



Media Monitoring Unit

Reading between the Lines

A Palestinian-Israeli Guide to Critical Media Consumption

2009



This action is part of the regional initiative "Restore trust – Rebuild bridges" launched by the Anna Lindh Foundation for Dialogue between cultures. The action was generated with the financial support of the Anna Lindh Foundation

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About MIFTAH

The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy, MIFTAH, seeks to promote the principles of democracy and good governance within various components of Palestinian society; it further seeks to engage local and international public opinion and official circles on the Palestinian cause. To that end, MIFTAH adopts the mechanisms of an active and in depth dialogue, the free flow of information and ideas, as well as local and international networking.

The Palestinian Initiative for the promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy
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Keshev - The Center for Protection of Democracy in Israel was established by a group of concerned citizens following the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in order to defend and promote democratic values in Israel. Since the beginning of 2005 Keshev has been carrying out a long-term media monitoring project in partnership with the Palestinian organization MIFTAH, which aims to change patterns of discourse and media coverage in the region. Keshev's method of media analysis addresses disparities between the information that reporters provide and the edited forms in which stories are presented to news readers and viewers. Based on its research findings, Keshev produces educational materials that promote skills for critical media consumption among various target populations.

Keshev is not affiliated with any political party and its activities are supported by contributions alone. The organization's major sources of support include The European Union, The Ford Foundation, The United States Institute of Peace, The New Israel Fund, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and The Foundation for Middle East Peace.

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Foreword

A Palestinian-Israeli “media monitoring” project, carried out since 2004 as a partnership between the Israeli organization Keshev and the Palestinian organization MIFTAH, is a unique project in the field of media and conflict. The project’s uniqueness is evident in the cooperation that it involves between two organizations from different sides of a bloody conflict, at the height of a violent confrontation, and their shared use of an innovative methodology that they developed to change problematic patterns of media coverage of the conflict on both sides. This joint effort aims to help the media uphold moderation and fairness and to reduce the incidence of bias, incitement, dehumanization and delegitimization of the other side.

During the time of this project, Israel waged two major military campaigns, in Lebanon and in the Gaza Strip, in which thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese civilians were killed. In the same period attacks by Palestinians killed dozens of Israelis. During this period Israel kept Palestinian president Yasser Arafat under siege in his compound in Ramallah until his death, Israel unilaterally withdrew from the Gaza Strip, and the Gaza Strip came under control of Hamas. In spite of the tremendous damage and suffering, despite the fact that the peace process was dealt severe and recurring blows, and though the level of trust between our nations reached an all-time low, our organizations sustained this joint project the whole time.

Without a doubt, there is no symmetry between the sides and there are fundamental differences between the Israeli and Palestinian media. Israeli media outlets are strong and claim to be professional and independent. Israelis are avid

media consumers, by any international scale, and Israeli print and broadcast media outlets have very high circulation and high ratings.

The Palestinian media is weaker and poorer, and its circulation among the Palestinian public is limited, compared with the Israeli media. Most Palestinian media consumers are actually influenced more by the international Arab media, large pan-Arab networks like Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya. There is also no overstating the influence of the continuing Israeli occupation, which restricts the freedoms of Palestinian journalists and represses Palestinian civil society in countless ways.

In view of the ongoing crisis between Palestinians and Israelis and in light of the differences and lack of symmetry between the state of Israel and Palestine and between the media on the two sides, we are pleased to have succeeded in creating an agreed upon methodological guidebook for teaching critical consumption of news material. This project would not have been possible without a high level of trust between the organizations, which has been built through years of cooperation under conditions of an ongoing bloody conflict, while confronting deep-seated psychological and social barriers on both sides. We regard this joint guide as a significant achievement in the struggle for a more moderate discourse and in efforts to create a more supportive environment for peace-building in our region.

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Introduction

Nations embroiled in nationalist conflicts tend to adopt narratives that support the righteousness of their struggle and which accentuate the negative traits and intentions of the other side, as well as its responsibility for the ongoing suffering and for the absence of a solution. This is how the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is covered by media outlets on both sides, often in mirror images, with each side presenting an opposite story. For example, the Palestinian media narrative emphasizes the occupation—whose victims are the Palestinians—and paints the government of Israel as aggressive, opposed to peace and responsible for violent events in the region. On the other side, Israeli media outlets emphasize the violent and terrorist foundations of the Palestinians' conduct and their unwillingness or inability to reach a solution. The Israelis, in this telling, are the victims of a conflict in which they are not to blame. Beyond these different perceptions and interpretations of reality, essentially similar patterns of coverage can be found on both sides, which de-legitimize and dehumanize the other. These patterns of coverage heighten mutual suspicions in both nations, fan the flames of the conflict and make it harder to find a solution.

Recognition of the media's profound influence on the conflict has led the Israeli organization Keshev and the Palestinian organization MIFTAH to work together from both sides of the conflict in order to try to change how the conflict is depicted in the media discourse in both nations. This is done in the hope that such cooperation may lead to more balanced, fair and comprehensive coverage and, perhaps, as a result, a better reality.

This practical guide to teaching critical reading of news materials arises from a unique cooperative project that has been carried out continuously since 2004. In this joint project Keshev and MIFTAH each analyze news coverage in the major media outlets on their "own side" and attempt to influence journalists and editors to change patterns of coverage that are problematic and biased.

Two parallel goals have guided the creation of this guide. First, it is designed to instill skills for critical reading, in general. A second goal is to promote critical media consumption in the specific context of the Israeli-Arab conflict. As mentioned above, over the years media on both sides have played a complicated and not always positive role in the conflict's development. The media has had a central role in defining the conflict and its significance for the Israeli and Palestinian public. Critically reading the messages contained in news coverage can neutralize

to some extent the media's ability to shape consumers' perspectives according to short-term media interests and can also neutralize the influence of those elements that exert pressure on the media. It is our hope that this guide will enable media professionals to develop new means of self-criticism that will allow them, in time, to create news coverage that does not perpetuate the conflict, but which might actually contribute to its resolution.

The methodology¹ that underlies this guide makes it possible to clearly present the systematic failings in news coverage on both sides. It is based on a distinction between two principal stages in the news-making process – writing and editing. At the first stage reporters and columnists compose their texts and send them to their news editors. The editors receive other texts as well, from press agencies, public relations firms, and so on.

At the second stage, the editors produce the final product: They determine which texts will appear in the newspaper or broadcast. The editors determine the placement of the text (on the front page or on page 17, at the beginning of the broadcast or after a commercial break); they select the photographs that go with each item; they design the layout of the pages and determine the sequence of items in the broadcast; and they compose headlines (including sub-headlines and photo captions in newspapers, the headlines of television news broadcasts and the words spoken by the anchor).

In the view of most news producers and news consumers the second stage, the editing stage, is mainly technical. According to popular perceptions, the truly important work is done in gathering and writing news material. Editors merely "prepare" this material for print or broadcast. This perception is wrong, for two complementary reasons: First, editorial work determines news messages no less than the work of the reporters, and in some ways even more so. Second, in reading the news media consumers rely on material produced by editors much more than on material produced by reporters. The fact that an article appears on the front page and not on page 17; the specific phrasing of a particular headline; the appearance of a photo beside an article; the words spoken by a news anchor before an item is broadcast – all of these factors have a decisive influence on consumers' understanding of the news. Furthermore, many studies show that media consumers often limit themselves to reading headlines (or viewing the

¹ The methods of reading and viewing are based on the research methodology developed by Dr. Daniel Dor. See:

Dor, Daniel, (2001) *Newspapers under the Influence*. Babel (in Hebrew).

Dor, Daniel (2004). *Intifada Hits the Headlines*. Indiana University Press.

Dor, Daniel (2005). *The Suppression of Guilt*. Pluto Press.

headlines of a news broadcast) and in many cases they do not even get to the texts of the news items (or the rest of the broadcast edition). In such cases, the perception of the news is determined almost exclusively by the work of the editors. This fact has far-reaching significance, since a meticulous review of news material at both stages of the process, writing and editing, reveals that the materials produced at each stage are not parallel. The headlines of newspapers and news broadcasts are not merely short neutral summaries of the news. In most cases, the headlines tell a very different story than that which is told by the reporters. Along with the placement of an item, its graphic saliency, the accompanying visuals, and so on, the headlines tell a story of their own and this significantly influences news consumers.

To be clear – the problem is not limited to the fact that once in a while the results of editorial work do not reflect the contents of the articles themselves. The point is that the discrepancies between headlines and texts are systematic. A meticulous review of newspapers and television news broadcasts reveals that certain components of reality, which appear in the articles themselves, are systematically marginalized by editors, while others are systematically highlighted.

The techniques that appear in this guide reveal these systematic discrepancies through attention to a series of key criteria.

Further in this guide each criterion will be explained through the use of examples culled from actual media coverage in Israel and in the Palestinian Authority. It is important to note that becoming familiar with these criteria is just a first step toward learning to read media items more critically. The research method employed here is based on attention to a combination of criteria in ways that reveal recurring editing patterns that bias the coverage.

This guide aims to help users identify the tell-tale signs of these patterns, to understand their significance and to learn from them how to read the news in a more profound way; in other words, how to "read between the lines".

Media Landscape

The Palestinian Media Landscape

The Palestinian media comprises print and audiovisual outlets and an official news agency, WAFA.

Print media

The press includes three daily newspapers: Al-Quds was established in 1951, Al-Ayyam and Al-Hayat Al-Jadidah were both founded in 1995. Al-Quds and Al-Ayyam are independent and private newspapers while Al-Hayat Al-Jadidah is partially subsidized by the Palestinian Authority. All of these journals have websites, and provide electronic access to their archives for free.

The estimated combined circulation of these newspapers is 50,000 copies per day, according to the Palestinian Central Bureau for Statistics (PCBS) and other polling and research centers. However, real circulation figures may vary, according to unofficial information disclosed by newspaper owners. Polls and PCBS research indicate that Al-Quds is the most widely-distributed newspaper and Al-Hayat Al-Jadidah is the least. Al-Quds contains the most ads. Published in the unilaterally annexed eastern part of Jerusalem, Al-Quds is subject to Israeli military censorship. The number of pages in the newspapers varies, not according to differences in the news coverage, but according to the number and size of advertisements. Al-Ayyam has many weekly and bi-weekly supplements such as the "Voice of Women", "Al-Tareeq" and others. These are considered independent publications that benefit from Al-Ayyam's printing and distribution system.

News and translated materials from international, Arabic and Hebrew language journals comprise, on average, 55 percent of the editorial copy, i.e. of the newspapers' content minus advertisements.

There are also semi-monthly and irregularly appearing journals such as Al-Awda which is funded by the Palestinian Authority and Al-Risala, which is affiliated with Hamas and appears mainly in Gaza. The press landscape also includes other smaller weeklies and monthlies. It is worth mentioning here that some Palestinian political factions use the mosques as their main media outlets.

The Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC)

The Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) was established in 1994, when the Palestinian Radio (Voice of Palestine) started broadcasting from its studios in Jericho on the long wave frequency of 675 kHz. The transmitting station during that period was in Ramallah and Israeli technicians were in charge of transmitting, with a fiber optic line connecting the Jericho studios with the transmitter in Ramallah. After the first Israeli redeployment in 1995, the Voice of Palestine moved to its main studios in Ramallah which were established with assistance from the European Union. Palestinian TV spread to Gaza in 1994, but it took until 1998 to establish a complete network of towers and microwave links to cover all of Gaza and the West Bank. The need for creating more than 10 towers stems from the fact that Palestinian TV has to use several UHF channels with limited transmitting power, according to signed agreements with Israel on how to use the spectrum while avoiding interference with existing Israeli and Arab channels.

Al-Aqsa satellite channel

The Palestinian media landscape changed at the beginning of 2006, when Hamas launched the experimental broadcasts of Al-Aqsa satellite channel on January 7, 2006, giving it the same name as the movement's radio station in Gaza. This satellite channel constitutes part of the activities of the Ribat Media and Artistic Production Company. Its Chairman of the Board is Fathi Hammad, one of the senior leaders of Hamas and a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). The Ribat media company began operating several years ago with the publication of the weekly Al-Risala (The Message) and in December 2003 it launched Sawt al-Aqsa (The Voice of Al-Aqsa) radio station.

According to the Palestinian News Agency Wafa, Al-Aqsa started its experimental broadcasts from the third floor of Bashir Mosque in Tal-al-Zaatar Street in Jabalya Camp, north of the Gaza Strip. The first broadcast of Al-Aqsa included recitation of verses from the Holy Koran for half an hour. Its formal broadcasts began at the height of the election campaign for the Palestinian Legislative Council, which took place on January 25, 2006

In a radio interview with Radio al-Aqsa that aired on January 10, 2006, Khalid Mash'al, head of the politboro of the Hamas movement, described Al-Aqsa as "the blessed infant that came from the womb of Radio al-Aqsa," which, as he put it, "aims to give an untarnished media, that supports the resistance and shares with it the road of Jihad." Al-Aqsa spearheaded the Hamas media campaign against the security services that were defeated by Hamas on June 14, 2006.

Al-Aqsa adopted an editorial policy closer to wartime media, with party anthems, patriotic songs and military communiqués of the sort usually heard on satellite channels of countries engaged in wars with other countries. It uses verses from the Koran politically with references to those it describes as hypocrites, apostates and opportunists, in addition to patriotic and Islamic songs and anthems, both in the struggle with other Palestinian factions and in appealing to the masses to confront the occupation.

The Israeli Media Landscape

Print Media²

In Israel there are four main national daily newspapers, all privately owned. The most prevalent is Yediot Aharonot, which has a daily exposure rate of more than 35 percent among Hebrew speaking Israelis. The paper with the second highest rate of exposure is Israel Hayom, a free newspaper that is disseminated in major population centers, which has a daily exposure rate of about 20 percent among Hebrew speakers. The third and fourth most prevalent newspapers are Ma'ariv and Ha'aretz, with daily exposure rates of about 15 percent and 7 percent, respectively, among Hebrew speaking Israelis.

All of the major newspapers operate web sites and apart from Israel Hayom, they also publish local newspapers. Yediot Aharonot and Ha'aretz also publish their own financial newspapers (Calcalist and The Marker, respectively).

Israel Hayom is explicit about its rightward-leaning editorial positions on Israeli politics, while Ha'aretz is explicit about its leftward-leaning editorial line on Israeli politics. Yediot Aharonot and Ma'ariv have no declared overall editorial position on political issues.

Besides the national newspapers published in Hebrew, there are a number of sectoral newspapers as well:

Four daily and weekly newspapers target Palestinian citizens of Israel, who number more than a million and a half people. The oldest of these papers is the communist party daily Al-Ittihad. Since the 1980's private Arabic newspapers have also been published including Kul Al-Arab, a weekly published in Nazareth, A-Sinara, published twice a week in Nazareth, and Panorama, a weekly published in the north-central region of Israel known as the "triangle".

Russian-language newspapers are also published in Israel, serving a population of

2 Figures are from TGI surveys of media exposure in Israel, 2008.

more than a million immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The main Russian newspapers are Vesty and Novesty. In addition, many local newspapers and magazine are published in Russian as well.

The national daily Makor Rishon defines itself as an "Israeli national newspaper" and primarily addresses a religious-nationalist readership in Israel.

The ultra-orthodox press in Israel is mainly party-based. The major ultra-orthodox newspapers are Hamodia, Yated Ne'eman and Hamevaser. In addition, weekly newspapers include Yom L'yom and Mishpacha, the latter of which has no party affiliation.

There are two English-language daily newspapers, The Jerusalem Post and Ha'aretz English Edition, which is published together with an abridged edition of The International Herald Tribune. A bi-weekly newsmagazine, The Jerusalem Report, is published by the owners of The Jerusalem Post.

Television Broadcasting²

In Israel there are three main national television channels. Channel One is a public television channel operated by the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Channel Two and Channel 10 are privately owned commercial channels that broadcast under the oversight of the Second Authority for Television and Radio. The Channel Two news edition is the most popular, achieving a 20 percent viewer rating. The news editions on Channel 1 and Channel 10 receive viewer ratings between 7 and 12 percent, with the two channels alternating for second-place in the ratings.

The Israel Broadcasting Authority also operates Channel 33, which primarily serves Palestinian citizens of Israel, and Educational Television, which is also broadcast on Channel Two.

In addition, two companies, Hot and Yes, provide television broadcasting, by cable and by satellite, respectively. These companies broadcast Channel Nine ("Israel Plus"), an Israel channel that broadcasts in Russian, and IETV, a channel that broadcasts mainly in Amharic for the Ethiopian community in Israel.

Radio Broadcasting²

"The Voice of Israel" is Israel's public broadcasting authority, which operates eight national radio stations including "Reshet Bet", which focuses on news and current events; "Reshet Gimel", which broadcasts Israeli music; "Voice of Israel", Arabic-language service; "Reshet REKA", which mainly serves new immigrants; and four

other channels. The exposure rate to "Voice of Israel" radio is more than 40 percent. "Galei Zahal" is a national radio station that belongs to the Israel Defense Forces and is financed by the Ministry of Defense and by public service announcements. Most of the radio station's programming is civilian in content. "Galei Zahal" also operates the "Galgalatz" radio station which broadcasts popular music. The exposure rate to "Galei Zahal" is also more than 40 percent.

The Second Authority for Television and Radio, which oversees commercial television broadcasting in Israel, also has authority over a number of regional radio stations that are operated by a number of private concessionaires. The Second Authority also operates "Radio A-Shams", which serves Palestinian citizens of Israel and "Radio Kol Hai" which mainly serves the religious Jewish population. The exposure rate to regional radio stations is about 35 percent.

In addition, dozens of pirate radio stations also operate in Israel. Many of them have an ideological bent, often religious and right-wing.

Internet News Media

About four million Israelis have consistent access to the Internet. 74 percent of Internet users use the Internet to obtain news.³ 58 percent consume news on the Internet one or more times daily. According to comparative research conducted at the University of Southern California, this rate places Israel in first place in terms of news consumption on the Internet.⁴

The most popular Internet web sites in Israel are Ynet, which is owned by Yediot Aharonot, NRG, which is owned by Ma'ariv and the web site of Ha'aretz, as well as Mako a web site owned by the Channel Two news company and its concessionaire Keshet, Nana 10, which operates in conjunction with Channel Ten and Walla.⁵

In addition, most of the aforementioned media outlets operate independent web sites.

3 The Chaim Herzog Institute for Media Politics and Society (2005). *Index of Public Confidence in the News Media, Report no. 4: Internet News Consumption*. <http://www.tau.ac.il/institutes/herzog/report4.pdf> (accessed September 10, 2009).

4 University of Southern California, USC Annenberg School (2009). *World internet project: international report 2009*.

5 TNS Teleseker, March 2009, <http://www.ad-web.co.il/files/articles/TIM.html>, (accessed September 10, 2009).

Editing Parameters and Tools for Critical Media Consumption

A. Placement

When we read a news article or view an item on the television news the first question that we should ask ourselves is: Where is the item placed in the newspaper edition or the broadcast? Is it on the front page, the opening of the broadcast, the back news pages, the end of the broadcast, in the newspaper's daily supplement, or perhaps in the weekend supplement?

This is important because placement suggests importance. Most newspaper readers regard material that appears on the front page and in the front news pages as important or "hard" news, based on "facts". This is where we read about what happened yesterday. The material that appears in the rear sections of the newspaper – the back news pages, the daily supplements and the weekend supplements – is perceived as "soft" news that is less "important" or "newsworthy". This distinction is also valid with respect to television news broadcasts. What appears in the broadcast headlines or immediately afterwards is deemed more "important" than what appears toward the end of the broadcast. It should be understood that the placement of an item in a newspaper or a news broadcast is entirely the result of an editorial decision. The exact same item, if placed somewhere else, could be interpreted as having altogether different importance. The prominence of an item is another criterion that complements the one regarding placement, and it, too, is a product of editorial decision-making. The relevant question one should ask is how prominent is the item within the page (or the broadcast) where it appears? Where is it positioned on the page (top, bottom)? What is its size in comparison with other items on the same page? How large is its headline? Does the anchor in the studio set-up the item with a long introduction? And so on. Prominence, like placement, suggests importance, factualness, and significance.

The following example from the Israeli media provides a useful illustration:

During the Second Lebanon War, on July 20, 2006, Ma'ariv reported on different points of view in the Israeli security establishment regarding the actions of the air

force and their results. One report told of a successful air force operation, which dropped powerful bombs on the bunker of senior Hezbollah leaders. Another report in the same edition told of sharp criticism by air force officers, about the “trigger-happy fingers” that had caused the deaths of many civilians who were not involved in the fighting. By critically examining the editorial choices made in this edition, we can understand how the placement and prominence of different reports influence how readers interpret reality.

The *Ma'ariv* headline festively reported the Israeli air force operation: **IDF HOPES: HARD BLOW TO HEZBOLLAH TOP BRASS; 23 TONS OF BOMBS ON HEZBOLLAH COMMAND BUNKER.** The sub-headline explained that in an attempt to hit the top echelons of Hezbollah, fighter planes dropped powerful bombs on a neighborhood in central Beirut where the organization also maintained a hideout. Killings of civilians caused by this action were not mentioned on this page.

The report on internal criticism, from within the Israeli military, of air force actions that killed dozens of civilians was presented in a tiny item that was published far from the main headlines, on page 11 of the same edition.

The difference in the placement of the items plays a crucial role here: The main headline on the front page indicates an item of tremendous importance. The item on page 11 is perceived as much less important. The difference in prominence—the size of the reports and their placement within the news pages—conveys the same message: The main headline conflicts with the criticism contained in the tiny item on page 11, however, the information in the headline is perceived as much more significant.



The *Ma'ariv* headline festively reported the Israeli air force operation: **IDF HOPES: HARD BLOW TO HEZBOLLAH TOP BRASS; 23 TONS OF BOMBS ON HEZBOLLAH COMMAND BUNKER.**

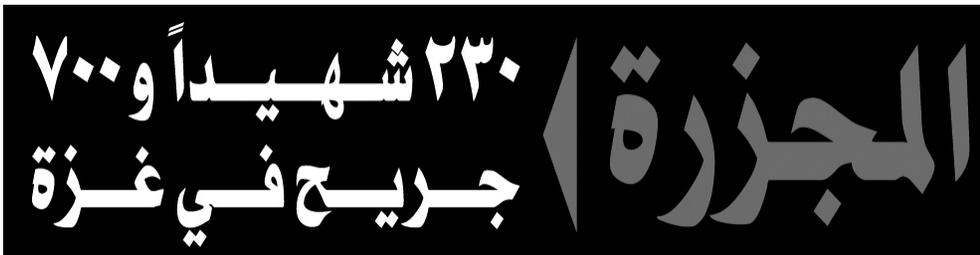


The report on internal criticism, from within the Israeli military, of air force actions that killed dozens of civilians was presented in a tiny item that was published far from the main headlines, on page 11 of the same edition.

Another example, this time from the Palestinian press, can show how placement and prominence affect the level of importance that items convey to news consumers. On December 28, 2008, the first day of the Israeli military action in Gaza, many Palestinians, including civilians, were killed as a result of bombing by the Israeli military, and an Israeli woman was killed by a Qassam rocket. Two Palestinian newspapers reported this information in very different ways. The headline in *Al-Ayyam* read: **THE MASSACRE: 230 MARTYRS KILLED AND 700 INJURED IN GAZA**. Further in the coverage, but deep within the edition – on page 17 – a tiny item appeared under the sub-headline **ISRAELI WOMAN KILLED AND FOUR INJURED IN NETIVOT**. The text of the article reported that “according to Israeli emergency services one Israeli woman was killed in the city of Netivot in southern Israel by a rocket launched from the Gaza Strip.”

The editor of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* chose to publish the same report, but he placed it on the front page under a separate headline: **ISRAELI WOMAN KILLED BY ROCKET IN NETIVOT**.

For news consumers the difference between these editorial choices is significant: The *Al-Ayyam* editor’s decision to place the report on the Israeli casualty deep inside the edition conveys the message that this was not a significant event. On the other hand, the choice by the editor of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* to place the item on the front page suggests that it was a very important incident.



December 28, 2008, The headline in *Al-Ayyam* read: **THE MASSACRE: 230 MARTYRS KILLED AND 700 INJURED IN GAZA**.

الأحد ٢٠٠٨/١٢/٢٨

الجزيرة

وتكر معرفة جنسين بين عام اليعاقب والطوائف في وزارة الصحة. (الجزء ٢١٤ من الشهادة
معرفة العودية بينما ١٤ إسرائيل ١٤ شهيدا مجهولي الهوية بينهم ١٠ أطفال و ٤ ضحايا
وأوضح جنسين ان هذا القصف الوحشي والهجمي الذي طرأ على أنحاء قطاع غزة وتولاهي نتيجته
سطوة الشهادة والبحري جاد في وقت تعانى منه جميع المستشفيات والمرافق الصحية في القطاع من أزمة
حادة في الأدوية والعتاد الطبية والمرتدة حيث اجريت العديد من العمليات الجراحية في أروقة وممرات
المستشفيات بون اثنى تعظيم او اجراءات طبية تترى في مثل هذه الحالات.

وكانت العنقرات الحربية الإسرائيلية شنت في المساء العادية عشرة صمعا صمعا وحتى ساعات المساء اي
اكثر من ٨ ساعات متواصلة العديد من العنقرات الجوية التي اسفحت فيها معظم المرات العسكرية والقريبة
والإسرائيلية التابعة للحكومة لقطاع في غزة وخاصة مدينة عرقات لشرة وطير ارض الداخلي (المشغل مقر
البحرية العامة سابقا وطير العمريا وبيروت لشرة العمريان وثلاثة مرات السباع الدلمي ومواقع الشروب
العسكرية التابعة لتفصيل التفصيلية وتوقع اقران ارض البحرى الحربية.

وأشار أنباء هذه المرات تلك التي وقعت في مدينة عرقات لشرة (البحرية) والى سفنها التي اكثر من
٢٠ شهيدا (البحر) و١٤ مدنيه نحو ٣٠ شهيدا فوق ردة ملازم بينهم بين عام الشربة اذواء توفيق جنود
الفرمان اسماعيل البحري مدير ارض والحماية في الشربة لقطاع وقائد الشربة محمد علوان والذين كانوا
جميعهم في احتجاز لخروج بيرة الشربة.

ومذ الحنظرات التي توقع الفاتر هرع الاقل من المواطنين في المستشفيات لا جميعا مستطفي دار
الشفاء في مدينة غزة والتي يعد الكثير من مستشفيات القطاع حيث شوهت هناك عشرات الجثث القاتل في
المرقبات ورواية وإزالة للمستشفى والتي منها عدد غير من الالاء والقطعة والرموقة حيث لم تنسج للآباء
التي لها بعد، ما حيا بالعرضين والعرضات والعتاد في القطر من المواطنين الشرف على جثث اطفالهم
وتكفهم من أجل تشييع جثثهم.

وتكر جنسين ان المسطحات العمرية الصامتة به شخصيا والقطاع ان مستشفياتها جازة لتسهيل الجرحى
حيث قل ان ذلك يحتاج في فرار سياسي، كما ان ذلك يحتاج أيضا في ترتيبات اولية الجرحى الذين سيتم
تقديم الاكثر من ٨ ساعات من مستشفيات غزة على مستشفيات القاهرة والذين هو بحاجة الى عناية خاصة
والتي لها اربع ابلغ أيضا بل ان ١٢ مستشفيات صمعا باهات القبية والمكشحات قادمة من وزارة الصحة الى
مستشفيات غزة التي يوجد هناك تفتحا ان يكون اي من الصعاب حتى كتابة هذا الخبر لا غير القطاع لتتاج
في المستشفيات العمرية.

والشرح جنسين ان عدد شهاده مصالحة شمال غزة وصل الي اكثر من ٢٢ شهيدا وأكثر من ١٠٠ اصابة
كما وصل عدد شهاده مصالحة غزة الي نحو ١٠٠ شهيد ومصالحة الوسطى نحو ٤٤ شهيدا ومصالحة خان
يونس نحو ١٧ شهيدا وأكثر من ١٠٠ اصابة ومصالحة رابع نحو ١٤ شهيدا، بينما اصيب اكثر من ٩٠٠ مواطن
بجراحات دمع والارواح النفسية والنفوس وحشوش.

دعماس: تطالب جناتها العسكري بالرد

وكانت حركة حماس طالبت امس، جناتها العسكري بكتابة القسام بقره على «الجزيرة الإسرائيلية في
قطاع غزة بكل ما يمتلك من قوة.

واعتبر المتحدث باسم حركة حماس فوزي البرهومي ان هذه العنقرات الإسرائيلية المشنقة على القطاع
مجزرة جديدة راح ضحيتها مئات الشهداء والجرحى بينهم نساء واطفال.

وتكرت كتائب القسام في بيانها ان مقاتليها أطلقوا عددا من صواريخ (برام) روسية الصنع على
المدن الإسرائيلية لتتهدم لقطاع غزة.

مكتشدت إسرائيل: العملية ليست إلا في بدايتها

وفي وقت سابق من امس، أعلن المتحدث العسكري الإسرائيلي في يدهاقو لائحة الجيش الإسرائيلي ان
العملية التي شنها الطيران الحربي امس على حركة حماس في قطاع غزة ليست الا في بدايتها.

وقال هذه ليست الا بداية عملية لم تبدأ بعد فراغ من الحكومة، في تشويق وقلق، ولم تحدد مهلة ونحن
نتسرف نبعنا الوضع على الأرض.

مقتل إسر الليلية وإصابة أربعة في «مَشقوت»

كما أعلن عن مقتل مدينة إسرائيلية في مدينة مشقوت جنوب إسرائيل جراء إطلاق صاروخ من قطاع غزة
على ما أعلنت أجهزة المخابرات الإسرائيلية.

إجراءات إسرائيلية غير مسبوقة في مسقط غزة

وتوقع اتفاق بنسور الجيوش الإسرائيلية أن يستمر اتفاق المورينج على فصصات الإسر الليلية المخطط
طابقه بوزخ حال، خلال الأيام القليلة المقبلة وأن يتوسع ويضمها الى مناطق جديدة، ولقد دخلت إسرائيل في اقرب
اللائحة لتسيح إسر لقطاع المأجروود (المأجروود) وهي جميع العاديين والمرافق التجارية ان تحالي مخطلة
بمباشرة من مركز الخدمات العمومية مثل المراكز الصحية ومحلات البقالة، اما الاوصالات العامة لتستعمل ضمن
جدول زمني محدد.

on page 17 – a tiny item appeared under the sub-headline **ISRAELI WOMAN KILLED AND FOUR INJURED IN NETIVOT.**

غارات جوية تطال أنحاء قطاع غزة وإسرائيل تتحدث عن عملية قد تستمر وقناطويلا وتشمل قوات برية * قمة عربية قد تعقد نهاية الأسبوع ووزراء الخارجية يجتمعون للتشاور الأربعاء وتظاهرات في الضفة وعدد من العواصم

اسرائيل وحدها تتحمل مسؤولية ما يجري في غزة
عمره 7 عاماً، كما قالت ابنتان يستقن للمصالحح حماس لوزا

بلاغه، فقد أعلن قادة تحرير غزة عن مقتل 10 جنود إسرائيليون في غارات جوية على قطاع غزة، وذلك بعد ساعات من إعلان إسرائيل مقتل 10 فلسطينيين في غارات جوية على إسرائيل. وقال مسؤولون في حماس إن الغارات الإسرائيلية على قطاع غزة استمرت حتى الساعة 11:30 مساءً، وهدفت إلى 111 مدنيًا، بينهم 10 قتلى و100 جريح. وقال مسؤولون في إسرائيل إن الغارات على قطاع غزة استمرت حتى الساعة 11:30 مساءً، وهدفت إلى 111 مدنيًا، بينهم 10 قتلى و100 جريح. وقال مسؤولون في حماس إن الغارات الإسرائيلية على قطاع غزة استمرت حتى الساعة 11:30 مساءً، وهدفت إلى 111 مدنيًا، بينهم 10 قتلى و100 جريح.

انتهز المعلقين السعوديين والأردني وهاكنا الأسمه ويتوجهه الى معزل اليهود
الرئيس يجري اتصالات عاجلة بعد جلسة طارئة لمجلس الأمن

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الحكومة تعلن حالة الطوارئ في الضفة الغربية

بلاغه، فقد أعلن قادة تحرير غزة عن مقتل 10 جنود إسرائيليون في غارات جوية على قطاع غزة، وذلك بعد ساعات من إعلان إسرائيل مقتل 10 فلسطينيين في غارات جوية على إسرائيل. وقال مسؤولون في حماس إن الغارات الإسرائيلية على قطاع غزة استمرت حتى الساعة 11:30 مساءً، وهدفت إلى 111 مدنيًا، بينهم 10 قتلى و100 جريح. وقال مسؤولون في إسرائيل إن الغارات على قطاع غزة استمرت حتى الساعة 11:30 مساءً، وهدفت إلى 111 مدنيًا، بينهم 10 قتلى و100 جريح.

مقتل أسرائيلية جراء سقوط صاروخ على نتيفوت

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مقتل أسرائيلية جراء سقوط صاروخ على نتيفوت

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December 28, 2008, Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, ISRAELI WOMAN KILLED BY ROCKET IN NETIVOT.

The first technique in critical media consumption, then, concerns the ability to neutralize how the placement and prominence of items influence our interpretation of the news. It is important to note that attention to these criteria need not be directed at a specific article in particular; but rather, that awareness of this issue can help us identify problematic patterns as part of a systematic review of all the criteria.

B. Headline-Text Factual Correspondence

The question here is simple but critical: To what extent does the headline reflect what is said in the article?

News producers and news consumers traditionally regard headlines as short summaries of articles: What is said in hundreds of words in an article is shortened to a few words in a headline. But, in fact, this is not the case. In most instances, headlines refer to select information within an article and highlight that information over others. Editors thus signal to readers and viewers what is more important and what is less important. In most cases this sort of signaling has a crucial influence on how consumers interpret the news. A meticulous investigation of news material reveals that the aspects that editors choose to highlight in headlines are not necessarily obvious choices. Other information could just as easily be promoted to the headlines, in which case the news would be perceived quite differently. In many cases headlines actually distort what is said in an article. In more than a few cases the connection between a headline and an article can seem almost incidental. The fact that most news consumers “scan the headlines” and do not read every word in an article underscores the significance of this criterion.

In the following headline from the Palestinian media, the prominence given to one component in the article gives an imprecise picture of what is written in the article itself. A headline in *Al-Quds* on October 4, 2004, told of demands by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan: **ANNAN CALLS FOR END TO ISRAELI INCURSION IN GAZA**. Deep in the text of the item it was revealed that this was not the full picture. Annan made demands on the Israelis, but also on the Palestinians.

“Annan also demands that the PA prevent the Palestinian [militant] groups from firing missiles at Israeli targets. He reminds the two parties that civilians on both sides have the right to protection.”

The editor’s decision to compose a headline that emphasized only the demands on the Israeli side created a biased picture of reality. The UN Secretary-General had actually demanded that both sides cease their violence and harm to civilians. The headline did not convey this.

عنان يطالب بوقف العدوان الاسرائيلي على قطاع غزة

نيويورك (الامم المتحدة) - (اف ب)- طالب امين عام الامم المتحدة كوفي عنان امس اسرائيل بانهاء عملياتها العسكرية في قطاع غزة والتي ادت منذ الثلاثاء الماضي الى استشهاد ٦٦ فلسطينيا. وقال فريد ايكهارد المتحدث باسم عنان في بيان ان «الامين العام يطالب الحكومة الاسرائيلية بوقف توغلاتها العسكرية في قطاع غزة التي ادت الى مقتل العديد من الفلسطينيين بينهم الكثير من المدنيين ومنهم اطفال».

واضاف ايكهارد ان «الامين العام يطالب ايضا السلطة الفلسطينية بالتحرك لمنع الناشطين الفلسطينيين من ارسال صواريخ ضد اهداف اسرائيلية. ويذكر طرفي النزاع بأن من واجبهما حماية جميع المدنيين».

in *Al-Quds* on October 4, 2004: **ANNAN CALLS FOR END TO ISRAELI INCURSION IN GAZA.**

“Annan also demands that the PA prevent the Palestinian [militant] groups from firing missiles at Israeli targets. He reminds the two parties that civilians on both sides have the right to protection.”

Another example of similar editorial bias can be seen in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida's* coverage of a speech by the British Foreign Secretary at the annual conference of the Labour Party, on October 1, 2004. The headline reported on Foreign Secretary Jack Straw's demands of Israel: **STRAW CALLS ON ISRAEL TO STOP ASSASSINATION OPERATIONS AND TO STOP CONSTRUCTION OF SETTLEMENTS AND THE WALL.** Here, too, deep in the text additional information is brought to light, which changes the picture presented in the headline. It turns out that later in his speech Straw called on the Palestinian Authority to work seriously to stop the “activities of terrorist groups which continue to be committed against Israeli innocent families”. This information was buried deep in the text, beneath a headline that stressed only the demands on the Israeli side.



October 1, 2004. *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*: **STRAW CALLS ON ISRAEL TO STOP ASSASSINATION OPERATIONS AND TO STOP CONSTRUCTION OF SETTLEMENTS AND THE WALL.**

It turns out that later in his speech Straw called on the Palestinian Authority to work seriously to stop the “activities of terrorist groups which continue to be committed against Israeli innocent families”.

A similar example from the Israeli media illustrates how giving prominence to one component in a report can create bias. The headline of an article in the August 11, 2006 edition of *Ma'ariv* proclaimed: **LISTENING TO NASRALLAH; 100 HAIFA ARABS WANT TO LEAVE TO JORDAN**. While such views were indeed expressed in the article, a closer reading of the article uncovers completely different information as well. The last paragraph of the article read: “Haifa Mayor Yona Yahav clarified yesterday that he is not familiar with any mass migration of residents to Jordan. ‘There are some [Arabs] who are leaving, but it’s exactly like the Jews. The Arab residents of the city are politically and economically involved in it and no Hassan Nasrallah is going to make them leave.’” This paragraph told a very different story than the one that the editor chose to relate in the headline.

August 11, 2006 edition of *Ma'ariv* proclaimed: **LISTENING TO NASRALLAH; 100 HAIFA ARABS WANT TO LEAVE TO JORDAN.**

מקשיבים לנאראללה

100 ערבים מחיפה ביקשו לעזוב לירדן

מאת אלי ברדנשטיין ויונתן הללי

יום לאחר שחפן נאראללה קרא לתושביה הערבים של חיפה לעזוב את העיר, התייצבו אתמול כ־100 מרוב בלשבת מינהל האוכלוסין וביקשו להתייחס להם דרכונים באופן דחוף.

"פתאום הגיעו המוני תושבים ערבים ורצו לקבל דרכון במקום, בטענה שבי חרץ מחכים להם אוטובוסים שאמורים להסיע אותם לירדן", סיפרו גורמים במינהל האוכלוסין. "במשך כל הבוקר הנפקנו דרכונים למי שביקש זאת באופן דחוף. אלה שהגישו בקשות בשעות מאוחרות, אחרי שרוב הפקידים כבר עזבו, יקבלו את דרכניהם בתוך ימים ספורים".

לדברי מנהל מרכז מוסאוא לזכויות הערבים בישראל, ג'עפר פארה, מתחילת הלחימה עזב אלפי ערבים את העיר, בעיקר לבית-לחם, רמאללה וסביבות ירושלים. ראש עיריית חיפה, יונה יהב, הבהיר אתמול שהוא אינו מכיר תופעה של נהירת תושבים ערבים לירדן: "יש כאלה שעוזבים, אבל בדיוק כמו היהודים. תושבי העיר הערבים מעורבים בה פוליטית וכלכלית ושום חסן ושום נאראללה לא יגרם להם לעזוב".

"Haifa Mayor Yona Yahav clarified yesterday that he is not familiar with any mass migration of residents to Jordan. 'There are some [Arabs] who are leaving, but it's exactly like the Jews. The Arab residents of the city are politically and economically involved in it and no Hassan Nasrallah is going to make them leave!'"

In the following example there is a clear contradiction between the headlines and the factual components of the article to which they refer. The banner headline on the front page of *Yediot Aharonot*, on April 13, 2005, asserted: **PM: ABU MAZEN WILL NOT SURVIVE ATOP PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP**. The sub-headline of the article to which this headline referred, on page 4 of the edition, was less adamant. It maintained: [Israeli Prime Minister] **SHARON ALSO ESTIMATED THAT ABU MAZEN IS IN A FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL**. Within the article itself, however, it was written:

Sharon also referred to the Palestinian arena and said that the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Abu Mazen, is at the height of a struggle for survival. "We will soon be able to estimate Abu Mazen's chances of survival atop the Palestinian leadership". At the same time Sharon was careful not to take an adamant position on the issue.

The article, then, tells that the Prime Minister was careful not to take a clear-cut position on the question of Abu Mazen's future. But the headlines told a different story altogether. In the vast majority of cases, the ordinary reader, who is not trained in media criticism, will not recognize the contradiction and will naturally reach the conclusion that the Prime Minister determined that Abu Mazen will not survive atop the Palestinian leadership. The text of this article was sent in by a reporter who actually interviewed the Prime Minister. It is all the more remarkable, then, that the factual information it contains, which provided the basis for its headline, was ultimately obscured from most readers.



Yedioth Aharonot, on April 13, 2005, asserted: **PM: ABU MAZEN WILL NOT SURVIVE ATOP PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP.**

שרון גם העריך כי אבו-מאזן נמצא במאבק הישרדות

The sub-headline of the article to which this headline referred, on page 4 of the edition, was less adamant. It maintained: [Israeli Prime Minister] **SHARON ALSO ESTIMATED THAT ABU MAZEN IS IN A FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL.**

שרון התייחס גם לזירה הפלשתינית ואמר כי יו"ר הרשות הפלשתינית, אבר־מאזן, נמצא בעיצומו של מאבק הישרדות. „בתקופה הקרויה בה ניתן יהיה להעריך את הסיכויים להישרדותו של אבר־מאזן בראשות ההנהגה הפלשתינית.” עם זאת נזהר שרון מלקבוע עמדה נחרצת בסוגיה זו. הבכירים שעימם נפגש אומר גם אמרו כי הם מודעים היטב לחולשותיו של אבר־מאזן, אבל ציינו כי „אמריקה רואה באבר־מאזן את המנהיג הפלשתיני היחיד שמסוגל להנהיג עכשיו את העם הפלשתיני.

Within the article itself, however, it was written:

Sharon also referred to the Palestinian arena and said that the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Abu Mazen, is at the height of a struggle for survival. “We will soon be able to estimate Abu Mazen’s chances of survival atop the Palestinian leadership”. At the same time Sharon was careful not to take an adamant position on the issue.

C. Headline Rhetoric and Lexical Selection

Headlines can differ from articles not only in the facts they convey but also in various rhetorical aspects. Sometimes the words chosen in a headline illuminate what is described in the article in ways that do not comport with the text. The use of certain grammatical devices can influence how the reader interprets the information. Quite often, editors add certain words, images or metaphors that help create an emotional effect. It is important to know how to identify these factors and to understand that such headlines color news stories in certain ways that stem from an editorial decision, not from reality.

An example from the Palestinian media that demonstrates how the choice of words can influence how readers interpret reality concerns the terms used to describe Palestinian suicide attacks against Israeli civilians. The way the media treats these events varies and often depends on the political conditions of the period. For example, during periods of intensified conflict, when there are no negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, reports on such actions are often framed in heroic terms, referring to the attacker as a martyr. During periods when different political conditions prevail, the reporting sometimes changes and attacks are referred to as “acts of terror” and are framed in disapproving terms. Here are two examples:

On August 28, 2005, a suicide attack was carried out in Be'er Sheva. Dozens of Israeli civilians were injured in the attack. The Chairman of the Palestinian Authority denounced the attack using the words "terrorist operation". The next day, the newspaper *Al-Quds* reported this condemnation on its front page. The editor chose to use the term a "terrorist operation," quoting the President of the Palestinian Authority:



THE PRESIDENT [Abu Mazen]: WE DENOUNCE THE TERRORIST OPERATION IN BE'ER SHEVA AND CALL ON ISRAEL TO REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT TO THE CALM AND TRUCE.

On January 29, 2007, a suicide attack was carried out in Eilat, killing three Israeli civilians. This time, Palestinian editors chose different terms to describe the event. The editor of *Al-Quds* composed a headline that called the attack an "explosion operation": **THREE PEOPLE KILLED IN AN EXPLOSION OPERATION IN EILAT**. In reports referring to the perpetrator of the attack, he was termed the "executor of the operation". Use of these terms conveyed a neutral attitude toward the event that transpired – neither positive nor negative. *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* reported the attack with a neutral headline: **THREE ISRAELIS KILLED IN AN OPERATION IN EILAT CARRIED OUT BY YOUTH FROM BEIT LAHIYA ADOPTED BY THE AL-QUDS AND AL-AQSA BRIGADES**, but the article was accompanied by a photograph of one of the attackers with a caption that read "martyr". The use of this term conveyed a message supporting the attack.

اولمرت وبيريتس يتوعدان بحرب بلا هوادة على رجال المنظمات وقادتهم

مقتل ٣ اشخاص في عملية تفجيرية بايلات

نقله بسيارته وطرده منها عندما شك فيه ضابط احتياط اسرائيلي يروي تفاصيل رحلة منفذ عملية إيلات

بيت لحم - معا - روى ضابط قوات الاحتياط الاسرائيلية يوسي فلتينسكي التفاصيل الكاملة للرحلة التي اقل فيها منفذ العملية التفجيرية داخل مدينة ايلات.

وقال الضابط انه اقل الشاب الذي فجر نفسه في احد مخازن مدينة ايلات وبعد ان اشتبه بتصرفاته طلب منه مغادرة السيارة.

-البقية ص ٣٠-

اغلاق معبر «طابا» بين مصر واسرائيل

القدس - (ا ف ب) - اعلنت ادارة الرافض والمطارات الاسرائيلية ان مركز طابا الحدودي بين مصر واسرائيل اغلق بعد العملية التفجيرية التي وقعت امس في مرفا ايلات على البحر الاحمر التي اسفرت عن سقوط ثلاثة قتلى.

وقالت متحدثة باسم الادارة لوكالة فرانس برس ان مركز طابا الحدودي اغلق حتى اشعار آخر بعد العملية بامر من مسؤولي الامن.

-البقية ص ٣٠-

ردود فعل دولية وعربية منددة بعملية

«إيلات» التفجيرية

واشنطن -نيويورك-رويترز- ا ف ب - ادان البيت الابيض العملية التفجيرية التي وقعت في منتجع ايلات الاسرائيلي واسفرت عن سقوط ثلاثة قتلى امس وقال ان السلطة الفلسطينية مسؤولة عن منع مثل هذه الهجمات. وقال توني سكو المتحدث باسم البيت الابيض في بيان ان الاخفاق في التحرك ضد الارهاب سيؤثر لا محالة على العلاقات بين تلك الحكومة والمجتمع الدولي ويقوض طموحات الفلسطينيين باقامة دولة لهم.

-البقية ص ٣٠-

تل ابيب - وكالات - تضاربت الانباء حول المكان الذي انطلق منه منفذ العملية التفجيرية في ايلات التي اسفرت صباح امس عن مقتل ثلاثة اشخاص بالاضافة الى منقلها واصابة سبعة آخرين بجراح.

وقد قام المنفذ بتفجير نفسه داخل مخبز بالمدينة وكان يحمل حقيبة مليئة بالتفجرات قدرت زنتها بثمانية كيلو غرامات وهرعت الى مكان التفجير قوات الشرطة وشرعت في عمليات البحث والتحقيق وشرعت سيارات الاسعاف في نقل جثث القتلى والجرحى الى المستشفيات وتم اغلاق جميع الطرق الرئيسية، فيما توعد رئيس الوزراء الاسرائيلي ووزير دفاعه عمير بيريتس بشن حرب بلا هوادة على رجال المنظمات الفلسطينية المسلحة وقادتهم.

وقال اولمرت امام اعضاء حزبه كاديما في الكنيست، سندرس هذا الحدث بكل تفاصيله وسنستخلص النتائج منه تمهيدا لاعطاء التوجيهات لاجهزتنا الامنية لتابعة حرب بلا هوادة ضد رجال المنظمات المسلحة وقادتهم.

وقال اولمرت خلال هذه الفترة الطويلة، نعمنا بهدوء نسبي الا انه كان هدوا خادعا في ما يتعلق بالعمليات التفجيرية. خلال الاسابيع الاخيرة، احببنا اعتداءات عدة في امكنة مختلفة من البلاد، ولم نعلن عنها، في وقت تم اعتقال مسلحين مع احزمتهم النافسة وهم في طريقهم الى تنفيذ اعتداءات.

-البقية ص ٣٠-

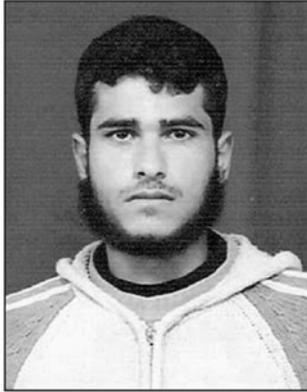
Al-Quds composed a headline that called the attack an "explosion operation":
THREE PEOPLE KILLED IN AN EXPLOSION OPERATION IN EILAT.

الاردن ينفى دخول المنفذ الى اراضيه ومصر تعزز الاجراءات الأمنية في سيناء ثلاثة قتلى اسرائيليين في عملية بايلات نفذها شاب من بيت لاهيا وتبنتها سرايا القدس و شهداء الأقصى

بيرتس يهدد بمزيد من الهجمات وأولرت يتوعد بحرب بلا هوادة وواشنطن وعواصم أوروية تدين

أفراد في مخبز بمنتجع ايلات في أول هجوم من نوعه داخل اسرائيل منذ تسعة شهور. وقالت حركة الجهاد الإسلامي وكتائب شهداء الأقصى ان التفجير يأتي «ردا على تدنيس الأقصى المبارك» في القدس في إشارة الى عمليات التنقيب عن اثار في الاونة الاخيرة والتي قال مسؤولون اسرائيليون انها لم تلحق أضرارا بالمسجد الأقصى.

وهز الانفجار المخبز الواقع في منطقة سكنية بعيدة عن الفنادق على الشاطئ. وانتشرت أرغفة الخبز التي ما زالت موضوعة على الصواني على الرصيف الملطخ بالدماء. وقال أحد السكان ويدعى بني مازجيني لراديو اسرائيل «رايت رجلا يرتدي معطفا أسود اللون ومعه حقيبة. بالنسبة لايلات حيث الاحوال الجوية حارة من الغريب رؤية شخص يسير مرتديا معطفا. قلت لنفسي ماذا يرتدي التتمة ص ١٦



الشهيد محمد السكسك

اطار تجدد مساعي احياء عملية السلام بين الاسرائيليين والفلسطينيين. وقالت الشرطة الاسرائيلية ان مهاجما فلسطينيا نفذ هجوما انتحاريا وقتل ثلاثة

غزة - ايلات - عواصم - الحياة الجديدة - وكالات - قتل ثلاثة اسرائيليين في عملية استشهد منفذها بمنتجع ايلات على البحر الاحمر امس وتبنتها «سرايا القدس» وكتائب شهداء الأقصى، خلال مؤتمر صحفي عقدته في غزة وأعلنت خلاله ان منفذ العملية هو محمد فيصل السكسك (٢١ عاما) من بيت لاهيا، وأنه وصل الى ايلات عن طريق الاردن، الأمر الذي نفاه الاردن ودفع مصر الى تعزيز الاجراءات الأمنية في جنوب سيناء. بدورها أعلنت اسرائيل وعلى لسان وزير جيشها انها ستزيد من عملياتها الهجومية في حين توعد رئيس الوزراء الاسرائيلي ايهود اولمرت بشن «حرب بلا هوادة» على من وصفهم بـ «الارهابيين وقادتهم». وسارعت واشنطن كعادتها وعدد من الدول الأوروبية الى ادانة العملية التي جاءت قبل أربعة أيام من اجتماع اللجنة الرباعية في واشنطن والذي يأتي في

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida reported the attack with a neutral headline: **THREE ISRAELIS KILLED IN AN OPERATION IN EILAT CARRIED OUT BY YOUTH FROM BEIT LAHIYA ADOPTED BY THE AL-QUDS AND AL-AQSA BRIGADES**

The next example, from the Israeli media, also illustrates the significance of lexical selection: On August 9, 2006, the Israeli air force bombed targets in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The next day the *Ha'aretz* newspaper reported on these events in an article under the headline: **"TARGETED ASSASSINATION" IN THE WEST BANK, TOO – TWO ISLAMIC JIHAD ACTIVISTS KILLED**. The term "targeted assassination" suggests a precise military operation, in other words, a "surgical" strike on military targets, meaning the Islamic Jihad activists. Closer examination of the text of the article, however, reveals that there were Palestinian civilian casualties in the strike, including a three year-old girl and a 17 year-old youth:

In the Sajaiya neighborhood of Gaza, a Popular Resistance Committees training camp was bombed yesterday. Three Palestinians were killed: An activist of the organization, a 17 year-old boy and a three year-old girl, Rajaa Abu Shaaban.

The decision to use the term “targeted assassination” in the headline conveyed a misleading message to readers, since the results of this military action were not “targeted”, even by the Israeli army’s definition.

This type of problematic word selection, which conveys in the headlines the impression of a precise Israeli strike on a military target, is a common pattern that Keshev has identified in its studies of Israeli media coverage of the conflict in recent years. Keshev’s report “Liquidation Sale – Coverage of Killings of Palestinians by Israeli Security Forces,” which was published in March 2006, found that critical discussion of these terms is entirely absent from the Israeli media discourse, despite their widespread use.

The same kind of editorial decisions appeared in coverage of the first day of Operation “Cast Lead” in Gaza. On December 28, 2008, a headline on page 3 of *Ma’ariv* declared: **DIRECT HIT – PLANES ACHIEVE 98 PERCENT PRECISION.** The decision to use the term “direct hit” gives the impression of a precise Israeli strike on a military target. However, a close examination of the text of another article found on the same broadsheet revealed that according to Palestinian sources about 60 percent of those killed in the attacks on the first day were civilians.



Headline: **“TARGETED ASSASSINATION” IN THE WEST BANK, TOO – TWO ISLAMIC JIHAD ACTIVISTS KILLED.**

בשכונת סג'עייה שבעזה הור
פצץ אתמול מחנה אימונים של
ועדות ההתנגדות העממית. שלור
שה פלשתינאים נהרגו, בהם פעיל
של הארגון, נער בן 17 ופעוטה בת
שלוש, רג'אא אבו שעבאן.

In the Sajaiya neighborhood of Gaza, a Popular Resistance Committees training camp was bombed yesterday. Three Palestinians were killed: An activist of the organization, a 17 year-old boy and a three year-old girl, Rajaa Abu Shaaban.

כגנו בול

98 אחוזי דיוק למטוסים

On December 28, 2008, a headline on page 3 of *Ma'ariv* declared: **DIRECT HIT – PLANES ACHIEVE 98 PERCENT PRECISION.**

מנגד, הודיע אתמול מועויה חסנין, מנהל שירותי
החירום בעזה, כי רק 40 אחוז מבין ההרוגים הם שר
טרים פלסטינים, ואילו השאר הם אזרחים בלתי מעור
רבים. חסכנין הוסיף כי בין הגופות נמצאו שלושה
ארבעה ילדים וחמש נשים.

A close examination of the text of another article found on the same broadsheet revealed that according to Palestinian sources about 60 percent of those killed in the attacks on the first day were civilians.

Another example of problematic word selection in headlines can be seen in repeated use of the term “gestures” in the Israeli media. This term conveys generosity and its use by the Israeli media in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict depicts the Israeli side as doing everything it can to promote rapprochement between the sides. For example, before the convening of the Annapolis conference, a main headline in the November 14, 2007, edition of *Ha'aretz* proclaimed: **AHEAD OF THE ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE: ISRAELI GESTURE TO COMPENSATE FOR REFUSAL TO DISCUSS “CORE ISSUES”; ISRAEL WILL FREEZE SETTLEMENT CONSTRUCTION.** A close examination of the text reveals that the Israeli “gesture” was actually a commitment from years ago that Israel had not honored. This time, as well, the alleged “gestures” referred only to declarations not backed by any commitment to take concrete measures on the ground:

According to political sources in Jerusalem, Israel was asked to present its preference either for a commitment to evacuate outposts or declaring a freeze on settlement construction. "Among the two, freezing settlements is easier than evacuating outposts, since it only involves a declaration and no confrontation with settlers on the ground", said a senior political source. Israel has promised the United States many times before that it would evacuate outposts, but has not kept its promise.

This pattern has been identified in many research reports by Keshev over the years, including "When thy Enemy Falls" (January 2005), "Quiet, We're Disengaging," (August 2005), "Israeli Gestures" (February 2005), and "Confused – This is How We Fumbled Annapolis" (August 2008).



November 14, 2007, edition of *Ha'aretz* proclaimed: **AHEAD OF THE ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE: ISRAELI GESTURE TO COMPENSATE FOR REFUSAL TO DISCUSS "CORE ISSUES"; ISRAEL WILL FREEZE SETTLEMENT CONSTRUCTION.**

לדברי מקורות מדיניים ב־
 רושלים, ישראל התבקשה לה־
 ציג את הערפתה - התחייבות
 לפינוי המאחזים, או הצהרה
 על הקפאת הבנייה בהתנח־
 לויות. "מבין השניים, הקפאת
 ההתנחלויות קלה יותר מפינוי
 המאחזים, כיוון שמדובר בהצה־
 רה בלבד ולא בעימות עם המ־
 תנחלים בשטח", אמר אתמול
 מקור מדיני בכיר. ישראל הב־
 טיחה פעמים רבות בעבר לא־
 רה"ב לפנות את המאחזים, אך
 לא עמדה בהבטחתה.

According to political sources in Jerusalem, Israel was asked to present its preference either for a commitment to evacuate outposts or declaring a freeze on settlement construction. "Among the two, freezing settlements is easier than evacuating outposts, since it only involves a declaration and no confrontation with settlers on the ground", said a senior political source. Israel has promised the United States many times before that it would evacuate outposts, but has not kept its promise.

Quite frequently, headlines leave out certain components of the story entirely and instead convey emotion. Sometimes headlines are more dramatic, more sentimental or more inflammatory than the article texts, and here too, the influence on news consumers can be far-reaching.

This pattern could be seen in Israeli media coverage of the Israeli military operation in March 2006, when a large Israeli force swept into the Palestinian security compound in Jericho to capture men that Israel claimed were involved in the murder of Rechavam Ze'evi, a government minister. During the operation, IDF forces destroyed part of the compound and arrested its inhabitants. Coverage of the event in the Israeli media was characterized by uniform justification of the Israeli conduct. The coverage conveyed a sense of pride and unity and included use of emotional phrases in headlines such as **GOT THEM, ACCOUNT CLOSED** and **JUDGEMENT DAY**.



Yediot Aharonot, March 15, 2006, front page, main headline: "ACCOUNT CLOSED".



Ma'ariv, March 15, 2006, front page, main headline: GOT THEM.



Ma'ariv, March 15, 2006, page 3, headline: **FAST AND ELEGANT**



Yediot Aharonot, March 15, 2006, page 3, main headline: **ACCOUNT CLOSED**



Ma'ariv, March 15, 2006, pages 2-3, headline: **IDF PRESENTS: JUDGEMENT DAY**

An important part of the ability to read the news critically involves being able to identify this kind of emotional rhetoric and to understand that it, too, is the product of an editorial decision. Critical news consumption demands that we learn to neutralize the emotional contribution of the headlines.

D. Formulation of Responsibility

Media coverage does not only include description of facts, it also makes determinations about responsibility for events: Who caused something to happen as it did? Sometimes, the composition of headlines assigns responsibility by various means, for instance, by using an active or passive voice. In other cases, when responsibility is disputed (when the dispute is evident in the materials sent in by reporters), editors may devote a headline to the question of responsibility. Though materials sent in by reporters may express various points of view with respect to who is responsible, the headlines often tell an unequivocal story.

This criterion can be illustrated effectively by examining how the media on both sides, Israeli and Palestinian, covered preparations for the Annapolis conference in November 2007. In the days before the conference the media conveyed pessimism and emphasized the expected failure of the conference.

The Israeli media assigned responsibility for the expected failure to the Palestinian side by promoting to the headlines information about Palestinian actions that would allegedly stymie the conference. Thus, for example:

POLITICAL SOURCES POINT TO EXTREMISM IN POSITIONS OF AIDES TO PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATING STAFF; INSTEAD OF COMPROMISE, THEY SPEAK OF JUSTICE (*Ha'aretz*, November 11, 2007, page 3).

PALESTINIAN ATTEMPT TO BEND ISRAEL AHEAD OF TOMORROW'S TRILATERAL TALKS AT ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE; PALESTINIANS FLEX THEIR MUSCLE (*Ma'ariv*, November 26, 2007, page 2).

היום מצורף **גלוח ששיב**

יום ג', י' בכסלו תשס"ח 20.11.2007, גיליון מס' 18301, שנה ס' ■ המחיר 4.80 ש"ח (כולל מע"מ), המחיר באילת 4.20 ש"ח ■ g . C . O . il

אמש: טרור לפני אנאפוליס

קדומים: ישראל ירצח בפיוגוע ירי סומך לחצות ■ נתיב העשרה: חדירת מחבלים מרצועת עזה סוכלה ברגע האחרון ■ עמ' 5

YESTERDAY: TERRORISM BEFORE ANNAPOLIS (*Ma'ariv*, November 20, 2007, main headline)

מערכת הביטחון מתכוננת לגל טרור לפני ועידת אנאפוליס: בדרך לוועידה: לילה של טרור

גבר בן 30 נהרג אמש בפיוגוע ירי בשומרון ■ כחצי שעה מאוחר יותר, ניסו שלושה מחבלים חמושים מעזה לחדור ליישוב נתיב העשרה ■ ההערכה: כוונת המחבלים היא להכשיל את ועידת אנאפוליס

SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT PREPARES FOR WAVE OF TERRORISM BEFORE ANNAPOLIS CONFERENCE; ON THE WAY TO THE CONFERENCE: A NIGHT OF TERRORISM (*Ma'ariv*, November 20, 2007, article headline, page 5).

These headlines tell a clear and unequivocal story: Once again the Palestinians are doing all they can to create obstacles to negotiations: They are assuming more extreme positions, flexing their muscles and carrying out terrorist attacks ahead of the conference.

In a similar fashion, headlines in the Palestinian media placed responsibility for the expected failure on the Israeli side. For example:

وصل عمان قادمًا من الرياض والتقى سلطانوف هناك وبحث مع موسى هاتفيا تطورات الأوضاع

عباس يبلغ العاهل السعودي تشاؤمه ازاء فرص نجاح مؤتمر انابوليس بسبب المواقف الاسرائيلية

الملك عبد الله : اسرائيل لاتبدي أي تجاوب جدي من الممكن ان يساهم في انجاح المؤتمر



(الجزء)

الرئيس يلتقي العاهل السعودي في الرياض اسس.

الرياض - وكالات - التقى الرئيس محمود عباس أمس العاهل السعودي عبد الله بن عبد العزيز وبحث معه التحضيرات لمؤتمر انابوليس للسلام الا انه ابدا تشاؤمه ازاء فرص نجاح المؤتمر بسبب المواقف الاسرائيلية على ما افاد السفير الفلسطيني في المملكة. وقال السفير جمال الشويكي في حديث مع وكالة فرانس برس ان الرئيس عباس «اوضح للجانب السعودي ان الجانب الفلسطيني غير راض حتى الآن عن الموقف الاسرائيلي لأن الاسرائيليين لم يقدموا شيئا يمكن ان يؤدي الى نجاح مؤتمر انابوليس» الذي دعت واشنطن لعقدته قبل نهاية العام. وقال الشويكي ان الرئيس عباس أكد للعاهل السعودي ان «الموقف الاسرائيلي سلبي وعلى الاميريين ان يتخلوا للضغط على اسرائيل وان يلزموها بتوجيهات عملية السلام وهي خارطة الطريق والمبادرة العربية للسلام وقرارات الشرعية الدولية». وأكد الشويكي ان العاهل السعودي كان متفقا مع وجهة النظر الفلسطينية وهي ان اسرائيل لا تبدي حتى الآن أي تجاوب جدي من الممكن ان يساهم في انجاح المؤتمر. واستقبل الملك عبد الله الرئيس عباس في مزرعة بالجنادرية قرب الرياض علما انه لا يجري عادة استقبال «التمتعص» ١٤

ABBAS INFORMS SAUDI KING OF HIS PESSIMISM TOWARDS THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS IN ANNAPOLIS BECAUSE OF ISRAELI POSITIONS (Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, November 17, 2007, front page).

**اعلان فشل المفاوضات حول « الوثيقة » المشتركة
الرئيس: اسرائيل كانت تريد تحقيق مكاسب... ونحن رفضنا ذلك**

FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE JOINT DOCUMENT; THE PRESIDENT: ISRAEL WANTED TO MAXIMIZE ITS GAINS AND WE REFUSED (Al-Quds, November 24, 2007, front page).

In Keshev's research over the years, a clear pattern has been identified whereby the Israeli media, using different means of editing, systematically highlights Palestinian responsibility for the failure of political contacts between the parties.

This is the case despite the fact that Israeli reporters routinely gather material from diverse sources who assign responsibility to various parties, the Palestinians, the Israelis, the American administration, or all of them together.

E. Epistemic Framing

Rarely, if ever, do news media outlets report facts that are accepted unequivocally by all sides. In most cases, information is presented as a claim, a forecast, an assumption, a hypothesis, and so on. Therefore, there is great importance in how editors frame the epistemic standing of the material: Is it presented as a fact, a hypothesis, a lie, disinformation, a claim, etc.? Framing is important because it helps readers and viewers determine whether they should believe certain information or regard it with suspicion.

An interesting example that illustrates this criterion involves coverage of an incident in which eight members of the Ghalia family were killed on a Gaza beach on June 9, 2006. A major part of the coverage in the Israel media concerned the question of responsibility for the incident. The Israeli army did not accept responsibility for the explosion that caused the deaths, though other parties lay the blame at the feet of the army. The Israeli media gave prominence in headlines to points of view that absolved the army of responsibility for the explosion, framing the exculpatory evidence as undisputed fact. Two illustrative headlines appear below:

INVESTIGATION REPORT: IDF NOT TO BLAME FOR KILLING OF FAMILY ON GAZA BEACH (*Ma'ariv*, June 14, 2006, page 3 headline).
"IDF NOT TO BLAME FOR EXPLOSION ON GAZA BEACH – AND THAT IS CERTAIN" (*Yediot Aharonot*, June 14, 2006, page 2 headline)

Sometimes, under headlines that absolved the Israeli military of responsibility or even laid the blame at the feet of the Palestinian side, information appeared in the text of articles that undercut the credibility of the "facts" presented in the headlines. The following headline, for example, appeared in *Ma'ariv*:

MOST EVIDENCE GATHERED BY SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT SHOWS: IDF DID NOT CAUSE GAZA TRAGEDY; ASSESSMENT GROWS: HAMAS RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLING OF FAMILY (*Ma'ariv*, June 12, 2006, headline on page 4)

In the text of this article, however, it was revealed that: "In the security establishment opinion is still divided, with some convinced that in spite of everything 'most chances are that the tragedy was caused by an IDF shell'".

Another example of this pattern of coverage can be seen in an article on page 9 of the June 13, 2006 edition of *Yediot Aharonot*. The article's headline determined: **THE TRAGEDY IN GAZA: FINDINGS IN THE FIELD CLEAR ISRAEL OF RESPONSIBILITY; IDF INVESTIGATION: NO EVIDENCE THAT WE HIT PALESTINIANS ON THE BEACH**. Nevertheless, in the text of the article was written: "However, senior military sources yesterday remarked that the findings reached by the investigating committee can not rule out completely the possibility that an IDF shell struck the Palestinian family."

To better understand the significance of epistemic framing, it is worth examining how the Israeli media framed points of view that deviated from the position taken by the Israeli military. The following headline from the June 18, 2006 edition of *Ma'ariv* reported on such perspectives:

GAZA BEACH DIARY; THE PALESTINIAN CLAIMS GAINED SUPPORT THIS WEEK IN LONDON; THREE BRITISH NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED ARTICLES THAT CAST DOUBT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE IDF INVESTIGATION, WHICH PROVED UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT ISRAEL IS NOT TO BLAME FOR THE DEATHS OF THE SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE GHALIA FAMILY; FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE: "FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE A TENDENCY TO BELIEVE THE PALESTINIANS IN ADVANCE"

Throughout the coverage of the episode, the Israeli army's positions were framed by the headlines as certain and incontrovertible facts. The headline above emphasized that the IDF investigation "proved unequivocally that Israel is not to blame". If the editor of a newspaper bestows such credibility on the Israeli army's position, it is almost certain that the Palestinian positions mentioned in the same headline, will be framed disparagingly as "claims" that cannot be taken seriously. Again, remember that it is the editor who composed this headline and thereby determined the degree of factualness that readers ascribe to the positions of each side.



רוח החקירה: צה"ל לא אשם
בהרג המשפחה בחוף עזה

INVESTIGATION REPORT: IDF NOT TO BLAME FOR KILLING OF FAMILY ON GAZA BEACH (*Ma'ariv*, June 14, 2006, page 3 headline).

צה"ל לא אשם בפיצוץ בחוף עזה – וזה ודאי"

"IDF NOT TO BLAME FOR EXPLOSION ON GAZA BEACH – AND THAT IS CERTAIN" (*Yediot Aharonot*, June 14, 2006, page 2 headline)

רוב העדויות שואספו במערכת הביטחון מראות: צה"ל לא גרם לאסון בעזה



מתחזקת ההערכה: החמאס אחראי להריגת המשפחה

התחקיר עדיין בעיצומו, אבל רוב הממצאים כבר מראים שצה"ל לא אשם בפיצוץ שהרג את משפחת ע'אליה ■ עיקר החשד נופל על החמאס, שהטמין באזור מטענים ודעלים ממצאים מזוהת הפיצוץ ■ בכיר בצה"ל: "גם אם נוכיח שזה לא אנתנו יהיו מי שלא יאמינו לנו"

"חוא חבת שיי" יודי
דריסת אביטלון אמוול
עם חיליה הודא ל אליה
גיבס אריטייל

MOST EVIDENCE GATHERED BY SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT SHOWS: IDF DID NOT CAUSE GAZA TRAGEDY; ASSESSMENT GROWS: HAMAS RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLING OF FAMILY (*Ma'ariv*, June 12, 2006, headline on page 4)

במערכת הביטחון עדיין קיימים חילוקי דעות,
כאשר יש גורמים הסבורים כי למרות הכל "רוב
הסיכויים שהאסון נגרם מפגז של צה"ל".

In the text of this article, however, it was revealed that: "In the security establishment opinion is still divided, with some convinced that in spite of everything 'most chances are that the tragedy was caused by an IDF shell'".



June 18, 2006 edition of *Ma'ariv* reported: **GAZA BEACH DIARY; THE PALESTINIAN CLAIMS GAINED SUPPORT THIS WEEK IN LONDON; THREE BRITISH NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED ARTICLES THAT CAST DOUBT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE IDF INVESTIGATION, WHICH PROVED UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT ISRAEL IS NOT TO BLAME FOR THE DEATHS OF THE SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE GHALIA FAMILY; FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE: "FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE A TENDENCY TO BELIEVE THE PALESTINIANS IN ADVANCE"**

A comparison of coverage of the same event in the Israeli and Palestinian media shows how information that is an assumption or hypothesis can be framed as an undisputed fact.

On February 4, 2008, a suicide attack was carried out in a commercial center in Dimona. One woman was killed and dozens were injured. One of the assailants was killed in the explosion and another survived. Israeli security forces spotted the explosive belt on the body of the wounded assailant and when he moved his hand they fatally shot him. The Israeli media and the Palestinian media depicted very different versions of the event. According to the Israeli media, the assailant moved his hand in order to detonate the explosive belt, and was therefore shot. According to the Palestinian media, the assailant moved his hand to ask for help, and was shot for no reason. On each side, one version was presented as a definitive incontrovertible fact.

This is how the event was presented in an item broadcast on Israeli Channel 10:

Correspondent: These are the first moments after the explosion. The man lying here is the second terrorist who has not yet blown up. On his body, under his clothes, is a powerful live bomb, but everyone is convinced that he is one of the injured in the attack. The terrorist shows signs of life and people ask the paramedic to treat him. The paramedics, and even the police, have no idea that they are an arm's length away from another terrorist. The people tending to

him are essentially treating a live bomb. Now it turns out that across the street there are dozens of people – all in mortal danger – if the wounded terrorist succeeds in pressing the switch. The people do not agree to move back, and then, while the paramedics are treating the wounded terrorist, they discover the explosive belt on his body. Within seconds, everyone moves away from the terrorist, but they aren't out of danger. Even from a distance, the security forces can tell that the terrorist is reaching for the switch and trying to detonate his bomb. For several minutes the terrorist moves his hands and tries to detonate the bomb, but the police are not able to keep people at a distance and they are not even trying to neutralize the terrorist. Until police officer Kobi Mor arrives on the scene. He and the police sapper shoot at the terrorist and pray that they won't hit the bomb.

The sapper and the police officer wait a few more minutes, hoping that the terrorist has lost consciousness so they won't have to risk firing at him again. But then, even though he was wounded in the explosion and has been shot at least twice, the terrorist uses his left hand to try again to press the switch that will detonate the bomb [...] In this attack in the heart of Dimona 47 people were injured, one critically and the rest lightly. But these figures could have been much worse were it not for five gunshots that were sounded at the last moment, and with them one great sigh of relief.

This is what Kobi Mor, the police officer who shot the assailant, told Israel's Channel 1 news edition:

Kobi Mor: He lowered his hand, but his hand shook all the time – I was sure he was convulsing or something. Two minutes later he lifted his hand again, right to the [explosive] belt, and the motion was clearly to detonate, movement right in the direction of the belt, to the top part of the belt. I knelt down and shot five bullets into his head.

Reporter: You became a hero today; you saved a lot of people.

Kobi Mor: I don't think about it in those terms, we just do our job.

The Palestinian media depicted the event very differently. A headline in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* read: **ISRAELI TELEVISION BROADCAST FOOTAGE OF ISRAELI GUARD IN DIMONA EXECUTING A WOUNDED PERSON CRYING FOR HELP**. The entire report was credited to the Ma'an news agency and was published without modifying the headline. This headline presented the killing of the assailant as an execution, referring to the man who was shot as one of the wounded crying for help, without mentioning that he was one of the assailants in the attack.

The headline in the Palestinian newspaper told a clear story – one that contrasts sharply with the story told in the Israeli media. Though the headline was phrased as an incontrovertible fact, an examination of the text of the article—which provided the basis for this headline—uncovers many ambiguities that raise questions about the facts presented in the headline. Among other information, the article referred to the Israeli version of the event:

Israeli Channel 2 broadcast footage of an Israeli dressed in civilian clothes shooting his pistol at a wounded person crying for help for fifteen minutes and raising his hands requesting help from paramedics. Channel 10, however, claimed that “the Palestinian continued trying to detonate his explosive belt, which necessitated his killing”.

The headline told of a “wounded man crying for help” and the text beneath stated that he had raised his hand. Here is where a first question arises: Did the man cry out for help or was he trying to detonate his explosive belt when he was shot? The identity of the shooter is also unclear from the report. While the headline told of an “Israeli guard”, the text of the article presented various bits of information that did not provide a clear answer. At first, it was stated that the shooter wore civilian clothes (meaning he was not a security guard whose job was to protect his workplace). Later in the article, it was stated that an Israeli guard named Kobi shot the wounded man and left him bleeding. After that, it was stated that an Israeli policeman kept passersby at a distance, and at the end of the article it is mentioned that other policemen shot the wounded man. So who fired the fatal shots? Was it an Israeli civilian? An Israeli guard named Kobi? Or were the shooters other policemen?

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida chose not to investigate the contradictions and ambiguities in the Ma’an report – and published it verbatim. Despite the lack of clarity in the report the newspaper nevertheless presented its headline as a clear fact: An Israeli guard had executed a wounded Palestinian who cried for help.

التلفزيون الاسرائيلي يبث صورة اعدام جريح يستغيث برصاص حراس اسرائيليين في ديمونا

بيت لحم - معا- بثت القناة الثانية من التلفزيون الاسرائيلي صورة ظهر فيها احد الاسرائيليين بلباس مدني يطلق من مسدسه النار على احد الجرحى بينما كان يستغيث على الرصيف لمدة ربع ساعة رافعا يده طالبا اسعافه، ولكن في القناة العاشرة ادعت

النشرة الاخبارية ان الفلسطيني ظل يحاول تفجير الحزام ما استدعى قتله. وسيطرت الصورة على النشرة الاخبارية للقناة التي اعادتها عدة مرات واجرت مقابلة مع ملتقطها المصور الصحفي رونان بريتنس فيما يبدو « فضيحة انسانية واخلاقية »

جرت خلالها تصفية جريح يطلب العلاج دون التأكد ما اذا كان واحدا من منفذي العملية . وقال المصور الصحفي بيرتس انه بينما كان يغطي حادث التفجير صوب كاميرته باتجاه شخص «التتمة ص ١٨»

جريح ملقى وسط الشارع يرفع يده قبل ان يعاجله رجل مدني بعدة عبارات نارية ادت الى مقتله. وأضاف انه ومن خبرته الصحفية عرف ان هذا هو المشهد المهم فأبقى عدسة كاميرته مسلطة على الشاب الجريح وهو يرفع يده اليمنى عدة مرات . وما زال الجدل متواصلا في الاعلام الاسرائيلي حول هوية من وصف بالشخص الثالث الذي ظهر في الصورة . وجاء في التقرير ان سيدة اسرائيلية تتحدث عما شاهدته خلال عملية اكتشاف الشاب الفلسطيني بعيد الانفجار وهو يختبئ وراء دكان لليانصيب وهو غير مسلح الا ان احد الحراس الاسرائيليين ويدعى كوبي اطلق النار عليه وتركه ينزف الى ان جاء ضابط بلباس الشرطة الاسرائيلية وصرخ في الجمهور « ابتعدوا انه يتحرك قد يكون يحمل حزاما ناسفا» وبعد دقائق قتله حراس آخرون بالمسدسات مع مراعاة عدم ارتطام الرصاص بالحزام الناسف بدعوى تحريك يده اليسرى .

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida read: **ISRAELI TELEVISION BROADCAST FOOTAGE OF ISRAELI GUARD IN DIMONA EXECUTING A WOUNDED PERSON CRYING FOR HELP.**

The comparison above shows that even in cases where the facts are in dispute, editors often compose headlines that leave no doubt, which present a certain version of events as undisputed fact. In such case, news consumers do not receive information about the dispute.

F. Visual Semiotics

Editing does not only deal with verbal components. Editing also involves choosing pictures, colors and graphic design, factors that have a decisive influence on readers and which need to be better understood.

An example that illustrates the importance of visual components in framing the message conveyed by the news can be seen in coverage of the first two days of the Israeli military operation in Gaza (Operation "Cast Lead"), at the end of December 2008. In these days hundreds of Palestinians were killed, among them many civilians, as a result of bombing by the Israeli air force.

In coverage by the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*, on December 28, 2008, the editor chose to attach photographs to the news article that showed the results of the bombing in ways that obscured the killings and the degree of harm inflicted on civilians. A large picture across the broadsheet on pages 10-11 showed the destruction after the bombing. The picture, a wide shot from a distance, did not show the harm to Palestinian civilians. The headline, **HAMAS FELL ASLEEP – AND TOOK A HIT**, in giant letters over the photo, glorified the power of the Israelis. The overall page design conveyed a message of pride in a successful and just action.

In the Palestinian media, editors chose to attach to the articles photographs of a different kind, which focused on another aspect of the same event. The photos showed the scale of damage that the Israeli attacks had sown in the Palestinian civilian population. For example, on page eight of the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Quds* there appeared a photo of the same scene that was depicted in *Yediot Aharonot*, but the focus of the photo and the accompanying headline was the large number of civilians that were killed.

December 28, 2008, coverage of the first day of the fighting in Gaza. Israeli and Palestinian newspaper editors chose visual components that focused on different aspects of the same reality.



Yediot Aharonot, pages 10-11, the headline **HAMAS FELL ASLEEP – AND TOOK A HIT** accompanied a large picture that showed the results of the bombing by the Israeli air force. The picture, a wide shot from a distance, did not show the harm to Palestinian civilians.

Al-Quds
Monday 28 December 2008

القدس
العدد 1974

مشاهد مؤلمة من مجزرة قطاع غزة

1 - أطفال وبنات أصغر من العمارات
2 - مرفوف على جناح جرحى مواثيقه من تحت الأنقاض
3 - رجل ابن وبنات يرفع جناح أحد الجرحى
4 - مواثيق يمشون بين حطاي تحت الأنقاض مخرج الشرطة
5 - مواثيق يفتشون على الجثث في مركز كالج الشرطة
6 - مواثيق يجمعون جثثهم المتهدمة
7 - حامي الرميح - مواثيق يخلع أحد الجنائز
8 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
9 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
10 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
11 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
12 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
13 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
14 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة
15 - مواثيق يمشون في وسط قطاع غزة المتهدمة

Al-Quds, page 8, the headline, **HARSH PICTURES FROM THE MASSACRE IN THE GAZA STRIP** accompanied photos showing the scale of the harm to Palestinian civilians caused by the Israeli air force bombing.

On the next day as well, December 29, 2008, the photos chosen by the editor at *Yediot Aharonot* ignored the harm caused to Palestinian civilians. The photos, taken from a distance, did not show people killed or injured. Placing such sterile photos beside headlines like **THE TUNNELS WERE DESTROYED** or **GAZA CRATER** conveyed a sense of pride in a successful and just action. By contrast, the front page of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* on the same day described a completely different reality. The pictures that the editor chose to publish on the front page again focused on the harm to Palestinian civilians.

December 29, 2008. Once again, the visual components chosen by Palestinian and Israeli newspaper editors described different aspects of the same reality.

The editor of the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* chose photos taken from a distance that did not show any persons killed or injured. These pages conveyed a sense of pride in a successful and just operation.





The editor of the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* chose to publish photos on the front page that focused on harm to Palestinian civilians, December 29, 2008, the headline: "the massacre continues: more than 300 martyrs and 1000 wounded"



This comparison demonstrates that visual components have a real influence on how readers perceive the reality that is described. Here too, the crucial decision belongs to the editor who chooses to give prominence to certain aspects of reality over others.

Conclusion

These are the main criteria that should be considered in order to read the news critically. Critical news consumption focuses on discrepancies between the work of reporters and the work of editors. Getting to know these criteria is a first step toward becoming a more critical consumer of news media.

Critical reading involves more than just identifying individual instances where editorial work does not reflect the material sent in by the reporters. Ultimately, this is the fundamental question that critical readers should ask: *Are the biases that exist in the editing systematic and are they carried out according to a general pattern?*

For example, when reporters send in material that indicates differences of opinion on a question of responsibility (Criterion D), do the headlines nonetheless systematically confer responsibility to one side? When reporters send in material that indicates differences of opinion about the facts (Criterion E), do the headlines systematically give preference to one version of events and present it as fact, at the expense of other versions that are depicted as falsehoods?

Meticulous examinations of patterns of editing in Israeli and Palestinian media outlets, which have been carried out in research by Keshev and MIFTAH, and by Daniel Dor, reveal that such systematic patterns indeed exist. They play a key role in influencing Palestinian and Israeli public opinion regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Getting to know the criteria that underlie these patterns can help readers uncover such patterns and neutralize their influence.

MIFTAH's Media Monitoring Unit publications

1. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Speech at Bar Ilan University, July 15, 2009
2. The First Day Between 'Cast Lead' and 'Oil Spot', January 21, 2009
3. Annapolis: The Coverage of the Three Palestinian Newspapers and Palestine Television of the Conference, September 01, 2008
4. The media coverage of the Municipal elections in Jerusalem, November 26, 2008
5. Second Journalist survey, October 16, 2008.
6. Israeli journalists' booklet, June, 2008.
7. The 'Bulldozer Operation' in Jerusalem: A Balanced Media Coverage, August 30, 2008
8. Palestine Investment Conference, August 01, 2008
9. The media coverage of President Bush's first visit to the area, May 12, 2008.
10. "Dimona Operation: The Coverage of the Three Newspapers and Palestine Satellite Television", May 13, 2008
11. Media Coverage at 'Palestine Television (PBC)' and 'Al-Aqsa Satellite Channel' Following Hamas' Military Takeover of Gaza, May 01, 2008
12. 'The Mecca Agreement and the National Unity Government', December 03, 2007
13. The Coverage of June 1967 War in the Three Palestinian Newspapers and Palestine TV on the 5th, 6th and 7th of June 2007, November 12, 2007
14. Cartoons in the Media Coverage of Mecca Agreement and the National Unity Government, August 08, 2007
15. The Palestinian Media Coverage of the Eilat Suicide Operation, May 31, 2007
16. First Journalist Survey - April 2007, May 29, 2007
17. The Palestinian National Unity Government and Prospects for Peace, March 27, 2007
18. The Bloody Sunday, January 15, 2007

19. The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in the Media Coverage of the 17th Israeli Knesset Elections, August 01, 2006
20. The Palestinian Media Coverage of Sharon's Illness and his Departure from Political Life, June 17, 2006
21. The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in the Palestinian Legislative Elections, May 09, 2006
22. Palestinian Media Discourse: Diagnosis and Evaluation - The Unilateral Disengagement Plan, November 21, 2005
23. Public Discourse and Perceptions: Palestinian Media - Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (Second Report), August 01, 2005
24. Public Discourse and Perceptions: Palestinian Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, March 07, 2005
25. Monitoring the media coverage of the 2005 presidential elections in Palestine, February, 2005

KESHEV publications

1. "Equal among Equals? An Instructional Guide on Teaching Critical Examination of Images of Minorities in the Media. Case Study: The Ethiopian Jewish Community in Israel", September 2009
2. "The State of Israel vs. 'Breaking the Silence': Media Coverage of the Organization's Report on IDF Conduct during Operation 'Cast Lead'", August 2009
3. "Way to Go, IDF? The Credibility of Army Investigations of Killings of Civilian in Gaza", April 2009
4. "'We All Know that Israeli Soldiers Don't Kill on Purpose': The Contribution of the Media Discourse to Unawareness", March 2009
5. "A School or a Firing Post? Israeli Media Coverage of Another Civilian Killing", January 2009
6. "'Grad Missile Truck Destroyed on its Way to a Hideout': The Questions That Were Not Asked", January 2009
7. "'What Next, a Humanitarian Lull or a Ground Operation?': Coverage of the Diplomatic Options for Ending the Fighting in Gaza", January 2009
8. "'Direct Hit': Israeli Newspaper Coverage of the First Two Days of Operation 'Cast Lead'", December 2008
9. "Confused: 'This is how we fumbled Annapolis' – The Israeli Media and the Peace Process", August 2008
10. "'War to the Last Moment' – The Israeli Media in the Second Lebanon War", English Edition, July 2008
11. "Press for the Peace of Jerusalem? – Israeli Media Coverage of the Jerusalem Issue", June 2008
12. "To Say Nothing of the Roadmap – The Israeli Media and the Renewal of Construction over the Green Line", March 2008
13. "The Spin over who Turned Out the Lights in Gaza", February 2008
14. "Women, Media and Conflict – A Gendered View of Israeli Television Coverage of the 2006 Lebanon War", December 2007

15. "When the Cannons Roar: From the Gaza Beach to Beit Hanun – Israeli Media Coverage of Killings of Palestinian Civilians in the Gaza Strip", May 2007
16. "Ma'ariv's Fear Index", March 2007
17. "Who Cares About Another Palestinian Death?", March 2007
18. "The 'Great Land Grab' and the Prime Minister's 'Conciliatory' Speech", November 2006
19. "'A Moment of National Pride' – Israeli Media Coverage of the Takeover of Jericho Prison", April 2006
20. "'Liquidation Sale' – Israeli Media Coverage of Events in Which Palestinians Were Killed by Israeli Security Forces", March 2006
21. "Disconnected – The Israeli Media's Coverage of the Gaza Disengagement", January 2006
22. "Who Reports When Palestinians Denounce a Terror Attack? Coverage of Palestinian Condemnations of the Attack in Netanya", December 2005
23. "Quiet, We're Disengaging! – Israeli Media Coverage of the Tense Ceasefire between Israel and the Palestinian Authority following the Sharm e-Sheikh Understandings", August 2005
24. "Channel Two's Virtual Reality – Coverage of Events around the Sharbaty Family Home in Hebron", April 2005
25. "A Dog's Life – Whose Blood is Worth More: That of Palestinian Civilians or a 'Jewish' Dog?", March 2005
26. "Israel Gestures – How Were Israel's Steps Covered?", February 2005
27. "Bush: Territorial Contiguity for the Palestinian State", February 2005
28. "The Palestinian Prisoner Release Issue in the Israeli Print Media", February 2005
29. "When Thy Enemy Falls – Coverage of Arafat's Death in the Israeli Media", January 2005