

**Media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict:
A Supervised Machine Learning Approach**

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ABSTRACT

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the conflicts which has most polarized political and media circles. The latest contributions in this regard indicate that the Spanish press reports unevenly the Palestinian and Israeli reality. Since the beginning of this century, media and conflict research has brought five generic and recurring framings in every armed confrontation: conflict, humanitarian consequences, responsibility, economy and morality. However, security framing has been very present in the news coverage of wars, especially since the beginning of the so-called war on terror which arose after the 9/11 attacks. Through quantitative research techniques, Support Vector Machines (SVM), will study the weight of *security* and *human drama* frames in the Spanish press over the past 19 years. It has been concluded that coverage has shown significant differences and that, while there is a strong correlation between Hamas and *security frame*, this does not occur in the case of Hamas and conflict.

KEYWORDS: framing, conflict, human drama, security, Palestine, Israel

ÍNDICE

Introduction and literature review	7
Methodology and research design	10
Analysis	12
Conclusions.....	17

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is probably one of the most important conflicts within the media due to its longevity and political implications. Although, in recent years it could have been overshadowed by serious humanitarian crises and the consolidation of international terrorist groups, as is the case of conflicts in Syria, Yemen, or Iraq. Despite the evolution of conflicts in the Middle East, where new concepts are more present in documents of security and defense, such as the one of a gray zone (Jordán, 2018), classic guidelines continue to be repeated. In this sense, the statement made by the Israeli scholar Dov Shinar (1993) more than two decades ago could be reaffirmed: «Cultural wars, like those in the Middle East, are different from classical conflicts in at least three dimensions: deepness, time and space» (58).

This conflict is a classic topic in the international sections of the main media around the world. The media dynamics of the beginning of the century which have covered the conflict emphasized certain trends which seem to be reported today: an oversized coverage, which is especially focused on violent episodes, making it difficult to understand (Álvarez-Ossorio, 2003: 163- 164), and a distorted perception of the daily Israeli-Palestinian reality shared among the public opinion (Philo and Berry, 2004; 2007). Consequently, the strong discrepancies which arise around the conflict are logical and have the potential to conditionate foreign policy depending on the party and the ruling leader (Álvarez-Ossorio, 2019).

Out of Israel and the Palestinian Territories, the marked polarization in relation to the conflict is strongly characterized by the level of competition of political agendas which are transmitted to the international public opinion. In the USA, the progressive wing evidently focuses its discourse on the rejection of militaristic and interventionist policies, which explains anti-Israel rhetoric's (Appiah, 2016), meanwhile the conservative sectors predominantly underpin their argumentation on the instability of the region and the model of economic and social well-being of the West (Morris, 2019). As Córdoba-Hernández (2011: 155) indicates, this reality is also observed in Spain, where preconceived ideas about Israelis-Palestinians and Jews-Arabs exist among the population when they consult the media, specifically prejudices based on the violent content of the news rather than the emotional processes assigned to those involved in the conflict (Lobato et al, 2018). In consequence, the way in which some aspects and considerations stand out from others within a political debate (frames) is crucial to understand the audiences and their behaviors (Bartholomé et al, 2017)

Framing studies have centered the basis of the media image of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in recent years (Jungblut and Zakareviciute, 2019; Arnold, 2019; Wolfsfeld, 2018). Since the early 21st century, researches into the media and conflicts have provided five generic and recurring frames in relation to any armed confrontation: *conflict*, *humanitarian*

consequences, responsibility, economy, and morality (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Nevertheless, the *security frame* has been very common in media coverage of war, especially since the beginning of the so-called war on terror that arose after the 9/11 attacks (Ette and Joe, 2019). In the case discussed here, the latest contributions point to a certain media securitization of the conflict, especially on the role of Hamas, (Moreno-Mercado, 2018) despite the existing ideological polarization of the Spanish media (García-Marín et al, 2009).

These data are highly significant since investigations, such as those carried out by Nicolás-Gavilán (2013), indicate that the media treatment of this conflict has undergone substantial changes towards the so-called peace journalism within a recent context of media securitization of war conflicts (Moreno-Mercado, 2018; Ette and Joe, 2018). As the only studies on the Spanish coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict have addressed specific periods of time, the bibliography leads us to wonder how it has been in general.

The development of frames in the context of events related to international politics, considering armed conflicts as its greatest exponent, respond to a very specific logic. Despite the existing methodological fragmentation, at least one of the characteristics proposed by Robert Entman (1993)¹ is recognizable. Mainly giving the definition of the problem since there is no direct contact with the phenomenon addressed. These postulates explain why the utilization of frames is present in a similar manner in both the Spanish press and the constant citations to official sources despite the presence of correspondents in Palestinian and Israeli territory (Rodríguez-Esperanza and Humanes, 2017). However, the stance of the Spanish press diverges when it comes to dealing with specific events, such as the UN condemnations of Israel (De Pablos-Coello and Ardèvol-Abreu, 2009). Regardless of the origin of the media under analysis, scientific contributions suggest that the media often take a stand for one of the two main frames that Gamson (1992) already proposed almost thirty years ago: *Israeli expansionism* or *Arab intransigence*. A recent example of this point is the use of different terms to refer to the Israeli barrier in the West Bank, *security barrier* or *apartheid wall*, depending on the position to the conflict (Rogers and Ben-David, 2010).

¹ “Frames, then, define problems-determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values-; diagnose causes -identify the forces creating the problema-; make moral judgments -evaluate causal agents and their effects-; and suggest remedies -offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects-.”

As a consequence, it may be logical that the clashes that have divided the Palestinians and the Israelis have fostered the production of a vast amount of bibliography from diverse areas of the social sciences. That is the reason why the information management of this conflict has been mainly shaped from the historic (Basallote-Marín, 2019), journalistic (Zhran, 2015) or the political science (Jordán-Enamorado, 2015) points of view, among other disciplines. Interrelated conclusions emerge from all of them. On one hand, the late international recognition in 1986 promoted difficult diplomatic relationships with the State of Israel. On the other hand, there is a negative media image of the Jewish State for its military interventions, with the exception of conservative media sources that consider the Islamist sectors a stumbling block towards a definitive peace process.

In summary, the main objective of the present work is to analyze whether this increased presence of explanations associated with security occurs in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as it happens in other conflicts. Thus, the following research questions are presented:

RQ1: Has this securitization phenomenon occurred in the Spanish coverage of the conflict?

RQ2: Is the provided information more comprehensive during specific armed conflicts or throughout the whole period?

RQ3: How has the consideration of Hamas as a terrorist group impact that process?

RQ4: Do all the media report the case in a similar way?

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In essence, the prior research questions presuppose the existence of the *security* and *human drama frames* in the Spanish news coverage. Our initial hypothesis considers that the *security frame* should become more present as time passes (which would confirm the main assumption of securitization). For this reason, content analysis is emerging as the most appropriate technique in this case. Several factors were taken into account for the selection of the sample: first, the media should have a national scope and different ideological stances, so that it would be possible to explore if there were differences in coverage; second, they had to be written media, since they usually cover a wide range of international events and, also, they are indexed and available through different platforms; and third, they should be available during a long period of time, since it is the only way to distinguish significant changes in coverage without being affected by short-term variables (such as a specific conflict or event). As a result, *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* were finally chosen as we consider that these four newspapers meet the above mentioned conditions.

News have been extracted from *MyNews* database, which is very useful for collecting large amounts of journalistic texts. The search strings contained the following terms: *conflict**, *Palestine**, *Israel**, *Hamas**, and *war**. The asterisk (*) indicates the inclusion of derived words. Articles were downloaded both in written and online format. The content was obtained online using the *Rvest* (Wickham, 2016) package of R, which is very useful for working with web texts that use HTML and XML format. However, some difficulties were found when extracting articles published between 2001-2004 (especially from *El Mundo*) due to limitations of the database itself. Nonetheless, this database comprised enough articles at key moments during this period, although it would have been desirable to have had all of them.

As a result, we extracted 5740 units of analysis (articles). An amount of information of this size has required the design of a hybrid research strategy. Initially, we have applied traditional content analysis in 800 articles to locate the two frames (following Krippendorf, 1990) so that we could subsequently apply an automated procedure. The manual coding of the frames has been carried out as follows:

- *Security*: the presence of this frame encompasses all those narratives that affect the consequences of the conflict for security. It comprises the international positions of the actors, the political instability of both sides, diplomatic tensions and the regional consequences derived from the conflict.
- *Human Drama*: it represents a classic frame which is present in media and conflict studies. The presence of this frame is linked to the dramatic consequences of the conflict. These include the death of women and children, the murder of civilians, or the difficulties of the population facing certain health, movement and food restrictions, among others.

The software used for the automated analysis was Orange Data Mining (Demsar et al, 2013) (Python 3). Texts were pre-processed in smaller units (tokens), filtered and normalized. The data cataloging technique has been applied using the supervised algorithm SVM² (Support Vector Machines). This algorithm is a machine learning technique that separates the attribute space with a hyperplane, thus maximizing the margin between instances of different classes or class values. This technique usually produces very good results (García-Marín and Calatrava, 2018). The implementation was LIBSVM³ (Chang and Lin, 2011).

The application of the algorithm resulted in the total coding of the sample taken as training the 800 articles coded by the authors (75 % training 25 % test). The result reached 98% reliability and 95% AUC, which can be considered truly exceptional. The mutually exclusive coding probably ensured very good data, which means that the presence of one frame nullified the other one. The two other variables coded were the presence of an armed conflict (see Table 1, if the articles were published between those periods, the conflict variable was coded as present) and the presence of Hamas in the article (coded according to presence / absence automatically by frequency).

Table 1. Israeli operations during the selected period (2000-2019)

Conflict/Operation	Date	Information
<i>The Second Intifada</i>	September 28th, 2000 - February 8th, 2005	Known as Intifada Al-Aqsa
<i>2006 Lebanon War</i>	July 12th, 2006 - August 14th, 2006	Combats between Israel and Hezbollah
<i>Operation "Autumn Clouds"</i>	October 31st, 2006 - November 8th, 2006	Conflicts in Beit Hanun
<i>Operation "Warm Winter"</i>	February 28th, 2008 - March 3rd, 2008	Qassam missile launches from the Gaza Strip
<i>Operation "Cast Lead"</i>	December 27th, 2008 - January 18th, 2009	Hamas infrastructure bombing
<i>Operation "Sea Breeze"</i>	May 31st, 2010	Known as the Attack on the Gaza Flotilla
<i>Hamas Attacks and Operation "Returning Echo"</i>	August 18th, 2011 - August 19th, 2011 and March 09th, 2012 - March, 14th, 2012	Qassam missile launches from the Gaza Strip
<i>Operation "Pillar of Defense"</i>	November 14th, 2012 - November 21st, 2012	Death of Hamas leader Ahmed Yabari
<i>Operation "Protective Edge"</i>	July 8th, 2014 - August 26th, 2014	Kidnapping of three Israelis in Gush Etzion
<i>Gaza Border Protests</i>	March 30th, 2018 - December 27th, 2019	Known as the Great March of Return

Source: *Elaborated by the author.*

² The kernel used has been linear (c = 1.30).

³ More information about the library at the following link: <https://www.csie.ntu.edu.tw/~cjlin/libsvm/>

ANALYSIS

As stated above, the ideological polarization that the conflict has suffered is a recurring entity expressed in opinion articles, academic meetings, and, of course, scientific articles. A characteristic example is how the main newspapers in the United States and the United Kingdom approach the conflict from a perspective of a regional threat and instability, even when they report on the United Nations resolutions against Israel (Radwan, 2019: 43). However, this study also shows that the dynamics in which Palestinian and Israeli societies live have multiple edges, which oftentimes are covered by the media depending on the context of the conflict and the ideological stance towards it. Hence, it is not surprising to find literature that victimizes both Palestinians (Ross, 2003) and Israelis (Siddiqui and Zaheer, 2018).

Table 2. Frequencies and percentages of each media analyzed (2000-2019)

Media	Σ	Hamas		Conflict		Security		Human Drama	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>ABC</i>	1710	667	39.59	1075	62.87	1208	70.64	503	29.42
<i>El País</i>	1396	681	48.78	623	44.63	773	55.37	621	44.48
<i>El Mundo</i>	1337	550	41.14	567	42.41	545	40.76	793	59.31
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	1297	693	53.43	336	25.91	641	49.42	656	50.58
Total general	5740	2601	45.31	2061	45.31	3167	55.17	2573	44.83

Source: Elaborated by the author. Percentages do not add up to 100.

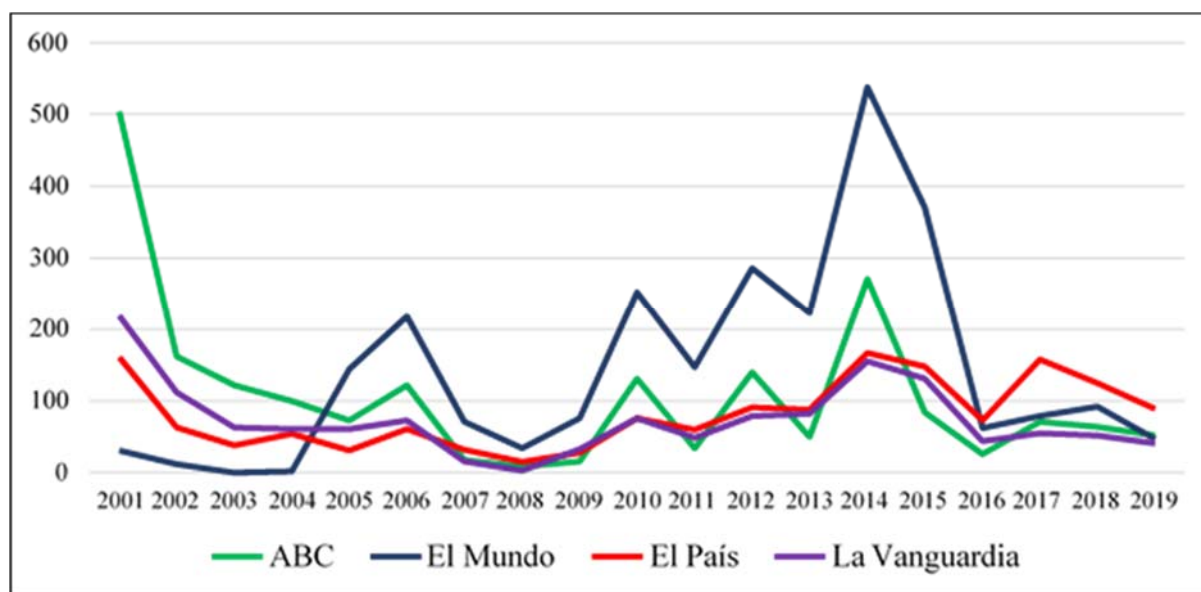
From a global perspective, this informative divergence is also true in the case of the Spanish media. As it is displayed in Table 2, the use of frames varies according to the analyzed medium. Nonetheless, certain significant elements should be noted. On the onehand, no strong relationships have been found between a type of coverage and the use of the studied frames, which means there is no correlation between coverage of conflictive episodes (Operation Protective Edge, Cast Lead, etc.) and the utilization of a specific frame. This lack of correlation leads us to infer that the media follow highly systematized journalistic routines when dealing with the conflict. On the other hand, this fact is not exhibited when the media covers information about Hamas. Regardless of the existence of conflict, the *security frame* is strongly linked to the guerrilla organization, as we will show below. The data comprises of the expected parameters since Hamas has been continually present (with some exceptions) within the list of organizations considered as terrorists by the European Union. In fact, information on the Islamist group comprehends almost half of the total coverage of the last 19 years (45.31%).

It is also necessary to highlight that one of the reasons which could explain this lack of relation between the analyzed variables is that, on several occasions, the articles make a

short introduction to the conflict, in which different actors are mentioned, such as Fatah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad or the Israeli opposition. In all probability, the results would be different if the depth of treatment of each subject were analyzed.

Furthermore, we generally observe differentiated media behaviors in terms of the descriptive level. If we make an analysis through the use of frames, *ABC* is the one that dedicates the most journalistic pieces to issues associated with security, with a result of 70.64%. Considering specialized literature, this result is not unexpected as it is the closest Spanish newspaper which leans towards with to the policies of the Israeli government (Córdoba Hernández, 2009; Rodríguez Esperanza and Humanes, 2017)⁴. In the cases of *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, the use of frames is very similar since the results for both newspapers are between 55% and 49%, meanwhile, *El Mundo* dedicates the lowest percentage to the *security frame* (40.76%). Overall, we have found a balanced global coverage of the Spanish press, with the exception of a clearly differentiated medium (*ABC*).

Figure 1. Analyzed articles classified by newspaper and year



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Unlike others, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been consistently covered in the past 19 years. However, this coverage presents marked spikes, as it is shown in figure 1. At first glance, the scarce coverage carried out by *El Mundo* during the 2001-2004 period, which coincides with the Second Intifada, is surprising. This can be explained by the difficulties found to extract all the journalistic pieces, both in written and online format. However, we believe it does not distort the analysis inasmuch as if we establish a comparison with the rest of the media, we do not observe a particularly significant coverage of the Intifada, except for its outbreak in September 2000. This may lay in the entrenchment of the revolts during the

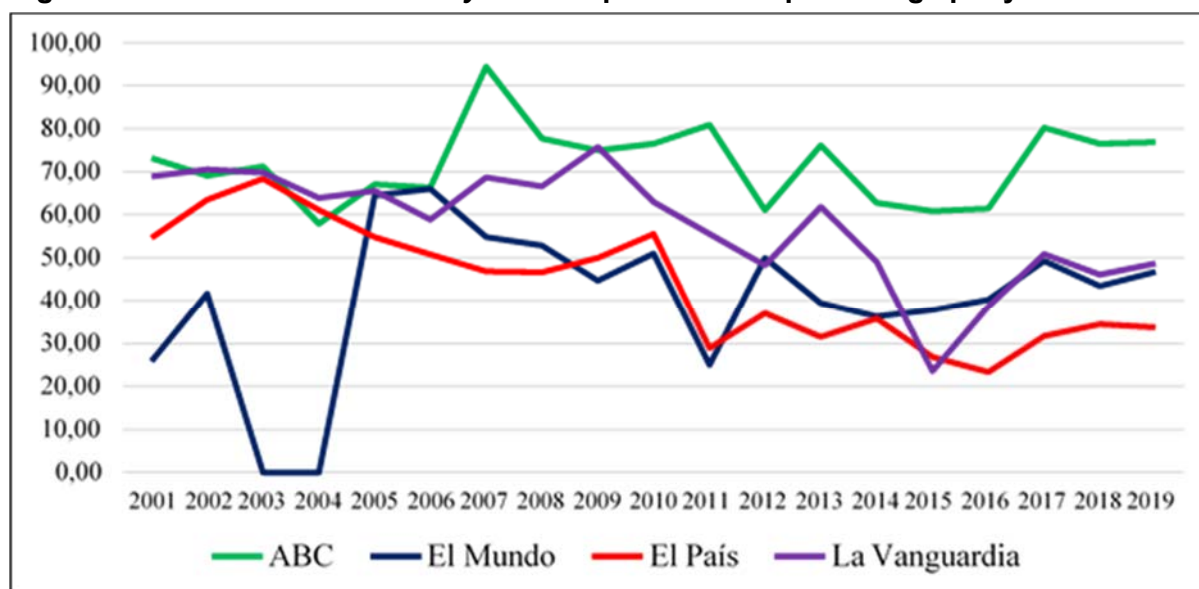
⁴ However, if we delve into these studies, we find editorial inconsistencies in some cases between the editorial line and the articles depending on the context.

first decade of the 21st century, although the small peaks coincide with significant events, such as the death of Yasser Arafat (2004), the Battle of Jenin (2002) or Operation Rainbow (2004).

Regarding the rest of this period, we observe that the media behavior is similar and constant, with significant peaks in the coverage during 2001, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2014. The informative upturns are rationally logical since they coincide with events of great relevance. For example, if we consider the years 2001, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2014 we can find: 1) The 2006 Palestinian elections that gave Hamas the victory, which subsequently took *de facto* control of the Gaza Strip. 2) Operation Cast Lead and its subsequent consequences, like the attack on the Gaza Flotilla that caused strong diplomatic tensions between Turkey and Israel. 3) Operation Pillar of Defense and the United Nations Resolution 67/19, which agreed to admit Palestine as a non-member observer state. 4) Operation Protective Edge, which left several thousands of deaths.

An especially intriguing aspect is the decrease in coverage during the last analyzed period (2018-2019). In recent years, there have been events that undoubtedly affect the dynamics of the conflict. A clear example would be the decision of US President Donald Trump to move the United States Embassy to Jerusalem, which has caused massive protests in Gaza with hundreds of deaths according to various organizations (OCHA 2019). However, the latest protest has not implied death nor bombing, unlike previous military operations. This could be one of the reasons for this notable decrease in coverage along with the existence of other conflicts with direct consequences for Europe, such as the Syrian civil war or the fight against terrorism in Iraq.

Figure 2. Presence of the security frame represented in percentage per year



Source: Elaborated by the author.

In the methodology and research design section we pointed out that the frames studied are mutually exclusive and therefore they have been coded following a binary presence/absence

basis, which means it must be assumed that a greater presence of the *security frame* indicates a lower presence of the *human drama frame*. Figure 2 shows the significant differences between the analyzed newspapers when using these frames. Probably, the aforementioned figure represents more visually the different journalistic styles and differentiated professional routines of the Spanish newspapers.

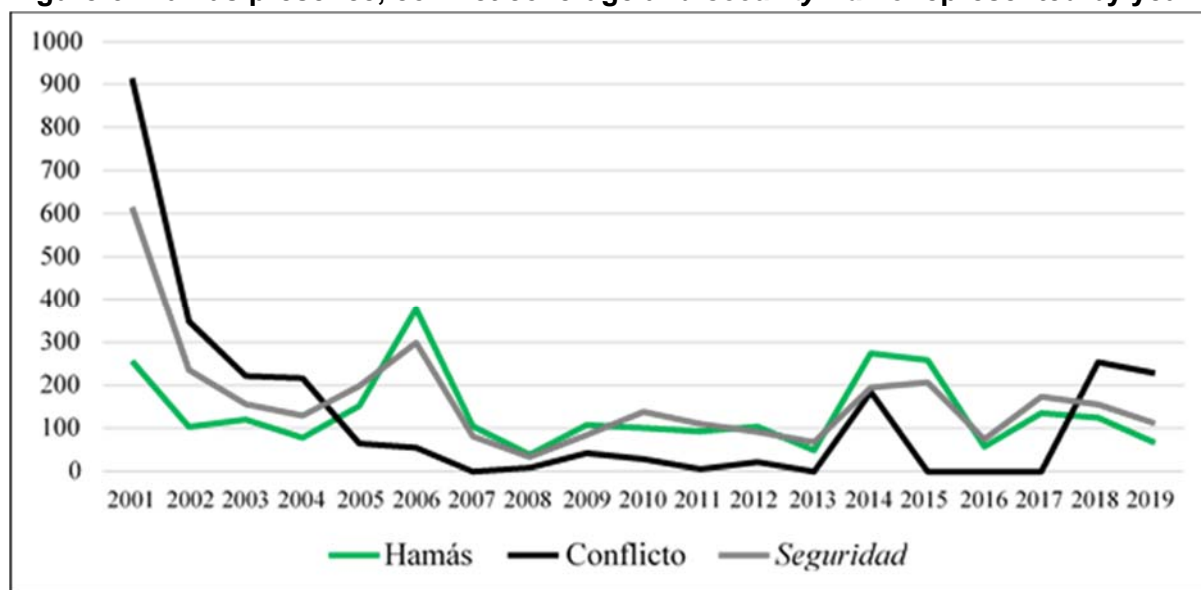
ABC is the medium that more frequently and constantly uses the *security frame*. Regarding its coverage, it references in numerous occasions to the right of Israel to defend itself, and openly criticizes Palestinian terrorist movements and even questions the role of the UN as a mediator in the region: "The wastage of the UN in Palestine, *ABC*, 09/11/18", "Palestinian 'lone wolves' attack with knives and cars, *ABC*, 10/20/15", " Hamas used the Gaza war to kill Palestinians, *ABC*, 05/28/15". What is more, this newspaper sporadically reports on anti-Semitism in Spain to reinforce this idea, interviewing members of the pro-Israeli organization Association and Communication on the Middle East (ACOM): "Anti-Semitism in Spain, *ABC*, 03/13/19", "The anti-Semitism in the mirror, *ABC*, 07/14/18".

The behavior of *El Mundo* and *La Vanguardia* is similar. On the one hand, *El Mundo* maintains an openly realistic stance of international society (Canel, 1999), moderately supports Israeli policies, although the *security frame* undergoes upsurges in times of conflict. However, this frame is not so frequent when there are UN condemnations or Israeli attacks outside the context of major military operations: " Hamas sows terror in Gaza, *El Mundo*, 08/23/14", "Palestine goes to the Hague, *El Mundo*, 01/01/15". On the other hand, *La Vanguardia* dedicates the poorest coverage of the conflict which could be explained by its marked local character. As in the case of *El Mundo*, its explanations associated with security problems are conditioned by the historical context in which they are framed. Nevertheless, *La Vanguardia* has been especially critical in recent years, highlighting more intensely the humanitarian explanations, although as it can be seen, the protests in Gaza (2018-2019) have led to a new upswing in the use of this frame: "More settlements, *La Vanguardia*, 08/01/19", " Hamas uses Gazans as shields, *La Vanguardia*, 07/11/14", "Trump, only with Israel, *La Vanguardia*, 01/26/18".

Finally, the use of frames by *El País* is completely opposed to that of *ABC*. Following the rest of newspapers, the *security frame* becomes more important during conflict situations, although its progression has been decreasing since the beginning of the year 2000 until the end of 2019, with the exceptions depicted above. *El País* is the most critical medium towards Israel and dedicates a large proportion of its coverage to report on the dramatic humanitarian situations that the Palestinian population has suffered: "The lawless occupation of Palestine, *El País*, 11/20/19", "Setback to 70 years of Palestinian exile, *El País*, 09/09/18", "Palestinians, the great forgotten, *El País*, 03/20/12". This is especially relevant since, if we analyze more deeply the coverage of this newspaper, we find that *El País* uses concepts such as apartheid and genocide in its editorials and, on rare occasions, uses sources critical with the Israeli government, like the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement (BDS) or

the NGO B'Tselem: "Apartheid in Israel, *El País*, 08/17/08", "Scene of death of a disabled young man from a shot in the back in the West Bank / 2, *El País*, 12/11/18" .

Figure 3. Hamas presence, conflict coverage and security frame represented by year (n).



Source: Elaborated by the author.

To conclude, we can infer that there is a minimal relationship between the presence of Hamas and the coverage of the conflicts, except for the year 2014 (Figure 3). This could be explained by the background of Operation Protective Edge launched in response to the media killings of three Israeli youths in the Gush Etzion settlements. Another relevant aspect is the informative importance of the Palestinian group in 2006, whose victory in the parliamentary elections caused one of the biggest political crises between Hamas and Fatah and the subsequent Israeli blockade of Gaza.

Nonetheless, a close relationship between the presence of Hamas in the coverage and the *security frame* ($r=0.659$) exists, especially from 2002 to 2003. This strong informative connection provides, in our opinion, significant data. Firstly, the important role assumed by Hamas in the fight against Israel during the 21st century, being the main Palestinian armed group. Several researchers indicate that since the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza in 2005, Hamas has been progressively increasing its armed capabilities and military effectiveness (Jordan, 2008; Dostri, 2020). Secondly, this Hamas/security relationship leads us to discuss the position of the Spanish press considering the stances of the European Union regarding Hamas and its inclusion in the list of terrorist organizations. In the Spanish case, we can establish that supranational organizations, such as the European Union, indexing the media discourses on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Now, the categorization of Hamas as a terrorist organization is discussed within the media (Moreno-Mercado, 2018), public opinion (Jordan 2008) and the General Court and the Council of the European Union (Pace and Pallister-Wilkins, 2018).

Such a strong relationship between conflict and Hamas is missing ($r=0.287$)⁵. Despite the latest Israeli military operations which have aimed to destroy Hamas's infrastructure, the conflict itself has more complex internal dynamics. The role of other factors, both on the Palestinian and Israeli sides, the position of other states, such as the United States or Iran, or the role of other organizations involved in the conflict, such as Hezbollah, could be mentioned.

Finally, the relationship between the *security frame* and the conflict is very robust for *ABC* ($r=0.90$) and, to a lesser degree, for *La Vanguardia* ($r=0.72$). For *El País* and *El Mundo*, this relationship is less evident or scarce, respectively. In other words, most of the times *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* report on conflicts using the security frame. The same has not occurred for the other two media analyzed (*El País* and *El Mundo*). Altogether, these results seem to indicate that, as expected, each media follows very different routines.

CONCLUSIONS

The verification of the existence of different ways of reporting on this conflict may have been the clearest (and most obvious) conclusion, which is coherent with previous research on the matter. The answer to the last three research questions is quite concise: there is more or less constant coverage in the last twenty years, which does not depend on the existence of official armed conflicts, perhaps because it is a permanent armed conflict. Neither the activities of Hamas or its presence in the coverage make this constant trend change. And, of course, there are evident differences in the coverage performed by each medium, as *ABC* stands out from the others for its particular use of the *security frame*, which is sharper than that of *human drama*. *El País* presents a better balance between both frames and *El Mundo* and *La Vanguardia* show a main use of the *human drama frame*. All these differences in coverage confirm the conclusions of other investigations (Mhanna-Mhanna, 2016).

Regarding the first research question, our results have also been insightful: the starting hypothesis is negative. Indeed, considering the data we cannot claim that the journalistic coverage has undergone a securitization process. The patterns observed in this regard during the early 2000s are repeated almost twenty years later, even with a greater presence of the *human drama frame*. Is it an exception to the results of other studies? We believe it is not. The data may reveal deeply entrenched journalistic routines in the media, which, however, would not apply to coverage of other similar events. Thus, we could state that the information on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict would have its own reporting routine, derived from both the quantity and regularity of the existing coverage. We could hardly find another conflict where a similar phenomenon is reproduced, so that they could depend on more generic conflict routines.

⁵ In all cases, the correlations have been made with the aggregated data by quarter.

Furthermore, we do not consider the fact that a negative hypothesis leads to an impairment of our results. On the contrary, although it is not exactly odd, it requires an explanation beyond the media routines. The two frames covered in this investigation may have an international stance, as in other conflicts (see Moreno-Mercado and García-Marín, 2020 for an explanation of the coverage of conflicts in Yemen and Ukraine by *RT* and *HispanTV*). Obviously, we cannot acknowledge this intention without having supporting data, despite not being the objective of this investigation. Nonetheless, there are signs of such usage: the framing of *human drama*, as it is focused on victims and suffering, shapes the conflict at an emotional level, meanwhile the security one frames it considering more pragmatic grounds for international policy grounds (*pathos vs logos*, we could say). The fact that coverage of Hamas is strongly related to the *security frame* may support the later argument. If so, media coverage of conflicts could be linked to ideological stances also in democratic countries with competitive media systems.

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