

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES

**The Impact of Social Media on National Security: the case of
Ethiopia**

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ADDIS ABABA ETHIOPIA

DECEMBER, 2018

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	2
1.3 Research Questions	3
1.4 Objective of the study	4
1.4.1. General objective	4
1.4.2. Specific objectives	4
1.5 Significance of the study	4
1.6 Method and Methodology of Data Collection	5
1.6.1 Methodology	5
1.6.2 Method of data collection	5
1.6.3 Sampling Method of the Study	6
1.7 Data collection methods	6
1.7.1 Key Informant Interviews	6
1.7.2 Focus Group Discussions	6
1.7.3 Analysis and Policy Narratives	6
1.7.4 Data Analysis and Techniques	7
1.7.5 Questionnaire	7
1.8 Ethical Consideration	7
1.9 scope and limitation of the study	8
1.9.1 Scope of the study	8
1.9.2 Limitation of the study	8
1.10 Organization of the Study	8
CHAPTER TWO	9
LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS	9
2.1. Literature review	9
2.2. Social media	11
2.3. National security	15

2.4. National security and social media nexus	16
2.5. The role of Media in National Security policy and development	19
2.7. Social media, national security and the Ethiopian culture	21
2.8. Social media towards national security: its advantages and disadvantages overview	23
2.9. Threats of social media to national security.....	25
2.10. Conceptual and theoretical frameworks.....	27
2.11. Additional theories	28
2.11.1 Hypodermic needle theory.....	28
2.11.2. Agenda setting theory	28
2.11.3. Development Communication theory.....	29
2.11.4. Realism theory.....	30
2.12. Media and Ethiopian history	30
2.13. Description of social media users in Ethiopia.....	32
CHAPTER THREE	33
METHODOLOGY	33
3.1. Introduction	33
3.2. Method of data collection.....	33
3.3. Research Design.....	34
3.4. Sampling Method of the Study	34
3.5. Data collection methods	34
3.5.1. Key Informant Interviews.....	34
3.5.2. Focus Group Discussions	35
3.6. Analysis and Policy Narratives	35
3.7. Data Analysis and Techniques	35
3.8. Questionnaire	35
3.9. Ethical Consideration	36
3.10. scope and limitation of the study.....	36
3.10.1. Scope of the study.....	36
3.10.2. Limitation of the study	36
CHAPTER FOUR.....	38
DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION	38
4.1 Introduction.....	38

4.3 Threats of Social Media	39
4.4. Social Media as a Tool	39
4.4. Criminal Organization Threats	42
4.5. Military use of Social Media for National Security	43
4.6. Mechanisms by the Military to Counter Social Media Threat	44
4.7. Ethiopia’s Current National Security	45
4.8. Social Media Contribution towards Insecurity in Ethiopia.....	45
4.9. Analysis of interviews and FGDs	47
4.9.1 What is your overall considerations about the current situation in Ethiopia and social media usage?.....	47
4.9.2. Do you think social media is advantageous in the country?.....	49
4.9.3. What could be set as to be the aspiration for the use of social media rather than other means of communication?.....	51
4.9.4. Do you believe that expressing ideas using social Medias can be a threat to the national security of Ethiopia?	53
4.9.5. How do you consider the measures taken by the Ethiopian government during crisis in the country on social media specially Facebook?	58
4.9.6. To what extent social media can bring sustainable peace?	61
CHAPTER FIVE	63
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	63
5.1 Introduction	63
5.2 Summary of the Study.....	63
5.3 Conclusions of the Study.....	64
5.4 Recommendations to the Study.....	65
Reference	68
Annex 1, interview guide	
Annex 2, Questioner sample	
Annex 1 list of informants	

Figures and Tables

Figure 2.1 Social media platform users	32
Figure 4.1 response rate for questioner.....	38
Figure 4.2 Social Media as a Threat	39
Figure 4.3: Military Use Social Media for Military Operations	43

List of Table

Table 4.1 Social Media as a Tool.....	40
Table 4.2 Criminal Organization Threats	42
Table 4.3: Social Media Contribution towards Insecurity in Ethiopia	46

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Abstract

Social medias can be used as a mass communication tools and also connection materials, they are in a day to day growing levels and creating a more globalized world bearing in mind their proximity and flexibility, including their lower expenses. These social media podiums are currently reaching social and security consequences for the citizens of Ethiopia, in considering the socio political implications they have also economic impacts in the country. In order to defend Ethiopia's freedom, security and prosperity, it is only reasonable that many rational and investigated be done about how the government of Ethiopia can connect online social networking trappings and in equal degree controlling the issues in the impacts they brought as a threat to the national security of Ethiopia. The purpose of this study is to investigate social media and national security threats in Ethiopia. The social media can be said to draw it's respire from the laws and principles of the traditional mass media and the fundamentals of the freedom of expression. Even though there are no laws particularly on the social media, it still runs freely in Ethiopia without any government restraint. This thesis pursues to analyse freedom of expression and to what extent the social media within the Ethiopian context is free and influencing the social media. Generally, as per their nature social medias are quickly evolving and are able to address every sector and direction rendering the geo-economic, political and socio-cultural elements, the thesis will focus on analysing the factors by the social media on the national security of Ethiopia and response on the government also the social media community accordingly.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

One of the fundamental points of true democracy is freedom. The capability to be free is most uttered in one's capacity to express himself freely without any physical or psychological intimidations (by the government or otherwise). The limits of the freedom of expression can be said to have become adaptable. This could be ascribed to globalization which has physically removed all boundaries and is principally wangled by the internet. The internet has transformed the freedom of speech and expression which was previously limited to the confines of television, radio and print media etc. Today we have the social media which permits individuals or groups to sit in the comfort of their bedrooms or offices and with a click on the mouse or a tap on a screen express themselves freely to millions of other users who are not restricted by the physically defined borders and boundaries of countries or regions (Goshit, 2016).

“Social media is not the demon some are making it out to be. Social media networks deliver communication and collaboration, allowing people to gain productivity advantages, share interests and develop and sustain social relationships, and much more. Unlike guns, which are primarily designed to take life, social media is designed to foster human interaction. If human

Beings decide to use it to support their nefarious activities that are the fault of the particular human mind” (Adeagbo, 2012). Here we can see that social media beyond becoming threat for Ethiopia or other countries it can be used for developmental issues and for more progressive activities in one country. We can also identify that social media can be a threat if there's a miss use or control from an out sider in negative manner, we can see that social media in Ethiopia has been used to add information and connect the society and also it is somehow a threat for the government since some activists are using it to propose anti-government agendas and the issue comes to be considered as a threat by the government is becoming the main question of the people.

And yet shared failures such as crime, insurgency, poverty, corruption and terrorism continue to pledge anxieties for the national security of countries in this situations at all including Ethiopia.

There is no uncertainty that the internet and social media has changed the environment in Ethiopia. The internet has the capability to make or destroy our society. Questions have arisen as to the freedom of the social media in our country. We will analyse what constitutes freedom and to what degree is the social media within the Ethiopian context free and to what extent if any is it controlled. In general, we will emphasis on examining the laws in Ethiopia with regards to the mass/press media and the guides that make up a free social media with regards to the freedom of expression both internationally and locally.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The constitution of Ethiopia has created an encouraging interrelationship between practicing the right of Thought, Opinion and Expression. According to FDRE constitution in Article 29 sub article one up to 5 it states that Everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference, Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference, This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice, freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements:

- a. Prohibition of any form of censorship.
- b. Access to information of public interest.

In the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions, any media financed by or under the control of the State shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion. Here is a gap between what is stated in principle and on practice. Recently many social Medias are considered as places of practicing danger and as the Ethiopian communication minister declared on their speech some of them are considered as a “weapon for terrorist group”. This issue on some extent many be considered as accurate by referring sub article 6 and 7 which indicates the above given rights can be limited only through laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression and information cannot be limited on account of the content or effect of the point of view expressed. Legal

limitations can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honour and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law and any citizen who violates any legal limitations on the exercise of these rights may be held liable under the law.

The issue of social media and the question of national security had become a crucial concern for current Ethiopian government (EPRDF) not only in terms of addressing the given freedom of expression and national security question raised but also because of the current political instability and unrest it caused. There is no such exclusive research done on current social media to be considered as a threat for national security and the research hopefully aims to fill the literature as well as the knowledge gap that exists. In this sense, the issue raised deserves academic investigation. Also in protecting Ethiopians freedom, Prosperity, security and freedom, it's a necessity as an academician to investigate more on how the government can tie together online social networking tools and in equal measure control them in their nature of threat to the national security. Therefore, in addressing another national security challenges, it's a must to have an understanding of how this social networking threaten the national security by the citizens, military and other security agencies. In this study we will try to conduct a study about social media and national security threats, with specific reference to Ethiopia. It also tries to find answers to the controversies regarding on social media usage and National security also this thesis seeks to examine the paradox in Ethiopian policy towards social media usage and National security.

This study pursues to explore whether the Ethiopians current astonishingly free policy towards the press is really giving the people the freedom of speeches that they are entitled to and helping the country towards achieving the development which are gained by having free press in the country.

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the main challenges of Ethiopian national security in terms of addressing questions of freedom of speech in social media?

- What are the factors which contributed to the rise the issue of social media in affecting national security of the country?
- To what extent the claims of social media question have substantial, socio-legal and political ground?
- What is the cause for the role of social media in the recent insecurity?

1.4 Objective of the study

1.4.1. General objective

The general objective of the study is to look at the challenges of Ethiopian national security, under particular emphasis on the impact of social media.

1.4.2. Specific objectives

- To scrutinize the major challenges of Ethiopian national security as far as social media issues are concerned;
- To explore factors that led to the rise of social media to be threat for national security.
- To examine the demands that the people are seeking to achieve and the substantial socio-historical, legal and political grounds to their claims;
- To investigate the causes of the recent insecurities occurred in Ethiopia.

1.5 Significance of the study

This research is significance as it analyses the impacts of social media in the national security of Ethiopia. The research is also significant for researchers who are interested in studying social media as threat for national security of one country because it will provide possible insights towards the case and can be taken as a reference and the findings can be used in another research works. Hence after, the study will contribute to the literature in the study area.

At last, but not the least, the research can be generalized to the whole country because there are different issues related with these kinds of questions. It helps as a feedback and valuable input for various entities such as government institutions, for policy and decision makers.

1.6 Method and Methodology of Data Collection

1.6.1 Methodology

Methodology has to be chosen as a focusing device in discovering empirical regularities and possible explanations of the actual operation of the federal system and what is actually happening. Therefore, both qualitative and quantitative research method is used for this study (mixed approach), qualitative method which is an approach with social science research helping to explore phenomena and experiences from the perspectives of individuals experiencing them. Thus, the subject matter of most qualitative research is how people construct their understandings of the social world and how they view them (Creswell, 2003). And quantitative research method which is grounded in the assumption that features of the social environment constitute an objective reality that is relatively constant across time and settings. It explains features by collecting numerical data on behaviours and subjecting the data to statistical analysis. Accordingly, to examine the Ethiopian policy towards social media and national security from the perspective of national interest, media objectives, observations and comments of experts familiar with the issue at hand regarded as the main input for this study.

1.6.2 Method of data collection

This research is a case study research informed by multi-disciplinary orientation. It is an exploratory attempt to investigate the contributions that social media made in threatening the national security of Ethiopia. In order to enhance quality, credibility and validity, the study will use multiple sources. Both primary and secondary sources of data will be used for this research. Primary Sources such as semi-structural interview, which permits flexibility and easy for an amendment on the nature of questions depending on the circumstance (Mack, 2005), in-depth interview and focus group discussions will be conducted. In addition, secondary sources such as reports, minutes of meetings, letters to the government, books, articles and electronic journals will be employed.

1.6.3 Sampling Method of the Study

The research will use non probability quota sampling which involves the selection of case according to reasons other than mathematical probability (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003) through random selection of samples. For this purpose, the study will try to interview at least forty (20) individuals from each selected quota that are determined by age, education, race, religion and sex and profession. And also the research uses non probability purposive sampling method because the research attempts to interview selected respondents who are concerned with the issue. The number of interviewees will increase if it necessary for the output of the research.

1.7 Data collection methods

1.7.1 Key Informant Interviews

This study will have some key informant interviews that are going to be conducted with purposively selected political elites and federal level government officials especially those who are supposed to have knowledge about the issue under investigation. The main objective of the interviews is to gather information about the overall aspect of the quest including their objectives or demands and challenges they are facing.

1.7.2 Focus Group Discussions

The researcher plan to undertake about four (4) focus group discussions each consisted of six (6-7) participants that to be conducted in Addis Ababa University and other places suitably and affordable. Particular emphasis on information technology institute students will be undertaken. For the sake of the validity and reliability of the research, the FGD may also include students of social science departments also. If also needed in the future, the researcher might increase the number of FGDs based on the demand on the ground. The primary aim is to examine how social media is putting national security in danger. It attempts to listen and understand the heart bit of social media users without any pressure.

1.7.3 Analysis and Policy Narratives

This research will also employ document analysis as the third method of data collection. Relevant legal documents such as Constitution and Civil Society Law, proclamations and other

official reports like population census and given speeches by government officials will be analysed.

1.7.4 Data Analysis and Techniques

The investigation of social media and its impact on national security requires an exploratory approach which helps in explaining and providing the all possible information, and fruitful method about elements of the study. Due to this reason, the study will use qualitative technique to analyse the required data plan of activities in order to become more familiar with the issue in detail. In addition, triangulation which is a process by which the “data methods or collected data are mixed so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic” (Olsen, 2004). This is with the purpose of providing a rich considerate of the complex nature of the study and relevantly capturing the views thereby expressed.

1.7.5 Questionnaire

As questionnaire is a set of questions dealing with a single or related topic to be answered by subjects which is are used to obtain vast data from variety of respondents. It is usually easy to administer, is inexpensive and easier to analyse. Since the area the research is dealing with focuses on different social media users it’s helpful to get their perspectives and its more practicable by using questionnaires. The researcher attempts to use (50-100) questioners in selected areas of the country.

1.8 Ethical Consideration

In this study, one of the points that got emphasis was ethical issues. Creswell (2003:72) noted that research ethics is one of the very important parts in establishing trustworthiness and credibility of the study. Researchers need to protect their research participants, develop trust with them. Accordingly, during data collection, researchers are expected to respect the participant. This involves gaining the permission of individuals to protect the privacy of the participants after a research study. Also the researcher must make sure that he or she comes up with academic work with new findings that is free from plagiarism and has been properly acknowledged the sources of data he or she might use. Finally, the researcher must exercise due care in gathering and processing the data, and in taking reasonable steps to assure the accuracy of results.

1.9 scope and limitation of the study

1.9.1 Scope of the study

This research focuses on the contribution of social media in terms of national security and the causes of current insecurity in the Ethiopia. The research is mainly confined in Ethiopia, also social media users for understanding the issue in grass root level.

1.9.2 Limitation of the study

It will be difficult to get access to relevant materials as well as information due to the sensitiveness of the issue. It will be also challenging to identify the intentions and attitude of interviewees, which is, of course, a very difficult task for any research that wants to discover facts as they are in the ground. Political discussions are viewed as very risky dealings; people fear that revealing some important information can endanger their security and livelihood. Sometimes, therefore, private interviews on political matters take the form of intelligence to understand the facts in the ground. Collection of confidential information mainly depends on personal trust; therefore, it is very difficult to validate such kinds of information in other interviews without compromising the safety of the respondents.

1.10 Organization of the Study

This Research Paper is organized into five main chapters. Chapter one is an introductory part, which contains the background of the research, the research problem, objective of the study, research questions, limitation of the study, significance of the study and the methodology of the research. Chapter two reviews the relevant literature and discusses the conceptual and theoretical framework pertaining to the issue. Chapter three discusses about the methodology used in the research. Chapter four provides the analysis of the data collected on the threatening factors described as a social media impacts on national security. Particularly, it analyses the demands under Ethiopian legal and political setting. Finally, chapter five presents the findings, conclusion and recommendation of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1. Literature review

Social media has been specifically treasured in countries controlling states in the media sector is inflexible and willingness to freedom of speech is not guaranteed. This social media networking's like Facebook, twitter and other blogging ways have been gradually lifting the blanket on the societies once accustomed to conservatism and silence, since 2008. Countries started suffering on harmonizing the treat's that the social medias are bringing through their disseminative power, they started informing societies of the impacted by the social media. As governments recollects the devotions of the security device and protects the national broadcast media services to allocate its oppositions, messages have been combating back through Facebook, blogs, twitter and YouTube to put on pictures and videos which contradict state propaganda. This kind of governments who are the most ground-breaking, have investigated and understood the main considerations a social media approach should include, and with a compact basis in place, we see remarkable bounds presumptuous in governmental transparency, communication and effectiveness (Balarabe, Usman and Polytechnic, 2015).

The existence of communal settings of individuals based on demographics donates to a shared set of information between individuals, both simulated and offline. Individuals do not depend on political views as a basis for relationship formation, but change the attitudes that they have politically towards their social interactions after a group of people with one section and a margin of individuals with rebelling viewpoints that withdraw from the centre. These conclusions based up on previous findings that explain the importance of social interactions in political information exchange and dialog. (Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1987). These kinds of networking interactions are more agreeably and explored than previous findings on interactions within larger forums and allow for more fruit full investigation of the networks of dialog that arise. The management that exist in this kind of large forums designs this kind or results. Leaders in an online space decree the starting of interaction or the flow of networking and the designs of the dialogue through time as people start to encompass more, including group gathering which leads to the growing alerts of taking the management roles and shifting of the attention to areas based on the groups interest (Cassell, Huffaker, Tversky, & Ferriman, 2006).

“Social media is not the demon some are making it out to be. Social media networks deliver communication and collaboration, allowing people to gain productivity advantages, share interests and develop and sustain social relationships, and much more. Unlike guns, which are primarily designed to take life, social media is designed to foster human interaction. If human Beings decide to use it to support their nefarious activities that are the fault of the particular human mind” (Adeagbo, 2012).

As Shwarji Goshit, (2016) in his journal *The Right to Freedom of Expression and the Social Media in Nigeria* he stated “ One of the most interesting innovations of the social media is that it takes us away from the regular, more traditional lope-sided mass media, where you can only send information but with no way to receive a feed-back instantaneously. The social media is particularly unique because it gives people the ability to emerge from consumers of content to publishers of same. The social media has the ability to function as a two-way traffic where the receiver can also disseminate the same piece of information received and send his feedback to the sender instantly. As long as the receiver has access to the internet, he can send it to a plethora of receivers who are not bound nor limited by geographical or territorial limitations.” If the mass media is free and enjoys a certain degree of non-interference, then it could be correctly asserted that the social media is absolutely limitless with regards to its coverage. The traditional media is organized and can be easily controlled but it will take a lot of effort to shut the social media down.

An emergence of social media as a tool employed by social organizations and an increasing set of security concerns does exist. However, these two ideas infrequently touch in an academic setting, let unaccompanied that their junction is not defined methodically. “Social Media are connection and mass communication tools, characterized by a global diffusion and an ever growing level of use, considering their handiness and flexibility, as well as their extreme cheapness.” Using these media can cause several negative effects for national security and adverse consequences for a state’s strategic interests (Hasn, 2012). Yet, their use can also lead to extraordinary opportunities for a country in order to reach its strategic relevant goals, predict how threats will work in the future and figure out how to counter their effects.

Since Social Media platforms such as Facebook and twitter are extremely rapidly evolving and are opposite interactions from different directions with the on-going socio-cultural and geoeconomics fundamentals, it's an important factor to have an eye on them since they are quickly growing, analysing how they are operating and measuring their impending powers even if they are contributing positively or negatively to well-being of the state and its citizens. This kind of trend helps the government to manage and have control, also manage offensive use of the social media networking's by others like the enemies of the state and instead of shifting from this kind of strategies into resources of primary importance, for all the entities' in every sector whom are involved in the safeguarding of the national security (Kimutai, 2014).

Citizens engagement, strongly enabled by social media and mobile technology, is supporting the dissemination of information, often critical and accurate, into the public sphere, providing eyewitness accounts, sending alert messages, exchanging evacuation and rescue experiences,

Examining and reproducing event-related information, volunteering services and goods, collecting donations given from different directions. Additional from the simple information delivery tools, these technologies play a great role in the interaction and connection of people and information, create collaboration mechanisms, create informal ways of communication and build no boundary societies. With high focus on current situations, new mobile and online technologies have significantly improved the affected citizens' and the victims' capability to help each other and themselves, with their messages enabling improved situational awareness amongst Public Protection and Disaster Relief, guaranteed by the gathering of a wide variety of data and information, an activity coined as crisis informatics (Hodge and Nathan, 2010).

2.2. Social media

According to O'reilly the term social media or "new" media refers to the group of technologies associated with rapid information dissemination via highly accessible web-based platforms. Social media represents a fundamental transformation of broadcast media monologues into multiple community dialogues, mirroring the Web 2.0 revolution of the Internet. "Web 2.0" refers to the fundamental shift that swept across the Internet at the dawn of the 21st century, transforming the information producer consumer model into a network in which every user has the ability to produce and consume Internet content. In explaining the Web 2.0 revolution and

the rise of social media. O'Reilly used Important examples of Web 2.0 *“social media include blogs (individuals or groups producing ongoing narratives of information), wikis (collaborative information productions and collections), Facebook and MySpace (streamlined social networking programs), eBay reputation (performance-based user reviews), Flickr (highly accessible photo sharing software), YouTube (community-based video sharing software), Google Maps (mapping software enabling collaborative point of interest sharing), Amazon user reviews (comprehensive user contribution to product reviews), and Twitter. For a technological application to be considered a “2.0” technology is not for it to be the second version of something, or the twentieth version of something; instead, it means that the technology is characterized by data sharing and collaborative information collection and organization.”*

For instance, in the history of social media, the social media began at 21 centuries in the United States and to present they have been rising and spreading highly, especially in the last 3-4 years. It acquired a comparatively Little time or the social media networking to modify from a valuable and important emerging communications way to a serious part of the media background. Rendering to different 2010 estimates, these social media networking users add up over two billion people worldwide. In their early phase (2000-2005), social media began to range essentially in the more developed countries, with a great technological power in having all the potentials of broadband speed, number of per capita computers, and whose governments guarantees complete freedom of expression and communication. In this early start Social Media took basis especially in North America, Europe, Russia, Japan, South Korea and Australia. Nevertheless, since 2005 they have started to fastener on in less developed, both technologically and economically, and “non-democratic” countries too.

Therefore, a new way of communication started to catch attentions in northern Africa, Middle East, china, Southeast Asia, in the Persian Gulf states, in southern and Central America. As Emanuela in 2011 stated, inversely from other communication revolutions where the spreading of communication through media happened earlier in the developed states and lately in less developed states, social media is scattering all over the place contemporaneously. “In fact, today some areas of the World are no more marginalized; instead they become aware of their freedom of expression, share thoughts and customs and endorse them. The only discrimination left is maybe about social classes and genre. Social media have well known characteristics. Through

the tools of social media, users can communicate with each other different kind of contents - videos, photos, images, texts and sounds among others. Also build and strengthen networks in one or more fields, professional, family, social, culture, religious and political and develop and define their social identity.”

Rendering Montagnese, an expert on “*intelligence and strategic deception techniques and methods of information manipulation*” and a high ranking official in the Italian National Security, Social media are found to have an extremely high level of interaction among the users, differently from traditional media, which are characterized by a one-way communication flow.

This research will practice the term social media to refer to the online internet facilities where the contents in it are produced by the users of the facility. Although, will use the term social media to define the situation or social apparatus in defining the technologies. Social media depend on web grounded technologies to go separate, frequently somewhat short, user’s actions like updates on their status or comments into different activity stream. Checking up on social media therefore asks for us to ponder about how social tools assist the making and distribution of information. We find new channels brought by social media in which new information are created every day. These kinds of information plat forms create overwhelming feeling of information overload to some individuals. But, people characteristically use social media in a way which uses their social or professional connections to screen the massive collection of information in to something that is controllable. Once there is a built network of people with attitudes and interests to yours, you can use them to clarify resources that you are to be interested in (SMGR, 2011).

According to library of parliament publication no 2010-03-E, 2010 the term social media refers to extensive range of internet founded and mobile services that permit users to contribute in online exchanges, contribute user created content or join online communities. The kinds of internet services commonly associated with social media include the following;

- **Blogs or web blog;** which is an online journal in which pages are usually displayed in reverse chronological order. Blogs can be hosted for free on websites such as word press, tumblr and blogger.

- **Wikis**; wiki is a collective website where any participant is allowed to modify any page or create a new page using web browser. One well known example is Wikipedia a free online encyclopedia that makes use of wiki technology.
- **Social bookmarking**; social bookmarking sites allow users to organize and share links to website. Example include reedit, stumble upon and digg.
- **Social network sites**; these have been defined as web based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection and view traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. Among the most the popular are Facebook and LinkedIn.
- **Status update service**; this service is known as micro blogging, status update services such as twitter allow people to share short updates about people or events and to see updates created by others.
- **Virtual world content**; these sites offer game-link virtual environments which users interact. One example is the imaginary world constructed in second life in which users create avatars that interact with others.
- **Media sharing site**; these sites allow users to post videos or photographs popular examples including YouTube and Instagram.

“One of the major trends in the world is the emergence of the social media a term also known as the ‘new media’. This emergence is as a result of the development and democratization of the information and communication technologies. It is characterised by the utilisation of various communication formats such images, video, text, and audio and driven by the combination of communication and information technology through the internet” (Alebiosu, 2015). The social media is captivating because it differs from “traditional media” such as newspapers and television in three important ways:

- It is able to facilitate two-way interaction with a large number of people at the same time;
- Actors are connected with each other directly, without middlemen that control contents;
- Popular social media websites are free to join, making the cost of usage very low by modern standard.

2.3. National security

In 1948, academician Hans Morgenthau in his book 'Politics among Nations' well-defined national security as 'the integrity of national territory and its institutions' while given that inspiration to the notion of national security in the Cold War era as controlled to the security of the State and its boundaries and concentrating on the part of the Resistance and the security forces. In the modern age, however, national security has cleft from national defence, and has widened to join different features of a globalised world, in terms of human, economic, energy, cultural and political security. Though still intensely prejudiced and defined by the Government, the concept of national security has now arrived in the public domain, and is being framed by most scholars as 'the creation of conditions that contribute to the nation's political, social and economic alliance and safeguard territorial honesty of the country, gaining of competences to tolerate these circumstances, precaution liberty of options and capabilities to survive in a volatile security environment' (Carafano, 2009).

In describing the concept of national security continues to be extremely motivating point as different factors clearing its capacity at all levels of its view, as a result it cannot be assigned to a particular definition due to its varying nature from country to country. In other definitions related to the concept of national security to the country and the government all connected policies and strategies circling around the nation state, while others influence the state and single citizens as part of national security. There has been a modification in the school of thought of strategist, where the point of view of security has changed clearly from the security of the state to the security of its people. The necessity to safe guard ideology, the political system, society and its citizens has also become significant to the general national security manner.

The notion of national security is now being conceived into two broad classifications: (1) the recognition and preservation of State security based on territory, and (2) societal security based on identity. "Both these remain symbiotic in nature, and are mainly required to protect the boundaries of the State, foreign policy, rights of citizens and the Diaspora from threats posed by another State, radical elements and non-state actors. National security also encompasses the expected behaviour of a democratic nation as in the case of Ethiopia by focusing on providing the right to life and liberty to its citizens; equality in all spheres of activity; cooperation between the public and private sector operating in the State; preservation of territorial sovereignty and

integrity; maintaining a flexible civil and military relation; robust economic development and a proactive and independent media.”

National security lays active, uncodified and in different sector, this nature made it to be measured the existence of the nation-state. It validates external security (protection of the nation from outside threats), and internal security (with in the state). It also undermines the preservation of economic, military, political and diplomatic power over its own sectors and bordering countries. We can there for say that in the present security situation, nation security cannot be related with national defence only as it gets to a high range of stages that are necessary to the partnership and considerate of the state, militaries, organizations and the community.

2.4. National security and social media nexus

Every state use media to maintain its stability in the country whether it is developed or developing. The media is known as the 4th pillars of the state, to safeguard the national security over the globe the state have become important. We can say the state is the janitor of national culture, heritage and traditions; it supports nation’s commercial diplomacy efforts too. Certainly, mass media in Ethiopia acts as the 4th pillar of the government and state.

Starting from the early stage new participants to the global labour force are posing increasing security trials to their employers as they collaborate personal and private lives. Nowhere is this more evident than in the use of social media, often accompanied by a low regard or even total disregard for privacy concerns

It’s believed that the age of privacy is now over, ostensibly people are unconcerned about the data that are caught about them. This kind of boldness is at probabilities with institutional concerns about the revelation of complex information through social media to hypothetically hundreds of millions of twitter and Facebook users. The privacy and concerns in connection to security and their effect to the national security and the cyber security orders are becoming the more concern issues.

According to the Cisco 2013 Annual Security Report, the highest concentration of online security threats is on mass audience sites, including Social Media. The report revealed that online advertisements are 182 times more likely to deliver malicious content than pornography sites, for

example, the ability of individuals to share information with an audience of millions is at the heart of the particular challenge that social media presents. In addition to giving anyone the power to disseminate sensitive information, social media also gives the same power to spread false information, which can be just as damaging. The rapid spread of false information through social media is among the emerging risks identified by the World Economic Forum in its Global Risks 2013 report. The report's authors draw the analogy of shouting "Fire" in a crowded cinema. Within minutes, people can be trampled to death before a correction can be made to the message. There have been several incidents over the past year where false information transmitted on the internet has had serious consequences.

As another factor social media is used by the terrorist organizations for their conceptual radicalization, group member selection and training. In accumulation, this groups benefit of it to interconnect with cyber-crime organizations and to collaborate sideways with them finance raising activities selected in part on the internet. The relation between structured crime and terrorist organizations is growing significantly in the cyber world, and this alliance will be able to generate new negative technological products and won't go along with value of national security of sovereign state.

Including social media, communication and information technologies could lead to conflicts which will take place in supplementary connected environments. Social media in its employment is now days more used in traditional offensive means. Specifically, the use of social media during a conflict contribute to the use of other mass media connection tools like newspaper, TV, radio, etc... for propaganda and ruse activities. It is not possible to find out belongings of military campaigns founded with an actual employment of social media in support of military operations.

National security remains the foundation of good governance, social welfare and economic development of a country and its people. National security in the current situation of the nation state acquires to ally human and societal security as a priority separately from national defence thereby trotting the basics of security on the adjustment of peace and the abolition of conflict.

Since the end of the Cold War and the emergence of globalisation and technology, several conceptual frameworks have been introduced to demonstrate different uses of conflict resolution

strategies around the world. Military and non-military approaches, development and governance approaches, and preventive diplomacy, are being expounded upon as different policy options for peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building. These new subfields have been able to cut across the domains of security and peace studies, and are establishing the emergence of non-government and private organisations as key players in conflict resolution, along with the State. Similarly, during the Cold War, analysts working in peace and security studies examined the role of mass media and practices of socialisation as working essentially to resolve differences and being successful in maintaining a sense of security and stability in conflict affected regions thereby, initiating an international discourse and policy change by nations around the world to integrate the mass media as a major contributor to conflict resolution in the State (Abraham, 2002).

For example, number of initiatives, isolated ones, influences from different sides of citizenship and volunteering towards disaster reactions, whether on web based crisis control systems, mobile applications from emergencies, location awareness technology in disaster, social networking podiums or web citizenship on security. Web based systems for crisis, subsidise to the continuing observing of the evolution of crisis events, enabling “crowd mapping functions”, investigations following on maps and calendar, alert services and the interaction with multiple sources of information including text messages, email, tweets, web forms). Also googles crisis response is a free portal service applied in past crisis like Chile Haiti and japan to enable donations, alerts and infrastructure status reports, as well as satellite imagery and the Goole person finder, whereas open street map provides free worldwide geographical data created by a community of volunteers (kimutai,2014).

Put heads together to Forrest, 3.0 web founded systems on-going off as plan- oriented creativities and since changed to lodge the necessities of several other exclamations. Other projects remain limited to the specifics of resolute events, Namly the Katrina help wiki devoted to the Katrina hurricaneor Digicels mission 4636 launched as a free phone numbers to meet the crucial needs of the Haitian people to Rovid medical care, food water, security and shelter through messaging. Even the United States department of homeland security launched the Haiti social media disaster checking initiative to assist the Haiti response and recover effort, creating and intuitional

responsiveness vehicle capable to monitor the openly obtainable online forums, blogs and websites and communications panels to assemble serious data.

2.5. The role of Media in National Security policy and development

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights states that: *“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.”*

“Media serves as a checkpoint by ensuring that the government is working within its mandate. However, following the globalization, the responsibilities of media have also widened. It has to play a role for preserving and pursuing the national interests of the state and highlighting its perspective along with the global issues. It has to examine the conduct of international relations and again to highlight the trouble spot at global level in lieu of global security.” (Hussain, 2008).

Policy making and the mass media can be defined as two sides of a coin, it plays an important role to make policy. In the beginning of the policy making the media helps to start up agenda settings which can be acquired by the policy makes and concerned entities including single individuals. Media can attract and tolerate public attention to particular issues. They have the potential to frame and define the scenario and change the debate around a policy debate by using all the access to the dialogues and discussing. Media can build the nature, sources and consequences of policy subjects in ways that essentially alteration not just the devotion paid to those but the altered types of policy explanations required. Media can put care to the involved persons or organizations in the policy making process and can assist their reason by pointing out the role that they can play in making of the policy. Media is the most power full connection tool for the government and the public by gathering information from both sides and addressing the issues for the government and the public as per their necessities (Soroka et al., 2009).

“Media being a channel having wide reach and penetration with high retention value and immense potential to influence public opinion, the reporting in times of peace is a long term investment in keeping intact the communal fabric of the country. During the harmony and tranquillity, the media owes the responsibility of reporting the instances, endeavours and

experiences of communal harmony with the same fervour as they do in case of conflict. This would go on way in forging a sense of security, trust, comfort and belongingness among the masses. This would be an invaluable investment in strengthening the communal harmony in the society. The media should prominently carry reports, articles, documentaries, serials, Films showcasing the success stories in forging communal harmony” (Vishal, 2012).

The media holds distinct position because sources are from the public mind and the investigation in moral values, which makes them the great ones. The study of the mind is an interesting thing to do especially when you guide it by the information's gathered from itself. The press is the most important, effective, popular and convenient also cheap way of bending and expressing public estimation. Communal disharmony is a problem which characteristics to numerous factors. Among those factors media also gives its influence. This characteristic of the media plays an important role in promoting communal harmony (Radhakrishnan, 2012).

Politicians are exaggerated by media in the same way as normal citizens (Eliders 2001; Dearing and Rogers 1996). They depend on media prompts to rank information and to disseminate public opinion (Walgrave and van Aelst 2006). Politicians can be more vulnerable to media content contingent on whether they are matters to polling penalty on a set of factors (Kingdom, 1984). However, lawmakers, voters, cannot pay attention to all issues that are given time and attention and therefore they incline to give attention on important factors that are useful to the citizens, country and indeed, their own occupation. Normally, there are often high stages of correspondence amongst these issues and the issues that are of anxiety to the public (Baumgartner, Jones & Leech, 1997).

Self-confident leaders appear distant better talented to grip the media, but are finest able to do so when they have a specified framework as formerly spoken philosophical orientation upon which to lean. Ronald Reagan had such a base and was able to function from it with relative impunity from media penetrating (Johnson, 1994).

The policy corresponding mass media may not define the nature or direction of policy change, but can positively direct devotion towards actual policy areas over others. Recent works by both Kingdom (1995) and Baumgartner and Jones (1993) has made this particularly clear. For each, subject attractiveness is an important predecessor of policy change. For Downs (1972) work on

the issue consideration cycle the official model of public factor concentration. In this work policy issues move around in and out of the community awareness. The lifespan of an issue changes incrementally from eras of low to high salience, eventually withdrawing to the background after the community has gone forward to other factors.

In foreign policy, and by implication national security, the public expects the president to lead and will usually "stand by" for some reaction from the White House. The media will be "at the door" as quickly as possible seeking some administration reaction and in their hunger for newsworthy comments or indicators of policy decisions exert some pressure upon the administration to speak. This pressure may force a premature reaction and some policymakers have complained that they have no time to think things through (Sharkey,1993).

Operative communication entails the leaders of an institute to take an early and tenacious role in determining how ideas and conclusions are formed and brought. Certainly in the national security context a leader can develop the effects of operational and policy planning by safeguarding that the communications suggestions of that development are considered as early as possible in the process. If arrangement is complete in this manner, then it is prospective that the communications related with it will indeed be planned in their possessions (Stavridis, 2007).

The policy agenda- setting literature has its origins in early work in political performance fixated on how media coverage of political events impacts electoral consequences Berelson, Lazarsfeld, McPhee's (1954) seminal study on voting. Example could be proceedings that media encourages people by arranging specific levels over others or by airing a superior volume of stories related to some policy spheres but not others. McCombs and Shaw's Chapel Hill study (1972), which deposited an immense literature on public agenda-setting, examines the media's role in concentrating public devotion on particular issues concluding that the media can effectively set the public agenda by reliably and prominently containing issues in their broadcast attentions.

2.7. Social media, national security and the Ethiopian culture

Ethiopia's existence as a member of international community is not untouchable to forces of social media concerning its use and misappropriation. The usage of social media as a new-fangled communication stage presents thoughtful security and privacy concerns, including new

routes for cyber-attack that the government, the military and the culture cannot overlook (ungerer,2012).

Criminal mobs, terrorist administrations, non-state performers through bad meanings and rebellious elements, frequently use social media websites to transmission publicity with unsociable meaning to reach out, train and radicalize their marked audience. People practise social media to send disturbing messages, hatred mails and untruthful information to the public concerning state of national security matters. Maximum of the social media operators remain common and cannot be effortlessly drawn by law enforcement activities and succeeding trial. States like Ethiopia in different cultural orientation therefor are faced with tough challenges to track, display and cover the us and misappropriation of social media qualified to state security. National security strains a strategy such as *“monitoring conversations and content shared on social media, arranging effective methods to counter adversaries’ propaganda and interferences improving governmental agencies and institutions performances, strengthening a state’s geopolitical position and its international credibility.”* (Ungerer, 2012). However, such initiatives require urbane technologies which are very complex, costly by third world countries like Ethiopia.

As Mcdam Sideny and Charles, 2008 stated the strength of social ties strongly influences social media intimidations on the individual level, weak social connections can be effective in communicating and dissemination the message of a social threats across longwinded networks hence sentimental network structure would have solid networks weak ties to outside units in accumulation to strong relational ties within those groups. Since participants in social movements are often recruited through pre-existing social connections supplementary setting is necessary to improved regulate the nature of individual’s interpersonal social ties to the crusade. This tie for its existence improves the presence of the connection, the number of ties or the strength of tie that matters most. It is good to accentuate the importance of considering the manner in which social ties including cultural alignments can lead to amplified and reduced activism. People in huge and difference of relationships are all important basics of the context nearby why those who had social connections to the movement selected to involve in and what the result of ties to parents, peers and others who are participating in decision makings.

In over-all, pre-existing organizational relationship has been introduced to be a serious organisational matter connected to influence in social movements, as membership in establishments or cultural arrangement accommodations to the creation of increased interpersonal links and thus individuals going to certain groups are more frequently embattled for enrolment by movement manager over unaffiliated individuals. If certain instruments are proven to function in comparable ways across varied settings, they are more likely to be important fundamental factors in the route of social movements in general. Devices such as haggling and border deactivation which is the impoverishment of limitations between local communities and national political networks can help fuel a rising shift in scale as the process of negotiating between government officials and movement leader can foster new connections and shared understanding.

2.8. Social media towards national security: its advantages and disadvantages overview

Social media podiums are believed to have assisted extend the reach of hate groups more largely. Christopher wolf has observed that, the online world *'has become a technology embraced by racists, anti-Semite's, homophobes and bigots of all kinds to spread their message of hate'*. No research was found that expansively procedures the amount of hate speech that happens online. The Simon Wiesenthal centre's annual digital terror and hate report from 2012 was based on 15,000 'problematic' websites, social networks, forums, online games and apps. They believe this has seen an increase of around 3,500 problematic outlets since 2010. In addition, the international network against cyber hate, 2013 has argued that over recent years 'the amount of cyber hate has grown to enormous proportions', with 'Islam, Jews, lesbians and gays, blacks, roam, liberals' and left-wingers representing the main targets of online abuse. It is of note that of all the referrals made by the UKs counter-terrorism internet Referral unit Facebook, blogger, twitter and BlogSpot were most frequently identified as the hosts of the problematic referred material. Another study, found that false rumours are questioned more on twitter by other users than true reportage. Using topically agnostic features from the tweet stream itself has shown an accuracy of about 85 % on the detection of newsworthy events.

The study under the subject matter "twitter under crisis" enquired if it is possible to identify the existence of 'confirmed truth' the tweets from untruthful sources tweets in the instant aftermath of the earthquake happened in Chile. The research investigated that twitter inclined toward

weeding out false hoods. Most of its respondents about the confirmed truth tweets were confirmed by users while few respondents denied. by contrast, half of the respondents about false rumour tweets were denied by its users. Rendering this, the investigation may have faced a number of detects. As an example, the mainstream media still drives traffic and that tweets including identical resource locator links inclines to be most retweeted, suggesting that many users may have simply been following mainstream media sources. Moreover, in emergency reaction, there inclines to be more similarity resource locator shares which are known as uniform resource locator.

Access to the internet in Ethiopia was not altered in the late 2007 and early 2008 including the personal phones. The sensitiveness emotions for those using online services were high. Live saving ideas existed in the interaction when using online media networks and still down sided and unmanageable communications existed, this caused strong intersexuality within this interaction which are included in the sector.

However according to a report released in May 2013 by Umati, an online observing firm, that recognised some of the hate messages spread, there was a histrionic rise in online offensive speech's circulated mainly through Facebook.

Social media performed as substitute medium for citizen communication or participatory journalism but it was also used as stations for biased information, ethnic preconception and hate speech. Digitally networked technologies were compound to both greedy behaviours such as ethnic-based mob violence and to civic actions such as citizen's journalism and human campaigns (Makinen and Kuira, 2008).

Social media users are single individuals, who use media elements to communicate, share information and content, interact with other people, develop their personality and strengthen their social identity. Zinzocchi states that *"... single individuals are able to satisfy all their basic needs except the physiological needs such as drinking, eating or sleeping using social media. The basic needs including security needs, membership needs, appreciation needs and self-fulfilment needs. Individuals can use social media not only for strictly personal purposes but also for the interests and purposes of the organized group they are part of. Hence the use of social media is necessarily linked to the interaction between a person and the information medium*

organized groups in the broadest meaning of the term states public agencies and terrorist groups are potential social media on behalf of the entire group pursuing the purpose and protecting the interests of the group itself". In Ethiopia and eastern African region, there is a cancelled in terms of literature on the subject matter of the study. This is more the motive why this study is important. The investigation result and the recommendations projected by it shall, uncertainly, initiate more debate and research on information social media cyber security information warfare and national security in Ethiopia.

During the past decade, individual have broadly used social media to co-operate with others and to follow personal interests. Social media empower individuals to follow these interests share their ideas and expand their knowledge in ways that are quicker and more effective than ever before. For social communication purposes, social media offer users approximately limitless amount of possibilities on the internet (Jef, 2008).

People may share, co-operate and resemble to their heaters content, limited only by their privacy favourites or security anxieties. In this way social media are somewhat more useful for individuals over organizations, business, or governments which are theme to multiple partialities and often severer security concerns. Though they mix flawlessly with business and organizations, social media suggests the greatest number of potentials to individual users. Social media and the web revolution deliver a greatly heightened internet experience to individuals by allowing them to contribute to contented, binding communal intelligence and user-added value. By "crowdsourcing" the insights and opinions of millions of web users, website improve their capabilities to afford valuable content.

Social media in countries like Ethiopia whom are developing can be used for technological enhancement and also for many developmental issues like heath care but at the same time it may cause disaster for the countries stability. For instance, governments delay for information in the social media during the incidents made the people angry and lead to another disastrous situation.

2.9. Threats of social media to national security

"Recent world events have shown that social media, just like traditional media, can act as a tool that threatens national security. Social media can act as a tool for widening democratic space, but on the other hand it can lead to destabilization. The media can be used to spread

propaganda and hate speech and incite to violence and others. Any debate about the role of the social media must therefore be grounded on the larger debate between information flows and stability of state. Social media has well-known security risks to nations. These risks of social media are what are termed as threats of social media to the national security. The treats of social media to national security are presented. Threats of social media can manifest themselves in many ways. Social media are more and more used by terrorist organizations as an apparatus for their goals and their quicker achievements.” (Wanner, 2011).

Plus, groups like terrorist ones take an amazing benefit of the social media networks to have access to interact with cyber created groups whether supporting their ideas or not they help them mainly in strengthening their finance by raising online funding's. This relation between the cyber groups and the terrorist groups on the ground leads to the production of new offensive technologies. Now a day we have many groups using the cyber space for threatening states in the globe. The largest community collection Facebook and video channel YouTube are mainly used to recruiting members and spreading tensions. Lowrraine Bowman- Grieve pointed out that social media “play an important role in influencing the attitudes of the individual and their readiness to take part in collective action because of their inherent socializing, recruitment and decision shaping functions besides they enable social communications and the foundation of social ties which in turn can lead to different attitudes and performances throughout time. These kind of changes in attitudes might include accepting the most predominant ideology uttered within the society”. Social media networking's permits the publication and dissemination of revolutionary ideas and apparatus that they may go through as a defenceless individual to train themselves with no need of assistance mostly.

They are used as a way for propaganda activities aiming at making the public successful in spreading threat accordingly at throwing civil population into a panic. Considering the spreading of news and content on social media viral this kind of publicity can be capable to overdraw the media effect already produced. This production can be by traditional means of sharing information and communicating, which are able to cause consequences more dangers than those caused by the groups and this could bring economic damage, societal damage and finally political instability.

The United States research service conjectured that “...*some organized groups mainly terrorist groups could use social media with the aim of knowingly spreading false information in part or in full during a disastrous event like an earthquake a flood the accidental blasts of a nuclear and delaying emergency operations and the response of a country*”. According to a report by the United States army social media can also be used as a vehicle for unknown activities by the government so as to cause damages to technological equipment’s. Social media communication ways like Facebook twitter can be used by different groups to expand networks and not only spread propagandas also host fixed horrible software links and apps that can corrupt an unwary user’s electronic device.

2.10. Conceptual and theoretical frameworks

This study uses the social responsibility theory which was first introduced in 1947 and was suggested by the Hutchis commission on freedom of the press. It stated that “the media should serve the public and in order to do so, should remain free of government interference. Social responsibility theory defines guidelines that the media should follow in order to fulfil its obligation of serving the public. It claimed that the media has;

- ❖ Media have obligations to fulfill to a democratic society in order to preserve freedom
- ❖ Media should be self-regulated
- ❖ Media should have high standards for professionalism and objectivity
- ❖ Media should depend on truth and accuracy
- ❖ Media should reflect the diversity of cultures that they present
- ❖ Media should be transparent for professional performance.

The social responsibility does not fall upon the reporters and producers of media. The responsibility also falls to the consumers to become media literate and maintain high, yet reasonable expectations of the media. In theory, if these things happen, there will be no need for government intervention in terms of regulating the media and its participation in spreading roamers and propaganda to the public.

Shuchman and Wilkes have tried to explain “...*what it means by the press to be socially responsible and in the interest of improving the media service towards the society. In their analysis about the effectiveness of communication between medical scientists and health news reporters, they found that in journalism failures to be accurate to identify vested interests to*

follow up on stories and to cover important health issues are the negative consequences of social media.”

The foundation of self-regulating in journalism lies in the presence of ethics codes whose actual influences on ethical claims in media organizations is largely problematic given that certain portion of journalists are not fully aware of their content what they are discussing about putting up their professional ethics too. These kinds of preventive procedures establish the first step in managing extreme points to which media holds out its responsibilities toward the public.

2.11. Additional theories

2.11.1 Hypodermic needle theory

Also known as magic bullet, the theory proposes that the mass media could be influence to a larger group of community directly and consistently by exposing them with curtain message structure to trigger an anticipated response. A bullet and a needle are used to project the picture of this theory which stands for the powerful and direct flow of information from the sender to the receiver. The bullet shows as the sent message similar to the fired bullet one “media gu” into the observer’s head. With the same definition the hydraulic needle model suggests that media messages are injected straightforward into a passive audience which is the first one to be influenced by the message received. The powerfulness of the message spread through media makes it dangers since the receiver can’t resist the impact of the message. There is no escape from the consequence of the message in this simulation. The population is seen as a sitting duck. People are seen as passive and are seen as having a lot media material which are Freeling wiling them. In this sense and as far as this study is concerned, if the message designed and passed by the public by the media is divisive and negative to national security, the result will be chaos and sheer violence, but when the media publishes constructive messages to the audience, national security is ensured.

2.11.2. Agenda setting theory

The theory describes a very strong effect of the media the capabilities of it to tell us what issues are important. As far back as 1922. The newspaper columnist Walter Lippman was anxious that the media had power to present images to the public. Agenda setting is the formation of public consciousness and worry of salient issues by the news media. Two basis assumptions

underline most research on agenda-setting include the belief that the press and the media do not reflect reality they filter and shape it and that media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. One of the most critical aspects in the concept of agenda- setting role of mass communication is the time frame for this situation. Additionally, different medias have different agenda setting capabilities agenda-setting theory seems quite appropriate to help us understand the pervasive role of the media.

This theory therefore can help us understand how media manipulations of facts can plunge the nation into unimaginable catastrophes such as Genocide, armed conflicts and other forms of violence by telling us what is more important. On the other hand, media agenda setting ability can help unite the nation and heal the society as far as national security is concerned.

2.11.3. Development Communication theory

Development communication has its beginning in the post- war aid programs internationally to the current developing states like Latin America, Asia and Africa that were struggling with an ongoing illiteracy, poverty political crisis, economic instability and many different situations with a very poor infrastructure. Development communication usually defined as the application of communication plans and ideologies in the developing world. It originated from theorise of development and social change that recognised the core disasters of the post war world in terms of lack of development in mainly with the developed or western countries.

“Plentiful studies have provided diverse definitions of development communication. Definitions reflect different scientific premises of researchers as well as interest’s political agendas of a myriad of foundations and organizations in the development field. Recent definitions state that the ultimate goal of “development communication” is to raise the quality of life of the people including increase income and wellbeing eradicating social injustice, promote land reform and freedom of speech and establish community centres for leisure and entertainment” (Melkote 1991,229). The current aim of the development communication is to remove constraints for a more equal and participatory society. This theory seems to suggest that a responsible media can play a crucial role in national security by contributing to the process of eradicating all potential sources of insecurity, such as hunger, illiteracy, poverty, illnesses and others.

2.11.4. Realism theory

Realism as a theory is known to be the traditional approach to international security, and this paradigm dominated the study of security for a long time. Realism can be considered a theory of international politics. Classical Realism first emerged in the late 1940s as international relations became a subject of study within universities. Here is where the term "national interest" first came into political decision-making. From the perspective of self-interest, states make many decisions based on how best to secure themselves. Taking into consideration the topic under study, Realism as a theory can help us understand why certain decisions, including policies and laws on media are developed by states. In this regard, it can be highlighted that securing national interest acts as a key driver of policies, including media freedom policies.

2.12. Media and Ethiopian history

There are a lot of debates made about the commencement and development of media in Ethiopia. Many scholars may argue that the media in Ethiopia has not grown to the desired level. It is claimed that though Ethiopia has long years of history which stretches back to antiquity, the political history of the nation over different periods has been characterized as unstable. The media in Ethiopia, consequently, may have gone through the political twists and turns. With regard to the political dynamics of the nation, as Nigussie Meshesha stated to classify the media in Ethiopia into three phases: early media, birth of modern media and the development of modern media. The time of classification is based on the overall situation of the media which came along with the relative changes in the political dynamics of the nation. *Early broadcast and print media*. Generally, it would be possible to say that the media in Ethiopia is the by-product of national and international politics. As far as early press is concerned, Ethiopia might be one of the countries which have enjoyed early fruits of the printing press, as there were indications for the modern media or press to come into existence in the beginning of the 17th century.

Most scholars (e.g. Getachew, 2003) often argue the beginning of the press is associated with the time of emperor Menelik II. However, the researcher would like to argue that the beginning of the press should not be restricted to the reign of emperor Menelik II. If press or media refers only to newspapers, the case may work true, but apart from that, if the press refers to pamphlets and books, the case would be different. Even it would be possible to say that the history of press, if it

refers to books, unlike to what Getachew (2003) and some local literary scholars indicate, dated back to the time of early writing on parchment for both religious and non-religious purposes.

According to the forgoing argument, the history of early media began before Menelik II came to power. However, as far as the history of modern media is concerned, it is associated to the era of Minelik II. For example, Ellene, Mesfin and Alemayehu (2003) argued that the first newspaper was started being published in 1890 with the coming of a four-page weekly newspaper named “Aemero”, which means “intelligence”.

Its publisher, Andreas Kavadias, a Greek businessman, used to publish and distribute it in Addis Ababa. The newspaper was the first of its kind to appear in Amharic and was hand-written. Later on, Kavadias obtained a polygraph machine and raised the paper’s circulation to 200.”

In conclusion Media and politics in Ethiopia are highly intertwined. Ethiopia has experienced sharp twists and turns in its political history where the country has gone through the imperial and semi-feudalistic regime followed by socialist military regime of the Derg to the present evolving democracy. As a result of these twists and turns of the country’s political situation, the development of the media has not gone so far. In Ethiopia, the media has been highly shaped by the governments which ruled over different periods. The past authoritarian governments have produced authoritarian media which served as the mouth piece of its respective governments. In other words, the media was mainly meant to serve the wishes and whims of those on power; it served the respective ideological spheres (Nigussie, 2014).

The relative increase in the number of newspapers during imperial government was good, but substantially decreased during the military government. However, there have recently been improvements both in number and practice of media use with the introduction of dual ownership system by the incumbent government and the private press for the first time in the nation’s history. Most of the political discourses have been done on this fact. Certainly, the current government has introduced the private media. This is because the landmark event in the history of the press in Ethiopia began after the coming of EPRDF (EPRDF, 2001). Put it the other way, the press in Ethiopia, consequently, has been put in the constitutional frame and this brought dual ownership system for the first time in the nation’s history, and practice of the constitutional freedom of the press is a good step forward in the democratization process. Nevertheless, the

government has not granted complete freedom of press media and has kept its eyes on the practice of media. There is great hostility and acute polarization between government and private media including the social media.

2.13. Description of social media users in Ethiopia

According to the digital in 2018 report realised recently, there are 16.4 million internet users in Ethiopia with internet penetration at 15 percent. Out of those 3.6 million are active social media users. The report states that well over half of the world’s population is now online, with the latest data showing that nearly a quarter of billion new users came online for the first time in 2017. Additionally, data on Ethiopia shows that annual growth for internet users is at 37 % and the number of active social media users is growing by 20 %. The report also states that majority of Ethiopians access the internet from a mobile device. Top three most searched teams on Google are ‘Facebook’, ‘news’ and Ethiopian’.

According to stat counter in 2018, April social media platforms and users are described

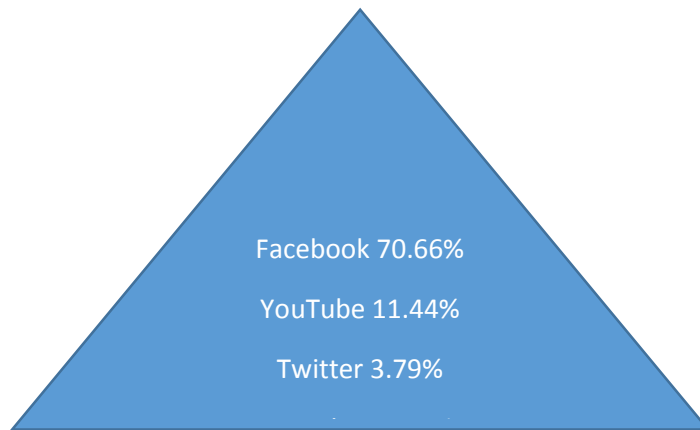


Figure 2.1 Social media platform users

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

As stated earlier methodology has to be chosen as a focusing device, in discovering empirical regularities and possible explanations of the actual operation of the federal system and what is actually happening. As a result, the researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research method for this study (mixed approach).

Qualitative method which is an approach with social science research helping to explore phenomena and experiences from the perspectives of individuals experiencing them. Thus, the subject matter of most qualitative research is how people construct their understandings of the social world and how they view them (Creswell, 2003). In this research, phenomena and actual experiences from social media users, outsiders (non-social media users) and also concerned bodies, thoughts and opinions are explored and considered in finding the applied involvement of them.

Quantitative research method which is grounded in the statement that features of the social environment constitute an objective reality that is relatively constant across time and settings, explaining features by collecting numerical data on behaviours and subjecting the data to statistical analysis. Accordingly, in examining the Ethiopian policy towards social media and national security from the perspective of national interest, media objectives, observations and comments of experts familiar with the issue the researcher used questioning methods for getting the reality at hand including comments which was stated as an output for the study in depth.

3.2. Method of data collection

The researcher had investigated the contributions that social media in threatening the national security of Ethiopia in exploratory attempt. This includes quality, credibility and validity in using multiple sources.

Both primary and secondary sources of data are used for this research. Primary Sources such as semi-structural interview, which permits flexibility and easy for an amendment on the nature of questions depending on the circumstance (Mack, 2005), in-depth interview and focus group

discussions are conducted. In addition, secondary sources such as reports, minutes of meetings, letters to the government, books, articles and electronic journals are employed.

3.3. Research Design

Given the research objective and questions, this study intends to use the review research method. The survey method is a popular and shared methodology in business, social sciences and management research and its most frequently used to answer who, what, where, how much and how many questions (Saunders. M, Lewis P and Thrnhill, 2009). The survey method is perceived as authoritative by people in general and is both comparatively easy to explain and to understand. It is appropriate for descriptive and investigative research as is this study. In addition, the data collected using a survey approach can be used to suggest possible reasons and to provide conceptual models of these relationships.

3.4. Sampling Method of the Study

The research used non probability quota sampling which involves the selection of case according to reasons other than mathematical probability (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003) through random selection of samples.

For this purpose, the researcher had interviewed 25 individuals from each selected quota that are determined by age, education, race, religion, sex and profession. And also the research used non probability purposive sampling method because the research had interviewed selected respondents who are anxious with the issue.

3.5. Data collection methods

3.5.1. Key Informant Interviews

The researcher had some key informant interviews that are conducted with purposively selected political elites and federal level government officials especially those who are supposed to have knowledge about the issue under investigation. The main objective of the interviews was to gather information about the overall aspect of the quest including their objectives or demands and challenges they are facing.

3.5.2. Focus Group Discussions

The researcher undertook about four (4) focus group discussions each consisted of six (6-7) participants that was conducted in Addis Ababa University and other suitable places for the participants. And particularly FGD was made with information technology institute students. For the sake of the validity and reliability of the research, the FGD also include students of social science departments in the other hand. In the discussion the researcher examined how social media is putting national security in danger in accordance of the participant's level and also concern, in listening and understanding the heart bit of social media users without any pressure.

3.6. Analysis and Policy Narratives

This research employed document analysis as the third method of data collection. Which included relevant legal documents such as Constitution and Civil Society Law, proclamations and other official reports like population census, counted data's and given speeches by government officials had been analysed.

3.7. Data Analysis and Techniques

The investigation of social media and its impact on national security required an exploratory approach which helps in explaining and providing the all possible information, and fruitful method about elements of the study. Due to this reason, the study used qualitative technique to analyse the required data plan of activities in order to become more familiar with the issue in detail. In addition, triangulation was used which is a process by which the "data methods or collected data are mixed so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic" (Olsen, 2004). This is with the purpose of providing a rich considerate of the complex nature of the study and relevantly capturing the views thereby expressed.

3.8. Questionnaire

As questionnaire is a set of questions dealing with a single or related topic to be answered by subjects which are used to obtain vast data from variety of respondents. It is usually easy to administer, is inexpensive and easier to analyse. Since the area the research is dealing with

focuses on different social media users the researcher used it to get different perspectives and it's was more practicable in having many participants at on time.

3.9. Ethical Consideration

One of the points that got emphasis was ethical issues. Creswell (2003:72) noted that research ethics is one of the very important parts in establishing trustworthiness and credibility of the study. Researchers need to protect their research participants, develop trust with them.

For that reason, during data collection, the researcher gave respect the participant, asked the permission of individuals, protected the privacy of the participants after a research study. Also the researcher made sure that she comes up with academic work with new findings that is free from plagiarism and has been properly acknowledged the sources of data she used. Finally, the researcher exercised due care in gathering and processing the data, and is reasonable for the steps in assuring the accuracy of results.

3.10. Scope and limitation of the study

3.10.1. Scope of the study

The research focused on the contribution of social media in terms of national security and the causes of current insecurity in the Ethiopia. The research is mainly confined in Ethiopia, also social media users for understanding the issue in grass root level.

3.10.2. Limitation of the study

It was difficult to get access to relevant materials like security reports, intelligence officials interview well as information due to the sensitiveness of the issue, but the researcher went beyond to get relevant data as much as possible. It was also challenging to identify the intentions and attitude of interviewees, which is, of course, a very difficult task for any research that wants to discover facts as they are in the ground, in this case the researcher welcomed every thoughts of selected participants seen the diverse ideas are more fruitful to analyse and distinguish the pragmatic circumstance in the ground.

Political discussions are viewed as very risky dealings; people fear that revealing some important information can endanger their security and livelihood. Therefore, private interviews on political

matters take the form of intelligence to understand the facts in the ground. Collection of confidential information mainly depends on personal trust; therefore, it is was difficult to validate such kinds of information in other interviews without compromising the safety of the respondents, here the researcher considered building trust with participants as the first strategy to comfort the participants and made sure their ideas are strictly for academic purpose only.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of data collected about the impact of social media in national security of Ethiopia. The main objective of the study was to analyse social media and national security threats in Ethiopia and the impacts influencing the national security of the country. The chapter is settled according to the research objectives. Data obtained in graphs, tables, contain means, standard deviations, frequencies and percentages on one side and information gathered from informants also focus group thoughts in discussion accordingly based on the interviews made the questioners prepared and also the literatures about the issues.

4.2 Response Rate for questioners

The study was conducted on a sample size of 10 members of the military from Ethiopian military officials in Addis Ababa based units, 20 Young movement leaders from around Addis Ababa (*Qeroo*), and 60 different social media users form different parts of the country for questioner. However, out of the issued questionnaires, 82 were duly filled and returned making a response rate of 90% as shown in figure 4.1 below.

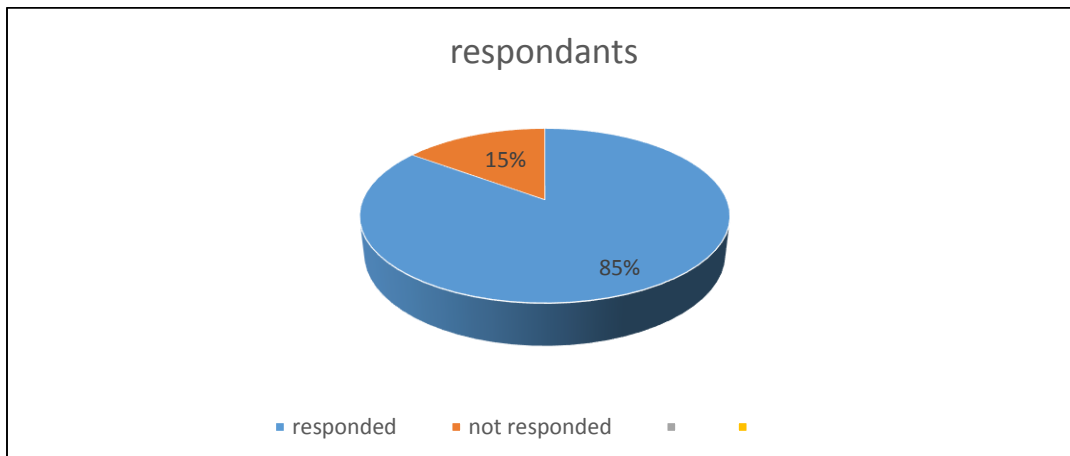


Figure 4.1 response rate for questioner

This response rate was sufficient for data analysis and therefore the researcher analysed the responses and presented the following findings.

4.3 Threats of Social Media

This section sought information about threats of social media technology to Ethiopia’s national security. The study started by requesting respondents whether social media is a threat to national security. Findings are presented in figure 4.2.

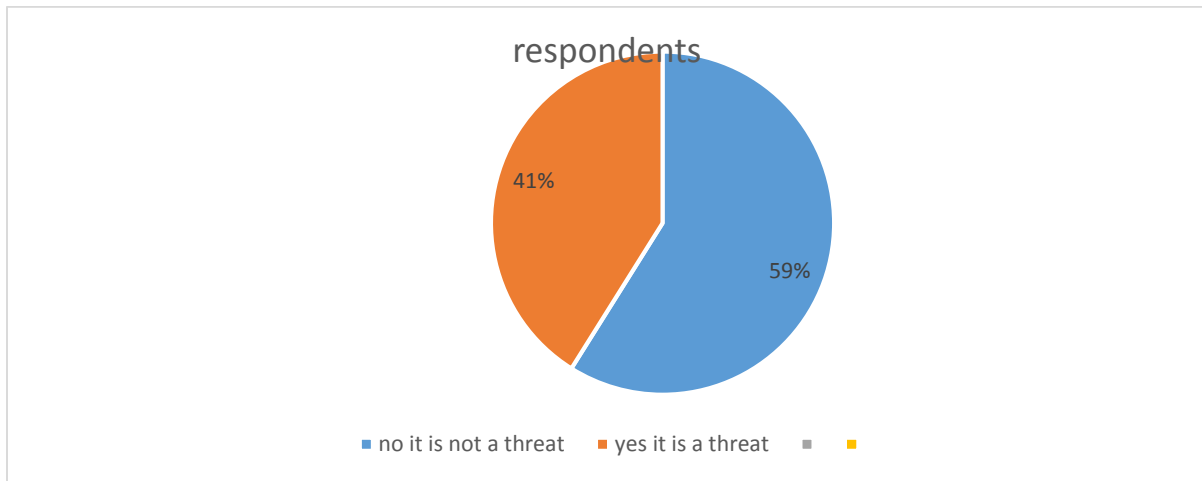


Figure 4.2 Social Media as a Threat

From the findings, majority of the respondents (59%), were in agreement that social media is not a threat to national security while 41% were in denial.

4.4. Social Media as a Tool

the study demanded respondents if they agree that social media are used by terrorist institutions or groups or other known risky activists or as tools for conceptual radicalization, recruitment, message and exercise of its members. All of the respondents agreed to the statement. The study continued of its members. All of the respondents agreed to the stated idea. The study continued and asked the respondents to state the extent to which this groups use social media as an apparatus for ideological radicalization, staffing, interaction and training. Respondents agreed that this groups use social media as a way for training and recruitment with different perceptions as shown in table 4.1

	Disagreed	Agreed
Ideological radicalization	5	85
Recruitment	20	70
Communication	3	87
Training	85	5
Propaganda	62	28
Threats of violence	67	23

Table 4.1 Social Media as a Tool

Disagreeing

Ideological radicalization 5.5%

Recruitment 22.2%

Communication 3.3%

Training 94.4%

Propaganda 68.8%

Threats of violence 74.4%

Those who agreed that social media is used for communication (96.6%), threats of violence (25.5%), ideological radicalization (94.4%), training (5.5%) and propaganda (31.1%). As UN counters terrorism implementation task force stated in 2011 “*Social Media are more and more used by terrorist organizations as tools for ideological radicalization, recruitment, communication and training. In addition to this, terrorist groups take advantage of Social Media to communicate with cyber-crime groups and to coordinate along with them fund-raising activities carried out in part or completely on the Internet*”. The link between organized crime and terrorist organizations is increasing significantly in the cyber-world, and this alliance will be able to produce new violent technologies. Though the strength of social ties strongly influences recruitment on the individual level, weak social ties can be effective in collaborating and spreading the message of a social movement across diffuse networks therefore an effective network structure would have impenetrable networks of weak ties to outside entities in addition to strong interpersonal ties within those groups.

Lorraine Bowman-Grieve, (2010) pointed out that Social Media

“Play an important role in influencing the behaviour of the individual and their readiness to take part in collective action because of their inherent socializing, recruitment and decision shaping functions”, besides, they “facilitate social interaction and the formation of social bonds, which in turn can lead to changes in attitudes and behaviour over time. Apart from being used for recruitment purposes, Social Media are also used by Islamist groups for propaganda activities aimed at making public successful terrorist attacks, and, consequently, at throwing civil population into a panic.”

Respondents agreed that social media was used for propaganda during and in present crisis of Ethiopia and is continuing to be influential in one way or the other. There was communication from the outside activists as well as inside protesters and the public were important to ensure they obtain the actual news not fabrications by the enemy. The government of Ethiopia reminded journalist and users of social media to countercheck facts and the most convenient source was the thought as the Ethiopian broadcasting corporation who were often available for the press and put right facts.

Respondents stated that if you look at Facebook pages, activists keep on posting Propaganda including terrorist groups and those groups who are supported by some part of the society. And when counterchecked, it is understood that either nothing happened at all or if an incident happened, they usually try to exaggerate the death toll or any accident that happens. According to the study the so called groups was not the only ones spreading propaganda. The Respondents also described how the Ethiopian government uses propaganda as a morale-booster or as a way of confusing the enemy. The government and the groups lied more often, respondents argue. Respondents indicated reasons as to why the groups will wanted to use propaganda. It was found that everyone in the cyber game always located themselves as winners. The groups wanted to give the impression like they are never losing the battle also the government. Social media is also used by the groups for communication purposes. The use of social media as a new communication podium introduces serious security and privacy concerns, including new *“Routes for cyber-attack that the government and the military cannot discount. Social Media are connection and mass communication tools, characterized by a global diffusion and an ever*

growing level of use, considering their handiness and flexibility, as well as their extreme cheapness. Since spreading news and content on Social Media can be considered “viral”, this kind of propaganda is able to considerably overdraw the media effect already produced by traditional means of information and communication and cause consequences even more dangerous than those caused by the terrorist attacks themselves in the country” (Hasni, 2012).

4.4. Criminal Organization Threats

The study requested respondents to rate the amount to which criminal organizations are threats to national security. Majority of the respondents were in agreement that criminal organisations are threats on drug smuggling, human trafficking and money-laundering with a mean scores of 98% and 2% agree and disagreeing respectively as shown in table 4.2

	Agree	Disagree
Drug smuggling	84	6
Human trafficking	90	0
Money laundering	85	5
Spreading child pornography	90	0
Mobilization	86	4

Table 4.2 Criminal Organization Threats

In disagreeing

Drug smuggling 6.7%

Human trafficking 0%

Money-laundering 5.6%

Spreading child pornography 0%

Mobilization 4.5 %

Those respondents who were in agreement that criminal organisations use social media for spreading child pornography and for mobilization had percentage of 100% and 95% respectively. Though the use of Social Media is essentially related to the collaboration between a person and

the information medium, organized groups in the broadest meaning of the term; states; public agencies; companies; movements; and terrorist groups are potential Social Media users, too. To date the terrorist groups which make the most considerable use of Social Media for their own determinations are the most who have their actions in many countries including Ethiopia which is sought to be the super power in the horn of Africa. Criminal groups which use Social Media are made of people coming from the same geographic area and who know each other personally, but also of people sprinkled all over the world who are linked completely by “virtual” relations. These criminal groups are generally harmonised by one or more go-betweenes who have the power to eliminate the members who do not deliver high-quality information or tools and to allocate an increasing level of reliability to those who make more influence than others. The social networks or ties take them together and by use of social media are able to establish themselves, recruit new members, communicate and engage in covert operations resulting to achievement of its organizational strategy (Blitzblau,2 011).

4.5. Military use of Social Media for National Security

This section wanted information about the usage of social media by the military to decrease disasters and indorse national security. The study began the sector by asking respondents if the military use social media for military functions. From the investigation findings most of the respondents 60% agreed that the military use social media for military goals while 40% disagreed as shown in figure 4.3.

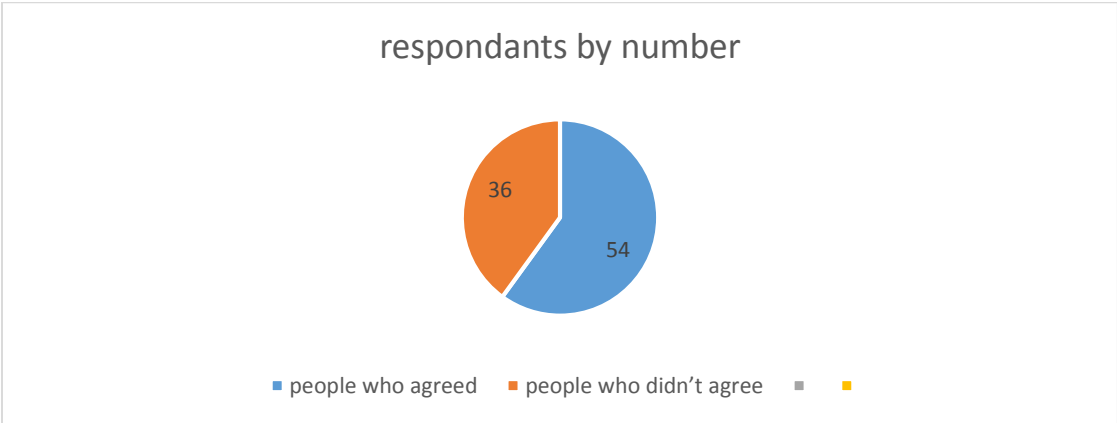


Figure 4.3: Military Use Social Media for Military Operations

From the responses respondents designated that military use social media for communicating process of process boost morale of soldiers clarify on propaganda messages sent by enemies and dispelling rumours for updating civilians on progress of military operation for public relations and operation also the military use social media in questioning those who spread rumour and misinformation occupy an important place in the terrorist networks propaganda strategy. *Through them, this treat groups manages to question the legitimacy and the honour of its opponents, without the need to justify the truth of its accusations. Rumours can consist of all kinds of delirious statements, conspiracy theories, and odd suggestions. Though the public first grants only limited credibility to this type of statements, the long-term effect supposes an internalization of doubt about all those involved: the political and security leaders, the security agencies, and the terrorists* (Hoge, 2008).

The study further asked respondents if there are officers whose job purpose include spending time on social media sites to monitor any security threat that spreads around. All respondents except 4 agreed to the statement which designated that members of the military from Addis Ababa and Bishoftu based units believe there are officers whose job functions include spending time on social media sites to monitor and analyse and security threats to national security.

4.6. Mechanisms by the Military to Counter Social Media Threat

The study requested respondents to rate the extent to which respondents the government use mechanisms to counter threats of social media to national Security. From the findings, majority of the respondents were in agreement that counter propaganda is used by the government to counter social media threats. Management originates from the government; they have a variety of options for communicating their stance.

Leaders who have media abilities developments as an advantage. A consequence of the increasing prominence of internal publics is that foreign ministry now focus mainly on the home responses to the foreign media. By the same token even on overseas visits leaders are much more attentive in what the home media say than on attainment out to foreign publics via the media in the countries visited. Ideally, the one should balance the other and foreign ministries have their work cut out in safeguarding that the latter are preserved as an equivalent priority.

For instance, US diplomacy actively uses Social Media for influence and propaganda activities. In fact, in 2008, the program Public Diplomacy 2.0 was developed and officially presented by the then Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy James Glassman during an event specially organized at the New America Foundation. Public Diplomacy 2.0 has been defined by Glassman himself as a new communication process which takes advantage of “Social Media potentialities and credits the diplomatic corps with a significant competitive advantage, both in the relationships with other states in the economic, scientific, technologic and geo-strategic fields and with regard to soft power activities aimed at countering radicalized ideologies, religious extremism, and politic violence.”

4.7. Ethiopia’s Current National Security

The study sought information about Ethiopia national security status. It started by asking Respondents to rate the current state of Ethiopia’s national security with regard to threats from social media. From the findings, 47.6% of the respondents stated that the security Ethiopia is average. However, 33.4% indicated that Ethiopians security with regard to social media is above average while 7.1% felt that it is extremely poor. The Internet has revolutionised the way people communicate through e-mail, chat rooms, electronic messaging and instant information access.

Although there is no recognised country that has prosecuted social media crimes, a number of countries have come up with actions to reduce some depravities indorsed on the Net. Ethiopia, conversely, is still contending in the dim as the enormous of hate ranges. And also different groups has been expending social media to send messages to Ethiopia and Ethiopia’s incapability to dilute the message before it grasps citizens shows instability in the countries security.

4.8. Social Media Contribution towards Insecurity in Ethiopia

The study requested respondents to rate the extent to which insecurity in Ethiopia been contributed by social media. From the findings, respondents agreed that social media has contributed towards hate speech, information warfare and tribal clashes by having scored 95.5% and 4.5% in agreeing and disagreeing respectively as shown in table 4.3.

	Agree	Disagree
Hate speech	88	2
Information warfare	81	9
Tribal clashes	89	1

Table 4.3: Social Media Contribution towards Insecurity in Ethiopia

Disagreeing

Hate speech 2.3%

Information warfare 10%

Tribal clashes 1.2%

Respondents agreed that social media has contributed towards hate speech with percentage of 97.7%, information warfare 90% and tribal clashes 98.8%. No research was found that lengthily measures the amount of hate speech that happens online. *The Simon Wiesenthal Centre’s annual Digital Terror and Hate Report from 2012 was based on 15,000 ‘problematic’ websites, social networks, forums, online games and apps. They believe this has seen an increase of around 3,500 problematic outlets since 2010. Similarly, the International Network Against Cyber hate, 2013 has argued that over recent years ‘the amount of cyber hate has grown to enormous proportions’, with ‘Islam, Jews, lesbians and gays, blacks, Roma, liberals’ and ‘left-wingers’ representing the main targets of online abuse.*

The study in conclusion requested questioner respondents to contribute suggestions on how to protect ourselves against violent use of social media and improve on our security condition. The findings as recommended by the respondents were to connect soft wares that control hate speech and performance on information collected with determination, through legislation, interruption & censorship, taking disciplinary procedures contrary to persons identified propaganda hate speech , communicating with possessors of social media platforms to monitor and shut down sites considered to be propagating criminal activities., Constant controlling of mismanagement of social media, coming up with rules to guard in contradiction of misuse of social media, having essential laws to control people on how to use social media, instruments to trace social inciters in place, educating the public about the use of social media without hate speech, block sources of

threat in the social media, campaign for optimistic use of social media and accuse hate speech mongers.

4.9. Analysis of interviews and FGDs

This part of the research tries to show the overall responses made by the key informants rendering the questions asked by the researcher and also the discussion points forwarded from the focus group discussions made.

4.9.1 What is your overall considerations about the current situation in Ethiopia and social media usage?

Currently the social media is becoming more influential in the politics of the country (code, 09), the usage of social media is becoming useful in forwarding one's opinion as one way of communication the social media is used to communicate and also is becoming a cyber-warfare for different ideologies. In Ethiopians case as they say "the *Gini* is out..." ones its opened and the people are exercising it we can't say social media usage is in this way or that way the main focus will be how to balance in order to use it for the better of its creation (code, 13).

The social media in Ethiopia is becoming the "...a weapon for one corner activism or I would rather say for the one who were demanding their rights on the press media" (code, 20). The policy maker's way the press media has been handled had brought the social media to be where it is now.

"The media is the main conduit between the public and policymakers as it provides the public, information on what the policymakers are doing and the in turn follow media reports on public opinion as it is being formed. In the matter of public opinion, Article 19 of the UN declaration of Human Rights of 1948 declares: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. The media, thus, has a tremendous impact on policy and an enhanced public responsiveness to any events that are covered by them. Through the media, the Government is able to mobilize the public, build an opinion on any issue of relevance and create a significant space for engagement. At the same time, the potential of the public to become informed and to make its voice heard in response to events portrayed in the media is increasing significantly, but it must pass through the filter of

public interest, that is permissible by the Government in terms of safeguarding national interest of the country” (Abraham, 2012).

Including all the principles and laws made by the international community and also the country I personally argue the usage of the social media in Ethiopia should be exercised based on a formal principle (code, 11). The social media usage in our country is bringing the bad influential western cultural impacts in the country and the usage is more generation killer than generation builder (code, 26).

“social media have brought major impact on how people have conversation with one another. Social media tends to create out of us “online personalities and entities”. Social media offers a greater capacity to send quick messages by increasing the methods by which we can communicate. Some people may use this as an easy way out, however, having a face-to-face conversation with someone in a tense situation. Those patterns over one situation can create future problems relationally and professional” (Kimatu, 2014).

In Ethiopian case our social media usage is in its infant stage it should be well organized by interpersonal activities and needs more mature mind sets and an increasing rate of positive altitude (code, 05).

No matter if you are searching for that former college roommate, your first grade teacher, or an international friend, there is no easier or faster way to make a connection than via the social media. But the Ethiopian social media usage is more of political oriented, our usage focuses on more of propagating our political ideology rather than the social gathering (code, 17). Similarly, FGD Four participants argued that our usage of social media usage is practicing the political agenda and is contributing for the unrest in the country rather the social congregation including the social value. The Ethiopian social media usage is bringing individualism in the country rather promoting nationalism in the minds of the citizens specially the young generation (code,11).

The limited distribution of newspapers coupled with the less infrastructure access, has been the major challenge of the press in Ethiopia. For instance, particularly, the print media, as they have been mostly limited in the capital, rarely reach even in some major cities in the country. Furthermore, a limited financial source of the organizations which publish newspapers has

minimized the number of copies to address a large number of readers all across the country. On top of that, most of the newspapers are not accessible to the rural literate because of inadequacy of transportation facility and lack of agents to distribute the newspapers (Negussie, 2014). The financial cost of the press media including the sensor ship of ideas of every author facing contribute to our usage of social media in the country (code, 22).

In nutshell, the usage of social media in Ethiopia is advantageous for those how are propagating and it the easy way to get assesses to the public simply when we say simply it includes the financial cost, the location issues and mostly censorship and the legal process in having the press media.

4.9.2. Do you think social media is advantageous in the country?

When one decides to participate in a social network community, you can pick and choose those individuals whose likes and dislikes are similar to yours and build your network around those commonalities. For instance, if you are a book lover, you can find and interact with those who share your interest. Because you are connecting digitally instead of having to physically attend meetings, you have the luxury of joining many more groups and communities. You can meet with your friends anytime you have an Internet connection and whenever you find them online. Social networking has revolutionized the speed of the news cycle. Many news organizations now partner with social networking sites like Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook in order to both collect and share information. One can get a sense of what is going on in the world just by watching trending topics from many of these sites. This has led to the development of a near instantaneous news cycle as millions of social networking updates rapidly spread news and information (Jadoon, 2017).

Social media is a place where you meet up with people having the same interest with you, the more you like something the more you get attached to it, this is how social media operates so for countries like Ethiopia having different nationalities and people with different cultures creating connection with only the same people with you put the federal structure in danger. Social medias contribution to the unity of a society is more likely to be said low. In this case it could be said social media in Ethiopia balances in the negative side of the countries unity (code, 17).

For everything created opportunity there is a negative and positive side of it it's all about how we use it, the implementation matters specially in the minds of the young it is righting in the clean sheet, it's what the society put in the mind that is reflected in the cyber world and every community decides what is right for its environment (code,11).

New communication technologies have significantly changed the way in which individuals interact and have created a new space for freedom of expression. They have allowed individuals to freely express themselves and disseminate their views and opinions to a wide global audience. From a political viewpoint, the internet has provided a significant opportunity for human rights advocates to defend civil liberties, which is particularly valuable to nations where freedom of expression is suppressed. At the same time, technologies have also been used to repress free speech, and curtail online political dissidence (ISSN, 2014).

The introduction of technology in our country is one of the advantages, we can consider it as Ethiopia's achievement in the technology sector, but the usage specially currently is becoming a disadvantage for the country since its bringing mostly hate speeches and promoting one sided ideas (code,09).

The social media in Ethiopia is the most advantageous factor that the country ever had, it's the way the people got to express their true opinions on political, social and also economic issues. Social media is like a stone in the building of a society in Ethiopia it is the best way of expression in the EPRDF regime, in questioning the stated freedom of expression and also the press freedom in the constitution of the country the social media is providing the best of it in achieving radical change in the country. When siting radical change, it includes promoting democracy a democratic system based on fair economic distribution and equality for every nations and nationalities of the country. Social media had achieved and is also achieving guarantying the freedom of expression in the country (code, 22).

Social media beyond the political ideas and their freely expression ways are advantageous in the social gathering and the technological achievements Ethiopia got as a developing country in the world. The social media can help citizens get the technological transformation factors and also it is the way forward to step up with the international community. The government of Ethiopia as a

sovereign state considers the use of social communication as advantageous for the country regarding the usage of it by the citizens (code, 28).

4.9.3. What could be set as to be the aspiration for the use of social media rather than other means of communication?

The first aspiration of the usage of social media is its accessibility or the barriers to enter in to, there is no access to achieve freedom of speech in Ethiopia I would say there is "... elite control". The easy way to access the media is the social networking only, it's the legal questions free zone there is no request from the legal entities in using social media. Structural problems appear in our country the distribution mechanism is not assessable for all citizens. And the trust on the government or the press media has been lost so social media is the most trustable arena now a days the social media is with all the trust from the society since it is personal, the society in Ethiopia trusts the social networking information relatively than the press media. In general, the society comparatively do not like to participate in organizational structures since it's easy to define information and communication in individual level social media is the finest way of addressing and expressing (code, 17).

I don't believe there is a measure in the country including practicing the constitutional rights there are writers and activists in prison, this gave their supporters discomfort and the belief on the media eroded so the social media is the unrestricted region (code, 21). There is no need for well thought measure or accurate data in social media it's all about adding fuel to one simple information you get whether you are right or wrong, idea creating is not even an issue in social networking so why facing all the legal process? (FGD, two). But currently Ethiopia has become the only country in Africa to not imprison journalists for their professional agendas.

Rather than door to door camping social media is an indoor way of getting assess it's a scientifically defined issue people need the nearest way to get everything and social media plays the major role in being the nearest access to information, information on social media is information in your hands on just one click you get what you need (code, 13).

The way people handle information is poor, citizens in checking information's reality is not even a culture in our country, the choices of using medias can't be laid in the hands of the government it's all about the peoples free will for their use of media and anything can be an inspiration in

using the social media together with the one with only the need for participation of the social communication (code, 02).

Low political practice made social media easy to be trustable the governments lack of establishing deep source of trust and reliable information source for its citizens made people to trust the social networking acceptable, the media is mostly the propaganda forwarder for the ruling part in Ethiopia in this case it's impossible for the citizens not to choose the social medias (code, 19).

Media cannot be seen independent of the democratic process of countries. Media, particularly free media, is characterized from its being more participative, more oriented toward the popular, more event centered and timely, and more objective and less partisan” So, the media, as the means to political deliberation, should become public forum and should be geared towards performing these salient functions by providing accurate information. The importance of media in the public sphere as it is a means to facilitate political communication by exchanging “information between a nation’s leadership, the media, the citizenry”. Hence, media is the life heart of a government as it becomes an intermediary power between the executives, the legislators and the judiciary. It has been enjoying the role of playing a part to check and balance the power in the advanced democratic nations (Freedom House survey of media freedom, 2012)

People in Africa specially in Ethiopia with different languages, cultural values and different way of living situations democracy is the number one thing to be needed, in democratic system the first requested issue is freedom to express one’s self and getting information everywhere when needed. Social media in this kind of countries is the way that people believe to guarantee their democratic rights and the feeling in using social media is the feeling of getting access to the networking and sharing of ideas. For instance a group of people gathered based on their certain religion ideas got the freedom of promoting their religion in the constitution of the country or in proclamations laws or principle in respect with the stated guide lines of it but in social media this groups can create their group pages easily by choosing the platform they want and add people whether in followers of the religion or people against their religion, they can promote their religion to millions of people with just one or two sentence even one picture having their motto can get them to the broader community of the social media. So, social media is like the easy to get the hard that man can find heavy addressing (code, 03).

The use of Social Media by a state's agencies can help incisively and transparently interact with the public opinion and shorten the gap between institutions and citizens. Civil society using social media can therefore, become acquainted with the purposes pursued by each public agency, and can be involved in institutional activities, when possible (code,28).

4.9.4. Do you believe that expressing ideas using social Medias can be a threat to the national security of Ethiopia?

The main thing in social media related to national security is its easiness to make something up and distribute it faster without no consensus for its reality. There is no institutional base between the social media users and the government and this luck of institution is the number one threat for the national security of Ethiopia, for instance in using social media there is no need for checking the reality of the information or the permission of certain institution in the country, the information shared without cross checking would put life's of people or institutions profile in danger this kind of operations directly or in directly affect the security of the nation (code, 17).

Without a trusted main stream in the country social media is defiantly a danger for Ethiopia we need institutions to go between (code, 12). We need a trustable institution in the country even if the state is with no power to shut down the technology. The social media case is not an issue to settle down with the assistance of the military or a well-organized military camp it's a mind-set agenda so we need to set minds of the people by being trustable and constitutional for the citizens in the country, the government's failure in not doing this will directly affect the national security of the county (code, 5).

The increasing use of social media in recent conflicts, especially in Ethiopia is challenging in thinking about the future. It frequently combines new and more traditional media. It proposes opportunities for intelligence and miss-communication for example "selfies" (photos people take of themselves with cell phones, then share with others) are good examples. Not only are about five percent of social media postings relocated, but even if they are not, the background in the selfie may identify show as location. So this could be the easy way of address locations without any military intelligence. So we cannot say the social media is not a threat to the national security of the country (code, 22).

Its high national threat for the security of Ethiopia, cyber war investment is one of the factor that made social media a threat to national security there are individuals and groups funding to propagate their ideas social media do not work without some assistance whether to pay for the internet bills or to have time to even one post on a platform there should be some economic assistance people investing in the cyber war are threats to national security including their followers, as market advertisement in social media propagandas are also an investment so without any censorship and legal request the cyber war investment is the way social media becomes national security threat (code,17).

“Social Media can represent an effective opportunity to preserve national security and/or reach the strategic interests of a state if used properly by civil institutions and in particular, by security services such as the military. In this respect, Social Media are presenting a demonstrable threat to governments, it could be vital for security services to continually refine and update plans for disrupting new Internet technology”. Besides, these tools can be used by governments for content creation, external collaboration, community building, and other applications and that failure to adopt these tools may reduce an organization’s relative capabilities over time. More importantly Social Media can also be employed at the same time both for defense activities such as prevention, Early Warning Tool, prevision, strategic communication, open source intelligence (OSI), psychological operations and counter-propaganda.” (Kimutai, 2014).

As a way or transparency and also intelligence mechanism the government of Ethiopia can use social media effectively and rather than a threat for the country social media can be a way of guaranteeing the sustainable peace of the country all we need is in respect of all rights and freedoms given by the constitution creating awareness for the citizens in using the social media we need the people to be the ambassadors of their peace so in setting the minds of the people we can make the good out of the threat (code, 28).

Social media is not a unique thing to Ethiopia only, it is a world trend with all its advantages and disadvantages I believe it’s all about permission and control, we have to strike the perfect balance between the good and the threat. Social media is the place where people get information we can’t say social media is a threat for security or we can’t say it won’t affect the security but

all we need is the balancing strategy by the government and all the citizens by taking responsibility (code,06).

The issue of internet usage in our country is not as developed as the developed nations but we are using it highly for the political mobilization in Ethiopia because different opposing parties or groups believing the political sphere is narrow as the mouth of a small pot used social media for their agendas. Including the public media being closed to divers ideas social media become the place to express everyone's opinion, the government can't control the social media usage seems it a globally given plat form. The point is with the infant stage of democracy in Ethiopia we can't say social media won't be a threat for the national security of Ethiopia, without a filtering mechanism or even a balancing scheme it is difficult for social media to be the safe sphere for Ethiopia's security as nation (code,10).

We need specific laws with regards to the social media, be made and passed so as to protect the rights of the citizens. Internet and the social media should be preserved into the Components as fundamental human rights, because the impact of the social media has evolved into our daily lives or an extension of our arm and as such must be protected by legislation without having this we can't say social media is the safe zone to exercise the freedom of speech in our current case social media is a threat more than an air strike with chemical gas (code, 15).

In social media reputation is the hazardous issue regarding national security of Ethiopia, in social media sphere false information will be repeated and a repeated false information seems like the truth in the ground. For instance, killing posts in the cyber space represented by pictures will be repeated in different platforms this aggravates issues even if they are not real, things without cross checking and with an increasing rate of repetition put the national security of the country in question, the false information spreading in the international arena beyond the inside security affects the countries national security from the outside (code, 09).

“Security issues now need to be viewed from a much broader perspective than in the past.

Security for people in the world does not just mean equipping ourselves to deal with military threats and armed attacks, although this remains one of central government's core duties. Wider

security measures must also now encompass protection against epidemics and infectious diseases, combating terrorism and organized crime, ensuring safe transport and reliable food

supplies, protecting against energy supply interruptions, countering devastating climate change, initiatives for peace and global development, and much more. This broad concept of security has formed the basis for the work of the Government's security policy council, which I established shortly after taking office. It also provides the basis for the national security strategy established today by the Government.”

Prime minister of Sweden, 2017 in national security of Sweden

The use of Social Media allows not only to communicate, share or capture information, analyse socio-political dynamics and anticipate economic-financial trend, but also to describe events, model reality, influence the perception of a certain situation, a specific issue or a person¹⁷⁴, and influence choices and behaviours. Therefore, Social Media can strongly affect institutional, business or team strategic decision-making, as well as formation and development of the public opinion's collective awareness. These tools can be employed to interfere with the adversaries' decision-making process, both directly, that is manipulating their information and analysis framework or influencing their close collaborators, and indirectly: influencing groups of people (i.e. political parties, trade unions, public opinion, etc.) whose reactions affect the very choices of a country's leadership (Capt. CC Alfonso MONTAGNESE, 2012).

The information delay that occurs in Ethiopia from the government is the aggravating factors of false information in wide spreading of it. The government of Ethiopia's failure in addressing information in due time is the insecurity in the country. For example, if 50 people died in some insurgent a number found with investigation the government have to say 50 people have died in this place other ways the social media users will start guessing their own numbers one might increase the number the other might decrease it, his is an element of insecurity for a country (code, 18).

Legal control over expression is sought and allowed even in the freest society in the world. This is to ensure that the right of one person to publish does not destroy the right of another person or the right of the society to exist and be safe from the effect of wrongful, unlawful, defamatory or mischievous publications. Therefore, the press and all users of the social media have a responsibility that comes along with the freedom of expression, and must uphold this duty and

responsibility with a high sense of decency and must practice discretion on what is published or posted (Negussie, 2014).

Information delay in Ethiopia is the most damaging component in the national security of the country. Because the first one in social media will start the communitarian channel and will be the agenda performer on a certain issue this is a danger for a community and will go beyond to the national level (code, 21). Social Media are found to have an extremely high level of interaction among the users, differently from traditional media, which are characterized by a one-way communication flow. Indeed, Social Media users can be at the same time both senders and recipients of information, and creators, and users of content so all mandates lay on the hands of the users the government by its institutions should guarantee the rights of the citizens and should create awareness for its citizens to be the get keeper's for its on security (code,28).

In social media the government can use the platform to gather information for keeping the security and pace of the country (code,2). Because networking in online social communities is still a relatively young online trend, whether or not social networking is harmful is still unknown. Like any other type of networking or social club with which individuals become involved, it is a good idea to do your homework and make sure that you know what you are getting into. Understand the terms of use, the rules and regulations, and be clear on issues like security and privacy. Take responsibility for your own safety and integrity and never join something just because it is trendy or all your friends are doing it. In evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of social networking, it's best to err on the side of caution and information. After all, the lack of both can have a devastating effect (Jadoon, 2017).

Social media can be used as a weapon of offense at the same time for defence in both cases the national security of the country rests between the users and the followers of the social media, the government at the same time should use social media for its national interest this kind of measure can help the government in serving its national interest but also it could be dangers groups to come against the national interest of the country (code,28). The government should be willing the learn from the society in the globalization world we can't say one sided operation will help specially in the case of social media the government should be willing to learn from the

environment and understanding social media by the leaders in the government plays the biggest role in securing the country.

The security and privacy of data is primary focus of a country. Nowadays all over the world all peoples want to keep their data or information in digital form or cyber form. In these cases, cyber criminals focused on social media websites, Net banking and many more personal uses, the elite in power including the political appointees should clearly understand the matter social media if not the generation gap about the technology will be a danger for the national security of the country (code, 17). The government accepting the idea of social media is a threat for the national security of the country from the beginning for people in Ethiopia permitting social media without any restriction from a certain institution can cause undeniable risk to the national security (code, 26).

Social Media are extremely simple to use, they are true to traditional social networks and boost their articulated dynamics thanks to the quick sharing of content, the volume of the information exchanged, the multidirectional communication flows and the ability to aggregate even people who are far away from one another geographically at the same time the distraction by social media is simple to create (code, 19). The social media beyond its disadvantages has become the weapon for western ideology enforcement this is a threat for a country having its own culture and values (code,14).

4.9.5. How do you consider the measures taken by the Ethiopian government during crisis in the country on social media specially Facebook?

The insecurity in Ethiopia didn't start by the social media rather the social media became the weapon for every idea brought by different groups, the crisis came years before it's only the technological advancement that gave it chance to shift its devote to the cyber space we can't say social media started the crisis in the country (code,19). The country is "media closed" country, the EPRDF regime is not a party willing to accept change the change could be indifferent from political agenda but I would say the party as a ruling party of the country is not a change accepting regime (code,17). The social media space permitted different groups to start a proxy war and the government responded for the situation by shutting down the internet, this response gave social media the chance to be more trustable including the political agendas faster

mobilization, issues are highly mobilizing in the linkage between media and ongoing situations (code, 22).

As an example, the Egyptian government has introduced a new set of law for its usage of the internet with well-organized research on how to use the internet, in the authorization of the court the government stated a law on closing certain websites that are considered to be a threat for the national security of the country. In the Ethiopian case there is nothing which is supported by evidence and research or any survey made by the government to get the concerns of the people, the disadvantaged groups used social media for their own sentiments for uprising (code,20). The government of Ethiopia is not responding accordingly for the usage of social media the freedom of speech stated in the constitution is not respected when the government shuts down the internet targeting the social media as a threat for national security of the country (code,21).

“...you cannot imagine this revolution without the social media...” activist Jawar Mohammed
for Algezira (September, 15, 2018)

The Facebook managers have announced the new policy of the company that allows hate speeches to be hand-picked up for security purposes. The government of Ethiopia rather than setting a balance just decided to shut off the internet. The social media being a platform as an expression of ideas should be balanced with the help of the government between the hate-speech and the knowledge transformation that could help the community (code, 22).

ESAT had reported on June 22, 2018 the Ethiopian government announced that it has blocked 264 websites, blogs as well as radio and TV transmissions including ESAT itself. “a free flow of information is essential for engaged and responsible citizenry” Fistum Arega from prime minister office said currently Ethiopian investment commission director general. Miss Tsedale Lema a chief editor in Addis standard and social media activist the government should amend the media law in the country by including the social media since it is a new thread for the country “... there won't be a free media without a free state, the media itself should start correcting its mistakes and be well developed ...”.

Ethiopia's government has blocked the internet following days of protest and unease that resulted in deaths and injuries in universities and towns across the east African nations. For

example, in Chelkeno Oromia region, media report noted the killing of 16 people aged between 15 and 60 years, including family members who were harvesting sorghum on farm. The family was reportedly not aware of the initial demonstrations in a nearby village, where locals blamed the killing of a prominent member of the community by the controversial Somali special forces known as the Liyu. This was followed by heightened ethnic tension in campuses, where students were allegedly killed at the hands of security forces (ESAT, December 12,2017).

The government of Ethiopia's reaction during crisis in the country is not according to a country following a democratic system whatever the reason the government put as a justification without a confirmed law or principle it won't be constitutional to shut down the internet (code, 03). The government in time of insecurity in Ethiopia should shut of every social media because the social media is the hazardous habitation where insecurities become intensified, in this kind of situation the government should decide what is best for the people if not it would be a case of mass destruction (code,24). The social media regarding its advantages in knowledge sharing plays the biggest role in increasing conflict in the country specially no a day with this well-organized internet world, the government of Ethiopia shutting down the internet won't be the permanent solution for the insecurities occurring. In this globalization world we can control people by putting them away from information it is even difficult to settle peace with stated laws in the country so the government should permit access of information in crisis and give awareness to the citizens to take responsibility, freedom is the key (code, 14).

The government of Ethiopia's first and main responsibility is to keep its citizen's safety a government whom can't stand for the safety of its citizens won't be called even a government to rule, so in time of crisis with evidence and investigated data decides for its citizens, shutting down the internet if is believed by the government should be put in enforcement right away for the good of the sustaining peace in the country (code, 28).

It's all about moral value, if persons mind is not set out with positive assumptions shutting of the internet won't be helpful in time of insecurities or to bring sustainable peace in the country, a moral value is not a thing to shut off and open as an internet, so rather than the shutoff and open issue the government should work on building a responsible generation (code, 04). The generation is losing the advantages of the technology without a moral value the generation itself

is a problem for the country not the social media, the social media is a means to communicate the decision should be made to the communicator working on the man powers moral value is the best for securing the country peace permanently (code, 16).

4.9.6. To what extent social media can bring sustainable peace?

I don't believe social media is the perfect place for promoting peace itself, the social media in its nature brings the same people together we get in to a community with the same likes and dislike in a day to day social media routine, in peace ideology we can say we are living peace full with people having the same interest. Peace by its nature requires tolerance for tolerance we need people with divers idea in this case social media won't increase the peace promotion itself, being surrounded by same issue won't bring sustainable peace (code,17). We need divers view to exercise the idea of peace in social media the more you like something the more they come to you and finally you will be surrounded by people like you, the government cannot respond for this kind of things since it's a personal issue. In social media things are not a command structured kind of things we need some group of people like us and at the same time against as to be for or against, but in peace we need a diversified atmosphere so as we can respect others and be respected by them at the same time (code, 18).

If we use the social media with responsibility and positive matters yes we can promote peace by it, there won't be any way as fast as the social media to do the bad also the good, we can address a diversified environment with different platforms and share ideas of peace by it (FDG, three). The social media can be the best method for the government and also the people to guarantee their peace permanents the subject is how do I use the platforms provided? If answering this questions is filled by positive attitude and peace then the social media and the cyber space is the best way of promoting peace and bringing sustainable peace (code,28).

Sustaining peace a concept endorses by the UN general assembly and security council focuses on the importance of having a long term, comprehensive vision in all responses to violent conflict to end vicious cycles of lapse and relapse. Also from the resolution by the UN on 27, April,2016

“recognizing that sustaining peace” as drawn from the advisory group of experts report, should be broadly understood as a goal and a process to build a common vision of a society, ensuring that the needs of all segments of the population are taken in to account, which encompasses

activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, escalation contention and recurrence of conflict, addressing root causes, assisting parts to conflict to end hostilities, ensuring national reconciliation, and moving towards recovery, reconstruction and development, and emphasizing that sustaining peace is a shared task and responsibility that needs to be fulfilled by the government and all other national stakeholders, and should follow through all there pillars of the united nations' engagement at all stage of conflict, and in all its dimension, and needs sustained international attention and assistance”.

Social media have the potential to be great tool that can foster democratic dialogue and freedom of expression. However, owing to the unrestricted nature of internet and social media, users without ethical standards and professionalism can use the tools to circulate misleading information. Such information can lead to destabilization of peace and ignite violence. There is inadequate information on the potential role of social media for conflict prevention and peacebuilding (Phantus, 2013). Social media can be a way for building peace but the usage of the media is the most important thing especially in countries like Ethiopia, whom are developing.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, summary of the study is presented rendering to the research objectives. The Chapter also delivers conclusions of the study as well as recommendations of the study.

5.2 Summary of the Study

From the findings it was found that social media are used by different organizations as an apparatus for their conceptual radicalization, getting their members, interactions and the courses to give to their recruits. Social media is also used as a propaganda and communication weapon. The study found that various advantages are gained of the social media networks with cyber-crime groups and to manage along with them to get their financial needs which are based in the online space.

As the high bonds of the social interactions impact selection of members on the single person level, the study found that poor social bond can be operative in interacting and communicating also spreading the message of social movement through long widened networks hence an effective network strategy would have weakened connections of the poor tie to outside units in addition to strong connections to those groups.

The study found that social media are also used by different groups and individuals for propaganda activities intended creating public positive mid set accordingly, at throwing civil population into fright. It was found that the government recommends that medias or journalists to over check the sources of their presentations for the public before they put them to the media. The study found that criminal organizations are different groups including the terrorist ones make considerable use of the social media networking's for their own personal or group interests those include the activists, different political groups, the government itself and every individual involving in the idea sharing, this combined thoughts affects the national security of Ethiopia.

The study found that respondents agree mostly that the military use social media for military communications and clarification of propaganda messages sent by enemies and dispelling rumours, also that there exist officers whose job functions include spending time on social media

sites to manage any security threats or violating acts around to analyse the social media threats to the national security of the country.

The issue of counter propaganda which is used by the government to counter social media threats where found by the study. Respondents agreed that the government itself uses, public diplomacy as tool for gathering and broadcasting information. Ways for this method are blogs, Facebook, emails and twitter, Ethiopians can source and comment on topical political as well as social including the economic ones.

The study found that the security in Ethiopia is average, social media as its advantageous in the tech generation it also has negative sides if their implementations are positive and there is no way of control from the government posed on the citizens to dilute messages that reach the citizen which are the most dangers ones in the instability of the countries security. The study had also found the first aspiration of the usage of social media is its accessibility; the access to achieve freedom of speech in Ethiopia is a questionable agenda. This situation is aggravated by the information delay form the government. Without a trusted main stream in the country social media is definitely a danger for Ethiopia we need institutions to go between.

There is a need for trustable institution in the country even if the state is with no power to shut down the technology. The social media case is not an issue to settle down with the assistance of the military or a well-organized awareness groups it's a mind-set agenda so we need to set in minds of the people by being trustable and constitutional for the citizens in the country, the government's failure in not doing this will directly affect the national security of the country.

5.3 Conclusions of the Study

Social media are used by different organizations as an apparatus for their conceptual radicalization, getting their members, interactions and the courses to give to their recruits. Social media is also used as a propaganda and communication weapon. Various advantages are gained of the social media networks with cyber-crime groups and to manage along with them to get their financial needs which are based in the online space. As the high bonds of the social interactions impact selection of members on the single person level, the study found that poor social bond can be operative in interacting and communicating also spreading the message of social movement through long widened networks hence an effective network strategy would have

weakened connections of the poor tie to outside units in addition to strong connections to those groups.

The security in Ethiopia is average, social media as its advantageous in the tech generation are undeniable, it also has negative sides if their implementations are positive and there is no way of control from the government posed on the citizens to dilute messages that reach the citizen which are the most dangers ones in the instability of the countries security. The first aspiration of the usage of social media is its accessibility; the access to achieve freedom of speech in Ethiopia is a questionable agenda. This situation is aggravated by the information delay form the government. Without a trusted main stream in the country social media is definitely a danger for Ethiopia we need institutions to go between.

There is a need for trustable institution in the country even if the state is with no power to shut down the technology. The social media case is not an issue to settle down with the assistance of the military or a well-organized awareness groups it's a mind-set agenda so we need to set in minds of the people by being trustable and constitutional for the citizens in the country, the government's failure in not doing this will directly affect the national security of the country.

5.4 Recommendations to the Study

The government through applicable agencies should carefully mange different organizations an group in social media and manner, activities intended at countering impacts that they pose in the national security of the country. Even the given sensitivity of government programs accountable for monitoring and penetrating social media suspected of supporting or participating in threat related activities, much of the information concerning the groups and their detailed activities is thought classified or law enforcement complex and is not publicly obtainable.

Nevertheless, security agencies should conduct undercover operations on development, investigation and analysis of social media for purposes of controlling activities threatening state and human security. But more importantly, government agencies should have cyber security responsibilities focused on policy development, public awareness campaigns and intergovernmental and private sector coordination efforts to deal with these threats.

Information collected from the agencies noted above may at times be used to help inform and advise government entities responsible for safeguarding a geographic area or activity that has been targeted by different groups. The Government should construct and articulate a strategic, systematic and comprehensive ‘big picture’ of its use of social media intelligence, rather than allow a tactical and piece-meal one to implicitly emerge’. This Understanding of the first signs of hostile or potentially dangerous activity against a state’s security by violent organizations or groups can be beneficial in mitigating any disastrous consequences following the ability to pre-empt plans of the theatre, whether as hate speech, terrorism recruitment, training or any forms of extremism threatening national security.

Social media may introduce more transparency into the affairs of governments, the operations of belligerents and protesters, this openness can also have negative effects in the societies. There is a large amount of social media that may be harmful to peace, for example hate speech, propaganda, or mere misinformation. Hate speech needs to be regulated in societies, as in a manner that protects freedom of association, freedom of access to information and freedom of expression. Regulation on hate speech should not infringe on freedom of speech by censoring content except where absolutely necessary when there is an imminent threat of violence, and there is a clear relationship between the hate speech and the threat of violence.

There is need to have data protection and privacy policies. In most developing countries, there is no contemporary data protection and privacy legislation and regulations related to internet and digital personal data, which may serve as guidelines. Data protection and privacy may be a matter of life and death, when users report violence or politically sensitive issues via mobile phones or the Internet. Data protection and privacy, information security, and operational security are also essential for maintaining trust in any ICT platforms to make use of best practices in information security and data protection. Security officers, just like general public cannot be expected to refrain from maintaining a social presence on the Internet. Therefore, as such, they should establish criteria for social media usage that balances the constitutional rights of officers while protecting the operations of military, intelligence or police agencies. There is need for the development and implementation of a comprehensive agency wide policy on social media use as a logical first step.

This policy should be sufficiently broad to address the use of social media today and in the future as well as its opportunities and threats to national peace and security. Consideration must be given to protect the free speech rights of officers using their own computers or mobile phones.

Government entities can restrict the speech of their employees under certain circumstances, such as if the expression interferes with or compromises the operations of the agency or brings into question the professionalism of the officers or the agency. Social media policy should clearly delineate between protected free expression and the speech that could impact agencies or officers. Agencies generally are permitted to regulate officers' conduct on social media sites if the individuals list law enforcement as their occupation or post agency-related content.

Administrators must decide the conduct and information to regulate, for instance photos or videos of officers, suspects, evidence, security facilities, equipment, uniforms, or weapons, Employment, job assignment, work hours, or other related information, Profanity or unprofessional language and harmful images, Work-related matters or other named officers in posts, blogs, or micro-blogs and Personal social media activities while on duty and with agency resources. An agency's social media policy also should address the official purpose for use and the desired objectives. It should define the person or group authorized to create and maintain the social media presence on behalf of the agency.

In general, the government should have a strong hate speech bill, new policy rendering social media including its factors in national security of the country, beyond the policies and laws the information one incident should be first briefed by the government since the information delay is the biggest gap for the social media to be the stage for insecurity. The society meaning the social media using community should be positive about social media and more create peaceful environments by the platforms provided by social media. The young generation should keep its security by being the keeper of its security by itself. Generating the social media atmosphere for the better and promote peace by it is the best way for guarantying the national security of Ethiopia, peace is always possible.

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Annex 1, interview guide

Interview questions to government officials

1. How do you see the current flow and crisis of the country in terms of the usage of social media?
2. What are the major factors behind the rising of protests in Ethiopia?
3. Are there gains to Ethiopia from blocking the usage of social media at this kind of moments in the country?
 - If any are they sustainable?
4. Is there any strategic considerations aimed by the Ethiopian government to sustain the media freedom especially social media?
5. What are the negative out comes of social media considered by the government in affecting the national security of the country?
 - Is the Ethiopian government considering the impacts?
6. Are there any special considerations by the government in the usage of Facebook (from other social media options)?
7. What methods were taken and are taking by the government to curb the recent insecurities in Ethiopia?
8. To what extent is the government working with the youth and also social media users in order to have sustainable peace in the country?

Interview questions for bloggers and activists

1. Why do you choose social media for expressing your ideas (what about other ways)?
2. How do you consider the measures taken by the Ethiopian government during crisis in in the country on social media specially Facebook?
3. Do you believe freedom of the media exists in Ethiopia ?
4. Do you believe that expressing ideas using social Medias can be a threat to the national security of Ethiopia?
5. What aspires you to use social media rather than other means of communication?

6. How do you see the government's response toward the use of social media? What are the responses by the Ethiopian government about considering social media as one way of reaching the people?
7. Do you accept as true in the linkage between the current crisis in the country and social media?
 - If you do to what extent social media can bring sustainable peace?
8. What are your overall assumptions about the country and what do you put as a solution for the government to bring sustaining peace and guarantee the state rights in the constitution about freedom of expression?

Interview questions for elderly

1. What do you feel about the current generation and social media?
2. Do you think social media can be considered as one means of expressing ideas?
3. Do you believe in social Media impact about the national security of Ethiopia?
4. Do you think social media is advantageous in the country?
5. What is your overall considerations about the current situation in Ethiopia and social media usage?

Annex 2, Questioner sample

Dear respondents

I am honoured to have your precious time in filling this questioner!

My name is Kalkidan Solomon, I am a graduating master's class student at Addis Ababa university institute for peace and security studies (IPSS). I am doing my MA thesis in **The impact of social media on national security; the case of Ethiopia** in this research I will try to see both the advantages and dis-advantages the social media world brings to our country and also the national security aspect of social media in general. Thanks a lot for your participation in this thesis, if you want to get the full research you can contact me at

kalkidansolomon101@gmail.com.

1. Age

15-25 26-39 40-50 50 and above

2. In which social media means are you involved in?

Facebook twitter blogging others_____

3. Do you believe in the globalized world?

Yes I do No I don't neutral

4. Do you agree in the advantages that social media brings to our country?

Yes I do No I don't neutral

5. Is social media help full in developing our cultural features?

Yes it is no it is not Neutral

6. Do you think social media is used properly in our country?

Yes I do No I don't neutral

If you don't how do you define proper usage of social media?

7. Do you accept as true that social media can be a threat to the national security of the Ethiopia?

Yes I do No I don't neutral

8. Do the government of Ethiopia guarantee the freedom of expression in social media?
It's guaranteed it's not guaranteed at all it's partially guaranteed neutral

9. What do you think of the social media usage consideration?
It should continue as it is It should be changed all in all It should have some aspect of change

10. What do you think are the major factors behind the rising of protests in Ethiopia?
Considering social media issues,

11. Do you think the government of Ethiopia is responding accordingly (constitutionally) about the internet usage to the issues raised in the country?
Yes the response is according No it's not responding accordingly neutral

12. As a citizen of Ethiopia and also a social media user do you believe the right "freedom of speech" given to you by the constitution of the country is dependable?
Yes I do No I don't Neutral

Other: _____

13. Do you accept as true in the linkage between the current crisis in the country and social media?
Yes I do No I don't Neutral

14. If your answer in the 13th question is yes what do you suggest as a solution about social media and the countries national security?

15. Who should take a step forward in order to correct the so called crisis brought by social media in our country?

Government sectors Social media activist's Social media user's Schools

16. Finally, I would like to know your general opinion about social media and national security of Ethiopia?

Thanks a lot!

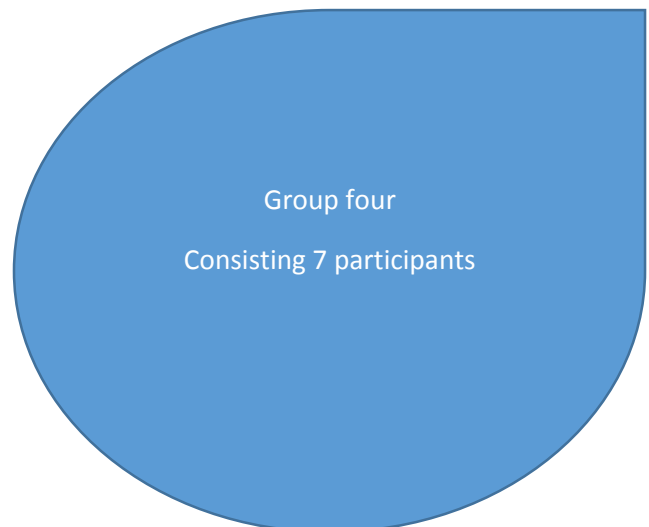
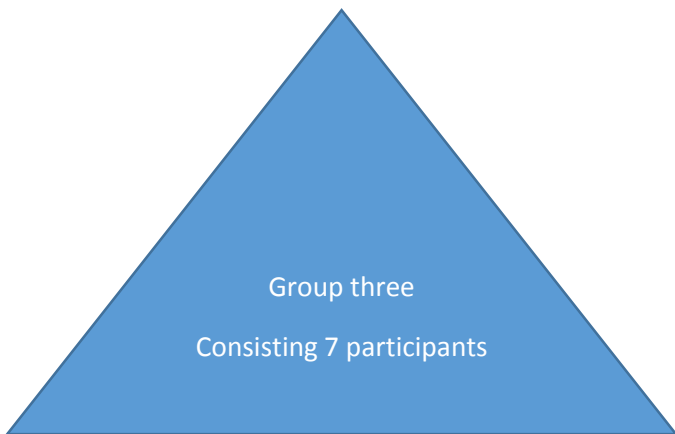
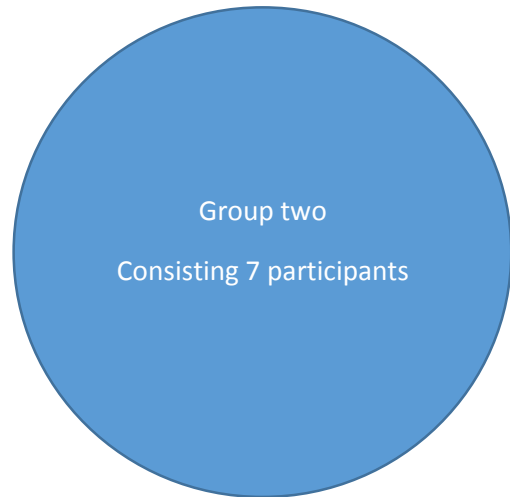
Annex 1 list of informants

Note; The following list represents people with whom the researcher conducted interviews and from who received response. The list does not include the scores of people with whom the researcher had informal conversation in efforts to obtain as much information. The list also does not include anonymous respondents of some is with held up on request.

Code	Name of interviewee	Occupation/organization	Date of interview	Remark
1	Dr. Negaso Gidada	Former president of Ethiopia	May 4/2018	
2	Ato kassa w/senbet	Public and international and diaspora affairs Addis Ababa mayor's office	January 16/2018	
3	Ato Fisseha Tesrasion	Ethiopian policy research centre	January 16/2018	
4	Cardinal Berhane Eyesus Suraphel	Ethiopian catholic church	May 5/2018	
5	Ato Mohammed Seid	Government communications affair	January 17/2018	
6	Professor Baharu Zewde	Addis Ababa university	May 5/2018	
7	Dr. Million Tomatoo	Ethiopian federal democratic unity forum	January 17/2018	
8	Ato Yeshiwas Assefa	Semayawi party, Ethiopia	January 18/2018	
9	Ato Solomon Hailu	AEPLD director civil society	June/15/2018	
10	Professor Medhane Taddesse	Kings college London	May 4/2018	
11	Ambassador Tesfaye Hambisso	Former ambassador of FDRE	May 4/2018	
12	Professor Tekeste Negash	Author	May 5/2018	
13	Professor Berhanu Mengistu	Old dominion university	May 6/2018	
14	Dr. Mohammed Seid	Addis Ababa university	June 19/2018	
15	Athlete Haile Gebresilasse	Ethiopian elderly, athlete and business man	July 1/2018	
16	Aba Gebremeskel Gebretinsae	Ethiopian orthodox church	June 26/2018	
17	Ato Fisum Brhane	Activist	July 2/2018	
18	Ato Dereje Gerefu	Activist	May 13/2018	
19	Anonymous	Activist	May 13/2018	
20	Anonymous	Activist	July 2/2018	

21	Anonymous	Activist	July 16/2018		
22	Anonymous	Activist	May 12/2018		
23	Ato Gemechis Geleta	Elderly	April 6/2018		
24	ATO Taddese Arega	Society elderly	April 6/2018		
25	Ato Kassahun Nigusu	Society Elderly	April 7/2018		
26	Ato Sinshaw Workeneh	Society Elderly	April 6/2018		
27	Dr. Merara Gudina	Liberty party	May 5/2018		
28	Ato Zadege Abraha	Minister at the prime minster office	May 20/2018		

List of FGD



Declaration

I the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Kalkidan Solomon

December, 2018

This thesis is submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate.

Tigist Yeshiwas (Ph.D.)

December, 2018