

# The Influence of Political News Constructs on the Opinion Alteration and Formation of the Public Audience



Master Thesis

Nadiya El-Sourani

Supervisors: Dr. Ard Heuvelman(1<sup>st</sup>) and Dr. S. Ben Allouch (2<sup>nd</sup>)

Human Factors and Media Psychology

Department of Cognitive Psychology and Egonomics

University of Twente

## Abstract

The aim of the present study is to examine the influence of political news constructs on the opinion alteration/formation of the public audience on the account of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It is of particular interest how personal factors influence the process of opinion alteration. Two newspapers were content-analyzed in depth, each depicting reference of the opponents identifying a difference in the use of political constructs. A further Pre-test/Post-test survey reveals a significant change in opinion after reading the stimulus material however only for the Palestine Chronicle (PC) condition, favouring the attitude reference of the article. Perceived importance of the conflict, as well as age, family status and time spent on the internet serve as significant covariates in the analysis. Framing effects on recall are confirmed to prior assumption: People recall the conflict in terms of the frames used during experimental stimulation.

Het doel van het huidige onderzoek is om de invloed van het politieke nieuws op de meningsvorming/verandering van het publiek met betrekking tot het Israel-Palestijnse conflict te bestuderen. In het bijzonder is van belang hoe persoonlijke factoren het proces van meningsverandering beïnvloeden. Twee kranten werden grondig inhoudelijk geanalyseerd en verschillen in het gebruik van politieke constructies werden geïdentificeerd. Een verder Pre-test/Post-test onderzoek onthult een significante verandering van mening na het lezen van stimulusmateriaal, echter alleen voor de Palestijnse Chronicle (PC), ten gunste van de het referentie standpunt van het artikel. Het waargenomen belang van het conflict, alsmede leeftijd, burgerlijke staat en de tijd gespendeerd op het internet fungeren als significante covariaten in de analyse. Framing effecten op herinneringen worden bevestigd op basis van voorafgaande aannames: Mensen worden herinnerd aan het conflict in termen van de frames gebruikt tijdens experimentele stimulatie.

## Contents

Abstract	
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Study 1 - Content Analysis</b>	<b>7</b>
Method . . . . .	7
Media Sample . . . . .	7
Period of the Study . . . . .	7
Coding Procedure . . . . .	8
Measures . . . . .	8
Data Analysis . . . . .	9
Results (Newspapers) . . . . .	9
Basic Information . . . . .	9
Salience . . . . .	9
Competitor . . . . .	10
Frames . . . . .	10
Keywords . . . . .	11
Photo Material . . . . .	11
Video Material . . . . .	14
Data Review . . . . .	14
Results (Facebook) . . . . .	16
FREE Palestine . . . . .	16
Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) . . . . .	16
<b>Study 2 - Survey-based Experiment</b>	<b>17</b>
Method . . . . .	17
Sample . . . . .	17
Stimulus Material . . . . .	17
Procedure . . . . .	18
Measures . . . . .	18
Data Analysis . . . . .	20
Results . . . . .	20
Effects on Opinion . . . . .	20
Covariates . . . . .	21
Effects on Framing on Recall . . . . .	22
Stereotypes . . . . .	22

Discussion	23
Conclusion	27
References	28
Appendix A	31
Appendix B	32
Appendix C	33
Appendix D	44
Appendix E	50
Appendix F	59

## Introduction

Do the Media give us information and facts as they are in reality? And if they do not, are we able to resist all the biased reporting and distinguish between reality and slant -or even worse- lies?

Maybe you have asked yourself this question, since all of us are presented with a huge amount of information altered and already interpreted by the media. Among those who have asked themselves these questions are many researchers especially on the issue of political communication. The influence on media consumer's opinion seems rather concealed regarding political communication - other than in areas such as advertising. They oblige the same underlying mechanism however - implicit persuasion (Slater, 1999).

But how exactly does this work in political communication? The one type of media which one mostly relies upon to be true and bias free? The main aim of this study is to investigate these issues by asking for the underlying constructs of communication and their influence on the perception and alteration/formation of public opinion.

As early as 1963 Cohen laid the foundation to political communication research by assuming that "the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but it is stunningly successful in telling it's readers what to think about", (p. 13).

Following his assumption Mc Combs & Shaw identified in their 1968 election campaign study one underlying political construct in the news which was intended to draw the audiences' attention to certain issues more than to others. They called it *agenda-setting* and defined it as "the ability (of the news media) to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda" (Mc Combs& Shaw 1972. p.176). In their initial study from 1968, Mc Combs and Shaw found a strong correlation ( $r=0.9$ ) between rank order of the *media agenda* and *public agenda*. Media agenda can be described as the selection of news coverage by for example journalists, whereas the public agenda is concerned with the public perception of the importance of those issues presented via the media agenda. If media focus especially on a particular issue, this issue is then more likely to be perceived as more important to the nation by the public audience (Ivengar et al, 1982).

However Mc Combs and Shaw (1972) as well as Shaw et al (1999) make a distinction in agenda-setting effects by arguing that it would not apply for highly informed or apathic individuals. Further Mc Combs and Shaw (1972) added that individuals also can participate in agenda-setting through peer-to-peer communication: "Agenda-Setting theory can also be extended to the realm of interpersonal communication in that, because most people are informed primary from the mass media's portrayal of issues (i.e. second hand), the mass media thereby dictate the subject & tone of many of our interpersonal conversations", (p.185).

From that point on the vitality of agenda-setting research was remarkable, partly due to the rapidly changing nature of communication itself. Most research in this field used an extensive amount of content analysis and surveys as research methods. The work mostly concentrated on the level of influence of the media agenda on the public agenda (Weaver et al., 2004).

However it is not the mere salience of issues, which lead people to interpret the news in certain ways rather than in others. The media often feeds the public audience with already interpreted bits of information, which are commonly referred to as *framing*. According to Entman (1993) framing is concerned with the selection of "some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation for the item described, (p.52)".

In fact framing is sometimes also referred to as the 2nd level of Agenda-Setting (Gamson, 1992). However according to Weaver (2007) the ability to distinguish between framing and the 2nd level of agenda-setting depends very much upon definition. He argues: "both are more concerned with how issues or other objects are depicted in the media than which issues or objects are more or less prominently reported. Both are concerned with ways of thinking rather than objects of thinking. But framing does seem to include a broader range of cognitive processes-such as moral evaluations, causal reasons, appeals to principles and recommendation for treatment of problems- than does second-level agenda-setting", (Weaver, 2007, pp.145-146).

First (1997) did a framing study on of the Intifada TV programming. According to her framing "can be understood best as a process of reality construction by individuals who combine elements of news with what they personally observe of life and events to make a sort of blended reality", (p.41).

Consequently framing as a political construct can tell us about the way the public audience might interpret the news, as they are already presented to them in a way the journalists chose to.

For instance Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) conducted a quantitative content analysis with the intent to identify which frames were used by journalists in the Dutch news during the time of the Euro launch. They applied a deductive approach by setting five a priori frames. These frames are summarized as the conflict frame, the human interest frame, the responsibility frame, the economic consequences frame and the morality frame (Appendix C). They found that the more reputable the newspaper under investigation was, the more often the use of the responsibility as well as the conflict and economic consequences frame

could be observed. On the contrary the more sensational the newspaper was the higher the amount of human interest frame used in the news stories.

De Vreese (2003) did a follow up study in Great Britain using the frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). According to his findings conflict frame is mostly used in British newspapers.

Further the effects of those frames were also tested by De Vreese Semetko and Valkenburg (1999). In their study they presented participants in the study with two stories that deal with crime and the introduction of the euro. Core components of the story were the same. Title, opening paragraph and closing paragraph however were altered according to frame conditions. A significant effect of frames on the readers' thought listing responses was found as well as for the readers' presentation of information about the issues. Further it was found that the human interest frame has a negative impact on recall. Regarding the effects of framing on opinion Kinder & Nelson (2005) argued that "the precise effect of framing doubtless varies from person to person, depending on the amount of attention given to the issue", (p.118). Livingstone (1996) concluded that own experiences as well as socio-cultural background also play a role in the effect of framing. Further Chong and Druckman (2007) discuss that those individuals who already have a moderate to strong opinion on one issue are less likely to change it compared to those who have not. Hence framing effects are less likely to occur in this scenario.

This means that perceived importance of the topic of interest has substantial influence on the opinion alteration of the public audience as well as does prior opinion. This coincides with Entman (1993) who identified five aspects that set a certain frame of reference and therefore have a critical impact on information processing in content analysis of newspapers, news magazines and network casts. These are a) importance judgement, b) agency, or the answer to the questions (i.e. who did it?) c) identification with potential victims d) categorization or the choice of labels for the incidents e) generalizations to a broader national context.

But how are frames identified in the news? Entman (1993) proposes a solution in which frames can be identified by the presence of keywords, stereotype images, sources of info as well as sentences that provide thematically reinforcing cluster of facts or judgements. According to Tankard (2001) a frame is constituted of headlines, subheads, photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection, pull quotes, logos as well as statistics & charts.

Visual material thus can be assumed to play a crucial role in framing analysis and in media effects research in general (e.g. Perlmutter, 1999). This is due to the fact that readers decode photos naturally and instaneously without noticing that the image might

not be a compact reproduction of reality but rather an example of a significant system whose conventions are so familiar that they would not realize they are adhering to them in looking (Burgin, 1982). Lester (1996) argues that news images have the power to determine media consumers ideas of reality. Müller and Knieper (2005) even go as far as implying that war images not only carry informative and emotional content but also serve as strategic instruments imbedded in the tactics of conflicting parties in the news.

Fahmy (2007, 2008) conducted a number of researches on the account of visual framing by comparing the use of visual material of different newspapers on the Middle East conflict. In her 2008 study she analyzed the difference of visual framing of the British and US press on the Iraq war.

Moreover Fahmy et al (2007) argue that "media do not simply visually report events instead the way media report visuals becomes an important part of the event per se. As a consequence at times of war images become an effective tool for creating persuading and gaining public support for the government, national security and military actions", (p.20).

To analyze the photo material in news reporting, Burglin (2008) suggests to concentrate on image characteristics such as camera angle, focus and distance. As images do not appear by themselves, and text influences the interpretation of photo material and vice versa it is important to relate the written material in the article to the visual material in the image (Rose, 1996). This should be done for the article, which is accompanied by the visual material as well as the label of the latter (Knieper, 2004).

Many of the research depicts that framing often tends to be biased despite best efforts of the journalists (Entman, 2007). According to Entman (2007) slanted framing results from the interaction of real world developments, cultural norms and journalistic decision rules. To reveal these content biases which can be defined as favoring one side rather than providing equivalent treatment to both sides in a political conflict, Entman (2007) proposes: "we must show patterns of slant that regularly prime audiences, consciously or unconsciously to support the interests of particular holder or seekers of political power", (pp. 163-173).

In this context *priming* can be seen as an extension of agenda-setting and framing according to which media agenda affects the criteria readers use to evaluate performance of different parties. Priming itself is defined by Tversky & Kahnemann, (1973. p.181) as the way "people rely on the most accessible information in their memory when making judgement".

The present study is concerned with the use and effects of the above-mentioned constructs by the News Media. For this purpose a long lasting conflict was chosen as topic



as prior research has shown that the media can become especially decisive and slanted in times of conflicts resulting in favouring one party over another (Entman, 2007). Further Schramm (1970) depicts that "in crisis situation when the routines have been disrupted and when people's nerves and tempers also are likely to have been frayed, leading to a highly charged social atmosphere, the role of the mass media can easily be decisive in helping to escalate the crisis or to assuage the tempers and bring crisis under control, (p. 27)."

One well-documented conflict presented in media, which has been lasting for more than 50 years now and has been of public interest all over the world is the Israel-Palestine conflict. As Soloman (2002) depicts: "Journalists are growing weary and depressed by all the Middle East violence - suicide bombers in Jerusalem one day, Israel soldiers killing West-bank people the next, and the sheer level of killing has blurred any possible story line. Ceasefire attempts are routinely violated within hours", (p.1). Not only is the situation very charged leading to new conflicts at site but simultaneously this conflict is also a fight fought over the media where issues of access and censorship are hindering balanced, fair, objective and independent reporting from that region (Ibrahim, 2003; Wolfsfeld, 1997).

Two different newspapers were chosen as sources, one Israeli (Ha'aretz) and one Palestinian (Palestine Chronicle). Further two Social Media pages namely the Facebook page of the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) as well as the Facebook page "Free Palestine" were chosen as media sample for the content analysis. However these are not part of the empirical research.

Finally it is of interest how personal factors including media literacy serve as mediators in the short-term effects of opinion alteration/formation. Socio-cultural background was found to be influencing the effects of framing. Also personal relevance to an issue was found to play a role in the opinion alteration process (Thomas & Ülkümen, 2011) as well as perceived importance of the issue of interest (Livingstone, 2011).

In line with the main aim of the study and based on the extensive amount of research already conducted in this domain this work poses the following questions:

1. How do the news media alter the audience perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict?
2. What role does the news of the opponents play in persuading citizen to support their particular view?
3. Which approaches lead to a higher commitment to one view?
4. What influence do personal factors as well as media literacy play in the alteration of opinion of the public audience?

These questions are addressed by means of the above-mentioned methods commonly used in political communication research. To address the first question a content analysis was conducted. The other research questions are approached by means of a Pre-Test / Post-Test survey to reveal the short-term effects of two exemplary articles of each newspaper on the public audience. Due to the above literature review the following hypothesis can be promoted:

- H1 Personal relevance to the issue will play a mediating role in the alteration/formation process of public opinion
- H2 The newspapers will differ in the use of frames. It is expected that the use of Human interest frame will be higher in the Palestine Chronicle
- H3 Personal factors and socio cultural context play a mediating role in the alteration of opinion
- H4 Perceived importance of the issue plays a mediating role in the alteration of public opinion
- H5 Those participants who have a moderate to strong opinion on the issue already are unlikely to change their mind about the conflict due to experimental stimulation
- H6 Framing will have an effect on recall. Depending on the frame presented in the article people refer to this frame in their recall of the conflict

## Study 1 - Content Analysis

In content analysis as research method every step in the research process is conducted on the basis of explicitly formulated rules and procedures (Swanborn & Rademaker, 1982) with the aim of telling which of the prior defined aspects are most prominently used. For Weber (1985) content analysis is a research methodology that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender of the message, the message itself, or the audience of message. Therefore a content analysis suits the intents of the present study very well.

### Method

In order to address the first research question a content analysis was used. Formally it is defined as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Kerlinger, 1986). In this regard a content analysis is systematic as it delivers empirical evidence of the data collected by the researcher. This evidence should further have the power to be generalized and therefore serves as an objective measure. Further it investigates distinct a priori defined variables, which can be quantified by arguing which variable is used how often.

**Media Sample.** The Media Sample consisted of an Israeli online newspaper called Ha'aretz as well as a Palestinian online newspaper called Palestine Chronicle (PC). In order to make the two newspapers most comparable the selection was based on clicks, political agenda, availability on social networking sites and political alignment. Circulation was not considered due to the non-existence of English written Palestinian newspapers available online. It was a necessity to be available in English language. Both newspapers are rather liberal and left wing regarding political alignment. Due to these requirements the above mentioned newspaper suited best as media sample. Please see Appendix A for a detailed overview of the sample selection.

Analogously two Facebook pages were analyzed. The selection of the social network pages were based on clicks and talk abouts. Further they had to be available in English language and were drawn from the genre "Political/Government/News". These constraints were fulfilled by the IDF Facebook page (<http://www.Facebook.com/idfonline>) and the FREE PALESTINE Facebook page (<http://www.Facebook.com/FreePalestine2016>).

A more detailed overview over the selection criteria can be found in Appendix (A, B).

**Period of the Study.** As proposed by Schramm (1970) a conflict situation would be most adequate to choose, since routines are disrupted, social atmosphere is charged and the mass media can be easily decisive in bringing the crisis under control.

Therefore the most recent big conflict between the two parties was chosen as topic under investigation. This crisis started in November 2012 and ended in December, with

Palestine receiving UN Status as a non-observer state.

Therefore a time period of one month in the midst of the conflict was taken as the sample, namely the period 5th of November 2012 until the 5th of December 2012. To have a comparable size of test-samples, the number of articles chosen was normalized by reducing the examined sample size to sundays only for the Israeli newspaper. Sundays were deemed reasonable as it represents the European Monday and thus includes all weekend news coverage.

**Coding Procedure.** The unit of analysis and coding were the individual news stories from both online newspapers (retrieved from archive). Whereas <http://www.haaretz.com> offers an archive in which all news stories are presented directly, <http://www.palestinechronicle.com> asks the user to traverse each section separately and flip through the time-frame. Thus sections "News" and "Articles" were picked representatively.

A deductive approach was used with a priori defined frames. An adequate coding scheme was developed (see Appendix C) to be used by two independent coders to code the in total 356 articles. Before the real coding started, the second coder received an initial coding training with unrelated articles. Intercoder reliability tests were conducted for the measures listed below.

**Measures.** Measures for the content analysis were the different political constructs, to be listed and explained below. In addition it was asked for basic data such as title and date of the articles.

**Agenda-setting.** As there was only the possibility to go back in time the relative salience of the topic was retrieved by calculating how many articles from that period of time depicted the conflict as content in comparison to the total amount of articles.

**Framing.** According to Entman (2007) framing is "the process of calling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation, (p. 164)". Therefore the concept of framing was particularly important to investigate in order to examine for differences in news coverage and its effects.

A deductive approach was applied for framing as proposed by de Vreese (2005). The frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) are used for orientation and identification of frames. These consist of: The Conflict Frame, The Human Interest Frame, the Responsibility Frame, the Economic Consequences Frame and the Morality Frame. A checklist with different questions guided the coders in order to identify the frame in the belonging categories. The complete checklist can be found in Appendix C.

**Slants.** To analyze for slant various questions were included in the coding scheme. For the written material it was asked for stereotypes and keywords that came up regularly across the articles (Entman, 2007) as well as how the competitor (either Israel or Palestine)

was presented. The visual material was also analyzed for slant by asking which attitude references were at hand.

**Visual material.** Photo as well as video material was also included in the content analysis. Apart from basic information the coding scheme also focusses on image- and video characteristics and content. It was of special interest whether the visual material provided additional information to the written text, matched the written text or was unrelated to it. The questions and definitions used by Holicki (1993) and Schwalbe (2008) were applied for image analysis.

Video analysis was conducted by means of frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and format proposed Ayish (2002). Details can be found in Appendix C.

**Data Analysis.** The data were analyzed by initially calculating the Inter-coder reliability via Cohen's Kappa according to Landis and Koch (1977). High values in the range of 0.61-0.80 are labeled *good*, the range of 0.81-1.00 *perfect*, respectively.

A statistical analysis (Chi-Square) was conducted to explore whether the distribution of political constructs are of significant difference. This was necessary to choose the right stimuli in the empirical study. All data were analyzed using SPSS.

## Results (Newspapers)

To analyze how the news media alter the audience perception of the Israel-Palestine conflict, both newspapers were analyzed for different political constructs and slant. Inter-coder reliability as well as analysis of equal distribution were calculated. The most prominent results relevant for choosing the experimental stimulus in study 2 are presented in the below section.

**Basic Information.** For the Basic information (title, subtitle, author, publication date, type of article) there was 100% agreement between the two coders for both newspapers.

**Salience.** For both newspapers inter-coder reliability was very high. 34.6% of the articles in the Ha'aretz contain the Palestine-Israel conflict as issue, compared to 79.8% of the articles in the Palestine Chronicle.

Table 1  
*Salience of Newspapers*

Newspaper	yes	no	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	82	155	237	0.97
Palestine Chronicle	95	24	119	0.95

**Competitor.** Out of the 95 articles of the Palestine Chronicle only 93 could be further analyzed as the missing two were only rated by one coder. The same applies for the Ha'aretz. Here one article could not be analyzed further.

Table 2  
*Presentation of the Competitor*

Newspaper	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	9	66	6	81	0.79
Palestine Chronicle	0	27	66	93	0.87

For the Ha'aretz the most prominent presentation of the competitor is neutral with 81.5% whereas for the Palestine Chronicle it is the presentation of the competitor in a negative light (71%).

**Frames.** More than one response was possible as articles can contain more than just one frame. In 93 articles a total number of 189 frames could be identified for the Palestine Chronicle and a total number of 121 frames for the Ha'aretz. Table 3.1.4 depicts the distribution of frames for both newspapers as well as the Intercoder reliability.

Table 3  
*The Use of Frames proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)*

Newspaper	Conflict	Human Interest	Responsibility	Economic Consequences	Morality	total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	34	10	42	24	11	121	0.86
Palestine Chronicle	56	40	45	28	12	189	0.93

For the Ha'aretz newspaper the most prominent frames were the Responsibility frame (34.7%) followed by the Conflict frame (28.1%). For the Palestine Chronicle the most prominent was the conflict frame followed by the Responsibility frame (24.9%) and the Human Interest frame (22.1%).

An analysis of equal distribution revealed a significant results for both newspapers with  $p < 0.01$ . However one must take into account that for the Palestine Chronicle the use of distinct frames was below the assumed N (for equal distribution) and therefore much less frequently used than the other three frames. Therefore an additional analysis of distribution between the first three frames (Conflict, Human Interest, Responsibility) was conducted. It revealed no significant difference in distribution between the three above named Frames with  $\chi^2 = 2.815$  and  $p = 0.248$ .

**Keywords.** The analysis of keywords revealed that there was no regular priming of stereotypes. Those words repeatedly used were names important to the issues, such as Egypt, Morsi, Netanyahu, Hamas, IDF, Israel, Palestine and USA.

Two slants could be identified due to repetition across articles and those were Israel's right to self-defence (found among both newspapers) and the death of women and children (only found to be used by the Palestine Chronicle).

**Photo Material.** A difference in the existence of photo material across the articles was found between the two newspapers with a 100% agreement between the two coders. The below table 4 summarizes the results.

Table 4  
*Existence of Photo Material in Both Newspapers*

Newspaper	yes	no	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	70	11	81	1.0
Palestine Chronicle	33	60	93	1.0

In the Ha'aretz 86.4% of the articles contained images compared to 33% in the Palestine Chronicle. For both newspapers a analysis of distribution was conducted and revealed significant differences in distribution for both with  $\chi^2(\text{Ha'aretz})=42.975$  and  $p<0.01$  and  $\chi^2(\text{PC})=7.839$  and  $p=0.005$

Therefore further analysis of images is only presented for the Ha'aretz in this section. The complete results of the content analysis, including the analysis of image material for the Palestine Chronicle can be found the Appendix (F).

**Kind of Image.** Out of the 70 images 94.3% were pictures/photographs. The whole distribution can be found in the below table 5. Analysis of distribution revealed a significant difference with  $\chi^2=179.257$  and  $p<0.00$ .

Table 5  
*Kind of Image*

Newspaper	Cover	Picture/ Photo- graph	Graph/ Chart/ Diagram	Illustration/ Drawing	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	1	66	1	2	70	0.71

**Content and Function of Image.** In 84% of the articles the pictures had an illustrative function, supporting the verbal text through the image, 4.3% added content to the written material resulting in a journalistic function and in eight articles the image

served to loosen up the page and make it more appealing. The exact distribution can be found in the below table 6.

Table 6  
*Content and Function of Image*

Newspaper	Dramaturgic	Illustrative	Journalistic	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	8	59	3	70	0.896

***What is presented in the Photograph?.*** It was intended to see what was depicted in each photograph in order to see for differences.

Table 7  
*What is Presented in the Photograph?*

Newspaper	Official War Machine	Personal Face of War	Other	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	42	18	10	70	0.94

As can be drawn from the above table 7 70 images were analyzed in total of which 42 (60%) presented the Official War Machine as content whereas only 18 (25.7%) contained the personal face of war. 10 (14.3%) Images contained neither the Official War Machine nor the Personal Face of War. The difference in distribution is of significance ( $\chi^2=23.71$  and  $p<0.01$ ).

***Person in the Foreground.*** There is 100% agreement between the coders regarding the depiction of persons in the foreground of the images. Out of the 70 images, 50 (71.4%) depicted at least one person in the foreground whereas 20 (28.6%) did not. Out of those 20 (28.6%) the 4 (5.71%) images, which are graphs, charts diagrams or other are contained.

***Background.*** The below table 8 depicts the distribution of background found across the images.

Table 8  
*Background*

Newspaper	Outside/ Inside	Public Place	Including Weapons	Neutral Back-ground	other	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	37	13	15	10	8	83	0.91



More than one answer was possible which resulted in a total number of 83 backgrounds found among 70 images. Out of the 70 images one was taken out of the analysis since it was a graph/chart etc. The drawing was included in the analysis. 37 (44.6%) were picture taken outside/inside, 13 (15.7%) were in a public place, 15 (18.1%) included weapons, 10 (12%) were of neutral background and 8 (9.6%) were of other background. All pictures that included weapons were part of either outside/inside or public place images. The analysis of distribution revealed a significant effect in distribution with  $\chi^2=33.08$  and  $p<0.01$ .

**Nationality.** Taken into account in the analysis were only pictures and photo.

Table 9  
*Nationality*

Newspaper	Israeli	Palestinian	Other	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	34	22	10	66	0.95

Out of those 66 pictures/photographs 34 (51.5%) depict Israeli reference or subjects in the foreground, 22 (33.3%) Palestinian and 10 (15.2%) depicted other reference. The distribution of Nationality depicted in the photographs can be found in the above table 9. Analysis of distribution revealed a significant difference in distribution ( $\chi^2=13.091$ ;  $p=0.001$ ).

**Atmosphere.** Out of the 69 images 47.8% convey neutral atmosphere, 37.7% a hostile , 7.2% a happy , 4.3% a sad and 2.9% a calm atmosphere. There was a high intercoder agreement with  $K=0.93$ . The analysis revealed a significant effect in distribution with  $\chi^2=61.652$  and  $p < 0.05$ .

**Shot Type.** In the below table 10 the distribution of Shot-Types for the pictures can be found.

Table 10  
*Shot Type*

Newspaper	Close-Up	Medium Close-Up	LongShot	N/A	Total	Cohen's Kappa
Ha'aretz	13	40	12	1	66	0.95

Out of the 66 pictures 60.6% are Medium Close-ups, 19.7% Close-ups and 18.2%)long shots. In one picture the shot type 1.5% was unable to determine. The exact distribution can be found in the above table 10. The analysis of equal distribution revealed a significant effect with  $\chi^2=50$   $p<0.01$ .

**Photo Effects.** All images that were pictures were also colored photographs (66). Intercoder agreement was 100%.

**Video Material.** Concerning the existence of video material in the articles there was 100% agreement between the two coders for both newspapers. For the Palestine Chronicle out of 93 articles in total only two contained a video (2.8%) compared to 10 (12.4%) out of 81 in the Ha'aretz. As there is such a little amount of video material used in both newspapers on that topic no further analysis of the video material was conducted.

**Data Review.** Reviewing the results of the content analysis, the most obvious differences in distribution could be identified for the relative salience of the issue of interest, the usage of images, the usage of frames and the presentation of the competitor. These are visualized below.

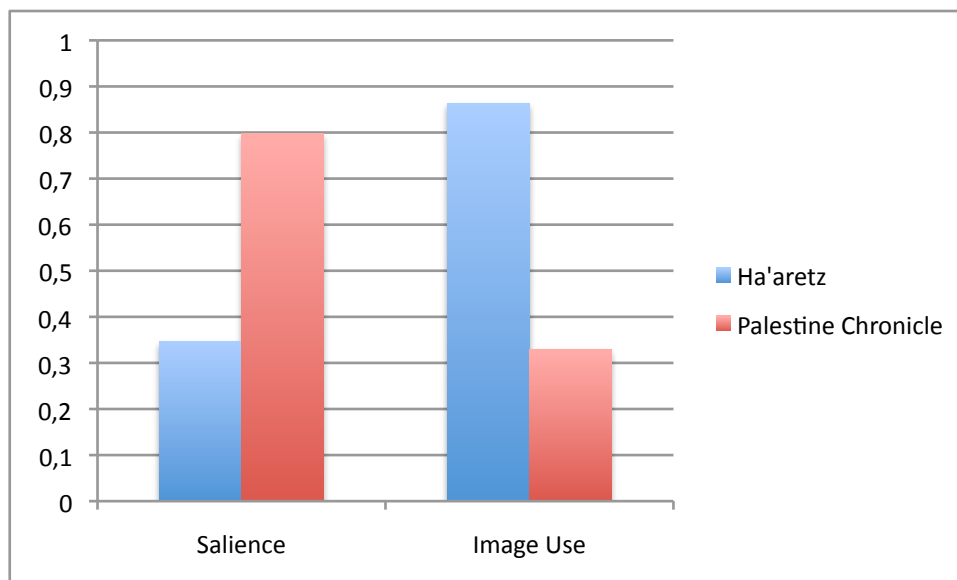


Figure 1. Salience and Usage of Photo Material

The relative salience of the Palestine-Israel conflict was much higher in the Palestine Chronicle than it was in the Ha'aretz newspaper. Compared to 79.8% of the articles in the Palestine Chronicle only 34% of the articles in the Ha'aretz were concerned with the conflict (see above figure 1). Both newspapers worked differently with visual material. Both online versions of the newspapers hardly used video material in their articles. Only 2.8% of the articles in the Palestine Chronicle and 12.4% of the Ha'aretz depicted video material. In case of photo material this was different however. In 86.4% of the articles in the Ha'aretz at least one picture was presented in an article compared to only 33% in the Palestine Chronicle (see above figure 1). Hence the Ha'aretz made much more use of visual material in general than did the Palestine Chronicle.

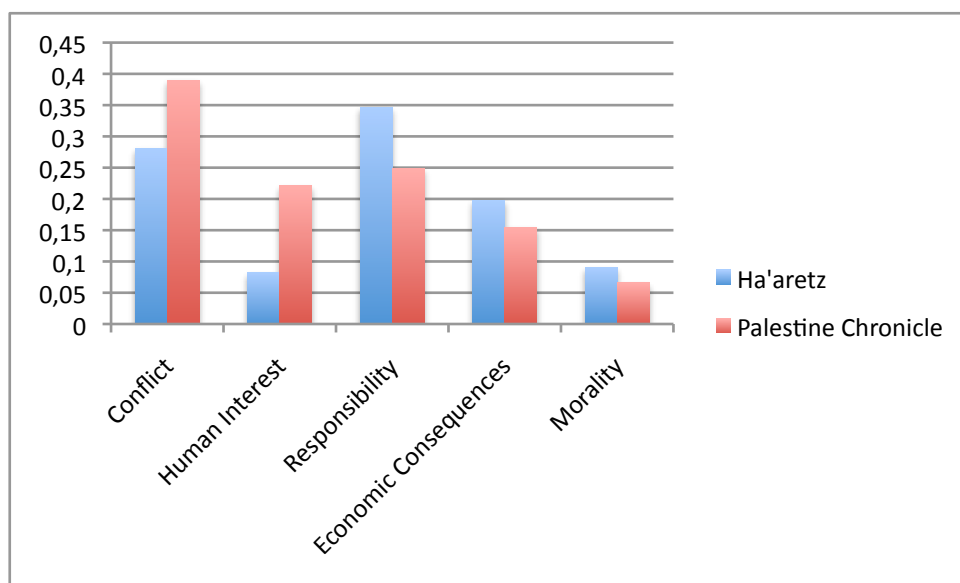


Figure 2. Usage of Frames

Although both newspapers made use of the conflict and responsibility frame the most, the Palestine Chronicle had a greater amount of articles framed as human interest whereas the Ha'aretz displayed a greater amount of articles framed in terms of economic consequences. Further the use of frames in general was more evenly distributed in the Palestine Chronicle than it was in the Ha'aretz (see above figure 2).

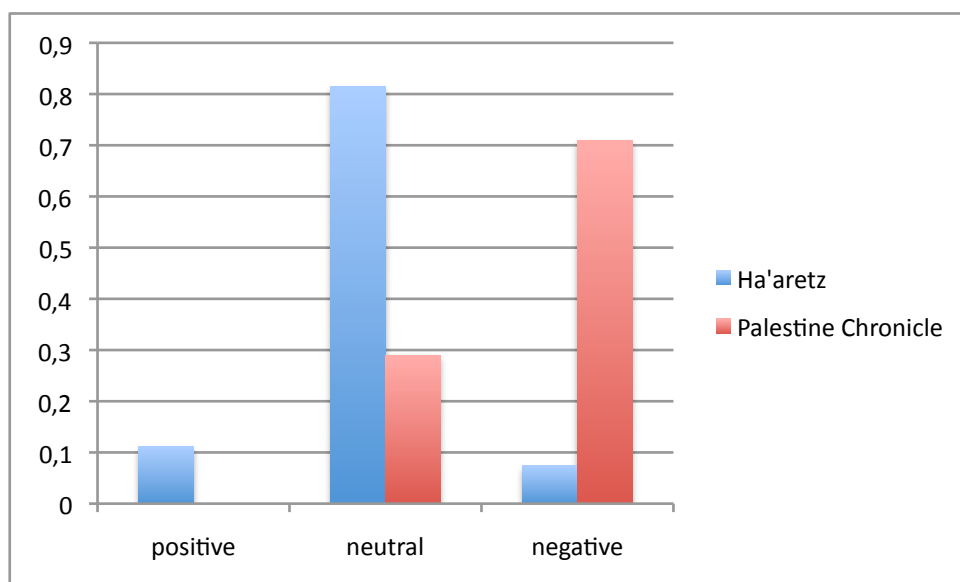


Figure 3. Presentation of Competitor

As can be drawn from the above figure 3 the Ha'aretz prominently presents the competitor in a neutral and sometimes even in a positive light, whereas the Palestine Chronicle mostly presents the opponent in a negative light.

## Results (Facebook)

Of interest were the FREE Palestine Facebook page as well as the Facebook page of the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF).

**FREE Palestine.** For the interest of time only two posts existed on the timeline of the page. Both were the mere update of a cover photo without any verbal text. The first image was posted on the 24th of November in 2012 and had no subtitle or any verbal text. It has 137 likes, 6 shares and 13 comments. It is a colour photograph, medium close up with a neutral to happy atmosphere. Nationality of the 13 subjects depicted in the foreground is unable to determine. 14 children are depicted holding up letters resulting in the words "free Palestine". The background is neutral. The second image is also untitled. It is an illustration of two Palestine prisoners posted on the 27th of November 2012. There is no verbal text accompanied by the picture except the words "The prisoners in danger". Attitude reference is Palestinian.

Intercoder agreement of those two pictures was 100%. No further analysis was conducted due to the little amount of material.

**Israeli Defense Forces (IDF).** Regarding the below depicted results there was 100% agreement between the two coders.

For the Israel defence force 54 posts in total could be identified for the period under investigation. Out of those, 44 were concerned with the Palestine-Israel conflict. It should be noted that the least amount of likes for a post of the time period was 848. The mean of likes per post was 6641. Out of those posts concerned with the Israel-Palestine conflict only four are solely written material compared to 25 posts containing at least one image and 14 containing video material. All images were coloured images, of which 20 are illustrations/drawings /graphs and 5 are post depict photo material. In posts containing visual material the written text was solely a description/ title of the visual material. Therefore no framing of written text was conducted. All posts presented the competitor in a negative light.

No in depth analysis was conducted due to the lack of comparison material of the competitor's Facebook page.

## Study 2 - Survey-based Experiment

In order to find out about the short-term effects of the political news constructs a Pre-test/Post-test survey was used. This study addresses the research questions 2, 3 and 4.

### Method

The method used is a standard pre-test/ post-test survey based experiment. It is a common approach for assessing changes in opinion due to experimental stimulation. The full questionnaires as well as the according stimulus material can be found in Appendix D and E.

**Sample.** The study consisted of a total amount of 41 participants ranging from an age of 22 to an age of 65 ( $M=33.7$  and  $SD=13.43$ ). 25 males and 16 females participated. All of the participants were of German nationality. Profession ranged from student to pensioner with all participants' roots in academia. 20 participants were in the Ha'aretz condition (1) and 21 in the Palestine Chronicle Condition (2).

**Stimulus Material.** As experimental stimulation an exemplary article for each newspaper was chosen. The selection was based on the results of the content analysis and included a distinct set of frames, slant and visual material fitting the above mentioned results. For the Israeli newspaper this could be summarized as follows:

- The exemplary article should present the competitor in a neutral light.
- It should include the conflict as well as the responsibility frame
- The exemplary article should contain an image.
  - The image should be a photograph/picture
  - Picture should serve illustrative function
  - Picture should depict official war machine
  - Picture should depict at least one person in the foreground
  - Picture should be inside/outside of background
  - Picture should depict a neutral atmosphere
  - Reference or person depicted should be Israeli
  - Shot type should be medium Close up
  - Photo effect should be coloured photograph
- No video should be contained

For the Palestine Chronicle the exemplary article should include the following attributes:

- The article should present the competitor in a negative light
- The article should contain all three frames or the conflict frame paired with either the Human Interest Frame or the Responsibility frame, as in many cases the conflict frame was paired with one of the two or both.
- No images should be included
- No video material should be included

The exemplary articles were taken from the sample analyzed in the content analysis and contained all above mentioned attributes. Further, the exemplary articles can be found in Appendix D.

**Procedure.** Participants were welcomed and placed in front of a desk. They received a brief introduction to the study. This introduction contained the information that they would be handed a questionnaire asking for their media behaviour as well as their opinion to several topics (for details of measures see below section and Appendix E). They were told that there was no wrong or right in answering to avoid social desirability in their responses. After filling in the first questionnaire participants were thanked and invited to come back one week later to finish the study. On the second meeting the participant received further debriefing. They were told that they would now receive an article about the Palestine-Israel conflict to read. To make sure they could understand the article out of the context the participants were given facts about the conflict beforehand. These included information about the different political parties of the opponents as well as information what the conflict is about and were written down in form of an informed consent and included information about the opponents, their parties, what the conflict is about and how long it is already lasting. Then they received the exemplary article to read. Depending on the condition to which they were randomly assigned to the participants either received the Israeli or a Palestinian article. No time constraints were imposed to avoid misunderstandings while reading. Right after consuming the article they had to complete the second questionnaire. Afterwards subjects were thanked for their participation.

**Measures.** It was of interest whether several variables served as covariates in the process of opinion alteration/formation of the public audience due to the stimulation material. These can be found in Appendix E.

***Assessing Opinion.*** First of all it is important to access the consumers' prior opinion on the issue of interest. Questions regarding the Palestine-Conflict were salted with extraneous current issues (e.g. global warming) to hinder bias and social desirability answers. Further opinion on the conflict was assessed after experimental stimulation to find out about the difference in opinion induced by the stimulus material. The same question was used for assessing opinion in both questionnaires, in which participants had to rate their opinion on a 5-point Likert Scale ranging from "Pro Palestine" to "Pro Israel".

***Perceived Importance.*** Based on the effects of frames on the information processing of the subject the participants were asked to judge their perceived importance on the issue of interest on a 5-point Likert Scale ranging from "not important" to "very important" (Appendix E). Other scholars (e.g Livingstone,1990; Morley,1992) have argued that if you are interested in a topic, perceive it as important , and/or are very sophisticated on that issue, opinion alteration is less likely to occur.

***Personal Relevance to the Issue.*** In the second questionnaire (post-test) it was asked for personal relevance to the issue of interest. This is particularly important if the subjects have personal relation to the issue as they will expose a much greater emotional bond to that issue and a stronger opinion and feeling of loyalty than people who are not emotionally involved. For those participants framing effects are amplified or diluted depending on whether the information fits or disagrees with own opinion (e.g Thomas & Üklümen, 2011). These issues were addressed by asking for family backgrounds including the religion of the family, whether the participants has family relatives at site as well as the religion of the family (Appendix E). The questiones were depicted in the second questionnaire to avoid priming effects and bias.

***Media Literacy.*** In order to assess media literacy in this context the definition proposed by Aufderheide & Frost (1993) was used who define Media literacy as the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and create messages in a variety of forms.

In this context the first 10 questions addressed the access of messages whereas the last four questions in Questionnaire (1) addressed the evaluation of media messages. All questions were either answered using a scale or a multiple choice response set. Questions for access issues included, whether participants had a TV, Internet access or read the newspaper as well as how much time they are spending using those media. Evaluation and analysis issues were addressed by asking on which basis participants rated some media messages as more important or more credible than others as well as their trust in media.

***Demographics.*** Nationality, profession, age, family status and religion were assessed in the Pre-test questionnaire.

***Framing Effects.*** In order to assess framing effects we followed the method proposed by Ivengar (1987), Price et al (1997) and de Vreese, Semetko & Valkenburg (1999) to see

whether framing had an effect on the recall of the participants. This was done by asking the participants to list all their thoughts that came up while reading the article in bullet point form (see Appendix F).

**Stereotypes.** For stereotypes an explorative measure was introduced. Questions assessed the participants depiction of Palestinians and Israelis. Participants were asked to describe a Palestinian as well as an Israeli in three words. Primes identified beforehand in the content analysis were now compared with answers of the participants.

**Data Analysis.** Data were analyzed using SPSS. To analyze for opinion alteration/change ANOVA and paired-sample T-tests were used, the normal distributed dataset requirement was verified. In order to analyze whether personal factors such as demographics or media literacy played a mediating role they were introduced as covariates in ANOVA analysis. For framing effects a content analysis with two independent coders was conducted including the use of Checklist of frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

## Results

In order to find out about the difference in opinion due to experimental stimulation a Pre-Test/Post-Test Survey was used.

**Effects on Opinion.** The initial intent of the survey based experiment was to see which role the newspapers had on the opinion formation/ alteration on the public audience as well as which one would lead to higher commitment to one view. After conducting a test for normality an ANOVA could be used. As dependent variable served the difference between opinion on the conflict of the Pre-Test and the Post-Test.

A significant effect of variance due to condition was found with  $F=7.746$  and  $p=0.008$ . To further see how this difference can be explained a paired sample t-test was conducted for both conditions independently. For those participants who were in the condition reading a Palestine Chronicle article the results revealed a significant effect with  $t=3.408$  and  $p=0.003$ . For those participants who were in the condition reading the Ha'aretz article the results revealed no significant change in mean opinion with  $t=0.37$  and  $p=0.716$ . In the below table 11 the change in mean for both condition is depicted.

Table 11  
*Means and Standard Deviations per Condition*

Newspaper	$\mu$ (before)	$\mu$ (after)
Ha'aretz	2,85 (1,42)	2,8 (1,24)
Palestine Chronicle	2,857 (1,77)	2 (0,89)



Further it was of interest whether strong opinion on an issue is less likely to change. For this purpose those participants having no opinions were compared to those having a stronger opinion in the Pre-Test survey. For those who had no opinion on that issue beforehand a significant effect with  $t=3.317$  and  $p=0.029$ . Those who had an opinion in favour of Palestine did not significantly change their opinion after reading the article with  $t=-1$  and  $p=0.333$ . For those who had an opinion in favour of Israel a significant effect of mean change in opinion was found with  $t=3.207$  and  $p=0.033$ .

**Covariates.** To see whether different aspects served as mediating factor in the formation/alteration of opinion through the newspapers they were separately introduced as covariates in the analysis using Wilks Lambda as reference value and depicting the within-subject effects on opinion alteration/formation. The results are depicted below.

**Conflict Importance.** When introducing the perceived importance of the conflict as covariate, there is no significant differences in opinion alteration with  $F=2.801$  and  $p=0.102$ . The covariate has a significant effect with  $F=21.1$  and  $p<0.01$ .

**Demographics.** Demographics of each participant were used as covariates. These included age, gender, profession, family status, and religion.

Age could be identified as a significant covariate with  $F=7.626$  and  $p=0.009$  making the overall effect of the analysis more significant ( $p=0.001$ ). The same was true for family status with  $F=6.458$  and  $p=0.015$ . Religion ( $F=1.382$  and  $p=0.247$ ), profession ( $F=1.418$  and  $p=0.241$ ) and gender ( $F=1.213$  and  $p=0.278$ ) could not be identified as significant covariates.

**Medial Literacy.** According to the definition of Media literacy (Aufderheide,1993; Livingstone, 2004) access, analysis and evaluation of media content are part of media literacy. Those issues were independently addressed in the survey and later used as covariates in the analysis.

TV access issues did not serve as significant covariate with  $F=1.433$  and  $p=0.239$ . Internet access could not be used as a covariate as all participants had internet access. However the time spent was of significance with  $F=4.734$  and  $p=0.036$  and a decreasing effect of significance for the overall analysis ( $F=0.978$ ;  $p=0.329$ ). Reading the newspaper could not be identified as a significant covariate ( $F=2.8$  and  $p=0.1$ ).

Regarding the evaluation and analysis of media messages four variables could serve as covariates. The selection of which attributes make a media message more credible did not serve as a significant covariate ( $F=0.148$  and  $p=0.703$ ) nor did the trust in media ( $F=0.328$  and  $p=0.57$ ), whether people discuss media messages with their family ( $F=0.458$  and  $p=0.503$ ) or the differences in selecting why a media message is more important than other ( $F=0.194$  and  $p=0.662$ ).

**Personal Relevance.** To test whether personal relevance issues had significant effects as covariates in the opinion alteration through the stimulus material it was asked for family background, relatives living at site, whether one has visited this area for holiday as well as the religion of the participant's family. None of the variables could be identified as significant covariates.

However those variables were also tested as covariates for explaining the differences in the initial opinion on the conflict. However they could not be identified as significant covariates in this context either.

**Effects on Framing on Recall.** To test whether framing had effects on recall, two coders independently coded the thought-listing responses of each participant by using the Checklist of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in order to identify the frames presented in the participants responses.

There was 100% agreement between the two coders for the thought-listing responses of all participants in all conditions. For the condition of the Palestine-Chronicle article 14 (67%) responses reflected both frames presented in the exemplary article, three (14%) depicted only the conflict frame and four (19%) depicted none of the frames. For the participants in the Ha'aretz condition also the responsibility as well as the conflict frame were presented in the exemplary article. Out of the 20 responses in total 11 (55%) depicted both the responsibility frame and the conflict frame, four solely depicted the conflict frame (20%), two solely the responsibility frame (10%). In the remaining three responses no frame could be identified (15%).

**Stereotypes.** Due to the non-existence of use of stereotypes of each party in the exemplary articles those effects on the public audience could not be analyzed. However explorative measures were taken and it was found that participant could not picture a Palestinian or Israeli, as out of 41 one participants 21 did not answer the questions. Further out of those who answered it, 10 described both opponents as " a normal person" and the rest based their depictions solely on physical characteristics.

## Discussion

The main aim of the study was to investigate the influence of political news constructs on the opinion formation/alteration of the public audience in the special case of the Palestine Israel Conflict. It was intended to find out which constructs are used and how by each newspaper in order to have substantial influence on the public audience. The constructs have been identified by means of the content analysis. In order to find out which of the newspapers „techniques“ had a bigger impact on the public audience two exemplary newspaper articles containing these constructs were used as experimental stimulation in the empirical research. A pre-test/ post-test survey was designed to assess the possible short-term effects on public opinion. It was further of interest whether personal factors including media literacy had a mediating role in the process of opinion alteration/formation.

For both newspapers the use of different political news constructs, in order to alter the audience's perceptions of the conflict, were identified. First of all the relative salience of the Palestine-Israel conflict was much higher in the Palestine Chronicle compared to the Ha'aretz newspaper. One must however take into account that the Ha'aretz is a well-known newspaper published in at least three different languages all over the world. It not only concerns the Middle East but also international issues as well as sports and even contains issues such as daily comics. The Palestine Chronicle however is a newspaper based on donations and accepts articles from journalists all over the world if they contain the Middle East. The difference in salience should therefore be seen under consideration of these facts.

Regarding the use of the frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) further differences between the newspapers were identified. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) the more reputable the newspaper the greater the amount of responsibility, conflict and economic consequences frame used. On the contrary the more sensational the newspaper is, the greater the amount of human interest frame used. In line with their research my hypothesis about the difference in distribution of use of frames in the newspapers under investigation was confirmed. This is not surprising since the Ha'aretz is a well-known and reputable newspaper with print-versions and high circulation rates. Compared, the Palestine Chronicle, although described as liberal and supported by names such as Noam Chomsky, is not available in print version and is, as mentioned above, based on donations. Further differences in visual material could be identified. Although the Ha'aretz made more use of visual material in general the Palestine Chronicle employs the visual material in favour of their nation by depicting mainly their own attitude reference and creating empathy by depicting the personal face of war rather than the official face of war. This bias can also be found in the presentation of the opponent. Whereas the

Ha'aretz prominently presents the competitor in a neutral and sometimes even in a positive light, the Palestine Chronicle mostly presents the opponent negatively.

Finally a keyword analysis was conducted to identify stereotypical primes. It revealed no regular priming of stereotypes. Two slants could however be identified due to repetition across articles: Israel's right to self-defence (found among both newspapers) and the death of women and children (only found to be used by the Palestine Chronicle). Again this shows that the articles in the Palestine Chronicle try to evoke empathy in the reader by using phrases such "the death of women and children" regularly as well as prominently depicting the personal face of war in their pictures.

The explorative measure of stereotype in study 2 showed that the participants had no fixed stereotypes leading to the assumption that they do not really know how to picture a Palestinian or Israeli.

Regarding the facebook pages, although not analyzed in depth, it should be mentioned in this context that the facebook page of the IDF compared to the online newspapers lay its emphasis rather on visual material than on written text. If text was presented this rather served as description of the visual material. Further all of the posts presented the opponent in a negative light. Summarizing it can be assumed that sensationalism is used by the IDF to make propaganda and seek for justification of their actions. This can be supported by the huge amount of likes of each post.

After identifying the use of the political constructs in both online newspapers exemplary articles were taken as stimulus material in the survey. It was intended to access short-term effects of the constructs depicted by the newspapers on the opinion alteration and formation of the public audience. What role do the news media of the opponents play in persuading citizen to support their particular view? And which approach lead to a higher commitment to one view? The analysis of variance revealed that short-term effects on opinion could be identified after reading the exemplary articles. However the significance in attitude change was only found in the PC condition. It could be argued that the biased reporting of the Palestine Chronicle, found in the content analysis, led to a greater amount of empathy among participants and therefore resulted in taking a more favourable attitude towards Palestine. This is underlined by the fact that the exemplary article of the Palestine Chronicle presented Israel in a negative light whereas the exemplary article of the Ha'aretz presented Palestine in a neutral way. This assumption is supported by the findings from De Vreese, Boomgaarden and Semetko (2011) on the support for membership of Turkey in the European Union. They found a significant difference in the level of support between participants who were exposed to a positively valenced news

frame compared to those who received a negative valenced news frame. They further found that the valence of the news had a direct effect on opinion, with negative news frames yielding a stronger effect than positive ones. These findings are in line with my results.

Moreover I wanted to see if personal factors such as personal relevance to the issue, demographics, perceived importance and media literacy mediate the effects on opinion alteration. In line with prior research it was assumed (H5) that those participants already possessing a moderate to strong opinion on the issue will be less likely to change their opinion due to the stimulus material (Chong & Druckman, 2007). First of all it could be identified that those participants who had no opinion on the conflict prior to reading the exemplary articles displayed a significant change in opinion after reading. Further those participants who had an opinion in favour of Palestine did not significantly change their mind after reading the article. Surprisingly this could not be confirmed for those having an opinion in favour of Israel. Hence the hypothesis can only be partly confirmed. It might however be interesting for future research to analyze whether the result was also due to the neutral presentation of the competitor in the Israeli article compared to that in the exemplary article of the PC. If further studies confirm this assumption, a way to ease quick tempers in conflicts would be implied. Instead of offending sensibilities of the public audience newspapers could take the opposite role by neutral presentation of the opponent in according conflicts.

Regarding the perceived importance of the conflict a significant effect as covariate in the opinion alteration/formation process was assumed. As proposed by prior research this hypothesis was confirmed. When introduced as a covariate in analysis, effects on opinion alteration changed from significance to non-significance, indicating that much of the effects of opinion alteration was altered by the perceived importance of the individual to the issue. Against prior assumption personal relevance (Livingstone, 2011) could not be identified as a mediator in the opinion alteration/formation of the public opinion (H1). Personal relevance aspects included family relatives at site, visiting the country for holiday, religion of the family were aspects of personal relevance. One must however take into account that only a limited number of the participants had personal relevance to the issue of interest, which might have had influence in the analysis. It would be interesting to analyze this aspect in a study in which Palestinians, Israelis and a neutral nation are concerned in the study design, in order to find out whether findings then would resemble those of Livingstone (2011). In that respect it would be assumed that Palestinians as well as Israeli are less likely to change their opinion on the conflict after reading the according stimulus material, as those participants possess a high personal relevance to the issue (Petty & Cacioppo, 1979,1981).

In terms of demographics (H3) only age and family status could be identified as significant covariates. Interestingly, these seem to be related. The mediating role of age is not surprising as with increasing age people will have a longer time to form an opinion on the conflict. Since the conflict has been lasting for more than 50 years now, difference in age can have a substantial influence in what people know about it. Media literacy in terms of analysis and evaluation could not be identified as a significant covariate in the analysis. However the amount of time spent on the Internet was the only aspect of media literacy which served as a significant covariate. For future research it would be interesting to analyze the relation of time spent on the internet and effects of news constructs on the opinion alteration in depth. Regarding media literacy in general it must however be taken into consideration that media literacy is an ill-defined concept (Livingstone, 2004) which is partly due to the evolving nature of media and media use. An in-depth factor analysis would need to be conducted before assessing the mediating role of media literacy on the opinion alteration/formation of public audience through medial stimulation.

Finally I was interested in the effects of framing on recall of the article. In line with research done by Semetko, Valkenburg and de Vreese (1999) it was hypothesized that, depending on the frames used in the stimulus material, participants refer to those frames in their recall of the conflict later on. The hypothesis (H6) could be confirmed as the majority of participants framed their thought listening responses in terms of all the frames that were identified in the stimulus material.

## Conclusion

The study revealed the way both opponents used political constructs to alter the audience perception to the conflict. A difference in use of frames was confirmed according to H2. Further a significant change of opinion in term of short-term effects was identified for the PC condition. Thus it can be assumed the PC has a bigger impact in persuading citizen of their view and thus lead to a higher commitment. Further H5 was only partly confirmed, as the results revealed the expected effect only for participants with no opinion and those in favour of Palestine.

According to prior assumptions perceived importance was found to be a covariate in the process of opinion alteration (H4). Age and family status (H3) served as covariates, too. This leads to the assumption that older people have longer experience with the conflict and might therefore have already formed a stronger opinion on the issues than others. Family status might have an influence since it is related to age. In contradiction to H1, personal relevance did not serve as a covariate in the above-mentioned process of opinion alteration/formation. Media literacy could not be identified as a significant covariate in the analysis, except for time spent on the Internet.

In fact much of the study yields expected results according to prior research. However limitations of the study include the small sample size as well as the homogeneity of participants regarding the personal relevance due to nationality as well as the level of education in study two. One must therefore be cautious to generalize the results of the survey. Further it is worth noting that only one single article of each newspaper was depicted as stimulus material. To account for effects of a newspaper in depth, it would be advisable to concentrate on long-term readers. This would enable the inclusion of primes of stereotypes in the analysis, which unfortunately was not possible in the present research period. It would be appealing to study the effects on opinion of neutral presentation of the competitor in conflict situations compared to valenced competitor presentation. Groups differing in their personal relevance such as Palestinians, Israelis and a neutral group would then be included in the analysis.

## References

- Aufderheide, P. (1993). Media literacy: A report of the national leadership conference on media literacy. Technical report, Aspen Institute.
- Ayish, M. I. (2002). Political communication on arab world television: Evolving patterns. *Political Communication*, 19(2):137–54.
- Burgin, V. (1982). *Thinking Photography*. MacMillan.
- Chong, D. and Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57:99–18.
- Cohen, B. (1963). The press and foreign policy. *Communications Research*, (26):550–569.
- Combs, M. E. M. and Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Quarterly*, 36(2):178–187.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43:51–58.
- Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1):163–173.
- Fahmy, S. (2008). Picturing the iraq war. constructing the image of war in the british & us press. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(6):443–462.
- Fahmy, S. and Wanta, W. (2007). What photojournalists think others think? the perceived impact of news photographs on public opinion formation. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 14(1):16–31.
- First, A. (1997). Television and the construction of social reality: An israeli case study. In Lee Kaid, L., editor, *Communication and democracy*, pages 41–50. M. McCombs, D. L. Shaw, & D. Weaver.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ibrahim, D. (2003). Individual perceptions of international correspondents in the middle east: An obstacle to fair news? *International Communication Gazette*, 65(11):87–101.
- Iyengar, S., Peters, M. D., and Kinder, D. R. (1982). Experimental demonstrations of the not-so-minimal political consequences of mass media. *American Political Science Review*, 76:848–858.



- Kerlinger, F. N. (1986). *Foundations of Behavioral Research*. Holt and Rinehart and Winston.
- Kinder, D. R. and Nelson, T. E. (2005). Deocratic debate and real opinions. In *Framing American Politics*, pages 103–122.
- Knieper, T. and Müller, M. G. (2005). *War Visions: Bildkommunikation und Krieg*. Herbert von Halem Verlag.
- Landis, J. R. and Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33:159–174.
- Lester, P. M. (1996). *Images that Injure*. Praeger.
- Livingstone, S. (1996). *On the Continuing Problems of Media Effects Research*, pages 305–324. Edward Arnold.
- Livingstone, S. (2004). Media literacy and the challenges of new information and communication technologies. *Communication Review*, 1(7):3–14.
- Perlmutter, D. D. (1999). Visions of war: Picturing warfare from the stone age to the cyber age. *St. Martin's Press*.
- Peter, J., Semetko, H. A., and Vreese, C. H. D. (2003). Politics on television in europe: How european is it. *european Union Politics*, 4(3).
- Petty, R. E. and Cacioppo, J. T. (1979). Issue involvement can increase or decrease persuasion by enhancing message relevant cognitive responses. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 37:1915–1926.
- Petty, R. E. and Cacioppo, J. T. (1981). Attitude and persuasion. classic and contemporary approaches.
- Rose, G. (1996). Teaching visualised geographies: Towards a methodology for visual materials. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 20(3):281–294.
- Schramm, W. (1977). Communication in crisis. In Schramm, W. and Roberts, D. F., editors, *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*. University of Illinois Press.
- Schwalbe, C. B., Silcock, B. W., and Keith, S. (2008). Visual framing of the early weeks of the u.s.-led invasion of iraq. applying the master war narrative to electronic and print images. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52(3):448–465.

- Semetko, H. A. and Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing european politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, pages 93–109.
- Slater, M. D. (1999). Integrating application of media effects, persuasion & behaviour. change theories to communication campaigns. a stages-of-change framework. *Health Communication*, 11(4):335–354.
- Soloman, N. (2002). Profiles in media coverage. *Media Beat*.
- Swanborn, P. G. and Rademaker, L. (1982). Sociologische grondbeginselen. In *Het Spectrum*.
- Tankard, J. W. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In Reese, S., Gandy, O., and Grant, A., editors, *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World*.
- Tversky, A. and Kahneman, D. (1973). Availability: A heustiric for judging frequency and probability. *Cognitive Psychology*, 5(2):207–232.
- Ülkümen, G. and Thomas, M. (2011). Personal relevance & mental stimulation amplify the duration framing effect. <https://msbfile03.usc.edu/digitalmeasures/ulkumen/intellcont/Ulkumen>
- Valkenburg, P. M., Semetko, H. A., and Vreese, C. H. D. (1999). The effect of news frames on readers’ thoughts & recall. *Communication Research*, 16(5):550–569.
- Vreese, C. H. D., Boomgarden, H. G., and Semetko, H. A. (2011). (in)direct framing effects: The effects of news media framing on public support for turkish membership in the european union. *Communication Research*, 38(2):179–205.
- Vreese, C. H. D. and Peter, J. (2003). Another look at the public agenda: A cross-national comparative investigation of nominal and thematic public agenda diversity. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 15(1):44–64.
- Weaver, D. (2007). Thoughts on agenda setting, framing & priming. *Journal of Communication*, 57:142–147.
- Weaver, D., Combs, M. M., and Shaw, D. L. (2004). Agenda setting research: Issues, attributes & influences. In Leekao, L., editor, *The Handbook of Political Communication Research*.
- Weber, R. P. (1985). Basic content analysis. *Sage Publications*.

Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). Media and political conflict: News from the middle east. Cond.  
University of Cambridge.

## Appendix A

### A

#### **The The Palestine Chronicle: [www.palestinechronicle.com](http://www.palestinechronicle.com)**

The Palestine Chronicle is the most visited online newspaper that can be visited from the Palestinian side (4989 clicks) and is supported by well-known names such as Noam Chomsky.

As Chomsky puts it: "An independent voice, the Palestine Chronicle has been trustworthy and reliable. I hope that you will contribute to helping this unique publication to flourish".

As can be concluded from this quote the Palestine Chronicle is a non-profit organization and the newspaper is self-sustained. It contains articles from journalists from around the world. There is no specific political agenda. Summarized the Palestine Chronicle is "an independent online newspaper, that provides daily news, commentary, features, book review, photos, art etc. but it is mainly focused on Israel, Palestine and the Middle East region in general" Available on social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter.

#### **The Ha'aretz: [www.haaretz.com](http://www.haaretz.com)**

The Ha'aretz is a daily newspaper founded in 1919 with a circulation of 72,000. It is available in Hebrew and English. The political alignment is liberal, secular and political left. It was chosen as it turns out to be a good counterpart for investigation to the Palestine Chronicle. The English online version of the newspaper has 2 million visitors per month and offers up-to-the-minute breaking news. Available on social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and G+.

## Appendix B

### B

In order to find the appropriate Sites the search field of the Facebook page was used in order to find appropriate sites. The decision was based on features such as "likes" and "talk abouts". Further it was of importance that the site was in English, which was very difficult for the Palestinian Side. It was of importance that the entries are dominantly from the authors themselves. Further it was of importance that the Facebook pages are in the political/government/news genre. Therefore it was chosen for:

#### **IDF page (<http://www.Facebook.com/idfonline>)**

It is the page of the Israeli Defence Force. It has a huge amount of followers/likes (315.719) as well as 32.566 talk abouts. Under genre it is listed "government organisation" placed in Jerusalem.

#### **Free Palestine (<http://www.Facebook.com/FreePalestine2016>)**

There were three pages to choose from which met the requirements (Language, Genre, driven by authors posts). The most popular was "Free Palestine". It has 26.426 likes and 12.390 people talk about it. Its genre is Politics and it is placed in Palestine. Further only postings by the name of the page, personal post are excluded in an extra box.

## Appendix C

### C

#### **Coding-Scheme**

Please see the following pages.

## Coding Scheme for Newspapers

### ***Basis information***

1. Publication date:
2. Media title (Name of newspaper):
3. Title/ Subtitles:
4. Type of article:
5. Author:
6. Comments (can be e.g citations):

### ***Issue / agenda setting***

1. What is the main topic of this article?  
(In order to answer this question please read the Headings and Subheadings as well as the first paragraph of the article)

---

---

---

2. Does this article include the issue "Middle- East conflict or more specific the conflict between Israel and Palestine?  
(Please quick-scan the whole article in order to give a response. Keywords including Israel, Palestine or conflict might facilitate your scanning process)

---

If this article contains the issue Middle-East conflict in the Special Case of the Israel vs Palestine conflict, then please proceed, if not go on to the next article and take another form to fill in.

### ***Competitors***

Depending on the source the competitor is either Israel or Palestine. Therefore during coding it should be looked who the competitor is within the article and who is writing.

Source: Israel \_\_\_\_ Palestine \_\_\_\_  
Competitor: Israel \_\_\_\_ Palestine \_\_\_\_

How is the competitor presented in the article? In which light is the competitor presented in this article?

- Positive
- Neutral
- Negative

This question should be regarded in the light of the question of guilt. Negative in this context might include blame. Neutral presentation of the competitor include a balanced reporting, including negative aspects and/or positive

aspects of the competitor as well as the writing party. Positive presentation of the competitor would present the competitor in a positive light, without blaming and/or further understanding for the competitors situation but rather blaming oneself ( writing party).

### ***Keywords***

Are there any keywords used repeatedly within the article? That might include stereotypical descriptions of the competitor.

If key words are used repeatedly within the article, please list below the word, and how often it is used in the article.

keyword	Writing party ( Israel or Palestine)	Nr of occurrences

*Note: If preceding article have used keywords, which repeats in proceeding articles please mention them here: \_\_\_\_\_*

### ***Frames***

Which frames are used in this article? In order to identify frames, we orientate us by the proposed a priori frames of Semetko and Valkenburg ( 2000) The frames will be described below.

#### **Conflict frame**

“The conflict frame is conceptually related to what is called strategy coverage (Jamieson, 1992; Patterson, 1993). This kind of coverage makes winning and losing the central concern; the language of wars, games, and competition is featured, with an emphasis on the performance and style of a party or an individual (Jamieson, 1992)”, (Semetko, Valkenburg, De Vreese, 1999).

#### **Human interest frame**

“The human interest frame brings an individual’s story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. Personalizing an issue contributes to the narrative character of news. As the market for news everywhere becomes more competitive, journalists and editors are at pains to produce a product that captures and retains audience interest (Bennett, 1995). Framing news in human interest terms is a way to personalize, dramatize, and emotionalize the news.”, (Semetko, Valkenburg, De Vreese, 1999)

#### **Responsibility frame**



“The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving a problem to the government or to an individual or to a group”, (Semetko, Valkenburg, De Vreese, 1999).

#### Economic consequences frame

“The economic consequences frame presents an event, problem, or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region, or country. News is often framed in terms of the actual or potential economic impact or consequences on the audience (Neuman et al., 1992). The economic impact of an event has an important news value (Graber, 1993), and it has been suggested that news producers often use the consequence frame to make an issue relevant to their audience (Gamson, 1992)”, ( Semetko, Valkenburg, De Vreese, 1999)

Use the following checklist of 14 items in order to identify the frames according to Semetko, Valkenburg and De Vreese ( 1999).

If one of the items in each category holds true, this frame is at hand. Notice that more than one frame can be included in the article

#### Conflict

0. Does the article reflect disagreement between parties, individuals or countries?
1. Does one party, individual or country reproach another?
2. Does the answer refer to two sides or to more than one side of the problem or issue?

#### Human Interest

3. Does the article emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue or problem?
4. Does the article provide a human example or a human face on the issue?
5. Does the article contain feelings of outrage, empathy or caring, or sympathy or compassion?
6. Does the article use adjectives showing feelings of outrage, empathy or caring or sympathy or compassion?

#### Responsibility

7. Does the article suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue or problem?
8. Does the article suggest that some level of the government has the ability to alleviate the problem or issue?
9. Does the article suggest that the problem or issue requires urgent action?
10. Does the article suggest solution(s) to the problem or issue??

#### Economic Consequence

11. Is there a mention of the costs or the degree of expense involved?
12. Is there a reference to the economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
13. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains, now or in the future?

### ***Photo material***

Many newspaper articles contain pictures or photographs suiting to the issue written about. These often trigger thoughts and emotions and constitute to a frame and part of agenda setting . Therefore we are also interested in that material.

Please answer the following questions. If no extra space for answering is given, please mark with an X, if the statement holds true.

1. Does the article contain an image or more? \_\_\_\_ (Only proceed if answered with yes)
2. If it contains visual material in form of images, how many are presented in the article? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Please name the title of the main image: \_\_\_\_\_

The following questions are only considered for the main picture (Biggest in size) of the article. So Please answer the following questions only for this material.

4. What kind of image is it?
  - Cover
  - Picture/photograph
  - Graph/Chart/ Diagram
  - Illustration/ Drawing
  - Other

As images do not appear alone, and text influences the interpretation of photo material and vice versa it is important to relate the written material in the article to the visual material in the image ( Rose, 1996) . Please indicate your answer with an X behind the chosen.

1. As which function does the image/photograph serve?
  - Dramaturgic function
  - Illustrative function
  - Journalistic function
    - a. Adding opposing info
    - b. Adding matching info
    - c. Adding additional info

According to Holicki (1993) **dramaturgic images** serve to create excitement and interest by structuring and loosening up the page, thereby facilitating orientation.

**Illustrative images** support the verbal text through the image. When for example pictures are used as pieces of evidence they emphasize the authenticity and accuracy of the written statements and thereby may increase credibility

**Journalistic images** have the most meaningful functions as they convey information independently from the written text. On this level the image

complements the text and adds opposing, matching or additional info. (Holicki, 1993).

If the image in the article is a picture or photograph further question need to be answered, as images in news articles are often used as “ weapons of war” in political conflict situations (Fahmy& Kim, 2008) and can have the power to determine media consumers ideas of reality ( Lester, 1996). According to Burgin (1982) and Domke et al (2002) aspects such as camera angle, focus and distance influence the perception of the conflict without being aware of it. Therefore please answer the following questions. Where no space is given please indicate your answer with an X.

#### Content of photo/ picture

1. Who and what is presented in the photograph/ Picture?
  - a. Official war machine
  - b. Personal face of war
  - c. Other (Please describe):\_\_\_\_\_

**The Official war machine** is depicted as the big powerful, impersonal forces including images of air strikes (1), military hardware (2), civilian (3) and military(4) leaders and destruction (5).

**The personal face of war** is conveyed by images of the people who carry out the policies and those affected by the war, including street scenes (6), troops (7), civilians (8), journalists (9), humanitarian relief efforts (10), protester (11) (Schwalbe, 2006). Please indicate your answer with an X and the belonging Number seen in the brackets. Further use and “ I” and “ P” or “ N/A” as additional information indicating the nationality , I for Israel, P for Palestine and N/A for not applicable.

Pictures can include more than one of the above mentioned categories. Please write down all of those seen in the image.

**(For example: Israelian Troops would be written down as “ 7, I”)**

2. Does the photo depict a person/persons in the foreground (as the main content of the picture)?
  - If not describe the photo:\_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_
3. If the above question was answered with yes, how many people are in the photo?\_\_\_\_
  - How many adults?\_\_\_\_

- How many children/teenager? \_\_\_\_
  - How many males? \_\_\_\_
  - How many females? \_\_\_\_
4. Of which nationality are the subjects?
- Israel
  - Palestine
  - other
5. Context
- Photo was taken outside/inside
  - Photo was taken in a public place
  - Included weapons
  - Included blood
  - Neutral background
  - If none of the above is true please describe the background
- 
- 
6. atmosphere
- hostile
  - calm
  - neutral
  - sad
  - happy

#### Image characteristics and camera settings

1. photo effects:
- colour photograph
  - black/white photograph
  - sepia toned photograph
  - graphically altered photograph
  - other effect: \_\_\_\_\_
2. shot type
- Close up
  - Medium close up
  - Long shot
  - Unable to determine

**Long shot.** Sometimes these are referred to as establishing shots. These pictures taken in a scene in its entirety. They give the viewer a good idea of the environment of the subject of the photograph, but they do not offer much information about the subject itself.

**Medium close up (Median range).** These shots bring the photographer closer to the subject and give more specific information about the subject. But they still show the subject within a setting so that the viewer has some idea about the environment in which the subject is placed.

**Close-up.** The best and most interesting pictures generally are close-up shots. These pictures bring the viewers face to face with the subject and allow them to get detail information about the subject. Good close-up pictures cut out all of the environmental information about the subject.

**Long  
shot**



**Median  
shot**



**Close-up**



**Video Material ( Ayish, 2002; Lobinger, 2012)**

1. Does the article contain a video?\_\_\_\_\_

2. What is the duration of the video material? \_\_\_\_\_
3. As which function does the video serve?
  - Dramaturgic function
  - Illustrative function
  - Journalistic function
    - d. Adding opposing info
    - e. Adding matching info
    - f. Adding additional info
4. news format
  - voice over news items
  - on camera items
  - Report
  - Interview
5. Attitude references:
  - Palestinians
  - Israeli
  - Other: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Context and background
  - indoor news format recording at studios
  - indoor recording mixed with at on field recording
  - on field recording
  - other: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Does the video include sensationalism features (such as tabloid news)?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - Fast paced items
  - Sound effects
  - Violent images
8. atmosphere
  - hostile
  - calm
  - neutral
  - sad
  - happy
  - hopeless
  - hopeful
9. frames
  - conflict
  - human interest
  - responsibility
  - economic consequences

Role of actor(s)

1. Is the actor an individual or a group? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Gender of the actor \_\_\_\_\_

3. Nationality of the actor
  - Israel
  - Palestine
  - Other: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Does the actor speak in the item?
  - In language of broadcast country
  - In other language with dubbing
  - In other language with subtitle
  - In other language with no translation
5. How long does the actor speak? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Is the actor quoted ( directly/indirectly) in the item?
  - No
  - Yes and seen
  - Yes but not seen
7. Is the actor identified by name/ or role?
  - No
  - Yes by name only
  - Yes role only
  - Yes by name only

### **Coding Scheme for facebook pages**

The Coding Scheme for the facebook pages resembled that of the newspaper articles apart from for the Basis information, photo and video material. The difference in the coding scheme is depicted below.

#### ***Basis information***

1. Publication date:
2. Media title (Name of facebook page):
- 3.
4. Type of post:
  - Opinion
  - Share of link ( to e.g a newspaper, blog entry etc of someone else)
  - Blog entry
  - Just a photo without comment
  - Just a video without comment
  - Photo including written post
  - Video including written post
5. Author:
6. Number of comments of post:
7. Number of likes of post:
8. Number of share of post:

## Appendix D

### D

#### **Israeli Stimulus Material**

Please see the following pages.



Home > News > Diplomacy & Defense

## Netanyahu to foreign leaders: Will accept comprehensive ceasefire if the rocket fire stops

The international community is beginning to press Israel to end the operation and to refrain from a ground operation in Gaza

By Barak Ravid | Nov.18, 2012 12:41 AM | 9

1 6 Tweet 142 Recommend Send 154 people recommend this. Be the first of your friends.



PM Benjamin Netanyahu speaking at the Likud convention on Mon., Oct. 29, 2012. Photo by Moti Mirod

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told foreign leaders he spoke with this weekend that he is prepared for a comprehensive ceasefire in the Gaza Strip as soon as possible, if the rocket firing stops. The foreign leaders asked Netanyahu not to escalate the fighting and to give several days to the intensive mediation efforts Egypt has been leading during the course of the weekend.

Netanyahu spoke to United States President Barack Obama, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In all the conversations, Netanyahu expressed openness to reaching a truce in the next few days. According to Western diplomats, Netanyahu asked the leaders to work through Egypt to pressure Hamas and made it clear that if the rocket fire does not stop Israel will have to invade Gaza with ground forces.

At the end of a round of phone calls to ministers on Friday, the government decided to expand the number of reservists to be called up to 75,000. Thus far only 16,000 reserve soldiers have been called up. Despite preparations for a ground invasion, a senior source at the Prime Minister's Bureau said that Netanyahu prefers to avoid a large action on the ground and therefore is prepared to consider a ceasefire if his conditions are accepted. The Israeli source noted that even if ultimately there is a ground incursion, it will be relatively limited.

In his conversations with foreign leaders, Netanyahu

Text size A+ A-

Comments (9)

Print Page

Send to friend

Share on Facebook

Share on Twitter

Share

THIS STORY IS BY

Barak Ravid



RELATED TAGS

Barack Obama

Benjamin Netanyahu

IDF

Hamas

RELATED ARTICLES

Obama works to avert Israel-Egypt break as Gaza violence persists

By Barak Ravid | Nov.15.2012 1:27 PM | 23

SELECT



### Poem of the Week / Agi Mishol drifts toward an Archimedes moment

Poem of the Week launches with a new translation and a holiday gift of four water-themed works by contemporary Hebrew poets from the Haaretz print archive, never before published online.

By Vivian Eden | Poem of the Week

### Lifting the hijab on Saudi women

By Zvi Bar'el | Features

### Much ado about old Arab League news

By Ami Ayalon | Opinion | 4

### Bibi and Sara's flying bed hits major turbulence

By Allison Kaplan Sommer | Routine Emergencies | 8



### Someone Else's Simcha / Yoel and Dvora's engagement party - Pleased to meet you, I'm sure

The descendants of at least two powerful Hasidic dynasties come together to celebrate the building of a new, albeit arranged, home in Israel.

By Ron Ben-Tovim | Someone Else's Simcha

### Israel's jolly, jingoistic board games of yesteryear

By Dafna Arad | Arts & Leisure

### Joseph and the amazing technicolor shtetl

By Michael Handelzalts | Arts & Leisure

### To have and have more: Discount Bank employees press on with orgy of pay hikes

By Sivan Aizescu | Business

DIPLOMACY & DEFENSE

### Syria developments suggest Assad may go out quietly after all

By Jack Khoury | 03:54 PM



Netanyahu meets with Putin in Russia to

stressed that Israel is demanding a comprehensive ceasefire, i.e., the cessation of rocket fire and all the other attacks from the Gaza Strip, including attacks on Israel Defense Forces soldiers along the boundary fence. In addition, Israel wants to ensure that the ceasefire will be prolonged and that the shooting will not start up again within a few weeks.

Netanyahu was satisfied with his conversation with Obama on Friday, the second in a few days, which gave him the impression that the American president is strongly behind Israel, according to the source.

The European Union has also continued to publicly express support for Israel and assign responsibility for the situation to Hamas. However, in quiet diplomatic channels, there appears to be nascent international pressure to end the operation.

In possible hint of this trend, a new line appeared in a statement issued by the White House after the second conversation between Obama and Netanyahu: "The two leaders discussed options for de-escalating the situation."

According to both a European diplomat and a senior American official, Obama, Monti and Merkel told Netanyahu they support Israel's right to self-defense and that Hamas must stop firing rockets in order to bring about a ceasefire. But the three leaders asked Netanyahu to refrain from an IDF ground invasion of the Gaza Strip and to give Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan a chance to mediate with Hamas.

"There are serious efforts towards a ceasefire being led by Egypt," said the senior American official. "We want to allow this a chance to succeed but it is necessary to give enough time for the talks. We are hearing from the Israelis that a ground action is an option but we understand they prefer arriving at a ceasefire."

A similar message to refrain from a ground incursion came from British Foreign Secretary William Hague, who on Friday stressed that Israel too has responsibility for the situation.

"When Israel has entered into ground invasions in other conflicts that is when they have lost a good deal of international sympathy and support," he told the BBC.

French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius will fly to Israel and Egypt Sunday to try to advance a ceasefire. Both Obama and Merkel phoned Morsi a few minutes after their conversations with Netanyahu and asked him to increase the pressure on Hamas. According to a Western diplomat, Merkel told Morsi that Egypt has a key role in promoting a ceasefire and that he must press the Palestinian organizations to stop firing rockets. The American official said President Obama asked Morsi to act as quickly as possible to mediate with Hamas.

According to Western diplomats, Morsi made it clear in his conversations with Obama and Merkel that he was acting with all his might to advance a comprehensive and lasting ceasefire, which he also supports. Morsi stressed that he does not intend to take any action that would lead to the revoking of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.

Most of the contacts with the Egyptians were conducted in recent days by United States and the major European countries. But during the course of the weekend there were also direct talks between senior Israeli and Egyptian officials. The two main Israeli figures are Netanyahu's special envoy, attorney Yitzhak Molcho, and the director of policy and political-military affairs at the Ministry of Defense, Amos Gilad. The two have held a series of conversations with Egyptian intelligence chief, Rafaat Shehata, and his deputies.

**Israel won't halt Gaza operation until Hamas begs for truce, say officials**

By Barak Ravid | Nov.15,2012 | 9:49 PM | 16

**Israel helped Jordan with its nuclear energy program, official says**

By Barak Ravid | Sep.23,2012 | 7:32 AM | 8

**LIVE BLOG: Day 5 of Israel-Gaza conflict 2012**

By Barak Ravid, Gili Cohen and Nir Hasson  
Nov.18,2012 | 5:37 PM | 82

**Operation Pillar of Defense is Ehud Barak's test**

By Aluf Benn | Nov.18,2012 | 7:14 AM | 6

**Israel doesn't want to topple Hamas, just rein it in**

By Amos Harel and Avi Issacharoff | Nov.18,2012 | 8:36 AM | 18

**Gaza crisis highlights Netanyahu's failure to reconcile with Turkey**

By Barak Ravid | Nov.18,2012 | 6:31 PM | 50

**Israeli leaders should think twice before launching a Gaza ground offensive**

By Amos Harel | Nov.19,2012 | 8:30 AM | 86

**discuss Syria, Iran**

By Barak Ravid | 01:32 PM



**U.S. Navy aircraft carrier makes rare visit to Eilat**

By Jacky Poms | 01:24 PM



**Canada deports Palestinian hijacker after 25-year legal battle**





By Reuters | 09:17 PM | 6




**MORE FROM THE WEB**

[?]

**FACEBOOK**


ACTIVITY	RECOMMENDATIONS
<b>Recent Activity</b>	
	<b>Israeli inspector pours bleach over food in Tel Aviv restaurant run by African migrants - National</b> 184 people recommended this.
	<b>Report: Jordan has opened its air space for Israeli drones en route to Syria - Diplomacy &amp; Defense</b> 375 people recommended this.
	<b>Hypocrisy and double standard: An open letter to Stephen Hawking - Strenger than Fiction</b> 1,227 people recommended this.
 Facebook social plugin	

In addition, in an attempt to warm up chilly relations between the countries, during the weekend Netanyahu sent a personal message to Morsi expressing his condolences for the road accident that killed at least 43 people on Saturday morning, many of them children.




FROM AROUND THE WEB by Taboola

---




**Bond Girls -Then & Now (38 Photos)**  
(Espresso Gossip)

---




**Immigration Reform Will Help Economy**  
(Free Enterprise)

---



**Homeland Security Funded Exercise Portrayed Homeschoolers as Terrori...**  
(1776 Coalition)

---



**10 Tips for Shopping at a Thrift Store**  
(CouponShoeBox)

## COMMENTS

Name

Subject

Comment

Your comment here

By adding a comment I agree to this site's [Terms of use](#)

Send

- LATEST

MOST VIEWED

HIGHEST RATED

Open All ▾
- 07

**WORLD EVENTS**  
 By Kingrikibaba | 18 Nov 2012 | 11:08 PM

👍 0

🗨 0
- 
- 06

**Israeli cease-fire**  
 By eric d | 18 Nov 2012 | 09:44 PM

👍 0

🗨 0
- 
- 05

**War & Peace**  
 By Deep Thought | 18 Nov 2012 | 02:13 PM

👍 0

🗨 0
- 
- 04

**BIBI dont fail to disarm hamas if not ISRAEL WILL HAVE TO FIGHT HAMAS again in 2 or 3 years**  
 By ledy | 18 Nov 2012 | 11:44 AM

👍 0

🗨 0
- 
- 03

**ceasefire**  
 By illetztter | 18 Nov 2012 | 09:17 AM

👍 0

🗨 0
- 
- 👍 0

🗨 0

**Israel is and will continue enforcing.**  
 By Miron | 18 Nov 2012 | 02:16 PM
- 
- 02

**Israel failed to garner world support, that's why Netanyahu seeking ceasefire....**  
 By zulu | 18 Nov 2012 | 07:41 AM

👍 0

🗨 0
- 
- 👍 0

🗨 0

**He has failed because the task is impossible. You dont fight rebels like this.**  
 By Catherine | 18 Nov 2012 | 02:21 PM
- 
- 01

**you accept ceasefire if rocket attack stop**  
 By benjamin | 18 Nov 2012 | 03:34 AM

👍 0

🗨 0

## **Palestinian Stimulus Material**

### **Israel Remains Careless in Gaza's Fourth-Generation War**

Nov 23 2012 / 2:58 am

By James Gundun - Washington D.C.

Israel's fresh bombardment of Gaza and its political aftershocks have reinforced a maddening status quo: Hamas's armed resistance cannot reverse Israel's statehood, IDF operations cannot physically destroy Hamas's resistance, and involved foreign powers lack a concrete plan to advance an equitable two-state solution.

Hamas and those Palestinian leaders that fail to offer an alternative deserve their share of responsibility for bringing Gaza to boil. Fatah's inability to move a peaceful solution forward, albeit within a biased system of international mediation, has given Hamas ample room to grow and kept Israel's leadership focused on military action. However the blunt reality of asymmetric warfare does not place the burden of responsibility on non-state actors, but on the state actors theoretically beholden to international standards. Non-state actors attract popular support by offering modest improvements over a tyrannical, corrupt government. For this reason (and others, of course), Hamas's behavior is partially or fully accepted by Palestinians and Muslims who view Israel's behavior as incomparably monstrous.

Advanced states can make fourth-generation warfare (4GW) look flawless and futile at the same time.

4GW is named for its placement after 3GW, a phase that technologically evolved the tactical and strategic concepts developed in the 20th century. A major difference between 3GW and 4GW stems from the balance of power; while 3GW conflicts generally occur between states, 4GW develops between state and non-state actors. Firepower becomes less important in this type of warfare as the conflict blurs deeper into the local civilian population, placing a premium on the non-military factors - political, economic and social - that govern a territory. This strategy addresses the need to protect an area's natural and human resources instead of destroying them, along with the tasks of cooperating with international organizations and keeping battlefield blunders out of the international news cycle.

Although amplified by technology, 4GW is designed to confound superior militaries and their technological advantages. Accordingly, retired Marine Colonel Thomas X. Hammes advises America's leadership against believing that technology can overcome non-military sources of conflict and their political manifestations. Having monitored Washington's delusional expeditions in Afghanistan, Iraq and the "War on Terror," Hammes

holds this error above all others in asymmetric warfare.

"We continue to focus on technological solutions at the tactical and operational levels without a serious discussion of the strategic imperatives of the nature of the war we are fighting," he writes in *The Sling and The Stone*, an authoritative study of 4GW.

Israeli leadership and the soldiers under their command are similarly geared towards urban warfare rather than the totality of 4GW. Israel's objectives remain military-oriented: eliminate a key Hamas strategist, destroy his long-range weapons, stop Gazan rockets from falling on southern Israel, and ultimately impose a ceasefire that demands the elimination of Egypt's smuggling tunnels into Gaza. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's political objective is domestic in nature, or else aimed at the Palestinians' upcoming recognition bid at the United Nations. Settling the conflict's non-military grievances has been noticeably absent from Netanyahu's agenda throughout his four-year term.

Israel certainly enjoys an abundance of political power and media influence, strong-arming Western governments with ease by dangling a ground invasion beneath a massive air raid. Netanyahu has reportedly told President Barack Obama that he will only launch a ground operation if Hamas continues firing rockets into Israel. Naturally Gaza's bombardment becomes more palatable in the face of a bloodier alternative, a comparison that helps maintain the West's green light for as long as possible. Furthermore, Netanyahu is attempting to portray himself as a tough but wise statesman (think Iran) ahead of January 22nd's election.

"Before deciding on a ground invasion, the prime minister intends to exhaust the diplomatic move in order to see if a long-term ceasefire can be achieved," a senior Israeli official said after Monday night's cabinet meeting.

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has now arrived in the region to broker a truce "in the days ahead," allowing Israel to continue bombing every last target and giving Hamas little incentive to comply. Except this Western reservoir of diplomatic power cannot fully overcome the power attributed to world opinion, and steamrolling over all objections to the disproportionate force being applied in Gaza generates more enemies - civilian and militant alike - than Israel can eliminate.

Israel's government has grown dangerously accustomed to winning Gaza's tactical battles and losing the conflict's wider political narrative. Its military and intelligence agencies, among the world's elite, skillfully locate arms caches, intercept rockets and track Hamas officials with a Skynet-like grid of technology. Over 1,350 air strikes were counted by Monday, a growing number of them launched from unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). Many of Hamas's Fajr-5 rockets, considered a "tie-breaker," were wiped out in the moments after Ahmed Jabari's assassination. The Israeli military just Tweeted that it "surgically targeted a Hamas intelligence operations centre" on the seventh floor of a

media building.

Meanwhile Carmela Avner, Israel's chief information officer, boasts that Israel can fight a war on three technological fronts: "The first is physical, the second is on the world of social networks and the third is cyber."

All of these capabilities, as Hammes warns, gives Israel's leadership a false sense of control over Gaza's military and non-military battlefields. There will always be more rockets to intercept from the political status quo. New Hamas leaders will inevitably replace the fallen and Israel's own websites are being hacked by supporters of the Palestinians. Worse still, the false sense of security inspired by the Iron Dome emboldens Israel to strike with minimal consequence, producing more hostilities instead of reducing them. "Precision" air strikes, far from precise, contribute to the eventual stalemate imposed by the international community's frantic jockeying to savage credibility with their own populations.

Israel is a master of war - disproportionate warfare. Over 150 Palestinians have been killed (at least 50 of them civilians) and over 840 wounded, including 225 children, since Operation Pillar of Defense began on November 14th. Israelis have suffered five fatalities and an estimated 250 injuries from Gaza's rockets, underscoring the conflict's fundamentally disproportionate nature. The faces of dead Palestinian children will outweigh anything Israel has to say to the world at large, and the government is losing minds and hearts at an unsustainable pace. Contrary to resolving any sources of conflict, disproportionate force and the resulting spectacle functions as a main driver of 4GW.

Israel's government argues that Hamas's stockpile has essentially been reset, but the same breathing room failed to yield any progress towards a two-state solution following Gaza's last war. Netanyahu will emerge wrapped in victorious rhetoric, ignoring 4GW and dooming the cycle to repeat again. And if his government doesn't care what the world thinks, why should the world treat Israel with special care?

Appendix E  
E

**Pre-Test Questionnaire**

Please see the following pages.

Questionnaire (1)

Participant Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: \_\_\_\_\_

Profession: \_\_\_\_\_

Family status: \_\_\_\_\_

Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Do you have a TV at home?

yes	no

2. How many hours do you spend watching TV per week?

none	≤ 7 h/w	≤ 14	≤ 21	≤ 28	> 28

3. Which Genres do you watch most? Please indicate your choices with an X. More than one answer is possible.

Genre	Indication (X)
Cartoon	
Reality Shows	
Game Shows	

Series	
(Blockbuster) Movies	
News/Politics	
Documentaries	
Sport	

4. Do you have a computer with internet access at home?

yes	no

5. How much time to you spend using the Internet per week?

none	≤ 7 h/w	≤ 14	≤ 21	≤ 28	> 28

6. For which purposes do you use the Internet the most? Please indicate your choices with an X. More than one answer is possible.

Social networks (Facebook, My Space etc)	
Email	
Researching for my job or university	
Online selling/shopping ( e.g Ebay)	
Connection with my friends ( Skype, ICQ, MSN)	
Online gaming	



Watching movies/ series (streaming)	
Online dating	
youtube	
Reading the news and getting informed	

7. Do you read the newspaper?

yes	no

8. If you do which one do you read the most?

\_\_\_\_\_

9. Online or print version?

online	print	both

10. How many hours a week?

none	≤ 7 h/w	≤ 14	≤ 21	≤ 28	> 28

11. And How many days a week? \_\_\_\_\_

Now I would like to ask how you think about several issues as well as your perceived importance of those. Please indicate your choice of answer with an X.

### 1. Global warming

Very good 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very bad 5	No opinion

### Importance

Very important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Not important 5	No opinion

### 2. Help packages in Europe

Very good 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Very bad 5	No opinion

### Importance

Very important 1	2	Neutral 3	4	Not important 5	No opinion

### 3. Barack Obama

Pro Obama	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Contra obama	No opinion
1							

#### Importance

Very important	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Not important	No opinion
1							

### 4. Angela Merkel

Pro Merkel	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Contra Merkel	No opinion
1							

#### Importance

Very important	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Not important	No opinion
1							

### 5. Israel-Palestine Conflict

Pro Palestine	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Pro Israel	No opinion
1							

#### Importance

Very important	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Not important	No opinion
1							

### 6. Americas Anti-Terror Politics

Very good	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Very bad	No opinion
1							

#### Importance

Very important	2	Neutral	3	4	5	Not important	No opinion
1							

Finally I woul like you to answer some questions regarding your selection of media. *Again, please indicate your answer with an X.*

1. Do you trust the Media in presenting issues as they are in reality?

Not at all	2	3	4	5	Very much	No opinion
1						

2. On what basis do you select Media messages as credible?

- The source of writing
- References and numbers in the media message
- Pictures illustrating the message in the media message
- My familiarity with the issue in the media message
- All of the above mentioned
- None of the above mentioned

3. Do you discuss current issues of the Media with your friends/family?

Not at all 1	2	3	4	All the time 5	No opinion

4. What makes you think, that some Media Messages/ news are more important than others?

- a. The time period they are presented in the media
- b. Because I am interested in them
- c. Because you find them across different media (newspaper, TV, Internet etc)
- d. Because they are presented more salient than others
- e. None of the above: Please Specify : \_\_\_\_\_

## Post-Test Questionnaire

Please see the following pages.



---



---



---



---

2. Please describe in 3 words how you would picture a Palestinian

---

3. Please describe in 3 words how you would picture an Israeli

---

Finally we have some questions regarding your personal experiences.

1. Do you have Israeli or Palestinian family background?

Israeli	Palestinian	Both	no

2. Do you have family relatives living in Israel or Palestine?

Yes, Israel.	Yes, Palestine.	Yes, both	no

3. Have you been in Israel/Palestine for your holiday?

Yes, in Israel	Yes, in Palestine	Yes, in both	No.

4. To which religion belongs your family?

Jewry	christianity	Islam	Atheism	Buddism	Other

## Appendix F

### F

#### **Detailed Results of the content analysis of the Online Newspapers including SPSS Output**

Please see the following pages.

## Results (Palestine Chronicle)

On that basis one of the analyzed article will be chosen. An article is chosen in which the two coders have a 100% agreement on the coding scheme, if possible.

### Basis information

The Date, Media title, Subtitle , and author revealed an agreement between the rater of 100%

### Saliency

#### rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation

Count

		rater2		Total
		1,00	2,00	
rater1	1,00	93	2	95
	2,00	0	24	24
Total		93	26	119

K=0,949

Out of 119 articles 95 (79,8%) were about the Palestine-Israel conflict whereas 24 (20,2%) were not.

### Competitor

Out of the 95 articles which are about the conflict only 93 can be considered for further analysis, because only them are analysed by both coders.

#### rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation

Count

		rater2		Total
		neutral	negative	
rater1	neutral	26	1	27
	negative	4	62	66
Total		30	63	93

K=0,874

Out of the 93 articles 27 (29%) presented the competitor in a neutral light whereas 66 (71%) presented the competitor in a negative light. None of the articles presented the competitor in a positive light.

The difference in distribution among the categories is of significance ( F=16,355; p=0.00)



*Therefore it should be chosen for an articles which presents the competitor in a negative light.*

### Frames

Out of the 93 articles only 92 could be analyzed for frames (and Photo), because one article consisted of a video only.

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

		rater2					Total
		Conflic t	Human Interest	Responsibil ity	Economic Consequenc es	Moralit y	
rater1	Conflict	55	0	1	0	0	56
	Human Interest	0	39	0	0	1	40
	Responsibility	0	0	45	0	0	45
	Economic Consequences	2	0	0	26	0	28
	Morality	1	0	0	0	11	12
	Total	58	39	46	26	12	181

K=0,925

More than one response was possible. In 93 articles a total number of 189 frames could be identified. Out of those 93 articles 56 (30,9%) contained the conflict frame, 40 (22,1%) the Human interest Frame, 45 (24,9%) the Responsibility frame 28 (15,5%) the Morality Frame and 12 (6,6%) the Morality frame.

In 5 cases rater2 identified frames when rater1 did not. Those cases were excluded in the cross tabulation but taken into account in the inter-coder reliability.

The analysis of equal distribution revealed a significant result  $P=0.00$ . However one must take into account that both economic consequences as well as the Morality frame a below the assumed N and much less frequently used than the other three frames.

Therefore an additional analysis of distribution between the first three frames (Conflict, Human Interest, Responsibility) was done. It revealed no significant difference in distribution between the three above named frames ( $F=2,815$ ;  $p=0,248$ ).

*Therefore the exemplary article should either contain all three frames or the conflict frame paired with either the Human Interest Frame or the Responsibility frame, as in many cases the conflict frame was paired with one of the two or both.*

**Photo**

Concerning the existence of photo material there was 100% agreement between the two coders.

Out of the 93 articles 60 (64,5%) included no photos and 33 (35,5%) did contain photo material.

The analysis of equal distribution revealed that there is a significant difference in distribution ( $f=7,839$ ;  $p=0.005$ ).

*Therefore a photo should actually not be included in the exemplary article.*

[There was 100 percent of agreement between the two coders concerning the number of pictures contained in the articles as well as the title of the main pictures (which had to be analyzed).

**Kind of Image**

There was 100% agreement concerning the kind of images presented in the articles. Out of 33 articles with images all (100%) of the images are photographs.

**Function of Image****rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

		rater2			Total
		Dramaturgic Function	Illustrative Function	Journalistic Function	
rater1	Dramaturgic Function	6	1	0	7
	Illustrative Function	3	14	0	17
	Journalistic Function	0	2	7	9
Total		9	17	7	33

$K=0,706$

Out of the 33 images 7 (22,2%) served a dramaturgic function, 17 (51,5%) an Illustrative function and 9 (27,3%) a Journalistic function. Out of the those 7 pictures 5 were adding matching information whereas two added additional information. The agreement between the two coders on that issue was 100%.

### What is presented in the Picture?

rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation

Count

		rater2			Total
		Official War Machine	Personal Face of War	Other	
rater1	Official War Machine	6	0	0	6
	Personal Face of War	0	23	0	23
	Other	0	0	8	8
Total		6	23	8	37

K=1,0

Most of the pictures, namely 23(62,2%) presented the personal the Face of war as the main content, whereas 6 (16,2%) presented the Official war Machine and 8 (21,6%) other. Those pictured in the Personal Face of war were mainly Palestinian civilian.

### Foreground of the Picture

Concerning the depiction of subjects in the foreground of the picture there was 100% agreement between the two coders. 27 of the 33 pictures had people in the foreground of the pictures, 6 depicted something else in the foreground of the image. Out of those 8 pictures depicted children/ teenager in the foreground of the picture. Also there was 100% agreement between the two coders on that issue.

### Nationality

There was 100% agreement among the coders regarding the nationality. Out of the 33 pictures 26 (72,2%) depicted Palestinian (reference), 2(5,6%) Israeli and 8 (22,2%) other.

## Context

### rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation

Count

		rater2						Total
		Inside/Outside	Public Place	Included weapons	Included Blood	Neutral Background	other	
rater1	Inside/Outside	14	1	0	0	0	0	15
	Public Place	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
	Included weapons	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Included Blood	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Neutral Background	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
	other	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	Total	14	7	2	1	10	3	37

K= 0,963

33 pictures have been analyzed. Due to the possibility of multiple responses more cases than pictures are at hand. 15 (40,5%) of the pictures were taken inside/outside. 6 (16,2%) in a public places, 2 (5,4%) included weapons, 1 (2,7%) included blood, 10 (27%) had a neutral background and three (6,8%) were neither of the above mentioned.

## Atmosphere

### rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation

Count

		rater2					Total
		hostile	calm	neutral	sad	happy	
rater1	hostile	3	0	0	0	0	3
	calm	1	8	1	0	0	10
	neutral	0	0	7	0	0	7
	sad	1	0	0	11	0	12
	happy	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		5	8	8	11	1	33

K=0,877

Out of the 33 picture 3 ( 9,1%) depicted a hostile atmosphere, 10(30,6%) a calm atmosphere, 7 (21,2%) a neutral, 12 (36,4%) a sad and 1 (3,0%) a happy atmosphere. The overall distribution calls for significance ( $F=12,9$ ;  $p=0.012$ ). When taken however only the most frequent used case namely calm, neutral and sad the difference in distribution is not of significance ( $F=1,31$ ;  $p=0.519$ ).

### Photo Effects

Regarding the photo effects there was 100% agreement between the coders , that all pictures are color photographs.

### Shot type

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count		rater2				Total
		Close-Up	Medium Close-Up	Long Shot	N/A	
rater1	Close-Up	11	0	0	0	11
	Medium Close-Up	0	17	0	0	17
	Long Shot	0	0	4	0	4
	N/A	0	0	0	1	1
Total		11	17	4	1	33

K=1.00

There was 100% agreement between the two coders. Out of the 33 pictures 11 (33,3%) were Close-Ups, 17 (51,5%) were Medium Close-Up, 4 (12,1%) were Long Shots and 1 (3%) was unable to determine. The statistical analysis revealed that there is no significant difference in distribution between the use of shot types (  $F=1,286$  ;  $p= 0,257$ ).

### Video Material

Concerning the existence of video material in the articles there was 100% agreement between the two coders.

Out of the 93 articles 91 contained no video (97,8%) whereas only two articles ( 2,2%) contained a video.

*Therefore the exemplary article should not contain video material.*

### Summarized

- Article should present the competitor in a negative light
- The article should contain all three frames or the conflict frame paired with either the Human Interest Frame or the Responsibility frame, as in many cases the conflict frame was paired with one of the two or both.
- No images should be included
- No video material should be included

### Results (haaretz)

On that basis one of the analyzed article will be chosen. An article is chosen in which the two coders have a 100% agreement on the coding scheme, if possible.

Basis information

The Date, Media title, Subtitle , and author revealed an agreement between the rater of 100%

### Salience (agenda setting)

#### Relative Salience of the Conflict

		rater2		Total
		yes	no	
rater1	yes	81	1	82
	no	2	153	155
Total		83	154	237

K= 0,972

Out of 237 in total 82 (34,6%) are about the Israel Palestine Conflict.

### Competitor presentation

Out of the 82 articles only 81 were taken into account in the subsequent analysis since the other article was only coded by the first rater.

#### Competitor Presentation

Count

		rater2			Total
		positive	neutral	negative	
rater1	positive	6	3	0	9
	neutral	1	63	2	66
	negative	0	0	6	6
Total		7	66	8	81

K=0,786

Out of the 81 articles 9 (11,1%) presented the competitor in a positive light, 66 (81,5%) in a neutral light and only 6 ( 7,4 %) in a negative light.

*Therefore the exemplary article should present the competitor in a neutral light.*

## Frames

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

		rater2						Total
		conflict	human interest	responsibility	economic consequences	morality	none	
rater1	conflict	32	0	1	0	0	1	34
	human interest	0	7	1	0	0	2	10
	responsibility	0	0	38	1	0	3	42
	economic consequences	0	0	0	21	0	3	24
	morality	0	0	0	0	10	1	11
	Total	32	7	40	22	10	10	121

K=0,859

It was possible to make more than one choice. Out of the 81 articles 34 (28,1%) were framed in terms of conflict, 10 (8,3%) 42 (34,7%) responsibility, 24 (19,8%) economic consequences and 11( 9,1%) the morality frame whereby the Chi-square test revealed that the distribution of frames is of significant difference ( p=0.00).

*Therefore in the exemplary articles both the conflict as well as the responsibility frame should definitely be contained as they lay above the average level of 24 %.*

## Photo

There was 100% agreement between the rater regarding the existence of photos within the articles. Out of the 81 articles 70 (86,4) contained an image whereas 11( 13,6%) did not.

*Thus the exemplary article should contain an image.*

There was 100% agreement between the raters of the amount of photos contained in the articles as well as the title of the main pictures.

### Kind of Image

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count		rater2		Total
		Picture/ Photograph	Illustration/Draw ing	
rater1	Cover	1	0	1
	Picture/Photograph	66	0	66
	Graph/Chart/Diagram	0	1	1
	Illustration/Drawing	0	2	2
Total		67	3	70

K=0,71

Out of the 70 pictures 66 (94,3%) were pictures/photographs, 1 (1,4%) a cover, 1(1,4%) a Graph/chart/diagram and 2 /2,9%) an Illustration/Drawing.

*Therefore the Exemplary article should contain a picture/photograph as photo material.*

### Content/Function of Image

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count		rater2			Total
		dramaturgic	illustrative	journalistic	
rater1	Dramaturgic	7	1	0	8
	Illustrative	1	58	0	59
	Journalistic	0	0	3	3
Total		8	59	3	70

K=0.896

Out of the 70 pictures, 59 (84,3%) had an illustrative function whereas 7 (11,4%) an dramaturgic and 3 (4,3 %) a journalistic one.



*Therefore the image of the exemplary article should contain a photo with serves an illustrative function.*

### **What is presented in the Photograph?**

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count		rater2			Total
		Official War Machine	Personal Face of War	Other	
rater1	Official War Machine	40	2	0	42
	Personal Face of War	0	18	0	18
	other	0	0	10	10
Total		40	20	10	70

K=0,94

Out of the 70 articles containing an image 42 (60%) presented the Official war machine as content whereas only 18 (25,7%) contained the personal face of war. 10 (14,3%) Images contained neither the Official War Machine nor the Personal Face of War. The difference in distribution is of significance (p=0.00).

*Therefore the exemplary article should contain the Official War machine as picture depiction.*

### **Person in the foreground**

There is 100% agreement between the raters regarding the depiction of persons in the foreground of the images. Out of the 70 images, 50 (71,4%) depicted at least one person in the foreground whereas 20 (28,6%) did not. Out of those 20 (28,6%) the 4 (5,71%) which are graphs, charts diagrams or other are contained.

*Therefore the Image in the exemplary article should contain at least one person in the foreground.*

## Background

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

		rater2					Total
		Outside/In side	Public Place	Included weapons	Neutral Backgroun d	Other	
rater 1	Outside/Inside	37	0	0	0	0	37
	Public Place	1	12	0	0	0	13
	Included weapons	0	0	15	0	0	15
	Neutral Background	2	0	0	7	1	10
	Other	0	0	1	0	7	8
	Total	40	12	16	7	8	83

K= 0.915

More than one answer was possible. Out of the 70 images one was taken out of the analysis since it was a graph/chart etc. The drawing was included in the analysis. 37 (44,6%) were picture taken Outside/inside , 13 (15,7%) were in a public place, 15 (18,1%) included weapons, 10 (12%) were of neutral background and 8 (9,6%) were of other background.

All pictures that included weapons were part of either outside/inside or public place images. .

*Therefore the image in the exemplary post should be one with an background outside/inside and might include weapons.*

## Nationality

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

		rater2			Total
		Israel	Palestine	other	
rater1	Israel	33	0	1	34
	Palestine	0	21	1	22
	other	0	0	10	10
Total		33	21	12	66

K=0,95

Taken into account were only pictures/photographs. Out of those 66 pictures/photographs 34 (51,5%) depict Israeli reference or subjects in the foreground, 22 (33,3%) Palestinian and 10 (15,2%) other.

Analysis of distribution revealed a significant difference in distribution ( $F=13.091$ ;  $p=0.001$ ).

*Therefore the nationality reference in the image of the exemplary article should be Israeli.*

## Atmosphere

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

	rater2					Total
	hostile	calm	neutral	sad	happy	
hostile	25	1	0	0	0	26
calm	0	1	0	0	1	2
neutral	1	0	32	0	0	33
sad	0	0	0	3	0	3
happy	0	0	0	0	5	5
Total	26	2	32	3	6	69

K=0,931

Out of the 69 images (one was a chart/diagram) 33(47,8%) convey neutral atmosphere, 26 (37,7%) a hostile , 5( 7,2%) a happy , 3 (4,3%)a sad and 2 (2,9%) a calm atmosphere. Difference in distribution is significant ( $F=61,652$ ;  $p=0.00$ ).

*Therefore a picture with a neutral atmosphere should be chosen for.*

K=0,95

Taken into account were only pictures/photographs. Out of those 66 pictures/photographs 34 (51,5%) depict Israeli reference or subjects in the foreground, 22 (33,3%) Palestinian and 10 (15,2%) other.

Analysis of distribution revealed a significant difference in distribution ( $F=13.091$ ;  $p=0.001$ ).

*Therefore the nationality reference in the image of the exemplary article should be Israeli.*

## Atmosphere

**rater1 \* rater2 Crosstabulation**

Count

	rater2					Total
	hostile	calm	neutral	sad	happy	
hostile	25	1	0	0	0	26
calm	0	1	0	0	1	2
neutral	1	0	32	0	0	33
sad	0	0	0	3	0	3
happy	0	0	0	0	5	5
Total	26	2	32	3	6	69

K=0,931

Out of the 69 images (one was a chart/diagram) 33(47,8%) convey neutral atmosphere, 26 (37,7%) a hostile , 5( 7,2%) a happy , 3 (4,3%)a sad and 2 (2,9%) a calm atmosphere. Difference in distribution is significant ( $F=61,652$ ;  $p=0.00$ ).

*Therefore a picture with a neutral atmosphere should be chosen for.*

## Shot Type

### Rater1 \* Rater2 Crosstabulation

Count

		Rater2			Total
		Close Up	Medium Close Up	Long Shot	
Rater1	Close Up	13	0	0	13
	Medium	1	39	0	40
	Close up				
	Long Shot	0	0	12	12
	N/A	1	0	0	1
Total		15	39	12	66

K= 0.946

Out of the 66 pictures 40 (60,6%) are Medium Close-ups, 13 (19,7%) Close-ups and 12 (18,2%) long shots. In one picture the shot type (1,5%) was unable to determine.

*Therefore the picture in the exemplary article should be a medium-close up shot.*

## Photo Effects

Those images that are picture 66 were all coloured photographs with an agreement between raters of 100%.

*Therefore the picture in the exemplary article should be a coloured photograph*

## Videos

There was a 100% agreement between the rater of whether the article contained a video or not. Out of the 81 articles 10 contained a video and 71 did not.

*Therefore no video should be contained in the exemplary articles.*

## Summarized

- the exemplary article should present the competitor in a neutral light.
- Therefore in the exemplary articles both the conflict as well as the responsibility frame
- the exemplary article should contain an image.
  - o *The image should be a photograph/picture*
  - o *Picture should serve illustrative function*
  - o *Picture should depict official war machine*
  - o *Picture should depict at least one person in the foreground*
  - o *Image should be inside/outside background*

- *Image should be neutral atmosphere*
- *Reference or person depicted should be Israeli*
- *Shot type should be medium Close up*
- *Photo effect should be coloured photograph*

No video should be contained