

Sensationalism in The Holy Land: A Framing Analysis of Arab and Israeli News Coverage During the Second Intifada



Veronica Irwin

Submitted in Completion of the Media Studies Honors Thesis

Media Studies Program
University of California, Berkeley

2019

Advisor: Elizabeth Bolton, Ph.D., Lecturer in Media Studies

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Introduction	1
Literature Review	6
Definitions of Framing	6
Frames and Ethics in Journalism	8
Frames by Medium	10
Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Religious Nationalism	11
Literature on Framing in Coverage of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	14
Gaps in Research	15
Methods	16
Findings	20
Part 1: Overall Use of Frames in News Articles	22
Part 2: Deference to Official Government Opinion	28
Part 3: Use of Designated Frames Over Time	34
Conclusion	39
Works Cited	44

Table of Figures

Newspaper Use of Individual Frames	22
Quoting Government Officials	29
Personal Bias in Quotes of Government Officials	32
Attribution of Responsibility	33
The Jerusalem Post: Human Injury, Human Interest and Morality Frames Over Time	35
The Jerusalem Post: Geopolitical, Conflict and Economic Consequences Over Time	35
The Daily Star: Geopolitical, Conflict and Economic Consequences Over Time	37
The Daily Star: Human Injury, Human Interest and Morality Frames Over Time	37

Introduction

Media texts are said to not only influence public opinion on politics, but even become the conflict itself, translating crucial messages to audiences through a series of frames which may reflect bias or hegemonic beliefs (Gitlin 4). The angles media producers choose have an effect on the perspective from which individual consumers see an issue, defining the problems and asserting moral judgements and possible solutions for a given conflict (Entman 52). Subjectivity in media production can increase political polarization throughout a region, especially when it employs narratives which elicit an emotional response from the reader rather than an accurate framing of the facts of an event. Journalism's relationship to political polarization has been a focus in recent American and European elections, particularly with the rise of right-wing candidates like Donald Trump (Sirbu et al.). However, the traits signaling bias in journalism, and the potential impacts, are exaggerated in times of conflict. This study will, through a content analysis of frames used in both papers during the first two months of the Second Intifada, attempt to compare bias in English-speaking news sources *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star*, based in Jerusalem and Beirut. The results of this study will shed light on how the ways news is framed can induce and perpetuate bias. Specifically, this study will focus on the use of frames which emphasize a deference to government authorities, conflict, human injury, civilian quotes, economics, morality, or the attribution of responsibility to the Palestinian or Israeli side.

Sensationalist news coverage can, in the best cases, drive readers to take positive action, and, in the worst, polarize or misinform audiences. In the United States, sensationalist news

coverage over Hillary Clinton's use of unprotected email servers for professional work, for example, hurt her chances at winning the 2016 presidential election. In Semetko and Valkenberg's study, news coverage of European heads of state were divided between "sensationalist" and "sober" outlets, demonstrating a clear distinction in tone and perspective between two primary approaches to news coverage (Semetko and Valkenburg 103). Often referred to as the fourth branch of government, journalism is assumed, in Democratic states, to serve as a check on power because it can have this powerful effect on readers. It is no question that sensationalist journalism can have a strong, possibly negative, effect on public discourse as well.

Whether newspapers cover conflict through a frame emphasizing peace or war can greatly impact the way readers perceive the issues at stake. News often focuses on aggression and bloodshed more than it does peaceful conflict mediation. In coverage of war, this can polarize civilians and politicians involved (Wolfsfeld, Pauly). Studies on "peace journalism" have been conducted in multiple conflicts, including those in the Balkans, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Middle East (Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt). These studies have shown a preference amongst journalists to cover dramatic, often bloody events over actions of diplomacy or peace agreements because these stories better capture audience attention. Caught between trying to maintain a readership and accurately reporting on an issue, journalists often revert to framing the conflict in terms of civilian casualties and quotes from affected onlookers which sensationalize the story. Journalistic coverage of the Middle East¹, and

¹ Edward Said has gone to great lengths problematizing the term "Middle East," because it suggests an ideological orientation which centers Europe (the "Middle East" is only in the middle of what lies eastward if one is standing in Europe or, by extension, America). However,

particularly the region formerly known as Palestine and currently home to the state of Israel, provides an ideal case study for examining the use of frames in reporting due to its highly contested political appeal and unfortunate propensity for violence.

The land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River has been deeply contested for hundreds of years for its religious sites important to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. (Sheikh et al. 11). Holy sites, such as the Western Wall, Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Holy Sepulchre, essential to the three largest monotheistic religions, are located in Jerusalem, while the Tomb of the Patriarchs, the Holy Manger, and the Church of the Beatitudes are scattered throughout the small region as well. Control of the area has been battled for since the establishment of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Because of the prevalence of these religions worldwide, states and religious groups in Europe, America, and the Middle East believe they have claim to the land and authority on how it is divided. Since the 1948 War and the establishment of the state of Israel in what was formerly known as Palestine, conflict between Palestinians and Israelis has continued, and, with significant involvement from the UN, several European nations, and the United States, has become one of the most contentious and expensive conflicts of the late 20th and 21st centuries. Though multiple negotiations have ensued, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict appears to be endless, with solutions which seem applicable to outside observers never lasting for any significant amount of time (Sheikh et al. 11).

However, the region is also contested because of its strategic convenience for Europe and the US, and its agricultural viability. Located on the Mediterranean sea, ports along the western coast are incredibly valuable for trade between the region and Europe, as well as the passage of

the term “Middle East” will be used in this paper for lack of a better substitute, particularly because I am neither referring exclusively to the Arab or Muslim worlds (Said, *Covering Islam*).

people when air travel is not a viable option. Additionally, with an increasingly dry Jordan River as the region's main drinkable water source, the region's western border along the river is also increasingly crucial. With the population of the area rapidly increasing, access to natural resources such as agriculturally viable swaths of land, water, and food is increasingly scarce. For more distant countries in Europe and the United States, diplomatic ties to a region bordering Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt is valuable for its strategic value in maintaining military and diplomatic power in the Middle East. For these reasons, conflict in the area has a propensity to become war between military superpowers, particularly between an American-supported Israeli state and oppositional forces.

One proposed reason for this is that the conflict is deeply rooted in, or has developed, stagnant Arab-Israeli hostility. Totalizing arguments about the needs, intentions, and beliefs of either side are perpetuated within communities, damaging the capability of individual actors to use rational logic over reactionary responses (Sheikh et al. 18). This concern often translates to claims of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia both in Israel and Palestine and amongst the international community, with particularly coded language such as "leftist" and "radical Islam," or arguments which highlight "war crimes" often used as evidence (Rosenfeld 57; Kanji 274). Though the legitimacy of all these claims is difficult to confirm, there is little doubt that frames which are perceived as Anti-Semitic or Islamophobic can reinforce public opinions informed by certain subject opinions (Powell 2).

Thus, in the context of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, studying media coverage is important to understand how these issues are explained to civilians on the ground and how news frames may shape public opinion. This is conflict fraught with violence and failed diplomacy, with the

most recent extended violence occurring during The Second Intifada in the early 2000s. “Intifada,” a word which translates in Arabic to “uprising,” is the label created by Palestinians to describe their large, yet unorganized, resistance to an encroaching Israeli state. Symbolically characterized by the throwing of rocks at an advanced militarized enemy, the Palestinian narrative of The Second Intifada emphasizes a noble fight, in which a militarily weak group without an official state was able to sustain their defenses more powerfully than expected. However, due to incidents of suicide bombing and attacks in Israeli metropolitan areas, the Israeli narrative tends to emphasize innocent Israeli civilian deaths over those Palestinian civilians killed by Israeli Defense Forces. This study will compare the use of these two narratives through a framing analysis in *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star*, two regional newspapers published in English who generally take opposite sides of the conflict, sympathetic to the Israeli and Palestinian sides, respectively. Studying these papers, which are locally based but, because of language, market themselves both regionally and to an international audience, reveals how sympathetic parties around the world learned about the outbreak of the Second Intifada.

The most significant differences found between the two papers relates to placement of blame, in which *The Daily Star* says Israel is at fault in the war 89.5% of the time, and *The Jerusalem Post* blames Palestinians 73.7% of the time. Additionally, high bias was exhibited in the use of civilian quotes and descriptions of violence, in which all quotes and 93.3% of descriptions of violence in *The Daily Star* were Palestinian, while in *The Jerusalem Post* 72% were Israeli. Similar bias was found in the use of government statements, in which only 27.9% of articles in *The Daily Star* quoted government officials compared to 63.5% of articles in *The*

Jerusalem Post which did, but 5% more quotes in *The Daily Star* were Palestinian than Israeli, and 17% more quotes in *The Jerusalem Post* were Israeli than Palestinian.

Morality and conflict-based frames were also used frequently by both parties, with *The Daily Star* relying on conflict frames in 69.8% of articles and morality frames in 48.8% of articles, and *The Jerusalem Post* using conflict frames in 57.7% of articles and morality frames in 42.3% of articles. The economic frame was used the least, only appearing in 9.3% of articles in *The Daily Star* and 7.7% of articles in *The Jerusalem Post*. No overarching trends were found in the use of frames between the two outlets over time, although the outlets did appear to use specific frames in response to the timeline of events.

Literature Review

Definitions of Framing

Todd Gitlin said in his 1977 book *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media and the New Left*, that “the processed image...becomes ‘the movement,’” emphasizing the power media producers have in choosing how an issue is thought about by their audience (4). In his analysis of late 20th century social movements, Gitlin introduced the idea that media coverage might have an effect on the perceived legitimacy of non-institutional political action, dependent in part on whether the movement falls into a “prevailing theme” in the media or has “recognized leaders” (5). Further, news media not only have power in saying how we should think about the world, but also what events and issues are a priority, repeating coverage of the issues at the top of their agenda so that “they assure some continuing priority for their concerns” (9). Gitlin argues that

rather than active censorship generating the use of particular frames, skewing of journalist's arguments happens more through a process of controlling the text and diffusing it, allowing producers to see what frames are most salient and then reproduce those while ignoring other arguments (5–6). Expanding technology, which was, at the time Gitlin wrote, TV news, makes the effect of framing more pervasive, infiltrating public consciousness through its constant presence (8–10).

Robert Entman (1993) then built upon media studies framing theory in his landmark article “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.” In it, he synthesizes applicable sociology texts since Gitlin, defining “framing” specifically as the action of selecting “some aspects of a perceived reality and [making] them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman 51–52). Additionally, he offers definitions for “communicators,” “culture,” and “salience,” using media coverage of the Cold War, the war between Iraq and Kuwait, and Affirmative Action as examples (Entman 52–56). Specifically, “salience” is the process of making information appear more important to an audience, while “culture” itself is the empirically demonstrated collection of frames most commonly used within a society (Entman 53). Particularly valuable are the great lengths Entman takes to connect these set definitions to empirical survey data which demonstrates frames' effects; for example, the war between Iraq and Kuwait provides evidence for the self-reinforcing nature of frames Gitlin previously described (Entman 55; Gitlin 5). In this particular example, news sources suggested two possible solutions, immediate war or sanctions with postponed war,

generating policy which considered these solutions exclusively and ignored those which fell outside the frame (Entman 55).

Frames and Ethics in Journalism

While Entman and Gitlin suggest the power of journalists' work in influencing public opinion, their research does not address the dilemmas within journalism which perpetuate the problematic use of these frames. In a textual analysis of journalism conference transcripts and essays, Pauly suggests that journalists are caught between two moral obligations: one which emphasizes a role in society as impartial commentators, whether or not that is even possible, and one which highlights the effect their work can have in properly guiding public discourse (Pauly 22–23). Since the 1990s, a debate within journalism has ensued which compares the importance of these two, at times contradicting, methodologies (Pauly 8). One element is the idea of the journalist as “witness,” and the debate on whether journalists' physical presence at an event negates their ability to be nonpartisan, and whether their presence has an impact on the outcome of an incident itself (Pauly 8). Additionally important is the way a journalist perceives their audience, whether their perception is of a “noble” readership or an irrational one, with this second perception escalating since the rise of internet comments and social media aggressors in the 21st century (Pauly 21). This second perception complicates the previously-accepted understanding that political power corresponds to control over media frames.

Additionally, Wolfsfeld's interviews suggest journalism has become more adversarial than it was previously, polarizing perspectives and decreasing the viability of peaceful media coverage (Wolfsfeld 112). Multiple authors have used content analysis to evaluate the use of conflict frames in journalism, asserting that media's focus on agency and immediate effects has

forced more reporting on violence than peace-related news in wars in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the United States (Pauly 7; Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 27, 38; Rahman 106). For example, a content analysis showed that 50-70% of coverage about Macedonia, and over 90% of coverage about Syria reflect references to violence (Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 31).

Wolfsfeld argues that this makes journalism structurally unable to report on peace processes for any significant period, moving instead towards a “video war” style which uses multimedia to focus on military technology and tactics to sustain an audience’s attention (Wolfsfeld 27, 29–31).

However, conflict frames are not absolute, being further exaggerated when the perpetrator’s violence supports a journalist’s own ethnocentric or in-group bias. This means that journalists are more likely to cover events from an angle which favors those belonging to the same social, ethnic, or political group as the journalist themselves (Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 33). This is exaggerated during wartime, in which a journalist’s critical distance from the conflict narrows and the voices of political elites can be referenced uncritically (Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 33). In coverage of the Middle East, this is reflected in the way Arab media tend to blame Israel for the conflict in southern Lebanon whereas more US and Israeli media accused Hezbollah (Gabore and Xiujun 56). Basing her work in interviews with prominent journalists, Rahman isolates the story of one journalist being confronted with a malnourished and dying baby in Iraq, struggling to stay away from problematic humanist-focused, or worse, terrorist-focused frames (Rahman 109). Further, as little as 60% of news coverage reflects noticeable distance or doubt of reported claims, with a slight decline in distance markers during periods of escalating violence (Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 33). With the increase of social media coverage by citizen journalists, professional journalists find

themselves competing for salient coverage even more, needing to work harder to ensure accuracy and avoid being targets themselves (Rahman 106–07).

Frames by Medium

The social media environment has not only increased competition between official outlets and citizen-journalists, but changed the behaviors of journalists themselves. While traditional war coverage tends to rely on official government sources, whether this applies to social media coverage is unclear (Tenenboim 3502). However, in a content analysis of journalist's tweets Tenenboim suggests that though traditional coverage was likely to turn to official actors for sourcing during wartime, the speed through which journalists must convey information over Twitter gives them the agency to retweet critical messages and interact with sources outside of the political elite (Tenenboim 3498). This might explain the way sourcing in Israeli media has diversified in recent years; whereas Israeli coverage did not use Palestinian sourcing in reporting on the First Intifada, many Palestinian figures were represented in coverage of the Second Intifada years later (Tenenboim 3499).

This proves that sourcing not only diversified, but that the inclusion of new technologies into the media landscape also stretches beyond national borders, not eliminating in-group bias, but certainly complicating it as it (Tenenboim 3502). In a content analysis of the Irreecha Festival Tragedy (2018), foreign coverage was much more likely to cover violence than domestic media, with local outlets making the most significant use of peace frames (Gabore and Xiujun 2018, 57). In the case of the Tenenboim study, with samples taken from 2014, attacks, deaths, injury, and humanitarian concerns were still higher amongst international journalists than those from Israel, and Israeli journalists were 3.5 times more likely to mention rocket fire into Israel

(Tenenboim 3506). However, both sides cited sources in less than half of their tweets, and only half of those sources cited were established media sources (Tenenboim 3508). This supports the assertion that this new media environment gives journalists more power to define reality on the ground, especially if reporting to a foreign audience, and even more so if unopposed by government actors (Tenenboim 3498).

Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Religious Nationalism

Paired with themes of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, emphasis on violence can take the form of frames which emphasize terrorism or religious affiliations and legitimate state violence or ideologically motivated attacks (Kanji 2018, 2). In a study on Canadian coverage of terrorist attacks, incidents with Muslim perpetrators received 1.5 times as much coverage as those incidents perpetrated by non-Muslim agents, and stories were 8.5 times as likely to specify the perpetrators ethnic background (Kanji 278). Further, in a study on United States coverage of terrorist attacks between 2011 and 2016, cases with Muslim perpetrators were attached to Islamic nationalist organizations 100% of the time, while non-Muslim perpetrators were typically identified as individual actors (Powell 2018, 263). While awareness of Islamophobia has certainly increased since criticism of post-9/11 coverage in the early 2000s, adjustments have taken the form of investigative frames, attempting to identify the motive of the attack more than before (Powell 260). Internationally, Islamophobic frames extend to treatment of victims as well, with western victims of the Paris attacks being more humanized than non-western victims in the 2015 Ankara, Turkey attack, despite the number of fatalities (El-Nawawy 1809). Content analyses on international media coverage isolated Islamophobic frames as those which prioritized terrorism, Islamic ties, and ethnic background (El-Nawawy 2017, 1809; Kanji 283;

Powell 264–65). Anti-Semitic frames are harder to identify, though in a textual analysis Alvin Rosenfeld (2016) highlights words that mischaracterize Zionist and non-Zionist factions as either conservative or liberal in news articles (Rosenfeld 57). Additionally, words such as “indigenous” or “mistake” are used in questionable contexts, implying ownership of land and political decisions as having absolute moral associations (Rosenfeld 62). Some Zionist scholars go so far as to say most criticism of Israel is anti-Semitic, relying on “peculiar logic, identifiable vocabulary, narrative conventions, and predictable outcomes” (Rosenfeld 56). These narrative conventions and predictable outcomes are exemplified, Rosenfeld argues, by rhetorical parallels drawn between Israel and Apartheid or Nazi Germany, designating absolute victims and perpetrators which, in reality, are not so clearly defined (Rosenfeld 61–62). This claim, that criticisms of Israel are inherently anti-Semitic, is rejected for the purpose of this essay, particularly because in times of war, forces who oppose Israel will obviously criticize it. Additionally, with the understanding that critique of a state is not equivalent to religious discrimination, political objections to the actions of Israel will be regarded as such. However, descriptions which villainize “The Jews” have a different, more dangerous effect.

In the case of Israel-Palestine, where pro-Palestinian actors often attribute the devaluation of individual life to anti-Arab racism and pro-Israeli actors define Palestinian attacks as fueled by Anti-Semitism, this is particularly relevant (El-Nawawy 1797; Rosenfeld 58). El-Nawawy highlights the way international media has designated “worthy and unworthy victims,” with Palestinian deaths covered less prominently than Israeli deaths, and Palestinian-perpetrated killings more condemned than those perpetrated by Israel (El-Nawawy 1798). In the region, Islamophobic and Anti-Semitic frames are more exaggerated in newspapers. In a theoretical

meta analysis, Paul Scham attributes Islamophobic coverage of the conflict to the rise of right-wing nationalism within Israel, a phenomena he identifies as beginning in the 1970s after the Yom Kippur War (Scham 209). Though religious Zionism was received skeptically even by Orthodox Jews in the 1800s, Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the desire to settle the whole of Israel was reframed as a religious issue in recent years, with Temple Mount Activism and a Kookist emphasis on maintaining control of holy sites threatening to increase violence in Jerusalem and Hebron (Scham 2010). Though this religious nationalist shift is not totalizing, and more metropolitan areas like Tel-Aviv remain largely independent of it, youth involvement with an increasingly hardline military may be driving younger generations in a conservative direction as well (Scham 213).

Similarly, Palestinian territories have seen a significant rise in Islamic nationalism, with Hamas winning control of Gaza in 2006 and holding only 4% less support in all of the territories than the more moderate political group, Fatah, which had 29.4% popular support between 2001 and 2007 (Balmas 155; Jaeger 356). Further, the Palestinian population radicalizes with the increase of Israeli attacks, having what Jaeger calls a “boomerang” effect in not quelling Palestinian radicalism, but actually encouraging popular support of militant factions according to survey data (Jaeger 354). This rise in nationalism has been characterized as a serious threat to the security of Israel, generating an escalation of attacks on the Palestinian territories (Balmas 155). Thus, Rosenfeld argues that criticism of Zionism is ultimately based in the current day on “the elimination of Israel” (Rosenfeld 56).

Literature on Framing in Coverage of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Beyond those articles which concentrate specifically on anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, extensive research has been done on the framing of Israeli-Palestinian conflict specifically. Using a rhetorical analysis, Pilecki and Hammack (2014) isolate which utterances generate meaning in dialogue between Palestinian youth, who tend to use the theme of victimization rooted in historical claims most often, eliciting themes of opposing 'righteous' victimhood from Jewish Israeli counterparts (Pilecki and Hammack 821). The most common frame, reasonably, amongst Jewish Israelis is instead that of justification, placing Palestinian victimhood within a larger historical timeline of Jewish oppression (Pilecki and Hammack 819). Further, discussion of the labels used for Palestinian identity in Israel demonstrate these two particular frames, with labels like "The Arabs of Israel" or "Israelified Arabs" used to describe Palestinians who stayed in their homelands past 1948. These definitions fragment Palestinian identity, isolating them from Palestinians in other territories in such a way that disrupts Palestinian use of collective action frames (Amara 2016, 210). These contradicting frames and labels are often used in "social competition" between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians (Pilecki and Hammack 821).

Economic explanations of German, British, and US newspapers demonstrates that countries with diplomatic ties to Israel are more likely to use frames with a pro-Israel bias, though a content analysis of these countries' coverage of the Gaza Flotilla Raid in 2010 reveal that a journalist's personal views alter this outcome (Neureiter 2017, 68). Further, whether a publication is liberal or conservative has an effect, with anti-Israel bias more commonly found in liberal outlets, though the New York Times (a slightly left-leaning American newspaper) has "persistently ignored principles of international law in order to shield its readers from Israel's

lawlessness” (Neureiter 69–70). In Israel, the ruling Kadima Party was mentioned in almost 40% of news items covering the 2006 Hamas victory in Gaza, compared with only 10% of articles which mentioned representatives of competing political parties (Balmas 163). Further, journalists and commentators played leading roles as personalities in one third of coverage, implying the insertion of their own political bias (Balmas 164). Assessing the range of these political opinions, Balmas describes that aside from 17% of left-wing Israelis, the scope of Israeli public opinion on the Hamas election was “extremely narrow” (Balmas 165).

Also relevant is coverage of regional peace activism, which was largely paralyzed during the Second Intifada from September of 2000 to February of 2005 (Fleischmann 2016, 354). This has resulted in significant polarization between activist groups, which tend to frame the issue either through a liberal Zionist lens which prioritizes the security of Israel or calls for alternative peacebuilding that prioritizes Palestinian human rights and ending the occupation of the West Bank (Fleischmann 357–58). This phenomena has provided alternative labels such as “pro-peace” or “anti-occupation,” with the more radical half using confrontational collective action frames (Fleischmann 365). Additionally, these frames are extended by left-wing Israeli factions since the Second Intifada to contextualize Palestinian liberation efforts within a worldwide struggle against intertwined oppressions (Fleischmann 371).

Gaps in Research

Gitlin and Entman have provided a framework for subsequent framing analysis, emphasizing the impact self-reinforcing frames and deference to established opinion can have in shaping public opinion on a given topic. The most prevalent form of framing analysis on Israeli-Palestinian conflict focuses on international coverage, emphasizing the role of journalism

in shaping US and European public opinion, often towards a pro-Israel bias (Neureiter; Tenenboim). The most prevalent frames in international journalism have been identified in multiple contexts, emphasizing violence for its saliency the more distant an audience is from conflict, and valuing the lives of western subjects over Arab and Muslim victims (Pauly; Wolfsfeld; Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt; Semetko and Valkenburg; Rahman; Gabore and Xiujun). The media climate has also been affected by the rise of technology, exaggerating the use of frames to simplify topics and lowering the use of established sources (Tenenboim). Anti-Semitic and Islamophobic bias has thus become an increasingly contentious issue, with frames perpetuating stereotypes and rhetorical oppression of Zionists and Arab actors especially with the rise of religious nationalism in Israel and Palestine (Rosenfeld; Powell; Kanji; El-Nawawy; Scham).

However, little work has been done to compare the use of frames between news outlets read by internationals on either side of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Specifically, framing in Israeli and Arab journalism printed in English is needed to understand biases between the two sides, and how they are conveying their narratives to the international public. I plan to draw upon previous research to establish frames with which to study the use of word choice in news coverage during the first three months of the Second Intifada in 2000 to ascertain which issues are considered salient and from what perspective they are being conveyed to the international public.

Methods

Conducting a content analysis on news frames in top English-speaking Israeli and Arab news sites published in English begs for further clarification in practicality, requiring a thorough

set of parameter boundaries and a pre-constructed list of steps. The following section describes those parameters in full, as well as the reasoning behind the date, source, and search limits set. Thus, I will explain the process of collecting data from all articles published in *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star* between September 1st and November 1st, 2000. This data attempts to explore if differences in framing exist between English-speaking Arab and Israeli news sources.

Palestinian newspapers written in English are hard to find, and collecting properly comparable data can be difficult. For this reason, the Arab paper that was used was *The Daily Star*, arguably most popular paper in the Middle East published in English at the time, based in Beirut. For an Israeli perspective, the most-read newspaper published in English at that time, *The Jerusalem Post*, is analyzed. Focus is placed on popular newspapers so as to get the best perspective on what is most often read regarding this issue, and media published in English is chosen so as to focus on news articles written for an international audience. Strictly newspaper articles are the focus of this study, so as to isolate the rhetorical use of frames in the published word. Though often part of news media, this means that photos, videos, and other multimedia will also be excluded from the data. Thus, results of this study will reveal something about the use of frames in the particular medium of text-based online news — something which has been theorized as swaying public opinion (Entman).

Date parameters were set from September 1st to November 1st, 2000, the first two months since the outbreak of the Second Intifada. The outbreak of the Second Intifada is largely agreed upon as starting on September 28th when Palestinians rioted in response to Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount, although data was collected starting the first of September knowing there were considerable tensions before the official beginning, including large demonstrations in

Arab-majority Israeli cities. All articles were chosen which included the words searched as “Israel*” and “Palestin*” (asterisks are included to search variations on the end of each term). This large search was used because of the relative lack of coverage of the issue in foreign news sources, and yielded between 40 and 60 articles for each paper. As *The Jerusalem Post* had considerably more articles containing these keywords, articles were narrowed by those which included coverage of events on the Middle East Web’s official Second Intifada Timeline, which is both detailed and substantiated by multiple other linked sources (*Second Intifada Timeline*).

A content analysis was then performed on the articles, in which each article was tested against a list of questions as to determine whether each article utilized a particular frame. All of these questions are derived from previously published research testing for the same frame in their content analyses, so as to ensure accuracy and reputability (Semetko and Valkenburg; El-Nawawy). Most notably used is Semetko and Valkenburg’s 2000 article “Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News,” which was an often-cited standard for constructing content analysis questions according to my background research. The questionnaire I used for this study is repeated here:

1. Does this article quote an Israeli government official? (Semetko and Valkenburg)

1a. IF YES: Does this article include quotes which reflect the individual’s personal opinion, rather than being an official statement? (ex. “Israel should penalize the Palestinian Authority for Hamas ‘victory’” or “Israel should respect Palestinian’s choice” or “in my opinion...”) (El-Nawawy)

2. Does this article quote a Palestinian government official (Including Fatah, PLO, PLP, but NOT Hamas or any other political party)? (Semetko and Valkenburg)

2a. IF YES: Does this article include quotes which reflect the individual’s personal opinion, rather than being an official statement? (ex. “Israel should penalize the Palestinian Authority for Hamas ‘victory’” or “Israel should respect Palestinian’s choice” or “in my opinion...”) (El-Nawawy)

3. Does this article emphasize conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest? (ex. “Blasts,” “explosions,” etc.) (El-Nawawy)

4. Does this article use descriptions of Palestinian or Israeli injury or violence to draw audience interest? (ex. “Carnage,” “piles of dead bodies,” “screams of children burning to death”) (El-Nawawy)

4a. IF YES: Were the victims Israeli or Palestinian?

5. Does this article use quotes of Israeli or Palestinian civilians affected by war to bring a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of the event, issue or problem? (ex. Civilian quotes, “families torn apart” “divisions between longtime friends,” examples of people from the region’s individual lives) (Semetko and Valkenburg)

5a. IF YES: Were the quoted civilians Israeli or Palestinian?

6. Does this article report the event, problem, or issue in terms of consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country? (ex. “The worth of the Shekel has fallen,” “people are losing land their family has owned for generations,”) (Semetko and Valkenburg)

6. Does this article report the event, problem, or issue in terms of consequences it will have geopolitically for an individual, group, institution, region, or country? (ex. “The worth of the Shekel has fallen,” “people are losing land their family has owned for generations,”) (El-Nawawy)

7. Does this article put the event, problem, or issue in terms of moral tenets or religious prescriptions? (ex. “Muslim populations object to the new law,” “Christian Arabs are particularly targeted,” “the move doesn’t fall in line with religious law”) (Semetko and Valkenburg)

8. Does this article present the issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution either on Israeli or Palestinian officials or military forces? (ex. “The IDF released footage of the event, sparking riots,” “due to the PLO’s lack of negotiating skill,” “Fatah in Jerusalem marched on the Mosque”) (Semetko and Valkenburg)

Answering the above questionnaire generated a selection of binary data which was visualized for the benefit of content analysis. All of this data was input into a google form, which generated a precise excel spreadsheet to track these values. This analysis then looked at the percentages of

articles from each newspaper using a particular frame, so that these numbers could be compared. Additionally, the rates at which these frames are used over time was monitored both in composite and individually.

Findings

The study collected 492 articles in *The Jerusalem Post* and 43 articles in *The Daily Star* after searching for articles which included variations of the word “Israel” and “Palestine” between September 1st and November 1st, 2000. Because the search yielded approximately 11 times as many articles suiting the criterion in *The Jerusalem Post* than *The Daily Star*, every 11th article was analyzed in *The Jerusalem Post* search list so as to draw an approximately even random selection. Articles which were heavily dependent on photos and multimedia were excluded, as well as letters to the editor and special weekend features. The resulting list of 43 articles from *The Daily Star* and 52 articles from *The Jerusalem Post* were analyzed according to the aforementioned methods, specifically as they correlated to El-Nawawy (2017) and Semetko and Valkenburg’s (2000) framing definitions. The frames analyzed in the selected articles include geopolitical frames, conflict frames, human injury frames, human interest frames, economic consequences frames, and frames about morality. Additionally, differences were found between how often each paper quoted government officials, how often they quoted government officials on each side of the conflict, and whether the quotes included personal opinion using the criteria described by El-Nawawy (2017). The following analysis will then be broken down into three sections: the first concentrates on both newspaper’s overall use of the frames selected, the second examines deference to government opinion and bias in featured quotes of government

officials, and the third documents the use of frames as they correlate to profound events in the conflict.

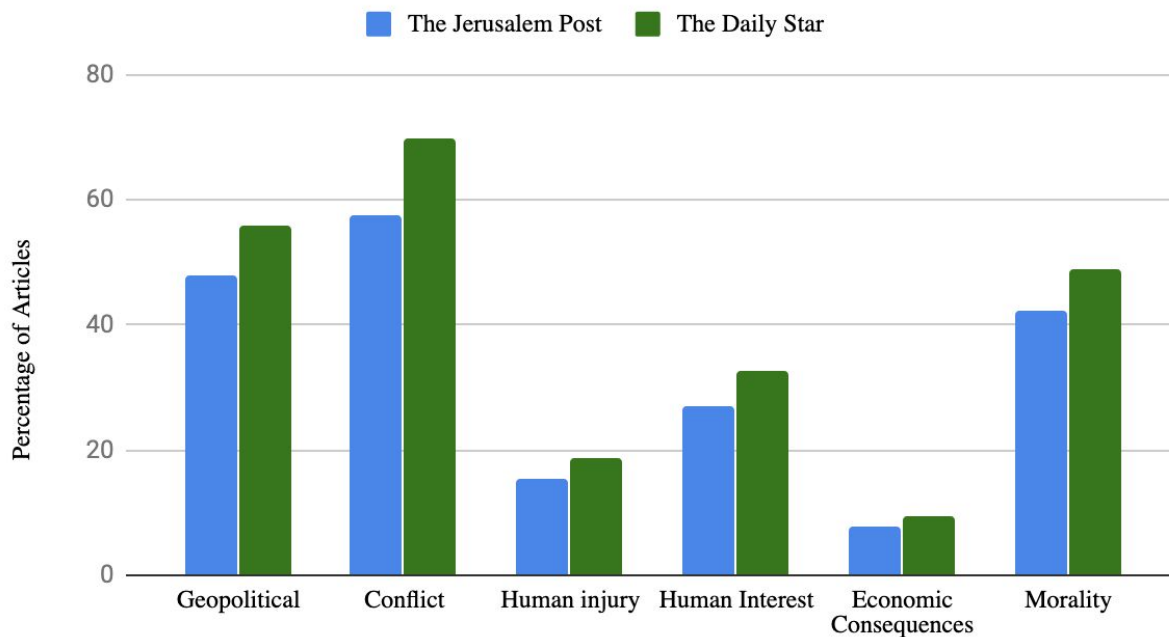
Generally, the two papers were found to be surprisingly similar in their use of frames, though they differed from each other specifically in their use of geopolitical and morality-based claims. Additionally, both papers showed significant bias in the nationality of victims and interviewees featured, as well as general blame placed for the conflict. However, the data, which focused on use of quotes from government officials showed that *The Jerusalem Post* was much more likely to differ to government opinion, and that quotes included were more likely to reflect the official's personal opinion than those used in *The Daily Star*. Additionally, it was found that use of particular frames spiked after noteworthy news events, although trends were separate between *The Daily Star* and *The Jerusalem Post*. When focusing on each of the individual papers, other information can be drawn as well about the correlation between the use of different frames. While it was found that journalists for *The Daily Star* increase or decrease their overall use of the frames examined simultaneously, no correlation was found between the trended use of different frames in *The Jerusalem Post*.

The findings show a significant amount of bias in favor of their perceived readership's nationality. What is assumed to draw audience interest is starkly different, with *The Daily Star* using stronger language and examples of state brutality, while *The Jerusalem Post* used frames which create a more diplomatic, calmer tone. Thus, the perceived level of crisis, and who is to blame for it, is starkly different between the two papers. Not only does this imply that each newspaper believes these different styles are more attractive to their readership, but it also results

in very different narratives which may have skewed readers' understanding of the start of the Second Intifada.

Part 1: Overall Use of Frames in News Articles

Newspaper Use of Individual Frames



Geopolitical

Frames are used both to construct messages about a given topic as well as a comprehensive aid for audiences (Gabore and Xiujun 58). Thus, one can speculate that use of a geopolitical frame in papers written largely for an international audience might help to situate the reader within the context of a given event. Articles which suited the criterion for a geopolitical frame may discuss trade agreements, military strength, and diplomatic ties between either Israel or the Palestinian territories and any other foreign power like the United States, Saudi Arabia, or

Lebanon. *The Jerusalem Post* was found to be only 7.7% less likely to frame the conflict in terms of geopolitical consequences than *The Daily Star*, as both papers frequently mentioned surrounding Arab countries and UN member states. The slight skew towards *The Daily Star*'s more frequent use of the geopolitical frame is largely due to the large amount of articles relating Israeli-Palestinian conflict to Lebanon, as the paper is based in Lebanon's capital, Beirut.

Interestingly, if the data were to exclude mentioning of Lebanon, *The Jerusalem Post* would actually make more use of the geopolitical frame than *The Daily Star*. This is notable because, despite being based in one of the two main countries in conflict, *The Jerusalem Post* still uses rhetorical tools which make the subject matter more interesting to an international audience based in the United States or Europe. This is especially important considering Israel's strong alliances with the United States and several European states, which pro-Palestinian groups tend to view with cynicism.

Conflict

There were 30 articles which qualified as using a "conflict" frame in both *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star*, making *The Daily Star* 12.1% more likely to emphasize physical or rhetorical clashes in their reporting. Using Semetko and Valkenburg's definition of this frame, which includes more than just physical violence, articles which qualified for this criterion used dramatic language to describe both armed conflict and verbal or diplomatic conflict when there were clearly other options in word choice. For example, in the headline "Camps cry out over slaughter" published in *The Daily Star* on October 4, 2000 "slaughter" is used to exaggerate conflict much more than an article with similar subject matter posted on the same day, titled "Thousands support Palestinians." Thus, *The Daily Star* was found to more frequently

exaggerate opposing diplomatic interests and military actions, while *The Jerusalem Post* used more tame language to describe similar incidents.

Though an emphasis on conflict was more commonly found in *The Daily Star*, both *The Daily Star* and *The Jerusalem Post* used this frame more than any other, with *The Jerusalem Post* using it in 57.7% of articles during the period, and *The Daily Star* using it in 69.8% of articles. This serves to emphasize the degree of tension in both papers' coverage, as well as reinforce the argument that much of modern journalism works against potential peace processes (Pauly 7). Because conflict is one of the best attractors of an audience's attention, framing articles in this way has not only proven to be historically profitable for newspapers, but also something which shapes how journalists view the world (Pauly 7). Thus, the high prevalence of this frame in both news outlets is particularly notable and may change the way each readership views the volatility of this conflict.

Human Injury

Separate from Semetko and Valkenburg's list of frames, the human injury frame found in El-Nawawy's research on *The Washington Post*'s coverage of violent attacks against Muslims and non-Muslims shows how descriptions of horrific violence can be used as a rhetorical tool to build sympathy for the alleged victim and erode sympathy for the alleged attacker. Both *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star* used this frame surprisingly little, despite the amount of violence which occurred during the given time period. This is remarkable, especially considering how much both Israelis and Palestinians tend to emphasize the brutality of conflict in conversations amongst themselves (Pilecki and Hammack). This frame was most often found in civilian quotes, as journalists often refrained from providing gory descriptions themselves and

appeared to use the frame as a way to connect their stories to civilian's livelihoods. However, significantly different bias was demonstrated in what nationality of victims are chosen, with *The Daily Star* heavily detailing examples of Palestinian injury, and *The Jerusalem Post* focusing on Israeli injuries. Although both sides cited their sources and reported on accounts of violence which appear substantiated, civilian testimony was often present in conjunction with the use of violent frames to add to the journalist's story.

The Human Injury frame was used in *The Daily Star* 18.6% of the time and 15.4% of the time in *The Jerusalem Post*, making *The Daily Star's* use 3.2% more frequent. However, 93.3% of examples in *The Daily Star* described Palestinian injury, while 72% of the examples in *The Jerusalem Post* described strictly Israeli injury. Notably, there were significantly more Palestinian casualties than Israeli, which likely raised the number of reports on Palestinian injury (Jaeger). This correlates to Pilecki and Hammack's rhetorical analysis of Palestinian and Israeli youth speech patterns, which found Palestinians more likely to frame themselves as "victims" while Israeli youth described themselves as "righteous victims" (Pilecki and Hammack 819). While victimhood relies more on a belief that one suffers flatly at the hands of an oppressor, righteous victimhood relies more on a sense of an oppressive history and includes justification for retribution (Pilecki and Hammack).

Thus, it is possible that this correlation corresponds to the way Palestinians and their sympathizers view the conflict. It is also possible, however, that this correlates more to how these newspapers view their readerships. This is interesting, particularly considering that both papers are published in English and employ European and American correspondents in addition to reporters originally from the region. In *The Jerusalem Post* specifically, incidents of violence

correlate with depictions of angry, irrational Palestinian militants, which are often contrasted with an organized military, corresponding with tropes of Muslim rage as critiqued by Edward Said (Said, *The Clash of Ignorance*). Similarly, it could be argued that *The Daily Star* might see their readership in an Orientalist light as consumers of violent narratives, because it is written for an audience which is mostly Arab and sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. Examining the coverage through Edward Said's framework, each appears to emphasize victimhood on opposite sides, *The Daily Star* using the frame to describe Palestinians as the underdog against a powerful state backed by European and American powers, and *The Jerusalem Post* describing Israeli casualties as the fault of irrational, emotional attacks by a barbaric Palestinian enemy (Said, *Covering Islam*).

Human Interest

Similar to the human injury frame, coding for a human interest was done to isolate articles where quotes or examples from civilian's lives are used as a rhetorical tool to gain audience interest and persuade them to have more sympathy for the alleged victim. As expected, *The Daily Star* used this frame slightly more than *The Jerusalem Post*, with 32.6% and 26.9% of articles using the frame. However, *The Daily Star* did not quote a single Israeli civilian, while *The Jerusalem Post* quoted no Palestinians. Like was found with the above human injury frame, this correlates with Pilecki and Hammack's findings about perceived Palestinian victimhood.

Most instances of this frame were identified because of their use of civilian quotes in any capacity. Such quotes were mostly of civilians reflecting on the dire circumstances of their local area, rather than those of civilian militia or individual IDF soldiers. In nearly all cases, this frame was used to add detail to descriptions of mass unrest or hardship, whereas other parts of the

article explain large trends on a societal level or damage done by militant forces over the span of a larger area. Qualifying examples also included descriptions of children, as children are also used to humanize the subject (El-Nawawy 180). The relatively low use of both the human interest and human injury frames suggests that journalists on both sides of the conflict are less likely to guide audiences through civilian examples than was initially expected.

Economic Consequences

Frames which focused on the economic consequences of Israeli-Palestinian conflict were the least common, with only 9.3% of articles in *The Daily Star* and 7.7% of articles in *The Jerusalem Post* alluding to any economic impact. This is surprising, especially considering the restrictions on trade, farming, and production in the West Bank and the prominence of the economically-focused Boycott, Divest, and Sanctions campaign. Articles which fit this criterion often covered trade agreements between Israel and surround Arab states after the Palestinian Authority began calling for denormalization of Israel in mid-October.

More interesting is the fact that no articles which used the economic consequences frame in *The Jerusalem Post* also made use of human interest or human injury frames, while only one article in *The Daily Star* also used a human interest frame. Thus, use of economic frames was generally isolated from frames which humanize the subject. This suggests that certain frames might be particularly effective in gaining an audience's interest when in specific combinations with or without other rhetorical tools. It also may be attributed to the difference in tone between the two styles of "sensationalist" and "sober" journalism, which Semetko and Valkenburg found exhibited the same separation in groups of frames (Semetko and Valkenburg). One may infer that journalistic attitudes accompany the two tones, namely, that sober reporting is more accurate

and informative, while sensationalist writing serves to entertain and add an emotional layer to the story. Journalists may assume different types of reader prefer each style, that one is ethically or rhetorically superior, or that combining the two approaches is less effective. Survey research of the mediums producers or consumers might shed more light on this trend.

Morality

Morality frames include those which contextualize the issue within religious tenets, laws, or moral prescription (Semetko and Valkenburg 96). Articles which fell under this category included those which named the people of Israel specifically “Jews” rather than “Israelis,” focused on the negotiations over religious sites, or mentioned Islamic jihad. *The Daily Star* used this frame in 48.8% of articles during this period, while *The Jerusalem Post* used the frame in 42.3% of articles, leaving a 6.5% difference in usage. Most of the qualifying subject matter overlapped between the two newspapers, with the largest portion of it referring to who would control the Temple Mount upon which the Al Aqsa Mosque is located.

However, *The Daily Star* was more likely than *The Jerusalem Post* to include civilian quotes which accused Israel of religiously-based violence. This, again, becomes important in context of Pilecki’s findings about rhetorical Palestinian victimhood, as the same framework of oppression is found in the conversations Palestinians have amongst themselves as in featured quotes in major newspapers. If the data were confined to the journalist’s prose, and excluded the use of frames in civilian quotes, the use of frames between the two news outlets might be much more equal.

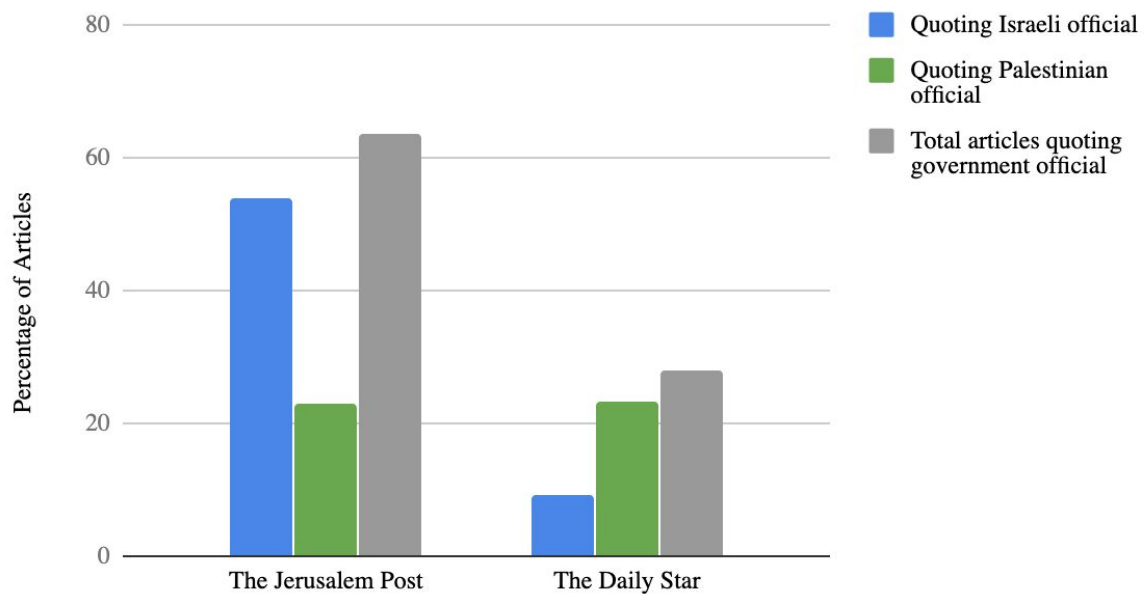
Part 2: Deference to Official Government Opinion

Whether an article uses more quotes from the position of one government or another is one of the most obvious ways to detect bias. In the case of this study, articles were counted which deferred to quotes from government officials to explain an issue, and specifically whether the quoted official was part of the Israeli government or military or part of the Palestinian Authority, PLO, or Fatah (the closest groups to government officials given the Palestinian people don't have a centralized government). Heavy quoting of Israeli officials and an absence of quotes from Palestinian officials, for example, frames negotiations from the Israeli point of view. Additionally, general use of official quotes from all sides can be a sign that the paper is considered legitimate in the eyes of the government.

Quoting Government Officials

Quoting Government Officials

Percentage of articles directly quoting government officials



Both *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star* quoted Palestinian officials in about 23% of articles, with *The Daily Star* quoting them a slight 0.18% more often. Nearly all examples were of the journalist deferring to officials as a source of legitimacy to bolster the given narrative, with government officials agreeing with the perspective of the journalist. This suggests that Palestinian Officials are reluctant to speak with individual news outlets, especially considering how many quotes of Palestinian official opinion were drawn from previously published statements. This also means that readers of both outlets have much less exposure to the way Palestinian officials frame an issue in comparison to civilians and journalists themselves, and suggests that the Palestinian Authority had less control over the flow of information, at least between the two papers chosen.

In contrast, 53.8% of articles in *The Jerusalem Post* used quotes from Israeli government officials, while only 9.3% of articles in *The Daily Star* quoted Israeli officials. Higher rates of Israeli government official quoting was expected in *The Jerusalem Post*, as both an Israeli newspaper with greater geographical proximity to the capital and as one that is known to be more sympathetic of the Israeli government. However, the fact that a sheer majority of articles in *The Jerusalem Post* including such quotes suggest that the paper is generally supportive of the Israeli government. In contrast, *The Daily Star* doesn't appear to officially align itself with any particular government, with a minority of articles featuring quotes from either side. However, this could also be due to the lack of an organized Palestinian government, without any one designated spokesperson to speak on behalf of the Palestinian cause.

Overall, 63.5% of articles in *The Jerusalem Post* used quotes from government officials on either side of the conflict, while *The Daily Star* only used official quotes in 27.9% of articles.

In *The Jerusalem Post*, a majority of these quotes came from Israeli officials, while a majority of those in *The Daily Star* were quotes from Palestinian officials. The overall lack of deference to official opinion in *The Daily Star*, and the high levels in *The Jerusalem Post*, define the difference in tone between the two papers, the first seen as using narrative-based journalism while *The Jerusalem Post* is known for information-based journalism. The language used in *The Daily Star* is generally stronger than *The Jerusalem Post* as well, making *The Daily Star* less conducive to formal political rhetoric. Additionally, because the difference between the two sources' use of quotes is mostly due to the number of Israeli official quotes used, this suggests that the Israeli government either does not lend quotes to skeptical papers, or that *The Daily Star* avoids sympathizing with their cause. Third, this difference may also have partly to do with where *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star* believe their audiences politically stand, since bias in journalism is particularly contentious within the context of conflict.

Personal Bias in Featured Quotes

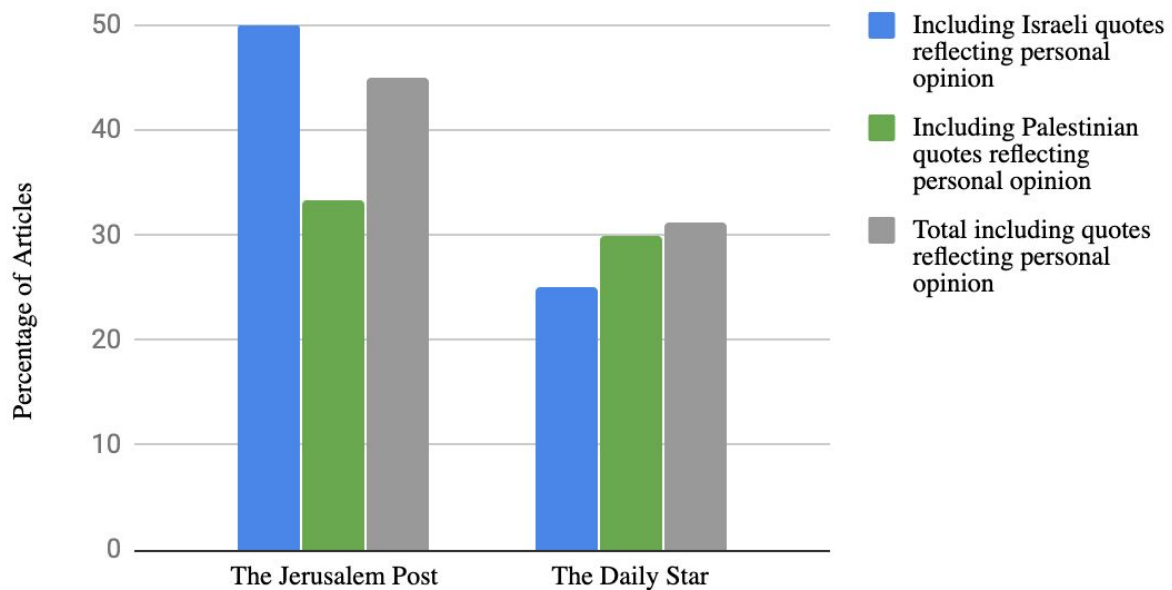
Personal bias within quotes from government officials was coded according to El-Nawawy's analysis, which used instances like this as examples of legitimacy building for beliefs which mimic the politician's point of view (El-Nawawy 1809). Additionally, government officials are seen as having more legitimate and informed knowledge on diplomatic issues, so quotes from them were often used to bolster an argument already made by the reporter.

33% of Palestinian officials' quotes in *The Jerusalem Post* and 30% of Palestinian officials' quotes in *The Daily Star* reflected the official's personal bias. This makes sense considering, as previously stated, how many of the quotes of Palestinian officials came from previously published statements rather than insights lent specifically to the newspaper. However,

50% of Israeli quotes in *The Jerusalem Post* and only 25% of Israeli quotes in *The Daily Star* reflected these subject’s personal opinion. Additionally, there is a much larger difference in the bias exhibited between Israeli and Palestinian officials quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* than in *The Daily Star*. Though the Israeli government is known to be more vocal with news outlets in general, this suggests that *The Jerusalem Post* sides more with the Israeli government than *The Daily Star*.

Personal Bias in Quotes of Government Officials

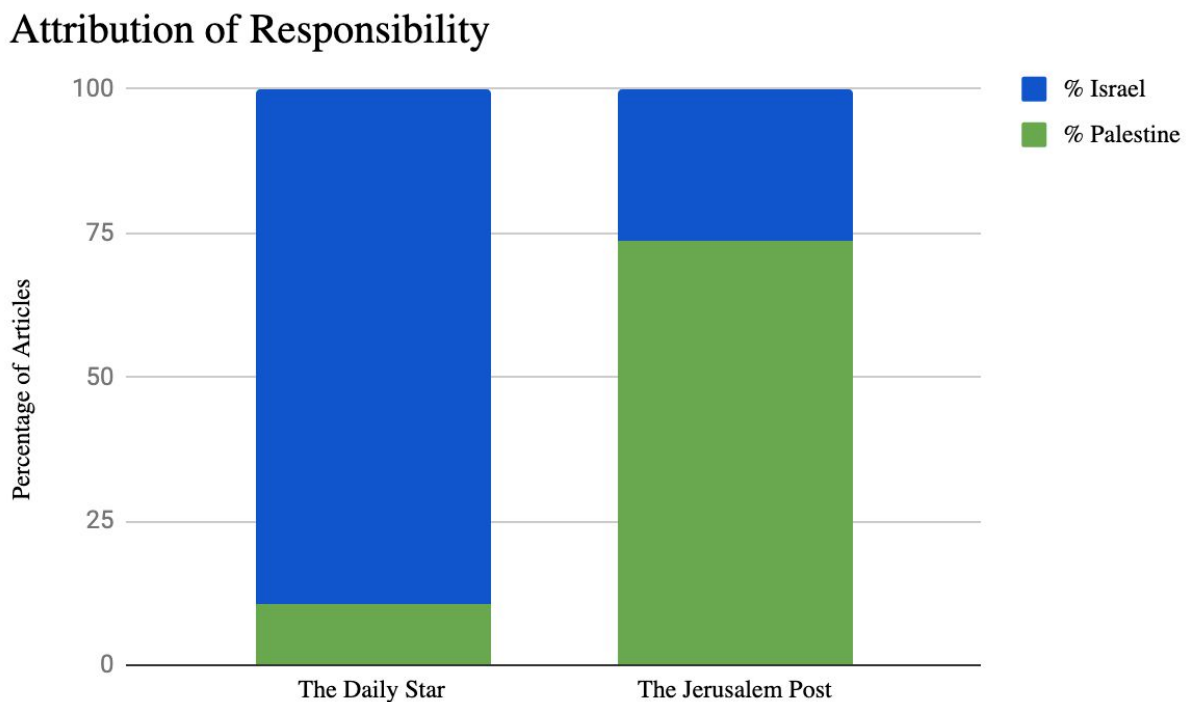
Percentage of quotes reflecting subjects' personal opinion



Overall, 31.25% of government officials quoted in *The Daily Star* were found to reflect the individual’s opinion, while 45% of the articles quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* were found to show personal bias. Stylistically, *The Jerusalem Post*’s use of narrative reporting tends to display controversy in government more frequently, which may be part of the reason the stated difference is so large. Regardless, difference in opinion between members of the same

government as well as judgements made by government officials about the conflict are significantly more frequent in *The Jerusalem Post*, meaning that controversial and speculative stories might be seen as more important for *The Jerusalem Post*'s readership.

Attribution of Responsibility



As expected, *The Jerusalem Post* and *The Daily Star* both revealed significant, opposing bias when generally attributing responsibility for issues covered in individual articles. Such issues for which blame was placed on Palestinian or Israeli actors included civilian attacks, military operations, the failure of the Sharm El-Sheikh summit, and stalled negotiations. Often, the same issue was described in opposite terms, as exemplified by coverage of the hacking of Hizbullah, Palestinian, and Israeli informational and military websites in late October. Whereas

The Daily Star covered the issue strictly as the Israeli military using hacking techniques to crash Hizbullah and then Palestinian Authority websites, *The Jerusalem Post* covered the issue as Palestinians crashing Israeli official websites, with absolutely no coverage in either paper of the counter attacks on either side.

The Daily Star thus blamed Israel for 89.47% of featured problems, while *The Jerusalem Post* blamed Palestinian actors 73.7% of the time. This nearly 16% difference demonstrates that there was significantly more biased blame placed in *The Daily Star*, especially compared with smaller differences in the other frames used. However, it must be noted that each paper showed very significant bias with respect to Semetko and Valkenburg's most expansive frame. This likely has to do with the perceived readership of each paper, which is viewed by *The Daily Star* as generally sympathetic to the Palestinian cause and *The Jerusalem Post* seeing their readership as largely Israeli or Israeli-sympathetic.

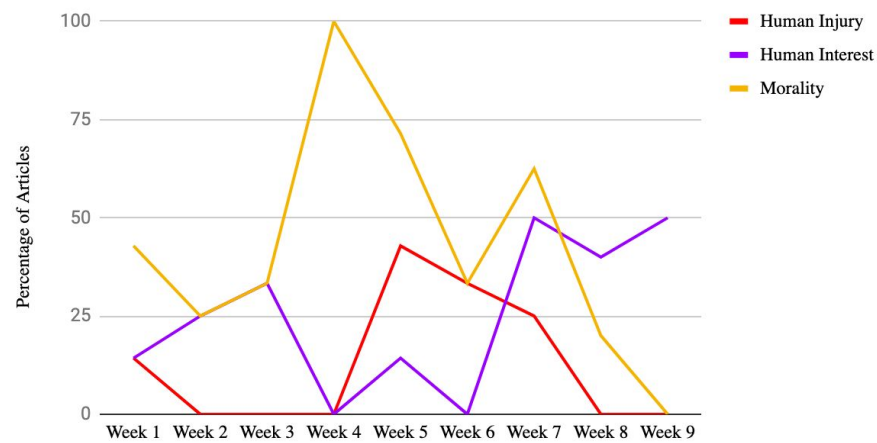
Part 3: Use of Designated Frames Over Time

The Jerusalem Post

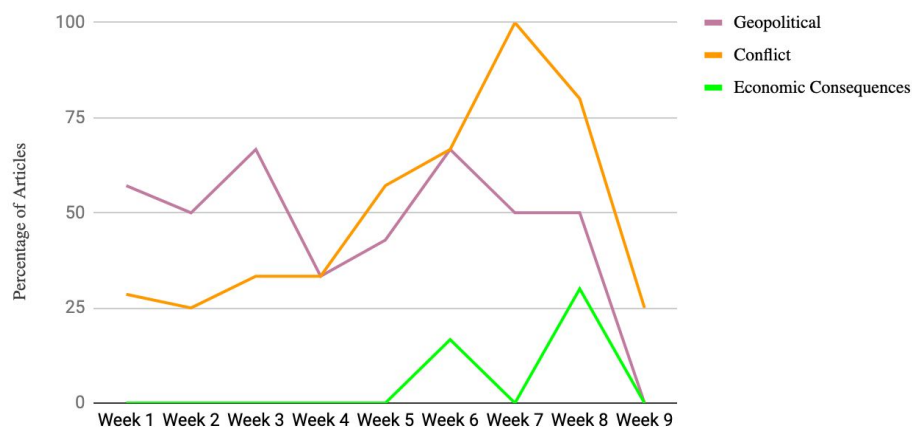
General trends of frame use over time were hard to track in *The Jerusalem Post*, largely because of the short time frame and small selection of applicable data. Each of the frames tracked exhibited very different trends of high and low, although all of the frames selected peaked in their use between Week 4 and Week 7, which is unusual considering that the surge in violence showed no significant signs of slowing in the end of October. This likely has to do with the similarity between violent clashes during this time, generating stories that would be less likely to maintain audience interest. No correlation was found between the use of any one frame with another, with trend lines appearing quite scattered in the visualization.

Looking at the trends of frame use over time, two somewhat significant spikes are apparent. The first collection of spikes in the framing trends occurs in late Week 3 and Week 4, when there was a definitive spike in morality and geopolitical frames after Ariel Sharon made his controversial visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. It makes sense that there is a spike in these two specific frames, considering that Ariel Sharon’s move was intentionally religiously motivated, and the status of Jerusalem in a final peace agreement between Israel and Palestine was one of the most central concerns for international diplomats involved. This incident is, in fact, considered by many as the beginning of the Intifada, so it makes sense that frames tend to fluctuate less in general before this date.

The Jerusalem Post: Human Injury, Human Interest, and Morality Frames Over Time



The Jerusalem Post: Geopolitical, Conflict and Economic Consequences Over Time



The second surge, this time in the conflict frame, appears to correlate with a general increase in violence which significantly hurt Israeli Defense Forces militarily and resulted in civilian casualties in Week 7. Headlines during Week 7 in *The Jerusalem Post* included, for example, those like “Body of Hillel Lieberman found” and “Israel launches reprisal attacks on PA. 2 soldiers lynched in Ramallah.” This second wave of violence suggested that the Palestinian reaction to Ariel Sharon’s Temple Mount visit was not isolated, and marked a turning point for many involved that the conflict would last. The heavy presence of the conflict frame, thus, mimics this sentiment. The trend appears to have a large curve, falling to 25% likelihood by the end of the study, despite ongoing violence.

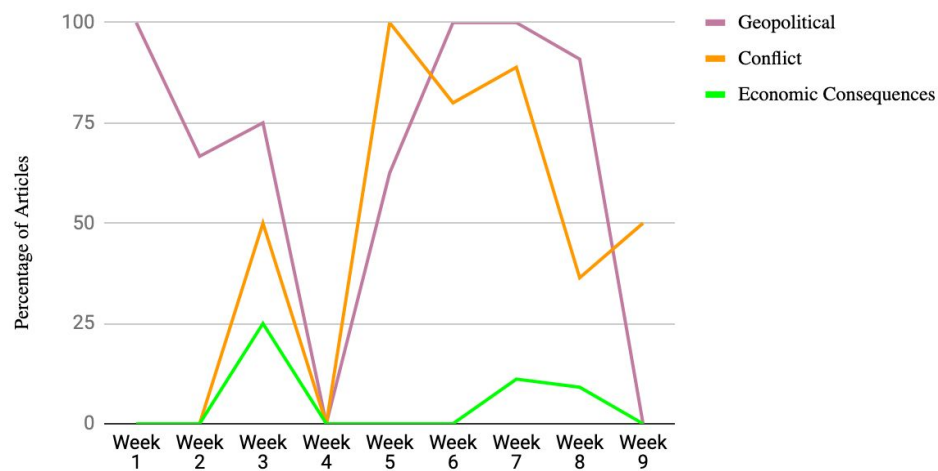
Least used, however, was the economic consequences frame, which doesn’t appear in any articles before Week 6. Despite writing from the perspective of living in an economically developed country, little issue was made about the relative worth of the Shekel or the loss in trade which resulted from this conflict. However, it is important to note that the economic frame is used here specifically after the start of the second intifada, suggesting economic consequences were unforeseen or at least not focused on before they were deliberately added to the agenda after the Palestinians began calling for the denormalization of economic ties with Israel.

The Daily Star

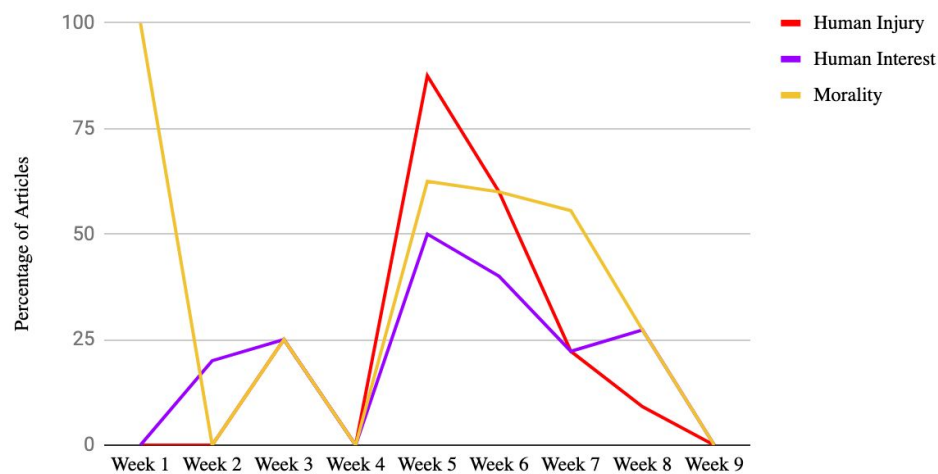
In *The Daily Star*, use of frames was found to more generally correlate in its increase and decrease over time. However, the use of frames doesn’t necessarily surge or shrink proportionately to each other over the two month span. For example, the use of all frames surged in Week 3, fell in Week 4, and surged again in Week 5. Geopolitical and conflict frames were used frequently in Week 6 and 7, while human injury and human interest frames were much less

frequent after the initial high point. Unlike *The Jerusalem Post*, morality and geopolitical frames were present in 100% of articles starting in Week 1.

The Daily Star: Geopolitical, Conflict and Economic Consequences Over Time



The Daily Star: Human Injury, Human Interest and Morality Frames Over Time



The graph of *The Daily Star* also shows a spike in geopolitical, conflict, and morality frames around the time Ariel Sharon visited the temple mount. Unlike in *The Jerusalem Post* where the spike in use of the morality frame was slightly delayed from the event itself, reactions framed by religious tenets were published immediately in *The Daily Star*. This reflects the historical fact that Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount was seen as deliberately inciteful amongst Palestinians but not as much so by Israelis. In fact, most articles in *The Jerusalem Post* which qualified as using a "morality" frame in week 4 were framing Palestinian's reactions to Sharon within religious terms, rather than the visit itself.

Because Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount marks the start of the Intifada, and because the Intifada refers specifically to a Palestinian uprising and Israeli military retaliation (rather than the reverse), it makes sense that a paper more sympathetic to the Palestinian position would show an overall increase in the use of frames past Week 3 (*Second Intifada Timeline*). Each of the frames selected for this study do something to increase the perceived stakes of a given issue, operating to grab audience interest. Thus, writing for an audience of many foreign Palestinian sympathizers, *The Daily Star* heavily used conflict, human injury, human interest, and morality frames to describe the first incidents of the Second Intifada.

The economic consequences frame is the most rare in *The Daily Star* as well, appearing within a similar time period as it did in *The Jerusalem Post*. Again, this is likely due to the fact that it was around this time Palestinians began calling on surrounding Arab countries to break their trade relations with the state of Israel. It is notable that while Week 7 showed no use of the economic consequences frame in data for *The Jerusalem Post*, Week 7 operates as the peak for the economic consequences frame in *The Daily Star*. The biggest event which took place in

Week 7 was the Sharm El Sheikh summit, a meeting of Arab and Israeli officials where politicians met to discuss the future of stabilizing the region. This meeting was seen by many Palestinian sympathizers as giving unequal bargaining power to Israel, and was condemned by Arafat afterwards as unproductive, when he instead called for sympathetic Arab states to support the Intifada. However, *The Jerusalem Post* appeared to represent the event much more neutrally, lacking significant coverage of the Palestinian Authority's criticism. Thus, it would make sense that the summit, which was covered as devoting significant time to the economic consequences of the conflict, was not covered as much in *The Jerusalem Post* as in *The Daily Star*.

Conclusion

Israeli-Palestinian conflict is highly contentious, with the use of frames resulting in reporters approaching the same events from starkly different angles. After gathering 95 total articles in *The Daily Star* and *The Jerusalem Post* reporting on the Second Intifada, these articles were analyzed for their use of frames as outlined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and El-Nawawy (2017). Most notably, large differences were found between the two papers as to which party is blamed despite covering many of the same events, with *The Daily Star* saying Israel is responsible for the problems at hand 89.5% of the time, and *The Jerusalem Post* saying Palestinians are to blame 73.7% of the time. Additionally, 100% of civilian quotes in the papers were Palestinian or Israeli, respectively, further demonstrating bias as to who's trauma, political desires, and environmental conditions in a state of war are prioritized or used to legitimize the journalist's angle on the issue. The last highly-biased frame exhibited was that of descriptions of violence, in which 93.3% of descriptions in *The Daily Star* referred to Palestinian injury, while 72.7% of instances in *The Jerusalem Post* described Israeli injury. Contextualized by the

relatively high numbers of Palestinian deaths in comparison with Israeli casualties, this contrast shows how each paper may use such instances to generate an emotional reaction from their audiences despite facts on the ground.

Other frames analyzed included how often articles defer to official opinion to legitimize their stance, whether these quotes reflected the politician's opinion rather than official government statements, and the use of geopolitical, conflict, human injury, economic, and morality-based frames. *The Daily Star* used each of these frames more than *The Jerusalem Post*, with the largest difference appearing in the use of frames emphasizing conflict, used in 69.8% of articles in *The Daily Star* and in 57.7% of articles in *The Jerusalem Post*. The least used frame, surprisingly, was that highlighting economic consequences, which includes references to highly-contested resources such as water and agriculturally viable land. This frame was only used 9.3% of the time in *The Daily Star*, and 7.7% of the time in *The Jerusalem Post*. Moral or religiously-based frames and geopolitical frames were also used heavily in both papers, with *The Daily Star* and *The Jerusalem Post* using morality frames 48.8% and 42.3% of the time, and using geopolitical frameworks 55.8% and 48.1% of the time. Though there was no correlation in the change in the use of frames over time, frames did appear to spike in light of relevant events.

The possible reasoning for the use of frames charted is three fold, as they either correspond to how each paper sees its readership, what their readership authentically responds to, or, most likely, a combination of the two. It can be argued that *The Daily Star* might believe their readers are more interested in violent clashes during the Second Intifada — something which might have been legitimate in actuality, due to the relatively high numbers of Palestinian casualties at the hands of the Israeli Defense Forces during this period and the largely Arab and

Palestinian-sympathetic readership of *The Daily Star*. On the other hand, *The Jerusalem Post*, which much more frequently quoted Israeli government officials, might believe that their largely Israeli and Israeli-sympathetic readership values the authority of the state in making sense of this tumultuous conflict. This too, might be very possible, because Israel proudly has a centralized democratic government, while Palestinians have no official spokesperson for their cause.

Journalists of both papers must balance reporting while attracting a stable enough readership to continue their work, which can often drive journalists towards sensationalism rather than a style which increases dialogue and a comprehensive political understanding. Neither paper came close to covering the points of view expressed by their opposite, generating incredibly different understandings of the conflict depending on which paper is read. Additionally, because of each paper's strong political bias, one can assume that readers of one paper would likely reject or at least criticize coverage in the other, meaning there was likely little overlap between readerships. This could contribute to political polarization between the two audiences, with their very knowledge of the course of events being significantly different. Reading each of the papers, I found my own emotions pulled in opposite directions, holding starkly different initial impressions of the war after reading an article in *The Daily Star* versus *The Jerusalem Post*. Given that people are drawn to news that affirms their preexisting opinions, and the points of views in these papers oppose each other, dedicated readers of one paper likely would not read the other. This mimics what we know about sensationalized media worldwide — that people on opposing ends of the political spectrum mostly consume news which align with their beliefs, and that a polarized media environment and a polarized political culture likely are bonded by a reciprocal or causal relationship.

However, the data collected for this paper does not actually chart any correlation between audience opinions and the content created by journalists. Therefore, more research is necessary to understand the effects of the two paper's coverage, and to begin to verify the above suggestions about each newspaper's relationship to their audience. Further, researching the correlation between the frames analyzed in this project and their corresponding audiences would shed light on the effect of these frames in other conflicts. Cultural and political differences can be immense between different international conflicts, and the way audiences respond to different rhetorical cues can have varying iterations depending on how they contrast or complement the reader's pre-existing views on the issue. Additionally, further research that documents, not just the existence of frames in articles, but also the amount of times each frame is used and which frames they are used in combination with, may begin to better inform scholars as to how and why they are effective. For example, the use of a morality frame with a conflict frame simultaneously may work reinforce the use of each, whereas economic frames and morality frames might be used to approach an issue from two different angles. Whether human injury is described once or throughout the article, too, may evoke drastically different responses.

As we begin to understand how media bias operates, we can better understand how journalists play their own role in creating the political culture of a region. Certainly, each frame has its purpose in accurate reporting, and it is difficult to decipher when and how frames might push public understanding of a conflict further away from reality. The line between audience manipulation and accurate information dissemination in contentious times is thin, and differentiating between the two may be impossible to impartially define. However,

understanding bias in journalism can increase our media literacy, and help us to critically understand the role journalism plays in the promotion of war and peace in the modern world.

EBSCOhost, doi:10.1016/j.jpubeco.2011.12.001.

Pauly, John. "Is Journalism Interested in Resolution, or Only in Conflict?" *Marquette Law Review*, vol. 93, no. Fall 2009, pp. 7–23. *EBSCOhost*,
libproxy.berkeley.edu/login?qurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ebscohost.com%2flogin.aspx%
3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3da9h%26AN%3d48618772%26site%3dedd-live.

Pilecki, Andrew, and Phillip L. Hammack. "Victims Versus 'Righteous Victims': The Rhetorical Construction of Social Categories in Historical Dialogue Among Israeli and Palestinian Youth." *Political Psychology*, vol. 35, no. 6, Dec. 2014, pp. 813–30. *EBSCOhost*,
doi:10.1111/pops.12063.

Said, Edward W. *Covering Islam : How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. New York : Pantheon Books, 1981, 1981. Anthropology BP52 .S24.

---. *The Clash of Ignorance*. Oct. 2001. *www.thenation.com*,

<https://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance/>.

Second Intifada Timeline. http://mideastweb.org/second_intifada_timeline.htm. Accessed 15 Feb. 2019.

Semetko, Holli, and Patti Valkenburg. "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 50, no. 2, Spring 2000, p. 93.

EBSCOhost,

libproxy.berkeley.edu/login?qurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ebscohost.com%2flogin.aspx%
3fdirect%3dtrue%26db%3dbth%26AN%3d3227833%26site%3dedd-live.

Sîrbu, Alina, et al. "Algorithmic Bias Amplifies Opinion Fragmentation and Polarization: A Bounded Confidence Model." *PLOS ONE*, edited by Floriana Gargiulo, vol. 14, no. 3,

Mar. 2019, p. e0213246. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0213246.