



**Arab  
Reporters  
Needed**  
for the Hebrew Press

*Patterns of Representing Arab-Palestinian  
Citizens in Israeli Print Media*

**Amal Jamal and Kholod Masalha**

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# 1 **Historical and Political Background**

The Palestinian citizens of Israel are the remaining indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, most of whom managed to hold on to their places of habitation in the 1948 War. They turned from a majority people of Palestine into a small minority in the Israeli state, which became the home state of a majority of Jews who had mostly immigrated to Palestine in the fifty years before the UN recognition of the Israeli state in 1948. The Palestinian minority remained in three major areas inside Israel: the Galilee, the Triangle area and the Negev. A small minority of Palestinians remained in what has been coined the 'mixed' cities of Akka, Haifa, Jaffa, Ramleh and Lod.

The entire Palestinian population was subject to military government based on the emergency regulations set forth by the British Mandate Government in 1945. These regulations bypassed the regular legal and judicial system in order to combat the rising activism of anti-British forces – Jewish and Palestinian – that sought to remove the Mandate Government from Palestine. Despite the condemnation of these regulations by both Jewish and Palestinian political groups in the Mandate period, the government of Israel maintained them

as part of the legal system of the state and applied them in Palestinian areas, enabling the state to bypass the official legal system and set the entire Palestinian population in a state of exception, where military officers ruled the Palestinian population. This military rule, which lasted until 1966, was eased gradually after 1960, but only after achieving its declared and undeclared goals.

Although the military government was justified by the Israeli government as addressing security needs, it is clear that it served other purposes that had strategic importance for the state and which had nothing to do with the immediate security threat. Its three main undeclared goals throughout its 18 year duration were: the institutionalization of the economic dependence of the Palestinian minority on the Jewish economy. This goal was achieved by two interrelated policies. First, the transfer of lands from Palestinian ownership to the state by means that made martial law necessary and second, establishing a regime of transport permits that limited the freedom of movement of Palestinian workers and blocked their ability to compete freely with Jewish workers in the job market. The second goal was the intimidation of the national political leaders that remained inside Israel after the Palestinian exodus and ensuring through disciplinary measures that the rest of the population accept its submissive role inside the new political structure. The third goal of the military government was demographic and had to do with blocking the return of Palestinian refugees from outside what

has become recognized as the borders of the Israeli state; the destruction of the Palestinian villages that were depopulated and where no Jewish settlement was established, and the institutionalization of the demographic reality of the Palestinian population, especially turning the “temporary” residency of the internal Palestinian refugees in neighboring villages into a permanent situation.

The military government achieved most of its economic and demographic goals. It facilitated the transfer of most Arab lands into the hands of the state, it made the agricultural Palestinian society dependent on the Jewish economy and managed to freeze the demographic reality that was established during the 1948 War, segregating the Palestinians from the Jewish population and fragmenting them from within.

The first turning point in the history of the relationship between the state and the Palestinian minority unfolded when, six months after the military government was lifted in December 1966, Israel occupied the Palestinian areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai peninsula. The Six-Day War in June 1967 made it necessary for the state to change its technologies of control and surveillance tactics and to shift most of its military and policing energies into the newly Occupied Territories. The Palestinians inside Israel were exposed to the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in which relatives

and family members lived as refugees. Furthermore, the Palestinian citizens of Israel were exposed to the political and cultural forces in the Occupied Territories, which instigated trends whose implications were understood more than a decade later.

The 1967 War set the stage for major political and economic changes in Palestinian society in Israel that were translated into the Israeli reality in the decades that followed. One of the events it triggered was the first Land Day on 30 March 1976, which marked the proactive strategy of struggle by the Palestinian community against policies of discrimination, especially in the field of land confiscation, but also in the allocation of resources and in the job market. The first Land Day, during which the police gunned down and killed six demonstrators, was the first nationwide and centrally orchestrated strike of the Palestinian population in Israel. This day became a central memorial day among the Palestinians in Israel and was later marked by all Palestinians no matter where they live.

Another important turning point in the history of the Palestinian population in Israel is the signing of the Oslo Accord between the state of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), as a result. This was significant since it entailed the separation of the solution of the Palestinian national problem from the future political and legal status of Palestinians in Israel. It resulted

in a serious realignment in the Arab party structure, where two new lists – one Islamic and one national – entered the political game in competition with the Hadash list, which had dominated the Arab scene until then. The 1996 elections to the Israeli Knesset marked a differentiation process by which a clear division was seen between those who sought to influence the future of the Palestinian community from within the Israeli formal political system and those who did not trust this strategy and claimed that the price paid by legitimizing the system was too high relative to the possible gains. While Hadash, which represented the communist-secular voter and Balad, which represented the national-secular voter, and the United Arab List, which represented the Islamist-religious-conservative voter took over 80% of the Arab vote in the Knesset elections, part of the Abna'a Al-Balad movement and part of the Islamic movement chose not to participate in the elections. The latter represented national and Islamic potential voters that were not convinced that representation in the Knesset was the way to gain Palestinian rights, especially since the Knesset had enacted the laws that had led to the suppression and disenfranchisement of the Palestinian community in the first place. Since 1996 these splits between the two camps and within each of them has remained more or less the same, weakening the political effectiveness of the entire community vis-à-vis the Israeli state.

Another crucial turning point in the history of the Palestinian minority and the Israeli state were the

events of October 2000, in which thousands of Arab citizens marched the streets to express their protest against Israel's repressive policies in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and against the regression in the equalization and liberalization policies initiated by the second Rabin government and retracted by the first Netanyahu government and then the Barak government. The fierce reaction of the Israeli police, leading to the killing of thirteen Palestinian citizens, deepened the rift between the Palestinian minority and the state. The years 2006-2007 witnessed the publication of several vision documents by Palestinian NGOs, signaling the growing engagement of the latter in determining the social and political agenda of society. The documents echoed the political orientation of most of the Arab-Palestinian community in Israel, despite the fact that the public was not sufficiently consulted. This step led to the intensification of surveillance and control policies by the state, initiated after the October 2000 events. The state policies towards the Palestinian minority revitalized the perceptions of the early years of the state, where the Arab-Palestinian minority was mainly conceived in security terms.



## 2 *Thematic Background*

Much research has dealt with the way Arab-Palestinian citizens are presented in the Israeli media. The studies have reached the general conclusion that there is a media policy, which cannot be coincidental, of symbolic obliteration and epistemological violence towards Arab-Palestinian society in Israel. In addition, a complex policy exists which silences the Arabs on the one hand, and criminalizes them on the other. This policy, reflected in media content but never openly declared, has aimed to diminish the importance of the Arab population and its distress, to prevent exposure of the mortal blows to its basic rights, and simultaneously, to perpetuate the view of this population as an internal threat against which the country must be safeguarded. This constitutes a means of establishing justification for the humiliating and unequal treatment of Arab society.

This research attempts to investigate orientations in patterns of coverage and representations of Arab-Palestinian society in the Israeli media, and what this illustrates about the attitude of Israeli-Jewish society towards Arab-Palestinian society in Israel, regarding practices of constructing Arab society as foreign, as threatening, and as deserving of discriminatory treatment. Many studies have examined coverage of Arab-Palestinian society in the Israeli broadcast

media, investigating the level of multiculturalism in the media agenda, but these have not focused on this coverage as a separate issue in itself. Some studies have investigated political relations, such as coverage of Land Day or

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1. Abu-Raya, Issam, Eli Avraham and Gadi Wolfsfeld (1998), *The Arab Population in the Hebrew Press: Media and Socio-political De-legitimization*. Ra'anana: The Center for the Study of the Arab Population in Israel.

2. October 2000 events are those demonstrations in which the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel marked their protest against the ruthless behavior of the Israeli police and military forces against Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. During these demonstrations 13 Palestinians including 1 from Gaza were killed by police/security forces, for which no one was legally held to account, until this date. First, Anat and Eli Avraham (2004), *Representation of the Arab Population in the Hebrew Media: A Comparison between Coverage of the first Land Day (1976) and Coverage of the 'Al-Aqsa Intifada' (2000)*. Tami Steinmetz Institute, Tel Aviv University.

reports of protests by Palestinian citizens in times of crisis, in order to explore the role of the Israeli media in “emergency situations” and to examine representations of Palestinians in the Israeli public space at these moments.

Among the research which can be cited in this context are the studies of Prof. Gadi Wolfsfeld, Dr. Eli Avraham, and Dr. Issam Abu-Raya, dealing with the attitude of Israeli media towards Arab citizens, with a focus on their representations in times of crisis as “security criminals” who are a permanent and continual threat.<sup>1</sup> The research determined that Arabs enter the Israeli media agenda only as threatening and as requiring a “suitable” Israeli reaction. Similar findings were discovered in a study by Dr. Anat First and Dr. Eli Avraham, which compared coverage of Arab citizens on Land Day and coverage of the events of October 2000.<sup>2</sup> The study showed that there was identical media coverage orientation, despite

the gap of 24 years separating the two events. The attitude of the Israeli media to Arab-Palestinian citizens had not changed, especially when considering times of crisis. An additional study conducted by Dr. Eli Avraham and Dr. Anat First focused on the frequency of appearance of Arabs in the commercial media.<sup>3</sup> Findings indicated that 3% of those appearing in the commercial media (Channels 2 and 10) were Arabs. In a continuation study under the auspices of the Second Broadcast Authority, to investigate representation of minorities in the commercial media, it was found that the rate of appearances by Arabs was only 2%.

The present report presents findings of a modest study of trends which have taken place – if at all – in the ways Palestinian citizens of Israel are portrayed in the Israeli media in ordinary times, when there are no crises or wars. In contrast to the research which examined the extent of multiculturalism in Arab representations on commercial television, and in order to determine its obligation to fairly present various groups in Israeli society, this research examines the portrayal of Arab citizens in normal times. The point of departure of the study is that there are no studies which consider the features of the Israeli Hebrew print media agenda in normal times, when there are no civil crises, seeking to investigate the coverage of Arab Palestinian citizens and how they are represented. This research attempts to check whether there have been changes in patterns of coverage of Arab citizens, after the years in which

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3. Avraham, Eli, Anat First and Noa Elfant-Loffler (2004). *Absence and the Presence in Prime Time Viewing: Cultural Diversity in Commercial Television Programming in Israel*. Jerusalem: The Second Television and Radio Authority.

it was clear, and indicated beyond a shadow of a doubt, that coverage was characterized by symbolic invalidation, and cultural and political defamiliarization, namely as being “strangers” in their own homeland. The importance of this research is therefore not only in its data, but in its human and political significance in everything connected to the attitude of Israeli Jewish society towards its Arab society. The research data reflect the limits of socialization and membership in Israeli society, and indicate the relations of subservience and their mechanisms in one of the central domains of consciousness design and determination of the social, political and cultural agenda.

The aim of this modest study is to again place the subject on the public and political agenda and to propose solutions to improve the situation. The research also explores the connection between the identity of the reporters and the nature of the coverage, and wonders whether employing Arab media reporters would contribute to the improvement of the situation.

For the research, we chose to examine the print media from October through December 2009, and we followed the coverage of topics connected to Arab citizens in the three largest Israeli newspapers, Yedioth Aharonoth, Ma’ariv and Ha’aretz, on a daily basis. Despite the wide exposure of the free newspaper Yisrael Hayom which entered the competition in 2007, these three are still the leading

newspapers sold in Israel.<sup>4</sup> However, we are aware of the fact that there are other commercial newspapers which have become important players in the

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4. According to data of the TGI survey (See: <http://www.bizportal.co.il/shukhahon/biznews02.shtml?mid=209153>) (Last entry on 15.1.11)

Israeli public arena. It should be stressed that the inclusion of the three newspapers in one research framework stems from the fact that all three report on the Palestinian population identically from the standpoint of expressions and terminology.<sup>5</sup>

During the time period chosen for the research, no special events occurred. Even in more in-depth coverage, there were no unusual political events connected directly or indirectly to Palestinian-Arab citizens in Israel, although recently there had been a significant rise in racist events and in racist remarks against the Palestinian Israeli population.<sup>6</sup> The period which was chosen can therefore be considered as representative, and the findings of the research are valid regarding patterns of coverage and framing of Palestinians in the Israeli media.

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5. This will be detailed later in the Report.

6. See the Report on Racism for 2009 issued by the Mossawa Center: <http://www.mossawacenter.org/default.php?lng=3&pg=1&dp+2&ff=3>. (Last entry on 14.1.11).

# 3 **The Israeli Media and the Arab Population: Attitudes of Defamiliarization and Exclusion**

The media is not a neutral public space in the existing system between sender and recipient, but rather an actor, creating symbolic reality which affects the public's ethical and ideological views, and its perception of reality. The Israeli media also fulfills an important role in the process of constructing a new reality and the creation of "mainstreaming." But here the question should be asked: Which reality do the Israeli media try to describe? Are Palestinian citizens part of that reality, and if so, how are they presented?

The accepted theory of reality construction in regard to the characteristics of media effects on public consciousness views society as a system of conflicts due to the opposing interests of its sectors,<sup>7</sup> and imposes the responsibility of choosing what to cover and how on the media. As agenda setting theories have proven, their very choice proves that the media have their own preferences.<sup>8</sup>

The media in Israel are part of the conflict.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, they exist within it, and thus, the image that they create is that of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

7. Weimann, Gabi (2000), *Communicating Unreality: Mass Media and Reconstruction of Realities*. London: Sage Publications. p. 440.

8. Dearing, James and Everett Rogers (1996), "What is Agenda-setting?" *Agenda-Setting*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 1-23.

9. Caspi, Dan and Yehiel Limor (1992), *The Mediators: The Media In Israel 1948-1990*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved. pp. 205-211, 230-249. (Hebrew)

More than half of the news items in the Israeli media relate to this conflict.<sup>10</sup> Considering this situation, the Israeli media have led to the construction of reality whose limits are drawn according to the expectations and the needs of the Jewish consumer.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it can be said that the Israeli media is a national Jewish media, when relating to the dominant super-narrative in its contents.<sup>12</sup>

The media is a central social institution in modern societies. It is impossible to consider a society in its political, social, and economic dimensions without referring to the roles of the media in designing the public agenda and constructing collective memory.<sup>13</sup> However, the discussion of the influence of the media on the public space does not ignore the fact that it itself is nourished on political realities. The choice by media representatives regarding what to cover and how, is a result of a dialectic process between them and the economic and political elites.<sup>14</sup>

Along with the fact that many contemporary studies have found that the Palestinian national identity of Arabs in Israel is becoming stronger,<sup>15</sup> the impression is growing that the

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10. See the research of the Agenda Center for 2006. <http://www.agenda.org.il/our-projects/miutum-batikshore> (last entry 30.12.10).

11. Wolfsfeld, Gadi (2006). "Media in Situations of Conflict". Lecture at a Study Day of the Israeli Institute for Democracy. [agenda-old.migvan.co.il/info/pages/the\\_arab\\_minority\\_gadi\\_v.doc](http://agenda-old.migvan.co.il/info/pages/the_arab_minority_gadi_v.doc) (Last entry 15.1.11) (Hebrew)

12. Barzel, Asher (1976). "The Right of Speech to Whom?" in *Freedom of Access to the Media*. Jerusalem: The Broadcast Authority, Training Center. (Hebrew)

13. McCombs Maxwell (2004) *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Cambridge, UK.: Polity Press.

14. Wolfsfeld, Gadi (1997), *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

15. Bishara, Azmi (1999), *Between the I and the We: Constructing Identity and Israeli Identities*. Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute.

Israeli media which is affected by the political realities, does not view Arab citizens as a potential target group. Palestinian citizens in Israel have suffered from hostile treatment and continual exclusion since the establishment of the state, and this has pushed them to the margins. The recommendations of the Or Committee<sup>16</sup> determined, *inter alia*, that “[i]t should be mentioned that the role of the state on this subject is not limited to material issues only. The governmental authorities must find the ways to enable Arab citizens to express their culture and their identity in a fitting and proper way in their public life.” It may be presumed that the attitude of the Israeli governments through the years towards the Arab population has led to their similar treatment in the media. This attitude is not based on recognition and respect for the original identity of this population. The recommendations of the Or Committee reflect the attitudes of contempt, discrimination and slander of all Israeli governments, which express the accepted opinion and the dominant perception among the Jewish population in general.

However, research has found that the functioning of the Israeli media and its approach to the Arab population have never been cut off from its obligations to the Jewish environment. The hostile attitude to the Arab population as threatening the security of Israeli society has led the Israeli media to cover the Arabs categorically as those who do not constitute part of Israeli society in any sense of the word, and as a group who pose a permanent potential threat. This orientation of coverage and representation not only

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16. The Or Commission.



applies to the official press, but also to the commercial media. Like commercial media in many countries, which relate positively to the national goals of their societies and reflect these goals as a social responsibility, the commercial media in Israel adopt a representative national position by placing limits of ethno-national membership within the media discourse, in every possible realm.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, many studies have underscored the obligations of media figures operating in the printed press to their professional responsibilities, even though many Israeli newspaper reporters attribute greater importance to the national dimension of their identities than to the professionalism of their work.<sup>18</sup> The responsibility of newspaper reporters, deriving from this obligation, is to ethically and impartially report events concerning Arab-Palestinian society in Israel.

### **3.1 The Role of Minority Groups in the Media**

What does the coverage of Palestinian citizens in the Israeli media look like, and how are Arabs presented? In order to answer these questions, the many studies dealing with minorities in the media should be consulted.

Researchers who have investigated patterns of minority group coverage have found that, in most cases, there is a tendency to ignore them and to refer to them negatively, while focusing on issues like crime, violence, wife murder, security

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17. Jamal, Amal (2006), *Arab Leadership in the Newspaper News: Commercial Arabic in Israel*. Nazareth: Ilam Center.

18. Neiger, Motti, Eyal Zandberg and Issam Abu Raya (2001), *Jewish or Israeli Media? Jerusalem: Keshev Center*.

threat, catastrophes, riots, social unrest and distress.<sup>19</sup> The negative coverage includes cues in regard to the “other”, who is actually created by the media itself in a process of defamiliarization and exclusion. The other is perceived in the media as threatening the social agenda, and as those whose lives are characterized by perversion, disorder and crises which occur and recur. It is the “other” who is responsible for his/her own economic and social troubles due to his/her distinctive characteristics, and thus, the majority must always fear him/her. Coverage of the “other” in the media – whether in a religious, gender, national, ethnic or any other context – is accompanied by wide use of generalizations, stereotypes and prejudices, while deliberately ignoring the background, the reasons or the political-social contexts which have led to these difficulties and crises.<sup>20</sup> A number of researchers have tried

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19. See following, Section 2.2. Hall Stuart (1996), “What is this ‘black’ in black popular culture?” in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (eds.), *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 465-475.; Bhabha, Homi (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

20. First and Avraham (2004); Wolfsfeld (1997); Abu Raya, Avraham and Wolfsfeld (1998).

21. Gill, D. (1987), “Real Women and the Press: An Ideological Alliance of Convenience”. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 14 (3), pp. 11-16.

to understand why the media ignores the minority. Some have argued that members of the minority are distanced from the focuses of power and from the elites, and these factors project on the treatment they receive in the media.<sup>21</sup> Others tend to explain the media disregard for the minority as a result of the socio-political realities expressed in the quality of relations between the political establishment and the media establishment. These are organized both in formal and informal relations on the micro and on the macro levels. In other words,

most of the studies about patterns of media treatment of minorities of different types have found that the media acts for the benefit of the political establishment which ignores minorities.<sup>22</sup> This is especially true in cases of complex majority-minority relations which are fostered not only by cultural differences, but also by opposing basic national interests.

### **3.2 The Israel Media and the Palestinian Minority in Israel**

A number of studies have tried to understand the relations between the Arab minority and the Hebrew language media.<sup>23</sup> In a study conducted by Wolfsfeld and Abu Raya (1998) on the nature of the interaction between the Hebrew language media and Arab citizens in Israel, it became clear, for example, that only 2% of the Hebrew newspaper reports in the Hebrew press in 1973-1996 dealt with topics connected to Arab citizens. The research determined that the Israeli media demonstrates a negative attitude when covering Arab citizens, concentrating on the same subjects, making use of generalizations and stereotypes and focusing on the security threat hypothetically posed by Arab citizens to the Jewish majority and the state. In contrast, the main subjects which are on the political

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22. Gross, Larry (1998), "Minorities, Majorities and the Media in Tamar Libes and James Curran (eds.), *Media Ritual and Identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 87-102; Jamal, Amal (2009) "Media Culture as a Counter-Hegemonic Strategy: The Communicative Action of the Arab Minority in Israel", *Media Culture and Society*, 31(4), pp. 559-577; Elias, Nelly, Amal Jamal and Orly Soker (2009) "Illusive Pluralism and Hegemonic Identity in Popular Reality Shows in Israel" *Television and New Media* 10 (5), pp. 375-391.

23. First and Avraham (2004).

agenda of the Arab minority, such as land expropriation, the unrecognized villages and other such issues, hardly receive any coverage in the Israeli media.

Neiger and Abu Raya feel that it is impossible to understand media coverage of Arab citizens in the Israeli media without studying the wider context of the attitude of the state and of Jewish society towards the Arabs. The link between the three components – the media, the political-security establishment and Jewish society – expressed in a consensus regarding the safeguarding of the Jewish-Zionist character of the state – contributes to the negative attitude of the Israeli media towards the minority. The Israeli media is an integral part of the Jewish collective, and this is the way it sees itself. In addition to the media, the political-security establishment and Jewish society have common interests and a common viewpoint, and all three contribute to the delegitimization of Arab citizens and their civic and national demands, and support their being shoved to the sidelines. All three maintain the obligation to retain the Jewish-Zionist character of the state, and thus they struggle together against the minority which undermines this character.

In research by First and Avraham, which explored the representation of the Arab population in the Hebrew media both on the first Land Day, in 1976, and during the events of October 2000, it was found that there was great similarity between the coverage of the two instances, despite the significant differences in the character of the media, namely modernization and increased possibilities for obtaining precise information. The press coverage of the Land Day incidents in 1976 is a classic example of

negative attitudes, stereotypical presentation and unequal power relations between the majority and the minority. At the time, the newspaper framing included various modes of representation which aided in the effacement of minority group existence and demands, and did not include reporting about the results of the conflict or the lessons learned from the events which took place.

The media coverage of Arab citizens in 2000 was similar. In his book *Intifada Hits the Headlines: How the Israeli Press Misreported the Outbreak of the Second Palestinian Uprising*, Daniel Dor analyzed the Hebrew press during the first months after October 2000. One of the main tools used by Dor was an examination of the content of the headlines in contrast to the content which was presented in the articles themselves. He concluded that the press presented a distorted and one-sided view of reality, and that, in many cases, it was easy to see the difference between the content supplied by the reporters and the content which the editors chose to emphasize by determining the headline, by the location of the article in the newspaper edition and by other factors.<sup>24</sup> According to Dor, the source of the difference between the headline and the article is in the fact that the reporters and the writers in the field knew what was really happening, but the Jewish editors chose to suit the coverage to the police reports.

Abu Raya maintains that it is impossible to understand the functioning of the media in isolation from other power structures in the state, and that the media does not

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24. Dor, Daniel (2004), *Intifada Hits the Headlines: How the Israeli Press Misreported the Outbreak of the Second Palestinian Uprising*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

function in a vacuum. Nator points out that the media is not located outside of society nor is it above society.<sup>25</sup> The media reflects the accepted perceptions of society and thus, it is an agent of preservation, even when referring to the attitude of society to its perception of the “other”. Jamal, Elias and Soker monitored multicultural sensitive coverage on the commercial stations and the appearance of minority groups during the peak viewing hours according to data from a survey conducted by the Second Broadcast Authority for Television and Radio. The findings indicated that, on newscasts of the commercial television channels – Channel 2 and Channel 10 – all minority groups suffer from a lack of representation. Jamal is of the opinion that the marginality of the Arabs in Israeli media testifies to double exclusion: Arabs are usually excluded from the television screens, and when they do appear, they are portrayed as typical stereotypes of social and cultural subjugation. He feels that exclusion of Arabs from the

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25. Nator, Salman (2000) *The Israeli Media and the Intifada: A Critical Study*. Haifa: Ilam-Media Center for Arab Palestinians in Israel.

26. Elias, Nelly, Amal Jamal, Rivka Ben-Shakhar and Orly Soker (2006), *The Absent and the Present in Prime Time: Cultural Variety in the Broadcasts of the Commercial Television Channels in Israel*. Jerusalem: The Second Authority for Television and Radio (Follow-up Research)

Israeli cultural space also reflects their inability to express their desires and their positions legitimately. Their appearance in the Israeli media is dependent on the measure of their suitability to the model of the “other”, a model which views Arabs as strangers who must subject themselves to the dictates of the dominant majority.<sup>26</sup> In addition, Jamal argues that when Arabs are integrated in various media programs, they are subservient to the dominant super-narrative in Israeli

society, which places the hegemonic Zionist worldview as the normative paradigm. Thus, Arab citizens are playing in a perceptual field which is foreign to them and they are forced to accept the rules of the game which grant them a place only conditional upon the extent of their fidelity to the hegemonic narrative. In his study of the reality show “Seeking a Leader”, Jamal points to the mechanisms of exclusion and defamiliarization of the Israeli super-narrative which emphasizes democracy and tolerance, in contrast to the unwillingness of Arab citizens to respect the “hospitality” of the generous Israeli.<sup>27</sup>

All of the studies which have been cited above have shown that the Israeli media is primarily Jewish, and real newsworthy pluralism is absent. On central core issues such as foreign and security affairs, national identity and Jewish dominance, the Israeli media reflects wide agreement, even though, in current political issues and internal affairs, there are many disagreements. Any possibility of an in-depth discussion about important conflicts is pushed aside and the only remaining outlook is one that views the Arabs as the “others”, significantly different, who interest the public only when their concerns are related to the interests of Jewish society.

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27. Jamal, Amal, Nelly Elias, and Orly Soker (2011), “Cultural Encoding and Phony Equality in Popular Reality Shows: Lessons from Israel”. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Forthcoming).

## 4 ▶ Methodology

This research deals with the quantity and the quality of coverage of Arab citizens in the newspapers *Yedioth Aharonoth*, *Maariv* and *Haaretz*,<sup>28</sup> as well as the influence of Arab reporters on reportage. The method is quantitative, combined with important qualitative aspects. To this end, a questionnaire was constructed which included a large number of questions. This involved careful reading of each news item included in the sample. Each news item which clearly referred to the Arab population went through a process of analysis using the research questionnaire and was entered into a computerized system. Some of the questions related to the number of informational news items and others, to the quality of the coverage. Conclusions could be drawn regarding the method of coverage. In addition, a sample of news items were chosen which were analyzed according to the format of the questionnaire, aiming to determine salient coverage characteristics and their meanings from the standpoint of fairness and respect for the basic civil rights of the Arab population.

Quantitative research methods used in researching the media enabled tracking of the frequency, the scope and the

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28. See Introduction for explanation of the choice of these three newspapers.

location of coverage of Arabs in the Hebrew press. The focus on quantity is intended to enable an objective



investigation of the patterns of coverage. The qualitative dimensions are meant to identify qualitative insights on the level of content.

The period researched was 1 October to 31 December 2009 – a total of 77 newspapers. The main parameters which governed the research are those which are accepted in the study of media agenda and salience in the world:

1. **The number of news items in the newspaper:** The numerical question. This was intended particularly to give an indication of the percentage of news that deal with Arab citizens in the Hebrew media.
2. **The number of news items/articles about Arabs:** This too is a numerical question and is linked to the first question. On the one hand, it gives a numerical indication of the number of news items about Arabs, and on the other, along with the first question, it examines the percentage of coverage devoted to Arab citizens in the Hebrew press, in general.
3. **The page number on which the news item/ article appears:** This question explores the importance and the salience of the news item. The assumption is that a news item or article on the front pages is more important than articles on the back pages of the same newspaper.
4. **The size of the news item:** The size of the news item in the newspaper reflects salience, attention and importance. The larger the news item/article is the more salient it is and the more importance is

attributed to it on the scale of attention by the reading public.

- 5. Number of words in the news item/article:** The higher the number of words in the news item/article, the higher is the attribution of importance to the subject and thus, the need to attend to the event reported.

It should be noted that the importance of the news item/article is not absolute. It is related to the expectations of the newspaper reading public, which is overwhelmingly Jewish. Thus, there could be news items or articles which are simultaneously too long and too negative, something that makes these article high on the importance scale, but not necessarily positive. In any event, the size of a news item or article testifies to the amount of work invested by the reporter and therefore, attests to both the expected attention and attitude from the reading public.

- 6. The location of the news item/article on the page:** The location of the news item or article on the page is also an important parameter of salience. It is presumed that a location on the top of the page grants it more salience. The lower the news item/article is placed on the page/ the lower is its salience. Although this depends on the location of other means of achieving prominence, in the dimensions of salience, the higher location on the page nevertheless reflects greater salience.
- 7. Whether there is a picture:** A news item accompanied by a picture is more salient. Therefore, the more pictures there are, and the more the picture

is located within the body of the news item or the larger article, the more salient the news item/article is. This does not mean that the picture in itself is worthy of more importance; in no small number of cases the picture comes at the expense of text and eats into it. Moreover, in certain cases, there is almost no connection between the content of the article and the picture. The existence of a picture therefore is meant to draw attention and interest to the contents of the article.

8. **Reference on the headline page:** There is no doubt that the front page is the most important in the newspaper. The reader first relates to the headlines on that page. So this page becomes a collection of the most important information in the editors' opinion. Many researchers relate to the first page as playing the main role in determining the media agenda.
9. **Subjects:** The issues dealt with in the news item/article which relate to the Arab population. The map of central issues that are raised in the content of the report regarding the Arab population is an important indication of the patterns of coverage of Arab citizens in the Hebrew media. It should be mentioned that this research used a list of topics which was determined by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP).<sup>29</sup>
10. **The role of the Arab:** The reference to the function of the Arab, even if it is without connection to the news item/article, is an important indication for

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29. See [www.waccglobal.org](http://www.waccglobal.org) (last access on 1.12.10).

understanding the media worldview presented in the newspaper and how Arabs are presented in the media in general. In this context, it should be noted that mentioning the profession of the Arab citizen in the coverage, even if it is unconnected to the topic of the report, testifies that the reporter treated the interviewee with seriousness and viewed him/her as a person who exists in him/herself.

11. **Is the Arab a criminal or a victim:** This question and the two following ones are qualitative questions and thus, they have been investigated on the basis of accepted qualitative research methods, including cross-checking by two readers of the content with a level of correspondence of at least 80%. These questions contribute to the understanding of media coverage of Arab citizens. This parameter fulfills a major role in framing the Arab population in news.
12. **The article/news item reflects order or disorder:** Many researchers feel that the Arab population is associated in most cases with news regarding disorder.
13. **The news item/article is incriminating or non-incriminating:** This parameter has been chosen based on recent research which has argued that the Israeli media tries as often as possible to incriminate the Arab population. An important example which illustrates this orientation is the coverage of “illegal building” and the policy of destroying houses in the Arab sector without reference to context, referring

to the absence of a governmental building plan for Arab towns and villages, the complicated policies for obtaining building permits and approval for land designation changes, which does not leave much choice to young couples in Arab society and leads them to take the risk of building without legal permits.

14. **The framework of the news item/article is legitimizing or de-legitimizing:** The framework of the news item/ article focuses not only on the role of Arab citizens as part of Israeli society, but also to the extent to which the behavior or statements of those who are being covered are legitimate or are part of a legitimate political process and public discussion in Israel.
15. **The framework of the news item/article is alienating or accepting:** The framing indicates a perspective of acceptance or defamiliarization, with the assumption that a circle of Israeli society exists and that the Arab is part of this circle or outside of it.
16. **Does the article criticize the unequal treatment of Arabs:** Our point of departure here is the premise that, when referring to the coverage, it is not enough to relate only to framing, but rather, that intentional disregard for the rights of Palestinian citizens should also be examined. Many researchers maintain that ignoring the rights of the Palestinians, and this includes their right to honest media reportage, is what leads to their negative coverage.

- 17. The sources of the news item:** When the subject covered is connected to Palestinian citizens, the media for the most part depends on statements by the police. Without a doubt, for the police, it is convenient to present the facts as they wish to have them viewed, but that does not mean that their version is the truth. Therefore, it is important to know the extent to which media reporters rely on the police when the subject covered is relevant to Arab citizens.
- 18. The writer of the news item:** The national or political identity of the reporter affects the way the issues are covered. A significant number of Israeli reporters are unaware of the cultural and political uniqueness of Palestinian citizens of Israel, and most do not accept the Palestinian narrative, leading to negative coverage of the dimension of defamiliarization. The fact that there are Arab reporters in the Israeli media does not necessarily lead to a change in the patterns of coverage, but it may influence how the subjects are covered. Therefore, this measure investigates the identity of the reporters and tries to link it to the other parameters in this long list.

# 5 Findings

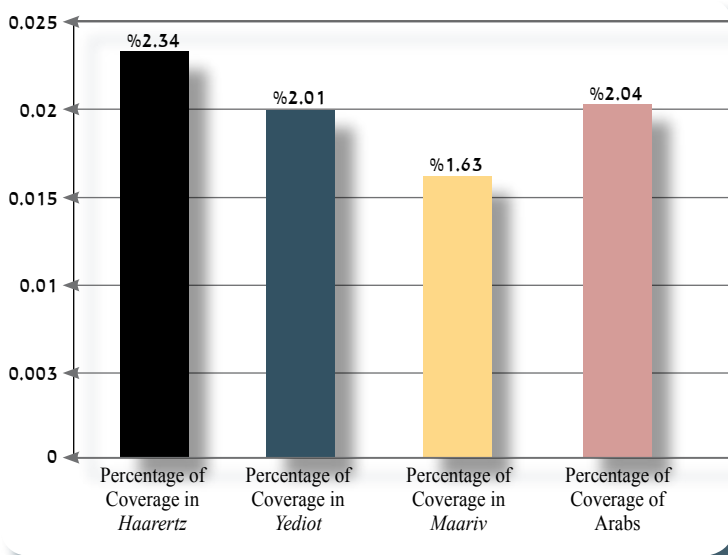
As the central research question refers to the mode of representation of Palestinians in Israel in the media at times which are unexceptional, and in the absence of crises, we will first focus on quantitative data. The assumption is that the volume of coverage may reflect the treatment that the Israeli media accords to the Arab public. A large number of articles or news items about Arabs in the range of political, social and economic subjects reflects serious treatment of the Arab population. In contrast, a small amount of treatment which is negative reflects scorn and non-recognition of them as an integral part of Israeli society.

## 5.1 Amount of Coverage

According to the findings of the research, the amount of coverage of Arab citizens in the Israeli media is not very different than what was found in most of the research which was presented in the past. The total number of news items included in the three newspapers during the period chosen was about 8,678 articles and news items. The number of items in *Haaretz* was 3,554, the number of items in *Maariv* was close to 2,390 and the number of items in *Yedioth Aharonoth* was 2,733. However, the

number of items about Arabs in the three newspapers was 177, of which 83 were in *Haaretz* (in percentages, 2.3%), 39 were in *Maariv* (in percentages, 1.6) and 55 in *Yedioth Aharonoth* (in percentages, 2.01).

**Table 1»** Average Percentage of Coverage of Arab Population in the Three Newspapers.



This data indicates the great similarity in the percentage of coverage among the three newspapers and in the electronic media. Most studies have shown that reportage of the Arab population in the electronic media does not rise above 2%, and our study shows similar results. These findings are unsurprising but considering the time period studied, the data requires some second thoughts.

During the period of the research, between October and



December 2009, there was a significant rise in the Israeli crime rate in general, and a concurrent rise in the level of crime and violence in Arab society, in particular.<sup>30</sup> In a natural situation, it might be expected that the newspapers would cover this worrying development and would not ignore the increasing amount of crime in Palestinian society in Israel, but that did not happen. There are perhaps two interpretations for the reason it did not. The first is that the newspapers changed their policies and stopped covering only negative events in Arab society, in order not to be perceived as spotlighting only negative aspects of Arab society. The second possibility, more logical, is that Arab society does not interest the Hebrew newspapers, and thus, it is presented only when the issues are directly associated with Jewish society. Indeed, during the period of the research, we noted a rise in the amount of coverage of Arab citizens. The research found that, although there was a small increase in the measure of coverage of the Arab population in the Hebrew media, it was still very low and even marginal considering the fact that the percentage of Arabs in the population of Israel is 20%.<sup>31</sup> But internal cases of violence in Arab society are almost never covered in the Hebrew media, especially in comparison to the individual coverage of violence which takes place in Jewish society. The quantitative marginality of Arabs in the Hebrew media is not surprising considering their status in Israel and in light of what has been discussed above about the influence of the political system on the media.

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30. See the report of the Israeli Police Department, Summary of 2009: More murders, fewer thefts. (<http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/spages/1145260.html>) (Last entry 15.1.2011).

31. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics 2007, including Arabs in the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. See [http://www.cbs.gov.il/www/publication/isr\\_in\\_n07e.pdf](http://www.cbs.gov.il/www/publication/isr_in_n07e.pdf) (Last entry 15.1.11).

## 5.2 Salience

The research investigated a number of parameters measuring the salience of news items in the Hebrew press which are connected to Arab citizens, thus exploring the importance that the newspapers attributed to events involving Arabs: the page number of the item, the size of the item, the number of words in the item, its placement, the graphic framework, color, picture, and reference on the front page.

The page number of the new item: It is assumed that the appearance of an item on the first, second or even the third page indicates salience in the newspaper's agenda. Previous media studies have strengthened the argument that a printed news item on the first pages of the newspaper is more salient, and thus receives more attention from the readers. This study indicates that most items in which Arabs appeared were on the sixth page or later: 118 news items about Arabs appeared on pages 6 or later and only 59 items appeared before the sixth page.

The average number of pages in the newspaper (i.e., in the news section) is 24.6.<sup>32</sup> Our findings indicated that 65 of the items about Arabs appeared on page 12 or later. It

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32. This was determined by choosing 20 newspapers editions from each of the newspapers: *Maariv*, *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Haaretz* and calculating the average.

should be clarified that the Hebrew press devotes the last pages of the newspapers to sports and colorful news, which include news about Arab sports teams and Arab players in the higher leagues, especially in football.

This may explain why most of the news items concerning Arabs are placed on page 6 and later, but it also signals the marginality of the Arab population in media coverage.

It is important to draw attention to the news items which appear on the first pages of the newspaper, and especially on the front page. From 177 articles about Arabs, 35 were printed on the first page – close to a fifth of the articles about Arabs, which is surprising in itself. This can be explained by the sharp rise in crime and violence in Arab society, a factor which has already been noted, and which led to the salience of these items. This conforms to the framing of the Arab population –when covered - as identified with disorder and which maintains this population as aberrant, criminal and dangerous.

In consideration of salience, the placing of items about Arabs on the pages of the newspaper was also examined. To this end, the page was divided into two parts, the upper and lower halves. The assumption is that an item which is placed on the upper part of the page is more salient. The study found that the most items about Arabs were placed on the upper part of the page – 84 items about Arabs were on the upper part of the page in the three newspapers, in contrast to 51 items which were on the lower part and 42 items which were in the middle. Thus, the majority of the articles, when they do appear, are either in the middle or upper parts of the page.

Another measure of salience is the size of the news item in proportion to the page. The larger the item is, the more salient it is on the page where it is printed. It was found that 28% of the total news items connected to Arab citizens took up an eighth of a page (49 items); 22% of the items

took up a sixth of a page (38 items); 14% of the items took up a quarter of a page (26 items); almost 19% of the articles took up half a page (35 articles); almost 8% of the articles took up a page (15 items); and an almost identical number took up more than one page (8%).

The articles which took up more than a page were usually about sports or items associated with state security. According to our examination, almost all of the articles about sports in *Yedioth Aharonoth* were given more than a page, even on the news pages,<sup>33</sup> while coverage of the Al-Aqsa incident and the Islamic Movement also received more than one page in all three newspapers.<sup>34</sup> The affair involving Brigadier-General Imad Fares received coverage of more than one page in *Maariv* on 11.11.09.<sup>35</sup> In *Yedioth Aharonoth*, the murder of an Arab soldier by another at the Negev mall (“The Soldier’s Revenge”, 28.12.09) was given more than one page of coverage. According to these coverage patterns, it can be seen that, although it is not only security issues which take up a large part of Arab population reportage, their salience is great, which intensifies the negative effect of the small quantity of

coverage.

The following table clearly reflects the size of the news item in relation to its placing in the newspaper.

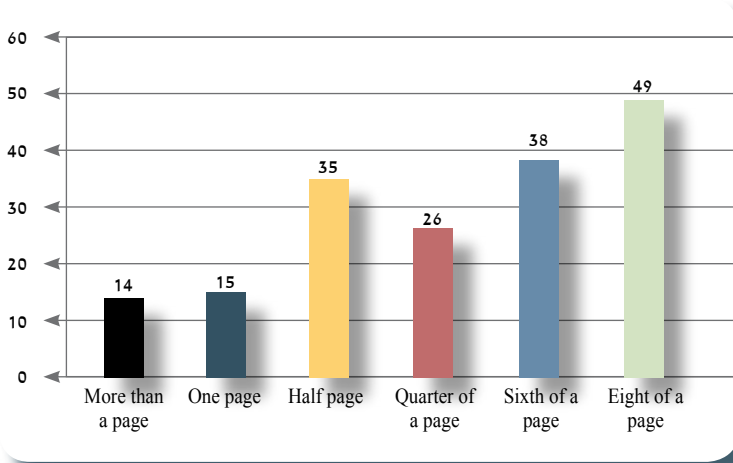
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33. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, “With No Derby”, 22.12.09.

34. The Al-Aqsa incident is the attempt of religious Jews to pry on Al-Haram Al-Sharif (The Temple Mount), *Maariv*, “An Extreme Case”, 8.10.09.

35. Imad Fares is an officer in the Israeli army, who was accused to have killed a 15 years old Palestinian girl in the Gaza area.

**Table 2»** Size of the News Item about Arabs in Relation to Page.



As a measure of salience, we also checked the color of the headline or the news item. The dominant color in news items is black or grey. Another color – red or green – highlights the headline either positively or negatively and encourages reading. The presence of color also hints that this is a special and unique news item. The research found that almost 80% of the news items about Arabs used color, and only 20% of the coverage of Arab citizens was in black and white. The explanation for this can be found in an in-depth examination of the items headlined in color, which were those with pictures (see the following). Most headlines in color, excluding items about sports, deal with crime, murder, road accidents and state security. As the color provides salience, it is reasonable that color used in items about Arabs contributes to their distinction

in coverage and to the emphasis on their association with crime and security threats, and thus, reinforces the stereotype of the “fifth column”.

Another measure of salience which has been explored is the presence of a picture – a very powerful demonstrative tool. There is good reason for the saying, “a picture is worth a thousand words”. Pictures catch the eye and direct special attention to the news item. A picture may illustrate reality more strongly, but often pictures replace the printed word, and thus, the item must be investigated separately. The research indicated that 78% of the news items about Arabs are illustrated with a picture. We have already pointed out that in most news items in the realm of crime, road accidents and state security, color is used and a picture is added. In our case, the illustration contributes to the negativity: Its aim is to demonstrate the “seriousness of the event” and to separate between items concerning Arabs and other news items in an attempt to create media space which belongs only to Arabs.

Another measure of salience which was checked was the existence of a separate frame around the picture. Like the other parameters of salience, a separate frame grants importance to the item and distinguishes it from other news articles, for good and for bad. Our research found that 97% of the items dealing with Arabs were printed using a separate frame, also symbolizing distinction, as mentioned above.

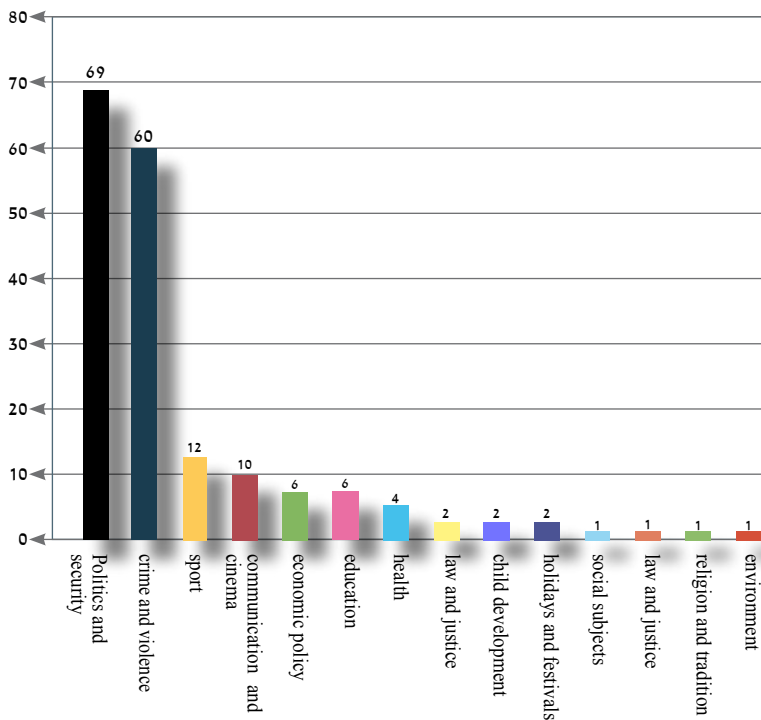
### **5.3 Subjects of News Items about Arabs**

In this chapter, as in most similar research, we investigated the subjects of the news items in which Arab citizens were covered. The investigation aimed first and foremost to examine whether tendencies which many researchers have cited still exist, even when there is no civic crisis. Among other questions, we asked whether the Israeli media emphasizes the same subjects as in the past, and whether it continues to maintain its role when covering Arab citizens or whether there is a change. We also checked whether there were deviations or negative framing which was aimed at defamiliarization and exclusion of the Arab population, and whether there was a connection between the national identity of the reporter and the way Arab citizens were represented.

It should first be noted that the choice of subjects was dependent primarily on the list of topics of the GMMP – a tracking project which was assembled to measure the appearance of women in the media throughout the world. The topics are varied, and within each topic, there are sub-topics. So, for example, under the subject of “economics”, some of the sub-topics include economic policy, workers’ rights, and poverty.

In Table 3, the topics which cover Palestinian citizens in the Hebrew press can be clearly seen, as well as the number of news items about Arabs in each topic.

**Table 3»** Subject About Arab Citizens Covered in the Press.



In Table 3, it is clear that the topic most frequently mentioned in news items about Arabs or associated with Arabs, with no connection to its relevance to the item, is politics and security. Almost 39% of items about Arabs in the Israeli media referred to topics connected with state security (69 items). According to the detailing of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) list, this topic includes the sub-topics of politics, army and security,



the peace process and negotiations, and internal policy (racism, discrimination, inequality and others). An in-depth examination reveals that most of the items about Arabs dealing with the topic of politics and security are negative, except for a number of items which referred to the case of the accusation of army captain R. against news reporter Ilana Dayan,<sup>36</sup> the retirement of Rania Jubran from the Foreign Ministry,<sup>37</sup> the retirement of Brigadier-General Imad Fares (only after the decision not to lower the rank of Brigadier-General Moshe Tamir),<sup>38</sup> and the sons of First Sergeant Omar Suad, who was kidnapped in 2000.<sup>39</sup>

The fact that most of the news about Arabs in everything which concerns politics and security is negative reinforces the claims of previous studies.<sup>40</sup> The exclusion of Arabs from Israeli media space is not reflected only in the number of news items, in their placement and how they are presented, but also in the ability of the Arabs to express their wishes and attitudes legitimately. In the Israeli media, there is double exclusion, the objective of which is also defamiliarization: On the one hand, a small amount of coverage of subjects connected to Arabs, and on the other, coverage subject to the rules of the dominant majority – in our case, the Jewish majority. The structural subordination of Arab society to the Jewish majority, which has been pointed out by many researchers, reflects the patterns of coverage of the Arab population, indicating media indifference to this subordination

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36. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 7.12.2009, p. 20.

37. *Maariv*, 6.12.2009

38. Moshe Tamir is an officer in the Israeli army, who lied to his commander, when testifying in the court concerning an accident in an army vehicle which his son illegally drove, *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 26.10.2009.

39. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 18.12.2009, p. 3.

40. Thematic Background.

and no objection to it by the newspapers. The press does not call the reader's attention to this subservience but makes it normative. Moreover, the media reinforces this structural subordination as it not only reflects reality but also constructs it.

The Israeli media has designed the Arab in accordance with the criteria of the Jewish majority; a good Arab is one who does not question the Israeli-Zionist consensus. On the other hand, an Arab like Knesset Member Mohammad Barakeh, who was served with an indictment for attacking a policeman during this period,<sup>41</sup> is outside the consensus and is presented negatively if and when he is covered media. In this case, he had been prevented by the police from participating in a demonstration. It is clear that this was not mentioned when the indictment against Barakeh was reported.

News referring to the area of state security is presented positively only when it is in keeping with the ideology and the worldview of the dominant majority, especially when considering the attitude of the society to the Arab leadership. The attempt to delegitimize the Arab leadership is created by presenting these leaders as models of the entire population. The guiding principles for the coverage of Arab leaders are scorn and suspicion. These principles are reflected in reportage frames and in emphasis on subjects which are considered "problematic". There is a dichotomous hierarchical perception here which poses Jewish society as a measure of reference to the Arab "other",

while emphasizing a judgmental and suspicious attitude.

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41. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 2.11.2009, p. 20.

The second important topic (prominent in 60 news items – 34%) is crime and violence. We have already mentioned that, during the period researched, there was a coincidental rise in cases of violent crime, both in Israeli society in general and in the Arab-Palestinian society in particular. These included cases of murder, beatings, road accidents, robbery and arms trading. It is clear that the police wish to retain the image of being “crime fighters”, but this image involves disregard of the fact that each crime has a victim and behind every victim, there is a story. Only in a small number of news items dealing with this painful issue was there reference to the human aspect of the victims. One such example was the murder of Amjad Shwahana of Jaljulia who was murdered as he was coming home from school, as reported in Haaretz.

The third subject in importance is sports. Almost 7% of the articles (12 items) about Arabs were in the realm of sports. The coverage of Arabs on the sports pages was varied, and actually, not all negative. It ranged between normative coverage, negative coverage and very positive coverage, surprisingly in Yedioth Aharonoth. The three newspapers covered the important football games in Arab society in a normal way, in terms of win or loss and number of goals. The match between Akha’a Nazareth and Abna’a Sakhnin,<sup>42</sup> covered in all three newspapers, was different, with quite negative and harsh reports. Three days before the match, reporters were already discussing the fear of the police that violence would erupt between the fans of the two teams at the end of the game. According to the coaches of the two teams who were interviewed in

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42. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 22.12.2009; *Maariv* 22.12.2009; *Haaretz*, 22.12.2009.

the Arab news media, this only contributed to the violence. The pattern of coverage here suited the claims of media researchers Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton that one of the roles of the media is to impose social norms. Although there is no reference here to a social norm, it can be argued that the Israeli media encourages certain organized activity in its patterns of coverage by exposing situations which do not correlate with public morality and turning them into norms.<sup>43</sup> The media normalizes the attitude of general society towards the Arab public, particularly the attitudes of their consumers, and grants legitimacy to an attitude of suspicion and disrespect. The readers of the newspapers receive a certain picture of Arab society, and, in time, this becomes the only truth which they are acquainted with. Thus, the dominant patterns of coverage become social norms.

*Yedioth Aharonoth* outdid itself in covering sports in the Arab community; during the period which was researched, several positive articles were published about Arabs in sports. One of the articles “The pill distributor”,<sup>44</sup> related to the signaler of Ahi Arrabe, Hamudi Badarna, who is also a medical student. Another, “The pioneer”,<sup>45</sup> referred

to the Arab host of the sports program on Channel 5. However, these articles do not change the general tone of the Israeli media when presenting Arab citizens, but only strengthen the image of the “good Arab” who is presented as a contrast to the “bad Arab”, dominant in most cases.

43. Lazarsfeld, Paul, and Merton, Robert (1995). “Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action” in *Mass Communication – Reader*. Tel Aviv: The Open University, 76-92.

44. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 9.11.2009.

45. *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 5.10.2009.

The fourth subject in importance

during the period of the research is media and films. During this period, there were further developments regarding Mohammad Bakri's film "Jenin, Jenin" which had of course been covered negatively, due to the opposition of the officers who had fought in the Jenin refugee camp and were defending their good names against Bakri, who they accused of forgery and lies. Other items covered were the firing of the Channel 2 reporter Suleiman al-Shafi, and news regarding the film Ajami, whose directors were a Jew and an Arab, Yaron Shani and Scandar Copti, and whose coverage was mostly positive.

Coverage of economic policy and education was fifth in importance. In everything connected to economics, the news items were positive despite their small number, considering the fact that poverty in Arab society is increasing. Some of the news items regarding economics referred to the contribution of the Wisconsin Plan to Arab society in the context of discussion about extending its activity. The report was seemingly positive but, *inter alia*, ignored demonstrations against the plan initiated by social organizations, and disregarded its negative effects according to the reports of some organizations (claiming that it widened the poverty cycle despite the lessening of unemployment and more).<sup>46</sup>

The sixth subject in importance was health. This was the year of "swine flu (H1N1)" (2009) and 88 people in Israel had died of the flu or its complication by 24 January 2010.<sup>47</sup>

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46. See the petition of the Association for Civil Rights on this issue, representing social organizations (2010): <http://www.acri.org.il/story.aspx?id=2467> (Last entry: 31.1.11)

47. See Ministry of Health statistics: <http://www.health.gov.il/h1n1/world.asp> (Last entry 31.1.11).

A sizable number of its victims were Arabs. The media related to each case separately, but it was not possible to know in every case whether the victim was an Arab or not. In any case, coverage was quite sterile and did not enter into details even when the victim was Jewish. Although it may be argued that the media overdramatized the illness and had created panic about its implications due to the lack of information, in the end, it partially contributed to the calming of the civil panic which had been aroused due to the spread of the disease.

News items about Arabs in other subject areas received similar treatment, and in any case, this referred to one or two items about each subject: child development, religion, environment, human rights, law and justice, holidays and festivals.

#### **5.4 New Item Frames and Subjects Associated with Arab Citizens**

In order to understand the mode of presenting Arabs in the Hebrew newspapers, it is not enough to classify news items in which Arabs are mentioned into the different subjects, even though that is a good indication of the attitude of the media towards them. To deepen understanding of patterns of presentation of the Arab population in the Israeli media, we also checked the framing of the news items. Several parameters were used: the profession of the Arab discussed in the article; whether s/he is a victim, whether the article reflects order or disorder, incrimination or non-incrimination, legitimacy or non-legitimacy, acceptance or defamiliarization, and whether there is criticism of the

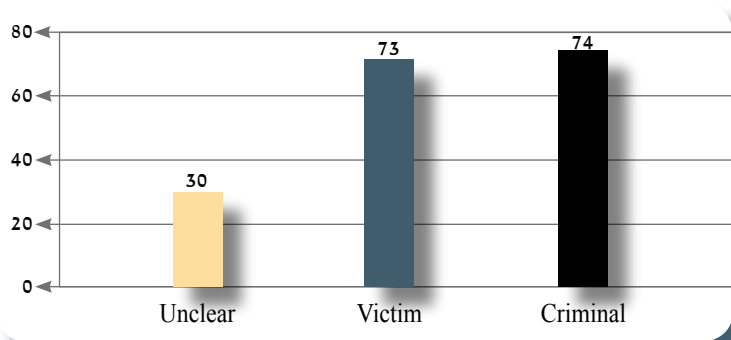
unequal treatment of Arab citizens.

Mentioning the profession of the Arab is a parameter of salience, recognition and humanization. The findings of the research indicate that, in almost 71% of the news items, the profession of the Arab appears as an integral part of the item. However, most of the news items covered Arabs quite negatively, and the reference to profession fulfilled a negative task. One example is the fact that the three newspapers referred to the profession of Fares Zian from Kfar Yarka who killed his wife Manaar Canaan-Zian on 2.11.09, and pointedly indicated that he was a schoolteacher. The pattern of coverage transmits a hidden message that, if even schoolteachers in Arab society are murderers, what can we say about the rest of Arab society. Although this message is not specifically stated, in a media culture of suspicion, superiority and reproach, it is communicated to anyone reading the article.

In 42% of the articles, the Arab is presented as a criminal (74% of the news items), in contrast to 41% of news items (73 items) in which the Arab is presented as a victim. The small difference is surprising, although reference to Arabs as criminals is still more common. A criminal is defined as a person who has committed an offense or has not obeyed a law or a rule, and does not apply only to the realm of criminal law, nor does it necessarily mean that the person was convicted. This pattern of coverage centering around the criminal law sanctifies the law and intensifies the criminality of the criminal, who is presented as someone who undermines the existing order. In this case, where the order is that of a Jewish state and the criminal is an Arab, the conclusion is that the Arab, in his/her very being,

undermines order. S/he is an enemy of the state and of the Jewish majority with which it is identified..

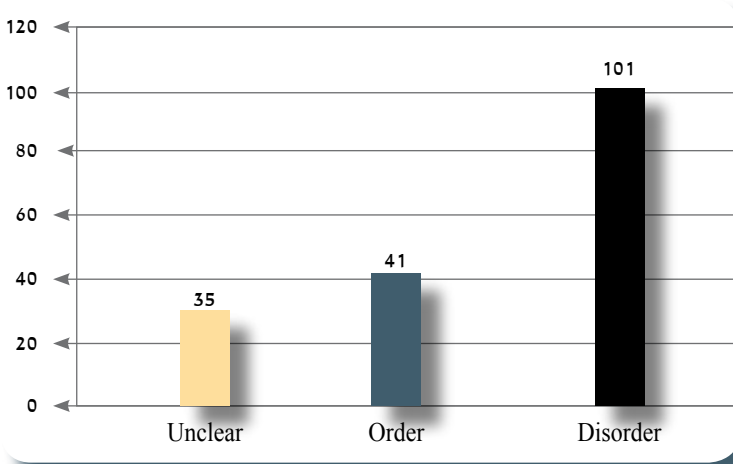
**Table 4»** The Arab is a Victim or Criminal.



Although the difference in the coverage of Arabs as victim or criminal in the Israeli media is very small, most of the news items—57%—reflect disorder (101 items) in contrast to 23 items (41%) which reflect order. News items associated with order are items which deal with positive events or processes, such as achievements, improvements, building, creating, social coherence, cooperation and the like, while “news associated with disorder” deals with negative events or processes such as social deviation, criminality, destruction, harm to property, terrorism, disputes among others. This trend correlates with the findings of previous studies even though it can be seen that for a considerable percentage of the articles, the distinction is not completely clear.

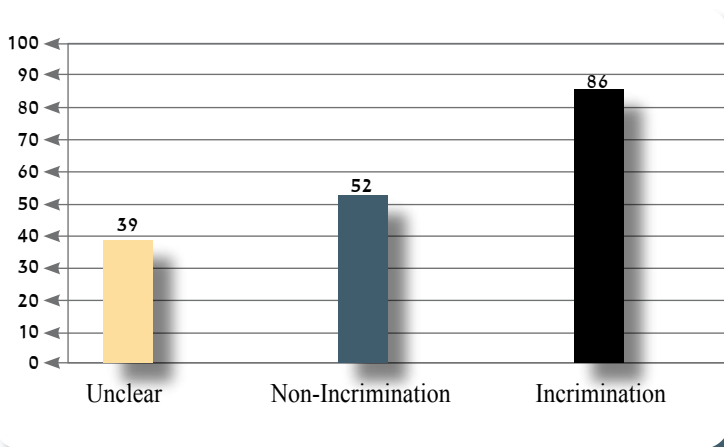


**Table 5»** News Item/Article Reflects Order or Disorder.



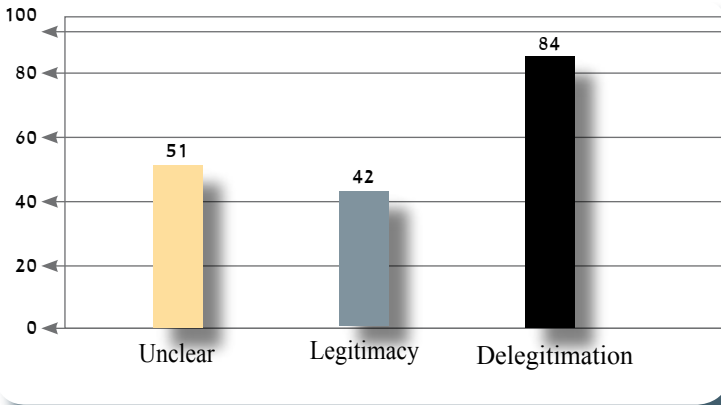
As in previous findings, most news items about Arabs deal with incrimination – either direct or indirect criminal conviction of one of the Arab figures in the article. Almost 49% of the news items deal with incrimination (86 items), in comparison to 29% which deal with non-incrimination (52 items). This signifies that many of the news items not only maintain the criminal image of Arab society, but also accuse the society of causing this situation. Criminality becomes an inherent quality with which the Arab population is continually identified. It is a kind of symbolic imprisonment which represents epistemological violence.

**Table 6»** Incrimination or Non-Incrimination.



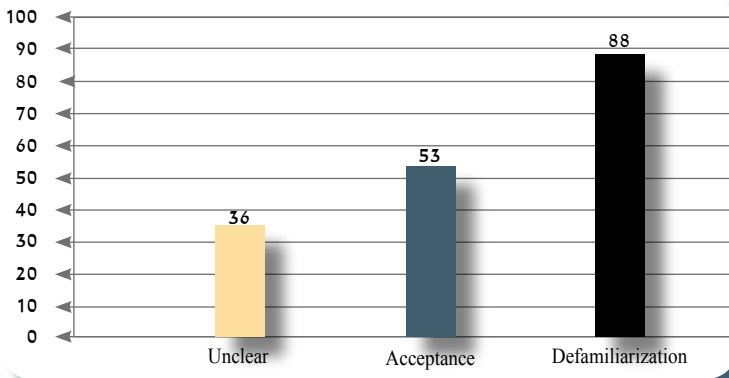
It was also found that in 48% of the items (84 items) there is an attempt to delegitimize Arab citizens. Delegitimization is defined as determining that the attitudes or deeds which are described in the article deviate from the framework of political consensus. Twenty-four percent of the items (42 items) about Arabs advance legitimacy. It should be noted that in a significant number of items, it was not clear whether there was an attempt to delegitimize Arab citizens or not. The concept was measured according to attitudes or deeds which were described in the article and their deviation from the framework of political consensus accepted by Jewish society. This pattern of coverage indicates the ambivalence of the borders of membership and belonging, and the fact that Arab society in Israel is at one and the same time part of Israeli society and not part of it.

**Table 7»** Legitimacy or Delegitimation of Arab Citizens.



In keeping with the findings about framing, in 50% of the items (88 items) there was defamiliarization, that is, Arabs were presented as unfamiliar, as not belonging to society and as strange, in contrast to 50% of the items (53 items) in which they were accepted. In 20% of the items (36 items), their presentation was ambiguous.

**Table 8»** Acceptance or Defamiliarization.



In most cases, 70 % of the items, there was no mention of the non-egalitarian treatment of the Arab population, in contrast to only 25% of the articles which did relate to the issue of inequality (mostly in *Haaretz*). This gap shows that Arab exclusion from Israeli public space is normative. This is true especially when taking into consideration the cumulative effect of all of the media tools which we have presented up to now. The coverage of Arabs is disconnected from the political context and from the realities of exclusion, discrimination and inequality, and the disregard for an ideological-political narrative which links the past of the Arabs in Israel – including the colonial process, destruction and expulsion – to a desired future of agreed-upon democracy. This points to an attempt at coverage which is sterile and superficial.

Many researchers have viewed exclusion as a result of the intentional disregard for the rights of Arabs in Israel as citizens. Our research proposes that the media, like the Israeli establishment, shirks its responsibility and the responsibility of the state establishment, for Arab citizens and adopts modes of coverage which are isolated from their political context.

### **5.5 The Sources of Information about Arab Citizens in the Israeli Media**

The sources of the information and the person who writes the news item have a decisive effect upon how those who appear in the item are presented. The more the writer investigates the various aspects of the event, the more

accurate and complex is the picture which is obtained. The official sources, which have assembled a great deal of information, constitute a salient source for the media. These include governmental ministries, security organs and other selected bodies. When focusing on law and order, the police and the court systems provide a central source for the newspapers. The police are one of the principal bodies supplying the media with news which is likely to be sensational.<sup>48</sup> The Israeli media is not unusual in its dependence on police sources, and particularly when the information concerns Arab citizens. We learn from the past that the media do not cast doubt on the police version when the event involves Arabs, in contrast to other incidents in which the media has initiated objections to the police version – and rightfully so – as, for instance, in the case of the murder of the youngster, Tair Rada, from Katzrin. After years of observation, we cannot remember even one case in which the Hebrew media initiated an investigation of the security services and police versions, when there was an indictment against an Arab citizen. The only instance which cannot be ignored was the initiative of *Maariv*, specifically, by the reporter Said Badran, to investigate the claims of the police and the General Security Services in the case of Tawfik Fukra in November 2002. Fukra was arrested in Turkey after he was accused of taking out a knife during an El Al flight from Tel Aviv to Istanbul, and trying to take control of the plane. Following the investigation, Fukra was finally released after having spent several months in a Turkish prison without just cause.

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48. R. Boyle (1999) "Spotlighting the police: Changing UK Police Media Relations in the 1990s". *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 27, pp. 229-250.

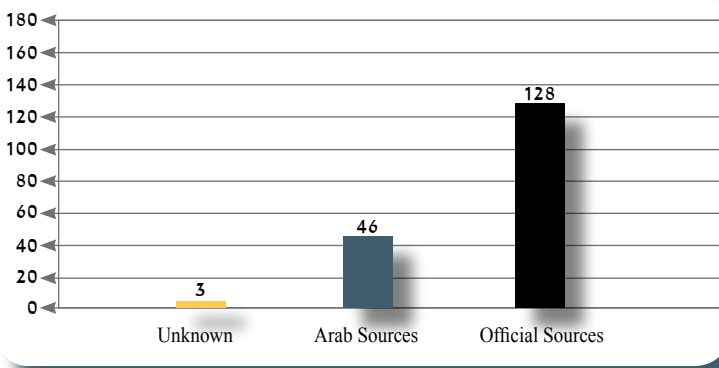
The Israeli media considers it important to gain the trust of the police. This is true especially in cases which concern Arab citizens. Good connections mean a flow of police information and cooperation which is not available to the general population, but these also lead to bypassing one of the central professional media mechanisms – cross-checking information and in-depth investigation. In most cases, the media depends on police sources and does not make the effort to examine the position of the opposite side or to verify the truth of the official version. This can be viewed in countless cases in which Arab citizens have been depicted by the media as being guilty or as breaking the law, relying on the police version, but reporters made no effort to check whether this version actually reflected reality.<sup>49</sup> In many cases, the police position has been found to be incorrect, and the media have not made the slightest effort to admit their mistake. One example occurred in the case of the tragic fire on the Carmel, when guilt was attributed to two Arab youngsters who were held by the police for four days. The media presented them as guilty, but when they were freed from prison after a few days, the news media did not report this explicitly and admit its haste in the original report.

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49. Fishman, Gideon (2005). "The Police, the Media and what is between Them", Police and Social Forum, The Israel Democracy Institute. See: [http://www.idi.org.il/PublicationsCatalog/Documents/Book\\_7066/pdf](http://www.idi.org.il/PublicationsCatalog/Documents/Book_7066/pdf).

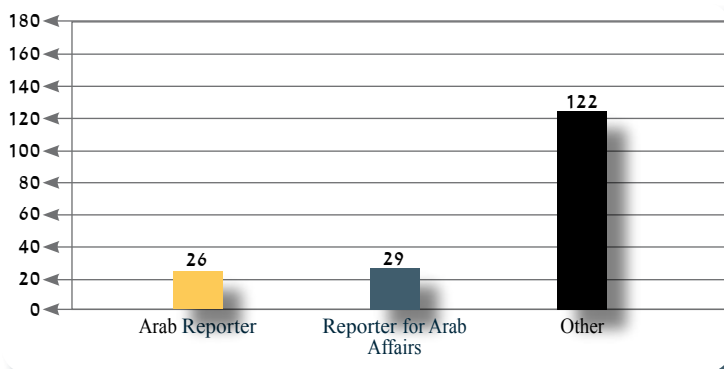
The findings of our research indicate that in most cases – 72% of the news items about Arabs – Israeli reporters rely on governmental sources, and less on the positions of those involved in the event. Only in 26% of the news items was there any reference to the positions of those involved

**Table 9»** Source of News Item.



(Arabs) in the article. In most cases, Arab sources are relied upon when the Arab is the subject of the news item, but the rest of the item is based on official sources and the police. During the period of research, the three newspapers covered the developments regarding Mohammad Bakri's film *Jenin, Jenin*. Attorney General Meni Mazuz decided not to open a criminal investigation against Bakri for incitement and for slandering the names of the soldiers who were presented in the film. However, Mazuz did decide to join the civil appeal of the soldiers which was taking place in the Supreme Court. *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv* covered the issue but completely disregarded Bakri's reaction. *Haaretz*, on the other hand, interviewed Bakri, but only on the morning after the decision.

**Table 10» Identity of Reporter.**



## **5.6 The Effect of the Identity of the Reporter on the Mode of Coverage**

*“If you try to understand a certain group of people, you should seek the types of expression which they use to present themselves”.*

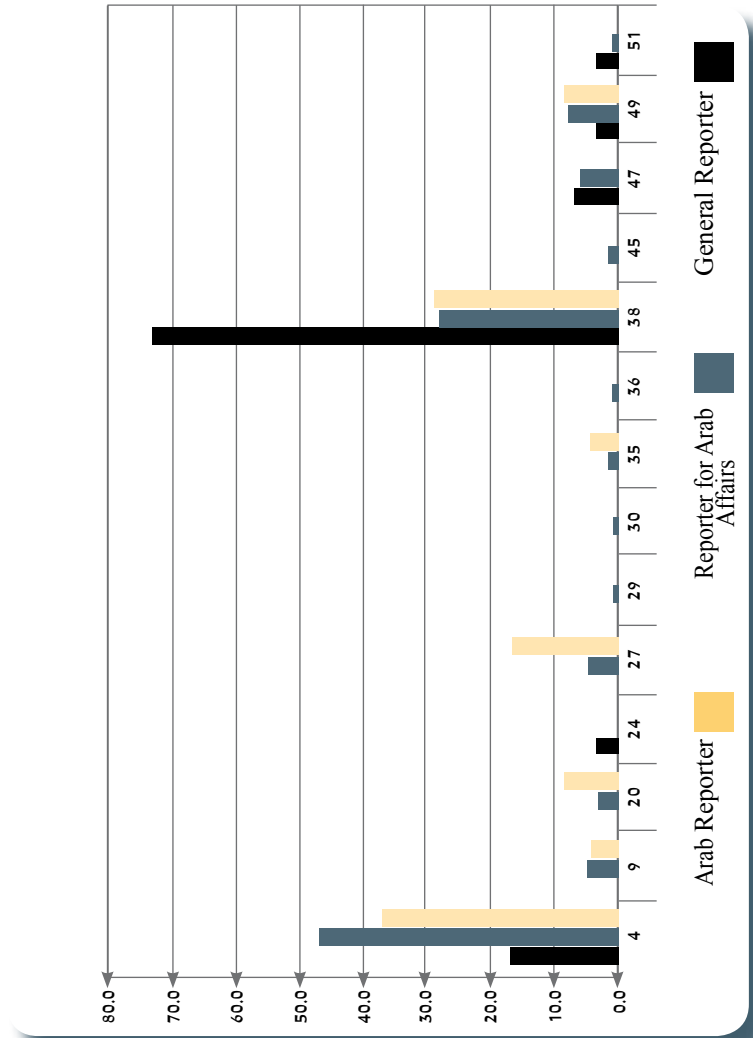
*(Griswold 2004)*

Our research found that in 68% of the news items about Arabs, the reporter was Jewish and was not a reporter for Arab affairs, and 15% of the news items were written by Arab reporters. In other words, in most cases, news items about Arab society were written by general reporters who had almost no direct contact with this society. Therefore, the sources of information for these reporters are not Arab society itself. This finding indicates alienation between reporters and the society which they are covering, which harms the quality of reports and their credibility, and shows that they rely almost entirely



on official sources. Moreover, the research also indicates the marginality of Arab reporters in Hebrew newspapers, even when Arab affairs are covered.

**Table 11»** The Association Between the Author and the Subject of the Item.



In analyzing the findings, we considered it proper to investigate whether there was an association between the parameters which were examined in the research. The association between the various parameters contributes to the understanding of behavior patterns in the Israeli media.

The investigation showed that there was an association between the writer of the news item and the subject of the item: Most of the reporters for Arab affairs focus on the realm of crime and violence. In all other subjects, and particularly when referring to policy and security issues, the writer of the item was a regular Jewish reporter. This is very significant data which supports the demand by a number of Arab and Jewish organizations to integrate Arab reporters in the Israeli media systems in order to give them equal representation and to improve the patterns of coverage of Arab society in the Hebrew media. The research findings point to the fact that Arab reporters do not necessarily bring about a revolution in the coverage of their native society. In order to investigate this point, news items written by Arab reporters were compared with other articles. As stated, the results were not unequivocal. It appears that an Arab reporter may produce empathy in Jewish readers but s/he cannot change the way Arabs are presented in the Hebrew media. This is apparently connected to the fact that Arab reporters who succeed in becoming integrated in the Hebrew media systems, accept the existing structural relations and fit into the system without undermining it in order to retain their jobs. In a news media which employs dozens of competitive reporters and many editors who come from the majority group and who direct their reports

at this group, one Arab reporter cannot initiate revolutions in the patterns of coverage of the minority society from which s/he comes. From interviews with Arab reporters, it becomes clear that they internalize the oppression directed towards them, whether consciously or unconsciously, as a mode of survival. In addition, it is important to point out that in a few cases, Arab reporters who are employed by the Hebrew media were educated in Hebrew schools and thus, have adopted some majoritarian attitudes towards Arab society.

In the investigation of the associations between parameters, a link was also found between the writer of the item and item framing on the question of whether the Arab is a victim or a criminal. Reporters for Arab affairs and Arab reporters tend to describe the Arab as a victim in most news items which they cover, while the general reporter, usually Jewish, does not clarify this. It should be emphasized that there was no similar connection found between the writers of the items to the other parameters, which gives basis to our arguments. In most cases, Arab reporters and reporters for Arab affairs cover criminal incidents and thus, they tend to describe Arabs as victims, but the fact is that in most cases, dealing with criminal affairs, Arabs undergo a process of incrimination, delegitimation, and defamiliarization.

The research carefully concludes that the identity of the reporter is not a central factor in determining the characteristics of coverage of Arab society. The Israeli press, similar to most Israeli media, is influenced by structural and cultural factors which reinforce the patterns

of coverage, making them difficult to change or to fight against.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, and even though Arab reporters and reporters for Arab affairs possibly marginally influence the presentation of the negative Arab stereotype in the media, which is affected both by the socio-political situation and symbolic reality, it would appear that Arab reporters contribute greatly in the coverage of social issues.

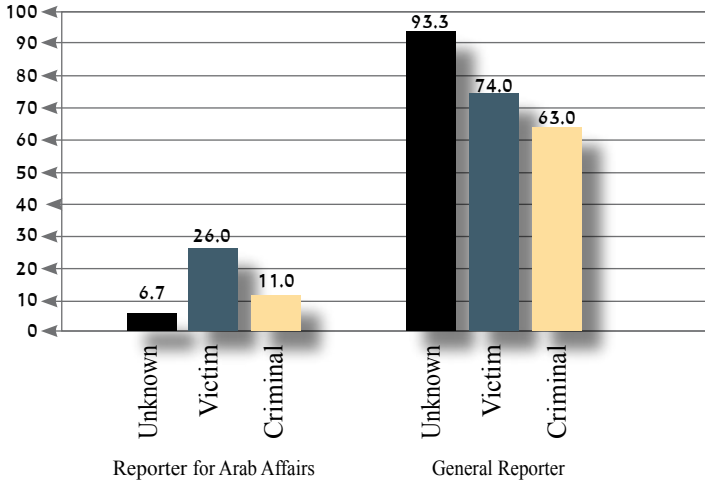
An analysis of Table 11 indicates that in most social subjects – economics, health, law, sports and education – Arab reporters are involved. It is reasonable to assume that if they had not been reporting, the coverage of social affairs would be even more marginal. On the other hand, considering the fact that the extent of coverage of Arab citizens has remained almost unchanged in the last few years, it seems that Arab reporters reduce the amount of negative coverage of the Arab population and, simultaneously, raise the amount of coverage of social affairs connected with Arabs. However, in order to prove this conclusion, it would be necessary to investigate the media in conditions of civil crisis and with more Arab reporters in the Israeli media. It is important to point out that as stated, Arab reporters in the Hebrew media tend to suit themselves to their media environment in order to retain their positions: they are inclined to accept the dictates of the system and thus

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50. Patterson, Thomas G. (1998), "Political Roles of the Journalist," in: Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris (eds.) *The Politics of News and the News of Politics*. Washington DC: CQ press, pp. 17-31.

reduce the influence of their cultural identity relative to their professional identity, as perceived by their news editorial boards.

**Table 12»** The Association Between the Author of the News Item and Framing as Victim or Criminal.



# 6 ▶ Examples

In order to improve our ability to draw insights from the research dealing with the representation of Arab citizens in the Israeli media, we will present a number of examples of news items about Arabs which were published during the period of the research. The examples no doubt aid in a deeper understanding of what has been said and provide a basis for the agreements which have been put forward.

## **6.1 News Items in the Political Realm**

Coverage of the events of 6.10.09 in the area of the Al-Aqsa mosque faithfully reflects the Israeli media attitude to Arab citizens when considering incidents relevant to state security. These events began on Sunday, 4 October 2009. Representatives of the Islamic Movement called on the Palestinian public in general, and especially on Muslim Palestinians to assemble at the al-Aqsa Mosque after it became known to them that rabbis and religious Jews were gathering at the site and were intending to pray there during the intermediate days of Succot.<sup>51</sup> The central argument of the rabbis and religious Jews, as reflected

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51. Appendix 1: The relevant material which was relied upon by the Islamic Movement.

in their published invitation (see Appendix 1), was that sovereignty over Temple Mount was Jewish and

that it should be implemented. It must be mentioned here that the international community does not recognize the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem. East Jerusalem is defined as occupied territory about which there are international agreements and a political-economic status quo.<sup>52</sup> According to the agreements, the area of the Temple Mount is under Jordanian control and that of the Muslim Waqf.

The call of the Islamic Movement led to political pressure by the rightist parties in Israel, which supported the calls of the rabbis and the extremist Jews. A sharp conflict developed between the Arabs and the police, who related to the Palestinian protest as illegitimate, but accompanied the Jews who had come to pray and supplied them with tight security.

The Israeli media – including the three newspapers which were included in the research – covered the events for a number of days.<sup>53</sup> The treatment of the Islamic Movement and of the Arabs who participated in the incident was very negative throughout the media, and was reminiscent of the events of October 2000.<sup>54</sup> The three newspapers referred to the Arabs as rioters. On 6.10.2009 *Yedioth Aharonoth* chose to describe the situation in headlines on the front page: “The Sukkot Riots”. The headline was accompanied by the picture of a youngster throwing stones, similar to the pictures which were seen in October 2000. On 7.10.2009, *Maariv* covered the continuing events with the top headline on page 2: “Day of Rage”, and in the background, the same picture of the stone thrower

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52. *Haaretz*, 14.1.2011.

53. Appendix 2: Newspaper articles and coverage of the events at Al-Aqsa.

54. Dor (2004).

appeared. Although *Haaretz* did not make use of harsh headlines, the pictures that accompanied the coverage during these days reflected one-sided reportage (See Appendices). Only in isolated cases was the march of the rightist Jews mentioned. The reference to the rightists was completely different and was principally based on the question of “rights” and whether the “priestly blessing” would be conducted or not.

The coverage of the event in the three newspapers did not relate to the issue of the status quo. In the framework of the status quo, Israel has administrative control of the site but not sovereignty, as it is an occupying force. However, the reporters ignored this fact and related to the rightist march as an undisputed Israeli right, as though it was taking place in sovereign Israeli territory. Thus, the reportage lacked balance and it became military coverage and a display of power regarding Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. The members of the Islamic Movement, including Sheikh Raed Salah, were presented as lawbreakers who had to be “paid back”. On 7.10.2009, *Yedioth Aharonoth* published a front page headline: “The Incitement and the Expulsion”. The headline was accompanied by a picture of Sheikh Salah, and the sub-headline stated: “After calling to set Jerusalem on fire, the police yesterday arrested the leader of the Islamic Movement in the North, Raed Salah”. Of course, the behavior of the Jewish rabbis and the other religious people who had participated in the incidents were not presented as lawbreaking, but rather, as part of the natural order which was determined by the sovereign, who embodied “the natural order”.



Another example of reportage in the political realm was the indictment issued against Knesset member Mohammad Barakeh, the Chairman of the Hadash Political Party (the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), charging that he had hindered the police in carrying out their duties. The incident took place at a demonstration in Nazareth on 7.7.07, during the visit of Minister of Defense Ehud Barak to a conference of his Arab supporters. MK Barakeh demonstrated outside the location of the conference with dozens of the family members of the victims of the October 2000 events. Hadash activists were also present, including the Secretary-General of the party, Ayman Odeh. During the demonstration, the police tried to arrest Odeh. According to the police, MK Barakeh prevented them from carrying out the arrest. MK Barakeh, on his part, argued that he only shouted to the commanding officer of the station, stating that the arrest “was illegal and was irresponsible”.<sup>55</sup>

In the three newspapers, coverage was completely marginal, without context and ignoring Barakeh’s reaction, which was published only in the Arab media. The three newspapers did not relate to the fact that Barakeh was also prevented from participating in the demonstration, even though he is a public figure, and that this was the reason for the development of the confrontation between him and one of the policemen during the incident.

*Yedioth Aharonoth* reported the incident on page 20, in an item of 70 words, written in monotonous style, even though the item related to a public figure. The headline of the item was “Indictment against Knesset Member Barakeh”,

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55. <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3422218,00.html>

and the article detailed the reasons for the indictment against him.

These two events are typical examples of the pattern of reportage when dealing with the political positions of Arab citizens which do not fit the Zionist consensus. The coverage aims at exclusion, defamiliarization, delegitimacy and incrimination. Arabs conquer the headlines and colorful news items in similar cases in order to illustrate to “the threat from within” to the Jewish reader. There is a clear trend to incriminate representatives of the Arab public which combines very well with the official position, and creates an intentional distinction between the general Arab public which is pictured as moderate, and the Arab leadership which is depicted as being extremist. This policy is meant to delegitimize the Arab leadership in the eyes of the Israeli public in general, and the Arab public in particular, with the goal of strengthening the policy of general control of a minority population.

## **6.2 News Items in the Realm of Economics.**

During the three months of the research, in the three newspapers, there were six items/articles about economics and workers rights, connected to Arab citizens. We have chosen to use the article “Wisconsin is a Success” published in *Maariv* on 23 December 2009 as an example.<sup>56</sup> The reader of the article realizes that the newspaper is conducting a kind of public relations campaign in support of the program, and the position of MK Shelly Yachimovich, who opposes the program, appears only marginally in the article.

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56. Appendix 3.

The article refers, *inter alia*, to Nariman Suleiman, director of the *Mehalev* Program in Nazareth, a program derived from the Wisconsin Plan. Nariman appeared as an Arab woman who had desired to leave the cycle of poverty and had been very successful in doing so. Despite the positive attitude to Nariman, the article advanced an agenda which was based on the popular argument that Arabs are responsible for their own poverty, as recently expressed by the Finance Minister Yuval Steinitz at a conference dealing with economics and discrimination in Israel. Among other points, Steinitz maintained that the Arabs and the ultra-orthodox bear responsibility for their economic situation.<sup>57</sup> In the Wisconsin article, there was no concrete reference to the achievements of the plan in Arab society, nor was there any allusion to the opposition to the plan, despite the sharp criticism of social organizations, activists and politicians, and, in addition, unemployment in Arab society was not mentioned.

The choice of Nariman also helps to market the plan and to prove to the Jewish reader that “if you will it, it is no dream”. However, despite the respectable appearance of the article on the front page, the colors and the photograph, as well as the whole article, denote exclusion, defamiliarization and de-legitimacy of an entire population.

### **6.3 Violence and News Articles about Arabs**

As mentioned, during the period of the research, there was an increase in crime and violence in the country. How was this painful subject reflected in the Israeli media and, for example, how

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<sup>57</sup> <http://www.haaretz.com/hasite/pages/1127363.html>.

was a murdered woman presented? On 2 November 2009, *Maariv* reported on the murder of Manar Canaan in Yarka.<sup>57</sup> Kanaan, 22 years old and mother of two, was murdered by her husband during a quarrel. The newspaper reported the murder on page 19, in a news item of 91 words – exactly 12 lines. The item answered the five w’s<sup>58</sup> and that was all; there was no picture, no quotes, no clear topic.

Alongside this item, another item appeared, headlined “Police initiative: Special forces to the Arab sector”. A large headline appeared above the two articles: Sectoral crime, sectoral policing. The newspaper chose to stress this item in that day’s edition. In contrast to the murder of Manar Canaan, this item rated different headlines, color, framing, picture and more than three hundred words. The use of negative rhetoric, the essence of which was incrimination of an entire society, completed the hostile frame towards Arab society by the editorial staff of the newspaper.<sup>59</sup>

Another example was the murder of the 15-year-old student, Amjad Shawahana, from Kfar Jaljulieh.<sup>60</sup> As previously mentioned, Shawahana was killed on his way home from school in Tira. A school bus was fired upon; some of the students were wounded and he died on the spot. No one disagrees with the fact that this was a tragedy: Some of the accused were students who had murdered another student. Violence in schools usually rates wide and intensive coverage, with many interviewees from the

57. Appendix 4.

58. The five w’s: who, when, what, why, and where.

59. Appendix 4.

60. Appendix 5.

educational system, psychologists, students and others. But in this case, there was only superficial coverage of less than 400 words at the bottom of

page 2 of *Yedioth Aharonoth*.

In comparison to the marginal coverage of Shawahana's murder, on the front page of the same edition, three articles of different sizes appeared, of which the difference in size indicated the newspaper's agenda:<sup>61</sup>

1. An item whose headline read: "Killed on the road: Mother, pregnant daughter, aunt".
2. An item which received the headline "First circumcision" (of Prime Minister Netanyahu's first grandson).
3. At the bottom of the front page an item was headlined: "Forgotten for hours in the transport vehicle and left to die in the street".

It is important to clarify that, despite the difficulty in comparing pain, the positioning of the three items on the front page of the newspaper cannot be ignored. In the two cases in which Arab youngsters were murdered or were killed, only one earned a place on the front page. The death of the Arab child after he had been forgotten in the transport vehicle was placed at the bottom of the page, while the item about Netanyahu's grandson was prominently positioned at the top of the page. While it may be argued that the locations of articles on newspaper pages is a matter of circumstantial discretion, when there is a continuing pattern of determining the newspaper agenda with different editing tools, it can only be concluded that this reflects a firmly established worldview which has become part of the natural order of consideration and it is thus, unconscious. When there is a

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61. Appendix 6.

clear connection between the identity of the figures covered by the newspaper and the measure of their salience, this can only be attributed to the dominant worldview which in this case reflects alienation, marginality and neglect.

## 6.4 Sporting Spirit

Sports, and especially football, are a focus of interest and identification among young Arabs, who do not have many other recreational possibilities. However, the Israeli media refers to the fields in Arab towns as arenas of struggle and violence. Most of the items which were covered about Arab sports in the Hebrew media focused on disorder and unruliness.

The match between Akha'a Nazareth and Abna'a Sakhnin is a good example of the representation of Arabs on the sports pages. The three newspapers focused on violence which would erupt following the event even before the beginning of the game. *Yedioth Aharonoth* referred to the game as the "Arab summit" (main headline); the headline was accompanied by a picture of the fans labeled "The tension can be cut with a knife". On the following day, 22.12.09, the game received three pages. The main headline of the first page of the news read "Let's go, match".<sup>62</sup> The inside headlines were no less harsh, and determined, with little doubt, that this was war and not sports. The newspaper surpassed itself and spoke to the mayors of Nazareth and Sakhnin, requesting that they calm the fans.

The three newspapers reported on the game, but did not mention the lack of budgets for

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62. Appendix 9.

football fields in Arab towns and for Arab teams. With multiple colors, the newspaper chose to prepare the Jewish reader for a “festival of violence in the Arab match”, as defined by the police commissioner. The question of whether there was or was not violence on the field during the game was not relevant to the media. They chose to submit indictments of the fans even before the game.

# 7 Summary

This research was based on a close tracking of the three leading newspapers: *Haaretz*, *Yedioth Aharonoth*, and *Maariv* for a period of three months. The research investigated the quantitative and qualitative mode of representation of Palestinian Arabs in Israel in the Hebrew press on normal days, when there were no civil crises.

The findings of the research indicate that the percentage of reportage devoted to Arab citizens in Israeli newspapers has not significantly changed, and totals almost 2%, as found in other similar research in the past. Coverage is still meager and marginal, with low salience and in particular, stereotypical and binary, revolving on the axis of “we” (the Jews) and “they” (the Arabs). According to the research, the process of Arab representation is based on exclusion, stereotypization, and subordination to the dominant Jewish majority (defamiliarization). This pattern indicates the use of soft power as a means of control and silencing towards Arab-Palestinian society in Israel.

The presence of Arabs in the Israeli media can be seen in two principal areas: in criminal events and in defense affairs. In other realms, their presence is minimal and marginal. This demonstrates that the meeting of the Israeli media with Arabs occurs principally in political-national



contexts rather than in civil affairs. Thus, the profile of the Arab-Palestinian as s/he appears in the Israeli media can be drawn as follows: An Arab, whose profession is usually unclear and irrelevant to the coverage, a criminal who does not maintain public order, and who may be incriminated for his/her deeds. S/he is not part of Israeli society even though Israeli society behaves fairly towards him/her (i.e., the absence of Arab rights discourse in the Israeli media).

However, the findings of the research indicate that the presentation of Arabs in the Israeli media during normal periods is slightly different than what has been found in studies which focused on conflictual events. The findings demonstrate that the percentage of representation for Arabs has not quantitatively changed, but simultaneously, there has been a small qualitative change. Previous studies have shown that Arabs do not receive media representation in social areas, but this research has indicated that they are represented in social areas such as economics, education, health and others. However, the percentage of their representation is still very low. The fact that the measure of representation has not changed through the years and remains at 2%, notwithstanding reference to social issues, proves that during the period of the research, significant weight was given to social issues when reporting on the Arab population. In addition, findings of the research show that Arab reporters cannot change the mode of Arab representation in the Hebrew newspapers, but they can contribute to the range of subjects which mention Arab-Palestinian society. The minimal integration of Arab reporters in the Hebrew media has not created a critical mass

which can change the general orientation of coverage. This minimal integration is part of the same policy of marginalization and neglect, which is reflected in the general policies towards Arab society and degrading coverage which diminishes the value of a minority society.

The clear operative conclusion which can be drawn from this research regarding the trends in coverage and representation is that the integration of more Arab reporters into the Hebrew media staff could lead to gradual changes in the patterns of coverage which could, in turn, lead to the construction of a different reality in the system of relations between the two societies – the majority Jewish society and the minority Palestinian society. It can be assumed that a serious assimilation of Arab reporters in the Hebrew Israeli media would lead to coverage of Arabs in a range of areas and would create balance between their negative coverage and the civil coverage which is required from the media which presents itself as fair and which regards itself as professional.

8

Appendix 1

**אוצר המקדש**  
ההקדש הציבורי להקמת בית המקדש השלישי

הנך מוזמן ל  
**טקס תרומות הלשכה**  
ה'תשס"ט הטקס יערך ביום חמישי כ"ח אלול  
בשעה 13.00 במוקד ההקדש  
במנהל האגף תרומות ותרומות נתיבות  
בתנאי שלטון ממשלתי בן קומות  
לאור הטקס תתקיים דיון בנושא:  
**הכניסה והתפילה בהר הבית לאור פסקי  
הבג"ץ האחרונים**  
ע"י מר גרעון חרולם אדריכל ובונה ערים  
ישאו דברים: מר זאב ברטוב מנ"י יושב ראש תנועת באמני הר  
הבית וארץ ישראל

באם על התחשבות באמצעים המועלים לרצות את אגודת האזרחים

אזור ההקדש	מזרח ההקדש	בני עזרי
שטחי ההקדש	באמני הר הבית ותרומות נתיבות	המנהל לעניני ההקדש

רקדס סדר ג' ודרכים 08, אגודת ישראל, רחוב ירושלים 10, ירושלים 9100100, ת.ד. 1000, י.מ.  
דואר אלקטרוני: [info@jewishagency.org](mailto:info@jewishagency.org) או [info@jewishagency.org](mailto:info@jewishagency.org)  
התקשרו: 052-9961430, 050-4115809, 050-6649968

המרכז הלאומי  
למחקר ולשימור  
המורשת העולמית

**בבית תפילתך**  
**תחנונים** מני ענדיך היום  
**בערב יום**  
**הכיפורים**  
**בהר הבית** למקדשך יאתיו  
**העליה ביום א' ערב יום כיפור**  
**בשעה 7:30 בבוקר**

נא להצטייד בתעודת זהות.  
טל: 052-9961430, פקס: 050-4115809, דואר: 050-6649968



**תקנון חוקי ירושלים, חוקי העיר והחוקים והחוקים**

התקנון חוקי ירושלים, חוקי העיר והחוקים והחוקים...  
 חוקי העיר והחוקים והחוקים והחוקים...  
 חוקי העיר והחוקים והחוקים והחוקים...

התקנון חוקי ירושלים, חוקי העיר והחוקים והחוקים...  
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 חוקי העיר והחוקים והחוקים והחוקים...

כבוד  
 תפילה קצרה לזמן מבני ובתחנותי בהתחברות תמיכה ביום הכיפורים במקום הקדוש

## תפילת כהן גדול

### ביו"כ בקודש הקדשים

דבר יהוה אומר

**אנא השם. חטאתי. עויתי פשעתי**  
**לפניך אני וביתי ובני אהרן עם**  
**קדושך. אנא בשם. כפר נא**  
**לחטאים ולעונות ולפשעים.**  
**שחטאתי ושפשעתי**  
**לפניך אני וביתי. ככתוב בתורת**  
**משה עבדך מפי כבודך. כי ביום**  
**הזה יכפר עליכם לטהר אתכם**  
**מכל חטאתיכם לפני ה'**

ההקדשים ותעם העומרים קענהו כשנחו ש'ומעום את השם הכבוד והנורא מפורש ויצא מפי גדול בקדושה ומקרה היו בורעים ומשתחיים ונפלים על פניהם ואומרים ברוך שם קבד מלכותו לעולם ועד

שים לב! אסור לומר את שם המבורך רק לכהן גדול בקודש הקדשים. מותר לומר ולהשתחית במקום הקדש אף ללא דבר החוצץ בינו לרצפה

ועדת החרויות קדושים | התנועה לכיבוש הקדש

אמת מה נהדר היה כהן גדול בצאתו מבית קדשי הקדשים ביום הכיפורים

הגד מוזמן לערב מרתק בנושא

## הר הבית ובית המקדש בימים ההם ובזמן הזה

בערב:

- דברי מתיחה: הרב **דניאל שילה** שליט"א
- ישא דברים: הרב **יוסף אלבוים** (חברתנו לרבות הדין)
- ורידאו מרתק: "לב האומה"
- שאלות ותשובות

הערב יתקיים במוצ"ש "האיזני" - שבת שובה  
 ח' תשרי 26,9 בשעה 20:30 בבית הספר למוזיקה

הערב נועד לכל הגילאים - כדאית מובטחת



## Appendix 2

The screenshot shows the front page of the Hebrew newspaper 'Haaretz'. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the newspaper's name 'הארץ' in large letters. Below it, there are several headlines and images. The main headline reads: 'נתניהו הקים צוות להתמודדות עם דו"ח גולדסטון והבהיר: "היילים לא יחקרו"'. To the left of this headline, there is a smaller headline: 'לאהרן על בנימין נתניהו: "הוא מושג, שקרן, סכסכן"'. Below the main headline, there is a photo of a soldier in military gear. To the right of the photo, there is a caption: 'ראש הממשלה הורה לשר הביטחון לרכז צוות שיוכיח הטלת ליטולות לתמודדות עם הטענות שעלו בדו"ח'. At the bottom of the page, there is a small photo of a woman and a caption: 'ברנת הפעם שטייף אסיר און | חלק ב''. The page also features a sidebar on the left with a barcode and some statistics: 'יידה של 35% בתירות הישראלית לטוקיה בספטמבר עליו והנסלס TheMarker'. There are also several smaller headlines and images scattered across the page.

**מעצד**

היום במעצד  
**סגנון אופנה**  
בדם קר  
טרומן קמטה, וירטואח  
של מיליונים ובגדים

מערב מנויים: \*6200

יום ד', י"ט בתשרי תש"ע 7.10.2009, גליון מס' 18876, שנה ס"ב ■ המחיר 5.00 ש"ח (כולל מע"מ), המחיר באילת 4.30 ש"ח ■ nrg.co.il

**אמש לקראת חצות:  
בית המשפט שחרר  
את ראד סלאח**

**מעצד  
וההרחקה**

יוצא לחופשי.  
סלאח אחי רחיון ביום  
השחרור מירושלים אמש  
ביום שישי

במשטרה החליטו להחרים את המאבק בראש הפלג  
הצפוני של התנועה האיסלאמית, ועצרו אותו  
בחדר להסתה ולהמרדה ■ בית המשפט החליט  
להסתפק בהרחקתו מירושלים ל-30 ימים ■ עמ' 2

**חשש במערכת הביטחון: המהומות יתרחבו לגדה**

**הנהג הישראלי  
- קווים לדמותו**

יותר תוקפני על הכביש,  
יותר עצבני בפקקים ■  
מחוקר חריש חושני: כך  
אנחנו נחזים ■ עמ' 10

**חורף  
בצפון**

יום גשום בגליל: בתוך שעה ירדה  
כמות גשם של חודש ■ עמ' 16

**ביזיון: אהדי בית'ר התפרעו במסיבת העיתונאים של פלטיני**

בספורט

# מהומת הד הבית

# ההתבטאויות

## "אני דורש לעצור אותו, מלי להתעכב", זורה אתמול בבוקר המפכ"ל דודי כהן ואכן, כמה שעות מאוחר יותר - דווקא על רקע יום שקט שעבר על ירושלים - נעצר מנהיג ההגל הצפוני של התנועה האיטלקית ■ אבל כבר לקראת הצות הוא שוחזר במפתיע והורחק מירושלים ל-30 יום ■ התנועה האיטלקית: "זו דריפה של ממש"



בא לחוק, השיח האחד קטחו וזה התפוסה במקום נוסף, שומע, שומע, מבינים בילום כלום. 40

התנועה האיטלקית דוד אתמול האמאטות שזעזעו נגד בניית הפלסטינית, על פי תחזית שהייתה לא ראויה. על פי תחזית שהייתה לא ראויה. על פי תחזית שהייתה לא ראויה.

התנועה האיטלקית דוד אתמול האמאטות שזעזעו נגד בניית הפלסטינית, על פי תחזית שהייתה לא ראויה. על פי תחזית שהייתה לא ראויה.

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אחרי 40 שנה של כיבוש, מה שנטרף זה הכבוד של האומה האסלאמית. לא נחזיר את הכבוד שלנו עד ישראל לא תצא מירושלים

נחניהו המשוגע הפוליסטי הזה עולו לשרוף את הכל. להבעיר את כל המזרח התיכון

נחניהו המשוגע הפוליסטי הזה עולו לשרוף את הכל. להבעיר את כל המזרח התיכון

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# הדעות אחרונות

בגשת מיט: 3773 • שילוח מיט: 3773

היום במוספים של ידיעות אחרונות	עורך ראשי: ירון לוי	עורך: שירלי דה-בי	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון	עורך ראשי: אריאל שרון
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## התקווה לנובל

היום יזכרו אם המרען הישראלי יקור אחרת וזה בפרס נובל לפיויקה • ביום חמישי: עמוס עוז מועמד מוביל לפרס נובל לספרות • עמ' 9 ו' 24 שעות



### היום במוספים של ידיעות אחרונות

24

#### סיינפלד חזר

צביע בקאמבק של ג'רי ג'ור, אליין וקיימי

## מהומות סוכות



אלפי שוטרים יתפרסו היום בירושלים במטרה למנוע הסלמה • גורם ביטחוני: "הרשות הפלסטינית משתלטת על מזרח העיר" • אלבם מישמן, עמ' 2

מחיר: אגודת התעופות הישראלית

### הטוף נולד

הופעה אצד אקדמי משיש הרח



### גמון

זהירות, בועה

סבר מילצק מודיע מצי השתוללות בשוק הנדל"ן



## בחזרה לערד

14 שנה אחרי האסון בפסטיבל ערד: בני הנוער שוב רוקדים ברופעות • רז שבניק, עמ' 12

### גשם בסוכה

יירד בצפון ובמרכז • עמ' אחרון



שירים במוספה של אביב גפן, אהוד מנור, ילונג חיים הורשטיין

### ספורט

נפילת בית"ר

הפסד ראשון העונה לירושלים אצל המפל בארשבו



### גמון

השוק החדש חילין







# Appendix 4

## כבישה מגזיית, שיטור מגזרי

# זמיה במלטה: כוחות מיוחדים למאגר הערבי

במסדר לביטחון פנים החליטו להקים כוחות משימה מיוחדים, שיתמחו בפשיעת המגזר הערבי ■ "לשמחתנו", אומרים שם, "גם ראשי הציבור הערבי מברכים"

### אבי אשכנזי



כיום לחימה. ממוסד מכו בעת משפט

החל לפחות מזה שנה, אמצעי הביטחון המיוחדים הוקמו במטרה להילחם בפשיעה המגזרית. הפשיעה המגזרית היא הפשיעה שבוצעה על ידי אנשי המגזר הערבי בארץ. הפשיעה המגזרית היא הפשיעה שבוצעה על ידי אנשי המגזר הערבי בארץ. הפשיעה המגזרית היא הפשיעה שבוצעה על ידי אנשי המגזר הערבי בארץ.

כיום לחימה. ממוסד מכו בעת משפט. כפי שצוין בעיתון "הארץ", ממוסד מכו בעת משפט. כפי שצוין בעיתון "הארץ", ממוסד מכו בעת משפט. כפי שצוין בעיתון "הארץ", ממוסד מכו בעת משפט.

### זמיה בגליל

## חשד: אם לשניים נצאחה בכנף יכא

אחד יעשו פשיעה ביחד, על פי חוקי ארצנו. במסגרת חוקי ארצנו, פשיעה ביחד היא פשיעה ביחד. במסגרת חוקי ארצנו, פשיעה ביחד היא פשיעה ביחד.

### השוטב החליט

## אליאור חן לא יכבל למיתון

במסגרת חוקי ארצנו, פשיעה ביחד היא פשיעה ביחד. במסגרת חוקי ארצנו, פשיעה ביחד היא פשיעה ביחד. במסגרת חוקי ארצנו, פשיעה ביחד היא פשיעה ביחד.

### למרות הגטס

## ארגון נכי צה"ל יצא להצלה

ארגון נכי צה"ל יצא להצלה. ארגון נכי צה"ל יצא להצלה. ארגון נכי צה"ל יצא להצלה. ארגון נכי צה"ל יצא להצלה. ארגון נכי צה"ל יצא להצלה.

### התנועת הצבא

## היום: דוח הענ"י לשנת 2008

התנועת הצבא. היום: דוח הענ"י לשנת 2008. היום: דוח הענ"י לשנת 2008. היום: דוח הענ"י לשנת 2008. היום: דוח הענ"י לשנת 2008.

## מכה בפשיעה: האחים אוחנה הורשעו ברצח

על פי כתב האישום, האחים הומינו את הרוצח השכיר ירון נקור למשימות חיטול



מכה בפשיעה: האחים אוחנה הורשעו ברצח. על פי כתב האישום, האחים הומינו את הרוצח השכיר ירון נקור למשימות חיטול. על פי כתב האישום, האחים הומינו את הרוצח השכיר ירון נקור למשימות חיטול.

## טרקדיה בפיכה: בפיכה לאחר ניתוח קיסרי

לאה ששן, בת 20, הוחננה לניתוח הניתוח לאחר שאובחנה אצלה מצוקה עוברית



לאה ששן, בת 20, הוחננה לניתוח הניתוח לאחר שאובחנה אצלה מצוקה עוברית. לאה ששן, בת 20, הוחננה לניתוח הניתוח לאחר שאובחנה אצלה מצוקה עוברית.



# Appendix 5

## בן 15 נהרג מירי לעבר ההסעה

**סכסוך בין חלמיוס, ככל הנראה על ליה של גערה, הורדרד אטמול והגעו לשוא טרגי והסעה גם הודעה שורג את אןך שרואגה סכס'מקאסס הוא חלמיוס בית הספר**

הסכסוך בין חלמיוס, ככל הנראה על ליה של גערה, הורדרד אטמול והגעו לשוא טרגי והסעה גם הודעה שורג את אןך שרואגה סכס'מקאסס הוא חלמיוס בית הספר

הסכסוך בין חלמיוס, ככל הנראה על ליה של גערה, הורדרד אטמול והגעו לשוא טרגי והסעה גם הודעה שורג את אןך שרואגה סכס'מקאסס הוא חלמיוס בית הספר




**נחמד מושבני סכס'מקאסס: "הנחום את מי שעשה את זה"**

**הנחום את מי שעשה את זה? הנחום את מי שעשה את זה? הנחום את מי שעשה את זה?**

**הנחום את מי שעשה את זה? הנחום את מי שעשה את זה? הנחום את מי שעשה את זה?**



## Appendix 6

נחום ברנע  
אטימות  
קפטן קוקה  
טראנס אטלנטיים

דנה ספקטור  
אהרני  
דניאלה  
רענן שקד  
יאיר לפיד

# נהרגו בכביש: אמה, הבת ההרה והדודה

תן דחי החברות הכי טובות - סיפור אהבה בני משפחה על לוח קטן, אותה ורדה בוקובזה ובתה אלינור שהייתה בתורש ה-3 להיוונה • עדי ראיה באשקלון: תן התבלבלו ונסעו בארץ • עמ' 2

## המילה הראשונה

ראש הממשלה לא הפתח את התקשורת כיצד תהיה אהבה  
את חברי הממשלה יסמאל מסיק ברוח החיילה • סמונת נאמיר  
עם רעייתו טרה ובני טרקה אבי סיל התיק • עמ' ארצות

## ונשכח לזכות ברכוב

"נבחרת, הוא כבר היה מות" - כך הכירה אהבה נגנת מאבני ניש טרדו עזבה את אהרן בן ה-3 ברוחב, אהרן שהשאירה אהרן • שעות נעול בטכנית מטרדה • ירון דורון, עמ' 3



## Appendix 7

**ספורט** 12

יום שלישי  
ה' נבטת תש"פ  
23.12.2009

יריעות אחרונות

**סכנין**

**אחי נצרת**

**יאללה**

**דרבי**

שבת, דוחא | סכנין מארחת את אחי נצרת. זה אולי קרב תחתית, אבל מדובר בעיקר במאבק על הבכורה במגזר | ראשי הערים, מאזן גנאיים וראמז ג'ראסי, מנסים בעורים אישיים להפחית את המתחות בין המחנות | ובינתיים מתברר, שלג'ון גרגורי אין תעודת פרו והוא לא יכול לאמן את נצרת | עמ' 2-4

**שיבק בדרך לנבחרת**

נפגש אתמול עם יורח האגוה • גודס מועמד לתפקיד העוזר • עמ' 9

**להקת חמסה**

ניצחון שכועי רצוף להפועל ת"א בליגה, הפעם 0:5 על רעננה • עמ' 5

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ג' דין אהוד







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