

A Spiral of Silence: Partisanship among Digital Influencers and its Consequences on their Online Reach

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Abstract: Digital influencers are increasingly important in the social media output of politicians across the ideological spectrum in India, evidenced by both national and regional parties using influencers to amplify their political message. We study influencers' engagement with political content between 2020 and 2023 and find that pro-government influencers were more active and received greater engagement than pro-opposition influencers. We find significant differences in content and engagement across political alignments, pointing to the dominance of pro-government narratives. We find a "Spiral of Silence" effect, where opposition voices slowly start messaging less, or get less engagement online due to a combination of a fear of backlash or social media isolation on one hand, and a more successful and organized social media approach of the ruling party on another.

Citation: Desai, S., Pal, J. (2024) A Spiral of Silence: Partisanship among Digital Influencers and its Consequences on their Online Reach. Available online at: <https://joyojeet.people.si.umich.edu/silence.pdf>

Introduction

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which has been the ruling political party for the national government in India since 2014, has utilized social media as a powerful political tool to engage with the masses, shape public opinion, and promote its ideology. The party and many of its key leaders have a significant social media presence, as well as a well-oiled digital strategy that involves mobilizing its supporters and building momentum around its political ideology. While the BJP arguably now represents the hegemonic political ideology on social media in India, the political opposition to it has also gradually found a voice, the net result of which has been [polarization between the positions of members of various parties](#). In part, this polarization is played out through the online speech of digital influencers, many of whom perform other functions online, in domains varying from journalism, business, entertainment, and sports among others. As digital influencers have themselves grown to be important as drivers of online virality, they have likewise grown in significance in shaping online political positions. This article performs a comparative analysis of the digital influencer activity on the social media platform X across various political positions.

The BJP's success on social media has typically been attributed to a mix of a well-organized IT cell, working alongside a strong community of dedicated followers who propagate the message of the party. The IT cell has also done a good job of engaging social media influencers with ideological overlap with the party on issues of [religion or nationalism](#). This has led to relatively nebulous lines in the creation and dissemination of content that aligns with the party, either around the topic of *Hindutva* (a political ideology encompassing the cultural justification of Hindu nationalism) and other ideas surrounding Indian exceptionalism. Other than X (formerly Twitter), the party's presence spans major social media platforms, including Facebook, YouTube, Quora, Instagram, and WhatsApp, enabling widespread outreach to diverse target groups across India.

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An important aspect of the party's advantage on social media is its sheer dominance of numbers. For instance, Narendra Modi, the Prime Minister of India and key BJP figure, has over 101 million followers on X (account created in 2009) and 91.3 million on Instagram. On the other hand, the key opposition figure Rahul Gandhi has a total of 26.7 million followers on X (account created in 2015) and 10.6 million on Instagram. BJP's official X handle also has a significant following of about 22.2 million, compared to INC's 10.9 million. On YouTube, the BJP channel boasts 6.11 million subscribers while the INC has 5.56 million. Such extensive reach provides the BJP with a direct channel to communicate with millions of citizens, both within and outside of India. When compared to its primary opposition party, the Indian National Congress (INC), its social media footprint is significantly off the charts.

Micro-targeting, a practice that involves identifying and reaching out to specific groups based on their preferences and interests, has played a crucial role in the ruling party's social media strategy. Through data analytics, political parties can gather insights into voters' preferences, enabling them to design targeted campaigns and advertisements that appeal to different sections of Indian society. This tactical approach has helped parties enhance their voter outreach by engaging individuals who may have previously been disinterested or disconnected from politics [1]. A large section of this promotion/micro-targeting is contributed by the digital influencers on social media. These influencers interact with the users with the help of multimodal content – posts, images, and videos in multiple forms.

The significant difference between the online footprint of the ruling and opposition parties (and their leaders) necessitates studying the scale of influence that the influencers associated with them have on social media. Through this study, we find adequate signals of the pro-government influencers posting a higher volume of content than the pro-opposition influencers. This relative "silence" in the opposition spectrum also has more of a secondary presence – we see that the content posted by pro-opposition influencers generally receives lower political attention or engagement than pro-government influencers. To understand this phenomenon, we use the theoretical frame of the 'Spiral of Silence', which posits that certain topics gradually become anathema in the public discourse, i.e., people's willingness to express their opinions on controversial social and political issues is impacted by their largely unconscious perception of the opinions being either popular or unpopular. In short, these encompass the kinds of opinions one would avoid putting out in public for fear of awkwardness or backlash [5].

While a range of concerns may drive this Spiral of Silence, we use a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to understand how it manifests on social media. Specifically, we look at the content of the tweets posted by the influencers along the spectrum of engaging or amplifying the messaging of the ruling party or any of the opposition parties, and the level of attention they receive in the form of political retweets or engagements over time. In conclusion, we explore reasons for the relative lack of social media traction of pro-opposition influencer tweets.

We find that pro-government influencers exhibit higher tweeting activity over four years when compared to pro-opposition influencers. Additionally, we find with statistical significance, that as an overall sample, highly polarized pro-government influencers tend to gain more political attention than their highly polarized pro-opposition counterparts. These findings suggest that not only do pro-opposition influencers stay relatively silent on social media, but are also not retweeted significantly by the political entities they support, despite possessing a significant follower base. These findings pave the way for future work, especially towards understanding the actual causes behind these secondary effects on influencer engagement and their impact on national elections, if any.

Data Collection and Quantitative Analysis Methods

We begin by creating a list of 27,916 Indian politicians' X usernames from the NivaDuck Database [2] and a list of 11,578 influencer usernames from the DISMISS Database [3]. We use these two lists to extract their tweets and retweets from the Twitter U.S. and India Politicians dataset [4]. This database is organized as separate directories

for each user, and we employ regex and dataframe filters to extract temporal data for the years 2020-2023 while storing the tweet content, user information (such as profile description), dates, hashtags, and retweet counts. We also obtain the follower counts for influencers through the DISMISS dataset. For politicians, we obtain the party affiliations from NivaDuck and follower counts from the tweet database. Finally, we use the influencer tweets, and information about the politicians who retweeted them, for all years to conduct our quantitative analysis. Our final dataset contains tweets and retweets for a total of 960 influencers.

Following is a brief definition of the terminology relevant to our dataset:

i) Engagement: A retweet that an influencer gets from a user in the politician set.

ii) Polarity score: A real number ranging from -1 to 1 that signifies an influencer's political leaning. To calculate this, we use the absolute number of engagements from ruling and opposition politicians received by the account and calculate the difference relative to their sum. We get the polarity score by averaging scores for all four years, for each influencer. Influencers tend to align more with the ruling party as their polarity approaches +1 and with opposition as their polarity approaches -1. ²

iii) Correlation Score: To examine how the tweeting activity or number of followers of influencers vary with their polarity scores, we use the Pearson's Correlation coefficient, which is a statistical measure that quantifies the strength of the relationship between two variables/vectors. We calculate the correlation for different thresholds of polarity score on the ruling and opposition spectrum - 0.3,0.5,0.75 and -0.3,-0.5,-0.75². To ensure statistical significance, we disregard values outside the 99% confidence interval.

We calculate the correlation along two research questions:

i. Affiliation towards which party gets the influencers more followers? The correlation between the polarity score and the number of followers provides insight into what side of the spectrum, if any, has an advantage over the other in terms of follower counts, which serves as a proxy for network reach.

ii. Affiliation towards which party gets influencers more engagement? We first calculate the average engagement across politicians for every influencer account, then calculate its correlation with the polarity score. A high correlation coefficient corresponding to positive polarity indicates that politicians belonging to the ruling party are more conscious or organized about engaging with their influencers via retweets, and vice versa.

To strengthen our quantitative findings, we also qualitatively examine the tweet text to gauge the context and dominant topics of conversation among a few key influencers over the years. Our findings are reported in the next section.

Results

² We note that clubbing all opposition into non-NDA has some scope for improvement since it does not assume a "third front" by political parties that are aligned with neither NDA or the opposition block of INDIA, but we argue this is generally an acceptable position since the Lok Sabha is all the non-NDA parties sit in the opposition in the Lok Sabha

²If the polarity threshold considered is 0.3, for instance, then all influencers with polarity score in the range of [0.3, 1] are considered to be pro-government and those within the range [-0.3,-1] are considered to be pro-opposition. Those in the (0.3,-0.3) range are considered to be neutral.

We study the dichotomy between influencer discourse on social media for pro-government and pro-opposition influencers along three axes: (A) The number of tweets, (B) The content of tweets, and (C) The political engagement received by the tweets. In this section, we present our findings along these three axes.

Number of tweets: We find clear indications that influencers aligned more towards the opposition parties are much less engaged in tweeting activity over time than those aligned to the ruling party (BJP). Figure 1 corroborates this hypothesis.

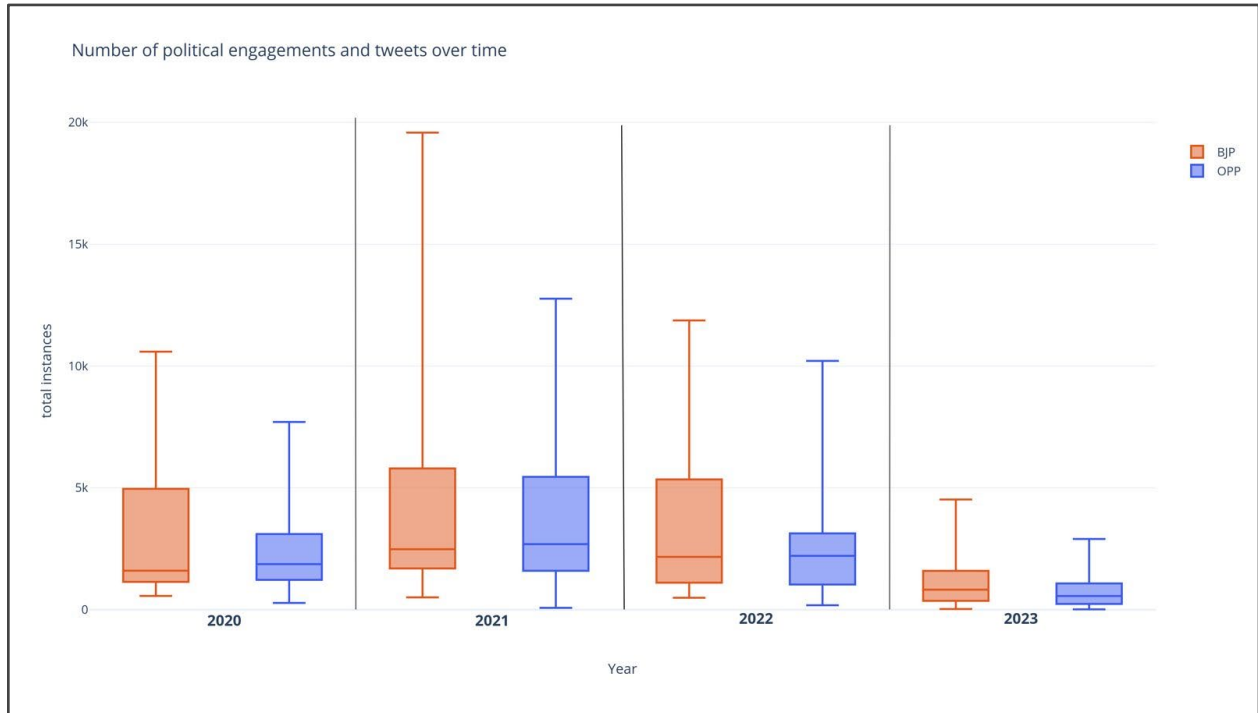


Figure 1: Tweeting activity by ruling and opposition-leaning influencers over time. Note that we have data collected for only three months for 2023, and thus the plots exhibit relatively lesser tweeting activity compared to other years.

While the median points (median number of tweets) do not exhibit a significant difference, the 75 percentile points indicate the difference in tweeting activity.

Tweet Content: As a next step, we wanted to understand the content of tweets posted by these influencers. We generated the top 100 unigrams used by both pro-government and pro-opposition influencers (based on their TFIDF scores after pre-processing the tweets in lowercase to remove stop-words and punctuations) and plotted the word clouds corresponding to the four years of data considered in this study. Figures 2a and 2b show the top 100 words used by pro-opposition and pro-government influencers.

use of the term Modi highlights that the Prime Minister himself, and not the name of the party is the relatively more saleable concept

A second pattern we see is the relatively higher use of issue-specific keywords by the pro-opposition influencers. Usage of words like *farmers*, *protests*, *covid*, *punjab*, etc. shows the willingness of influencers to point out political issues that made the news. In contrast, we see fewer issue-specific keywords and more use of slurs - case in point being the term *urbannaxals*. Similarly, the presence of the word *kashmir* is indicative of the nationalistic discourse used typically in reference to emphasizing territorial sovereignty over the region. We have reported a set of sample tweets for a few selected words to corroborate our findings (see Appendix).

To understand the context in which these words have been used by both sides empirically, we ran a Word2Vec model, fine-tuned separately on pro-government and pro-opposition influencer tweet data. For the initialization of the model, we used the Glove vectors (6 Billion words, 100-dimensional vectors). The 2D plots of the word embeddings were made using the TSNE algorithm (40 perplexity, 2500 iterations). Figure 3 shows the word vectors (we truncated the figure to exclude outliers and a separate cluster for words in the Devanagari script for ease of understanding). We see that both for pro-government and pro-opposition tweets, there are two separate clusters of words formed based on their context of use.

We see that the word *narendramodi* is used frequently by pro-opposition influencers in a context similar to issue-specific keywords like *covid* and *farmlaws*, indicating the criticism specifically against the PM instead of the party or the government more broadly, suggesting that the pro-opposition influencers tend to present the ruling party to be a “one-man show”. On the other hand, we see close association of *modi* and *narendramodi* with *covid* for the pro-government influencers, indicative of the popular glorification of the Prime Minister in countering the epidemic, suggesting that the pro-government side likewise sees

For the pro-government influencers, we also see the proximity of the words *rahulgandhi* and *bjp*. This is indicative of the trait of many pro-government influencers where the leader of the opposition is projected as an antithesis to the ruling party and its administration, often as part of the same tweet.

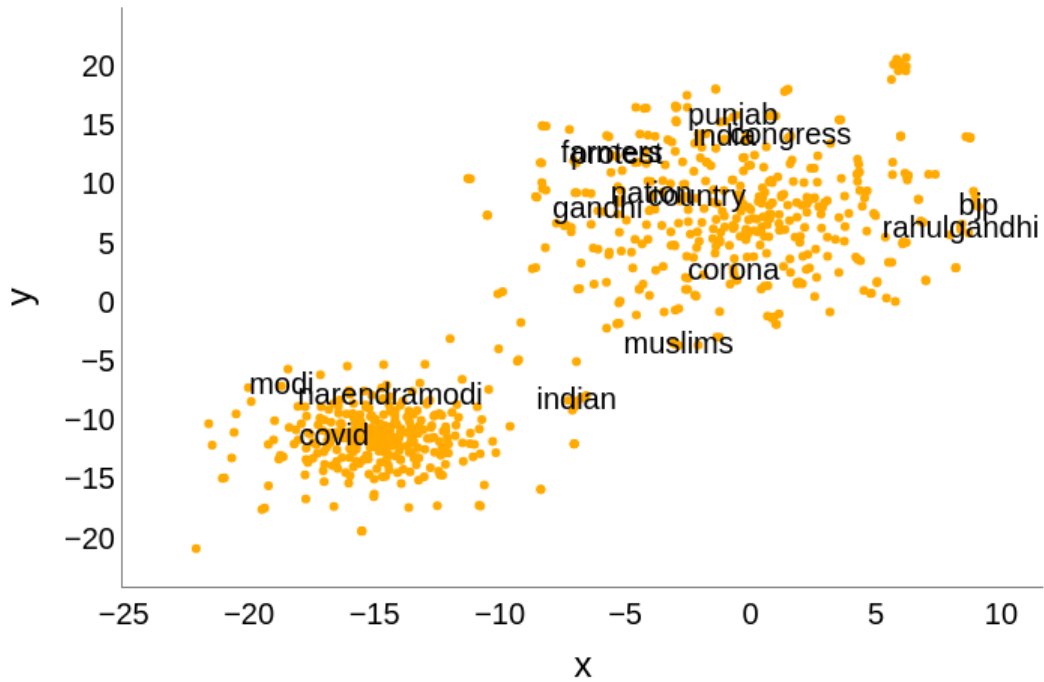
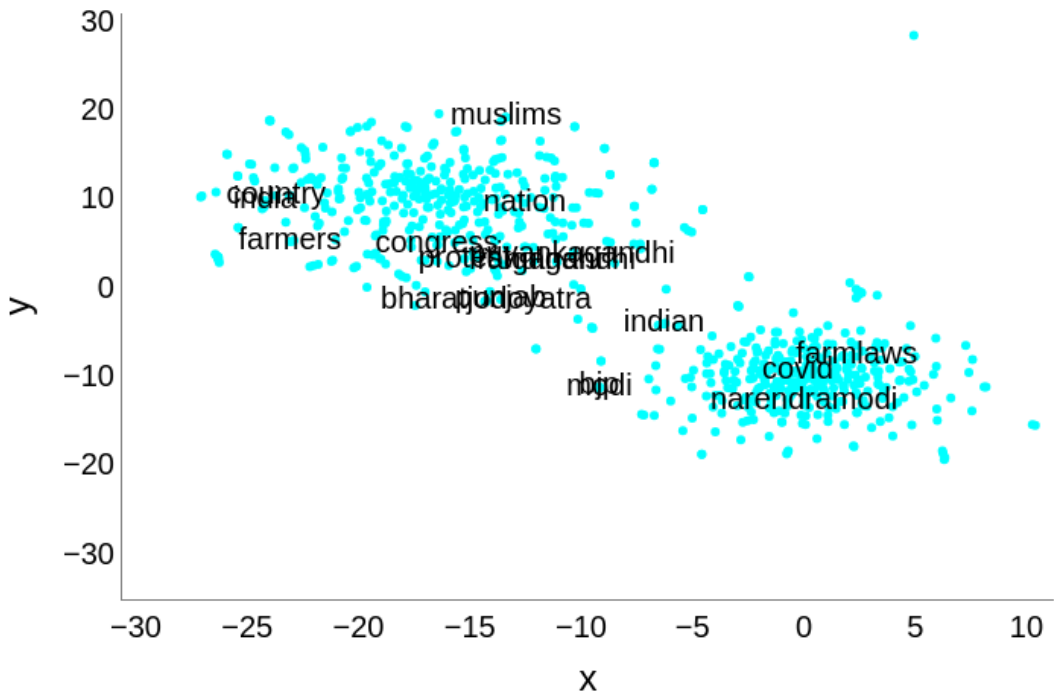


Figure 3: Pro-opposition (blue) and pro-government (orange) word embeddings for influencer tweets

We also see the close placement of the words *corona* (a term absent in the pro-opposition plot) and *muslims* in the pro-government spectrum, which is indicative of the early COVID (2020-21) narrative of holding citizens belonging to the minority religion responsible for the spread of the epidemic. The words *congress* and *protest* are in close proximity to the pro-opposition narrative, apparently because of the general support that the party extended towards protesting farmers.

From Figure 1, we get signals of relatively less activity among opposition-leaning influencers compared to pro-government influencers. When we turn to the tweet content (Figures 2a and 2b) we see a general difference in the conversational trends on the two sides of the spectrum - one side tends to focus on a normative discourse, another side tends to focus on policy critique. So while the pro-government influencers engage relatively more in blaming the opposition or painting a nationalistic narrative, the pro-opposition influencers are relatively more interested in discussing current socio-political events.

Issue-specific tweets by the pro-opposition influencers carry criticism towards the ruling party, but the trend we see is that there is less use of any political party name and a more direct attack on Modi himself. We hypothesize that this is a potential reason for the relatively lower tweet volume -- on one hand the direct attacks on Modi make more sense because Modi evokes more emotion than the party itself. So while Modi is more vitiated by his detractors, he is equally more admired and defended by his fans, which means anyone who attacks him is opening themselves to concerted pushback from them. This acts as a deterrent for anyone concerned about avoiding unpleasantness online, which in turn can impact an influencer's financial prospects if they are seen as too divisive. We validate this claim in the next section.

To validate this claim, we studied if pro-opposition tweets containing certain words referring to key political figures (like *Modi/Gandhi*) receive greater/lesser traction depending on the stance of the tweets. Figure 3 shows that the median number of retweets do not differ significantly, between pro-ruling and pro-opposition influencers that tweet about *Modi* or *Gandhi*. However, there exist outliers (75-100 percentile) who receive a disproportionately large number of retweets for posts mentioning political figures. For these outliers (influencers with the most engagement in the form of retweets), we find that: (A) For any key political figure, the pro-ruling influencers generally receive significantly more engagement than pro-opposition influencers (in line with our observation on overall tweeting activity shown in Figure 1), irrespective of the stance, (B) Tweets critical of political figures receive much more engagement than tweets eulogizing them, and (C) Tweets criticizing *Modi* are much less popular than tweets criticizing *Gandhi*.

The last finding corroborates our assumption of attacks against key ruling party figures (especially *Modi*) receiving less engagement owing to the fear of concerted pushbacks (Spiral of Silence), albeit only for highly influential influencers (top 75-100 percentile). Moreover, the findings hint that negative content generally finds more traction on social media as also corroborated by previous studies [6].

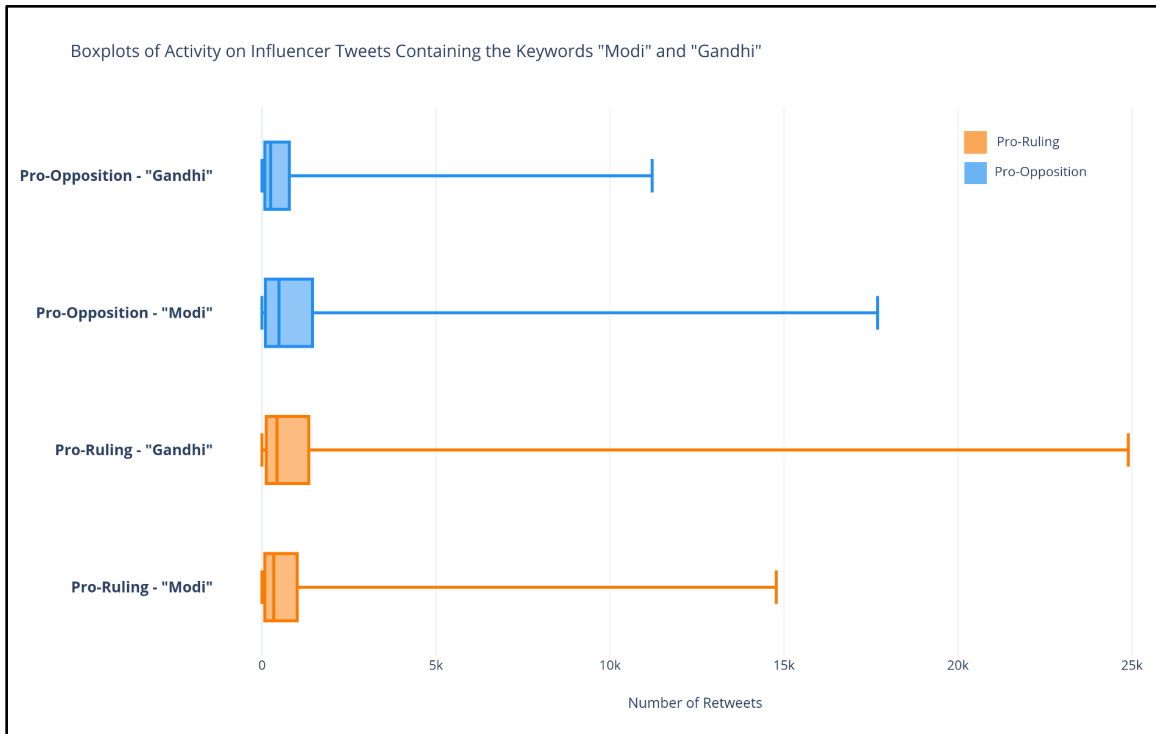


Figure 3: Boxplots depicting the distribution of retweets on Pro-Ruling and Pro-Opposition influencer tweets.

Political Engagement: The *Spiral of Silence* observed in the tweeting activity among influencers also has a secondary footprint on our data as evident from Table 1 – for pro-government influencers, we find a positive correlation between the number of politician retweets (engagement) received and the polarity score, and a negative correlation between their number of followers and the polarity score. This trend is just the opposite for the pro-opposition influencers – the influencers with high polarity tend to obtain a high degree of followership but not political engagement. This offers a strong insight into the organization of the pro-government and pro-opposition sides as well -- when an influencer comes in blazing for the ruling government, the politicians in the government go to bat for the influencer. However, when an influencer comes in to push the envelope of the opposition side, they do not get the same support from the political establishment on the opposition side.

The findings are true for various polarity/p-score thresholds as can be seen from Table 1.

| Party | Threshold Polarity Score | Pearson Correlation (polarity vs. number of followers) | p-value | Pearson Correlation (polarity vs. number of political retweets) | p-value |
|-------|--------------------------|--|----------|---|----------|
| BJP | 0.3 | -0.199 | 0.000188 | 0.257 | 0.00004 |
| | 0.5 | -0.115 | 0.040697 | 0.302 | 0.000004 |

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| | 0.75 | -0.102 | 0.088762 | 0.214 | 0.0024 |
| OPP | -0.3 | 0.265 | 0.000001 | -0.199 | 0.000465 |
| | -0.5 | 0.248 | 0.000008 | -0.233 | 0.000076 |
| | -0.75 | 0.195 | 0.001336 | -0.253 | 0.000068 |

Table 1: Overall correlation between polarity score and number of followers for the pro-government and pro-opposition influencers. All of the p-values show significant correlations ($\geq 99\%$ confidence). The polarity thresholds reflect the various thresholds considered for the influencers (e.g., a threshold of 0.3 indicates that only influencers with a polarity threshold of above 0.3 and below -0.3 were considered). The positive correlations are highlighted in green, while the negative in red.

These results hold even when we perform a temporal analysis, i.e., when we observe the correlation values over four years (Table 2).

| Party | Year | Pearson Correlation (polarity vs. number of followers) | p-value | Pearson Correlation (polarity vs. number of political retweets) | p-value |
|-------|------|--|----------|---|----------|
| BJP | 2020 | -0.209 | 0.000094 | 0.18 | 0.00026 |
| | 2021 | -0.198 | 0.000217 | 0.217 | 0.000006 |
| | 2022 | -0.187 | 0.000381 | 0.156 | 0.001073 |
| | 2023 | -0.195 | 0.000203 | 0.099 | 0.042888 |
| OPP | 2020 | 0.196 | 0.000197 | -0.186 | 0.000109 |
| | 2021 | 0.246 | 0.000003 | -0.166 | 0.0004 |
| | 2022 | 0.207 | 0.000152 | -0.19 | 0.000061 |
| | 2023 | 0.292 | 0 | -0.156 | 0.001404 |

Table 2: Temporal correlations for Pro-Ruling and Pro-Opposition influencers, where the thresholds are 0.3 and -0.3 respectively. The positive correlations are highlighted in green, while the negative in red.

These findings are, to an extent, contradictory. We expect accounts with a high number of followers to obtain significant political attention through retweets. But this is not the case with high-polarity pro-opposition influencers – despite possessing a high number of followers, the pro-opposition influencers do not receive much political attention from the opposition members (as also seen in Figure 3 around specific political figures). There might be several reasons behind this effect. However, the primary reason might be the general lack of activity and the presence of opposition politicians on social media. When compared to the ruling party, which is known to

aggressively promote its viewpoints on X, the relatively silent opposition politicians post much fewer tweets, let alone engage with the influencers supporting them. There also exists [enough evidence](#) to suggest that the ruling party has effectively captured the social media discourse on X on the pillars of widely popular nationalistic, political, and religious issues. This might also lead to a general lack of confidence among opposition politicians, who avoid engaging with influencers carrying relatively less popular opinions, in the fear of facing social media isolation and deficiency of attention.

Discussion

This study performs a comparative analysis of influencer activism on social media and the disparate effects political leaning has on it. We perform this study for a group of prominent digital influencers in India, and look at their content characteristics in terms of the tweets they post and the political engagement they receive on the social media platform X. There are two clear trends come out of this work: (A) The digital influencers (termed *influencers* henceforth) leaning significantly towards the opposition parties are relatively less active on X compared to their peers who lean towards the ruling dispensation, and (B) The opposition-leaning influencers tend to have a large number of followers with relatively lesser political engagement, while the pro-government influencers exhibit a diametrically opposite trend (i.e., their polarity towards the ruling dispensation helps them gain a lot of political engagement).

These findings paint a probable picture of a *Spiral of Silence*, one in which the influencers leaning towards the opposition display lesser activism on social media and receive less political engagement compared to their counterparts who are pro-government. There could be several reasons behind this trend, which are subject to further research and analysis in this direction. The relative lack of social media activity of opposition-leaning influencers might be an artefact of the general lack of visibility of the opposition and its supporters on social media.

While many of the opposition parties are also known to have dedicated units for social media activism and endorsement, they simply do not scale when compared to the numbers and organization of the ruling party's network, headed by the PM, currently the most followed elected leader on social media in the world. In addition, the branding and outreach of the BJP benefits from being the [richest party nationwide](#), with a [significant fraction of its income](#) devoted to the operations of its [IT Cell](#). It would then follow that influencers see more economic value in the networks on engaging the BJP over opposition. Equally of significance, there have been several cases of targeting of dissenting [influencers](#), and citizens. The apprehension of assault and isolation might also be leading to the relative silence of pro-opposition digital influencers on social media. The lack of political engagement around pro-opposition influencers could also be explained by similar casuals. The relative lack of social media activity by opposition politicians in general, and the compounding of social media discourse by an illusory truth effect (wherein even the political entities affiliated to the opposition hesitate to engage with the influencers supporting them, fearing detachment from their voters on multiple issues to which they believe the voters closely connect) might be some of them.

This analysis has much scope for extension. First, there is a need to study the lack of political engagement towards pro-opposition influencers in further depth. As part of future work, we intend to look at pro-opposition influencer activism and engagement more closely, peering into the latent factors like nationalism that detach them from their political friends. An interesting direction to work on could also be a comparative analysis of the online political discourse of opposition politicians and pro-opposition influencers, and the study of similarity or difference therein. This could also be augmented with the analysis of manifestos released by the political parties, which could aid in

identifying the top-priority issues highlighted as part of their election agenda, and their conformance or disconnect with influencer narratives. There has been very little discussion on this gap between what parties claim they want to do on official documentation, and what their social media outreach focuses on.

Second, we acknowledge that there are instances of data gaps in our work (especially for the 2022 period), which could impact the generalizability of our findings. Additionally, the common caveat around any analysis with social media data arises from the question of how representative the sample is. We intend to collect data from multiple platforms around the considered entities for this purpose. Third, we currently have not considered the linguistic and topical differences when considering the political engagement received by the influencers. These variables could also impact the engagement received by influencer tweets. Finally, there is a need for a nuanced qualitative analysis of the experiences of influencers around political discourse on social media, which could help in identifying and validating the actual factors that lead to the results presented in this study.

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Appendix 1:

Sample Tweets

Following are some example tweets for the shortlisted keywords and their classification (i.e. keywords that are used to glorify or vilify an entity).

Pro-opposition Influencers

RahulGandhi (praise)

- A. @RahulGandhi Things money can't buy :: Manners . Morals. Respect . Character . Integrity . Patience . Class. Common sense Love Rahul Gandhi <https://t.co/OC2AXT1rp5>
- B. @RahulGandhi What attracts people to Rahul Gandhi is his decency. "When they go to the gutter, we go to the skies." <https://t.co/MJqfy2uYPS>
- C. @RahulGandhi If my only sources of news were the GodiMedia and so-called Journalists, I would probably hate Rahul Gandhi. I make sure I get my news from a wide variety of sources. I strongly support Rahul Gandhi and think he is India's best hope. <https://t.co/FggCkz5mpy>

Bharatjodoyatra (praise)

- A. @RahulGandhi @bharatjodo Nurturing our youngest people with Congress values of inclusion, of social justice, of communal harmony, of pluralism, of equality...#BharatJodoYatra <https://t.co/lqBR2wEAxf>
- B. @RahulGandhi @bharatjodo Communal harmony is an essential prerequisite to economic, social development Hinduism teaches...Om Saha Naav[au]-Avatu |Saha Nau Bhunaktu |Saha Viiryam Karavaavahai |Tejasvi Naav[au]-Adhiitam-Astu Maa Vidvissaavahai |Om Shaantih Shaantih Shaantih#BharatJodoYatra <https://t.co/x3aKGOPYvO>

Modi (vilification)

- A. @narendramodi Listening things Modi says corrodes your brain #MannKiBaat <https://t.co/excnoboF3a>
- B. @ANI If #incompetentmodi had a scintilla of honour he would apologise for having brought our great, great country to its knees by his thundering incompetence."For the First Time in 16 Years, India Open to Accepting Foreign Aid, China Also on List" <https://t.co/HkHKEiEHnH> <https://x.com/INCTharoorian/status/1403762657899933702>
- C. @narendramodi The opposition has challenged you to a debate Modi. Take up the gauntlet or forever be known as the spineless coward PM #PegasusSnoopgate#AntiFarmLaws#CrateringEconomy #CovidMismanagement #ChineseIncursions <https://t.co/XtKO4Siftm>

BJP (vilification)

- A. @retheeshraj10 I'm a proud congress man. Congress and RSS-BJP : A battle of ideologiesWhere the RSS-BJP look to divide, weaken the nation Congress seeks to bring nation together with love <https://t.co/L7ZPSMfJpG>

- B. @ShashiTharoor @Twitter The use of social media is far from benign. Disinformation is rife on BJP groups, including concocted accounts of what leading Congress politicians have said and photoshopped images seeking to portray traitorous behaviour by Opposition leaders.
<https://t.co/WOUw1DLNIM>
- C. @ShashiTharoor The BJP campaign was about everything but vikas – from the marketing of ‘Brand Modi’ to the jingoistic hyper-nationalism unleashed after Pulwama and Balakot. He had "great success" in trying to convert the election into a "khaki referendum"- ST
<https://t.co/zTaMTXKtFB> <https://x.com/INCTharoorian/status/1647489809085091840>

India (Nationalism)

- A. 10th Jan #TheDayInHistory It was exactly 57 years ago, #OnThisDay in 1966, the Tashkent Declaration was signed by then Prime Minister of india Shri #LalBahadurShastri and President of Pakistan Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Watch: A film with English Subtitles on Tashkent Declaration
<https://t.co/KSTsuAEwmV>
- B. Most of the COVID relief aid focus in urban areas but we ignore the needy people of rural india. Our main goal is to save the lives without leaving no one behind by reaching the unreached. Today delivered Oxygen Concentrator to a woman who lives away 3000 KM far from Delhi. ❤️👤
<https://t.co/Yxqe8lplgZ>
- C. Happy birthday india <https://t.co/f33p2csHzm>

Farmers protest (glorification/support)

- A. It's been over a month since farmers have been protesting against the centre's farm laws. The protesting farmers have accepted the govt's offer to hold talks and have asked for it to be held on Dec 29. #farmersprotest #farmers <https://t.co/YdjQ5w5ykr>
- B. At Tikri border, @AmithaBala speaks to women farmers on the current farmer agitation and how farmers are planning to intensify their protest. #farmersprotest #dillichalo #farmersagitation Watch the conversation <https://t.co/ejpfIMC8ho>
<https://x.com/fayedsouza/status/1337034576883974144>

“Farmer” and “Farmlaws”:

- A. Defeat in Punjab & U.P. elections is still inevitable Mr Narendra Damodardas Modi. Political stunts won't help now. Your days are over. Congratulations to all farmer brothers & sisters @Kisanektamorcha 🙌👏🇮🇳 Jai Jawan 🌿 Jai Kisan 🚜 #FarmersProtest #farmlaws
<https://t.co/XvrlLHHxJI> <https://x.com/BhavikaKapoor5/status/1461551939376738309>
- B. Farmers Protest in Delhi
@_YogendraYadav says, "I do want to apologise to anyone who is being put to inconvenience because of these protests. Putting people of Delhi to trouble is not what we want." #Farmers #FarmersProtests Watch the full discussion <https://t.co/1Cu7l4ZRaz> <https://t.co/J8CxZo5oBc>
- C. Farmers protest enters fifth day. Farmers have been protesting against Centre's farm laws. Tonight at 9PM, I speak to @_YogendraYadav to understand the crux of the problem. #Farmers #FarmersProtest Subscribe to join <https://t.co/tOMr9AiCmZ> <https://t.co/v830E6kKzL>
- D. Hahahaha. What a hypocrite. What @JustinTrudeau called peaceful protest in India is an economic blockade in Canada. Because those who funded sinister #FarmersProtest are the ones who fund his party. Puppet PM. <https://t.co/f4f9AelMPD>
<https://x.com/vivekagnihotri/status/1491088958218174464>

Pro-government Influencers

Congress (vilification)

- A. Pakistan took IMF bailout 27 times in the last 40 years. India took IMF bailout 7 times - all during congress rule. The last IMF bailout India availed was in 1991-92.
<https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1622951121735286784>
- B. @srinivasiyc @RahulGandhi How many extra votes congress thugs can get by Abusing Veer Savarkar ? Answer - Zero or may be negative.
<https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1593247482942660608>
- C. What a liar party this congress is The year 2013 saw a 25% Rupee depreciation in one single year under an Economist PM with the Indian Rupee hitting a record low of 68.75/\$.
<https://t.co/OuGKy1vu1r> <https://t.co/tn8SziXFJZ>

Modi (glorification)

- A. Modi keep winning Elections - Losers try hard to play spoil sport Modi invites US President - They do Delhi Riots Modi celebrates Netaji's Anniv- Mamta didi shows her tantrums Airforce showcases Rafale IN at Republic Day - They instigate Farmers for rioting
- B. Modi-Shah2.0 are in full form 🗡️ - 370 / 35A Gone - Ram Mandir daily hearing - #ChidambaramMissing - Sunanda Tharoor murder probe ON - NDTV Prannoy Roy probe ON What's more in your wish list?
- C. G20: India has become the voice of developing nations, PM Modi is setting the agenda for the world | Times Special - TOI ePaper+ <https://t.co/JdoV7OYaiR>

BJP (glorification)

- A. These days if you wish that the country should be strong and stable with a vibrant economy, you will be immediately labeled as a BJP agent or Modi bhakt.
https://x.com/vora_shubh/status/1792829505268224110
- B. Congress says that it will remove unemployment from Karnataka if elected to Power. Current CMIE Unemployment rate : 2.3% - BJP ruled Karnataka 26.4% - Congress-ruled Rajasthan#KarnatakaElections #KarnatakaAssemblyElection2023 <https://t.co/WHJ8ryfRKn>
- C. BJP's development politics versus Congress Reservation politics <https://t.co/9369SEx8Ln>

India (Nationalism)

- A. @kishanreddybjp @narendramodi @PMOIndia @PiyushGoyal @PIB_India @PIBHyderabad @PBNS_India @ddyadagirinews Consciously we should make effort that our money should go to made in india products <https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1583806602175746048>
- B. It was great to connect with my host @imAbhishek_USA in Boston. Coming from Amethi, Abhishek has worked hard to represent the issues of indian diaspora in the region. Last week, It was a proud moment to celebrate Republic Day of india with senior American political figures
<https://t.co/OSZV0ziMc5>
- C. india: India emerged as a consensus builder at G20. It played a positive and constructive role says Amitabh Kant - it The Economic Times <https://t.co/UPZJYPmdBr>
<https://x.com/amitabhk87/status/1593027987557191681>

Covid (glorification)

- A. Between 2016-22, India pulled 109 million people out of extreme poverty. What is impressive is that this fall in poverty happened despite covid. These numbers are a testament to India's resilient and inclusive growth model.
<https://x.com/pawanmanchanda/status/1636985089220308992>
- B. Startups think out of the box to beat covid-induced disruptions. From helping the humble kirana store go digital to making logistics easier, startups delivered solutions.<https://t.co/1LfgzEDL3F>
<https://x.com/amitabhk87/status/1344205116514029569>

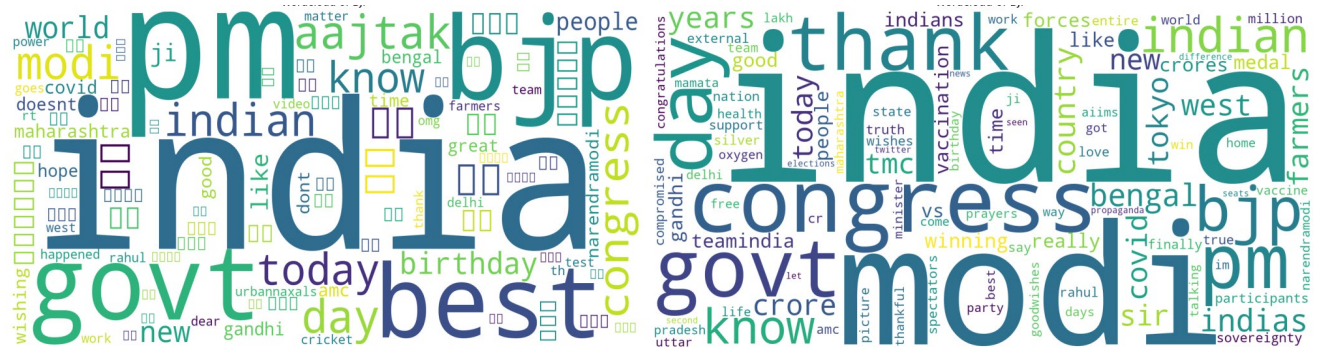
Farmers protest (neutral/vilification)

- A. @SupriyaShrinete Didn't your party used the same thugs to instigate farmers protest in India ??? <https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1666830900003471362>
- B. All farm protest activists are now running like headless chickens. Completely clueless on whom to support and whom to oppose. Their agitation damaged their own sponsor Congress more than the BJP. The restless activists now targeting both Captain Sidhu on Social media
<https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1443461080886366211>
- C. Congress MLA Raj Kumar Verka openly admits 'Cong sponsored farmers protest'.
<https://t.co/tGQLAJmih0> <https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1437687858274308096>

"Farmer" and "Farmlaws"

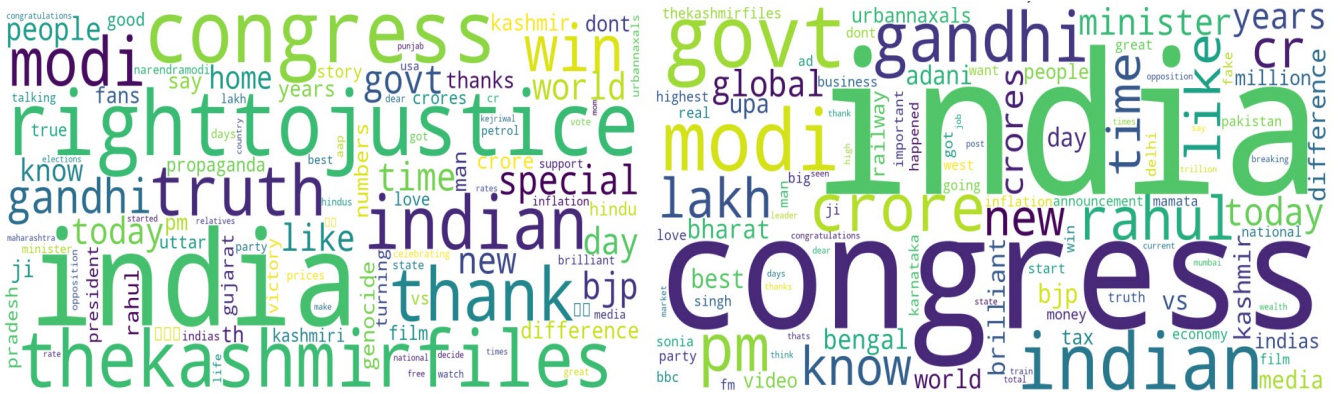
- A. Now farmer unions protesting against Congress Govt in Punjab for not fulfilling promises made to them. <https://t.co/4DAuVrz1A2>
- B. Tractor 🚜 is a symbol of Agricultural, 🌱, a symbol of Life. But farmer rioters 🤖 today made tractor a symbol of rioting 🔥 #किसान_नहीं_गुंडे
https://x.com/shantanug_/status/1354102592079446016
- C. Today when PM Modi sends Rs 6000 to a farmer, the farmer receives a full Rs 6000 in his bank A/c and not 40% less.
During Congress' time when their PM used to send Re 1 only 15 paise was used to reach the intended beneficiaries, the rest 85 p was used to go to the middlemen.
<https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1655868149366153217>
- D. List of Benefits farmer got in #Budget2022 along with Rs 2.27 Lakh crore MSP
<https://t.co/P37CMS5CFH>
- E. Wish there were some good farm laws to protect our Annadata
<https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1648938828240162817>
- F. Farmers get ₹ 3/kg for their tomatoes which is not enough to cover their investment while consumers pays ₹30/kg upwards. Transportation doesn't cost more than ₹2/kg then who pockets the remaining ₹25/kg ??? No wonder why middlemen opposing these 3 farm laws vehemently.
<https://t.co/Dmuk45AQhB> <https://x.com/rishibagree/status/1440176616097808392>

Following are the temporal wordclouds generated from the TF-IDF scores for pro-government and pro-Opposition influencers.



2020

2021



2022

2023

Figure 5a: Wordclouds for top 100 words (sorted on TF-IDF scores) of pro-government influencers over time



2020



2021

