views made by mainstream media via Internet. The content on these websites nurtured the feeling of injustice and depicted that the Telangana people can put an end to their tribulations through collective action. Moreover, the websites encouraged people from participating in the movement by creating the impression that they adhered to a minority point of view and that their collective effort is the only means to achieve their common goal.

Meanwhile, NRIs who belonged to Telangana contributed profoundly for the Telangana movement by launching websites like telangananriforum.org, telanganaus.org etc. They extended solidarity and staged various protests in alien countries in line with the events and programmes observed in Telangana. Moreover, the NRIs partly sponsored the movement by raising funds and created a feeling of oneness among Telangana people. The NRIs especially who migrated to Arab countries are under the impression that they left their homes as they meted out injustice in united Andhra Pradesh and extended unconditional support to the movement hoping that their children would not face such discrimination in future.

SOCIAL NETWORK SITES

New media, especially social media such as WhatsApp, Facebook, YouTube, blogs, LinkedIn, Twitter and the Skype have provided a diversified platform for people across the world to represent themselves in a unique way and stay connected in virtual world. The social network sites facilitated an online few-to-few communication, group communication through email listservs and VoIP for cheap conference calls with a small group of individuals. The rise of online platforms and the expansion of telecommunication networks increased the ability to communicate one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many (Cammaerts, Mattoni, McCurdy, 2013). The Telangana movement rejuvenated with the expansion of digital media that provided access to widespread information for interaction and public debate. These platforms managed to create a sense of betrayal among people of Telangana that their opportunities are being exploited by the Seemandhra people in Andhra Pradesh state.

The communication that occurs in these online contexts promotes interactive dialogues that build understanding of different points of view. New social media means that everyone is a publisher and everyone is a critic (Georgetown University, 2010). In social media, people have the opportunity to express their opinions to the public and participate in conversations and dialogue through a common virtual medium. Social media are contributing to upend traditional relationship between political authorities and the popular, making it easier for the powerless to collaborate, coordinate, and give voice to their concerns (Malcolm Gladwell, 2010). The popular types of social media and networking sites are Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp, Twitter and Micro-blogging.



A. Facebook

Social media are a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0 that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010).

Facebook brought Telangana people especially educated youth together with different backgrounds and encouraged interaction. It enabled people to exchange messages through a common medium. Since its inception in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg, the social networking site is actively enriching social lives approximately 5 billion users around the globe by ignoring the factor of distance. Additionally, users are allowed to create groups and events that they can invite others to join (Hodge 2006). Interestingly, 70 per cent of its users are outside the USA. The widespread acceptance of Facebook suggests that there may be unique factors associated with it that are working to gratify the needs of a large number of Internet users.

It also started feature of the Facebook page in 2010, which enabled the creation of pages for individuals, companies, brands and so on. The most striking feature of Telangana movement in terms of social media usage is that the users employed them as tools to dissent their voice apart from using them for relationship maintenance, passing time, entertainment and companionship. Hundreds of Telangana supporters created Facebook pages highlighting the miserable plight of people in the region. They created Facebook Fan Pages and Groups, popular applications allowing anyone with shared interests to participate in discussion forums and threads. Facebook provided a technical platform to users to interact with each other and generate content together in a virtual community, in contrast to passive viewers of the mass media content. It along with Internet allowed Telangana movement to bypass traditional media gatekeepers and disseminated alternative news/views. Moreover, the Facebook supplemented the Telangana movement by increasing the protesters' activism which is necessary for a prolonged contestation of authority with interactions between the challengers and powerholders. The various interactive Facebook features enabled the proponents of Telangana to launch the online virtual movement and the offline real protests. However, the users of Facebook pointed an accusatory finger at Semmandhra rulers for injustice meted out to Telangana through their comments, posts and videos that subsequently prompted for collective action. Taking a cue from the new technology success with Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement in 2011, the proponents of Telangana intensified campaign on social network sites. Millions of likes, comments and posts were received about Telangana issue on Facebook since 2009 to 2014.

B. Twitter

In 2006, Twitter was introduced to relay real time information to users.

The social media has shortened the ties of distance into knowing exactly what someone is doing without face-to-face communication with another person. Twitter is the most popular public micro-blog, which is a weblog that consists of short messages (Java et al. 2007). Twitter enabled



registered users to share and post short messages of up to 140 characters. Over the past few years, Twitter has been adopted for scholarly activities, such as sharing information and resources, asking for advice, promoting work, and networking with peers (Veletsianos and Kimmons 2012). The users effectively used this platform to spread awareness about Telangana cause. The NRIs who are unable to carry out physical communication employed the Twitter to share their feelings, comments and opinions on Telangana movement. As traditional media are controlled by more or less government and the private sectors, Twitter challenged the command of government and traditional media over the perceptions of citizens that are created by them. And when the conditions within a state are domineering and free speech-prohibitive, the ability to access a network containing real-time communication expressed by fellow citizens amplifies the effect of social media, possibly creating conditions ripe for the spread of revolutionary ideas (Peterson, 2010). If nothing else, Twitter contributed to spread the word outside of the state's borders by posting and sharing information about endless fight. Through the use of Twitter, news such as Yadi Reddy's suicide in Delhi for Telangana spread rapidly in 2011. This shift from relying for news on traditional media to believe in the public opinion voiced through texting and messaging implied to involvement process of the struggle.

C. YouTube

YouTube is a video-sharing website that began in 2005 that allows individuals to interact with the global community by viewing and sharing user generated video content (Georgetown University, 2010). YouTube has contributed to downturn the traditional stereotypes of groups of people due to myriad of videos shared by people around the world. People have the opportunity to upload videos to the YouTube for the purpose of entertainment, information, or persuasion. The horrific videos of martyrs Srikantha Chary and Manadi Yadi Reddy, Lunavath Bhojya Naik and Siripuram Yadaiah, and police constable Srinivas's slogan "Jai Telangana" at APNGOs meeting in Hyderabad are shared and viewed by lakhs of people on YouTube.

Moreover, the emotional videos on suicides of Ramakrishna, MD. Kareem, Basanth Kumar, M. Anil Kumar, Musuku Karunakar, Sai Kumar Meegada, K. Venugopal Reddy, P. Eshan Reddy, Bhavani, T. Nagaraju, constable Krisnaiah and K. Suvarna were uploaded to YouTube which profoundly fueled later phase of the Telangana movement.

Unabated suicides by the hundreds of students without caring for their bright futures had mobilized and united lakhs of people to put an end to the decades-old struggle. As the Central Government exercising on the feasibilities to carve out Telangana as 29th state, passions among students and separatists were inflamed due to delay in the process. The new media which enabled common man to raise voice have drastically checked the command of mainstream media and government, which were no longer in control of the perceptions of the people. There is no clarity on the total number of suicides that took place for Telangana cause, however, sources attributed that Karimnagar, Warangal and Medak districts topped the list. The sentimental video songs on



Telangana had played their part and cultural troupes used YouTube as an alternative medium to spread Telangana agitation. The advent of iPhones and smart phones made easier for users to access and share information through YouTube, Twitter and Facebook.

It appears as if the use of social media has enabled like-minded individuals to achieve change which may not have been possible under the same circumstances in absence of these technological tools.

D. Blogs

A blog is an online journal where an individual, group, or corporation presents a record of activities, thoughts, or beliefs. There are many websites that allow users to create blogs without paying any fee. Though the Blogging started during the mid-1990s it really took off after the arrival of free, easy-to-use web-based software in 1999. This platform enabled users to create and post content including rich media such as images, audio and video to the web without technical knowledge. They enabled anonymous users to spread information quickly and hundreds of dissident blogs were created after 2009 emphasizing the need for separate Telangana state. The blogs such as telangana.agitations.blogspot.com, greattealangana.info, telanganabreakingnews.com, missiontelangana.com, tentelangana.com, blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com, sujaliblog.blogspot.in, itimes.com, telanganadailyupdates.com, telangananavanirmanasena.com, porutelangana.com, telanganadailyupdates.com and others played a crucial role in the movement. During the same period, hundreds of blogs were created by Seemandhra people to refute the claims made by Telangana proponents. The estimates suggest that there were 1500 to 3000 blogs active by 2014. It is undeniable that the one of the tools for organization during the Telangana protests was social media, blogs that are critical of government had successfully dissented voices.

CONCLUSION

Hence, the ICTs contributed significantly as a source of information when compared to mainstream media. The supporters of Telangana movement adopted new technology to unite people for the common cause and rebutted the arguments made by Seemandhra people for the convenience of united Andhra Pradesh. Apart from new media, word of mouth was also played a crucial role in mobilizing thousands of people across Telangana. It implies that online social media like Facebook have the potential to stimulate moments of collective action but limited in both scope and impact as the bulk of the Telangana population is digitally excluded. Thus, this study suggests that Internet has the potential for creating and enhancing political activism as it enable users for posting citizen journalism accounts. Moreover, in a country with a history of suppressing socio-political movements with an iron hand, perhaps SNS users were wary of acting as journalists. They provided the means to bypass traditional news gatekeepers, allowing protesters to publish their own information and publicize activities a traditional newspaper might consider them insignificant. The first-hand accounts of SNS users who participated both online



and offline suggest that online citizen journalists also contributed to the transition of the movement from online to offline action and vice versa.

REFERENCES

- Abbate J. (1999). *Inventing the Internet*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bradburne, Alan (2007). *Practical Rails Social Networking Sites*. Berkeley: Apress.
- Castells M. 2001. *Internet Galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, Business and Society*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Castells, M. (2007). "Communication, power and counter-power in the network society". *International Journal of Communication*, 1, 238-266. Retrieved December 23, 2016 from, <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/view/46>
- Castells, M., Fernandez-Ardevol, M., Linchuan Qiu, J., Sey, A. (2007) *Mobile Communication and Society: a global perspective*. London: The MIT Press.
- Cammaerts, B., Mattoni, A., & McCurdy, P. (2013). "Introduction". In B. Cammaerts, A. Mattoni and P. McCurdy (eds.), *Mediation and protest movements* (pp. 1-37). Chicago: Intellect.
- Chen, G. M., & Zhang, K. (2010). "New media and cultural identity in the global society". In R. Taiwo (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Discourse Behavior and Digital Communication: Language Structures and Social Interaction* (pp. 801 -815). Hershey, PA: Idea Group Inc.
- Diani, M. (1995). *Green networks: A structural analysis of the Italian environmental movement*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.
- Diani, M. and Eyerman, R. (eds) (1992) *Studying Collective Action*, London:Sage
- DiMaggio, Paul (2000) "The Internet's Effect on Society". *Annual Review of Sociology*. JAI Press.
- Duyvendak, J.W. and Koopmans, R. (eds) (1992) *Tussen verbeelding en macht: 25 jaar nieuwe sociale bewegingen in Nederland*, Amsterdam
- Garner RT (1999) *Virtual Social Movements*. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Georgetown University. (2010). "Bridging Babel: New social media and interreligious and intercultural understanding". Retrieved January 11, 2016 from source: <http://repository.berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/UGFNewSocialMedia.pdf>.
- Hodge, M. (2006). "The Fourth Amendment and Privacy Issues on the New Internet: Facebook.com and Myspace.com". *Southern Illinois University Law Journal*, 31, 95-123.
- Holmes, David, (2005) *Communication Theory: Media, Technology, Society*. London, SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Jones SG (1997) *Virtual Culture*. Sage Publications, London, UK.
- Java, A., Song, X., Finin, T. & Tseng, B. (2007). "Why we twitter: Understanding microblogging usage and communities". Proceedings of the 9th WebKDD and 1st SNA-KDD 2007 Workshop on Web Mining and Social Network Analysis. San Jose, CA.



- Kaplan, R. and Haenlein, M. (2010). "Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of social media". *Business Horizons*, 53(1), 59–68.
- McQuail D (1996) *Mass Media in the Public Interest: Mass Media Society*. Arnold Publication, London, UK.
- Morris M, Ogan C (1996) "The Internet as Mass Medium". *Journal of Communication* 46: 39-50
- Pavlik J.V. 1995. *New Media and the Information Super highway*. First Edition, Allyn and Bacon Publishers. London. Pp: 4, 35-37; 42; 96; 140.
- Peterson, C. (2010). *Let the swords encircle me: Iran – a journey behind the headlines*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rheingold, Howard (1993) *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Rheingold (2000) *Tools for Thought: The History and Future of Mind Expanding Technology*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, USA.
- Rosenstiel, T. 2005. "Political Polling and the New Media Culture: A Case of more being Less." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 6(9): 698-715.
- Tufekci, Z., & Wilson, C. (2012). "Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square". *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 363–379.
- Veletsianos, G. & Kimmons, R. (2012). Networked participatory scholarship: Emergent techno-cultural pressures toward open and digital scholarship in online networks. *Computers & Education*, 58(2), 766-774.
- WhatsApp-Website. <http://blog.WhatsApp.com/>. Accessed on 3 Feb 2017.
- Wim van de Donk (2004) *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. Routledge, London UK.