NEW MEDIA AND THE SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICTS

BY

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NOVEMBER, 2014
DECLARATION

This is to certify that this research project is my own original work and is in no way a reproduction of any other work that has been previously presented for award of a degree in any University.

K50/83814/2013......................SIGNATURE..................DATE................

MBENDWA DAVID LOMURIA

This research has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

SIGNATURE..................... DATE............................

DR. HEZRON MOGAMBI
DEDICATION

To my late mother, Ms. Youn-Sim Lim, who put in me the desire to enroll for postgraduate studies. She was my greatest inspiration as I embarked on my studies and her wisdom and words of advice were the pillars of my success. I will always cherish her memories.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the almighty God for the gift of life and above all for his abundance blessing. His grace has been sufficient to me.

My sincere appreciation goes to Dr. Hezron Mogambi of the University of Nairobi’s School of Journalism and Mass Communication. As my supervisor, he provided very valuable insights that simplified the challenging aspects of research work and all the time proved very helpful as I was undertaking and writing this research proposal.

My gratitude and appreciation also goes to my lecturers who not only provided the much required knowledge during class sessions but also added value to that knowledge.

Thank you and May God bless you all.
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communication Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Social Media</td>
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<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>New Media</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Personal Computer</td>
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<td>SM</td>
<td>Social Networks</td>
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<td>SNS</td>
<td>Social Networking Sites</td>
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<td>TV</td>
<td>Television</td>
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<td>UNMISS</td>
<td>United Nation Mission in South Sudan</td>
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ABSTRACT

This study is intended to cover aspects of new media and assess its influence in promoting and discouraging conflict. The study covers the new media i.e. Twitter and Facebook and how their use impact on the behaviors of the audiences as to encourage or discourage conflict.

The objective of the study was to establish if the new media had influence in the conflict in South Sudan. Since the conflict is thought to have come about as a result of power struggles and ethnicity, the expressions on the new media plays a role in personal communications, hence the need to find out the role of the new media on the escalation and de-escalation of the conflict. South Sudan is country that gained its independence from Sudan after 21 years of civil war. Following a comprehensive peace agreement signed in Naivasha, Kenya, the parties involved agreed to hold a referendum on whether South Sudan should secede from the larger Sudan.

The study adopts content analysis as a method of examining the past as well as the present media coverage of the South Sudan conflict. The content of new media tools is also examined and given emphasis so that the frames of such media can be better understood in the context of this study. The final results are presented in figures, tables, and diagrams as this facilitate interpretation, understanding, reading and discussion.

The findings shows that the new media content indeed helped in influencing the escalation of the conflict in South Sudan. The findings guides the researcher in making recommendations on what can be done to improve the use of new media in controlling the conflicts from escalation. The researcher also recommend further study from the outcome of the results.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview of the Study
The New Media has become a critical source of news and information in the lives of individuals and organizations in the contemporary world. New Media can generally be described as a means of communicating in the digital world, which includes publishing on CDs, DVDs and, most significantly, over the Internet. But importantly, New Media implies that the user obtains the material via desktop and laptop computers, smartphones and tablets (Rodney, 2005).

Straubhaar&LaRose (2004) define the New Media as the concept that new methods of communicating in the digital world allowing smaller groups of people to congregate online and share, sell and swap goods and information. It also allows more people to have a voice in their community and in the world in general. Various New Media tools like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, MySpace and WhatsApp are utilized in both interpersonal communication and organization communication.

1.1 Background to the Study
As conflict broke out across South Sudan, thousands of civilians ran for safety to United Nation bases. Events took place very fast as people were scattered to safety. Many South Sudanese with Internet enabled mobile phones took to the New Media, majorly Facebook
and Twitter reporting on the happening around them, which was fast picked by both the local and international media.

The New Media provided many people displaced by the conflict in South Sudan with access to people around the world and, consequently, with endless opportunities to exchange and debate on the events and processes both inside and outside political entities (Rodney, 2005). Twitter and Facebook became the primary source of information on the happening in South Sudan for non-state actors including regional bodies, non-governmental organizations, international agencies, political alliances, multinational firms, global news networks, and even individuals. Facebook and Twitter provided people across the world with access to news from random sources, up-to-the-minute information on events and processes, and different points of view in South Sudan. It also allowed unprecedented interactivity, from simple talk back to blogs and placement of text, picture, and video on Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook.

Moreover, cell phones allowed people to send and receive alerts, information, and produce photographs and videos. The combination of advanced cell phones and social networking inspired the emergence of citizen journalists who reported events from displaced camps in UN compounds and towns being captured and recaptured by the government and rebel forces. The New Media is an important source of information because it penetrates national boundaries of even the most closed and authoritarian societies.
1.2 New Media in South Sudan

With over 80 percent of South Sudan’s literate population having cell phones and anecdotal evidence showing that texting is their modus operandi of communication, it can be argued that most of the internally displaced people augmented social networks sites (SNS) interaction, exchanging messages on internet enabled phones. New Media technologies have however remained under-researched in academia. According to Straubhaar & LaRose (2004) many studies into New Media have concentrated on connectivity, relation building, and privacy considerations but have not given pre-eminence to the exercise of using the tools in reporting.

While studies on new media have invoked privacy and self-image implications of postings, it does little to illuminate understanding of the impact of these sites on providing an alternative platform for expression. Facebook and Twitter to be specific provided a sure and only means for internally displaced people across South Sudan to send out key information and connect with families at the wake of violence in the world’s youngest republic. The latest report from the United Nations mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) indicates that at the height of violence, at least 75,000 people took refuge in UN camps. This number increased to excess of 250,000 by June 2014. Families and friends relied mostly on the New Media to connect with families, report their locations as well pass information on the actual situation on ground.
1.3 Statement of the Problem

Even before the break of violence in South Sudan, the government largely censored the media in South Sudan. But this was scaled up during the violence as both sides of the conflict tried to reach out to the world to present their positions. Weeks into the conflict, the government came out strongly to censor what the various media in South Sudan was reporting and warned journalists of dire consequences, should they pass alarming news to the public. Several local journalists were arrested and a couple of international media banned or their reporters deported. The New Media thus provided the only possible means for sharing and discussing news and information that would otherwise not be reported on the tradition media i.e. Television, Radio and Newspaper.

Any analysis of media roles in conflict reporting must address both the traditional media (newspapers, television, and radio) and the New Media like Facebook and Twitter. Evolutions in communication technologies have created global news networks and various online social networks. According to Kolodzy (2006) Global news networks can broadcast live from almost any location in the world. Commentators and scholars invented the term —CNN effect to describe how dominant global television coverage has become world affairs, especially in acute international conflicts. The term ‘CNN effect’ implies that television coverage forces policy makers to take actions they otherwise would not have taken. Thus, the media determines the national interest (it can affect, bring attention to issues or bring new perspectives but if government institutions which are key decision makers do not have a shame factor, the media cannot determine national interest) and policy making from elected and appointed officials.
All forms of media play a critical role of providing information that is necessary for critical decision making by members of public. With the absence of rigorous mainstream media in South Sudan, new media created new spaces and centers of power that are not governed or restrained by the geographical boundaries which sovereign states have dominion over.

1.4 Objectives of the research

1.4.1 Main objective

The main objective of this study is to assess the extent to which Facebook and Twitter was used during the violence in South Sudan to send out news and information to a local and international audience.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the research are:

(i) To establish the effectiveness of New Media tools in sending and receiving of news and information in environments where government structures and institutions that oversee freedom of press and expression are not working.

(ii) To measure the extent to which the new media provided an alternative space for expression in South Sudan.

(iii) To analyze the extent to which Facebook and Twitter were used by either side of the conflict and the affected parties in South Sudan to communicate with their following.
1.5 Research Questions

Acknowledging New Media as a discursive practice through which knowledge construction is obtained and power relations unfold, we pose the following research questions.

This research will be guided by the following research questions:-

(i) To what extent does the New Media provide an alternative space for expression in South Sudan?

(ii) What were the differences in the content of the New Media reporting compared to the mainstream media at the height of conflict in South Sudan?

(iii) To measure the effect of media content pushed out via Twitter and Facebook in South Sudan.

1.6 Justification for the study

Facebook and Twitter have continued to be important to the lives of individuals across the world today and its ever increasingly power cannot be underestimated. Facebook and Twitter belong to the big family of the Social Network sites that have changed how information and news are collected and reported to the public thus providing alternative option for news (Feenberg, 2002).

The prominence of Social Media over the traditional media (TV, Radio and Newspaper) in recent times has provided an alternative platform that has made it very important for media scholar and practitioners to address it as an emerging concern on the ways of accessing new and information. Feenberg, A. (2002) Although, internet connectivity is
still a major hindrance to free access to the websites that post online news, social media has become an important platform for organization and individual to push out news to a variety of audience online.

The Social Media has spurred the emergency of citizen journalism where random individual get a sure access to a wide available audience on the social networks in virtual communities they create.

This study will bring to the fore the importance of Facebook and Twitter as an alternative space for access and sending of information with key focus on its role in conflict areas in providing space expression, championing for a cause, sending alerts, connecting families and mobilizing for humanitarian response.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the study
Successful utilization of soft power in violence depends to a large extent on global communication options available to the parties involved. Despite the critical significance of the roles played by the new media in enabling citizens report conflicts and mobilize for emergency response, this area of study has been relatively neglected by both scholars and practitioners (Rodney, 2005). Very few studies deal with the actual or potential new media contributions to conflict reporting and resolution. Indeed, the new media, particularly Facebook and Twitter were instrumental in sending and updating alerts as well as fomenting conflict and violence in South Sudan.
Media scholars and practitioners have noticed how the New Media tools exacerbate conflict and have concluded that the New Media roles can be reversed and converted into positive contributions to timely conflict reporting and emergency response. This reversal, however, is difficult to achieve. It is always easier to foment conflict than resolve it, and the role of any form of media in conflict resolution is more complicated than the roles of those dominating the violence (Reinhard, 2006).
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction
This chapter will discuss ‘Media Convergence’ and ‘Social Media’, areas which are relevant and provide a basis for the development of the topic under study i.e. the new media. In keeping with the objectives of this research, this chapter will review literature that relates to this study with a focus on new media techniques and development in the digital age.

2.1 Media Convergence and Social Media
The terms new media and old media have been associated with different meanings depending on level of predisposed technological knowledge. The change brought about by the development of new media is the shift from one-way mass communication between the medium and the user (Livingstone & Bovill, 1999). Today, interactivity has now focused the attention on the relationship between the user and the medium. Interactivity incorporates several dimensions, which characterize the changing models of involvement in media. With old media, standardized content was beamed out to a mass audience and relatively small opportunities for choice were available.

According Livingstone & Bovill (1999), the only options that mass audiences had were limited choice and had no control over content. With the introduction of new media, it is now possible to choose and control media content. New Media platform such as the
social media have also created a shift from how the media access information and news. The news audiences and the consumers are no longer passive. They are actively involved in the news production process.

The Personal Computer (PC) and its associated innovations (new media) is the new market screen that will remain central to the changing media environment. This electronic screen is the focus of the convergence of broadcasting, telecommunications and computing. Screen media include familiar and new technological developments in International Communication and Technology (ICTs), which have contributed to a radical shift towards convergent forms.

The notion of timeliness of news has been completely redefined with the advent of Information Communication and Technology (ICTs). Development in technology has allowed news organizations to transmit information almost instantly. Audiences have thus been conditioned to expect immediate coverage of any breaking event (Craig, 2005).

In past years, publishing major international news stories within a few days of their occurrence were considered timely but that is not the case anymore. When the dependence on traditional media of communication was high, information travelled far more slowly than it does today. The invention and subsequent development of satellite communication brings events and reports of their occurrence to the media audiences without delay (Craig, 2005). Information services such as media, information and telecommunication services have become interconnected.
This facilitated by the emergence of more recent media, PCs and Internet has led to convergence of media forms (Livingstone & Bovill, 1999). According to Kolodzy (2006), convergence in journalism requires changes in how news organizations think about their news coverage, how they produce the news and how they deliver the news. Most convergence in journalism however focuses on collecting and delivering news to a larger audience and sourcing of breaking news from eyewitnesses.

2.3 Evolution of the New Media
Successive evolutions in communication technologies have significantly altered the conduct of conflict, warfare, and conflict resolution. Compared to people of earlier ages, people around the world today know much sooner about major developments in international relations. Global news networks that broadcast live from all corners of the world and via the New Media provide immediate access to unfolding events and, under certain conditions, could influence the way those events develop and end. Evolutions of the New Media in communication technologies have changed the meaning of power in international relations, the number and nature of actors participating in international political processes, and the strategies these actors employ to achieve their goals.

Rodney (2005), governments have lost much of their monopoly on information and non-state actors and individuals have become much more active and significant participants in world affairs both in warfare and conflict resolution. State and non-state actors are increasingly employing new media technologies, which integrate soft and hard power, and public diplomacy, which could translate soft power assets into concrete actions.
2.4 Theoretical Framework

To unravel how the New Media interaction potentially entrenches/disrupts power and its implications on mobile and displaced communities, the study will employ Critical Theory of Technology (CTT) as a theoretical lens. To advance CTT, Feenberg (1999) first critiques three other views of technology. The first is an instrumental view of technology that projects technology as a value-free artifact that humans deploy to fulfill their predetermined goals (human controlled). This view conceives “technology [as] merely as an instrument of progress and it appears as value-free; in other words it is deemed ‘neutral’” (Vandeleur, 2010, p. 21). Heidegger (1977) warns that a neutral and instrumental perspective on technology triggers the ‘enframing’ of humans by technology as it (technology) is a form of technical and social control.

Although Feenberg (1999) embraces the substantive view of technology that recognizes technologies as embodying real, substantive values, he critiques it as essentialist to the extent that it conceives technologies as inevitably oriented towards values of efficiency and control (Gratham, 2009). In the same vein, constructing Facebook this way precludes the questioning of the hidden assumptions and values about power, social struggle, and critical engagement that underlie its (Facebook) design. Working from this logic, Feenberg (1999, 2003) then projects the value of CTT.

CTT conceives of technology as human controlled and value laden (Feenberg, 2003). Human controlled implies that humans can appropriate technology to advance certain purposes (for example, the exercise of power and influence, social networking, or
informal learning) and to activate new, unanticipated uses of technological applications/tools.

The paucity of research and analysis of the new media’s role in conflict resolution may be attributed to the difficulties inherent in research and the absence of adequate tools, models, and frameworks for analysis. According to Gratham (2009), there are serious gaps between theoreticians and practitioners in the fields of new media use in communication and journalism. Gaps also exist between theoreticians and practitioners within each of these groups. One way to reduce these gaps is to construct a multidisciplinary framework for analysis and practice. This study attempts to offer such a framework.

This study will be based on a unique multidisciplinary integration of normative and empirical theories and approaches from several fields: international relations, conflict studies, communication, and journalism. While the field of international relations places contemporary conflict in a proper historical and theoretical context, the discipline of conflict studies provides concepts and analysis of information related to the nature and process of conflict resolution and reconciliation (Gratham, 2009). Communication studies give meaning to the evolutions in communication technologies and media functions. Finally, the field of journalism provides insight into the roles of online journalists in society and conflict resolution.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
Methodology according to Wimmer and Dominick (2011) is study of methods and the underpinning philosophical assumptions of the research process itself. Methodology deals with the question of why a researcher does research in a certain way and it is a guide to how the research should proceed.

This chapter will focus on the research methodology used in this study. The chapter will explain the philosophical paradigm of the study and will also cover the research approach and the research method to be used in the study.

The chapter will further discuss population and sampling, data collection tools and highlight on the data analysis and presentation methods to be used and finally analyze reliability and validity of data and the ethical considerations that had to be taken into account before beginning the research.

3.1 Philosophical Paradigm of the Study
A research paradigm is an accepted set of theories, procedures and assumptions about how researchers look at the world. Paradigms are based on axioms or statements that are universally accepted as true Wimmer & Dominick (2011). This research will apply relativist ontology and an interpretivist epistemology.
According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), the interpretive paradigm is an ontological and epistemological foundation for qualitative research where realities are socially constructed between human beings in their expressive and interpretive practices.

The experience of readers would be different depending on the version of newspaper that they subscribe to. Whereas the printed newspaper reader will have to find a vendor to make his purchase, the online reader has to access the internet for him to get his edition of newspaper from the website. At the end, both will have different experiences that sets them apart and makes them to continue accessing their newspaper the same way or change to the alternative option altogether.

According to Baxter, human action is purposive; it is action intended to accomplish some purpose and that humans are accountable for their actions to others in their shared social world and they make sense to themselves and to others on the basis of their capacity to render their actions intelligible (Baxter, 2003). New Media users purposely go out to seek their favorite New Media tool and they have their justifications as to why they stick to chosen social media site.

According to Frey, L. et al. (2003), interpretivist is all about treating each individual uniquely. This research appreciates the fact that human beings are fundamentally different. They have their own tastes and preferences and more so in the field of media, they will choose outlets differently from one another.
3.2 Research Approach

This research will apply the qualitative approach to inquiry where relativity in meaning and alternative interpretations of the choice of media for audiences will be investigated. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), qualitative research covers an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

In this study, the qualitative research method will be best placed for this research in describing and interpreting the data that will be collected based on the comparison between Facebook and Twitter.

3.3 Research Method

Wimmer & Dominick (2011), define a method as a specific technique for gathering information following the assumptions of the chosen methodology. This research will entail a comparative analysis of the social media (Facebook and Twitter) as the main method of study. The researcher will aim at comparing and contrasting the two new media tools with a view of discussing any similarities and differences that may exist between the two tools. This will enable the researcher to answer the question of whether Facebook and Twitter were effectively used to send out news and information.
3.4 Population and Sampling

The term population refers to a group or class of subjects, variables, subjects, concepts or phenomena (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). Populations are usually large and are composed of many elements. According to Baxter (2003), a population is the theoretically specified aggregation of study elements while a study population is the aggregation of elements from which a sample is selected.

Tweets and Facebook posts are produced all the time by various people with accounts. A study of all the tweets and posts would take a lot of time and may not be exhaustive. The researcher will therefore sample a few individuals on select days of the week to avoid affecting measurement quality.

This research will use the purposive sampling techniques, which will involve non-random selection of days of the week in which to carry out a study of the New Media. Purposive sampling involves a researcher selecting a sample on the basis of his/her knowledge of the population; its elements and the nature are the aims of the study (Baxter, 2003). Reinard (2006), refers to purposive sampling as known group sampling and describes it as involving collecting a sample composed of subjects selected deliberately or on purpose by researchers usually because they think certain characteristics are typical or representative of the population.

The Facebook posts and Tweets posted from day to day are independent of each other and depend on the prevailing conditions. The researcher will therefore select a few citizen
Journalists on alternating days of the week starting from Monday for two weeks. This will ensure that in the two-week period the researcher will have covered all the days of the week. In this study, the probability of days of the week to be picked on is known as there are only seven days in a week.

3.5 Data Collection Method
This study will be measuring the content pushed via Twitter and Facebook. The researcher will prepare a code sheet that will assist in determining the length, views, frequency and reactions.

3.6 Credibility and Dependability of Data
In this study, the researcher seeks to understand if there exist differences in the content, display and prominence of news stories of printed newspapers to the online versions. These are findings that New Media users can identify with as both versions of newspapers are within their disposal. The researcher will ensure that his conclusions are a result of the study itself rather than his own biases.

3.7 Ethical Considerations in the Research
This proposal was presented for award of a degree at the University of Nairobi. Therefore, there was need to be presented before the panel of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication who approved it before the researcher embarked on the actual research. It was necessary that the department was aware of exactly what the researcher has set out to investigate before the actual data collection began.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This chapter focuses on the presentation and interpretation of the findings from this research. The discussion of the findings was done with a view of meeting the objectives of this study whose main aim was to establish the extent to which the social media in South Sudan was used to escalate and de-escalate violence. The data which was collected by way of studying the two social media tools i.e. Facebook and Twitter was presented under five broad parameters: content, language, impact, reach and framing. These parameters also formed the highlights of the objectives of this study.

4.1 Analysis

This chapter presents and discusses selected findings regarding the units of my analysis identified within selected social media tools, which together form the main data basis for this part of my study. I started by examining how often Tweets and Facebook posts were pushed out during the South Sudan war i.e. the regularity of these messages and the total number of messages that appeared. I reviewed a total of 360 messages, 180 on Facebook and 180 on the Twitter. Using the hashtag (#) South Sudan violence on Twitter and Facebook, I found a total of 68 messages that seemingly supported peace or advocated for war.
In examining the distribution of the messages pushed out during this 6-month period, I found varying degrees of messages during the period under review, and the month of June had the most number of messages, totaling 31 messages followed by July and September with 15 and 14 messages respectively. May had the lowest number of messages with only 1, followed by August with 3 messages and April with 4 messages.
4.1.1 Keywords used

To establish which messages fall under South Sudan violence related categories, I identified keywords that were found within the 140 character limits in Tweet and Facebook posts. These were Rebel forces, South Sudan Conflict, UPDF troops, killed our people and attacked our people. Of the five keywords, the term UPDF troops appeared the most times on the new media. On Facebook, it appeared 26.8% of the time and 35.8% on Twitter. The second most used keyword was “attacked our people” which appeared 22.3% on the new media. Rebel forces was used across the new media at 21.3% of the time, killed our people took 13.8% of the time. The frequent use of the term UPDF troops attacked our people and Rebel forces account of messages leads and points to messages that is predominantly based on individual witnesses of events as opposed to more in-depth analysis of fighting on the warfront.
### Table 4.2 Social Media tools - Key Word

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<td>Conflict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPDF troops</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Killed our people</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Attacked our people</td>
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<td>31.9%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Keywords used on Twitter’s tweets and Facebook posts.

### 4.1.2 Dominant Topic

In executing this research, I identified 7 topics related to the violence in South Sudan and examined their occurrence in the messages pushed out the tool social media tools under examination. The topic addressed most on average, fight the rebel, with 32.4% of messages in both Social Media tools. Twitter however had 58.3% messages focusing on
this topic, while the Facebook had 41.6%. The second dominant topic was governed forces successes covered by 20.3% of the total messages, 80% on Twitter and 20% on Facebook. Effect of the war came in third with 13.5%, with an equal amount of publicity on the two Social Media tools.

4.1.3 Focus Level

To understand the Focus on every message, I used three different levels to measure the importance accorded to the messages on the social media tools. Individual social media users have decided where, when and how to post their messages. Each messages on social media however received different reaction i.e. a messages that attract a lot of likes, Comments and shares on Facebook or Retweets, favorite hits are considered of higher importance than the one that with no comment or like or share at all.

The three focus levels used are: high, medium and low focus. For the purposes of this study, High focus messages are those messages that are accorded the highest importance. These are messages that meet one or more of these criteria. Medium focus messages are accorded high importance, but not as high as in the category of high focus. Medium focus messages meet one or more of these criteria (1) high number of likes/ favorites hits; (2) have high number of comments/ replies; (3) maximized 140 characters on Twitter or at least three lines on Facebook (4) had a image related to the topic of discussion attached to it.
Low Focus messages are given the least importance. These are messages that mentioned something related to the violence but received no comments/ replies; likes or favorite hits, shares or retweets.

**Figure 4.1 Focus Levels**

![Bar chart showing focus levels]

**KEY**
- BLUE: Twitter
- RED: Facebook

Overall, the messages that appeared in the two social media tools during the half-year period were mostly high focus, which accounts for 64.7% meaning the messages that promoted violence received a very big publicity. The Messages on Twitter had high publicity with 63.6% of the messages falling under high focus compared to Facebook, which stood at 36.3%.
The medium and low focus messages were closely matched at 16.2% and 19.1%. Looking at individual social media tools, Twitter had a higher proportion of medium and low focus stories at 72.7% and 69.2% respectively while Facebook had 27.2% and 30.8% for the same.

Table 4.3 Social Media tool - Focus Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool</th>
<th>Focus Level</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Med</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within tool</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within tool</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within tool</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Level of Focus on Twitter and Facebook

The presence of many high focus messages shows that social media was key tool used to escalate violence in South Sudan.
**4.1.4 Message Tones**

Tone in this study is used to refer to the style of expression in South Sudan violence related messages. Throughout this research, I examined whether the messages are optimistic, neutral/ambiguous, pessimistic, advocating for peace or abusive. Optimistic tone expresses a sense of hope for a peaceful future and improvement in the state of conflict in South Sudan. A pessimistic tone points to worsening conditions, messages originated from individual who don’t hope for an end to violence or a brighter future. A tone that is advocating for peace overtly calls for alteration in the current state of affairs. A neutral tone does not make connection between the present and future but concentrates on addressing the issues and events at hand as they stand. Generally, most messages had an optimistic tone, 73.5% of all messages. Twitter had the most optimistic messages at 62% and 38% for Facebook. For both tools, 14.7% of the messages were pessimistic, with an equal distribution between the two new media tools. Twitter had 62.5% of the messages neutral, compared to 37.5% on Facebook. None of the two new media sites carried stories advocating for peace.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Optimistic</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Pessimistic</th>
<th>Advocating peace</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within tool</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within tool</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within tools</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Messages Tone on Facebook and Twitter

With high optimistic figures, it is evident that the new media was a support for government forces aggression against the forces lead by the former vice president of South Sudan turned rebel leader Riek Machar but this was countered by pessimistic and cautionary tones that I found to be common in the two new media tools. The high numbers of neutral messages on Facebook suggest that there was a high percentage of messages not supporting violence, although the figures were not as high compared to the optimistic and pessimistic tones.
4.2 Qualitative Analysis

While the quantitative data analysis above provides us with a good general picture on specific dynamics of messages pushed out on the new media focusing on South Sudan violence related issues, the study uses qualitative analysis to gain insights into the messages. To do this, I picked 78 messages from Facebook and Twitter for six months. For four months, I picked all messages that touched on South Sudan violence representing the focus levels high, medium and low. To avoid having identical messages, I looked at the dominant issues for representation and analysis each message. From these messages and in connection with framing techniques applied, I derived themes that the messages addressed and the different dimensions of sentiments presented.

Below, I provide a brief discussion on the themes and provide examples of the messages.

Table 4.5 Qualitative analysis of the new media use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Statistics</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Within messages</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Within messages</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Within messages</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistics on Twitter and Facebook messages
4.2.1 Elaboration

High elaboration of messages anticipated that the audience level of understanding was high. In this view, my research converges with the literature review a ‘media package’ of an issue. I identified (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices. Tankard (2001, p. 101) suggests a list of 11 framing mechanism or focal points for identifying and measuring frames in traditional media as most comprehensive empirical approach offered. In view of new media in digital age, use of sending information and news using such tools as hashtags (#) are utilized.

Both Twitter and Facebook utilized catch phrases referred to as tags to attract and connect audience from diverse location to messages on the new media by interest. #South Sudan Violence was the most popular tag used throughout the six months of my research.

On both Twitter and Facebook messages that were pushed out on the South Sudan violence connected audience using hashtags. These messages were often on government and rebel forces clashes and attacks. This was well illustrated by the keywords used in the messages. The messages pushed out were more focusing on successes of forces from either side of the violence based on the individuals’ ethnic affiliation as opposed to a joint push efforts by individuals calling on all armed forces to ground their arms.

The SPLA forces appeared the most in the coverage indicating that most new media users on Twitter were bent on portraying the government forces fight as a just cause more than rebel forces in South Sudan. Users pushed out messages to form the pictures in the mind
of their audience on new media that the presence of UPDF in South Sudan was important and effective in the success of the war started by Rebel forces. Facebook on the other hand appeared to portray government forces success activity as less important in the South Sudan conflict since most users did not openly express their support for the forces.

New media users who pushed out messages on Twitter and Facebook from inside South Sudan should have given their audience an unbiased perspective of events happening in the country but instead they openly pushed messages in support of the government and the rebel forces, thus choosing side and further escalated violence. Content pushed out on new Media was mostly presented as accounts of what happened with only a few engaging in in-depth conversations, which lead to readers having a narrow or superficial view of what was really happening on the ground.
Table 4.6 New Media- elaboration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Reflective</th>
<th>Criticism</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within</td>
<td></td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within</td>
<td></td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Within</td>
<td></td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Facebook and Twitter messages treatment

4.2.2 Exclusion and selection

In my comparative analysis, I found out that both Twitter and Facebook users overtly employed exclusion and selection as framing concepts. The New Media heavily lay emphasized on ethical differences in their messages excluding the audience not familiar with the South Sudan politics.

Facebook and Twitter users in their discussion deliberately ignored other factors like economy and suppressed democracy, that might have been the cause of the conflict. They
instead attacked each other and disregarded the need to listen and exchange messages that would champion for a peace.

By strategically selecting and excluding information sent on social media, both Facebook and Twitter users succeeded in maintaining their audience attention on issues they deemed important to themselves and not South Sudan.
5.0 Overview

This chapter summarizes and gives conclusions and recommendations that were drawn from the study. The chapter assesses the findings of the study in relation to the objectives that were set out at the beginning of the research.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study focused on five parameters: content, language, reach and impact in relation to social media and how it was used to escalate or de-escalate the South Sudan conflicts. These were the major highlights of the objectives of this study. Under content of the new media tools under investigation, Twitter and Facebook, the researcher discussed on key words used, tone of messages posted or send out, framing techniques used. The study found out that Social Media indeed played a role in escalating the violence. What begun as fight between soldiers in the elite presidential guard unit in the capital Juba, grew into a war that caused deaths of thousands and displaced at least one and half of a million across South Sudan.

From the study, I could conclusive say that Social Media poses a threat to the public in as much as it leads to an increase in real-world violence and aggression. My research showed that virtual violence contributed to both a short-term and a long-term increase in aggression and violence in South Sudan. Facebook and Twitter alerts on violence in
South Sudan contributed to an increase in violence, principally in the form of heated debates, discussion and exchanges, which increased the acts of aggression.

Video and photographs shot on mobile phones and uploaded on the new media by random individuals were clearly capable of producing an increase in aggression and violence. The relationship between new media violence and real-world violence and aggression is moderated by the nature of the social media content and characteristics of and social influences on the individual exposed to that content. Still, the average overall size of the effect is large enough to place it in the category of known threats to public.

The research discovered that on some days, the new media sites send out alerts with incorrect information and these circulated over the Internet and people argued from a point of misinformation. Such trends continued throughout the period of research proving the assumption that the social media had a great influence on the South Sudanese and helped escalate the violence in the country to new heights.

5.2 Conclusions from the Research

One of the many impacts of the technological boom during this past generation is how it has changed the way people get information. In this study, I found out that people in south Sudan relied on new media as a key source of information and advice since the recent violence broke out. With a clear absence of government agencies that regulated use of social media as a medium to communicate the network became prone to misuse. Although social media technologies proved vital in conveying messages to many people
across South Sudan at once, there was open knowledge that the messages being sent did not encourage positive and piece-oriented activities.

Facebook and Twitter served as tool for propaganda communication and violence escalation. The audience knew what to look for and where to look, and had a strategy for using that information to intervene and prevent the violence but instead a majority of them used the tool to encourage activities that escalated the violence.

5.3 Recommendations from the Study

In South Sudan, Facebook and Twitter are undoubtedly an important medium of passing information. More often than not, newspapers, radio and TV broadcasters refer their audiences to their Twitter handles and Facebook accounts for more information on the news. This two new media tools having been the most commonly used for discussion, it is a common ground to engage the audience, driving agenda and doing opinion polling. So traditional media being limited in access during the violence, random individual took to their new media accounts and virtual grouping and community to drive personal agenda. Facebook and Twitter of course provided the much-needed means of reaching the masses at a very short time and at low or no cost at all.

The Government of South Sudan has always depended mostly on radio and newspaper to communicate to the masses but after various newspaper shut down both by the government effort or due to operational challenges, the government tried desperately to reach citizens on new media via Facebook and twitter but with no success. The
government efforts to censor the media were also not achieved thus giving individuals an endless opportunity to misuse the tools for their own good.

In early 2014, the government put tough measure and announced warning for the media in South Sudan against publishing of information relayed by the rebel forces. The government through the ministry of information said information send out by official channel of the rebel forces was a danger to the national security of the South Sudan and discouraged any publicity for such information.

The move, which was part of government measures aimed at reducing misinformation of the public worked but only on the traditional media i.e. TV, Radio, and Newspapers. The new media however continued reigning over the other form of media, once again proving the might of digital media technology. To this effect, Facebook and Twitter became a primary source of information for South Sudanese both within country and the diaspora. This proposition has been thought to be because of the illumination of cost implication associated with news and information publishing through the news media platform. The research however found out that there were no editorial guideline or ethical concern among the users on the new media platform. Instilling a guideline on how this tool can be used without abuse still proved to be a challenge. One will be torn between choosing whether to allow a free flow of information or limit information flow in as far as the freedom of expression is concern. This however, led to the misuse of Facebook and Twitter. Scary images and strong language helped to escalate the violence in South Sudan. This was tested and proved by this research.
The question as to whether, the government of South Sudan tried to stop Internet communication will always come up in this discourse. To answer the question, it is true that South Sudan government tried to stop Internet communication but this proved a challenge still. South Sudan has no Internet infrastructure. Telecommunication is still a challenge to South Sudan since the country saw the day of light only three years ago. Mobile phone operators like Gemtel Telecommunication Company operated from across the border in Uganda. To avoid such situation in the future, there should be an independent institution that will monitor the Internet and help stop abuse whenever possible.

5.4 Recommendations for further research
Based on the findings from this study, the researcher feels that it will be of importance to interact with Facebook and Twitter users to get their experiences when they use their prefered new media tools. The researcher also feels that it will be beneficial in the future to speak to other new media users and editors who would provide the much needed information on the distribution patterns, publication and readership on the two new media tools. These interactions, the researcher feels will be helpful in exploring this research area further. To this end therefore, the researcher wishes to make the following suggestions in form of questions that would be useful for future research.

(a) What prompts new media users to select on a tool of choice for use to send out alerts and information? Which tool of the new media do users prefer and what motivates them to keep using that particular tool? What levels of satisfaction exist within the users of the new media platform?
(b) What are the consumption patterns of the alerts versus those of the traditional media? What considerations do new media platform users take into account before they push out information via their preferred new media tool. How is content selection the preferred tool?
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

Appendix i: Units of Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Codes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Media Tool used</td>
<td>Source of the message</td>
<td>Indicates where the message was posted</td>
<td>Facebook-FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Facebook/Twitter)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Twitter- TT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>The Month when the message was posted</td>
<td>Date Format</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DD.MM.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Code 1- 6 starting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with December as 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and June as 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of the week</td>
<td>Indicate the day of the week</td>
<td>Monday=1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when the messages were</td>
<td>Tuesday=2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pushed out.</td>
<td>Wednesday=3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thursday=4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Friday=5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday=6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sunday=7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content</td>
<td>Keyword</td>
<td>Indicate the keyword which was used in the analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rebel Forces</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UPDF troops</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacked our people</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Killed our people</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reach</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Indicates the level of importance accorded to the message on Social Media.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Three focus levels: high, medium and low will be used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High focus message are those post/tweets (1) with high number of Comments/Likes/Shares/Retweets/Views (2) had a message that mentions the keywords (3) had an image shared with the post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High Focus= F1 High number of comments/Likes =FS High number of shares/Retweets= BS Mention key words= HS War images= G1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact</td>
<td>Dominant issue</td>
<td>Medium focus message had a (1) Had low number of comments, Post, views and Shares (2) Messages not accompanied by any video or photo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Focus had (1) No comments/ likes or shares (2) No graphic (3) No web link</td>
<td>Low Focus F3 Post with no comments of posts= L3 Message with no share or Retweets= L2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact</td>
<td>Dominant issue</td>
<td>Indicate What is the dominant topic of discussion generated by a post or tweet. Fight the Rebels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>Definition of tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forces successes</td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>Optimistic Tone= E1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoring peace</td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>Pessimistic= E3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare of troops</td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>Advocating for change= E4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Security</td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>Abusive= E5</td>
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<td>Liberation</td>
<td>T6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Effects of war</td>
<td>T7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
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<th>Framing techniques</th>
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<th>Explaining</th>
<th>Inciting</th>
<th>Apologizing</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Explanatory - FT2</td>
<td>Incite - FT3</td>
<td>Apologetic - FT4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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