

# Notes

## New Personae in Media Coverage of Violent Conflicts

1. [http://news.sky.com/skynews/Home/video/Afghanistan-Exclusive-Video-Of-Taliban-Laying-Roadside-Bombs/Video/201010315762411?lpos=video\\_Article\\_Body\\_Copy\\_Region\\_0&lid=VIDEO\\_15762411\\_Afghanistan%3A\\_Exclusive\\_Video\\_Of\\_Taliban\\_Laying\\_Roadside\\_Bombs\\_](http://news.sky.com/skynews/Home/video/Afghanistan-Exclusive-Video-Of-Taliban-Laying-Roadside-Bombs/Video/201010315762411?lpos=video_Article_Body_Copy_Region_0&lid=VIDEO_15762411_Afghanistan%3A_Exclusive_Video_Of_Taliban_Laying_Roadside_Bombs_).
2. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1322245/Britain-facing-imminent-terror-attack-Taliban-sympathisers-Afghan-leader-claims-rare-interview.html>.
3. <http://antiwar.com/casualties/>.
4. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-%20Obstacle%20to%20Peace/Palestinian%20terror%20since%202000/Victims%20of%20Palestinian%20Violence%20and%20Terrorism%20sinc>.
5. [http://old.btselem.org/statistics/hebrew/Casualties.asp?sD=29&sM=09&sY=2000&eD=26&eM=12&eY=2008&filterby=event&oferet\\_stat=before](http://old.btselem.org/statistics/hebrew/Casualties.asp?sD=29&sM=09&sY=2000&eD=26&eM=12&eY=2008&filterby=event&oferet_stat=before).
6. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/politics/defence/8131217/General-Sir-David-Richards-Why-we-cannot-defeat-al-Qaeda.html>.
7. See: [http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/ss/DefineTerrorism\\_5.htm](http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/ss/DefineTerrorism_5.htm).
8. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1322245/Britain-facing-imminent-terror-attack-Taliban-sympathisers-Afghan-leader-claims-rare-interview.html#ixzz1U41s9Y7Z>.

## 1 Performer Journalists: The Latest Phase in the Profession

1. A distinction should be drawn between the term ‘media performance’ as designating the evaluation of journalistic practices (McQuail, 2004), and our use of the term ‘performance journalism’. We suggest a combination of performance as impression management by journalists on screen and the Austinian notion of ‘performativity’ as the possible consequence of journalists reshaping social and political realities.
2. Williams and Delli Carpini (2011) point to another transformation, according to which TV has lost its seniority to the new media. We will elaborate on the ways in which this new paradigm is relevant to the coverage of war and terror in Chapter 4.
3. Not only has TV dramatically changed the journalistic practices borrowed from the printed press; TV in its turn has influenced the printed press undergoing a process of *televsualization* (Roeh, 1994).
4. The case of the edited video segment of Mohammad el-Dura’s death, a subject for several documentaries, and of debates in a French court of law, may serve as an example of this troublesome issue (see also Liebes and First, 2003). In the Israeli context, a public debate erupted over misleading editing in the Channel 2 prime-time program, ‘Uvda’ (‘fact’). The item linked together an episode

showing IDF soldiers announcing the killing of a Palestinian child, Iman al-Hamas, over the wireless network, with an episode of rejoicing soldiers in the next frame. The item aroused a heated public debate – first on the morality of Israeli soldiers and later – when the producer admitted that the second episode did not in any way follow the first – on the ethics of editing documentary materials.

5. The history of war correspondence is described by Knightly (2004), who points to the Crimean War of the late 1850s as the starting point of this practice. Interestingly, as in the case of performance, there is a tight connection between the emergence of this practice and the new information technologies at the time. Knightly shows how the greater efficiency of traveling from one country to another, and developments in the postal service, allowed British editors to first send correspondents to the war zone.
6. The seeming contradiction between live disaster marathon and performance, the two most prominent journalistic practices at times of terror attacks, may be solved by noticing that (1) both depend on liveness and authenticity, relayed from the field in ‘real’ time, and (2) both challenge the government by showing the helplessness of decision-makers in crisis or by talking to the enemy ‘behind their backs’. In either case the traditional model of journalist as gatekeeper (in charge of credibility) has become irrelevant, allowing journalists to conquer center stage, or, in the case of disasters, to helplessly view what’s happening on screen together with their audiences.
7. See <http://www.newssafety.org>.

## 2 Celeb Terrorists: The New Sought-After Sources

1. The years in which this option is accessible on the *NYT* website.
2. In stories of journalists’ pursuit of terrorists, we did not include journalistic missions aimed at exposing essential information for investigative reporting (such as the one conducted by Daniel Pearl), concerned with raising a warning about environmental risks.
3. It is interesting to note that from December 2006 to October 2011, the term ‘Terrorist’ appeared 144 times and ‘Terror’ 168 times. Although we can find a decrease in the number of occurrences, the numbers did not return to their Pre-September 11, 2001 rates.
4. Tapes recorded by suicide bombers on the eve of their mission, designed for the recruitment of new candidates, and for blocking the way for last-minute regrets.
5. <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0709/07/sitroom.03.html>.
6. Voiced by the President of the Media Research Center in Alexandria, VA, this criticism could be reinforced by bin Laden’s first statement in which he announces that ‘the battle has moved inside America. We will work to continue this battle, God permitting, until victory, or until we meet God.’
7. Sometimes, an invitation is extended by the terrorists, as in the case of a *Daily Telegraph* reporter in Pakistan, who received a fax one week before the first anniversary of September 11, and was brought, blindfolded, via a number of safe places, to a flat in which he was introduced to a suitcase

- stuffed with Al Qaeda correspondence. A few days later the source was arrested.
8. From a discourse perspective, Miller changes his footing (Goffman, 1981) from claiming authorship for his questions to taking the role of animator in which he represents a third party.
  9. This of course reminds us that interviews are based on the assumption of the interviewee's willingness to cooperate with the interviewer. An interview with criminals is unusually carried out in the courts, in the form of a cross-examination.
  10. Whether Al Jazeera's allocating 'so much airtime' to bin Laden, and making him into a celebrity, is due, as claimed by El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2002), to his promoting advertising sales, or whether it is also the result of empathy for his cause, there is unanimous agreement that bin Laden is the channel's star.

### 3 Giving Voice to Enemy Leaders: Negotiating Over the Heads of 'Our' Politicians

1. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/newsnight/archive/2029634.stm>.
2. There were a few exceptional cases in which institutional control failed. For example, on February 1988, CBC cameraman Moshe Alpert filmed four soldiers breaking legs and arms of Palestinians' limbs. These resulted in public outrage and the court-martialing of Israeli officers and soldiers for what were termed 'deviant acts'.
3. Another example of approaching the public in a country that threatened to turn nasty was the Saudi government's initiating a TV advertising campaign in the US, following September 11, with the purpose of repairing their badly impaired image in the eyes of the American public (see Zhang and Benoit, 2004).
4. 'Humor Ve-satira Ba-radio' (Humor and satire on radio), *Tesha ba-Erev*, 6 June 1938.
5. <http://www.channel4.com/programmes/alternative-christmas-message>.
6. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/dec/27/iran-channel4> INTCMP=SRCH.
7. Such cooperation resembles another subgenre of media event characterized by Blondheim and Liebes (2003), following the September 11 attack.
8. See from 6.03 minutes: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uoqZgrVcFjM>.
9. The interview with Arafat was recorded by us, transcribed and translated from Arabic: transcription symbols used are: [ ]-overlap; = -contiguous utterances; – cutoff; WORD-increased loudness; word-stress or emphasis; wo:rd – sound stretch ; (( ))-our comments. As the transcript of the interview with Saddam on the CBS internet site was heavily edited by the Iraqis, and cannot be taken to represent an authentic event, we decided not to number the turns, nor to transcribe the interview in detail.
10. Another way of gaining credibility with the audiences on the other side is to deny the alleged connection made by the enemy governments between the two leaders and the demonic arch-enemy figure of bin Laden. Arafat poses it as a rhetorical question, twice repeated: "your media does not stop the incitement against us, and so do your leaders. They say that I am bin Laden, and that the (Palestinian) Authority is the Taliban. Am I bin Laden?"

Am I bin Laden?" Saddam denies any contact with Al Qaeda outright: "and I will answer you now very clearly. We have never had any relationship with Mr. Osama bin Laden, and Iraq has never had any relationship with Al Qaeda. And I think that Mr. bin Laden himself has recently, in one of his speeches, given such an answer – that we have no relation with him."

11. Note that the possible interpretation that Rather's deference here arises out of his usual interview style does not hold water. In other cases, Rather came under attack for showing a left-wing bias vis-a-vis right-wing politicians (notably George W. Bush in 1988), in his adversarial interviewing style (see Clayman and Whalen, 1988–1989).
12. Setting the scene with a drama of the efforts to stop the show, right-wing Likud party leaders led by Ze'ev Boym, the Parliament's coalition Chair, had tried to stop the airing of the interview and conducted negotiations with the DG of Public Broadcasting and the show's editor, arguing that 'presenting Arafat before the viewers when the flowers in the cemeteries have not yet wilted is not a proper thing to do for a nation at war'.
13. *Maariv's* coverage went on to scold PM Sharon for interfering with editorial considerations, and balanced the score by scolding one of Public Broadcasting's editors for 'abandoning' his professionalism by refusing to interview palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabo.

#### 4 Foregrounding Ordinary People: Adopting the Logic of the Individual

1. Changes in media representation of social problems were identified by Iyengar (1991), who showed how public issues are replaced by personal stories (of tragedy, misfortune and injustice), elaborated on TV in great detail and often recycled. Hopmann and Shehata (2011), who analyzed political news coverage in two major Danish broadcasters, DR1 and TV2, between 1994 and 2007, found that ordinary citizens appear more often in reports on intrusive issues such as welfare. Moreover, journalists even try to actively mend the specific injustice done to an individual hero/victim while ignoring the broader social issue and the possible implications for the society (see Liebes and Kampf, 2009c). Not only does it make a better story, but it also makes journalists feel they are actually helping people. Attending to the immediate need of an individual, rather than foregrounding the broader issues the society has to cope with, has become *bon ton*.
2. In politics we come across this trend on a number of levels: first, the centrality of laypersons ('Joe the plumber'), now key figures in political campaigns; second, the styling of the political persona by exhibiting the leader as an ordinary person – 'cool', 'nice' and 'humorous' (Hamo et al., 2010). These gradually carry more weight in comparison with the traditional qualities seen as essential for leadership.
3. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=1137382>.
4. One case that demonstrates how editors fall into the trap of immediacy is the famous picture of the British soldier humiliating an Iraqi prisoner, published in the *Daily Mirror* on 1 May 2004 (discussed in Chapter 5).
5. There were 11 times more Israeli casualties in the second Intifada as there were in the first one. While 87 Israelis were killed between 1987 and 1991,

996 Israelis were killed in the second, between 2000 and 2005. The numbers were taken from the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights (B'tselem) (see <http://www.btselem.org>).

6. In the second Intifada, journalistic coverage of soldiers in the role of 'bad-dies' deviating from IDF rules of engagement caused, in several instances, a raging public debate over the correct version of what had happened. These included confrontations between the media on the one hand and the military and political establishments on the other. Prominent examples were 'confirming the killing' the killing of a Palestinian child, Iman al-Hamas, which made the headlines in the wake of an investigative report by Channel 2's news magazine 'Uvda' ('Fact'); Other cases are the picture of Israeli soldiers celebrating over bodies of terrorists, exposed in *Yedioth Acahronot's* report (19 November 2004); a photograph of a Palestinian playing his violin at an army checkpoint, resonating with the image of Jews in the Holocaust, which led to an extensive debate in the press regarding its ethical significance (28 November 2004).
7. See <http://www.atzuma.co.il/yonitlevy>.
8. See Ben Meir: [http://www.inss.org.il/upload/\(FILE\)1235684283.pdf](http://www.inss.org.il/upload/(FILE)1235684283.pdf).
9. In contrast to the focus on the bereaved families' emotions the day after a terror attack (discussed in the previous section), here we point to the ways in which these families, as well as passers-by, are given a microphone, sometimes the stage, to influence the decision-makers' reaction to the attack.
10. See: Joe the War Correspondent. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/deadlineusa/2009/jan/07/republicans-gaza>.
11. <http://e.walla.co.il/?w=/269/2515883>.
12. <http://www.mako.co.il/news-military/israel/Article-e9d15f0c8ed6921004.htm>. On the public protest that erupted following his words see: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/1/1547772>.
13. <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/9/2552556>.
14. <http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleID=840219>.

## 6 Politicians Looking for Shelter: Distrusting National Leaders

1. Gallup 23 June 2011 (Jeffrey Jones).
2. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/sep/27/trust-politicians-all-time-low>.
3. An example as amusing as it is disturbing is that of Corner and Pels (2003: 1), who pointed out that the British make more effort to vote for the *Big Brother* show candidates than for their candidates in the national elections.
4. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/2165272.stm>.
5. See also Dayan (2008) for the narratives channeling the French news media reports on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
6. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=1137382>.
7. See <http://www.newssafety.org>.

## 7 Generals under Fire: The Loss of Immunity of High-Ranking Officers

1. [http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-18560\\_162-20062368.html?pageNum=3&tag=contentMain;contentBody](http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-18560_162-20062368.html?pageNum=3&tag=contentMain;contentBody).

2. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/7857889/Britain-will-not-defeat-Taliban-and-should-open-talks-says-head-of-Army.html>.
3. <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/jun/18/nation/la-na-gates-farewell-20110619>.
4. <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-1267749,00.html>.
5. <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/454/831.html>.
6. <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/magazine/selective-memories-1.231336>.
7. <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/idf-takes-back-israeli-general-who-left-in-shame-after-war-with-hezbollah-1.412049>.

## **Conclusion: New Characters – New Challenges**

1. Indications of the public sense of insecurity following terror attacks may be found in Liebes and Peri (1998), who pointed out a radical shift toward hawkish political views in Israel following the broadcasting of live disaster marathons on March 1996 (in which the Hamas committed several attacks resulting in with 59 civilian casualties). Israelis' concern for their personal safety follows the same pattern. Arian (2003) shows an increase in the sense of insecurity between 1999 and 2002, in the first years of the second Intifada.
2. Here arises an association, to be developed elsewhere, regarding the metaphorical connection between the touchscreen and morally engaged journalism.
3. Recall the Manhattan skyline following the September 11 attack, or the spectacle of the bombardment of Saddam Hussein's palace.

# References

- Aday, S., Livingston, S. and Maeve, H. (2005) 'Embedding the Truth: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Objectivity and Television Coverage of the Iraq War', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 3–21.
- Alexander, J. (1981) 'Mass News Media in Historical Systemic and Comparative Perspective', In E. Katz and T. Szecsko (eds.) *Mass Media and Social Change*, London: Sage.
- Allan, S. and Thorsen, E. (2009) *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Althaus, S. L. (2003) 'When News Norms Collide, Follow the Lead: New Evidence for Press Independence', *Political Communication*, 20, 381–414.
- Andén-Papadopoulos, K. (2009) 'Body Horror on the Internet: US Soldiers Recording the War in Iraq and Afghanistan', *Media, Culture and Society*, 31, 921–938.
- Andén-Papadopoulos, K. and Pantti, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Amateur Images and Global News*. London: Intellect.
- Arian, A. (2003) 'Israeli Public Opinion on National Security', Memorandum 97, the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University. <http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/memoranda/memo67.pdf>, date accessed 3 May 2010.
- Barel, Z. (2006) 'Nasseralla's Massages', *The Seventh Eye (Hayin Hashvi'it)*, 64, 40–41 (Hebrew).
- Baudrillard, J. (1995) *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1989) *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Bell, M. (1998) 'The Journalism of Attachment', In M. Kieran (ed.) *Media Ethics*, London: Routledge, 15–22.
- Bennett, W. L. (1990) 'Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States', *Journal of Communication*, 40, 103–125.
- Bennett, W. L. (2009) *News: The Politics of Illusion* (Eighth Edition). New York: Pearson Longman.
- Bennett, W. L. and Paletz, D. L. (1994) *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bennett, W. L., Lawrence, R. G., and Livingston, S. (2007) *When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Benoit, W. L. (1995) *Accounts, Excuse and Apologies: A Theory of Image Restoration Strategies*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Benson, R. and Hallin, D. C. (2007) 'How States, Markets and Globalization Shape the News: the French and US National Press, 1965–1997', *European Journal of Communication*, 22, 27–48.
- Blair, T. (2010) *A Journey*. London: Hutchinson, Random House.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1983) 'The Dynamics of Political Interviews', *Text*, 3, 131–153.

- Blum-Kulka, S. (2004) 'The Boggy Nature of TV Witnessing', *Paper Presented at the Smart Institute of Communication Conference*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University. 13–14 January, 2004.
- Blum-Kulka, S., Kampf, Z. and Liebes, T. (2003) 'Talking with the Enemy?: Interviews with Palestinians During the Second Intifada', In Y. Shlesinger and M. Muchnik (eds.) *Lamed Le ILASH (Studies in Modern Hebrew)*, Jerusalem: Tzivonim Publishing (Hebrew), 61–77.
- Blondheim, M. and Liebes, T. (2002) 'Live Television's Disaster Marathon of September 11 and Its Subversive Potential', *Prometheus*, 20(3), 271–276.
- Blondheim, M. and Liebes, T. (2003) 'From Disaster Marathon to Media Event: Live Television's Performance on September 11, 2001 and September 11, 2002', In A. M. Noll (ed.) *Crisis Communications: Lessons from September 11*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Boltanski, L. (1999) *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Boudana, S. (2009) 'The Journalistic Referents: A Crucial Distinction Between Sources and Voices', *The Communication Review*, 12(3), 284–294.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998) *On Television and Journalism*, London: Pluto.
- Bourdon, J. (2000) 'Live Television is Still Alive', *Media Culture & Society*, 22(5), 531–556.
- Brock, G. (2011) *The Power of Social, Networked Media in Tunisia*. <http://georgebrock.net/the-power-of-social-networked-media-in-tunisia>, date accessed 14 January 2011.
- Cappella, J. N. and Jamieson K. H. (1997) *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Carey, J. W. (1986) 'The Dark Continent of American Journalism', In R.K. Manoff and M. Schudson (eds.) *Reading the News*, New York: Pantheon, 146–196.
- Carey, J. W. (2002) 'American Journalism On, Before and After September 11', In B. Zelizer and S. Allan (eds.) *Journalism after September 11*. London and New York: Routledge, 85–103.
- Castells, M. (2007) 'Communication, Power and Counter-Power in the Network Society', *International Journal of Communication*, 1(1), 238–266.
- Chouliaraki, L. (2006) *Spectatorship of Suffering*. London: Sage.
- Chouliaraki, L. and Orgad, S. (2011) 'Proper Distance: Mediation, Ethics, Otherness', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14(4), 341–345.
- Clayman, S. E. (1992) 'Footing in the Achievement of Neutrality: The Case of Interview Discourse', In P. Drew and J. Heritage (eds.) *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 163–198.
- Clayman, S. E. (2002) 'Tribune of the People: Marinating the Legitimacy of Aggressive Journalism', *Media, Culture & Society*, 24, 197–216.
- Clayman, S. E. and Heritage, J. (2002a) *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clayman, S. E. and Heritage, J. (2002b) 'Questioning Presidents: Journalistic Defiance and Adversarialness In Press Conferences of Eisenhower and Regan', *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), 749–775.
- Clayman, S. E. and Whalen, J. (1988–1989) 'When the Medium Becomes the Message: The Case of the Rather-Bush Encounter', *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 22, 241–72.



- Coleman, S. and Ross, K. (2010) 'The Media and The Public "Them" and "Us"', *Media Discourse Communication in the Public Interest*, Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Corner, J. (2002) 'Performing the Real: Documentary Diversions', *Television & New Media*, 3, 255–269.
- Corner, J. and Pels, D. (2003) 'Introduction: The Re-Styling of Politics', *Media and the Restyling of Politics: Consumerism, Celebrity and Cynicism*, London: Sage publications, 1–18.
- Cottle, S. (2011) 'Media and the Arab Uprisings of 2011: Research Notes', *Journalism*, 12, 647–659.
- Couldry, N. (2001) *A Way Out of the (Televised) Endgame*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article-8-39-11.jsp>, date accessed 20 August 2000.
- Coupland, N. (2001) 'Stylization, Authenticity and TV News Review', *Discourse Studies*, 3, 413–442.
- Dayan, D. (2008) 'Reports on the "Monster of the Mediterranean Sea"', In M. Blondheim, T. Liebes and M. Nigier (eds.), *Telling News Stories: Perspective on Media Discourse in Israel*, Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press (Hebrew), 291–300.
- Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (1992) *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Dahlgren, P. (1995) *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media*. London: Sage.
- Dimbleby, J. (1975) *Richard Dimbleby: A Biography*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.
- Dor, D. (2004) *Intifada Hits the Headlines: How the Israeli Press Misreported the Outbreak of the Second Palestinian Uprising*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Ekstrom, M. and Johansson, B. (2008) 'Talk Scandals', *Media, Culture and Society*, 30(1), 61–79.
- Eliasoph, N. (1999) *Avoiding Politics: How Americans Produce Apathy in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ellis, J. (2000) *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- El-Nawawy, M. and Iskandar, A. (2002) *Al Jazeera: How the Free Arab News Network Scooped the World and Changed the Middle East*. Cambridge, MA: Westview.
- Enoch, D., Porat, I., Segev, R. and Kremnitzer, M (eds.) (2007) *Collateral Damage: The harming of Innocents in the war against Terror*. Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute (Hebrew).
- Entman, R. M. (2003) 'Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame after 9/11', *Political Communication*, 20, 415–432.
- Entman, R. M. (2004) *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ettema, J. S. and Glasser, T. L. (1998) *Custodians and Conscience. Investigative Journalism and Public Virtue*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ezrahi, Y. (2002) 'There is No Objective Journalism', *The Seventh Eye (Hayin Hashvi'it)*, 39, 38–40 (Hebrew).
- Ferguson, Y. H. and Mansbach, R. W. (2004) *Remapping Global Politics: History's Revenge and Future Shock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Figenschou, T. U. (2012) 'The South is Talking Back: With a White Face and a British Accent – Editorial Dilemmas in Al Jazeera English', *Journalism*, 13, 354–370.

- Frosh, P. (2009) 'The Face of Television', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 625, 87–102.
- Frosh, P. (2011) 'Framing Pictures, Picturing Frames: Visual Metaphors in Political Communication Research', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 35(2), 91–114.
- Frosh, P. and Wolfsfeld, G. (2004) 'ImagiNation: News Discourse, Nationhood and Civil Society', *Media, Culture and Society*, 29(1), 117–141.
- Galtung, J. and Ruge, M. H. (1965) 'The Structure of Foreign News', *Journal of Peace Research*, 2, 64–90.
- Gans, H. J. (1979) *Deciding What's News*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gavriely-Nuri, D. (2010) 'If Both Opponents "Extend Hands in Peace" – Why Don't They Meet?: Mythic Metaphors and Cultural Codes in the Israeli Peace discourse', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9(3), 449–468.
- Gerbner, G. (1992) 'Triumph Of The Image: The Media's War In The Persian Gulf', In H. Mowlana, G. Gerbner and H. I. Schiller (eds.) *A Global Perspective*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Gibbs J. P. (1989) 'Conceptualization of Terrorism', *American Sociological Review*, 54(3), 329–340.
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gilboa, E. (2005) 'Media-broker Diplomacy: When Journalists become Mediators', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22(2), 99–120.
- Gilboa, E. (2006) 'Public Diplomacy: The Missing Component in Israel's Foreign Policy', *Israel Affairs*, 12(4), 715–747.
- Gitlin, T. (1979) 'Prime Time Ideology: The Hegemonic Process in Television Entertainment', *Social Problems*, 26(3), 251–267.
- Gitlin, T. (1980) *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1956) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.
- Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-face Behavior*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Goffman, E. (1981) 'Footing', *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 124–160.
- Griffin, M. (2010) 'Media Images of War', *Media, War & Conflict*, 3(1), 7–41.
- Grossman, H. (2008) 'The Portrait of Moshe Dayan as Israeli Hero in Applied Art', In N. Sheffi and T. Razi (eds.), *Israel: Studies In Zionism And The State Of Israel History, Society, Culture – Special Issue The 1967 War and Its Impact on Culture and the Media*, Israel: Tel Aviv University, 181–2008.
- Gurevitch, M., Coleman, S. and Blumler, J. G. (2009) 'Political Communication – Old and New Media Relationships', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 625, 164–181.
- Gutman, T. (2006) 'Refusing to be the Scapegoat', *The Seventh Eye (Hayin Hashvi'it)*, 65, 38–39.
- Habermas, J. (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hallin, D. C. (1986) *The 'Uncensored War': The Media and Vietnam*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hallin, D. C. (1994) *We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere*. London: Routledge.

- Halutz, D. (2010) *Begova Einayim [At Eye Level]*. Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharonot Books (Hebrew).
- Hamdy, N. and Ehab, G. (2012) 'Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media', *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 195–211.
- Hammond, P. (2007) *Media, War and Postmodernity*. New York: Routledge.
- Hamo, M., Kampf, Z. and Shifman, L. (2010) 'Surviving the "Mock Interview": Challenges to Political Communicative Competence in Contemporary Televised Discourse', *Media, Culture and Society*, 32(2), 247–266.
- Hannerz, U. (1993) 'The withering away of the nation?', *Ethnos*, 3(4), 377–391.
- Harcup, T. and O'Neill, D. (2001) 'What Is News? Galtung and Ruge revisited', *Journalism Studies*, 2(2), 261–280.
- Hayes, D. and Guardino, M. (2010) 'Whose views made the news? Media coverage and the march to war in Iraq', *Political Communication*, 27, 59–87.
- Held, D. and McGrew A. (1998) 'The End of the Old Order?', *Review of International Studies*, 24, 219–243.
- Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988) *Manufacturing Consent*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hirsch G. (2009) *War Story, Love Story*. Tel Aviv: Miskal – Yedioth Ahronoth Books (Hebrew).
- Hopmann, D. N. and Shehata, A. (2011) 'The Contingencies of Ordinary Citizen Appearances in Political Television News', *Journalism Practice*, 5(6), 657–671.
- Hoskins, A. and O'Loughlin, B. (2010) *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Ignatieff, M. (2000) *The Rights Revolution*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press.
- Iluoz, E. (2003) *Oprah Winfrey and the Glamour of Misery: An Essay on Popular Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Iyengar, S. (1991) *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Johnstone, B. (1986) 'Arguments with Khomeini: Rhetorical Situation and Persuasive Style in Cross-cultural Perspective', *Text*, 6(2), 171–187.
- Kalb, M. and Saivetz, C. (2007) 'The Israeli-Hezbollah War of 2006: The Media as a Weapon in Asymmetrical Conflict', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12, 43–66.
- Kampf, Z. and Lowenheim, N. (2012) 'Rituals of Apology in the Global Arena', *Security Dialogue*, 43(1), 43–60.
- Kasher, A. and Yadlin, A. (2005) 'Assassination and Preventive Killing', *SAIS Review*, 25(1), 41–57.
- Katz, E. (1992) 'The End of Journalism? Notes on Watching the Persian Gulf War', *Journal of Communication*, 42, 26–41.
- Katz, E. (2009) 'Media-Government-Public: Coalitions and Oppositions', *The Communication Review*, 12(3), 199–204.
- Katz, E. and Liebes, T. (2009) '"No More Peace!": How Disaster, Terror and War Have Upstaged Media Events', *International Journal of Communication*, 1(2007), 157–166.
- Katz, E. and Popescu, M. (2005) 'Supplementation: On Communicator Control of the Conditions of Reception', In P. Golding and Ib. Bondjberg (eds.) *European Culture and the Media*, Bristol, United Kingdom: Intellect Press.

- Katz, E. and Scannell, P. (eds.) (2009) *The End of Television?: Its Impact on the World (So Far)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Keller, U. (2001) *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.
- Kellner, D. (2003) *Spectacle Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Kern, M., Just, M. and Norris, P. (eds.) (1993) 'The Lesson of Framing Terrorism', *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, The Governments and The Public*. New York: Routledge.
- Knightley, P. (2004) *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lavie, Y. (2011) *War Producer*. Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth Books (Hebrew).
- Lazarsfeld, P. F. and Merton, R. K. (1948) 'Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action', In B. Lyman (ed.) *Communication of Ideas*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 95–118.
- Lemish, D. and Barzel, I. (2000) 'Four Mothers: The Womb in the Public Sphere', *European Journal of Communication*, 15, 147–169.
- Lewis, J., Cushion, S. and Thomas, J. (2005) 'Immediacy, Convenience or Engagement? An Analysis of 24-hour News Channels in the UK', *Journalism Studies*, 6(4), 461–478.
- Liebes, T. (1984) 'Shades of Meaning in President Sadat's Knesset Speech', *Semiotica*, 48(3–4), 229–265.
- Liebes, T. (1997) *Reporting the Arab Israeli Conflict: How Hegemony Works*. London: Routledge.
- Liebes, T. (1998) 'Television's Disaster Marathons: A Danger to Democratic Processes?', In T. Liebes and J. Curran (eds.) *Media, Ritual and Identity*, London and New York: Routledge, 71–86.
- Liebes, T. (2000) 'Inside a News Item: A Dispute Over Framing', *Political Communication*, 17(3), 295–305.
- Liebes, T. (2001) "'Look Me Straight in the Eye": The Political Discourse of Authenticity, Spontaneity, and Sincerity', *The Communication Review*, 4(4), 499–510.
- Liebes, T. and First, A. (2003) 'Framing the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict', In P. Norris., M. Kern., and M. Just (eds.) *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, The Governments and The Public*. New York: Routledge, 59–74.
- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. (2007a) 'Routinizing Terror: Media Coverage and Public Practices: Israel 1996–2004', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(1), 108–116.
- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. (2007b) *From 'Spider Web' to 'Fortified Wall' and Back: The Changing Positions of the Israeli Home-Front During the Second Lebanon War*. Tel Aviv: Herzog Institute for Communication, Society and Politics.
- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. (2009a) Introduction: The Changing Relationships Among Media, Government, and Public: The Case of War. Special Issue of *The Communication Review*, 19(3), 195–198.
- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. (2009b) 'From Black and White to Shades of Grey: Palestinians in the Israeli Media in the Second Intifada', *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 14(4), 434–453.
- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. (2009c) 'Performance Journalism: The Case of Media's Coverage of War and Terror', *The Communication Review*, 12(3), 239–249.

- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. (2010) 'Hallo? This is Jerusalem Calling: The Role of "Kol Jerusalem" in Reviving Hebrew Speech (1936–1948)', *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture*, 29(2), 105–132.
- Liebes, T. and Peri, Y. (1998) 'Electronic Journalism in Segmented Societies: Lessons From the 1996 Israeli Election', *Political Communication*, 15(1), 27–43.
- Liebes, T., Kampf, Z. and Blum-Kulka, S. (2008) 'Saddam on CBS and Arafat on IBA: Addressing the Enemy on Television', *Political Communication*, 25(3), 311–329.
- Lippmann, W. (1922) *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan.
- Livingston, S. and Bennett, W. L. (2003) 'Gatekeeping, Indexing, and Live-event News: Is Technology Altering the Construction of News', *Political Communication*, 20, 363–80.
- Maoz, I. (2006) 'The Effect of News Coverage Concerning the Opponents' Reaction to a Concession on its Evaluation in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 11(4), 70–88.
- Maoz, I. (2008) '"They Watched a Terrorist" Responses of Jewish–Israeli Viewers to an Interview with a Palestinian Terrorist', *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 14(3), 275–290.
- McQuail, D. (2004) *Media Accountability and Freedom of Publication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meyrowitz, J. (1985) *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, E. F. (1979) 'Metaphor and Political Knowledge', *The American Political Science Review*, 73(1), 155–170.
- Moeller, S. D. (2009) *Packaging Terrorism: Co-opting the News for Politics and Profit*. Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Molotch, H. and Lester, M. (1974) 'News as Purposive Behavior: On the Strategic Uses of Routine Events, Accidents, and Scandals', *American Sociological Review*, 39, 101–112.
- Montgomery, M. (2001) 'The Uses of Authenticity: "Speaking from Experience" in a U.K. Election Broadcast', *The Communication Review*, 4(4), 447–462.
- Montgomery, M. (2007) *The Discourse of Broadcast News: A Linguistic Approach*. London: Routledge.
- Mor, H. (1963) *Blazing Roads*. Israel: Kotz Books.
- Nacos, B. L. (1990) *The Press, Presidents, and Crises*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Neiger, M., Zandberg, E. and Meyers, O. (2010) 'Communicating Critique: Towards a Conceptualization of Journalistic Criticism', *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 3(3), 377–395.
- Nevo, B. and Shor, Y. (2002) *The Army and the Press During Hostilities*. Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute.
- Nossek, H. and Limor, Y. (2005) 'The Army and the Media in the 21st Century: Towards a New Model of Relationship'. In A. Lebel (ed.) *Security and the Media: The Dynamics of Relationships*. Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Publishing (Hebrew), 69–100.
- Orgad, S. (2009) 'Watching How Others Watch Us: The Israeli Media's Treatment of International Coverage of the Gaza War', *Communication Review*, 12(3), 250–261.
- Patterson, T. E. (1993) *Out of Order*. New York: Knopf.

- Peri, Y. (2001) 'The Change in the Security Discourse in the Media and the Transformation in the Perception of Citizenship in Israel', *Democratic Culture (Hebrew)*, 4–5, 233–266.
- Pfau, M., Haigh, M., Gettle, M., Donnelly, M., Scott, G., Warr, D. and Wittenberg, E. (2004) 'Embedding Journalists in Military Combat Units: Impact on Newspaper Story Frames and Tone', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), 74–88.
- Pinchevski, A. (2005) *By Way of Interruption: Levinas and the Ethics of Communication*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.
- Price, M. E. (2009) 'End of Television and Foreign Policy', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 625, 196–204.
- Rahat, G. and Sheaffer, T. (2007) 'The Personalization(s) of Politics: Israel 1949–2003', *Political Communication*, 24, 65–80.
- Reese, S. D., Rutigliano, L., Hyun, K. and Jeong, J. (2007) 'Mapping the Blogosphere: Professional and Citizen-Based Media in the Global News Arena', *Journalism*, 8(3), 235–261.
- Reich, Z. (2008) 'How Citizens Create News Stories: The "News Access" Problem Reversed', *Journalism Studies*, 9(5), 739–758.
- Robinson, P., Goddard, P., Parry, K., Murray, C. and Taylor, P. M. (2010) *Pockets of Resistance: British News Media, War and Theory During the 2003 Invasion of Iraq*. New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Roeh, I. (1994) *Seven Openings for Discussion on Communication*. Even Yehuda: Reches Publishing (Hebrew).
- Rosenberg, H. and Maoz, I. (2011) '"Meeting the Enemy": The Reception of a Television Interview With a Female Palestinian Terrorist Among Jewish Youth in Israel', *The Communication Review*, 15(1), 45–71.
- Scannell, P. (1996) *Radio, Television and Modern Life: A Phenomenological Approach*, Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Scannell, P. (2001) 'Authenticity and Experience Discourse Studies', *Discourse Studies*, 3(4), 405–411.
- Schlesinger, P. (1981) 'Terrorism, the Media and the Liberal Democratic State: A Critique of the Orthodoxy', *Social Research*, 48, 74–99.
- Schlesinger, P., Murdock, G. and Elliott, P. (1983) *Television 'Terrorism': Political Violence in Political Culture*. London: Comedia.
- Schön, D. A. (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. USA: Basic Books.
- Schorr, D. (2001) *Staying Tuned: A Life in Journalism*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Schudson, M. (1988) 'What is a Reporter? The Privat Face of Public Journalism', In J. Carey (ed.) *Media, Myths and Narratives: Television and the Press*. Newbury Park: Sage, 228–245.
- Schudson, M. (1995) *The Power of News*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schudson, M. (1999) 'Social Origins of Press Cynicism in Portraying Politics', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(6), 998–1008.
- Schudson, M. (2002) 'What's Unusual about Covering Politics as Usual?', In B. Zelizer and S. Allan (eds.) *Journalism After September 11*. New York: Routledge.
- Seib, P. (2004) *Beyond the Front Lines: How the News Media Cover a World Shaped by War*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Shakow, A. (1995) 'Swapping Stories: News Narratives and Professional Ideology in Palestinian Coverage of the Occupied Territories', MA thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Sheafer, T. and Shenhav, S. R. (2009) 'Mediated Public Diplomacy in a New Era of Warfare', *The Communication Review*, 12(3), 272–283.
- Shenav, S. R. and Sheafer, T. (2008) 'From Inter-Party Debate to Inter-Personal Polemic: Media Coverage of Internal and External Party Disputes in Israel, 1949–2003', *Party Politics*, 14(6), 706–725.
- Shifman, L. (2012) 'Satire in the Holy Wonderland: The Comic Framing of Arab Leaders in Israel', *Popular Communication*, 10(1–2), 94–105.
- Shirky, C. (2011) 'The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change', *Foreign Affairs*, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/66987>, date accessed 5 February 2012.
- Sifry, M. L. (2011) *WikiLeaks and the Age of Transparency*. Berkeley, Coastal Aquifer: Counterpoint.
- Silverstone, R. (2006) *Media and Morality: On The Rise of The Mediapolis*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Simmel G. (1950/1906) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Smyth, B., Jeroen Gunning, M., Jackson, R., Kassimeris, G. and Robinson, P. (2008) 'Critical Terrorism Studies: An Introduction', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(1), 1–4.
- Sontag, S. (2003) *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Strange, S. (1996) *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1992) *Multiculturalism and 'The Politics of Recognition'*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2012) 'The Management of Visibility: News Coverage of Kidnapping and Captivity Cases Around the World', *Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association*, Phoenix, Arizona, 24–28 May.
- Thompson, J. B. (1995) *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Thompson, J. B. (2000) *Political Scandal: Power and Visibility in the Media Age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Tolson, A. (2006) *Media Talk: Spoken Discourse on TV and Radio*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Tumber, H. (2004) 'Prisoners of News Values?: Journalists, Professionalism, and Identification in Times of War', In S. Allan and B. Zelizer (eds.) *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*, London: Routledge.
- Tumber, H. and Palmer, J. (2004) *Media at War: The Iraq Crisis*. London: Sage.
- Tumber, H. and Webster, F. (2006) *Journalists Under Fire: Information, War, and Journalistic Practice*. London: Sage.
- Turner, G. (2010) *Ordinary People and the Media: The Demotic Turn*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Van Aelst, P., Sheafer, T. and Stanyer, J. (2012) 'The Personalization of Mediated Political Communication: A Review of Concepts, Operationalizations and Key Findings', *Journalism*, 13, 203–220.
- Vigoda-Gadot, E. and Mizrahi, S. (2010) *The Public Sector Performance in Israel 2010*. Haifa: The Center of Governance quality (Hebrew). [http://poli.haifa.ac.il/~eranv/material\\_vigoda/NAPPA-IL10.heb.pdf](http://poli.haifa.ac.il/~eranv/material_vigoda/NAPPA-IL10.heb.pdf), date accessed 5 January 2012.

- Wall, M. (2005) '“Blogs of War”: Weblogs as News', *Journalism*, 6(2), 153–172.
- Warshaw, R. (1985) 'Movie Chronicle: The Western', In G. Mast and M. Cohen (eds.) *Film Theory and Criticism*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wattenberg, M. P. (1995) *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weimann, G. (1999) 'The Theater of Terror: A Tough Challenge to Democracy', In R. Cohen-Almagor (ed.), *Basic Issues in Israeli Democracy*. Tel Aviv: Sifriat Poalim (Hebrew).
- Weimann, G. (2006) *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, The New Challenges*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Weimann, G. (2006) *Public Criticism on the War in Lebanon, 2006*. Tel Aviv: Herzog Institute for Communication, Society and Politics (Hebrew).
- Weimann, G. and Winn, C. (1993) *The Theater of Terror: The Mass Media and International Terrorism*. New York: Longman Publishing/Addison-Wesley.
- Weiss, I. (2010) *Straight From My Heart: A Diary Of Service*. Tel Aviv: Miskal – Yedioth Ahronoth Books and Chemed Books (Hebrew).
- Weldon, M. (2008) *Everyman News: The Changing American Front Page*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Williams, B. A. (2009) 'From Romance to Collateral Damage: Media Treatment of Civilians in Wartime and What it Means for How America Wages War', *The Communication Review*, 12(3), 227–238.
- Williams B. A. and Delli Carpini, M. X. (2011) *After Broadcast News: Media Regimes, Democracy, and the New Information Environment*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, B. and Liebes T. (2003) 'Political Talk Shows: American and Israeli Style', In T. Liebes, *American Dreams, Hebrew Subtitles: Globalization from the Receiving End*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Wilson, R. (1997) *The Media and Intrastate Conflict in Northern Ireland*, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/dd/papers/media.htm>, date accessed 20 August 2000.
- Winograd, E., Gavison R., Dror, Y., Nadal, H. and Einan, M. (2008) *The Winograd Commission Report on Israel's 2006 War in Lebanon*. Published by the State of Israel (Hebrew).
- Witzthum, D. (2006) *Breaking News*. Jerusalem: Keter Books.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (1991) *Media, Protest, and Political Violence : A Transactional Analysis*. Columbia, SC : U. of South Carolina Press.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (1997) *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2004) *Media and the Path to Peace*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfsfeld, G., Frosh, P. and Awabdy, M. T. (2008) 'Covering Death in Conflicts: Coverage of the Second Intifada on Israeli and Palestinian Television', *Journal of Peace Research*, 45(3), 401–417.
- Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E. and Sheaffer, T. (2012) 'The Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First', *Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association*, New Orleans, LA, 30 August–3 September.
- Woodward, R., Winter, T. and Jenkins, K. N. (2009) 'Heroic Anxieties: The Figure of the British Soldier in Contemporary Print Media', *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 2(2), 211–223.



- Zaller, John. (1992) *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zandberg, E. and Naiger, M. (2005) 'Between the Nation and the Profession: Journalists as Members of Contradicting Communities', *Media, Culture and Society*, 27(1), 131–141.
- Zelizer, B. (2005) *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy*. London: Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.
- Zelizer, B. and Allan, S. (2002) 'When Trauma Shapes the News', In B. Zelizer and S. Allan (eds.) *Journalism After September 11*, London: Routledge, 1–24.
- Zhang, J. and Benoit W. L. (2004) 'Message Strategies of Saudi Arabia's Image Restoration Campaign after 9/11', *Public Relations Review*, 30, 161–167.

# Index

- ABC, 37, 47, 55–6, 75, 100, 123  
Abed Rabo, Yasser, 169  
Abottabad, 42, 96  
Abu Abbass Muhammad, 56  
Abu Dabi, 76  
Abu El Aish, Izzeldin, 103  
Abu Ghriab (prison), 100, 116, 146, 162  
Abu Shnev, Ismail, 57  
Achille Lauro, 56  
Adams, Gerry, 69  
Afghanistan, vi, 1–2, 6–7, 17, 25, 42, 45, 55, 66, 70, 93, 100, 107, 116, 146, 156, 162, 164, 172  
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 19, 65, 71–2, 75  
Ajamy, Fouad, 54  
AJE (Al Jazeera English), 11, 76, 174  
Al Arbiya, 76  
al-Dura, Mohammed, 102, 166  
al-Hamas, Iman, 167, 170  
Al Jazeera, 10, 47, 49–51, 53–4, 63, 70, 76, 98, 103, 168, 174  
Allouni, Tayseer, 51, 53–4  
Al Manar, 72  
Al Qaeda, 6, 16, 42, 49, 54, 59, 70, 80, 168–9  
al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 11, 49  
Arafat, Yasser, 67, 69, 75–9, 81, 83–9, 168–9, 178  
Arnet, Peter, 100, 146  
A-shafi, Suleiman, 57  
Ashkenazi, Gabi, 154  
Assange, Julian, 96  
Athar, sohiab, 11, 96  
Atta, Muhammad, 13, 59, 61  
Australian forces, 156  
Avneri, Uri, 67  
Azur (suicide attack), 99  
Baghdad, 19, 37, 45, 56, 83, 118  
Bakri, Muhammad, 135  
Balaam, 50, 89  
(the) Balkans, 6  
Barak, Ehud, 76, 84, 88, 108, 154  
Barnea, Nahum, 75  
Bashan, Sagi, 35–6, 41  
BBC, 66, 139–40  
Beirut, 67, 72, 97, 165  
Bell, Martin, 5, 160  
Ben-Gurion, David, 151  
Benn, Tony, 140  
Bergdahl, Bowe Robert, 107  
Bergen, Peter, 49, 53  
Big Brother, 106, 170  
Bin Laden, Osama, vii, 1, 11, 16, 37, 42, 46–7, 49–56, 61–3, 70, 75, 79–80, 88, 96, 167–9  
Blair, Tony, 131, 139–40  
Blitzer, Wolf, 49–54  
Blogs (weblogs), 11, 92, 96–7, 146, 156, 163  
Bnayahu, Avi, 148  
Bouazizi, Mohamed, 92  
Boym, Ze'ev, 169  
'Breaking news,' 45, 63, 99, 115, 123–6  
B'tselem (The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights), 170  
Bush, George W., 7, 50, 55, 68, 70, 89, 139, 169  
Byrne, Dorothy, 71  
'Cast Lead,' operation, 98  
CBS, 52, 54, 57, 65, 68–9, 75–8, 87, 89, 144–5, 168  
Chambers, Robert, 89  
Chaney, Richard (Dick) Vice President, 82, 139  
Channel 1 (Israel), 76, 135

- Channel 2 (Israel), 34–5, 57, 103, 106,  
119–21, 125, 157, 166, 170
- Channel 10 (Israel), 103, 109
- Channel 4 (uk), 65, 71–2, 135, 140
- CNN, 10, 14, 47, 49–54, 62–3, 67, 75,  
117–18, 132, 160
- (the) Cold War, 6, 68
- Cramer, Chris, 14
- Critical studies in Terrorism (CST),  
16–17
- Cronkite, Walter, 69
- (the) Daily Mail, 18
- (the) Daily Mirror, 116, 169
- (the) Daily Telegraph, 167
- Daniel, Roni, 34–5
- Danish broadcasters (DR1, TV2), 169
- Davies, Deborah, 135
- Davies, Gavyn, 139
- Dayan, Moshe, 150–2
- Day, Robin, 75
- 'Debka.net,' 96
- 'Defensive Shield,' operation, 97, 134–5
- Dimpleby, Richard, 134
- disaster marathon(s), 20, 43, 45, 99,  
105, 111–13, 115, 117, 119–20,  
157, 159, 167, 171
- docu-activism, 29–30
- documentary(ies), 2, 58, 135, 166–7
- Dyke, Greg, 139
- Egypt, 16, 68, 75, 92, 112
- Eisenhower, (Dwight David), 68
- embedded journalism, 1, 7, 18, 26, 34,  
37, 108
- Europe(an), 6–7, 12, 75, 162
- Facebook, 92, 96
- Falkland (war), 12, 67, 134
- Fares, Imad, 154
- Fatah, 33
- FBI, 42
- Fenton, Roger, 143–4
- Finnigan, Stephen, 135
- Fleisher, Ari, 87
- Fox  
Channel, 53  
News, 49
- French court of Law, 166
- Galant, Yoav, 154
- Gates, Robert, 144–5, 164
- Gaza, vi, 11–12, 35–6, 41, 45, 76, 98,  
100–4, 106, 109, 134, 146–7, 154,  
157
- Geneva Convention, 39
- Givati brigade, 36
- Giyus.org, 98
- Glinka, Ran, 88
- Goldberg, Jeffery, 46
- Grada, Imran, 76
- Granot, Oded, 76–81, 83–7, 89
- (the) Guardian, 13, 59, 71–2, 130
- Gulf War, 12, 34, 67, 77, 100, 117–18,  
124, 126, 132, 146–7, 161–2
- Haagana, 150
- Haaretz, 14, 16, 60–1, 73, 97, 102,  
108, 135, 137, 140, 149, 152
- Halutz, Dan, 152–4
- Hamas, 16, 33, 45, 57, 60, 76, 106–9,  
119, 152, 154, 171
- Hamilton, Emma, 151
- Hanoi, 100
- Haqqania Madrasa, 46
- Harun, Ahmad Muhammad, 11
- Hassan, Nizar, 135
- Herman-Peled, Orit, 97
- Heyward, Andrew, 52, 54
- Hezbollah, 8, 49, 72–4, 93, 136, 140–1,  
152, 164
- Higu, Iman, 102
- Hirohito, Emperor, 52
- Hirsch, Gal, 154
- Hitler, Adolf, 52, 66, 69–70, 74, 89
- Holocaust, 61, 97, 170
- Holt, Madeleine, 66
- Hussein, Saddam, 19, 52, 65, 68,  
76–83, 86–7, 89, 118, 139–40,  
159, 168–9, 171
- IDF (Israeli Defense Forces), 35, 41, 72,  
135, 142, 148–9, 154, 167, 170
- International News Safety Institute,  
38, 137
- Investigative reporting, 28, 167
- IRA (Irish Republican Army), 44, 51,  
69
- Iran, 71–2, 75, 135

- Iraq, vi, 1, 6, 8, 42, 47, 57, 65, 76–7, 80, 82–3, 89, 93, 116–17, 139–40, 146, 164, 169  
   Iraqi, 7–8, 68, 78, 80–2, 100, 116, 139, 146, 162, 168–9  
   Iraq war, 7, 31, 37–8, 52, 66, 100  
 Israel, vi, 8, 11–13, 16–17, 19, 30, 33–6, 44–5, 49–51, 57–8, 60–1, 65, 67–8, 72–81, 83–4, 86–9, 93, 95–109, 112, 119–21, 125–6, 130, 132, 134–7, 140–4, 146–54, 156–7, 159, 162, 164–71  
 Italy, 44  
  
 Jenin, 97, 134–5  
 Jerusalem, vi, 57–8, 68, 77–8, 112, 150  
 Jihad, 17, 42, 60, 85  
 Johnson, Charles, 97  
 Johnson, Scott, 37, 56–7  
 Jordan, 16, 154  
   Jordanian Palestinian, 57  
   ‘Journalism of attachment,’ 28–9, 160  
  
 Kaffin (village), 33  
 Kelly, David Dr, 139  
 Kennicot, Philip, 49  
 Kerry, John, 50  
 Khrushchev, 66, 68–9, 75  
 King, Larry, 19  
 Kital, Shalom, 119–21  
 Kol Yerushalyim (Mandatory Palestine radio), 69  
 Koppel, Ted, 75  
 Kremlin, 68  
 Kunar Province, 1, 7, 25  
 Kunduz Province, 162  
  
 Landau, David, 73  
 Lebanon, 35, 109  
   South, 95  
   War: first, 67; second, vi, 8, 19, 49, 65–6, 72–3, 76, 93, 96–8, 135–6, 140–1, 146, 149, 153–4, 156, 159, 164  
 Levy, Yonit, 103  
 Libya, 92  
  
 Likud, 87–9, 169  
 ‘Little green footballs’ (blog), 97  
 Livni, Tzipi, 108  
 Los Angeles Times, 52–3, 145  
  
 Maariv, 88, 107–8, 169  
 Major, John, 69  
 Malta, 70  
 Mandelblit, Avichai, 148  
 Marom, Eliezer, 154  
 Mashal, Haled, 154  
 Medalia, Hilla, 58  
 Meshulah, Yehoshua, 69–70  
 Meydan, David, 108  
 Middle East, vii, 56, 71–2, 92, 123, 140  
 military, 1–2, 12, 28, 32, 37, 39, 43, 55, 57, 62, 67, 72, 75, 77, 99, 107, 118, 125, 136–8, 148–51, 154, 157, 161, 170  
   Advocate General, 148  
   correspondent, 34  
   operation, vi, 11, 34, 41, 102, 116, 134, 147  
   terrain vehicle, 154  
 Miller, John, 37, 55–6, 75, 168  
 Moore, Michael, 30  
 Morgan, Piers, 116  
 Moro, Aldo, 44  
 Moscow, 68  
 Mossad (The Israeli secret service), 88, 142, 153–4  
 Moussaoui, Zacarias, 59  
 MSNBC, 53–4  
 ‘Muhammad Army,’ 37, 56, 61  
 Mulla, Omar, 52, 60, 70  
 Mullen, Mike, 149  
 muslim brothers (brotherhood), 17, 156  
 muslim(s), 17–18, 46, 60  
 Mussolini, 74  
  
 Nahmias, Victor, 33–4  
 Narkis, Uzi, 150  
 narrative(s), 3, 15–16, 20, 26, 35, 53, 58, 60, 99–100, 126–7, 135, 161, 163, 170  
 narrator, 35

- Nasseralla, Hassan, 19, 49–50, 65,  
72–4, 140, 159, 164–5
- Nasser, Jamal Abdul, 75
- nationalism, 39
- Nazi(s), 61, 67, 70, 97
- NBC, 50, 66, 140
- Nelson, Horatio, 151
- Netanyahu, Benjamin, 76, 89, 108,  
121
- Newsweek, 13, 37, 56, 59–61
- News of the World, 116
- New York Times, 38, 46, 50, 52, 54,  
56–7, 59, 70, 87, 89, 122, 125,  
167
- objectivity, 3, 13, 15, 27–8, 30, 33, 62
- occupied territories, 68, 109
- Olmert, Ehud, 139
- ombudsman, 16
- Pakistan, 2, 42, 46, 96, 167
- Palestine, 44, 69–70
- Palestinian Intifada(s), 8  
first, 12, 33, 67, 84, 100–2, 146  
second, vi, 8, 34, 37, 66, 76–7, 86,  
100–2, 125, 137, 146, 162,  
169–71
- Patton, General, 66
- peace, 44–5, 69, 75, 77–8, 146
- Pearl, Daniel, 38, 167
- Pearl Harbor, 52
- (the) Pentagon, 34, 147
- Peretz, Eliraz, 106, 109
- Petraeus, Howell David, 143, 149–50
- pjtv.com, 106
- PLO (Palestine Liberation  
Organization), 44, 67, 69
- Pope, Alexander, 153
- Princess Diana, 125
- proper distance, 120–1
- protest movement, 10, 44
- Qana village, 97, 146
- Queen (Victoria), 71–2, 143–4
- Rabin, Yitzchak, 77, 150, 152
- Rafah, 102
- Ramsay, Stuart, 1–3, 5, 7, 10, 14,  
17–18, 25, 32, 38, 156
- Rather, Dan, 19, 65–6, 76–84, 86–7,  
89, 118, 140, 159, 169
- Rawlings, Nate, 107
- reality TV (shows), 29, 106
- (the) Red Brigades (BR), 44
- Rehov, Pierre, 135
- Reuters, 97
- Rice, Condoleezza, 49, 52, 70
- Richards, David, 8, 145, 164
- Rich, Frank, 125
- Rivlin, Reuven (Ruby), 89
- Roosevelt, Teddy, 56
- Rosenthal, Michael, 30
- Rottblitt, Yaakov, 99–100
- Russia, 99, 144
- Sadat, Anwar President, 68–9, 112
- Sade, Eliraz, 106
- Salisbury, Harrison, 26, 100, 146
- Sanur, Ahmad, 103
- Saragusty, Anat, 67
- Sarraj, Eyad, 59
- Saudi Arabia, 16
- scandal(s), 21, 90, 116, 131, 138–40,  
143, 145, 147, 149, 151–2, 154,  
158, 162  
cash payment, 139  
Halliburton contract, 139  
the phone hacking, 116
- Schorr, Daniel, 66, 68, 75
- Schwarzkopf, Norman, 34, 67, 118
- Sderot, 106
- September 11, 6, 13, 37, 42–3, 45–7,  
49–50, 52–5, 62–3, 66, 70, 123,  
129, 167–8, 171
- settlers, 101, 125–6
- Shahade, Salah, 152
- Shalit, Gilad, 106–8
- Sharon, Ariel, 84, 88, 169
- Shay, Nachman, 88
- Siegel, Allan M., 122
- Simon, Bob, 57–8
- Simpson, O.J., 64, 125
- (the) Six Days War, 150
- Sixty Minutes, 57–8, 144
- Sky News, 1–2, 5, 17, 25, 156
- Sorenson, Eric, 53
- Spain, 54
- Steffens, Lincoln, 26

- Steinitz, Yuval, 76  
 Suez war, 75  
 suicide, 139  
   attack, 95, 99, 119  
   bomb(ers)(ing), 9, 13, 47, 57–8, 60,  
     93, 105, 119, 162, 167  
   pilot, 13, 59  
 Syria, 150
- Taliban, 1–2, 5, 17–18, 25, 46, 70, 145,  
 156, 168  
 talk shows, 15  
 Tamir, Moshe, 154  
 Tatchell, Peter, 71–2  
 Tel Aviv, 99, 119  
 (the) Telegraph, 8, 145  
 Thalib, Jafar Umar, 56  
 Thatcher, Margaret PM, 67  
 Thomas, Clarence, 64  
 Time magazine, 96, 107  
 Tul Karem, 33  
 Tunisia, 75, 92  
 Turkish Flotilla, 98, 147  
 Twitter, 11, 92, 96
- UK, vi, 8, 11, 17–18, 42, 71, 93, 112,  
 122, 130, 139, 143, 156, 162  
 UN (United Nations), 56, 135, 147  
 US (United states), vi–vii, 1, 6–8, 12,  
 16–17, 37, 42, 44, 47, 49–50, 52,  
 54, 56, 63, 65, 67, 70, 75–80, 82,  
 87, 89, 93, 96, 105–107, 118,  
 123–124, 139–140, 142–144,  
 146–149, 162, 164, 168  
 ‘Uvda’ (‘fact’), 166, 170
- victory, 7, 50, 149–50, 152, 167  
 victory albums, 150  
 Vietnam–, 44  
   north, 146  
   war, 10, 100, 117, 135, 146
- Voice of America (VOA), 70
- Wall street Journal, 38  
 Washington Post, 16, 49, 89  
 Weiss, Israel, 154  
 West Bank, 97, 99  
 Western, vi, 6, 32, 48, 81, 96  
   armies, 39, 42  
   channels, 51, 63  
   culture, 51  
   democracies, 1, 10, 16, 66, 130, 136  
   journalist(s), 52, 78  
   media, 2, 13, 67, 70, 92  
   national communities, 10  
   nation(s)(al), vi, 10, 132  
   non (western), 11, 65  
   politic(ians)(al), 138, 156  
   societies, 10, 156, 162  
   style, 55  
   troops, 2, 25  
   TV, 11
- White House, 51, 87, 89  
 WikiLeaks, 11, 96, 133, 146  
 Winograd commission’s report, 73,  
 136  
 Winograd, Eliyahu, 136  
 World Trade Center, 64  
 World War–  
   I, 161  
   II, 10, 67, 132, 134, 138  
 Wurzelbacher, Samuel Joseph (‘Joe the  
 plumber’), 106, 169
- Yatom, Dani, 153  
 Yedioth Achronoth, 30, 102, 108,  
 148–9, 170
- Ze’evi, Rechavaam, 88