Impact of International Media Coverage on Palestine-Israel Conflict

By

Musharaf Zahoor

(RegistrationNo: NUST201490167PCIPS6114S)

Centre for International Peace & Stability

National Universityof Sciences& Technology (NUST)

Islamabad, Pakistan

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Musharaf Zahoor

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Centre for International Peace & Stability

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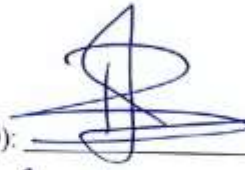
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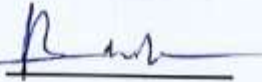
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   (Dr Bakht Rawan)
   Associate Professor Deptt of Mass
   Communication at Allama Iqbal Open University
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b) External Examiner 2:   Signature: _____
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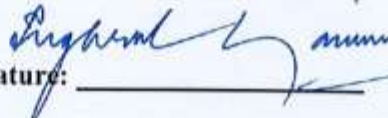Supervisor Name: **Dr Najma Sadiq**   Signature: _____

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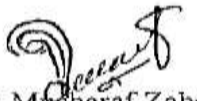
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Dedication

To my grandparents, parents, siblings, spouse, and son whose prayers, encouragement and support has been instrumental in achieving this milestone.

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Abstract

The media coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict has drawn immense scholarly interest. A number of studies have analyzed the relationship between media and the conflict. The previous studies largely focused on traditional media coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict or social media coverage of the conflict. In the emerging relationship of media and conflict, it has been observed that traditional media are using social media to cover the conflicts. The literature on the emerging relationship is very limited. The presence of media, conflict parties, policy makers, and public at a time on social media platforms make them complex communication platforms. Unlike one-way communication of the traditional media, the viewers/readers at social media can become part of the news stories by adding on information and commenting.

There also exists a literature gap in analyzing the media coverage of the conflict through value frames which are binary-laden and judgmental in nature. The emotive and gory images published on social media platforms can influence public opinion and also ignite the violence as they have instantaneous and unlimited global outreach. The values are important to understand the information. The traditional news organizations have built their communities on these platforms to promote their brand and dominate the discourse. In the absence of violence they make sense of the conflict for the outside world through value-framed content. The presence of slant in the value-framed content reflects the positive and negative bias of the news channels towards the conflict parties. Therefore, this study also focused on finding the objectivity in the value-laden content of the news channels. The analysis helped to understand thecoverage biases of the news channels.

This three-stage study initially compares value frames in social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by Al Jazeera English, BBC and CNN. The data set consists of Facebook and Twitter posts of three news channels. The data was collected in 2017 during a period of calm but marked by some major events such as President Trump's visit to the Western Wall, Hamas's acceptance of pre-1967 bordersand widespread hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails. The data have been analyzed through four value frames: (1) right to self-determination, (2) human rights,(3) peace, and (4) security where the unit of analysis was one Tweet or Facebook post by the news channels. In the second stage, four value frames in Twitter and Facebook posts of ministries of foreign affairs of Palestinian Authority (PA) and Israel. In the third and the final stage, the level of objectivity has been analyzed in the news stories with four dominant value frames. These news stories related to the conflict were selected through Twitter and Facebook posts of the three news channels during the above-mentioned timeperiod. Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model has been applied to the dataset to find out the level of objectivity.

The analysis of news channels' data in the light of value frames and objectivity helped to understand the emerging relationship between media and conflicts. Capitalizing over their repution as professional organizations, the traditional news organizations are effectively using the social media platforms to dominate the discourse and promote their brand through conflict coverage. The traditional news organizations are using value framed-contentbecause it helps viewers/readers/netizens to immediately make sense of the conflict and draw conclusions. The objectivity test provided some interesting results to see level of bias in the value framed content about Palestine-Israel conflict,The study also finds out that the conflict parties through value framed data on social media platforms to get support for

their stance. The value frames used by news channels and conflict parties are almost identical in nature. Findingsindicate that the news channels explicitly and implicitly used value frames in their content. There were fewer posts which did not evoke any value frame. The data analyses showed Al Jazeera content largely evoked the human rights value frame. The security value frame was dominant in the majority of BBC Tweets and Facebook posts. CNN framed most of the content with right to self-determination and peace values.The data analysis of tweets and Facebook posts of the conflict parties revealed that the human rights value frame was dominant in the content posted by the ministry of foreign affairs of the Palestinian Authority. The content posted by the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs on both social media platforms largely evoked the security value frame. However, the right to self-determination and peace value frames were dominant in Israel's social media contentas compared to Palestine. The human rights value frame dominated the social media content of both PA ministry of foreign affairs and Al Jazeera English.Likewise, the security and right to self-determination value frames were present in the majority of CNN, BBC and Israeli posts.

The news bias analysis showed that CNN has the highest objectivity level among three channels in news stories evoking two dominant value frames right to self-determination and human rights. BBC news stories with peace and security as dominant value frames have the highest objectivity level.Al Jazeera has the least level of objectivity in stories with all four dominant value frames. BBC has the highest level of objectivity in overall conflict reporting while CNN has the second highest objectivity level. Al Jazeera has the least objectivity in its news as compared to BBC and CNN.

Keywords: Conflict coverage, Palestine-Israel, Value framing, Social Media

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List of Symbols, Abbreviations and Acronyms

AJE   Al Jazeera English

BBC   British Broadcasting Company

CNN   Cable News Network

FB   Facebook

MOFA   Ministry of Foreign Affairs

PA   Palestinian Authority

Chapter 1: Introduction

Palestine-Israel conflict is among few protracted conflictsin the contemporary history that have drawn extensive media coverage. All major international and regional news organizations have their bureau offices and permanent staff in the conflict zone. The political importance of the conflict and extensive media coverage have also attracted immense academic and scholarly attention. The scholars of politics, peace and conflict studies and media and communication have explored different dimensions of the conflict in their seminal scholarly works. This study has drawn its theoretical perspective from the discipline of mdia and communications to analyze the coverage of the longstanding Palestine-Israel conflict in the age of digitalized communication.

The asymmetry between Palestinian and Israeli sides is one of the major dynamics of the longstanding conflict since its beginning.Galtung (1971) explained this asymmetry as a relationship of conquering (Israel) and conquered (Palestinians), where conquered rose to a high level of political consciousness (Galtung, 1971, p. 183). He emphasizes that symmetry and equity are imperative for a solution to avoid any conflict caused by structure (p. 195). It is imperative that Palestine is not a full member of the United Nations while Israel is a UN member. Gallo and Marzano (2009) also categorized the Palestine-Israel conflict as a structurally asymmetric conflict. They applied the Curle-Lederach model to understand the possible development of such kind of a conflict. Adam Curl laid down stages of conflict (latent, overt and negotiations) and John Paul Lederach further developedthesestages therefore it is called Curl-Lederach Model. The study concluded that power balance played

an important role in bringing both parties to the negotiation table in 1993 (Oslo Accord) and failure in achieving this balance led to the failure of peace efforts and even violence (Gallo & Marzano, 2009, pp. 10-11). Curle

In protracted conflicts such as Palestine-Israel, the symmetry or power balance is not restricted to military or economic aspects, but it also encompasses the social discourse generated by the media. Media provides meanings to the events and happenings in the conflict zone. The symmetry or power balance can only be ensured if the social reality of both sides gets space in medial interpretation and representation of the events (Reich, 2003, p. 17). The depiction of events, pictures and videos create meaning for the outside audience. The medial interpretation also creates sympathies and support for one party and apathy for the opponents which also become part of the social discourse (pp.18-19). The domination of discourse or narrative of one party also affects the power balance.Hammack (2018) is of the view that the clash of narratives existed between Palestinians and Israelis since the beginning of the conflict (Hammack, 2011, p.14).

The weaker side in an asymmetric conflict most often tries to balance the power with the stronger adversary through effective use of strategic communication (Ayalon, Popovich & Yarhci, 2014, p. 2). They also use armed tactics to inflict heavy losses on the stronger adversary (Arreguin-Toft, 2001, pp. 103-104) and engage in image building through traditional and social networking platforms with an aim to achieve political victory over the opponents (Kuntsman & Stein, 2015, p. 25). Likewise, conflicts provide natural material for reporting to the journalists and also glue the public to the news. The events in conflict are unexpected, negative, and fully pass the test of newsworthiness (Ayalon et al. 2014, p.6). This study is related to the use of social media platforms by the conflict parties and explores

the social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by the international media. It also explores the level of objectivity in value-framed content of the news channels.

Most of the existing media effect studies on the Palestine-Israel conflict are either based on analysis of traditional news organizations or social media (Arqoub & Ozad, 2019; Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018; Deprez & Raeymaeckers, 2011; Friedman, 2020; Groves, 2017; Kirk, 2020; Kuntsman & Stein, 2015; Pennington, 2020; Shomron & Schejter, 2020; Segev & Blondheim, 2013; Wolfsfeld, Frosh & Awabdy, 2008). This study is focused on social media coverage of the conflict by the three international news organizations namely BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera.

1.1 Statement of problem

The advent of social networking platforms have changed the relationship of media and conflict. The traditional news organizations are using social media to cover Palestine-Israel conflict through emotive and value-laden content. Many previous inquiries have focused on different theoretical perspectives to explore the media coverage of the conflictbut there needs an inquiry to see social media coverage of international news organizations by employing value framed content.Additionally, this inuiry also needs to see objectivity in the value-framed content of the news organizations. The study should alsoanalyze the social media content ofthe conflict parties through value frames. The research is important to explain emerging relationship of media and conflictas well as find out the response of conflict parties. The content analysis will guide future research on the subject and help in exploring new avenues for conflict management and resolution.

1.2 Statement of purpose

This study aims to explore the social media content characteristics of BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera English in their coverage of Palestine-Israle conflict. The research explores the use of value frames by the international news organizations in social media coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict. It also identifies the use of identical value frames in the social media content of the conflict parties and the intensity of their response. This research study finally finds out the level of objectivity in the value framed content of the news channels.

1.3 Gaps in existing literature and contribution of this study

A substantial body of available literature about coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict is mainly focused on traditional media such as television, radio, news agencies and newspapers and there are few recent studies which have analyzed social media (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018; Friedman, 2020; Gonen et al., 2020; Kertcher, 2021; Manor & Bjola, 2021; Shomron & Schejter, 2020; Siapera et al., 2015; Zeitzoff, 2016). There are limited number of studies on social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by the traditional news outlets.

The studies mentioned above donot specifically deal with the value framing of social media content of news channels and conflict parties. Contratry to all these previous studies, this study analyzes the social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by the traditional news organizations through use of value frames. Also, this study finds out identical value frames in the social m edia content of conflict parties. This study contributes to the existing literature on the relationship of media and conflict by analyzing the social media content of the traditional news organizations by synergizing framing theory and objectivity concept.

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The research also highlights that the international news organizations use social media to dominate the discourse and promote their brand which is not possible by creating an impact. Likes, share and retweets reflect the impact of international news channels' social media content. This research is an attempt to fulfill this gap and answer few basic questions related to growing social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by the traditional news organizations. The research is imperative for the scholars of peace and conflict studies interested in the emerging relationship between media and conflicts after new communication techniques. This research is also valuable for media impact theorists to redirect their research in view of growing social media coverage of conflicts by the traditional news organizations. The interesting part of this research is the identification of value frames in the conflict-related social media news content of the international media outlets and conflict parties. Finding out the level of objectivity in value-framed content of news channels is also one of the objectives of this study. The value frames identified through this study are easily recognizable for being directly linked to conflict and peace. They are agreed upon by the international community and well defined by international bodies such as the United Nations. The current study on the Palestine-Israel conflict is one of its kind that fulfills the existing gaps in contemporary literature on conflict and media relationship. The study highlights the tools being used by the traditional news organizations to promote their brand (news) on two famous social networking platforms: Twitter and Facebook.

The value framing theory is a multidisciplinary approach. This study explores that traditional news organizations interpret the Palestine-Israel conflict for the outside world by using emotive and binaries-laden content on social media platforms such as Twitter and

Facebook. According to Le Ber and Branzei (2011), frames provide adherents and opponents and also motivate their actions and beliefs (Le Ber & Branzei, 2011, p. 163). Frames are used to diagnose the conflicts and understand their nature (Canetti et al., 2019, p. 738). Schemer et al. (2012) explain value frames as a linkage between value positions and political issues that carry persuasive interpretation about an issue to facilitate its understanding (Schemer, Wirth, & Matthes, 2012, p. 335). The value frames draw binaries such as right or wrong, oppressor or oppressed, etc.

This study provides a scholarly insight into the use of emotive and recognizable value frames by the international news organization and conflict parties to make sense of the conflict for vast social media communities that certainly affects the dynamics of the longstanding conflict. The news bias test of the content helps to compare the level of objectivity in value-framedcontent of the news organizations. The study has additionally analyzed the use of value frames by the conflict parties and the intensity of their responses on social media platforms.

The study revolves around five basic questions which are as follows,

Q-1: What are the content characteristics of social media (Twitter, Facebook) news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by three leading international news organizations (CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera)?

Q-2: What type of techniques traditional media outlets use to promote their brand and dominate the discourse on social media while covering Palestine-Israel conflict?

Q-3: What are the prominent news frames and dominant visual images in social media (Twitter, Facebook) news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by three leading international news organizations (CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera)?

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Q-4: What type of news bias exists in each value frame invoked by the news channels and what is their level of objectivity?

Q-5: How do the conflict parties react to conflict-related posts on Twitter and Facebook in terms of value frames and intensity (Low, Medium, High) at their respective social media platforms?

The content analysis has helped to explore the dynamics of Palestine-Israel conflict in the changing communication environment. This study explores how the international media uses internationally recognized and legally well-defined values to interpret the Palestine-Israel conflict for the outside world. The news about conflict, wars and violence receive immediate media attention. Gadi Wolfsfeld (2004) argued that conflict stories win awards for journalists; therefore, they aspire to be war correspondents and consider it their greatest accomplishment (Wolfsfeld, 2004, p. 15).

In recent times, the use of new technologies by traditional news organizations for conflict coverage has entirely reshaped the media conflict relationship. The new technologies have digitalized the conflicts. The new platforms are rapid and effective in disseminating information (Chan et al., 2020, p. 1580). The traditional news organizations are also using these advanced sources of communication (e.g., Twitter and Facebook) for both news gathering and dissemination (Welbers and Opgenhaffen, 2019, p.45). The digitalization of conflicts has eased the information gathering from conflict zones. The instantaneous nature of these platforms and unlimited outreach makes them attractive tools for conflict parties, humanitarian organizations, policymakers, and media persons. Unlike traditional news organizations which offered one-way communication, the digital platforms

are more participatory and offer multiplicity in information sources. The audience can become part of the news production process. The elite sources to which the conflict information is most often is attributed are easily accessible through these platforms. The new communication platforms facilitate multimedia communication where visuals, images and text can be posted at the same time. The digitization of conflicts has also complicated the resolution of conflicts and de-escalation process as the influx of news on digital platforms presents a myriad of challenges (Gohds, 2017, pp. 5-7). Fake news and out of context or fabricated visuals/images can hamper peace efforts and increase hostilities.

The demerits and merits of social media coincide. However, the usefulness of social media platforms is also undeniable. Therefore, traditional journalists and organizations have adopted social networking platforms as part of their business model. The study identified a gap in the conflict coverage literature in the wake of new communication technologies. A substantial body of available literature about coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict has either focused solely on the traditional communication sources such as television, radio and newspapers or social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and others. There is no such study which has focused on the confluence of both traditional and social media in conflict coverage. This kind of study is important as the traditional news outlets such as TV, newspapers and even radio stations have adopted the social networking platforms as part of their business models.

The study has also identified that the available literature on the impact of media coverage on the Palestine-Israel conflict is based on various theoretical frameworks such as framing, propaganda model, priming, CNN effect and many other theories. The academicians have analyzed the conflict coverage through various aspects; some have seen

it through news bias lens (Prasad, 2015, p. 84), others have focused the conflict in contra-flow (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2014, p. 86) and peace media (Ozohu-Suleiman and Ishak, 2012, p. 48) perspectives. Alkalliny (2017) analyzed the coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by two U.S. news channels, CNN and Fox News, through framing theory (Alkalliny, 2017, p. 161). Likewise, another study by Damanhoury and Saleh (2017) focused on the online news coverage of CNN and Al Jazeera English through content analysis and its effects on the audience (Damanhoury & Saleh, 2017, p. 86). The social media platforms are instantaneous and have a global outreach. Therefore, these platforms have emerged as powerful tools in shaping public opinion. The binaries-laden content (right and wrong, legal or illegal, human and inhuman) triggers cognitive schemas of the netizens and helps shape their understanding of the conflict.

The content analysis in this study has been conducted through four value frames: (1) right to self-determination, (2) human rights, (3) peace, and (4) security. These value frames have been selected from the UN charter and are relevant to the conflict perspective. These frames are well defined and agreed upon by the United Nations member states especially with reference to the Palestine-Israel conflict (see UN, 1947; UN, 1967; UN, 1973; UNSC, 2002; UN, 2004).

The data was collected from 1st of March to 30th of April 2017. It was a period of relative calm. These two months witnessed many landmark developments. The first development occurred when Hamas issued a new document accepting the pre-1967 border of Palestine for the first time after its inception. The announcement came ahead of U.S. President Donald Trump's maiden visit to the region. The other major development was Palestinian prisoners' over one-month-long hunger strike in Israeli jails and protests in

Palestinian territories in their support that attracted immense international media coverage. The third major event that occurred during this period was President Donald Trump's maiden visit during which he became the first U.S. president to go to the Veiling Wall in his official capacity. This culminated in his announcement to shift the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem and recognize it as the capital of Israel in later months. The content analysis provided empirical evidence that the international news organizations use globally recognized value frames in social media coverage of conflicts to influence their audience through raising moral and ethical perspectives of the conflict. The unit of analysis was a Tweet and Facebook post of three selected international news channels.

The study also conducts theobjectivity analysis of the news content of Al Jazeera English, BBC and CNN. Objectivity is a highly important as well as controversial aspect of journalism.The news content encompasses two-month news coverage of Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN of the Palestine-Israel conflict in 2017. The unit of analysis was each line of a detailed news story published about the conflict during the two-month period.

The research applied the news bias categories of the Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model to find out the objectivity in value framed news stories. The quantitative content analysis also focused on the level of bias or slant in the news content of the three news channels. The favourability and unfavourability of the news channels was found through the presence of judgement sentences in the news content.

The study has been divided into nine chapters The first chapter consists historical background. The details in this chapter cover the history of the conflict along with its genesis and allied details. The second chapter deals with role of media in Palestine-Israel in conflict. The chapter covers different approaches to conflict coverage especially the

Palestine-Israel conflict. The topics such as history of press in the region and role of media in making sense of the conflict to the outside world have chiefly been discussed in this chapter. The third chapter covers the role of social media as an emerging public sphere and its role in conflict situations. The debate in this chapter revolves around changes in communication technologies, and the use of social networking websites by mass media as a business model. The details also include Dynamic Social Impact Theory to understand the social media logic. Fourth chapter elaborates the framing theory and its application in different disciplines. The chapter provides extensive literature review on explaining the framing concept. The details also encompass framing of text and visuals as well as value framing. The fifth chapter provides indepth analysis of objectivity notion. The chapter is based on historical background of objectivity concept, contesting ideas, theories related to objectivity in journalism, difference between objectivity and journalism of detachment. It also explores relationship between objectivity and value frames and the overall concept of framing. It also provides details about Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model.

The sixth chapter is about methodology of research. It begins with identifying gaps in existing literature and contribution of this study and explains all veriables, and question-wise method of analysis. The seventh chapter focuses on the statistical results of the research questions raised in the methodology chapter. In this part of the thesis, the data of Twitter and Facebook posts of three leading news organizations (Al Jazeera, BBC, and CNN) and two conflict parties (Palestine and Israel) has been analyzed scientifically in light of research questions.

The eighth chapter discusses the results with respect to contribution of this study to the existing literature on evolving relationship of media and conflict. It also takes into

consideration the theoretical aspects and compares the results. The discussion chapter represents the descriptive analysis of this research effort.

Chapter 2: Historical Background of the Conflict

"Glory to Allah, Who did take His servant for a journey by night, from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did bless - in order that We might show him some of Our signs. For He is the One who hears and knows all things." (Qur'an 17:1)

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I do not set Jerusalem above my highest Joy." Hebrew Bible: Psalm 137(Old Testament)

"How awe-inspiring is this place! It is the House of God! It is the gate to heaven!" (Genesis 28:17) Jewish Tradition

This chapter provides an indepth historical background of the conflict in chronological order. The history of land of Palestine that spans over thousands of years back to biblical times has been described with the help of credible and scholarly accounts. The details in this chapter also encompass the current history of the conflict that begins with the arrival of Jews in Palestine at the end of 19th century and formation of Zionist International under Dr Harzel. From First World War to 1948, the under British mandate has been covered. Since, 1948 onwards the up till now, details about wars and peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours are also part of this chapter.

The three religions, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, have their holiest religious sites in Jerusalem making it the most sacred city in the world. The history of invasions and wars in Jerusalem is as old as the history of the city itself. The holy city of Jerusalem is

revered by Muslims due to Al-Aqsa Mosque where Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) led prayer to all other prophets.

Western Wall is religiously important for Jews. Christians' Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the place of crucifixion) is also located in this ancient city.The Palestine-Israel conflict is about 100 years old which is not based on religious claims but on the right of land. The peace in the Middle East region is often associated with the settlement of this long-standing dispute. The Palestine-Israel conflict has gained unmatched attention from the world but has remained unresolved till date. There are several reasons for the Palestine-Israel conflict to be so important to the world. The following reasons seem more plausible: (1) The Jewish population in Israel has migrated mainly from different parts of Europe, especially the Eastern European states of Poland, Russia and Hungry. The cultural affinity with Europe is an important denominator. The Europeans especially the United States consider Israel as an outpost of Western liberal values in the Middle East; (2) The region has also a geographical proximity to Europe. This proximity is now part of Europe's psychological construct and therefore, they call Palestine the near east; (3) The Geo-strategic location of the region also makes it important. The conflict zone is located near the Suez Canal which is a choke point of international trade linking the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea; (4) The consistent resound of Palestine-Israel conflict at all international forums and world capitals is also the result of Palestinian Diaspora living around the globe who migrated after the occupation of their lands by Israel; (5) the intermittent outbreak of violence among Palestinians and Israeli forces is also one of the major reasons of world focus on the conflict. The media coverage of the humanitarian crisis ensued by violence also draws the attention of the international community towards the conflict. The Palestine-Israel

conflict has even become one of the defining features of Euro-oriental relations. Muslims contextualize the conflict in their interaction with mainly the Christian West. Gilles Kepel and Antoine Jardin (2017) wrote in their book 'Terror in France' that the Europe-born Muslim youth contextualized Palestinians' plight under Israel while narrating the events of 2005 police raids with the help of helicopters against the protesters in Paris suburbs (Kepel & Jardin, 2017, pp. 15-16).

2.1 A brief history of the land of Palestine

The conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews is based on territorial claims from biblical times. A U.S. historian, Alan Dowty, wrote that the core of the Palestine-Israel conflict is the claim of two peoples to the same piece of land (Dowty, 2012, p. 4). He explained that the Jewish nationalist movement (Zionism) wanted to establish a Jewish state while Palestinian nationalists termed the same territory as *Filestin* and an integral part of the Arab world (p. 4). Thomas G. Mitchells termed it a conflict between the settler population (Jews), which was part of a colonization effort, and a native population (Palestinians), which resisted the colonizing enterprise (p. 11).

The researchers of biblical history, anthropologists and archeologists have a consensus that the history and existence of Palestinian people in the land is as old as that of Jews(Krämer, 2008, pp. 5-9). The area of Canaan, a biblical name of Palestine, included modern day Palestine, Israel, some parts of Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Kingdoms of Israel, Philistia, Moab or provinces Judaea Samerina were part of Canaan. (Harms & Ferry, 2005, pp. 4-5). The archeological studies indicated that the Canaanites (Ancestors of Palestinians and Jewish people and other local tribes) lived in the land of Palestine during the Bronze ages before the invasion of Romans (Dever, 1987, p. 175). The city states of Canaan flourished and reached

their zenith during the middle Bronze ages. The Roman invasion ended the era of these city states which were independent in the land of Palestine.

After the demise of the Roman Empire, the Muslim rule in Palestine began in 1518 that ended with World War-I(Krämer, 2008, p. 40). The Turk rulers of the Ottoman Empire used the word of Palestine to mention this specific area. However, Palestine was not a separate administrative unit; instead was divided into two administrative units, the pashaliks[1] of Damascus and Sidon (Moscrop, 2000, p. 9). The region was important for the Turkish Kingdom due to the holy city of Jerusalem and for revenue collection. The rural Palestine which was mainly desert and barren was dwelled by Bedouins and different tribes who either lived in scattered villages or were nomadic. There lived Jews, Muslims, and Christians in the city of Jerusalem. Muslims were in the majority in the region. A large number of pilgrims also visited the Holy city of Jerusalem through land and sea routes from Asia, Europe, and Africa.

2.2 Muslim-Jewish rivalry neither existed nor interplayed in the conflict

The Jewish historians term 15th and 16[th]centuries as the Golden age (Shaw, 1991, p. 109). The Jewish population under the Ottoman Empire enjoyed full protection and economic freedom. Historically, the Jewish population enjoyed a cordial relationship with Muslim rulers in Europe and the Middle East. The Jewish-Muslim relations can be judged from the fact that Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, a jew, was the foreign minister of Muslim Spain in the 10th century AD (Cohen, 2009, p. 92). The Muslim scriptures give a special status to the Jews and Christians for being monotheists and followers of the same God. The Jewish businessmen, intellectuals and diplomats were respected by the Ottomans. The Turk rulers highly depended upon the Jews for trade with the Europeans.

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[1] Oxford dictionary has defined Pashalik as a jurisdiction or province governed by a Pasha. The word has a origin in Turkish language.

Shaw (1991, p. 198) writes;

> Participation by Ottoman Jews in the Empire's International Trade reached a peak in the sixteenth century, with the Ottomans relying heavily on Jews, in trade as in diplomacy and banking…Talmudists, philosophers, jurists, doctors, poets and writers came to live in the domain of Sultans. At first they intended to remain only temporarily on their way to somewhere else, most likely the Holy land. But when they found it to be an asylum of quiet and security away from the prejudices, struggles and noise of the world, with resources which would enable them to carry out their studies without diversion, most remained.

Jews were free to practice their religion without any fear. Unlike pogroms in Europe, the Jews under Muslim rule were free souls. During this period they published copies of the Holy Scriptures and Talmud to distribute them breath and length of the Ottoman Empire and across the world. The first Hebrew printing press was set up in Istanbul by Rabbi Isaac Garcon to publish Jewish holy books (Suleiman, 2009, pp. 79-80). The few instances from history prove that neither the Muslim-Jewish rivalry existed nor it interplayed in today's Palestine-Israel conflict.

2.3 Europeans' interest in palestine and anti-Jewish protests

Palestine came under Muslim rule after the crusades which were mainly fought at the end of the 11th century and continued till the end of the 13th century. The defeat of European crusaders established Muslim rule in the region. After the wars, the Europeans were disallowed by Muslim rulers to permanently settle in Jerusalem. It was not until Napoleon's attack on Egypt in 1799 to occupy the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea as a geo-strategic advantage against Great Britain(Krämer, 2008, p. 62) that the region came into the focus of European powers. However, Napoleon was not interested in Palestine due to its

religious importance. Napoleon did not even visit Jerusalem on his way from Jafa to Acre. He was defeated by the Ottoman army led by Ahmad Pasha Al-Jazzar(Krämer, 2008, pp. 61-62). After Napoleon's failed military campaign, Britain launched efforts to create a connection with Palestine.

After about three decades of the Napoleonic campaign, Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali permitted Great Britain to set up a consulate in the early 18th century (Dowty, 2012, p. 18). A British Consulate was set up in Jerusalem in 1938 that followed the establishment of the first Protestant bishopric in 1841. The British established Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865 that combined their religious, scientific and political interests in Palestine (Oord, 2008, p. 216). Later, the U.S. set up its embassy in Jerusalem during the 1840s. The number of European visitors increased after the establishment of consulates in Jerusalem. The European Priests, teachers and journalists travelled to the holy land and published books/travelogues after returning to Europe (Moscrop, 2000, pp. 19-21). The description of the Holy land given in these books and travelogues was identical to the Holy Scriptures of the Christian world. The primitive lifestyle of the people of Palestine created nostalgic feelings among the European visitors. However, it was the negligence of the rulers who did little to uplift the lifestyle of the people.

In 1882, the anti-Jewish protests in Russia after Tzar's assassination triggered Jewish migration. A considerable number of the Jewish population migrated from Russia to the United States and France while a few thousand came to Palestine (Moscrop, 2000, pp. 177-178). Most of these Jews who came to Palestine and Istanbul were businessmen and intellectuals and did not seek a homeland in Palestine. The anti-Jewish sentiments in Europe grew as nationalist feelings took roots, and revolutions and counter-revolutions created

chaos in1840s and 1860s. The industrial revolution was also one of the reasons as Europeans thought that the Jewish people had taken over their jobs and businesses. The negative beliefs in Christianity about Jews, like they were responsible for Christ's crucifixion, also intensified the sentiments (Prusin, 2005, pp. 14-17).

A small Jewish community was inhabited in Jerusalem at the end of the 19th and early 20th century, which according to Rich Cohen (2009) numbered thirty thousand lived under the protection of Muslims as a 'people of Book (Cohen, 2009, p. 176).

2.4 The birth of Zionism

The Zionist movement was initially linked to spiritual world where physical existence of a Jewish homeland had no place. However, the love for the holy land was an integral part of this movement. However, there were few people in the Jewish community who felt that the Jewish problem in Europe could not be resolved without a national homeland. They believed that the concept of Zionism or Zion was not a spiritual one. Jewish nationalism was obviously influenced by the European national movements and growing anti-Semitism.

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai (1798-1878) was the first to propagate the idea of a homeland for Jewish people in Eretz Israel (the land of fathers) in the 1830s(Krämer, 2008, p. 103). In 1932, Alkalai published a pamphlet called *Shema Yisrael* (Hear o Israel), which was the first formal call for the political independence of the Jewish community in Europe and around the globe (Cohen, 2009, p. 135). The Jewish Diaspora was very much familiar with the idea of Promised Land but it was more of a spiritual nature, not of statehood. The Jewish people prayed three times a day for return to the Eretz Israel.

The French revolution (1789-1799) resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy in France and harbingered socio-political changes. The Jewish population who supported the

revolution had high hopes for being accepted as equal citizens in France and elsewhere in Europe. The Napoleonic period (1790-1830)brought a sigh of relief to the Jewish community. During the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon gave a statement in which he encouraged Jewish people to settle in Palestine for being the rightful heirs (Oord, 2008, p. 216). Napoleon's statement was a reflection of the fact that Europe was unwilling to cater to the Jewish people. However, the Jewish problem was not completely resolved by the French Revolution. In 1840, the term 'Jewish question' was used for the first time in Germany to decide the socio-political rights of the Jewish people equal to the Christian subjects (Judaken, 2006, p. 7).

The Jewish migration to the land of Palestine had already started years back in 1882. The Sultan of the Ottoman Empire had already issued a *farman* (order) that all Jews facing pogroms in Eastern Europe or Russia could take refuge inside the Empire (Gelvin, 2014, p. 53). In the days to come, a large number of Jews would migrate to Palestine. The Jewish Congress in Basel had provided an impetus to the colonization of Palestine.

However, the Orthodox Jews resisted the idea of Israel as a homeland for the Jewish people on the basis that Judaism was a spiritual religion and could not be contained in geographical boundaries. With the rise of violence against the Jewish population in Russia and other parts of Eastern Europe during the 1880s and 1890s, the idea of Zionism[2] further strengthened and achieved popularity(Krämer, 2008, p. 103). Theodor Herzl played a pivotal role in mobilizing Jewish communities around the globe for the cause of the Jewish homeland. The first Jewish Congress was held from 29th to 31st August, 1897, in Basel,

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[2] Zionism was a nationalist movement of Jews for creating a homeland in Zion (a province or city state of Canaan in middle Bronze Age), modern day Palestine, through colonization. The Diaspora Jews were convinced to migrate to Jewish national homeland (Encyclopedia). Zion is a hill outside Jerusalem and it is mentioned in Jewish Book of Psalms (137:1-6).

Switzerland (Shindler, 2013, pp. 16-17) under the Chairmanship of Theodor Herzl to prepare the strategy for the creation of a Jewish homeland. After deliberations, the 200 Jewish delegates agreed to achieve a publicly pronounced and legally secured homeland in Palestine. For this purpose, they also agreed to colonize Palestine and organize Jewry across the world (Laqueur & Schueftan, 2016, pp. 9-10). A U.S. anthropologist Nadia Abu El-Haj (2001) argued that the choice of Palestine as a Jewish national homeland was a political strategy to achieve the objective through linking biblical stories which were purely religious to the land. Therefore, the Zionist leaders even not hesitated to adopt coercion as a means to achieve their goals. Edward Said quotes from Theodor Herzl's diary in which the Zionist leader explained the way the native Palestinians will be dealt. Herzl writes in his diary;

> We shall have to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly(Said, 1979, p. 13).

2.5 Jewish migration and emergence of conflict in Palestine

The arrival of Russian Jews in Palestine from 1882 to 1903 is considered as the first formal *Aliyah*[3] (ascent) in which 25,000 Russian Jews, mostly businessmen, came to settle in Palestine (Harms & Ferry, 2005, p. 61). The second *Aliyah* brought 35,000 Jews who were mostly young and belonged to the working class and had been active in the Russian Revolution of 1905-1906 (Bartels, 2004, p. 23). The Palestinians and the Ottoman rulers welcomed these Jews. The local Palestinians initially welcomed the migrants for two reasons: first, they had escaped violence in Europe; and second, they envisaged economic benefits from the migrants in the future through trade and agriculture (p. 23).

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[3] It's a Hebrew word which mean migration or immigration to Israel.

The Jewish immigrants succeeded in setting up about 40 farming colonies in Palestine by 1911 (Fishman, 2007, p. 3). Justin McCarthy, a U.S. historian, in his book 'Population of Israel' while quoting Ruhi al-Khalidi, a teacher, activist and nephew of the mayor of Jerusalem under Ottomans, wrote that there were 1,00,000 Jews in the district of Jerusalem by 1911 (McCarthy, 1990, p. 23). The Jewish population further grew in number as a large number of Jews fled from Europe after Hitler's reign. Theinfluxof huge number of Jews caused demographic changesin the region and displacement ofPalestinians. Edward Said, in his book Question of Palestine, writes that about 80,000 Palestinians were dispossessed and displaced just in 1948 to facilitate Jewish settlements (Said, 1979, p. 12). The Jewish National Fund was created in Britain with a declared goal to buy land in Palestine (Abufarha, 2006, p. 74). The organized immigration of Jews alarmed Palestinian newspapers and few notables. The newspapers voiced their concern to the Ottoman authorities in Istanbul to revoke permission of Jewish entry into Palestine and also ban land sale (Bartels, 2004, p. 24). The Jewish immigration continued despite local opposition.

2.6 Balfour declaration

The Zionist lobbying and strategic considerations of Great Britain resulted in Balfour Declaration. In 1916, the Zionist leadership in Britain publishessssd essays to explicate the goals of their movement to the English-speaking people. These essays provided a much needed political support to the Zionist leaders who were engaged in negotiations with the British government (MacDonald, 2012, p. 101). The European powers considered other civilizations as white man's burden, a term coined by Kipling Rudyard in 1899. They thought that the European culture and liberal values would transfer to the non-European communities through the migration of the Jewish people and the creation of a Jewish state in

Palestine. The phrase white man's burden entails that western civilization is the torchbearer of human civilization and should involve with lesser civilizations to modernize them (Oord, 2008, p. 217). However, the studies on Palestinian society in late 19th and early 20th century speak contrary to this claim. Palestine's first Labour Director, Richard Graves, disagreed with the notion that Palestinians were uncivilized and insisted that they were comparable to many European societies for their intellect and understanding of values despite their primitive way of living (Power, 2007, p. 87).

Another approach to support a Jewish homeland in Palestine was coined by a clergyman Alexander Keith in 1843 that was 'a land without a people for a people without a land'(Keith, 1844, p.131). This phrase was many a time used by Zionists to persuade the European leadership that Palestine was a barren land and had a very small populationof inhabitants. Norman Bentwich, who later served as the first Attorney General for Mandatory Palestine, wrote in "The Future of Palestine," that Palestine was extremely underpopulated as over ninety percent of the land was not fully cultivated, and Jewish immigrants would fully harness the land and resources of Palestine (MacDonald, 2012, p. 105). The Zionists and their sympathizers and even those who wanted to solve the Jewish problem not in Europe but on another soil prepared an intellectual ground in Europe for the creation of a future Jewish state.

Great Britain had its own reasons to support a Jewish homeland. The eastern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Palestine were crucial to the British Empire to maintain supplies and trade to its colonies in India and the Far East. With the demise of the Ottoman Empire after World War-I, Britain would successfully secure its strategic interests

in the region through supporting a Jewish state located on the Mediterranean and the Read Sea.

During World War-I, Great Britain made three contradictory agreements that played a crucial role in shaping the future of the Middle East: 1) the Hussein-McMahon Agreement, 3) the Balfour Declaration, and 2) the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Bartels, 2004, p. 24). The Hussain-McMahon agreement was to create Arab revolt against Turks with a promise to create an Arab state under Sharif Hussian. The Sykes-Picot agreement was a clandestine agreement among Great Britain, France and Russia to end Ottoman rule and the division of its territories.

The Balfour Declaration was about the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine after World War-I. The document of the Declaration was a one-paragraph letter to Lord Rothschild, a Jewish representative, by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Arthur James Balfour. Mr. Balfour, in the letter, assured the Zionist Federation that the British government endorsed the idea of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine (p. 25). Edward Said wrote that the Balfour Declaration provided the juridical basis for the creation of a Zionist state and was made by a European power about a non-European territory (Said, 1979, p. 15). The Ex-Israeli diplomat Abba Eban in his book, My People: The Story of the Jews, termed the Balfour declaration a decisive diplomatic victory of the Jewish people (Eban, 1968, p. 24). The Balfour declaration vindicated the fears expressed by Palestinian newspapers and notables in the first decade of the 20th century.

The Balfour Declaration had two major benefits for Britain.It won (1) a future powerful ally in the region to secure its interests, and (2) the support of Jewish Diaspora especially of businessmen, intellectuals and scientists. The Palestinians were shocked and

surprised by the Balfour Declaration and they protested with the British government against this agreement (Stein, 1961, p.7). However, it was a huge success and breakthrough for the Zionist movement.

2.7 Jewish-Arab relations under the British mandate

The victory of Great Britain and other allied powers in World War-I ended the Ottoman rule in Arabian Peninsula. Palestine came under the British protectorate which was endorsed by the League of Nations in July 1922 (Bartels, 2004, p. 28). The British support to establish a Zionist state continued mainly through facilitating the immigrant Jews. The British support of the Zionists frustrated the Palestinians. Their struggle had now shifted to two fronts: Zionists and British authorities. A large number of Palestinians were being dislodged from their villages and towns through the purchase of land by the Zionists. A Jewish National Fund (JNF) was created to expedite the land purchase. The violence was a routine, and people were frustrated. Law and order were non-existent.

In 1929, riots broke out between Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities on the Western wall issue (Apter, 2008, p. 30). Over 133 Jews and 116 Palestinians were killed (Mattar, 1988, p. 230). The Jews were targeted by Palestinian rioters while the Palestinians were killed by the British police (Winder, 2012, p. 6). Both parties blamed each other for the violence, and the police under British mandate also failed to control the human losses. The Shaw Commission investigated the violence and found out that violence was spontaneous. The findings of the Commission further cleared that Mufti of Jerusalem Amin al-Husayni was not involved in inciting violence rather, it was triggered due to revisionist Zionist demonstration of August 15, 1929 (Mattar, 1988, p. 231). The riots deepened mistrust of both the communities on British authorities. This mistrust with the authorities resulted in

social disobedience by Palestinians from 1936 to 1939. The British authorities tried to quell the resistance through detentions and the use of brute force but failed (Mason & Falk, 2016, p. 168). In 1937, Peel Commission presented a plan to partition Palestine between Zionists from Europe and Hashemites from Hijaz but the leader of the Arab Higher Committee and Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin al-Husayni, rejected the partition plan (Mattar, 1988, p. 235). However, the Zionists did not fully reject the plan despite few disagreements (Demetriou, 2012, p. 397).

This was the time when Arab nationalism was also taking roots accompanied by support for the Palestinian cause. Toynbee (1931) highlighted the growing pan-Arab nationalism and support for the Palestine issue in his seminal study in which he wrote that the Arabs of Damascus and Arabs of Baghdad shared the same strong feelings about Palestinian Arabs struggling against colonial regimes (Toynbee, 1931). The formation of *Istaqlal*, a Palestinian political party, was formed as a result of growing sense of nationalism. The party, with major followership of peasants and workers, was formed in 1932 on the basis of secular and pan-Arab nationalist agenda (Demetriou, 2012, p. 395). It was a local manifestation of a growing regional unanimity based on Arab nationalism to counter colonial designs. However, there was a serious problem with this Pan-Arab approach, and that was the lack of discipline and promotion of personal agendas and interests. Arab forces included Jihad Muqqadis (Holy Struggle), a semi regular fighting force led by 'Abd al- Qadir al-Husseini. Another militia included fighters of the Arab League-sponsored Liberation Army and volunteers of the Manko company, a contingent of irregulars (Krystall, 1998, p. 6). They were ill-equipped and not well-organized. There was

inter-group and intra-group leadership struggle that wasted their potential to be a vibrant force.

The Zionists representative political parties were more organized than the Palestinian political parties. Along with political acme, the Zionists had militant wings like Irgun/ IZL (National Military Organization) and Haganah (Demetriou, 2012, p. 397). The Zionist militant groups Irgun and Haganah militia clashed several times with Arab militias. During 1938-39 riots, about 69 British troops, 292 Jews, and 1700 Arabs were killed while British authorities hanged about 100 militants of IZL and Arab militias (Demetriou, 2012). The British casualties show that all three parties were fighting each other and inflicting heavy losses. The Jewish Militias also attacked British facilities.

2.8 Arab-Israeliwars and peace (1948-2000)

By the end of the first half of the 20th century, the British protectorate completely failed to bring a political solution to the Palestine dispute that resulted in an unending spate of violence that continued to plague the region in the years to come. On 29 November 1947, the United Nations passed a resolution dividing Palestine into a Jewish state and Arab state (Abbasi, 2010, p. 7). The British withdrew on 15 May 1948 and by that time, the violence had reached its climax. In Haifa, a Jewish bomb killed six Palestinians. In return, Palestinians killed 41 Jews, and two days later Haganah (a Jewish militant outfit) killed 60 Arab civilians (Demetriou, 2012, p. 399). The Zionists had already listed all Palestinian villages through Jewish National Fund to forcibly evacuate the inhabitants in 1948 after the partition (Pappe, 2006, p. 10). A cycle of violence broke out that resulted in gross human rights abuses by both sides.

2.8.1 Deirr Yassin massacre

Deir Yassin, a village located 5 kilometers from Jerusalem with 500 inhabitants, was attacked by Zionist militant groups IZL, Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Lehi) and Haganah on 9 April 1948 in which 250 Arab villagers were killed (Masalha, 1988, p. 124). An Israeli historian at Haifa University, Ilan Pappe (2006), writes that the forcible evacuation of Palestinian villages was a deliberate policy of the Zionist movement led by David bin-Gurion (Pappe, 2006, p. 6). This policy picked up motion after the UN's partition plan. The organized and well-equipped Jewish militias were at the forefront to implement this policy. The Deir Yassin massacre shook the world. Even Haganah leadership detached itself and blamed Etzl, a hardcore Jewish militant outfit, for the massacre (Lewin, 2016, p. 367). The indiscriminate killing of children and women drew huge criticism from the Arab world, the international community, and the British government.

2.8.2 Arab-Israeliwar 1948

The Arab-Jewish rivalry entered into a more violent phase after U.N. announced the partition plan in 1948. The Palestinians were infuriated by the decision to divide Palestine. They wanted a complete ouster of Zionists from their land. Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Al-Hussaini, with the support of the Arab League, an alliance of newly freed Arab states, launched a militant struggle against the Zionists.

David bin-Gurion, the leader of the Zionist movement, and his followers were preparing for a worst case scenario after the announcement of a Jewish state for years. They had well organized, well-trained, and equipped army. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem who was leading Palestinian troops was opposed by another group of Palestinians while the Arab League which was to support Palestinians in the war were also faced with similar problems. The

historical accounts tell that the people of villages in Palestine had even formed their individual groups under local Arab councils. As the local struggle to free Palestine just continued under the leadership of Jerusalem's Grand Mufti, the Arab armies including Egypt, Syria, and Jordan attacked Israel in midnight on the 14th and 15th May of 1948 (Khalidi, 2006, p. 34). Israel occupied many areas while the Palestinians and their Arab allies could not succeed in defeating Israel who had western political and military support. Israel even succeeded in purchasing planes from Czechoslovakia during the war to end Egyptian air superiority (Aloni, 2001, pp. 7-11). The U.N. intervention succeeded in bringing truce for just 28 days after which hostilities resumed. The hostilities continued for over two years that resulted in huge losses on both sides. Israel lost 6,373 people out of which about 4,000 were soldiers and the rest were civilians. The Arab losses are estimated at between 8,000 and 15,000 (JVL, 2017). The war concluded with Armistice Agreements of Israel separately with the Arab States including Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

2.8.3 Arab-Israeliwars 1967 & 1973

The 1948 war was the beginning of future hostilities. The Palestinians and Arab League did not accept the Zionist state in the Middle East. They remained busy preparing for another military campaign throughout the years. The Jewish State, cognizant of its bitter relations with neighbours, quantitatively and qualitatively increased its arsenal and military workforce with the help of western countries especially the United States. These were the years when the next conflict seemed imminent as the ostensible crisis continued throughout the years.

The 1967 war or six-day war broke out after series of provocative actions and statements by the conflict parties. This time three Arab armies, including Jordan, Egypt and Syria, attacked the Jewish state. Israel conducted preemptive air raids and destroyed the Egyptian and Syrian

Air Forces. The war ended with Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula under Israeli occupation. After the military defeat, both Egypt and Jordan came into agreement with Israel to terminate hostilities (Spyer, 2007, pp. 2-3). The Israeli preemption and military superiority over its Arab neighbours was visible in this war. The Arab nationalism that was the guiding principal to launch military actions against the Jewish state was yet intact and further strengthened as both Syria and Egypt had lost their territories to Israel.

The 1973 war or Yom Kippur War began with utter surprise to Israel. The Egyptian forces crossed Suez Canal while Syria launched an operation from Golan Heights. In the beginning, the Arab forces dominated and inflicted heavy losses on Israel. The surprise attack caught Tel Aviv off guarded. Thanks to the U.S. support, Israel retaliated within 24 hours and halted Syrian and Egyptian advances. The ceasefire came into place in October 1973 after the U.N. passed two resolutions, 338 and 339, to end hostilities at both fronts (Tzabag, 2001, p. 201). In December, the Geneva Convention was held in which the Separation of Forces Agreement in Sinai was signed by Egypt and Israel while Golan Heights were declared a buffer zone (p. 201).

After the 1973 War, the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in 1979 was a major breakthrough in international efforts to maintain peace and among the neighbours. The treaty was signed in Washington with the U.S. help. Under the treaty, Egypt was given back Sinai and in return it pledged to end hostilities against Israel (MOFA, 1979, pp. 116-117). The treaty implied that both countries would respect each others' territorial integrity and avoid hostile and belligerent actions in the future. The treaty was a sigh of relief for Israel and hope for its existence as a normal country. On the other hand, the treaty came as a shock to the Palestinians who were struggling against Israeli occupation and had not yet recognized the Zionist state.

2.8.4 Intifada and Oslo peace process

Intifada is an Arabic word which means uprising. The Israeli peace treaties with Jordan and Egypt were tantamount to the regional legitimacy of the Zionist state, but these treaties were not augured well by the Palestinian leadership. The Palestinians had not legitimized the Zionist state and were struggling against its occupation of their land.

On December 9, 1987, four Palestinian labourers were killed in response to which the people in Gaza burnt tires and blocked roads while young Palestinian boys hurled stones in retaliation to Israeli shelling (King, 2007, pp. 5-6). This was the beginning of the uprising or the first *Intifada*. Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) spearheaded the popular uprising against Israel along with other Palestinian groups. The uprising soon attracted support from the liberal circles of the West who believed in freedom and justice. It was the expression of Palestinians' frustration against Israeli suppression and the world's silence. This was manifested through the participation of women, elderly and children in this non-violent struggle. The resistance was strong and based on legitimate demands of the right to self-determination, respect for human rights, and Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories. The uprising sent a strong message across the world's capitals.

The Palestinian demands echoed in world capitals. The Madrid talks were the result of this non-violent struggle and understanding of the world to the issues faced by the Palestinian people. The talks opened in October 1991 and concluded with the help of the Norwegian government. The talks brought Oslo peace process agreement between Palestinian representative PLO and Israel (pp. 48-49). President Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yetzik Rabin performed a famous handshake in the presence of international media and U.S. President Bill Clinton. The Oslo peace process soon ended due to the beginning of a new phase

of violence in the late 1990s. This time Palestinians launched the second *Intifada* in 2002 against Israeli suppression.

2.8.5 Palestine-Israel conflict in 21st century

Since 9/11, the world attention diverted towards terrorism. The media focus also shifted to the organizations like Hamas and Hizbullah instead of main conflict issues (Abou-El-Fadl, 2012, p.12). The mainstream media was covering the events that resounded global concerns of terrorism. Palestinians struggle and their stance for achieving their right to self-determination was put on backburner and the conflict was not getting attention from media (Allen, 2009, p. 162). Israel's attack on Gaza in 2008-09 was one of the major events took place after Intifada but it also could not gain considerable world attention (Abou-El-Fadl, 2012).Israel justified its attack by declaring that the Operation Cast Lead, last for three weeks, was aimed to destroy rocket launching capabilities from the Gaza Strip on towns and villages in the Israeli south (IMFA, 2008). At least 1,383 Palestinians, including 333 children were killed in the operation while thirteen Israelis, including three civilians, were killed by rocket attacks from Gaza. The media and rights groups were not allowed by the Israel to enter Gaza (AI, 2017).

In 2012, Gaza once again saw violence when Israeli launched attacks on Hamas positions on the pretext of security. However, this time Palestinians were not dependent on mainstream media to tell their story. The conflict is considered the first twitter war(Zeitzoff, 2018, p. 37). The Palestinians extensively showed their part of the story to the outside world and also countered Israel. The violence in 2015-16 is called Intifada of individuals in which various stabbing attacks occurred in Israel. The wave of attacks from Palestinians

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heightened the tensions (Haugbølle, 2018, p.7). The stabbing incidents and social media hype centerstaged the conflict at the international level once again.

Chapter 3: Role of Media in the Palestine-Israel Conflict

"When war is declared, truth is the first casualty."

(Ponsonby, 1928, p.7)

This chapter discusses the relationship between conflict and media. It also covers different approaches about coverage of conflict. The chapter discusses in detail the coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict by international media. The media coverage of long-standing conflict has been analysed through historical perspective. The topics such as history of press in the region and role of media in making sense of the conflict to the outside world have chiefly been discussed in this chapter. The coverage of the conflict by local media (Palestine and Israel) and international media have also been analysed through quoting variety of literature. The chapter also discusses the impact of media on public perception and decision making.

3.1 Conflict and media

A conflict is the pursuit of incompatible goals by the social actors (Galtung, 1973, p. 24). It is a process through which two or more parties try to pursue incompatible aims or goals while trying to stop the others from pursuing their goals (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 6). Likewise, violence or war is an extreme manifestation of a simmering conflict. War is one of many abnormal legal situations and numerous conflict procedures and an extreme form of group attitudes (Allen & Seaton, 1999, p. 13). Allen and Seaton (1998) explained the war as a negotiated social categorization which draws attention to situations in which collective public killing can be expected to occur (p. 18). The termination of a war and resolution of a conflict demands mobilization of the actors or states who are convinced to stop destructiveness. The

peace discourse is pivotal for persuasion, and media plays a key role in generating the discourse.

The conflicts occur to change the status quo or due to negation of the status quo. The parties want to alter the status quo or try to sustain it in pursuit of their interests. The conflicts among states are greater in impact than the conflicts among individuals. The state conflicts vary in nature from territorial to resources and ideological. Therefore, public stakes and interest is also greater. The state indulgence in a conflict takes a heavy toll on its resources, legitimacy and status in the world. In case of violence, the physical security of the people is at stake. Therefore, people want to become part of the decision making or at least want their point of view heard by the decision makers as important stakeholders while their state is opting to become part of a conflict. The political leaders and state officials convey government's stance but yet there is a need for a neutral source which can impartially report about the events occurring in a conflict zone. If a conflict gets violent, people follow those sources of information which are independent and impartial. The public perception about the parties and dynamics of a conflict is formed through media.

The flow of information from the war zone plays a vital role in characterizing the conflict parties. The characterization of the parties influences the conflict outcome to a greater extent. The media can also contribute to escalating a conflict. In Rwanda, the communal violence between Tutsis and Hutu tribes was flared up by the local RTLM radio which culminated in genocide in 1994, and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda later held hate media responsible for the genocide[4] (Thompson, 2007, p. 2). The international media also failed to

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[4] The United Nations defined the term "genocide" at the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in New York on December 9, 1948. The objective of the Convention was to declare genocide a crime under international law. It condemned genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in

report the massive killings as many of the news organizations continued to term it a tribal conflict which later turned into one of the worst massacres in modern human history (p. 2). The negligence of the media led to delayed international intervention in Rwanda communal conflict while the incitement of violence through local radio broadcast not only triggered the violence but also increased its scale due to media outreach to a large number of people.

The conflicts in far-flung regions could not come to public notice without media. Public communication is an important factor in war and crisis as most wars were not brought to world attention if there were no journalists (Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 2). The communication from conflict zones has always been considered as an essential part of military campaigns.

After the French Revolution, the press was extensively used as a propaganda tool in conflicts and wars. During the Italian campaign in 1786, French General and great military strategist Napoleon Bonaparte published his own newspapers to bring his victories to people's glance (Shultz, 2013). It was an effort to create a positive image of his persona among the French public in particular and the conquered European people in general which finally paved the way for him to become Emperor of France. The Napoleonic Public Relations machine was so effective that despite his quagmire in the Egyptian campaign, he was welcomed enthusiastically on his return to France in 1799. The enthusiastic reception by the French people helped Napoleon to assume power a second time in 1815 after his escape from forced exile (Shultz, 2013).

In the first and second world wars, the radio was extensively used as a propaganda tool besides newspapers and pamphlets. Radio remained an important communication tool despite the introduction of television. In the 1990s, the term information intervention was coined to

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time of war, and provided a definition of the crime. The prescribed punishment for the genocide is not subject to the limitations of time and place (for more details see at http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-1.htm).

provide a platform to alternate voices, counter propaganda and incitement of violence through relaying factually correct information. The information intervention refers to the use of media in conflict zones to deescalate hostilities and reduce human losses (Thompson, 2002, p. 41). The U.S.-based news channel, Cable News Network (CNN), covered the first Gulf War (1991-92) live and became the major global actor in international relations (Gilboa, 2005, p. 27). Since then, many news channels including BBC initiated live coverage of the violence and conflicts.

3.2 Approaches to media coverage in a conflict

The scholarly works on conduct of media in a conflict situation are highly divisive.According to Ponsonby (1928), truth is the first casualty when the war is declared (Ponsonby, 1928, p.7).In a conflict situation, media's role is mostly explained in two ways: (1) Part of the conflict and causing more violence; (2) Independently reporting (Puddephatt, 2006, p. 4). Bourdon (2016) presented three levels to analyze the quality of journalistic work during a conflict; (1) political affiliation of the journalist with the conflict parties (2) Ethno-religious identities of the journalists; and (3) pressures over the journalist (Bourdon, 2016, p. 761). The New York Times represents Israel as a victim while Palestinians as aggressors and Israel considers the newspaper as an important source (p. 764).

There are several other approaches focusing traditional media's coverage of the conflicts. The concepts of detachment and attachment also explain the traditional role of journalists. Both the concepts explain two types of media's role. Martin Bell (1998) is the principal thinker of attachment in journalistic writings who called for moral journalism instead of standing back while reporting from the conflict zones (Bell, 1998, p.103) However, the theorists who advocate detachment in journalistic writings argue that a journalist should only

report the facts and reality without any twist. Villard (1903) for the first time emphasized to present both sides of the story which set the foundation of objectivity in journalism (Mindich, 1998, p. 8).

The approach of moral journalism or attachment further expanded to peace journalism. A seminal study by Galtung and Ruge (1965) provided the basis for peace journalism theory. The study was based on analysis of presentation of three crises in Congo, Cuba and Cyprus by four Norwegian Newspapers. The study provided policy implications and suggested that the journalists should focus on long term development than events in a conflict, Journalists should be imparted training to remove their stereotypes and they should focus more on reporting from culturally diverse societies and more coverage of non-elite nations and people (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 85). The peace journalism theories focus on humanitarian issues, balanced reporting, and least reliance on elite sources of information in a conflict. Mitra (2016) contended that the journalists must be trained to practice peace journalism in their local contexts (Mitra, 2016, p. 13).

The critics of peace journalism approach argue that peaceful culture is the precondition of peace journalism, rather than its outcome and in a culture where violence is considered as a tool to conflict resolution, peace journalism is not likely to evolve(Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 7). Peace journalism crosses the line into advocacy and violates the journalistic tenet of objectivity (Fahmy & Eakin, 2014, 89). It is also called detatchment journalism. The protagonists of detatchment concept argue that a journalist should only report the facts and reality without any twist.

In view of new technologies, the approaches such as peace journalism have become contestable and their validity in the contemporary communication environment has come under

question. The social media sphere on one hand provides space to all conflict actors and facilitates their direct interaction on the other it is also contributing bifurcation and strong political divides among societies. The interpretation of contentious issues in incompatible terms on social media threatens social integration and democratic process (Auwal & Ersoy, 2020, p. 4; Yarchi, Baden, & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2020, p.241). The presence of multiple actors on social media platforms makes it highly difficult to operationalize peace journalism. The conflict in Syria is evident of the fact that the complexity in information coincided with the complexity of the overall conflict. The images posted by the activists from the war zone and gathered through other sources were interpreted and counter interpreted by the mainstream media and conflict parties in their own way (Pantti, 2013, p. 4). The party positions and media coverage on social media ensued a debate that further deepened the fissures at local, regional as well as international levels.

Theories such as detachment and journalistic objectivity are also being reassessed in the wake of new technologies. The emotional journalism or sensitization of issues on social media by the journalists is a professional challenge (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p.10). The emotional content on social media is undermining the established binary between emotionality and rationality (p. 14).The international news channels are using crowd sourcing to gather information through social networking websites and crafting news stories on the basis of that information especially while covering the conflicts. In the 2008-2009 Gaza-Israel conflict, Al Jazeera set up a crowd sourcing reporting platform which allowed reporters and citizens to send SMS and Twitter messages to report conflict-related incidents which were counterchecked with other sources and reported to the audience (Zeitzoff, 2011, p. 943).

3.3 Impact of media on public perception and decision making

The role of media is crucial in conflicts as public, policymakers and even conflict parties assess the gravity of the situation through news. The media also create perception among the people that who is oppressor or occupying force and who is a terrorist. Deprez and Raeymaeckers (2011) in light of media effect theories concluded that the way media represents Israel-Palestine conflict and the parties involved has a direct impact on public perception (Deprez & Raeymaeckers, 2011, p. 187). There are lots of other studies on conflicts with respect to media coverage which mainly focus on the role of media in influencing public opinion (Han & Rane, 2011; Jackobsen, 2000). They assume that the public opinion shaped by the media on a certain important issue will not be ignored by the decision makers or government due to political costs.

Jackobsen divided media coverage into the three categories pre, post and violence phase. (Jackobsen, 2000, p.138). Han & Rane (2011) in their study on Australian public opinion on Arab revolution underscored the importance of media in shaping public opinion which in turn influence the decision makers (Han & Rane, 2011, p. 618).

The protagonists of media effects present two factors that have increased media's role in decision making especially related to intervention in a conflict; (1) The absence of security threats after Cold War has made military intervention a matter of choice rather than compulsion; (2) The power of media to bring war at home with live images from the war zones that help shape public debate towards a conflict (Jackobsen, 2000, p. 131). The extended role of media in the conflicts is seen as a consequence of political changes in the aftermath of Cold War and advancement in technology. These thoughts are shared mostly

by the Western scholars in a discourse about factors leading to Western decision making for intervention in a conflict.

Michelle Wolfe etal. (2013) in their seminal study also qualified media as a primary variable for being directly linked to policy making (Wolfe, Jones, & Baumgartner, 2013, p. 177). Hans Methias Kepplinger's feedback model is first of its kind which provided the framework to conduct a quantitative analysis of media effects on the decision makers. The model represented mix of various approaches used in previous studies on traditional media to analyze the effects (Kepplinger, 2007, p. 6).

The CNN factor of media effects has also been extensively used in many scholarly works. The term CNN effect was first coined in 1991 after U.S. intervention in Northern Iraq (Gilboa et al., 2016, p. 655). It deals with violent phase of a conflict (p. 657). CNN effect is often blamed for the U.S. fateful intervention in Somalia that resulted in loss of lives and withdrawal of troops. Jakobsen (2000) rejected the CNN effect model for being irrelevant especially when the Western governments decide to intervene or not in a conflict (Jakobsen, 2000, p. 134). Gadi Wolfsfeld (1997) analyzed traditional media's role during Oslo peace process from 1993 to 1995 through applying Political Contest Model (Wolfsfeld, 1997, p. 29).

The role of media is crucial in conflicts as public, policymakers and even conflict parties assess the gravity of the situation through news. However, the overarching role of media on policy formulation has always been opposed by the carrier diplomats and other state institutions who believe that it was solely their right to make policies following institutional frameworks and upholding national interests.

The modern-day communication which is instantaneous and participatory with unlimited outreach demands to reassess media effect on public perception and policymaking. The use of hashtags and public participation in social media debates is a common site. The governments and political elite also respond through social media to counter-populace demand or to pacify public sentiments. In July 2016, a Twitter hashtag #IdontwantSyriansinmycountry started trending in Turkey in response to President Tayyep Erdogan's announcement to offer citizenship to Syrian refugees (Özerim& Tolay, 2021, p. 8). In response to the public reaction, the ruling party recruited their own social media team to counter the public sentiments through propagating moral superiority by use of words such as benevolence towards the Syrian refugees that weakened the opposing voices (p.10). The Turkish mainstream media largely toes government policies. A content analysis of three Turkish newspapers conducted by Yaylaci and Karakus (2015) showed that the newspapers published most of the reports about Syrian refugees that created sympathy towards them except those reports where individual refugees were blamed for any criminal act (Yaylaci & Karakus, 2015, p.247-248). Gowing (2011) is of the view that the approaches like CNN effect are irrelevant for being very narrow which was only related to the foreign policy but today's communication bottom-up and effects both foreign and domestic policy without distinction (Gowing, 2011, p. 14).

The outreach and instantaneous nature of social media is credited for increase in media's direct or indirect impact on policymaking process. It happened in case of Alan-Kurdi case to some extent. In 2015, a three-year old Syrian refugee boy was found washed up on a Turkish beach. The picture of toddler's body face-down was shared by millions of people on social media platforms (Devichand, 2016,). The viral imageincrease public

pressure on European states and scholars called it 'Alan Kurdi Effect'. The news along with picture made headlines in mainstream media. The viral iconic image of Alan Kurdi was not enough to move the policymaking process but the contextualization of the incident and its publication in mainstream media did help to accomplish this. A study conducted on Alan Kurdi Effect by Sohlberg et al. (2018) noted that the public sympathy on compassion-driven picture moved European governments to immediately soften their stance on refugees but this change of policy was temporary and soon they reverted to stricter policies. The study contends that the picture moved public compassion that brought an instant but brief change in European governments' policies. The Western governments liberalized their refugee policies and accepted asylum applications. However, this policy shift was short lived and sooner Western countries imposed stricter refugee laws approximately one month after the incident. The images evoked sympathy but political contingencies and right-leaning agenda took over the compassion (p. 9).

However, the same effect did not occur in case of Western or Obama administration's military intervention in Syria. Doucet (2018) contends that the American public and administration was wary of any possible large-scale conflict caused by direct intervention due to prior experience in Afghanistan and Iraq (Doucet, 2018, p. 150). There was no American mainstream journalist on ground and no sustained campaigning was observed in media in favour of military intervention (p. 151).

The social media influences the representation of the conflict in several ways. However, the issues related to accuracy of news continues to centerstage role of professional journalists and traditional news organizations on the social media platforms. The role of traditional news organizations in public mobilization and government decision making is yet

relevant. In Alan Kurdi case, the mainstream media played an important role to draw world attention towards the humanitarian crisis that culminated to a brief policy change. The absence of sustained campaigning for war by mainstream American news outlets did not allow any direct U.S. intervention during Obama administration as mentioned by Doucet (2018).

3.4 Media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict

Most of the printing presses were owned by Palestinian Jews by the end of the 19th century therefore, they had the advantage to publish the first newspaper which covered mainly religious and few other issues. The first Hebrew language newspaper *Ha-Levanon* was published in 1862 in Palestine (Suleiman, 2009, p. 81). The Ottomans only published an official Gazzatte from Palestine named *Al-Quds Al-Sharif* both in Arabic and Turkish languages (p. 85). Another Hebrew religious newspaper *Bitsal, Ha Or* and a magazine *Yerushalaym* were published during the second half of the 19th century (pp. 84-85). The Zionists extensively used media to draw support for their cause. By the 1930s, they had developed highly organized propaganda departments to support their cause, and *Hasbara* (defensive) was one of them to guide international media about the conflict (Goodman, 2011, pp. 2-3). The number of European visitors to the Holy land increased manifolds from 1931to 1940, and a large number of books were also published after 1940 about Palestine narrating stories that resembled to biblical history (Moscrop, 2000, pp. 19-23). This was the initial exposure of the world to the land of Palestine in modern history. From 1905 to 1948, there were seven Palestinian Arabic-language newspapers which were published under the Ottoman rule and later British mandate. After World War-I, the international news organizations especially from Europe started deploying their permanent correspondents.

3.4.1 Coverage of the conflict by local media of Palestine and Israel

Currently, there are six national TV channels, nine internet-based news outlets out of which two are dedicated to the international audience, three national newspapers, and five Palestinian national news agencies (ABYZ, 2017). These news organizations publish news in Arabic, Hebrew and English, catering local, regional and international news. Likewise, Israel also has a vibrant media which includes 11 TV channels, five main English language newspapers while there are several Hebrew language newspapers and magazines are published in Israel (ABYZ, 2017). Most of the news organizations frame the information according to their national narrative on the dispute. The partisan coverage of local newspapers is because of the affiliations of the journalists and emotional attachments and also restrictions from both parties on the news outlets. The Palestinian press for the first time faced restrictions during the British Mandate before 1948 and after that when the Israeli forces occupied West Bank in 1967. Since 2007, the Palestinian media has split into pro-Palestinian Authority media and the pro-Hamas media (Saraste, 2010, p. 1).

The role of mass media is crucial in conflict situations. In the context of the Palestine-Israel conflict, the media were blamed for fueling the conflict and they were usedby the conflict parties especially Israel to promote their narrative and avoid negative reporting during military operations (Durante & Zhuravskaya, 2016). In 2016, the hostilities spikedbetween the two conflict parties, and social media was blamed for the surge (BBC, 2015). Media strategy is crucial in Israeli operations to avoid being caught on camera or photographed during attacks on Palestinians (Durante & Zhuravskaya, 2016).

3.4.2 International media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict

All major broadcast and publishing news networks have their correspondents and stringers in Palestine and Israel to cover the conflict. There are many studies which indicate that the presence of international reporters increases during violence and major events (Bourdon, 2016, p. 764). The Foreign Press Association is the representative body of the international news reporters hailing from over 30 countries around the world permanently deployed to cover the conflict (FPA, 2017). According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), 16 journalists have been killed during coverage of the conflict since 1992 (CPJ, 2017). On May 18, 2017, CPJ urged the Israeli government to apprehend the culprit who shot an Associated Press cameraman and killed another Palestinian (CPJ, 2017). The threats for the journalists are grave both from the state and non-state actors while covering the Palestine-Israel conflict. In another incident on May 3, 2017, Israeli security forces subjected journalists to brute force while they were covering a protest by Palestinians (CPJ, 2017).

The problem faced by the representatives of international news organizations is one aspect of the conflict that reflects the conditions an international correspondent reports the events unfolding in the conflict zone. The fear of life continues to lurk over the journalists from both parties. Another aspect which is related to the international media coverage of the conflict is the background of the journalists, their nationality, religion and political thoughts which influence the coverage. The preexisting cognitive schema of the journalists also influences the coverage pattern. Bourdon (2016) presented three levels to analyze the quality of journalistic work: (1) Political affiliation of the journalist with the conflict parties. In some countries from where the journalists come from, the Palestine-Israel conflict is a matter of domestic; (2) Ethno-religious identities of the journalists; and (3) pressures over

the journalist by the ethno-religious groups due to technological advancement and people's more involvement in the news reports (Bourdon, 2016, p. 761). The New York Times represents Israel as a victim while Palestinians as aggressors and Israel considers the newspaper as an important source (p. 764). Bourdon has mentioned two poles among foreign media correspondents, first, mostly European correspondents who blame American journalists for their pro-Israel bias and, second, American journalists who accuse European journalists of their pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel stance (p. 767).

The unbiased international news media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict is not only the responsibility of the correspondents, reporters and stringers in the conflict area. The policies of the news organizations are also influencedby their financial interests. A representative of the news organization sends report to the news organization which telecasts and publishes it. The news report is treated by the Non-Linear Editors (NLE), producers and text editors before its telecast or publication. Therefore, the reporters in the field are not only responsible for the biased coverage.

Chapter 4

Social Media as an Emerging Public Sphere

"The Internet was destined to be a social medium from the start —open, unregulated, extensible and unpredictable…It removes one of the critical barriers to maintaining social networks: geography. In doing so, the Internet enables a vibrant social universe to emerge powered by the passions of millions"(Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 17).

This chapter covers the role of social media as an emerging public sphere and its role in conflict situations. It is a four-part chapter in which four main topics will come under discussion. These four topics include (1) the media and its changing role in the social sphere in the wake of technological advancements like the introduction of web 2.0 technologies;(2) the use of social networking websites by mass media as a business model; (3) Dynamic Social Impact Theory and clustering of opinions; and (4) media impact theories and how clustering of opinions on social media affect the conflict dynamics.

4.1 The rise of new media

The hegemony of journalism has been threatened for the first time in history not only because of the new technologies and competition but by the audience it serves (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 7). The netizens are equipped with easy-to-use web publishing tools and gadgets that makes them an active participant in the creation and dissemination of news and information (p. 8).

The emergence of new media indeed challenged the gatekeeper role of the traditional media and the media organizations especially the newspapers felt threatened. It was a natural response

by the private media as the information was the only commodity through which they could engage their audience and also earn revenues. The information was now available easily to everyone who had access to the internet. Media outlets compete to out-scoop each other but today if they hold on to a story too long, they run the risk of being out-scooped by amateurs such as bloggers, citizen journalists and Twitter users (Alejandro, 2010, p. 211).

But there was a problem with this influx of information and that was the credibility of the information. In the traditional media, the reporters and editors professionally screen the details of the information and publish a story by keeping in view the ethics of journalism which connotes that which part of the information is to publish and how to publish it. However, this is not the case with social media where anyone can post a video clip and a piece of information without taking into account journalistic ethics. Many academicians and traditional journalists criticized the influx of information on social media without taking care of journalistic norms and practices. The likelihood of making heuristic judgments is greater among the consumers who are exposed to social media platforms where information influx is massive and they don't have time to go and check background knowledge. The spread of fake news on social media has emerged as a new discourse. The issue of fake news has even moved the technology experts to find out solutions to scuttle this trend. Most recently, the inventor of the World Wide Web, Sir Tim Berners-Lee, unveiled a five-year plan to tackle data abuse and fake news in an open letter to mark the web's 28th anniversary. He called for practical solutions to make a web "that gives equal power and opportunity to all" (BBC, 2017). After the London attacks on 3 April 2017, Al Jazeera posted on its Twitter handle a comment 'Don't believe these fake stories about London attacks' along with a montage of different pictures of people missing in the attacks. The persons whose pictures were among missing people and circulating online

were in reality belonged to the U.S. or other parts of London and were safe. The subtitling on

the montage warned the people not to believe everything online after an attack (Al-Jazeera,

2017). The Twitter post by Al Jazeera is important for being an investigative news story and

promoting an advocacy role of media. At the same time, it is also establishing the credibility of

traditional news organizations and highlighting the issue of fake news on social media.

However, it is much important to know that what makes social media so unique that it has

become more influential than traditional media. The social networkingwebsites are not only

providing platform to meet strangers but they also enable users to articulate and make visible

their social networks that results in connections between individuals that would not otherwise

be made (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211). These meetings are not the objective of these

interactions but they frequently occur between ''latent ties'' (Boyd & Ellison, 2008).

In their seminal study, Aljendro noted that;

> For politically inattentive citizens, soft news is more
> effective than traditional news. Both a short message
> (tweet) and social interaction (retweet) among users
> puts Twitter ahead of other sources of news. Thus,
> Twitter can be an effective medium to disseminate
> political messages. Think that news accounts in
> Twitter can have more power than traditional news
> media. (Alejandro, 2010, p. 18)

Miller et al. (2016) quoted social media as scalable sociality contending that one scale is

from the most private to the most public and the second scale is from the smallest group to the

largest groups (Miller et al., 2016). Social media is a vibrant, dynamic and flexible platform of

communication. This communication not only involves textual or visual communication but

live interaction as well.

Many studies proved that the users of the internet are mostly youth. Even if they are old age people, the point is that they want to change in viewing news. They want variety and all in one. Social media is a platform where information can be presented from visual content to text and graphs and so on. It caters to the needs of people from different cultural backgrounds at a time with different requirements. It provides a variety of content that is colorful, attractive, and easily accessible on a computer screen or a cell phone. Unlike traditional media, people can see, watch and respond at a time anywhere in the world on these social networking websites. The most important feature is that it provides a space where all news organizations can easily be accessed. Social media provides a space for people where they can easily access the source of information which was not possible in the past with traditional media. People can become part of the story by expressing their own point of view which is visible to millions around the globe. The primary gratifications for social media users are status seeking, socializing, and receiving information (Bullard, 2015).

The days of one-way communication are over as social media provide multiple choices to the people free of cost. People can share and receive all kinds of data through these networking websites. In political communication, the role of social media has increased multifold. Karpf (2009) terms the participatory nature of social media as ''politics 2.0,'' which means the use of the Internet's lowered transaction costs and its condition of information abundance, toward the goal of building more participatory, interactive political institutions (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2012).

4.2 The age of Twitter and Facebook

Twitter and Facebook are one of the most popular Social Networking Websites (SNS). Twitter is unique due to its 280-character limitation of texts. Facebook represents the clusters of

communities with a feature to establish latent ties between those people who could not otherwise connect with each other.

4.2.1 Twitter

Arceneaux and Weiss (2010) define Twitter as a micro-blogging site which allows users to post only 140-character messages or tweets that can be read or seen by the people who elect to follow that specific profile (Kind, 2011).Twitter is easy to use through mobile phones because of the concise nature of its text and instant outreach to a large number of audience.

In this PhD length dissertation, the focus is on Twitter's use as a source of news dissemination while this social media platform also works as a source of news gathering for journalists and news organizations. Ritter et al. (2011), in their study, found out that the temporal references in tweets are primarily about the immediate present or near future and their findings suggested that people use Twitter in an embedded manner in their daily lives(Herdağdelen, 2013, p. 1128). A study conducted by American Press Institute (2015) found that Twitter users act differently when they follow news in general on the service and encounter breaking news. They become even more participatory—commenting, posting and sharing at moments when events are moving fast(Rosenstiel, Sonderman, Loker, Ivancin, & Kjarval, 2015). The news business is about people's daily lives and also includes urgency or instant dissemination with maximum outreach. Twitter caters to urgency, instant access to information with extensive outreach to the individuals within no time. These studies also reveal the behavior of Twitter users which changes with the kind of information they receive and its urgency. On the Twitter information website, the first line to introduce Twitter makes its attractive platform for every person who wants to know happenings around the world. It reads, "Twitter is the place to find out about what's happening in the world right now" (Twitter,

2017). The introductions of the brand itself speak that it's about *present*. However, anybody can use it for all kinds of information whether it be of past and future. The tweets posted in the present certainly become past. No doubt even one can also describe the future on Twitter within 140 characters. The precise and small text allows the users to check with multiple sources providing the same information. Twitter is democratic in this sense as it provides access to all sources of information on one platform by leaving choice or decision power in users' hands.

Time and space have been a center point of research in the field of psychology for impact analysis. The psychologists mainly rested their argument on geographical contiguity between the sender and receiver of information. The social networking websites like Twitter have removed spatial barriers creating huge virtual societies where everyone is accessible within no time (Miller et al., 2016, pp. 3-4). Twitter is in the middle of each happening around the globe wherever the Internet is accessible (Boukes, 2019, 36-39).

Being a source of information and social interaction with a high degree of spatial contiguity is an amazing source of information and knowledge. Library of Congress is in the process to archive all public tweets while historians are giving the same importance to learn programmes like SQL and Perl to read tweets as they used to give to learn languages to interrogate sources (McKenzie, 2014, pp. 355-356). The distinguishing feature of Twitter is that unlike Facebook one has not to seek permission to enter a social cluster or connect to a person. On Twitter, it begins all with following someone and without prior permission of the organization and person. The introduction page of Twitter reads that it offers news and politics, sports, pop culture, influencers (Find out what thought-leaders and experts in your industry are saying) and the real time information of all kinds of events and incidents (Twitter, 2017). Twitter has

emerged as the fastest source of information and caters to multiple sources of information at a time.

4.2.2 Facebook

The functional role of Facebook ininformation sharing as "a social networking website that promotes posts according to the News Feed algorithm and helps users to see more stories from friends they interact with the most and the number of comments and likes a post receives" (Bessi1, et al., 2016, p. 1). The Facebook News Feed Algorithm prioritizes the stories for the readers which they may like to read, share and comment. The Algorithm prioritizes the stories which are shared most of the friends like. If a story has been shared by seven friends, it will appear on the top of the news feed. The Algorithm also uses the history of a person's personal choices for the kind of stories he likes to read and share. Therefore, every time when one opens their Facebook account they find the most important and relevant stories on the top of the news feed. Therefore, the stories which are not important and less interesting are likely to go down in the feed.

Facebook as a news source has also gained popularity, and the news organizations use this platform extensively to disseminate news. Facebook also provided news organizations with a scale to gauge the popularity of their news. On Facebook, a like is usually a positive feedback; share indicates the desire to spread a news item to friends while a comment can have multiple features and meanings and can generate collective debate (Schmidtaet al., 2017, p. 3035). Unlike Twitter, Facebook communities are more clustered and closed. One seeks permission to enter a Facebook virtual group, unlike Twitter. However, the news organizations post their news stories on dedicated Facebook pages. One needs to click the 'like' button on the top of the page to get a permanent news feed from the news organizations.

4.3 Social media coverage of traditional news organizations

Initially, all major traditional media news organizations had their websites where they posted their content, both visual and text. However, it was not enough for the news organizations who were in constant competition and in a race to attract more and more audiences. The advent of social media provided an opportunity where they could not only post their news but also reach out to large number of people at once. The comments and information received through the audience feedback worked as a source for more information. The traditional media mostly overlooked the participation of the audience but social media ensures their participation (Kind, 2011). Being cost effective, social media gradually emerged as the source of dissemination and gathering of information. The use of social networking websites as a platform ornewsroom suited as a business model to the traditional news organizations. They understood the phenomenon that they will have to reach out to the audience through these networking websites, and posting of content to their website was not enough for online presence.

The versatility and interactivity of the Internet distinguishes it from other media. It can deliver text, graphics, images, audio, and video at the same time, and thus can provide the functions of other mass media, such as television, radio, newspaper, magazine, and telephone (Carveth, 2004, p. 265). All international media organizations have their Twitter handles, and Facebook pages. Apart from being cost effective, these networking websites also promote brand names and build communities of each organization. The examination of outbound hyperlinking of top 25 U.S. national newspapers from 2012 onward revealed that 98 percent of those newspapers' websites contained outbound links to Twitter and Facebook that reflects the increasing role of Social Networking Websites in news media (Weber, 2017). The newspapers have now transferred from paper to virtual screens where they can post their stories with more

ease and even update a news story round the clock which was not possible earlier especially after its publication.

Momberg and Reece (2009) believe that the main advantage of integrating social media into an online news service is brand and community building (Stassen, 2010). The international language news organizations have their followership in millions around the globe. A post or a tweet reaches out to millions of people within few seconds. The responses by the audience in terms of shares, retweets and comments further boost the brand name as many latent links create which gradually mature and become part of the community. The political leaders, organizations and civil society groups issue statements and comments through Twitter and Facebook.

4.4 Social media as a business model

There are two approaches regarding the use of social media as a business model: (1) social media adoption approach and (2) social media content strategy (Tsimonis & Dimitriadis, 2014). With respect to the adoption approach, research has examined various internal and external antecedent factors. The internal factors include organisation size, product category, marketing strategy, and international orientation, while the external factors include competitive pressures, evolving customer needs, and changing demographics. The businesses have simultaneously adopt multiple social media tools for the purpose of corporate/product promotion, brand building, market information gathering, and customer education (Tafesse, 2015, p. 929).

The use of logos as a profile picture with each post automatically distinguishes the organization among many information sources. The news organizations use various other techniques to increase the following and fans through various optimization techniques. In this

study, two main features have been studied in the data of news posts by three organizations (Al Jazeera, BBC, CNN) on social networking websites (Twitter, Facebook). These two features include (1) band promotion; and (2) discourse domination. The news channels use different techniques to promote the brand like using hyperlinks in the posts which opens up the website of the news channel for detailed news. Likewise, the news organizations also want to dominate the discourse on social media which promotes their brand to maximum people. The news channels make their posts more attractive through the choice of phrases and verbose in the text along with posting visuals and pictures. Both brand promotion and discourse domination reciprocate each other.

4.5 Dynamic Social Impact Theory (DSIT) and concept of clustering

The Social Impact Theory is important to understand the impact of social media news coverage of traditional media on the users. Dynamic Social Impact Theory posits that people live in spatially distributed groups where they do not have equal access to interact with each other which results in four kind of cultural phenomena: (1) clustering; (2) correlation; (3) consolidation; and (4) continuing diversity (Harton & Bullock, 2007). The regional differences in attitudes and behaviors refer to the cultures, correlation depicts the association between attitudes and consolidation is about the reduction in diversity. However, it does not mean that the diversity is completely eliminated it remains there among the cultural groups. Culture means social beliefs and practices which characterize a society. Culture provides a common understanding an individual experience and is a social reality to guide our actions(Latane, 1996, p. 13).Latane (1996)discussed three factors which influence the members of a spatial distribution: (1) strength; (2) immediacy; and (3) number of sources. He referred to strength as the capability of a social actor to influence others through skills,

personality, etc. Immediacy has been defined as lack of barriers, richness of communication, closeness in the space or ability to monitor. The influence grows as the number of people involved (influence sources) increases (Latane, 1996). The individuals who are in the same social group can easily influence each other if the previously discussed characteristics are present in the sources of influence. Therefore spatial closeness is crucial in the sources of influence.

The DSIT identified a very interesting phenomenon in which clusters of minority groups (who disagree with the majority on a social issue) have the tendency to become the majority because they are isolated and retain their separate identity in the socially distributed space. Another factor which DSIT explains is highly involving attitudes that categorize peoplebetween opponents or supportersof a particular issue. These kinds of attitudes are less likely to change by theinfluence of other actors but when thechange in attitudes occurs that is disproportionate or larger than the expected (Harton & Bullock, 2007).

If we analyze social media through DSIT, we may learn that the spatial distribution forms groups which are culturally more closer. Like on Facebook, people tend tojoin those people who are ideologically more closer to them. However, there also exist latent ties among the people but these are not as such functional. The media messages or frames which will resonate with their ideology will further strengthen the spatial binding. Cacciatoreet al. (2016) call these groups formed on social networking websites as "hemophilic self-selected social networks" or "echo chambers" (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p. 19). These groups have more commonalities than the diversities which reflect from their existence in the same space. Basel et al. (2016) contended that algorithms for content promotion are the

main determinants of the polarization effect arising out of online social media. Recent studies suggest confirmation bias as one of the driving forces of content selection, which eventually leads to the emergence of polarized communities.

Conflicting narratives lead to the aggregation of users in homogeneous echo chambers, irrespective of the online social network and the algorithm of content promotion (Bessi1 et al., 2016, p. 7).Yardi and Boyd (2010) found out that, in political context, Twitter users are more likely to interact with others who share the same views as they do in terms of retweeting. But they are also engaged with those with whom they disagree. In addition, replies between likeminded individuals would strengthen group identity, whereas replies between individuals with varied view point would reinforce in-group and out-group affiliation (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2012). The group identities are strong on both Twitter and Facebook.

4.6 Social media, policymaking and public perception

Modern-day communication which is instantaneous and participatory with unlimited outreach demands to reassess media effect on public perception and policymaking. The use of hashtags and public participation in social media debates is a common site. The governments and political elite also respond through social media to counter-populace demand or to pacify public sentiments.

In July 2016, a Twitter hashtag #IdontwantSyriansinmycountry started trending in Turkey in response to President Tayyip Erdogan's announcement to offer citizenship to Syrian refugees (Özerim& Tolay, 2021, p. 8). In response to the public reaction, the ruling party recruited their own social media team to counter the public sentiments through propagating moral superiority by use of words such as benevolence towards the Syrian

refugees that weakened the opposing voices (p. 10). The Turkish mainstream media largely toes government policies. A content analysis of three Turkish newspapers conducted by Yaylaci and Karakus (2016) showed that the newspapers published most of the reports about Syrian refugees that created sympathy towards them except those reports where individual refugees were blamed for any criminal act (Yaylaci & Karakus, 2015, pp. 247-248). Gowing (2011) is of the view that the approaches like the CNN effect are irrelevant for being very narrow which was only related to the foreign policy but today's communication bottom-up and affects both foreign and domestic policy without distinction (Gowing, 2011, p. 14).

The outreach and instantaneous nature of social media is credited for increase in media's direct or indirect impact on policymaking process. It happened in case of Alan-Kurdi case to some extent. In 2015, a three-year old Syrian refugee boy was found washed up on a Turkish beach. The picture of a toddler's body face-down was shared by millions of people on social media platforms (Devichand, 2016). The image brought policy change towards refugees among European states; therefore, the media scholars called it 'Alan Kurdi Effect.' The news along with the picture made headlines in mainstream media. The iconic viral image of Alan Kurdi was not enough to move the policymaking process but the contextualization of the incident and its publication in mainstream media did help to accomplish this (Mortensen et al., 2017, p. 81).

A study conducted on Alan Kurdi effect by Sohlberg et al. (2018) noted that the public sympathy on compassion-driven picture moved European governments to immediately soften their stance on refugees but this change of policy was temporary and soon they reverted to stricter policies (Sohlberg, Esaiasson, & Martinsso, 2018, p. 1). The

study contends that the picture moved public compassion that brought an instant but brief change in government policy. The images evoked sympathy but political contingencies and right-leaning agenda took over the compassion (p. 9). The same effect did not occur in the case of the Western or Obama administration's military intervention in Syria. Doucet (2018) contends that the American public and administration were wary of any possible large-scale conflict caused by direct intervention due to prior experience in Afghanistan and Iraq (Doucet, 2018, p. 150). Secondly, there was no American mainstream journalist on the ground and no sustained campaigning was observed in traditional news media in favour of the military intervention (p. 151).

Public opinion can effectively influence policy change if the campaigns are managed on both traditional and social media. The above discussion on the Alan-Kurdi effect, Syrian refugees' issue in Turkey, and Obama administration's decision to avoid military intervention in Syria highlight the fact that both new and traditional news organizations are imperative for shaping public opinion and policy decisions. Despite social media's growth, the role of traditional news organizations is still pivotal in amplifying the voices of different actors in armed conflicts. The bloggers and activists in war zones still depend on coverage by the traditional news organization (Bennett, 2013, p. 38).

Social media influences the representation of the conflict in several ways. However, the issues related to the accuracy of news continue to centerstage role of professional journalists and traditional news organizations on social media platforms. The role of traditional news organizations in public mobilization and government decision making is yet relevant. In Alan Kurdi's case, the mainstream media played an important role in drawing world attention to the humanitarian crisis that culminated in a brief policy change. The

absence of sustained campaigning for war by mainstream American news outlets did not allow any direct U.S. intervention during the Obama administration as mentioned by Doucet (2018).

This study has identified that the value framing of the social media content is part of traditional news channels' strategy to make sense of the conflict for the outside world at one hand and on the other to draw the attention of a maximum number of netizens to promote their brand and build social media communities.

Chapter 5: Framing Theory

"Frames are never neutral: They define an issue, identify causes, make moral judgments, and shape proposed solutions" (O'Neill et al., 2015, p.380)

The framing theory of media effects is a multidisciplinary approach and a developing concept. The media and communication scholars have extensively applied the framing model to explore the effects of media coverage during the last two decades. The media and communication scholars have mostly used framing to observe the effects of news coverage on public opinion and its subsequent impact on decision makers. The frames are generally used to contextualize and make make sense of an issuance but they can become dangerous if employed to promote group thinking and a cultural narrative (Steele, 2014, p. 47) The framing model has not only been used in media and communication studies but also in various other fields. According to Tannen (1993), the concept, framing, is used in different fields including linguistics, anthropology, sociology, artificial intelligence, and psychology (Tannen, 1993, pp. 15-18). Framing is used in linguistics, particularly cognitive grammar, anthropology, sociology, ethnography of speaking and ethnographic sociolinguistics (Ensink & Sauer, 2003, p. 3).

The interpretation of framing differs in various fields, thus making it difficult and complex to fully understand the concept. Likewise, in media,the mere application of the framing model on the presentation of the content cannot be the sole factor in influencing public opinion and government policy on a certain social issue. Multiple factors influence public opinion and government policy, thus making it extremely complex to understand the influence of framing

on them. The understanding of framing itself is complex due to heterogeneity in interpretations and definitions. Before providing further discussion on the concept of framing in detail, it is important to understand the evolution of framing as a concept and theory and its application in media studies.

5.1 Evolution of framing theory

The framing theory evolved from the discipline of cognitive psychology (Bartlett, 1932) and anthropology (Bateson, 1955/1972) and was gradually adopted by other disciplines (Gorp, 2007, p. 60). Gregory Bateson (1955/1972) used the term *frame* with the current sense for the first time in an essay on the psychology of perception (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, pp. 427-428). Bateson (1977/1972) defined the frames as, "any message, which either explicitly or implicitly defines a frame, ipso facto gives the receiver instructions or aids in his attempt to understand the messages included within the frame" (p. 428). Erving Goffman (1974) was the first who developed the conceptual understanding of the frame in the field of sociology (Borah, 2011, p. 246).

Abreu (2015) has divided the evolution of framing into three phases: the first phase fromthe 1970s to 1990 during which theoretical body of framing developed, the second phase began after the 1990s when the definition of frames as a specialty of media studies developed, and the third phase began at the turn of 21st century with reorganization and empirical development of the concept which continues till date (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, pp. 428-429). Despite the fact that the framing theory is evolving but it has extensively been used by researchers in media studies. Most of the time, the framing approach has been used to evaluate the media effects on conflict dynamics. The usage of framing as a model to analyze media

effects drew criticism mainly focused on lack of unanimity in interpretations and definitions of the framing theory.

5.2 Inter-disciplinary approaches to framing

The heterogeneity in the explanation of the concept is rooted in approaches based on two different disciplines: psychology and sociology. The sociology-based approach to explain framing denotes that the salience and relevance of the text influence the people. However, the psychology-based approach contends that the frames cannot influence until they match the preexisting schemata of the receivers. The receivers contextualize the frames and interpret these messages in their cultural context. In other words, a frame will influence if it matches the preexisting schema of the receiver.

5.2.1 Understanding of framing through sociology

The sociological explanation of the concept is based on salience and selection of the content that influences the perception of the people. The sociological approach of framing explains that the text of the news story contains a specific message. The journalists present a social fact by making a few of its aspects more salient and linking it to the cultural context.

Entman's (1993) widely quoted definition of framing is based on a sociological understanding of the concept. Entman (1993) describes frames as a power of communication, which influences human thinking and consciousness.

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation… (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Entman has defined the framing in terms of content presentation which influences the perception of people about a certain social issue. Therefore, the news organizations tend to use multimedia social networking platforms which cater both text and images (photos/videos). Images bring life to an event and if paired with text they create a powerful effect on the readers' perception about a political event. The images improve learning and memory and their effect increases manifold when they are congruent with text (Powell et al., 2015: 1001). The framing through visuals is potentially more effective in communicating specific interpretation of news events than framing that occurs via print/written or spoken parts of the broadcast news (Fahmy and Neumann, 2011, p. 4). The emotionally charged images serve as a vehicle for framing of political messages especially in conflict reporting such as Palestine (Powell et al., 2015: 997).

Framing of news text has a highly learned syntax that allows a more prescribed construction of meaning(Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.11). They contend that the framing will fail if the recipient lacks knowledge of the language and the context (Powellet al., 2015). The images bring the events to life and make it understandable to the viewers. In this way, they can easily interpret the hidden message in the frames. There are several kinds of frames explained by different theorist. In 1992, Neuman, Just and Crigler identified the most common generic frames used by both the media and the public: 'human impact', 'powerlessness' 'economics', 'moral values' and 'conflict' (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015: 432).

The protagonists of the sociological definition of framing explain that the frames are the part of a reality presented in a text, not the whole reality itself. They contend that there is a message

coded in a textual frame, and the perception builds accordingly when it is decoded by the recipient.

Gamson (1992) explained the framing concept through Cold War news reporting by the U.S. media. The U.S. media used frames like Civil Wars, as the problem with identifying their source (communist rebels), offered moral judgments (atheists), and presented solution (American support to the opposite side) (p. 52). By adopting the sociological perspective, some theorists have combined the framing with other approaches like priming and agenda setting (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). The American civil war example explains the framing theory with a salience perspective. The messages were coded in news frames like civil war, moral judgments, and solutions to garner support for American intervention or support to an anti-communist force. The Cold War example makes framing an overlapping concept with agenda setting and priming.

Some scholars who see framing as part of the sociology discipline believe that framing is the second level of agenda setting. The effects of agenda setting and framing are related and that framing is an extension of agenda setting (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103). Frame is the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis and exclusion (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). This definition is also based on the selection and presentation of the text. These definitions explain that as much as there will be the salience of the text, greater will be the effect. The increase in salience enhances the probability that the receivers will receive the information, discern meaning and thus process it, and store it in memory (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

To understand the framing and hidden messages in them, the protagonists of the sociological approach mostly use content analysis. According to Weaver (2007), frames can be applied to

many different aspects and types of messages and can also be studied by means of systematic content analysis or more interpretive textual analysis alone (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). The sociology-based interpretation of framing is more about salience, hidden messages in frames and does not explain much about the receivers of these messages and the way they process them.

5.2.2 Understanding of framing through psychology

The psychological basis of framing originates from experimental work by Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), for which Kahneman received Nobel Prize in economics in 2002 (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 9). "They examined that how different presentations of essentially identical decision-making scenarios influence people's choices and their evaluation of the various options presented to them" (p. 9). They found out in their research that people opt for risk taking if the information highlights losses but when the same information is presented in terms of gains, people shy away to take the risk and they called this approach equivalency (Borah, 2011, p. 248).

The proponents of psychological-origins of framing argue that the concept should be differentiated from other disciplines, and the definition should not be general but specific. Cacciatore et al. (2016) noted two operational concepts of framing in their seminal study to differentiate among other media effect theories and framing: (1) equivalence framing and (2) emphasis framing (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p. 8). "Equivalence framing involves manipulating the presentation of logically equivalent information while emphasis framing is manipulating the content of information" (p. 8). The framing that encompasses only persuasive effects overlaps other media effect theories like agenda setting and priming.

The frames have been defined by different writers different some call them "schemes" or "scripts" (Fiske & Taylor,1991; Markus & Zajonc, 1985; Rumelhart, 1984; Schank & Abelson,1977); others term them "cognitive templates" (Minsky, 1975) to organize information in mind (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, pp. 10-11). Cacciatore et al. (2016) argue that agenda setting and priming are based on spreading activation theory while framing is based on Gestaltpsychologie and attribute theory. The Gestatlpsycologie or attribution theory assumes that people attract to frames that correlate with their preexisting cognitive schemas. It explains that it's not the particular frame that changes their perception instead, it's their preexisting knowledge, understanding or cultural orientation which attracts them to a specific frame. "Gestate theory hypothesizes that an individual's perception of stimuli has an effect on their response. If two individuals are exposed to identical stimuli their reactions to it would be different, depending on their past experience" (Clark, 1999).

In social networking websites, people have a lot of choices in content with an influx of information possessing multiple frames. According to Gestate theory, people will attract or like to read the information about those issues which match their preexisting schema. If someone is interested in the Palestine-Israel conflict because of his prior knowledge, cultural experiences or cognition, they will be more interested in the news rather than reading information about the latest developments in nuclear technology.

Cacciatore et al.(2016) argue that schemata (scripts, or stereotypes) imply mentally stored clusters of ideas (cognitions) that guide people's processing of information (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p. 13). Contrary to this, Fiske and Taylor (1991) argue that the increase in salience will also increase the probability that the receivers will be influenced more

(Entman, 1993, p. 53). Cacciatore et al. (2016) contend that the psychological instead of the sociological approach should be used to define framing.

The preference-based frames provide context and activate pre-existing knowledge of a person. On social media, the information is provided to a clustered audience like Facebook; therefore, the news frames are specifically for those people who already have an interest or prioritize it. These kinds of frames are also called tailored frames. The tailored frames are like those medicines that are given to the patients by considering their genomes and characteristics; therefore, they are much more effective than the traditional medicines (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016, p. 19). The frames are a change of way to present information and the audience interprets them according to their preexisting schema.

Therefore, the following basic question will be considered while deciding the methodology to analyze framing in social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by three traditional news organizations: (1) Are frames used by each news channel to represent the Palestine-Israel conflict on Twitter, and Facebook are different? (2) What is the number of followers of each news channel separately on Twitter, and Facebook? (3) Which frames are liked, retweeted the most by the followers on each social media platform? (4) These questions are based on the preference-based model to see media effects through equivalence framing.

5.3 Heterogeneity and flexibility:A merit or demerit?

The existence of heterogeneity and lack of clear conceptualization (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 424). The absence of any unified definition of framing was considered by many theorists as a weakness of the concept. However, another school of thought terms heterogeneity as a strength of the framing theory. D'Angelo (2002) believes, "the diversity of approaches to framing, through multiple disciplines and theoretical models, is possibly the only way to properly

understand a phenomenon as complex as the effects of the media. The framing theory is valuable not for its potential as a unified research paradigm but in the opportunity it provides to bring closer qualitative and quantitative, empirical and interpretive, psychological and sociological, and academic and professional research (p. 425).

The heterogeneity in definitions and explanation of framing theory has made it more flexible to be used in different fields without much difficulty. The protagonists of heterogeneity in framing definitions are of the view that it is an attribute instead of a weakness. They contend that the uniformity will erode the dynamism of the theory, thus making it a very limited approach.

Frames exist both in the message and the receiver who interprets this message. This aspect of framing theory makes it important to consider both locations of the frames while analyzing the effects. Entman (1993) noted, "frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture". Elaborating these components described by Entman, d'Angelo (2002), Scheufele (2000) and de Vreese (2002) argued that these are important to the process of framing that consists of distinct stages: "frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing" (Vreese, 2005, pp. 50-51). Entman (1993) specified four functions of frames (p. 52):

> [To] define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing
> with what costs and benefits; diagnose causes—identify the
> forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate
> causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer
> and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely
> effects.

The concept of framing is neither one-sided nor stagnant rather it is multi-dimensional and continuous. The culture and surrounding environment influences the journalists who

frame a social reality the same as it affects the receiver of their messages who interpret it through their own lens and cultural orientation.

5.4 Typology of frames

There are three types of frames: (1) media frames and individual frames; (2) strong frames and weak frames; and (3) specific and generic frames (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, pp. 431-432). Scheufele (1999) mentioned that two kinds of frames deserve more attention including media frames and individual frames (Wang, Atkin, & Lau, 2014, p. 5). Gamson and Modigliani (1987) defined the media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events … the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p. 5). The media frames are based on the salience of an issue and are often contextualized. They refer to the urgency of an issue and seek immediate attention. Contrary to the media frames, Entman (1993, p. 53) defines individual frames as the "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information". Kinder and Sanders (1990) argued that the individual frames can be thought of as the "internal structures of the mind" (Kinder & Sanders, 1990, p. 74). Goffman (1974) explained that the individual frame refers to individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation (Druckman, 2007, p. 101). The individual frames represent the psychological approach of framing effects while media frames are more about the sociological approach of media effects.

The strong and weak frames can be distinguished through their effectiveness. If a frame is more effective and powerful enough to shape public opinion, it will be called a strong frame. On the other hand, if a frame fails to shape the public opinion as it is desired through its propagation, the frame will be called a weaker frame. Chong and Druckman (2007) contended, "the strength of a frame can be equated with the appeal of the frame for the individual or for

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the public, and its capacity of persuasion against an alternative frame" (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 431). Weak frames are not persuasive while strong frames are more persuasive. The persuasiveness is related to the strength of a frame. The strength itself has been defined by different scholars in different but identical ways. Druckman (2001) argues that the strength of a frame increases when it comes from a credible source while Chong (2000) says when it resonates with consensus values and Brewer (2001), Druckman and Nelson (2003), Haider-Markel and Joslyn, (2001) and Shah, Domke, and Wackman (1996) contend that a frame gains strength if it does not contradict strongly held prior beliefs (Chong & Druckman, A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formationin Competitive Elite Environments, 2011, p. 104). Abreu (2015) argues, "the strength of a frame is greater when it focuses on consideration accessible to individuals, who have already been exposed to the frame and have understood it beforehand" (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 431). Chong and Druckman (2007) talk of accessibility of a frame through repetition because the accessibility of a message improves with repetition. They present another factor which is relevance which they explain that a frame that speaks of the core of the matter will be stronger than those that speak of peripheral issues (p. 431). The accessibility refers to a person's exposure to a frame, and the repetition is the frequency of this exposure.

Abreu (2015) explained that the specific frames can only be applied to a particular topic or event, while generic frames can be used with greater flexibility to different events, and sometimes even in different physical, temporal and cultural spaces (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 432). Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992) identified the most common generic frames used by both the media and the public: 'human impact', 'powerlessness' 'economics', 'moral values' and 'conflict' (p. 432).

This study is focused on value framing of the social media content by the traditional news organizations. The forthcoming discussion will explain the nature and contours of value frames.

5.5 Value framing

According to Le Ber and Branzei (2011), frames provide adherents and opponents which convincingly motivate their actions and beliefs (Le Ber & Branzei, 2011, p. 163). The frames themselves are the words, not an entity, so the formation of adherents and opponents is the result of the preexisting schemata of the people. In a conflict situation, the adherence and opposition to a frame increase manyfold as people are emotionally more sensitive, and it is also easier to contextualize these frames. The reactions on certain news stories are so strong that they even result in the physical elimination of the frame maker.

According to Brewer (2001), "a value frame…is a particular sort of frame that draws an association between a value and an issue that carries evaluative implications: it presents one position on an issue being right by linking that position to a specific core value" (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 931). The framing is very important in a conflict like Palestine-Israel which mainly revolves around historical right over the land and the right to self-determination. Since the beginning of this conflict 100 years ago, both parties claim to be seeking peace and security. The resolution of the conflict is not possible until the frame of peace is not promoted. Peace needs to be presented as a value. Another important thing to mention here is that few frames are commonly agreed upon by the parties that can bring the parties together. Like the use of peace frame by the United Nations will only be helpful if it is analyzed as per the parameters laid down by the world body and agreed upon by its member states. If a party seeks peace, then it should implement the commonly agreed

characteristics of peace. The United Nations has defined peace more than the absence of war which also includes dignity and wellbeing of all the people (UN, 2014). Peace is a commonly agreed frame formed after frame alignment. It's a consonant frame agreed upon by all the parties and is comparable to the future frames used by media and the conflict parties (Le Ber & Branzei, 2011, pp. 166-167). Likewise, right to self determination, security and human rights are internationally recognizable and agreed frames.

The conflict parties are expected to implement the peace in its letter and spirit as agreed upon by the United Nations and if any component is missing that is a violation of the charter and becomes news. The content analysis of social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by traditional news organizations revealed that the conflict parties defended their position on social networking websites like Twitter and Facebook through framing internationally agreed values in their text and visuals. Likewise, the news organizations used the same value frames of security, peace, right to self-determination, and human rights to present the conflict to their audience. These frames are identical and can be recognized easily.

Frames can affect the intractability of a conflict by creating mutually incompatible interpretations of events as conflict parties can use framing not only as an aid to interpreting events but also to promote strategic advantage (Kaufman et al., 2003, p.2). The analysis of frames provides fresh insight and understanding of the conflict dynamics and development through reframing stakeholders may find new ways to reach agreements (p.3). In the case of conflict parties, it has been observed that counter-framing is used by Israeli and Palestinian ministries of foreign affairs to neutralize each other's frames. According to Chong and Druckman (2011), counter framing occurs throughout the campaign and not through

simultaneous framing competition (Chong & Druckman, 2013, p. 1). The effectiveness of the counter-frame depends upon the content, when it is received in relation to the opposing frame and how often it is repeated (p. 2).

A value frame helps people understand a social issue by making it more important than the other considerations while counter-framing through the same value neutralizes this effect on people's thoughts (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 935).

Feldman (1988), Feldman and Zaller (1992), and Hurwitz and Paffley (1987) in their seminal studies found out that people understand the political issues through values and when they think about an issue they draw a correlation between the issue and their core beliefs and values (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 930). Value construction is a cognitive process. Both media frames and preexisting schemata or individual frames influence the perception of the people. This is the reason that the conflict parties respond in terms of these values. The conflict parties also exploit media to achieve their goals. The status of being a source of information grants media a considerable influence on people and therefore the parties of political conflicts exploit the media to foster their goals by adapting their activities to the media logic (Vladisavljevic, 2015, p. 2). The conflict parties use the value frames to explain their position to the media. The media and audience both recognize these values and find them in frames by using their preexisting schema.

The role of media in a conflict is very important to explain the values through framing. The media explains the events and makes sense of the world for the audience. They actually create the world view and contextualize the information to support the news frames. The contextualization is itself sense making for the audience.

Chapter 6: Objectivity, News Bias and Value Frames

6.1 Genesis of objectivity

The roots of objectivity discourse in the field of journalism can be traced back to the early 19th century. According to Macrori (1964/65), the word objectivity was reintroduced by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1821 on the grounds that no other word so conveniently distinguished between the perceiving and the perceived (Macrorie, 1964-65, p. 481). In 1856, Thomas DeQuincey contended that the word had become too common to need an apology. Mindich (1998) traces the history of 'objectivity' from the 1830s and journeys through years up to the end of the 20th century discussing various related concepts like detachment, non-partisanship and inverted pyramid, facticity, and balance in his famous book titled, 'Just the facts: How Objectivity Came to Define American Journalism' (Mindich, 1998, p. 1).

Most of the debate on 'objectivity' has come from American journalism where it is the most contested, yet the most valued concept. Schudson (2001) believes that the present idea of objectivity can be traced back to the 1920s when the American journalists became an occupational community and objectivity became their occupational mission (Schudson, 2001, p. 648). Mindich (1998) explicates the importance of objectivity in American journalism in an ardent style. He writes, "if American journalism were a religion as it has been called from time to time, its supreme deity would be objectivity. The high priests of journalism worship objectivity" (Raeijmaekers, 2017, p. 648).

Wien's (2005) works focuses on the operationalization of the concept of objectivity in the field of journalism through different schools of thought. Wein explored that the attempt

to operationalize the concept was made by different schools of thought like Mainstream Journalism, Scientific Journalism, New Journalism, and Precision Journalism (Wien, 2005, p. 4). Wien is of the view that the scientific world is currently utilizing the positivist concept of objectivity as positivism is appealing due to its common-sense approach (Wien, 2005). The positivists argue that sensory knowledge is the most certain kind of knowledge (Hjørland, 2005, p. 137).

Objectivity in journalism is as old as the subject itself. Various philosophical and etymological overtures can be traced which made the concept equally controversial as well as important for the academicians and practitioners.

6.2 Objectivity: A contested concept

Objectivity is a contested and developing concept which has been viewed and defined by practitioners and academicians in numerous ways. Donsbach and Klett (1993) observed that no concept other than objectivity has created much debate and controversies in journalism (Donsbach & Klett, 1993, p. 53). The controversies on the concept of objectivity also underpin the importance of this subject in the field of journalism. At the same time, no single definition has been agreed upon by the theorists and practitioners. Therefore, Durham called the journalistic objectivity a slippery notion (Durham, 1998, p. 118), while Kovach and Rosenstiel termed objectivity as one of the biggest confusion in journalism (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001, p. 72). Munoz-Torres (2012) argues that the concept of objectivity varies from vagueness to confusion due to three reasons: (1) it can be addressed through many perspectives; (2) it covers many divergent and even competing meanings; (3) it is connected to other deep philosophical concepts like truth (Munoz-Torres, 2012, p. 558). The examination of the literature on truth also presents various contradicting accounts. For

example, Michael Ryan believes that there is no absolute truth and the truth is what the individual sees (Linder-Altman, 2007, p. 5). The discussion above does not present a clear understanding of the objectivity concept.

There are some scholars who believe that the concept of objectivity has not been defined deliberately. Hearns-Branaman (2016) is one of those scholars who view that objectivity has purposefully not been defined so that different 'interested parties' may define it for their own purpose. Hearns-Branaman argues that objectivity can be defined as 'balance' and 'accuracy' which are epistemologically two different concepts (Hearns-Branaman, 2016, p. 7). Glasser (1984) further contends that 'the objectivity paradigm' results in three biases; (1) the concept favours the status-quo therefore biased against its Fourth Estate role; (2) biased against independent thinking on behalf of journalists; (3) biased against the very idea of responsibility as journalists are compelled to be amoral (Glasser, 1992, p. 176). Tuchman (1972) observed that objectivity has various meanings especially for a sociologist. It invoked philosophy, notions of science, and ideas of professionalism.

6.3 No journalism without objectivity

The society of professional journalists has given four principles which a journalist must follow.Among them, the first one is to seek truth and report. The other three include minimizing harm (to the sources and being affected by the story), acting independently (no involvement of emotions or lured by inducements) and being accountable and transparent (SPJ, 2019). If we consider these four main principles as the 'objectivity' one seeks in journalism, then there is still a large room for criticism over the very basis of these principles. Like the notion of truth, it may not be possible to observe complete objectivity by a human being. The factors such as gender, race, time and space count when we talk

about objectivity. A news story passes through many stages before coming into public glance. Therefore, there is a considerable set of scholars who describe objectivity in journalism as an illusion and myth. However, the arguments of the proponents of the notion place objectivity as a center point of journalism. Gauthier (1993) argues that objectivity in journalism is an established fact, and the end of objectivity will be the end of journalism (Sadiq & Qureshi, 2010).

There are other scholars who endorse the notion of objectivity but express skepticism if it can be completely achieved. Taflinger believes that objectivity is a desirable objective but not sure about the possibility of attaining it (Linder-Altman, 2007, p. 8). Garcia (2018) defined the concept of objectivity as a set of beliefs about the relationship between perception and representation (Garcia, 2018, p. 433). Fahy (2018) in his landmark study discussed the transition of the concept of objectivity in environmental journalism in the United States during the 'post-truth[5]' era. The study covers all conceptual problems like the dichotomy between objectivity and advocacy, the issue of 'balance' in environmental reporting and controversy in reporting science policy (Fahy, 2018, pp. 856-857).

In the post-truth era, the role of journalistic objectivity has increased many folds. Schudon (2001) describes objectivity as a moral ideal. He further explicates that objectivity is a set of reporting and editing practices and is an observable pattern of news writing. Objectivity is central to the field of journalism, and its epistemology explains the importance of communicating reality in the best possible way by maintaining balance and upholding detachment.

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[5] The Oxford Dictionaries define post-truth as "relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." Lee Mcintyre (2018, PAGE NUMBER MISSING) in his book 'Post-Truth' contends, "this not necessarily a campaign to say that facts do not matter , but instead a conviction that facts can always be shaded, selected and presented within a political context that favours one interpretation of truth on another."

6.4 Objectivity and detachment

According to Arthur Ponsonby (1928), truth is the first casualty in war (Ponsonby, 1928, p. 7). The war is chaotic; therefore, it is difficult and sometimes life-threatening to find the truth. In conflict situations, the journalists sometimes deliberately tend to subjectivity due to emotional attachment to their homeland or being a witness to some violent events that shape their perception. The conflict parties are also critical to the press and sometimes play as a stumbling block in reaching out to the truth. Therefore, it has always been a daunting task for journalists to report objectively from the conflict and war zones. The principal author of attachment theory, Martin Bell, called for moral journalism instead of standing back while reporting from the conflict zones (Bell, 1997, p.8).The attachment is not biased but being moralistic and humanistic (Bell, 1997). However, the current media ethics give high priority to detachment and objectivity.

Both notions of detachment and attachment lay out the standards for reporting during war and conflict situations. Rabea Hass (2010) contended that the ethical standards are mere a set of guidelines and not binding; therefore cannot prevent media from being misused (Hass, 2009, p. 80). During war and conflict situations, the media's role is important to inform the public with utmost honesty and professionalism. According to Ward (2004), journalism does not serve the state but to the people (Ward, 2004, p. 140). Therefore, the objectivity of journalists often comes under strict scrutiny,especially when journalists are reporting from the conflict zones. The objectivity cannot be achieved in news stories until the reports are fact-based covering versions of all conflict parties along with background details. This enables the audience to evolve an informed understanding of a particular conflict.

6.5 Value frames and news bias

A value frame helps people understand a social issue by making it more important than the other considerations. It also presents one position on an issue being right and linking that position to a specific core value (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 935). Schemer et al. (2012) explain value frames as a linkage between value positions and political issues that carry persuasive interpretation about an issue to facilitate its understanding (Schemer, Wirth, & Matthes, 2012, p. 335). The bias in favour of and against the conflict parties in the value frames is the focus of this research.

Lowry (1986) in validity construct tests discovered some interesting findings such as news bias depends upon the education of the audience, negative judgements (unfavourable) are perceived as more biased than positive judgements (favourable). Likewise, attribution of sentences does not add to the perceived objectivity and labeled inferences are perceived more biased than unlabeled (pp. 579-80). This research also revolves around the basic question of objectivity in news content. Therefore, the discussion links value framing theory with news bias.

The absence of bias is an unattainable objective but the goal of minimizing the subjectivity is achievable. The values are an important part of human understanding of an issue. The procedure to use value frames for making sense of a conflict must not undermine the facts. The objectivity forms and reflects an assumed social consensus on values (Raeijmaekers & Maeseele, 2015, p. 10). The UN values chosen for this study are globally recognized in view of the Palestine-Israel conflict. These value frames include right to self-determination, human rights, peace and security. These value frames have been chosen from UN charter and various UN resolutions on the Palestine-Israel dispute (see UN, 1947; UN,

1967; UN, 1973; UNSC, 2002; UN, 2004). These values have 'institutionalized meanings' (Raeijmaekers & Maeseele, 2015, p. 7) as these values have been agreed upon by all nations.

News bias is explained as the intrusion of opinion by reporters or news organizations in a factual account, or lack of balance in competing accounts and distortion of reality (Hackett, 1984, p. 230). Entman (2007) explained three types of biases including (1) distortion bias, (2) content bias, and (3) decision making bias (Entman, 2007, p. 163). Entman applied content bias and decision-making bias in his seminal study on framing bias. Bias implies a level of slant in news content that means favorability or unfavourability of the news content to either party (Danielson, McCarthy, & Orlando, 2015, p. 14).

If framing is employed under the conceptual umbrella of bias, it will help to advance the understanding of media's role in political communication (Entman, 2007, p. 164). The traditional news organizations often claim that they treat competing frames equivalently to ensure that their stories don't have slant, but political actors often complain that the media support their opponents. The slant contains news stories and editorials in which framing favours one side over the other in a current or potential conflict. The favorable slant in frames increases the power of the actors who are favoured in the content (pp. 165-170).

The bias is analyzed in quantifiable terms through the amount of coverage and favorable and unfavorable statements (Hackett, 1984, p. 241). Therefore, the social responsibility theory strongly opposes the editorialization of news through injecting personal opinion and stresses truthful reporting (Apkan, Ifeanyi, Martin, & Alexander, 2012, p. 721).

The level of objectivity in the visuals is equally important to analyze. Framing of visuals by the photojournalists/cameramen to highlight certain aspects of the conflict can deprive

the viewers of holistic view of the conflict and it is also contrary to the objectivity norms. The selection of images in news production is more than a simple aesthetic choice and journalists should make efforts to balance photo-graphic content of news reports (Brantner et al., 2011, p. 536). The level of objectivity significantly varies according to the frame applied in the news (Hertog & Mcleod, 2001, p. 161).

Conflicts create polarization among contesting parties and the discourse surrounding the conflict. The competing interpretations of events are the hallmark of such a highly polarized environment. According to Le Ber and Branzei (2011), frames also create adherents and opponents which convincingly motivate their actions and beliefs (Le Ber & Branzei, 2011, p. 163).

The dominant value frames identified through the quantitative content analysis of the news are socially acceptable worldwide. This study has focused on the level of objectivity in the portrayal of these value frames in coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by Al Jazeera English, BBC, and CNN. The existing literature on media coverage of the conflict has not touched upon this important aspect. The bias in the news content reflects that the international news organizations did not objectively portray these value frames in coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict. This study also attempted to find the favourability and unfavourability of the use of socially accepted value frames in the news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict.

6.6 Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model

The news organizations always claim to be objective to reassure their audience that they are upholding the principles of unbiased reporting without budging to fear and greed for inducement. The journalists shape this relationship who are entrusted upon as bystanders

and onlookers in a conflict and not become party to a conflict. The realism school of thought sees journalistic objectivity as a relationship between happenings and their reporting in media (Ruigrok, 2008, p. 297). The journalists also draw their strength from the postulate that they are able to present the true picture of reality (Wien, 2017, p. 3). The real test comes in conflict and war situations. People's expectations for unbiased, impartial, and objective reporting increase manifolds. The journalists are required to provide instant information with accuracy and unbiased manner. In these situations, the journalists are caught in between upholding principles of journalism and realities of conflict and war (Eti, 2009, p. 92). The journalistic objectivity in conflict situations gains greater importance as many actors are emotionally attached to the conflict for being observers, sympathizers, and policymakers.

At the juncture of the 19th and 20th centuries, the journalists were expected to present the facts purely on scientific lines instead of interpreting them to the readers (Post, 2015, p. 731). In the mid-nineteenth century, the positivist movement in academia led by August Comte introduced a binary in objectivity; one is either objective or subjective (Wien, 2005, p. 4). The academic discourse on objectivity needed to be empirically evaluated. Therefore, various types of models were evolved to evaluate the level of objectivity in the news text.

There are commonly two frameworks to gauge news bias: (1) news production and (2) news perception (Danielson, McCarthy, & Orlando, 2015, p. 16). The news production approach includes ideologies of journalists, structure of the news organization and journalistic principles while the news perception approach involves viewers' understanding of the information (Danielson et al., 2015). This research is focused on objectivity in coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict through the use of value frames by Al Jazeera

English (AJE), BBC and CNN. The objectivity of news content of the three international news organizations was tested by applying the Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model.

Hayakawa introduced a system of categories that differentiated three basic types of sentences used for communication. These three categories include; (1) report sentences; (2) inference sentences; and (3) judgment sentences (Hayakawa, 1952, pp. 38-43). Hayakawa contends that the language of reports is the language of science which is verifiable. Inferences which are statements about unknown on the basis of known and carefully or uncarefully made.Judgements are writer's personal approvals and disapprovals (Hayakawa, 1952). Hayakawa's Lowry categories further explained into nine categories which include; (1) report sentence/attributed; (2) report sentence/unattributed; (3) inference sentence/labeled; (4) inference sentence/unlabeled; (5) judgment sentence/attributed/ favorable; (6) judgement sentence/attributed/unfavorable; (7) judgment sentence/unattributed/favorable; (8) judgment sentence/unattributed/unfavorable; and (9) all other sentences (Lowry, 1971, p. 207) .

Lowry's explanation of all nine categories has been given in the table below:

Table 6.1

Hayakawa-Lowry news bias categories

Categories	Explanation
Report sentences/attributed	Verifiable information with attribution of the source fromwhere the information was received.
Report sentences/unattributed	Verifiable information without citing a source.
Inference sentences/labelled	Statements about the unknown based on known with the use of labels or tip-off words such as appear, could, may, perhaps, or possible. These words clarify that the information is subjective.
Inference sentences/unlabelled	Statements about the known based on unknown without use of tip off words.
Judgement sentences/attributed/ favourable	Judgement statements are personal opinions of the reporters. They reflect approval/ disapproval while being attributed to a source and **favorable** toward the subject under consideration.
Judgement sentences/attributed/unfavorable	These sentences reflect approval/disapproval while being attributed to a source and **unfavorable** to the subject under consideration.
Judgement sentences/unattributed/favourable	These kinds of judgements reflect approval/ disapproval **without being attributed** to a source and favorable toward the subject under consideration.
Judgement sentences unattributed/unfavourable	These kinds of judgements reflect approval/ disapproval **without being attributed to a source** and
Other sentences	These are generally questions and incomplete

Chapter 7: Methodology

"Methodology provides a language for talking about the process of research, not about subject matter. In the history of scientific pursuits, the development of methodology has always been a major accomplishment"(Krippendorff, 2004, p. XXI).

7.1 Data collection and content analysis

The data for this study was collected in 2017. It covers a relatively calm period from 01 April 2017 to 31 May 2017. However, many important happenings took place during this period such as U.S. President Donald Trump's maiden visit to the region, controversy over Trump's visit to the Western Wall in an official capacity, Palestinian prisoners' strike in Israeli jails, Hamas's change of leadership and introduction of a new document accepting pre-1967 boundaries.

The data was collected every day from 10 am to 1 pm U.S. standard time (Eastern Day Light Time Zone). The choice for timing was made keeping in view the time zones where these news channels are headquartered. CNN has its headquarter in Atlanta, U.S., BBC has its main office in London, UK while Al Jazeera broadcasts from Doha, Qatar. A few news stories posted later that day were collected the next day. Therefore, data collection covers news posts during 24 hours on both social networking websites by Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN. Tweets and Facebook posts of each news channel were saved in PDF files. The number of likes, shares, and comments were visible in each PDF file. Besides collecting and storing the data for the two social media websites (Twitter and Facebook) separately, photos and visuals/videos of each post were also downloaded and stored date-wise.

The dataset consists total 376 Twitter and Facebook posts of the three international news organizations (Al Jazeera, BBC, and CNN) and 490 posts of the conflict parties. The breakup reveals a huge difference in coverage patterns of news channels. Al Jazeera had much larger 222 posts on Twitter as compared to BBC's 21 and CNN's 16 during the same period. On Facebook, Al Jazeera had 111 posts whereas BBC and CNN had just three posts each. The data set clearly shows that the news channels mainly used Twitter as a social media platform greater than Facebook.

The social media data of conflict parties showed different patterns of using Facebook and Twitter, Palestine had 30 Twitter posts and 214 Facebook posts while Israel had 214 Twitter and 32 Facebook posts. Israel's ministry of foreign affairs used Twitter the most to respond on a day to day policy matters related to the conflict while the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs mostly used Facebook. The Twitter handle of Palestine's UN Mission was considered representative of Palestinian foreign ministry as the ministry's own Twitter handle was inactive. The objectivity model has been applied on 3354 sentences of 108 news stories published by Al Jazeera English, BBC, and CNN.

The study has been conducted through content analysis of the social media posts of the traditional news organizations and conflict parties. Content analysis is a technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages (Lai & To, 2015, p. 140). The quantitative research method is an inquiry into a social issue based on testing a theory composed of variables and analyzed through a statistical procedure to see the validity of generalization of the theory(Sogunro, 2002, p. 3). In this research, the variables are defined in predetermined categories. The population consisted of text and images in the Tweets and Facebook posts.

The quantitative content analysis is relevant to this study to measure frequencies and interpretive statistics of Twitter and Facebook posts of news organizations and confict parties as well as find out objectivity in the value framed data through application of Hayaka-Lowry news bias model. Quantitative content analysis is the systematic examination of communication symbols which are assigned numeric values. A statistical analysis is applied to these numeric values to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption (Riffe et al., 2019, p.19). In this study, the communication symbols were adopted from variables designed to answer the research questions. In case of objectivity analysis, the symbols were adopted from Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model. These symbols were assigned numerical values which were later analysed through applying statistical tests. The study has helped to get direct and objective analysis which can be explained through tables (data of news channels and conflict parties), graphs and bar charts (objectivity of value-framed data).

In this study, thequantitative content analysishelped to analyze the priority of news channel and conflict partiesto invoke each of the four value frames by comparing frequencies. The frequencies also helped to draw conclusions and inferences (Macnamara, 2005, p. 2).The content analysis also helped to find out the impact of the international media coverage through number of tweets, retweets, shares and likes. The numerical values obtained were compared to see the popularity or impact of the news channels' news reports on citizens. However, the content analysis is reductive which is only focused on words, and numbers. It doesnot provide the answer of complex questions such as media impact on

people and human behaviour. For that purpose, a person has to draw inferences from the numbers.

7.2 News organizations

The social networking websites such as Twitter and Facebook are multi-media platforms which are being used as a medium to disseminate the news about the Palestine-Israel conflict by the three leading traditional news networks namely Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN. These news organizations have been selected for this study due to their global outreach through satellite networks as well as the effective use of social networking websites for the dissemination of news. The three selected news organizationsare based in three different regions with global outreach. The powerful images shown on their screens and social media pages help shape public opinion worldwide. There is an established fact in cognitive and social psychology that images are more powerful than the text, and they generate people's reactions towards a certain issue (Durante & Zhuravskaya, 2016). BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera are widely watched and known for their coverage of conflict both in academia and public sphere. These news networks have bureaus, reporters, cameramen, photographers and stringers across the world and especially in Palestinian territories and Israel. These news outlets also maintain their websites but they also share content through Twitter and Facebook.

The three selected English news channels also broadcast their news in Arabic and many other languages. The study could not be expanded to channels broadcasting news in local languages as the topic restricted us to be focused on international media.

The three traditional news organizations,Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN, have their respective Twitter handles and Facebook pages. Al Jazeera updates its online audience through Twitter

handle @AJE News and Facebook page Al Jazeera English. BBC operates its Twitter handle @BBCWorld and Facebook page @bbcnews. CNN posts have been gathered from its Twitter handle @CNN and Facebook page @CNN. Al Jazeera updates its audience through Twitter handle @AJE News with 1.25 Million followers (AJE, 2017) and Al Jazeera Facebook page with 1,000,000 fans (AJE, 2017). Likewise, BBC has its Twitter handle @BBCWorld with 18.9 Million followers (BBC, 2017). BBC also has a Facebook page BBC World News. The number of fans has not been mentioned in the history of the Facebook page. CNN Twitter handle is @CNN with 33.3 Million followers (CNN, 2017). CNN's Facebook page has 27,166,696 fans (CNN, 2017). Overall, CNN has more followers and fans on Twitter and Facebook than Al Jazeera and BBC.

The social media posts instantly reach millions of people around the globe. The information can be continuously updated,retweeted and reposted. Social networking websites are easy to access on computers and smartphones. Hennig-Thurau et al. (2004) and Kozinets et al. (2010) argue that social media facilitates the communication between companies and customers and increases the communication between customers about companies, which we call electronic word of mouth (eWOM)(Al-Karaghouli et al., 2015, p. 339). In the news business, time to deliver news counts too much to avoid being out-scooped by the competitors. The use of social media also provides rich knowledge to the news organizations about the preferences of the consumers about the news they like to consume which is defined as Word of Mouth. Arndt (1967) defines Word of mouth (WOM) as a communication among consumers about products and services of brands (p. 342).

This research activity also highlights that traditional media is gradually integrating into social media. However, many scholars believe that thetraditional news organizations' use of

social media for news distribution is not really an integration. The interaction of traditional and social media is aimed to diversify the distribution and consumption of the news and not the integration of both (Heo & Park, 2014, p. 2901). The dependency of traditional news outlets is gradually increasing on the social networking websites, and all mainstream news outlets have employed dedicated social media content teams which are expanding. This dependency is likely to unfold into integration. According to Lee et al. (2012), the importance of social media lies in its sociability where a large number of people spontaneously share their emotions, feelings, and opinions (Su, Reynolds, & Sun, 2015, p. 1774). This interactive nature of social media makes it a unique platform to distribute information. There are many social media websites which possess more or less the same characteristics but still, they are unique in scope and functionality (Su et al., 2015).

7.3 Choice of frames

The promotion of values through news frames is used to link any political event to attract public attention and emphasize its importance. International news organizations use those value frames which are prominent and recognizable not only by the common people but also by the decision makers and politicians worldwide. The conflict parties read these frames in their own context and react. The value frames are powerful to generate controversy among the conflict parties and have the potential to further escalate or pacify the conflict.

The journalists on the basis of their professional understanding and knowledge of the culture frame a piece of information. The second framing of the information is conducted when the audiences select that information according to their preexisting schemata(Cacciatore, 2013, p. 4). The framing effect is the end product of these two processes through which information passes through. The definition caters to Entman's sociological perspective of framing which

hinges upon the salience and accessibility construct. It also carries the psychological construct which calls about the applicability of the content.

The interpreting schemata of the information hinges upon the values and cultural background of the people. People will interpret the message embedded in a piece of information according to their preexisting cultural bias. It is important here to understand that social networking websites offer multiple sources of information. Thus people choose the information of their interest. It is also necessary that different kinds of information available to them through various frames may not attract the users. It can happen because of their varying interests and also due to a lack of prior knowledge about those social issues. The news outlets also present their information targeted towards a specific audience. They develop news frames which attract a specific audience who have prior knowledge or interest in the topic. The internet technology has diminished spatial distances and exposed people to all types of cultures. Therefore, most of the people who use the internet are exposed to value systems of other cultures as well. Cultural acculturation has also increased due to exposure to other societies' cultural products, thus exposing the audience to bicultural or multi-cultural orientation. Bicultural individuals have internalized at least two cultural meaning systems, and they will switch between cultural meaning systems in response to cultural requirement in the social situations(Fung, 2010, p. 73). The media effects are likely to vary across cultural boundaries due to the uniqueness of monocultural cognitive system as the news stories framed in terms of a value less available in one's memory will result in fewer media effects (Fung, 2010, p. 44). Goffman (1974) argues that media frames will not be effective if they are not commonly shared in the culture. Globalization has also led to developing an international

culture which is propagated by the world institutions like the United Nations, world human rights bodies, and other organizations.

This study has used four value frames;(1) Right to Self-Determination, (2) Human Rights, (3) Peace, and (4) Security (UN, 1945) wich have been drawn from different UN resolutions about the Palestine-Israel conflict (see UN, 1947; UN, 1967; UN, 1973; UNSC, 2002; UN, 2004) and Chapter 1 of the United Nations charter to evaluate the news frames in the social media coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict.

7.3.1 Right to self-determination

The international news organizations mainly frame the information through those values which are universally recognized. The UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples defined the right to self-determination in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 adopted by the General Assembly. The resolution says, "all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UN, 1960). The content which will depict the right of the conflict parties to pursue their social, cultural, economic and political development has been categorized under the value of right to self-determination.

7.3.2 Human rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights explicates the human rights as an inherent dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family to enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear(OHCHR, 1948).

The fundamental freedoms have been described in Chapter 1 (UN charter) as no distinction on the basis of race, sex, language, or religion (UN, 1945). The content categorized under

human rights value has been analyzed according to the salient features given in the definition of human rights in the UN declaration.

7.3.3 Peace

The United Nations has defined peace beyond just the absence of war and termed it dignity and wellbeing of all (UN, 2014). It includes activities like ceasefires, demobilization, reintegration of combatants, return of refugees and displaced persons, elections of a new government, human rights protection, and reconciliation (UN, 2014).Peace is knownas what helps to establish conditions for talks on political, military, and economic issues that have created fissures in a society (Lederach,1999, p.65).

7.3.4 Security

The definition given in the UN chronicles differentiates between the state and global security but does not delink both. It explicated national security as the ability of a state to ensure the protection and defence of its citizens (UN, 1960). Article 39 of the UN charter defines that the UN Security Council will determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and decide the measures. In the case of the Palestine-Israel conflict, the UNSC adopted a resolution 2334 on December 23, 2016 terming Israeli settlements as a threat to peace and demanded Israel to end its settlement programme which is also a hurdle in a two-state solution. The UNSC reiterated that the Israeli settlements on Palestinian land, occupied by Israel in 1967, are illegal (UNSC, 2016).

Various UN resolutions on Palestine-Israel including 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 446 (1979), 452 (1979), 465 (1980), 476 (1980), 478 (1980), 1397 (2002), 1515 (2003), and 1850 (2008), have been consulted to define the four valuesconflict (see UN, 1947; UN, 1967; UN, 1973; UNSC, 2002; UN, 2004).The reporters have been perceived as objective and less biased

if they attribute the information and also use labeled inferences rather than unlabeled inferences (Lowry, 1986, p. 574). The presence of judgement sentences reflects news bias.

7.4 Research question1

What are the content characteristics of social media (Twitter and Facebook) news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by three leading international news organizations (Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN)?

The content characteristics of social media coverage of three leading international news organizations were divided into three categories while coding on an SPSS sheet:(1) text, (2) photo, and (3) video. The content characteristics of each post were noted on the SPSS sheet date wise for further analysis. Each characteristic represented a variable. The data was first categorized channel-wise through sort cases and split files. Later, to find out the frequencies, the variables (content characteristics and news channels) have been analysed through SPSS. Headline and comments were considered separate variables. The headline represents the text which is part of the story and is based on catchy words and phrases. A comment is an additional text which may or may not directly link to the story but written by the social media team or editors while posting a story link and headline on Facebook and Twitter. However, the comment and headline have been considered as a text while evaluating a Twitter or Facebook post as a unit of analysis to find out the frame from the text. The comments were sometimes repetition of headlines with few additional phrases or words and viewpoint of the editors/organization on the story. For example, Al Jazeera shared a news story with a comment ""2-year-old Madleen Kullab is Gaza's only fisherwoman" along with a hyperlink aje.io/7z37. The headline in the web news story is "Gaza's only fisherwoman navigates dangerous waters".

In this Tweet Al Jazeera did not use the headline text and provided the comment which was noted in the datasheet accordingly.

7.5 Research question 2

What type of techniques traditional media outlets use to promote their brand and dominate the discourse on social media while covering Palestine-Israel conflict?

The question is directly linked to the purpose of traditional news organizations for using social media as a platform to disseminate the news. To understand this trend, the social media posts were distributed in two main categories: (1) brand promotion and (2) discourse domination. The Brand Promotion was further divided into two categories: (a) Hyperlink and (b) Repetition. The main category discourse domination was divided into three sub-categories: (a) likes, (b) retweets/shares, and (c) breaking news. The data set was coded and analyzed through SPSS.

The brand promotion was divided into two variables hyperlink and repetition. The data was first categorized channel-wise through sort cases and split files. Later, to find out the frequencies, the variables hyperlink and repetition (brand promotion) were analysed through SPSS. The output consisted of tables showing the data separately for each news channel with the bifurcation of Twitter and Facebook. The comparison of frequencies showed which channel uses what technique to promote its brand and prefers which networking website the most.

The discourse domination comprises four variables which were coded in the SPSS data sheet including likes, retweets, shares and breaking news. Due to the use of numbers instead of codes in the data for these variables, the descriptive analysis of the data was conducted through descriptives on SPSS instead of finding frequencies. Likes and shares included large numbers

which cannot be analyzed through frequencies for not being coded on SPSS sheet as rest of the data of value frames has been coded.

7.6Research question 3

What are the prominent news frames and dominant visual images on social media (Twitter, Facebook) news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by three leading international news organizations (CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera)?

The value frames of both text and visuals were coded on the SPSS sheet. The data was sorted into cases with respect to TV channels, Twitter and Facebook. The data analysis was conducted to find out the frequencies of the value frames used in text and visuals. The four value frames were coded on the SPSS data sheet as; TXT_HR (Human rights frame in the text), TXT_SD (Right to self-determination frame in the text), TXT_PC (Peace frame in the text), and TXT_SCY (Security frame in the text). Likewise, for image, IMG was used as a code on the SPSS data sheet with the same values. Pictures and videos in this question were considered as images for brevity in this specific question. Visuals are moving objects while pictures are static. This particular question requires only to read dominant frames or hidden messages in a specific picture or video/visual. Therefore, the word image were used to represent both videos and pictures.

The intercoder reliability was ensured by hiring another coder who had prior knowledge of the theoretical aspects and was also provided with a codebook. Intercoder reliability was computed through Kappa. Cohen's Kappa is the most popular index for checking interrater reliability of two coders (Hsu &Field, 2010, p. 206).Kappa values obtained for eight conditions (right to self-determination (text) 0.948689956, human rights (text)0.866378575, peace (text)0.830421572, security (text)0.988367776, right to self-determination

(images)0.989270631, human rights (images)0.97869447, peace (images) 0.943520929, security (images)

0.930118946 for three international news channels that ranged from 0.855 to 0.974. Inter-coder reliability for all 68 posts (18% of total 376 posts) was 0.89. Of the 68 posts, both readers assigned 63 posts to the same codes (93%).

7.7 Research question 4

What type of news bias exists in each value frame, and what is their level of objectivity?

The objectivity in value frames has been analyzed through the application of the Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model on the dataset. The quantitative content analysis of the news stories was conducted to find out the objectivity in dominant value frames.

Hayakawa-Lowry news bias categories were applied to find out the objectivity in news stories with four dominant values including right to self-determination, human rights, peace and security. The unit of analysis was a sentence in the news stories of the three international news channels. The data was coded as per nine categories of the Hayakawa-Lawry news bias model which are as follows; report sentence attributed/unattributed, inference sentences labeled/unlabeled, judgment attributed favourable/unfavorable sentences, judgement unattributed favourable/unfavorable sentences and other sentences (Lowry, 1971, p. 207). The unit of analysis is a single sentence published in the full-length story available on respective websites of Al Jazeera English (AJE), BBC, and CNN. The mixed sentences which contained different categories of the Hayakawa-Lowery news bias model were coded following Lowry's three principles. According to Lowery (1986), a sentence which contains both a statement of fact and inference will be coded as an inference sentence; a sentence which has a statement of fact and a judgement will be coded as a

judgement sentence and a sentence which has an inference and judgement or all three, will be coded as a judgement sentence (Lowry, 1986, p. 208).

An intercoder reliability test was also conducted on the dataset. Intercoder reliability is an essential requirement to validate the level of consensus among two independent coders in coding characteristics of a message (Freelon, 2010, p. 20). For this purpose, a codebook was developed to explain the categories for an independent researcher to conduct the intercoder reliability test. The researcher coded 17% ($N = 18$) of total of 108 news stories. There was a total of 541 sentences in 18 news stories. Cohen's Kappa was calculated for being a more popular reliability coefficient.The reliability test for all nine variables showed Cohen's Kappa > 0.8 which reflects a higher level of agreement. Following were the reliability test results of each variable: RSA 0.991125, RSU 0.979273, ISL 0.974737, ISU 0.887969, JAFS 0.906255, JAUS 1, JUFS 0.982707, JUUS 1, OS 0.94643. All the values are greater than > 0.8. Landis and Koch (1977) proposed that 0.8 to 1.0 represent the full agreement and is also a standard for interpreting Cohen's Kappa (p. 147).

The objectivity analysis is focused on the text published in the news stories which were accessed through hyperlinks given in Twitter and Facebook posts. The repeat news posts were not counted for this research for being irrelevant to the objectivity analysis dataset. The detailed stories published on the website of each news channel were studied for the news bias test and were coded under nine categories of the Hayakawa-Lawry model.

To find the level of objectivity, weights were assigned to the variables. After coding Lowry's nine categories, Sitton et al. (2004) used Hyakawa's original categories to assign weights under which all report sentences were assigned "1", all inference sentences were assigned "2" and all judgement sentences were assigned "3" (Sitton, Terry Jr., Cartmell II,

& Keys, 2004, p. 25). Other sentences were excluded in objectivity analysis because they were also not part of the original Hayakawa model. Secondly, in this study, 41 statements were coded as other sentences, and if we assign weight "0" to them, it will not impact our analysis.

After assigning weights reports were 2510*1 = 2510, inferences 147*2 = 294, and judgements 656*3 = 1968. By adding all these values, we received a mean of 1.44 as the overall level of objectivity of the news stories published by Al Jazeera English, BBC, and CNN. A lower mean/level of objectivity reflected a more objective news story while a higher mean reflected less objective news text(Sitton et al., p. 28).This pattern has been considered for drawing objectivity means for news channels and news stories with dominant value frames. To find the level of objectivity in news stories with four dominant value frames (Right to self-determination, human rights, peace, security), separate means for each value frame were drawn. The objectivity means for right to self-determination value frame is 1.5, human rights 1.39, peace 1.63, and security 1.28. The higher mean reflects less objectivity and the lower mean indicates high objectivity in the news stories of the three news channels with four dominant value frames.

7.8Research question 5

How do the conflict parties react in terms of international values and intensity (Low, Medium, High) through social media platforms?

The primary conflict parties include Israel and Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The Palestinian National Authority represents the state of Palestine at the United Nations and other international forums. The authority was formed and legitimized under the 1993 Oslo Accord as a representative body to govern Gaza and areas A and B in the West Bank (Oslo Accord,

1993). The posts of the conflict parties on two social networking websites (Twitter and Facebook) have been analyzed according to four values taken from the United Nations charter: (1) right to self-determination; (2) human rights; (3) peace; and (4) security. The Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs operates Facebook page @mofa.pna and Twitter handle @PalMoFA. However, Palestinian Authority's response on Twitter is mostly represented by the Palestinian mission at UN with the Twitter handle, @Palestine_UN. Israel's foreign ministry has its Twitter handle @IsraelMFA and Facebook page @IsraelMFA.

Twitter and Facebook posts of conflict parties were saved date-wise in PDF files. The pictures and videos were also downloaded and saved date-wise. The homogeneity of the data set was the prime objective. Those posts of the conflict parties were considered which directly or indirectly reflected the ongoing conflict.Many of the posts were related to relations with other states, economic agreements, tourism, etc. Therefore, the most relevant posts (visuals, images, text) of the conflict parties were considered for content analysis. The value frames were found in the posts. Both images and text were coded on the SPSS sheet. The coding sheets were analyzed through SPSS to find out the frequencies. A single post sometimes carries more than one value but the most dominant frame was coded.

In such cases the hyperlink was opened and the story was read. Besides, the image was also examined. Likewise, the value coding of pictures and visuals was also conducted. The frequencies showed which value was more used by the conflict parties. The values were coded separately for Facebook and Twitter posts.

The conflict parties propagate those norms which promoted their discourse. The intensity of parties' responses was divided on a scale of low, medium, and high. The low response was considered when the ministries of foreign affairs of the conflict parties reposted or retweeted

the posts of those organizations/persons which did not have any affiliation (nationality, origin, ethnic belongingness, officials, ministry) with Palestine or Israel but supported or endorsed their position on certain issues regarding the conflict. Likewise, the medium response was considered for those foreign ministries' posts which were either retweets or Facebook posts from Twitter handles and Facebook pages of the officials, citizens, organizations of both the conflict parties. The high response was noted only for those Twitter and Facebook posts of the foreign affairs ministries of Palestine and Israel which were carried out by the officials of these foreign ministries whether these were the statements, position clarification on a certain issue or comments. In many of the posts, the ministries used hyperlinks which opened up their official pages. However, these hyperlinks are mostly given to provide details, unlike the news channels which aim to promote their brand.

Chapter 8: Statistical Analysis

This chapter focuses on the statistical results of the research questions raised in the methodology chapter. The two-month data of Twitter and Facebook posts of three leading news organizations (AJE, BBC, and CNN) and two conflict parties (Palestine and Israel) was analyzed scientifically to answer the questions. The objectivity analysis of value-framed text is also part of this sections. The results have been shown for each question in both tabulated form and descriptive manner. In the objectivity analysis, graphs and charts have also been shown.

The comparison of the number of total posts for each networking website shows that Al-Jazeera covered the conflict most than BBC and CNN. Al Jazeera covered very localized news from Palestinian territories including Gaza. The student elections in Birzeit University were one of such local events that were covered and posted by Al Jazeera on May 9, 2017. The participation of different Palestinian student wings in the elections was portrayed in the news as part of a democratic process. The news channels preferred Twitter to Facebook in posting their content. Some interesting observationscame forthabout content characteristics of the news channels. BBC posted text/headlines the most on both Facebook (100% posts) and Twitter (90.5% posts) as compared to Al Jazeera and CNN.

In the images category, Al Jazeera remained on the top among three news channels both for Facebook (90.1% posts) and Twitter (90.1% posts) images. CNN posted videos the most on Facebook (100%) and Twitter (31.3%) as compared to two other news channels. In the comments category, BBC and CNN posted greater percentage of posts with comments both on Facebook (100% each) and Twitter (100% each).

It was observed that only BBC gave hyperlinks in 100% of posts on Facebook and Twitter. In the repetition of stories, CNN remained at the top with 33.3%on Facebook and Al Jazeera with 50.9% on Twitter. Breaking news, likes, retweets and shares on Facebook are key features of discourse domination. Retweets, shares and likes also help to analyze the impact of the news channels with regards to conflict.

On Facebook, none of the three news channels posted any breaking news; however, BBC remained on the top with 4.8% breaking news posts on Twitter. For likes, shares and retweets, the SPSS descriptive analysis was used instead of frequencies. BBC Facebook posts received maximum 11,000 likes on its posts with minimum of 5,666 likes. On Twitter, Al Jazeera received maximum of 1800 likes with minimum of 0 likes. Al Jazeera Facebook posts received maximum of 13,359 shares and minimum of 0 shares. On Twitter, Al- Jazeera Tweets were retweeted maximum of 1200 times and minimum of 0 times which is greater than BBC and CNN.

The data analysis shows that Al Jazeera used the human rights frames greater than the other two news channels through its text and images both on Twitter and Facebook. Likewise, CNN used the right to self-determination and peace frames greater in its text and images on both social networking websites. BBC presented the security frame greater than Al Jazeera and CNN through text and images on Facebook and Twitter.

The value frame analysis of the two conflict parties showed some important results. It was observed that Al Jazeera and Palestinian Authority invoked human rights frame the most in their text, Likewise, CNN and Israel prioritized security and right to self-determination frames in their social media content. The value frames in BBC's content were not as much identical to the conflict parties as of other two news channels. Palestine presented the human rights value

frame through images and text on both Facebook and Twitter greater than Israel. Likewise, Israel's posts (images and text) on Twitter and Facebook represented the security, right to self-determination and peace frames greater than Palestine. However, Palestine's Twitter images had a greater representation of the peace frame than Israel. In terms of responses, Palestine showed high responses through all its Facebook posts. However, Palestinian posts with low and high intensity responses were greater than Israel. Israel's posts with low intensity response on Facebook and medium response on Twitter were greater than Palestine. The responses reflects the importance of certain issues for the conflict parties.

8.1 Research question 1

What are the content characteristics of social media (Twitter, Facebook) news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by three leading international news organizations (CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera)?

8.1.1 Text/headlines

The text or headline has been coded as the same characteristic of the content appearing in the social media posts of international news organizations. The headlines, as already has been elaborated in the methodology chapter, represent thecrux of the news story. The catchy words and phrases are used in a headline to draw the attention of the audience.

Table 8.1

Text/headlines as characteristic of FB & Twitter posts of AJE, BBC, &CNN

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Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	107(96.4%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
No	4 (3.6%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	111(100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	26 (11.7%)	19 (90.5%)	3 (18.8%)
No	196 (88.3%)	2 (9.5%)	13 (81.3%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

'Yes' represents the number of Facebook, Twitter posts which had text/headlines.
'No' represents stories having no text/headlines.

The sample for Al Jazeera posts is highly greater than the other two news channels BBC and CNN (see Table 8.1). Therefore, the comparison of the average text/headlines in Facebook posts of these three news channels is odd. However, the existing data provides an understanding of the content characteristics of the sample posts of the three news channels. The above table shows the frequencies of the text/headlines used in Al Jazeera, BBC, and CNN posts on Facebook. The comments like headlines also represent the text, but both were categorized as two different variables. Comments do not necessarily represent the news as it is more like an opinion while the headline is the punch line of the news story. In the above mentioned table, Al Jazeera used text/headlines in 107 posts (96.4%) out of a total of 111 while BBC used text in all three Facebook posts (100%) (see Table 8.1). CNN also used text/ headlines in all three (100%) Facebook posts (see Table 7.1). Thus, the analysis of the sample Facebook posts shows that CNN and BBC used text/headlines more than Al Jazeera as a content characteristic in their Facebook posts.

In Twitter posts of news channels, Al Jazeera used text/headlines in 26 posts (11.7%) out of a total of 222 posts during the two-month period. BBC used text/headline as a content characteristic in 19 posts (90.5%) out of total of 21 posts in the same period. CNN used headlines in only three posts (18.8%) with a total of 16 posts on Twitter. The data shows that Al Jazeera used headlines in its Facebook posts more than its Twitter posts. BBC and CNN also did not use headlines as a content characteristic on Twitter more than Facebook.

The use of catchy text and headlines along social media content draws attention of the netizens. They make an easy and instant understanding of the issue as well as increase the interest to open the hypelinks or watch the pictures/video attached on the multimedia platform. BBC and CNN extensively used this technique in their social media content unlike AJE.

Table 8.2

Images as a characteristic of FB, Twitter posts of AJE, BBC, &CNN

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	100 (90.1%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (0.00%)
No	11 (9.9%)	1 (33.3%)	3 (100%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	200 (90.1%)	18 (85.7%)	11 (68.8%)

No	22 (9.9%)	3 (14.3%)	5 (31.3%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

Al Jazeera English used images in 100 (90.1%) stories of total of 111 Facebook posts while BBC used images in two posts (66.7%) out of total three posts on Facebook. CNN used images as a characteristic of its content in all three posts (100%) of Facebook. The SPSS analysis shows that Al Jazeera used images in 90.1% of posts (200 news posts out of a total of 222) on Twitter, BBC used images in 85.7% of posts (18 news posts out of total 21) while CNN used images in 68.8% posts (11 posts out of total 16) to present news about Palestine-Israel conflict(see Table 8.2). The analysis also shows that Al Jazeera used the same amount of images in its Twitter and Facebook posts to represent the Palestine-Israel conflict. However, BBC and CNN used more images on Twitter posts than Facebook.

Images are still photos used by the three news organizations. The images are a powerful mediumwhich immediately influence people's understanding of the conflict. CNN utilized this medium more than other two channels.

Table 8.3

Videos as a characteristic of FB, Twitter posts of AJE, BBC, &CNN

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	12 (10.8%)	1 (33.3%)	3 (100.0%)
No	99 (89.2%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	111(100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN

Yes	19 (8.6%)	3 (14.3%)	5 (31.3%)
No	203 (91.4%)	18 (85.7%)	11 (68.8%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

Video as a content characteristic of the Facebook posts has been used the most by CNN. It used the videos in all three posts of Facebook (100%). BBC used videos in one out of three posts with 33.3% frequency that is less than CNN. Al Jazeera used videos in only 11 Facebook posts (10.8%) out of total of 111 posts on the social networking website. The population is too small in the case of BBC and CNN as compared to Al Jazeera (see Table 8.3).

Al Jazeera used visuals in just 8.6% of Twitter posts (19 posts out of total 222), BBC was slightly higher in percentage with 14.3% posts with visuals (3 posts out of total 21) while CNN used visuals in 5 posts (31.3%) out of total 16 posts on Twitter about the conflict during the specified time period. CNN used more videos to present the news on Twitter about Palestine-Israel conflict. Al Jazeera used fewer videos than CNN and BBC (see Table 8.3).

Videos are even more powerful than the still images. A few second video showing atrocities, attacks or any gruesome situation can change the curse of events in a conflict situation. All three news channels used videos in their social media content but their preference to post videos on either social media platforms varied. Text/headline without video content cannot leave an impact and draw public attention without visuals.

Table 8.4

Comments as a characteristic of FB, Twitter posts of AJE, BBC, &CNN

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	109 (98.2%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
No	2 (1.8%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	111(100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	198 (89.2%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)
No	24 (10.8%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

The comments represent the opinion of the editors or social media teams who post the news on Facebook and Twitter. Therefore, the comments that do not necessarily represent the news story are mostly opinionated. The results obtained from the data show that BBC and CNN used comments as content characteristics in all of their Facebook posts. BBC used comments in all three posts (100%) while CNN also posted comments in all of its three posts on Facebook (see Table 8.4). However, Al Jazeera posted comments in 109 (98.2%) out of total of 111 Facebook posts.

The above data shows that BBC and CNN used comments in their 100%of posts on Twitter. BBC posted in all 21 posts (100%) while CNN also posted comments in all 16 (100%) posts on Twitter. However, Al Jazeera posted comments in 198 (89.2%) out of 222 posts which is less than the frequency of posting comments on Facebook (98.2%) (see Table 8.4).The comments posted by BBC and CNN were mostly repetition of headlines with a few additional phrases or words and viewpoint of the editors/organization on the story.

8.2Research question 2

What type of techniques traditional media outlets use to promote their brand and dominate the discourse on social media while covering Palestine-Israel conflict?

News organizations use social networking websites purposefully. The forthcoming statistical data addresses the purpose of traditional news organizations for using social media as a platform to disseminate the news. To understand this trend, the social media posts were coded under two main categories: (1) brand promotion; and (2) discourse domination. The brand promotion category was further divided into two sub-categories: (a) hyperlink and (b) repetition. The discourse domination was divided into three sub-categories: (a) likes, (b) retweets/shares, and (c) breaking news. The data set was coded and analyzed through SPSS.

8.2.1 Brand promotion: When news become a sellable commodity

Table 8.5

Brand promotion through hyperlinks on FB, Twitter by AJE, BBC, &CNN

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	107 (96.4%)	3 (100.0%)	2 (66.7%)
No	4 (3.6%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (33.3%)
Total	111(100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	199 (89.6%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)
No	23 (10.4%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)

| Total | 222(100.0%) | 21 (100.0%) | 16 (100.0%) |

Al Jazeera used hyperlinks in 107 (96.4%) out of total of 111 posts on Facebook. BBC posted hyperlinks in all three posts (100%) on Facebook. CNN posted hyperlinks in 2 (66.7%) out of total three posts on Facebook (see Table 8.5). The data shows the trend that the news channels use hyperlinks as an important characteristic of their content to promote their brand. A hyperlink in a post opens up the website of the respective news channel with a detailed story. The hyperlink is given to promote the brand which is the news story. The catchy words in the Facebook posts along with video or images attract the netizens to open up the detailed story.

On Twitter, Al Jazeera used hyperlinks in 199 (89.6%) out of a total of 222 news stories. BBC and CNN used hyperlinks in 100% of stories. BBC posted hyperlinks in all 21 tweets while CNN provided hyperlinks in 16 Twitter posts (see Table 8.5). The trend shows that the news channels use hyperlinks more on Twitter than Facebook posts to promote their brand. Except Al Jazeera which used fewer hyperlinks on Twitter than the Facebook posts, the other two channels CNN and BBC used hyperlinks in their hundred percent posts. Facebook is a selected community as compared to Twitter.

Table 8.6

Brand promotion through repetition of posts on FB, Twitter by AJE, BBC, CNN

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	18 (16.2%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (33.3%)
No	93 (83.8%)	3 (0.00%)	2 (66.7%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	113 (50.9%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (6.3%)
No	109 (49.1%)	20 (95.2%)	15 (93.8%)
Total	222(100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

The news channels also repeat news posts on social networking websites like Facebook and Twitter to promote their brand. The above tables show the repetition frequencies of three news channels Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN. Al Jazeera repeated 18 (16.2%) out of total 111 Facebook posts, BBC repeated all three Facebook posts (100%) while CNN repeated one (33.3) out of total three posts on the social networking website (see Table 8.6).

Al Jazeera repeated 113 (50.9%) 222 Twitter posts, BBC 1 (4.8%) 21 posts and CNN repeated 1 (6.3%) 16 Twitter posts (see Table 8.6). It was observed that Al Jazeera repeated news posts more on Twitter than Facebook, contrary to BBC and CNN which repeated their posts on Facebook than Twitter. The trend shows that the news channels make their own strategy and choice of social networking website to promote their brand through repetition of posts. Al Jazeera preferred to promote its brand through the repetition

of stories on Twitter more than Facebook while BBC and CNN gave preference to Facebook as compared to Twitter.

8.2.2 Discourse domination through breaking news, likes, Retweets, and shares

Discourse domination is another reason the news channels use social networking websites. Breaking news is one of many strategies which the news channels adopt to dominate the discourse about the conflict on social networking websites. The race to become the first in the dissemination of information was restricted to the digital news networks. The advent of social networking sites provided a cheaper and instant platform to the news channels to break the news stories. As it has been discussed in Chapter 4, social networking websites have emerged as a main source of information. The news channels post breaking news as an attention-seeking tool to dominate the discourse on social networking websites. The stories generating from conflict regions are larger in number and diverse in content.

Table 8.7

Discourse domination through breaking news by AJE, BBC, CNN on FB, Twitter

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
No	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	6 (2.7%)	1 (4.8%)	0 (0.00%)
No	216 (97.3%)	20 (95.2%)	16 (100.0%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

In the given data set, Al Jazeera posted 111 posts on Facebook, but none of them was breaking news. BBC and CNN also did not post any breaking news on their Facebook pages during the two month period (see Table 8.7). It shows that the news channels do not use breaking news as a tool to dominate the discourse. The breaking news text is sensitized and framed in a way that may attract people's attention.

Al Jazeera posted 6 (2.7%) out of total of 222 tweets as breaking news. BBC posted 1 (4.8%) out of total of 21 tweets as breaking news(see Table 8.7). CNN posted no breaking news during the period. The breaking news contains the capability to dominate the discourse about a conflict for a certain time period. The breaking news on social media also indicatesthat the story is developing. The users of social networking platforms become part of the social networking activity after opting to share, like or retweet the breaking news.

Table 8.8

Discourse domination through likes, shares on FB by AJE, BBC, &CNN

Likes	AJE	BBC	CNN
Sample & Size	111	3	3
Minimum	57	2900	1200
Maximum	5100	11000	3400
Means	1274.14	5666.67	2233.33
S. Deviation	979.641	4619.885	1106.044
Shares	AJE	BBC	CNN
Sample & Size	111	3	3
Minimum	0	116	514
Maximum	13359	906	4422

| Means | 340.91 | 563.67 | 2946.00 |
| S. Deviation | 1272.869 | 405.397 | 2122.161 |

Likes, retweets and shares indicate the domination of discourse by the news organizations. According to Bessil et al. "on Facebook a like stands for a positive feedback to the post; a share expresses the will to increase the visibility of a given information…" (Bessi1, et al., 2016, pp. 2-3). Positive feedback means agreeing with the content of the post and sharing for more visibility also depicts the domination of discourse. Therefore the numerical values matter a lot in Facebook and Twitter posts. In this research,likes, retweets and shares were taken in numerical form to understand the level of discourse domination by each of the three news channels while covering the Palestine-Israel conflict through social networking websites. For 111 total Facebook posts, Al Jazeera news posts got a minimum of 57 and maximum of 5100 likes. BBC posts received a minimum of 2900 and maximum of 11000 likes. In the case of CNN, a minimum of 1200 and maximum of 3400 likes were recorded. BBC posts about the conflict got a maximum number of likes (see Table 8.8).

Al Jazeera posts were shared a maximum of 13359 times, BBC minimum of 116, and maximum of 906 times (see Table 8.8). The sample for Facebook posts of CNN was so small that it was insufficient for SPSS analysis. The data shows that the news posts of BBC received a maximum number of likes than Al Jazeera. Thus, BBC news dominated the discourse regarding the conflict more than BBC and CNN. The maximum and minimum number of likes depicts the number of people/Facebook users who gave attention to the news post. The numerical data also defines the outreach of the content to the maximum and minimum number of users. Shares indicate another interesting aspect of the discourse domination. Al Jazeera posts were shared the maximum number of times as compared to CNN and BBC. The shares

depict high liking for the content or posts about the conflict. The number of shares means that the viewpoint heterogeneity is reducing and homogeneity is surging due to the news posts.

Table 8.9

Discourse domination through likes andretweets on Twitter by AJE, BBC, &CNN

Likes	AJE	BBC	CNN
Sample & Size	222	21	16
Minimum	0	26	118
Maximum	1800	1300	553
Means	79.46	191.14	267.94
S. Deviation	142.747	282.084	127.929
Retweets	AJE	BBC	CNN
Sample & Size	222	21	16
Minimum	0	18	42
Maximum	1200	863	233
Means	84.94	156.05	129.00
S. Deviation	105.779	205.778	57.109

Al Jazeera'stweets on the Palestine-Israel conflict received a maximum of 1800 likes. BBC's tweets got a minimum of 26 and maximum of 1300 likes while CNN received a minimum of 118 and maximum of 553 likes (see Table 8.9). Al Jazeera received the maximum number of likes on its Twitter posts as compared to two other news channels BBC and CNN. However, the analysis reveals that the number of likes and retweets is far less than the shares and likes on Facebook. The repetition of the same stories is greater on Twitter than on Facebook. Therefore, the Twitter posts get individual likes and retweets even if repeated. Each

time a post is repeated on Facebook and Twitter, the number of likes and retweets/shares reduces.

8.3 Research question 3

What are the prominent news frames and dominant visual images in social media (Twitter, Facebook) coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict by the three leading international news organizations (CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera)?

The value frames of both text and visuals were coded on the SPSS sheet. The data was sorted into cases with respect to TV channels and Twitter and Facebook. The data analysis was conducted to find out the frequencies of the value frames used in text and images (photos and videos). The four value frames were coded on the SPSS data sheet as: TXT_HR (Human rights frame in the text), TXT_SD (Right to self-determination frame in the text), TXT_PC (Peace frame in the text), and TXT_SCY (Security frame in the text). Likewise, images were coded as IMG on the SPSS sheet with the same value frames (IMG_SD, IMG_HR, IMG_PC, IMG_SCY). Pictures and videos in this question were considered as images for brevity in this specific question. This particular question requires finding out dominant frames or hidden messages in the content posted by the news channels on Facebook and Twitter.

The statistical data obtained through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was categorized into news channels, Facebook and Twitter, text and images and four value frames mentioned above. The comparative analysis of the data has been conducted for each category.

Table 8.10

Right to self-determination value frame in FB, Twitter text of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	11 (9.9%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (66.7%)
No	100 (90.1%)	3 (100.0%)	1 (33.3%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	36 (16.2%)	2 (9.5%)	4 (25.0%)
No	186 (83.8%)	19 (90.5%)	12 (75.0%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

Al Jazeera has used aright to self-determination frame in 9.9% (11 out of total 111) Facebook posts while BBC did not use aright to self-determination frame in any of its total three Facebook posts during the period. However, CNN used the self-determination frame in the text of 66.7% (2 out of total 3) Facebook posts(see Table 8.10).

The total number of tweets by each news channel is greater than Facebook posts which provides a greater set of data about the Palestine-Israel conflict. Al Jazeera text represented a right to self determination frame in its 16.2% (36 out of total 222 Tweets) text posted on Twitter. BBC framed 9.5% (2 out of total 21 posts) of its text on Twitter as right to self-determination. CNN posted 25% (4 out of total 16 Tweets) of text on Twitter as a right to self-determination frame (see Table 8.10).

Table 8.11

Human Rights value frame in FB, Twitter text of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	66 (59.5%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
No	45 (40.5%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	130 (58.6%)	7 (33.3%)	2 (12.5%)
No	92 (41.4%)	14 (66.7%)	14 (87.5%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

Al Jazeera used the human rights frame in 59.5% of Facebook posts (66 posts out of a total of 111). BBC used a human rights frame in 100% (total 3) posts while CNN text portrayed the same value frame in 12.5% (2 posts) news posts. It is important to note that Al Jazeera used a human rights frame in most of its posts as compared to the right to self-determination, peace or security frames. CNN used the human rights frame in the text of all three Facebook posts 100% (3 posts)(see Table 8.11).

Al Jazeera English posted the human rights frame in its 58.6% (130 out of total 222 posts) tweets. The percentage represents the text only. BBC posted the same frame in its 33.3% (7 out of total 21 posts) tweets (text only) while CNN tweeted only two posts out of a total of 16 (12.5%) that contained human rights frames(see Table 8.11). Al Jazeera posted a greater number of tweets with a text containing human rights frame than BBC and CNN.

Table 8.12

Peace value frame in FB, Twitter text of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	22 (19.8%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)
No	89 (80.2%)	2 (66.7%)	2 (66.7%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	33 (14.9%)	5 (23.8%)	6 (37.5%)
No	189 (85.1%)	16 (76.2%)	10 (62.5%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

The SPSS analysis shows that Al Jazeera used apeace frame in its 19.8% text (22 out of total 111 posts) posted on Facebook regarding aPalestine-Israel conflict. BBC posted 33.3% (1 out of total 3 posts) text posts with a peace value frame. CNN used apeace frame in 33.3% (1 out of total 3 posts) of text on Facebook(see Table 8.12).

Al Jazeera posted 33 out of total 222 Tweets (14.9%) which contained peace frame. Out of total of 21 Tweets, BBC posted five Tweets (23.8%) which had a peace frame while CNN's 37.5% Tweets (text only) contained a peace frame (see Table 8.12).

Table 8.13

Security value frame in FB text of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	12 (10.8%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (0.00%)
No	99 (89.2%)	1 (33.3%)	3 (100.0%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	23 (10.4%)	7 (33.3%)	5 (31.3%)
No	199 (89.6%)	14 (66.7%)	11 (68.8%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

The Table8.13 shows that Al Jazeera framed security in its only 12 Facebook posts (10.8%) out of total of 111 Facebook posts. However, BBC framed security in its 66.7% posts (in 2 out of total three posts). CNN used a security frame in it all three (100%) Facebook posts. CNN's Facebook posts about the Palestine-Israel conflict were mainly about violence directed towards Israel while Al Jazeera posted those stories which were related to violence directed towards the Palestinians. The same was the case with the rest of the three frames including right to self-determination, human rights and peace.

Al Jazeera's10.4% (22 out of total 222 posts) Tweets (text only) contained a security value frame. BBC framed 33.3% (7 out of 21 Tweets) of it Twitter text related to the Palestine-Israel conflict as security. CNN remained slightly low from BBC with 5 out of total 16 Tweets (31.3 %) frames as security value (see Table 8.13). Al Jazeera Tweeted the smallest number of text post as compared to BBC and CNN as security value frame.

The international news outlets usually represent the official and public opinion of their countries when coveting a far-flung conflict. In case of Palestine-Israle conflict, the role of CNN and BBC (for Twitter content) can be seen in this context. The social media content of CNN represented the security concerns of Israel, attacks on Israeli citizens, threats to Israeli citizens from Palestinian knive attackers.

Table 8.14

Self-determination value frame in FB, Twitter images of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	14 (12.6%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (66.7%)
No	97 (87.4%)	3 (100.0%)	1 (33.3%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	33 (14.9%)	3 (14.3%)	3 (18.8%)
No	189 (85.1%)	18 (85.7%)	13 (81.3%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)

Al Jazeera usedright to self-determination frame in 12.6% (14 out of 111posts) of Facebook images about the Palestine-Israel conflict. BBC used the same frame in its 100% (in all 3 posts) Facebook images about the conflict while CNN portrayed right to self determination through 66.7% (2 out of total 3 posts) images of Facebook depicting the Palestine-Israel conflict(see Table 8.14).

Al Jazeera posted images related to the Palestine-Israel conflict in 33 out of total of 222 (14.9%) Tweets which presented a right to self-determination frame. BBC presented self-

determination in 3 out of total of 21 (14.3%) posts. CNN presented this frame more than BBC and Al JazeeraEnglish through its images posted on Twitter related to the conflict. CNN posted 3 out of total of 16 tweets (18.8%) which presented a right to self-determination frame (see Table 8.14).

The stories mainly related to political rights of the conflict parties over Jerusalem and separate state for Palestinians invokedright to self-detemination value frame. CNN largely covered stories about Jerusalem as political capital of Israel that included President Trump's maiden visit to Jerusalem and the Western Wall. The U.S. president's visit later paved the way for announcement of shifting U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and Israeli announcement of East Jerusalem as its political capital. Al Jazeera mainly covered stories about political rights of Palestinians and their separate statethat portratyed the right to self-dtermination frame.

Table 8.15

Human rights value frame in FB, Twitter images of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	60 (54.1%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
No	51 (45.9%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	120 (54.1%)	10 (47.6%)	3 (18.8%)
No	102 (45.9%)	11 (52.4%)	13 (81.3%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

Al Jazeera posted a human rights frame in 54.1% (60 out of total 111) Facebook images about the Palestine-Israel conflict. BBC used a human rights frame in its 100% posts (all three posts) while CNN also used the same frame in 100% (in all 3 posts) Facebook images about the Palestine-Israel conflict (see Table 8.15).

Al Jazeera presented a human rights frame the most among three news channels through its images tweets about the conflict. The news channel posted 120 out of total of 222 images (54.1%) which represented human rights. Al Jazeeramostly tweeted those images which showed Palestinians being suppressed by Israeli forces and settlers. The images showed Palestinians especially Gazans were deprived of basic amenities of life. There were also pictures which depicted historical facts about Palestinians living in their land. BBC posted images in 10 out of total 21 tweets (47.8%) which depicted a human rights frame, CNN presented the same frame in 3 out of total of 16 Twitter posts (18.8%) about the conflict (see Table 8.15)

Table 8.16

Peace value frame in FB, Twitter images of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	19 (17.1%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)
No	92 (82.9%)	2 (66.7%)	2 (66.7%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	32 (14.4%)	3 (14.3%)	6 (37.5%)
No	190 (85.6%)	18 (85.7%)	10 (62.5%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

Al Jazeera used a peace frame in its 17.1% (19 out of total 111 posts) Facebook images while BBC 33.3% (1out of total three posts). CNN also used the peace frame in 33.3% (1 out of total 3) Facebook images about the Palestine-Israel conflict (see Table 8.16).

Al Jazeera posted a peace frame in 32 out of total 222 (14.4%) posts while BBC used this frame in 3 out of total 21 (14.3%) Twitter images. CNN tweeted images related to peace frame in 6 out of total 16 posts (37.5%). The percentage of peace frames used in Twitter images of CNN is greater than Al Jazeera and CNN (see Table 8.16).

The news stories related to negotiations, elections, democracy,meetings between the officials and announcements in a bid to harmonize relations were quoted as peace value frame. The news channels' content consisted meeting between Palestinian President Mahmood Abbas and President Donald Trump, Israli Prime Minister Natanyahu's meeting with President Donald Trump, elections and other identical stories that invoked peace value frame. The use of

all content characteristics such as headlines/text/vidoes/images increase readership/viewership of such news stories as they increase hope towards the resolution of a conflict. These stories are perceived as a breakthrough, raise hope for resolution and a new development with respect to the conflict.

Table 8.17

Security value frame in FB, Twitter images of news channels

Facebook	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	18 (16.2%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (00.0%)
No	93 (83.8%)	1 (33.3%)	3 (100.0%)
Total	111 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Twitter	AJE	BBC	CNN
Yes	32 (14.4%)	5 (23.8%)	4 (25.0%)
No	190 (85.6%)	16 (76.2%)	12 (75.0%)
Total	222 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	16 (100.0%)

The security frame in Al Jazeera Facebook images about the Palestine-Israel conflict formed 16.2% (18 out of 111 posts). BBC used security frame in 66.7% (2 out of total 3 posts) Facebook images about the conflict which is greater than Al Jazeera. CNN used a security frame in its 100% (in all 3 posts). CNN used security frames more than BBC and Al Jazeera in its Facebook images. Al Jazeera used images portraying security frames in 32 out of total 222 (14.4%) posts. CNN used this frame in 5 out of 21 Tweets (23.8%), and CNN framed the images as security value in 4 out of total 16 posts (25.0%) (see Table 8.17).Security frame draws immediate attention of the viewers/netizens. The news invoking security frame

makes a sense for the people that the actions of either conflict party are related to security which is a legitimate rate. In some cases, the content makes them believe that an action of either conflict party or actor is a security threat for the other. The security frame carries concern and legitimacy for the actions of conflict parties.

8.5 Research question 4

What type of news bias exists in each value frame invoked by the news channels and what is their level of objectivity?

This study has been completed in two stages. In the first stage, the percentage of four dominant value frames including right to self-determination, human rights, peace and security identified in the news stories of Al Jazeera English, BBC and CNN. In the second stage, the Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model was applied to the news text. The results were displayed through graphs.

The dominant value frames have been identified in the news stories of the three news channels through the content analysis. The news content was evaluated according to the characteristics of each news frame explained in the methodology section. The security frame reveals the threats posed by different conflict actors to the property and life of the people. The human rights frame concerned those issues which are related to the human dignity and values explained in the UN charter. The right to self-determination frame explains the political actualization and political rights of either conflict party. The news stories with a peace value frame represented the absence of violence, negotiated settlement of the conflict, and harmonious coexistence of the conflict parties.

Table 8.18

Percentage of value frames in AJE, BBC and CNN news coverage

	RSD	HR	Peace	Security
AJE	9.76%	52.44%	21.95%	15.85%
BBC	0.00%	41.18%	23.53%	35.29%
CNN	33.33%	22.22%	22.22%	22.22%

The content analysis of the news stories provided some interesting results about the dominant value frame. It was observed that CNN had the highest percentage of news stories (33.33%) with right to self-determination as the dominant value frame. AJE framed 9.76% of news stories with right to self-determination frame while BBC had no such news story (see Table 8.18).

AJE had the greater percentage (52.44%) of news stories with human rights as the dominant value frame as compared to BBC's 41.18% and CNN's 22.22% news reports. BBC had the higher number of news stories (23.53%) with a peace value frame as compared to CNN's 22.22% and AJE's 21.95%. BBC again had the highest number of news stories (35.29%) with security value frames compared to CNN's 22.22% and AJE's 15.85% (see Table 8.18).

Figure 8. 1

Percentage of Hayakawa-Lowry news bias categories in AJE, BBC, & CNN news stories
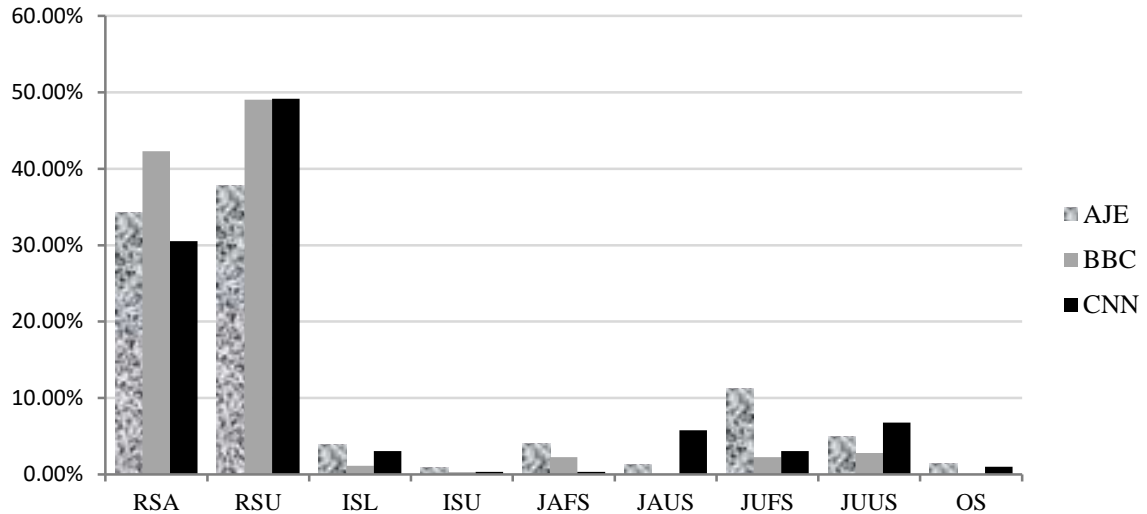
As many as 1168 sentences were coded as report sentences attributed (AJE 34.31%, BBC 42.30%, CNN 30.51%) and 1342 sentences as report sentence unattributed (AJE 37.82%, BBC 49.02%, CNN 49.15%) (see Figure 8.1). It was found that BBC had the highest percentage of report sentences attributed in its news stories. Likewise, CNN and BBC had the greater percentage of report sentences unattributed in their news coverage.

There were 119 inference labelled sentences (AJE 3.92%, BBC 1.12%, CNN 3.05%) and 28 inference unlabelled sentences (AJE 0.96%, BBC 0.28%, CNN 0.34%) (see Figure8.1). The data analysis shows that Al Jazeera English has the highest percentage of both inferences labeled sentences and inferences unlabelled sentences in its news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict.

There are total 120 judgement attributed favorable sentences (AJE 4.11%, BBC 2.24%, CNN 0.34%), 52 judgement attributed unfavorable sentences (AJE 1.30%, BBC 0%, CNN 5.76%), 320 judgement unattributed favorable sentences (AJE 11.21%, BBC 2.24%,

CNN 3.05%), and 164 judgement unattributed unfavorable sentences (AJE 4.96%, BBC 2.80%, CNN 6.78%) (see Figure 8.1). It was observed that Al Jazeera had the highest percentage of judgement attributed favorable sentences and judgement unattributed favorable sentences in its news stories. CNN had the highest percentage of judgement attributed unfavorable sentences and judgement unattributed and unfavorable sentences in its news stories.

There were 41 other sentences (AJE 1.41%, BBC 0%, CNN 1.02%). The other sentences mostly included questions and vague statements and information which could not be interpreted in any of the well-defined categories of the Hayakava-Lowri news bias model. Al- Jazeera English had the highest number of other sentences in its news stories than BBC and CNN. BBC had the lowest number of other sentences in its news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict.

According to Lowry (1986), the report sentences are a safer category while report sentences/attributed is the safest category among all (Lowry, 1971, p. 208). BBC has the highest percentage of report sentences attributed thanCNN and Al Jazeera English. Lowry contends that a news organization will be less criticized if its news story has more labelled inferences than unlabeled inferences (Lowry, 1986, p. 209). Overall, BBC had fewer inference sentences both labelled and unlabelled compared to CNN and Al Jazeera English. AJE had the highest number of labelled inference sentences. CNN had the second highest inference labelled/unlabelled sentences after AJE in its news stories about the Palestine-Israel conflict.

Likewise, Lowry (1986) is of the view that the network using judgement sentences in its reports is most likely to be criticized due to the amalgamation of personal opinion into

a news report (Lowry, 1986). In this study, it was found out that BBC used the least number of judgement sentences than Al Jazeera English and CNN. However, BBC used only attributed favorable judgement sentences more than CNN. There were also judgement/unattributed/favorable sentences in BBC news text that mainly reflected the Israeli viewpoint. However, in some news stories about human rights, it favoured the Palestinian side. BBC used the least number of judgement unattributed/unfavorable sentences compared to Al- Jazeera and CNN.

AJE used the highest number of judgement sentences in its reports about the conflict than BBC and CNN. Al Jazeera English had the highest number of unattributed/favorable judgement sentences which means the news channel did not quote sources and these sentences represented the opinion of the organization. The judgement sentences were favorable to the Palestinian side.

CNN had the highest number of unattributed and unfavoruable judgement sentences and attributed/unfavorable judgement sentences. CNN used judgement unattributed/favorable sentences which mainly favoured Israel. These judgements reflected that the Israeli actions aimed to protect its sovereignty and people. These sentences also supported peace efforts and peace negotiations.

Figure 8. 2

Comparison of the level of objectivity among news channels
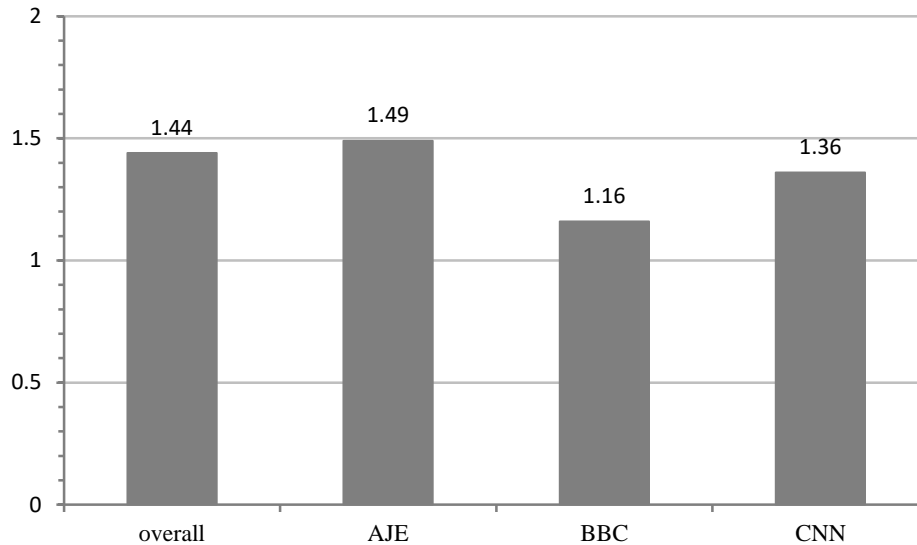
The overall level of objectivity among the three international news organizations has also been determined through data analysis. It was observed that BBC was more objective among all three news channels. The analysis shows that BBC has a lower mean than the overall level of objectivity: 1.44 > 1.16. CNN remains the second more objective news channel in covering the Palestine-Israel conflict for having a lower mean than the overall level of objectivity: 1.44 > 1.34. Al Jazeera English's coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict was the least objective compared to both BBC and CNN. The data analysis showed that Al Jazeera English had a higher mean than the overall level of objectivity: 1.44 < 1.49 (see Figure 8.2).

Figure 8. 3

Level of objectivity in value frames
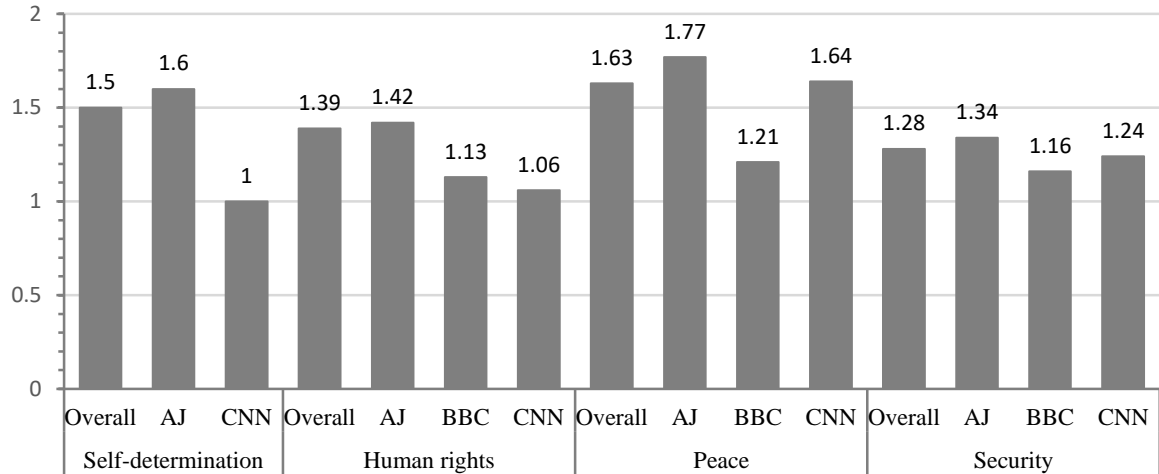
It was observed that CNN was more objective in news stories with a right to self-determination value frame. The news channel had a lower mean than the overall level of objectivity: 1.5 > 1. Al Jazeera English was the least objective in the news stories with a right to self-determination as the dominant value frame as it had a higher mean than the overall level of objectivity 1.5 < 1.6. BBC had no news story with a self-determination value frame (see Figure 8.3).

Likewise, CNN was more objective in news stories with human rights as the dominant value frame for having lower mean than the overall objectivity level: 1.39 > 1.06. The data analysis shows BBC had a lower mean than the overall level of objectivity in news stories of human rights value frame: 1.39 > 1.13. It reflects that BBC objectively covered human rights value frame news stories but because of higher mean CNN had less objectivity than BBC. Al Jazeera English had the least level of objectivity in news stories of human

rights frame for having higher mean than overall objectivity level: 1.39 < 1.42 (see Figure 8.3).

BBC is more objective among three news channels in news stories of peace value frame due to lower mean than overall objectivity level 1.63 > 1.21. CNN and AJE have means of 1.64 and 1.77 respectively in peace value frame news stories which are greater than the overall objectivity level of 1.63 . Thus, the analysis reflects that CNN and AJE are the least objective in the news stories of peace value frame.

In news stories framed with security value, BBC is more objective because of smaller mean and being less than the overall objectivity level: 1.28 > 1.16. CNN also has a higher level of objectivity due to a lower mean than the overall level of objectivity: 1.28 > 1.24. CNN is less objective compared to BBC for having a greater mean than the former. Al Jazeera was the least objective in the news stories framed with security value for having a greater mean than the overall level of objectivity: 1.28 < 1.34 (see Figure 8.3).

Al Jazeera English published a greater number of news stories than BBC and CNN about the Palestine-Israel conflict. However, the data analysis showed that Al Jazeera news stories with four dominant value frames were less objective than BBC and CNN. CNN news stories with self-determination, human rights and security as dominant value frames were more objective than Al Jazeera English. BBC had no news story framed as self-determination value but had a higher level of objectivity than CNN and Al Jazeera English in news stories of peace and security value frames.

Figure 8. 4

Favorable/unfavorable judgements in news stories with value frames
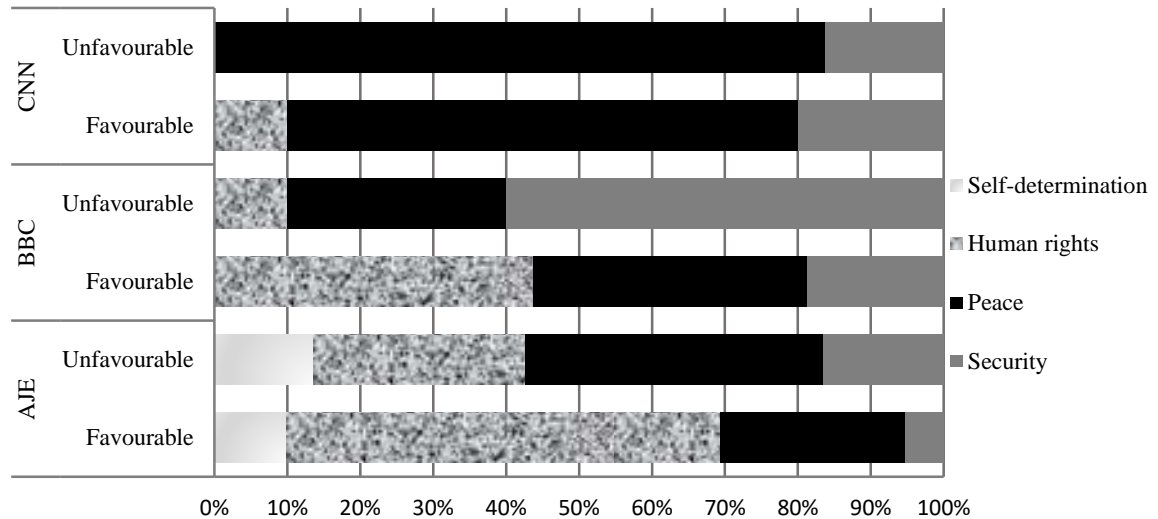
The analysis showed that there were favorable and unfavorable judgements in news stories of channels with prominent value frames. Hayakawa (1952) termed both favorable and unfavorable judgements as slants and preferred to remain stick to observable and verifiable facts in reporting (Hayakawa, 1952, pp. 48-49). A comparison of favorable and unfavorable judgement in news stories with four value frames revealed that Al Jazeera English had the highest percentage of favorable judgement sentences (9.90%) in news stories with self-determination as the dominant value frame (see Figure 8.4). CNN news stories with self-determination value frame had no favorable judgement sentence while BBC had no news story of self-determination value frame.

Likewise, Al Jazeera English had the highest 59.42% favorable judgement sentences in news stories with human rights as the dominant value frame. BBC had the second highest percentage of favorable judgement sentences (43.75%) in news stories with human rights as the dominant value frame while CNN had only 10% favorable judgement sentences in such

stories. In news stories with peace as the dominant value frame, CNN had the highest percentage of favorable judgement sentences (70%), BBC had 37.50%, and Al Jazeera English had 25.36% of such sentences (see Figure 8.4).

In news stories with security as the dominant value frame, CNN had the highest percentage (20.0%) of favorable judgement sentences, BBC 18.75%, and Al Jazeera English had 5.31% favorable judgement sentences. In case of unfavorable judgement sentences, Al Jazeera English had the highest percentage (13.61%) of such sentences in news stories with self-determination as the dominant value frame. CNN did not have any unfavorable judgement sentence in its self-determination value frames news stories. In news stories with humanrights value frame, Al Jazeera English had 28.99% unfavorable judgement sentences, BBC had 10%, and CNN had no such sentence (see Figure 8.4).

CNN had the highest percentage (83.78%) of unfavorable judgement sentences in news stories with peace as the dominant value frame. Al Jazeera English had 40.83% unfavorable judgement sentences, and BBC 30.0% such sentences in news stories with peace as the dominant value frame. In news stories with security as the dominant value frame, BBC had the highest percentage (60.0%) of unfavorable judgement sentences while Al Jazeera English had 16.57% and CNN had 16.22% unfavorable judgement sentences (see Figure 8.4).

8.6 Research question 5

How do the conflict parties react in terms of international values and intensity (low, medium, high) through social media platforms?

The right to self-determination is more important for Palestine and one of their fundamental demands. In many posts of the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs, Jerusalem as the

capital of Israel since 3000 years has been mentioned which was coded as the right to self determination value frame.

Table 8.19

Self-determination value frame in FB, Twitter text of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	24 (11.2%)	9 (28.1%)
No	190 (88.8%)	23 (71.9%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	6 (20.0%)	56 (26.2%)
No	24 (80.0%)	158 (73.8%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs used a right to self-determination frame in 24 out of total 214 Facebook posts (11.2%). The posts included only text not videos and photos. Israel framed 9 out of 32 posts (28.1%) as right to self-determination. Most of the posts were related to Jerusalem and its portrayal as the capital of Israel (see Table 8.19). The other posts were about Israel's right to exist. Palestinians mostly demanded an independent state and their political rights. The data shows that the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs mainly used Facebook to post its point of view (total 214 posts), yet the percentage of content depicting right to self-determination value frames is less than the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs which comparatively had less number of posts (32 posts) on the social networking websites.

The sample posts of Palestine are very smaller in number as compared to Twitter as the Palestinian foreign ministry used Facebook to publish its reaction. Palestine used a right to self-determination frame in just 6 out of total 30 Twitter posts (20%). Israel used text with a right to self-determination frame in 56 out of total 214 posts (26.2%).

It is important to note that Israeli ministry's social media content invoked more right to self-determination frame than Palestinian ministry. The Israeli posts were related to Jersualem as a political capital and three thousand year old claim on the land of Palestinian land. The Palestinian ministry largely posted content related to achieving a separate homeland to portray right to self determination frame.

Table 8.20

Human rights value frame in FB, Twitter text of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	153 (71.5%)	8 (25.0%)
No	61 (28.5%)	24 (75.0%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	21 (70.0%)	45 (21.0%)
No	9 (30.0%)	169 (79.0%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs framed most of its text posted on Facebook as human rights value. Out of total 214 posts, 153 represented a human rights value frame (71.5%). At the same time, Israel posted only 8 out of total 32 Facebook posts (25.0%) that

represented a human rights frame. Palestine published 9 out of 30 Twitter posts (30.0%) with a human rights frame. Israel presented a human rights frame in 45 out of total 214 Twitter posts (21.0%) (see Table 8.20). Palestinian ministry presented a human rights frame in greater number in its Twitter posts as compared to Israel which has a larger sample of Twitter posts.

Human rights value frame centerstages the Palestinian narrative about the conflict as issues related to human rights receive slowly but considerable public attention (Aguiar, 2009, p. 8). From building walls to military operations in Palestinian territories, the Palestinian Authority accuses Israel of gross human rights abuses. For Israeli authorities, the human rightsonly belong to Jewish people who were killed by Nazis and now being targeted by Palestinian knife attackers.

Table 8.21

Peace value frame in FB, Twitter text of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	16 (7.5%)	5 (15.6%)
No	198 (92.5%)	27 (84.4%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	2 (6.7%)	25 (11.7%)
No	28 (93.3%)	189 (88.3%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Out of total 214 Facebook posts by Palestine, only 16 (7.5%) represented a peace

frame.Israel's ministry of foreign affairs posted 15.6% of its text (5 out of total 32) which represented the peace frame. The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs has used the peace frame in 2 out of total 28 Twitter posts (2%). Israel posted 25 out of 214 total tweets (11.7%) as peace value frame (see Table 8.21). The percentage of peace value frame is low in the Twitter posts by the two conflict parties as compared to human rights and right to self-determination frames. The later two frames depict the party positions in the conflict while a peace frame is for the common good. The trend shows that the conflict parties posted most of the text related to their human rights and self-determination instead of peace that can help resolve the conflict.

Table 8.22

Security value frame in FB, Twitter text of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	15 (7.0%)	10 (31.3%)
No	199 (93.0%)	22 (68.8%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	1 (3.3%)	128 (59.8%)
No	29 (96.7%)	86 (40.2%)
Total	30(100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs used the security value frame in its 15 out of total 214 Facebook posts (7.0%). Israel used the security frame in 10 out of total 32 Facebook posts (31.3%). The analysis of the Facebook posts of Palestine and Israel shows that the foreign

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offices of the conflict parties posted the data with those value frames which reflected their overall concerns and policies. Palestine used the human rights frame the most in its text (71.5%posts) while Israel's ministry of foreign affairs posted the text (31.3%) reflecting security frame. Palestine used a security frame in 1 out of total 30 tweets (3.3%) as compared to Israel's foreign ministry that posted 128 out of total 214 tweets (59.8%) (see Table 8.22).Israel used a security frame more in its text posted on Twitter as compared to Palestine. Likewise, the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs used a human rights frame the most as compared to other frames and also in comparison with Twitter posts of Israeli foreign ministry. The security matters which are important for the Israeli government in some cases are gross human rights violation from Palestinian point of view e.g. security checkpoints, barbed wires and walls.

Table 8.23

Self-determination value frame in FB, Twitter images of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	53 (24.8%)	11 (34.4%)
No	161 (75.2%)	21 (65.6%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	5 (16.7%)	40 (18.7%)
No	25 (83.3%)	174 (81.3%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs posted 53 out of total 214 posts (24.8%) with images that presented a right to self determination frame. Israel posted images in 11 out of total

32 posts (34.4%) which presented a right to self determination frame. The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs used right to self determination frames more in its Facebook images than Twitter. However, considering the number of samples of tweets (30 posts) by the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs in comparison to its Facebook posts (214 posts), the percentage has not altered much. Palestinian ministry used a right to self-determination frame in 5 out of total 30 Twitter images (16.7%) as compared to 53 out of total 214 Facebook images (24.8%). Israel's ministry of foreign affairs used Twitter more as compared to Facebook to post its official stance on different issues related to the conflict. Therefore, the sample for Israel's posts on Twitter is greater than Palestine. Israel used a right to self determination frame in images of 40 out of 214 Twitter posts (18.7%) (see Table 8.23). Israeli ministry of foreign affairsposted small number of posts on Facebook. The images posted by Israeli ministryon Facebook invoked right to self-determination frame in 11 out of total 32 Facebook posts (34.4%).

Table 8.24

Human rights value frame in FB and Twitter images of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	84 (39.3%)	8 (25.0%)
No	130 (60.7%)	24 (75.0%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	19 (63.3%)	29 (13.6%)
No	11 (36.7%)	185 (86.4%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs used images in 84 out of total 214 Facebook posts (39.3%) which depicted human rights value frame. Israel's ministry of foreign affairs posted images in 8 out of total 32 posts (25.0%) which represented the human rights frame. The Palestinian ministry used this frame in a maximum of 71.5% of texts posted on Facebook whereas it used the same frame only in 39.9%of Facebook images. Whereas Israel used human rights frame in 25% of its text posted on Facebook, there seems to spike in the use of the same frame in its images with 34.4% overall(see Table 8.24).

The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs presented human rights frame in 19 out of total 30 Twitter images (63.3%). However, the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs used the same frame in just 29 out of total 214 tweets (13.6%) (see Table 8.24). The Palestinian Authority has largely been focused on persuading the world through raising human rights violations perpetrated by the Israeli government. Being a weaker party, this frame can help Palestinian Authority to garner immediate world support. Human rights frame is emotive and also judgemental which makes it easier for the viewers/readers/netizens to make sense of the conflict.

Table 8.25

Peace value frame in FB images of conflict parties

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	2 (0.9%)	3 (9.4%)
No	212 (99.1%)	29 (90.6%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	2 (6.7%)	10 (4.7%)
No	28 (93.3%)	204 (95.3%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine posted images with peace value frame only in 2 out of total 214 Facebook posts (0.9%). The sample for Israel is very much smaller as compared to Palestine. However, the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs framed 9.4% of image posts (3 out of total 29 Facebook posts) as a peace value frame(see Table 8.25).

Palestine used peace frames in images of 2 out of total 30 tweets (6.7%). Israel framed 10 out of total 214 Twitter images (4.7%). Israel used peace frames less than Palestine despite the fact that the number of tweets by the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs is greater than Palestine(see Table 8.25).

Table 8.26

Security value frame in Twitter images of conflict parties

Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	1 (3.3%)	54 (25.2%)
No	29 (96.7%)	160 (74.8%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs tweeted only one out of total 30 tweets (3.3%) that contained image with security value frame. However, the data shows that the percentage of Twitter images by the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs with security value frames is greater than Palestine. Israel's ministry of foreign affairs posted 54 out of total 214 Twitter images (25.2%) with security value frames. However, it is important that the number of overall Tweets by Israel is greater than Palestine (see Table 8.26).

Israel justifies its arms buildup and military actions on the pretext of security concerns. The higher number of images with security value frames is reflection of this fact. Palestinians prioritize human rights in their text and images.

Table 8.27

Low intensity response by conflict parties on FB and Twitter

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	0 (0.00%)	1 (3.1%)
No	214 (100.0%)	31 (96.9%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)

Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	8 (26.7%)	37(17.3%)
No	22 (73.3)	177 (82.7%)
Total	30(100.0)	214 (100.0%)

The low intensity response has been considered for those Facebook posts of the conflict parties in which neither the ministry of foreign affairs has directly responded nor any government officials have posted anything related to the conflict. These are the Facebook posts which are of outsiders but have been shared by the ministries of foreign affairs of both Palestine and Israel for being about the conflict or supporting either side.

In the data above mentioned, Palestine's ministry gave a low response in all of its 214 Facebook posts (100%). However, Israel gave a low intensity response in only one out of total 32 Facebook posts (3.1%). The sample of Facebook posts for Palestine is greater than Israel.

Unlike Facebook, the percentage of tweets with low intensity responses is greater for Palestine. Out of total 30 Facebook posts by the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs, 8 posts (26.7%) represented the low intensity response. Israel's sample for Twitter posts is far greater than Palestine. However, the percentage of low intensity response is less than Palestine. Out of total 214 Facebook posts, Israel represented a low intensity response in 37 posts (17.3%) (see Table 8.27).

Table 8.28

Medium intensity response by conflict parties on FB and Twitter

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
No	214 (96.9%)	32 (100.0%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	1 (3.3)	120 (56.1%)
No	29 (96.7)	94 (43.9)
Total	30 (100.0)	214 (100.0%)

Palestine gave a medium intensity response in only one out of total 30 Twitter posts (3.3%). However, the data shows that Israel's ministry of foreign affairs demonstrated medium intensity response in 120 out of total 214 Twitter posts (56.1%) (see Table 8.28).The medium response by Israel is much higher.The medium response has been considered for those Facebook posts of the ministry of foreign affairs of the two conflict parties which mainly consists shares from Facebook accounts of the officials. However, these officials are not directly linked to the ministry of foreign affairs of the respective parties and their posts do not necessarily represent the point of view of the foreign offices. The data shows that the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs did not give medium response in any of its Facebook post. Likewise, Israel also did not show medium response in its all 32 posts of Facebook.

Table 8.29

High intensity response by conflict parties on FB

Facebook	Palestine	Israel
Yes	214 (100.0%)	31 (96.9%)
No	0 (0.00%)	1 (3.1%)
Total	214 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)
Twitter	Palestine	Israel
Yes	21 (70.0%)	59 (27.6%)
No	9 (30.0%)	155 (72.4%)
Total	30 (100.0%)	214 (100.0%)

The high intensity response represents only those Facebook posts which have been posted by the foreign offices of the respective conflict parties. It is interesting that Palestine gave a high intensity response in all 214 Facebook posts (100%) while Israel posted 31 out of 32 (96.9%) Facebook posts. The data shows that both conflict parties gave a high response in their Facebook posts. The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs gave maximum high response through 21 out of total 30 Tweets (70.0%). Israel had a much larger sample than Palestine for Twitter posts but it gave a high response in fewer posts. The Israeli ministry of foreign affairs posted a high response in 59 out of 214 (27.6%) tweets (see Table 8.29).

The high response shows the level of importance Israel has given to the conflict related events and occurrences. It also reflects that the Israeli ministry is more proactive in the cyber space to spread its narrative on conflict related issues as compared to Paletsinian ministry of foreign affairs.

Chapter 9

Discussion

This PhD thesis aimed to identify the value frames in social media coverage of Palestine-Israel conflict by three English-language news channels. The research also aimed to find out identical value frames in social media content of the two conflict parties.This study found out the objectivity in value-framed content of three news channels by applying Hayakawa-Lowri news bias model. Thecontent analysis of Twitter and Facebook posts of news channels and conflict parties has been conducted to find out four value frames including right to self-determination, human rights, peace, and security.

The four value frames have been chosen from the UN charter are directly linked to the conflict. It was assumed that the news channels used these frames in their social media posts to seek the attention of the netizens. By employing these value frames in the text, the news channelspromote their brand and also dominate the discourse on social media. These value frames draw ethical and legal binaries that help make sense of the conflict for the audience.

The preexisting knowledge of these value frames helps the netizens recognize these posts and in response they share, like, retweet or post their comments. The instant and wide outreach provides an advantage to the traditional news organizations to sell their brand without any complex infrastructure support or financial liabilities. This pattern of coverage has given a new dimension to the conflict understanding to the outside world. This has reduced the burden of information distribution networks and increased the visibility of their content across the globe.

The shares, likes, comments and retweets are the reflection of audience's endorsement or rejection of the content. Social networking websites provide a two-way communication where

the viewers can become part of the news. This dimension is more about the impact of new media on conflict understanding by people across the world.

It is important to note that the social media varies in various aspects from the traditional media. The prominent among these aspects are social media is open sourced, instantaneous, inclusive, and based on advanced algorithms. The traditional news organizations offer one-way communication, need costly infrastructure to gather and distribute the news, and are not accessible free of cost to everyone. The news gathering from conflict zones was highly a risky and costly affair for the traditional news organizations.

The citizen journalism has made it possible to get real time images from the conflict zone. The logics of media production and media usage are interlinked on social media that differentiate it from the traditional media (Klinger & Svensson, 2016, p. 1246). This is one of the chief reasons the traditional news organizations are using social networking websites for conflict coverage.

Contrary to many previous studieshe who predicted shrinking role of traditional news organizations in the presence of social media, this study noted that role of traditional media organizations has increased manifolds.In conflict situations, many actors use propaganda as a tool to garner support on new media platforms which results in fake news or incomplete picture of the social reality. One viral picture or video from the conflict zone has the power to shape public opinion and move governments to intervene. This power of social media has also made it vulnerable to fake news which cause panic, chaos, and polarization in the society. In this backdrop, the access to authentic and credible news from conflict zone is the biggest challenge. The traditional news organizations and professional journalists are capable to verify the information being generated from the conflict zones.

The already established credibility and professional standing of the traditional news organizations is their strength. The social media provides them the opportunity to instantly reach out to large number of people fulfills the requirement of immediacy.

The news channels use social media to build their brand and promote the narrative through employing many techniques such as repetition of news stories. This study noted that the news outlets preferred Twitter than Facebook to repeat the news stories.However, the research found that the news channels' posts gained maximum number of likes/shares on Facebook instead on Twitter. For example, on Al Jazeera, the content tweeted on 9th May 2017 about Palestinians blasting Pizza Hut for mocking Palestinian hunger strike prisoners in Israeli jails received 64 likes with 108 retweets. The same headline/comment/image was posted on Facebook on the same day where it received 1700 likes and 512 shares. Despite the fact that the number of likes and shares is greater on Facebook, the news channels did not prefer to repeat stories on Facebook for brand promotion. The analysis vindicated the previous studies that the news organizations, journalists, policymakers and public use Twitter the most as a news source.

The retweets and shares of news by the netizens and news organizations spread the information even to the latent audience who are otherwise unaware of the happenings in the conflict zone. This process occurs due to the algorithms that facilitate the functioning of social networking websites. In this way, the traditional news organizations make their news visible to unlimited audiences. Many studies indicate that the effects of the information are not equal on all the viewers as the spatial composition of these platforms consists many clusters. These clusters are often composed of like-minded people yet information floats through different clusters due to advanced algorithms of the social networking websites.

Latane (1996) discussed three factors which influence the members of a spatial distribution which include (1) strength (2) immediacy, and (3) number of sources. The traditional news organizations and their online followers are also part of different social clusters.The public opinion can effectively influence the policy change if the campaigns are managed on both traditional and social media. The Alan-Kurdi effect, Syrian refugees' issue in Turkey and Obama administration's decision to avoid military intervention in Syria highlight this fact that both new and traditional news organizations are imperative for shaping public opinion and policy decisions. Despite social media's growth, the role of traditional news organizations is still pivotal in amplifying the voices of different actors in the armed conflicts. The bloggers and activists in war zones still depend on coverage by the traditional news organization (Bennett, 2013, p. 38).

The international news channelsdomesticate the reporting of international conflicts such as Palestine-Israel and evoke those value frames which are . Studies conducted on Al Jazeera and CNN reporting of Palestine-Israel conflict indicate that they domesticate the conflict which means that their reporting this fact(Ajaoud & Elmasry, 2017; Aguiar, 2009). The domestication of news from a conflict zone was This research found out that the social media content of Al Jazeera English and Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs invoked human rights frame the most. Likewise, CNN and Israeli ministry of foreign affairs posted the content on both social media platforms that invoked security and right to self-determination value frame.

9.1 Content characteristics

There were mainly four content characteristics found in the data set: (1) text, (2) images, (3) videos, and (4) comment. CNN mostly used the videos in its content. However, BBC posted both videos and photos. Al Jazeera mainly posted pictures and fewer videos as compared to

CNN. Al Jazeera mostly posted comments and hyperlinks along with videos or photos in its Twitter posts. However, it didn't use headlines on Twitter. On Facebook,Al Jazeeraused both comments and headlines where headlines also served as a hyperlink. The hyperlinks open a new browser with a detailed story on the news channel's website.

Many previous studies have focused on content characteristics like hyperlinks, likes and shares etc to study traditional news organizations' use of social media. This study has explored the content characteristics of three international news organizations in terms of Palestine-Israel conflict. This research has helped to understand the preference of news channels to use certain characteristic more often than the others to post its content on social media platforms.

The text is of two types: (1) headlines and (2) comments. Headlinesare catchy phrases and words representing the crux of news stories. Therefore, the headline is part of the news story. In most of the posts, the hyperlink of the story is embedded in the headline. The comment is the text which is separately written by the news organization as an opinion to attract the netizens to their social media posts, but it is not necessarily part of the story.In most of the Twitter posts, there were mostly comments and a small number of headlines. The comments were posted with shortened hyperlinks. On Twitter, the comments posted by the conflict parties and news channels were coded as text. However, on Facebook, both comments and headlines were posted by the news channels and, in few cases, by the conflict parties.

9.2 Repetition of posts for brand promotion

The repetition of stories for brand promotion occurred more on Twitter than on Facebook. Al Jazeera repeated a greater number of news posts as compared to BBC and CNN. The

stories repeated by Al Jazeera were relatedto the humanitarian crisis in Palestine and human rights violations by Israeli forces.

The repetition was considered for only those posts (both Twitter and Facebook) which were the same in content (text, visuals, or photos). The follow up stories on the same issue were not considered repeat stories because they carried entirely different details.Another aspect which came forth during the data analysis was that the news channels mostly repeated news posts especially on Twitter during lean days. There are relatively low political activities, and occurrences during weekends and days of relative peace which are called lean days. However, news channels continuously need content to ensure their social media presence. The news channels often share old news content to engage their social media followers/viewers.

For example, Al Jazeeraretweeted two stories the most on Twitter. One was about only the olive oilsoap factory in Nablus and the second was about Gaza's only fisherwoman. The news channel shared both stories several times. Each retweet received a varying number of likes and retweets. Mostly the number of likes and shares of each new retweet of the same story receded. However, in few cases, there was not much change in the number of likes and retweets.

The news channels mostly change comments and photos in each retweet to make the post attractive for social media users. Another step which a news channel editorial staff confronts is the selection of stories to be retweeted. The newschannels mostly select those stories which are not time-bound and equally informative at all times. For this purpose, they frame stories in a way that may be recognizable by the people and link them with the conflict dynamics. Al Jazeera mostly retweeted stories related to humanitarian crises. The

only olive oil soap factory of Nablus reveals the details of the shrinking business conditions in the conflict zone. Another story is about courage, resilience and working conditions for women in a male-dominated society. Both stories were coded as human rights value frames. CNN repeated one news post each on Facebook and Twitter while BBC repeated only one news post on Twitter.

9.3 Breaking news for discourse domination

The treatment of breaking news is different on social media than television. The news channels post info-graphs with red backgrounds inscribed with breaking news. The text is usually a one-liner announcement of upcoming important details. Sometimes there is a hyperlink along with the post for opening a detailed story. In this study, Al Jazeera and BBC used infographs for breaking news. For content analysis, the breaking news info-graph was coded under the same value frames as the text because the infographics was considered as an image. The text is descriptive and therefore important in such cases. In most of the cases the breaking news infographs were posted on Twitter.

9.4 Value framing of social media content

The study found that the three news channels posted majority of their content with four value frames. However, there existed fewer news posts which evoked none of the four value frames. The choice of value frames is highly important to trigger cognitive schema of the viewers so that they may make sense of the conflict and the conflicting parties. The news channels tend to capture maximum audience interest on Twitter and Facebook especially during calm through value framing the content. The hidden messages are emotive and judgmental about the conflict parties and other actors therefore draw a lot of public attention on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook.

Al Jazeera's social media coverage of the conflict was more detailed and focused on day to day happenings in the conflict zone. BBC and CNN only covered major events such as President Trump's visit, stabbing of a British student, Palestinian prisoners' strike, follow up of these events and some other news stories. Hamas's new document outlining its future policies especially acceptance of pre-1967 boundaries also received coverage from BBC and CNN.

The conflict is newsworthy, but hostilities make the real news. Many previous studies have concluded that hostilities and war draw more media attention than peace time events. The limited coverage of BBC and CNN also reflect these patterns. Al Jazeera is funded and owned by rich Gulf state of Qatar which has direct political interests in the conflict. Many of Hamas leaders live in Qatari capital, Doha. The availability of resources and political interests are the major driving force that Al Jazeera ascribes greater coverage to Palestine-Israel conflict.

The underlying messages in both text and images were explicit in most of the cases and implicit in few news posts. However, the images were highly explicit markers of news emphases and value frames. The synchronization of both text and images created powerful messages, making easier to identify the hidden information packets. The right to self-determination value frame in few news posts was implicitly embedded in the text. The recognition of value frame in the text facilitated to identify hidden messages in images. However, there were few posts which did not evoke any of the four value frames.

CNN's majority of news posts on both social media platforms evoked right to self-determination value. The self-determination implies that people are independent to decide their destiny. The achievement of this right is also the recognition of their political rights

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and claims. BBC and CNN videos showing President Trump's visit to the Western Wall along with the text explicitly highlighting the political importance of the visit for Israel, manifested self-determination value frame. CNN content with self-determination value frame was also significant because it reflected the U.S. support to Israel's political claims on Jerusalem. Both the countries also stopped funds of UN cultural organization for voting against historic claim of Israel on Jerusalem.

Al Jazeera's content evoking self-determination value frame favoured Palestinians' overall political agenda and claims over the East Jerusalem. There were some images and text with implicit expression of right to self-determination value frame. The study found that the news channels presented position of one conflict party being right by linking it to any of the four core values selected from the UN charter.

The news channels framed human rights value in their content more explicitly. Such frames create a relationship between human rights value and the issues/incidents on ground. Al Jazeera English posted highest percentage of posts with human rights value frame. The text of such news stories had emotive language and linkage between a value and the reported incident was explicit. The images and text of Al Jazeera tended to view Israel as oppressor and Palestinians as victims.

There was no such news post of Al Jazeera that highlighted human rights issues of Israelis. However, CNN and BBC's majority of news posts that evoked human rights value frame highlighted plight of Palestinians. There were fewer news posts which highlighted the killings of innocent Israeli citizens by the Palestinian attackers. The text and especially images with human rights frame were highly emotive as compared to news posts that evoked self-determination value frame. The emotive text and images immediately draw

public attention especially of political leaders and human rights activists. The human rights value is part of cognitive structures of policy makers and general public due to increased knowledge and communication as well as international conventions. The news channels drew an association between the value and the issue thus making it easier for their audience to develop their understanding about the conflict.

The messages in the content related to peace value frame were both explicit and implicit. The recognition of peace value frame in the text also facilitated decoding of hidden messages in the images. CNN published the highest number of posts with peace value frame on both social media platforms while Al Jazeera had the lowest number of posts with peace value frame. Majority of the news posts of all three news channels increased optimism for peace. The news like President Trump's maiden visit to the region boosted expectations of decision makers and concerned public.

The news channels gave extensive coverage to Trump's maiden visit to Middle East, his meetings with local leaders and news conferences. The U.S. president repeated his mantra of peace many a time which was reported by the news channels. As peace continues to elude the region since past many decades, smaller efforts to resume he dialogue for peace draws headlines of the international media. Al Jazeera also extensively covered Trump's maiden visit. However, soon the news channel started to critically view this high-profile visit and posted OpEds blaming the U.S. president devoid of any peace plan.

The content posted on social media by Al Jazeera even warned of spike in violence in case of failure of peace talks. For example, BBC and Al Jazeera news posts about Hamas's new document evoked peace value frame. The new document not only recognized pre-1967 boundaries of the future Palestinian state but also for the first time indirectly

recognized coexistence with Israel. The news posts indicated that the change in policy of Hamas is likely to usher in peace.

The content with any prospect of peace drew people's attention on the social networking platforms. The peace value frame also enables the netizens to view the content on principle of right and wrong with regards to desire for peace. The joint statement after meeting of President Trump and President Abbas depicted optimism for peace. The catchy headlines and images of handshake by both the presidents heightened hopes for initiation of the peace process. Majority of the social media content with peace value frame reflected optimism but no real development or breakthrough to achieve this goal.

Unlike peace value frame that characterized optimism and resolution of the conflict, the security value frame mongered fear and outbreak of hostilities. The security as a concept is a broader term. In this study, it was observed that majority of news posts with security value frame were mainly linked to the militaristic aspect of security. BBC had the highest number of news posts that evoked security value frame on both social media platforms Twitter and Facebook. The text and images of all three news channels with security value frame consisted information about attacks, killings, violence and arms buildup.

Al Jazeera news posts mainly presented Israeli actions being aggressive and violent by linking them to security value frame. Most of Al Jazeera news posts had content related to Israeli missile tests, fear of encroachment to Palestinians and shooting of unarmed Palestinians by the Israeli security personnel. However, there were few news posts of Al Jazeera about killing of Israeli soldiers and attack on their check posts. Al Jazeera despite focusing day to day happenings in the conflict zone missed few important news stories such as stabbing and attacks on Israeli citizens by Palestinians. On 02 April 2017, a British

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student was stabbed to death reportedly by a Palestinian. BBC and CNN posted news with security value frame, but Al Jazeera did not cover the incident.

The content posted by CNN with security frame was mainly related to President Trump's visit, attack on Israeli citizens by Palestinians and Trump's announcement to relocate U.S. embassy to Jerusalem. The security arrangements ahead of Trump's visit were widely covered by CNN. At the same time news posts attributing security experts were also published warning Trump to stay away from relocating the U.S. embassy that may cause backlash. CNN gave limited coverage to the conflict news and focused big events such as President Trump's visit.

The use of value frames in social media coverage of the conflict helps news channels to promote their brand and increase number of viewers. The value frames are emotive and facilitate the viewers to make judgements and understand the conflict through certain values. The catch phrases and war zone images that contain information packets and evoke value frames trigger cognitive schemata of the reader/viewers. The multimedia platforms also provide an opportunity to the readers to become part of the news by posting comments, shares, likes and retweets.

A lot of literature exists that claimed that the social media would replace the traditional news organizations. It was observed contrary especially with respect to the conflict coverage on social networking websites. The authenticity of a news about conflict remains doubtful until it gets authentication from the professional journalists and news organizations. The importance of traditional news organizations has not receded. In the age of fake news, the role of traditional media and professional journalists has increased

manifolds. The traditional news organization viewing the unlimited outreach and immediacy of social networking websites have adopted these platforms as part of their business models.

The study adds up a new approach to the existing literature on the conflict coverage. Many previous studies have already indicated that the international media loses interest in a far-flung conflict in the absence of hostilities/war. This study finds out that the international news channels use value frames to present their content on social media in absence of hostilities. For being emotive and judgmental, these value frames draw attention of the audience. The factors such as immediacy and unlimited outreach on social media platforms enhance viewership of value framed content. In case of content being posted on Twitter and Facebook pages of traditional news organizations such as Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN, it is more acceptable for the viewers. This inquiry was restricted to indicate value frames in social media content of the international news organizations. There is a lot of room to expand this study and focus various impacts of value framing on the conflict dynamics.

In December 2017, the U.S. President formally recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital and vetoed a UN resolution asking other countries not to follow the decision of U.S. embassy relocation. The value frame such as right to self-determination are directly linked to the recognition of political claims of the conflict parties over the city of Jerusalem. The research scholars must conduct studies that how these value frames help shape public opinion and influence decision making process. The impact of value frames may increase if employed in social media space due to their outreach and urgency.

9.5 Why is right to self-determination equally important for Palestinians & Israelis?

Jerusalem is equally important for Palestinians and Israelis. It is revered as a religious capital. However, both parties consider it their political capital as well. Israel draws its

political, cultural, and social identity from Jerusalem. A Twitter post by the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs on July 30, 2017, originally a retweet from Israeli Ambassador Ron Dormer's Twitter handle, represented Israel's attachment to Jerusalem. The post read, 'Jerusalem's Old City has 8 gates. According to Jewish tradition, the Messiah will enter through the Golden Gate.' This tweet depicts the religious sentiments retweeted by Israeli foreign ministry. It portrays the prophecy of Jewish testaments indicating that Jerusalem is religiously very important for Israel. It also portrays the Jewish religious identity connected to the city of Jerusalem.

Palestinians also claim the city as their political and religious capital. Israel even marks Jerusalem Day to commemorate the liberation of the holy city during the six-day war in 1967. Hamas in its new document announced by Khaled Mashaal in May 2017 indicated that they are ready to accept the state of Palestine according to pre-1967 borders with Jerusalem as its capital. Palestinian Authority also considers Jerusalem as the future political capital of the Palestinian state.

UNHCR conducted a vote on Jerusalem in 2017 that rejected Israel's claim over the city for being its capital. The vote sparked a diplomatic controversy resulting in the withdrawal of funds both by Israel and the United States. The Israeli ministry of foreign affairs posted a tweet urging the U.S. to shift its embassy to Jerusalem in a bid to recognize the city as the Israeli capital. This was not the first time the Israeli government had requested the United States to shift its embassy. Many such calls by Israeli leadership have been given in the past. However, the United States was reluctant due to the political backlash from the Palestinians and the Arab world.

The news coverage on the issue of Jerusalem has also remained divided. For example, Al Jazeera being a state-run TV toes the state policy which favours the Palestinian cause. On May 24-25, 2017, Al Jazeera tweeted an opinion more than once with comment and headline, 'Is Jerusalem really capital of Israel?' The OpEd aimed to challenge Israel's claim on Jerusalem at a time when the Jewish state was marking the Jerusalem day. The OpEd contained details of Israel's occupation of Jerusalem.

In another instance, Al Jazeera posted on Twitter that a large number of Muslims offered prayer in the Al Aqsa mosque amid tight Israeli security. The detailed story highlighted that Palestinians underwent unnecessary strict security checks that took hours to reach the mosque during the holy month of Ramazan. These posts depicted the Israeli occupation of Muslims' holiest site, causing immense problems for the worshippers. At the same time, the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs presented the details of the security checks from an extremely different angle. The Israeli ministry of foreign affairs posted that the Israeli authorities have taken sufficient security measures to facilitate the Palestinians attending congregational prayers at the Al-Aqsa mosque. The details were dominated by human rights and peace value frames.

The posts by conflict parties linking their association with Jerusalem were coded as the right to self-determination value frame. Likewise, the posts by news channels on the issue of Jerusalem were also coded as the right to self-determination considering the claims of the primary parties who their political identity from the historic city.

9.6 Hamas's characterization in international media

Hamas is considered a terrorist organization by the United Nations as well as Israel and the Western world. The group enjoys massive support in Gaza and therefore once formed the

government. However, the organization soon lost powerdue to Israel's opposition and differences with Al Fateh, the moderate Palestinian political faction recognized by the world. Hamas is a politico-military organization which does not recognize Israel and considers it as an occupier and oppressor.Hamas and Palestinian Authority share the same views on Jerusalem as future political capital of an independent Palestinian state.

Al Jazeera having a pro-Palestinian and pro-Hamas editorial policy has always provided the group with media space. The former Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal has been living in Doha, the headquarters of Al Jazeera. The ongoing Gaza blockade by Israel gained maximum space in Al Jazeera news bulletins and social media feed. On the inauguration of new Hamas chief Ismail Haniya, Al Jazeera not only posted breaking news but also news headlines along with hyperlinks opening details on the Al Jazeera website. Al Jazeera's characterization of Hamas as an organization has a great impact on the resolution of longstanding conflict. Israel which is the primary party in the conflict does not recognize Hamas as an organization representing the Palestinians unlike Al Fateh and other factions. On May 6, 2017,Al Jazeeratweeted a news post about Hamas's election of Ismail Haniya as its political bureau head along with a hyperlink. At the same time, the tweet also contained Ismail Haniya's picture waving hands to the people from a stage in Gaza. The detailed story about the election of new Hamas leadership framed Haniya as a moderate leader who believed in dialogue.

The detailed news story on the Al Jazeera website also mentioned that Hamas's political center changed from Doha to Gaza with the election of Haniya. It emphasized that any power talking to Hamas would need to consider that the current humanitarian crisis in Gaza is caused by Israel's continued blockade. The tweet was considered worthy for the

content analysis because Hamas controls Gaza while its rival Palestinian faction Fateh exercises power in the West Bank.

The humanitarian crisis in Gaza and Hamas's terrorist image in the West will directly influence any outcome of the conflict. The news story projected Haniya as a leader who wanted negotiations and his election came at a time when Hamas also unveiled its new document accepting a Palestinian state on the lines of pre-1967 borders. The story was coded as a peace frame.

On 6 May 2017 Al Jazeeratweeted an announcement by Khaled Mashaal about Ismail Haniya's selection as a new Hamas leader. Hamas despite being declared by the UN as a terrorist group is an important player in the Gaza strip. The selection of a Hamas leader is important. The tweet also included a comment with no detailed story. There was an infographic with the red background inscribed with breaking news. Both tweets were coded asa peace value frame due to the text projecting Ismail Haniya as a man of peace who wants to resolve the Gaza crisis in the wake of the new document. Al Jazeeratweeted it as a piece of breaking news unlike BBC and CNN which didnot publish and post on their respective Twitter and Facebook pages.

In another instance, Al Jazeeratweeted on May 01, 2017 a statement from former Hamas chief, Khaled Mashaal. The statement said, "Hamas's struggle is against Zionism, not against the Jewish faith.' The hyperlink along with the statement opened the Al Jazeera website with complete text. The headline of the story read, 'Hamas Accepts Palestinian State with 1967 Borders.' The details discussed Hamas's new document. Both the headline and story text presented Hamas's new document as a step towards peace.

Mashaal's statement highlighted that Hamas's struggle is against Jewish nationalism represented by Zionists and not against Judaism. The comment represents Hamas as an organization fighting for its political rights. In this statement, Mashaal tried to distance its organization from religious extremism, considered as a threat to world peace. However, in the story, the peace frame was more dominant. The post also carried an image showing Khaled Mashaal along with other Hamas leaders shaking hands.

AJE coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict projected Hamas as a stakeholder of Palestine. Likewise, BBC and CNN posted only those news posts about the organization which projected it as an extremist organization such as executions of alleged collaborators and attacks on Israeli citizens. The social media coverage of Hamas by an international news organization like AJE added value to the efforts to project a soft image of the organization at the world level. Khaled Mashaal and his companions reproached their former stance on the dispute which was religious in nature. They instilled political dimensions into their manifesto by replacing it with religious cause andshifted stance from anti-Jewish to anti-Zionist. Many other news channels viewedthese shifts in Hamas's policy to increase its acceptability among the international community.

On May 21, 2017, Al Jazeeratweeted that the accused arrested for the assassination of Hamas Commander Mazen Faqha was sentenced to death. The image and hyperlink for the detailed story were also posted. However, the detailed story had two paragraphs at its bottom which consisted of versions of human rights groups who had condemned these executions and termed them a violation of the right to a fair trial. However, BBC had posted the same news giving a prominent space to the fair trial right ignored in the execution. The human rights frame was dominant in the news post.

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The commemoration of Nakba (catastrophe) was one of the events which were widely covered by Al Jazeera. Many posts along with hyperlinks and images were published on Al- Jazeera Twitter and Facebook pages. The subject of these posts and related detailed stories focused on Palestinian refugees who left their homeland in 1948 as a result of Israeli oppression and occupation. The forcible evacuation of Palestinians by Israeli forces was the central point of most of these posts, mainly framed as a human rights issue. An Al Jazeeratweet posted on May 15, 2017 revealed that 7,50,000 Palestinians were forcibly evacuated from their homeland by Israeli forces.

Likewise, Al Jazeera published many posts with catchy phrases on the usurpation of human rights by Israel in Palestinian territories. In another Twitter post on May 06, 2017, Al- Jazeera tweeted a comment that the Abbas-Trump meeting this week was useless for Palestinians. There was a hyperlink which opened a full story on Al Jazeera's website. The picture along with the tweet showed Abbas and Trump were sitting in the White House during a meeting. The detailed OpEd is authored by Diana Buttu who is a Palestinian lawyer and activist. The OpEd gives an impression that Trump's support of Israeli settlements will not bring peace to the region. The Israeli settlements have also been declared illegal under UN resolutions. The OpEd dubbed the Trump-Abbas meeting as a futile exercise and without any hope for future talks to resolve the dispute. Both text and image in the tweet were coded as security value frames. These kinds of posts by Al Jazeera aimed to highlight the Palestinian stance and oppose Israeli position.

Al Jazeera supported Palestinian prisoners' strike which continued for over 40 days in 2017. Likewise, CNN only picked those news stories which portrayed Palestinians as stabbers and terrorists. However, Trump's visit was portrayed by both CNN and BBC as

hope for peace but Al Jazeera'ssocial media content largely revolved around skepticism about the outcome of Trump's visit. BBC covered the power cuts issue in Gaza but there were only three posts along with detailed stories on social media platforms during the two-month period. However, Al Jazeera covered the power crisis in Gaza as a campaign. Al Jazeera posted many follow up stories on the issue.

9.7 Diplomacy through Twitter and Facebook

Israel's Ministry of foreign affairs used Twitter as a source of disseminating the government's point of view greater than the Palestinian foreign ministry. Contrary to Israel, the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs used Facebook to propagate policy issues. The posts by the respective foreign ministries were aimed to portray their respective and reach out to a maximum number of people throughout the globe.

Israeli ministry of foreign affairs mostly retweeted the posts of its Ambassadors and Prime Minister to bring forth point of view supporting the overall Israeli stance onthe conflict. On the other hand, Palestine's ministry of foreign affairs mainly posted press releases and statements of its spokesperson.

The Israeli ministry of foreign affairs extensively used Twitter. On special occasions such as the commemoration of Jerusalem Day, the Israeli ministry of foreign affairsdisplayed many posts on its Twitter handle. The memories of the 1967 War or six-day war were repeatedly shared by the ministry and even went on to create pseudo Twitter accounts of Theodor Herzl, Golda Maier. The pseudo Twitter handles were used to share memories of the war which were retweeted by the Israeli foreign ministry's Twitter handle. Majority of posts related to Jerusalem Day comprised text and photos in memory of the six-

day warand were coded as security value frame. The posts were aimed to present a narrative from the Israeli side and rewritethe history through social media platforms.

The pseudo Twitter accounts also contained pictures of the Israeli leaders and the ministry of foreign affairs launched this project to highlight Israel's narrative. In most of the tweets, the neighbouring Arab states were portrayed as aggressors who initiated the war by laying air, sea and land blockade of Israel. In response to these hostilities, Israel launched its military response which culminated in a victory and control over Jerusalem.

In connection with Jerusalem Day, the Israeli ministry of foreign affairsalso posted text, images, and videos portraying religious harmony and freedom in Jerusalem, enjoyed by people of all faiths. The content highlighted that the freedom of Jerusalem in 1967 war brought peace and harmony to the city. On May 18, 2017, Arthur Lenk, Israel's Ambassador to South Africa (@ArthurLenk), tweeted that the Palestinians had pledged of an attack three days before the start of the 1967 War and by that time, there were no settlements and claims of occupation. This was retweeted by the Twitter handle of Israel's foreign ministry. It depicted that the Palestinians were aggressors and knew about the attack on Israel. Another point raised by the Israeli Ambassador was that Israel did not initiate any settlements by the time war started in 1967. He questioned Palestinians' supportof the war effort against the Jewish state in the absence of settlements.

Israel's Jerusalem Day and six-day war commemorations coincided with Nakba (catastrophe) commemorations of Palestine. The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs posted extensive content (pictures, text, videos) to highlight the plight of Palestinian refugees who were forcibly dislodged from their homes by Israeli forces in 1948. Most of the posts were coded as human rights frames. The Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs also

took up the issue of Palestinian prisoners striking inside Israeli jails for inhuman treatment. However, the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs through its Twitter and Facebook posts portrayed prisoners as convicted terrorists who killed innocent Israeli citizens. These posts were coded as security value frames while the content ofthe Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs about the plight of Palestinian inmateswas portrayedas human rightsvalue frame.Twitter and Facebook posts of the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs about Nakba many a time reverberated the right to self-determination value frame where the demands for Jerusalem as the political capital and separate homeland were visible.

Social media has changed the dynamics of the conflict. These dynamics have shifted the conflict from the physical world to the virtual world (social media sphere). In social media sphere, both parties responded on day to day issues related to the conflict.

9.8 Objectivity in value frames

The inquiry began to find out the level of objectivity in news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by AJE, BBC, and CNN. The first part of the two-stage quantitative content analysis consisted identification of four dominant value frames including self-determination, human rights, peace and security. The second stage analysis consisted application of the Hayakawa-Lowry news model.

The human rights frame dominated AJE's news coverage of the conflict. The news coverage was largely favorable to the Palestinians. CNN's news coverage was dominated by the right to self-determination value frame and favoured Israel. BBC's news coverage of the conflict was dominated by peace and security value frames and was relatively balanced as compared to AJE and CNN. The Hayakawa-Lowry news bias model was applied to the content and vindicated these observations.

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There are mainly four manifestations of bias in our study pro- and anti-Palestine and pro- and anti-Israel in terms of coverage. AJE's coverage with all four value frames was pro-Palestinians and anti-Israel. BBC had very fewer stories with a slant. Most of the stories with security value frames were pro-Israel which we may call positive bias. Likewise, CNN had a pro-Israel bias in news stories with self-determination and security frames. There were also few news stories with negative bias against Palestinians. AJE covered the Palestinian side the most. The AJE content possessed a negative bias in news stories about Israel. These stories were mostly framed as security value in which Israeli missile tests in collaboration with the U.S. and evacuation of Palestinians by Israeli settlers were shown. BBC covered both Palestinian and Israeli sides. CNN covered the news stories about Israel the most as compared to issues related to Palestinians.

BBC gave balanced coverage to both Palestinian and Israeli sides. BBC covered not only security issues of Israel but also published news stories about Palestinian prisoners and problems faced by Gazans due to lack of electricity and non-payment of dues to government employees. CNN clearly gave more coverage to Israeli security concerns and President Trump's visit to Israel and Palestine. The news channel covered only one news story related to Palestinian prisoners' protest inside Israeli jails. Al Jazeera had more slant in all news stories of four value frames. The bias was favorable to Palestinians but unfavorable to Israelis.

BBC was more objective than CNN and Al Jazeera in the overall coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict through four value frames. The analysis of news stories under each value frame shows that BBC was more objective only in news stories with human rights and security as dominant value frames. BBC was less objective than CNN in news stories of

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peace value frame. It proves that complete objectivity is impossible and bias in news stories is unavoidable. However, it was observed that the bias in the news content of the three news channels increased while covering the critical junctures such as Trump's visit to the region, Palestinian prisoners' strike, the announcement of Hamas new document, and change of their leadership. AJE showed positive bias towards Palestinians and negative bias towards Israel, and CNN did the vice versa.

The positive bias spoils the credibility of the news organizations which are professionally bound to provide unbiased news to their audience and readers. The unbiased and objective reporting is expected to have more report sentences/attributed, less unattributed report sentences, a few inferences, more preferably labeled inferences, least judgement sentences, preferably attributed and unfavorable judgement sentences. The unbiased media reporting of political conflicts such as Palestine-Israel has implications for making sense of the conflict to the common people who access information through websites and social media pages of international news networks. The above analysis reflected that Al Jazeera news channel did not portray all four value frames objectively in its news reporting about the conflict compared to BBC and CNN.

Al Jazeera English had the highest percentage of favorable judgement sentences in its news stories with the right to self-determination value frame. These news stories were mainly related to Palestinian's political rights over Jerusalem and Nakba celebrations. The news channel had the highest number of news stories with human rights as the dominant value frame and the highest number of favorable judgement sentences in them in support of Palestinians. In news stories with peace as the dominant value frame, CNN had a greater percentage of favorable judgement sentences. Most of these news stories were related to

Palestinian President Mahmood Abbas and President Trump's meeting and hope for peace. The judgement sentences were reflective of the organization's opinion about the peace process and its dividends to the region. President Trump's maiden visit to the region also drawn widespread coverage and high hopes for peace. Judgement sentences favouring peace efforts were found in greater numbers in such news stories.

CNN favoured Israel in a majority of favorable judgement sentences with security value frames. Such sentences existed in stories related to Palestinian attacks on Israeli forces and civilians and Israel's security measures. It was noted that Al Jazeera English had the highest percentage of unfavorable judgement sentences in news stories with self-determination and human rights frame. Likewise, CNN had a greater number of unfavorable judgement sentences in news stories with peace as the dominant value frame while BBC had the highest number of unfavorable sentences in news stories with security value frames.

BBC had a higher level of objectivity only in the portrayal of peace and security value frames in its news coverage of the conflict. CNN showed higher objectivity in presenting self-determination and human rights as dominant value frames. BBC lacked objectivity in the portrayal of self-determination and peace value frames, and CNN had a low objectivity level in presenting peace and security value frames. The analysis reveals that the use of judgement sentences by the news channels resulted in a low level of objectivity. The bias towards one party in portraying a value frame is likely to affect viewers' understanding of the conflict. The perception of being less objective erodes the reputation of news organizations and creates a perception as if they are party to the conflict. Biased reporting is also considered as an attempt to influence the outcome of a conflict.

This study has used both framing theory and objectivity concept to see bias in the value-laden social media content of the traditional news organizations while covering the Palestine-israel conflict. The research indicates that values are important to understand a social phenomenon but existence of bias in their portrayal can cast negative impact on the conflict. Media's favourable bias to one party or the other especially while posting content on social media can contribute to hardening the party positions and dividing public opinion. The emotive content catches more attention thus is a part of traditional media's business model while posting news about the conflict on social media platforms. This study tells us that media's role is undermined when the content is biased and more opinionated instead of reporting the happenings in the conflict zone.Another important aspect towards which this study draws the attention is that using globally accepted values such as human rights, right to self-determination etc. by the international media in reporting must be scrutinized especially in peace efforts and conflict resolution. The impact of value laden content posted by well-reputed tradition organizations is far greater on public perception.The social impact throy on which today's social media logic stands, explains this aspect in detail (already discussed in chapter 5).Public trust the professional news organizations and easily consume and believe value-laden information that provides them an instant and easy understanding of the conflict. The instantaneous nature of the social media and repetiotion of the content by the news organizations further increases the effect of content.

The biased value-framed social media content of the news channels can potential harden party positions and divide public opinion thus creating a hindrance in conflict resolution. The biasness against and for conflict parties through use of values hardens positions of the parties. It also impacts public opinion as people consider one party's

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position as ethical and legal as compared to the other party. People share and like such content which further influence their peers and acquaintances. The netizens also believe suchinformation as it is being disseminated by a reputed professional news organization.

The domestication of the conflict by the news channels is another aspect towards which this study indicates. The data analysis clearly showed that the domestic policies of Al Jazeera and CNN dominated their reporting of Palestine-Israel conflict. The United States officially accepts the Israeli security concerns and political rights. The Israeli ministry of foreign affairs and CNN evoked identical value frames; security and right to self-determination. Likewise, Al Jazeera is based in Qatar. The Qatari regime officially supports Palestinians' cause and hosts Hamas leadership. The human rights frame was prominent both in the social media content of the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs and Al-Jazeera. The results of this study indicate that the domestic political considerations and public perception top the priority of international news channels when covering far-flung conflicts through social media platforms. The favourable bias in the news content of the international channels promotes divided public opinion and hardens party positions in de-escalation and conflict resolution efforts.

9.9 Limitations and suggestions

The study is based on two months data of social media posts of three news channels. The study introduces some interesting results about the conflict coverage. However, the collection of data for extendedtime period may have shown some changes in the results. A comparative analysis of two different datasets collected at different time periods could have further validated the study.

This researchhas adequately pointed out the identical value frames in social media content of international news channels and conflict parties. However, a detailed analysis of this relationship lacked in the study due to limited scope of this research. This relationship is highly important to further explore the role of media in low intensity and protracted conflicts such as Palestine-Israel. The study conducted on this pattern would help to clearly define and unveil the role of international media in longstanding conflicts.

Furthermore, another study can be directed to find the role of value-laden social media content of news organization on public perception which can subsequently effect the peace efforts. The current study was too limited to conduct a detailed analysis towards this dimension. The protracted conflict such as Palestine-Israel have serious consequences for regional peace and stability. Thus, the media effect on public opinion needs to be explored in relation tonew communication technologies. Such a study will be important to find out a durable solution to the conflict.

This research has quoted some studies about use of strategic communication by the conflict parties. Palestinians use this kind of communication to counter-balance Israel's diplomatic clout and military might. Israel uses strategic communication to off setPalestinian narrative building and ward-off international pressure especially during military operations against Palestinians. The value frame analysis fully correspond to such kind of a study. This study being limited failed to explore this dimension in detail. The value frames are emotive and immediately draw public attention towards an issue through social media. The gory images from conflict zone has the potential to escalate violence and create perception of an oppressed or oppressor. The effect of value framed content increases manifolds when portrayed by professional journalists and news organizations. Such a study

will be helpful to understand the dynamics of the conflict as well as remove bottlenecks in peace building and conflict resolution.

Palestinian foreign office posted content on Facebook in Arabic during the first three weeks. These posts were translated into English through Google translator. The translation was further corrected by an Arabic-speaking native who was a PhD fellow at UNC Hussman School of Journalism and Media.Later, the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs introduced a dedicated English Facebook page titled 'Remember Palestine'@palestinianministryofforeignaffairs. The translation from Arabic to English may have effected frame recognition as diction/jargon is highly important for this purpose. The effect on results will be minimal as the translation was rechecked by an Arabic-speaking Phd scholar.

In few instances news channels posted archival images which did not represented the text/headlines in the news posts. Such pictures/videos were not easily readable or relevant to the study. The coding sheet for images was left blank. In normal cases, the picture and videos clearly represent a frame.The value frame in text usually helps to recognize the frame in the images. In the absence of any text, the value frames in the text were not easily recognizable. However, the number of such posts was very low.

In some posts, it was found that the comment and headline were mixed. In such cases, both headline/text and comment were coded. Like on 2nd of May 2017, Al Jazeeratweeted, "With their new policy document released, What is next for Hamas?" The first part of this tweet "With their new policy document released" is a comment while the second part, "What is next for Hamas" is the headline or topic given on the detailed story

available at Al JazeeraEnglish's website. Both comments and headlines were coded in such cases.

This study suggests that the relationship of media and conflict needs to be redefined in the wake of technological advancement in the communication field. Furthermore, it is highly important to explore that the complexity of communication as indicated above is either helping to ignite conflicts or facilitating an informed understanding of the conflict among public and policymakers. It can also be an important subject for scholarly pursuit to discuss the emerging role of media in conflict resolution and conflict management in the wake of new technologies.

The future research may also focus on impact of value framed social media content on public perception about the conflict and the parties involved. With respect to conflict resolution and conflict management, the value-laden social media content must be considered as it is binary-laden and judgemental that can hamper peace efforts. The digitalization of conflicts must be included in the peace and conflict studies as a subject as wars being fought in digital sphere are more lethal than on ground.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

The study began to explore value frames in the social media content of conflict parties and international news channels. The study also aimed to find content characteristics of social media coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict by Al Jazeera English, BBC, and CNN. The objectivity in news channels' coverage has also been analyzed through the application of the Hayakawa-Lowri news bias model.

The longstanding Palestine-Israel conflict is known for its historical importance. Media and academic discussions are considered as the main source of conflict information to the public worldwide. Framing theory implies that the preexisting knowledge of the value frames helps the netizens to recognize the posts and make sense of the conflict. The shares, likes, comments and retweets are the reflection of viewers' endorsement or rejection of the content. The value-framed content posted on Twitter and Facebook by the ministries of foreign affairs of Palestine and Israel reflected their goals and priorities with respect to the conflict.

The invocation of human rights frames by the Palestinian ministry of foreign affairs in the majority of its posts reflects its goal/priority. The right to self-determination frame is also dominant in the content but not as dominant as the human rights value. Right to self-determination is generally linked to political actualization, a separate state for Palestinians with East Jerusalem as its capital. The Oslo Accord recognized Palestinians' political rights including the right to establish an independent state that shows that self-determination topped Palestinian goals by that time. However, the failure of the peace process brought a shift in goals and now human rights are the major goal that Palestinians want to secure. It

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also provides an understanding that the Palestinian side focuses on human rights to overcome asymmetry in the conflict through gaining support at the international level.

The human rights issues attract immediate international attention and result in embarrassment to the Israeli government for being a signatory of various global human rights covenants. The emphasis on human rights also favours Palestinians to garner world support by portraying themselves as the victims of Israeli oppression and occupation. Contrarily, Israel has always advocated security as its main concern to justify the use of force against Palestinians. The Zionist state even equates the armed struggle of groups like Hamas as a threat to global peace and security. The statements of Hamas leadership and other Palestinian armed groups to annihilate Israel are overplayed by contextualizing to Holocaust. These attempts have succeeded to some extent in cajoling the world especially the Western countries including the U.S. about Israel's security concerns. The conflict narrative based on security also helps the Israeli decision makers/politicians to justify defence spending. The narrative dominated by security is also a boon for Israeli politicians to gain popular support during elections and crisis situations.

Self-determination is dominant in the content related to Jerusalem which Israel claims as its political capital. It is quite noticeable that Israelis attach great priority to achieve self-determination goal than the Palestinians. The incompatibility of goals, coercion, violence, and we-they binaries are prominent in the Palestine-Israel conflict. The dominance of the win-lose approach (Fisher, 2000, p.5) is likely to lead towards a destructive outcome. The existent asymmetry is one of the main dynamics of the longstanding conflict. Galtung (1971) also termed this asymmetry as a relationship of conquering (Israel) and conquered (Palestinians). He indicated that the conquered have risen

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to a high level of political consciousness and emphasized that symmetry and equity are imperative for a solution to avoid any conflict. If we see this conflict with the prism of the Curle-Lederach model, the study tells us that the existing power imbalance will continue to lead to the failure of peace efforts and result in violence. Palestinians try to balance the military and economic power of Israel by dominating the discourse on social media. They try to get medial interpretation in their favour by highlighting human rights to create sympathies and support for themselves and apathy for Israel. Israel also uses social media to counter the Palestinian narrative and dominate the discourse.

The strong positions of the conflict parties and traditional media's favourable reporting to either party have resulted in divided public opinion. A most recent study observed that the divided public opinion is the biggest impediment in peace building between Palestinians and Israelis (Canetti et al., 2019, p. 740).

The study also endorsed Hoskins and O'Loughlin's (2015) "arrested conflict era" approach where traditional news organizations are using social media as a tool to disseminate and gather news. The fake news issue on social media has increased public trust in traditional news organizations. It has also provided an opportunity for the traditional news outlets to regain the power of gatekeeping and agenda setting. The media's role is highly important in the Palestine-Israel conflict to bring the hostilities and peace process to the world's attention. The heavy presence of international media in and around the conflict area even sometimes drives the actions of conflict parties. Another study revealed that Israel considers strategic timing for launching attacks on Palestinian areas especially when American media is busy covering some important events elsewhere (Durante & Zhuravskaya, 2018, p. 1088).

This study also found that the hostilities attract more international media coverage than the phase of relative peace in the conflict zone. In the absence of hostilities, the three news channels (BBC, Al Jazeera English, CNN) used binary-laden emotive text and images (value framed) to engage their audience. Human rights stories are emotive and easy to be morally judged. Therefore, news channels framed human rights value in their content more explicitly than the other three value frames.

The underlying messages in both text and images of news channels were explicit in most of the cases and implicit in few news posts. However, the images were highly explicit markers of news emphases and value frames. The synchronization of both text and images created powerful messages, making it easier to identify the hidden information packets. The recognition of value frames in the text facilitated to identification of hidden messages in images.

The disagreement among the conflict parties is evident and centers the conflisct. The disagreements largely entail contradictory goals and interests which might be resolved but forces such as media can become instrumental to fuel and maintain the conflict. It happens due to the biased reporting of the events and favourable or unfavourable slant in reportage of the conflict. The narrative generated through medial interpretation of the events creates socio-psychological barriers (Bar-Tal, 2011, p. 220) that hamper the attempts to peacefully settle the conflict. The selective and biased reporting of the conflict is a fundamental obstacle in creating popular consensus to achieve an ideally win-win solution of the conflict.

The unbiased and objective reporting is expected to have more report sentences/attributed, less unattributed report sentences, a few inferences, more preferably labeled inferences, least judgement sentences, preferably attributed,and unfavourable judgement sentences. The results

were not very encouraging with regards to reporting of the conflict by three selected international news channels. Al Jazeera'scoverage with all four value frames was pro-Palestinians and anti-Israel. BBC had very fewer stories with a slant. CNN had a pro-Israel bias in news stories with self-determination and security frames. Al Jazeera covered the Palestinian side the most, and its content possessed negative bias in news stories about Israel. CNN covered the news stories about Israel the most as compared to issues related to Palestinians. BBC was found more objective than CNN and Al Jazeera in the overall coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict through four value frames.

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