

**BRIDGING CONCEPTS OF SECURITY WITH PUBLIC PERCEPTION: ANALYZING AMERICAN
AND FRENCH MEDIA COVERAGE ON THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT**

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Submitted to
Central European University
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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Word Count: 14068

Budapest, Hungary
2013

Abstract

The end of the Cold War, certain humanitarian disasters and several state failures has challenged the traditional, state-centric paradigm of security. The idea of human security emerged and has had considerable effects on academic literature as well as different policy areas. The main objective of this research is to identify whether there is any sign of the newly emerging paradigm in mainstream media. This is essential because mass media can reflect individual and public perception of political and social reality. I use qualitative content analysis of American and French media coverage of specific events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that particularly raise the issue of security. These two countries allow for research of the security concepts in different socio-cultural settings. Two five-week periods are examined in 1994 and 2004 in order to allow for over-time analysis. Results suggest that there has been an overall rise of the human security frame in both countries' media; furthermore, while both countries media seemed to take sides on the conflict, they did so utilizing a human security frame in 1994 which changed in American press by 2004 to the use of both security frames. Meanwhile, in French news sources, the human security frame accompanied Palestine more during both periods.

Acknowledgment

I would like to start by expressing my sincere appreciation to my supervisor Erin Kristin Jenne, for her valuable comments, support and for her infinite patience throughout these months and without whom this research would have been impossible. Furthermore, I would like to thank Donjeta Morina, Heather Surprenant and Bálint Németh for their advice and support during my studies at Central European University as well as during the thesis writing period. Finally, special thanks go to the whole IRES group who made this academic year a little bit more bearable!

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INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War, several humanitarian disasters and state failures has resulted in a different approach towards the question of security.¹ These events weakened the traditional security paradigm and the concept of human security rose to prominence. Human security argues for an individual-based approach that is able to integrate human rights, economic, social, environmental and other considerations.² This calls into question the conventional approach to security resting on specific social structures and institutions such as security forces, boundaries and borders, national identity, citizenship and so on. Although human security faces substantial definitional problems and its scope is uncertain, it still has had a significant impact in a number of areas, especially humanitarian and development policies or conflict resolution.³ I aim to explore to what extent the two approaches to security are identifiable in mainstream media.

The relationship between media, media effects and public opinion is a heavily debated issue, but for the purposes of the research, I concur with Bajomi-Lázár who states that “*the extent and direction of media effects on people’s way of thinking and behavior is unpredictable – but it is certain that this effect is not profound, not direct and not one-directional.*”⁴ Therefore, I do not address the issue of direction, causal relationship and effects; instead I consider media as a practical source for “measuring temperature of society”. Although media may exert a considerable influence – alter, question, undermine or preserve –

¹ The most important events include the Bosnian War, the Rwanda Genocide and the state failures of Haiti and Somalia.

² Human Development Report of the United Nations published for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), (American Writing Corporation, Washington, D.C. 1994) http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf (accessed on 29 May, 2013)

³ Roland Paris, „Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security* 26/2 (Fall 2001): 87-102; Lloyd Axworthy, „Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First” *Global Insights, Global Governance* 7 (2001):19-23.; Yuen Foong Khong, „Human Security: A Shotgun Approach to Alleviating Human Mistery” *Global Governance* 7 (2001): 231-236.

⁴ Péter Bajomi-Lázár, Manipulál-e a média? in *Hatáskutatás rovat*, http://www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2006_02_nyar/04_manipulal-e_a_media/02.html (accessed on 29 May, 2013)

individual and public perception⁵, I propose that it also functions as a mirror and reflects deep-seated values and societal attitudes. Therefore, by analyzing media one can reveal to what extent a new concept has gained ground in a particular political and societal context. Identifying the concept in mainstream media sources may be carried out in a number of different ways. These include an analysis of what narratives and frames are used, identifying which actors are objectified and what roles are assigned to those involved; what is highlighted and emphasized and what is marginalized or left unaddressed, gathering specific trigger phrases that may point towards a specific portrayal, frame and a peculiar interpretation of the issue and so on.⁶

This research focuses on media coverage specifically on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The main reason for selecting the issue is that it is one of the longest and most complex conflicts evoking numerous issues. These include security concerns and effects of terrorism and conflict on everyday life, counter-terrorism measures and military retaliation, question of self-determination and civil empowerment, ethno-religious, social and economic grievances, human rights and so on – many issues that may be presented with pointing towards either a human security or a traditional security frame. Moreover, fortunately for the purposes of the research, the conflict has become one of the eternal topics of media which allows for an ample amount of research material.

Conflict between Israel and Palestine has also provoked harsh debates both among members of the international community and within national publics. The research in this thesis focuses on American and French media coverage of events related to the Israeli-

⁵ For further information, see: Amos Tversky; Daniel Kahneman, “The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice” *Science*, New Series 211/4481. (January 1981): 453-458; Paul M. Sniderman, Richard A. Brody and Philip E. Tetlock, *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991; Susan T. Fiske and Shelley E. Taylor: *Social Cognition*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1991 or Samuel Andrew Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, New York, Doubleday, 1955

⁶ George Gerbner, „Cultivation Analysis: An Overview” *Mass Communication and Society* (1998):1:3-4, 175-194; Maxwell E. McCombs, Donald L. Shaw. „The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36/2 (Summer 1972); Albert C. Gunther and J. Douglas Storey, “The Influence of Presumed Influence” *Journal Communication*, (June 2003): 199-214.

Palestinian conflict as these two countries have quite distinct views and attitudes on the issue;⁷ thus it is possible to explore how a newly emerged human security approach resonated within different socio-cultural settings. Since most interpretations of the conflict – particularly in the selected countries – can be heavily politicized, there may a greater possibility of resorting to certain communication techniques based on one or the other security concepts and utilizing a certain representation of the conflict that resonates within their own national symbol systems. The research develops a particular methodology using qualitative content analysis to explore the dynamics of two security concepts in media coverage during different stages of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Two five-week periods in 1994 and 2004 - comparable in a number of ways - are examined in detail.

The research contributes to the academic literature in the following ways: it explores the emergence of a selected theoretical concept in media; it follows the competition and use of two different understandings of security; it develops a particular research design and methodology using qualitative content analysis of news articles and examines whether the dynamics of human security and traditional security paradigm and the representation of a conflict have resonated with national publics based on the findings here. Finally, although it is not explored here, it should be pointed out that apart from mainstream media, new concepts, approaches may be transmitted more directly through other channels as well due to recent developments and innovations in information technology. The question of how such concepts might exert influence via these alternative routes of information - such as websites, blogs and social networking sites - may be focus of future research.

⁷ Report on Global Unease with Major World Powers, Chapter 5: Views of the Middle East Conflict (The Pew Global Project Attitudes, 2007) <http://pewglobal.org/files/pdf/256.pdf> (accessed: May 29, 2013). Jerusalem Post staff, „Poll: Israel viewed negatively around the world”, *The Jerusalem Post*, May 17, 2012 <http://www.jpost.com/NationalNews/Article.aspx?id=270291> (accessed: May 29, 2013)

Findings suggest that there has been a general increase of the human security frame in both American and French media. Furthermore, while both countries' mainstream news sources seemed to take sides on the conflict, they did so relying on a human security frame in 1994 which changed in American press by 2004 resulting in the use of both security frames associated with Israel. The human security frame accompanied Palestine more during both periods in French media.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The disappearance of Cold War tensions and hostilities and several major political and humanitarian crises have fundamentally challenged the conventional state security paradigm⁸. The traditional understanding of security has been largely influenced by the Westphalian system which assigned a central role to the state that would monopolize rights and means to protect its citizens⁹ or what Max Weber refers to as the legitimate use of violence over a given territory.¹⁰ This means emphasis was placed on defense against “external threats”, protecting territorial integrity, national sovereignty and creating “*powerful security structures such as boundaries, institutions, values and numbers*”¹¹ yet as Weber states “*For what is specific to the present is that all other organizations or individuals can assert the right to use physical violence only insofar as the state permits them to do so.*”¹² This conventional approach to security has been traditionally promoted by realist and neo-realist scholars and was dominant for a large part of the 20th century.¹³ The post-Cold War emergence of a uni- or multipolar world order together with political developments of the period challenged several assumptions most importantly as to what extent states are able and willing to guarantee the security of their citizens. Writing about establishing foundations for a critical and durable approach of security, Ken Booth states the following: “*These ideas are not to be found in the national ghettos of realism (sic!)*” adding that „*security has been one of those common-sense, pre-defined terms in international relations orthodoxy that appear to be unproblematic until examined with a critical eye.*”¹⁴ Suhrke takes a similar position challenging traditional realist assumptions about the nature of international relations when suggesting that behavior of states

⁸ The most important events include the Bosnian War, the Rwanda Genocide and the state failures of Haiti and Somalia.

⁹ Peter Stoett, *Human and Global Security: An Exploration of Terms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999)

Report of the Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* by co-chairs Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen (Washington D.C.: Communications Development Incorporated, 2003) p.5

¹⁰ Max Weber, *The Vocation Lectures “Science as Vocation, Politics as a Vocation”* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004)

¹¹ Report of the Commission on Human Security, p. 6

¹² Max Weber, *The Vocation Lectures “Science as Vocation, Politics as a Vocation*, p.47

¹³ The most prominent scholars of realism include Edward H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau and George F. Kennan, while notable neorealist theorists include Kenneth Waltz, Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer.

¹⁴ Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security*: (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 37 and 96.

may be better explained if “*we assume that ideas have or acquire power of their own which cannot be accounted for simply by showing that they are expedient vehicles for promoting national power.*”¹⁵ The rise of good governance and human rights discourse, the issues of civil liberties, empowerment of individuals helped to push the concept of human security to prominence.

As the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations states, human security is “*a concern with human life and dignity*”.¹⁶ The report identifies the two main components of human security as freedom from fear and freedom from want which it then further breaks down into seven elements: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. There is an intense debate over essential elements of human security. Jorge Nef lists five criteria, including environmental, economic, social, cultural and political insecurity as essential components¹⁷, while Caroline Thomas highlights the response to basic material needs, human dignity and most importantly “*emancipation from oppressive power structures, be they global, national or local in origin or scope*”¹⁸. Meanwhile, Roland Paris also develops his own theoretical framework for the concept.¹⁹ Since there is no general consent on the exact content and definition of human security, in the following, I will highlight those features that I considered most important for this research and which I take into account when conducting qualitative content analysis. First and foremost, human security is a normatively charged concept focusing on individual security or as Edward Newman describes, it is “*a normative concept arguing for an ethical responsibility to re-orient security*

¹⁵ Asrti Suhrke, „Human Security and the Interests of States” *Security Dialogue*, 30/3 (1999): 267-268.

¹⁶ Human Development Report of the United Nations published for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), (American Writing Corporation, Washington, D.C. 1994) http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf (accessed on 29 May, 2013)

¹⁷ Jorge Nef, *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability An Exploration into the Global Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment* (Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre, 1995) <http://archive.idrc.ca/library/document/103249/> (accessed 29 May, 2013)

¹⁸ Caroline Thomas and Peter Wilkin ed. *Globalization, Human Security, and the African Experience* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999)

¹⁹ Roland Paris, „Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security* 26/2 (Fall 2001): 87-102.

around the individual in line with internationally recognized standards of human rights and governance”²⁰. The approach also attempts to publicize and promote the importance of neglected issues – raise awareness concerning specific issues such as prohibition of anti-personnel landmines or the situation of children during wartime are sometimes considered a success of human security. I also consider the emancipatory element important – referred to either as empowerment, freedom to act on behalf of oneself, or directly as emancipation – or as Heidi Hudson states, human security “operates according to the ethos of highlighting the importance of marginalized issues, while at the same time exposing vested interests”²¹. Another decisive characteristic is that it seeks a comprehensive and holistic understanding of security.²² However Roland Paris questions whether the human security can be considered a paradigm or is something less²³. On a related note, Khong also rightfully criticizes the definitional problems of human security and is highly skeptical about “oversecuritization” when writing about possible unwanted consequences such as false priorities, hopes and causal assumptions.²⁴ Another basis for skepticism that Shani raises is the possibility that states may exploit the new approach and use it to disguise an instrumental promotion of their geopolitical interests. According to him, the broad interpretation of human security can result in a peace or order of the strong ones and the concept will be used to reinforce dominance of a certain hegemony.²⁵ This line of criticism has led to an extensive debate over the issues of humanitarian intervention, conflict prevention and state-building.²⁶ Nevertheless, even they acknowledge that the human security approach had a considerable impact among academics, practitioners, policy-makers, international organizations such as the United Nations and the

²⁰ Edward Newman, “Critical human security studies”, *Review of International Studies* 36 (2010):78.

²¹ Heidi Hudson, „Doing Security as Though Humans Matter: A feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security, *Security Dialogue* 35 (2005): 162.

²² Ibid. p. 163.

²³ Roland Paris, „Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security* 26/2 (Fall 2001): 87-102.

²⁴ Yuen Foong Khong, „Human Security: A Shotgun Approach to Alleviating Human Misery” *Global Governance* 7 (2001): 231-236.

²⁵ Giorgio Shani, Makoto Sato and Mustapha Kamal Pasha ed., *Protecting Human Security in a Post 9/11 World - Critical and Global Insights* (New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

²⁶ For further information, see: Oliver Richmond, „The Problem of Peace: Understanding the ‘Liberal Peace’” *Conflict, Security & Development*, 6/3 (2006): 291-314.

approach even played a role on certain national governments' behavior and policies, such as Canada, Norway and others.²⁷ Lloyd Axworthy states that the shift in dialogue can be visible in groups and initiatives such as the Human Security Network or on the agenda of the Group of 8 (G8)²⁸ and it is clear that international relations discourse has changed considerably.

These conceptual and factual developments clearly show that a new and different approach of an age-old concept of international relations has emerged. This changed how certain issues are countered and described and what responses are proposed. Human security (as well as the traditional security paradigm) makes certain suppositions about which power relations and structures should be protected, balanced or combated. The question then arises in what direction and exactly how is newly emerged understanding of such a general concept able to spread? Further, is it able to exert considerable influence on public or not? There is an intense debate over how and to what extent media affects society.²⁹ Bajomi-Lázár states that *“the extent and direction of media effects on people's way of thinking and behavior is unpredictable – but it is certain that this effect is not profound, not direct and not one-directional.”*³⁰ McLeod, Pan and Rucinski state that media operate as *„epistemological devices, by which individuals understand the social and political world...ultimately influencing what we know, and how we know it.”*³¹ Hoffman also shows that individual preferences and values can be relatively resistant to media effects.³²

²⁷ The Human Security Network, „Press and Information Service, Embassy of Austria, Washington D.C” <http://www.austria.org/humansecurity-network> (accessed on May 29, 2013)

The Civil Society Network for Human Security, „GPPAC Foundation supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs and the City of The Hague” <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.net/hu> (accessed on May 29, 2013)

²⁸ Lloyd Axworthy, „Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First” Global Insights, *Global Governance* 7 (2001):19-23.

²⁹ Many theories suggest a direct and considerable influence, including the needle model, the cultivation model of Gerbner or the spiral of silence developed by Noelle-Neumann. Another strand of approaches and models propose that effects are limited, complex and two-directional, including the Multi-step Flow Model or the agenda-setting theory of McCombs and Shaw.

³⁰ Péter Bajomi-Lázár, Manipulál-e a média? in *Hatáskutatás rovat*, (Summer 2006)

http://www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2006_02_nyar/04_manipulal-e_a_media/02.html (accessed on 29 May, 2013)

³¹ McLeod, Jack, Zhongdang Pan and Dianne Rucinski, “Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent in ed. T. Glasser, C. Salmon (eds.), *Levels of analysis in public opinion research*, New York: Guilford, 1995

³² Ibid. 434.

The question of media influence thus remains open. Therefore, in order to be able to address the established research puzzle, I do not intend to reveal causal relationships or examine one particular direction of media effects, instead I suggest that mainstream media mirrors societal attitude, deep-seated values and concepts which influence perception.³³ I suggest that by analyzing media, we are able to “measure temperature of society” and to examine the emergence of human security and how it shaped security discourses in the post-Cold War era. This is possible through a number of different ways, which may include an analysis of what narratives and frames are used, identifying which actors are objectified and what roles are assigned to those involved; what is highlighted and emphasized and what is marginalized or left unaddressed³⁴, gathering specific trigger phrases that may point towards a specific portrayal, frame and a peculiar interpretation of the issue and so on.³⁵ Frames are also particularly relevant to the research - these according to Entman define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies.³⁶

³³ Susanna Hornig Priest uses a similar approach when examining American societal attitude towards the issue of cloning. In her study, she states that “*while media content is not a direct indicator of public opinion, it does reflect—and therefore can reveal—deep-seated cultural values.*” In Susanna Hornig Priest, “Cloning: a Study in News Production” *Public Understanding of Science* 10 (2001):59–69

³⁴ Jacob Groshek, „Homogenous Agendas, Disparate Frames: CNN and CNN International Coverage Online” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52/1(2008):52-68

³⁵ George Gerbner, „Cultivation Analysis: An Overview” *Mass Communication and Society* (1998):1:3-4, 175-194; Maxwell E. McCombs, Donald L. Shaw. „The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36/2 (Summer 1972); Albert C. Gunther and J. Douglas Storey, “The Influence of Presumed Influence” *Journal Communication*, (June 2003): 199-214.

³⁶ Robert M. Entman, „Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm” *Journal of Communication*, 43/4 (1993): 51-58; <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1991.tb02328.x/abstract> (accessed on 29 May, 2013)

RESEARCH DESIGN

By performing a controlled case study comparison, this research focuses on media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American and French mainstream newspapers in order to pinpoint narratives, frames and trigger phrases and other techniques that can be associated with a human security frame, a traditional security frame or both. Qualitative content analysis is used to examine news coverage during two comparable five-week periods in 1994 and 2004 after specific events of violence occurred that raised the issue of security with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and resulted in intensified media coverage. The scope of analysis allows for cross-country and over-time changes to be identified as well as different media sources to be compared. Future research may juxtapose the results of this study against public opinion trends in order to examine whether this coverage is resonance with public opinion, a necessary first step to demonstrating the existence of a causal relationship.

COUNTRY SELECTION

The countries of the United States and France were selected for two main reasons:

- 1) Both countries have polling agencies that have undertaken a great number of public opinion polls and surveys on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The most important sources used are BVA, IFOP, TNS Sofres and CSA for France and Gallup, Pew Research, the World Public Opinion project (University of Maryland) as well as polls of major broadcasting networks for the United States.
- 2) The United States and France also offer highly different societal and political contexts regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict due to a number of historical, sociological, cultural and political reasons. For the purposes of the research, strategic and

geopolitical interests are not discussed in the following, as only the socio-political environment is considered relevant.

It is important to pre-establish the socio-cultural environment in which we are examining media because the geopolitical changes due to the end of the Cold War, humanitarian crises and other causes for the emergence of human security do not necessarily have the same or any effects at all on security frames used in the particular context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. American public perception as well as foreign policy on the issue has been marked by the so-called special relationship with Israel for a number of decades. The two nations have developed a political and cultural kinship based on historical experiences of religious persecution and state foundation in a hostile area. Ties were further reinforced after the establishment of Israel as it became viewed a “beacon of democracy and freedom” in the Middle East.³⁷ As Bernard Reich states *„in some respects, Israel is seen as a reflection of the American self (...) because shared values, cultural affinity, a common ethical and religious heritage, the Judaic tradition and the Judeo-Christian heritage bind the USA and Israel together”*³⁸. The recent rise of evangelical pressure³⁹ and the influence of Jewish interest groups and the diaspora are also noteworthy.⁴⁰ Given the Israel’s relations with the Arab world, it has often been viewed as a proxy and was considered for American geopolitical considerations, which may have effects on framing as well. Accordingly, American-Palestinian relations have been mostly determined by the United States’ relationship with the Arab countries which have been most of the times controversial and strained exactly due to the huge support for Israel. Open dialogue between the USA and Palestine only started in 1988 after the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) officially recognized Israel.

³⁷ The expression „beacon of democracy and/or freedom” is almost exclusively used to designate the United States or Israel.

³⁸ Bernard Reich, *“Securing the Covenant: United States-Israel Relations after the Cold War”* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1995)

³⁹Walter Russell Mead, “God’s Country?” *Foreign Affairs*, 85/5 (2006):24-45

Elizabeth Stephens and Steve Morewood The Cultural Turn in the US-Israeli Relationship, *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 2 (2009):13–32

⁴⁰John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “The Israel Lobby”, *The London Review of Books*, 28/6 (2006):3-12

France as a former colonizer has sensitive ties towards the Middle-East as well as the wider Arab world and at times shows signs of differential attention. The country traditionally maintained friendly and close relations with Palestine. Political support was especially strong during the presidencies of François Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac which span over several decades, despite huge pressure from American and Israeli diplomacy. Scientific and cultural exchanges are also strong and French NGOs cooperate closely with the Palestinian territories.⁴¹ The European country continues to be diplomatically active and to support different fields of cooperation. Though economic ties are modest, in 2010, the French government decided to allow Palestinian companies to acquire French goods and services through subsidized loans.⁴² French-Israeli relations have been more complicated. The country is home to Europe's largest Jewish community and the two countries were originally supportive of each other, the height being the Suez crisis in 1967. However, as the Jewish state's relations with the Arab countries deteriorated, France was concerned with maintaining strong relations with its former colonies and dependencies. Therefore it became more reserved towards Israel, specific events such as decisions concerning arms embargo and hostile declarations made by French politicians created a frozen atmosphere and have been quite sensitive⁴³ with a modest improvement during the presidency of Nicholas Sarkozy.

Based on a brief overview of historical, political and cultural ties, we are already able to suggest certain hypotheses and expectations regarding the research results. While the United States may associate the traditional security frame more frequently with Israel when

⁴¹Already in 1982, French President François Mitterrand openly supported the foundation of an independent Palestine. Furthermore, French troops helped evacuating Palestinian soldiers from Lebanon during an Israeli siege. Source: Isabel Schäfer and Dorothe Schmid: L'Allemagne, la France et le conflit israélo-palestinien, *Persée*, Politique étrangère, 2 (2005):414.

⁴²France Diplomatie – Ministère des Affaires étrangères, website of the French Foreign Relations Ministry, section on Israel and Palestinians territories; <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/israel-palestinian-territories/palestinian-territories-2156/france-and-the-palestinian-development-aid-cultural/> (accessed on 29 May, 2013)

⁴³ Isabel Schäfer and Dorothe Schmid: L'Allemagne, la France et le conflit israélo-palestinien, p.413.

addressing the conflict, France might show the same deviation regarding Palestine and human security.

AMERICAN PUBLIC ATTITUDE – TRENDS AND PHASES

American institutions have conducted polls on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict consistently since the early 1990s, which show four different phases regarding American public opinion.⁴⁴ The first interval (Phase 1) lasts from the start of the first Intifada in December 1987 until the signature of the Oslo Declaration of Principles (DOP) in late 1993 – assuming that the impacts of the peace process itself has been limited since negotiations have been going on in secret since the 1991 Madrid conference. This period is marked by a sudden and sharp increase of people defining themselves as pro-Israeli, peaking with the First Gulf War in 1991 and then gradually returning the previous levels.⁴⁵ The second distinct phase (Phase 2) begins in late 1993, early 1994, with a surge of the so-called third camp (neither, both and no opinion), overcoming the number of pro-Israeli Americans for several years. The political environment of this period has been marked by events aimed at establishing peace in the region such as the U.S-brokered Oslo Peace Accords, the Israel-Jordan peace treaty and the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. The third period (Phase 3) roughly overlaps with the Second Intifada between 2000 and 2005. It has to be noted that Gallup has conducted public opinion polls in during this period much more frequently than in others, that leads to a shows public attitude sharply changing and fluctuating over short periods, but the overall trend is a constant increase in the pro-Israeli camp and decrease of the third, neutral group, while pro-Palestinian sentiments are roughly the same level. The fourth and final interval

⁴⁴Collection of public opinion polls conducted by major American networks and institutions, including ABC, CBS, CNN, Gallup, NBC, Pew Research; Pollingreport.com; <http://www.pollingreport.com/israel.htm> (accessed on May 29, 2013); Public opinion poll on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Gallup; <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1639/Middle-East.aspx> (accessed on May 29, 2013)

⁴⁵It is worth mentioning that the current level of sympathy for Israel is record high and is only comparable to levels in 1991 during the Gulf War.

(Phase 4) sees the stabilization of support levels with pro-Israeli sentiments at an all-time high and no significant changes since.

FRENCH PUBLIC ATTITUDE – TRENDS AND PHASES

Public opinion polls have not been as consistent in France as in the USA and are sometimes qualitative instead of quantitative, thus I use the four identified phases based on American numbers and identify certain reference points and periods based on which developments in the two countries can be compared. These suggest quite different progress in France. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the pro-Israeli camp was moderately larger than the pro-Palestinian but the difference has never been even close to pro-Israeli sentiments in United States.⁴⁶ According to an IPSOS poll, during the 1989 visit of Yasser Arafat in Paris, 23% of French considered themselves closer to Israelis, 13% closer to the Palestinians, 55% answered they are not close to either side and 6% did not give an answer. The so-called third group has been continuously large in France, but the sympathies towards the conflict gradually changed. According to a study in 2000 on French perception and public opinion regarding the issue, 34% believed the outbreak of violence in 2000 was to be blamed on the Jewish State, while only 8% held the Palestinian Authorities responsible.⁴⁷ France lacks opinion polls from the early- and mid-1990s, however there public opinion remarkably changed by the mid-2000s. By 2004, 34% of French considered themselves pro-Palestinians and 13% pro-Israeli⁴⁸, despite four years of violence as a result of the Second Intifada. Meanwhile, the United States has seen exactly the opposite trends. The most recent years has

⁴⁶Délits d'opinion, Les Français face au conflit israélo-palestinien, December 5, 2012

<http://www.delitsdopinion.com/1analyses/les-francais-face-au-conflit-israelo-palestinien-9967/>; (accessed on May 29, 2013)

⁴⁷Délits d'opinion, Le conflit à Gaza vu de France, des communautés sous tension mais la neutralité de la majorité des Français, January 29, 2009 <http://www.delitsdopinion.com/1analyses/le-conflit-a-gaza-vu-de-france-des-communautes-sous-tension-mais-la-neutralite-de-la-majorite-des-francais-276/>; (accessed on May 29, 2013)

⁴⁸BVA Institut, La perception des Français sur Yasser Arafat et le conflit israélo-palestinien, published on November 8, 2004 http://www.bva.fr/data/sondage/sondage_fiche/250/fichier_arafat041108_beabf.pdf; (accessed on May 29, 2013)

seen support grew for both sides suggesting polarization on the issue with pro-Palestinians still being a relative majority of 43-45% (Phase 4).

POLLS AND SURVEYS - CONSIDERATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

One of the main objectives of the research is to identify linkages between security frames utilized in the coverage of events in respective national media and the public opinion concerning the conflict. As already presented, several recent studies have shown that effects of media on societal attitude are very vague and abstract. This is fortunate for the purposes of the research since I examine the influence of two security concepts on public perception of the conflict. Even though many media effect theories are skeptical of direct influence on individual preference and choices, I propose that the rise of human security discourse might have caused a significant shift – possibly even apparent in opinion polls – exactly due to the fact that these concepts are very general and operates through a number of indirect ways such as influencing agenda, altering narratives and frames. This means that an individual does not necessarily encounter the new frame in a straightforward, partisan fashion and may avoid the scenario of feeling the pressure to position him or herself resulting in a conscious rejection or acceptance of a normative claim.

One interesting aspect of the issue that will not be examined is related to the spiral of silence theory developed by Noelle-Neumann. As already discussed earlier, certain issues may become invisible if they are not reinforced in discourse which reinforces visible opinions that will be perceived to be dominant – while the composition of public opinion may remain the same. If we agree with the claim that the idea of human security has had a considerable impact on public perceptions concerning the conflict then during the period of depolarization on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Phase 1) those who adhered to a specific value preference on the issue perceived themselves in a different political and social context which meant they

had to find new justification for their choice of sympathy. For the reasons previously stated, I will be relying on a number of public opinion polls as well as more qualitative and comprehensive surveys – when available; however I acknowledge the difficulties parsimony of these polls causes and the complexity of media effects poses. The other limitation of the research is related to the large frequency and shares of the third camp, which is those who support both sides, neither, do not know or do not answer. A poll conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes by the University of Maryland shows the full picture in this regard.⁴⁹

TIME-FRAME SELECTION

One of the essential parts of the research is selecting the specific period and events. This paper is concerned with Phases 2 and 3 as the first period is right after and during the geopolitical shifts and humanitarian crises after which human security emerged, while the second phase is sufficiently later for comparison and offers a quite different political context. These need to be comparable both on a macro- and micro scale. In order to find suitable periods, I first decided to choose similar acts of violence with a number of comparable features from the mid-1990s and mid-2000s as they fit Phase 2 and Phase 3 because these events were turning points in public understandings of the conflict on both countries. I proposed a number of requirements that these events must meet in order to ensure a relatively similar media impact. Therefore, I decided to select two suicide attacks carried out by Palestinians in Israel and media aftermath for a five-week period as these events profoundly raised the issue of security, both on the Israeli and Palestinian side and reoriented focus on the region in both countries. More specifically, the two events provoked discussion in the Israeli

⁴⁹World Public Opinion on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Worldpublicopinion.org, Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland, July 1, 2008; accessible at: http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jul08/WPO_IsPal_Jul08_packet.pdf (accessed on May 29, 2013) Though this poll was taken in 2008, earlier polls mentioned also show that a considerable part of society is uninterested in the issue.

society on issues such as general uncertainty and atmosphere of fear and the possibility of security measures such as sealing and blockading borders and military retaliation. The same events also reoriented focus on lack of political and civil rights in the Palestinian territories, social, economic grievances and reasons of radicalization in Palestinian society. The requirements in order to ensure comparability of the two periods on a micro-scale that is similarities of the specific act of violence:

- The act of violence had to be carried out and claimed by (member or members of) the same organization, so various perceptions on and position of different actors (such as Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and so on) and subsequent speculations and accusations in the media do not skew the analysis.
- The attacks had to be carried out in a similar fashion, in this case by (a) suicide bomber(s), and had to be directly a response against Israeli mistreatment and/or retaliation against Palestinians.
- The act of violence had to have roughly the same amount of casualties and/or injured, in order to limit the effects of public shock, comparison with other terrorist events and the shift of psychological barriers.
- It is an essential issue whether nationals of the two selected countries (United States and France) were injured or killed in these incidents as it can result in a significantly different tone and approach. Nevertheless, it most likely leads to intensified media coverage that can reveal more information on frames used. It may also be suggested that a terrorist attack involving a low number of nationals of a country will not alter the respective public perceptions concerning how to understand the event and by extension the conflict as a whole. For the present research, I will avoid events involving American or French citizens.

After finding events that fit the requirements above, I also examined the wider time frame and examined whether they are comparable or not, since certain periods such as the most promising stages of the peace process and the height of the violence during the Second Intifada may not be suitable in this regard. Following a careful analysis, I identified two specific periods of relative stability and calm, which followed a previous, longer period of increased violence and which were both suddenly disrupted by an attack with a high death toll. According to these considerations, the cases and time-frames selected for qualitative content analysis are the following:

Event during Phase 2:

The first specific event selected is the Dizengoff Street bus bombing in Tel-Aviv that occurred on October 19, 1994 and resulted in the death of 22 people. In the incident, one Dutch national was also killed.

Time frame for media analysis: *October 19, 1994 – November 26, 1994* – The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel concluded a peace accord late 1993, and the subsequent political climate of relative stability was shattered by the Dizengoff street attack. The attack occurred during the height of diplomatic preparations for the Israel-Jordan peace treaty therefore there media coverage of the event was extensive, especially in relation to the possibility of a regional peace achieved in the near future. Other important events were simultaneous efforts of the United States to assure regional stability by mediating between Israel and Syria as well as supporting an economic conference organized in Morocco that aimed at promoting investment between Arab countries and the Jewish State.

Event during Phase 3:

The second event selected is the bombing of two buses in Beersheba on August 31, 2004. The attacks killed 16 and wounded around a hundred. In the incident, there were no foreigners among the casualties.

Time frame for media analysis: *31 August, 2004 – 6 October 2004* – The attack occurred during the Second Intifada which lasted from late 2000 until 2005, though the exact end of this period is debated. Although the political climate is considerably different due to the three prior years of violence, a span of several months leading up to the attacks was the most stable and least violent period during the whole Second Intifada. The examined time frame is marked by Ariel Sharon's plan of full withdrawal from Gaza including the evacuation and relocation of Jewish settlers, the intensified military strikes against Palestine and continuing construction of the security barrier.

Based on the abovementioned information and the different socio-cultural setting in the United States and France, the main hypotheses that are tested are the following:

- *Hypothesis no.1* – The human security frame became more influential in both American and French media by the mid-2000s (Phase 3)
- *Hypothesis no.2* – The human security frame is more prevalent in France during both periods.
- *Hypothesis no.3* – The terrorist attacks of 2001 have been significant enough to reshape societal views on security in the United States. This may mean a decreased salience of the frame of human security.
- *Hypothesis no.4* – The human security frame has been associated with Palestine more frequently in French media than in the United States during both periods.

- *Hypothesis no.5* - The traditional security frame was associated with Israel more frequently in American media than in France during both periods.

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The methodology used is qualitative content analysis of two American and two French newspapers among the biggest by circulation, the New York Times, the Washington Post, Le Monde and Le Figaro with regard to political stance to include one left-leaning and one right-leaning source in both countries.⁵⁰ The sources of data are the LexisNexis, Westlaw and Europresse databases, occasionally supplemented by the websites of these as well as other newspapers. The keywords used for the search were: Israel and Palestine. All articles were converted into a single document, and were evaluated then coded into an excel file according to the following:

- First column: Source of news article (SRC)
- Second Column: Date (DATE)
- Third Column: Title of news article (TITLE)
- Fourth Column Human security combined with an Israeli point of view (HSI)
- Fifth Column: Traditional security paradigm combined with an Israeli point of view (TSI)
- Sixth Column: Irrelevant article (marked with 0 – numbers above zero indicated that there were articles relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian case but no concept of security could be extracted.
- Seventh Column: Human security combined with a Palestinian point of view (HSPA)
- Eight Column: Traditional security paradigm combined with a Palestinian p.o.w. (TSPA)
- Ninth Column: Total number of paragraphs in relevant article (TOT)

⁵⁰ Archives of Le Figaro for the first period were unavailable in all databases (most of them only include editions beginning with 1996 or later) therefore the newspaper is only examined during the second period.

Further columns were reserved for collecting the specific paragraphs that were evaluated containing trigger phrases, using narratives, frames and other tools that may be associated with either the traditional or human security approach.

#	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	SRC	DATE	TITLE	HSI	TSI	IR	HSPA	TRPA	PAR	SPECIFIC PARAGRAPHS
2	LM	19 octobre 1994	Le projet de traité entre Israël et la Jordanie			16	1		17	1994 - 27 février : après le
3	LM	19 octobre 1994	Le projet de traité de paix entre Israël et la			7	1		8	Réfugiés palestiniens. Prés
4	LM	19 octobre 1994	DANS LA PRESSE L'accord de paix israélo-		1	4	1		6	Financial Times : " Il faut e
5	LM	19 octobre 1994	Le projet de traité entre Israël et la Jordanie			C				
6	LM	19 octobre 1994	Alors que sa signature est prévue fin octobre		1	9	2	2	14	JERUSALEM de notre corr
7	LM	19 octobre 1994	Le projet de traité entre Israël et la Jordanie			2	1		3	Deuxième pays arabe après
8	LM	20 octobre 1994,	LE BICENTENAIRE DE L'ECOLE			C				
9	LM	20 octobre 1994,	DEBATS EX-YOUGOSLAVIE Un juste dans			C				
10	LM	20 octobre 1994,	La situation au Proche-Orient Le président				4	3	7	Quoiqu'il en soit, comparée
11	LM	20 octobre 1994,	Le traité de paix israélo-jordanien Le monde			C				
12	LM	20 octobre 1994	L'attentat en Israël CLES Les précédents	3		1			3	Depuis l'entrée en vigueur d
13	LM	20 octobre 1994	Au moins vingt-deux tués dans l'explosion	7	3	1	2		11	JERUSALEM de notre corr
14	LM	21 octobre 1994	Diplomatie Jacques Delors propose d'établir			C				
15	LM	21 octobre 1994	LE MONDE DES LIVRES			C				
16	LM	21 octobre 1994	Après l'attentat de Tel-Aviv Hamas,			C				
17	LM	21 octobre 1994	BULLETIN L'attentat de Tel-Aviv		1	2	1		6	COMME surgis d'un vieux t
18	LM	21 octobre 1994	ISRAËL Vague d'indignation dans le monde	5		1			6	L'attentat de Tel-Aviv a su
19	LM	21 octobre 1994	Envisageant des mesures de sécurité	6	6	3	2		13	JERUSALEM de notre corr
20	LM	21 octobre 1994	DANS LA PRESSE L'attentat meurtrier de	2		5	1		7	Libération (Gérard Dupuy)
21	LM	21 octobre 1994	ISRAËL L'attentat de Tel-Aviv	1	4	9	7	1	19	POURQUOI cet épouvanta
22	LM	21 octobre 1994	Israël Après l'attentat de Tel-Aviv	13		13			13	
23	LM	22 octobre 1994	VOYAGE Galicia incognita			C				
24	LM	22 octobre 1994	Un club nucléaire fermé Washington			C				
25	LM	22 octobre 1994	SOUDAN Hassan Tourabi qualifié d'acte	1		1	1		3	Hassan Tourabi, dirigeant is
26	LM	24 octobre 1994	Après la décision d'isoler la Cisjordanie et le	4	6	7	4	2	17	JERUSALEM de notre corr
27	LM	24 octobre 1994	PAYS-BAS : attentat à La Haye			C				
28	LM	24 octobre 1994	BULLETIN Une étape obligée			C				
29	LM	24 octobre 1994	Première visite en Syrie d'un président	1		7		1	8	Mais Washington, comme
30	LM	24 octobre 1994	ISRAËL L'armée israélienne tire des obus			C				
31	LM	24 octobre 1994	Après l'attentat de Tel-Aviv Hamas, se	2	1	2	1		4	A la suite de l'attentat mi

QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS – CATEGORIES AND EXAMPLES

Qualitative content analysis was used to examine the articles over the selected periods. The units of analysis are paragraphs. These were evaluated according to a number of factors and considerations based on the theoretical framework previously set out – these include an individual-centered approach or portrayal, the aspect of freedom from fear and want, promotion of marginalized issues, topics related to human security such as economic and social aspects and so on. Therefore, four categories were set up, which for the purposes of simplicity will be called human security and Israel (HSI), traditional security and Israel (TSI), human security and Palestine (HSPA) and traditional security and Palestine (TSPA). First an initial overview of the articles was conducted to be familiar with the period, the events and the specific context which was followed by an in depth analysis. Finally, to ensure consistency, a third brief review was done to compare categorization. The same paragraphs may have been

categorized into more than one category, in these cases it is counted multiple times. The number of times paragraphs categorized in each article was then added up and four categories of relevancy, low (1-4), medium (5-9), high (10-14) and extreme (15 or above) were established. Since the nature of the research results raises difficulties in establishing clear categories, I include one example for each category and a brief overview that shows as points of navigation:

HUMAN SECURITY AND ISRAEL (HSI):

"It's the fear, it's the feeling that my home isn't safe anymore," said Sigal Saad, 27, a jewelry designer. She was waiting at the bus stop outside Ben and Joey's fast-food outlet near the site of the bombing, for which Islamic militants from the Hamas organization took responsibility. People gathered there today to gaze at the twisted metal on the ground and the blown-out windows as high as the fifth story of buildings along the street.⁵¹

This category mostly includes the effects of terrorist attacks on Israelis and Israeli society, the atmosphere of fear and uncertainty that results from violence. Furthermore, during the second period, interests of Jewish settlers who face relocation are also mentioned and are categorized as HSI.

TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND ISRAEL (TSI):

Israeli troops killed two Palestinians in two separate incidents on Friday, and Israeli helicopters fired three missiles at a Gaza warehouse that the army said was used for making weapons.⁵²

⁵¹ Alan Cowell, „In a Shaken Tel Aviv, Fear Now Rides the Buses” October 21, 1994, *The New York Times*, Section A; Page 1; Column 2; Foreign Desk

⁵² Associated Press, „Israelis Kill 2 Palestinians in Separate Events, September 4, 2004, *The New York Times*, Section: A

In the TSI category, the most dominant issues are military retaliation, measures ensuring the security of the “nation”, including construction of security barriers, intensification of border checks and patrols and similar.

HUMAN SECURITY AND PALESTINE (HSPA):

*The people of Gaza are shut off by an electronic fence, whose gates are controlled by Israel. Some 4,000 Israeli settlers occupy one-third of the land, while 850,000 Palestinians are crowded into the rest, suffering from 50 percent unemployment because most who worked as day laborers in Israel are now cut off from jobs.*⁵³

This category mostly consists of paragraphs that cover the consequences of Israeli security measures on Palestinians, such as being barred from location of work or education. Furthermore, parts covering or evoking poor living conditions, unemployment, overpopulation, the refugee situation are also categorized as HSPA.

TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND PALESTINE (TSPA):

*"The Palestinian police have not been as effective as they could have been in halting acts of violence" by Islamic radical groups, the report said. But it said a confrontation on Nov. 18 in which Palestinian police killed and wounded numerous demonstrators "may augur a more determined effort by the P.L.O. to prevent violent challenges" to peace.*⁵⁴

The fourth and final category is the most controversial and hardest to define, given the paradoxical relation of the traditional, state-centered security paradigm and the fact that there

⁵³ Rachel Marshall, „A Premature Prize for Mideast Peace?“ October 21, 1994, *The New York Times*, Section A; Page 30; Column 5; Editorial Desk

⁵⁴ Reuters, „Rule by Palestinians Improving, U.S. Says December 3, 1994, *The New York Times*; Section: Opinion Editorial; Page A18

is no independent and established Palestinian state. Still, based on the analysis of the articles, paragraphs that could be categorized as TSPA occasionally showed up. These include presenting the PLO as a state-like actor and addressing its responsibility to ensure security, law-enforcement and stability through its own security forces and police.

CHAPTER 1: AMERICAN MEDIA COVERAGE IN 1994

The primary source of data for the analysis of American media coverage during this period is the LexisNexis database. Two major American newspapers, the New York Times and the Washington Post are examined, beginning with day of the attacks (October 19) during a five-week period until the 26 November as by then, focus of discussions have significantly completely shifted towards other issues. Following the use of keywords, the number of relevant articles was 176 articles in NYT and 143 in Washington Post bringing the total articles examined after the first attack to 319. After gathering these, first, the completely irrelevant articles that contained search terms were sorted out followed by news that were in fact related to Israel or Palestine but in a different context (such as Israel's relations with Turkey or Syria, G.O.P opinion on Clinton's foreign policy and so on) leaving the number of articles examined in depth at 33 and 27, a total of 60.

The general political climate was relatively positive and hopeful prior to the attack. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) signed a peace treaty with Israel the previous year and there were relatively few instances of violence. US-led efforts finally seemed to succeed in concluding a bilateral peace agreement between the Jewish State and Jordan and American president Bill Clinton also made strong efforts to further talks between Israel and Syria. Another related event of importance was a multilateral economic conference organized in Morocco and aimed at improving economic cooperation in the Middle-Eastern region where many Arab states, Israel and the PLO also participated.

The Dizengoff street bombing occurred on the 19th of October. In New York Times, five out of seven medium- or high relevancy articles have occurred in the following four days.

After the initial report on the terrorist attack, the first of these focused on the rise of Hamas⁵⁵ and is concerned with how the security of both Israel and Israeli citizens became more and more threatened by extremists. The second two articles with scores of 5 or above of the New York Times both cover in detail the morbid scene of the attack, and write about the everyday uncertainty, widespread fear and shock that Israelis were under afterward as mostly secular Tel-Aviv had been considered be safe compared to tension-filled Jerusalem (*"I feel fear. I'm sitting in this bus and I'm not sure I'll get off again alive."*; *"We feel it more now, the fear, because it's come close to us."*; *"Now we are very suspicious. We watch everyone getting on and off the bus."*).⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Washington Post has 11 medium- or high relevancy articles yet only two were published during this four-day period. One of these corresponds with the New York Times articles in tone and focus (*"It was disgusting -- all organs on the floor," she said. "I see this decapitated body with no leg. ... I got in this panic. I didn't know what to do."*).⁵⁷ Immediately afterwards, coverage split into two directions: many articles emphasize or mention the countermeasures taken, most importantly sealing borders to enhance state security. A number of other articles however also enumerated the severe consequences these measures have on Palestinians, most importantly workers unable to get to work and sporadically, human rights aspects are mentioned as well.⁵⁸ The New York Times also contains two articles during the period, which portray the conflict as part of a wider, ideological struggle⁵⁹. The first of these goes on to say the attack was not against Israel but

⁵⁵ Alan Cowell, ATTACK IN ISRAEL: THE ATTACKERS; Militants, Once Seen as Useful to Israel, Are Now Its Main Foe, *The New York Times* October 18, 1994, Section A; Page 16; Column 2; Foreign Desk

⁵⁶ Clyde Haberman, „Attack in Israel: The Overview and In a Shaken Tel Aviv, Fear Now Ride the Buses”; *The New York Times* October 20, 1994, Section A; Page 1; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Alan Cowell, „In a Shaken Tel Aviv, Fear Now Rides the Buses” *The New York Times* October 21, 1994, Section A; Page 1; Column 2; Foreign Desk

⁵⁷ Barton Gellman, “A Deadly, Thundering Blast, Then a Silent Scene of Carnage; Victims Strwn on Fashionable Shopping Street”, *The Washington Post* October 20, 1994, First Section; Page A1

⁵⁸ Barton Gellman, “Bomb on Bus Kills 20 in Tel Aviv; Rabin Vows Action Against Palestinian Group Claiming Responsibility” *The Washington Post* October 20, 1994, First Section; Page A1; Glenn Frankel, „The Specter of Lebanon ; What Hamas Hopes to Win With the Tel Aviv Bombing” *The Washington Post*, October 23, 1994, Section: Outlook; Page C1; Clyde Haberman, „Attack in Israel: The Overview and In a Shaken Tel Aviv, Fear Now Ride the Buses”; *The New York Times* October 20, 1994, Section A; Page 1; Column 6; Foreign Desk

⁵⁹ A.M. Rosenthal, „On My Mind: Terror and the West” *The New York Times* October 21, 1994, Friday, Section A; Page 31; Column 6; Editorial Desk; Chris Hedges, The World: Islam Bent into Ideology: Vengeful Visions of Hope, *The New York Times* October 23, 1994, Section 4; Page 3; Column 1; Week in Review Desk

against Western values and concepts and the world (and the reader) is warned not to wait too long before that „*certain bus arrives on Madison Avenue*”.⁶⁰ Direct confrontation is also suggested and the author is highly skeptical of Arafat’s condemnation of the attack. The latter is the first to briefly touch upon the situation of Palestinians.⁶¹ („*Cast loose from their villages and adrift in the huge urban sprawls of Cairo, Algiers or Gaza, millions of Arabs are now offered membership in a wide community of believers*”) Articles of similar tone and approach in the Washington Post are not found.

The first article to extensively cover Palestinian considerations was published two days after the attacks in the New York Times⁶², with several paragraphs on the consequences of harsh security measures of Israel, overpopulation, unemployment, torture of detainees in Israeli prisons and so on (“*The people of Gaza are shut off by an electronic fence, whose gates are controlled by Israel. Some 4,000 Israeli settlers occupy one-third of the land, while 850,000 Palestinians are crowded into the rest, suffering from 50 percent unemployment because most who worked as day laborers in Israel are now cut off from jobs*”). Another article in the Washington Post also places focus on similar issues after four days.⁶³ Subsequent news coverage in the New York Times cools down and continuously refers to different aspects of the conflict but only briefly embedded in other articles. The Washington Post however catches up as during the five-week period, it starts to regularly publish medium- and high relevancy articles (with scores of 5 or above). The final part of the period examined contains one significant event, the economic conference in Morocco during which the economic hardship of Palestinian territories is mentioned multiple times, and it is also added

⁶⁰ A.M. Rosenthal, „On My Mind: Terror and the West” October 21, 1994, Friday, *The New York Times*; Section A; Page 31; Column 6; Editorial Desk;

⁶¹ Chris Hedges, *The World: Islam Bent into Ideology: Vengeful Visions of Hope*, October 23, 1994, *The New York Times* Section 4; Page 3; Column 1; Week in Review Desk

⁶² Rachel Marshall, „A Premature Prize for Mideast Peace?” October 21, 1994, *The New York Times*, Section A; Page 30; Column 5; Editorial Desk

⁶³ Glenn Frankel, „The Specter of Lebanon ; What Hamas Hopes to Win With the Tel Aviv Bombing” October 23, 1994, *The Washington Post*; Section: Outlook; Page C1;

how private capital, economic cooperation can help offer better conditions and how borders need to be open to achieve any kind of improvement.⁶⁴ Furthermore, while the New York Times only did this briefly, the Washington Post more extensively covered the internal security issues of Palestine in relation to militants and supporters of different factions and how Arafat attempts to maintain stability and security.⁶⁵

RESULTS

According to the overall results based on data for both papers, the two pairs of categories (HSI-HSPA and TSI-TSPA) are amazingly balanced. There is an almost equal balance of traditional security related sections – 5.97% for Israel and 5% for Palestine. The frequency of human security frames is a bit more unequal – HIS at 9.74% and HSPA at 13.04% . The results show a similar balanced presence of the two pairs of categories in the New York Times. However, there is a significant difference in the Washington Post as there is a greater prominence of the human security frame in Palestine-related paragraphs (HSI: 9,62% while HSPA: 14,4%)

If we look at the articles that did not just sporadically contain relevant paragraphs but were of medium- or high relevancy (either strongly concentrated on a relevant issue OR frequently evoked one or both concepts of security thus having a relevancy of 5 or above) we still see a relatively balanced result overall (HSI 14.25% and HSPA 15.76%). The real difference here lies between the two newspapers. A cross-paper comparison shows that the New York Times and the Washington Post see comparable results when it comes to Israel and both security frames (HSI and TSI – NYT: 9,75% and 6,68% while WT 9,62% and 5,52%

⁶⁴ John Lancaster, „Middle East Summit Opens; Economic Conference Aims to Turn Peace into Regional Prosperity”; *The Washington Post*, October 31, 1994, First Section, Page A15

⁶⁵ Marwan Kanafani, „Arafat's New Antagonists; The Case for the Much-Reviled Leader” *The Washington Post* October 30, 1994, Section: Outlook, Page C1; Barton Gellman, „Power Shift To Arafat Accelerated; Rabin, PLO Leader Hold Talks at Border”

respectively). However, the results also reveal that there is a considerable difference when it comes to HSPA - (14.4% in the WP compared to 10.8% in the NYT). The difference finally becomes extreme, if we only take into account medium- and high relevancy articles. *In this case, human security and Palestine accounts for only 9.39% of paragraphs in New York Times but almost 20% in Washington Post.* In this specific group of articles, the New York Times actually contains significantly more HSI than HSPA. This suggests that in the New York Times, most paragraphs that could have been associated with human security aspects and Palestine are scattered throughout a number of different articles, while the Washington Post contain more concentrated references to these frames. Whether the use of a certain frame is more influential if or spread across remains unanswered.

Regarding the most dominant issues; the first category (HSI) is dominated by sections on the impact of the attacks and consecutive environment in Israel as well as the general threat militants and extremists pose to Israelis. The column of TSI mostly contains the measure of border closures, tightening inspections at checkpoints and also frequent references to occupation, control and surveillance by the Israeli military. The category of HSPA comprises paragraphs that discuss consequences of security measures, and also general living conditions, such as overpopulation, unemployment and so on. The fourth column of TSPA related sections is concerned about how the PLO attempts or is demanded to assume a state government role, assuring internal security, law-enforcement and fighting extremists through its own set of institutions.

Period - 19/10/94-26/11/94	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSPA	TOTAL
Frequency (in numbers)	89	55	597	120	48	920
Percentage (of overall paragraphs)	9,74%	6,7%	69%	13,04%	6,12%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor)	16,5%			17,1%		
Percentage (only NYT)	9,75%	6,68%	69%	10,86%	6,82%	N/A
Percentage (only WP)	9,62%	5,52%	62,21%	14,44%	4,28%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles included)	14,25%	6,69%	60,04%	15,76%	3,88%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – NYT	15,4%	6,63%	69,61%	9,39%	3,86%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – WP	13,47%	6,73%	53,9%	19,8%	3,90%	N/A

CHAPTER 2: AMERICAN MEDIA COVERAGE IN 2004

The primary source of data for the analysis of American media coverage during this period is the Westlaw database. The same two newspapers, the New York Times and the Washington Post are examined during the period from August 31, 2004 until the October 7, 1994. The same keywords and methods were used for the analysis. All articles mentioning Israel or Palestine counted for 261 articles in New York Times and 237 in Washington Post bringing the total articles examined after the first attack to 498. After gathering these, first, the completely irrelevant articles that contained search terms were sorted out leaving the number of articles examined in depth at 63 and 29, a total of 92.

After the break out of the Second Intifada in late 2000, large-scale violence continued for several years. The period of several months in 2004 before the Beersheba twin attacks were unique and comparable to late 1994 as there were no significant attacks since March, only few minor incidents and clashes though tensions remained high – which is seen by the immediate and much more extensive media coverage than following Dizengoff. The fact that the period was embedded in a longer era of violence and that one bombing triggered more frequent and in depth analysis of the conflict is also visible in the results. The number of medium- and high relevancy articles is much higher than in 1994 (28 for the New York Times and 14 for the Washington Post, which were 7 and 11 for 1994 respectively). The period was marked by the Gaza evacuation plan relocating several thousand Jewish settlers which Israeli President Ariel Sharon already proposed before the attacks and the subsequent sudden rise of violence the attack sparked.

On the 31st of August, two buses in Beersheba were blown up killing 16 people and injuring over a hundred. There is a turn regarding in-depth articles in the two newspapers. The medium- and high articles in the New York Times spread almost evenly throughout the period

while the Washington Post lacks any during the immediate aftermath of the attack. The first significant difference compared to 1994 is the lack of extensive articles and reportage on the carnage and consequent fear and terror in Israel. Instead, the Washington Post briefly and the New York Times extensively covered the hunger strike of several thousand Palestinian prisoners as a result of inhumane conditions, cruel modes of interrogation, torture and so on.⁶⁶ After these, focus shifts to a continuous coverage of clashes and violence between the two parties which are occasionally disrupted by other topics. Apart from frequent Israeli military strikes and a few instances of Palestinian counterattacks, the most important relevant topic discussed is the Gaza evacuation plan, the compensation of settlers related to which even the representative of their interest group is cited. Concerning Palestine, apart from the growing number of Palestinians civilians, the only issue mentioned in detail is about upcoming elections in Palestinian territories.⁶⁷

The period is quite different from 1994 as – supposedly due to the experience of the early years of the Second Intifada – the attack did not result in a coverage focusing on extreme level of shock. Furthermore, human security aspects regarding Palestine are frequently covered in both newspapers. Focus then shift to different phases of the Israeli military operation.⁶⁸ Regular military attacks are carried out in which many Palestinian civilians are also killed or wounded, one target of focus the Jabaliya refugee camp. The rest of the period occasionally mentions Israel's plan to forcefully relocate Jewish settlers from Gaza and the withdrawal is also a reoccurring issue related to which settlers' considerations, situation and interests are only rarely reported of.⁶⁹ (*"We believe the disengagement plan is*

⁶⁶ Steven Erlanger, „Jailed Palestinians End Fast Meant to Win Concessions” *The New York Time*, September 3, 2004, Section: A

⁶⁷ Steven Erlanger, „Inching Toward Elections, Palestinians Begin Voter Registration” *The New York Times*, September 5, 2004, Section: 1

⁶⁸ Steven Erlanger, „Israeli Tanks and Bulldozers in Assault on Gaza Town” *The New York Times* October 2, 2004, Section: 1; John Ward. „19 Palestinians Killed in Gaza; Israeli Official: Major Offensive at Hand” *The Washington Post*, October 1, 2004; Section: A

⁶⁹ Greg Myre, „Israelis Protest Sharon's Plan To Oust Jews From Gaza” *The New York Times*, September 13, 2004, Section: A

harmful to Israel, but we only support peaceful protests," said Josh Hasten, a council spokesman. "We are saddened by the prime minister's comments, which seem to depict an entire group in an unfavorable light.")

During this period, the first category of HSI mostly covers to threat Palestinian mortars and attacks near the borders pose to Israelis and the interests and treatment of Jewish settlers. The TSI column is dominated by the military campaign against Palestinian territories as well as the state-ordered and controlled relocation and withdrawal from Gaza. The category of HSPA lacks economic considerations, living conditions and is represented by the prison and detention conditions in Israel that many Palestinians have to face, specifically mentioning administrative detention. Furthermore, the everyday threat aggressive Israeli retaliation after the bombings presents is also dominant. Finally, the TSPA column is almost non-existent is only represented by paragraphs referring to Palestinians soon assuming control and responsibility over Gaza.

RESULTS

First of all, the percentage of human security frames remains relatively close and balanced (14.65% for Israel and 17.06% for Palestine). However, there is a sharp difference in the case of traditional security frames. Paragraphs of this kind associated with Israel account for 19.25% of relevant articles while the same value is only 3.4% for Palestine, which is fundamentally different than the same categories in 1994 - 5.97% for TSI and 5% for TSPA). This of course is due to coverage on intensive military actions and the state-organized withdrawal and relocation of Jewish settlers from Gaza. An impressive difference is that in both newspapers, Israel associated with either of the two security frames accounted for 30.14% in the New York Times and 44.71% in the Washington Post, while the same grouped up result is only 19.1% and 24.77% for Palestine. Quite simply, this means security of Israel

and Israelis was addressed much more frequently than that of Palestine and Palestinians even though they were seriously subjected and the Jewish state had an astonishing lead in military, economic and financial terms as well.

Period –31/08/2004-07/10/2004	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSPA	TOTAL
Frequency (in numbers)	188	247	766	219	44	1283
Percentage (of overall paragraphs)	14,65%	19,25%	59,7%	17,06%	3,42%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor)	33,90%				20,48%	
Percentage – just NYT	13,44%	16,70%	62,07%	15,23%	3,78%	N/A
Percentage – just WP	18,12%	26,5%	53%	22,4%	2,41%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles included)	18,62%	26,9%	46,04%	24,36%	4,2%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – only NYT	18,02%	24,7%	45,9%	24,1%	4,83%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – only WP	19,91%	31,7%	46,3%	24,79%	2,84%	N/A

COMPARISON WITH AMERICAN MEDIA COVERAGE IN 1994

Most importantly, findings suggest a rise of human security – both the overall results (based on both sources), both individual newspapers have shown a significant increase of the human security categories – this amounts to about 4% and 5% (HSI and HSPA) in the New York Times and to about 8.5% and 8% (HSI and HSPA) in the Washington Post. Thus there is a

possibility that while turn of events provoked the use of a national security paradigm and both Israel's and Israelis' security is addressed much more frequently, still, the human security frames have become more frequent in general regardless of current conditions.

	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSPA	TOTAL
1994 (Overall)	9,67%	5,97%	64,8%	13,04%	5%	N/A
2004 (Overall)	14,65%	19,2%	59,7%	17%	3,4%	N/A
Percentage in 1994 (only NYT)	9,75%	6,68%	69%	10,86%	6,82%	N/A
Percentage in 1994 (only WP)	9,62%	5,52%	62,21%	14,44%	4,28%	N/A
Percentage in 2004 – just NYT	13,44%	16,70%	62,07%	15,23%	3,78%	N/A
Percentage in 2004 – just WP	18,12%	26,5%	53%	22,4%	2,41%	N/A

CHAPTER 3: FRENCH MEDIA COVERAGE IN 1994

The primary sources of data for the analysis of French media coverage during this period are the Europresse and Westlaw databases. Since none of the accessible databases contained archives of Le Figaro earlier than 1996, only Le Monde is examined for the first period between the 19th of October and 26th of November 1994. Using the keywords of Israël and Palestine, 160 relevant articles were found. Out of these, 71 were relevant specifically to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and therefore to the research while 21 of these was considered medium- or high relevancy.

The period begins with extensive coverage on the immediate effects of the attack phasing into the general shock and terror that followed, similarly to American press.⁷⁰ Le Monde, similarly to the New York Times has most of the in-depth articles concentrated in the following few days and does not spread it across the full five-week period such as the Washington Post. (6 out of 8 of the highest relevancy articles are found here). One of these focuses on the security measures taken by Israel⁷¹ and another explores how the Oslo Peace Process has been derailed also broadly mentioning Palestinian social and economic grievances and loss of patience which is a considerably different portrayal and picture than what an article of the Washington Post draws⁷². Furthermore, the consequences of the border closure are also addressed in a separate piece.⁷³ This and another article mark a quite noticeable turn of trends.⁷⁴ From here onwards, almost exclusively Palestine is addressed both regarding human and traditional security which differs considerably from the coverage of both the New York Times and the Washington Post. Palestine is addressed in the context of workers and

⁷⁰ Le Monde, BULLETIN L'attentat de Tel-Aviv Surmonter l'épreuve, *Le Monde* October 21, 1994

⁷¹ Claude Patrice, „Envisageant des mesures de sécurité exceptionnelles Israël cherche les moyens d'isoler les territoires palestiniens” *Le Monde* October 21, 1994

⁷² Glenn Frankel, „The Specter of Lebanon ; What Hamas Hopes to Win With the Tel Aviv Bombing” *The Washington Post* October 23, 1994; Section: Outlook; Page C1

⁷³ Claude Patrice, „APRES L'ATTENTAT DE TEL AVIV DU 19 OCTOBRE 1994 Après la décision d'isoler la Cisjordanie et le territoire de Gaza L'OLP accuse Israël d'avoir déclaré une " guerre économique et sociale " *Le Monde* October 22, 1994

⁷⁴ Claude Patrice, „Tout en maintenant le bouclage de la Cisjordanie et de Gaza Israël reprend les négociations avec les Palestiniens” *Le Monde*, October 25, 1994

students barred from their destinations, internal instability and Yasser Arafat's attempt to regain full control over events thus topics remain mostly the same, but dynamics of security concepts are significantly different.

The main topics and controversies for the four categories are in general similar to the American press, however in this case the issue of constructing a security barrier almost always is presented together with consequences for Palestinians which suggests a more balanced coverage.

RESULTS

Traditional security frames appear almost to the same extent related to both Israel and Palestine, TSI and TSPA are 9.6% and 9.8%. However, in cases both Israel and Palestine, human security frames are higher than traditional security (HSI and HSPA higher than TSI and TSPA), and there is a considerable difference regarding human security frames in relation to actors (11.57% for Israel and 20.1% for Palestine, HSPA is much higher than HSI). We can conclude, that overall, security of Palestine/Palestinians is covered considerably more than in case of Israel, which is showed in the grouped results (21.22% for the Jewish State and 30% for Palestine).

Period - 19/10/94-26/11/94	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSPA	TOTAL
Frequency (in numbers) LM	66	55	342	115	56	570
Percentage (of all paragraphs) LM	11,57%	9,6%	61,75%	20,1%	9,8%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor) LM	21,22%		30%			N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – Le Monde	19,23%	17,9%	51,28%	29,4%	11,5%	N/A

for Palestine).

COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND FRENCH MEDIA COVERAGE IN 1994

Based on the chart comparing the findings for American coverage in 1994 and adding the results for France, we can conclude the following: first and foremost, security frames in relation to both actors are more frequently addressed in French media (21.22% and 30% compared to 16.5% and 17.1% in American press). Secondly, similar to US newspapers, human security trumps traditional security in cases of Israel as well as Palestine. Third, all three newspapers are relatively balanced when it comes to three categories, HSI, TSI and TPA, all being almost equal except for the Washington Post that has a relatively bigger presence of HSPA than HSI (14.44% compared to 9.62%). However, there is an enormous difference of human security categories in Le Monde, as HSI is 11.57% while HSPA is 20.1%. This anomaly remains in case of medium- and high relevancy articles as well, where it is 19.23% for Israel against 29.4% for Palestine. Fourth, the human security frame in general is noticeably more present in French media than in American press. This is true for all relevancy- and actor-based categories, and is especially considerable when it comes to Palestine where American papers' results are 10.86% and 14.44% compared to 20.1% in Le Monde and even greater in case of medium- and high relevancy articles, where the values are 9.39% and 19.8% compared to 29.4% in the French newspaper.

Period - 19/10/94-26/11/94	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSA	TOTAL
Frequency (in numbers)	89	55	597	120	48	920
Percentage (of overall paragraphs) US	9,74%	6,7%	69%	10,8%	6,12%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor) US	16,5%			17,1%		
Percentage (only NYT)	9,75%	6,68%	69%	10,86%	6,82%	N/A
Percentage (only WP)	9,62%	5,52%	62,21%	14,44%	4,28%	N/A
Frequency (in numbers) LM	66	55	342	115	56	570
Percentage (of all paragraphs) LM	11,57%	9,6%	61,75%	20,1%	9,8%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor) LM	21,22%			30%		N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles included) USA	14,25%	6,69%	60,04%	15,6%	3,88%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – NYT	15,4%	6,63%	69,61%	9,39%	3,86%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – WP	13,47%	6,73%	53,9%	19,8%	3,90%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – Le Monde	19,23%	17,9%	51,28%	29,4%	11,5%	N/A

CHAPTER 4: FRENCH MEDIA COVERAGE IN 2004

The primary sources of data for the analysis of French media coverage during this period are the Europresse and Westlaw databases. *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* are examined throughout the period between the 31st of August and the 7th of October 2004. Using the same keywords, a total of 240 relevant articles were found. Out of these, 56 were relevant specifically to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict while 36 of these were considered medium- or high relevancy.

French news coverage during this period differs considerably from that of American media. In *Le Monde*, there is only moderate reaction in the immediate aftermath of the double attacks in Beersheba. Only a medium-relevancy article is concerned with the bombing⁷⁵, while the next article of with scores of 5 or above already focuses on the hunger strike of Palestinian prisoners in Israel due to maltreatment.⁷⁶ On the other hand, in *Le Figaro*, a large majority of relevant articles are medium- or high relevancy, with focus on the conflict throughout the whole period. In *Le Monde*, the next significant article again heavily raises human security issues regarding Palestine as it focuses on judicial affairs in Israel giving a rather bleak picture,⁷⁷ while *Le Figaro* starts focusing on security measures most importantly the construction of new security barriers.⁷⁸ Medium- and higher relevancy articles keep supporting the Palestinian point of view and cover many issues in detail, including living conditions and consequences of Israeli security measures, specifically focusing on students who are barred from their school and on an Israeli woman who is put into administrative detention after visiting the Palestinian territories too frequently she did as she wanted to see

⁷⁵ *Le Monde*, „Un double attentat-suicide revendiqué par le Hamas a fait seize morts sur le territoire israélien” *Le Monde*, September 2, 2004

⁷⁶ Mouna Naïm, „La grève de la faim de 4 000 détenus palestiniens suspendue” *Le Monde*, September 4, 2004

⁷⁷ *Le Monde*, „Trois verdicts en une heure : le marchandage de la justice devant les tribunaux militaires israéliens” *Le Monde*, September 9, 2004

⁷⁸ Patrick Saint-Paul, “Israël lance la construction d'un nouveau tronçon du mur; Cinq jours après le double attentat suicide dans deux autobus qui a fait seize morts à Beersheba” *Le Figaro*, September 7, 2004

the actual conditions and situation there after the double bombings in Beersheba.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, *Le Figaro* mostly concentrates on the military actions and consequences for a long period and only covers Palestinian human security issues towards the end of the September.⁸⁰ Occasionally, other issues are also mentioned, such as questions of peaceful coexistence and evolution of the conflict, the relocation of Jewish settlers to the Negev desert and economic troubles and pauperization in Israel – here Palestinian conditions and the economic costs of security measures and defense budget also mentioned.⁸¹ The final part of the period is marked by coverage on the Israeli military operation Days of Repentance and the growing number of casualties and wounded as a result.

Regarding the specific topics and events that dominate the four categories, there are a few issues apart from the ordinary that are worth mentioning. These are coverage on the Israeli judicial process, economic downturn and consequences in Israel and Palestine and specific problems of the security barriers such as the question of access to education.

RESULTS

The most important differences analyzing the coverage of 2004 are the following:

Human security is dominantly associated with Palestine during the period; however there is a significant difference if we examine cross-paper anomalies as *Le Figaro* apparently devoted much more human-security related considerations in relation to Israel than *Le Monde* did. An enormous difference is visible if we group the security-related paragraphs and

⁷⁹ Gilles Paris, „Les Raisons du Succès Foudroyant du Hamas”, *Le Monde*, September 11, 2004

Stéphanie Le Bars, “A A-Ram, en Cisjordanie, le "mur" sépare les élèves palestiniens de leurs écoles” *Le Monde*, September 15, 2004;

Stéphanie Le Bars, “Pour avoir fréquenté un activiste palestinien, une Israélienne est mise en détention administrative” *Le Monde*, September 18, 2004;

⁸⁰ Patrick Saint-Paul, „L’irakisation’ de Gaza hante la population; En quatre ans d’intifada, la bande de terre coincée entre la mer et les barbelés israéliens n’a cessé de s’enfoncer graduellement dans le chaos; *Le Figaro*, September 30, 2004

Patrick Saint-Paul, „A Gaza, les civils paient le prix de l’offensive; L’opération militaire de Tsahal, prévue pour plusieurs semaines, pourrait prendre fin dimanche”, *Le Figaro*, October 7, 2004

⁸¹ Gilles Paris, „Quatre ans d’Intifada : ce qui a changé dans le conflit israélo-palestinien analyse Un processus politique est engagé. Mais la paix n’est plus à l’ordre du jour; *Le Monde*, September 29, 2004

Gilles Paris “La paupérisation des territoires et le chômage en Israël atteignent des records” *Le Monde*, September 29, 2004; Stéphanie Le Bars, “Les villes du Néguev tentent d’attirer les colons de la bande de Gaza” *Le Monde*, September 29, 2004

coverage by actor, which shows 35.22% for Israel in Le Monde and 70.38% in Le Figaro. As both HSI and TSI are considerably larger in the latter newspaper, we can conclude that Le Figaro has devoted incomparably more content to security of Israel/Israelis.

COMPARISON WITH FRENCH MEDIA COVERAGE IN 1994

The over-time comparison of the results of French media analysis shows the following:

First of all, there has been an overall increase of human security categories both in cases of Israel and Palestine (11.57% to 16.97% and 20.1% to 32.7% respectively by 2004). The issue is however more complex, if we break the results down to the two newspapers; we see a marginal decrease in HSI for Le Monde (9.75% down to 8.8%). Human security-relevant coverage in relation to Palestine has been significantly more frequent in all categories in both papers in 1994 as well as in 2004. The security of Israel is also largely discussed and talked about based on a traditional security paradigm in both papers, while traditional security and Palestine remains almost invisible during this period in both papers – most likely as a result of the collapse of Palestinian self-governance, disintegration of the state-like institutions and authorities and so on.

Period – 31/08/2004-07/10/2004	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSPA	TOTAL
Frequency (in numbers)	54	113	130	106	7	324
2004 (Overall)	16,97%	34,87%	40,12%	32,71%	2,16%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor)	51,85%			34,87%		
Percentage in 2004 (only Le Monde)	8,8%	26,41%	55,34%	31,44%	0,62%	N/A
Percentage in 2004 (only Le Figaro)	25,65%	44,73%	25%	33,53%	1,97%	N/A

	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSPA	TOTAL
1994 (only LM available)	11,57%	9,6%	60%	20,1%	9,8%	N/A
2004 (Overall)	16,97%	34,87%	40,12%	32,71%	2,16%	N/A

Percentage in 1994 (only Le Monde)	9,75%	6,68%	69%	10,86%	6,82%	N/A
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Percentage in 2004 (only Le Monde)	8,8%	26,41%	55,34%	31,44%	0,62%	N/A
Percentage in 2004 (only Le Figaro)	25,65%	44,73%	25%	33,53%	1,97%	N/A

COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND FRENCH MEDIA COVERAGE IN 2004

Comparing the results on American and French media coverage in 2004, the most important findings are the following: Human security frames have been present to a greater extent in French media than in American newspapers, the difference is most considerable in relation to Palestine (17.06% in US media against 32.71% in France), though the issue is more complex if we break down the data to sources. During this period, out of all newspapers, the New York Times has used the traditional security frame associated with Israel the least, while Le Monde and the Washington Post are almost equal (26.41% and 26.5%) and Le Figaro contained this category the most frequently by far. (43.03%) Palestinian side and the human security frame has been the least apparent in the New York Times (15.23%), the Washington Post contains 22,4% while both French newspapers have higher numbers during this period (31,44% and 33,09%) these latter two almost equal in this regard. Both American and French media focus much more frequently on the security matters in relation to Israel than to Palestine (33.90% to 20.48% in the United States and 51.85% and 34.87% in France). A cross-paper comparison shows that there are differences between both American and French papers when it comes to security and Israel. While the New York Times altogether shows 30.14% for Israel's security (regardless which security concept), the data from Washington Post indicate 44.62%. The level of anomaly is similar in France where Le Monde shows 34.21% while le Figaro tops with 67.87% suggesting an extreme frequency of addressing the issue compared to all three other papers.

Period –31/08/2004-07/10/2004	HSI	TSI	IRR	HSPA	TSA	TOTAL
Frequency (in numbers) US	188	247	766	219	44	1283
Percentage (of overall paragraphs) US	14,65%	19,25%	59,7%	17,06%	3,42%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor) US	33,90%			20,48%		
Percentage – just NYT	13,44%	16,70%	62,07%	15,23%	3,78%	N/A
Percentage – just WP	18,12%	26,5%	53%	22,4%	2,41%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles included) US	18,62%	26,9%	46,04%	24,36%	4,2%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – only NYT	18,02%	24,7%	45,9%	24,1%	4,83%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – only WP	19,91%	31,7%	46,3%	24,79%	2,84%	N/A
Frequency (in numbers) FR	54	113	130	106	7	324
2004 (Overall) FR	16,97%	34,87%	40,12%	32,71%	2,16%	N/A
Percentage (according to actor) FR	31,85%			34,87%		
Percentage in 2004 (only Le Monde)	8,8%	26,41%	55,34%	31,44%	0,62%	N/A
Percentage in 2004 (only Le Figaro)	24,84%	43,03%	25,45%	33,9%	3,63%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles included) FR	21,16%	38,9%	29,01%	40,27%	1,36%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – only Le Monde	16,31%	32,62%	33,33%	47,5%	0,70%	N/A
Percentage (only medium- and high relevancy articles) – only Le Figaro	25,65%	44,73%	25%	33,5%	1,97%	N/A

CONCLUSION

This main objective of this research was to identify whether the recently emerged concept of human security is traceable in American and French mainstream media. This is relevant because mass media may reflect how individuals and public perceives political and social reality. Qualitative content analysis was used and four categories (HSI, TSI, HSPA and TSPA) were established to examine media coverage of specific events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that particularly raised the issue of security.

Considerable cross-country and over-time differences were discovered. According to the results, there has been an overall rise of the human security frame in both American and French media; furthermore, while both countries media seemed to take sides on the conflict, they did so utilizing a human security frame in 1994 which changed in American press by 2004 resulting in the use of both security frames. In French news sources, the human security frame accompanied Palestine more during both periods.

Significant differences have been shown depending on specific sources as well. A cross-paper comparison shows that the New York Times and the Washington Post have seen comparable results regarding Israel and both security frames. However, the results reveal that there is a considerable difference when it comes to human security and Palestine (14,4% in the WP compared to 10,8% in the NYT). In order to fine-tune the research, the relevant articles were categorized according to relevancy. This allowed for further conclusions: the difference between the two American papers in case of medium- and high relevancy articles was extreme. This suggested that coverage can differ and frames used may be scattered throughout many articles or they may be concentrated in a few in-depth writings. Whether the

use of a certain frame is more influential if concentrated or spread across remains unanswered. As for French sources, archives of Le Figaro were only available for the second period examined thus a cross-paper comparison could only be carried out for 2004. According to data, there are significant differences between these sources as well – while both Le monde and Le Figaro have addressed security matters in relation to Palestine to a comparable level; the latter newspaper used the traditional security frame regarding Israel much more frequently.

Based on the different socio-cultural settings and public attitude, five main hypotheses were defined. In light of the results and findings, the results are the following:

- *Hypothesis no.1* – The human security frame became more influential in both American and French media by the mid-2000s – Based on overall data, the hypothesis is *true* in both countries. It has to be added that if we break down the results according to newspapers, there has been a negligible decrease in Le Monde regarding category HSI (9.75% to 8.8%).
- *Hypothesis no.2* – The human security frame is more prevalent in France during both periods. – The second hypothesis is *true*, as all numbers show that during both periods and in both papers; the human security frame was much more prominent than in American newspapers.
- *Hypothesis no.3* – The terrorist attacks of 2001 have been significant enough to reshape societal views on security in the United States. This may mean a decreased salience of the frame of human security – The third hypothesis is *not true*, despite proposing that such an event would reshape societies understanding of security possibly shifting it towards the traditional security paradigm, the salience of the human security frame has grown considerably in American press overall and in both papers.

- *Hypothesis no.4* - The human security frame has been associated with Palestine more frequently in French media than in the United States during both periods – The fourth hypothesis is *true*, as results for both 1994 and 2004 indicate that category HSPA has been much more considerable than in American press.
- *Hypothesis no.5* - The traditional security frame was associated with Israel more frequently in American media than in France during both periods – The fifth and final hypothesis is *not true*, as according to data, during both time periods, French media addressed security matters related to Israel utilizing a traditional security frame more frequently than did American news sources.

This research contributed to the academic literature in the following ways: it investigated the emergence of a chosen theoretical concept – human security – and followed how frames based on this approach or the traditional security paradigm appeared in American and French mainstream media. A particular research design and methodology was developed based on qualitative content analysis to examine whether the dynamics of human security and traditional security paradigm and the representation of a conflict have resonated with national publics based on the findings here. The findings may serve as a foundation for future research on how concepts emerge and appear in media and whether there is any sign of consistency with specifically trends of public attitude. In addition, although it is not explored here, it should be pointed out that apart from mainstream media, new concepts, approaches may be transmitted more directly through other channels as well due to recent developments and innovations in information technology. The question of how such concepts might exert influence via these alternative routes of information - such as websites, blogs and social networking sites – may also be focus of future research.

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