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A Palestinean state – yes or no?
Constructing political discourse in the Israeli print news media – an experimental design

Kurzfassung: In dieser Arbeit wird ein Forschungsprojekt vorgestellt, welches untersucht, wie Einstellungen gebildet und geformt werden, und wie Meinungsmacher und Agenda-Setter die Einstellungen ihrer Anhängerschaft beeinflussen.
Wir konzentrieren uns hierbei auf die Printmedien als unser Forschungsgebiet. Untersucht wird, wie sich das Framing von Pressemeldungen auf die Leser auswirkt. Unser Versuchsaufbau beinhaltet drei Artikel über dasselbe Thema: die Ratifizierung eines Palästinensischen Staates durch das Israelische Kabinett. Die drei Artikel sind unterschiedlich eingerahmt: einer befürwortet die Entscheidung, besitzt also ein positives Framing, der zweite verurteilt die Entscheidung, ist dementsprechend negativ eingerahmt, und der dritte ist ohne Framing. Drei verschiedene Lesergruppen setzten sich mit den Texten auseinander und mussten anschließend drei Tests bearbeiten: einen Gedächtnis-, einen Kategorisierungs- und einen Bedeutungstest.
Unsere Hypothese lautet, dass Personen, die den Pro-Staat-Text lesen, positiv auf die Idee eines Palästinensischen Staates reagieren, während jene, die dem entgegengesetzten Framing ausgesetzt waren, eine ablehnende Einstellung entwickeln würden.
Mit einem Wort, die Interaktion zwischen Anführern und Anhängern, wie etwa Treue, Loyalität und Hingabe, spielt eine überaus wichtige Rolle bei der Einstellungsbildung. Anführer mit etablierter Autorität und Führungskraft haben das Potential, Überzeugungen, Urteile und Bewertungen zu formen und zu prägen. Unsere Ergebnisse unterstützen diese Behauptung. Diese Forschungsarbeit könnte von großer Tragweite sein und weiter reichen als nur Hinweise darauf zu liefern, dass ein Zusammenhang besteht zwischen der Manipulation eines Textes und dem Verständnis des Lesers. Die hier ausgearbeiteten Vorschläge und Schlussfolgerungen können in eine noch breitere Forschungsagenda integriert werden, welche sich mit Themen beschäftigt wie: Autorität und Legitimität (wie führen Anführer und warum folgt die Anhängerschaft?), Rekrutierung und Mobilisierung (wie animiert und stimuliert man Menschenmassen?), politischer Aktivismus (wie lässt sich Loyalität, Hingabe und Opferbereitschaft hervorrufen?), Propaganda und Anstiftung (wie beeinflusst man Meinungen und Standpunkte?), und von dort aus zu noch weiter reichenden Untersuchungen der politischen, psychologischen und strukturellen Dimensionen von Regierungsformen, politischen Parteien und sozialen Bewegungen führen.

Abstract: This paper describes a research project which examines how attitudes are shaped and formed and how opinion makers and agenda setters influence such attitudes in their followers. We concentrate on the written media as our research environment. We explore how framing of news items affect readers. Our research design creates three articles which describe an identical topic: the ratification of a Palestinian state by the Israeli Cabinet. The three articles are framed differently: one advocates the decision and thus is imbued with positive framing, the second condemns it, and accordingly is permeated by negative frames and the third is frameless. Three different reader groups grapple with the texts and are being tested with the same three tests: memory, categorization and meaning tests. We predict that people who read the pro-state text would respond favorably to the idea of a Palestinian state, whereas those who were exposed to the opposite framing would develop an adverse attitude.
In sum, the interaction between leaders and followers is extremely important in shaping attitudes such as adherence, loyalty and commitment. Leaders with established authority and command have the potential of molding and forging beliefs, judgments and evaluations. Our results demonstrate significant support for this claim. This research might have long-range implications beyond indicating the nexus between manipulating a text and the comprehension of its readers. The suggestions and conclusions elaborated here can be incorporated into a broader research agenda, which deals with issues such as: authority and legitimacy (how do leaders lead, why do adherents follow?), recruitment and mobilization (how to animate and stimulate crowds?), political activism (how to elicit loyalty, commitment and willing to sacrifice?), propaganda and incitement (how to sway opinions and positions?), and from there, to even larger scaled explorations into the political, psychological and structural dimensions of regimes, political parties and social movements.

I.   Framing: How to Construct Interests to Realities

How do people make sense of political issues, or how do they interpret and analyze the myriad of concepts, ideas, dilemmas and disagreements, which compose the conundrum of politics? What are the tools, which enable people to assess and construe meaning and solutions to political puzzles, and consequently, to choose and to identify with an obtainable preference? Alternatively, who propagates and circulates political preferences to the public, and how does this promulgation process transpire? How does the public become aware of the political agenda and is he genuinely and fairly being informed as to all relevant disputes and controversies? These questions are not to be taken for granted. Despite the persistence and centrality of political beliefs in our daily lives, most of them are ambivalent and unclear to the extent that habitually we cannot positively and assertively adhere to any, nonetheless defending them in the quarrels expected to emanate from incompatible understandings and interpretations of a plural society.

The research concentrates on the structuring of comprehension and interpretations to political reality in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, focusing on one particular facet: the possibility of an independent Palestinian state. This question will serve us to examine the processes and dynamics of constructing a public and political discourse, as it is conveyed to and understood by the readers of the written media. The post-modern mass media has become the principal site for manipulating public opinion. Gurevitch and Levy (1985) claim that the preponderance media messages in society and the emerging influence of the media discourse on public priorities turn the public communication channels into a conniving battle ground. One of the major devices in the shaping and reshaping of opinions is the concept of *framing*. To frame a story means to formulate a narrative, explicitly or subtly, which suits the narrator's needs and interests. A frame is composed of a cognitive and an emotional dimensions, which relate to two main questions: how to think of an issue, and what to do about it (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Our research examines frames that favor and disfavor the possibility of an independent Palestinian state. This is done by embedding the two opposing viewpoints in a similar text of report on current developments in the subject. A third version of the same text is added which bears no predetermined frame. Each formulation will be read separately by different reading groupings. Similar ensuing questions will be asked of each group. The purpose of the investigation is to explore the relation between patterns of media frames (both the structural and the content dimensions) and the various ways in which the reading public asserts its comprehension and realization of the relevant topic.

In the next section we underline the main themes of our research: the construction of political discourse by elites; the framing of messages, and the quest for a 'winning formula', which can allure audience and enhance authority and power. Next, we systematically examine techniques of text manipulation to detect changes of interpretation and comprehension with readers. An elaborated research design of three different tests is used for that purpose. Finally, preliminary results of an initial small-scaled experiment (n=26) are discussed as a precursor for a full-fledge study.

II.   Some Guiding Questions

Our initial assumption is, that whoever devises the public and political discourse and determines its direction, timing, rhetoric and repertoire of images and symbols, are the elites. The wider public is the attentive audience, the spectators or the readers (Peleg, 2003). The Elites, or the designers of public opinion consist of the political decision makers, military commanders and experts, community leaders and social activists, business moguls and industrialists and media tone-setters. These rivaling groups are involved in flagrant "wars of words" on vying interpretations of reality and their transmission to the public (Lakoff, 2000).

The contending views of the elites clash on the definitions of the issues at stake and on their relative importance. Each contender endeavors to create its own narrative in the most persuasive and coherent style to get the attention of the audience. The infiltration of a definition to the public discourse in line with the spirit and interest of a certain position demarcates an achievement to the belief and conviction of the "winning" elite. The interpretations that sustain the words battles become conspicuously prominent in the way ordinary citizens comprehend and discuss the issues of the hour. These explanations are transferred from the elites to the public through framing. The more the frames are simple, concise and effective the more capable they are of being immersed in the public discourse. If the frames are carefully selected to resonate with existing cultural and social norms, it would facilitate their assimilation in public usage even further (Snow et. Al, 1986; Gamson and Lasch, 1983).

The intriguing question that arises from the aforementioned assumption is whether a winning formula exists. Put it differently, what should be the characteristics of a frame that could capture readers' attention and direct their judgments and attitudes? This question takes us back to the issue of how does a frame work, and in what ways does it align intentions of leaders with comprehensions by recipients. If indeed, a frame is a narrative that structures and links events, occurrences, and developments into a coherent and consistent storyline (Tversky and Kahenman 1981; Kinder and Snders 1996), what would then constitutes a good story? What would constitute an intriguing narrative? The bulk of research on this topic

tended to concentrate on the competence (or incompetence) of the narrator (Nelson and Kinder 1996), or on the forms of linkage and types of communication between speakers and listeners (Mandelberg 1997). Seldom, however, attention was given to listeners, viewers, and readers – to their set of interpretations and understandings. What would make a story interesting and appealing for readers? What would make readers adopt a story, using it as a cognitive mechanism for organizing their experience and making sense of their environment?

These sorts of questions shift our attention to the realm of cognitive psychology. More specifically, they focus on mechanisms of interpretation and comprehension by which readers handle information and massages. The research leads to operational questions such as how do these mechanisms operate; what generates a deeper level of comprehension; which texts, whether written or transmitted, would be better absorbed, and which emphases would be embraced and which deserted. The inquiry can be farther expanded towards the writers and disseminators, trying to detect rules of a more comprehended text. Furthermore, it can be asked to what extent is it possible to accommodate a massage to the needs, ambitions and general mood of an audience in order to harness readers to the political objectives of the writers? Here, the important issues of mobilization and consensus building become relevant by highlighting possible linkages between leaders and adherents. The interaction between elites and rank and file can be translated in two opposite directions: maintaining order and social control or challenging it. However, in each case, mobilizing people and rallying them around shared frames and understandings is crucial.

III. The Context: For and Against a Palestinian State

Kinder and Berinsky (1999) combined two research directions in cognitive psychology to create an original framework to assess the comprehension level of readers and the extent of influence framing has on interpreting text. The first direction is taken from a series of studies on jury deliberations and how the decision on guilt or acquittal is arrived at (Pennington and Hastie, 1988, 1992). Their research clearly indicated two manners (or two frames) by which the findings and the evidence were presented to the members of the jury: in the order the defense and prosecution counselors presented the case according to their respective witnesses ('the witness order'), and in the order of temporal and causal events to create a linear and coherent story ('the story order'). The former adheres to trial management, considerations of jurisprudence and action-reaction dynamics between legal counselors of the rivaling parties. The latter aligns with the consistent logic of a narrative and the rationale of a storytelling. The conclusions of the research were unequivocal: members of the jury thought they had understood the case better, and cast their ballot accordingly, when they were exposed to the chronological account rather than the witness account. The consistency of the narrative, the coverage of all details and the logical unfolding of events from beginning to end, have convinced them that their decision was right.

The second line of inquiry also emphasized the idea that comprehension of a text increases if the story is told in a coherent and sensible way. Walter Kintsch's work (1998) concentrates on written articles and how their 'modification' augments comprehension of the messages the writers are interested in propagating. Kintsch discerns two ways in which text can be manipulated: a micro-structure and a macro-structure. The first is a change *within* the text, as for example, the difference in meaning that might emerge from reading "the IDF has entered the Cassbah of Nablus tonight" as opposed to reading "the IDF has entered the Cassbah of Nablus, the hub of terrorist activities, tonight". The second is a change *of* the text, a reorganization of paragraphs, division to sections, adding titles or captions, emphasizing or de-emphasizing certain portions of the wording. A dry and laconic story on a nightly raid in Nablus would win over readers less than a piece embellished with the title " the Cassbah of Nablus has been purified of terrorists". Such a positive framing to the military action is bound to elicit supportive comments of readers. Similarly, a critical frame to the same news would be transferred to the readers by a title like "Innocent civilians were killed tonight at the Cassbah of Nablus". This authentic information would appear in the positive formulation as well, albeit in a much humble, inconspicuous way.

These two mentioned studies underlined some of the readers' preferences: they tend to look for motivations and reasons and link them with outcomes. Thus they establish linearity and a story flow that elucidate its moral. Additionally, readers like to hear or read texts that support or enhance already existing, but not fully ascertained, beliefs and attitudes. Readers find it difficult to grapple with radical or ambivalent texts, which cause disorientation and undermine preconceived notions. The designers of frames are fully aware of this. They cultivate familiar cultural and moral beliefs and they nurture the cause-effect nexus in their messages.

The fusion of the two psychological works was our point of departure. We wanted to explore how newspaper readers in Israel make sense of what they read. We want to check how framing affects comprehension and what are the characteristics of a successful frame. We think that an effective way to detect and analyze changes in perception of texts is by experimentation. We intend to identify variations in appreciation of content by using experimental and control groups. Participants of each group will be given identical texts formulated in dissimilar, even opposing, frames. Our topic of choice is highly relevant and significant: the possibility of an independent Palestinian state. Our choice relies on three grounds: a) the bearing of the issue particularly in the aftermath of the fall of Husseinite Iraq and the regional political developments

expected to emerge from this significant change of power; b) the durability of the issue as one of the most salient bones of contention in the Middle East conflict; and c) the existence of entrenched emotions and views among most readers regarding that dilemma. These advantages carry a certain caveat as well: the ingrained opinions might contaminate our findings, especially of the third test, due to the inability to distinguish between a preconceived notion and a newly acquired notion from a given text. We will attend to this dilemma in our conclusion. In any case, the centrality of the Palestinian State idea among Israelis sustained the causal link between cause and effect, both among exponents and opponents of the idea, which was propitious to our cause.

Two frames, a positive and a negative approach to the possibility of a free Palestinian state, are examined. The experimental groups will read the framed texts, while a control group will be exposed to the same news report but in a conventional news format, i.e., a frameless text[1]. This narrative is reminiscent of the 'witness order' of Pennington and Hastie: a storyline, which does not insist on linear logic and a cause-effect scenario. Our initial assumption is that readers exposed to the frame favoring a Palestinian state will understand and interpret the issue in that vein, whereas those who received the opposite frame will grasp the same information in quite the contrary fashion. Ultimately, we surmise, comprehension hinges upon the writers' vantage point and their talent to sway the readers. The control group, we assume, is supposed to be averagely split between exponents and opponents. The principle of unity in material and information for each group must be diligently kept in order to avoid the attribution of variance to structural dissimilarities.

The favorable frame for a Palestinian state (hereunder- *pro-state*) will attempt to promote its narrative in support of a political process by emphases and nuances underscoring legitimacy, trust and empathy toward the Palestinian side. For instance, paying attention to the formal title of Abu Maazen, the Palestinian Prime Minister, to bestow on him the same grandeur Sharon and Bush enjoy; preceding the Israeli response with the Palestinian one, in order to give it more weight, and highlighting the constructive dimension in Abu Maazen's words by a selective subtitle. The hostile, or suspicious frame (hereunder- *anti-state*), will encourage in its text the opposite feelings: mistrust, de-legitimacy and apprehension of political developments. Therefore, this version will omit Abu-Maazen's formal title; no direct expressions of the Palestinian leader will be cited only indirect impression of his words in order to minimize any affinity to him; the Palestinian comment will come only after the Israeli one and a subtitle will underline its destructive and threatening face. The word Palestinians will appear as Philistines in the negative text to remind readers of the old Biblical foe of the Israelites. The *pro-state* text will emphasize the advantages of an independent state, while the risks will be scattered and absorbed all over the article until they lose their logic and lucidity. The *anti-state* text will do the same, only conversely (see appendix 1).

The three groups of readers will consist of students, about 40 to 50 in each group. The student population has some merits: a) facing the budget limitations- our ability as university lecturers to reach potential participants in a most efficient and parsimonious way; b) most students experience a stage in life, in which their world-view is not quite cemented, and thus, they are relatively open to the type of manipulation we want to test; c) contrary to other groups, students tend to "talk politics" (Gamson, 1992) more frequently and can be more comfortably identified as an "attentive crowd" in line with Russell Dalton (1988), and finally, d) the students' population can be defined as pluralistic and as including members of all sections of society[2]. All respondents will be briefed together on the objectives of the experiment. We will describe our intention as attempting to observe the influence of a pertinent political news item on political interest and the propensity to political activism. Then, they will be randomly assigned to their reading groups, and each one will fill out a personal details form such as gender, age, religion, ethnicity, ideological and political affiliation and the extent of interest and awareness of political issues[3] (see appendix number 3). After consolidating the three groups, they will be given the three prospective formulations of the same news item. Every participant is allowed only one thorough reading. Upon completion of the reading, respondents will be tested along three dimensions of comprehension: memory, categorization and meaning (Kinder and Berinsky, 1999). The three tests, or assignments, are the following:

1.   *Memory*: In this first test, the short-term memory of the readers is examined. Respondents are asked to list ten items (in words or sentences) from the material they just read. They are asked to *cite* exactly as was written in order to impose a unified and solid criterion on the validity of items mentioned. The assumption guiding this test is that memory will be aided and enhanced by framing. Thus, it is expected that readers of the manipulated texts will remember

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1.   Some claim (among them, one of the authors of this paper), that there are no frameless texts at all and that every text conceals normative messages on behalf of the writer's beliefs. This is a legitimate claim, however, the distinction here pertains to structured and systematic manipulation of texts, which are geared at the overt and explicit persuasion of the reader in a specific ideological direction. This is not the case of an essay whereby the author's opinion is subtly and mistakenly "sneaked in".

2.   These would be college students, whereby the political and socio-economic profile of the students tends to be more balanced and more reflective of the general Israeli population than university students (see Appendix no. 2 for a description of distributions).

3.   The purpose of this questionnaire is twofold: first, we are interested in the demographic information about respondents; second, we are interested in their opinion on sociopolitical matters. The first purpose will supply us with a cross-sectional sample and help us determine how representative our group. The second purpose will give us insight on positions and opinions regarding current affairs, in which we intend to make use later when we measure change.

items more vividly than those who dealt with the non-treated material, and that the items memorized will be those in tune with the prevailing frame. That is, the readers of the *pro-state* frame will remember items acknowledging the state while those in the opposite group will recall items admonishing it.

2. *Categorization*: This is a more profound test of our attempt to discover how text is comprehended. Beyond the immediate process of the short-term memory, participants will be requested to aggregate the items they managed to recollect into groups and categories. Here, in addition to instant memory, respondents need to engage in identification, characterization and classification processes. Assuming that indeed, structured text influence comprehension, this test will help indicating how framing influence associations, labeling and organization.

3. *Meaning*: The final test investigates the implication of each item in the eyes of the readers. After the classification procedure, we will use a questionnaire in which each respondent will be asked to assign meaning and significance to what they managed to remember and categorize. They will have to attribute both descriptive and normative meaning to each item (what it is and what it should be), and how can this meaning be realized (Snow and Benford, 1988; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

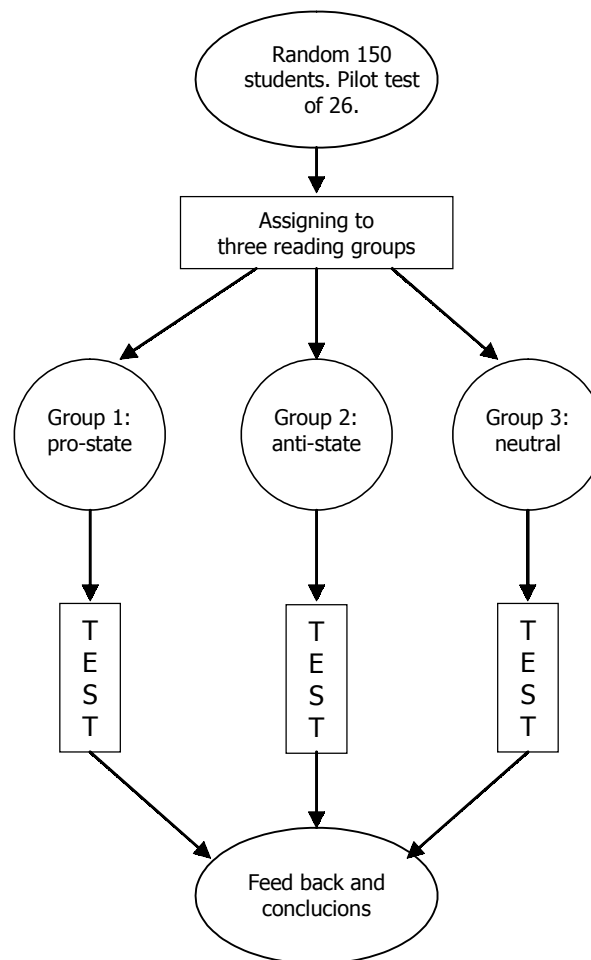Figure number 1 illustrates the experimental design:

Figure 1: The Experimental Design

We started up with a trial run of 26 respondents. We wanted to verify the reliability and validity of the framed texts, as well as the three assignments. We also sought to assess whether the handling of the text was too crude and thus, easily traced by readers. Lastly, we wanted to ascertain whether the questionnaires really gauge what they are supposed to and that the variance in response is due to differences of interpretation and understanding and not due to the ambiguity of the questions (Polit, 1996)[1]. Two statistical software are used to process the data obtained: SPSS and ANTHROPAC. The latter

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1. We used two different reliability tests: the Cronbach alpha at 0.70 and the Guttman Split-Half method at 0.61

is useful for classification of the research participants according to the ways they categorize the various information items provided by us during the second phase of the measurement – the categorization test.[1] The preliminary findings are introduced at the end of each test. But due to the modest sample of the initial experiment, we point out early suppositions wit humble regard of statistical significance.

IV.   Processing And Analyzing The Data

The *Recall* Test – comprises of those text items participants were asked to provide (a maximum of 10). We intended to code those items according to the various texts read by the different groups (pro-state, anti-state, neutral) together with the specific text items a given participants recalled. In addition to counting the text items each participant recalled, we payed careful attention to those items coded as "pro-Palestinian state," "anti-Palestinian state," and "neutral," as can be seen in table 1.

Participant No.	Participant group affiliation	"pro-state"	"neutral"	"anti-state"	Total items recalled
Participant 1	Group 1	5 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	4 (0.4)	10
Participant 2	Group 3	2 (0.25)	5 (0.63)	1 (0.12)	8
Participant 3	Group 2	4 (0.66)	2 (0.33)	0 (0)	6
Participant 4	Group 3	0 (0)	7 (0.77)	2 (0.22)	9

* Values in parentheses represent the relative weight of recalled items (e.g. 4 out of 6 equals to 0.66).

Table 1: Coding of Items Recalled

Two closely related questions come to mind. The first and more general question is whether those who were exposed to a thematically structured text would indeed recall more items than those exposed to episodically structured text. Concomitantly, we ask whether those participants exposed to a "pro-Palestinian state" would recall more items coded as "pro state" than participants exposed to the other two types of text.

In order to answer these questions, we calculated the relative weight for the number of answers each participant gave within a given category. For example, the first participant in the above figure provided five out of ten items coded as "pro state" for which the relative weight is 0.5. We follow the same calculation for the other participants within each category. The final product constituted three scales, one for each category, ranging from 0.0 (zero items recalled) to 1.0 (ten items recalled in a given category). Next, we performed several one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) for testing statistically significant variance among the readers of the various types of text (our independent variable, namely, the frame in each text) pertaining to the scale mean calculated for each category in the dependent variable, that is, participants' ability to recall and comprehend the items.

The more general question of whether or not readers of a thematically structured text recalled more items than recalled by readers in a non-structured text is addressed by an analysis of variance as well. This time the dependent variable is not a calculated mean scale for a given text type from the relative weights, rather it is the sum of items participants recalled (the last column in table 2). As such, this scale will range from zero (no item) to ten (ten items recalled). Here too, we tested for significant difference among participants from the various groups and sum of items they recalled.

Preliminary Findings: Inspecting the findings from a bi-variate distribution and the three analyses of variance reveals interesting patterns.[2] Our first question: whether those participants who read a thematic text would recall more items than those who read structured text – receive a clear-cut answer. Participants who were exposed to the latter recalled more items than those who were exposed to a non-structured text. Strikingly, despite the

small sample, the differences between the group means turned out to be statistically significant at the level of 95% (f=4.26; df=2; p=.02). An illustration of this pattern is seen in Figure 2-a.

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1. ANTHROPAC is designed for data collection and analysis. It allows the use of both qualitative and quantitative data and the performance of descriptive and inferential statistics such as pile-sorting and cluster analysis.
2. Prior to the actual coding of the items recalled we carefully went over various possibilities and decided whether they would be coded as pro-state, anti-state or neutral. Whenever we confronted a lack of agreement over the actual coding of a specific recalled item we used the textual context as the criterion upon which a decision was reached at. Lastly, a given item was counted only when it had been recalled in high level of accuracy. For example, we counted "road map plan" (originally "road map") yet rejected "occupation is undesired…future generations" (originally "it is not right for Israel to maintain the occupation over three and a half millions Palestinians."
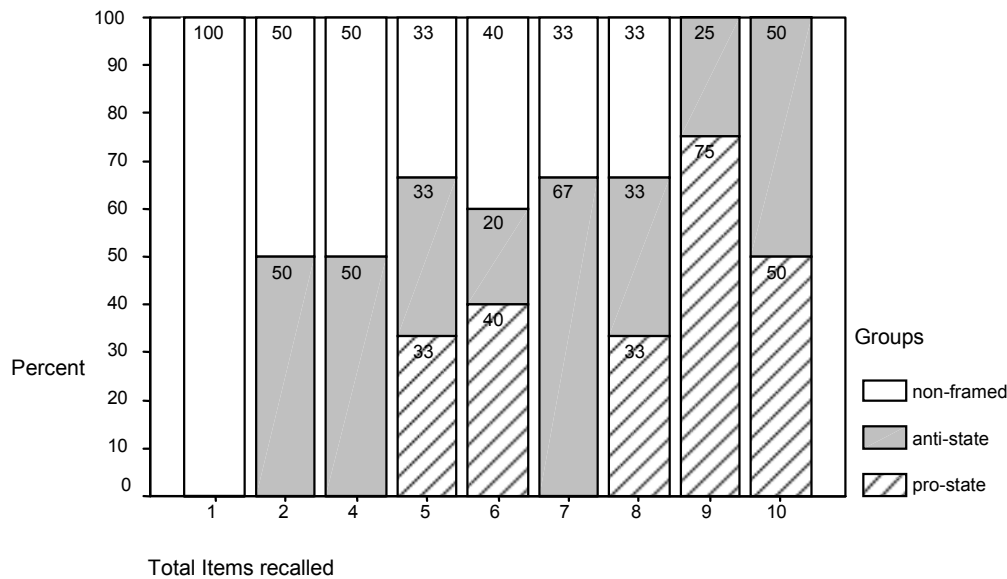
Figure 2-a: The Distribution between Group Affiliation and Total Items Recalled

Our second question, whether participants who read a specific text recalled more items pertaining to their version than participants who read the two other texts. As can be seen in Figure 2-b, summarizing the results from the analysis of variance performed for each of the three items scale, while it is possible to detect a crude pattern, it is less obvious compared to the first question. Recall that each items scale ranges from 0.0 to 1.0, calculated by the relative weight of the number of items coded as, for example, anti-state of the total items recalled for a given participant.

Group	Pro-state Scale Mean /ANOVA 1	Anti-state Scale Mean /ANOVA 2	Neutral Scale Mean /ANOVA 3
Pro-state	.36	.23	.39
Anti-state	.26	.33	.39
Neutral	.49	.18	.31
F	2.57	2.60	.49
Sig.	.09	.09	.61
LSD[a]	Neutral and Anti-state – p<.05	Neutral and Anti-state – p<.05	

a. LSD is considered as a fairly liberal POST HOC test. A larger sample size would necessitate a more conservative test such as Tukey.

Figure 2-b: Groups by Scale Means

Again, while the difference among the group means is not statistically significant, an interesting pattern seems to surface nonetheless. Whereas the *pro-state* mean is higher than the *anti-state* mean in the case of participants from the *pro-state* group, the neutral scale mean is higher than both, which seems to contradict our expectation that participants who read the episodic text would receive a lower scale mean compared with participants who were exposed to thematic text. Comparing across the columns, it seems that this pattern is consistent. A simple explanation to this pattern is that neutrality over the issue of a Palestinian state in the context of the Israeli society is far from being the case; it is almost unrealistic to expect Israeli citizens to be indifferent to such an issue. The fact the neutral scale mean is the lowest across the three groups coupled with the fact no POST HOC test came out statistically significant, strengthens our proposed explanation. For our purpose, the difference between participants who read the two thematic texts is indicative. Clearly, participants who read a *pro-state* text recalled more pro-state items, and participants who read *anti-state* text recalled more anti-state items. The difference between *within* group variance and *between* groups variance is less distinct in the case of participants who read a neutral text.

The *Categorization* Test

In the ultimate experiment, the gathered data from the categorization test will be analyzed using ANTHROPAC. The categorization test asks the participants to classify information items provided by us, according to various categories. There are no predetermined categories. Rather, the participants put together categories of items associated together according to their own independent judgment. The test is designed to examine the extent of similarity and/or lack of similarity among the clusters constructed by participants in the three separate groups. We ask whether it is possible to detect similar patterns of cluster construction among participants within a given group, and are these patterns distinctively differ from those made by participants from the other groups. Our hypothesis claimed that if readers of the same group similarly categorize disparate items together in a significantly different manner than other groups, it was owing to the framed text they read.

The analysis requires the organization of data in their respective categories. This method of classification is done using a *co-occurrence matrix* (Coxson, 1999). A co-occurrence matrix reflects myriad of items combination possibilities based on the memory of each participant. A particular informative item is represented by the intersection of column and row in a symmetrical matrix. Whenever an informative item in a given column and an informative item in a given row were put into the same category, the intersection (a cell in the matrix) is marked "1." If the same two informative items are not part of a category the cell in the matrix is marked as "0." For example, if a given participant chose to associate together "terrorist acts" (item 1) and "existential threat" (item 2) in the same category, yet "economic growth" (item 3) in a different category, the intersection cell of item 1 and item 2 will get "1", and "0" in the intersection cell of item 1 and item 3.

The patterns of categories construction by the participants are read gradually and cumulatively into the matrix, where each cell contains the mode of intersection occurrences of the various informative items. In a situation where all participants, say, from the "anti state" group associated "terrorist acts" with "existential threat" together while none associated "terrorist acts" with "economic growth," we would get thirty co-occurrences in the intersection cell for "terrorist acts" and "existential threat" as is the number of participants in the group. We would get, however, "0" in the intersection cell for "terrorist acts" with "economic growth," as not one participant in the group associated the two items. Table 2 illustrates this process.

	Terrorist acts	Existential threat	Economic growth	Military collaboration
Terrorist acts				0
Existential threat	1/1/1/1/1/…30			1
Economic growth	0			0/1
Military collaboration				

Table 2: Co-Occurrences Matrix

Three matrices were constructed, one for each group. Each contains the different classifications conducted by all participants in a given group as they are aggregated to form the total classifications for the group. Each cell in the matrix represented the mode- the numbers of occurrences two informative items were associated together in the same category.

The analysis of the matrices will be conducted using additional two statistical procedures: Cluster Analysis (CA) and Multi Dimensional Scaling (MDS). CA inductively detects groupings of cases in the data, in our case groupings among informative items. MDS adds to this process by locating every item on a multi dimensional space, thereby allowing additional visualization of the categorization patterns. Of the various groupings, formation of clusters, methods in CA we will use Hierarchical Clustering which is appropriate for analyzing category classifications (Coxon, 1999) as is the case here. In this method, clustering begins by finding the closest pair of cases according to a distance measure and combines them to form a cluster. The algorithm continues one-step at a time, joining pairs of cases, pairs of clusters, or a case with a cluster, until all the data are in one cluster. The clustering steps are displayed in an icicle plot or tree (dendrogram). The method is hierarchical because once two clusters are joined, they remain together until the final step.[1]

Finally, we intend to examine the total categorizations conducted by participants in each group (a MDS for each matrix) and accumulated into the co-occurrences matrix, while trying to detect meaningful and discernable dimensions in the way informative items are scattered over a space. The idea is that these dimensions will be useful in reflecting the similarity and dissimilarity (the distance) observed among the categorized informative items. MDS organizes data in a pre-specified number of dimensions, three in our case, in an attempt to examine the extent to which distances between items can be reproduced within a given configuration formed. Similar to CA, MDS uses algorithm for assessing possible configurations such that the configuration that better reflects the gathering of data is chosen. In other words, the more discernable dimensions gleaned from the scattered data better the fit between the configuration and the observed distances is.

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1. Several techniques in hierarchical method exist, which differ in the calculation of the distance between each pair of cases and/ or clusters. The convention, which we plan to follow, is to use at least two techniques for minimizing the possible influence of a given technique on the final clustering.

Figure 4 demonstrates the configuration of cases in a three dimensions MDS. In our example, based on data from the Minorities at Risk, 2002), the level of practicing freedom of expression in three distinct religions, hence three dimensions, is examined. As can be seen, in two dimensions, Islam and Buddhism, a discernable gathering of cases is formed.
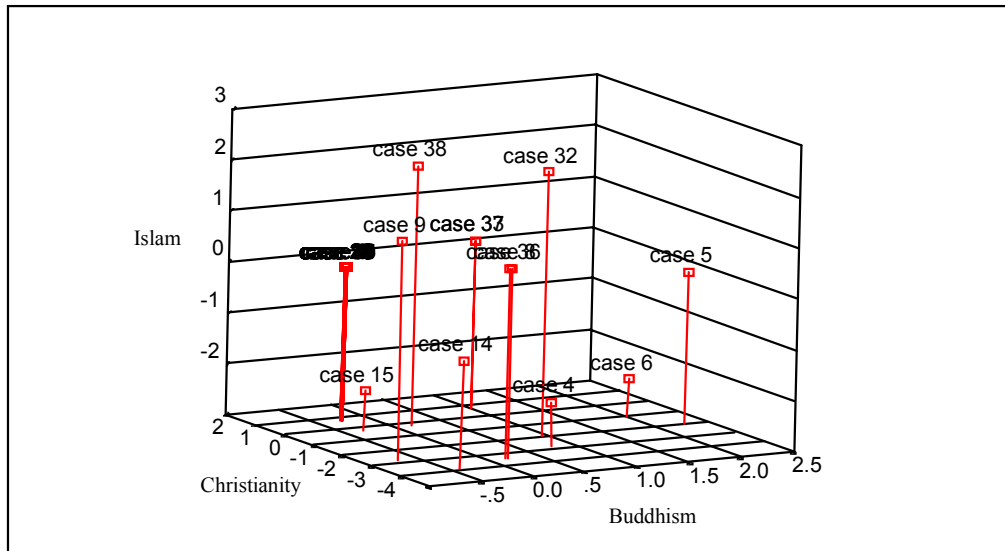

Figure 4: MDS configuration

Preliminary Findings: Due to the small sample, we conducted only the manual run of the co-occurrence matrices. Respondents were given 15 items from all versions of the text. We counted how many times pro, anti and neutral items were batched together. Then we inspected the various combinations made by each group. We hypothesized that among the *pro-state* readers more combinations of items favoring this condition would be found, while hybrids of pro and anti items lumped together, would be rare. We expected an opposite trend with the *anti-state* readers. The matrices created 105 cells (15 cells at the horizontal axis times 15 cells at the vertical axis divided by two due to the symmetry and subtracting the 15 cells in which each item crosses with itself), where each cell holds the choices of each member in a group. The multiplication of the cell number with the readers number supplies the general number of entries in each matrix. Within this general figure the anti-anti, pro-pro, neutral-pro, neutral-anti and neutral-neutral cells can be identified (see appendix number 4). Out of the 26 readers, eight were *pro-state*, nine were *anti-state* and nine read a frame-less piece. Of the fifteen items supplied to them, nine were defined as pro-items, four as anti-items and two neutral. In the combinations analysis some interesting patterns were detected:

In the *pro-state* group a full consensus was formed only once, when all eight members matched the item "improving the Israeli economy" with "progress in the political process". Despite the internal logic this nexus presents, in the neutral group only five members (55%) put them together, while in the *anti-state* group only four (44%). Thus, it is probable that the structured framing favoring a Palestinian State influenced the pro-sate readers in their categorization routine more than those who weren't exposed to the same version of the text.

On the other side of the combinations spectrum, there were nine cells in both framed text groups, with the value zero. In other words, nine potential combinations of items were not paired by anyone. However, there was a difference: while in the *pro-state* group six of these cases (66%) were pro and anti items meetings and the other three diffused among the rest of the potential options, among the *anti-state* readers the "zero-cases" were divided equally between anti-pro meetings and the other matching possibilities. The consistency revealed in the categorization of the *pro-state* readers is evident relative to their counterparts. Among the no-frame readers thirteen "zero-cases" were detected, whereby ten cases (77%) were pro-anti combinations. It is likely that they were more restrained in classifying items due to the lack of guiding framing in their text. On the other hand, the same absence of directives might have enabled more flexibility of interpretation because among the no-frame readers the number of cells in which most respondents (five to seven) matched items together is twice as high as in the two framed-text groups. Whereas in the neutral group twenty cells received the value of 1(for positive matching) from the majority of the group, only ten cells of the *pro-state* and eleven cells of the *anti-state* gathered similar support. This finding demonstrates the limited leeway the structured text readers have had trying to understand the meaning of the items. They were categorizing items in a more concise and concentrated fashion while the no-frame text readers were more experimental and speculative in their ordering.

One result that does not support our assumption is disclosed in the *anti-state* matrix. Out of 54 possible cases of anti-anti pairing, a match we assumed would be solidly identified by readers of text offending a Palestinian State, only ten cases were marked as 1, that is, a mere 18.5% of that group referred anti-state items to the same category. By comparison, in the *pro-state* group, out of the 288 cases (36 cells X 8 participants), in 114 of them (39.5%) pro items were arranged together. This disparity might stem from the different interpretation the *anti-state* readers gave to some of their items. As described in appendix 2, some of the items given to respondents might be perceived as ambivalent. It is plausible that owing to the negative perspective in the *anti-state* text, some of the items were understood by readers of that group in an adverse way to what we had intended. For example, the item *freeze on settlements*, mentioned in the text with regard to the conditions of advancing the peace process, and thus, emphasized by us as a pro-state item, might be perceived in a text hostile to withdrawal as having a negative and menacing meaning, hence consequently marked as an anti item. Selecting the items in this test becomes, therefore, a highly responsible task.

The *Meaning* Test

The third test is the test of meaning, or the test of the ultimate comprehension. At this stage we handed out another questionnaire, in which respondents were asked how they understood and analyzed the significance and relevance of each remembered item, both descriptively and normatively, and how was it possible to realize this meaning. Each question in the questionnaire is a research variable, and the statistical procedures to be implemented hinge upon the measurement level. Following this logic, cross-tabulation is used to investigate the relation between various meanings assigned to each question and the affiliation to a particular reading group. This statistical technique allows us, for example, to examine the affinity between the meaning allotted to the variable "the importance of reciprocity in the negotiations with the Palestinians" and the belonging to a specific group, for instance the *pro-state* group: How was the answer affected by the exclusive material that group was appointed to read. Such patterns of association may be analyzed according to the socio-demographic data we obtained in a preliminary questionnaire. Thus, it can be asked whether the relation discovered between the meaning given to, for example, the variable "economic growth as a result of an independent Palestinian state" and a reader of a certain framed text is due to the respondent's area of residence or her involvement in politics. Finally, we used appropriate association tests and criteria to measure the statistical significance of our initial assumption, that framing in and of a text influences the comprehension of the material.

Preliminary Findings: What was the meaning attached by participants from the various groups to the multiple statements/ questions? Is it possible to detect discernable patterns regarding the relationship between the participant's group and the level of importance granted to a statement such as *"A Palestinian territorial continuity is not an existential threat to Israel"*? As can be seen in Figure 5-a, a general pattern in support of our hypothesis surfaced. It seems that while the majority of participants who read a *pro-state* text are divided between "approval" and "approval/disapproval" of such a statement, among those participants who read an *anti-state* text the category "disapproval" dominates.
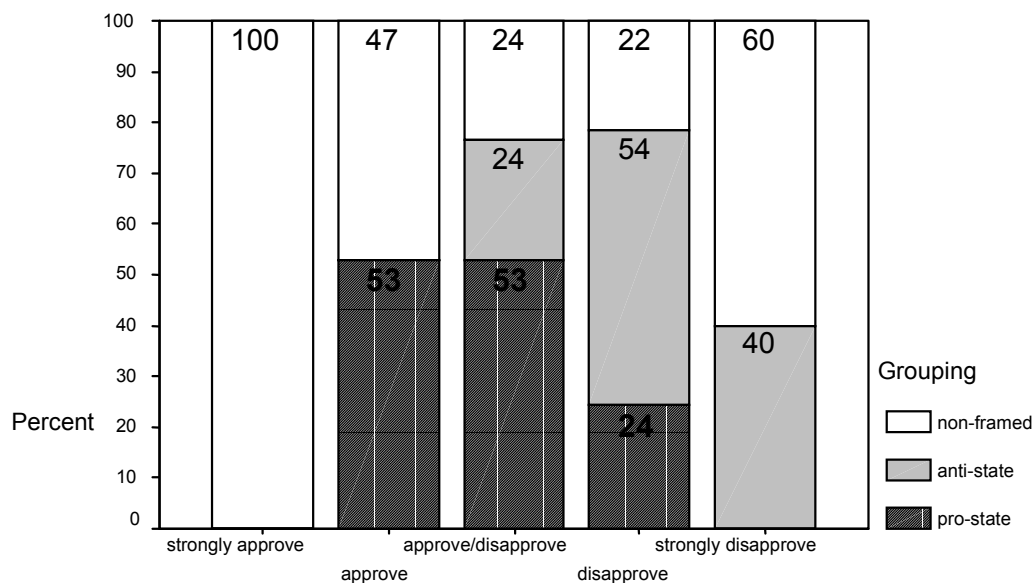

Figure 5-a: Level of Territorial Continuity Threat to Israel by Group Affiliation

Examining the relationship between group affiliation and level of agreement with the statement *"US Involvement is Detrimental to the Resolution of the Conflict"* produced less clear-cut findings. Whereas the *pro-state* text portrayed the US administration involvement in a more positive manner and as crucial to the implementation of the Road Map, the *anti-state* text emphasized the US administration in general and President Bush's lack of genuine interest and commitment to the situation in the region. The neutral text provided an informative coverage pertaining to the US involvement.
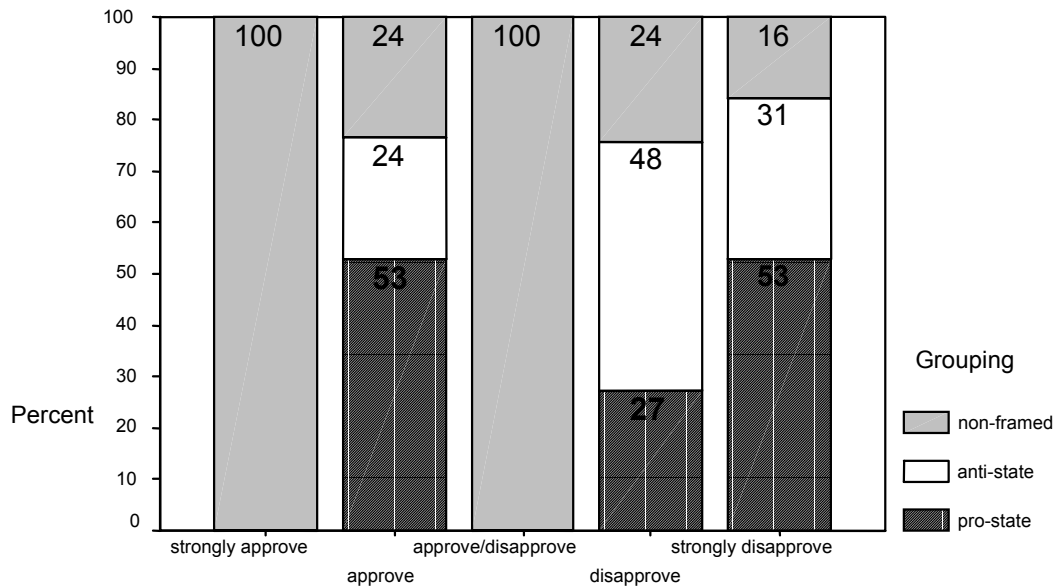

Figure 5-b: Detrimental US Involvement by Group Affiliation

Evidently, and as hypothesized, readers of the neutral text were the only ones who "approve/disapprove" with the statement; unexpectedly they are also the only ones who "strongly approve" of the statement that US involvement is detrimental to resolution of the conflict. Such a mixed pattern surfaced with readers of the pro-state text as well. It seems that *pro-state* readers dominate in both "strongly disapprove" category (as expected) and, unexpectedly, "approve" category. It is possible to argue that such a mixed pattern can be representing of the lack of a straightforward US policy in regard to involvement in the conflict and, arguably, a widespread notion held by many Israelis that US involvement is not necessarily beneficial to promoting a resolution to the conflict.

Finally, for capturing the general pattern of the relationship between group affiliation and the meaning attached to the ten statements all together we structured an index. The index represents a continuum ranging from "complete agreement" (designated by 10 – pro-state text) to "complete disagreement" (designated by 50 – anti-state text). Figure 5-c presents the descriptive findings of the ANOVA used for testing the possibility of a discernable difference between participants' group affiliation and their index's grades.

Descriptives

assignment index: Low=pro/high=anti

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
pro-state	8	23.63	4.207	1.487	20.11	27.14	16	28
anti-state	9	25.56	5.028	1.676	21.69	29.42	19	33
non-framed	9	30.00	4.444	1.481	26.58	33.42	24	39
Total	26	26.50	5.171	1.014	24.41	28.59	16	39

Figure 5-c: Group Affiliation by Index's Characteristics

Comparing between the mean values of *pro-state* and *anti-state* readers, it seems our hypothesis that readers of a *pro-state* text would tend to attach higher importance to the various statements, hence the relatively closer mean value to 10 (23.6) than readers of the *anti-state* text (25.5). This result is further strengthened by the minimum and maximum values

range for each group: *pro-state* readers do not exceed 30 (16---28) whereas *anti-state* readers are relatively closer to the "complete disagreement" pole (19---33). We do not see these results as fully supporting our hypothesis regarding a far more distinct differentiation between readers of the structured texts. A developing pattern, however, exists, as is demonstrated also by the index grade of readers of the non-structured text, which is congruent with our hypothesis.

V.   Conclusions

Our point of departure has been the communication between the disseminators of political messages and their audiences. Political mobilization and activism necessitate a meaningful interaction between leaders and led. This contact is enhanced and secured once elites guarantee that their messages are appropriately understood by followers. Our research offers an experimental model to answer two questions: 1) How is a political text comprehended by a target audience, and how, as a result of such understanding, readers make sense of their environment? And 2) Who disseminates the messages and how do political alternatives conveyed to the readers? How is the public informed of the political agenda and is he equally and fairly updated regarding possible solutions? Is there a 'winning formula', capable of capturing the public's attention and manipulate its conception and knowledge? If there is one, what are its characteristics? The connection between the message sender and receiver brings out the notion of framing and the way it unites the intentions of the leader and the needs and conclusions of the adherent. The model is realized through framing notions and interpretations on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, more specifically, the possibility of an independent Palestinian state. We asked the research participants to express their opinion regarding such a state. We were measuring the association between their responses and the material they read. We wanted to find out to what extent their opinion was shaped by the frames concealed in the text.

Several conclusions and lessons emerge from our preliminary experiment and three tests:

1. In the first test, the memory test, we assumed that the readers who were exposed to a structured text would recall more items than those who read unstructured text. Moreover, we hypothesized that the type of items recalled would be stipulated by the kind of group they were assigned to (*pro-state* members remembering *pro-state* items and so forth). The results show that, indeed, there is a significant variance between the groups in the *amount* of items recalled, and that the framed-text groups remembered more. The *nature* of items recalled also confirmed with the different versions of texts, but to a lesser extent.
2. In the second test, the categorization test, we surmised that similar patterns of categorization might be found among members of certain groups, and that these patterns would be significantly different from other groups. The results prove us right, though to a milder extent than expected. Each of the structured text groups indeed emphasized its respective items but there were some items that were evenly classified by both teams. This is attributed to items, which might have been interpreted as either pro or anti state. In any case, the framed text groups were more assertive and clear in their matching than the non-framed text readers. The latter, as we suspected, classified their items randomly and unguided.
3. In the meaning test we attempted to detect an association between the meaning readers assigned to statements and the version of text they read. For example, we assumed that a statement such as *"A Palestinian territorial continuity is not an existential threat to Israel"* would be strongly objected by the *anti-state* group. This assumption gains some support, albeit not as decisive as we had expected. Along a general index of agreement or no agreement with the assertions, the distinction between the no frame text readers to the framed text readers was more noticed than in between the two opposing framed texts.

In summation, our research uses the challenge of an independent Palestinian state to find out to what degree the opinion building process can be swayed or meddled with when inculcating texts with conscious and intentional frames. As we plan to expand the scope of this research, our attention is focused on three points: 1) Items selected for categorization must be unambiguous and clear-cut. 2) A change of topic might be considered. Comprehension might be affected by the acuteness and prevalence of a subject. In our study, the existence of a Palestinian State is critical in the minds of many Israelis. Thus, their opinion might have been forged by prior notion rather than framing. A less vulnerable topic may be more constructive. 3) Finally, an accurate prediction of opinion change is difficult to obtain in a single reading session. A more reliable expectation of opinion changing might be based on several rounds of exposure to texts and repeated testing. This type of panel research may give more validity to our preliminary findings.

This research might have long-range implications beyond indicating the nexus between manipulating a text and the comprehension of its readers. The suggestions and conclusions elaborated here can be incorporated into a broader research agenda, which deals with issues such as: authority and legitimacy (how do leaders lead, why do adherents follow?), recruitment and mobilization (how to animate and stimulate crowds?), political activism (how to elicit loyalty, commitment and willing to sacrifice?), propaganda and incitement (how to sway opinions and positions?), and from there, to even larger scaled explorations into the political, psychological and structural dimensions of regimes, political parties and social movements. If, indeed, this heuristic project holds the genetic code of understanding these central phenomena, then the road ahead is long and onerous but duly invigorating as well.

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Appendix I: Three Versions of Text

THE GOVERNMENT RATIFIED THE ROAD MAP: AGREED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE
Nathan Guttman and Arnon Regular

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon will meet the Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmud Abbas to discuss the implementation of the first phase of the Road Map, which means a principled Israeli acceptance of a Palestinian State and the freezing of all Jewish settlements.

The government ratified the Road Map yesterday with a 12 to 7 majority. Four ministers abstained. Against the Road Map were ministers Landau, Katz and Scheransky and all the NRP and National Unity ministers. Netanyahu, Livnat, Naveh and Hanegbi abstained.

Before the vote Sharon said: A Palestinian State is not my life dream, but looking ahead, it is not right for Israel to rule three and a half million Palestinians. As one who knows every mountain and hill, I am familiar with the ideology, but we must seek a solution for future generations.

Sharon clarified in the outset of the deliberations, that lasted six hours, that the fourteen reservations Israel submitted to the American administration are 'red-lines' in realizing the plan. He added that as we progress in the political path, the economic situation would improve.

Abu Maazen's reacted: " the ratification of the Road Map is an important and positive first step but the real test is the implementation of the entire plan. The Israeli reservations are not part of the Map and therefore, irrelevant to its implementation. In addition, they are unacceptable to the Palestinians.

The American administration praised the Israeli decision. The spokesperson of President bush, who vacationed in his Texas ranch, said that this was an important move forward. The spokesperson added that "they were expecting to work with all parties in the region to realize the vision of peace President bush presented in his June 24 speech".

Version 1: The Non-Framed Text

THE GOVERNMENT RATIFIED THE ROAD MAP: AGREED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE
Nathan Guttman and Arnon Regular

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon will meet Abu-Maazen, the Palestinian Prime Minister to discuss the implementation of the first phase of the Road Map, which means a principled Israeli acceptance of a Palestinian State and the freezing of all Jewish settlements.

Big majority in the Government
The government ratified the Road Map yesterday with a 12 to 7 majority. Four ministers abstained. Against the Road Map were ministers Landau, Katz and Scheransky and all the NRP and National Unity ministers. Netanyahu, Livnat, Naveh and Hanegbi abstained.

Abu Maazen: The Ratification- An Important First Step
Palestinian Prime Minister Abu Maazen's reacted: " the ratification of the Road Map is an important and positive first step but the real test is the implementation of the entire plan. The Israeli reservations are not part of the Map and therefore, irrelevant to its implementation. In addition, they are unacceptable to the Palestinians.

Sharon: A Solution for Future Generations
Before the vote Sharon said: A Palestinian State is not my life dream, but looking ahead, it is not right for Israel to rule three and a half million Palestinians. As one who knows every mountain and hill, I am familiar with the ideology, but we must seek a solution for future generations. Sharon clarified in the outset of the deliberations, that lasted six hours, that the fourteen reservations Israel submitted to the American administration are 'red-lines' in realizing the plan. He added that as we progress in the political path, the economic situation would improve.

President Bush Praised the Decision
The American administration praised the Israeli decision. The spokesperson of President bush, who vacationed in his Texas ranch, said that this was an important move forward. The spokesperson added that "they were expecting to work with all parties in the region to realize the vision of peace President bush presented in his June 24 speech".

Version 2: The Pro-State Text

THE GOVERNMENT RATIFIED THE ROAD MAP: AGREED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE
Nathan Guttman and Arnon Regular

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon will meet Abu Maazen the Palestinian Prime Minister, to discuss the implementation of the first phase of the Road Map, which means an Israeli acceptance of a Palestinian State and the freezing of settlements.

Almost Half the Government did not Support the Decision
The government ratified the Road Map yesterday with a 12 to 7 majority. Four ministers abstained. Against the Road Map were ministers Landau, Katz and Scheransky and all the NRP and National Unity ministers. Netanyahu, Livnat, Naveh and Hanegbi abstained.

Sharon: Not My Life Dream
Before the vote Sharon said: A Palestinian State is not my life dream, but looking ahead, it is not right for Israel to rule three and a half million Palestinians. As one who knows every mountain and hill, I am familiar with the ideology, but we must seek a solution for future generations. Sharon clarified in the outset of the deliberations, that lasted six hours, that the fourteen reservations Israel submitted to the American administration are 'red-lines' in realizing the plan. He added that

as we progress in the political path, the economic situation would improve.

Abu Maazen: Israel's Reservations Irrelevant
Abu Maazen said that the ratification of the Road Map is an important and positive first step but the real test is the implementation of the entire plan. He added that the Israeli reservations are not part of the Map and therefore, irrelevant to its implementation. In addition, they were unacceptable to the Palestinians.

President Bush Vacationing In Texas
The American administration praised the Israeli decision. The spokesperson of President bush, who vacationed in his Texas ranch, said that this was an important move forward. The spokesperson added that they were expecting to work with all parties in the region to realize the vision of peace President bush presented in his June 24 speech.

Version 3: The Anti-State Text

Appendix II: Demographic Distributions

Gender:

male	8
Female	18

Political Stands:

right	6
center	9
left	8
other	3

Ethnicity:

Sepharadic	16
ashkenazi	6
mixed	1
Ethiopian	1
Russian	1
Other	1

Political Interest:

Very interested	6
Interested	12
mild interest	7
uninterested	1

General Family Income:

Up to 5000 Shekels	1
Between 50000 and 10000	9
Between 10000 and 15000	9
Between 15000 and 20000	3
Between 20000 and 25000	1
Above 25000	2

Appendix III: The Pre-Test Questionnaire

Name (optional) _____

1.   Code number _____

Part A: General information

2.   Respondent's Age? _____
3.   Gender
    1. Female

    2. Male
4. How would you define your political views in issues of foreign and defense policies?
    1. Extreme right
    2. Right
    3. Center
    4. Left
    5. Extreme left
    9. Irrelevant
5. Place of domicile?
    1. Golan
    2. Galilee
    3. Haifa and vicinity
    4. Israel valley
    5. Jerusalem and vicinity
    6. Gush Dan
    7. Negev
    8. Arava
    9. Coast plane
    10. Gaza Strip
    99. Other _____
6. Ethnic identity?
    1. Sephardic
    2. Ashkenazi
    3. Mixed
    4. Ethiopian
    5. Russian
    6. Israeli-Palestinian
    9. Other _____
7. Family global income (NIS)?
    1. Up to 5,000
    2. 5,000 to 10,000
    3. 10,000 to 15,000
    4. 15,000 to 20,000
    5. 20,000 to 25,000
    6. Above 25,000
8. Would you consider your personal Beliefs as?
    1. Traditional
    2. Secular
    3. Religious
9. Academic year?
    1. First year
    2. Second year
    3. Third Year
    9. Other _____

Part B: Before you are various questions meant to assess the level of your sociopolitical involvement and interest. For the purpose of our research we chose to focus on the Palestinian Israeli conflict as a representing sociopolitical issue.

10. To your opinion, is it important to be up to date with social and political issues?
    1. Highly important
    2. Important
    3. To a certain degree
    4. Slightly important
    5. Not important
11. What is your major source of information on social and political issues?
    1. Print media
    2. Electronic media
    3. Face-to-face communication
    9. Other _____

Of the various types of social and political activities, please state their relevancy to yourself during the last twelve months

	More than 3 times	Once or twice	One time	Not at all	No answer
12. Demonstration	1	2	3	4	9
13. Protest rally	1	2	3	4	9
14. Philanthropy	1	2	3	4	9
15. Community volunteering	1	2	3	4	9

16.   Did you vote in the last national election?
        1. Yes
        2. No
        9. No answer

Below are a number of positions on the Israeli Palestinian conflict regarding which you are aked to note the extent of your agreement:

	Strongly approve	Approve	Approve/ Disapprove	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	No answer
17. The "right of return" is the core of the conflict	1	2	3	4	5	9
18. A final agreement is preferable over an interim agreement	1	2	3	4	5	9
19. No necessary link between economic growth and political settlement	1	2	3	4	5	9
20. Returning to the 1967 borders will enable a stable resolution	1	2	3	4	5	9
21. Palestinians are incapable of handling their own affairs	1	2	3	4	5	9
22. Palestinian territorial continuity is not a threat to Israel	1	2	3	4	5	9
23. No resemblance between Israeli 1948 war of independence and the Intifada	1	2	3	4	5	9
24. Resolution to the conflict will come about only through political settlement	1	2	3	4	5	9
25. The Palestinian Israeli conflict is Religious in essence	1	2	3	4	5	9
26. The "Eretz Israel" vision is no more relevant	1	2	3	4	5	9

Appendix IV: The co-occurence matrix – the pro-state group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1		0/1/0/0/1/0/1/1	0/1/1/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/1/1/0/0/0/0	1/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/1/0/0/0	1/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/1/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/1/0/0/1/0	0/1/1/1/0/0/1/1	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/0/0/0/1/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/1	0/1/1/0/1/0/1/1
2			0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/1/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/1/1	0/1/1/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/1/0/0/0/0/0	1/0/0/0/0/1/0/0	1/1/0/1/1/1/0/1	0/1/0/0/1/0/1/1
3				1/1/1/1/1/1/1/1	0/1/0/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/1/0	0/1/0/0/0/1/0/0	1/1/0/0/1/0/0/0	1/1/0/1/0/0/0/1	1/1/1/0/0/1/0/0	1/1/0/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/1/1/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/1	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/1/1/1/0/1/1/0/0
4					0/1/0/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/1/0	0/1/0/0/0/1/0/0	1/1/0/1/1/0/1/0	1/1/0/1/0/0/1/0	1/1/1/0/0/1/0/0	1/0/0/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/1/1/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/1/1	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/1/1/1/0/1/0/0
5						0/0/1/0/0/0/0/0	1/1/1/0/1/1/1/0	0/1/1/0/0/0/1	0/1/1/0/1/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/1/1/0/0	0/1/0/1/1/1/0	1/0/0/0/1/1/1/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/1/1/0
6							0/0/1/1/0/0/0/1	0/0/1/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/1/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/1	0/0/0/1/1/0/1/1	1/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0
7								0/1/1/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/1/0/1/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/1/1/0/0	0/1/0/0/1/1/1/1	1/0/0/1/1/1/1/1	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/1/1/0
8									1/1/1/0/0/0/1/0	1/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/1/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/0	1/1/0/0/0/0/0/0
9										1/1/0/0/1/0/0	1/1/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/1	0/1/0/0/0/0/0	1/1/0/1/0/0/0
10											1/1/0/0/1/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/1/1/0/0	0/0/0/1/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/0/1	1/1/1/0/0/1/1/1
11												0/0/1/0/0/1/1/1	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/1/0/0/0/0/1/0	1/1/0/0/0/1/1/0
12													0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/1/1/0
13														1/0/0/0/0/1/0/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0
14															0/1/0/0/1/0/0/1
15															

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