

AN ANALYSIS OF PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE
PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT DURING THE
SECOND ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON
IN 2006

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ABSTRACT

Through content analysis, the thesis examines how print media frame the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that assists in the expression of a pro-Israeli bias. More specifically, it investigates the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press* coverage of the Palestinian and Israeli deaths reported during the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006 (July 12, 2006-September 8, 2006). The study found that both news sources expressed their pro-Israeli bias through legitimizing and de-legitimizing Israeli and Palestinian killings. The *New York Times* generally justified Israeli killers and killings, condemned Palestinian killers and killings, and assigned more prominence to the Israeli side of the conflict. The *Associated Press* generally justified Israeli killers and killings, condemned Palestinian killers and killings, and assigned more prominence to the Palestinian side of the conflict. Both news sources displayed non-coverage bias in that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was overshadowed by the war occurring in Lebanon between Israel and Hezbollah.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandfathers. I love and miss you both dearly. May Allah have mercy upon their souls.

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I thank my supervisory committee, Dr. William Wentworth, Dr. Todd May and Dr. Melinda Denton, for their guidance, advice, and patience during the preparation of this thesis. I would particularly like to thank Dr. Wentworth for his constant encouragement and support throughout this process. I would also like to thank Dr. Catherine Mobley and everyone in the Applied Sociology Department at Clemson University for their continued help and insight.

I want my mother, Amina Aziz, to know that I appreciate everything that she has done for my brothers and me through the years. I would like to assure her that all the sacrifices that she has made to ensure that her children receive a high quality of living have not gone unnoticed. You are what I aspire to be.

I want my father, Ahmad Aziz, to know that I am indebted to him for all that he does. He is a selfless man that puts family above all other things in his life. You are a true example of what a father should be.

I want my brothers Mazen, Moutez, and Moutessam to know how much they all mean to me. I know it has not always been easy having a younger sister, but I hope that I have become the type of woman that makes you proud.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Preface to Research Question

“It is surely hypocritical to condemn Israel for establishing settlements in the occupied territories while we pay for establishing and expanding them. Or to condemn Israel for attacking civilian targets with cluster and phosphorus bombs ‘to get the maximum kill per hit,’ when we provide them gratis or at bargain rates, knowing that they will be used for just this purpose. Or to criticize Israel’s ‘indiscriminate’ bombardment of heavily-settled civilian areas or its other military adventures, while we not only provide the means in abundance but welcome Israel’s assistance in testing the latest weaponry under live battleground conditions-to be sure, against a vastly outmatched enemy...” (Chomsky, 1983, p. 1)

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been a subject of major concern and the cause of major instability around the world. According to the Pew Research Center’s news interest index, in 2002, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was reported as, “one of the most closely followed foreign news stories not directly involving Americans in the [index’s] 16-year history” (qtd. in ElMasry, 2006, p. 1). Due to the intense interest of the American public in the conflict, American news media have often come under harsh criticism for favoring one side or the other.

There has been a substantial amount of research conducted to assess media coverage of the conflict. The majority of the research conducted has attempted to study the bias inherent in the reporting of the conflict. This bias should not be surprising considering the close relationship between the United States and Israel. Therefore, one should expect that the American media support, rather than condemn the Israeli government. Most of the research conducted has shown that the American media coverage of the conflict favors the Israeli perspective over

that of the Palestinians (see ElMasry, 2006; El Tuhami, 2003; Ross, 2003; Viser, 2003). Considering the current upheaval in the Middle East including wars occurring in Iraq and Lebanon, it is important to clarify how the American media express their pro-Israeli bias.

The topic of my research focuses on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as it relates to media coverage, specifically print media. I conduct a content analysis of the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press* coverage of the deaths reported during the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006 (July 12, 2006-September 8, 2006). Although an official ceasefire was reached on August 14, 2006, the Israeli blockade of Lebanon was not lifted until September 8, 2006. The purpose of this research is to analyze how print media frame the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and how that assists in the expression of a pro-Israeli bias within American media.

Historical Background

Foreign Office

November 2, 1917

“Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of his Majesty’s Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

“His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country”

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

[Signed]

Arthur James Balfour (Peretz, 1996, p. 238)

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict revolves around the struggle between Jewish nationalism, also known as Zionism, and Palestinian nationalism (Peretz, 1996). The conflict can be viewed as a struggle between two groups of people both claiming right to the same piece of land. The Jews claim Palestine as their ancestral homeland due to the fact that most of the historical events recorded in the Old Testament took place in Palestine, making it the focus of many Jewish religious practices and customs (Peretz, 1996). On the other hand, the Palestinians claim right to the land in which they had been inhabiting since the end of the seventh century (Said, 1980).

Historically, from 1517-1918, Palestine was a part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Being divided into small districts, Palestine was a part of greater Syria. By the mid-19th century, the population of Palestine was, “500,000, more than 80% Muslim Arab, 10% Christian (mostly Arab), about 1% Druze (an offshoot of Shi’ite Islam) and about 5% Jewish” (Peretz, 1996, p. 3). Although the Arabs and the Turks were both Muslims, these two groups of people spoke different languages and had different ethnic roots leading to the birth of Arab Nationalism (Peretz, 1996).

Jews who had been expelled from Palestine by the Romans in the first century A.D formed the Jewish national movement in Europe. In Europe, the Jews were far from assimilated into the culture due to the fact that they lived in separate communities based on the laws, traditions, and customs of the Old Testament. The Jews viewed a land of their own as a way to solve their problems of alienation (Peretz, 1996).

Theodore Herzl, an assimilated Western Jew, wrote a pamphlet called *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) in which he proposed mass emigration of Jews to a land of their own. The two options proposed were Palestine and Argentina. At the first Zionist Congress held in Basel, Switzerland an official World Zionist

Movement was established, and their credo stated, “The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish People a home in Palestine secured by public law” (Peretz, 1996, p.8).

Tensions between the Zionists and Arabs began as early as the 1880s when Zionist settlers arrived in Palestine. Once the Arabs became aware of the intentions of the Zionists to build a Jewish homeland in Palestine, opposition to the movement was born (Peretz, 1996). This was obvious to the Muslim Arabs, and also to the Jewish Arabs already in Palestine. These Jewish Arabs reacted negatively to the Zionist movement for two reasons. First, these individuals did not see a need for a Jewish state. Secondly, they did not want to exacerbate relations with the Arabs (Quigley, 1990). There was also a religious basis underlying the negative reaction by the Jewish Arabs to the Zionist movement. Some Jews believed that their long awaited Messiah would be the one to establish for them a Jewish homeland. Therefore, there was no need for the Zionist movement.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations determined that Palestine, Iraq, and Syria were to exist as independent nations. Palestine and Iraq were to be governed by Great Britain, while Syria was to be governed by France (El Tuhami, 2003). The mandate for Palestine called for it to serve as a Jewish homeland as stated in the Balfour Declaration in 1917 (Peretz, 1996). When the British mandate was first established, the Palestinian Arabs thought of themselves as part of the larger administrative regions in Syria and Lebanon. However, with the separation of Palestine from these regions, Palestinian nationalism was born. The common factor among all of the Arab political factions was their opposition against a

Jewish homeland in Palestine. However, despite sharp opposition, the Jewish community was able to establish Zionism as a national political movement (Peretz, 1996).

At first, the Jewish national political movement insisted on Palestine as a whole to become a homeland for the Jews. However, they agreed on a partition of Palestine in order to establish Israel as a state for the Jews. The Palestinians demanded an independent Arab state. The U.N. General Assembly gathered to deal with the Palestine question. Great Britain agreed to end its mandate of Palestine, but would remain neutral to proposals to divide Palestine. However, the Arabs emphasized their opposition to the partition plan and threatened to resist by force due to the fact that, “the Jews, representing only a minority of Palestine’s population, would receive the best parts of the land and that partition would leave nearly as many Arabs as Jews in the proposed Jewish state” (Peretz, 1996, p. 36). Regardless of the Arab opposition, on November 29, 1947, the General Assembly voted in favor of the partition (Peretz, 1996). The United States, an advocate of the partition was accused of, “‘diplomatic intimidation’” (Quigley, 1990, p. 37). Quigley (1990) states that, “Without ‘terrific pressure’ from the United States on ‘governments which cannot afford to risk American reprisals,’...‘would never have passed’” (p. 37).

On May 14, 1948, the state of Israel was declared, and the Arabs kept their promise to resist forcefully. The Arabs fought five wars with Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982. Separate from the wars, the Palestinians engaged in two uprisings (1987-1993 and 2000-present). Following the 1967 war, Israel expanded to include the West Bank and the Gaza strip. These lands have been come to be known as the occupied territories. Many United Nations resolutions have asked Israel to maintain its pre-1967 borders. U.N. resolution 242 insists on Israel’s complete withdraw from territories occupied (Laqueur and Rubin, 2001).

Resolution 242 was first written in French. When it was translated from French to English, the meaning was changed. Instead of the resolution stating that Israel must withdraw from the occupied territories, the resolution states that Israel must withdraw from territories occupied. This translation makes the resolution ambiguous. Nevertheless, to date, Israel has not maintained its pre-1967 borders.

There have also been numerous U.N. resolutions condemning the behavior of the Israeli government and military. The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) has been accused of excessive force in dealing with the Palestinian resistance. In 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon. Initially, the Defense minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon, stated that the purpose of the invasion was to establish a security zone. However, Israel moved northward and took siege of West Beirut. In 1982, the IDF was held personally responsible for the massacres carried out in the Sabra and Shatilla Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in which hundreds of men, women, and children were murdered. Although these attacks were carried out by Lebanese Maronite Christians militias, Israel was accused of allowing the massacre to take place and came under harsh criticism due to the large number of Lebanese and Palestinian casualties. After difficult negotiations, a peace agreement was signed between Israel and Lebanon in May of 1983 (Peretz, 1996).

Paul Findley (1998) reports that between 1955-1992, sixty-five U.N. resolutions targeted Israel, while zero resolutions targeted the Palestinians. Donald Neff states, "Aside from the core issues—refugees, Jerusalem borders—the major themes reflected in the U.N. resolutions against Israel over the years are its unlawful attacks on its neighbors; its violations of the human rights of the Palestinians, including deportations, demolitions of homes and other collective punishments; its confiscation of Palestinian land; its establishment of illegal settlements; and its refusal to abide by the U.N. Charter and the 1949 Fourth

Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war” (“Lessons to be Learned,” 1993, para. 10).

Although Ariel Sharon was held personally responsible for the killings in Sabra and Shatilla, he entered the El Aqsa Mosque, an Islamic holy site, on September 28, 2000. The second Palestinian Intifada (uprising) began in response to this visit. As had happened with the first uprising, Palestinians rebelled against the Israeli government and military. “By December of 2001, three hundred Palestinians and thirty Israelis had died. By September 2002, the death toll rose to 1626 Palestinians and 559 Israelis” (as cited in El Tuhami, 2003 p. 3).

In 2006, Israel again invaded Lebanon. This war became known as the July war, or the second Lebanon war. This war was driven by Israel to extinguish resistance forces, primarily Hezbollah. Hezbollah forces had taken two Israeli soldiers captive. Israel responded with massive air strikes on civilian infrastructure. On August 18, 2006, four days after the official ceasefire, *Guardian Unlimited/Associated Press* released an article entitled, “Mideast War, by the Numbers.” The article reported 845 Lebanese deaths with a total of 4,051 Lebanese wounded. Over 900,000 Lebanese people were displaced. 157 Israeli deaths were reported with 860 Israelis wounded. 300,000 Israelis were displaced (“Mideast War,” 2006).

However, despite continued violence and the massive loss of lives revolving around this conflict, the United States continues to support Israel with U.S. aid. Also, the majority of the American public has continued support for Israel, despite the harsh criticism of the state from the international community. The United States continued support for Israel in spite of U.N. resolutions condemning Israel, and in spite of protests from the international community leads me to explore the issue of how the American media frames the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Specifically, I will explore how the media expresses its pro-

Israeli bias. It is necessary to explore the possible implications that this inherent bias may have on the American general public's opinion regarding the conflict.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this research is to analyze how print media frame the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that assists in the expression of a pro-Israeli bias. More specifically it will investigate the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press* coverage of the Palestinian and Israeli deaths reported during the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006 (July 12, 2006-September 8, 2006).

Framing of news sources and elite influence on media coverage are of particular interest in this study. Media framing theory suggests that the media focus their attention on certain aspects of a story while downplaying other aspects. Also, relying on elite sources limits the diversity of viewpoints and opinions leading to a one-sided perspective of the conflict.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Three sections are included in this literature review: Media framing, Media-State Influence, and Press coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The first section, media framing, reviews the current literature published by scholars who have studied media framing and its effects on public opinion. It further reviews previous studies that have dealt with this issue. The second section, media-state influence, describes the influence of the political elite on news media coverage. The third section describes the previous research conducted on the biases found in press coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Media Framing

There has been considerable literature that has contributed to our present day understanding of frames and framing effects (D'Angelo, 2002; Entman, 1993; Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996; Goffman, 1974; Valkenburg and Semetko, 2000). Researchers from a variety of disciplines have attempted to define the concept of framing. However, we are absent of a universally accepted definition. Gitlin (1980) defines framing as, "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (p. 7). Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) define frames as, "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information" (qtd. in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94). Frames are also described as having an influence over public opinion by, "...stressing specific values, facts and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might

appear to have under an alternative frame” (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997, p. 569). Put simply, framing is an attempt to establish a consistent vocabulary to express a particular viewpoint.

Researchers such as, D’Angelo (2002), Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), Scheufele (1996, 1999), and others believe that the concept of framing is best understood within the context of the social construction of reality theory developed by Berger and Luckmann in their book, *The Social Construction of Reality*. The focus of social constructionism is to learn the ways in which individuals participate in the creation of their own perceived realities. This theory is best described by Davis (1990), “Social construction of reality theory is grounded on the premise that we live in a fundamentally ambiguous social world—a world in which persons, objects, and actions have no inherent meaning. If meaning is not inherent, then it must be created—imposed on actions, events or things through human actions” (qtd. in Wolfsfeld, 1997, p. 32). Newspapers take this ambiguous world and construct it according to their own interests and values. This creates, to some degree, an artificial world, a caricature, separate from the reality of the actual scene. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) explain that, “...the game is about constructing reality and through framing, leading others to action” (p. 5). The authors further explain and reiterate Davis by stating, “Since the cues from the environment are often ambiguous, we are too often forced into making up the game as we go along, creating the reality to which we must then respond” (1996, p. 6).

Through framing, the media focus their attention on certain aspects of a story while downplaying other aspects. All messages are then presented in particular ways. Gamson (1989) explains the way in which something is presented, the ‘frame’, influences the choices that people make by placing these messages within a field of meaning (as cited in ElMasry, 2006). Entman (1993)

explains the framing process as involving selection and salience. In selecting certain aspects of a story and making them more noticeable, the communication source is able to promote a particular viewpoint. We might add that selection and salience often depend on information's perceived political, moral, ideological, and cultural context.

There are various devices used in the process of framing. Language choice plays a major role in the framing of news. Language assists in focusing on certain aspects, classifying information into certain categories, and remembering and retrieving information (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996). Entman (1993) explains that certain pieces of information are made more salient by their placement and repetition within the text. Although language is a major component of framing, it cannot be used alone. In order to be a successful framer, Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) argue that one must also have a message. In order to create a message we must draw upon our pre-conceived mental models. These models are the internal images that we use to view how the world works. These mental models represent what we see and what we want others to see.

News frames can have an effect on people's reasoning about a wide array of issues. Researchers have displayed how media attention given to a particular issue or problem can affect public opinion (Nelson et al., 1997; Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese, 1999). Rhee (1997) conducted a study to examine how media frames in campaign coverage effect individuals' interpretation of the campaigns. In this case, a framing effect was defined as, "...a mental model constructed through the interaction between news frames and the interpreter's social knowledge" (p. 26). Rhee (1997) identified two major campaign frames, strategy and issue. His results showed that both strategy-framed and issue-framed news stories influence individual's interpretations of the campaigns.

Valkenburg et al. (1999) tested how news frames affect readers' thoughts and ability to recall information. Using four framing conditions: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, and economic consequences, the researchers presented the participants with two newspaper stories that dealt with two socially and politically pertinent issues. The study found that news frames can have significant effect on readers' thoughts about and recall of issues. The authors conclude that news media has the capability of informing the public about what issues to think about and also how to think about them.

Research on Framing

Researchers have extensively studied news frames and their effects as they relate to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Gamson, 1992; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Noakes and Wilkins, 2002; Ross, 2003; Ross and Bantimaroudis, 2006). Noakes and Wilkins (2002) conducted a study to investigate how the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press* frame the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The study showed that framing of the Palestinians became less negative over time. The Palestinians were more likely to be viewed as victims and their struggle for independence was justified. Ross (2003) studied the framing techniques used by the *New York Times* regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This study concluded that the *New York Times* rarely criticized government policy of the United States regarding the conflict. This study also showed that there was little support for the outmatched Palestinians.

Some researchers have identified recurrent frames that are used in the media. Wolfsfeld (2001) argued that the media take on either a "law and order" frame or an "injustice and defiance" frame depending on where they cast themselves along the independence continuum. This continuum ranges from:

aggressive watchdog of government, advocate of the downtrodden, semi-honest broker, and faithful servant parroting government (Wolfsfeld, 1997 p. 69).

Gamson (1992) and Wolfsfeld (1997) studied media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and identified five major frames: strategic interest, feuding neighbors, Arab intransigence, Israeli expansionism, and dual liberation. Gamson (1992) found that the dueling neighbors and strategic interest frames were used exhaustively (as cited in Ross, 1992). The assumption behind the strategic interest frame is that the Middle East is perceived as a threat to the major power status of America. The dueling neighbors frame identifies the conflict in terms of long standing grievances between the two parties. “In this frame, innocent victims are identified as bystanders but not combatants. Both parties in the conflict are identified as the villains; this frame is non-partisan, as both sides are blamed” (El Tuhami, 2003, p. 68). The Arab intransigence frame asserts that the conflict reflects the Arabs refusal to recognize Israel as a state. The Israeli expansionism frame claims that Israel is failing to recognize Palestine as a state and expanding at the expense of its neighbors. Lastly, the dual liberation frame insists that both the Israelis and the Palestinians have rightful claim to the land and must recognize the rights of both sides involved.

Media-State Influence

There has been much debate over the extent to which the media serve elite interests and the role the media plays in influencing political outcomes. Davis (2003) claims that elite sources dominate news production. In studies of news coverage of politics (Gans, 1979; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Tiffen, 1989; Bennet, 1990) media use institutional and corporate elite sources as suppliers of news information. Davis (2003) also claims that, “a major function of the news media is to act as a communications channel for the regular negotiations and

decision-making that take place between different elite groups—to the exclusion of the mass of consumer-citizens” (p. 673). Many studies have found that the media are used by politicians to influence political decision-making (Cockerell, Hennessey, and Walker, 1984; Negrine, 1996; Tunstall, 1996).

Robinson (2001) describes the ‘manufacturing consent’ school of thought, which claims that the media functions to gain support for policy preference of the elite (p. 524). Bennett (1990), Entman (1991), Hallin (1986), Mermin, (1999), Sigal (1973), and Zaller and Chui (1996) all claim that the media do not influence the government. Rather, these researchers assert that the government influences the media.

There are two versions of the manufacturing consent paradigm. The executive version (Entman, 1991; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Glasgow University Media Group, 1985; Herman, 1993; Philo and McLaughlin, 1993) describes the extent to which news media conform to the agendas and frames of government officials (Robinson, 2001). The elite version of the manufacturing consent paradigm (Bennett, 1990; Hallin, 1986) claims that news media coverage conforms to the interests of all political elitists (Robinson, 2001). However, the elite manufacturing consent theory claims that the media will challenge executive policy only when conflict exists between the elites.

Another theory of media state influence is the political contest model. Wolfsfeld (1997) argues that the political process, “is more likely to have an influence on the news media than the news media are to have an influence on the political process” (p. 30). Schudson (1995) claims news media, “does not constitute political discourse but relays, refines, and reuses it” (qtd. in Wolfsfeld, 1997, 30). This model assumes that while the news media normally function to serve the dominant views in society, there are times in which they serve the

interests of marginalized groups, or ‘challengers.’ Under certain conditions the challengers can set the media agenda and influence political outcomes (Robinson, 2001, p. 539).

Wolfsfeld (1997) describes three factors that determine control of media coverage. The first factor is the ability to initiate and control events. Wolfsfeld (1997) explains that the government is in a, “much better position to coordinate their press relations when they can anticipate the events that will be covered. When, on the other hand, the powerful are forced to react to events, it means that others are setting and framing the media’s agenda” (p. 31). The second factor is the ability to establish control over the flow of information. There are certain pieces of information that the government would like to release, while leaving others suppressed. When challengers are able to provide counter-information that is damaging to the government, they are also able to take control of the media. The third factor is the mobilization of consensus among the elites. When oppositional viewpoints are few, the government is able to take control of the media. However, when during times of polarization, the media will be more inclined to present both sides of a story.

The model was tested during a period of unrest in the occupied territories in Israel. Wolfsfeld (1997) found that the Israeli government lost control of the media agenda because: “(1) they were unable to take control of the political environment, (2) the internationalization of the Palestinians’ struggle leveled the balance of power between Palestinians (the challengers) and the Israeli government (the authorities) and (3) the access of journalists to the sites of civil unrest meant that the resulting footage of unarmed Palestinians engaging with Israeli soldiers cast the Israelis, on balance, in a negative light” (qtd. in Robinson, 2001, p. 539).

Press Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Zelizer, Park, and Gudelunas (2002) state that, "...a perspective—which insists on the possibility of reporting from no perspective at all—has begun to fade in much critical literature on journalistic practice..." (p. 284). Concerning media bias, there has been a substantial amount of research conducted on the topic of the media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that confirms an alleged journalistic partiality (Lalehparvaran, 1981; Viser, 2003; Wolfsfeld, 2003; Zelizer et al., 2002). Many researchers argue that there exists a pro-Israeli bias in the media (Elmasry, 2006; Tuhami, 2003; Viser, 2003; Zelizer et al., 2002). Below are a few examples of some of the studies that have been conducted concerning the press coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Viser (2003) explored this issue by investigating the American and Israeli media. He chose to study the *New York Times* because it has been described by Reese and Danielian (1989) as, "America's most influential newspaper" (qtd. in Viser, 2003, p. 115) and the Ha'aretz newspaper because it is the, "...oldest newspaper in Israel and is reputedly the leading intellectual Hebrew daily" (Viser, 2003, p. 115). He investigated five facets of news coverage of the conflict including: sources, end quotes, story topics, topic locations, and fatalities during three time periods: 1987-1988, 2000-2001, and post-September 11, 2001. A brief description of each facet is described below.

Stories were coded for the sources that they used. These sources were coded in terms of Israeli sources, which include Israeli government officials, military officials, police, laymen, and journalists. Palestinian sources include Palestinian Authority officials, Fatah officials, police, laymen, and journalists. Stories were coded for their end quotes which are attributed to whoever was given the last word on the topic. Stories were also coded for their story topic, which refers to the major focus of the articles. Coding was also given to topic locations,

which are categorized by the prominence of their placement. Lastly, fatalities are coded in terms of whether the deceased was identified by name and the amount of information given about the deceased.

Viser (2003) found that, the *New York Times* had grown less balanced in its reporting of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. He found that the ratio of Israeli sources to Palestinian sources used has widened over time, from 1.6 in 1987-1988 to 2.4 post-September 11, 2001. However, this gap decreased in the Ha'aretz newspaper from 2.2 in 2000-01 to 2.0 post-September 11, 2001. The ratio of Israeli end-quotes to Palestinian end-quotes also widened over time in the *New York Times*, yet decreased over time in the Ha'aretz newspaper. The researcher also found that the *New York Times* offered fewer stories presenting the Palestinian side, and fewer stories receiving prominence if the Israelis are labeled as the perpetrators of the violence. He also found a decline in the identification and amount of information given concerning a Palestinian death. Overall, Viser (2003) found that the *New York Times* coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict provides a more one-sided version than the Ha'aretz newspaper.

Zelizer et al. (2002) also analyzed the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by examining thirty days of coverage in the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Chicago Tribune* during the first ten months of the second Intifada, or Palestinian uprising (September 2000 to June 2001). The purpose of this study was to test the *New York Times* status as, "...a newspaper of record" (Zelizer et al., 2002, p. 284) by comparing it with the coverage of the other two newspapers. The researchers found that, "...coverage of events not only varied across the three newspapers, demonstrating that the American media is not monolithic, but in the case of the newspaper most often accorded the status of the newspaper of record, coverage varied in distinct ways from other mainstream newspapers" (Zelizer et

al., 2002, p. 284). The ways in which the *New York Times* is similar and differs from *The Washington Post* and *Chicago Tribune* are discussed below.

Although the newspapers differed in many aspects, there were general similarities found. The researcher found that among the newspapers examined, all used words that were reflective of the Israeli perspective on events, rather than the Palestinian perspective. Also, the largest percentage of stories came from Israel proper, hence displaying a geographic bias in coverage. The authors also explain that all of the newspapers tended to rely on objectifying devices, such as graphics, to present the conflict such as body counts. The use of such devices downplayed the subjective dimensions of the conflict. Lastly, in terms of sourcing patterns, it was found that all three newspapers favored the use of high-ranking officials which, "...left the common people typically not quoted or consulted in most of the coverage" (Zelizer et al., 2002, p. 292).

Despite the similarities found among the three newspapers, the differences found in coverage indicate that the *New York Times* differed considerably in coverage content. It was found that the *New York Times* portrayed Israelis as victims and the Palestinians as aggressors. The *New York Times* more than in the other two newspapers displayed this bias. Also, the *New York Times* was less likely to portray Israeli-instigated violence. Rather, they would establish a middle ground in which both the Palestinians and Israelis were held accountable. The *New York Times* was also more likely to depict Palestinian culpability than the other newspapers. However, it was less likely to portray Israeli culpability. Again, the *New York Times* would establish a middle ground portraying Palestinian and Israeli culpability, rather than Israel alone. The *New York Times* was also more likely to use objectifying devices such as geographic maps and charts without inserting an editorial comment. The differences found in the *New*

York Times, “suggests its consonance with the more general criticism of the American media for a pro-Israeli slant in covering the Intifada” (Zelizer et al., 2002, p. 302).

El Tuhami (2003) found similar results to the Zelizer et al. (2002) study. El Tuhami (2003) investigated the BBC World News and CNN Headline News online coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in terms of framing and sourcing patterns. The researcher conducted a qualitative textual analysis and quantitative content analysis of the second Palestinian uprising. Content analysis was employed to investigate the framing procedures used in the articles, while textual analysis was employed to investigate the sourcing patterns used.

As described in the Media Framing section of this literature review, many researchers believe that the media focus their attention on certain aspects of a story while downplaying other aspects, thus affecting peoples reasoning about a wide variety of issues (Gamson, 1989; Nelson et al., 1997; Valkenburg et al., 1999). Using the frames defined by Gamson (1992) and Wolfsfeld (1997), El Tuhami (2003) found that the injustice and defiance frame, the law and order frame, and the feuding neighbors frame were most used by the two organizations studied. The use of these frames leads to the exclusion of the historical and political contexts reflecting the conflict.

El Tuhami (2003), like Zelizer et al., (2002), found there was variance between the two news organizations studied. Both the BBC and CNN, “...showed a greater preoccupation with what officials had to say. CNN awarded governmental officials more access than did BBC” (El Tuhami, 2003, p. 71). Both news organizations rarely allowed members of the general public, who were directly affected by the conflict, to voice their arguments.

ElMasry (2006) delved deeper into the issue of sourcing patterns used by the media in their coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. He studied the *New*

York Times and the *Chicago Tribune* and their framing of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the second Intifada. He studied legitimation based on justification, condemnation, and prominence and formulated three hypotheses: the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune* will legitimate Israeli killings through justification more often than Palestinian killings, the two newspapers will de-legitimize Palestinian killings through condemnation more often than Israeli killings, and the two newspapers will legitimate the Israeli side more often than the Palestinian side by assigning more prominence to the Israeli perspective than the Palestinian perspective.

ElMasry's findings indicate that Israeli killers and killings were justified, while Palestinian killers and killings were consistently condemned. The researcher also found that Palestinian deaths were not given much prominence, while Israeli deaths were given high prominence. Therefore, the first hypothesis, Israeli killings would be justified more than Palestinian killings, was strongly supported. The second hypothesis predicted that the newspapers would condemn Palestinian killings more often than Israeli killings. This hypothesis was supported as well, although one indicator was not supported. Palestinian killings were consistently condemned, while Israeli killings were rarely condemned. The articles usually used the aggression frame to describe Palestinian killings and usually described Palestinian killers with criminal terms. Palestinian killers and killings were more likely to be described as cruel. However, the prediction that Israeli deaths would be more humanized was not supported. Hypothesis three predicted that the two newspapers would legitimate the Israeli side by giving it more prominence. ElMasry found that Israeli sources were quoted significantly more than Palestinian sources and Israeli deaths were highlighted more, thus supporting the third hypothesis. Overall, this study suggests that the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune* tend to justify Israeli killings of Palestinians, assign

prominence to the Israeli perspective as opposed to the Palestinian perspective, and condemn Palestinian killings more than Israeli killings.

Hypotheses

Following closely by the work of ElMasry (2006), I plan to investigate the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press* coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on legitimation using content analysis. Through the use of certain framing devices and the reliance on elite sources, I hypothesize that the *New York Times* newspaper legitimizes Israeli killings and de-legitimizes Palestinian killings, thus expressing a pro-Israeli bias.

H₁: The *New York Times* legitimates Israeli killings through justification more often than Palestinian killings.

H₂: The *New York Times* de-legitimizes Palestinian killings more often than Israeli killings.

H₃: The *New York Times* legitimates the Israeli side more often than the Palestinian side by assigning more prominence to the Israeli perspective than the Palestinian perspective.

H₄: The *Associated Press* legitimates Israeli killings through justification more often than Palestinian killings.

H₅: The *Associated Press* de-legitimizes Palestinian killings more often than Israeli killings.

H₆: The *Associated Press* legitimates the Israeli side more often than the Palestinian side by assigning more prominence to the Israeli perspective than the Palestinian perspective.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Content Analysis

“Communication, the most basic form of human interaction, is necessary for any enduring human relationship, from interpersonal to international. Groups, institutions, organizations, and nations exist by virtue of communication and cease to exist once communication becomes totally disrupted. Communication is at the heart of civilization” (Kuhn, 1963, p. 151). This study employs the method of content analysis to study the coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the *New York Times*. Content analysis is used to study human communication. Many definitions have been offered to describe this type of research methodology. Weber (1985) defined content analysis as, “...a research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences text” (p. 9). Barcus (1985) defined content analysis as, “...the scientific analysis of communications messages” (p. 8). Kaplan (1943) offered another definition emphasizing its relation to the political process stating, “Content analysis is the statistical semantics of political discourse” (p. 230).

Two types of content analysis exist, quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative content analysis is described as the process by which the symbols of communication are assigned numeric values. The relationship among these values is analyzed using statistical methods to draw inferences about their meaning (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 1998). Qualitative content analysis is defined as, “the drawing of inferences on the basis of appearance and nonappearance of attributes in messages” (Holsti, 1969, p. 10). This method asserts that,

“...quantitative indicators are extremely insensitive and shallow. Even where large amounts of quantitative data are available, as required for statistical analyses, these tend not to lead to the “most obvious” conclusions...Qualitative analyses can be systematic, reliable, and valid as well” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 10). For the purpose of my research, I will focus on the use of qualitative content analysis because, “qualitative methods have proven successful...particularly in political analyses of foreign propaganda” (Krippendorff, 2004, p.19).

Qualitative and quantitative approaches are usually described by the types of content they analyze. Manifest content is what the author has definitely stated in his work. Latent content is defined as the author’s intended message or the effect that the message has on the audience. This effect on the audience may occur with or without the intention of the author. This effect may also depend on or be caused by the context in which the audience is reading/hearing the author’s message. Quantitative content analysis of latent content requires the coder to employ the technique of, “reading between the lines” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 20). Qualitative researchers argue that quantitative measurements of communication fail to capture the latent content of meaning and are therefore restricted to the analysis of the manifest content of meaning (Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 2004; Riffe et al., 1998).

The uses of content analysis are far reaching. Weber (1985), Berleson (1952), and Holsti (1969) all agree that content analysis can be used for the purposes of describing trends in communication content. Lienes and Pool (1942) describe four functions of content analysis: to confirm what is already believed, to correct the ‘optical illusions’ of specialists, to settle disagreements among specialists, and to formulate and test hypotheses about symbols (as cited in Krippendorff, 2004, p. 45). Berleson (1952) describe several functions of content analysis including disclosing international differences in communication content,

identifying the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator, and detecting the existence of propaganda (as cited in Krippendorff, 2004; and Weber, 1985). Due to its wide range of function, Krippendorff (2004), and Riffe et al. (1998) all note that this method has been used in various disciplines including psychology, anthropology, mass communications, and journalism. Content analysis has also been employed in the discipline of sociology as well (Weber, 1985).

One of the main advantages of employing qualitative content analysis is that it “operates directly upon text and transcripts of human communications” (Weber, 1985, p.10). Another major advantage is the unobtrusive nature of this methodology in which, “neither the sender nor the receiver of the message is aware that it is being analyzed” (Weber, 1985, p. 10)

Carley (1992) and Riffe et al. (1998), and Weber (1985) have described the steps involved in conducting content analysis. The first step is choosing a representative sample from which to draw data. Next, the researcher will code the text into manageable content categories. Coding involves deciding the level of analysis one wants to study. This is done by determining which words, set of words, or phrases the researcher will focus. Coding also involves developing rules for coding your text. This ensures that less general concepts will be translated into more general ones. Once the researcher has completed coding, the data is analyzed. In this stage, the researcher examines the data that he/she has collected and describes typical patterns found within the data. The researcher is then able to draw conclusions from the text examined.

In order to ensure reliability and validity additional coders may be trained to apply the same rules designed by the researcher to the content being analyzed. Reliability and validity can also be ensured through the use of computer-aided

programs. However, since I plan to employ an instrument used previously that uses structured categories, I do not plan to use additional coders or computer-aided programs.

Data Analysis

This study employs the method of content analysis to study the coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press*. The *New York Times* was chosen because of its reputation as being one of the largest American newspapers. Articles were located through Lexis Nexis, an electronic newspaper database. Coverage spans from July 12, 2006, the first day of the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon, to September 8, 2006. This 59-day period represents the entire course of the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The *Associated Press* was chosen because of the *New York Times* reliance on the wire source for news reports. The design for this content analysis was guided by the work of Mohammad ElMasry (2006), as is described briefly in the literature review and more in-depth below. Coding for types of legitimation follows ElMasry's design, which includes a coding scheme to measure all indicators of justification, condemnation, and prominence. This coding scheme has been revised to fit my research. This methodology will assist in detailing specifically the ways in which these news sources express any pro-Israeli bias.

Legitimation

ElMasry (2006) describes legitimation as the process of validating and justifying an action. De-legitimation is the process of suggesting that something is wrong or unacceptable. ElMasry suggests that there are three forms of legitimation/de-legitimation that exist in the coverage of deaths reported in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The first form of legitimation is justification in which

the media will legitimate some killings by framing them in a way that makes it look acceptable. The second form of de-legitimation is condemnation in which the media will de-legitimate some killings by condemning them or labeling them as unwarranted. The third type of legitimation is prominence in which the media legitimizes a particular perspective by making it stand out more than another perspective.

Content Analysis: Justification

As described above, the first form of legitimation/de-legitimation is justification in which the media legitimate some killings by framing them in a way that makes it look acceptable. ElMasry suggests that there are four indicators of justification: self-defense, war, explicit rationale, and accidents.

Self-Defense

The first indicator of justification is self-defense, which refers to actions taken by a person to prevent others from causing harm to one's self, one's property or one's home. In using this type of framing device, the media is able to justify a killing. This justification stems from the fact that in using this form of framing device it turns an action that would have been otherwise considered a criminal action and excuses or justifies it when it is committed for the purpose of protecting oneself or property. Dellios (2000b) provides the following example:

“The uprising took two more lives Sunday when Israeli soldiers shot two Palestinians, one of whom allegedly was trying to plant a roadside bomb at a Jewish settlement near Jerusalem” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 9).

The sentence uses the self-defense framing device in that it implies that if the Palestinians would not have been killed, the Israeli soldiers would have been

in danger from the alleged roadside bomb. When written in this way, the media is able to justify the killings of the two Palestinians.

War/Battle

The second indicator of justification is war, which refers to a large-scale conflict between two groups of people. When this framing device is used the media justifies a killing based on the assumption that both sides are consenting parties in the war or battle. The death is thus considered a casualty of war. Chivers (2002) provides the following example:

“Israeli soldiers launched a raid today into the center of Nablus..., underscoring that Israeli military operations in the West Bank have not ended” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 10).

In using this type of framing device, the media use specific terminology that indicates that both sides are engaging in an act of war or battle. For example, the above-mentioned passage contains several key terms that imply a war is in progress such as, “Israeli soldiers,” “raid,” and “military operations.”

Explicit Rationale

The third indicator of justification is explicit rationale in which the media provide a specific reason for why a person was killed. In doing so, the media is able to justify a killing by providing information needed to help readers understand the reasoning behind the killing. Bennet (2001) provides the following example:

“A suicide bomber blew himself up today at a crossing between the Gaza Strip and Israel, wounding two officers of the border police...The bomber...left a note saying he was trying to avenge the killings last week of five Palestinian children by an Israeli bomb...” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, pp. 10-11).

In this passage, the killing is justified by providing a specific reason as to why the suicide bomber killed himself. By providing explicit rationale the readers are able to sympathize with the killer.

Accident

The final way the media is able to justify a killing is by framing them as accidents. An accident is defined as an unintentional act. Dellios (2001b) provides the following example:

“The Israeli army attacked a Palestinian militia leader with a helicopter gunship Thursday, missing him but killing two others in the back seat of his truck...” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 11).

In this example, it is obvious that the Israeli army did not intend to kill the two people in the truck; rather they intended to kill the Palestinian militia leader. Therefore, this passage implies that the two were killed by accident, or unintentionally. Hence, the killing is justified because it was not intended or committed maliciously.

Content Analysis: Condemnation

The second form of legitimation/de-legitimation is condemnation in which the media de-legitimate some killings by labeling them as wrong or morally culpable. ElMasry (2006) suggests that there are four major indicators of condemnation: aggression, criminality, cruelty, and humanization.

Aggression

In condemning a killing through the use of aggression, the media depict a killing as a violent action that is hostile and unprovoked. A prime characteristic

of this framing device is that the media provide no stated reason for the killing.

Dellios (2001a) provides the following example:

“In the continuing violence, a 15-year-old Palestinian youth was killed near the Jewish settlement of Netzarim on Wednesday. Palestinian hospital officials said the youth was passing by the settlement when he was shot by soldiers without reason” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 12).

This example portrays the victim as an innocent “youth” who was only “passing by” the settlement when he was shot. Also, the passage states that the youth was killed “without reason.” Hence, the killing is described as an act of aggression.

Criminality

The media are also able to de-legitimize a killing by claiming that it was an act of criminality. Criminality refers to an action that is against political or moral law. Criminality is attributed to a killing by the use of specific terminology. Dellios (2000a) provides the following example:

“The remote-controlled bomb, which Israeli officials blamed on Palestinian terrorists, flung the bus into a storefront in the coastal city of Hadera” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 12).

In this passage the term “terrorists” is used as a form of de-legitimation. The use of this type of terminology elicits the readers to view the action committed as criminal.

Cruelty

The media also are able to de-legitimize a killing by asserting it was a cruel act. Cruelty refers to an action that causes pain and distress. Like criminality, cruelty is attributed to a killing by the use of specific terminology. Dellios (2001c) provides the following example:

“‘We didn’t expect them to be as savage as this,’ Hameid said” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 13).

In this passage the word “savage” indicates that the act was brutal or cruel.

Humanization

Lastly, the media is also able to de-legitimate a killing by humanizing those killed. This is usually done by providing the reader with personal details about those killed. Sontag (2000) provides the following example:

“Killed the explosion was Hanan Levy, 53, a lawyer who often ate lunch in the area near the explosion. Ayelet Hashahar-Levy, mother of a 3-year old child...was also killed” (as cited in ElMasry, 2006, p. 13).

In providing personal details of the victim’s life, the reader is able to sympathize with those killed and therefore, de-legitimate the killing.

Content Analysis: Prominence

Prominence is the third type of legitimation/de-legitimation. Prominence refers to the media’s ability to make something stand out, conspicuous, or easily noticeable. ElMasry (2006) explains that, “Whereas justification and condemnation deal specifically with killings, prominence refers in some cases to coverage about specific killings and in other cases to general coverage about a particular side in a violent conflict” (p. 13). When the media assign more prominence to a particular point of view they also legitimate that point of view. ElMasry (2006) suggests that there are two indicators of prominence: sourcing and placement of coverage.

Sourcing

The media is able to give a perspective prominence by presenting a one-sided view of the conflict. This can be done by quoting one side of the conflict

more than another side. In doing so, the media are able to legitimate one side more so than the other.

Placement of Coverage

The other way the media is able to legitimate one side of a conflict is by placing the coverage about the death in a more prominent area (e.g. front page, headline, lead paragraph). In doing so, the media assign more importance to the perspective and in turn legitimate it. Also, by using more elite sources, the media is able to limit the diversity of viewpoints, leading to a more one-sided account of the conflict.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This section will present the results of the content analysis. The first part of this section will present the results obtained from the analysis conducted on the *New York Times* articles. The second part of this section will present the results obtained from the analysis conducted on the *Associated Press* articles. The third section will compare the results of both data sources.

Part One: *New York Times*

'Palestinian Only' versus 'Israeli Only'

Twenty-six articles describing deaths in which only one side of the conflict was killed were examined. Twenty-four articles examined Israeli killers and killings of Palestinians. Two articles examined Palestinian killers and killings. Therefore, the (N) in each of the following tables represents the number of articles examined. Although the sample size is small, results were consistent across all articles describing Israeli killers and killings and Palestinian killers and killings. As will be discussed later, the sample size can be attributed to an overshadowing effect of the conflict occurring between Lebanon and Israel during the same time period studied. Overall, articles in which only one side of the conflict was killed, Israeli killers and killings were generally justified, while Palestinian killers and killings were never justified. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned, while Israeli killers and killings were never condemned. In regards to prominence, Palestinian deaths received little prominence, while Israeli deaths received high prominence.

Justification

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the *New York Times* would legitimate Israeli killers and killings through justification more often than Palestinian killers and killings. It was hypothesized that through the use of specific framing devices (war terminology, self-defense, explicit rationale, and accident) Israeli killers and killings would be legitimized. As Table 1 shows, Hypothesis 1 was supported on all indicators with war terminology and explicit rationale being used to legitimize Israeli killers and killings most frequently.

As the table shows, out of a total of twenty-four articles, the war terminology frame was used ninety-two percent of the time to describe Israeli killers and killings of Palestinians. Conversely, Palestinian killers and killings were never framed in terms of war terminology in regards to the two articles examined. Articles describing Israeli killers and killings (N=24) framed Israeli killers and killings using the self-defense frame eight percent of the time, while articles describing Palestinian killers and killings (N=2) never framed the killings using the self-defense indicator. Articles covering Israeli killers and killings (N=24) frequently (92%) provided explicit rationale, while such rationale was never provided for Palestinian killings in the two articles describing Palestinian killers and killings. Although the articles rarely used the accident frame to

Table 1. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, justification for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli killings/killers N=24	Palestinian killings/killers N=2	Total N=26
Frames			
War Terminology	92%	0%	
Self-Defense	8%	0%	
Explicit Rationale	92%	0%	
Accident	4%	0%	

describe the killings, the twenty-four articles describing Israeli killings (4%) were more likely than the two articles describing Palestinian killings (0%) to be framed as accidents.

Condemnation

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the *New York Times* would condemn Palestinian killers and killings more often than Israeli killers and killings. It was hypothesized that through the use of specific framing devices (aggression, criminality, cruelty and humanization) Palestinians killers and killings would be de-legitimized. Table 2 shows that Hypothesis 2 was generally supported, although one indicator was not supported.

As the table shows, articles describing Palestinians killers and killings (n=2) were condemned using the aggression frame one hundred percent of the time, while articles describing Israeli killers and killings (n=24) were never condemned using this frame. Also, the criminality and cruelty frames were used in the two articles describing Israeli deaths to condemn Palestinian killers and killings fifty percent of the time, while these frames were never used to condemn Israeli killers and killings in articles describing Palestinian deaths. The last indicator of condemnation, humanization, was not supported. Palestinian deaths

Table 2. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, condemnation for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli killings/killers N=24	Palestinian killings/killers N=2	Total *N=26
Frames			
Aggression	0%	100%	
Criminality	0%	50%	
Cruelty	0%	50%	
Humanization	12.5%	0%	

were humanized more often in articles describing Israeli killers and killings than Israeli deaths in articles describing Palestinian killers and killings (12.5% to 0%, respectively).

Prominence

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the *New York Times* would legitimate the Israeli side more often than the Palestinian side by assigning more prominence to the Israeli perspective than the Palestinian perspective. This hypothesis was supported for both indicators, placement of coverage and sourcing.

As Table 3 shows, the articles describing Palestinian deaths (n=24) placed the deaths after paragraph 5 (79.2%). Thus, the newspaper assigned Palestinian deaths little prominence. Articles describing Israeli deaths (n=2) on the other hand were assigned greater prominence in that one hundred percent of the deaths were reported in paragraphs 2-3. Although the sample size for the Israeli deaths was small, the results were consistent among the articles. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported in that Israeli deaths were assigned more prominence based on placement of coverage than Palestinian deaths.

The second indicator of prominence, sourcing, was also supported. As Table 4 shows, on days when only one side was killed, the newspaper was biased in the sources used. In articles in which an Israeli death was reported (n=2), the sources used were mainly 'Israeli Only' (50%) and 'Unknown, not clear, or no sources attributed' (50%). However, in articles in which a Palestinian death was reported, the sources used were mainly 'Both Israeli and Palestinian sources' (25%) and 'Unknown, not clear, or no sources attributed' (44%).

Table 3. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, placement of coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli Deaths N=2	Palestinian Deaths N=24	Total N=26
Headline	0%	8.3%	
Lead Paragraph	0%	8.3%	
Paragraph 2-3	100%	4.2%	
Paragraph 4-5	0%	0%	
After Paragraph 5	0%	79.2%	

Table 4. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, sources used for articles describing Israeli and Palestinian deaths (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli killings/killers N=24	Palestinian killings/killers N=2	Total N=26
Sources			
Israeli Only	8.3%	50.0%	
Palestinian Only	20.8%	0%	
Both	25.0%	0%	
Unknown, not clear or no sources attributed	44.0%	50.0%	

'Palestinian and Israeli Deaths'

Nine articles describing deaths in which both sides of the conflict suffered casualties were examined. All nine articles were used to examine Israeli killers and killings. However, only eight out of the nine articles were used to examine Palestinian killers and killings. This was due to the fact that one of articles described an Israeli death caused by friendly fire. The (N) in each of the following tables represents the number of articles examined. Although the sample size is small, results were consistent across all articles describing Israeli killers and killings and Palestinian killers and killings. As will be discussed later, the sample size can be attributed to an overshadowing effect of the conflict occurring between Lebanon and Israel during the same time period studied. Overall, in

articles in which both sides of the conflict were killed, Israeli killers and killings were generally justified, while Palestinian killers and killings were never justified. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned, while Israeli killers and killings were never condemned. In regards to prominence, Palestinian deaths received little prominence, while Israeli deaths received high prominence.

Justification

The data presented in Table 5 shows support for Hypothesis 1, except for one indicator. The table shows that on days in which both sides of the conflict suffered casualties, the *New York Times* articles (n=9) again frequently offered justification for Israeli killers and killings, while never justifying Palestinian killers and killings. The war terminology frame was used for Israeli killers and killings more often than for Palestinian killers and killings (89% to 0%, respectively) throughout the articles examined. Also, the articles framed Israeli killings as self-defense twenty-two percent of the time, while never framing Palestinian killings in this manner. The explicit rationale frame was used in the articles studied to justify Israeli killers and killings one hundred percent of the time, while again never using this frame to justify Palestinian killers and killings. In regards to the last indicator of justification, the accident frame was never used to justify either side in the articles examined.

Condemnation

Hypothesis 2 was supported across two of the four indicators. Table 6 shows that the aggression frame was used to condemn Palestinian killers and killings more often than Israeli killers and killings (72% to 0%, respectively) in the articles examined. Also, the criminality frame was again used to condemn Palestinian killers and killings (62.5%), while Israeli killers and killings were

Table 5. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, justification for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

	Israeli killings/killers N=9	Palestinian killings/killers N=8 (1 n/a)*	Total N=9
Frames			
War Terminology	89%	0%	
Self-Defense	22%	0%	
Explicit Rationale	100%	0%	
Accident	0%	0%	

*Israeli death caused by friendly fire.

Table 6. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, condemnation for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

	Israeli killings/killers N=9	Palestinian killings/killers N=8 (1 n/a)*	Total N=9
Frames			
Aggression	0%	75%	
Criminality	0%	62.5%	
Cruelty	0%	0%	
Humanization	11%	0%	

*Israeli death caused by friendly fire.

never condemned using this indicator within these articles. However, unlike articles in which only one side of the conflict was killed, the cruelty frame could not be supported. Neither side of the conflict was condemned using this frame in any of the nine articles examined. The last indicator, humanization, was again not supported. Palestinian deaths were humanized more often than Israeli deaths (11% to 0%, respectively) in the articles examined.

Prominence

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the *New York Times* would legitimate the Israeli side more often than the Palestinian side by assigning more prominence to the Israeli perspective than the Palestinian perspective. This hypothesis was

supported on one indicator. Concerning sourcing, in articles in which both sides of the conflict suffered casualties (n=9), Table 7 shows that the *New York Times*, mainly used ‘Both Israeli and Palestinian’ (33.33%) and ‘Unknown, not clear, or no sources attributed’ (33.33%). However, ‘Israeli only’ sources were used more often than ‘Palestinian only’ sources (22.22% to 11.11%, respectively). Therefore, this indicator of prominence was supported in that Israeli sources were used more often than Palestinian sources.

Regarding placement of coverage on days in which both sides suffered casualties, Tables 8 and 9 show that 66.7% of the time the nine articles mentioned Palestinian deaths first, compared to 33.3% of the time the nine articles that mentioned Israeli deaths first. This indicator of prominence was not supported due to the fact that Palestinian deaths were made the main focus of the articles more often than Israeli deaths as shown in Table 9 (11.11% to 0%, respectively). However, interestingly, the newspaper fails to make either side’s death, Palestinian or Israeli the main focus of the articles (77.78%). This leads to the indication that the conflict occurring between Lebanon and Israeli during the time period studied overshadowed the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis, leading to a lack of coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the time period investigated.

Summary of Results: Part One

In summary, on days in which only one side of the conflict was killed, the *New York Times* coverage legitimated Israeli killers and killings and de-legitimated Palestinian killers and killings. The coverage consistently justified Israeli killers and killings by mainly framing the killings in terms of war and by providing explicit rationale for the killings. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned using the aggression, criminality, and cruelty frames. The

Table 7. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, sources used for articles describing Israeli and Palestinian deaths (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

	Israeli killings/killers and Palestinian killings/killers N=9	Total N=9
Sources		
Israeli Only	22.22%	
Palestinian Only	11.11%	
Both	33.33%	
Unknown, not clear or no sources attributed	33.33%	

Table 8. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, importance of death (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

Which side's death was mentioned first?	Total N=9
Israeli	33.3%
Palestinian	66.7%

Table 9. NYT, percentage of articles (N) examined, death focus (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

Which side's death was the focus of the article?	Total N=9
Israeli Only	0%
Palestinian Only	11.11%
Both	11.11%
Neither	77.78%

newspaper also assigned more prominence to Israeli deaths than Palestinian deaths. However, some evidence of balance was found, Palestinian deaths were humanized more often than Israeli deaths.

On days in which both sides suffered casualties, the *New York Times* generally justified Israeli killers and killings using the war terminology, self-defense, and explicit rationale frames. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned using the aggression and criminality frames. Also, Palestinian deaths were humanized more often than Israeli deaths. Israeli sources were used more than Palestinian sources. Lastly, although Palestinian deaths were mentioned first the majority of the time, neither side was the main focus of the article.

As stated the last indication of condemnation, humanization was not supported. I believe that this is due to the fact that Israeli deaths were mainly non-civilian casualties. However, the Palestinian deaths were a mixture of civilian and non-civilian casualties. The distinction between civilian and non-civilian casualties is hard to make, leading the news source to provide more information regarding the persons killed.

Part Two: *Associated Press*

'Palestinian Only' versus 'Israeli Only'

Twenty-eight articles describing deaths in which only one side of the conflict was killed were examined. Twenty-three articles examined Israeli killers and killings of Palestinians. Five articles examined Palestinian killers and killings. The (N) in each of the following tables represents the number of articles examined. Although the sample size is small, results were consistent across all articles describing Israeli killers and killings and Palestinian killers and killings. As was the case with the *New York Times* articles, the sample size can be attributed to an overshadowing effect of the conflict occurring between Lebanon and Israel during the same time period studied as will be seen later in the results section. Overall, articles in which only one side of the conflict was killed, Israeli

killers and killings were generally justified, while Palestinian killers and killings were never justified. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned, while Israeli killers and killings were never condemned. In regards to prominence, unlike the *New York Times*, Palestinian deaths received more prominence than Israeli deaths.

Justification

Hypothesis 4 predicted that the *Associated Press* would legitimate Israeli killings through justification more often than Palestinian killings. As Table 10 shows, two of the four indicators were supported. The *Associated Press* articles describing Palestinian deaths (n=23) justified Israeli killers and killings using war terminology eighty-seven percent of the time, while never justifying Palestinian killers and killings in this manner in the five articles describing Israeli deaths. The wire source articles (n=23) also justified Israeli killers and killings more often than articles describing Palestinian killers and killings (n=5) using the explicit rationale frame (83% to 0%, respectively). However, the self-defense and accident frames were not supported due to the fact that neither frame was used to justify either side of the conflict in any of the articles examined.

Table 10. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, justification for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli killings/killers N=23	Palestinian killings/killers N=5	Total N=28
Frames			
War Terminology	87%	0%	
Self-Defense	0%	0%	
Explicit Rationale	83%	0%	
Accident	0%	0%	

Condemnation

Hypothesis 5 predicted that the *Associated Press* would condemn Palestinian killers and killings more often than Israeli killers and killings. Two indicators were supported. As Table 11 shows, articles describing Palestinian killers and killings (n=5) were always condemned using the aggression frame (100%), while articles describing Israeli killers and killings (n=23) were never condemned using this frame. Also, the criminality frame was used to condemn Palestinian killers and killings more often than Israeli killers and killings (80% to 0%, respectively). However, the cruelty and humanization frames were not supported. The *Associated Press* did not condemn either side of the conflict using the cruelty frame. Lastly, unlike the *New York Times*, neither side of the conflict was humanized in any of the articles examined.

Prominence

Hypothesis 6 predicted that the *Associated Press* would legitimize Israeli killers and killings more often than Palestinian killers and killings by assigning more prominence to the Israeli side than to the Palestinian side. This hypothesis was not supported. In regards to placement of coverage, unlike the *New York Times*, the *Associated Press* articles offered more prominence to the Palestinian side as shown in Table 12.

Table 11. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, condemnation for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli killings/killers N=23	Palestinian killings/killers N=5	Total N=28
Frames			
Aggression	0%	100%	
Criminality	0%	80%	
Cruelty	0%	0%	
Humanization	0%	0%	

Table 12. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, placement of coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli Deaths N=5	Palestinian Deaths N=23	Total N=28
Headline	0%	22%	
Lead Paragraph	0%	4.3%	
Paragraph 2-3	0%	13%	
Paragraph 4-5	0%	8.7%	
After Paragraph 5	100%	52%	

In regards to sourcing, the *Associated Press* mainly used ‘Unknown, not clear, or no sources attributed’ for both sides of the conflict. As shown in Table 13, this source was used in the five articles to describe Israeli deaths one hundred percent of the time, while articles describing Palestinian deaths (n=23) only used this source seventy-four percent of the time. However, articles describing Palestinian deaths (n=23) used a wide variety of sources than articles describing Israeli deaths (n=5). Therefore, this indicator was not supported.

Table 13. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, sources used for articles describing Israeli and Palestinian deaths (on days when only one side was killed).

	Israeli killings/killers N=23	Palestinian killings/killers N=5	Total N=28
Sources			
Israeli Only	4.3%	0%	
Palestinian Only	13%	0%	
Both	8.7%	0%	
Unknown, not clear or no sources attributed	74%	100%	

‘Palestinian and Israeli Deaths’

Twelve articles describing deaths in which both sides of the conflict suffered casualties were examined. Although the sample size is small, results were consistent across all articles describing Israeli killers and killings and

Palestinian killers and killings. Within the following tables, (N) represents the number of articles examined. As will be discussed later, the sample size can be attributed to an overshadowing effect of the conflict occurring between Lebanon and Israel during the same time period studied. Overall, in articles in which both sides of the conflict were killed, Israeli killers and killings were generally justified, while Palestinian killers and killings were never justified. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned, while Israeli killers and killings were never condemned. In regards to prominence, Palestinian killers and killings receive more prominence than Israeli killers and killings.

Justification

Two of the four indicators of Hypothesis 4 were supported. As shown in Table 14, the articles used war terminology to justify Israeli killers and killings more often than Palestinian killers and killings (100% to 0%, respectively). Similarly, explicit rationale was in all of the articles used to justify Israeli killers and killings, and never used to justify Palestinian killers and killings (100% to 0%, respectively). However, the self-defense and accident frames were never used in any of the articles to justify either side of the conflict.

Table 14. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, justification for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

		Israeli killings/killers N=12	Palestinian killings/killers N=12	Total N=12
Frames				
	War Terminology	100%	0%	
	Self-Defense	0%	0%	
	Explicit Rationale	100%	0%	
	Accident	0%	0%	

Condemnation

Two of the four indicators of Hypothesis 5 were supported. As is shown in Table 15, in the twelve articles examined, Palestinian killers and killings were condemned more often than Israeli killers and killings using the aggression frame (92% to 0%, respectively) and the criminality frame (42% to 0%, respectively). The cruelty frame was never used in the articles to condemn either side of the conflict. However, the *Associated Press* articles examined humanized Palestinian deaths more often than Israeli deaths (25% to 0%, respectively).

Prominence

Hypothesis 6 predicted that the *Associated Press* would legitimate the Israeli side more often than the Palestinian side by assigning more prominence to the Israeli perspective than the Palestinian perspective. This hypothesis was not supported. Concerning sourcing, in the twelve articles in which both sides of the conflict suffered casualties, Table 16 shows that the *Associated Press*, mainly used ‘Both Israeli and Palestinian’ (66.7%). However, ‘Palestinian only’ sources were used more often than ‘Israeli only’ sources (16.7% to 0%, respectively). Therefore, this indicator of prominence was not supported in that Palestinian sources were used more often than Israeli sources.

Table 15. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, condemnation for Israeli and Palestinian killings (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

	Israeli killings/killers N=12	Palestinian killings/killers N=12	Total N=12
Frames			
Aggression	0%	92%	
Criminality	0%	42%	
Cruelty	0%	0%	
Humanization	25%	0%	

Table 16. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, sources used for articles describing Israeli and Palestinian deaths (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

	Israeli killings/killers and Palestinian killings/killers N=12	Total N=12
Sources		
Israeli Only	0%	
Palestinian Only	16.7%	
Both	66.7%	
Unknown, not clear or no sources attributed	16.7%	

Regarding placement of coverage on days in which both sides suffered casualties, Tables 17 and 18 show that a significant 91.7% of the time, the articles mentioned Palestinian deaths first, compared to 8.3% of the time that the articles mentioned Israeli deaths first. This indicator of prominence was not supported due to the fact that Palestinian deaths were made the main focus of the articles more so than Israeli deaths as shown in Table 9 (25% to 0%, respectively). However, similar to the *New York Times*, the wire source fails to make either side's death, Palestinian or Israeli, the main focus of the article (58.33%). This again leads to the indication that the conflict occurring between Lebanon and Israeli during the time period studied, overshadowed the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis.

Table 17. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, importance of death (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

Which side's death was mentioned first?	Total N=12
Israeli	8.3%
Palestinian	91.7%

Table 18. AP, percentage of articles (N) examined, death focus (on days when both sides suffered casualties).

Which side's death was the focus of the article?	Total N=12
Israeli Only	0%
Palestinian Only	25%
Both	16.67%
Neither	58.33%

Due to the fact that the *Associated Press* is a wire source, one author may report on the conflict more than once a day, updating his/her story throughout the day. Table 19 shows how the prominence changed between articles by the same author on each day. Twenty-five total articles were examined in order to investigate if there was a shift in prominence between articles. As is shown, the prominence of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict increased the majority of the time between articles (40%).

Table 20 shows how much prominence each author assigned by the end of each day that he/she reported on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. As is shown, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was mainly mentioned below the upper 25% of the article (56%). Therefore, although prominence of the conflict increased over the course of the day, the conflict did not receive much prominence per article.

Table 19. Prominence of the conflict between AP articles—Part A.

How did the prominence shift between articles (same author, same day)?	Total N=25
Increased	40%
Decreased	36%
Remained Constant	24%

Table 20. Prominence of the conflict between AP articles—Part B.

How much prominence did author assign by the end of each day?	Total N=25
Above Upper 25%	44%
Below Upper 25%	56%

Summary of Results: Part Two

In summary, on days in which only one side of the conflict was killed, the *Associated Press* coverage legitimated Israeli killers and killings and delegitimated Palestinian killers and killings. Similar to the *New York Times* coverage of the conflict, the *Associated Press* consistently justified Israeli killers and killings by mainly framing the killings in terms of war and by providing explicit rationale for the killings. Also, similar to the *New York Times*, the *Associated Press* generally condemned Palestinian killers and killings using the aggression and criminality frames. However, the cruelty frame was not used. Unlike the *New York Times*, the wire source assigned more prominence to Palestinian deaths than Israeli deaths. However, the *Associated Press* did not humanize either side of the conflict.

On days in which both sides of the conflict suffered casualties, Israeli killers and killings were generally justified using the war terminology and explicit rationale frames. Palestinian killers and killings were generally condemned using the aggression and criminality frames. Palestinian deaths were humanized more often than Israeli deaths. I believe that this is due to the fact that Israeli deaths were mainly non-civilian casualties. However, the Palestinian deaths were a mixture of civilian and non-civilian casualties. The distinction between civilian and non-civilian casualties is hard to make, leading the news source to provide more information regarding the persons killed. Lastly, Palestinian deaths were assigned more prominence in that Palestinian sources were used more often than

Israeli sources. Also, Palestinian deaths were mentioned first the majority of the time. However, similar to the *New York Times*, neither side of the conflict was made the focus of the article.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to analyze how print media frame the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that assists in the expression of a pro-Israeli bias. More specifically, I set out to learn how the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press* framed the Palestinian-Israeli conflict using the legitimization construct presented in ElMasry (2006). ElMasry (2006) claimed that the media express bias through a process of legitimization and de-legitimation. This construct was studied on three levels: justification, condemnation, and prominence.

Results from the *New York Times* analysis suggest that the newspaper tends to justify Israeli killers and killings, condemn Palestinian killers and killings, and assign more prominence to the Israeli side. Results from the *Associated Press* analysis suggest that the wire source tends to justify Israeli killers and killings, condemn Palestinian killers and killings, and assign more prominence to the Palestinian side.

Although my sample size was small, I found consistent results among the articles examined. From this small sample size I was able to discover an underlying theme found in both the *New York Times* and the *Associated Press*. This was an overshadowing effect of the Lebanese-Israeli conflict that was occurring during the time period studied. Both of the news sources mentioned the Palestinian deaths first, yet neither made either death (Palestinian or Israeli) the main focus of their articles. This leads me to believe that the ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians was overshadowed by the Israeli-Lebanese conflict. Therefore, not only was there a general pro-Israeli bias in both news

sources, but there was also the issue of non-coverage due to the fact that the conflict was downplayed in response to the events occurring in other parts of the world.

In researching this topic, I have found that through the process of legitimizing and de-legitimizing Israeli and Palestinian killers and killings, these news sources are able to express a pro-Israeli bias in covering the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Coupled with the issue of non-coverage, these means of reporting lead to a lack of understanding among Westerners about the truths behind the conflict. This lack of understanding leads to blind support from the American general public for Israel. If a more balanced method of reporting was to occur, then the general public would be more aware of the underlying causes that have fueled this conflict for decades. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a subject of major concern and the cause of major instability around the world. Especially in times like today in which there are wars occurring all over the Middle East including Iraq, Afghanistan, and the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, it is vital to bridge the gap among nations. This may not occur until major news sources present a balanced picture of the actual events occurring. Until then, there will be a lack of cross-cultural understanding that stems from the biased media information projected to the general public. Until the issue of biased media regarding this conflict is resolved, westerners and foreigners alike will remain in a constant state of questioning, “why do they hate the us so much”?

Implications for Future Research

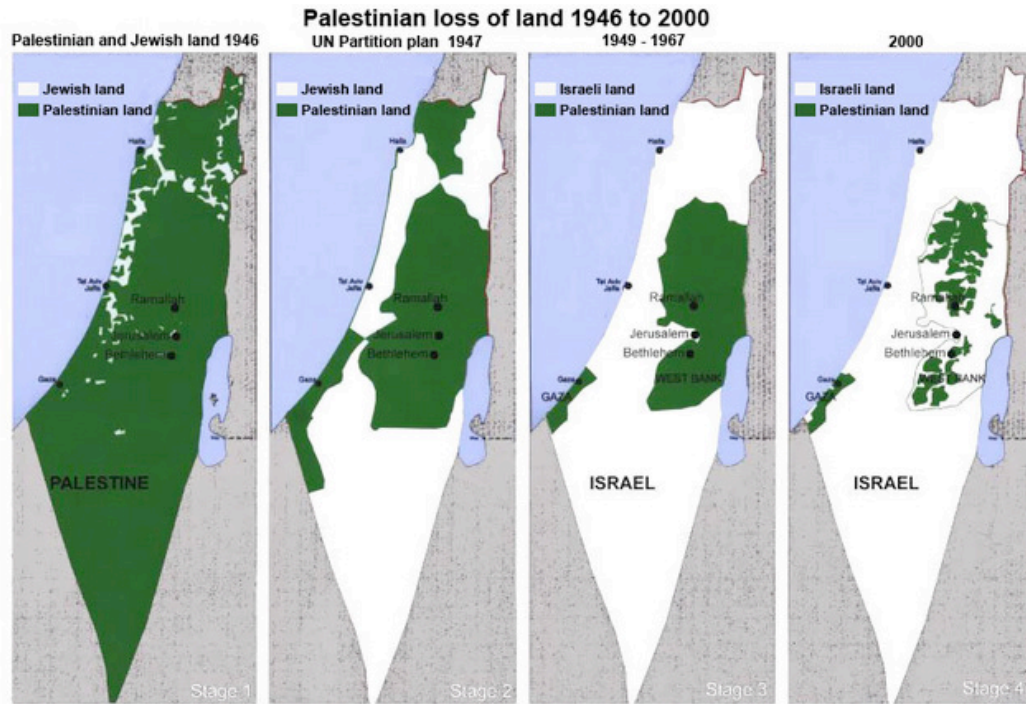
This study shows a consistent trend in coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. While bias based on the indicators of legitimation was largely consistent throughout the majority of the articles examined, the new issue of non-coverage was introduced into this field of study. Compared with the previous study

(ElMasry, 2006), this study has shown a new factor in the ways in which the American media express a pro-Israeli bias. Future research can expand on this issue of non-coverage by investigating other incidences of how the media fail to report on the conflict. Also, future research could also examine other media, such as television, radio, and film. Along with research conducted on American print media, research conducted on other media outlets could assist the general public to better understand the true issues at hand involving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Improved understanding may, in turn, prompt more objective American foreign policy in that region and bring an end to the blind support that is evident in our current foreign policy.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Map of Palestine: Palestinian Loss of Land, 1946 to 2000



Palestinian loss of land 1946 to 2000. Retrieved September 3, 2006, from <http://www.ccmep.org/delegations/maps/palestine.html>.

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

Coding Sheet

GENERAL INFORMATION

Newspaper Date: _____

Article Number: _____

Deceased Identifier:

According to the newspaper report, who died on the day in question?

Palestinian(s) only

Israeli(s) only

Both

Not clear

Number of Dead:

Regarding the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians, how many
Palestinians died on the day in question?

Regarding the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians, how many Israelis
died on the day in question?

Information Sources:

In the article, who is the source(s) of information about the death(s)?

Israeli sources only

Palestinian sources only

Both Palestinian and Israeli sources only

Other sources or not clear or no sources attributed

IF ONLY ONE SIDE WAS KILLED (Palestinian OR Israeli)

JUSTIFICATION:

Justification: War terminology

In the context of the killings only, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings or killers?

-military, officer, soldier, security, police, troops, forces-

Yes

No

Justification: Self-Defense

In the context of the killings only, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings or killers?

-defense, protection, response, retaliation, revenge, counter, retort, prevent-

Yes

No

Justification: Explicit Rationale

In the context of the killings only, is rationale given for the killings?

Yes

No

Justification: Accident

In the context of the killings only, is an accident frame used to describe the killings?

Yes

No

CONDEMNATION:

Condemnation: Aggression

In the context of the killings only, is an aggressive violence frame used to describe the killings?

Yes

No

Condemnation: Criminality

In the context of the killings only, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings or the killers?

-militant, extremist, fundamentalist, terrorist, villain, insurgents, criminals-

Yes

No

Condemnation: Cruelty

In the context of the killings only, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings or the killers?

-Murder, ambush, savage, slaughter, massacre, slaying, butchering, rampage-

Yes

No

Condemnation: Humanization

Are personal details (e.g., name, occupation, hobbies, grieving family) about any of the deceased given?

Yes

No

PROMINENCE

Prominence: Death Placement

Specifically, where in the article are the deaths first mentioned?

Headline

Lead Paragraph

Paragraph 2-3

Paragraph 4-5

After paragraph 5

IF BOTH SIDES WERE KILLED (Palestinian AND Israeli)

GENERAL INFORMATION

Prominence: Importance of death

In regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, if both Israelis and Palestinians died, which side's deceased are mentioned first?

Palestinians

Israelis

Prominence: Importance of death focus

In regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, if both Israelis and Palestinians died, which side's death was the focus of the article?

Israeli

Palestinian

Both

Neither

PALESTINIAN

JUSTIFICATION

Justification: War terminology

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by Palestinians or the Palestinian killers?

-military, officer, soldier, security, police, troops, forces-

Yes

No

Justification: Self-Defense:

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by Palestinians or the Palestinian killers?

- defense, protection, response, retaliation, revenge, counter, retort, prevent-

Yes

No

Justification: Explicit Rationale:

Is Justification given for the Palestinian killings?

Yes

No

Justification: Accident:

Is an accident frame used to describe the Palestinian killings (that killed Israelis)?

Yes

No

CONDEMNATION

Condemnation: Aggression

Is an aggressive violence frame used to describe the Palestinian killings (that killed Israelis)?

Yes

No

Condemnation: Criminality

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by the Palestinians or the Palestinian killers?

-militant, extremist, fundamentalist, terrorist, villain, insurgents, criminal-

Yes

No

Condemnation: Cruelty

In the context of the killings, are any of the following word (or words similar to them) are used to describe the killings carried out by the Palestinians or the Palestinian killers?

-murder, ambush, savage, slaughter, massacre-

Yes

No

Condemnation: Humanization

Are personal details (e.g., name, occupation, hobbies, grieving family) about the Israeli deceased given?

Yes

No

ISRAELI

JUSTIFICATION

Justification: War terminology

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by Israelis or Israeli killers?

-military, officer, soldier, security, police, troops, forces-

Yes

No

Justification: Self-Defense:

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by Israelis or Israeli killers?

- defense, protection, response, retaliation, revenge, counter, retort, prevent-

Yes

No

Justification: Explicit Rationale:

Is Justification given for the Israeli killings?

Yes

No

Justification: Accident:

Is an accident frame used to describe the Israeli killings (that killed Palestinians)?

Yes

No

CONDEMNATION

Condemnation: Aggression

Is an aggressive violence frame used to describe the Israeli killings (that killed Palestinians)?

Yes

No

Condemnation: Criminality

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by the Israelis or Israeli killers?
-militant, extremist, fundamentalist, terrorist, villain, insurgents, criminal-

Yes

No

Condemnation: Cruelty

In the context of the killings, are any of the following words (or words similar to them) used to describe the killings carried out by the Israelis or Israeli killers?
-murder, ambush, savage, slaughter, massacre-

Yes

No

Condemnation: Humanization

Are personal details (e.g., name, occupation, hobbies, grieving family) about the Palestinian deceased given?

Yes

No

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