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**The Discourse
of Human Rights
in the Israeli Media**

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Executive Summary

This study qualitatively and quantitatively examines Israeli media's coverage of human and civil rights. It focuses on Hebrew Israeli media and examines the method of coverage and the prominence of human rights in its agenda. Furthermore, it discusses the extent of Hebrew media's coverage of political, social, cultural and religious rights of multiple groups comprising Israeli society. This is a groundbreaking study, whose central issue has never before been consistently and adequately addressed.

The study was conducted in April-July, 2011. The sample includes Israel's primary media outlets: the newspapers Yedioth Ahronot, Ma'ariv, Ha'aretz, Israel Hayom, and the news broadcasts on the television stations Channel 1, Channel 2, and Channel 10. Despite the fact that the sample does not include all Israeli media outlets, the breadth and the quantity of the covered articles in this study allow us to reach general conclusions regarding Israeli media's coverage of human rights, especially considering the great similarity between various media outlets' discourse on these issues in Israeli media.

This study combines quantitative methods with vital qualitative factors. Quantitative media research methods afford the ability to track the frequency, the breadth and the location of articles that address human rights. Focusing on large quantities is designed to allow generalized observation of coverage patterns. The qualitative aspects are designed to reach insight at the content level.

The study was held between the 1st of April and the 31st of July, 2011. A total of 384 articles on human rights out of 1585 were examined from a variety of media outlets. It is worth noting that throughout this period, a representative sample of articles was methodically chosen, ensuring continuity in the coverage of specific issues.

The research tool was an encoding questionnaire consisting of 53 questions, some numerical or close-ended questions, some open-ended questions, and some constructed according to an ordinal classification scale, requiring meticulous reading of every article included in the sample. The study examined four newspapers. The ratio between the number of articles included in the sample from each newspaper was impacted by the fluctuating number of articles in each newspaper. Yedioth Ahronot comprised 29.53% of the sample, Ha'aretz comprised 25.55%, and Ma'ariv comprised 11.4% of the sample. Israel Hayom comprised 17.03%. Alongside print media, Channel 2 comprised 6.94% of the sample, Channel 10 comprised 4.79% and Channel 1 comprised 5.11%.

The study found that 259 articles of the print media and 125 of TV news segments addressed human rights. Among television stations, Channel 10 broadcasted the highest number of segments on the issue: 56.58% of its segments dealt with the issue of human rights. Next was Channel 1, which broadcast 45.68% of its sample articles on the issue. Channel 2 came in third in the number of segments it devoted to the issue, standing at 40.91%.

In print media, Ha'aretz was the leader in the amount of articles devoted to the issue of human rights, wherein 21.23% of its articles that were examined in the sample dealt with human rights. The sample showed that the newspaper Israel Hayom, coming in not far from Ha'aretz, devoted 20.74% of its articles to the discussion of human rights. 18.86% of the articles in Ma'ariv and 17.95% of the articles in Yedioth Ahronot addressed the issue of human rights.

Upon examination of the number of segments discussing human rights in the entire sample, Channel 10 did not lead on the quantity of segments it broadcasted on the topic. Only 43 segments, which represent 11.20% of the entire sample, originated from Channel 10. Therefore, the reason that Channel 10 had the highest percentage of segments discussing human rights among the lot of television stations, as opposed to the low percentage of segments within the general sample, apparently stems from the fact that the number of the

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general segments from this particular channel is relatively smaller than other channels.

Across the entire sample, it was determined that Ha'aretz published the largest quantity of articles addressing human rights (22.40%). The newspaper Yedioth Ahronot displayed lower degree of sensitivity to human rights (21.88%), compared to Ha'aretz. 14.58% of the total number of articles discussing human rights were covered in the newspaper Israel Hayom, and 8.59% of the total number of articles on human rights were covered in the newspaper Ma'ariv. In TV media, 11.72% of the segments that addressed human rights were covered on Channel 2, whereas 9.64% of the segments on human rights were covered on Channel 1.

The results suggest that Channel 1 (9.64%), Ma'ariv (8.59%) and Israel Hayom (14.58%) addressed human rights to a lesser degree in their news coverage. It is possible that the reason for this is the nationalist ideological outlook of Ma'ariv and Israel Hayom, reducing the prominence of human rights in their agenda, or that it is not as prominent in comparison with their approach to other issues in these newspapers. There is a need for a logical explanation for the low percentage of coverage of human rights on Channel 1, Israel's public broadcasting authority. Of all media, one would expect this particular outlet to demonstrate an increased sensitivity to the issue of human rights; however, it is possible that the fact that it is politically controlled by the government greatly influences the nature of its coverage of current Israeli affairs.

Study results indicate that most articles covering human rights (71.1%) discuss the rights of Israel's Jewish population. 9.9% of the articles discuss the rights of Israel's Palestinian population, whereas 9.4% of all articles discussed Palestinians' human rights in the Palestinian Occupied Territory (OPT). 3.1% of the articles addressed settlers' rights in these territories. Palestinians' human rights in East Jerusalem were covered in only 1.3% of the total number of articles.

This data demonstrates the prominence of the discussion of human

rights in Jewish society as a whole and the marginality of articles that deal with specific groups within this society. The marginality of the discussion of human rights in East Jerusalem is particularly noticeable, considering the daily violations of human rights in the city. Furthermore, the discussion of the violation of human rights by the Israeli army and by settlers is not accorded much discussion in Hebrew media. In instances where there is such discussion, the reports do not always support the victims of rights violations.

Furthermore, the findings show that there are nine different groups that are addressed in the various reports that were included in the study sample. The groups are: women, the elderly, children, people with special needs, prisoners and detainees, victims of house demolition, victims of political actions, foreign workers and 'others'. Diagram 4 clearly demonstrates that the group that is addressed the most represents those who are harmed by various political actions (36.2%). Prisoners and detainees (6.5%), children (5.7%) and women (4.9%) are next in line. It is important to note that there are many articles (40.9%) that do not contain a specific social category, despite the fact that they address human rights. This category of 'other' includes victims of violence or lack of healthcare, foreign journalists, road accident victims, etc. During the period of the sample, there was an increase in violent incidents, reflected in the increased coverage of the rights of those who had been harmed.

The conclusions of the study demonstrate a number of patterns that are worthy of further discussion.

Introduction

This study quantitatively and qualitatively examines Israeli media's coverage of human and civil rights. It focuses on Hebrew Israeli media and examines the method of coverage and the prominence of human rights in its agenda. Furthermore, it discusses the extent of the Hebrew media's coverage of political, social, cultural and religious rights of multiple groups comprising Israeli society. This is a groundbreaking study, whose central issue has never before been consistently and adequately addressed.

2011 saw many public protests in Israel. They were given different names: "the fuel protest", "the cottage cheese protest", "the strollers protest", "the tent protest" and "the doctors protest". They all indicated a growing sense of dissatisfaction with the high living costs in Israel. One major slogan was called out in all the demonstrations: "the people demand social justice".¹ **Social justice** has at its foundations numerous human rights norms, particularly that of equality, and is an important issue in politics. Most social attitudes consider a just society as the ultimate goal and a product of human rights realization, yet the various political ideologies are divided on the definition of such a society (Rawls, 1971). The various protests emphasized the need to respond to the public's demands regarding social and economic rights.

The current study explores the Israeli media's attitudes towards human rights in April-July, 2011. The sample includes Israel's primary media outlets: the newspapers Yedioth Ahronot, Ma'ariv, Ha'aretz and Israel Hayom, and the television channels 1, 2 and 10. Despite the fact that the sample does not include all Israeli media outlets, the breadth and the quantity of the covered articles in this study allow us to reach general conclusions regarding Israeli media's

coverage of human rights, especially considering the great similarity between various Israeli media outlets' discourse on these issues (Massalha and Jamal, 2011).

The starting point of this study is the fact that there are no studies on the Israeli media agenda from a human rights perspective. There is no academic knowledge or documentation of human rights discourse in general as, reflected in the Israeli media. We believe that this lack is not random, but related to the lack of systematic academic discourse on human rights in Israel. This discourse is still perceived as belonging to social change organization's in Israel, and especially human rights organizations associated with the left wing. The current study touches human rights issues in general, without focusing on the representation of a specific group. Therefore, it is more of a thematic study than a representational one. By choosing this method we exceeded a research pattern which has become very popular in the Israeli academic world, of focusing on the representations of different groups without referring to the wider, more general context.

Historical and Theoretical Background

The human rights subject is one of great importance and wide influence over every aspect of our lives. The human rights paradigm, which crystallized in the aftermath of WWII and was initially codified in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and later in the form of international covenants, conventions and other instruments, became a central reference point for debates in the international institutions and in various states. We can identify three viewpoints regarding this subject. According to the first, the human rights paradigm is a political, social and cultural philosophy which is relevant in every aspect of life, and should be the basis for all practices and systems. This position sets the framework for all UN organs, institutions and bodies, as well as informs governmental institutions in various states and the work of international NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

The second viewpoint had emerged out of the criticism made regarding the preliminary assumptions and human rights concepts of the first viewpoint. According to this viewpoint, the human rights paradigm is culturally bounded and reflects the Western individualistic and secular set of values. Therefore, any attempt to force it on the international arena promotes Western dominance and condones non-Western cultures or countries to judgment by ethical values foreign to them. The champions of this viewpoint claim that the human rights paradigm is nothing but a shrewd and calculated mechanism, used by the stronger countries of the world, led by the United States, to dominate, control and interfere with internal affairs of disadvantaged countries. They also point out to the double

standards of these states in supporting regimes which have no respect for human rights and violate them daily (e.g. US support of the Pinochet regime in Chile and the autocratic regime in Saudi Arabia). They highlight the fact that some states dismiss human rights when in conflict with the interests of the powerful forces in society, hence the dismissal of third world immigrants in France, Germany and the UK and the violation of social and economic rights of the poor in capitalist states. The supporters of this viewpoint don't deny the importance of human rights, nor do they deny the need to defend the rights of groups and individuals in the various states, yet they point out the implications of subordinating human rights concepts to political and financial interests by states which hold the monopoly over human rights discourse. They also expose the conflict of ideas between the liberal viewpoints of human rights and the traditions and customs of minorities in Western countries (Douzinas, 2010). This viewpoint adds an important aspect to and is an integral part of the human rights discourse, even though it contradicts some of the commonly accepted principles of the first viewpoint mentioned above, among them social, cultural and economic rights.

The third viewpoint is a compromise between the preceding two. Its supporters claim there is no conflict between human rights concepts and the non-Western cultures. They reject the idea of human rights as a Western worldview, as well as the violation of basic human rights under the pretention of particular social or cultural values. They claim that human rights are not one coherent paradigm based on Western cultural ideas, but rather a general human concept with various expressions and many different interpretations in various realms.

The ongoing debates and arguments that are being carried out between the advocates of the different viewpoints have helped to enrich human rights philosophy, turning it into a theoretical paradigm that surpasses local boundaries. The human rights paradigm has gained influence in various political contexts, and has become a general basis for constitution-making in many cultures. The fact that

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the Code of Hammurabi, even though of the “negative” (prohibitive) rights variety, is the first written document to discuss human rights, suggests roots that are non-Western and non-secular. The historical truth is that human rights values were manifested throughout history in various codes all over the world, especially within the monotheistic religions. Though they may be limited in terms of human rights, the monotheistic religions designed some of the social, political and cultural aspects of life, and can be seen as progenitors of contemporary human rights philosophy. The Ten Commandments contain basic crucial rights, which had turned over time into laws. Such as “Thou shalt not kill” which forms the basis for the right to life, or “Thou shalt not steal” which turned into the right of property. Christianity, in its early days, had also dared to challenge the social status of women and slaves in Roman society (Bogdan, 2005).

The famous saying by the Khalif U`mar ibn al-Khattab, “Since when do you enslave the people when their mothers bore them as free men” provides a non-Western origin for a basic human right, which was formulated into law later in history.² Human rights issues were prominent in philosophical and legislative debates and conversations since the establishment of the House of Wisdom in 9th century Baghdad until the occupation of the Arab Middle East by the Turks.

The human rights paradigm is part of the human development process, and it has taken on different forms, according to the time and place of its origin. Controversies regarding meanings, origins and essences of human rights have existed since the period of ancient Greece, and different schools of thought have been created (Epictetus, 1998). The human rights paradigm had developed in many directions since the first debates over basic rights, such as the right to liberty or the right of property. These rights - like others - have different meanings and implications in different parts of the world and did not spring out of thin air in the Western world.

The west was influenced by legislative and moral traditions of the Eastern empires, though these rights were never phrased as such. The right to freedom and the right of property were institutionalized

and implemented in different ways over cultural, political and geographical realms. One cannot disregard the importance of social rights in Eastern cultures, which have paid special attention to the rights of the poor, the orphans and other disadvantaged groups. Therefore, we may say that human rights ideas developed over time and were always an integral part of the political structure throughout history.

If we look at the Magna Carta (1215 AD) as a historical landmark, we will see that when the European political thinking started focusing on the importance of political participation as a lawful right, it was added to a list of other rights granted only to the aristocrats (Dunn, 1992). We mustn't forget the bloody conflict between religious thinkers, who tried to protect the power of the Church and that of naïve religious belief, and those who tried to merge religious thinking with humanistic elements, like Thomas Aquinas.

Despite the role played by Christian theocrats and thinkers in promoting imperialist adventures, one cannot ignore the contribution of some of them to the rise of human rights as a central ethical code in modern times. The Lutheran Reform Movement of the early 16th century was a major step towards legitimizing religious practices by individuals, which later became the philosophical pillars for the development of the individualistic liberal movements (Weber, 1958). After the weakening of the monarchies, following a long confrontation with the Catholic Church on one hand and with the local aristocrats on the other, the emergence of Protestantism also played a part in separating the religious establishment from the political one, renewing the debate over the right to rule (Wuthnow, 1989). The Reformation Movement had a profound impact over European society which, after being drowned by religious and ideological bloodsheds which resulted in thousands of deaths, was forced to reach truces and treaties which consolidated some human rights, mainly the freedom of religion and conscience, and at the same time promoted the discussion over other rights, such as the freedom of speech.

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The emergence of the modern state, since the middle of the 16th century, brought about confrontations between the monarch rulers and aristocrats who tried to interfere with the state's affairs, particularly its finances. Another event which contributed to the development of the human rights paradigm was the English Revolution at the end of the 17th century, which began with the establishment of the constitution in 1689 and ended with the agreement signed between the king and the parliament (Dunn, 1992). The development of the parliamentary institutions enhanced the importance and functionality of several crucial rights, mainly the right to property and freedom of speech (Locke, 1956). Although at that time these rights were granted to an advantageous few, they were the seeds which later turned the human rights issue into a basic principle which naturally expanded further and further. The confrontations between the monarchs and aristocracy over influence brought about new political and social alliances and gave the rising bourgeoisie the chance to enter the parliament in several European states, thus expanding political rights. At the same time, thinkers began expanding human rights ideas to include all members of society, claiming that all men were created equal, and that the political order must reflect that principle.

The natural law school, and among them some of the "social contract" thinkers, was the first to discuss human rights as natural rights. They claimed that human beings are born with their rights, which cannot be taken away from them. Therefore, we must consolidate these rights by law and use the state's institutions to defend them. They established an obligatory link between human beings and their rights, which are set by nature and not by a contract. These thinkers set the stage for an individualist perception of society, equal political rights and defense of the individual against the political ruler. They focused on a representative political system, seeing society as the sum of its parts, and challenged the class system and the method for distribution of possession (Hobbes, 1909). The long lasting link between possession and political participation has started to give way due to the new sectors coming into politics, which could no longer be

ignored as they were in the past. The concept of citizenship reflected the legal and political contract between the state and the individual, and consolidated a number of rights which gave individuals the right to define the essence of the political entity in which they live (Pocock, 1996). The concept of citizenship became, over time, a paradigm that was impossible to ignore as a moral, political and legal principle, particularly when discussing **social justice** (Marshall, 1964). There began the separation between the political and legal rights and the issue of property, based on the notion that political influence should emerge out of political equality, and not out of the financial merits of an individual. Even though this separation was intended to protect the dominance of a small wealthy section of society over the majority, it also initiated a new political and legal paradigm, based on equality and freedom.

The American Revolution was another important step in this process, turning the human rights paradigm into an obligatory constitution for all state's institutions, and into a political culture which is still influential to this day. The controversies between political parties and values of the various groups in American society revealed the superstructure of the constitution and the gap between its ideals and the actual situation in the United States, but this constitution had paved the way for certain developments which penetrated successive societies, causing them to embrace the human rights paradigm which, by then, was expanded to include most sections of society (Smith, 1997).

The most eventful chapter in the worldwide development of the human rights paradigm was the French Revolution of 1789, which resulted in the spreading of human and civil rights, and defined the concepts of individual and collective rights, while deriving inspiration from Enlightenment and Modernity (Rousseau, 1957). Thanks to their boldness, their explicit terminology and their worldwide relevance, the concepts defined at that time remain influential to this day. It was then understood that every human being in every culture is entitled to human rights, that the people are the basis for any political order, and that the emphasis should be on individual rights, first and foremost

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liberty, equality and fraternity. The government should serve the people, and its role should be limited to preserving security and allowing the people to realize their rights in the fullest form possible.

Religious, cultural and social developments tied the human rights paradigm closely to Western culture. Yet the basic principles were, and still are, relevant to all human beings and guide the conduct of most human societies without subjugating them to the specific characteristics of Western culture, such as extreme individualism or the role of religion in society. Current debates in the Western world - particularly in countries who led the human rights revolutions, like the US and France - lead to the conclusion that the alleged separation between religion and state and the emphasis on individualism are both ideal models which cannot be realized fully, yet they are used as a means to demonstrate the homogeneous nature of the human rights paradigm. Recent debates over human rights paradigm proves that it is not limited to one specific state or culture - though some try to infer it is. Additionally, states that presume to be human rights leaders keep defending their interests and realizing their goals, both locally and internationally, by using selective interpretation of the paradigm.

Returning to the three points of view mentioned above, we can now see that the third and intermediate position is the closest to the truth, without turning human rights into a colonial scheme or falling into the trap of cultural particularity. Our research is based on this intermediate point of view, which acknowledges the centrality of individual and collective human rights. The development of international human rights discourse has created basic human values, which became inclusive and guide the conduct of most countries worldwide, albeit persisting deviations in the conduct of states and political regimes.

The human rights paradigm became a binding, undeniable and powerful set of values in international politics, which is reflected by the political human rights discourse and the importance of international human rights organizations like Amnesty International, Doctors Without Borders, Reporters Without Borders and Human

Rights Watch. These organizations are respected by the international community and define criteria for the various states, Western and non-Western alike. As a result, even states not committed to these values still consider the issue's implications on their international status. There's no doubt that the international political trend is one of strengthening commitment to human rights, binding all political forces, states or organizations, and forcing them to align and concede with these standards, as states grow conformant to avoid international criticism.

Over time, the human rights paradigm expanded to include aspects which were previously ignored. Looking back at the initiation of human rights, we can see that civil and political rights were the first to appear, whilst social rights weren't always as important as they are today. Human rights concepts were expanded over time to include basic socioeconomic rights; e.g. the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to adequate housing, the right to education, the right to health, etc. Human rights concepts have also evolved to include all groups of society, women, children, refugees and others, while limiting the ability of the wealthy to misuse their financial strength.

By reviewing the history of human rights and its spread throughout the world, we can clearly see that these rights are universal by nature, though they center around the individual. But international organizations, which talk about civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights, stress that human rights must also be collective, since some rights cannot be implemented for individuals without the involvement of larger society (e.g. the right to self-determination, the right to culture and the right to freedom of association). International conventions like the UN Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, as well as those conventions encompassing the rights of disabled persons (CRPD) and those subject to enforced

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disappearance (CPED) demonstrate that the human rights paradigm went on to include additional aspects of life. The human rights paradigm is still expanding, and continuing debates evolve around supplementing the corpus with more rights, such as the right to information and freedom of information transfer.

The Dialectic of Human Rights in Israel

Before we examine the Israeli media's attitudes towards human rights, we should survey the current status of human rights in Israel. Due to the historical circumstances of its establishment and the basic conflict between universality of human rights and the particularity of its national identity, human rights are a sensitive issue in Israel (Akram, 2011; Kretzmer, 2002). The establishment of Israel forced the displacement of Palestinians, the majority of whom were expelled or forced to flee in the hundreds of thousands and had their right to self-determination snatched from under their feet during the war of 1947-49.

The Jewish national entity which emerged from the aftermath of this war adopted a legislative and constitutional order which was based on a racial distinction between those who belonged to the Jewish national group and those who were outside of it. The official definition of a Jew was broadened to serve expansionist strategies, as part of the Jewish people's self-proclaimed right to rule the land and defend itself, and the Palestinian people were deprived of their right for self-determination and of their right to life in their historical land as an independent people with equal rights like any other nation (Pappe, 2011; Masalha, 1997).

A review of the laws which were enacted by the state of Israel since its early days reveals that the human rights paradigm which was promoted by the state was based on a fundamental distinction. The Law of Return and The Absentee Property Law, also referred to as "Present Absentee" Law, clearly show the fundamental distinction between two basic groups of residents: the Jews, who enjoy full

rights, and the indigenous Palestinians, who are deprived, under the pretence of international law, of their right to life in their homeland (Kretzmer, 1990; Jamal, 2011). This discrimination served as the foundation for the development of the Israeli human rights paradigm. The national identity of the Jewish majority took precedence over human rights principles in order to protect Jewish dominancy in all aspects of life (Jabareen, 2002; Jamal, 2009). The embracing of human rights terminology helped to maintain Jewish dominancy in the political and legal realms.

The Israeli Declaration of Independence had promised human rights for all, but this promise was tainted since day one by giving the Jewish people as a whole (in Israel and abroad) the control over the affairs of the Israeli state, including human rights and international relations policies, through the open right of return and the involvement of Jewish communities living outside the state of Israel in shaping its policies. This founding document has determined the direction for the development of a human rights paradigm that revolves around a national factor, a policy that has gained wide support among the Jewish majority in the country. For example, the emergency situation declared in 1948 is still active to this day, and is continuously extended without any real objections. Likewise, the Emergency Regulations set by the British in Mandatory Palestine of 1945 are still in effect in Israel in 2012. The right to property and the associated rights related to planning and building, are still dependant on criteria which contradict the essence of the rights.

According to Harari decision from 1950 - the decision to build a constitution in the form of Basic Laws in an incremental form - the first laws to be enacted have to do with state institutions and its resources. The second Basic Law: Israel Lands, (the first was Basic Law: The Knesset) was enacted in 1960 and was the basis for what was later referred to as the land regime of Israel. In a nutshell, the law says that the lands of Israel (owned by the state or by the Jewish National Fund), belong exclusively to the Jewish people and cannot be sold (Yiftachel and Meir, 1998). The Israeli state confiscated most of the Arab lands, which were privately owned,

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and became the single biggest land owner, controlling over more than 92% of the country's lands. Under these conditions, the basic right of property became meaningless, especially for those who had their land confiscated by the state under legal authority (Kedar, 1998). The right to own land could serve as a criterion for judging the Israeli human rights paradigm. It reveals that basic human rights in Israel are still dependant on external considerations, in contrast with the demands of the various international conventions. These considerations override human rights principles in other aspects of life as well, mainly political, social and economic. Most of the Israeli laws dealing with civil, political and social-economic rights bypass the principle of equality, by according greater value accorded to the ethnic, Jewish component, thus contradicting the universal spirit of these rights under international human rights law. This is seen in the widespread opposition to enactment of the Basic Law: Equality, and the effective deletion of the equality principle in other basic laws, most importantly Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty.

All these laws are subordinated to the basic definition of the state as a Jewish one, even though at least fifth of the citizens are Palestinians, the indigenous people of the land, whose rights are determined by the state's ethnic parameters. This structural hierarchy is reflected in the human rights paradigm. There's very little legitimacy to challenging this paradigm in the political sphere, and the legislative activity throughout the years, and especially since 2002, is aimed towards the violation of civil and political rights of the Palestinian minority (Jamal, 2011). In the financial sphere, the confiscation of land, a main source of income for this minority, resulted in a process of impoverishment which drove more than 50% of the Arab population under the poverty threshold (The Socio-Economic Survey, 2010). This is also the reason for the high unemployment rate in Arab society, and it explains the shortage in housing among them. The government's investments in the development of the Arab society are not in accordance with their percentage within the general population of Israel, and they suffer from multiple violations of basic rights. It is obvious that Arab Palestinian society is positioned on the margins

of the Jewish Israeli society, where human rights are only partially respected, though failing by the standards of international human rights law. These fundamental challenges to the political, civil, socio-economic and cultural rights exposes the inherent hypocrisy of the Israeli human rights paradigm (Or, 2003). This paradigm is selective and partial, and the rights of the Jewish-Israeli population are determined by ethnic and ideological factors, in contrast with the universal nature of human rights in their pure form.

The Israeli political and legislative discourses presumably revolve around the human rights paradigm as a fundamental ideology, yet the selectiveness of this paradigm, which is demonstrated by the hierarchy of values described earlier, shows that national identity undermines the fundamentals of this paradigm, turning its elements into mechanisms which serve to preserve Jewish dominance in all aspects of life. The widely spread racism among Jewish society itself proves the partiality of the paradigm and its subordination to political considerations, dedicated to preserving the status quo in Jewish-Israeli society. The partiality and the limitations on human rights paradigm are evident in opinion polls made among the Israeli population. Apparently, the majority of Jews legitimize the limitation of basic human rights of the Arab population, and views conflicting with the human rights paradigm exist within the Jewish-Israeli society itself.¹ These polls show that the legislative activity in recent years, e.g. The Nakba Law, The Citizenship Law, The Law Against the Division of Jerusalem and others, emerged from the fertile soil of their legitimization by the Jewish majority. The legislative dialectic and the public opinions reflected in the polls are the basis for the human rights paradigm in Israel, and they reflect the deepening gap between a minority among the Jewish population, which tries to preserve a pretence of humanism, and the majority, who thinks that this pretence stands in the way of realizing political schemes, decline the universality of the human rights paradigm and subject it to a nationalistic and chauvinistic project. This dialectic aligns with the occupation mentality, which deprives the human rights of almost four million Palestinians, in addition to the rights deprivation

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of the other five million Palestinians in Diaspora. The attempts of the Israeli state to distance itself from the occupation are nothing but a mockery of the human rights paradigm. How can we discuss the human rights of Jewish-Israeli citizens in the state of Israel, while they themselves deprive others of basic human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories? This political and legislative structure stands in direct contrast with the idea of a universal human rights paradigm, being based on the idea of equality among all human beings, of all cultures and nationalities.

Human rights are not statutory. Israel has no constitution and only some of them are enacted as Basic Laws. According to the report of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel of 2009, which examined the status of human rights in Israel, The state of Israel is in the midst of a process of shaking of its responsibility for the fundamental rights of its citizens - the rights to health, education, adequate housing and dignified life (Dahan, 2009).

The inequality in Israeli society has increased in recent years, deepening socio-economic gaps. Many of the recently proposed governmental legislative bills express overtly racial tendencies and attempt to limit fundamental freedoms and violate human rights.³ Some steps could be perceived as threats to democracy, including: undermining the position of the legal system in general and specifically that of the Supreme Court, threatening civil society activists and violating freedom of speech. Human rights of minority groups in Israel are increasingly being trampled. Moreover, the gaps between Arab and Jewish citizens are widening in many spheres, including education and economy (Swirski and Konor-Atias, 2012).

The discrimination of the Arab citizens in Israel has been documented over the years in numerous studies and surveys and was also addressed in court decisions, governmental decisions, reports of the States' Comptroller and other official documents. A significant report concerning the discrimination against Arab society was published by the Or Committee, appointed to investigate the events of October 2000 (Or, 2003). It was stated in the report that: "the state didn't

do enough, or try hard enough, to promote equal rights for its Arab citizens and to eliminate the discrimination and deprivation.”

This is not the place to elaborate on the discrimination of the Arab population, though it is important to note that housing and planning issues are the spheres in which Arab society suffers the worst forms of deprivation and discrimination. For instance, 70,000 citizens of the Bedouin population live under constant threat of home demolition. They live in three dozen unrecognized villages in the Negev with no electricity or water infrastructure and severely inadequate education and healthcare services. The remaining Arab Palestinians in the Negev live in recognized settlements, yet these are overcrowded, have poor infrastructure, and display high rates of unemployment and poverty.⁴

In addition, despite the declared governmental commitment to women’s rights, women in Israel are discriminated at work as well as in the public sphere, similarly to other areas of the patriarchal world. Their salary is lower than that of men, they are deprived of senior positions, prevented promotions, their basic employment conditions are not as good as those of men and they are entitled to fewer benefits (i.e. over time, car allowance, additional payment for on-call duties and so on). They are very often not chosen for any influential public positions, not to mention the physical and verbal abuse to which they are subjected.

Another group suffering discrimination in Israel is that of illegal aliens, a group that has grown considerably since the end of the 1990’s. Most of them entered the country with a tourist visa and stayed illegally after its expiry. It’s estimated that there are about 148,000 illegal aliens in Israel, 107,000 of whom have an expired tourist visa; 17,000 have an expired working visa, designated for a specific occupation; and 25,000 of them are refugees/asylum seekers, often referred to as ‘infiltrators’.⁵ Since the late 1990’s, governmental policy was one of reducing the number of foreign workers in Israel. This has caused further harassment by the Immigration Department towards foreign workers, including persecution, deportation and sometimes arbitrary detentions.

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Despite their right to protection under the non-refoulement principle encoded in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the status of refugees/asylum seekers in Israel is very similar to that of foreign workers. The non-refoulement principle forbids the return of refugees to places where their lives or freedoms could be threatened.

Even though the state of Israel has ratified the Convention, it has no clear legal policy regarding refugees and asylum seekers: the handling of refugees in Israel is based on an unpublished internal protocol of the Department of Internal Affairs. The decision of whether or not to grant refuge to an asylum seeker is made by an inter-ministerial committee, without transparency or legal representation. Israel's refugee recognition rate is one of the lowest alongside countries in the Western world, rating at only 1 percent.⁶

The heavy burden of the occupation and of the segregation regime in the OPT has been around since 1967. Israel grossly violates fundamental rights to the four million Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including the “**right to life**”, the “**right to personal security**”, “**the right to freedom of movement and employment**”, “**the right to freedom of speech**” and “**the right to health**”. Certain incarceration conditions are also illegal, such as quotidian arbitrary detention of minors, and not as a policy of last resort, which is the only scenario approved by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The basic balance of power was not changed by the founding of the Palestinian Authority in the mid 1990's, nor by the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in the summer of 2005. Israel still dominates the lives of Palestinians, and is responsible for continuous and oftentimes grave violations of their rights. In a report published in 2008 by B'Tselem, examining the global status of human rights, it is stated that within the OPT most human rights became meaningless, even more so since the beginning of the Second Intifada, at the end of 2000.

The state of affairs, as described above, shows clearly how truly concerning is the status of human rights in Israel, and explains in part why masses of Israeli citizens went out in protest in the summer of

2011. The protesters demanded, amongst other things, to bridge the social, economic, national, ethnic and gender gaps, and to create the possibilities for social cohesion essential for the country's existence.⁷ The demand to end the occupation was also implicated by some of the protesters.⁸

In September 2010, the UN Human Rights Council published its most recent report on the status of civil and political rights in Israel. This report is the third edition published since Israel had signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (previous reports were published in 1998 and 2003). The report indicated the increasing discomfort of the international community with regards to the status of human rights in Israel.⁹

Based on Israeli official reports and shadow reports of Israeli NGOs, the Review Committee examined the status of human rights in Israel, calling the state to adopt a clearly defined instruction for the protection of the human rights paradigm as part of its Basic Laws, and to legislate a criminal law against acts of torture. The Committee also recommended revoking the legislation against acts of terror, claiming it overtly restrictive of human rights. This claim was made mainly in reference to the law that permits the incarceration of unlawful combatants and to the temporary provision with regards to the Citizenship Law and the right to enter Israel (a provision that prevents families from reuniting when one spouse resides within the OPT). The Committee also called upon Israel to revoke the criminal provision operational in the OPT, allowing minors (aged 16-18) to be tried as adults. Furthermore, the Committee referred to the blockade policy on Gaza Strip and to the collective punishment policy, and criticized the use of targeted killings and house demolitions in Jerusalem. The report also mentioned the permit system for Palestinians living between the Separation Barrier and the 1967 borders, the water distribution policy in the West Bank, the treatment of those who refuse to enlist in the IDF for moral reasons, the status of the Arabic language in the Israeli public sphere and the negligence of the Negev Bedouin population's needs as part of planning policies.

It is important to note that, despite the incisive criticism, the report

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had some positive notes as well, focusing on the new laws enacted by the Israeli government defending the rights of disempowered groups, e.g., women, people with special needs and victims of human trafficking; the Committee also praised Israel for its ratification of two protocols of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Human Rights and the Media - Unexplored Territory

The ‘International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism’, composed by UNESCO, states among other things:

*Principal VIII: Respect for Universal Values and Diversity of Cultures A true journalist stands for the universal values of humanism, above all peace, democracy, human rights, social progress and national liberation, while respecting the distinctive character, value and dignity of each culture, as well as the right of each people freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems.*¹⁰

This document is merely a recommendation, and the countries that belong to UNESCO are not obligated to abide by it. Therefore, the most powerful media outlets in the world aren’t always committed to it. The incident in which the British newspaper, News of the World, was accused of illegal phone hacking, is only one example of the inherent tension between the media’s economic interests and basic human rights. While the media’s activity relies on basic human values, such as freedom of speech and the public’s right to know while honoring the right to privacy, a great deal of the media’s activity conflicts with basic human principles. For example, media coverage of commercial companies that are owned by the same person or group that owns the media outlet itself, without proper disclosure of these connections and conflicts of interest.

This connection between economic interests, coverage policies and human rights has become just as problematic as the existence of media outlets, which operate under “Pravda culture”. In many

countries, the media is still the voice of a tyrannical government, which promotes a one-dimensional worldview. The violation of freedom of speech and the public's right to know cannot be detached from the violating of other basic human rights, especially through blocking any publication that has to do with such reality.

It is worth noting that according to the universal principles of the press, journalists are expected to respect basic human values. These values are based upon peace, democracy and human rights, and promote social development and national liberty for all nations, whilst respecting and recognizing the values that govern various cultures, as well as the rights of various groups to choose and develop their own political, economic, and social systems.

According to Gans (1979), communication studies tend to distinguish between Order News and Disorder News. Order News are positive news that ordinarily deals with improvements, inventions, social stability, economic prosperity and so on. This type of news includes positive articles such as participation in social efforts in a range of fields, positive local events and so on. Disorder News are usually negative news, which focus on damages to property or human casualties, destruction and threat, subversion, disorganization, immorality, social and political instability, tensions, rifts and so on (Caspi, 1981: 8).

Based on this analysis, many came to the conclusion that the media tends to overlook issues that concern society's social minorities. When these minorities gain media coverage, it tends to have a negative context. Some claim that it is a case of "which came first, the chicken or the egg?" since low status groups are denied access to the media. Therefore, for them to receive media coverage they need to protest publically, an act which is often considered an act of violence (Aburaiya, Avraham, and Wolfsfeld, 1998:10).

Assuming that this claim is correct, the question still remains: Are UNESCO's human rights principles the guidelines of Israeli media? Israel's news coverage has never been studied from a general human

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rights perspective, and very few essays have been written on the subject. Most studies discussed the representation of disempowered groups - women, people with special needs, LGBT community - in the Israeli media. These studies remained within the boundaries of the Israeli consensus and assumed a diversified, equal, and democratic society.

Media Coverage of Different Groups in Israel

In 2002, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel published a collection of essays based on studies that analyzed inequality patterns in Israeli society. The articles focused on the issue of inequality in the media, especially in public broadcasting. The essays examined the lack of adequate accessibility to the press, the exclusion of certain groups from the media sphere and stereotypical attitudes towards women, Arabs, Eastern Jews, new immigrants, people with special needs and LGBT.

The articles present a detailed image of a media with a specific profile: Jewish, white (“ashkenazi”), male, secular, heterosexual, mentally and physically healthy. Other social groups - women, Arabs, Eastern Jews, religious Jews, new immigrants, the LGBT community and people with special needs - are marginalized. These groups are commonly presented in negative contexts as criminals and perverts; or, alternatively, as victims, while using negative stereotypes that are associated in the public mind with these groups.

Many additional studies in recent decades were devoted to the issue of the representation and the concept of women in mass media. Practically all of these studies show a distinct misrepresentation and repression of women in the media (Braden, 1996). A study that examined the broadcasts of Channel 2 and Channel 10 during primetime, revealed the fact that only 25% of the people shown on television were female characters, as opposed to 75% male characters (Avraham, First and Elefant-Lefler, 2004). Another study revealed similar findings, which was defined as “the symbolic extinction of women”. This study was performed by the Global Media Monitoring

Project (GMMP, 2008), in cooperation with I'lam (Tuchman, 1978).

Lemish (2007) dealt with the representation of women in the Israeli media. Her study draws the conclusion that men are presented in Israeli media as the “normal” majority, whereas women are presented as the “other” minority. Aliza Lavie (2006) came to a similar conclusion in her study about the representation of women and claimed that women are presented in the private domain, in the margins of public interactions, as being activated and not active, as objects and not as subjects, as emotional and irrational. Lavie summarizes her study saying that: “men are the discourse, women just give it color”. Wieman (2000) studied the representation of women in advertisements. His study unveiled the fact that the image of women and the products women advertise preserve their inferior status, reducing women to one body part. Lips, chest or other parts of the woman’s body become the entire image of the female body, which is presented as a source of seduction and attraction to promote sales.

There are also very few studies on the media coverage of the LGBT community. Kama (2002) referred to the issue and stated that over the last decade, there has been a positive change in the media’s representation of gays: they are presented as functioning members of society, with professional and family life, and are not seen as an insignificant, esoteric or criminal part of society as in the past.

However, Amit Kama states that the media representation of the gay community is still questionable. He states, among other things, the stereotypical mentioning of gays as “comic relief”, and the use of interviews with conservatives, who express extreme reactionary positions and justify violations of the rights of the LGBT community.

Kama (2003) also examined the media’s approach to people with special needs. His study focused on the way in which people with special needs are affected psychologically and socially by their representation. He used Clogston’s distinction between two representation patterns of people with special needs: traditional

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and progressive (Clogston, 1994). The traditional category presents people with special needs as physically dysfunctional; The progressive category perceives them as people who have been classified that way by society.

Gail Auslander and Nora Gold (2002) examined, in a joint study, the representation of people with special needs in Israel and in Canada. They both came to the conclusion that Israeli media trails behind in comparison to Canadian media in its approach towards people with special needs, and is characterized by its traditional approach, which emphasizes the disabilities of these people and presents them as unable to function and to blend in society. The progressive approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the abilities and the rights of the people with special needs, and condemns instances of discrimination on this background. The study showed that Israeli newspapers featured articles about people with special needs only in the inner pages of the newspaper. The articles were especially short in comparison to the Canadian articles, and at times they included only a picture without a story. Furthermore, in newspaper articles and television segments that dealt with the issue of people with special needs, the Canadian journalists quoted the subjects three times more frequently than Israeli journalists, who preferred to use comments on them made by other people.

Many scholars have focused on the representation of Arab Palestinian citizens in Israeli media, and tried to define the connection between the Arab Palestinian minority and the Hebrew press. Aburaiya, Avraham and Wolfsfeld (1998) studied the interaction between Hebrew media and Arab citizens in Israel. The study revealed that only 2% of the articles in the Hebrew press during the years 1973-1996 dealt with issues concerning Arab citizens. The study claimed that Israel's various media outlets adopt a negative approach in their coverage of Arab citizens. The journalists focus on set topics, they use generalizations and stereotypes and focus on the supposed security threat to the Jewish majority and to the state of Israel posed by Arab citizens. However, the main issues confronting the Arab minority, such as poverty, lack of adequate housing, employment and

education challenges, land confiscation, unrecognized villages etc., receive practically no attention at all by the Israeli media.

Neiger, Zandberg and Aburaiya (2001) claim that in order to understand the lack of media coverage of Arab citizens in the Israeli media, we must look at the wider context: the attitudes of the state and the public towards them. The link between all three components - the media, the political-military establishment and the Jewish public - which is expressed by the consensus over maintaining the country's Jewish-Zionist characteristics, is the reason for the media's negative perception of the Arab minority. Israeli media outlets are an integral part of the Jewish collective and they also perceive themselves in this manner. The political-security establishment and the Jewish public share joint interests and a joint point of view, which delegitimizes **Arab citizens'** national and civil claims and represses them. This explains how human rights discourse avoids issues that deal with the violation of basic human rights in the community, such as home demolition.

In a study held by First and Avraham (2004), that examined the representation of the Arab population in the Hebrew press on Land Day in 1976 and during the incidents of October 2000, it was found that the coverage of the two incidents was very similar, even though the media outlets had gone through many changes, having been modernized and improving their ability to obtain accurate information. The print coverage of Land Day 1976 is a classic example of the negative, stereotypical approach, and it shows the inequality between the majority and the minority. The journalistic framing included several modes of representation, which legitimized harming Arab civilians' rights, aided the elimination of the group and its demands, and ignored the outcomes of the confrontation or the lessons learned in the events.

The coverage of Arab civilians in the press in the year 2000 was very similar. Daniel Dor analyzed the issue of the Hebrew printed media in the first few months after October 2000 in his book "Newspapers under Influence" (2001). One of the main tools that Dor used was to

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compare the headline to the article content. He came to the conclusion that newspapers were presenting a warped, one-sided picture of reality and that in many cases there was a significant difference between the content written by the journalists and the content that the editors chose to emphasize - by graphic means, chosen headline, placing of the article and so on. According to Dor, the difference between the article's headline and the content of the article was the result of the fact that the journalists and field correspondents knew what was really happening, but the editors chose to adapt the coverage to coincide with police reports.

Elias, Soker and Jamal (2006) examined the level of multiculturalism in commercial channels and the representation of minority groups during prime time, according to the data of a follow-up study by The Second Authority for Television and Radio. The findings showed that in all news broadcasts of the commercial news channels - Channel 10 and Channel 2 - all minority groups were underrepresented. Jamal claims that the marginalization of Arabs in the Israeli press is doubled: they are usually excluded from the television screens; however, when they are included, they are presented in a stereotypical manner, which confirms their cultural and social subordination. According to Jamal, the exclusion of Arabs from the Israeli cultural scene is also reflected in the fact that they cannot express their desires and their stances legitimately. Their appearance in the Israeli press depends on their level of adaptation to the "other" model, which sees the Arabs as foreigner's who need to submit to the impositions of the dominant majority or to reinforce the stereotypes associated with them.

This survey of studies on media representation in Israel proves that the media discourse is insensitive to basic human rights. Although disempowered groups in society are covered by the press, their challenges, struggles for equal rights and the violation of their basic rights does not receive substantive and adequate attention. The inferior status of disempowered groups is "normalized", and they are represented stereotypically, thus further reproducing their cultural and social inferiority.

Coverage of Protests by the Israeli and Global media

The right to protest is considered an inseparable part of the human rights corpus in any democracy. The literature review showed us how the media coverage of wage conflicts/labour disputes invoked scholarly inquiry. Protest is a unique state, in which it is easy to detect media lenience towards employers or employees, possible connections between financial and political powers, as well as the media's assistance in preserving the economic order.

Studies on media coverage of strikes have yielded several repeating patterns. Kumar (2001) suggested that strikes are portrayed as disturbing the natural order. This assumption was supported by research conducted by members of the Glasgow school in the 1970s, pointing out the negative activism of the media with regards to protesters and strikes (Glasgow, 1976). Parenti (1986) claimed that the state is portrayed as a neutral entity, overlooking its main effort to resume production and its efforts to manipulate negotiation terms. Public support of the protest and expressions of organizational solidarity are generally concealed. Judging by these characteristics we can conclude that the media tends to support employers, though different newspapers portray different coverage. For instance, Wright (2001) found that negative coverage was portrayed more often in major newspapers than in smaller independent ones.

It is important to note that, despite these studies, a new pattern has emerged recently in the media in general and specifically in the Israeli media, a pattern of embracing the protest, especially during and maybe as a result of the Arab Spring. We can identify two major patterns of media attitudes towards protests and demonstrations against regimes

in the Arab world. The first is that of the official media, which was controlled by the regime until it was overthrown. They chose to ignore the events and continued their day to day coverage routine, focusing on consumerism, nature and entertainment. This pattern was apparent in the Tunisian and Egyptian media preceding the overthrow of their dictators. We can see it in Syria today, where media conducts itself as if there is no civil protest whatsoever. The second pattern is the embracing of the protest by the media, emphasizing its importance and tracking its heroes in order to personalize the uprising against tyranny. This pattern of media coverage promotes the legitimacy of the protest by calling the public's attention to it and turning it into a media "hit". As a result, the intensity of the protesting crowds is electrifying and the media is filled with hope for change, thus influencing the discourse. This pattern was found in global media outlets which are not controlled by a single regime, such as Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabyia, CNN, BBC and Sky. It was found in the Israeli media, especially with regards to social protests, where media institutions endorsed the protests.

A survey conducted by Rotem TRI Strategic Research for ICE shows that the support of the social protest encompassed all sectors of the Israeli public, much due to supportive media coverage. While 81.1% of the participants claimed that the wide and supportive media coverage leaned them towards support of the protests, only 9.5% claimed that the comprehensive coverage made them oppose it. The media discourse in Israel covered the protest as a positive historical event, focusing on its heroes and pointing out its vast scale as an expression of a general public discontent. Yet, when searching for solutions, the media stayed within the boundaries of the consensus. This was best portrayed in the media coverage of governmental efforts to respond to the public's demands, especially in the discourse regarding the Trajtenberg Committee and its recommendations. The coverage of this aspect mellowed the public's demands and highlighted the governmental efforts of answering them.

Research Method

In the current research we'll use quantitative methods combined with important qualitative elements. Quantitative research methods in communications studies enable us to follow the frequency, extent and location of human rights articles and segments. The focus on the quantitative method was meant to enable an objective examination of coverage patterns. The qualitative elements were meant to allow insights into contents.

The field of research included the main media outlets in Israel: the newspapers Yediot Aharonot, Maariv, Ha'aretz and Israel Hayom and the television channels 1, 2 and 10.

The research was held between April 1st and July 31st 2011, and included a total number of 384 news articles and television segments out of 1,585. Throughout this period, a representative sample of articles was methodically chosen, ensuring continuity in the coverage of specific issues.

The research tool was an encoding questionnaire consisting of 53 questions, some numerical or close-ended questions, some open-ended questions, and some constructed according to an ordinal classification scale, requiring meticulous reading of every article included in the sample.

We should point out that a special Steering Committee was established before the questionnaire was composed. This Committee contributed significantly to the process of composing the questionnaire by defining guidelines for the choosing of articles and segments in the sample. The Committee decided that the sample will include any news dealing with human rights in Israel and in the OPT, including

the Jewish settlements. Articles on human rights in other parts of the world would be excluded. In order to choose the relevant news we comprised a list of human rights which were divided into 5 categories (Appendix 1):

- 1 - Natural rights
- 2 - Political rights
- 3 - Socio-economic and cultural rights
- 4 - Collective rights
- 5 - Indigenous rights

Any report which deals explicitly with human rights issues was analyzed according to the research questionnaire and fed into a database.

Some questions relate to the quantitative characteristics of the news and others relate to the qualitative aspect of the coverage. The combination enables us to reach a deeper level of analysis and deduce stronger conclusions regarding coverage patterns. In addition, we chose a sample of segments to be analyzed according to the parameters defined in the questionnaire, in order to identify central coverage patterns and their meaning while examining the level of decency and respect for basic human rights.

The main parameters which guided the study are those prominent in worldwide communications studies when dealing with the research of agenda and prominence:

Quantitative Parameters:

1 -Number of news items in the newspaper, the supplement or the TV channel: this is a quantitative question and its main point is to give an indication as to the number of news items dealing directly or indirectly with human rights issues in the Israeli media.

2 - Number of human rights articles and segments in newspapers

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and TV channels: this is another quantitative question with a similar goal. It gives a numerical indication as to the number of human rights articles as well as, combined with the first question, to the rate of human rights articles and television segments in the Israeli media.

3 - Name and gender of the reporter: this is an open question, designed to explore the link between gender and sensitive coverage of human rights issues.

4 - Page number of the article/ number of segmen in the broadcast: this question examines the level of importance and prominence of the article/segment. Our assumption is that articles which appear in the first few pages of the newspaper are more important than those in the latter sections of the newspaper.

5 - Size of article and its length: the size of the article in the newspaper testifies to the visibility, importance and attention given to it. A larger article is more prominent and attracts more readers.

6 - Area size of journalistic article and time of TV segment in minutes: this question also reflects the news' prominence, in assuming that a larger area or a longer time indicates greater importance.

7 - Number of words in the article: this question refers to written articles only. We assume that a greater number of words indicates the level of importance attributed to the issue and the level of need for journalistic coverage. None the less, there is no direct link between the length and the content; articles of every length can both be supportive or critical of the implementation of a certain right. The number of words is also an indication to the amount of effort put by the reporter, and we may conclude that he or she expects the same amount of attention from the readers.

Parameters of Content:

8 - The socio-territorial framework: this question examines the characteristics of the social groups featured in the articles and segments according to a territorial categorization. For example: the

distinction between Jews in Israel and settlers in the OPT.

9 - Rights of various groups in the sample: this variable is used to examine the link between human rights and groups inside Israeli society. Our aim here is to put to the test the common view among human rights organizations, namely that the Israeli press favors some sectors of society, while others get negative coverage or criticism.

10 - Subjects: this question surveys the issues of human rights articles, using the list of subjects defined by GMMP program. (Appendix 2). Finding the main issues which are featured in human rights articles and segments will tell us a great deal about human rights coverage patterns in the Israeli press.

11 - Types of human rights: this question is meant to define the human rights covered by the article or segment. A special list of 62 human rights was prepared for this purpose, based on the contemporary human rights corpus.

12 - Source of report and identity of the reporter: the source of the report and the identity of the reporter are important indications for the analysis of the media agenda and framing policy. In a research by Massalha and Jamal (2011), that examined the representation of the Arab-Palestinian population in the Israeli press, the writers came to the conclusion that Arab affairs correspondents can not change the way Arabs are represented in the Israeli press, but they can contribute by broadening the range and the contexts in which the Arab population is mentioned. We can infer that the personal background of the correspondent influences his or her coverage patterns, and therefore we will examine the link between the correspondent's identity (gender, political views, professional status) and the human rights perspective presented in the article/segment.

13 - The headline: this variable indicates the attitude towards human rights as expressed in the headline. Using a rating scale, we will determine to what extent the headline supports or opposes these rights. We will also examine the level of balance or conflict between

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different rights in the headline. One question will not be enough for understanding the title's attitude towards human headline. A preliminary survey of some headline in the Israeli press revealed that some of the headlines, especially in Ha'aretz, included several rights in one title, and in many cases the headlines expressed different and sometimes even conflicting attitudes towards different rights. This was especially evident in discussing the IDF's actions in the OPT in an attempt to create a balanced report. A thorough exploration of this question required phrasing a number of questions, which helped us analyze the titles and differentiate between positive and negative attitudes towards specific rights.

14 - The content of the article and segment: A number of questions refer to the articles' contents. We tried to identify content supportive of human rights or denying it. The support or lack of it was measured using a special scale. As in the case of the headlines, we looked for balance or conflict between different rights at the content level.

15 - International conventions: this question is intended to indicate to what extent the Israeli press is committed to international human rights law, and whether or not international conventions and other instruments are mentioned when reporting human rights issues.

Prominence Parameters:

16 - Paging of written article or order of segment in a broadcast: the location of the news is an important prominence parameter. Our assumption is that location in the upper part of the page or at the beginning of the news broadcast enhances prominence. An article placed at the bottom of the page or at the end of the broadcast gets less attention. This assumption is not true at all times and it depends on other highlighting means.

17 - Image or color: this parameter refers only to written articles. An image attached to an article enhances its prominence; therefore, more images or larger images make the article more prominent. We must not deduce that the image in itself indicates that the issue

is important; in many cases the image replaces the written text. In some cases, there is almost no link between the article's content and the image attached to it. An image is often intended to attract the readers' attention and curiosity, but it might reduce its content and even replace it.

18 - A reference in the front page of the newspaper or at the beginning of the news broadcast: this parameter is based on the assumption that front page news or headline news get special attention. Naturally, the front page news or the opening segments of the news broadcast are the most important. The reader or viewer will read first the front page and watch the opening minutes of the show. Therefore, the most important news, according to the editors, will be presented in the front page or in the beginning of the show. Many scholars think that the front page and the news headlines on TV play a major role in determining the media agenda.

19 - Quotes: using this variable, we looked for quotes in the reports and classified them. Our underlining assumption was that the quotes in the reports are intended to enhance their credibility. Reporters tend to quote public figures or interview witnesses to prove their credibility. We further assumed that journalists tend to use more quotes when the person they interview is considered credible, and when his words seem important. Thus, quotes are another indication of prominence.

Framing Parameters:

20 - The treatment of human rights in the article and segment: this question checked the treatment of human rights in the article or segment: Is it direct or indirect? Is it substantive or technical? This question is highly important and it can give us a clear indication of media attitude towards human rights. It is also a crossroad between four coverage types: substantive direct, substantive indirect, technical direct and technical indirect. Since these definitions tend to be subjective, the differences between them were defined clearly and a pilot was conducted in which two surveyors analyzed the same

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articles and segments in order to check whether or not they classify the articles the same way. Only articles and segments which were clearly defined and agreed upon were analyzed in the study.

21 - Rhetoric characteristics: in this variable we focused on the terminology and the rhetoric in the article and segment. We looked at the literal symbolism and the use of terms which are supportive or unsupportive of human rights.

22 - The framing: in this variable we tried to find recurrent clear media framings. Our aim was to identify the level of support to human rights in the article and segment. Since this definition is subjective, the two categories were clearly defined and tested by two surveyors. Only articles and segments which were clearly defined were included in the sample.

Findings

The sample included 31 newspaper editions of Yediot Aharonot, Ma'ariv, Ha'aretz and Israel Hayom. A preliminary count found that they featured 1,318 articles in total. In addition, the sample included 19 televised news editions broadcast on Channels 1, 2 and 10. Together they featured 267 news segments.

The number of articles varied between newspapers; 29.53% of the articles in the sample were printed in Yediot Aharonot; 25.55% were printed in Ha'aretz; 11.4% were printed in Ma'ariv and 17.03% in Israel Hayom. 6.94% of the news segments were broadcast on Channel 2; 4.97% on Channel 10 and 5.11% on Channel 1.

We found 259 human rights articles in the newspaper sample and 125 human rights segments in the televised news sample (table 1). Channel 10 rated the highest among the TV channels: 56.58% of its broadcast was dedicated to human rights reports; Channel 1 followed with 45.68% of its segments and Channel 2 rated third with 40.91%.

In print journalism, Ha'aretz rated highest with 21.23% of human rights articles out of its entire sample; Israel Hayom was followed closely with 20.74%; Ma'ariv rated at 18.86% and Yediot Aharonot had the lowest coverage rating of 17.95%.

When counting human rights reports in the general sample (both television and print media), we see that Channel 10 is not the biggest provider of human rights reports. It accounted for only 43 segments, 11.20% of the general sample.

Out of the general sample, Ha'aretz generated the highest number of human rights articles, 22.4% of the total number of articles on human

rights issues. Yediot Aharonot was found only a bit less sensitive to human rights issues, with only 21.88% of its articles dedicated to human rights. 14.58% of human rights articles were published by Israel Hayom and 8.59% by Ma'ariv. 11.72% of the human rights reports in the sample were featured in Channel 2 and 9.64% in Channel 1.

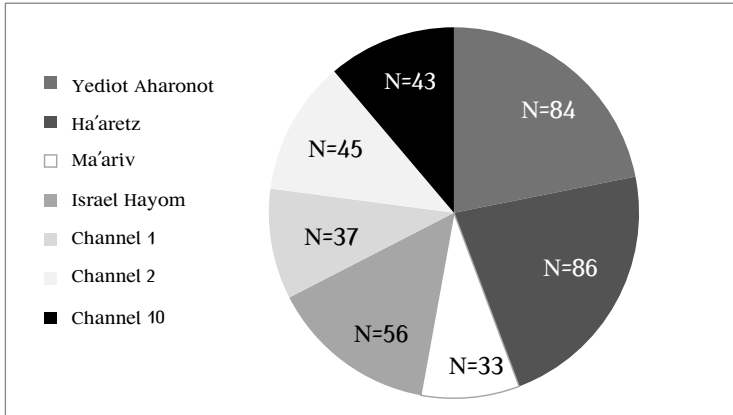
The findings show that Channel 1 (9.64%), Ma'ariv (8.59%) and Israel Hayom (14.58%) reported the least number of human rights issues in their coverage. The reason might be the common nationalist point of view in Ma'ariv and in Israel Hayom, which pushed aside human rights issues in favor of other issues and debates. We can think of one logical explanation for the very low coverage rate in Channel 1, which is the Israeli public broadcasting network. We would expect it to be more sensitive to human rights issues, yet it could be that the political control over the channel influences its coverage of current issues in Israeli society.

Table 1 - Human Rights Reports in the Media

Rate of human rights in the news paper\ channel	Rate of human rights reports	Human rights reports	Rate out of total	Total number of reports	Name
17.95%	21.88%	84	29.53%	468	Yediot Aharonot
18.86%	8.59%	33	11.04%	175	Ma'ariv
21.23%	22.40%	86	25.55%	405	Ha'aretz
20.74%	14.58%	56	17.03%	270	Israel Hayom
45.68%	9.64%	37	5.11%	81	Channel 1
56.58%	11.20%	43	4.79%	76	Channel 10
40.91%	11.72%	45	6.94%	110	Channel 2
	100.00%	384	100.00%	1585	

The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

Figure 1 - Human Rights Reports in the Media



The percentage rate of published human rights articles in the printed press was compared to the data of publication date. The data shows that the largest number of human rights articles was published on July 28th, 2011. On this date, there was reference, direct or indirect, to 23 different human rights in all news pages and 2 more rights were mentioned in supplementary sections.

The numerous reports on that day raises the question: was there a reason? An overview inspection of the content and characteristics of the reports shows that they were strongly linked to the social protest, which was at its height. In addition, July 28th was apparently the day after the 25th destruction of the Bedouin village of Al-Araqib, an event that evoked many reactions. Furthermore, on that specific day there had been a dramatic breakthrough in the murder investigation of the actor Juliano Mer-Khamis.

Additionally, in figure 2 we can see the high rate of human rights articles on April 7th, 2011. On that day, 22 reports were published in the news sections and 1 report in a supplementary magazine which, directly or indirectly, referred to human rights issues.

A unique phenomenon worth mentioning with regards to the human

rights discourse in Israel, was revealed on May 3rd 2011, World Press Freedom Day; only 3 human rights articles were published on that day, none of which mentioned freedom of speech or the public's right to know, a derivative of the right to freedom of speech.

An overview of the location of human rights articles (news pages or supplementary sections) shows that most articles were printed in the news pages, and only a small percentage (15.1%) were printed in the different supplements.

The data presented in figure 2 shows that there is no homogeneity in the coverage rate. There are major variations between the different publication dates; thus, there is no one pattern that can be related to any specific element.

Socio-Territorial Identity of Covered Groups

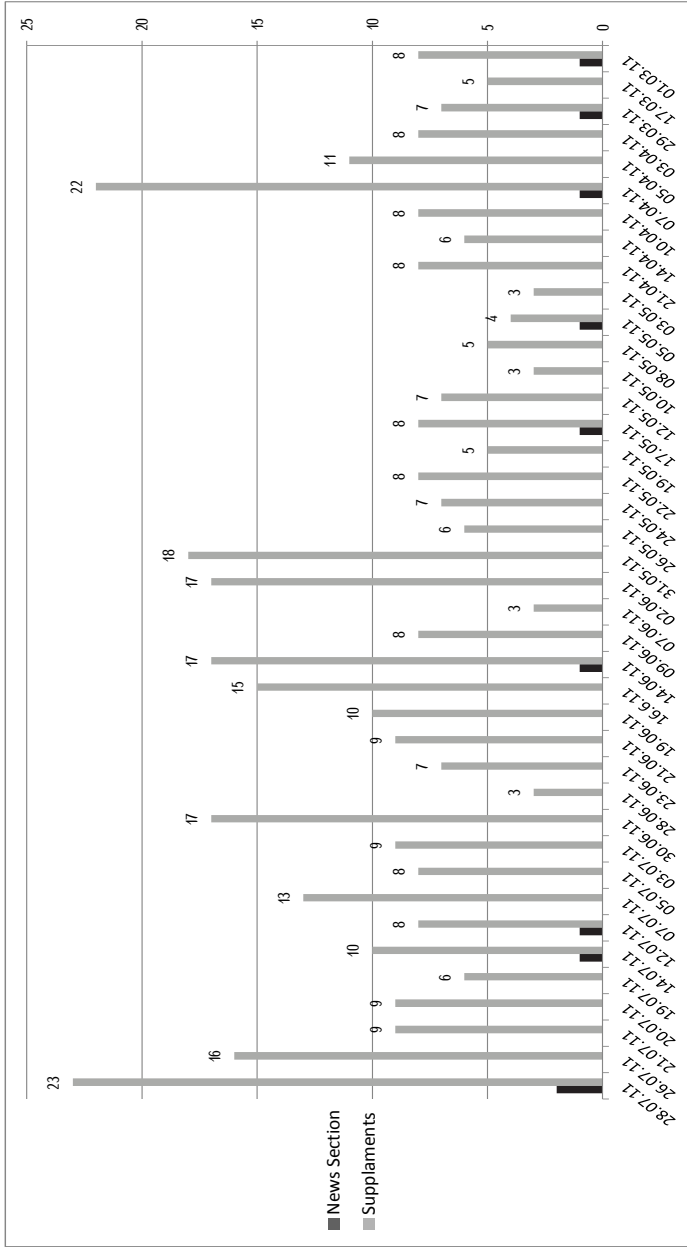
In order to further examine the coverage patterns of human rights issues in the Israeli media, a few coverage characteristics were examined, such as territorial identity of the groups covered in human rights articles. The division between the socio-territorial groups was derived from the inclusion of citizens and non-citizens in the sample, as well as the publication of numerous articles covering the actions of the state of Israel and those of Israeli individuals in the OPT, the latter considered an integral part of Israeli society by the Israeli media.

The findings show that most of the human rights articles (71.1%) referred to the rights of the Jewish population in Israel; 9.9% of the articles referred to the human rights of the Palestinians in Israel and 9.4% referred to human rights of the Palestinians in the OPT. 3.1% of the articles referred to human rights of the Jewish settlers living in the OPT and 1.3% referred to the human rights of the Palestinians in East Jerusalem.

The data points to the general prominence of the Jewish society's human rights, and to the marginality of those rights of specific groups

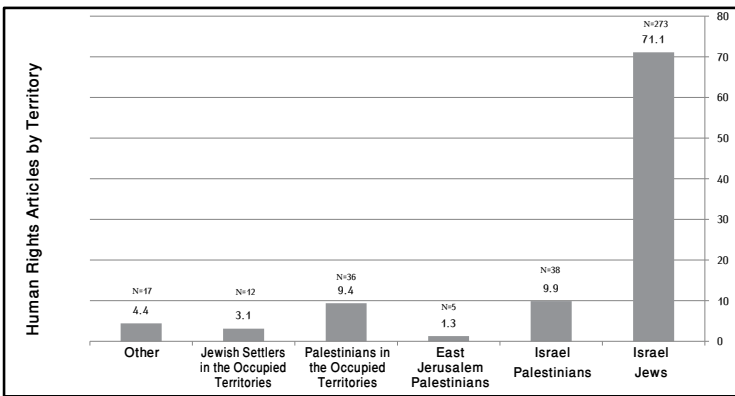
The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

Figure 2 – Human Rights Reports by Date and Location



within the Israeli/Palestinian space. In light of the daily violations of human rights in East Jerusalem, the lack of coverage in this context is especially surprising. Furthermore, the Israeli media gives hardly any attention to the constant violations of human rights by the IDF and by the Jewish settlers in the OPT, and when it does, the articles are not always supportive of those whose rights were violated.

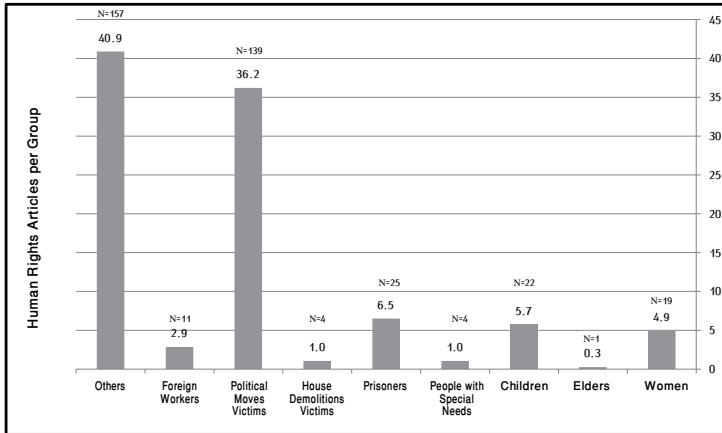
Figure 3 – Territory and Human Rights



The coverage rate of the different groups was also examined by the criteria of affiliation. The data shows there are nine different groups which are covered in the sample reports: women, elders, children, people with special needs, prisoners and detainees, victims of home demolitions, **victims of political actions**, foreign workers and others. In figure 4 we can clearly see that the most prominent group in human rights coverage is that of the **victims of political actions** (36.2%). Prisoners and detainees are covered in 6.5% of the reports, children are covered in 5.7% and women in 4.9% of the reports. It is important to note that many human rights articles (40.9%) do not refer to specific social groups. This category includes victims of violence, healthcare victims, foreign reporters, victims of road accidents etc. During the period covered by this study, an increase in acts of violence was noted, which resulted in more coverage of the violation of relevant human rights.

The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

Figure 4 – Groups Covered in Human Rights Reports



Prominence of Human Rights Articles

A few parameters were examined in the study, in an attempt to measure the level of prominence of human rights reports in the Hebrew media. The level of prominence is an indicator of the level of importance given to human rights issues by the media. The parameters were: article page number, size, number of words, paging, border, use of color, use of images and front page reference.

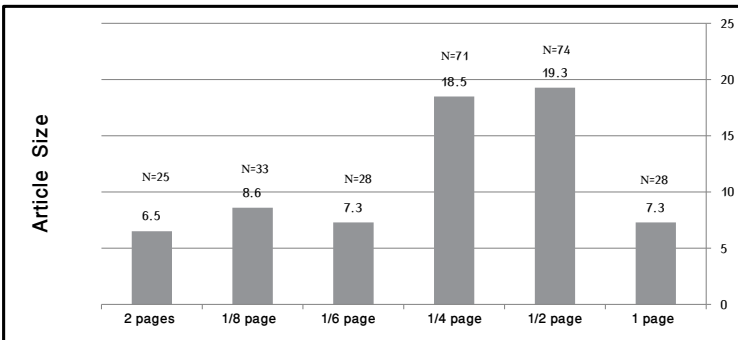
We had assumed that an article placed on pages 1-6 would be prominent. Previous studies in media affirm the claim that an article placed in the first few pages of the newspaper is more prominent, and therefore attracts more readers' attention.

We found that the average page on which a human rights article appeared was page 6. Based on that, we compared the number of articles featured before and after this page. Most of the human rights articles (51% ;131 articles) appeared on the first few pages, and the rest (49%; 128 articles) appeared on page 7 and after. This division might emphasize the importance of human rights issues, though the possibility of random placing of the articles is definitely an option.

The televised news average was set by the general number of segments in the sample's news editions. The average location of human rights articles was 6, and we compared the numbers of reports featured before and after the average. Much like in the printed press, we found that 57% (71 segments) appeared within the first 6 segments of the broadcast, while 43% (54 segments) appeared further down the broadcast line-up.

As part of prominence examination we also checked the size of the articles. We assumed that large sized articles in the newspaper and longer reports on TV will be more noticeable and therefore more important. With regards to printed press, we found that 29% (74 articles) of all human rights articles were printed on half a page, 18.5% (71 articles) were covered on a quarter of a page, only 7.3% (28 articles) were spread on a full page and 6.5% were covered on a two page spread. According to these findings, most human rights articles were presented on a considerable size in the Israeli press - sized at a minimum of quarter page.

Figure 5 – Size of Human Rights Articles in Printed Press



The research also examined the area of the articles. Findings show that the average area in printed press is 40.625 cm². About 50% of the articles (130) were covered on an area larger than the average, while

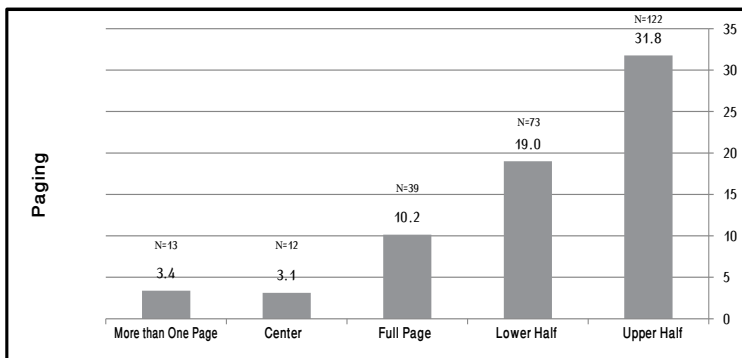
The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

49% (129 articles) were covered on an area smaller than the average. We can see that there is no significant difference between the number of above average and below average articles. Nonetheless, human rights articles seem to be printed on large area.

The prominence variable tested in the televised news sample was the **segment's time span**. The findings show that the average span of human rights segments was 2.74 minutes. Most articles (71%; 89 segments) span shorter than the average, while 27% (34 articles) span longer than the average. Despite the relatively short span of most human rights articles, the data shows that these segments are still prominent, since more than half of them were featured in the first part of news editions.

Another measure of prominence tested in the study was the **paging of the articles**. We assumed that articles printed in the upper half of the page are more noticeable than those printed in the center of the page or below. The findings show that many human rights related articles (31%; 122 articles) are paged in the upper half, while 19% (73 articles) are paged in the lower half. We also found 3.4% (13 articles) spread on more than one page, proving the prominence and importance of the covered issues.

Figure 6 – Paging of Human Rights Articles

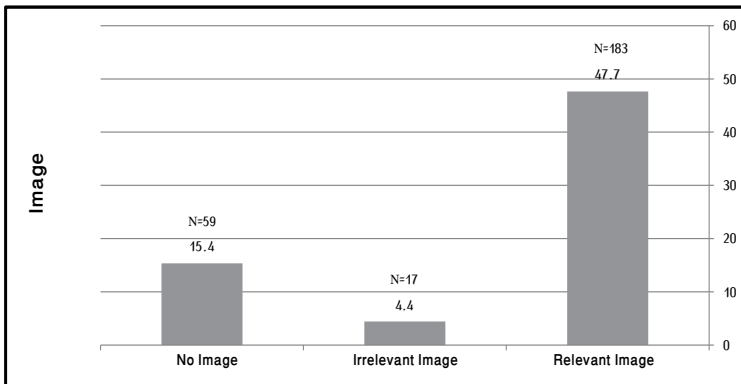


The use of color was also tested as a measure of prominence. The dominant colors in newspapers are usually black or gray. Other colors, such as red or green, highlight the headline in a positive or negative way, and are usually an incentive for readers. The use of color also implies the uniqueness of the article. The findings show use of color in 53% (136) of the articles, with red being dominant, while 47% (123 articles) were printed in black and white.

The use of **images** was also used as a measure of prominence. Images appeal to readers and attract their attention to the article. Furthermore, they can be used to give a vivid portrayal of the reality presented in the article. Nonetheless, an image might come instead of text. Therefore, in order to determine the significance of the image, every article should be examined separately. The findings show that the majority (71%; 183 articles) of the articles portrayed images relevant to the text, while 6% (17 articles) had images that had no relevance to the article and 23% (59 articles) had no images at all.

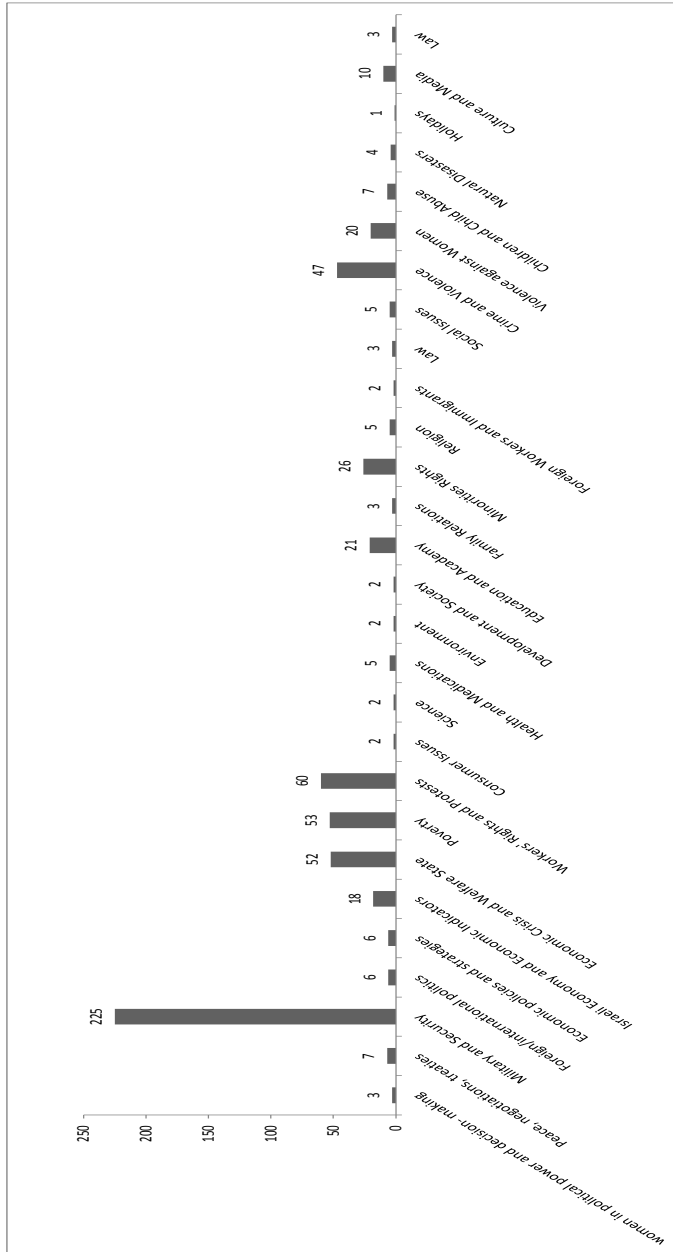
The **size of the images** was also examined and was found to be at an average of 21.32669 cm². The findings show that in 65% (131 articles) of the articles which included an image, its size was below average, and in 34% (68 articles) articles the image sized above average.

Figure 7 – Use of Image in Articles



The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

Figure 8: Subjects of Human Rights Reports



A reference in the front page or at the beginning of the news broadcast was also used to examine the level of prominence. Like the other parameters, reference in the front page or at the beginning of the show enhances the report's importance by differentiating it from the rest. We found that in the printed press, 41.7% (166) of the articles were referenced in the front page; hence, most human rights articles are not referred to in the front page or at the beginning of the newspapers.

Subjects of Human Rights Articles

In this chapter, we examine specific topics addressed in human rights articles. The primary goal of this analysis is to explore the extent of the Israel media's commitment to human rights. Our basic assumption is that the greater the variety of issues covered in the media, the greater the impact of human rights on the Israeli media.

In order to select the subjects to be examined, we used the list of subjects composed by the GMMP - Global Media Monitoring Project. The subjects are diverse, and they include sub-subjects. For example, the subject of economics includes sub-subjects such as economic policy, workers' rights, poverty, etc.

It is worth noting that some articles consist of more than one subject. For example, media coverage of the social protests includes the following sub-subjects: workers' rights, fluctuations in the Israeli market, economic policy, etc.

In order to successfully recognize the media's approach to a variety of subjects, the subjects were divided into three categories: focusing on economic policy, focusing on workers' rights, or focusing on both subjects to the same extent.

The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

According to figure 8, the subject of **military and security** is the most prominent in Israeli media regarding the issue of human rights (225 reports). This prominence correlates with the study's period, which consisted of many security related events, especially the preparations for the Palestinians' appeal to the UN requesting the recognition of a Palestinian state, which caused concern among Israeli military leadership.¹¹

In this context, it is worth clarifying that discussion on the subject of human rights does not necessarily indicate support of its implementation. The subject will be addressed at length in the chapter dealing with content analysis. Most reports, if not all of them, addressed the subject while completely denying the Palestinians' right to self-determination and national recognition. TV segments addressed the event as a sort of "Third Intifada" that Israel must suppress.

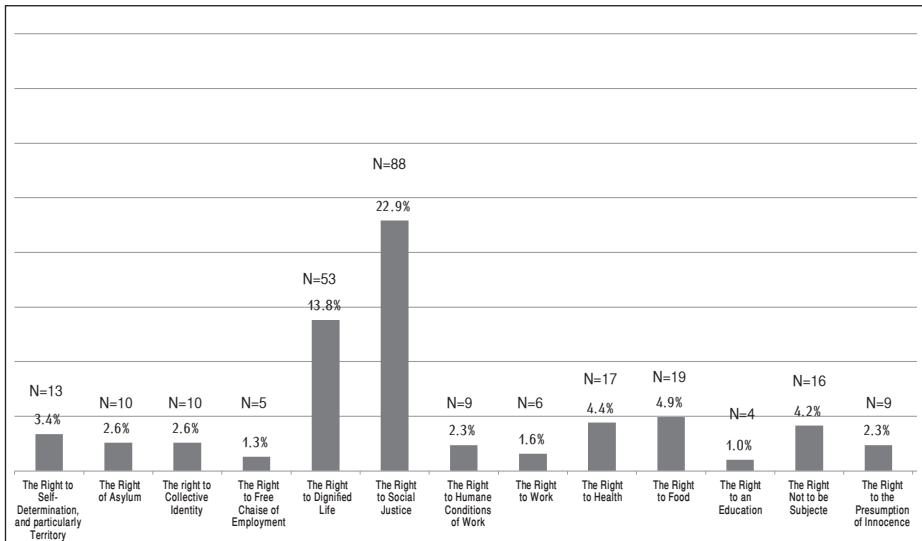
Other than the issue of Palestinian recognition, additional security related occurrences also brought about a great deal of media coverage, such as the Ben-Gurion Airport Flotilla and the Gaza Flotilla.¹² The initiators of the two events chose a new type of protest designed to break the blockade on Gaza and the West Bank. Reporters covering these two incidents completely denied the protesters' right to be heard and to protest. The Nakba and Naksa events brought about similar media coverage.¹³ In this case, too, the protesters, Israeli Palestinian citizens, were presented as delinquents who are not entitled to protest and to express their opinion.

The second subject related to human rights is **workers' rights and protests** (60 reports). As previously mentioned, 2011 was fraught with protests on the streets of Israel. The protesters' primary demands were "social justice" and "social rights." Israeli media, unlike the results of previous studies, devoted pages and a significant amount of air time to covering the protests and the coverage was mainly supportive. Almost all media outlets, except for Israel Hayom, were sympathetic to the protest movement, both in the manner in which it was reported and in its analysis. "This protest, which began with

a few tents on Rothschild street, is one of the most admirable and justified protests that this country has ever encountered,” as reported by Gideon Shalom and Oded Meron of Yedioth Ahronot in their subjective report on the protest in Tel-Aviv. Similar expressions of enthusiasm are also evident in other reports in various media outlets.¹⁴

The significant gap between the media’s approach to protests against the ongoing military occupation of the OPT and the status of Palestinians in Israel, and its approach to the social protests in the summer of 2011, has to do with the division between the various subjects. If we sum up the social issues into one category, we will see that their level of prominence is much higher: the issues of poverty, workers’ rights and financial crises and welfare state comprise, together, 65% of the total sample. The media’s support of the mass protests in Israel requires a separation, from the research standpoint, between sub-categories relating to the financial situation. Indeed, there is a link between the social protests and poverty, and most reports about poverty corresponded to the protests. However, we

Figure 9: Prominent Human Rights in Reports



The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

chose to separate them, seeing as the mass protests were held by the members of the middle-class.¹⁵

The subject of poverty was covered in the media, in most cases, while emphasizing the right to a dignified life. Gadi Wolfsfeld's study (2006) examined Israeli print media's coverage of poverty over the period of six months. The conclusion at that time was that there was limited coverage of poverty in the four daily newspapers. According to the study, only 0.3% of all media coverage directly addressed the issue of poverty. The current study shows that only 4% of media addressed the subject of poverty, and therefore show comparable results to the 2006 findings of Wolfsfeld. This relatively low rate could be related – caused – by the division we pointed out between reports relating to the financial situation and poverty and those relating to the social protests.

The third subject that was covered was “**financial crises and welfare state**” (52 articles). We could note here that the subject indeed includes the official response to the protests, however it also includes

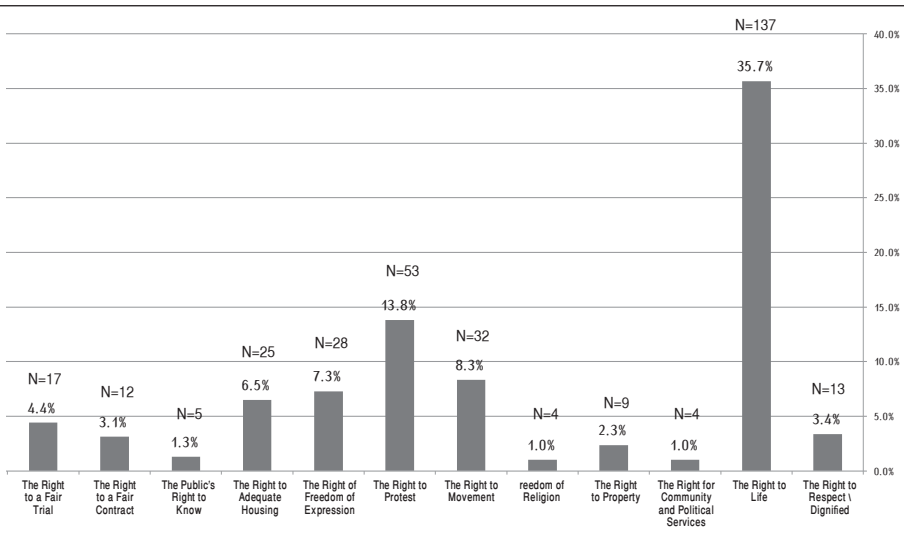
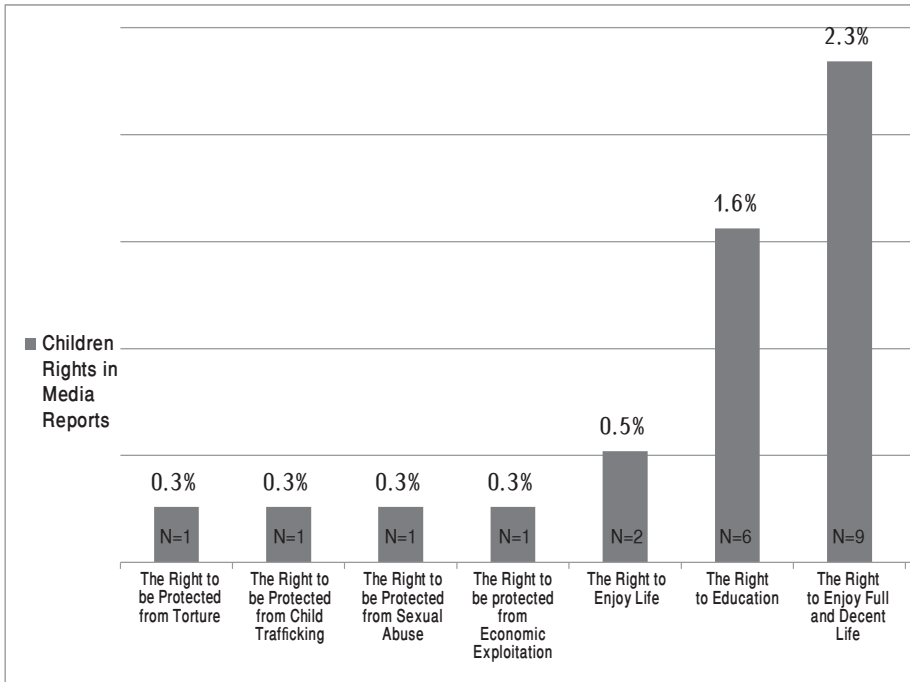


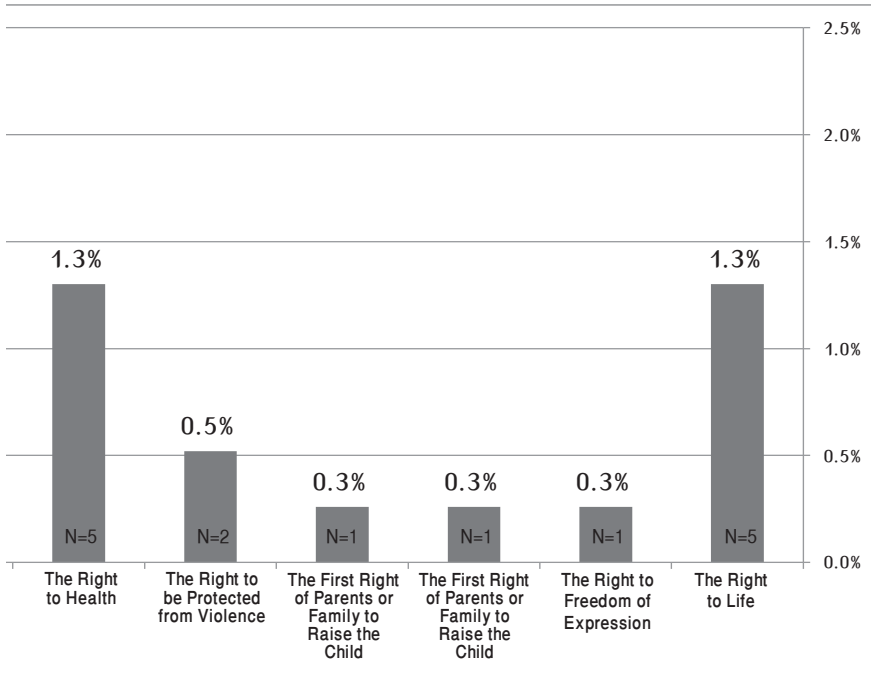
Figure 10: Children’s Rights in the Reports



studies of social associations and organizations that directly address social policy. This subject, in addition to the subject of **“the Israeli market and economic indicators”** (24 articles) show that in the last year (2011), Israeli media, and the financial sections in particular, were less elitist and institutional. Most reports criticized the financial elite, despite the sympathy towards them demonstrated in financial sections.

“Crime and violence” is the fourth subject that was addressed regarding human rights. In the period of the study, apparently coincidentally, there was an increase in cases of crime and violence in Israeli society as a whole, and particularly within Arab-Palestinian society. Violence was enhanced in all its forms: murders, assaults, road-accidents, robberies and arms trade. In most reports included

The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

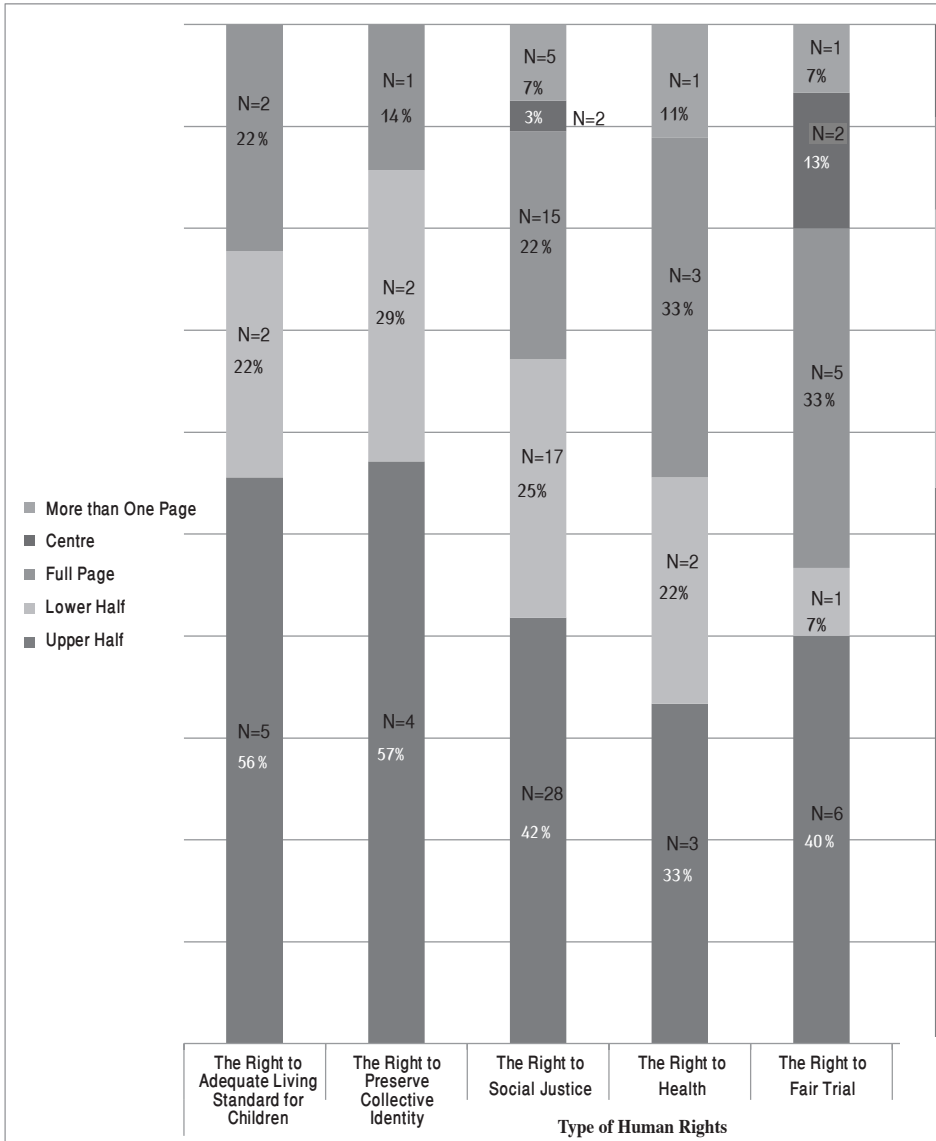


in the sample, the rights of the victims were emphasized, even in the case of road-accidents. Furthermore, the right to live, the right to a fair trial and other human rights were at the forefront of coverage of occurrences of crime and violence.

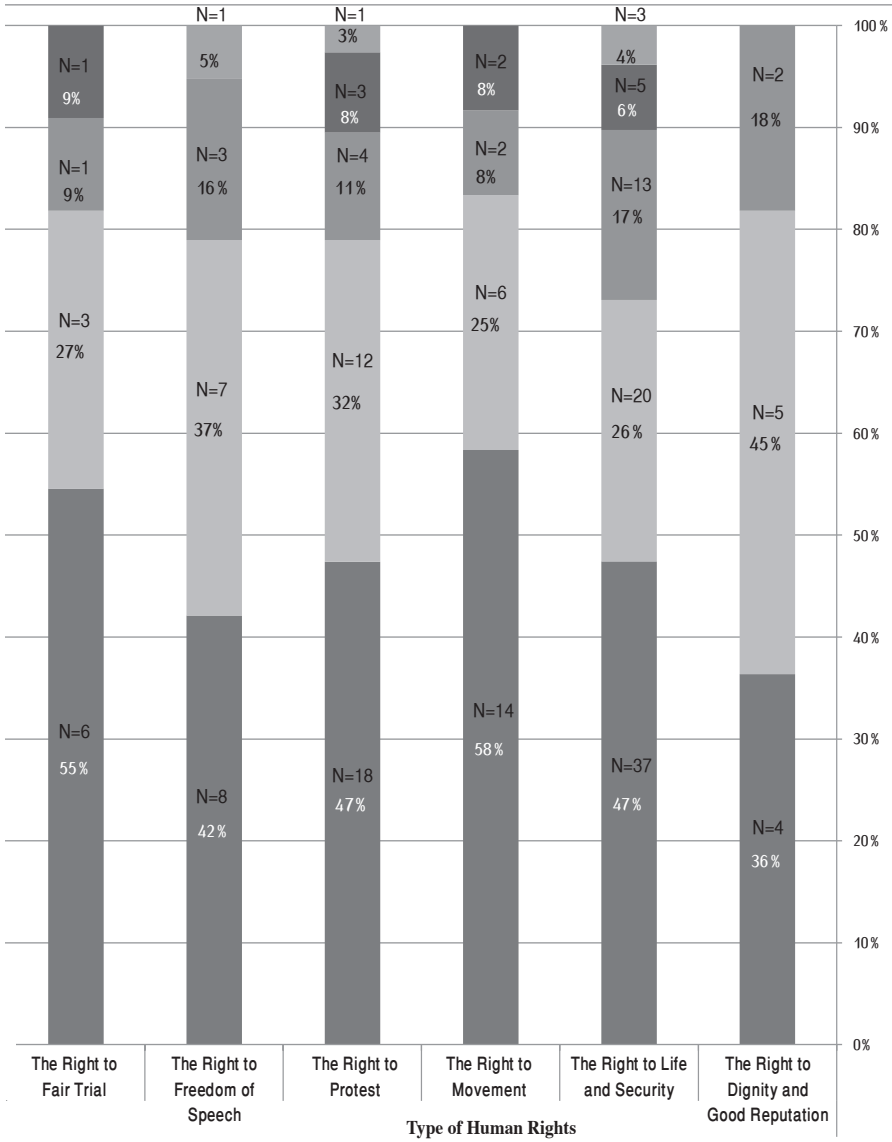
Within this category we also formed a division between crime and violence in general, **“violence against women”** (20 reports) and **“violence against children”** (7 reports). The division relates to the nature of these rights, since women and children have specific rights to be protected. This division gives a clear indication of the scope of violence against these two disempowered groups.

Another subject addressed by the media in terms of human rights is **“minority rights.”** In this category, coverage focused on Israel’s Arab-Palestinian population, especially on issues of planning and

Figure 11: Location and Area of Human Rights Reports



The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media



building, home demolitions and expropriation of property and land in the Negev. Most reports denied minorities' rights, except for articles in Ha'aretz. The examined reports discussed the demolition of homes in the Negev as a plan for "settlement resolution" while almost completely ignoring the fact that this step brings about expropriation of residents' land, impairing their right to property, the right to adequate housing, and the right to preserve cultural heritage and way of life.

Finally, the subject of "**education and academics**" (21 reports) was also covered in a significant number of articles. The remaining subjects received coverage of one or two reports at the most.

Human Rights in the Reports

Similarly to the previous chapter, this chapter will detail human rights that were the most prominent in the Hebrew media. In total, 672 rights were addressed in the 384 reports examined in TV and print media. In the previous chapter we saw that the subject of "**military and security**" drew the widest media attention, but it was not clear which rights received the most attention as part of this subject.

In detailing the rights covered in Israeli media, we distinguish between the rights of children and the rights of adults. The distinction is made due to the fact that children are considered to be a separate legal entity and have a convention of their own.¹⁶ The Convention on the Rights of the Child clearly states that: "by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, [the child] needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth."

Figure 9 indicates that "**the right to life**" received the most media attention. 35.7% of the studied reports (137) addressed the issue. Some of these reports supported this human right and others refuted it.

"**The right for social justice**" comes in second in the amount of

The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

attention it drew in the examined reports: 22.9% (97 articles). Undoubtedly, **“the right for social justice”** was emphasized as a result of the Israeli media’s coverage of the social protests in 2011. In general, it can be determined that in most cases, the media supported the implementation of this right, and this connection will be further addressed later in the study.

“The right to dignified life” and **“the right to protest”** are two rights that came in third in terms of the number of references in the reports, with 13.8% (53). The attention to these rights is also related to the social protests.

The increased rate of violence in Israeli society, as previously described, explains the fact that **“the right to a fair trial”** came in 6th in terms of media attention, and stands at 4.4%.

Regarding the coverage of children’s rights, the study demonstrates that the most prominent right is **a child’s right to enjoy a full and decent life**, which was discussed in 2.3% of all examined articles. The attention devoted to this right is also linked to the social protests. Most reports out of the 9 devoted to children rights were directly connected to the social protest. This fact also explains why the **child’s right to life** came in third in media coverage, with 1.3%. This does not mean that this right was unimportant; rather that most of the emphasis in 2011 was placed on protests and social justice. While the number of articles dealing with children’s rights is low, each encoding form had a selection of four different rights, which serves to explain the range of rights that were mentioned in this context. Furthermore, some reports discussed family as a whole and not children in particular, such as the reports that covered the protest of daycare teachers.

Human Rights and Parameters of Prominence:

After detailing the rights that got the most significant amount of

attention in Israeli media, it is necessary to examine the parameters of prominence in the context of human rights. It is assumed that the rights that the Israeli media tries to promote, to which it attributes the most significance, are the most prominent in its coverage.

In an analysis of the rights' prominence, we examined the **area** and location of reports on various rights, assuming that larger the area, the greater the right's importance. These findings indicate that **"the right to social justice"** took up over one page five times, while **"the right to life and security"** took up over one page on three occasions. These two rights were covered in greater numbers in one page articles. They were also covered in articles that were located on either the lower or the upper half of the page (see figure 11). Assuming that an article is more prominent if it's featured on a full page or more, or at the upper half of the page, we can conclude that **"the right to social justice"** and **"the right to life and security"** were given special attention by the editors of the media outlets.

This is no surprise. The Israeli media attributes great importance to security, which serves to explain the prominence of reports on this subject. Furthermore, the media's support of the mass protests in Israel enhanced the prominence of reports addressing **"the right to social justice"**.

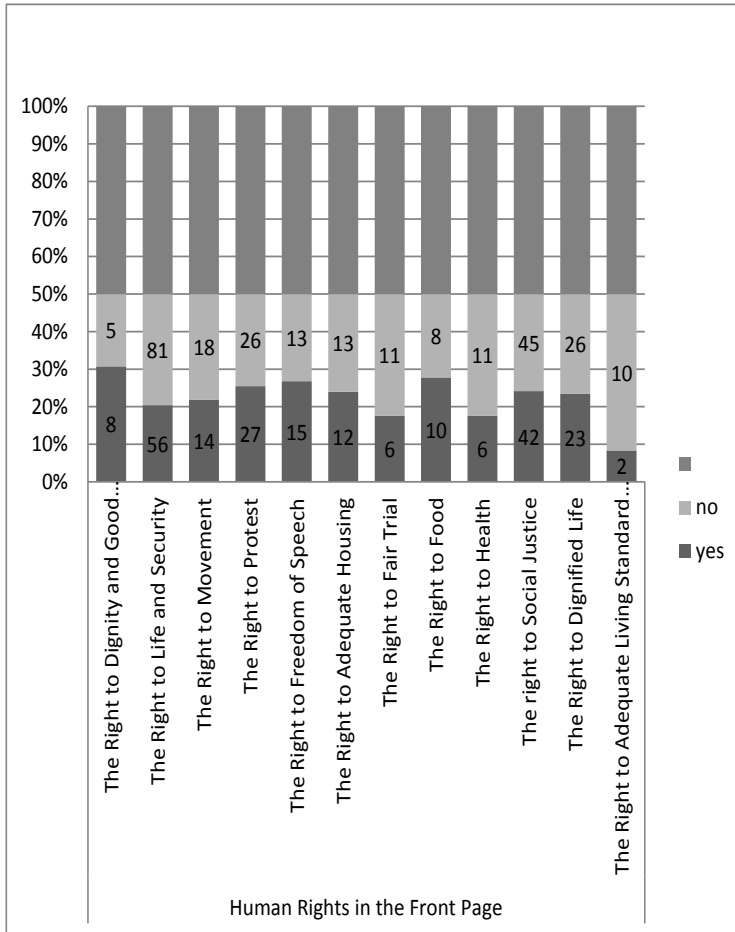
Another measure of prominence that was examined was reference on the front page. Findings suggest that **"the right to social justice"** and **"the right to life and security"** were referenced the most in reports on the front page or in the opening of the newscast: **"The right to life and security"** was mentioned 56 times, and **"the right to social justice"** was mentioned 42 times.

The Media's Reference to Human Rights

While the two figures (11 and 12) paint a clear picture regarding the rights portrayed by the Israeli media, Figure 13 shows the media's

The Discourse of Human Rights in the Israeli Media

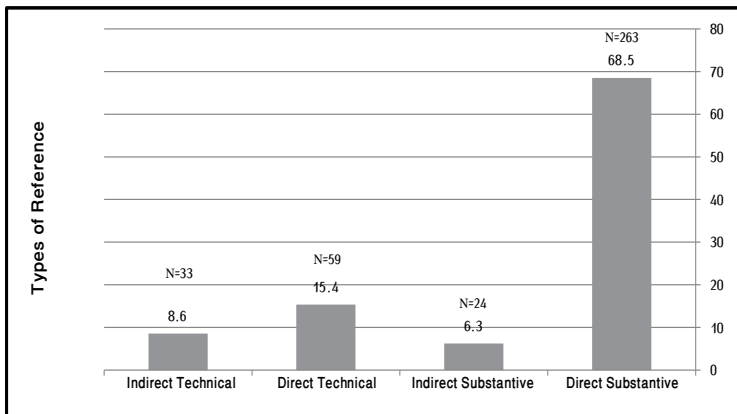
Figure 12: Human Rights in the Front Page



way of reference to these rights. In order to understand the coverage characteristics, we developed parameters measuring the presentation pattern, and defined four categories. The first and second are substantive direct and substantive indirect. They refer to addressing the meaning of the right and its translation into reality – directly or indirectly. The third and fourth categories are technical direct and

technical indirect, which refer to mere referring to the right without using its name or meaning clearly – directly and indirectly. The data shows that the reports in the Hebrew media show sympathy to the issue of human rights. According to the findings, 68.5% of the articles (n=263) addressed human rights in a direct substantive manner; 15.4% of the articles (n=59) addressed human rights in a direct technical manner; 6.3% (n=24) addressed human rights in an indirect substantive manner and 8.6% (n=33) addressed human rights in an indirect technical manner.

Figure 13: Media’s Reference to Human Rights



While most discussion on human rights fell into the substantive direct category, this does not reflect the extent of the Israeli media’s commitment to human rights. This is due to the fact that addressing the issue does not translate into support of the implementation of human rights in a substantive direct manner. Despite this, one could deduce that there is awareness to human rights issues in the Israeli media.

This findings suggest that the media’s presentation (in the sample

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studied) of “**the right to social justice**” was substantive direct in most cases (over 90%). In the remaining 10%, the presentation was substantive indirect. The results pertaining to the media’s presentation of “**the right to preserve collective identity**” were somewhat surprising. In most cases (close to 43%) the presentation of this right was technical indirect, while substantive direct presentation was demonstrated only in 29% of the cases.

Support or Denial of Human Rights

A-The Headline

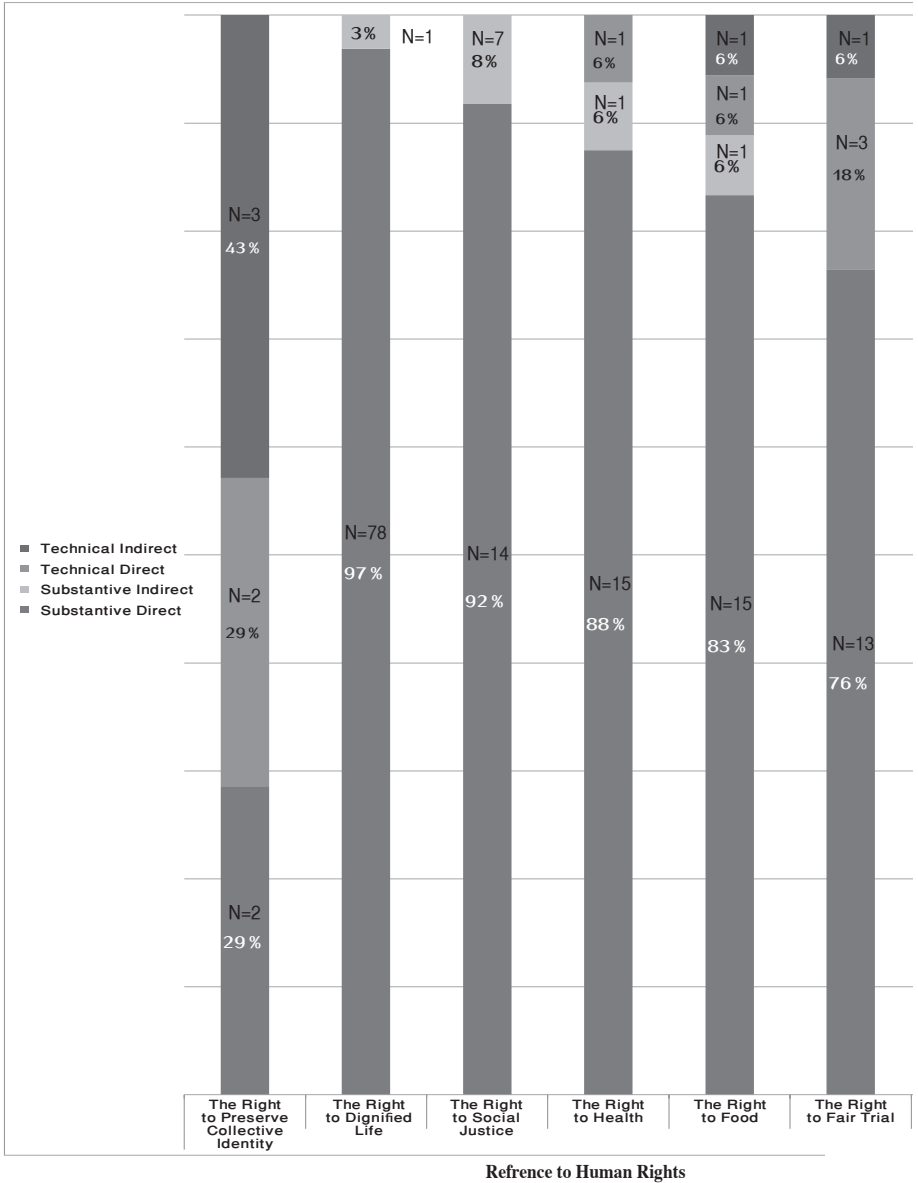
In previous chapters we examined the human rights which are presented in the media and their type of presentation; this chapter examines the level of commitment of the Israeli media to human rights issues. For this purpose, the headline and the content were examined separately.

Earlier studies show that the media tends to capture the article’s content in the headline. Media scholars defined the three major roles of headlines: to entice the readers’ curiosity and attract his/her attention to the article, to help the reader choose the most interesting articles and to convey key information to the reader (Nir, 1994). By these definitions we can infer that the readers usually decide whether or not to read the article by browsing over the headlines. Therefore, it’s important to examine headlines and content separately.

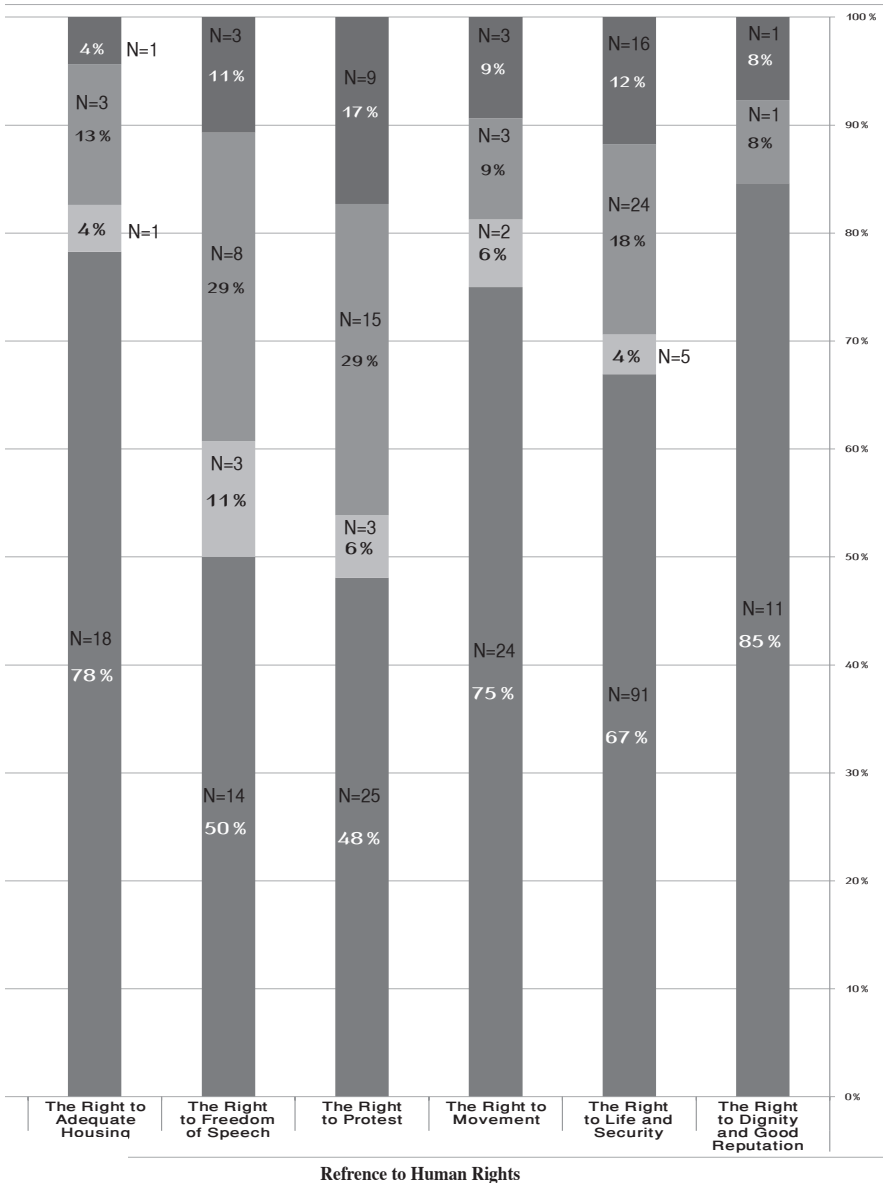
In order to examine a headline’s level of support or denial of the human rights covered in the report, the study focused on a number of questions, aimed towards defining direct or indirect support or denial and measuring its extent. The questions referred to the number and variety of human rights mentioned in the headline and to the level of balance or conflict between them.

The findings show that the headlines were mostly directly supportive of human rights (68.2% ; 262 articles), while direct denial of human

Figure 14: Media's Presentation of Specific Rights



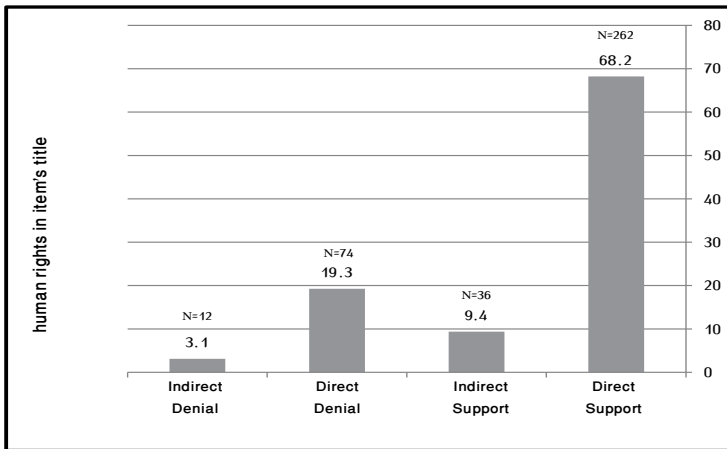
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rights was noted in 19.3% (n=74) of the headlines (figure 15). One of the reasons could be the fact that the media tends to cover incidents which trigger sympathy, e.g., murder of women, protests, children rights etc. The media is derived by this sympathy and therefore support the victims' rights.

Nonetheless, there are cases where the Hebrew media clearly denied the rights of the victims. Further examination revealed that this pattern is especially evident in covering issues of national security, which are considered part of the Israeli political consensus. The media showed no sensitivity to the human rights of Palestinians in reports relating to national security. However, the media does occasionally show support of Palestinian victims, as in the case of the murder of the actor Juliano Mer-Khamis.

Figure 15 – Does the Headline Support or Deny Human Rights?



We can affirm the aforementioned claim by measuring the headline's level of support or denial of human rights. An ordinal scale of 1-5 was used to determine the level of support or denial, 5 being very supportive and 1 being total denial.

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The table below (table 2) shows the level of support or denial of human rights in reports' headlines. The data shows that in 161 out of the 262 reports featuring a headline directly supportive of human rights, the headline was found to be highly supportive of human rights (value 5).

Yet, in cases of headlines indirectly supportive of human rights, the level of the media's supports dropped to 3. In cases of headlines which **directly deny** human rights (74 articles), the media was extremely offensive. Therefore, we conclude that the support or denial of human rights in the headline was never expressed mildly, but mainly to one extreme or another.

Table 2 – The Level of Support or Denial of Human Rights in the Headline

		Level of Support/Denial of Human Rights in the Content					Total
		2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00 Very Supportive	Unclear	
Support/ Denial of Human Rights in the Content	Direct Support	2	8	34	225	0	269
	Indirect Support	6	13	6	3	2	30
	Direct Denial	2	5	13	54	0	74
	Indirect Denial	0	2	1	7	0	10
Total		10	28	54	289	2	383

One aim of this study was to examine the possibility of conflict or balance between numerous human rights appearing in the same headline. This can give an indication as to the awareness level of the media in cases of existing tensions between different human rights. We can see an example in the coverage of the doctors' protest, when the rights of the doctors and the public's right to healthcare collided.

The findings show that in most cases (354 articles) there is no balance between human rights in the headline. In many cases both the headline and the content of the report discuss a single human right or a few compatible rights. Conflicting rights were presented only in 39 headlines, while in 344 there was no reference to conflicting rights.

B-The Content of the Report

The analysis of the content is similar to that of the headline. Again, an ordinal scale was used to measure the level of support or denial of human rights, and the content was examined to find balance or conflict between the different human rights mentioned in the text. The content analysis was based on a basic discourse analysis, referring to the use of human rights terminology, and especially to the adjectives used by the reporters to describe the situation discussed in the report. Quotes by public figures or by victims of human rights violations were also examined. The analysis included the calculated percentage of the quotes out of the whole text.

Before discussing the findings, we must explain that the additional questions for the examination of the content derive from its much wider scope of information. We would expect that the content will keep the standard of media integrity and professionalism, i.e., objective coverage and equal representation to all the parties portrayed in the report. Sometimes, such reports will have to deal with conflicting human rights of several parties. In order to identify conflicts between human rights, we examined the quotes and their relative percentage in each report. Generally, editors tend to allot a larger area or a longer timeframe to opinions worth highlighting in their opinions, and the quotes usually relate to the favored standings.

Besides providing information concerning the content's level of support or denial of human rights, this part also examined the identity of parties supported by the media. For example, we examined the media's lenience to the support of settlers or

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Palestinians, women or men etc.

The findings show directly supportive of human rights in the content of 70.1% (n=269) of the reports, and only 19.3% (n=74) reports were found to deny human rights. The results are similar to those of the headlines analysis.

Figure 16 – Support or Denial of Human Rights in the Content

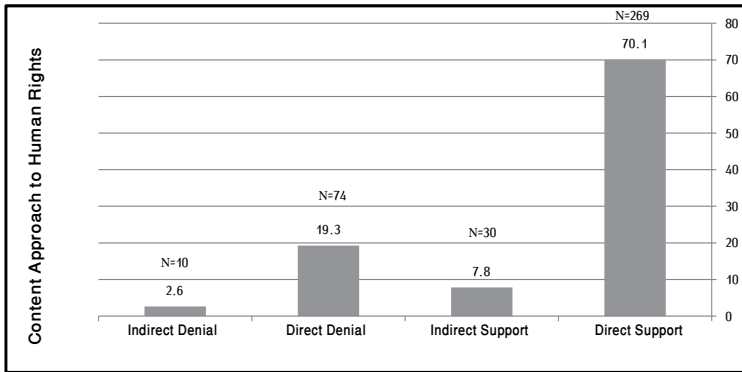
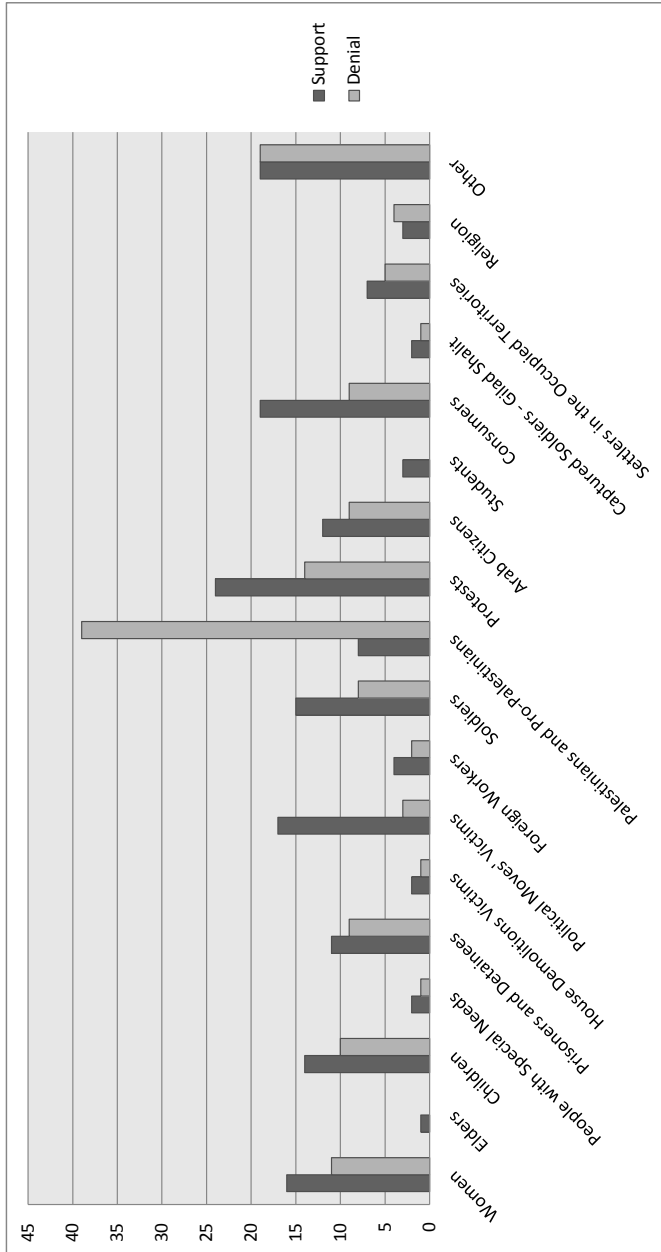


Table 3 shows the level of support or denial of human rights in the content of the reports. The category of direct support content shows a very high level of support (value 5), which is noticeable in 225 out of the 269 articles. The level of media support dropped to value 3 in cases of indirect support in the content, and the category of direct denial also showed high levels of media support (value 5). Unlike the data of the headlines analysis, the media maintains the high level of support (value 5) in cases of **indirect denial** of human rights. This imparity obviously derives from the content being of a much wider scope of information than the headline, thus enabling observation of more parameters in order to understand the report's stand.

Figure 17 – Support and Denial of Specific Groups’ Rights by the Media



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Table 3: The Level of Support or Denial of Human Rights in the Content

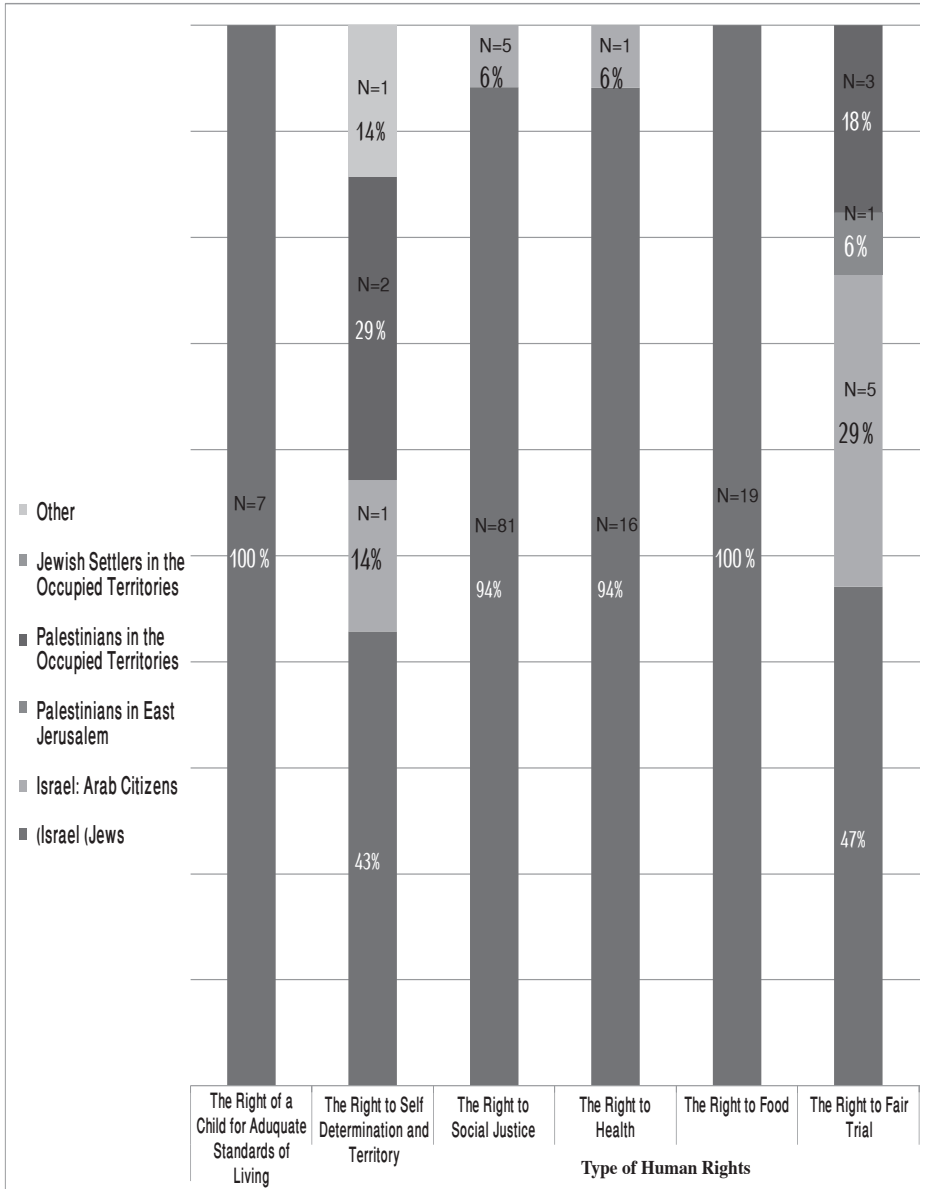
		Level of Support/Denial of Human Rights				Total
		2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00 Very Supportive	
Support/ Denial of Human Rights	Direct Support	7	30	64	161	262
	Indirect Support	11	14	9	2	36
	Direct Denial	2	10	26	36	74
	Indirect Denial	1	5	2	4	12
Total		21	59	101	203	384

The findings suggest that the Hebrew media tends to support human rights values, and encourages debates over them. Similar to the analysis of the headlines, here too we found that excluding cases involving national security, the media tends to lean in favor of the victims whose rights were violated and tries to speak on their behalf. The same conclusion is found in the examination of the level of balance or conflict between various rights. 365 reports showed no balance, since they focused either on a single human right or on several compatible human rights.

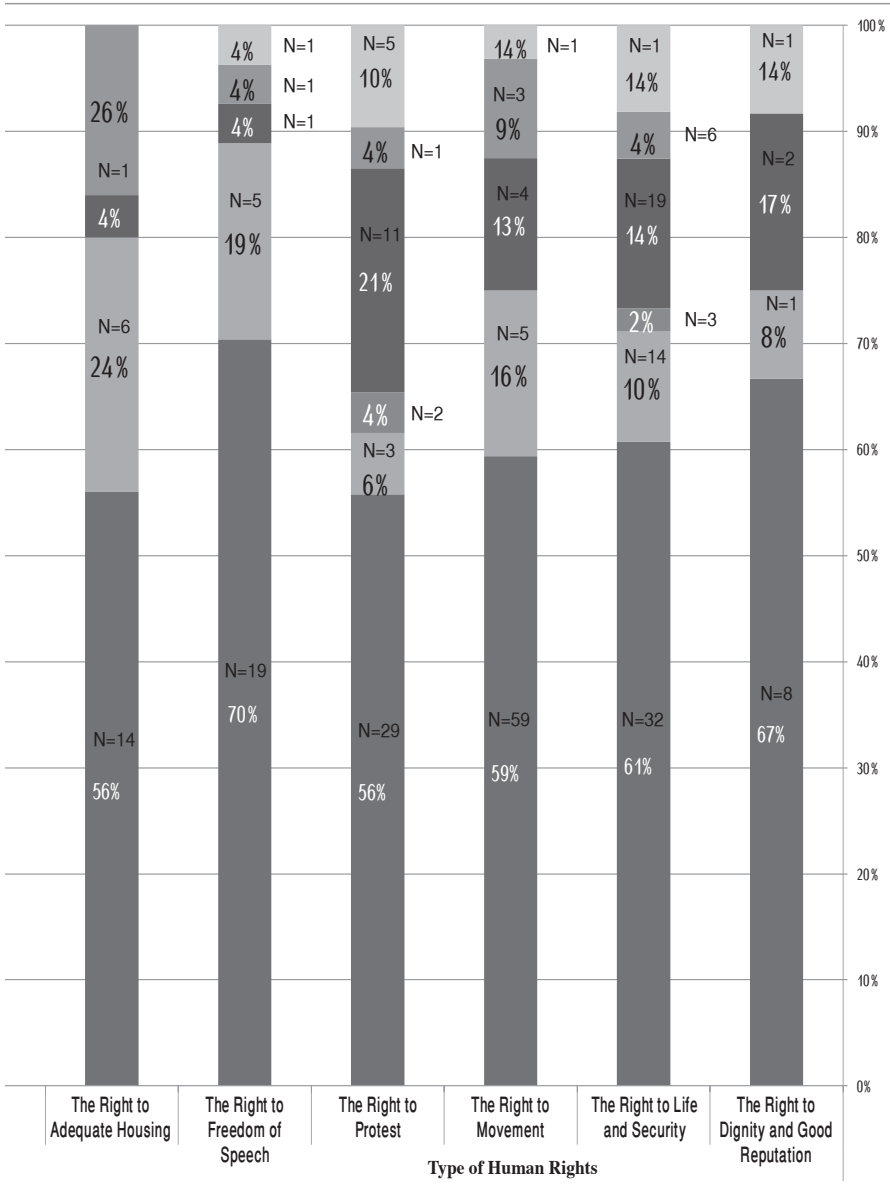
The analysis of the findings and the examination of the groups the media tend to support or deny their human rights, yielded similar conclusions. Figure 17 shows the gap between groups supported by the media (black) and groups whose rights were denied by the media (white).

The figure clearly shows that the media outlets represented in the

Figure 18 - Media Support of Human Rights of Different Groups



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sample bluntly denied the human rights of **Palestinians and pro-Palestinians**. Although the media expressed support in this group's rights in a few cases, the difference between levels of support and denial of rights is still substantial.

Another important finding has to do with the level of media support towards groups such as: **protesters, consumers and victims of political actions**. These three groups received almost identical levels of support by the media, and they are all related to financial-social changes. It should be noted, that the group of **victims of political actions** included the victims of non-economic events, such as the deportation of Israeli artists from Turkey.¹⁷

The level of media support of **Arab citizens'** human rights was surprising; the support and denial levels regarding this group were almost equal. Many reports revolved around the petition signed by 50 Rabbis, which opposed renting apartments to Arab students in Safad.¹⁸ In this case, the media chose to protest against the act of racism.

A similar level of support was given by the media to the rights of **settlers in the OPT**. In this case there was also a relatively small quantitative difference between level of support and denial.

The media in the sample also supported the rights of women, children, elders and soldiers. This support is a result of the social support of these groups.

The study examined the level of support or denial of specific human rights in reference to different social groups. The groups were chosen based on a preliminary sample, which surveyed all social groups covered by the media discourse. The research questionnaire included all groups found in the preliminary sample, and only those who were specifically referred to were included in the final analysis. The findings suggest that the support or denial of human rights was different for each group. Figure 18 shows that in most cases, the media discourse tends to support the rights of most groups rather than denying them, though this suggestion is only partially true.

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The denial of Palestinians' and pro-Palestinians' rights was one of the most noticeable findings. On the other hand, the crowds which participated in the social protests of Summer 2011 received the largest number of supportive reports. The findings also show that the least supported social group is that of the elderly. It is interesting to point out that the rights of consumers are noticeably supported, and that these rights are highlighted in the media discourse. The findings reflect the political and social reality before the social protests, which broke out partly due to consumer issues.

The findings show that the media's level of support changes according to the group discussed. The most prominent human right concerning settlers in the OPT is the "**right for adequate housing**". Regarding Arab citizens, "**the right to life and security**" is the most supported, and so is the case with regards to Palestinians in the West Bank. On the other hand, when it comes to Palestinians in East Jerusalem, the media discourse highlights "**the right to fair trial**". These findings demonstrate the sensibility of the media discourse to the living situations of the different social groups, hence the special emphasis on those rights which are particularly threatened for each group. Yet, the media doesn't necessarily defend the human rights of these groups.

In addition, the study examined the findings regarding quotes of people who support or deny human rights. 169 reports were found to include quotes of human rights supporters, and 98 articles were found to include quotes of human rights deniers. The findings suggest that the relative space offered to human rights supporters, in centimeters and in airtime, was higher than that offered to people who deny human rights. The average percentage of space given to a quot by supporters rated at 36.57%, while space given to people who deny human rights rated at 24.13%. Although the media avoids direct use of the human rights discourse, and include almost no references to any human rights international laws or covenants, this gap still indicates a sympathetic media discourse towards human rights.

International Law and Human Rights Conventions

Aspiring to gain global sympathy and understanding, and to reinforce its image as a member of the Western democratic global community, Israel operated in order to ensure that several of its legal norms would correspond to global human rights norms and humanitarian legal systems. These norms correlate directly with occupation laws, combat law, gender equality, the Arab minority's constitutional rights, religion and state, human trafficking prohibition and more. Over the years, Israel has ratified the main human rights conventions. However, the majority of guidelines in these conventions remain unknown to the public, and some of them are not implemented by the authorities and by the Israeli government.

This study examined the Israeli media's commitment to these conventions. Among other aspects, the study examines whether the media is aware of their existence. Findings demonstrate that out of a sample of 384 articles, the media addressed international conventions in only 8 instances.

A more thorough examination of these findings shows that the subject of international conventions was discussed in two instances. The first was the Goldstone Report, and the second was Shalit family's appeal to the international community to promote the release the captive soldier.

As indicated in the study, the media demonstrated a certain degree of sensitivity towards human rights. However, this sensitivity was limited to issues that are primarily social, that improve its ratings, that demonstrate its patriotic commitment to Israeli society and

suit the common norms of society. When dealing with political and security related issues, the extent of the media's sensitivity to human rights was less prominent.

We should note that according to Israel's legal system, as a rule, an international convention will not constitute a component of Israeli law until the Knesset passes legislation to that effect, making the convention's guidelines a part of Israeli law.¹⁹ This practice may be an indirect reason to the lack of commitment demonstrated by the media to human rights discourse as expressed in the international conventions ratified by Israel, and to which it is bound.

Content Analysis: Several Examples

As part of the attempt to gain insights from the study on Human Rights Discourse in the Israeli Media, we will present several examples of human rights articles published during the period of the study. The purpose of this chapter is to lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the study's claims and support these claims.

Media in Support of Human Rights: The Housing Protest

Hebrew media coverage of the mass protests of 2011 accurately reflects the results we previously alluded to, and verify the Israeli media's support of human rights and particularly of the rights to **social justice, protest and dignified life**, which were part of the protesters' demands.

As seen in the study, the media supported the protests both in its widespread media coverage and in its account of protesters' statements and positions. The issue was covered daily, even when there was no progress in this field.

On July 20th, 2011, Ha'aretz chose to feature "the housing protest" in a full-page article (Appendix 3). The article was published on page 3, which is considered to be a prominent page in the newspaper. Despite the fact that the article was not printed in highlighting color, the newspaper chose to attach to it three photos. One photo featured a Haredi (ultra-orthodox Jew) facing the protest tent in Jerusalem. The second photo featured a bride and groom being photographed in the protest tent on Rothschild Boulevard in Tel-Aviv. The third

photo featured youth in a tent in Tzahal Square in Kiryat Shmona (Appendix 1).

Undoubtedly, the choice of these three photos was intentional, considering the fact that Israel is divided along several lines (secular-observant, center-periphery, Arabs-Jews, etc.). The newspaper dedicated an entire page to cover the protest, and utilized the photos to illustrate the spirit of the struggle; this protest belongs to everyone: the Haredis fight side by side with secular Jews, the periphery fight alongside the metropolitan area population and the protest unites the country as a whole.

It is worth noting that at the bottom of the page, in a different color and in a separate frame, Arabs' struggle with housing shortage was featured. While the article was relatively short, containing only 128 words, the mere mention of the issue is important, since Arab citizens have not participated fully in the housing protest.²⁰

The subject of the title is: "who else will join." the article kicker was "Kiryat Shmona and Kfar Saba joined the housing protest, a new encampment was erected in Jerusalem." The main headline solely addressed the protesters and their disappointment: "Protesters are disappointed in the government - spinning instead of problem-solving."

Throughout the article, the attitude towards the protesters was positive, offering direct support of their rights. Despite the fact that there were no direct expressions of support, the newspaper chose to highlight the keyword "support." The beginning of the article stated that "The protesters' spirit will not be broken;" the middle of the article stated that "The mayor of Kiryat Shmona, Nissim Malka, came to support the protest and was greeted with applause."

Furthermore, the article relied on multiple quotes of the protest's supporters, encompassing almost the entire article. Referenced supporters came from a wide range of areas: Jerusalem, Kfar Saba, Kiryat Shmona and more.

The article about the housing protest also included a separate frame

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that addressed “turmoil among the ministers.” While coverage cited the ministers’ viewpoints, both the title and the content showed that the newspaper does not agree with these viewpoints. The chosen headline was “official in the Likud: the doctors’ protest will be forgotten, much like the cancer patients’ protest.” This choice reflects the newspaper’s attempt to delegitimize the comment.

At the end of the article, it was stated that “In the meantime, it appears that members of Knesset are mainly attempting to abuse the popular protest in order to make headlines. For example, Knesset Member Ronit Tirosh (Kadima) invited protest leaders to a workshop in the Knesset lead by her personal coach, Alon Gal, in order to get advice on how to better handle available resources.” The use of the term “abuse” and “popular protest” is not random, and it aptly reflects the position of the reporter, Jonathan Lis, and of the Ha’aretz newspaper, in which the article was published.

Media Support of Human Rights: The Food Protest

Another example of a different struggle featured in another newspaper was “the cottage cheese boycott” featured in Yedioth Ahronot on July 30th, 2011.

Similarly to the housing protest, “the cottage cheese protest” gained widespread coverage by the Israeli media (Appendix 4). In the following example, not only did the newspaper greatly supported the cause, it stated in the article itself, among other statements, that “Elrov’s struggle has gained tremendous support: tens of thousands have joined his Facebook page, and the media has provided widespread coverage of the protest.” It appears that alongside the newspaper’s support of the protest, there is also a general recognition of the fact that the media largely supports the protest.

The article about “the cottage cheese protest” in Yedioth Ahronot was featured on page 2, took up a full page in color, and included a photo, which increased the article’s prominence. The kicker was “We

won: following a two week boycott, our demands were answered.” The use of the phrase “We won,” not as a quote, demonstrates that Yedioth Ahronot not only covered the event, but also participated in the debate, and the victory belonged to the newspaper as much as it belonged to Israeli society. The headline also leads to a similar conclusion, “Cottage cheese has come home,” referring to the Israeli household and to the well-known slogan of one of the manufacturers.

The body of the article contained many supportive terms for the cause, such as: “victory”, “a sharp price increase” and “the surrender of manufacturers”. Furthermore, most of the article was based upon an interview with the protest initiator, Itzik Elrov, who shared with the readers his joy and his intention to continue the protest for a significant reduction in milk-product prices.

The newspaper’s support of consumers’ rights, “**the right to social justice**” and “**the right to food**”, was direct and explicit. The newspaper even devoted a separate section to the investigation of price reduction.

The lack of response by the manufacturers was noticeable. The manufacturers might have preferred to refrain from responding in the media, yet their absence is peculiar.

Media Support of Human Rights: National Security

Although most findings suggest that the media tend to deny human rights when dealing with national security issues, in some cases the media did show support for human rights. A famous case of this kind was that of the murder of actor Juliano Mer-Khamis (Appendix 5).

Mer-Khamis was murdered in the Palestinian city of Jenin, on April 4th 2011. He was shot five times by a masked man while sitting in his car, in his neighborhood. His funeral took place on April 6th, starting at the Al-Midan theatre in Haifa, where his casket was presented, then proceeded with a funeral march down a few streets of the Hadar

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neighborhood in the city. The casket was then transferred by car to one of the roadblocks near Jenin, and returned to Kibutz Ramot Menashe for burial.

The Israeli media's coverage of the case was extensive and lasted over a few days. The newspaper Israel Hayom referred to the event on April 5th, giving it a two page spread, over pages 2 and 3. The headline was "The bitter end" (Bitter and Mer are spelled the same in Hebrew), it was printed in color and included numerous images of Mer-Khamis taken in different stages of his life. The subheading was: "The Jewish-Arabic actor Juliano Mer-Khamis dreamed of replacing terror with art. He established the Freedom Theatre in the refugee camp of Jenin, trying to transform potential suicide bombers into actors."

Even though it wasn't expressed in a direct substantive way, the coverage of Israel Hayom clearly showed its support of the right of Mer-Khamis to "**life and security**". The content of the article referred to the act as an inhumane atrocity, highlighting Mer-Khamis' dedication to promoting peace in the region.

Alongside the main article, which included the Palestinian leadership's statement of condemnation, there was a special story written by the journalist Dan Margalit. He wrote about the life and death of Mer-Khamis, referring to him as "the man who lived on a bridge...an un-built bridge between Jews and Arabs". In addition, the newspaper printed a column of friends' stories, headlined "He tried to bridge between the people".

Most phrases used in the coverage led to one conclusion: we lost a man of peace.

Media support of human rights: Criminal issues

One example for media support of human rights regarding criminal issues, was an article published in Ma'ariv on July 14th 2011,

exposing what the Tel-Aviv police referred to as “Pepper Protocol” (Appendix 6).

The uniqueness of this article lies in its reliance on a complaint made by Amnesty International. The article referred to the complaint of Sara Robinson, a human rights activist at Amnesty, saying that the Tel-Aviv police department uses pepper spray in arrests of Eritrean and Sudanese refugees, an act which is considered illegal and violates the rights of detainees by using forbidden **torture**.

Throughout the article, which was featured on half a page and included an image, the newspaper tried to refer to the incident as being exceptional and contradicting of arrest protocols. Although the headline wasn’t directly supportive of human rights, and the subheading seemed to attempt to connect the protocol to the law of “forbidding alcohol sale after 23:00”, still, the content itself was supportive of the rights of the refugees.

We can see evidence of this support in the phrases used within the article’s content, e.g., the referral to the gas ordeal as being “dodgy”. In addition to Robinson’s testimony, the newspaper added an interview held with a refugee, describing the grueling ordeal from his point of view.

Yet, despite the direct reference to refugees, the newspaper gave no explicit reference to their human rights, nor did it mention any international convention protecting the rights of refugees. Furthermore, despite the article being a major scoop, it was not featured on the front pages of the newspaper, but rather further inside it, a fact indicating the lack of media interest in issues regarding human rights of foreigners.

Media Denial of Human Rights: National Security

The case of the preparations of the Palestinian Authority in prospect of September 2011 serves as a good example of the media’s denial

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of human rights. The Palestinian Authority launched its diplomatic campaign for UN recognition of a Palestinian state at the beginning of 2011, also referred to as “Palestine: The 194th Member” and “Palestine 194”. Its objective being the recognition of the Palestinian Authority as a full fledged state by the UN (the 194th member of the UN) during the 66th session of the UN General Assembly in September 2011. In this way, the Palestinian Authority hoped to gain legal recognition for the State of Palestine, based on the 1967 borders, without Israel’s consent.

The Israeli leadership was occupied by the campaign, which was perceived as a unilateral step of the Palestinian Authority, one which might end in acute conflict between the two peoples. Senior commanders in the IDF and the Israeli Police Force were preparing for the worst case scenario (which never happened), whereby the recognition issue would evoke violence and protests on the Palestinian side.

On July 28th 2011, Yediot Aharonot published its coverage of the IDF preparations in prospect of “The September Declaration” (Appendix 7), while directly violating the Palestinians “**right to protest**” and to “**self-determination and territory**”. The kicker of the article was “Israel is preparing for massive riots in the Occupied Territories and in Israel”, and the headline was “September’s weapon”. The use of the phrase “riots” instead of “protests” or “demonstrations” implies the event’s potential of being negative, and even dangerous. Thus, the claim that Yediot Aharonot regards this incident as a riot rather than a demonstration is not that farfetched.

Besides the images of a demonstration, which the IDF published with the title: “IDF shelters are under the attack of Hamas”, the article’s content referred to the issue using phrases such as “horror scenario”, “riots”, “non-deadly weapons instead of live ammunition”, “the arms race” and so on. The content referred to statements by the IDF and the police, completely disregarding other scenarios and declarations made by Palestinian leaders, who stated repeatedly that they have no intention of encouraging violence. Despite the fact that it was printed

on page 8 of the newspaper, the terminology used in the article bore witness to a direct denial of the Palestinians' rights to protest and to recognition.

Media Denial of Human Rights: Arab Knesset Members

The article published in Ma'ariv on July 14th, 2011, regarding the affair that was called "Zoabi and the Usher" (Appendix 8) is another example of denial of human rights. It was printed on page 4 on a quarter page, and contained 77 words and three photos from the Parliamentary session. The newspaper described a situation by which the Knesset member Haneen Zoabi (Balad) disturbed Prime Minister Netanyahu's speech at the Knesset plenum, and then pushed the usher who was trying to lead her outside. The article bluntly omitted Netanyahu's verbal attack of Zoabi, saying in his speech that: "We have here a Knesset member who participates in the provocative flotilla, which aims to breach the naval blockade protecting Israel's Homeland Security... you're lucky to be an Israeli parliament member, rather than let's say a Syrian one", words which deeply upset Zoabi. This kind of coverage is a blunt violation of Zoabi's right to . Regardless of any political stand, and in reference to this incident, the media coverage should be obliged to keep journalistic sensibility and integrity. Although there was no use of terminology directly denying Zoabi's rights, still, the omitted facts indicate that coverage of the Israeli media regarding the Arab leadership is tainted with tendencies of exclusion, alienation, de-legitimation and incrimination (Massalha and Jamal, 2011).

Summary and Conclusions

The current study was based on a four months' sample taken from the main media outlets in Israel: TV channels 1, 2, and 10 and the newspapers Yediot Aharonot, Ma'ariv, Ha'aretz and Israel Hayom. The study examined the Hebrew media's attitudes towards human rights in quantitative and qualitative methods.

The period of the sample was full of events that justified such examination, such as the mass social protests in Israel and the Palestinian appeal for UN recognition.

The sample included 31 printed editions and 19 news broadcasts chosen systematically rather than randomly, to ensure continuity in coverage of events. 384 reports in total were found to deal with human rights issues.

1 - In terms of the parameters of prominence, it was found that most of the articles concerning human rights were covered on the front pages, took up over a quarter page, included an image and were placed on the upper half of the page. On TV, most reports were mentioned at the beginning of the news broadcasts.

2 - The study findings indicate that the Israeli media tends to support human rights when it comes to the rights of the Jewish-Israeli population, and when it fits with the Israeli consensus. According to these findings, at the time of the study, Israeli media devoted many pages of its coverage to the mass protests in Israel, and at times identified with their cause.

3 - According to the study, the media tends to support the rights of disempowered groups: women, people with special needs, elders,

children, etc. Despite the fact that Israeli media's depiction of these groups was stereotypical, it did not renounce its obligation.

4 - Israeli media does not address human rights as a universal ethical issue; rather it addresses the rights of a range of social groups in various ways, directly or indirectly in accordance with the identity of the group.

5 - The findings in the study indicate that the Israeli media ignores the violations of Palestinians' rights in the OPT. Their rights are not considered to be a value in their own right, and are not subjected to universal moral considerations. The media's coverage of the violation of Palestinians' human rights is most widely observed from the perspective of national security concerns, and not from the perspective of human rights.

6 - The findings were quite surprising when it came to the Israeli media's attitudes towards the rights of Arab citizens. Past studies have concluded that the suffering of the Arab minority gained marginal, inadequate coverage, its coverage was not prominent, and the coverage was predominantly stereotypical and negative. In this study, despite the fact that there was no separate discussion of the percentage of the media's coverage of Arabs, it can be seen that in many cases, the media in fact supports the rights of Arab citizens. This pattern was particularly notable in the period when rabbis demanded not to rent apartments to Arabs.

7 - One of the most important findings in this study is Israeli media's heightened coverage of a range of issues concerning poverty, in comparison with previous studies on this topic. The explanation of this increased attention lies in Israeli media's support of the social protests, as previously mentioned.

8 - Another finding was that the Israeli media tends to ignore mentioning international covenants, conventions and other human rights instruments ratified by the state

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9 - There is an alluded concern in the Israeli media regarding human rights discourse, or regarding concepts derived from the realm of human rights. Instead, the media use emotional terminology, intended to provoke sympathy or resentment for a certain event or behavior.

We conclude that there are three possible explanations for the above findings: the first has to do with the issue of ratings. The Israeli media is aware of its readers' expectations, and when dealing with the main groups in Israeli society, the media tend to support these groups' rights and even highlight them intentionally, as we can see in the case of the social protests. A second explanation has to do with the humane self-image of the media and political discourse in Israel. Israeli society and the media emphasize their humane image, expressing liberalism and sympathy towards the weak. This image is derived of the Jewish historical experience and is rooted in formal and informal Israeli self-perception. The idea of "purity of arms" is the most prominent expression of this self-perception. Based on this perception, we may say that the prominence of human rights in the Israeli media discourse, as seen in the study, is an expression of the humane self-image of the various media outlets. A third possible explanation for the prominence of human rights in the Israeli media discourse has to do with the intensive work of human rights organization, which have put a lot of effort into raising awareness to human rights discourse in the Israeli media and public. While these organizations are considered by many to be nuisances, it seems they have managed to install, even partially, human rights terminology into the media discourse. This process is not definite: there is no direct and consistent media commitment to human rights discourse, and in most cases there is a dichotomy between rights of the Jewish population and the rights of everyone else, especially Palestinians and foreign workers. Still, we may say that the media strategy of human rights organizations in the last decades have been successful, and managed to create a reality in which media outlets cannot ignore human rights issues.

Recommendations:

- 1- Enhancing prominence of human rights discourse.
- 2- Installing human rights terminology as part of a general system which can establish equal rights for all sectors of society.
- 3- Arranging journalists workshops on human rights issues, based on the international conventions ratified by Israel. This could both improve the media coverage of human rights issues in Israel and create more fair coverage of the rights of different groups in Israeli society or live under Israeli authority, such as Palestinians in the OPT or foreign workers.

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Endnotes:

- 1 - See: <http://reshet.ynet.co.il/%D7%97%D7%93%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%AA/News/Domestic/internal/Article.74753.aspx> (last accessed: 9.9.11).
- 2- "متى استعبدتم الناس وقد ولدتهُم أمهاتهم أحراراً" his main concern in organizing the Umma's affairs was to create a balance between the state's rule and those of the personal domain, where people can be free.
- 3 - A few of these laws have been enacted lately, including The Law of Citizenship, The Law of Boycott, The Law of Selection Committees in Community Settlements.
- 4 - See: <www.adalah.org> A letter for Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu dated 4.9.11 on the issue of Goldberg Committee (last accessed: 9.9.11).
- 5 - See: Recommendation of the Interministerial Committee for the Status of Illegal Aliens' Children (2010). http://www.google.co.il/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CGQQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.piba.gov.il%2FSpokesmanshipMessages%2FDocuments%2F%25D7%2594%25D7%259E%25D7%259C%25D7%25A6%25D7%2595%25D7%25AA%2520%25D7%2594%25D7%2595%25D7%25A2%25D7%2593%25D7%2594.doc&ei=BcfNT9f9MsTjtQbFqpmYCW&usq=AFQjCNHN4dRNVqumuiWgFA_zctZiebOA5Q&sig2=T6Rvc2Gu15Npfz3i2XInyw (last accessed: 5.6.12).
- 6 - See: Tal, Uri (2007) Infiltrators and Asylum Seekers in Israel, The Knesset Center for Information and Research.
- 7 - See: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.1372380> (last accessed: 25.9.11).
- 8 - See: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.1180908> (last accessed: 25.9.11).
- 9 - See: <http://www.idi.org.il/BreakingNews/Pages/304.aspx> (last accessed: 9.9.11).
- 10 - See: <http://cimethics.blogspot.com/2008/07/international-ethics-principles-unesco.html> (last accessed: 9.9.11).
- 11 - Military personnel in Israel were quoted in the media predicting violence and demonstrations. Additionally, Israeli Politicians were quoted saying that the Palestinian move was unilateral and damaging to the negotiations. See: <http://www.mako.co.il/news-military/israel/Article-fe763bb50b3a131017.htm> (Last accessed: 2.12.11).
- 12 - See: <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4069140,00.html> (last accessed: 2.12.11).
- 13 - See: <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4077107,00.html> (last accessed: 2.12.11).
- 14 - See: http://www.the7eye.org.il/PaperReview/Pages/paper_review_310711_deep_currents.aspx (last accessed: 9.12.11).
- 15 - Yediot Aharonot, 31.7.2011.
- 16 - See: http://www.btselem.org/hebrew/international_law/convention_on_the_rights_of_the_child (last accessed: 25.12.11).
- 17 - Channel 10, 22.5.11.
- 18 - Yediot Aharonot 17.3.11.
- 19 - This rule does not apply to documents that reflect international law and are «automatically» integrated into municipal law.
- 20 - See: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/266/583.html> (last accessed: 9.1.11).

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Appendix 1

List of Human Rights

(Encoding guide – based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and Convention on the Rights of the Child

1. The right to dignity.
2. The right to life.
3. The right to a name.
4. The right to nationality/ citizenship.
5. The right to public service.
6. Freedom of the press.
7. The right to property.
8. The right to freedom of religion.
9. The right to language/speech/ expression.
10. The right to freedom of movement.
11. The right to equality.
12. The right to freedom of assembly and association.
13. The right to freedom of expression.
14. The right to adequate housing.
15. The right to adequate clothing.
16. The right to run for public office.
17. The right to freedom of information.
18. The right to rest and leisure.
19. The right to vote.
20. The right to freedom of conscience.
21. Other.
22. The right to just and favourable remuneration.
23. The right to a fair contract.
24. The right to habeas corpus and to a fair trial.
25. The right to the presumption of innocence.
26. The right to counsel.
27. The right to equality in law.
28. The right to privacy.
29. The right to intellectual property/copyright.
30. Right to personal security / not to be subjected to torture.
31. Other.
32. The right to write and publish freely.
33. The right to an education.
34. The right to family life.
35. The right to food.
36. The right to health.
37. The right to work.
38. The right to humane conditions of work.
39. The right to form and join a trade union.
40. The right to free and full consent in marriage and the right to dissolution of marriage.
41. The right to social justice.
42. The right to respect/ dignified life.

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43. The right to free choice of employment.
44. Other.
45. The right to a collective identity.
46. The right to preserve cultural heritage and way of life.
47. The right to culture.
48. The right of asylum.
49. The right to self-determination.
50. The right of access to natural resources.
51. The right not to be displaced.
52. Other.
53. The right to life (Convention on the Rights of the Child - CRC).
54. The right to a name (CRC).
55. The right to live with parents or a family that cares (CRC).
56. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (CRC).
57. The right to freedom of expression (CRC).
58. The right to know and think. (CRC).
59. The right to tutelage of parents (CRC).
60. The right to safety from physical or psychological violence (CRC).
61. The right to be cared for by the state (CRC).
62. The right of the disabled child to enjoy a full and decent life (CRC).
63. The right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health (CRC).
64. The right to peace and enjoy life. (CRC).
65. The right to education (CRC).
66. The right to play and leisure (CRC).
67. The right to be protected from economic exploitation (CRC).
68. The right to be protected from harmful and toxic substances (CRC).
69. The right to be protected from sexual exploitation (CRC).
70. The right to be protected from the risk of violence and child trafficking (CRC).
71. The right to be protected from torture and the right to not be deprived of liberty unlawfully or arbitrarily (CRC).
72. The right not to be protected from the effects of armed conflict (CRC).
73. The right to personal safety.
74. The right to security and wellbeing.
75. The right to not be held in slavery or servitude.
76. The right not to be subjected to unlawful attacks on reputation (CRC).
77. (And 78) The right to receive prompt treatment before the courts or relevant authority when liberty deprived (CRC).

Appendix 2

TELEVISION CODING SYSTEM SUMMARY



- 1) **Item Number:** First story in newscast =1, Seventh story =7, etc.
2) **Subject:** See table.

Politics and government:	
1 Women in political power and decision-making	28 Family relations, inter-generational conflict, parents
2 Women electoral candidates	29 Human rights, women's rights, minority rights, etc.
3 Peace, negotiations, treaties	30 Religion, culture, tradition, controversies...
4 Other domestic politics, government, etc.	31 Migration, refugees, xenophobia, ethnic conflict...
5 Global partnerships	32 Women's movement, activism, demonstrations, etc.
6 Foreign/international politics, UN, peacekeeping	33 Changing gender relations (outside the home)
7 National defence, military spending, internal security, etc.	34 Family law, family codes, property law, inheritance...
8 Other stories on politics (specify in 'comments')	35 Legal system, judiciary/legislation apart from family
	36 Other stories on social/legal (specify in 'comments')
Economy:	
9 Economic policies, strategies, modules, etc.	
10 Economic indicators, stats, stock markets) etc.	
11 Economic crisis, state bailouts of companies, company takeovers and mergers, etc.	
12 Poverty, housing, social welfare, aid, etc.	
13 Women's participation in economic process	
14 Other labour issues (strikes, trade unions, etc.)	
15 Rural economy, agriculture, farming, land rights	
16 Consumer issues, consumer protection, fraud...	
17 Transport, traffic, roads...	
18 Other stories on economy (specify in 'comments')	
Science and health:	
19 Science, technology, research, discoveries...	
20 Medicine, health, hygiene, safety, (not HIV/AIDS)	
21 HIV and AIDS, incidence, policy, treatment, etc.	
22 Other epidemics, viruses, contagions, influenza, SSE, SARS	
23 Birth control, fertility, sterilization, termination...	
24 Environment, pollution, global warming, tourism	
25 Other stories on science (specify in 'comments')	
Social and legal:	
26 Development issues, sustainability, etc.	
27 Education, childcare, nursery, university, literacy	
	Crime and violence:
	37 Non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drugs, corruption
	38 Violent crime, murder, abduction, assault, etc.
	39 Gender violence, femicide, harassment, rape, trafficking, FGM
	40 Child abuse, sexual violence against children, neglect
	41 War, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence
	42 Riots, demonstrations, public disorder...
	43 Disaster, accident, famine, flood, plane crash, etc.
	44 Other crime/violence (specify in 'comments')
	Celebrity, arts, media, sports
	45 Celebrity news, births, marriages, royalty, etc.
	46 Arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, books, dance
	47 Media, (including internet), portrayal of women/men
	48 Beauty contests, models, fashion, cosmetic surgery
	49 Sports, events, players, facilities, training, funding
	50 Other celebrity/arts/media news (specify in 'comments')
	The Girl-child
	51 News about the girl child including: cultural attitudes, practices, education, health, economic exploitation
	Other
	52 Use only as a last resort & explain.

- 3) **Scope:** Do not know=0, Local=1, National=2, National and other=3, Foreign/International=4
4) **Reference to gender equality/ human rights legislation/ policy:** Do not know=0, Yes=1, No=2
5) **Role:** Anchor/announcer=1, Reporter=2, Other Journalist=3
6) **Sex:** Female=1, Male=2, Other (transgender, etc.)=3, Do not know=4
7) **Age (the person appears):** Do not know=0, 12 and under=1, 13-18=2, 19-34=3, 35-49=4, 50-64=5, 65 and up=6
Columns 5, 6, and 7 are for journalists, presenters, etc. 8 to 14 are for people in the news.
8) **Sex:** Female=1, Male=2, Other (transgender, etc.)=3, Do not know=4
9) **Age (the person appears):** Do not know=0, 12 and under=1, 13-18=2, 19-34=3, 35-49=4, 50-64=5, 65 and up=6

Appendix 3

3 דוחות

קרת סמונה וכפר סבא הצטרפו למאבק הדיור, כירושלים הוקם המאהל מחדש

המפגינים מאוכזבים מהמשלה: "עושים ספינים ולא פותרים בעיות"

בכיר בליכוד: נמאת האוהלים תישיב כמו אוהלי תולה הבטיח

נמאת הליכוד הסייגס נכנס ישר ונאמר להחליט את הממשלה על מספר אוהלים חדשים בירושלים ובכפר סבא, אך הממשלה לא התכוונה להעביר את ההחלטות. בכיר בליכוד הבהיר כי הוא אינו רואה את הממשלה כמי שתעשה מה שיש לה, אלא כמי שתעשה מה שיש לה לפי החוק. בכיר בליכוד הבהיר כי הוא אינו רואה את הממשלה כמי שתעשה מה שיש לה, אלא כמי שתעשה מה שיש לה לפי החוק.

מפגינים: "עושים ספינים ולא פותרים בעיות"

מפגינים בירושלים ובכפר סבא המשיכו להגות נגד המשלה ונאמו כי היא לא פותרת בעיות, אלא עושה ספינים. הם נאמו כי המשלה אינה מוכנה להגות על הפתרון של הבעיה, אלא להמשיך ולגבות כסף מהמפגינים. הם נאמו כי המשלה אינה מוכנה להגות על הפתרון של הבעיה, אלא להמשיך ולגבות כסף מהמפגינים.

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Appendix 4

המוציא לאור: משה קצנצון

עריכת העיתון: משה קצנצון

כתבים: משה קצנצון, יצחק גוטליב

דפוס: משרד הביטחון, תל אביב

נמכר ב-11 ימים

הארץ

2008-08-04

המוציא לאור: משה קצנצון

עריכת העיתון: משה קצנצון

כתבים: משה קצנצון, יצחק גוטליב

דפוס: משרד הביטחון, תל אביב

נמכר ב-11 ימים

הארץ

2008-08-04

Appendix 5

המוציא לאור: משה קצנצון

עריכת העיתון: משה קצנצון

כתבים: משה קצנצון, יצחק גוטליב

דפוס: משרד הביטחון, תל אביב

נמכר ב-11 ימים

הארץ

2008-08-04

המוציא לאור: משה קצנצון

עריכת העיתון: משה קצנצון

כתבים: משה קצנצון, יצחק גוטליב

דפוס: משרד הביטחון, תל אביב

נמכר ב-11 ימים

הארץ

2008-08-04

Appendix 6

בישראל נערכים להברוח סדר המזונות בשמחים ובתחומי הקו הירוק

מינוף סביבאי

דעש בלתי נסבל, המזון המזוהה כי וחומר מסוחר במיניה • משרד המזון רכש אמצעים לניווט הפגזות ב-77 מיליון שקלים • כדורערת להרמת עימותים אפשריים אחרי חרוון בא"ע עם עזרה פלסטינית מסתמכת

אליכס פינמן

הרשויות המרכזיות להגנת המזון חשדו והתחילו להקדישם בקיץ הקודם – אחרי משלוחי סביבאי לירדן ולסוריה – שיש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור.

הפגזה מדומה

המקומות המרכזיים לייצור המזון בישראל הם בדרום ובמזרח, שם יש הרבה גידולים חקלאיים. המזון המזוהה הוא חומר מסוחר במיניה, ויש לו קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור.

Appendix 7

גנת העניין הלני

לאחר טראש מטעב הניטון הובאים חדו כי כשלו בעניין לנעו שלים, טנה דרנסכלי בנז את א"מ במול' ליאר לטון לטורט טראש טוזו מירוד של אנשי מרעין לבוחנת הממאנס הקשרים לחטיפה ■ בכר כנול' המרדו הוא לרנעו את חושבה כי רי כמצוה מרנזת וכיוונס חרשים שקיטמו את חושבה" ■ נענס שלים' אל קיכלתו שום דעו ער חושבה'

השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור.

השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור.

חכ וזנב' הסדרותיות העימות

השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור. השר החקלאות והמזון, אילן רמתי, אמר כי הוא חשד כי יש להם קשרים עם ארגוני הטרור.