

Israeli's Newspapers Coverage of Palestinian Prisoner Hunger Strike: A Peace Journalism Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on how news framing of media institutions (Israeli newspapers) affect the coverage of issues in conflict zones and set the agenda for public perceptions, especially the Palestinian Prisoners hunger strike. A total of 697 news items were analyzed from four English version of Israeli newspaper (Haartez, Jerusalem Post, Yedioth Ahronoth and Times of Israel) to investigate how they portray the other (Palestinians prisoners) through an action (hunger strike) during a period of time (2012-2017) through a peace journalism perspective. Using Ersoy's peace journalism coding schema, the study found that the total news from four newspapers portrayed the issues with negative frames (n = 542; 77.8%) while some of the news appeared to have portrayed the hunger strike issues in more positive frames (n = 155; 22.2%). However, the study concludes that tendency of the Israeli media toward the other in the hunger strike were negative in framing the Palestinian prisoners as "threat" and "terrorists" instead of being balanced while they are covering humanitarian issue in conflict zone. It therefore, recommends the need conduct more research that focus on advocating the use of peace journalism approach in the coverage of conflict issues.

Keywords: Palestinian Prisoner, Hunger Strike, Agenda Setting Theory, Framing Theory, Peace Journalism Theory, Israeli Media, Peace Media, War Coverage, Conflict Zone.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, media kuruluşlarının (İsrail gazeteleri) haber çerçevelerinin, özellikle Filistinli mahkumların açlık eylemiyle ilgili olarak, çatışma alanındaki olayların kapsamını ve kamu algısı için oluşturulan gündemin nasıl etkilendiği üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Araştırmada, İngilizce yayın yapan dört İsrail gazetesinin (Haartez, Jerusalem Post, Yedioth Ahronoth and Times of Israel) toplamda 697 haberi üzerinden, Filistinli mahkumların 2012-2017 arasındaki açlık eylemlerinin nasıl tanımlandığı barış gazeteciliği yönünden incelenmiştir. Ersoy'un (There should be date) barış gazeteciliği kodlama şeması kullanılarak, çalışmada yer alan dört gazetenin olayları olumsuz çerçeveden (n=542; 77.8%) betimlediği ve bazı haberlerde de (n=155; 22.2%) açlık eylemini olumlu olarak betimlendiği bulgulanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, İsrail medyasının açlık eylemleri üzerinden yöneliminin, çatışma alanında insani durumlar kapsamında dengeli olmak yerine Filistinli mahkumları 'tehdit' ve 'terörist' gibi olumsuz çerçeveden ifade ettiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu nedenle, barış gazeteciliği yaklaşımının çatışma konularının kapsamı içinde kullanımını savunmaya odaklanan daha fazla araştırma yapılmasını önerilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Filistinli Mahkum, Açlık Eylemi, Gündem Belirleme Teorisi, Çerçeveleme Teorisi, Barış Gazeteciliği Teorisi, İsrail Medyası, Barış Medyası, Savaş Kapsamı, Çatışma Alanı.

DEDICATION

I am dedicating this thesis to the over 7000 Palestinians prisoners in the Israelis prisons especially to Nael Albarguthy who scarified over 40 years imprisoned and to those who scarified their years and lives in the Israelis jails until now still waiting for their freedom and some their souls just released flying to the sky.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, we are living in a new era where the media hold a central part in informing the public about what happens around us, and also shaping and constructing their opinion and thought especially in those zones in which audiences do not possess the information directly. So, there is a massive impact of the media in the construction of public belief and attitudes and social change. Even more, it is so clear to state that social media was the first factor in changing societies, culture, believes of the individuals. Especially during the Arab Spring the social media had major influence on the increased spread of war and hatred, as against the real essence of the revolutions. Not far away of this, it was clear to show how media was used to portray the self and the other in Qatar siege. For example, Aljazeera was the defender of Qatar to defeat the other attacker like Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. In the other side, Al- Arabiya channel was the other mouth to create more hatred even in sport on that time. So, do media institutions and journalists mix their consecrated role of informing, educated and standing by the needy people, or not? It appeared that their actions were only dominated by the portrayal of crimes instead of efforts to stopping the wars. The truth is that those are used to construct societies and individuals in a way to control their personal interest to benefit from them economically, and politically within their society or community. The influence of the media during war between the two societies of Palestinian and Israeli, will be taken into account to understand which of the society's media represents the voice of

minority. Moreover, in conflict zones, each side wants to use the powerful instrument to portray themselves ethically and innocently, while they are framing the other side as negatively. This just creates more violent, hatred, none accepting the other and a lot of suffering for innocent people. So, in the Palestinian-Israeli case it is clear that who own the media can portray what he wants and construct the other by which image that he wants. Indeed, the media is an important tool during the influence on a society. Either to have peace, or to increase conflict among the issue of both Palestinian-Israeli societies need peace journalism to be implemented. This is because anytime news comes from the Israel's media the Palestinian side's voices are very much low due to the fact that majority of media organizations are controlled by the Israeli side. The interest anytime ever to have media voice positively; unlike America that has the major factor in increasing the conflict between both societies in a way that America stands with the Israel community. The question to be raised do they relay that they are promoting for more violent than offering a safe condition to those that they are suffering?

1.1 Research Problem

Especially in the Palestinian-Israeli case it is clear that who owns the media can portray and frame the other side with the image that best suits their purpose. Even when politicians use the media to talk about solutions and peace between both sides, the media owners are promote this through their agenda setting power to shape the public opinion using frames that portray the other side as a threat that is unacceptable coexisted with.

Here it always found that the media institutions specially the newspaper editors and owners promoting the war frame more than the peace one, through their agenda

setting declining the implementation of peace journalism approach, so we rely on that they are promoting more violence than offering a safe condition and reliable atmosphere to those that are suffering.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The research is set to create a better understanding of how the news media in the age of participatory media through the process of framing and agenda-setting, shape public perceptions of realities surrounding conflict situations, especially between two or more societies. The study highlights how the media generated contents (with the aim to misinform) and fake news influence the public in terms of passing their propaganda. Particularly, the study has the following sub-objectives:

1. To investigate how Israeli media interacts with one of the Palestinian issues: the prisoners hunger strike.
2. To understand how media institutions are exacerbating the situations in conflicts when they promote more violence.
3. To examine whether media institutions promote war or peace through their news content.

1.3 Research Questions

The aim of this research is to investigate, explore and highlight the issues related to conflicts in the Middle East between the Palestinian and the Israeli societies, and how the media influence narratives parties involved in the conflicts. Accordingly, peace journalism is needed for reconciliation or resolving the conflict between two sides that are fighting each other for more 100 years:

1. How does Israeli media cover with human issues (Palestinian Hunger Strike) in conflict zone?

2. Does Israeli media frame the Palestinian Hunger Strike as a human issue in a conflict zone with positive or negative frame?
3. Does Israeli media promote peace solution rather than war while they are manufacturing news?

1.4 Assumption

The study assumes that media coverage, especially in Palestinian - Israelis case are mostly subjective as their framing of the parties involved in the conflict contribute to further escalation than promoting peaceful resolutions. Moreover, the media organisations in some cases are considered as applying war-oriented journalism, which affects human issues coverage thus creating more hatred that hinder efforts to bridge the gap between both sides. So, in case study of Palestinian prisoner hunger strike which is a human-oriented issue, the media lost their objectivities due to the prevalence of negative framing in the coverage of the Palestinian prisoner hunger strike issue.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study is significant for being an attempt to investigate the way Israelis English newspapers cover the Palestinian prisoner hunger strike and how they frame and set the agenda through their daily news which manufacture a new image to the public. This study contributes to existing literature throughout an extended research of peace journalism studies. It focuses on four Israelis newspaper from different political approaches in Israel (Haartez that represents the lefty parties, Jerusalem Post that called itself as neutral, Yedioth Ahronoth and Times of Israel that belong to the righty parties). For this reason, students who study media can benefit from this study. Other students can also benefit from what has been written in this paper. It also can give an improvement of understanding of media from a peace journalist perspective.

Moreover, there is a lack of researches in this field, especially in English language, so this study is expected to advance the knowledge of researchers, journalists, specialists in the Israeli media. It is also important to understand how the Israeli media works, its tools during the conflict, and how deep it goes in the coverage of the Israeli media to Palestinian humanitarian issues. There were some political decisions in Israel that affected by the Israeli media and its direction for the public opinion; it will let us know the extent to which the Israeli media consistent with governments views.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

It is no feasible to study all Palestinian-Israeli media's coverage of the Palestinian prisoner hunger strike due to the obvious reasons of language barriers and the volume of published news content. However, the study ignored the Palestinian side newspapers because they publish only in Arabic language. Therefore, this study is limited to the investigation of how Israeli English newspapers including Haartz, Jerusalem Post, Yedioth Ahronoth and Times of Israel frame the hunger strike. The study period covers 2012 to 2017. Findings from this study could be used to generalize the tone of Israeli English newspapers coverage of the humanitarian issues surrounding the Palestinian prisoners' hunger strike during the said period.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter intends to serve a background to the concepts which are related to this research to offer a good understanding of certain issues. The researcher presents all details that will clarify the coverage of hunger strike in Israeli newspapers. In addition, the chapter briefly highlights the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, although it discusses the peace journalism as related to other theories and approaches (agenda setting, framing, propaganda) and how it applies to some cases around the world. However, the chapter also provides a background information related to the Israeli newspapers that were sampled for analysis. It also provides the history of Palestinian prisoner’s hunger strike with their human demands and causes of the longtime hunger strike.

Wolfsfeld, in his book the *Media and the Path to Peace*, states that the Oslo Peace Process is an important example of how the media has escalated the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis. Several studies show the crucial role played by the media during this process. As Wolfsfeld mentioned, “The media emphasized the negative aspects of the process and tended to ignore the more positive developments associated with Oslo.”(Wolfsfeld, 2004, 75).

Wolfsfeld (2004) also mentions the constructive role the media has played in the Northern Ireland conflict. He says, “The media environment in Northern Ireland was

also more conducive to peace. Citizens from both sides of that conflict used the same news media and this led the press to play a more constructive role.” According to Wolfsfeld, the media environment is critical to de-escalating a conflict; however, the political setting does also matter. If the political setting also calls for peace, then the media could change their reporting style from victory-based reporting to a solution-oriented one.

While in the Turkish Cypriot news media’s role in promoting conflict resolution in Cyprus has not been very positive. They have contributed to the dissemination of official nationalist discourses which portrayed Greek Cypriots in a negative light and blamed them for the failure of peace attempts. They have focused on ‘our’ good and their bad intentions and downplayed ‘our’ wrongdoings and the ‘other’s’ positive moves (Şahin, 2013, 460).

2.1 The History of Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Understanding differ among parties especially in conceptualizing the meanings of Palestinian-Israeli “conflict”, “struggle” or “occupation”. Palestinians describe the case as an occupation or struggle while the Israelis refer to it as conflict. The conflict goes back deeply in the history to more than a hundred years when Palestine went under the Ottoman Empire ruling (Abu Arqoub 2015). Then, Palestine was given to the Zionism by British colonialism who was governing Palestine after the Second World War and even before when the Israelis took “Belfore declaration” from the lord Belfore the “Great Britain” foreigner’s affair minister that time raising the slogan which says, “We need a land without people for a people without land” (Brownfeld, 1998).

From that time till 1947, Palestinians refused the colonialism and division because they understood that Britain will spot Zionism idea according to “Belfour declaration”. Moreover, there were a lot of revolutionary activities against the colonialism from 1920s, 1930s till 1948 when the High commissary of Britain agreed to split Palestine into two countries with one part governed by Palestinians and the other part governed by the Israelis side. However, Palestinians and the Arabs refused and start fighting the new immigrants that Zionism and Britain brought them to be as Israelis citizens (Abu Arqoub 2015).

However, 14th of May 1948 was the date when Britain announced that they finished the British mandate on Palestine while the next day Israel established their state on the lands that were controlled by British mandate following the division that Britain declared before one year and was refused by the Palestinian side. Palestinians called that day as “Alnakba” day (Abu Arqoub 2015). The escalation sustained till the 1967 war, which called the Six Day War where Arabic countries were defeated by Israel ended with completely occupying the rest of Palestinian land West Bank, Gaza Strip, whole Jerusalem (Philo and Berry, 2011, pp. 50-51).

The history of the conflict continued till 1987 which called the first intifada which were mostly violent, lasted for seven years until both side the Palestinian side represented by Yasser Arafat the leader of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Israeli side represented by Yitzhak Rabin the Former Prime Minister of Israel signed Oslo peace agreement in Norway in 1993 (Philo and Berry, 2011, p. 84-87). This peace didn't last for a long time. Firstly, Rabin was executed by an Israeli extremist and secondly, the eruption of the second intifada in 2000 when Ariel Sharon the Former Prime Minister of Israel that time break into Al AQSA mosque which provoke the Palestinians and the

Islamic surroundings. The second intifada was extremely violent and many people were killed. The conflict sustained till our days (Philo & Berry, 2011, p. 104).

2.2 Peace Journalism

Since 1970s, peace journalism has been flourishing as an expandable field of journalism. On the contrary, there is no precise description of its primary theoretical frame. In addition, there are still doubts about its central methodologies and political attitude. To be mentioned, this study aims to highlight the progress of peace journalism in two principal methods. First, it is aimed at tracing the theory of peace journalism to get into a point of supporting analyses of cold conflicts throughout bringing deep insights into critical race approach. Second, methodologically, agenda-setting and framing theory should be taken into account as a factor to conducting a research of peace journalism. Furthermore, certain model of an analysis which already stems from certain dialect chosen from an experiential sample taken from a circular newspaper series.

Some journalistic figures have considered journalists to ignore war news covering in favors of peace journalism to spread an atmosphere of peace. The Norwegian researcher Johan Galtung first offered a proposal of peace journalism in the 1970s as a self-awareness, working notion for journalists who cover wars and conflicts (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000). Therefore, Peace journalists focus on certain situations that contribute to peace initiatives, reduce the power of conflict, take into account the formation of community and propose peaceful sphere (Galtung 1986, 1998). Hence, the main purpose of peace journalism is to escape from bias reporting in conflict zones by promoting the idea of peace and providing a more balanced form of coverage (Galtung, 1986). Consequently, peace journalism suggested a feasible

alternative war reporting. However, that has established arguments among many scholars and media professionals.

Some Peace journalism scholars such as Seow Ting Lee and Crispin C. Maslog conducted quantitative experimental studies to explore the interaction between media exemplification and violence in news subject matter, including its role in having an involvement “preventative advocacy” point of view, in newspapers columns prompting resolution (Galtung, 1998. p.314). It is claimed that the reasons behinds conflicts and solutions proposed become clear by following a cautious, regular and fair application of peace journalism (Lee et al. 2006). In addition to this, peace journalism is part of vaster involvements that face social and physical rages to create a peaceful sphere (Hackett 2011). However, Irvan (2006) contends that prescriptive peace journalism studies are trying to create a group of moral principles and ethics to create resolutions for conflict. Peace journalism takes into account the structural organization of news. The message that journalists aim to deliver about what they want us to think about, it is an evidence that stand behind the idea of objectivity in journalism (Alankus, 2009). On the other hand, media plays an important role in universal issues and violent situations. For that reason, people become only convinced by the coverage that media provides (Ross, 2007).

It is agreed that the responses to peace journalism diverse in different ways (Sarpkaya, 2014). Therefore, peace journalism is considered as a way that provides journalism professionals a responsibility on creating solutions or a peaceful atmosphere of certain conflicts (Sarpkaya, 2014). However, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) argue that peace journalism is often described as journalism which forms chances for community to reduce the sharpness of violence responses towards the

conflict and it as well shapes the audience creating their personal meanings taking into account their diverse kinds of responses to the framed conflict.

Shinar (2007) classifies peace journalism in terms of literature in various ways: Firstly, peace journalism should investigate the nature and the situation of conflict occurrence, and introducing reasons and choices to be balanced in demonstrating the conflict in an objective way and to be honest and obvious with the audience. Then, it needs to provide all parties in a certain conflict the voice to express themselves fairly to both sides without being biased to any. After that, it should declare innovative notions for conflict reconciliation, transformation and peacekeeping. Also, peace journalism must reveal untruth attempts and offenses of all sides. Finally, highlighting peace stories and avoiding war narrative stories will contribute in post-war transformation.

2.2.1 War and Peace Journalism

There are several obstacles that block the elimination of all bias and the production of a definitive chronicle of war or of any other topic. For instance, cultural constraints, time, language, place, space, resources, knowledge are considered as obstacles to let news report and cover everything about certain topic. In this regard, war journalism is restricted to violent event or situation to happen in order to take place. Therefore, war journalism divides a certain dichotomy “us versus them” and it dehumanizes “them” and considers “them” as it is the cause of the problem on one hand, and it covers “their” and assists “our” to fade in certain propagandas deeds. Hence, it provides high origins and concentrates on “their” and “our” sufferings; peace stand for triumph through cease-fire process (Galtung, 2005).

It is noticed that peace journalism has various characteristics. Hence, it investigates the emergence of some conflicts, refines all sides of a conflict and provides an understanding to all parties. Furthermore, it reveals untruths and covers up all parties, it grants the right to express to the voiceless civilians. It covers the notion of violence and suffering taken place by all parties of a conflict rather to people in general. Peace is done by peaceful and effective means. (Galtung, 2005). In addition to this, the purpose of peace journalism is seemingly to encourage an atmosphere of peace and to cast fair news coverage taking into account all participants in conflict by keeping away from a bias style of reporting (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

The frame of journalism is set to compose good stories about certain news. These stories are already designed to be accurate, precise, honest, objective and fair. Creditability and coherence of journalism cannot be discarded, but they are as important as they prevail sociopolitical configuration of a certain interpretation including cultural expectations, presumptions, value orientations, and assumptions about what is seen as reasonable factors. Any journalistic purpose should tend to be objective and true on one hand, and to be designed against oratorical barriers of writing narratives for certain audiences and acclimating them to certain conditions. Audiences and journalist both are exposed to the fundamental properties of a manipulative discourse which becomes literalized and self-sealing.

An approach that shows what should be encompassed in a war story is needed to designate what is missing in that war story. However, peace journalism gives a theory by the illustrating the needs of the publics to realize in order to calculate the possibilities of establishing peace where war takes place. A superb reporting of war has to be figured on health journalism. Thus a fine reporter of health depicts the

suffering of a certain patient's illness and tells the spectators of media about the disease's roots and causes and the ways of cure. According to this theory, a superb reporter of war has to keep an eye on conflict alteration by utilizing war to discover new methods to configure the conflict so that the high priority will be for chances without hostility (Galtung, 2005).

All in all, peace journalism is an argument method aimed to focus on peace leading initiatives and to reduce the sharpness of conflict concentrating on the formation of community on one hand, and to create an atmosphere of reconciliation (Galtung, 1986, 1998). It is worth mentioning that peace journalism occurs when news reporters and editors decide which event and situations must be reported and the way they report such stories (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2006). However, news reporters are detected as uncomplicated targets for war propagandas becoming patterns in crime and creates of hostility because they are considered as the same source that reports war and conflict (Carruthers, 2000).

From a peaceful journalistic point of view, the necessity to doing well takes that place of not doing harm. As for a request of a journalistic interference in war and situations, the option is about the moral principles of that intervention. So, the main aim of that question becomes how can I create an atmosphere of peace as a journalist? (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000).

However, it is claimed that the situation of peace journalism is reinforced by a comprehensive previous studies that show the inability of journalists to stick to objectivity in reporting news in conflict and war cases whereas nationalism, rage, censoring and propagandas work together seeking for a conspiring to prevent an

objective news reporting (Carruthers, 2000, Iggers, 1998, Knightley, 1975, Pedelty, 1995, and Van Ginneken, 1998). In addition to this Galtung (1986) maintain that journalism of peace and war are seemingly classifies into a couple of two challenging frames in the covering or reporting news in conflict zones. War journalism spins around conflict as a fundamental news worth.

Accordingly, in an attempt to get the news spectators' attentions, war reporting seeks to concentrate on obvious transformations, slaughter and victims on the ground (Toffler, 1994; Hachten, 1996 and Allen and Seaton 1999). However, Knightley (2000) claims that the involvement of war journalism is to be about the roots of conflicts, the linguistic aspect of the triumphant. On the contrary, peace journalism focuses on certain zones of agreement and the cultural, ideological and political diversity while reporting and covering such events (Knightley, 2000).

Galtung (2002) shows a comparison between ordinary war journalism and sports journalism, according to its core of wining as the heart of value in 'zero-sum game'. On the contrary, there is a similarity between peace journalism and health journalism, that lets the audiences know much more about the diseases reasons rather than to describe health problems. In addition to this, it offers feasible solutions and protective ways .

It is universally agreed that peace journalism is a method of shaping war stories that utilize conflict evaluating and the development in to order to keep the importance of balanced, fair and accurate news reporting (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000). It is important to indicate that reporters utilizing the frame of peace in order to understand the nature and the roots of a certain conflict, and by giving the right to all parties

contributes in creating an atmosphere of superb understanding. On the contrary, the ordinary war journalism theory considers conflict as a battle in a court in which the participants belong to conflicting sides “us versus them” and concentrates on the obvious impacts of war such as injuries and damages (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000).

War framing and is significant because the involvement and the struggle are very extreme (Jang, 2013). In addition to this, it is agreed that the way that the reporters follow is important because it may create a higher sharpness of war or it may create a peaceful atmosphere (Jowett and O’Donnell, 1992). However, Jowett and O’Donnell, (1992) classified the manifestation of propaganda into two ways. First, universal news reporting is linked to the state’s favors. Second, there is no midst ground in a conflict zone.

2.2.2 Peace Journalism and Ethics

Peace journalism concept emerged as an alternative notion to the standard methods of covering conflicts. It is referred to the promotion of media as a means to contribute in creating conflicts’ solutions. Peace journalists think that news covering by the traditional ways and its main focus on the idea of violence and conflict as a matter of win or lose on one hand. On the other hand, its dependency on state and military sources, its concentration on one side’s suffering and the other side’s villainy as an incorporation of war journalism. Peace journalism argues that ordinary journalism namely keeps itself away from reporting conflict contexts. Peace journalism argues that ordinary journalism namely keeps itself away from reporting conflict contexts. It ignores some factors of reporting conflict cases. For instance, it discards the reasons behind conflicts, the unknown rooted interests, the auxiliary ways to wars and possible solutions to solve problems. Peace journalism takes into account the great efforts to expand the usage of media to simplify and create conflict

resolutions. In this regard, it evaluates the vested roots of conflicts. It humanize some situations rather than constructing enemies. It tries to step down the sharpness of conflicts by creating peace and conflict solutions. Other figures of peace journalism present the structural media reformation contending ast markets powers, ownership and dictum have to be addressed in the first place as an attempt to make journalism successes.

Although peace journalism is a recently- invented concept in the field of news covering, it is deeply rooted in the Mass Media Declaration that was declared by the twentieth summit of the *General Conference of UNESCO* in Paris (1978). The declaration states the following:

1. “The mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war.”
2. “In countering aggressive war, racialism, apartheid and other violations of human rights which are inter alia spawned by prejudice and ignorance, the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contributes to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples, to make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, religion or nationality and to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases, thereby promoting the formulation by States of the policies best able to promote the reduction of international tension and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes.” (UNESCO 1978, 128).

2.2.3 Peace Journalism and Agenda-Setting

This section is set to identify the components of agenda-setting and framing theory to improve a peace journalism-oriented exemplary concerned with the analysis of ‘cold’ conflicts. Coleman et al (2009) argue that agenda setting theory is deeply rooted in holding a peace journalism- oriented methodology. Generally, quantitative analyses are concerned with the manifest demonstration of language, and media lends kind of social applicability. So certain issues will be debated once they are substantiated in media (Coleman et al., 2009, McCombs and Shaw, 1977).

The researcher chose the Agenda Setting Theory in this thesis to examine how the Israeli media setting the agenda of Israelis during the hunger strike by focusing on certain issues and ignoring other issues, the way that news were presented about course of strike and what the issues that media told Israelis to think about. Moreover, the kind of the coverage reflects the image of the Israeli audience and its consistency with media.

The emergence of agenda-setting approach indicates that the news media is not always influential in introducing to the audience “ what to think”, but it is influential in guiding them to “ what to think about” throughout the reoccurrence of its elements in the news. Agenda-setting theory contends that media capability to spread the public consciousness by the frequency of cases in their covering (Griffin, 2003, Severin and Tankard, 2001). On account Coleman et al (2009) review there is an impact directly and perhaps indirectly in shaping public beliefs in a way that rising the salience of certain issues (Coleman et al., 2009).

McCombs and other agenda-setting figures contend that media “the media tell us what to think about, however, some push that argument further”. While, Kuypers (2002) shows that the media do more than tell the public *what to think about*; they also tell the public how to think about a given topic. (Kuypers, 2002 and Nesbitt-Larking, 2001).

Agenda-setting is considered a significant strategy for being an in effective in terms of its ability to be applied in political communication research. However, it is significant to mention that there is a considerable diversity of the levels, geographical and cultural settings in which agenda-setting takes place. For instance, the “first level” involves the attention paid to a certain case by media. Accordingly, the “second level” is featured by calling it as “attribute agenda-setting” which concentrates on the characteristics that seeks to describe cases, people in news (Coleman 2009, McCombs, 2009, Shaw and Weaver, 2009, McCombs, 2004). Consequently, agenda-setting’s occurrence comes across three phases. Firstly, it is significant to construct list of priorities to explain in news. Secondly, media agenda interacts with what the audiences or spectators believe in, so through the second phase, public-agenda will be established. Lastly, public-agenda participates in what gatekeepers and editors see as basic establishing policy-agenda (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008).

2.2.4 Peace Journalism and Framing Theory

The Framing Analysis Theory assumes that frames are affecting the public opinion of people and they may take their decisions according to the frame that they follow or subject to (Framing Theory, 2010). The researchers in this filed assumes that if the media means focus on certain aspects of an issue and ignore the other aspects, meaning that to determine specific news frame about an issue and present it by

certain way, then the terms and direction of the audience will use it when they want to create or shape an opinion about the same issue. They will remember what the media say about it (Abu Arqoub 2015).

The framing theory concentrates on the qualitative of analyzing, data, information meanings that are employed in media representations and how it is manipulated. Otherwise, the agenda-settings examine and focus on the presence and absence of an issue in the media. On the other hand, the news media do this by portraying and shaping the standards of the linguistic perspective in which it inform us in a way to make sense in an issue. (Entman and Pellicano, 2006, Pan, 2009, Kosicki, 2003 and Weaver, 2007).

Lee et al (2006) showing that framing theory sustains peace journalism in terms of the narrative way of constructing the news story, the style, the theme and factuality, thus the previous mentioned aim to transform the organization of stories narration.

According to Entman (1993) “There is no one standard definition of framing” however, it is a selective theory which chooses some parts of reality and truth and construct them in an obvious communicative text. Tankard et al. (1991) note that media frame as the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. Meanwhile, Entman (1991) argues that frames package key ideas, stock phrases, and stereotypical images to bolster a particular interpretation. Through repetition, placement, and reinforcement, the texts and images provide a dominant interpretation more readily perceivable, acceptable, and memorable than other interpretations.

McCombs et al (1997) point out on the account of the concept of agenda setting and framing that the concepts of agenda setting and framing represent a convergence, in that framing is an extension of agenda setting. In fact, the concept of framing has been explicated as second-level agenda setting. Object salience is transmitted in the first level of the agenda-setting process. Furthermore, McLeod and Detenber (1999), added to Price, Tewksbury and Powers, (1997) and Sotirovic (2000) state that In the second level, framing, or indicator salience, illustrates how the media tell us how to think about something a reprisal of Bernard Cohen's famous statement that the media tell us what to think about. Framing is found to activate precise thoughts and ideas for news audiences, as seen in the vast body of framing effects research.

Some scholars such as Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber, and Fan, (1998), McCombs, (1994) McCombs and Bell, (1996) and McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver, (1997) consider framing as "an extension of agenda-setting, or more specifically second level agenda-setting." Agenda-setting, predominantly, views, object occurrence is as a conveyed element to news spectators. The second level is concerned with a point of reference of an occurrence, explaining how media inform news spectators how to think certain things" as revenge of Bernard Cohen's statement that the media inform the audiences what to think about. There is an extensive form of framing influences research documentation on how framing operates certain thoughts and notions in news spectators (Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber, and Fan, 1998), (McCombs, 1994) (McCombs & Bell, 1996) and (McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver, 1997). The new approach peace journalism might be able to relate the ethical gap between "what is" and "what ought to be." It also can create a media system that enhance peace rather than war, 'comprehension rather than frustration', tolerance rather than hatred, celebration of diversity rather than xenophobia.

2.2.5 Peace Journalism and Propaganda

In every society certain actors make efforts to influence the tone of media coverage in line with their interests. This could be to promote some narratives about societal and issues or to shape public perceptions in support of instituted authorities or governments. This act has been described as propaganda. Jowett and O'Doannell (1992) define propaganda as a “deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate knowledge, and direct behavior to achieve a desired response.” While, Lee (1939) points out that (The Institute for Propaganda Analysis) (IPA) identified seven propaganda devices as follows: labeling, glittering generalizations, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, card stacking, and band wagon. Especially in the post years of the Second World War, and they were detected in Father Coughlin’s CBS radio broadcasts (Lee, 1939).

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis classified through the seven propaganda media sins to understand how propaganda works. Firstly, name calling exemplifies the method of giving notions or people a bad description with the goal of making the audience neglect or reject them without evaluating the evidence. Negative concepts such as “fascist”, “radical” and “terrorist” are examples of the term (name calling). The shining generalizations, associated concept or people with dignity terms such as “patriot”, “brave”, or “democratic” in an attempt to make the spectators adopt and determine the subject without evaluating the reason. The conveyance figure can carry two possibilities positive or negative, and includes referring to an idea or person with valued and respected symbol such as “Mother Theresa”, “Gandhi”, “Jesus”, or someone that carries a feature of good qualities like “Satan”, “Hitler”, “Saddam”, etc. With the obvious folk’s approach, the speaker represents oneself as a spokesman of certain people “*versus the elite or versus the enemy*”, and so, his ideas are to be

valuable. However, card stacking can be defined as a “device of selective omission” in which a talker shows information which is preferred to a certain concept and leaves it with no information unlikely to it. Lastly, the flashing method depends on the potential of numbers (Lee, 1939).

2.3 Israeli English Newspaper

The Israeli media is the media device in Israel which expands among televisions, websites, newspapers, etc. These media were take part long time ago going to the beginning of the twentieth century, “Halbanon” newspaper which consider as the first Hebrew newspaper in 1863, which was named. The role of press in that days was focusing on religious topics more than others (Odwan, 2012). According to Jammal, (2005) in the British mandate while they are ruling Palestine, there were more than 13 newspapers owned by the Zionist movement before the establishment of Israel in 1948. Although the Israeli media is considered as an independent, strong in criticizing of issues and policies inside Israel, however, it is criticized by its bias in presenting issues that are related to the Palestinian- Israeli case due to the military censorship law which is called in Hebrew (Tsanzorah Tsb’alet). The committee of editors in Israel by the government were established in 1942, which had upper a responsibility of the censorship on the Israeli press. The main aim from them is to prevent information from reaching the other who are considered as enemies of the state. This committee had agreements with the military censorship for censoring the press and preventing the newspapers from going to the court if they prevent publishing some of its press materials. It is worthy to add that these agreements still work until these days in Israel (Jammal, 2005). The following are the most popular and circulated between the Israel media specially these English versions.

2.3.1 Haaretz

Haaretz in Hebrew language predominantly means “The Land”. However, it is a newspaper which was founded in 1918, located in Tel Aviv and considered as a national daily newspaper specially the Hebrew edition. For instance, Salman Schocken, a Jewish merchant who left Germany in 1934 after the Nazis invaded Germany, bought the paper in December 1935. Schocken was well-known for being active in Brit Shalom. In addition, he was known as the Jewish–Palestinian Peace Alliance, a body supporting co-existence between Jews and Arabs which was sympathetic to a homeland for both peoples. So it’s owned by Schocken Family (60%), M. DuMont Schauberg (20%) and Leonid Nevzlin (20%) (Odwan, 2012, p. 35).

It is known for its left wing and liberal attitudes on national and international issues for this reason it’s described as supporter in the peace process till the government censorship interact for manipulation (Odwan, 2012). In 2016, it gained only a number of readers which had just reached up to 3.9% in Israel. According to the *Center for Research Libraries*, among Israel’s daily newspapers, “Haaretz is seen as the most effective and trustful for both its news coverage and its commentary.” It had been chosen according that it labelled as the largest sale and circulation in Israel, and it has got approximately 500 thousands followers on their Facebook according to the social baker.

2.3.2 Jerusalem Post

Jerusalem post newspaper was established in 1932 during the British colonialism of Palestine, the founder is Gershon Argon, what should mentioned here that Jerusalem post newspaper was holding the name Palestine post during the British detention till 1950 to be changed into the new name (Odwan, 2012).

Jerusalem post as a newspaper published into English and French editions, and formerly it showed as left wing and sometimes it shifts to the right (Odwan, 2012). It has got more than million followers on their Facebook according to the social baker.

2.3.3 Yedioth Ahronoth

Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper was instituted in 1939 by Arnon Moses family who owned other 17 local newspapers and 6 magazines. The newspaper now located in Tel Aviv and considered as a national daily newspaper specially the Hebrew edition. It's founded by the investor Gershon Komarov, it was the first evening newspaper during the British colonialism of Palestine (Hassouna, 2014).

It is a part of Yedioth Ahronoth group that own several Israeli media institutions like channel 2 and commercial T.V channels. It had been chosen according that it labelled as the largest sale and circulation in Israel, and it has got more than million followers on their Facebook according to the social baker.

Yedioth Ahronoth has more than 100,000 copies daily distributed and it reached to 135,000 copies on Fridays (Al-Mutairi, 2004). The newspaper income reached 200 million dollars annually, and its capital is around 400 to 500 million dollars (Ramadan, 2005). The "Ynet news" is offerings the English-language version of the Yedioth Ahronoth web site, which was recognized in 2005. The newspaper stated in its web site that it has "professional standards in order to be an authoritative and accurate source of online news" (Mozes, 2005).

2.3.4 The Times of Israel

The Time of Israel online newspaper was recognized in 2012, and founded by David Harovitz, although it is even new in the media filed this newspaper beside to its English edition it has also either Hebrew, Arabic, French and Persian editions. In

February 2014, it had a rate of reading reached up to of two millions. However, in 2017, the rate increased to approximately three and a half of millions unique monthly readers (Hassouna, 2014). It has got also more than a million followers on their Facebook according to the social baker.

2.4 Palestinian Prisoners

During the colonialism there many of Palestinians prisoners in the British prisons even they had been executed for their resistances against the colonialism. For instance, in 17 June 1930 the British colonial authorities issued death sentences against 26 Palestinian fighters who took part in the Buraq revolution in 1929. Then replaced life imprisonment for 23 of them, and carried out the death sentence of the three hero Martyrs: Mohammed Jamjoom, Fouad Hijazi and Atta Zeer. (Hamduneh, 2015, 28). In addition, Sheikh Farhan al-Saadi participated in national conferences and demonstrations against the British colonialism on Palestine, Sa'adi was imprisoned by the British authorities for the many operations against the British, and he was sentenced to death. Then executed on 1937, at the age of 75 during the Ramadan fast (Lachman, 1982).

Also coming to the period after 1948 when Israel established as state the prisons didn't close even though used the same prisons that British were using with more worse conditions and just to be known over than one million of Palestinians were in the prison since 1967, even you can't imagine that each house in Palestine had experienced the prison for at least one member of the family.

According to the report that published by The Commission of Detainees Affairs (2018) "More than 6000 Palestinian prisoners, including 250 children and 54 women,

were held in 22 Israeli jails, 48 prisoners spent more than 20 years in the prisons while some of them had been for more than 35 years in the prison like Nael Barghouthy 40 years inside the prison and Karim Younis, 37 years inside the Israeli prisons”.

As Punamaki, R. (1988) mentioned “The accusations of Palestinian prisoners are namely dependent on a charge that they are "members of illegal organizations" referring to a belonging to the Palestinian Liberation Organization PLO, PFLP and now Hamas or Islamic Jihad, planning or taking part in destruction against Israelis”.

The prisoners defined according to the “Palestinian” governmental and the community side as "prisoners" while “Israeli” side calls them "security prisoners". However, regarding to The Fourth Geneva Convention human rights the defined as “war prisoners”. This mean that they are under the international rule and protection.

2.4.1 What is Hunger Strike?

Hunger strike is “the abstention of the prisoner from eating all types of foodstuffs available to the prisoners except water and a little salt, a step rarely taken by the prisoners. It is considered the most dangerous and cruel step that the prisoner resort to because of the serious risks physically and psychologically”. (Apovian et al. 2007, 563).

According to O'Malley (1990) “The hunger strike as an idea known mostly from the Irish Detainees' Strike that start in Miz prison in Northern Ireland in 1976 to demand their right to be treated as political detainees. Where seven detainees in 1980 staged the first 53 days’ hunger strike. And the second occur was in 1981 which halted after the death of ten hunger detainees during Thatcher's reign”.

Even the Irish experience of the hunger strike were popular also the Palestinian case was more horrible in this issue, however the prisoners sometimes came to the death. Due to Palestinian Information Center (2012) that four strikers in the history of Palestinian hunger strike case end with their death after they forced to break their strike through the force feeding policy the following is their details:

1. Abdul Qader Abu al-Fahm on 1970, during the strike of Ashkelon prison.
2. Rasem Halawa, Ali al-Jaafari on 1980 during the strike of Nafha prison.
3. Mahmoud Fritikh on 1984 during the strike of Junaid Prison.
4. Hussein Nimr on 1992 during the strike of Ashkelon prison.

2.4.2 History of Palestinian Prisoners Hunger Strike

The Palestinian hunger strike as Hamduneh (2015) stated goes back to 1970s with the first hunger strike occurred, it is also divided to grouped and individuals that they were participating to the hunger strike as followings:

- 1) Strike of Ramle prison on 18/02/1969. It had taken 11 days. The reason was to improve and increase the amount of food, allows the stationery tools, refuses to call the jailer with a word (sir) and refuses to prevent the assembly of more than two prisoners in the arena as well as increase the time of the eruption. It ended with the repression, isolation and humiliation of the prisoners.
- 2) Strike of Kfar Yona prison on 18/02/1969. It had taken for 8 days coincided with the Ramla strike. The reason for the change is the (thin plastic mattress on which the prisoner sleeps), improving and increasing the amount of food, introducing stationery and refusing to call the jailer with a word "sir". It resulted in allowance of a very little stationery to write messages to parents and to abolish the word "sir" from the prison dictionary.

- 3) Strike of Nvi Trista prison on 28/04/1970. It had taken 9 days. The prisoners were subjected to humiliation and punishment, including isolation in solitary confinement. After that the prison administration promised to examine and respond to the demands, but what has been achieved is very little, such as improving ventilation, increasing the time of the eruption and offering some of the special needs of women through the Red Cross.
- 4) Strike of Ashkelon prison on 05/07/1970. It had taken for 7 days. The prisoners demanded of offering the stationery tools, clothes and increasing in the time of the break time. The prison administration declined the demands after promising of accepting the demands of the prisoners.
- 5) Strike of Ashkelon prison on 13/09/1973. It had taken 25 days.
- 6) Strike of Ashkelon prison on 11/12/1976. It had taken 45 days. The reason is to improve the conditions of life. In which the prison administration allowed the stationery tools and handed over the prisoners to the prison library as a correspondence to the family, as well as improving the quality and quantity of food and replacing the mattresses of prisoners "Gumi" worn out.
- 7) Strike of Ashkelon prison on 24/02/1977. It had taken 20 days. After the prison administration reversed some of the promises made to the prisoners, the prisoners decided to resume the hunger strike again.
- 8) Strike of Nafha Prison on 14/07/1980. It had taken for 32 days. Nafha prison was recently opened and was able to accommodate about 100 prisoners. The prison administration aimed to isolate the leaders of the Palestinians movement. The prominent prisoners in Nafha Prison were assembled in extremely harsh conditions, in terms of rotten and dusty food. Large numbers of prisoners were placed in each room. The detainee's rooms were lacked air, the doors were

closed and the ventilation holes were small. The prison administration also deprived the prisoners of stationery, allowing them only one hour a day for the riot in the prison yard, as well as ill-treatment. For these reasons, the prisoners decided to go on hunger strike after coordinating with the prisoners of the Ashkelon and Beersheba prisons. The strikers were brutally attacked by the prison administration, but the prisoners continued to strike. However, the prison administration tried a method of forced feeding by plastic prams that are pushed to the prisoner's stomach through the nose opening.

After that, a batch of prisoners whose condition was ill was transferred to Nitzan Prison in Ramle. This prisoner was severely abused. Prisoner Rasem Halawa died on July 21 and Ali Ja'fari was arrested. He later died, two years later, after being injured. Also during this strike was the prisoner Anis State. Following the death of these prisoners, the other prisons joined the 33-day strike. The strike was accompanied by a violent campaign by the Prison Service under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior, the then occupation authorities, Yusef Borg. A number of strikers were transferred from Nafha Prison to Ramle Prison. Violent. As the strike continued, the "Kit" committee was formed by the occupation authorities, which examined the conditions of their detention, especially in the Nafha detention camp, and recommended the introduction of the family and the expansion of the rooms and squares and lifting the sheet from the upper roof of the door, replacing the network, Reducing the number of rooms and the introduction of photo albums and stationery on the visit of parents, and the family was installed in all prisons gradually. The strike has received wide media coverage, especially after the death of the prisoners. It has also received a broad movement of solidarity and support from the families of

the prisoners and their supporters. This strike has caused a qualitative leap in the conditions of prisoners' lives in Israeli prisons, although not enough. (Hamduneh. 2015, 199).

- 9) Strike of Jneid prison on September 1984. It had taken for 13 days. This strike was considered a strategic turning point in the history of the captive Palestinian movement. Jneid prison administration sat down with the strikers and was convinced of the need to improve the conditions of the prisoners lives, especially in cases that were considered by the red lines cannot acceptable, such as radio, television and civilian clothes, where all were allowed by the international law, in addition to improving the types of food and treatment.

Immediately the Director of the Prisons Service was replaced by the occupying authorities with another who responded to the demands for the allowing the prisoners to have pajamas by families, access to the radios, and increases the amount of the canteen. (Hamduneh. 2015, 201).

- 10) Strike of Jneid prison on 25/03/1987. It had taken for 20 days. This strike came after David Maimon received the task of the prison director. He withdrew many achievements, such as preventing prisoners from receiving clothes from their families, preventing prisoners from visiting each other's in the rooms, reducing the duration of the meals and the quantities of food. Despite this, the strike ended without tangible results, and promises from prison administrations were not realized. It contributed to the outbreak of the first intifada.

- 11) Strike of all prisons on 23/01/1988.

- 12) Strike of Nafha prison on 23/06/1991. It had taken 17 days. During the first Gulf War and the state of emergency imposed on prisons. So after the war ended the prison administration refused to return the situation to the state before the state

of emergency. The prisoners of Nafha prison entered a strike to restore the situation and the prison administration did not implement any of them, which was considered a strike of failed strikes, but formed the ground for the strike in 1992.

- 13) Strike of all prisons on 25/09/1992. It had taken 15 days. Which included most prisons about 7,000 prisoners participated after the failure of the strike in 1991, all prisons began preparing for a comprehensive strike for all prisoners in Israeli jails. The prison participation was as follows: Jenin, Asqlan, Nafha, Beersheba and Nablus on 27/09, Jenin prison 29/09, Hebron prison 30/09, Ramallah prison, and the prisoners of Telmond on 01/10, Gaza Central Prison on 10/10, and the following prisons participated in solidarity, Majdo, Naqab, Fara'a and Shatta. The interaction of the Palestinian street with the strike significantly, unusually, televisions were left behind by the prisoners and did not withdraw, leading to the morale of the strikers when they watched people interact with the strike. This strike led to a clash between the Minister of Police and the Director of the Prison Service, Gabi Amir, who expressed his firmness towards the prisoners.

The strike ended with great success for the prisoners, and considered one of the most successful strikes by the Palestinian prisoners in order to obtain their rights. Many necessary achievements were achieved, such as closing the isolation section in Ramle Prison, stopping the naked inspection, the introduction of cooking slabs into the detention rooms, the purchase of canned goods and soft drinks, and the expansion of the shopping list in the canteen. (Hamduneh. 2015, 205).

- 14) Strike of all prisons on June 1994. It had taken 3 days.
- 15) Strike of all prisons on 18/06/1995. It had taken for 18 days.

- 16) Strike of Ashkelon prison on 1996. It had taken for 18 days.
- 17) Strike of all prisons on 05/12/1998.
- 18) Strike of all prisons on 01/05/2000. It had taken for 30 days. In protest against the policy of isolation and the restrictions and conditions that affect the visits of the families of the Palestinian detainees. The administration tried to force the prisoners to visit their parents behind glass barriers with naked inspections being imposed again. The prisoners in Hadarim began an open hunger strike with milk and liquids. They were joined by the prisoners of Nafha prison, Ashkelon prison and Shatta prison after about ten days. The number of prisoners was 1500 prisoners. The demands of the prisoners were to allow them to visit the Shabak, to allow telephone calls, to learn at Arab universities, to stop the naked inspections and to remove the isolationists. The prison administration announced its acceptance of humanitarian issues not security issues. The Shabak was attended by officials to negotiate with the prisoners on these issues. It was agreed to achieve some achievements, such as the removal of immediate isolation, and the cessation of naked inspection, and promised to solve the problem of public telephones, and learning the Arab Open University after months, if the prisoners prove their commitment not to engage or interfere in any military activity outside prisons. It was believed that the strike had failed, as the opportunity had not been exploited and the achievements achieved. There were those who believed that the strike had achieved its objectives, and the results would have improved till had the Al-Aqsa intifada not erupted which turned things upside down. (Hamduneh. 2015, 207).
- 19) Strike of Neve Trista prison on 26/06/2001. It had taken 8 days.

- 20) Strike of Hadarim prisons on 15/08/2004. It had taken 19 days. The conditions of life in the prisons worsened and the prison administration attacked a very vicious attack on the prisoners, causing them severe suffocation. The attack on the prison directorate increased because of its awareness of the prisoners' inability to take part in the strike and their conviction that the circumstances were inappropriate and that the justification for further restrictions, harassment and withdrawal of achievements was justified. In the context of unlimited pressure - especially in Hadarim prison - the prisoners entered the 12-day open hunger strike, made some minor achievements and halted the last wave of measures for the strike Hamduneh. 2015, 208).
- 21) Strike of all prisons on 10/07/2006. It had taken 6 days.
- 22) Strike of The PFLP prisoners on 2011. It had taken for 22 days.
- 23) Strike of all prisons on 17/04/2012. It had taken 28 days. When the Israeli soldier "Shalit" was arrested by the Palestinian Islamic movement (HAMAS), the Israeli government approved a law called the "Shalit Law" under which the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) is carrying out a series of punitive measures against the Palestinian prisoners, claiming that what Shalit is deprived of will be denied to Palestinian prisoners. Despite the fact that thousands of Palestinian prisoners were before the detention of "Shalit" for long periods of visit and dozens of them were incarcerated in solitary confinement cells and inhumane treatment by the Prison Service against prisoners, most notably planning for the suppression of prisoners of the Negev prison in 2007. Criminal action "The martyrdom of the prisoner Mohammed al-Ashqar on 22/10/2007.

This has prompted the prisoners to rethink the battle of new empty intestines in order to achieve their legitimate demands. 28 days ago, on 14 May 2012, the

Palestinian prisoners who have been on hunger strike signed an agreement with the Israel Prison Service (IPS) to end the strike, following the response to the prisoners' demands under Egyptian auspices. As the Egyptian ambassador was involved in the negotiations and supervised the signing of the agreement with the prisoners. The agreement was reached between representatives of Israel, with the participation of the head of the Shin Bet, Yoram Cohen, and Egyptian delegates. The strike was considered a real victory for the Palestinian prisoners. Participation, support and local and international solidarity were instrumental in supporting the steadfastness of hunger strikers. (Hamduneh. 2015, 209).

- 24) Strike of Megiddo, Ofer and Negev prisons on 24/04/2014. It had taken 63 days. Approximately 120 Palestinian detainees in Megiddo, Ofer and Negev prisons began an open hunger strike to protest their continued administrative detention (mahali) without charge or trial, demanding the abolition of the administrative detention policy. In later times dozens of administrative prisoners, sentenced and arrested as a step of solidarity and solidarity to fight, even exceeded the number of hunger strikers 220 prisoners. Most of the hunger strikers were taken to Israeli hospitals: Eilikhov, Kaplan, Assaf Harofeh, Berzlai, Plinson, Wolfson, Soroka, Hamek, and "Buria"; to keep them occupation authorities bound in their beds.

The Prisons Service tried from the outset to break the strike by force; but it could not undermine the resolve of the prisoners and their insistence on achieving their demands. After 63 days, the administrative prisoners suspended their open hunger strike, in accordance with an agreement with the Israeli Prison Intelligence Command, to stop the strike and abolish all the sanctions imposed on the prisoners at the start of the strike and return them to the prisons from

which they were transferred during the strike. To agree to continue the dialogue with the Prison Service on the issue of administrative detention. (Hamduneh, 2015, 210).

- 25) Strike of all prisons on 17/04/ 2017. It had taken 40 days. Approximately 1500 prisoners in the Israeli jails launched an open hunger strike to regain many of their rights that were taken by the administration of Israeli jails. On the seventh day of the strike, 40 prisoners were incarcerated in Megiddo prison and 20 in Raymond Prison in the battle of freedom and dignity alongside their fellow prisoners. On the seventeenth and eighteenth day of the strike, 100 prisoners the factions of national and Islamic action join the battle of freedom and dignity. On the 31st day, 60 prisoners joined the open-ended hunger strike at Jalboa Prison. On the 34th day more than 200 prisoners in Nafha, Raymond and Ishel prisons joined the hunger strike, on the 40th day, the prisoners suspended their hunger strike after 20 hours of talks led by Marwan Barghouthi, and ended with victory.
- 26) Strike of Raymond and the Negev prisons on 08/04/2019. Approximately 150 Palestinian prisoners began an open hunger strike on April 8, 2019, in the prisons of Raymond and the Negev, in a battle they called "Battle of Karama 2", with successive batches of prisoners to strike from various prisons during the following days; The dialogue between the administration of the Israeli occupation prisons and the representatives of the factions and organizations of the captive movement in the detention centers of the occupation because of the intransigence of the prison administration and behind it the Israeli political level in responding to the demands of the human life of the captive movement and guaranteed by all laws and international laws. Including the removal of jamming devices, the return of visits to the prisoners of the Gaza Strip, the failure to reach

clear understandings regarding the installation of public telephone devices between the prison sections and the end of the isolation of prisoners punished following the recent events in the Negev desert prison, and the cessation of incursions and abuse and medical negligence against them and other demands.

27) The individuals hunger strike most prominent among them were the prisoners Samer Issawi (270 days), Mahmoud Sarsak, (Khader Adnan 60 days), Hana Shalabi, (Muhammad Allan 32 days), Thaer Halahelah and Bilal Diab and (Muhammad Al-Qeeq 95 days). See figure (1-3).



Figure 1: Samer Issawi, APRIL 23, 2013,
(Photo credit: Marc Israel Sellem/ The Jerusalem Post).



Figure 2: Mohammed al-Qeeq, February 5, 2016.
(REUTERS Photo)



Figure 3: Muhammad Allan
(Photo credit: MARUAN ABU FARIYA)

2.4.3 Reasons behind the Hunger Strike

There are important reasons alluded to the prisoners' reactions, centered on the violation of human rights according to the Fourth Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War in 1949. It was announced at the convention that each individual has the fundamental right such as the individual right this right given by the international community. The United Nations was created to maintain international peace and security to protect human rights from the violation of the individual right that is given to all humans.

There are many reasons that cause the hunger strike in the Israeli prison under the hunger strike and these causes according to the report published by The Commission of Detainees Affairs as follows:

1. Refusing to call the jailer with a word (sir) and refusing humiliation and punishment, including isolation in solitary imprisonment. This kind of the violation of human rights that prisoners face from the Israeli authority in the live prison in hunger without care of their condition so many people lose their lives as a result of this unjust from the Israeli government.
2. Improving the introduction of stationery and the conditions of life especially in cases that were considered by the red lines cannot talk, such as radio, television and civilian clothes, where all were allowed, in addition to improving the types of treatment, then the food is available to the prisoners these announced the hunger strike had stopped and responded Prisons and other suspended strike.
3. Improving and increasing the quality and quantity of food and to change the mattresses of prisoners "Gumi" (the thin plastic mattress on which the prisoner sleeps).

4. Improving the family visit after it was banned and allowing to receive clothes from the parents and an increase in the time of the eruption.
5. Allowed and handed over the prisoners to the prison library as a correspondence to the family, against the inspection of the embarrassing parents on visits.
6. Refused to prevent the assembly of more than two prisoners in the arena as well as increase the time of the outbreak.
7. Protesting against the policy of isolation and the restrictions and conditions that affect the visits of the families of the Palestinian detainees.
8. Demanding the abolition of the administrative detention policy. In later times dozens of administrative prisoners, sentenced and arrested as a step of solidarity and solidarity to fight, even exceeded the number of hunger strikers 220 prisoners.
9. After the prison administration reversed some of the promises made to the prisoners, the prisoners decided to resume the hunger strike again, the demands of the human life of the captive movement and guaranteed by all laws and international laws. Including the removal of jamming devices, the return of visits to the prisoners of the Gaza Strip, the failure to reach clear understandings regarding the installation of public telephone devices between the prison sections and the end of the isolation of prisoners punished following the recent events in the Negev desert prison, and the cessation of incursions and abuse and medical negligence against them and other demands.

For all these reasons the Palestinians prisoners took the step of being in hunger strike for many times and for long terms.

Chapter3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides information about the research design and the approach adopted of data collection.

3.1 Research Design and Methodology

The methodology used in this study is frame analysis. In frame analysis research, headlines are compared according to Johan Galtung's Peace Journalism as (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005) described in their study.

According to Ersoy and Aluc (2018) "the concept of frame analysis was first used by Goffman (1974); after that Tuchman applied Goffman's frame analysis to news reporting, arguing that news reporting frames organize everyday reality." Later on after fifteen years, Entman improved Goffman's concept of frame analysis. Goffman's frame analysis sought to put it in a conceptual framework, and to illustrate the way frames work in media. It is worth mentioning. Goffman's (1986) defined of frame analysis as "a frame is best understood as the way information is presented and organized in the media and interpreted by the individual." In addition to this, Sieff (2003) says that Gitlin (1980) argues that "the advantage of the frames is giving the static presentation of information the additional dimension of persistent patterns of 'cognition, interaction and presentation.'"

3.2 Population and Sample

The study sample consists of four newspapers selected from Israel that were published in English version to investigate how the Israeli's media international institutions are addressing the world and how they are framing the Palestinians specifically the hunger strike of the Palestinians prisoners.

In fact, all the news that had been published in those four newspapers during the period (2012-2017) were selected for analyzing. In this study, total of 697 news are analyzed as following: Haartez: 206 news. Jerusalem Post: 179 news. Yedioth Ahronoth: 147 news. Times of Israel: 165 news.

The Israeli newspaper that have been chosen as sample in this study in line with its popularity, high circulation and its political approaches. For instance, (Yedioth Ahronoth) is the most sold newspaper in Israel (400.000 copy per day), in which its point of views range between right and left until the 2000s Second Intifada and it has become the reprehensive of right parties especially Liked party which is the governing party in Israel. However, Haartez daily newspaper, which is well-known for its liberty in local and international issues, and its modesty in the security issues, it is one of first established newspapers in Israel. Therefore, it is an effective newspaper because its relationship to the Labor Party that is known as the founders of Israel (state builders). On the contrary, Jerusalem Post is known as the most effective newspaper in English language on the foreign political level. Times of Israel represented the new media approach as an electronic website. All in all, these newspapers can create and construct a public opinion and social change due its

relationship with main political parties in Israel and the numerous circulation by the readers. So easily it can frame any issue to take the benefits of it.

3.3 Data Collections Procedure

This study examined the main four Israeli's newspaper English version which they are (Haartez, Jerusalem Post, Yedioth Ahronoth and Times of Israel), those newspapers were chosen for their high circulation which mean that they are have massive impact through their the huge number of followers and they are also represent a different approaches and political parties among the Israeli society. The period were determined between 2012 and 2017 during that there are three groped hunger strike and many individuals ones.

For collecting the news which expressed the Palestinian hunger strike the researcher followed searching the news through the social baker to elicit all the news then with Google advance search through the key wards and with specifying the dates annually for each newspaper. The data were collected then compared with newspapers websites to make sure that all were found.

3.4 Coding Schema

The coding that is taken into account in this study is what Ersoy (2010) developed. It noticed that "Content Analysis Coding Schema' in peace journalism context." This coding schema is adopted for analyzing frames of Gezi Park Protests news in three Turkish national newspapers. The researchers coded this 'Content Analysis Coding Schema' for each news headlines which covers a predefined and limited set of conflict and peace frames. Considering the number of newspapers, the research was limited to front pages and headlines. The coding sheet as adopted in this study, is attached in the appendix.

3.5 Inter-Coding Reliability

The actual reality of this study clarified through its validity that makes it more truthfulness and real (Neuman, 2006). Though for testing the validity of this study the researcher did a pilot study by testing the instrument of the analysis (check list) by analyzing 70 news from all the newspapers, then the data were entered to the (SPSS) software.

To make the results more reliability, the researcher used Cohen's Kappa, coefficient which is a statistic measures inter-rater agreement for qualitative (categorical) items. It is generally thought to be a more robust measure than simple percent agreement calculation; Kappa measures the percentage of data values then adjusts these values for the amount of agreement that could be expected due to chance alone (Cohen, 1960).

Cohen's (1960) formula for calculating kappa was used: $k = (P_o - P_c) / (N - P_c)$, P_o is the observed proportion of agreement by coders, P_c is the proportion of agreement expected by chance and N is the total number of judgments made by each coder. For reliability, 10% of the total sample was issued to two independent coders. The results from the two coders arrived at =0.84 reliability. This proves that the coding sheet adopted for this study is appropriate and reliable (Cohen, 1960).

3.6 Data Analysis

The coded data that were collected were recorded and entered into the IBM Statically Package for Social Science (SPSS) version. 21 and analyzed using the frequencies and the cross-tabulations between the variable data methods of illustrative statistics. The finding were discussed and illustrated the answers of the research questions.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS AND RESULTS

This chapter shows the statistically analyzed data collected from the newspapers in relation to the study objectives and questions.

4.1 Frequency of Analysis of Variables in Data

This section is set to talk about the frequency analysis of variable data after collecting the data of approximately 700 news from four main Israeli newspaper. The analytics for the frequency was as followings:

Table 4.1: Frequency of News According to the Newspapers

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Per	Cum Percent
Valid	HAARTEZ	206	29.6	29.6
	JERUSALEM POST	179	25.7	55.2
	YEDIOTH AHRONOTH	147	21.1	76.3
	THE TIME OF ISRAEL	165	23.7	100.0
	Total	697	100.0	100.0

Table 4.1 shows the frequency of the news according to the newspapers so we can see that Haartez has 206 news in the study period related to the study topic which is the largest number between the newspapers that selected as the case study with

percentage 29.6%. However, Jerusalem Post came after with 179 news and a percentage 25.7%, followed by The Times of Israel with 165 news 23.7%. The last rank is given to Yedioth Ahronoth with 147 news and 21.1%.

Table 4.2: Frequency of News According to the Evaluation of Headlines

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Comment	45	6.5	6.5	6.5
Quotation	110	15.8	15.8	22.2
Descriptive	542	77.8	77.8	100.0
Total	697	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.2 signifies the frequency of the news according to the Evaluation Headline in the Newspapers so we can see that most of the headlines were Descriptive in 542 of the news headlines in the study period related to the study topic which is the largest number between the newspapers that selected as the case study with percentage 77.8%. However, Quotation's headlines came after with 110 of the news headlines and a percentage 15.8%, followed by Comment's headlines was less than other with 45 of the news headlines as 6.5%.

Table 4.3: Frequency of news according to Dominant Frames

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Negative	542	77.8	77.8	77.8
Positive	155	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total	697	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.3 reveals the frequency of the news according to the Dominant Frame in the Newspapers so we can see that most of the headlines frames were Negative in 542 of the news headlines in the study period related to the study topic which is the largest number between the newspapers that selected the case study with percentage 77.8%. Meanwhile, the positive frames were just 155 of the news headlines 22.2% of the news headlines.

Table 4.4 page 47 reveals the frequency of the news according to the study period in the newspapers so we can see that in May 2017 there is 116 news with a percentage 16.6%, followed by April 2017 with 92 news and percentage 13.2%.

4.2 Crosstabulation of Variables in Data

This section is set to discuss the analysis of the data by crosstabulation the frames according to newspapers and an evaluation of headlines. The results are explained as follows in the tables page (48), page (50), and page (63).

Table 4.4: Frequency of News Date According Periods of Publication

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FEB.2012	28	4.0	4.0	4.0
MAR.2012	10	1.4	1.4	5.5
APR.2012	30	4.3	4.3	9.8
MAY.2012	61	8.8	8.8	18.5
JUN.2012	13	1.9	1.9	20.4
FEB.2013	53	7.6	7.6	28.0
MAR.2013	7	1.0	1.0	29.0
APR.2013	28	4.0	4.0	33.0
APR.2014	7	1.0	1.0	34.0
MAY.2014	8	1.1	1.1	35.2
Valid JUN.2014	55	7.9	7.9	43.0
JUN.2015	20	2.9	2.9	45.9
JUL.2015	16	2.3	2.3	48.2
AUG.2015	79	11.3	11.3	59.5
FEB.2016	32	4.6	4.6	64.1
JUL.2016	10	1.4	1.4	65.6
AUG.2016	21	3.0	3.0	68.6
SEP.2016	11	1.6	1.6	70.2
APR.2017	92	13.2	13.2	83.4
MAY.2017	116	16.6	16.6	100.0
Total	697	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.5: Evaluation of Headlines in Newspapers

		Newspaper				Total
		HAARTEZ	JERUSALEM POST	YEDIOTH AHRONOTH	THE TIME OF ISRAEL	
Evaluation Headline	Count	19	13	9	4	45
	Comment % within Evaluation Headline	42.2%	28.9%	20.0%	8.9%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	9.2%	7.3%	6.1%	2.4%	6.5%
	Count	26	34	15	35	110
	Quotation % within Evaluation Headline	23.6%	30.9%	13.6%	31.8%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	12.6%	19.0%	10.2%	21.2%	15.8%
	Count	161	132	123	126	542
	Descriptive % within Evaluation Headline	29.7%	24.4%	22.7%	23.2%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	78.2%	73.7%	83.7%	76.4%	77.8%
	Count	206	179	147	165	697
	Total % within Evaluation Headline	29.6%	25.7%	21.1%	23.7%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The evaluation of the crosstabulation for those newspaper in table 4.5 illustrates that almost Haartez newspaper picked the news stories with (206) news with percentage 29.6%. However, 2.7% (19) news of the news headlines were “comment”, 3.7% (26) news was “quotation” and 23.1% (161) news were “descriptive”. While the Jerusalem Post newspaper had a total of 25.7% (179) news stories out of which 1.9% (13) of the headlines were “comment”, 4.9% (34) news were “quotation” and 18.9% (132) news “descriptive”. The Times of Israel, on the other hand had 23.7% (165) news in total, with 0.6% (4) news of the headlines as “comment”, 5.0% (35) news as “quotation” and 18.1% (126) news as “descriptive”. Lastly Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper had the lowest percentage 21.1% (147) news in total, with 1.3% (9) news of the headlines as “comment”, 2.2% (15) news as “quotation” and 17.6% (123) news as “descriptive.”

Thus, Haartez newspaper had the highest percentage (29.6%) out of the total (697) news stories selected. This was followed by Jerusalem Post newspaper (25.7%), followed by The Times of Israel newspaper (23.7%) and the last was Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper (21.1%). In terms of headlines evaluation, the “Descriptive” had the highest percentage 77.8% (542) news of the total, followed by “Comment” which had 15.8% (110) news and “Quotation” which had the lowest percent as 6.5% (45) news.

Table 4.6 next page reveals that the most of the news that had been published are framed negatively with a percentage 77.8% (542) news for negative frame. Otherwise the rest of the news were positive framed with a percentage 22.2% (155) news.

Table 4.6: Dominant Frame According to Newspapers.

		Newspaper				Total
		HAARTEZ	JERUSALEM POST	YEDIOTH AHRONOTH	THE TIME OF ISRAEL	
Dominant Frame	Count	142	148	120	132	542
	% within Dominant Frame	26.2%	27.3%	22.1%	24.4%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	68.9%	82.7%	81.6%	80.0%	77.8%
	Count	64	31	27	33	155
Positive Frame	% within Dominant Frame	41.3%	20.0%	17.4%	21.3%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	31.1%	17.3%	18.4%	20.0%	22.2%
	Count	206	179	147	165	697
Total	% within Dominant Frame	29.6%	25.7%	21.1%	23.7%	100.0%
	% within Newspaper	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.7: Negative Frame According to Newspapers.

		Newspaper				Total		
		HAARTEZ	JERUSALEM POST	YEDIOTH AHRONOTH	THE TIME OF ISRAEL			
NF ^a	Newspaper	Count	206	0	0	0	206	
		% within \$Negative_frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
		% within Q2	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	Exclusive Frame		Count	1	0	0	0	1
			% within \$Negative_frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
			% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Status Quo Oriented Frame		Count	5	8	4	8	25
			% within \$Negative_frame	20.0%	32.0%	16.0%	32.0%	
			% within Q2	2.4%	5.4%	3.4%	6.2%	
	Other is the Threat Frame		Count	27	19	15	12	73
			% within \$Negative_frame	37.0%	26.0%	20.5%	16.4%	
			% within Q2	13.1%	12.9%	12.7%	9.2%	
	Revenge Frame		Count	3	3	4	1	11
			% within \$Negative_frame	27.3%	27.3%	36.4%	9.1%	
			% within Q2	1.5%	2.0%	3.4%	0.8%	
	Antipathy Frame		Count	20	9	12	12	53
			% within \$Negative_frame	37.7%	17.0%	22.6%	22.6%	
			% within Q2	9.7%	6.1%	10.2%	9.2%	
	Distrust Frame		Count	3	0	1	1	5
			% within \$Negative_frame	60.0%	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	
		% within Q2	1.5%	0.0%	0.8%	0.8%		
Prejudiced Frame		Count	3	7	5	2	17	
		% within \$Negative_frame	17.6%	41.2%	29.4%	11.8%		
		% within Q2	1.5%	4.8%	4.2%	1.5%		

	Count	4	1	0	0	5
Sport Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	% within Q2	1.9%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Count	7	6	9	8	30
Unalanced Background Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	23.3%	20.0%	30.0%	26.7%	
	% within Q2	3.4%	4.1%	7.6%	6.2%	
	Count	11	9	10	4	34
Criticize Other Side's Government Policy Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	32.4%	26.5%	29.4%	11.8%	
	% within Q2	5.3%	6.1%	8.5%	3.1%	
	Count	1	0	0	0	1
They are our Enemy Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Count	13	10	8	9	40
Win_Lose Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	32.5%	25.0%	20.0%	22.5%	
	% within Q2	6.3%	6.8%	6.8%	6.9%	
	Count	1	0	0	0	1
Inferior Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Count	2	4	5	1	12
Nationalist Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	16.7%	33.3%	41.7%	8.3%	
	% within Q2	1.0%	2.7%	4.2%	0.8%	
	Count	1	10	4	15	30
Who Throw the First Stone Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	3.3%	33.3%	13.3%	50.0%	
	% within Q2	0.5%	6.8%	3.4%	11.5%	
	Count	4	6	0	0	10
Hate Speech Frame	% within \$Negative_frame	40.0%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	% within Q2	1.9%	4.1%	0.0%	0.0%	

Blame the Other Side Frame	Count	15	21	10	16	62
	% within \$Negative_frame	24.2%	33.9%	16.1%	25.8%	
	% within Q2	7.3%	14.3%	8.5%	12.3%	
Self and Other Frame	Count	2	0	0	1	3
	% within \$Negative_frame	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	
	% within Q2	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	
Just War Frame	Count	7	9	6	10	32
	% within \$Negative_frame	21.9%	28.1%	18.8%	31.3%	
	% within Q2	3.4%	6.1%	5.1%	7.7%	
Good and Evil Frame	Count	13	14	4	6	37
	% within \$Negative_frame	35.1%	37.8%	10.8%	16.2%	
	% within Q2	6.3%	9.5%	3.4%	4.6%	
They are Terrorist	Count	6	12	21	25	64
	% within \$Negative_frame	9.4%	18.8%	32.8%	39.1%	
	% within Q2	2.9%	8.2%	17.8%	19.2%	
Total	Count	206	147	118	130	601

In table 4.7 page 50 shows the crosstabulation of the negative frame according to newspapers. The dominant rate was with (73) news represents “other is the threat” Frame as the dominant frame, allocated among Haaretz (27) news, Jerusalem Post (19) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (15) news and Times of Israel (12) news. See figures (4-7).

The image is a screenshot of a news article from Haaretz. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the Haaretz logo and several menu items: "Israel News", "All sections", "Iran - Tel Aviv", "Trump - Soleimani", "The big questions", and "Israel -". The main headline reads "Some 1,600 Palestinian Prisoners in Israel Plan Hunger Strike". Below the headline is a sub-headline: "A third of Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons decided to go on hunger strikes on Tuesday; Israel Prison Service say threat is just a tool used frequently by prisoners." The author is listed as "Avi Issacharoff" with a link to "Send me email alerts". The date and time are "Apr 15, 2012 11:06 PM". There are social media sharing buttons for Facebook, Twitter, and email, along with a "Subscribe now" button. A comment count of "2" is visible. On the left side, there is a promotional banner for "Men Boots 60% OFF" with an image of a brown leather boot. The main text of the article begins with "Some 1,600 Palestinian prisoners in Israel have decided to launch a hunger strike on Tuesday in demand of better conditions." and continues with "The number accounts for about a third of Palestinian prisoners who are currently in Israeli prisons. Issa Qaraqi, minister of prisoner affairs in the Palestinian Authority, said that the situation in Israeli prisons has become dangerous, and called on prisoners from all factions and organizations to maintain a united front against the Israel Prison Service."

Figure 4: Haaretz Frame “Other is Threat”

Here it appear how Haartez newspaper portray the action of (hunger strike) as an action that is threatening the other while the quote of the source Israel prison service that the other (the Palestinian prisoners) treats the self (Israelis) as a threat and they are using the strike as a tool to abuse or threat them.

THE JERUSALEM POST ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT ISRAEL NEWS OPINION MIDDLE EAST DIASPORA U.S.
Jerusalem Post > MIDDLE EAST

Gazan leaders call for abduction of Israelis

Islamists urge "all armed factions" to kidnap Israeli soldiers to use as bargaining chips to free Palestinian prisoners.

By REUTERS APRIL 27, 2012 17:11



Figure 5: Jerusalem Post Frames “Other is Threat”

Here it seem how Jerusalem Post newspaper describe the action of (hunger strike) as an action that is threatening the other while the quote of the source the Palestinian resistance movements considered towered the other (Israelis) as a threat and they are calling for abduction of the self (Israelis) and even more kidnapping them as a tool to abuse or threat them.

The screenshot shows a news article from 'THE TIMES OF ISRAEL' dated January 5, 2020. The main headline is 'Dozens of Palestinian prisoners said set to join hunger strike'. A sub-headline reads: 'Inmates, mostly Fatah members, threaten to join protest by over 100 prisoners over incarceration conditions'. The article is by 'TOI STAFF' and was published on August 9, 2015, at 8:42 am. It has 1,102 shares. A secondary headline on the left side of the page reads: 'In blow to Netanyahu, Knesset lawyer, 65 MKs back swift immunity deliberations' by Raoul Wootliff. Below this headline, there is a partial text snippet: 'Blue and White representative says he has support from party leaders representing majority of lawmakers after legal adviser says no impediment to debating request immediately'. At the bottom of the article preview, there is a 'Live updates (closed)' section and a 'SCROLL TO VIEW MORE' button. A photograph at the bottom of the article shows the lower legs and feet of several people wearing dark, heavy-duty work boots and purple or brown trousers. They are wearing metal handcuffs on their wrists, which are attached to their ankles, suggesting they are prisoners or detainees.

Figure 6: The Times of Israel Frame “Other is Threat”

Here it perform how The Times of Israel newspaper express the action of (hunger strike) as an action that is threatening the other and label towered the other (Israelis) as a threat them as a tool to abuse or threat the other.

The screenshot shows the Ynet news website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with categories: Israel News, Middle East, World, Magazine, Jewish W, Travel, Health & Science, Business, Tech, Art, and גברית. Below this is a weather widget for Tel Aviv-Jaffa showing 15C. Social media icons for Twitter and Facebook are visible. The main headline is "Middle East" in large black font, followed by "Hamas warns Israel against hunger strike deaths". A sub-headline reads: "Islamist group says death of any Palestinian prisoner held in Israel will lead to 'unexpected response'; MK Zahalka warns of third intifada if prisoner dies; prisoners turn to Turkey's Erdogan for help". The author is Eilior Levy, published on 05.04.12 at 23:19. A small photo shows a demonstration at the Erez crossing. Below the article, there are social media sharing options for Facebook, print, send to friend, and comment.

Figure 7: Yedioth Ahronoth Frame “Other is Threat”

Here it seem how Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper entitle the action of (hunger strike) as an action that is threatening the other while the quote of the source the Palestinian Islamic Resistance movements (HAMAS) warning the other (Israelis) as a threat and

they are calling for violence toward the other and even more third intifada as a tool to abuse or threaten the other.

Furthermore, the frame “they are terrorists” with (64) news distributed as follows: Times of Israel (25) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (21) news, Jerusalem Post (12) news and Haaretz (6) news. See figure (8).

The image shows a screenshot of a news article on the Haaretz website. The top navigation bar includes the Haaretz logo and links for 'Israel News', 'All sections', 'Iran - Tel Aviv', 'Trump - Soleimani', 'The big questions', and 'Israel -'. Below the navigation bar, the breadcrumb 'Home > Opinion' is visible. The main headline is 'Opinion // Calling Marwan Barghouti a Terrorist Won't Silence Him'. The sub-headline reads: 'Israel should respond to the substance of Barghouti's NYT op-ed rather than hiding their violations of human rights, particularly of 6,500 Palestinian political prisoners, behind the accusation of terrorism'. The author is 'Qaddoura Fares' and the date is 'Apr 27, 2017 1:26 PM'. There are social media sharing buttons for Facebook, Twitter, Email, and Print, along with a 'Zen' button. The article text begins with: 'As we mark 50 years of Israeli occupation, over 1,500 Palestinian political prisoners have begun a hunger strike. The reasons behind this dramatic move were explained in a telling piece by Marwan Barghouti, a...'. The Haaretz logo is visible at the bottom of the article content.

Figure 8: Haartz Frame “They are Terrorist”

Here it look how Haartez newspaper portray the other of (Palestinian hunger strike) leader al Barghuoti as a terrorist that is threatening the other while the other (Palestinian hunger strike) also are behind the accusation pf terrorism.

The image is a screenshot of a news article on the Ynet website. At the top, the Ynet logo is visible, along with navigation links for Israel News, Middle East, World, Magazine, Jewish Wk, Travel, Health & Science, Business, Tech, Art, and עברית. Below the navigation is a weather widget for Tel Aviv-Jaffa showing 16C and social media icons for Twitter and Facebook. The main heading of the article is "News". The article title is "Haaretz columnist compares Barghouti to Irgun and Lehi fighters". A small photo of Marwan Barghouti is shown on the left. The article text states: "In an acrimonious interview with Minister of Tourism Yariv Levin, Haaretz columnist and Army Radio interviewer Ravit Hecht draws angry reactions by comparing convicted murderer and terrorist Marwan Barghouti to fighters from the Irgun and Lehi." Below the text are social media sharing options for Facebook, print, send to friend, and comment. A byline for Isaac Dabush and a publication date of 04.19.17, 10:32 are also visible. A small text block at the bottom of the article reads: "Ravit Hecht, a Haaretz columnist, made the parallel toward the end of an interview with Minister of Tourism Yariv Levin, which dealt almost exclusively with Barghouti, when he sardonically said: 'You know the history of Israel and our existence. Did you know that all the underground freedom fighters were heinous murderers in the eyes of the other side? You don't see any parallels'".

Figure 9: Yedioth Ahronoth Frame “They are Terrorist”

Here it appear how Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper label the other of (Palestinian hunger strike) leader al Barghuoti as a terrorist and a murderer that is threatening the other even while they were angry to be described as freedom fighter in the media.

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By JUDAH ARI GROSS

7 May 2017, 8:26 pm | 8

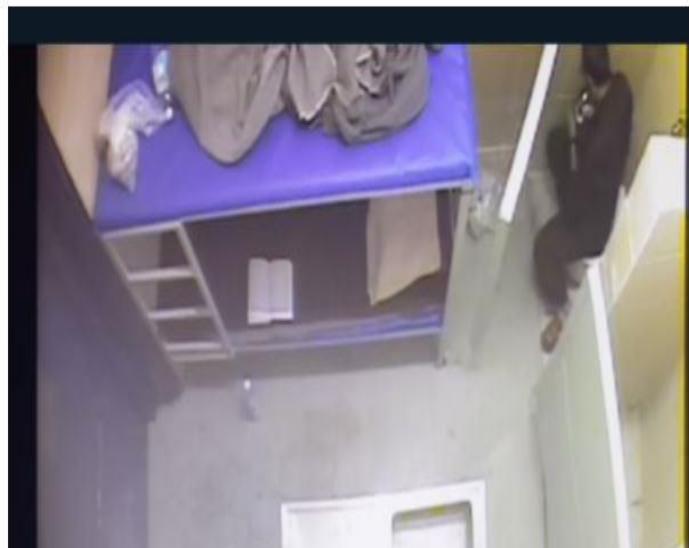


Figure 10: The Times of Israel Frame “They are Terrorist”

Here it appear how The Times of Israel newspaper express the other of (Palestinian hunger strike) leader al Barghuoti as a terrorist and mass protest that is threatening the other even while they were angry to be fabricated the video in a way to show him as gambling.

Jerusalem Post > Arab Israeli Conflict

High Court suspends administrative detention for 72-day hunger striker

Shin Bet says Muhammad Kik was arrested for terrorist activity connected to Hamas.

By YONAH JEREMY BOB FEBRUARY 4, 2016 22:20



Figure 11: Jerusalem Post Frame “They are Terrorist”

Here it look how Jerusalem Post newspaper express the other of (Palestinian hunger striker) as a terrorist with the quote of the Israeli security officers that is threatening the other even while the prisoner is just a journalist who spent months in hunger strike for his administrative detention .

Accordingly, the frame “blame the other side” gained (62) news, Jerusalem Post (21) news, Times of Israel (16) news, Haartez (15) news and Yedioth Ahronoth (10) news. Next. The frame “antipathy” got (53) news circulated as follows: Haartez (20) news, both Yedioth Ahronoth and Times of Israel (12) news for each and Jerusalem Post (9) news. The following frame was “win and lose” hold (40) news allocated as follows; Haartez (13) news, Jerusalem Post (10) news, Times of Israel (9) news and Yedioth Ahronoth (8) news. Next, the following frame was “good and evil” gained (37) news distributed as follows: Jerusalem Post (14) news, Haartez (13) news, Times of Israel (6) news and Yedioth Ahronoth (4) news. Consequently, the frame “criticize other sides’ government policy” got (34) news allotted as follows: Haartez (11) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (10) news, Jerusalem Post (9) news and Times of Israel (4) news. The frame “just war” got (32) news disseminated as follows: Times of Israel (10) news, Jerusalem Post (9) news, Haartez (7) news and Yedioth Ahronoth (6) news.

The two following frames got the same rate “unbalanced background” and “who throw the first stone” scored (30) news. The frame “Prejudiced” gained (17) news, “Nationalist” frame got (12) and Revenge” frame got (11) news. While “hate speech” frame scored (10) news.

It is worth mentioning that most of the news in the sample of the study were of total (697) news, however, (542) news tended to the negative frames allocated as Haartez (206) news, Jerusalem Post (147) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (118) news and Times of Israel (130) news.

Table 4.8: Positive Frame According to the Newspapers.

		Newspaper			
		HAARTEZ	JERUSALEM POST	YEDIOTH AHRONOTH	THE TIME OF ISRAEL
Newspaper	Count	206	0	0	0
	% within \$Positive frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Inclusive Frame	% within Q2	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Count	3	0	0	0
Solution Oriented Frame	% within \$Positive frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
PF ^a Understanding the Other Frame	Count	9	1	0	0
	% within \$Positive frame	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Empathy Frame	% within Q2	4.4%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%
	Count	1	0	0	0
Trust Frame	% within \$Positive frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
"Unprejudiced" Frame	Count	1	0	0	0
	% within \$Positive frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Trust Frame	% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Count	0	1	1	0
"Unprejudiced" Frame	% within \$Positive frame	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	0.0%	3.2%	3.4%	0.0%
"Unprejudiced" Frame	Count	2	3	0	0
	% within \$Positive frame	40.0%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	1.0%	9.7%	0.0%	0.0%

	Count	15	16	15	20
"Fair Play" Frame	% within \$Positive frame	22.7%	24.2%	22.7%	30.3%
	% within Q2	7.3%	51.6%	51.7%	60.6%
	Count	3	0	1	0
"Balance Background" Frame	% within \$Positive frame	75.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	1.5%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%
	Count	18	6	10	8
"Self-Reflex. Critic of Govt. Policy"	% within \$Positive frame	42.9%	14.3%	23.8%	19.0%
	% within Q2	8.7%	19.4%	34.5%	24.2%
	Count	1	0	0	0
"Emphasize Both side" Frame	% within \$Positive frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Count	4	0	0	0
"Win Win" Frame	% within \$Positive frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Count	1	4	2	5
"History Culture" Frame	% within \$Positive frame	8.3%	33.3%	16.7%	41.7%
	% within Q2	0.5%	12.9%	6.9%	15.2%
	Count	1	0	0	0
"Other in the Self" Frame	% within \$Positive_frame	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	% within Q2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	Count	206	31	29	33

In table 4.8 shows the crosstabulation of the positive frame according to newspapers. The rate was with (66) news represents “Fair Play” frame as the dominant frame, allocated among Haartez (15) news, Jerusalem Post (16) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (15) news and Times of Israel (20) news.

Next. The frame "Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy" got (42) news circulated as follows: Haartez (18) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (10) news, Times of Israel (8) news for each and Jerusalem Post (6) news. See figure (12)

The image is a screenshot of a news article from Haaretz. The top navigation bar includes the Haaretz logo and links for 'Israel News', 'All sections', 'Iran - Tel Aviv', 'Trump - Soleimani', 'The big questions', and 'Isr'. Below the navigation bar, the article title is 'Israel Should Reduce Use of Administrative Detentions for Palestinians, Top Official Says'. The sub-headline reads: 'Public Security Minister Yitzhak Aharonovitch supported the measure against suspected security targets, but adding that it should be cut to a minimum.' The author is identified as 'Barak Ravid' with a link to 'Send me email alerts'. A 'socofy' logo is visible on the left side of the article. Below the article text, there is a small image of a red boot with floral patterns. The article text continues: 'Public Security Minister Yitzhak Aharonovitch indicated that Israel should reduce its use of administrative detention against Palestinian suspects, a senior official said on Thursday, amid an ongoing wave of hunger strikes among Palestinian detainees.' At the bottom of the article, there are social media sharing options: 'Tweet', an email icon, a share icon, and a 'Subscribe now' button. A comment count of '3' and a 'Zen' icon are also visible.

Figure 12: Haartez Frame “Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy”

Here it looks how Haartez newspaper criticize their Self Government Policy towered the other of (Palestinian hunger striker) and asking them to reduce the use of the administrative detention.

Analysis: Is forced feeding hunger striking administratively detained prisoners legal?

With the Knesset close to passing law permitting force-feeding of hunger-striking prisoners, ethical questions arise.

By YONAH JEREMY BOB JUNE 17, 2014 03:31



Figure 13: Jerusalem Post Frame “Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy”

Here it seems how Jerusalem Post newspaper criticize their Self Government Policy towered the other of (Palestinian hunger striker) throughout a question of the ethics

of force feeding the hunger striker law that was passed which causes death to prisoners and for this reason even the Israelis doctors refused to do it.

Sports



Eric Cantona
Photo: AFP

Cantona: Israel is racist, violates human rights

French soccer legend backs campaign to release Palestinian player, ban Israel as UEFA Under 21 competition host

Ynet | Published: 06.18.12, 14:37

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comment

Soccer legend Eric Cantona has co-signed a letter with other international figures to call for the release of Palestinian player Mahmud Sarsak, who is on [hunger strike](#) in an [Israeli](#) prison.

In a letter sent to UEFA President Michel Platini the

Advertisement



Figure 14: Yedioth Ahronoth Frame
“Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy”

Here it appears how Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper criticize their Self Government Policy toward the other of (Palestinian hunger striker) throughout a quote about their policy of arresting Palestinian detainee who is a soccer player and he was in hunger strike protesting that.

THE TIMES OF ISRAEL

Knesset passes bill to force-feed fasting Palestinian inmates

HOME ISRAEL & THE REGION JEWISH TIMES ISRAEL INSIDE THE BLOGS STARTUP ISRAEL NEWSLETTERS

JANUARY 5, 2020
CURRENT TOP STORIES

After general killed, Iran says it will take larger step back from nuclear deal

By AP and TOI STAFF

Tehran spokesman doesn't specify what measure will be, as Tehran continues to retreat from 2015 accord despite pleas from remaining parties



Israel media review / The virtue of a proportional response: 7 things to know for January 5

SCROLL TO VIEW MORE

feed fasting Palestinian inmates

Politicians from both right and left express outrage

By SPENCER HO
10 June 2014, 11:35 am | 5

261 shares



Figure 15: The Times of Israel Frame
“Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy”

Here it looks how The Times of Israel newspaper criticize their Self Government Policy towered the other of (Palestinian hunger striker) throughout a question of the ethics of force feeding the hunger striker law that was passed which causes death to prisoners and for this reason even the Israelis doctors refused to do it.

Consequently, the frame "Win-Win" got (12) news allotted as follows: Haartez (1) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (2) news, Jerusalem Post (4) news and Times of Israel (5) news.

It is worth mentioning that most of the news in the sample of the study were of total (697) news, however, just (155) news tended to the positive frames allocated as Haartez (59) news, Jerusalem Post (30) news, Yedioth Ahronoth (29) news and Times of Israel (33) news.

4.3 Summary of Findings

The results from this study reveal that most of the news in the sample tended towards the portrayal of Palestinian hunger strike in negative frames. As evident from Table 4.7, 26.2% of the total news from Haartez portrayed the issues using the following negative frames while 41.3% used positive frames. 27.3% of the news from Jerusalem Post utilized more of negative frame and 20% used positive frames in reporting about the issue. For Yedioth Ahronoth, 22.1% of the news used negative frames whereas 17.4% used positive frames. However, 24.4% of Times of Israel news used more of negative frames, as 23.7% used positive frames. In all, 77.8% of the total news from four newspapers used negative frames whereas the remaining 22.2% used the positive frames. Figures 4 to 11 support the above finding based on negative frames. Meanwhile, figures 12 to 15 support the findings on positive frames.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary and Conclusion of the Study

The results from this study clearly reveal how much the news media serve as either instruments for the escalation of war or tools for the promotion of peace through the framing and agenda setting effects. The literature has shown that most of the Israel media transmit their message to the individual audiences from all over the world and majority of their spectators are Arabic countries, middle-east and other parts of Europe. The rating of media portrayals according to the framing of self and the other is negative, even the English broadcast and their newspapers both have negative framing as the result of the Israel government taking over of the media to create propaganda with its authority on news broadcasts. The negativity according to the peace journalism coding, the Hebrew edition is more negative, while the English edition is the beautiful mask to address the world. However, the study shows that most of the news published were framed negatively. Otherwise the rest of the news were positively framed with a lower percentage. Jerusalem Post was much more negative with 148 news, followed by Haaretz with 142, news, then Times of Israel 132 news and lastly Yedioth Ahronoth 120 news with framing negatively “other is threat”, “they are terrorist”, “just war”, “win and lose” and “antipathy”. Times of Israel and Yedioth Ahronoth were mostly negative in the framing the other according to the fact that they are linked to the right radical parties. Meanwhile Jerusalem post according to the fact that they define themselves as the neutral approach they were

promoting negative frames than positive. This would represent a new attitude in media institutions in Israel of lefty wings (Haartez) that represents the two states solution according to its relationship with the Labor Party that held the peace agreement of Oslo in 1993. The model that peace journalism agrees with seeks to provide both journalists and audiences a comprehensive understanding of conflicts and alternatives. As a result, journalists become able to keep themselves away from falling as victims to political dilemmas and linguistic problems. However, narrative journalism is characterized by its supporting good reading on one hand, and it is offering deep insights on the other hand. Furthermore, it challenges other kinds of journalism by creating actual and precise description of situations. But if any other source construct a story loaded with coherence and engagement, it will be on the cost of scrupulousness of journalism. All in all, certainty in news covering depends on the formal practices over than the real news covering.

5.2 Recommendations

Firstly, the Palestinian media institutions must trained their personnel to be able to transmit news content in English language and read wider parts of the world. This would help improve on their approach to covering conflict events. This can contributed to peace and the better understanding of people around the world regarding real issues surrounding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Secondly, there is the need to conduct more research that focus on advocating the use of peace journalism approach in coverage the conflict by both the Palestine and Israel sides. This would aid the implementation of peace journalism to achieve peace among the Palestinian-Israel societies. Thirdly, journalist and the new editors need to be more knowledgeable about how to promote peace rather than war while they are working and covering the issues in the conflict zones. Finally, news reporting has to be

balanced by taking into account the importance of giving voices to all sides before, during and after conflict. Furthermore, news coverage should be objective in which it does not have to take a biased side in conflict zones. In other words, being a balanced journalist does not mean to be empty of objectivity. Otherwise, any reporting empty of objectivity would be useless and it would confuse the audiences. Hence, the truth would be lost.

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APPENDIX

Coding Schema

1. Date.....
2. Name of the newspaper: 1. Haartez 2. Jerusalem Post 3. Yedioth Ahronoth 4. Times Of Israel
3. Headline.....
.....
4. Evaluation of the headline 1. Comment 2. Quotation 3. Descriptive
5. Dominant frames in stories 1. Negative 2. Positive
6. NEGATIVE (towards the other)
 1. 'Exclusive' Frame (to be exclusive of the 'Other')
 2. 'Status Quo Oriented' Frame (supporting status quo forever)
 3. 'Other is the Threat' Frame (using threaten statements to the 'Other')
 4. 'Revenge' Frame (encouraging revenge to the community)
 5. 'Antipathy' Frame (stay in your shoes)
 6. 'Distrust' Frame (distrust the 'Other' side)
 7. 'Prejudiced' Frame (being prejudice to the 'Other')
 8. 'Sport' Frame (representing the issues like sport match perspective)
 9. 'Unbalance Background' Frame (providing unbalance background information)
 10. 'Criticize Other Side's Government Policy (criticizing the 'Other' side's government policies)
 11. 'Emphasize One Side' Pains Frame (emphasizing only own side pains)
 12. 'They are our Enemy' Frame (representing the 'Other' in eternal enemy perspective)
 13. 'Win-Lose' Frame (includes distinct satisfaction)

14. 'Inferior' Frame (underestimate the 'Other' ideas)
15. 'Nationalist' Frame (emphasizing red lines and as a national problem)
16. 'Who Throw the First Stone' Frame (providing no historical and cultural Information and emphasizing who started the conflict)
17. 'Hate Speech' Frame (providing hate speech and insulted statements to the opposition side)
18. 'Blame the Other Side' Frame (blaming the 'Other' and show them as a cause of the problem)
19. 'Self and Other' Frame (making self and other distinction)
20. 'Just War' Frame (emphasizing only war related with the opposition side)
21. 'Good and Evil' Frame (we are good and they are evil perspective)
22. 'They are Terrorists' Frame.

7. POSITIVE (towards the other)

1. 'Inclusive' Frame (to be inclusive of the 'Other')
2. 'Solution-Oriented' Frame (includes suggestion and solution on the event)
3. 'Understanding the Other' Frame (try to understand opposition side)
4. 'Forgiveness' Frame (using forgiveness expressions)
5. 'Empathy' Frame (put you in 'their' shoes)
6. 'Trust' Frame (trust the 'Other' side)
7. 'Unprejudiced' Frame (being unprejudiced to the 'Other')
8. 'Fair Play' Frame (representing the issues in fair perspective)
9. 'Balance Background' Frame (providing balance and background information)
10. 'Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy' Frame (criticizing own government policies)

11. 'Emphasize Both Sides' Pains' Frame (pain is pain, it is same in all over the world)
12. 'We are Friend' Frame (representing the 'Other' in friend perspective)
13. 'Win-Win' Frame (includes mutual satisfaction)
14. 'Accept Other as It Is' Frame (considering the 'Other' ideas)
15. 'Anti-nationalist' Frame (emphasize unification and living together perspective)
16. 'History-Culture' Frame (providing historical and cultural information in order to understand the roots of the conflict)
17. 'Friendly Speech' Frame (providing constructive statements to the opposition side)
18. 'Applaud' Frame (if opposition side makes any good things, it needs to appreciate)
19. 'Other in the Self' Frame (try to seek the other in the self)
20. 'Common Ground' Frame (seek for common ground instead of conflict)
21. 'Good/Good or Bad/Bad' Frame (seeking good and bad things of both sides, appreciate the good things and condemn the bad things of both sides)