The Role of Social Media in the formation of Public Opinion Towards Islamists - A Content Analysis

NAGWA EL GAZZAR
Associate Professor, Faculty of Mass Communication
Misr International University

Introduction

Internet technologies- and specifically social media- have provided Egyptians with a new public space for communication and expression, as they offer a chance to participate in discussions about matters of common concern. The virtual world of Facebook offers participants a chance to interpret news provided by the media, shape or re-shape them according to their ideologies and post them via the wall, which is considered a free open forum for discussion.

In the Middle East, social media transformed communication from a mouthpiece for the government to a tool used to express thoughts and opinions about events.

Review of literature

In the twenty first century, media technologies like the web and satellite television play a major role in shaping public opinion in any society towards issues of debate. The sensitive relationship between Islam as a religion and politics has been on top of issues of debate in most Arab countries.

Long before the evolution of Arab spring waves in the Middle East, several media researchers have predicted the vital role mass media can play in the periods of transition due to the proliferation of satellite and internet technology combined with the pressure to free mass media from government control. In an assessment of journalism training in Egypt, one study recommended that a national policy for media development need to take place in the specific area of information technology in Egypt [1]. Using a comparative perspective of the Egyptian media scene in 1952 and in 1990, Khamis investigated the debates around whether the change in the media landscape can bring about a transition toward practicing true democracy [2].

The role played by international mass media in creating a specific image of Islam or Islamists inside and outside Muslim societies have been researched. One study found that there is a changing perception of identity of North African residents in UK as a result of British media coverage of their causes [3].

In an effort to analyze public opinion literature starting of Walter Lippmann in 1961 passing by Habermass works in 1991-1997 and reaching the era of digital media in the twenty first century, one researcher suggested a model for the viral propagation of messages within social networking sites as Facebook and twitter. The model is based on one of the basic characteristics of social networking sites which makes transfer and exchange of information easy through global keywords such as hashtags to specific topics [4].

Recent statistics about social media in Egypt show that there are 13.010.580 Facebook users in the Egypt, with a penetration rate of (16.17%) of the population, which makes it number 20 in the ranking of most countries that use this social networking site. Facebook in specific constitutes almost (60%) penetration of online population. Most of Facebook users are aged between 18-24 years old, followed by the age group 25-34 years old. Majority of Facebook users are males (64%), when compared to female usage (36%). As for Twitter Egypt, Currently, the Top ranking Twitter Gainers are mostly the names that have to do with politics and Islam, since the first ranked are Mohamed El Baradei and Bassem Youssef and the Top Growing profile is Mohamed Morsi [5].

The concept of "bridging relationships" presented by Lin can be applied to understand the role played the social media in the formation of public opinion towards current issues of debate as evaluating the efficiency of Islamists participation in the political scene. People who don't have strong relationships through social media can have access to larger amounts of information because such weak relationships bring in new information which enlarge their perspective on the world and influence the formation of a certain attitude towards issues of discussion [6].

Social media networks have reshaped the web. Political activists dream that this new structure will allow people to say the truth freely, away from the power of regimes, and simply assume that social network sites will make people politically activated, which is not always the case. Technology and science can be best understood through its social context, as they are shaped by the society and they reflect the society's values back at us [7]. Social media net-

works provide opportunities for anyone to showcase themselves as pseudo-celebrities through performances that are not necessarily "real", thus providing a platform for attention-seeking populations to their thing. In social network sites, people are exposed to only what their friends choose to share and if that content is valuable, it will be spread further through friend networks. As social networks allow people to share messages, it can be used as a tool to activate unmotivated groups [8]. Normally, anyone seek to participate in public life for many reasons as identity development, status negotiation, community maintenance. Social media networks are considered by activists as a bullhorn that can reach many people through shared space on an unlimited scale.

Research objectives

This research aims to investigate the way users of social media – particularly Face-book groups and Twitter users – express their opinions towards the emerging Islamic movement in Egypt.

It argues that both comments and opinions expressed through social media - whether pro or anti-Islamic– show specific frames of expression, which use certain adjectives, words and tones that are formed and spread over the interactive nature of social media. Analyzing these frames can reveal the arguments used by either pro or anti Islamists in their defense or attack of Islam.

Conceptual Framework:

Groups activities formed on Face-book are considered a major sensor of public opinion. As a result of the revolution, public fear from Islam – specifically during the process of applying for elections – can be analyzed through the wall messages and comments set by users. The wall comments play a part in shaping the ideas of a community and reflect the opinions of the society.

This research uses **framing theory** as a conceptual framework to analyze wall comments of different types of social and interactive media such as selected

active Facebook groups, namely April 6 movement and We are all Khaled Said, comments inside online newspapers and tweets on twitter.

Framing refers to the way in which the writer organizes, interprets, and presents the issue of discussion across the media. Frames are selective in nature and they usually fit the dominant culture of the society. It is a process that involves "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues in a communicating text and making connections among them to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation". Framing "has an influence over human consciousness by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location as a news report or a speech to that consciousness" [9].

Latter on, Entman proposed integrating the insights generated by framing, priming and agenda setting research to conceptualize and understand their larger implications – specifically for political power and democracy. In his updated article, he considered the former theories as tools used by researchers to measure the power of media through presenting explicit definitions and measurements of news slant and the phenomenon of bias. "Content analysis should be informed by explicit theory linking patterns of framing in the media text to predictable priming and agenda-setting effects on audiences" (p.163). In conclusion, it was proposed that the framing content of media texts and their priming effects on audiences can be detected through persistent, politically and relevant patterns [10].

In examining the common conceptual debates found in framing literature, content analysis of communication researches revealed that framing studies have concentrated more on message design and "unique" frames. Lack of research about production of frames and mixed frames have also been found [11].

Most of framing research concentrates on examining media texts. However, some studies extend analysis to include

visual elements of the media product. Rodriguez et als in their analysis of visual news frames, included stylistic-semiotic systems and looked at news visuals as ideological representations. They argued that the used system of analysis can be applied to analyzing any type of visual media content – such as drawings, illustrations, photographs, photo illustrations- and can also be applied to audience perception of that content as many consider audience frames as mental maps people form to cope with the flood of information they receive from the media [12]. Visual framing effects of news stories on the audience has also been investigated using experiment. The researchers analyzed the effects of visual framing in news stories –in terms of added images to news stories - about the Gaza Conflict on emotional responses and how the audience evaluate the news stories in terms of credibility, objectivity and perception of actor representation. Visual human interest framing were stronger in eliciting emotional responses when compared to visual political framing [13].

Measuring audience perception of media frames have been extended to advertising. Chang and Lee examined the influence of message framing in charity advertising on promoting charitable donations. They used experimental research to test proposed hypotheses in the context of charity advertising directed towards child poverty. They concluded that vivid presentation enhance framing effects on persuasion when it is displayed with the framed message [14].

Politics has been coincided with framing theory in considerable amount of research in many parts of the world. It is mainly used to detect the different influences of news framing on public's understanding of politics. Focusing on the duration of framing effects, one study used experimental research and reported significant effects of news framing after different points of exposure ranging between one day and two weeks. Results found that the duration

of framing effects rely on the respondent's level of political knowledge since the moderately knowledgeable respondents displayed the most persistent framing effects [15]. In Romania, through a content analysis of the opinion articles, Carstea used the theory to define the practices and strategies of the used by mass media to cover presidential elections in 2009. The research tracked significant conflicts and misunderstanding that generated attacks between candidates [16].

The concept of framing has been also used in sociolinguistic research to see how language makes relationships, construct realities, identify who has the power and how this power is attributed and constructed. In her book, Fairhurst used frame analysis to discuss corporate leadership through focusing on language as a tool to empower anyone to construct leadership through interaction and communication with audience [17]. In Belgium, representation of politicians and the political state of affairs was analyzed using framing theory. The researcher used a critical linguistic and framing analysis to show how the representation is built up through the interplay of names used to describe the politician, in addition to the use of pronouns and metaphors [18].

Framing theory has been used in different perspectives in media studies. Constantinescu and Tedesco incorporated macro-level frames such as cynicism, speculation and meta communication as dominant reporting styles that surrounds a kidnapping news story. Results of content analysis demonstrated that media rely on speculation and meta communication as overarching reporting styles [19]. In the health sector, studying media frames sheds light on the implications of media on the individual behavior and institutional policies. Researchers used the grounded theory and the concept of framing to shed light on how media make sense of national health issues as HIV/AIDS in terms of the severity of the disease, the causes

and solutions and finally the portrayal of those who are at risk [20]. Hawkins et al used the framing theory to analyze the different frames in news that present topics regarding childhood obesity in the US. The researchers utilized the framing idea to define problems in public health reporting, diagnose causes and make moral judgments regarding the causes and effects, and suggest remedies [21].

Framing is also used occasionally in other topics rather than politics and news reports. Seate et als utilized the theory to detect how messages about sports news are framed and the influence of these frames on the audience perception. Results indicated that the athlete is framed by the media as physically versus mentally skilled. When the frame takes an accusatory approach, it results in more criminally perception of the athlete, but it was proven that the frame didn't influence perceptions of the athlete's race [22].

Although framing theory is mostly used to analyze printed or broadcasted news, but it can be applied to computer mediated communication, specifically that of the social media which allows instant and strong feedback that can be used to detect the influence of the events or news on the audience, through the frames they create to express and publicize their political views. Arguments and ideas presented through the comments are framed by what the participants think of politically, culturally and intellectually. The message encoding of the participant is shaped by his/her interior predispositions as background, his/her own evaluation of the world, and inner feelings as well [23]. Message encoding is also shaped by external factors as peer pressures, current events [24].

The sequence of events in Egypt before and after the revolution of January 25, 2011, starting from the bombing of El Kedessen church in Alexandria in December 2010, the resigning of President Mubarak in February 11, 2011 and continuing to the first phase of presidential

elections in May 23-24, which resulted in the winning of Dr. Morsi- the representative of Muslim Brotherhood party created a strong theme of fear from Islam and Islamists in general.

Research questions:
- What are the different frames the comments use in framing Islamists and non Islamists?
- What are the arguments or reasons used by the public to support Islamists/non Islamists acts or influences?
- What are the descriptions of evidence used by Islamists/non Islamists to support their point of view?
- What is the tone of the comments used by Islamists/non Islamists when writing comments on social media networks?

Method:

Sample and time frame:
The content analysis provides an understanding of the themes that are in the minds of the public, whether there is negative attitudes towards Islamists in Egypt. Since the research detects the portrayal of Islamists in social media networks, a sample of wall messages, exchanged via face-book political activists groups will be analyzed across different dates of events happening in Egypt. In addition, comments on Facebook and Twitter accounts of the online newspaper (Al Masry Al youm) will also be analyzed. Only comments on news in the main page of the newspaper will be part of the analysis. Only messages that are related to religion- either pro or against Islam- will be selected. The first category of analysis will act as a filtering category for selecting the comment for analysis or excluding it.

Content analysis will be qualitative discourse analysis of a purposive sample of wall comments on two different periods where current events highlight the trend of fear of Islamists. The following websites will be part of the sample:
- We are all Khaled Said : a group that was formed on facebook on June 10,2010 to support Khaled Said – may God Bless his soul- against injustice he

was facing. Latter, the site turned to be a communication channel for expressing his right for a decent living[25]

• April 6 Youth movement: which is the group that made April 6 strike in 2008. The group aims at forming a political youthful movement independent of any existing political party that will continuously work as a pressure group towards achieving democracy(26).

• Front page of Al Masry Al Youm newspaper: An independent newspaper judged by media practitioners as a neutral newspaper that covers the news from all sides, using pictures and quotes from both sides of the news story. Commentary on the news can be considered as a sensor of public attitudes towards the political existence of Islamists in the political life in Egypt.

• Twitter pages using key words about Islam in the tweets.

The sample time frame included two periods:

First: November 1- 21, 2011. This month is critical to the topic of Islam as it witnessed several important events of clashes between Muslims and Christians, gathering at Tahrir square, and preparing and conducting of the first parliamentary elections after the revolution of January 25th, with the legal formation of new political parties that include religious trends inside it.

Second: June 7 – 21, 2012. This period also formed another critical peak timing in sensing the fear of Islamists, as it coincides with presidential elections of a range of candidates whom they are either liberal or Islamists.

Categories of analysis provide a detailed description of characteristics of wall messages and framing of Islamists through social media, as well as arguments and reasons that express support or fear from Islamists.

Categories of analysis and operational definitions:

Categories of Analysis	Operational definition	Units of Analysis
Characters or words mentioned in the comment	Which means wording of characters that refer to religion in the comments	1.Ekhwan,2.Islamists,3.salaf, 4.coptics, 5.non-muslims, 6.koffar,7.Islam, 8.Fatwa, 9.other character or word related to religion specify
Source of content of the comment on interactive media	Refers to the place on social media network where the comment is selected from.	1.We are all khaled Said, 2.Youth of April 6 movement, 3.Al Masry Al Youm online 4. Twitter
Month and week of comment	Refers to the timing where the comment was posted on the social media.	1.November first week, 2.November second week, 3.November third week, 4.June second week. 5.June third week
Events or locations relevant to religion	Which means other mention of anything else relevant to religion in the comment.	1.Current event,2.recent event 3.reminding of event from the history, 4.mosque, 5.church, 6.non Egyptian place-another country, 7.other wording specify
Islamists framed as	The way in which the writer organizes, interprets or presents Islamists in the comment, or the way the writer select and highlight some facets of events or words and make connections among them to promote a particular interpretation or evaluation of Islamic characters mentioned in the comment.	1.Enemies, 2.fundamentalists, 3.primitive or backwards, 4.biased, 5.aggressive, 6.ethical, 7.victims, 8.religious, 9.rational/logical, 10.irrational, 11.authoritarians, 12.other description specify
Arguments or reasons used to support Islamists/non Islamists	Which means the main argument the writer uses to support the frame he/she used in writing the comment. It could be understood from the overall meaning of the comment.	1.Arguments related to women rights, 2.arguments related to civil rights (as the right to express opinion, the right of democracy, the right of equality, the right of social justice, other rights), 3.arguments related to liberal rights (which are the rights that control or inhibit personal freedom) 4.other argu-
Sources of evidence used by Islamists/non Islamists to support the argument	It is the proof or evidence used by the writer to convince the reader of his/her point of view.	1.peaces of Koran, 2.Hadith, 3.using citations from history, 4.showing contemporary experiments of other countries, 5.logical analysis, 6.faith. 7.depending on interior senses. 8.other source specify
Tone of the comment	Which reveals the attitude toward the issue of discussion	1.Apathetic (uncaring), 2.Ambivalent (having mixed feelings, could go either way) 3.Bitter (exhibiting strong animosity as a result of pain or grief), 4.Gloomy (darkness, sadness or rejection), 5.haughty (proud and vain to the point of arrogance), 6.indignant (marked by anger aroused by injustice), 7.objective (an unbiased view, able to leave personal judgment aside) 8.optimistic (hopeful, cheerful) 9.pessimistic (seeing the worst side of things) 10.reverent (treating the subject with honor and respect) 11.sarcastic (caustic)12.volatile (tending or threatening to break out into open violence) 13.other tone specify

Results and discussion:
Sample characteristics:

Total number of comments selected for analysis in the two phases of the study are shown in the following table:

Table (1)
Sample size

Sample size	We are all khaled Said	April six movement	Al Masry Al youm	Twitter	Total
First phase	50	40	73	......	163
Second phase	35	....	40	135	210
Total	85	40	113	135	373

Twitter was included only in the second phase, while April six movement sample was analyzed only in the first phase. All the comments under analysis included one or two words that refer to Islam or current events relevant to religion such as the following words:

Ekhwan, Islamists, Salafi, Copts, Non- Muslims, Islam or Azhar, Koffar (atheists) or takfeer , Fatwa or sharia . Other words or characters or locations that are related to religion such as mosque, church, sheikh, Kandahar, taefia (sectarianism) have also been selected from the above mentioned websites.

The frames the comments use in describing Islamists:

Which explains how Islamists were described in the comments. Results are shown in the next table:

Table (2)
Frames used in describing Islamists

Frames of Islamists	First phase		Second phase	
	N	%	N	%
Enemies	2	1.2	17	8.1
Fundamentalists	20	12.3	6	2.9
Primitive	10	6.1	19	9
Biased	2	1.2	28	13.3
Aggressive	11	6.7	5	2.4
Ethical	8	4.9	77	33.7
Victims	12	7.3	14	6.7
Religious	28	17.2	6	2.9
Rational or logical	32	19.6	7	3.3
Irrational, authoritarian	6	3.7	23	10.9
Irrational, authoritarian	32	19.6	8	3.8
Total	**163**	**100**	**210**	**100**

After the revolution, the most frame that appeared in the social media comments described Islamists as being rational or logical – N=32, and also described them as being heroes or ideals –N=32. Those who were not supporting the ideas of Islamists framed them as fundamentalists or primitive – N=20,10 respectively.

Before the elections in the second phase of analysis, the most frame that was used was describing Islamists as ethical – N=77, followed by frames used by anti-Islamists describing them as biased – N=28, and sometimes primitive – N=19. This result verifies the beginning of the formation of a change towards a negative attitude towards Islamists in SNS.

The arguments or reasons used by the public to support Islamists/non Islamists acts or influences

The research have classified arguments that are used to support Islamists acts or influences in three basic categories: first, the civil rights- which are related to citizenship rights as the right to practice democracy, the right to be treated equally with no discrimination of any type, second, liberal rights- which include personal and social freedoms as the choice to vote or not, the right to object and demonstrate, personal behavior as the right to dress or behave in any way as long as it doesn't hurt the society, and third, women rights, which have a lot of debate in the Islamic culture.

The results of the social networks comments analysis in the two phases of research were as follows:

Table (3)
Arguments used to support Islamists/ non-Islamists

Arguments used to support acts	First phase		Second phase	
	N	%	N	%
Civil rights	81	49.7	170	81
Liberal rights	27	16.6	30	14.2
Women rights/other	55	33.7	10	4.8
Total	163	100	210	100

In the first phase, almost half of the arguments were related to civil rights as citizenship rights and the right to practice democracy – (49.7%). Almost one third of the sample (33.7%) were classified under women rights. Arguments for liberal rights that include freedom to vote for different parties or practicing demonstrations were the least used – (16.6%).

In the second phase, because of the pressure of events related to presidential elections, the arguments related to civil rights have been heightened, as it reached (81%) of the total sample of study. The arguments for liberal rights have been decreased when compared to the first phase. Arguments for women rights appeared slightly in almost (5%) of the total sample in the second phase of analysis.

Sources of evidence used by Islamists to support their point of view:

Which explains the proof or evidence used by the writer of the tweet or the comment to convince the reader of his/her point of view.

Table (4)
Sources of Evidence used to support points of views

Sources of Evidence	First phase		Second phase	
	N	%	N	%
Using citation from history	37	29	2	1
Using logical analysis	50	31	85	40.5
Using faith and hopes	38	23	66	31.4
Using guessing, relying on interior senses	28	17	57	27.1
Total	163	100	210	100

In the first phase of analysis, logical analysis and interpretation of events was mostly used (31%) followed by reminding the public of past events or events from the history (29%) – mostly used stories were from the beginnings of Islam or characters from Islamic history. A clear trend of relying on faith and hope for a better future was clear in (23%) of the messages. Other messages used vague or unspecific words – as I feel this- to support their arguments (17%).

In the second phase, logical analysis was the most common used as a source of evidence (40.5%), followed by using faith and hopes for a better future (31.4%), followed by relying on interior senses (27%). This shows that immediately after the revolution, referring to history was intensively used when compared to pre-elections period, where the scene was vague so clear and precise evidences were substituted by words as "let's hope", "I feel", "the future will show.." and so on.

The tone of the comments:

Which mainly reflects the attitude toward the issue of discussion in the comment. It provides the feelings of the interactive participant towards the topic of the comment.

Results in both phases of study are shown:

Table (5)
Tone of Comments

Tone	First phase		Second phase	
	N	%	N	%
Ambivalent (having mixed feelings)	14	8.6	23	11
Bitter	51	31.3	21	10
Gloomy	.....	......	14	6.7
Indignant (strong feeling of injustice)	......	......	35	16.7
Objective	53	32.5	5	2.4
Optimistic	35	21.5	76	36.2
Pessimistic	......	.....	17	8.1
Reverent (treating with respect)	......	......	3	1.4
Sarcastic	10	6.1	11	5.2
Volatile (threatening)	......	.....	5	2.4
Total	**163**	**100**	**210**	**100**

In the first phase, the most feeling that was sensed from the interactive messages was having an objective tone, using logic and not relying on one specific side – (32.5%). the second line of attitudes that appeared was the bitter tone resulting from pain or grieve about escalating situations after the revolution- (31.3%). Yet, a theme of optimism also appeared – (21.5%). This mixed tones shows that the majority of tones are pro-Islamists, but at the same time the expressed tones of anti-Islamists was of the same weight.

In the second phase, the most strong feeling that appeared in the tweets was optimism that the future with Islamists will be much better- (36.2%). The second line of attitudes towards the events was the feeling of injustice which was mainly due to the deliberate control of Islamists over most leading positions in the newly formed parliament, and their control over most of media channels as well- (16.7%). (11%) of the sample showed mixed feelings and vague picture of the future.

A clear line of the direction of the tones can be drawn if we combine the adjectives that point to supporting or rejecting Islamists together, and exclude those who have mixed feelings as their line of thought is not decided. In the first phase, objective and optimistic tones as pro Islamists were (54%), while bitter and sarcastic as anti Islamists were (37.4%), thus showing a strong direction towards Islamists. In the second phase, the overall tones that were taking the side of Islamists were making a sum of (40%), while the percentages of anti-Islamists tones as volatile, sarcastic, pessimistic, gloomy, bitter and indignant, reached almost half of the sample (49.1%), showing a strong direction towards anti-Islamists tones

Conclusion:
This research investigated how users of social media express their opinions towards the Islamic movement in Egypt through comments on Facebook wall, on Twitter and on comments page of Al Masry Al Youm newspaper. The research argues that comments and opinions expressed in social media - whether pro or anti-Islamist – clearly show specific frames of expression, which uses certain adjectives, words and tones that are formed and spread through the inter-

active nature of social media, and can be counted towards the evidences that form public opinion towards specific issues in the society. The analysis of these frames revealed the arguments used by either pro or anti Islamists in their defense or attack of Islamists as active participants in the political scene after the revolution.

Since the analysis of the comments was done over two phases: first, immediately after the revolution, and the secondly, during the progress of events and before the presidential elections, the content analysis revealed clear lines of public opinion that can be summarized as follows:

After the revolution, appeared a clear and strong framing of Islamists as being rational, ideals when compared to fewer anti-Islamists frames that described them as fundamentalists or primitive. This positive framing towards Islamists continued in the second phase with a larger percent when compared to anti Islamists frames that started to describe them as biased and sometimes primitive. This result witnesses the starting development of negative attitudes towards Islamists.

When we further analyze the frames of comments in the selected sample, we find that in the first phase of the study, the majority of arguments were around civil rights such as citizenship rights and the right to practice democracy. Latter and before the presidential elections, the arguments related to civil rights have heightened, when compared to using other rights as the call for liberal rights or women's rights.

This clear trend of supporting Islamists was supported by logical analysis and stories of the first days of Islam, and this trend continued during the presidential elections and supported by using faith and hopes for a better future, which appeared through statements as let's hope, the future will show.

The previously mentioned lines of thoughts towards Islamists was also supported by the tone of the messages that

show objective and logic adjectives, while anti-Islamists attitudes also showed a strong and clear bitter tone resulting from escalating situations after the revolution. Such clear split of frequencies of pro and anti-Islamists tones was stressed before the presidential elections. Such mixed feelings can be explained as contradicting feelings of the public due to their inability to have a clear picture of the future.

The results of the content analysis and simple frequencies clearly describe and verify the development of new negative attitude towards Islamists, or in other words a shift from positive attitudes and optimistic public opinion towards Islamists to the opposite side having a negative public opinion towards their political performance based on actual performance and commenting on current events.

In conclusion SNS and interactive media are considered as a perfect channel for opinion expression and active participation in the political life. They can one of the most important forms of media than researchers can analyze to witness the formation and development of public opinion towards specific issues. It is considered as a mirror that reflects the opinions of the public and how they judge events, rather than it can be considered the cause or reason of Arab springs as some might argue.

Research limitations:

The research duration reflects a short time-frame that witness a growing anxiety against Islamists (before and during the first round of parliamentary elections).

More research is needed in the area of New Media as a reflection of public opinion in different issues whether political, social or cultural.

Notes:

The first phase of this study was presented at the conference " Islam, Citizenship and the New Media in Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Egypt", at Netherlands-Flemish institute in Cairo, December 18, 2011.

References:
(1)Hamdy, Naila (2008) "Building Capabilities of Egyptian journalists in preparation for a media in transition", Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research, Volume 1, no.3, pp. 215-243.

(2)Khamis, Sahar (2008) "Modern Egyptian media: transformations, paradoxes, debates and comparative Perspectives", Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research, Volume 1, no.3, pp. 259-277.

(3)Miladi, Noureddine (2008) "Mediating wars and conflicts: North African TV audiences in the UK and the changing security landscape", Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research, Volume 1, no.3, pp. 245-257.

(4) Bastos, Marco T. (2011) "Public Opinion Revisited: The Propagation of opinions in digital networks", Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research, Volume 4, numbers 2 &3, pp. 185-201.

(5) www.socialbakers.com
(6) Lin, N. (2001). "Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(7) El Gazzar, Nagwa (2011) "Adolescents' Perception, and Attitudes Towards Social Media Networks in Egypt - A Survey", paper presented at EU Kids online Conference, London School of Economics, September 21.

(8) Boyd, D. (2008). " Can Social Network Sites Enable Political Action?", commentary, International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics, Volume 4, Number 2, pp. 241- 244

(9) Entman, Robert (1993) "Framing: Toward clarification of a Fractured Paradigm", Journal of Communication, 43, 4, 51-58

(10) Entman, R. (2007) "Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power", Journal of Communication, 57, 163-173

(11) Borah, Porismita (2011) "Conceptual Issues in Framing Theory: A Systematic Examination of a Decade's Literature", Journal of Communication, 61, pp. 246-263.

(12) Rodriguez, Lulu and Dimitrova, D.V. (2011) "The levels of Visual Framing", Journal of Visual Literacy, Vol. 30, No.1, 48-65.

(13) Brantner, Cornelia, Lobinger, K. and Wetzstein I. (2011) "Effects of Visual Framing on Emotional Responses and Evaluations of News Stories about the Gaza Conflict 2009", Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Vol.88, No.3, Autumn, pp.523-540

(14) Change, Chun-Tuan and Lee Yu-Kang (2010) "Effects of Message Framing, Vividness Congruency and Statistical Framing on Responses to Charity Advertising", International Journal of Advertising, 29, 2, pp.195-220.

(15) Lecheler, Sophie and Claes H. de Vreese (2011) "Getting Real: The Duration of Framing Effects", Journal of Communication, 61, pp.959-983.

(16) Carstea, Andreea E. (2012) "Framing the 2009 Presidential Elections Electoral Campaign Coverage in Opinion Articles", Journal of Media Research, 2(13), pp.96-107

(17) Fairhurst, Gail (2011) "The Power of Framing: Creating the language of Leadership", San Francisco, CA:Jossey-Bass, 266 pages

(18) Temmerman, Martina (2010) "Naming and Framing in Belgian Politics: An Analysis of the representation of Politicians and the Political State of Affairs During the 2007 Government Formation Period in the Belgian Press", Belgian Journal of Linguistics, 24, pp.120-138.

(19) Constantinescu, Ana, R. and John C. Tedesco (2007) "Framing a Kidnapping. Frame convergence between online newspaper coverage and reader discussion posts about three kidnapped Romanian Journalists", Journalism studies, Vol.8, No 3, 444-464.

(20) De Souza, Rebecca (2007) "The Construction of HIV/AIDS in Indian Newspapers: A Frame Analysis", Health Communication, 21(3), 257-266.

(21) Hawkins, Katherine W and Linvill D.L.(2010) "Public Health Framing of News Regarding Childhood Obesity in the United States", Health Communication, 25, pp.709-717.

(22) Seate, Anita Atwell, Harwood, J. and Blecha E. (2010) "He was Framed!" Framing Criminal Behavior in Sports News", Communication Research Reports, Vo.27, No.4, October-December 2010, pp.343-354.

(23) Stocking, S. H and Gross, Paget (1989) "How Do Journalists Think", ERIC Clearinghourse on Reading and Communication Skills: Bloomington.

(24) Soloski, John (1999) "News Reporting and Professionalism: Some Constraints on the Reporting of the News" in News: A reader, Ed.HowardTumber,.Oxford University Press, Oxford.

(25) http://www.facebook.com/ElShaheeed#!/ElShaheeed?sk=info
(26) http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=9973986703