

Crises Press Coverage: Local & Foreign Reporting on the Arab-Israel Conflict

Hemda Ben-Yehuda¹, Chanan Naveh² & Luba Levin-Banchik¹

¹Department of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel

²School of Communications, Sapir College, Shaar Hanegov, Israel

Correspondence: Dr. Hemda Ben-Yehuda, E-mail: hemdaby@gmail.com

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Abstract

This study analyzes Israeli *Haaretz* and the American *New York Times* crisis press coverage on four short Arab-Israel crises, from the early 1950s to the late 1990s. To illuminate the similar and different reporting modes of the press from within and outside a conflict region, the article probes three hypotheses: reporting on the salient crisis events will differ (H1), reporting on conflict related events will differ (H2) and dominant media functions will differ (H3). Findings on most reporting variables examined in both newspapers support these hypotheses. Compared with the *NYT*, in *Haaretz*, overall crisis exposure was higher, crisis was addressed more frequently than conflict, use of pictures was negligible and surveillance substituted correlation. But in both papers, similar peaks and lulls were reported for all four short Arab-Israel crises, coverage of crisis was the overwhelming topic and surveillance was the dominant media function.

Keywords: agenda setting, Arab-Israel conflict, crisis, media functions, press coverage

1. Introduction

Do the media in different countries tell like stories while reporting the same crises? The study addresses this query by comparing press coverage in the Israeli daily *Haaretz* and the *New York Times* (*NYT*) during four short crises in the Arab-Israel confrontation: Qibya 1953, Beirut Airport 1968, Entebbe 1976 and Grapes of Wrath 1996. All four crises also involve international terror, further attracting media attention to the regional conflict. The study explores the differences in press narratives by looking at core agenda setting attributes and media functions. It adds a comparative perspective to the findings reported by Ben-Yehuda *et al.* (2013) on Crisis Press Coverage (CPC) in a single newspaper. The study expects that local and foreign press, from within the conflict region and outside it, would draw different narratives when reporting on crises events. However, the study also looks for similarities to determine if a typical crisis press coverage mode may exist irrespective of which press one is looking at.

International crises were chosen for this research because as earthquakes in world politics, they attract the attention of domestic and foreign audiences. A crisis involves an increase in threats among adversaries, a short time for decision making and prospects of interstate violence that endanger regional or global stability.ⁱ Such events draw extensive coverage since the media in general and newspapers in particular convey the breaking-news from and to people around the globe. By doing so, they play a role in setting the conflict agenda and framing its reality.

2. Agenda Setting & Media Functions

Agenda setting theory focuses on the mode by which media organs emphasize and highlight specific topics, disregard others and create a unique news scheme. It involves the content of press coverage and its structural attributes that affect the exposure an event receives and demarcates the choice of news made by the media. Sudden, violent, and crucial world politics events are processed to create a quite similar picture.ⁱⁱ By assessing the importance of particular reports, editors follow news value rules that guide the inclusion of crisis, conflict and war events in the news agenda.ⁱⁱⁱ Consequently, a rather uniform agenda setting model is likely to emerge.

But role of the media goes beyond agenda setting. Media functions involve the coverage mission reporters fulfill in mediating between the unfolding events and the public. Surveillance, correlation and mobilization are among

the core tasks performed by journalists.^{iv} The composition of media functions affects the portrayal of events in the press. Social and political roles drive reporters to inform the public about specific events over others and to provide additional background and interpretations. At times journalists even mobilize their audience to support the established authority and its norms.

3. Research Design

The study focuses on the theoretical question of differences in press coverage by media agents from within and outside a conflict region during short crisis situations. It explores agenda setting and media functions on the front page of two newspapers, *Haaretz* and the *NYT*, to probe three questions: 1. Do the media in the two countries tell like stories while reporting the same crisis events? 2. Do the media from within the conflict region highlight the ongoing conflict in a similar manner to that characterizing the foreign press? 3. Is there a uniform mix of media functions in both press organs? Together, the answers to these queries characterize the typical press coverage during international crises.

Three hypotheses are deduced from these queries:

- (H1) There will be reporting differences on the salient crisis events between local and foreign press.
- (H2) There will be reporting differences in conflict events between local and foreign press.
- (H3) There will be differences in dominant media functions between local and foreign press.

Earlier studies suggested that some reporting modes are common while others are different, depending on a variety of theories and whether the media focuses on "our" news or "their" news.^v This study adds a comparative perspective by looking at local and foreign press coverage on international crises. In line with this literature, it expects that reporting styles will vary, especially given the diversity in crises over time, geographic location and issues at stake.

But the logic for these expectations could be contested, pointing to the natural inclination of the media to instantly report, in a similar manner, salient events all over the globe on international crises and terror.^{vi} In such acute situations it would also be reasonable to expect the dominance of surveillance at the expense of in-depth correlation in all press irrespective of its location.

Table 1 summarizes four new operational variables created for coding agenda setting: 1. Crisis exposure: the number of news items; 2. Topics: the specific subject in a news item; 3. Type of news item: text or photo; 4. Dynamic reporting pattern: peaks and lulls in coverage over time. These variables capture the way the news are presented to the reader as the confrontation evolves: what is written on the crisis, how and when.

Table 1. Variables

Variable	Values
Crisis exposure	The number of confrontation relevant items on the front page
Topics in news item	1. Crisis 2. Protracted conflict
Agenda Setting	Type of news item 1. Text 2. Photo
Dynamic reporting pattern	Number of peaks/lulls in coverage over time Levels of peaks/lulls in coverage over time
Media Function	1. Surveillance: information without explanation or commentary 2. Correlation: explanation & commentary of already known events 3. Integrated function: surveillance & correlation in the same item

The coding of media functions is more subjective than the descriptive content analysis of agenda setting. It involves interpretive schemes and necessitates judgmental choices and insights to define the most prevalent media function.^{vii} The study distinguishes between surveillance and correlations and suggests an integrated function of both in a single news item. The integrative function is a distinctive mode of crisis reporting in which the media provides a detailed portrayal of the events together with a comprehensive analysis which make the readers aware of the escalating confrontation and help them understand the complexities of crisis realities.

3.1 Empirical Cases

The choice of crises in the Arab-Israel conflict for the analysis of press narratives is based on three elements common to the selected cases: 1. All are international crises which involve an increase in threats among state adversaries, limited time for decision making and prospects of interstate violence that endanger regional/global

stability. 2. All include terror acts that trigger interstate escalation. 3. All are short and last no more than 21 days.

Table 2. Four Short Crises in the Arab-Israel Conflict*

International Crisis	Dates	Days	Main Adversaries
Qibya 1953 On October 12, an Israeli woman and her two children were murdered in Yahud, a settlement east of Tel-Aviv. Two days later, this Palestinian cross-border infiltration escalated into a crisis between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Fedayeen. In a severe Israeli retaliation against the Jordanian village of Qibya, sixty-nine civilians were killed and forty-five houses were destroyed. Jordan appealed to the United States, Britain, the Arab League and the UN Security Council. All forums condemned Israel and the Israeli public opinion questioned the effectiveness of the military retaliation policy.	14.10.1953- 18.10.1953	5	Israel Jordan Palestinian Fedayeen
Beirut Airport 1968 On December 26, the Lebanon-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) attacked an Israeli passenger plane in Athens. A passenger was killed and one air crew member was injured. Two days later Israel destroyed thirteen jetliners belonging to Middle East Airlines and some privately owned Lebanese planes in the Beirut International Airport. This operation was designed to deter Arab states from facilitating the Palestinians in their assaults against Israel or Israeli targets abroad. Lebanon lodged a complaint against Israel with the Security Council, declared a state of alert and mobilized its reserve forces. The international community roundly condemned Israel for the operation and both superpowers supported Lebanon's position.	28.12.1968- 5.1.1969	9	Israel Lebanon Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
Entebbe 1976 On June 27, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), accompanied by members of Germany's Bader-Meinhof gang, hijacked an Air France plane en route from Tel Aviv to Paris. The plane was forced to fly to Entebbe, Uganda, where all hostages except for the Israeli and Jewish passengers as well as the French crew were released. The hijackers demanded that Israel release hundreds of Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails in exchange for the remaining captives. Instead, on July 3, Israel sent three Hercules transport planes carrying Israeli commando troops to Uganda. After a brief firefight with the Ugandans and the hijackers, the Israelis successfully liberated all hostages and on July 4 the rescue team, together with the former hostages, landed in Israel.	27.6.1976- 4.7.1976	8	Israel Uganda Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
Grapes of Wrath 1996 On April 9, a major rocket attack against Kiryat Shmona in Israel's Galilee led to an Israeli assault into Lebanon. The raid aimed to break Hizbullah's ability to attack Israel by destroying its camps, supply lines, arms depots and fighters. When an Israeli Defense Forces missile struck a UN compound in the village of Qana, killing more than a hundred civilians, worldwide condemnation pushed Israel to the negotiating table. On April 27, Israel and Hizbullah reconfirmed the 1993 ceasefire terms designed to limit Israeli and Lebanese civilian injuries. The agreement also established a follow-up committee composed of the United States, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and France to deal with complaints from any party about alleged ceasefire violations.	9.4.1996- 27.4.1996	19	Israel Lebanon Hizbullah

* All dates are based on the ICB project. See: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/> and Ben-Yehuda & Sandler, 2002:183, 187-8, 190, 195 for a description of each crisis.

Alongside these common criteria the choice of crises highlights diversity in state adversaries and different decades, as presented in Table 2. Half a century passed from the first to the last case chosen and no short crisis occurred in the Arab-Israel conflict between 1997-2011.^{viii}

3.2 The Newspapers and News Items

Two newspapers, *Haaretz* and *NYT*, serve as the media platform for this study. They are daily elite newspapers

from within and outside the region.^{ix} The inquiry looks at the front pages covering all crisis days as well a week before and after the crisis. In total, 560 news items from 184 front pages are analyzed, as summarized in Table 3.^x A comparative illustration of all headline texts is summarized in Appendix 1.

Table 3. Newspapers & News Items

International Crisis	Number of front pages		Number of news items	
	<i>Haaretz</i>	<i>NYT</i>	<i>Haaretz</i>	<i>NYT</i>
Qibya 1953	17	19	95	13
Beirut Airport 1968	20	23	153	26
Entebbe 1976	20	23	126	17
Grapes of Wrath 1996	29	33	96	34
All Crises	86	98	470	90
Total	184		560	

4. Press Coverage of Crises in a Regional Conflict - Findings

The analysis focuses on crises exposure, topics of coverage, types of news items, dynamic reporting pattern and media functions in press coverage of four short crises in the turbulent Middle-East region.

4.1 Crises Exposure

Arab-Israel crises are foremost regional events and it is natural that they would be reported more frequently in *Haaretz* than in the *NYT*. Table 4 presents findings on crisis exposure in the two newspapers over time. Overall coverage varied, but it is interesting that all four short Arab-Israel crises were still covered systematically by the *NYT* on its front page. In particular, there were roughly five times more articles dealing with the conflict in *Haaretz* than in the *NYT*, 470 and 90 news items, respectively. So, rather than focus on absolute number of news items, the study takes this reporting gap into account and looks at their relative share within and across newspapers.

Despite the passing of forty years from Qibya in 1953 to Grapes of Wrath in 1996, their exposure in *Haaretz* was the same: 20%. This is striking especially given the difference in crisis duration with Grapes of Wrath lasting twice longer than Qibya. Crisis exposure in the press was higher in the Beirut airport and Entebbe crises, which began with a terror attack against civil aviation outside the confines of Israeli sovereignty.

Table 4. Crisis Exposure in *Haaretz* and *NYT*

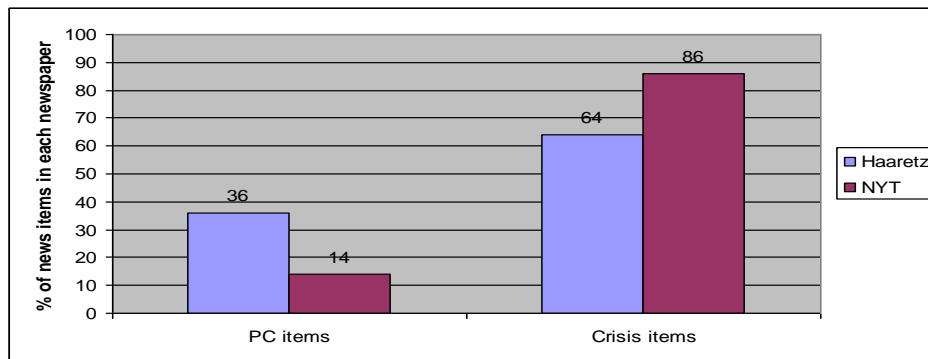
International Crisis	<i>Haaretz</i>			<i>NYT</i>			Total	
	Number of news items	% within paper	% within crisis	Number of news items	% within paper	% within crisis	Number of news items	% within crisis
Qibya 1953	95	20	88	13	14	12	108	100
Beirut Airport 1968	153	33	85	26	29	15	179	100
Entebbe 1976	126	27	88	17	19	12	143	100
Grapes of Wrath 1996	96	20	74	34	38	26	130	100
Total	470	100		90	100		560	

Chi Square = .004

The *NYT* covered 12-15% of all news items on the Qibya, Beirut Airport and Entebbe crises, but its share doubled to 26% in Grapes of Wrath. For the *NYT* all events regarding the Arab-Israel conflict were foreign, occurring in a remote region. Over time, the relative exposure changed: Qibya received the lowest exposure and Grapes of Wrath the highest one, with 14% and 38% of news items respectively. Could this be related to the time span between the crises and to technological changes? Not necessarily, because these changes were not evident in *Haaretz*, as indicated above. Even more so, if technological advances should have played a role, the gap in exposure between Beirut Airport and Entebbe crises does not seem reasonable. The former crisis from the 1960s received 29% of news attention, while the latter, from the 1970s, a lower of 19%. A possible explanation is that Entebbe competed with American Bicentennial celebrations. Yet, on the 4th of July, Bicentennial Day, the leading news on the *NYT* front page was the release of Israeli hostages from Uganda.

4.2 Topics of Coverage

All four crises included in this study are part of the ongoing Arab-Israel conflict. Reporting on its events vary, sometimes concentrating on acute events of the unfolding crisis and at other times focusing on the broader conflict with no reference to a specific crisis. Taking into account the rating value of a crisis situation which embeds a sudden and mostly violent change, it is not surprising that reports on crisis events were more frequent than those of the ongoing conflict.



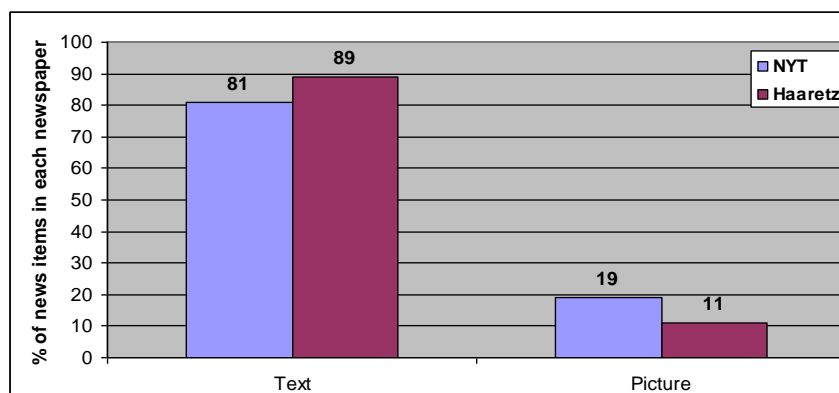
Chi-Square = .000

Figure 1. Topics of Press Coverage in *Haaretz* & *NYT*

Crises fit the basic news values of being new, violent, interesting and important, while the conflict is also important but can become a routine and hardly fits the breaking news standards. Indeed, as shown in Figure 1, crisis reporting in both newspapers far surpasses conflict coverage, with 64% of all items in *Haaretz* and 86% in the *NYT*. But this common feature does not point to a uniform reporting profile. Compared to the *NYT*, *Haaretz* includes quite extensive reports of the Arab-Israel conflict. It is here that reporting on the conflict coincides with crisis developments and touches upon vital national interests, overshadowing other political, economic and social issues. In the *NYT*, crisis events are the ones that make it to the front page. Competition for exposure is harsh and domestic American issues push matters of foreign conflict to the inner pages.

4.3 Type of News Item

A well known phrase in journalism is that a picture is worth a thousand words. So photos should take the lead as the most common news item. However, both *Haaretz* and the *NYT* share a tradition of elite newspapers, not tabloids or yellow journalism. One of the results is their limited use of photos. As Figure 2 shows, coverage in both newspapers consisted almost entirely of text items while photos were published less frequently, 11% in *Haaretz* and 19% in the *NYT*.

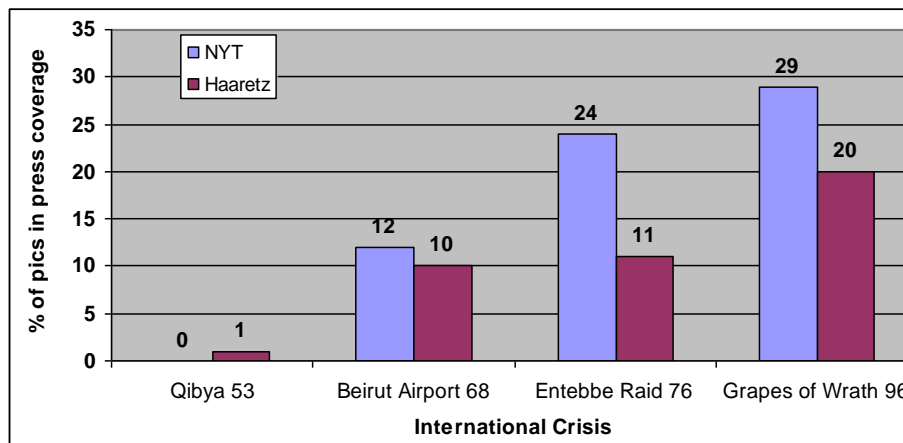


Chi-Square = .102

Figure 2. Type of News Items in *Haaretz* & *NYT*

Yet, the choice of text or photos may also depend on the location of the crisis, its specific issue and core attributes. The remoteness from the events in the Middle East makes publication of maps and photos more necessary in the *NYT* than in *Haaretz*. Indeed, as shown in Figure 3, the *NYT* contained relatively more pictures

than *Haaretz*. This is especially striking in the Entebbe Raid, where the release of the hostages gained double the *NYT* photo coverage, compared with *Haaretz*, even though the rescue operation overlapped with the Bicentennial celebrations.



Chi-Square in sequence of crises presentation in figure = .710; .749; .185; .181

Figure 3. Photo Coverage in *Haaretz* & *NYT*

Operation Grapes of Wrath in 1996 was the crisis most covered with photos, with as much as 29% of the crisis total items in the *NYT*. As the most recent crisis studied here, the frequency of photos may be attributed to globalization trends and to technological advances.

4.4 Dynamic Reporting Pattern

The number of peaks and lulls and their levels reflect the news value choices that shape the dynamic reporting pattern of international crises. The comparative illustration of all headline texts summarized in Appendix 1 and findings on the Grapes of Wrath crisis in 1996 indicate that peaks and lulls were quite alike in both newspapers.^{xi} As illustrated in Figure 4, crisis reporting peaks were on April, 14th when the Israeli operation was expanded, on the 19th with the accidental bombing, by Israel, of UN facilities close to the Lebanese village of Qana and then on the 27th when the Israeli operation ended. The same pattern is found at the end of the crisis on April 28th, when the reports dwindle and almost end by May 3rd.

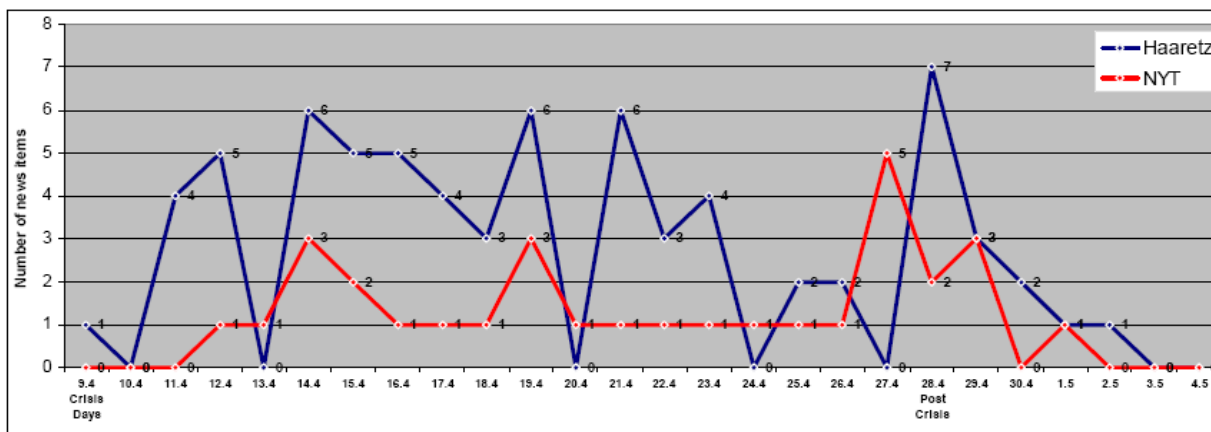


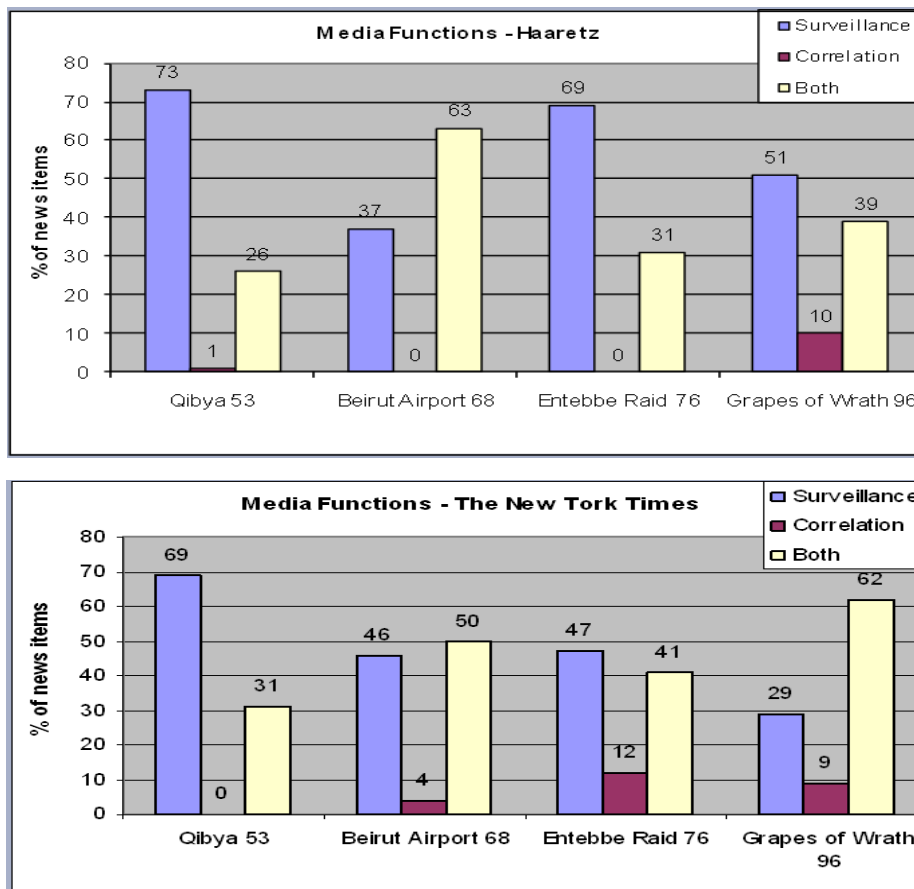
Figure 4. Dynamic Reporting Pattern - 1996 Operation Grapes of Wrath

But despite this similarity in core peaks and lulls, levels of reporting differed as the crisis unfolded. These two characteristics of press coverage: diversity in level of peaks and lulls along with similarity in core peaks and lulls was also evident in the three other international crises studied herein. Thus, though levels of coverage varied, the same events, at the height of the confrontation and at its termination, draw similar attention in both newspapers.

4.5 Media Functions

Figure 5 presents findings on the media functions focusing on surveillance, correlation and the integrated function of both in a single news item. The most interesting finding is the extensive role of the integrated function that was distributed rather similarly in both newspapers. These findings may point to a typical mode of crisis reporting in which the media fulfills a dual role: offering a detailed portrayal of the events and a comprehensive analysis which make it possible for the audience to relate and understand the complexities of crisis realities.

The leading media function in both newspapers alike was surveillance, informing the readers about the dramatic events. It characterized all four crises and was by far the dominant function in the 1953 Qibya crisis with 73% and 69% of items in *Haaretz* and the *NYT*, respectively. On the other hand, the role of the correlation function, providing commentary and extended analysis without reporting on new events, was strikingly small in both papers, almost lacking in *Haaretz*.



Chi-Square in sequence of crises presentation in figures = .887; .031; .000; .096.

Figure 5. Media Functions in *Haaretz* & *NYT*

Differences were also found in the use of media functions, especially during the 1996 Grapes of Wrath crisis where the proportion of surveillance surpassed correlation with 51% of the items in *Haaretz* while correlation took the lead with 62% of the items in the *NYT*. In general, surveillance came instead of commentary in the Israeli daily, with the exception of the 1968 Beirut Airport crisis, while in the *NYT*, commentary supplements information in all but the 1953 Qibya crisis. This difference between the two newspapers may be related to aspects of geographic location: the Arab-Israel conflict is local news for *Haaretz*, and foreign news for the *NYT*. Reporting on events within the region involves ones "own" environment so the main task of press coverage is to describe the rapidly changing flow of events. Providing information is central within the familiar context and the need for commentary is limited. In reporting foreign news, the context is less familiar and commentary is essential to clarify the meaning of the escalating developments.

5. Conclusions

This study investigated press coverage and media functions in four short crises of the Arab-Israel conflict by looking at front pages of Israeli *Haaretz* and American *NYT*. It focused on press narratives in one ongoing conflict to find out if the media in different countries tell like stories while reporting the same events. Table 5 summarizes findings on three hypotheses from the analysis of more than five hundred news items. In support of the hypotheses, the exposure of Arab-Israel crises was five times higher in *Haaretz* than in *NYT* and diversity was found on news topics, type of items, levels of peaks and lulls in dynamic reporting pattern and media functions.

While these findings, that press narratives in different countries tell different stories, may seem banal, this study reveals important similarities between local and foreign press. Contrary to the hypotheses, similar peaks and lulls were reported in the *NYT* and *Haaretz*, crisis was the overwhelming topic, text prevailed over photos and the dominant media function was surveillance coupled with frequent use of surveillance and correlation integrated in a single item. By highlighting such commonalities a non-obvious reporting mode, this study reveals a characteristic pattern of press coverage on short crises in a single ongoing conflict.

Table 5. Agenda Setting & Media Functions

Press Coverage	<i>Haaretz</i>	<i>NYT</i>	Conclusion
Crisis Exposure	Much higher coverage than in the <i>NYT</i> , with a similar 20% of all items in 1953 and 1996.	Much lower coverage than in <i>Haaretz</i> with more than double the coverage 26% in 1996, compared with 12% in 1953.	<u>Diversity</u> in overall crisis exposure, over time, across crises and between newspapers (supporting H1).
Agenda Setting			
Topics	Extensive crisis coverage coupled with broad conflict exposure.	Mostly crisis coverage with minimal conflict exposure.	<u>Diversity</u> in conflict coverage (supporting H2) though coverage in both newspapers is crisis-dominant (refuting H2).
Type of News Items	Text dominant reporting with fewer pictures than in the <i>NYT</i> .	Text dominant reporting with more pictures than in <i>Haaretz</i> .	<u>Diversity</u> in photo coverage (supporting H1) though coverage in both newspapers is text-dominant (refuting H1).
Dynamic Reporting Pattern	Difference in level of peaks and lulls alongside with similarity in core peaks and lulls in coverage over time in both papers.		<u>Diversity</u> in level of peaks and lulls within crisis (supporting H1). <u>Similarity</u> in core peaks and lulls within crisis (refuting H1).
Media Functions			
Surveillance	Surveillance dominant. Less correlation than in the <i>NYT</i> .	Surveillance dominant. More correlation than in <i>Haaretz</i> .	<u>Diversity</u> in correlation functions (supporting H3). In the <i>NYT</i> , explanation supplements information, in <i>Haaretz</i> , information substitute explanation.
Correlation	Similarity in the integrated function of surveillance and correlation within a single news item to simplify the complexities of international crises.		<u>Similarity</u> both newspapers are surveillance-dominant (refuting H3).

Theoretical Implications

The theoretical question of typical agenda setting and media functions is examined but left open till more research on other conflicts within and across regions is conducted to test the trends identified in this study.

On the overall, while the *NYT* provided less press narratives of cataclysmic events in the complex realities of the Arab-Israel conflict than *Haaretz*, it structured a similar confrontation agenda with crisis as its cornerstone. Moreover, though its number of text articles was much lower, *NYT* relied on photo-coverage, providing a "thousand words" in a capsule. This holds for all four crises, from the early 1950s to the late 1990s, an era when the printed press was the prevalent way to stay updated.

At this point the theoretical question regarding a diverse or uniform press coverage mode is left open. The findings in this study, on diversity in the reporting of media organs from within the conflict region and outside it, which is logically natural to expect, coupled with similarity which supports a typical reporting agenda on international crises, may point to distinctive types of press coverage in which not only the crises settings matters but also the locale of the media organ, even in a digital information age. Further studies are needed to confirm the trends identified herein and to clarify the question of a typical crisis reporting mode regardless of media agent considered. Preferably this endeavor should involve multiple newspapers to increase the diversity of reporting styles from within and outside a conflict, more crises, with a greater time variety in different regions to reflect technological and cultural aspects.

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Appendix 1: Main Headlines in Press Coverage of International Crises in the Arab-Israel Conflict*		
	Haaretz	NYT
Qibya 1953		
13.10.53	Ramallah announces border clashes	No Coverage
14.10.53	Mother and 2 children murdered by infiltrators from Jordan	No Coverage
15.10.53	The armistice commission deplors Jordan for the murder in Yahud	No Coverage
16.10.53	Ramallah: Some 50 killed and wounded and 40 houses bombed in a Jordanian village	No Coverage
17.10.53	Saturday - No Paper	Allies to hand U.N. Israeli raid issue; British hit attack
18.10.53	Israel submits complaint to Security Council regarding violations of armistice	U.N. Council Meets on Israel Tomorrow at West's Behest
19.10.53	No Coverage	U.S. voices 'shock' at Israeli attack on Jordan village
20.10.53	No Coverage	Ben-Gurion charges Jordan provoked raid by villagers
21.10.53	Under Arab Pressure U.N. will include Qibya incident in schedule	U.N. council puts Israel on agenda; Tel Aviv counters
22.10.53	No Coverage	Arabs in U.N. add to Israel charge
Beirut Airport 1968		
27.12.68	No Coverage	After attack by Arabs: Israeli jetliner at Athens airport

	<i>Haaretz</i>	<i>NYT</i>
28.12.68	Arab Terrorists attack El Al plane in Athens with shootings and grenades	No Coverage
29.12.68	IDF commando attacked and hit Beirut Airport	Israelis Attack Beirut's Airport; Wreck 13 Planes
30.12.68	U.N. security council convenes	Johnson aide says Israel disrupts effort for peace
31.12.68	Observers: expected to condemn and warn Israel	Israelis combat an expected vote of censure in U.N.
1.1.69	Condemnation of Israel at U.N. Security Council	Israelis' attack censured by U.N.; vote unanimous
2.1.69	No Coverage	Israel sees peril of a major clash on Lebanon line
3.1.69	No Coverage	No Coverage
4.1.69	No Coverage	Rusk urges Arabs and Israelis halt cycle of violence
Entebbe 1976		
28.6.76	The hijacked plane took off with some 70 Israelis	Airliner with 257 is hijacked to Uganda
29.6.76	Deadlock in negotiations with hijackers – their demands not clear	Hijackers hold 256 near plane
30.6.76	Observers in Jerusalem: Israel will not surrender to blackmail	Hijackers demand Israelis and others free captives
1.7.76	The hijackers threaten to kill the passengers and blow up the plane if their demands will not met until 2 PM today	French jet's hijackers free 47 in Uganda
2.7.76	Israel will negotiate with the hijackers of the plane through France. Terms discussed.	Israel, yielding tell hijackers it will negotiate
3.7.76	Saturday - No Coverage	No Coverage
4.7.76	Ultimatum may be prolonged: the negotiations with the hijackers reach practical stage	Hostages freed, as Israelis raid Uganda airport commandos in 3 planes rescue 105- casualties unknown
5.7.76	Seven terrorists and tens of Ugandan soldiers killed in IDF operation	Israelis return with 103 rescued In Uganda raid
Grapes of Wrath 1996		
9.4.96	IDF ordered settlers in the North to reach shelters, concerns about Katyusha rockets	No Coverage
10.4.96	No Coverage	No Coverage
11.4.96	IDF prepared to operate in Lebanon against Hizbullah	No Coverage
12.4.96	General Levin, the IDF operation in Lebanon will last one-two weeks	Israeli aircraft strike guerrillas in Beirut suburbs
13.4.96	IDF will strengthen the attack in all regions in Lebanon	Israel and militants trade blows as fighting spreads in Lebanon
14.4.96	No Coverage	Israelis blockade ports in Lebanon and shell South
15.4.96	Christopher will ask Syria to use its influence on Hizbullah to get a ceasefire in the North	Panic in Lebanon spreads as Israel keeps up attacks
16.4.96	Peres intends to use the operation in Lebanon as leverage to get Syria back to the political process.	U.S. helps to start negotiations to end the fighting in Lebanon
17.4.96	U.S. offer for arrangement includes tacit agreement for calm in the security zone	Lebanon rocked as Israel's raids enter sixth day
18.4.96	Syria delays reply to U.S. draft; increased international pressure for ceasefire	U.S. and Israel await answer from Syrians
19.4.96	More than hundred civilian killed in IDF shelling in Lebanon	Israeli barrage hits U.N. camp in Lebanon, killing at least 75
20.4.96	Saturday - No Coverage	Lebanon fighting defies diplomacy after death of 75

	<i>Haaretz</i>	<i>NYT</i>
21.4.96	U.S.: arrangement without total halt of fighting in South Lebanon will not hold	Christopher sees Syria chief in bid on Lebanon truce
22.4.96	Christopher will tell Assad today: it is necessary to prevent Hizbullah's activity from the villages	Syria and Israel are still talking over a cease-fire
23.4.96	France ready to send soldiers to multinational force to replace IDF	No Coverage
24.4.96	Israel's Independence Day - No Coverage	Christopher gets snub from Assad in Mideast talks
25.4.96	P.L.O. abolished clauses in Palestinian covenant negating Israel's right to exist	P.L.O. ends call for destruction of Jewish State
26.4.96	Intensive effort to reach ceasefire today; tough bargaining on IDF's right to react	Pact on Lebanon cease-fire is very near, officials report
27.4.96	Saturday - No Coverage	Israel and Lebanon agree to halt border shelling; a safeguard for civilians
28.4.96	Ceasefire in Lebanon; new agreement prevents shooting at citizens	As truce begins, Lebanese return to their homes

ⁱ On crises as earthquakes, see: Brecher, 2008. On the definition of an international crisis, see: Brecher & Ben-Yehuda, 1985. On the convergence of media and conflict and its resolution, see: Gilboa, 2008.

ⁱⁱ Cohen, 1963; Cottle & Mugdha, 2008; Gudelunas *et al.*, 2002; Iyengar & Simon, 1994; McCombs, 1981; McQuail, 1994, 2007; Rogers & Dearing, 2007; Soroka, 2003; Weaver, 2007; Weaver, *et al.*, 2004. Studies on the "CNN effect" may also be considered as part of the Agenda Setting approach see: Livingston, 2011; Robinson, 2011.

ⁱⁱⁱ Galtung & Ruge, 1970; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; Hayes & Guardino, 2010; Westerstahl & Johansson, 1994; Wolfsfeld, 2011.

^{iv} Lasswell, 1971; McQuail, 2007.

^v Ben-Yehuda *et al.*, 2013; Handley & Ismail, 2010; Kioussis & Wu, 2008; Nossek, 2004.

^{vi} On terror and war journalism, see: Deprez & Raeymaeckers, 2011; Ottosen, 2010

^{vii} Some media functions like mobilization and heritage, not addressed herein, should be the focus of future studies.

^{viii} Long duration crises should be the topic of future inquiry, such as the Lebanese wars of 1982 and 2006.

^{ix} On the difference between elite and popular newspapers in crisis reporting, see: Bloch-Elkon & Lehman-Wilzig, 2007.

^x The number of front pages differs, because *Haaretz* is not published on Saturday while the *NYT* is published seven days a week.

^{xi} Similar findings were reported by Mandelzis & Naveh, 2006. It should be noted that the *NYT* reports are at least half a day behind *Haaretz*, and this may cause some difference in the coverage.



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