

Frame Analysis of Egyptian Opinion Leaders Tweets: A Study on a Sample of Contents Relevant to the Democracy Issue

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Abstract

In this study the researcher conducted frame analysis for opinion leaders' tweets, to explore different types of frames that shaped the democracy debate after the revolution. The research took place in a period of 21 days, in the memory of the second anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, starting from: January 15, 2013 to February 4, 2013, before the revolution date and after. This study proceeded from a quantitative content analysis of 12 members' messages on Twitter. Over all, it includes 386 tweets from three groups of opinion leaders, 53 from Former presidential candidates, 123 from Islamists leaders, and 210 from Political analysts. The aim of this study was to investigate the dominant frame, and compare which frames each group used. Analysis was conducted according to what type of "topics and issues covered, the tone of tweets (neutral, negative, positive), the key actors (government, politicians, and the public) and 5 frames analysis conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences according to Semetko and Valkenburg. Comparing which frames each group used results showed that, the attribution of responsibility and human interest frames were the most commonly used by the opinion leaders, followed by the morality frame then conflict frame and finally economic consequences. Attribution of responsibility and Human interest were most visible in the first group, former presidential candidates. Morality frame, Attribution of responsibility and Human interest were most visible in the second group, Islamist leaders. Finally, Attribution of responsibility and Human interest and conflict frame were most visible in the third group, political activists. Economic consequences frame was less visible compared to other frames. So we can conclude the whole analysis as: Responsibility frames are more often utilized by Former presidential candidates and Political activist while Moral frames are more often utilized by Former Islamist leaders.

Introduction

Since the Egyptian revolution in January 25th 2011, there was a high rise in the political discussion among Egyptians. Almost all of them shared views about democracy and politics in their daily life activities. With the rise of social media use, they also expressed their political views on Facebook and tweeter. According to the Pew Research Center, nearly two-thirds of social media users are expressing political opinions through their profiles [1]. They linked their community conflicts to their accounts in social media expressing their opinions. Facebook helps organize people, such as detailing how and where to gather physically, while Twitter is for "amplification," enabling people in real time to share news and comment [2]. As it is clearly known that the huge masses get affected with what opinion leaders say. The researcher concentrated on opinion leaders tweets. As when they tweet about different issues, they share their opinions with many "followers" who re tweet what they have said to spread their ideas among people. If opinion leaders have to tell their opinions within a limited space (140 characters) on twitter, this means they will use certain frames to simplify and give meaning to their opinions. That is why the researcher is conducting this study, especially the rise of democracy discussion.

Twitter in Egypt

Twitter is an online social networking service and micro blogging service that enables its users to send and read text-based messages of up to 140 characters, known as tweets. It was created in March 2006 by Jack Dorsey and launched that July. The service rapidly gained worldwide popularity, with over 500 million registered users as of 2012, generating over 340 million tweets daily and handling over 1.6 billion search queries per day [3]. Twitter is ranked as one of the ten-most-visited websites worldwide by Alexa's web traffic analysis [4]. Some studies indicated that using social media frequently is positively and significantly related to protest, the strength of this relationship is comparable to the influence of education and participation in civic

groups on triggering elite-challenging political behavior [5]. During the Arab Spring in early 2011, the number of hashtags mentioning the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt increased [6]. A study by the Dubai School of Government found that only 0.26% of the Egyptian population, 0.1% of the Tunisian population and 0.04% of the Syrian population are active on Twitter [7].

There are an estimated 131,204 Twitter users in Egypt between 1 January and 30 March 2011, generating an average of 24,000 tweets a day during that time period [8]. The daily number of tweets originating in Egypt with the "#egypt" hashtag was roughly 18,000 between January 25 (the day the uprising began) and February 28 [9]. One user in Cairo generated 60,000 words alone during the 18-day revolution, a total of 1,500 tweets [10]. These figures say little beyond the fact that a numerically significant and quickly growing number of Egyptians used social media to communicate about the demonstrations that rocked the country in the first quarter of 2011.

In Arab countries such as Tunisia, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt, social networking sites are a popular forum for expressing views on politics and community issues. More than seven-in-ten users of social networking sites in these countries have posted about community

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Received September 24, 2016; Accepted October 27, 2016; Published October 31, 2016

Citation: Albert A (2016) Frame Analysis of Egyptian Opinion Leaders Tweets: A Study on a Sample of Contents Relevant to the Democracy Issue. J Mass Communicat Journalism 6: 318. doi: 10.4172/2165-7912.1000318

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issues on these sites, and at least six-in-ten have shared their views about politics. 81% of those with a college degree, compared with just 18% of those with less education [11].

Public opinion often depends on which frames elites choose to use. For example, citizens' opinions about a Ku Klux Klan rally may depend on whether elites frame it as a free speech issue or a public safety issue. An important concern is that elites face few constraints to using frames to influence and manipulate citizens opinions [12]. Since the so-called Twitter revolutions of 2009, a flurry of studies have tried to map out the effects of using social media on fueling protests and other forms of elite-challenging political action [5]. Nilson and Kinder portrayed framing as a central aspect of the conversation between elites and citizens in a democracy [13]. Framing effects may occur because citizens delegate to ostensibly credible elites to help them sort through many possible frames. In this portrayal, people turn to elites for guidance and they are thus selective about which frames they believe—they only believe frames that come from sources they perceive to be credible [14]. The increasing use of twitter as a mean to voice different political views encouraged the researcher to concentrate on opinion leaders views about democracy and different community issues. Using frame analysis, I will try to investigate how they are talking and viewing democracy.

Framing Theory

According to Robert Entman, To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described [15]. Framing is the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue...having implications for multiple values [16]. It also refers to how messages are encoded with meaning so that they can be efficiently interpreted in relationship to existing beliefs or ideas [15]. George Lakoff, a professor at UC Berkeley said Communication itself comes with a frame. The elements of the Communication Frame include: A message, an audience, a messenger, a medium, images, a context, and especially, higher-level moral and conceptual frames. The choice of language is, of course, vital, but it is vital because language evokes frames -moral and conceptual frames [17]. Framing processes can be examined from the view of journalists, recipients, communicators and the media/text [18]. Media framing is the process by which an issue is portrayed in the news media. Media frames provide boundaries around a news story and determine what is and is not newsworthy or notable. A media frame may draw a viewer's attention to specific parts of a journalist's news story, de-emphasize other parts, and leave out some aspects completely [19].

It is a particular way in which journalists compose a news story to optimize audience accessibility. As reporters have to tell a story within a limited time or space. They use certain frames to simplify and give meaning to events, and to maintain audience interest [20]. Millions of citizens turn to the news media daily and 'the media' is a cornerstone institution in our democracies. One influential way that the media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. The notion of framing has gained momentum in the communication disciplines, giving guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion [21]. Framing effects are perceptual. They are analogous to optical illusions in terms of whether the glass is half full or whether

the glass is half-empty. The framing effects occur when a subject makes a different choice depending on whether the same outcomes are phrased as though they were gains versus as though they were losses. Sometimes framing effects are confused with reflection effects [22].

It refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon often by mass media sources, political or social movements, political leaders, or other actors and organizations. It is an inevitable process of selective influence over the individual's perception of the meanings attributed to words or phrases. It is generally considered in one of two ways: as frames in thought, consisting of the mental representations, interpretations, and simplifications of reality, and frames in communication, consisting of the communication of frames between different actors [23]. According to Zaller's "shaping frames elites can determine the major manifestations of "true" public opinion that are available to government (via polls or voting), what can true public opinion be?" How can even sincere democratic representatives respond correctly to public opinion when empirical evidence of it appears to be so malleable, so vulnerable to framing effects? [24] People are more likely to turn to trusted sources such as familiar political figures or they seek for fitting arguments or perspectives within media frames [9]. If complex issues must be explained to the audiences, the media and opinion leaders are bound to play an important role. However, it is usually difficult if not outright impossible to "measure" framing effects in the field. It was clear that contextual differences (such as credibility, party endorsement, interpersonal communication and competing frames) and individual differences (such as knowledge, existence of an a priori opinion, active processing, gender and age) may play an important role in limiting the influence of frames Holding prior opinions, experience, interest in politics, wealth and age had a significant influence on the susceptibility to emphasis framing effects [25].

Frame types

Many scholars have worked to identify common news frames in an effort to determine the relationship between frame type and reader perception of the event. Neuman, and Cringler examined U.S. news coverage of a range of issues and noted four key frames: conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and morality [26]. Semetko and Valkenburg developed a research, which identified five news frames: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences. Then they used a modified version of this frame typology in their content analysis of news covering European politics. The researchers identified five frames: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and attribution of responsibility. The results of the study pointed to attribution of responsibility as the most prevalent frame, followed by conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and finally, morality [27]. The conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. The human interest frame brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. The morality frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. The economic consequences frame, finally, presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country [28].

Literature Review

Fatima Al Salem, investigated Kuwaiti parliament members' leadership behavior on Twitter. The study classified parliament

members according to their political party affiliation-Islamists, independents, liberals, and populists party- and investigated the prevalence of four leadership frames through a content analysis of eight parliament members' messages on Twitter over a period of six months from June 15, 2011 to November 15, 2011. Results showed that, overall, the structural frame was the most commonly used frame among parliament members, followed by the political, symbolic, and human resource frame respectively. The use of frames depended on both the political group and the topic of issues. The Islamist group, liberal and populist party more often used the structural frame in their Twitter messages whereas the independent group more often used the political frame [29]. Nagwa Abdel-Salam Fahmy conducted a study, during the Egyptian revolution, on Twitter, as a micro-blogging social network, which enabled its users to share their eyewitness observations of the mass protests.

The data analyzed for was collected during the Egyptian revolution, from the 25th of January till the 31st of March 2011. The goal of this study was to uncover the use of micro-blogging during the Egyptian revolution and to identify the tweet theme trends that were diffused during the mass street protests, highlighting their role in organizing the street movements. The study findings indicate that micro blogs' posts were able to describe the daily events of the Egyptian Revolution as twitter users are considered eye-witnesses of the street events who documents their observations every time and everywhere in Egypt. It was also a network of communication that facilitated conversation between twitter users and allowed them to organize their future street movements. It was found that tweets use many strategies to vouch their credibility through linking information to other sources such as; news sites, YouTube, blogs and flicker that confirm their tweets [30]. Robert Brym, et al. investigated about Demonstrators, Sympathetic Onlookers, and Social Media in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising. They examined the role of social media and other factors in the Egyptian uprising of 2011, analyzing a sample of Egyptians (n=1,005) between March 25 and April 2, 2011.

The paper concludes that using new electronic communications media was associated with being a demonstrator. However, grievances, structural availability, and network connections were more important than was the use of new electronic communications media in distinguishing demonstrators from sympathetic onlookers. Only new-media factors related to the use of text messaging for news about the protests [18]. Summer Harlow, et al. draws on a content analysis of coverage of the Egyptian protests in The New York Times (NYT) online, NYT reporter Nick Kristof's Twitter feed, and the Global Voices blog, to examine the frames used, portrayals of protesters, sources cited, amount of user interaction, and level of author involvement to show whether the medium matters when it comes to the protest paradigm.

When considering the question, how the frames differ between The New York Times, Nick Kristof's Twitter feed, and Global Voices, analysis shows Global Voices (71%) was significantly more likely than the NYT (36%) or Twitter (19%) to use an injustice frame. Similarly, Global Voices was significantly more likely than the other two media to use sympathy frames (47%), legitimizing frames (76%), and accountability frames (59%). In contrast, the NYT (12%) was significantly more likely to employ de-legitimizing frames. Of the three media, the NYT (68%) also was significantly more likely to rely on a spectacle frame. Additionally, the NYT (27%) was more likely to include history or context about the protests [31].

Jurgis Škilters, et al. aimed to formulate a conception of pragmatic patterns characterizing the construction of individual and collective

identities in Twitter community. It explored the pragmatics of political messages in Latvian Twitter communication during the 2010 general election. The findings attempt to answer the following questions: 1) How are virtual political identities generated and maintained in a condensed public mode of communication? 2) What are the pragmatic instruments that help to achieve these processes? The dataset consists of one week of Twitter messages (from 28-Sep-2010 to 04-Oct-2010) from a subset of Latvian Twitter users, including 4 days before the election, the day of the general election (October 2) and 2 days following the election. The total size is 50'032 messages, consisting of: 50% regular tweets; 18% retweets; and 32% replies. The results contain a topical analysis of election discussions as well as an analysis of hashtags and retweeted messages. The fast pragmatic dynamics in Titter communication can be observed through hashtags, showing a rapid reaction of Twitter users to the elections, while top retweets support the findings of content analysis with regard to political sentiment. Content analysis reveals the possibility of significant discrepancies in terms of the cognitive and physical distances between a group and its individual members in their identity generation processes. In view of the results, we propose a hypothesis that reveals correlations between a group and its individual members, the richness of topics, channels of communication, frequency of mention, and connotations and effects of messages [32].

Change sup, tried to answer the question "Does Twitter really contribute to the normative goals of diversity of deliberative democracy? To answer it, this research analyzes a Web-based survey of 439 university students living in Midwest of USA. The results suggest that Twitter use itself is not associated with exposure to cross-cutting viewpoints. Interestingly, two motivations of Twitter use (public expression and influencing others) are found to contribute to increasing exposure to dissimilar political views. Online discussion also has a direct effect on exposure to dissonant viewpoints, and it mediates the relationship between Twitter use motivations and exposure to contrasting political views. Unlike the original expectation, the effect of Twitter use motivations and exposure to political difference is not mediated by partisanship. This study suggests that the political role of Twitter should be reevaluated based on use motivations, not just on use frequency. This study also confirms the selective exposure tendency in Twitter sphere, which posits that people prefer obtaining information that is in accordance with their beliefs [33].

David Fan based on The Toyota recall crisis: Media impact on Toyota's corporate brand reputation, JSM Proceedings, forthcoming) showing that the mainstream press, weblogs, and Internet forums all have similar content and are able to predict time trends of public opinion about automaker Toyota with R2 values in the range 0.8. Tweets are like forums in containing expressions of ideas by people actively involved in a topic without any editorial gate keeping. Consequently, this abstract's hypothesizes (H1) that Tweets could be like forums and blogs in transmitting information that can influence the members of the disengaged public responsible for most of the responses in population surveys.H1 was tested using daily positive and negative sentiment scores from June 2009 through December 2011 for 572,064 Tweets about the Toyota corporation. The scores were from the commercial company General Sentiment and were scaled to take into account the fact that the total Tweet volume had increased approximately 200-fold during the 2½ years of the study. For the same time period, 133 sets of weekly opinion survey values for Toyota's reputation were obtained from BrandIndex, a division of YouGov.com. The sentiment scores were used in the ideodynamic model to predict Toyota's reputation with R2=0.78 thereby supporting H1 and showing

how Tweets do not directly mirror polled opinion but can be used to predict surveyed opinion values [34]. Itay Gabay, et al. discussed that Wisconsin politics have captured the attention of the national media since Governor Walker introduced major cost-cutting measures and anti-union policies in early 2011. Following an occupation of the state capitol in February and March, the Governor's opponents gathered signatures and organized for a recall election that took place on June 5, 2012. The study tried to build a picture of the communication dynamics of the recall election through the social-networking service Twitter. It collected a unique dataset of Twitter use by opinion leaders in Wisconsin during the recall election. The sample begins exactly two weeks prior to the election, and ends one week after. During that frame, we collected every tweet sent by 160 key opinion leaders—a category was constructed by combining candidates, their campaigns, reporters, pundits and advocacy organizations. It also randomly selected 15 followers of each opinion leader and collected those individuals' tweets as well, to give us a picture of the larger network conversation occurring around the opinion leaders.

The data gave novel insights into understanding the divisive and even bitter struggles between contending parties and the groups that support them at state level politics. Specifically, the data help us understand the role that network structure and Twitter are playing in both the protest movement that have gathered around Governor Walker's recall, and in those groups that support him and oppose state workers' unions. For example, we examine to what extent is Twitter a "window" onto state politics—that is, how much does the evidence we collect from Twitter comply with power dynamics in other areas, such as success in mainstream communications? [33] Na Yeon, examined whether Twitter can serve as a medium where journalists are free to speak their minds without the pressure of social conformity, using the theoretical framework of spiral of silence. The journalists' role in forming public opinion underscores the importance of examining their Twitter use. Significantly, South Korean journalists use Twitter without the job restrictions faced by their American colleagues, who can be fired for what their bosses consider inappropriate messages. Still, a survey of 163 Korean journalists (response rate 9.53%) from nine national newspapers and two broadcast networks revealed that they kept silent when they perceived their opinion on three controversial issues were in the minority. This study investigated journalists' outspokenness on Twitter in two ways: what they had discussed and what they were willing to discuss. In their discussions, the journalists who perceived a larger discrepancy between their opinions and those of other Twitter users were less willing to speak up. In addition, for the journalists publicly identified on Twitter, fear of isolation has a significantly stronger negative effect on their willingness to speak up. Journalists' ideology also was found to be a significant influence on their discussion behavior. Politically conservative journalists are reluctant to speak out because Twitter is regarded as a liberal-leaning sphere. Because journalists usually play an active role in formulating public opinion, their silence on Twitter may produce more serious consequences for citizens. This study contributes to spiral of silence theory by applying the public opinion theory to opinion leaders, particularly journalists, and by expanding the social context influence of majority pressure from offline to online, especially on Twitter [34]. Jes Koepfler, and Clay Templeton conducted framing analysis and thematic analysis of social media texts to explore the qualitative relationships of salient values in frames that shaped the Homeless Hotspots debate. They reviewed 30 blog posts and online news articles (dated March 6-29, 2012) and observed the tweets related to the #homelesshotspots hashtag to know the relationship between salient values and frames from three key

stakeholder groups who responded to the controversy and shaped the debate: (1) BBH Labs, (2) the digerati, and (3) homeless advocates, organizations, and individuals. A few things become apparent from this analysis. First, the qualitative relationship between values and frames is that values are embedded strategically within frames. Frames bring some values into salience in the consideration of an issue and de-emphasize or obscure others, attempting to align values that are important to the audience with the rhetorical aims of the authors. This is consistent with the literature on persuasion and argumentation: if someone wishes to make an ethical claim or moral judgment publicly, they need to make public appeals to other people's values. Second, values are used both directly and indirectly to shape a frame. The review of the social media articles and tweets that showed up later in the debate indicated that most re-posters simply re-hashed the arguments made by one or more of the originating frames [34].

Patti M. Valkenburg, et al. investigated whether and how journalistic news frames affect readers' thoughts about and recall of two issues. A sample of 187 participants was randomly assigned to one of four experimental framing conditions, which included (a) conflict, (b) human interest, (c) attribution of responsibility, and (d) economic consequences, as well as a control condition. Each participant was presented with two newspaper stories that dealt with two socially and politically pertinent issues in Europe: crime and the introduction of the euro, the common European currency. Each story had an identical core component, whereas the title, opening paragraph, and closing paragraph were varied to reflect the frame. The study found that frames played a significant role in the readers' thought-listing responses, and they defined the ways that readers presented information about both issues. The results showed that the human interest news frame can have negative consequences for recall [35].

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the frames content of opinion leaders' messages on Twitter, and to examine differences among the various groups (Former presidential candidates, Islamists leaders, media worker, political activist).

Research questions

Few studies have examined opinion leaders' tweets framing. To fill this gap in the current literature, this study seeks to identify which frames are most commonly used in discussing democracy from opinion leaders view.

This paper reports the quantitative findings in the democracy debate,

RQ1: Which frame(s) will be used most overall?

RQ2: (How) will frame usage be different among the three groups?

RQ2a: How is democracy portrayed in opinion leaders tweets?

Method

Sample and procedure

This study proceeded from a quantitative content analysis of the opinion leaders frames used in Twitter messages from January 15, 2013 to February 4, 2013. The study collected all their tweets in this period. Some of opinion leaders have established a twitter profile but never posted a single message. Like the TV presenter (Reem magued) who had 260240 followers, with no single tweet. So the researcher decided to analyze only active users profiles, who have tweeted at least once

every 10 days. To avoid any bias in the chosen sample, the researcher chose an analytical tool, socialbakers, which give the highest rank for tweeter profiles, [36]. In their research, Weimann et al. how to measure opinion leaders on twitter? Katrin Jungnickel, gave many approaches, the research applied “Sociometric approach” which means retracing communication paths in a network by Followers, or Re-Tweets, or Re-Posts, or Mentions. The same way was explained by Weimann et al. when he was comparing between Traditional and modern measures in traditional societies for opinion leaders.

It was organized as the following:

Over all, this study includes 386 tweets from three groups of opinion leaders, 53 from Former presidential candidates, 123 from Islamists leaders, and 210 from Political analysts. The study investigated 12 members’ messages on Twitter, and compared which frames each group used.

The unit of analysis for this study will be frames. In order to measure these frames, coders will examine the overall theme created by the meanings of words or phrases contained in tweets.

➤ Only the original messages were analyzed in this research. We considered a retweet of any Twitter message that contains the string “RT@nickname” is not usable because some of them was so short to analyze. Also all tweets of self-promotion (like appearing in a TV show, or attending a workshop) were excluded from the analysis.

Though not analyzing the re-tweets, the researcher looked at the number of follower and re-tweets for each opinion leaders. It was clear that the number of tweets varied from high to low according to the group, or more precisely according to age. The general note shows that the youngest the opinion leader was the highest re-tweets and follower he had. (except for @ElBaradei who had such a large number of followers 1186429).

The Analysis Framework

A framework for analysis was drawn in this study in order to examine the different frames used in opinion leaders tweets.

The framing categories are:

➤ The frames (‘conflict’, ‘human interest’, ‘attribution of responsibility’, ‘morality’ and ‘economic consequences’) according to Semetko and Valkenburg.

➤ The covered “topics and issues”. It means the political, economic, public, judicial, academic, professional, planning, and international arenas.

➤ The tone that can be inferred from reading the tweets. The categories of this aspect include neutral, negative, positive, and criticizing tones. (It is understood that in the same tweet there could be more than one category, which is true of the other aspects as well.)

➤ The use of expressions. This includes categories of

expressions that imply the way the elite perceive the tweets: expressions of democracy.

➤ The actors who participate in the conflict: government, politicians and the public.

Framing measure

To measure the extent to which certain frames appear in messages, Semetko and Valkenburg 21 questions were used to which the coder answered yes (1) or no (0). Each question was meant to measure one of the five frames. Attribution of responsibility frames consisted of five items, for example, Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? Human interest frame consisted of five items, for example, Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? Conflict frame, consisted of four items, for example, Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries? Morality frame consisted of three items, for example, Does the story contain any moral message? Economic frame, consisted of four items, for example, Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

Results

First group: Former presidential candidates

While El Baradie concentrated on “the regime: the president and the government”, Hamdin concentrated on “the public”.

It was clear from the analysis that Abo el ftoth is interested on “the ongoing revolution” while Amr mousa on “democracy” and some sub-issues like “trains, collapsed homes”

▪ The covered “topics and issues”

The tweets of the former candidate covered “5” topics.

1. Religious: congratulations to Egyptians, the Arab nation and all Muslims the birth anniversary of Prophet Mohammad.

2. Revolution: Meeting between all parties to stop violence, Against violence and killing youth, no bloodshed, no destruction, but freedom of expression, democracy, Government is responsible to protect the demonstrators, maintain a peaceful marches responsibility, political gathering, Democracy is the solution, The document of “renounce violence”, role of Azhar document, achieving the peaceful revolution objectives, Salute to every Egyptian in the second anniversary of the revolution, It will continue until Morsi listen to the people demands, ongoing revolution, The martyrs who died, bloodshed of Suez Canal cities, grief of Amr Saad, Mohammed Christie, Mohammed al-Jundi and condolences to the youth of the revolution, the martyrs of neglect in the railway facility.

3. The president and government: Management of the country, they don’t take responsibility, Political solutions and the responsibility for the bloody events, national army will maintain the security of homeland, away of political struggle.

Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
Former pres. Candidates	Followers	Islamist leaders	Followers	Political activist	Followers
@ElBaradei	1186,429	@Essam_Sultan	355299	@Ghonim	841446
@HamdeenSabahy	792,162	@EssamAlErian	251426	@HamzawyAmr	827295
@DrAbolfotoh	639540	@naderbakkar	308853	@alaaaswany	677886
@amremoussa	375061	@Saad_Elkatatny	285798	@Gameelalsmail	548053

* In the very beginning ElBaradei was going to pass the presidential election, then he quitted. But because the researcher found that he had the largest number of followers in Egypt (over one million), he was included in the first group.

Table 1: Comparison between Traditional and modern measures for opinion leaders in twitter.

4. Human example: God bless Gamal al-Banna as a good example.

5. Infrastructure: Trains of death, neglecting the management of public utilities, trains, collapsed homes and the rail system must be changed completely.

- The tone: Negative tones were higher in El Baradie speech, Hamdin, criticizing the government of its failure while positive tones found at Dr Abolfotoh speech who concentrated on “the ongoing revolution” then we can see mix between positive and negative tones at Amr mousa speech, giving solutions and suggestions.

Negative tones covered the following topics: Criticizing the government of its failure, taking the responsibility of the bloody events, Negative attitude of the government of not stopping the bloodshed, neglecting the management of public utilities, death from level to Alexandria and homes to collapse and crumbling transport, failure of management since Assiut accident. These topics were repeated by more than one profile.

Positive tones were used when mentioning people. As Prophet Mohammad he was an example for morality, honesty, tolerance, justice. Secondly, remembering Gamal al-Banna as a sincere man, courageous and visionary and other positive tones were clear in pushing people to complete the revolution goals, have political solutions to restore security, economy and have Constitution for all Egyptians, serious dialogue between parties to stop the violence. Initiative Nour Party. Appreciate the role of our national army to maintain security of the homeland “the ongoing revolution”, freedom of expression, democracy, protect the demonstrators and their rights, peaceful marches responsibility, Azhar document is a serious political dialogue, political gathering, Democracy is the solution, Salute to every Egyptian in the second anniversary of the revolution

- The use of expressions

Expressions related to democracy were used like: Responsibility, political solutions, transparency, Constitution for all Egyptians, dialogue, National salvation government, renounce violence, democratic Constitution, independent judiciary, regime, and human dignity revolutionary martyrs, the will of the people, serious national dialogue, Peaceful revolution, political struggle, freedom, human dignity, social justice, Lack of vision, freedom of expression, Democracy is the solution efficient management, respectable state, peaceful marches responsibility, political dialogue, political gathering, second anniversary of the revolution, the spirit of the revolution, and steps to reform.

- The actors

The main actors were the president and his government and the ministers of defense and interior and Mubarak regime. Ministers, national army

1. **From the politicians:** Salvation Front, and Salafist movement, Nour Party, the light and the Party, the front and the party, youth of El Mootamer Party
2. **From the public:** Martyrs like Amr, Christie and the soldier who died. Also martyrs in the Suez Canal cities valiant Port Said, Suez and Ismailia, Lives of Egyptians, Amr Saad Mohammed Christie, Mohammed al-Jundi, families and relatives of victims, the citizen, demonstrators.

- Number of tweets:

Through the study period, Mohamed El Baradei tweeted 14 times. Only three were written in English there was a very large number of followers for every tweet. Only one link was attached.

- The frames:

Two major frames covered the 14 tweets, first attribution of responsibility (11 tweets) then ‘human interest’ (3 tweets).

Attribution of responsibility

- Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem: like President has responsibility for the bloody events, the president and his government are irresponsible in leaving things, the state failure is increasing, and violence is coming from the Regime.
- Which suggest solution(s) to the problem: a political **solution**, and new government.
- Which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue: Salvation Front, and Salafist movement.
- Which suggest the problem requires urgent action: telling people to get out to complete revolution goals, and a meeting immediately to between all parties.

Human interest

- Tweets which provided a human example or “human face” on the issue like Prophet Mohammad as an example for honesty, tolerance, justice, and chastity tongue and Gamal al-Banna: sincere man courageous and visionary world college and thought tolerant.
- Tweets which emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue: like martyrs Amr, Christie and the soldier, their lives will not be in vain and again on the unjust spin circles.

Hamdeen Sabahi @ HamdeenSabahy

- Number of tweets: Through the study period, Hamdeen Sabahi tweeted 9 times. All of them were written in Arabic. Only 2 links were attached.

- The frames: Three major frames covered the 9 tweets, first attribution of responsibility (5 tweets) then ‘human interest’ (3 tweets), Moral (1 tweet).

Attribution of responsibility

- Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem: like the safety of the Egyptians should be from the government's priorities on the trains.
- Which suggest solution(s) to the problem: Initiative Nour Party
- Which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue: People are the leader and teacher of the revolution.
- Which suggest the problem requires urgent action: Stop the bloodshed, respect the will of the people and provide political solutions.

Human interest

- Tweets which provided a human example or “human face” on

the issue like Prophet Mohammad as an example for honesty, and trustworthy.

- Tweets which emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue: like martyrs in the Suez Canal cities valiant Port Said, Suez and Ismailia, Respect the sanctity of death and Stop the bloodshed in Port Said.

Morality frame

- Tweets which contain moral message, the revolution should continue Peacefully and this is a moral obligation and patriotic

Abd El Monem Abo El ftoth @DrAbolfotoh

▪ Number of tweets: Through the study period, Abd El Monem Abo El ftoth tweeted 5 times. All of them were written in Arabic. Not a single link was attached. One hashtges was written.

▪ The frames: Three major frames covered the 5 tweets, first attribution of responsibility (4 tweets) then 'human interest' (1 tweets).

Attribution of responsibility

- Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem: like "neglecting the management of public utilities, leads to sequential killing of Egyptians", the role of our national army.
- Which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue: People are the leader and teacher of the revolution.
- Which suggest the problem requires urgent action: Stop the bloodshed, respect the will of the people and provide political solutions, ongoing revolution in order to complete their objectives.

Human interest

- Tweets which provided a human example or "human face" on the issue like Prophet Mohammad as an example for honesty, and trustworthy.

Amr Mousa @amremoussa: Through the study period, Amr Mousa tweeted 25 times, some were just links referring to his facebook account, like "to read the summary of meetings with Alistair Burt and John McCain" such tweets were excluded. All of them were written in Arabic. Hashtges were mentioned in two tweets. (#UK #Egypt #USA)

▪ The frames: Three major frames covered the 22 tweets, first attribution of responsibility (16 tweets) then 'human interest' (6 tweets).

Attribution of responsibility

- Tweets which suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem: I call on the government to protect the demonstrators and their rights.
- Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem: We do not want bloodshed, we do not want destruction, to those in a position of authority, we do not see any real steps to reform, Rail system must be changed completely. Ministers role in railway sector.
- Tweets which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible: Youth of revolution, Azhar, political gathering, the light Party, everyone role, Mootamer Party youth, democracy is the solution, everyone's responsibility.

- Tweets which suggest the problem requires urgent action: Solution again for collapsed homes.

Human interest

- Tweets emphasize how individuals and groups are affected: death of Amr Saad Mohammed Christie, Mohammed al-Jundi, condolences to the families and relatives of the victims.
- Tweets which provided a human example or "human face" on the issue like Prophet Mohammad as an example for honesty, and trustworthy.

Second group

Islamist leaders: Essam Sultan used twitter in the study period as a platform for his own articles, he just wrote the link on his facebook account. Essam AlErian tweets concentrated on religious topics. Where we could find many religious expressions like Faith (14 times) and peace (12 times), while Nader Bakkar concentrated on the role of Al Nour pary (13 times), It was clear from the analysis that Saad Elkatatny is against violent.

▪ The covered "topics and issues"

▪ The tweets of the Islamist leaders covered "9" topics.

1. **Religious:** Like quotes from the holy Quran, quotes from the sayings of leaders like "ebn el gozy", the word God was used many times like: God forbid, say, God's mercy, prayers of God, Faith in God, also Good examples like Hassan al-Banna in his memory were mentioned, and the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of Prophet Mohamed.
2. **Revolution:** Accidents accusing members of the police, peaceful demonstrations anniversary, democracy and peaceful transfer of power, respecting the will of the people, constitutional democracy modern source of inspiration for many people the Arab and Islamic world.
 - a. Burning provincial buildings and the headquarters of parties is not related to the revolution, where are the peaceful demonstrations that opposition pledged to abide by them?, the families of the martyrs, Port Said, Suez Canal and other cities.
3. **Brotherhood:** As official Media Speaker recorded word for Brotherhood, the need for the presence of Muslim Brotherhood leaders and symbols of the field, Jan 25 was the beginning of the interaction with the Brotherhood change their determination, Brotherhood is rejecting any threat and terrorism.
4. **Elections:** Shura Council elections; Election atmosphere began to darken the political landscape. Each party seeks to achieve the largest proportion of parliamentary seats. Like: Elections law and Nour Party, Deputies in the Parliament.
5. **Sport:** Back Football League demonstrates the will of the Egyptian for the return to normal life.
6. **The president and government:** Presidential Palace (federal) crime, Must open an immediate investigation with the soldiers aggressors on the citizen of El Ethadia Palace.
7. **People:** The massacre of Port Said on the hearts of all Egyptians, they will not a responsibility never events, consolation of martyr in the train disaster
8. **Infrastructure:** Trains of death El Badrasheen, railways, management plans.

4. Morality frame

Tweets make reference to morality, God and the Holy Quran, Quotes related to adhere bloodshed, and good examples Omar bin al-Khattab Saad bin Abi Waqas

Saad Elkatatny@Saad_Elkatatny

- Number of tweets:

Through the study period, Saad Elkatatny tweeted 13 times. 10 of them were linking to his facebook account. All of them were written in English. No hashtag was found.

Human interest

- Tweets which provided a human example or “human face” on the issue like Prophet Mohammad as a good example for us nowadays.
- Tweets which emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue: like revolution and train martyrs.

Attribution of responsibility

- Which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue: who ever called for violence and chaos is responsible for this pure blood. We call on all politicians not to give political cover or justification for violence. We refuse violence.
- Will not meet Larjani or responsible for these rumor.

Third group

Political activist: Wael Goneem used twitter in the study period as a platform for his activities linking it to facebook account or YouTube. Amr Hamzawy tweets concentrated on the words “president and government” (15 times) and “violence” (13 times) while Alaa Al Aswany repeated the word “Morsi” about 28 times, “Brotherhood or his group” 28 times. Finally Gamela Ismaiel concentrated on “the demonstrators and the Martyrs”

- The covered “topics and issues”
- The tweets of the Islamist leaders covered “6” topics.

- 1. The president and government:** Presidential silence, crime of torture a citizen is the responsibility of the President of the Republic and his interior minister, government is responsible to stop bloodshed, accountability of every one in authority, demand change in the Constitution, Government of National Salvation, President responsible for the blood, the President does not recognize mistakes and does not assume responsibility for the bloodshed and chaos, Dismissing Qandil’s government. Morsi Lying disturbs people’s mind, People Hate Morsi.
- 2. Revolution:** Peaceful marches, defend the sanctity of blood and public and private enterprises, demonstrators are with the document Azhar balanced to renounce violence, Dialogue about the country, accusing black block, Martyrs of Ithadia, attacking women in Tahrir Square.
- 3. Brotherhood:** Brotherhood tries to load responsibility for violence refute opponents violence and excessive security crimes. The Scene of Al Itihadia citizen, will remain a disgrace chasing Brotherhood forever, indicate that their conscience does not move except by “Al Morshed”. Are Brotherhood alone are delivered Mohamed Morsi to the chair?! Brotherhood and

their followers have become hated by the Egyptian people. Whoever accepts dialogue with Morsi before canceling the Brotherhood Constitution is a traitor to the revolution. If we do not know from where the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafists spend for election then it is Illegal elections.

- 4. Religious:** The anniversary of Prophet Mohammed.
- 5. Eegyptians:** Eegyptians were disappointed from morsi, Morsi Kills the Eegyptians, Eegyptians were not unbelievers before they were ruled by the Muslim Brotherhood.
- 6. Elections:** Boycott the elections, Where is transparency as the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafis spend millions on election with no source,

- The tone

Negative tones covered almost all of the tweets, rare positive tweets were found in Amr hamzawy speech.

Negative tones covered the following topics: presidential silence, the sanctity of blood and human dignity, violent crime against demonstrators, government is responsible to stop bloodshed, the President does not recognize mistakes, Dismissing Qandil’s government. Disappointment, Morsi failure, Boycotting the election, belong for the past, hide that they are hated from people, where is the transparency, Traitor to the revolution, attacking women, gas against demonstrators. Tyranny, Cruelty, Kidnapping, Massacre, Systematic attack, Live bullets, Police state Positive tones Azhar document to renounce violence emphasizes the sanctity of blood.

- The use of expressions

Expressions related to democracy were used like: Silence presidency, Security violence, Sanctity of blood, Safeguarding human dignity, The collapse of the political process, Dialogue, Protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens, Accounting officials Protest movements, National salvation government, Constitution, Crisis management, Repressive measures, Policy miserable, Serious guarantees for dialogue, Strong political, Economic crisis, Popular anger, Angry street, Activists, Freedom of Information, Elections, Candidate, Martyrs, Reordering, Traitor to the revolution, Transparency, Legitimacy of the election, Right for opposition, black block.

- The actors
 - From the government: Role of Government, Government plans, Economy, Presidency, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of interior, Morsi failure,
 - From the Politicians: politicians, Brotherhood and Al Morshed, former parliamentarians and activists, salvation front.
 - **From the public:** demonstrators, citizen of Al Etihadia, Port Said people, Martyrs, Mohamed Al Gendy, black block girls.
 - Other actors: civil society, Human rights organizations, Early Muslims are good example.

Wael Ghonim @Ghonim

- Number of tweets:

Through the study period, Wael Ghonim tweeted 11 times all of them didn’t complete an understandable sentence. As they were linking to his facebook account or YouTube. As the tweets were not complete sentence, all of his tweets were excluded from analysis.

Amr Hamzawy @HamzawyAmr

- Number of tweets:

Through the study period, Amr Hamzawy tweeted 53 times, some of them didn't complete an understandable sentence. He also used twitter account as a platform for his own articles in "Al Wattan newspaper".

- The frames:

The major frame was attribution of responsibility, followed by other frames.

Attribution of responsibility

- Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem: like President has responsibility for the bloodshed, the president and his government are irresponsible, Ruler does not take the initiative to resolve the current crisis, President does not recognize the mistakes and does not assume responsibility for the bloodshed and chaos, and Ignore the anger of the people.
- Tweets which suggest solution(s) to the problem: economic solutions, civil society sharing, dialogue is not enough as a solution.
- Tweets which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue: Brotherhood tries to load responsibility for violence on opposition, dialogue of national salvation front.
- Tweets which suggest the problem requires urgent action: peaceful marches, accountability of responsible.

Human interest

- Tweets which provided a human example or "human face" on the issue like Prophet Mohammad as an example for honesty.
- Tweets which emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue: like the citizen of Al Ithadiy palace,

Conflict frame

- Tweets reflect disagreement between parties-individuals: No disagreement between Al Azhar document and demonstrations, No need of making dialogue with the Presiden unless he take an action,

Economic frame

- Tweets mention financial gains in the future: plan a socio-economic conference, to find solutions to economic crisis and social justice.

Alaa Al-Aswany @alaaaswany

- Number of tweets: Through the study period, Alaa Al-Aswany tweeted 94 times, 43 of them were repeated. He used twitter as a platform to advertise his own activities (like appearance in a TV show, or attending a Symposium, or an article in a newspaper). Some of the tweets didn't complete an understandable sentence.
- The frames: The major frame was attribution of responsibility, followed by conflict frame then other frames.

Attribution of responsibility

- Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is

responsible for the problem: like President is responsible for the blood and Martyr, killing Egyptians in the funeral of Port Said, Mursi failure, disappointment in Morsi.

- Which suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue: brotherhood are responsible for the blood, Brotherhood re-arranging Egypt.

Conflict frame

- Tweets reflect disagreement between parties-individuals: Boycotting elections,
- Tweets show one party-individual-group reproach another: blaming brotherhood, and Morsi. Why he kills Egyptians, whoever accepts the dialogue is a traitor.
- Tweets refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the issue/problem: Contradiction between his Islam and Brotherhood Islam. Egyptians were not unbelievers before they were ruled by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Human interest

- Tweets which emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue: like martyrs, the citizen in El Ithadia palce, the accident of Assuit train.

Morality frame

- Tweets contained moral message: Mursi proved that true Islam is different from what he is doing. After the fall of all these martyrs, still Mursi keeps his Ablutions? Will his prayer be acceptable from God after this blood? A question for Jurists.
- Tweets make reference to morality, if the early Muslims criticized the actions of Abu Bakr and Omar that remains us we have the right to oppose Morsi.

Gameela Ismail@GameelaIsmail

Number of tweets: Through the study period, Gameela Ismail tweeted 41 times. Only three were written in English. Emoticons were appeared here for the first time like :) a smiling face, Hashtges also appeared like (#رأيت سيري ك# #مستم قروث#) (يسر م اي نين س ل ا).

She was the only one who used quotes like quotes from Ghandy. Her language was the closest for the street, she tweeted to meet at a certain place to for doctors help in a specific place. Some issues related to woman appeared her like "women harassments".

- The frames: The major frame was **Human interest then the responsibility**.

Human interest

- Tweets which emphasized how individuals and groups are affected by the issue: like the citizen before Al Ithadiy palace, Mohammed al-Jundi was not a black block he was tormented and now dying at the hospital, his mother is kissing his legs.
- Tweets which employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion: electrification of youth in tongues and tortured to death, there were 22 attacks on women in Al Tahrir Square.

Toughest thing, you live blamed, in your thoughts and your positions even from the closest. Even you have no funeral, may god have mercy upon you Cresty.

Mocking from Hamada because of his job, should know that he can be purest from a University Professor. I hope Hamada Saber has no children so they don't see him like that. Breaking men is harsh. And the last tweet of one of Ithadia martyrs was boycotting the elections.

Responsibility

Tweets which suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the problem: like Mr. Attorney General Talat Abdullah what happened to the notifications against the massacre of Ithadia palace.

Morality frame

Tweets make reference to morality, "The moment there is suspicion about a person's motives, everything he does becomes tainted." - Mahatma Gandhi.

Conclusion

➤ Dominant Frames

The study found that the attribution of responsibility and human interest frame were the most commonly used by the opinion leaders, followed by the morality frame then conflict frame and finally economic consequences. Attribution of responsibility and Human interest were most visible in the first group, former presidential candidates. Morality frame, Attribution of responsibility and Human interest were most visible in the second group, Islamist leaders. Finally, Attribution of responsibility and Human interest and conflict frame were most visible in the third group, political activists. Economic consequences frame was less visible compared to other frames. So we can conclude the whole analysis as: Responsibility frames are more often utilized by Former presidential candidates and Political activist while Moral frames are more often utilized by Former Islamist leaders.

Dominant expressions and topics:

1. Former presidential candidates: El Baradie concentrated on "the regime: the president and the government", Hamdin concentrated on "the public". While Abo el fotoh was interested on "the ongoing revolution" Amr mousa on "democracy" and some sub-issues like "trains, collapsed homes"

2. Islamist leaders: Essam AlErian tweets concentrated on religious topics. Where we could find many religious expressions like Faith (14 times) and peace (12 times), while Nader Bakkar concentrated on the role of Al Nour party (13 times). It was clear from the analysis that Saad Elkatatny is against violent.

3. Political activist: Amr Hamzawy tweets concentrated on the words "president and government" (15 times) and "violence" (13 times) while Alaa Al Aswany repeated the word "Morsi" about 28 times, "Brotherhood or his group" 28 times. Finally Gamela Ismaiel concentrated on "the demonstrators and the Martyrs"

➤ Tweets content

Some opinion leaders used their accounts as a platform to promote their **activities**. As they announced about an article they wrote or a TV show they were invited to. This was clear in the second group (Islamic leader) especially Nader Bakar and the third group (political activists) especially Amr hamzawy and Alaa Al Aswany. The concept of tweeter (140 characters) was best used by the former presidential candidate El Baradei and the political activists, Amr Hamzawy. Some opinion leaders counted mainly on their **facebook** profiles which allows more than 14 characters of course to link what they said on

to twitter, this was only used on the group of Islamist leaders.(@naderbakkar, @Saad_Elkatatny and @EssamAlErian). The content of messages were expressing opinions about different issues, only (Gameela Ismail) were tweeting to the real street when asking about a doctor or gathering together in a certain place. Almost all of them used Arabic to tweet except (ElBaradei) 3 tweets and gamila Ismael 3 tweets till 1-2 and Nader bakaa 1 tweet. Also Emotions like smiling face were used slightly especially by (Gameela Ismail). Hashtags were not obvious in the majority of tweets of all three groups. Only two opinion leaders from the political activists group (Gameela Ismail) used the hashtag. One opinion leaders from the former presidential candidates group (Dr Abolfotoh) The content of top hashtags reveals words like #egypt #morsi #Tahrir #jan25 #egyrev2013 and some Arabic words like "مسحول_الاتحادية#بلاك_بلوك"

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