

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

May 8, 1945 Guelma University

جامعة 8 ماي 1945

Faculty of Letters and Languages

كلية الآداب و اللغات

Department of Letters and English Language

قسم الآداب واللغة الانجليزية



Option: Civilization

**The Impact of Biased American Media on Public Perception and
Political Decision Making: A Comparison of CNN and Fox News
Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian and the Palestinian-Israeli Wars**

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Master's Degree in Language and Culture

The Board of Examiners

Chair: Dr. BOUDECHICHE Hamid

University 8 May 1945/Guelma

Supervisor: Prof. ELAGGOUNE Abdelhak

University 8 May 1945/Guelma

Examiner: Mr. ZEMMOURI Layachi

University 8 May 1945/Guelma

Submitted by:

Supervisor

BOUAOUINA Rania Sirine

Prof. ELAGGOUNE Abdelhak

SADAOUI Belkiss

June 2024

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, we extend our heartfelt gratitude to Allah, whose boundless grace has been our guiding light throughout the journey of completing this work.

We are deeply indebted to our supervisor, Prof. ELAGGOUNE Abdelhak, whose unparalleled expertise, insightful guidance, helpful feedback at every stage, and exceptional mentorship have been instrumental in the successful completion of our dissertation.

Besides our supervisor, we would like to thank the examining members; Dr. BOUDECHICHE Hamid and Mr. ZEMMOURI Layachi for spending some of their precious time in examining and evaluating this research work. Your remarks and encouragement are much appreciated.

Dedication 1

I have never done things in the traditional way. That is why the dedication is the first thing I have written in this dissertation.

This work is dedicated to my beloved mother, the dazzling woman who taught me everything I know. Your love continues to inspire and guide me through life's journey. There is nothing I wish more than having you here with me today.

To my dear father, your encouragement fuelled my aspirations and made this achievement possible.

To my incredible brother and my little nephew Ilyane, your presence has marked my journey deeply, thank you for being an integral part of my life.

To my dearest grandmother, your boundless love and unwavering guidance have been my guiding stars. Your presence is my heart's treasure.

To my lovely aunty Lilia, your love is a constant embrace; your wise words are Eternal guide. Near you. I find solace and strength.

To my remarkable uncle, your advice led me to embrace this specialty. Your wisdom shaped my academic journey profoundly. Thank you.

To my idol, Ms. S. Moumene, for the past five years you have been my safe haven. You were the guardian angel who was ready to shower me with guidance and support anytime I needed. May Allah enlighten your path the same way you enlightened mine.

To my dearest Amina, you have been my rock during the hardest times. Your encouragement and belief in me have made all the difference.

Rania Sirine

Dedication 2

I dedicate this work to my beloved family, friends, and teachers.

First and foremost, I dedicate this work to my parents. Without their unconditional support, I would not be here. They have always believed in my capabilities and my dreams, no matter what they were. Their sacrifices and constant encouragement have pushed me to achieve my best.

Additionally, I dedicate this work to my siblings, and the rest of my beloved family who have stood by me through thick and thin. Their support and help with everything have been invaluable.

To my friends, who have filled my life with joy and laughter, I am deeply grateful. Your ability to brighten my days and lift my spirits has made every moment memorable. Thank you for your companionship and for being there for me.

To my teachers, who have generously shared their knowledge, wisdom, and encouragement, and who have consistently pushed me to be the best version of myself. Your influence will always be cherished.

Belkiss

Abstract

This dissertation examines the issue of media bias with a specific focus on the American media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict vs. Russian-Ukrainian war. Through a comparative analysis of media coverage of these two conflicts, this study aims to elucidate the profound impact of media bias on public perceptions and political decision-making. First, this study investigates the problem of the prevalence of media bias in the American society alongside its leading factors and results. Next, it uncovers the underlying mechanisms by which biased reporting shapes public attitudes and further influences electoral outcomes and political decision-making. Then, this dissertation shifts focus to analyse the American media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian and Russian-Ukrainian conflicts and the critical role the media plays in shaping the narratives surrounding contentious geopolitical issues. It concludes that CNN and Fox News exhibit biases in their coverage of conflicts. While both channels lean towards Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, their approach to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict differs from maintaining a factual tone to presenting a mixed perspective. Hence, this biased reporting shapes American audience perceptions and affects their attitudes and beliefs; which sways policymakers, leading to biased decision-making processes in favour of the United States interests.

ملخص

تتناول هذه المذكرة مسألة التحيز الإعلامي مع التركيز بشكل خاص على تغطية وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية للصراع الفلسطيني-الإسرائيلي مقابل نظيره الروسي-الأوكراني. من خلال تحليل مقارن للتغطية الإعلامية لهذه الصراعات الهامة، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى توضيح التأثير العميق للتحيز الإعلامي على الرأي العام واتخاذ القرارات السياسية. أولاً، تبحث هذه الدراسة في مشكلة انتشار التحيز الإعلامي في المجتمع الأمريكي إضافة إلى العوامل الرئيسية التي أدت إلى ظهوره والنتائج المترتبة عنه. بعد ذلك، تسعى هذه الدراسة للكشف عن الآليات المستعملة من طرف التغطية المتحيزة للتلاعب والتحكم بالرأي العام، نتائج الانتخابات واتخاذ القرارات السياسية. ثم تنتقل هذه المذكرة لتحليل تغطية وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية للصراع الفلسطيني-الإسرائيلي والروسي-الأوكراني والدور الحاسم الذي تلعبه في تشكيل السرد حول القضايا الجيوسياسية المثيرة للجدل. يخلص هذا البحث إلى أن قناة "سي أن أن" وقناة "فوكس نيوز" تظهران تحيزاً في تغطيتهما لهذه الصراعات. بينما تتحاز كلا الشبكتين نحو إسرائيل في الصراع الفلسطيني-الإسرائيلي، يختلف نهجهما في الصراع الروسي-الأوكراني بين المحافظة على لهجة حيادية تارة وتقديم وجهات نظر متنوعة تارة أخرى. وبالتالي، تتحكم هذه التغطية المتحيزة بالرأي العام الأمريكي وتؤثر على تصوراتهم ومعتقداتهم التي تؤثر بدورها على المسؤولين عن اتخاذ القرارات السياسية، مما يؤدي إلى اتخاذ قرارات متحيزة تخدم مصالح الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BDS	Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement
CNN	Cable News Network
FCC	Federal Communication Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
MSNBC	Microsoft News Broadcasting Corporation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
SPJ	Society of Professional Journalists
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

List of Figures

Figure 1. An Overview of Agenda-setting Research.....	40
Figure 2. Jewish Immigration to Palestine (1920-1946).	54
Figure 3. “Disappearing Palestine” – the Maps that Lie	56
Figure 4. 97 % of Gaza’s Labor Force is Unemployed. Unemployment Rate in Gaza (1995-2023).....	57
Figure 5. GAZA: The Impact of the Blockade and Military Operation in Numbers. Economy of Gaza in 2006, 2022, 2023..	58
Figure 6. “Where Americans Turn for News.” TV Is Americans’ Main Source of News, 2013	61
Figure 7. News Consumption across Platforms.	62
Figure 8. Average Audience for Cable TV News: Prime News.	62
Figure 9. Republicans Place Trust in One Source, Fox News, Far More than Any Other and Rely on Fox News Far More for Political News.	63
Figure 10. Israel Is the Largest Cumulative Recipient of “U.S. Aid to Israel in Four Charts.	81
Figure 11. Shifting Sentiments on How Americans Gauge U.S. Role in the Ukraine Crisis... ..	84
Figure 12. GOP’s Rising Skepticism on U.S. Aid to Ukraine.....	85

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter One: Media Bias in the United States.....	7
1.1. Defining Mass Media	7
1.2. Types of Mass Media	9
1.2.1. Print Media.....	9
1.2.2. Broadcast Media	10
1.2.3. Digital Media	11
1.2.4. Outdoor Media	11
1.3. Role of Mass Media.....	12
1.3.1 Disseminating Information	12
1.3.2 Media’s Role in Social Change and Advocacy.....	13
1.3.3. Mass Media’s Role of Investigative Journalism and the Accountability of Higher Officials.....	14
1.3.4. Mass Media’s Role in Persuading People.....	14
1.3.5. Mass Media’s Role in Advertising and Consumerism.....	15
1.4. Media Partiality	16
1.4.1. Types of Media Partiality.....	16
1.4.1.1. Partisan Bias	16
1.4.1.2. Visibility Bias.....	17
1.4.1.3. Tonality Bias	18
1.4.1.4. Agenda Bias	18

1.4.1.5. Cultural Bias.....	19
1.4.2. The Prevalence of Media Bias in the United States.....	20
1.4.3. Historical Context of Media Bias in the United States	21
1.4.4. Factors Influencing Media Partiality.....	23
1.4.5. Implications of Media Partiality	26
1.4.5.1. Polarization and Division in Society	27
1.4.5.2. Erosion of Trust in Journalism and Media Institutions	27
1.4.5.3. Impact on Public Opinion and Policy Making	28
1.4.5.4. Challenges to Media Literacy and Critical Thinking	29
Chapter Two: Effects of Media Bias on Public Perception and Political Decision-Making	31
2.1. Significance of Public Opinion.....	31
2.2. Media Bias Mechanisms to Affect Public Perception and Political Decision-Making .	32
2.2.1. The Framing Effect Theory	33
2.2.2. The Agenda Setting Theory	35
2.2.3. Priming Theory	38
2.2.4. Cultivation Theory	40
2.2.5. Spiral of Silence	42
2.2.6. Knowledge Gap Theory	44
2.3. Effects of Media Bias on Electoral Outcomes.....	46
2.4. Regulatory Responses to Media Bias	48
2.4.1. Existing Regulatory Frameworks	48

2.4.2. Potential Policy Interventions	50
Chapter Three: A Comparison of CNN and Fox News Coverage of the Russian- Ukrainian and the Palestinian-Israeli Wars	53
3.1. Historical Background of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.....	53
3.2. Historical Background of the Russian Ukrainian Conflict.....	58
3.3. The United States Media Coverage of the two Conflicts	60
3.3.1. CNN’s Coverage of the two Conflicts	64
3.3.1.1. CNN’s Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict	64
3.3.1.2. CNN’s Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict.....	68
3.3.2. Fox News’ Coverage of the Conflicts.....	69
3.3.2.1. Fox News’ Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.....	70
3.3.2.2. Fox News’ Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict.....	72
3.4. The Impact of American Media Coverage on the Conflicts.....	76
3.4.1. The Impact of American Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict	77
3.4.1.1. Impact on American Public Opinion.....	78
3.4.1.2 Impact on American Political Decision Making	81
3.4.2. The Impact of American Media Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict	82
3.4.2.1. Impact on American Public Opinion.....	83
3.4.2.2. Impact on American Political Decision Making	86
Conclusion.....	89
Works Cited	93

Introduction

In today's complex landscape of information dissemination, the role of mass media in shaping public opinion and influencing political decision-making cannot be overstated. Concerns about media bias and its impact on societal perceptions and policy formation have gained prominence, particularly in the United States, where freedom of the press is enshrined in the First Amendment of the Constitution.

The pervasive influence of the media on public opinion stems from its ability to frame issues, set agendas, and construct narratives that shape how individuals perceive and interpret events. This power to shape reality is particularly pronounced in an era characterized by the increase of digital media platforms, where information is disseminated instantaneously and reaches a global audience with unprecedented speed and reach.

One of the primary mechanisms through which the media influences public opinion is agenda setting. Through selective reporting and emphasis on certain topics over others, the media can prioritize certain issues, shaping the public's perception of what is important and worthy of attention. By framing issues in particular ways, the media can influence how individuals understand and interpret complex social and political phenomena, ultimately shaping their attitudes and beliefs.

Moreover, the media's role in agenda setting is intertwined with its ability to frame issues. Framing refers to how information is presented and contextualized, shaping how individuals understand and interpret events. By framing issues in specific ways, the media can influence public opinion by highlighting certain aspects of an issue while downplaying or ignoring others. This selective framing can influence how individuals perceive the causes, consequences, and potential solutions to societal problems, ultimately shaping their attitudes and policy preferences.

Furthermore, the media's influence on public opinion is not limited to agenda setting and framing. It also extends to its role as a gatekeeper of information. As the primary source of news and information for many individuals, the media plays a critical role in shaping the public's understanding of political issues and events. Through editorial decisions about what to cover and how to cover it, the media can control the flow of information and shape the narratives that dominate public discourse.

However, concerns about media bias raise questions about the neutrality and objectivity of the media. Indeed, perceptions of bias in news coverage can erode trust in the media, contribute to polarization, and distrust in democratic institutions. As such, understanding the factors that influence media bias, such as ownership structures, ideological orientations, and market pressures, is crucial for understanding how the media shapes public opinion and political decision-making.

The primary intention of this study is to examine the impact of American media bias on public perception and political decision-making through a comparative qualitative analysis of media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian and Russian-Ukrainian conflicts. By assessing media bias in these contexts, the study seeks to understand its influence on public attitudes, beliefs, and emotional responses. Additionally, it aims to analyze how biased media portrayal affects political decision-making, including policy formation and electoral outcomes.

The main aim of this dissertation is to understand the profound impact of biased mass media on both public opinion and political decision-making. Therefore, this research answers the following questions: What is mass media? What is the role it plays in the society? What are the different types of mass media? What is meant by media bias? What is the prevalence of media partiality in the US? What are the types of media partiality? What are its implications on the society? What is public opinion? What is its significance? How can mass

media affect public opinion? How can media bias affect political decision-making? What are the regulatory responses suggested by the American government to media bias?

Other questions include: What are the reasons behind the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians? What historical events and factors have contributed to the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflicts? How did CNN and Fox News cover these conflicts? Was this coverage biased? How did this coverage affect American public opinion and political decision-making? What are the US interests in these conflicts that led to media partiality?

In this study, a mixed-methods approach will be adopted to analyze the impact of American media bias on public perception and political decision-making regarding the Israeli-Palestinian and Russian-Ukrainian conflicts. Firstly, a qualitative content analysis will be conducted, focusing on the in-depth examination of four videos from each conflict, selected from two prominent TV channels in the United States, which are CNN and Fox News. This qualitative analysis aims to reveal the underlying biases, framing techniques, and narrative structures employed by these media outlets in their coverage of the conflicts. Additionally, a comparative analysis will be undertaken to systematically compare the media representations of the two conflicts across the selected TV channels, identifying similarities, differences, and patterns in how each conflict is portrayed.

The topic under discussion has attracted the attention of many scholars, researchers, and politicians. Hence, to emphasize the importance of this research, it is crucial to provide an in-depth examination of the existing body of literature. This involves stressing some significant scholarly works that have explored diverse aspects connected to the main theme of this study. Major scholars have extensively examined the subject of mass media and bias. Moreover, numerous studies have also been conducted to analyse media bias in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflicts and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

First, *Mass Media*, a book by Pierre Sorlin, offers a concise yet engaging exploration of the complex realm of mass communication. This book delves into the definition and distinctive characteristics of mass media while tracing its historical evolution from traditional print and electronic forms to the digital age. Sorlin categorizes mass media into various types, including print, electronic, and digital media, providing insights into their specific functions and impacts on society. Furthermore, the book introduces readers to key theories of mass communication, such as agenda-setting and cultivation theory, offering a theoretical framework for understanding the influence of media on public opinion.

In "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," authors Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw discuss how the media, through their selection and presentation of news, influence the public's perception of political reality and the importance of various issues. They highlight the role of the media in shaping the public agenda by determining not only what issues are covered but also how prominently they are featured. The authors emphasize that the media's portrayal of political information, including candidates' messages and campaign issues, can significantly impact voter perceptions and decision-making by setting the agenda and influencing the salience of political issues during campaigns.

Furthermore, in "The Political Impact of Media Bias," the authors Stefano DellaVigna and Ethan Kaplan discuss their research on the impact of media bias on political behavior and voting. They present a model that accounts for two channels through which exposure to media news can affect voting: rational learning and non-rational persuasion. The authors analyze the introduction of Fox News in cable markets between 1996 and 2000 and its effect on voting patterns in presidential elections. Overall, this article provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of media bias and its implications for public opinion and political behavior in the United States.

Moreover, "Coverage of the Russia–Ukraine War by Television News" by Nordenstreng et al. discusses the media coverage of the Russia–Ukraine War. The authors analyze the television news coverage of the conflict by major international broadcasters, including the BBC, CNN, and Russian television. The study examines the types of news stories, the sources used, and the tone of the coverage. The authors find that the coverage was largely focused on the military aspects of the conflict, with less attention given to the humanitarian and social impacts. They also note that the sources used were predominantly official government sources, with little representation from independent or local sources. The study concludes that the coverage was largely framed from a Western perspective, with little attempt to provide a balanced view of the conflict.

Author Suzan Alkalliny in her article "Framing of Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in CNN and FoxNews" discusses the framing of media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by CNN and Fox News. The study analyzed the media coverage of the Israeli aggression on Gaza in 2014 and the events of Al-Aqsa in 2017. It found that both channels were biased towards the Israeli side, relying heavily on Israeli sources and portraying the conflict as a religious-ethnic conflict rather than a conflict over land. The study also highlighted the use of emotive language and dramatic treatment to sway public opinion. The author concludes that the media coverage was influenced by the political context and interests of the United States and Israel and that the channels manipulated the narrative to serve American ideological and political purposes.

The present dissertation is structured into three chapters. The first chapter, entitled "Media Bias in the United States", offers insights into mass media and its various types. It emphasizes the pivotal role it plays across different domains. The chapter also investigates the complex issue of media bias within the United States, elucidating its historical roots,

classifications, influencing factors, and the ramifications of partiality within the American media environment.

Under the title “Effects of Media Bias on Public Perception and Political Decision-Making”, the second chapter shifts focus to examining how media bias impacts public perception and political decision-making. It explores the significance of public opinion within the U.S. context. Subsequently, drawing upon mass communication theories, the chapter demonstrates the profound influence of biased media on both public opinion and political decision-making processes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of various regulatory responses to media bias, ranging from current regulations to potential future recommendations.

The third chapter is entitled “A Comparison of CNN and Fox News Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian and the Palestinian-Israeli Wars”. It firstly offers a historical background of two of the most outstanding conflicts in the world aiming to provide the appropriate context to understand their complexities. The chapter proceeds with an analysis of the media coverage of the two conflicts by CNN and FOX News. Finally, this chapter examines the impact of the biased depiction of the Palestinian-Israeli and Russian-Ukrainian conflicts by American media on public opinion and political decision-making within the United States.

Chapter One

Media Bias in the United States

Mass media plays a vital role in informing, educating, and entertaining the public. Its significance cannot be overstated, serving as a primary source of information, presenting news, sharing perspectives on various topics and events as well as a platform for debate in a democratic society. Alongside its importance, the issue of media bias looms large, especially in the United States where freedom of the press is enshrined in the Constitution, raising questions about the objectivity and integrity of news reporting. Understanding the importance of media and its susceptibility to bias is essential for navigating the complexities of modern American society and politics.

This chapter begins with a comprehensive definition of mass media followed by an exploration of its various forms. Additionally, it digs deep into the distinct crucial role of mass media across different domains. This work finally delves into the intricate phenomenon of media partiality in the US, uncovering its historical background, its types, its factors, and implications of bias within the American media landscape.

1.1. Defining Mass Media

Scholars and the public frequently use the term “mass media” and treat it as a primitive concept assuming the existence of a commonly shared understanding of it; however, the researchers who attempt to delineate this concept often encounter some challenges in capturing the essence of its meaning without including faulty elements and therefore reaching a satisfying definition. The new media environment has made this task even more complicated, leaving media scholars puzzled about the phenomenon itself. Consequently, a perplexing yet serious question arises: How do we define the concept of mass media?

The Oxford English Dictionary defines mass media as sources of information and news such as newspapers, magazines, radio, and television that reach and influence large numbers

of people ('mass media'). Potter claimed that researchers have been examining a phenomenon referred to as "mass media" since at least the 1920s and have produced a considerable body of literature on this subject since that time ("Synthesizing a Working ..." 3).

According to Duignan, mass media comprises diverse channels of mass communication used for disseminating or transmitting information, opinions, advocacy, propaganda, advertising, artistic expression, entertainment, and other forms of content to a broad audience. These channels encompass traditional formats such as print, radio, television, film, video, and audio recording, alongside modern platforms like the Internet and social media. Another definition provided by Luhmann states that the term mass media refers to all institutions of society that employ copying technologies to share information widely. This includes materials produced by printing presses like books, magazines, and newspapers, as well as various photographic or electronic copying methods that generate large quantities of products for undefined target groups (2).

Alternatively, scholars have expanded this definition beyond its traditional boundaries to encompass a wide array of communication technologies and their societal implications. For instance, with the advent of the internet and social media, traditional mass media outlets are no longer the sole focus of mass communication scholars. The internet, social media, and mobile communication have reshaped the landscape of mass communication, leading to a reevaluation of what constitutes mass media (Morris and Ogan 39-42; Tenopir et al. 193-16; Wei 50-56).

To put it briefly, mass media traditionally defined as communication channels like television, radio, and newspapers that reach a large audience simultaneously, has evolved significantly in recent years. Its understanding has been deepened to emphasize its role in controlling mass society.

1.2. Types of Mass Media

Media plays a pivotal role in shaping societies, disseminating information, and influencing public opinion. Over the years, media has evolved significantly, catering to diverse preferences and technological advancements. Four primary categories encompass the various forms of media: Print Media, Broadcast Media, Digital Media, and Outdoor Media. Each category possesses distinct characteristics, targeting different audiences and serving unique purposes.

1.2.1. Print Media

Daniel Chandler generally defines print media as any form of communication, whether written or pictorial, created through mechanical or electronic means such as printing, photocopying, or digital techniques, enabling the production of numerous copies via automated processes. More narrowly, it is “any form of ‘ink and paper’ communication that is not hand-written or hand-typed, including books, circulars, journals, lithographs, memos, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals”(337). Deegan et al. state that print media encompasses traditional forms of communication printed on physical surfaces like paper, such as newspapers, magazines, books, and other materials (312-43). Moreover, print media has been a longstanding pillar of information dissemination in journalism and news reporting (Mellado et al. 358-77), and it has been influential in shaping public opinion and attitudes, particularly through newspapers and magazines (Argentesi and Filistrucchi 1247-66).

Saxena writes that despite the increasing prevalence of digital media, print media remains relevant in society. Print media companies have adapted by expanding their content distribution to digital platforms to reach a broader audience (70- 80). The shift to digital platforms has presented challenges to print media, leading to the emergence of media conglomerates pursuing profit and aligning with owners' interests (Michael and Okkonen 144-57).

Krishen et al. point out that in the domain of advertising and consumer behavior, print media has been scrutinized extensively. Research indicates that consumers perceive higher value, and attitude toward print media compared to digital formats, suggesting a sustained relevance and preference for print media among specific audience segments (489-97). Additionally, studies have highlighted the enduring strength of print media among older readers, identifying distinct sub-segments like hybrid readers, heavy print readers, heavy online readers, and non-readers (Adoni and Nimrod 414-39). That is to say, while digital media has posed challenges, print media remains resilient, particularly among certain audience segments.

1.2.2. Broadcast Media

According to Doyle, “broadcast media is a form of one-to-many communication using media such as radio and television transmitted to the audience over the airwaves either by analogue or digital signal” (66). In other words, broadcast media refers to the dissemination of audio or video content to a wide audience through various means such as radio, television, or online platforms.

Likewise, Talebian writes that in terms of policy analysis, the characteristics of broadcast media policy can legitimize government ownership and state monopoly, leading to varied experiences in different contexts (148-66). This regulatory framework plays a crucial role in shaping the content and accessibility of broadcast media, influencing the information landscape and media diversity within a society. Overall, broadcast media exhibit characteristics such as broad reach, low involvement, and public influence that set them apart from other forms of media. These traits make broadcast media a powerful tool for shaping public opinion, disseminating information widely, and influencing societal norms and behaviors.

1.2.3. Digital Media

Michikyan et al. established that digital media encompasses a wide array of digital communication tools and platforms that enable the creation, sharing, and consumption of content through electronic devices. It includes various forms such as electronic/video games, online messaging, social media, and other digital communication applications (9-38). The term "digital media" refers to digitally based communication devices that create, circulate, and store content on computers or mobile devices (Lundby and Evolvi 233-49). Digital media not only serve as a communication platform but also play a significant role in shaping individual traits like personality, psychological well-being, and intelligence (Settanni et al. 217-28).

Digital media has significantly transformed communication practices across various fields, influencing how information is disseminated and received. The utilization of digital media platforms by organizations has become increasingly prevalent for effective audience engagement (Nieves-Casasnovas and Lozada-Contreras 79-104). That is to say, digital media's expansive reach and influence are undeniable. It not only facilitates communication but also molds individual traits and transforms organizational engagement strategies.

1.2.4. Outdoor Media

Outdoor media, such as outdoor advertising, billboards, and interactive displays, has been recognized as an essential component of mass media (Leonova et al. 223). Iveson et al. argued that outdoor advertising is well suited to reach diverse urban populations and address a mass market, making it a type of media capable of reaching a broad audience (151-74). In addition, outdoor media has been highlighted as a medium that can be used by political figures, alongside social media and traditional mass media, to engage with the public. In summary, outdoor media is indeed a type of mass media that plays a crucial role in reaching diverse audiences, influencing consumer behavior, and contributing to political communication

strategies. Its integration into the broader mass media landscape highlights its significance in modern communication practices.

1.3. Role of Mass Media

Most people obtain information about what is happening in the world from the mass media. The latter not only inform the public about world, national, and local events, but they also are influential in shaping public opinion about these events and the people involved in them. As such, mass media play a vital role in politics. Its ability to supply millions of people with political information helps them to develop informed opinions. Mass media also serve as an important check upon possible abuses by governments. They can investigate corruption, present the advantages and disadvantages of suggested laws, and debate the meaning of political events as they unfold.

1.3.1 Disseminating Information

“The basic aim of the media is to enable information for the public for what is going on in the world” (Ejupi et al. 641). The purpose of mass media is to offer quick exchange and transmission of information to a large group of people, facilitating efficient dissemination and sharing of information through various channels such as newspapers, radio, television, and social media platforms. Without mass media, obtaining information would be similar to waiting for a physical package, which could take weeks or even months and risk loss or damage. Mass media, including social media platforms, serve as a vital tool for information dissemination, recognized for its potential to spread knowledge to the public (Alshahrani and Pennington 1274- 92). It offers flexibility, a democratic character, and cost-effectiveness, allowing for the rapid exchange of information among communities and individuals (Center for Democracy and Governance 3). Traditional media, such as phones, television, and oral communication, continue to play essential roles in effectively disseminating information (Legaspi et al. 20-33; Zhang et al. e98649). In summary, the combination of various media

channels ensures the widespread distribution of information, reaching diverse audiences and shaping perceptions of what is important in society.

1.3.2 Media's Role in Social Change and Advocacy

Mass media interventions, such as mass media campaigns, social mobilization, and advocacy activities, play a crucial role in highlighting important public issues, raising awareness, and promoting behavior change (King 395- 405). These interventions utilize various media platforms like radio, TV, newspapers, and the internet to communicate messages, and reach a large audience. Through compelling storytelling, talk shows, interviews, documentaries, investigative reporting, and impactful visuals, media outlets can shine a spotlight on injustices, and inequalities, and educate the public about systemic problems that demand collective action (Chan 663- 81). Additionally, it can influence knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors by applying pressure to advance public policy, amplify authentic voices, and shift power back to the community.

The media can be used to promote protests, boycotts, and other forms of activism (NASSP). For instance, media outlets can play a crucial role in organizing and promoting protests, marches, rallies, and other forms of collective action. They can provide information about event logistics, timing, and locations, as well as encourage participation through advertising and coverage. Besides, media advocacy can be instrumental in promoting changes in communication behavior within social networks, contributing to broader promotion efforts (Guo and Saxton 57- 63). Therefore, mass media play integral roles in advocacy efforts, offering platforms for raising awareness, influencing public opinion, and driving social change across diverse sectors. By leveraging these communication channels effectively, advocates can amplify their messages, engage with stakeholders, and advance their advocacy goals in a rapidly evolving media landscape.

1.3.3. Mass Media's Role of Investigative Journalism and the Accountability of Higher Officials

Investigative journalism plays a fundamental role in society by holding individuals in positions of power and authority accountable for their actions. This form of journalism seeks to spotlight systemic corruption, misconduct, and societal issues, ultimately promoting transparency, and accountability, and strengthening civil society (Walth et al. 177-89). This means that the core of investigative journalism lies in its ability to challenge and confront powerful institutions such as governments and corporations, seeking to uphold accountability and transparency in governance.

Digital data reporting and the utilization of numerical information enable journalists to hold elected officials and bureaucratic entities accountable. This form of journalism acts as a watchdog, aiming to keep power in check and prevent abuses that may arise from unchecked authority and thus, contributes to the broader societal goal of promoting transparency, integrity, and good governance (Euro Media Research Group). In short, investigative journalism serves as a cornerstone of democracy by holding power to account, uncovering wrongdoing, promoting transparency in governance, and scrutinizing those in positions of authority to ensure accountability in society.

1.3.4. Mass Media's Role in Persuading People

The impact of mass media on individuals is intricate as it involves diverse communication methods and tactics. Mass media platforms like television, radio, newspapers, and the internet have considerable influence on shaping public perception through the presentation of information in compelling ways. Weeks et al. state that mass media's use of persuasive communication strategies, like emotional appeals, sway individuals towards specific viewpoints.

The persuader's main task is to transition the audience from a state of unawareness, and negligence to a state of understanding, concern, and engagement that aligns with their interests (Ejupi et al. 641). The use of different data or information with one particular purpose, to seduce the public by directing their attention toward a message or meaning; hence, achieve total control over the recipients of the data. Street claims: "The notion propaganda means an activity the aim of which is to influence the wider number of classes through the path of spreading ideas" (qtd. in Ejupi, et al. 644).

Simply put, mass media tries to manipulate a large group of people by spreading specific ideas or messages to influence what they believe or how they behave. In essence, the influence of mass media across various domains is intricate, due to its employment of persuasive communication strategies and its overarching objective of shaping public perception and behavior. This highlights the importance of critically engaging with media messages and recognizing their potential impact on societal norms and individual decision-making processes.

1.3.5. Mass Media's Role in Advertising and Consumerism

According to Sama mass media, encompassing various platforms like television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet, plays a vital role in advertising and consumerism by promoting products and services to consumers through advertisements (54- 68). More precisely, social media has gained more importance in this field. Its platforms have become significant advertising channels that enable brands to reach out to consumers effectively (Rubik 1-18). They provide immediate visibility and control over ad placement, timing, and audience segmentation. This form of advertising allows for precise targeting, personalized content delivery, and cost-effective campaigns that offer a high return on investment compared to traditional advertising channels; thus, influencing consumer perceptions and consumption behaviors (Boateng and Okoe 299-12).

1.4. Media Partiality

Taken as a whole, media bias is the tendency of news outlets to present information in a manner that supports or reinforces particular perspectives, political ideologies, or corporate agendas, rather than impartially reporting factual details leading to imbalances in reporting. Media partiality, also known as media bias, can be defined in various ways based on different scholarly perspectives. For instance, a definition provided by Maniou and Ketteni highlights media partiality as the degree of favoritism towards government interests in news reporting (66-89).

Another perspective defines media bias as a systematic tendency to favor one side or position over another, deviating from the objective truth, which can eventually lead to a consistent departure from impartial reporting (Brandenburg 297-22). Alternatively, the definition of Hamborg et al. emphasizes that media bias must be intentional and sustained, reflecting a conscious and systematic tendency rather than isolated incidents (391-15). In addition, Media bias is a complex phenomenon influenced by various factors, including political affiliations, ideological biases of reporters, and economic interests (Besley and Prat 720-36).

1.4.1. Types of Media Partiality

There are many different forms of media partiality instances. Still, media bias cases all embrace some type of falsification in posing an issue. The kind of partial news cases also differs depending on the way the information is disseminated. That said, media bias takes place because of the choice and exclusion of certain crucial characteristics of a news story.

1.4.1.1. Partisan Bias

Partisan bias is a well-documented phenomenon in political science research. Jessee asserts that it refers to the tendency for individuals to interpret information in a way that aligns with their political affiliation, rather than relying on objective facts. He also states that

this type of media bias can lead to varying beliefs among individuals based on their partisan views rather than evidence (59-81). For instance, individuals may be more likely to believe misinformation that aligns with their political party's views rather than critically evaluating the information presented. Coe et al. point out that one of the most notable examples of partisan bias in the American media is Fox News, which has been criticized for its conservative bias and tends to attract more conservative viewers (201-19). Moreover, Gelman and King claim that partisan bias can affect decision-making processes, such as in redistricting plans, where it can lead to electoral systems favoring one party over another (541-59).

In summary, media partisan bias is a complex issue that can have far-reaching implications for society and democracy. In the media context, it manifests as systematic favoritism toward a specific party in news reporting, as it tends to involve a desire to praise one's party or criticize the opposing one.

1.4.1.2. Visibility Bias

Eberl et al. define media visibility bias as the phenomenon where certain political actors or issues receive more attention and prominence in news coverage compared to others. This bias can influence public perception and shape attitudes towards different parties or topics (1125-48). For example, visibility bias occurs when a particular political figure receives disproportionate coverage compared to other actors and outlets. Furthermore, Bernhardt et al. state that visibility bias in media plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions and can affect party preferences, and candidate evaluations influencing political outcomes (1092-04). For instance, the visibility of political actors in the media can sway public opinion and affect party popularity. Besides, visibility bias can influence how individuals perceive and evaluate candidates (Eberl et al. 111-32).

In essence, visibility bias is a crucial aspect of media bias that plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions and influencing political outcomes. It focuses on the salience of political actors or issues in news coverage. This bias is characterized by the unequal allocation of coverage to each political figure across various mediums.

1.4.1.3. Tonality Bias

Tonality bias in media refers to the systematic evaluation of political actors, such as candidates or parties, in news coverage (Eberl et al. 1125-48). This simply means it measures how these actors are portrayed and assessed within media outlets compared to others. It gives the media the ability to portray actors as either competent or ineffective politicians or parties, thereby offering assessments of their actions and achievements. Eberl et al. also highlight the difference between tonality bias and the previously mentioned visibility bias. Whereas the latter is purely quantitative, the former therefore adds a qualitative aspect by considering how political actors are covered (111-32).

Likewise, the tonality of news coverage, whether positive or negative, can impact audience reactions. Exposure to negative news may not always prompt significant responses, as individuals may perceive negativity in media content as the norm rather than an exception (Fišar et al. 1160-12); hence, this normalization of negativity in news reporting can affect how audiences interpret and react to information presented to them.

1.4.1.4. Agenda Bias

Within the realm of media bias, agenda bias, also known as gatekeeping bias or selectivity was defined by Eberl et al. as “the extent to which political actors appear in the public domain in conjunction with the topics they wish to emphasize” (1128). This means the selective process through which news outlets decide which stories to cover, leading to a bias towards certain topics or perspectives.

Media outlets tend to be selective about what they report, often driven by self-interest in attracting an audience. Therefore, the journalist decides to highlight or overlook specific news stories, as a result only giving a voice to some actors and their policy positions (Sheng and Lan 316-23). For example, in a news channel, agenda bias might occur if they consistently focus on stories about a particular political party's economic policies, giving more airtime to views favoring tax cuts for economic growth while downplaying alternative proposals from other parties. To round up, while visibility bias focuses on the salience of political figures, tonality bias pertains to the evaluation of these figures, and agenda bias refers to how much media coverage aligns with preferred topics (Eberl et al. 1125-48).

1.4.1.5. Cultural Bias

As with any type of media partition, cultural bias in media is a significant concern that can affect the accuracy and fairness of information presented to the public. According to Micheni, cultural bias in media refers to the tendency of media outlets to favor or portray certain cultural groups, norms, or values over others, influencing the information presented to the audience. She also adds that such type of bias can manifest in various forms, such as the underrepresentation or misrepresentation of certain cultures, stereotypes, or the promotion of a particular cultural perspective as the norm.

Similarly, research has shown that media representations, whether stereotypical or counter-stereotypical, can influence racial attitudes, causal attributions, support for affirmative action, and the activation of hostile and benevolent racism (Ramasubramanian 497-16); hence, affecting individuals' perception of different cultures and contribute to the perpetuation of stereotypes and prejudices. For example, portrayals of race/ethnicity on television can lead to biased perceptions and suggest reasons why subordinate groups deserve their assigned positions.

1.4.2. The Prevalence of Media Bias in the United States

The manifestation of media bias in the United States is a topic of significant concern and study. According to a survey by the Gallup/Knight Foundation, Americans believe that 62% of the news they consume on TV, in newspapers, and on the radio - and 80% of the news they see on social media - is biased. Those surveyed also believe that 44% of news reporting and 64% of news on social media are inaccurate. These findings provoke strong emotions, as more than 80% of respondents reported feeling angered or bothered by biased information, and slightly more expressed similar feelings about inaccurate information. In addition, DellaVigna and Kaplan's research on "The Political Impact of Media Bias" indicates that over 70% of Americans believe there is a great deal or a fair amount of media bias in news coverage.

In addition, the impact of media bias in the United States has been highlighted by a recent study that analyzed 1.8 million news headlines from major US news outlets between 2014 and 2022. The study, conducted by researchers at the University of Rochester, revealed that news stories about domestic politics and social issues are increasingly polarized along ideological lines. This growing bias in media coverage can lead to the reinforcement of echo chambers, where individuals are exposed only to information that aligns with their beliefs, potentially hindering a well-rounded understanding of complex issues (Pan et al.).

Besides, Pan et al. found that while US media outlets across the political spectrum were consistent and similar in covering economic issues, significant differences emerged in reporting on domestic politics and social issues. For instance, the choice of words used in headlines by different outlets when covering topics like abortion varied, with some emphasizing "abortion law" while others focused on "abortion rights." These subtle linguistic differences can influence how readers perceive and interpret news stories, shaping their understanding of important societal issues.

Equally, a study exploring U.S. adults' media consumption by Strydhorst et al. found that individuals' political ideology, media reliability, and media bias significantly predict holding misinformed beliefs about COVID-19 and vaccination. The research revealed that participants who tend to vote for Democrats consume less biased and more reliable media compared to those who lean toward Republicans. This study highlights how media bias can affect individuals' beliefs and the importance of considering the bias and reliability of news sources when analyzing information.

The widespread perception of media bias in the United States, evident from various surveys and research findings, indicates a significant challenge to the credibility and impartiality of news sources. These insights reveal a deep-seated skepticism among Americans regarding the objectivity and accuracy of news coverage, particularly in the realm of social media. Such doubt is further fueled by research highlighting the prevalence of biased reporting, as well as the increasing polarization within media narratives, especially concerning domestic politics and social issues.

1.4.3. Historical Context of Media Bias in the United States

Glen Krutz and Sylvie Waskiewicz assert that the historical roots of media bias in the United States can be traced back to the 19th century, when newspapers aligned with political parties and economic interests, shaping public opinion through biased reporting (265-02). This era saw newspapers such as the San Francisco Alta California and the Stockton Republican acting as political mouthpieces, intertwining editorial opinions with news stories. The late 19th and early 20th centuries marked the era of yellow journalism, characterized by sensationalized reporting and exaggerated headlines, with newspapers like William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal and Joseph Pulitzer's New York World engaging in fierce competition, resorting to sensationalism to attract readership. This period significantly

influenced public opinion through biased and exaggerated reporting, setting a precedent for sensationalized news coverage (Moss).

The evolution of media bias in the United States has been urged by various factors over time. In the 20th century, the growth of technology played a significant role in shaping mass media. Micaela Ricaforte in her article “The History of American Media Bias Part 4: 1950s-2000s” mentions that the impact of television news in the last half of the 20th century brought about a shift from the contextual, linear written word to more emotional and immediate content on television screens. This change led to news and political content becoming more adapted to television, with political figures transforming into entertainment figures who appealed to TV audiences (Barrett et al.).

Similarly, changes in journalism education and the rise of alternative news sources like Fox, CNN, and cable television networks have contributed to the shaping of media bias. The development of journalism degrees at universities in the 1970s influenced the bias of reporters, shifting much of the industry's zeitgeist towards a left-leaning perspective. The emergence of alternative news sources in the 1980s provided viewers with more choices and added competition for mainstream media, leading to a competitive renaissance of news sensationalism (Ricaforte). Furthermore, the spread of the internet as a new medium in the 2000s further transformed the news industry and exacerbated the "filter bubble" problem, where individuals isolate themselves by exclusively consuming news from one source (Ricaforte).

To sum up, the historical roots of media bias in the United States, the era of yellow journalism and sensationalism, the impact of mass media on political polarization, and the modern influence of cable news networks and social media platforms collectively shape the landscape of media bias and its role in shaping public opinion and political narratives in the United States.

1.4.4. Factors Influencing Media Partiality

Corporate ownership, which means corporations owned by shareholders, in the United States plays a significant role in shaping media partiality. The ownership structure of media outlets, whether they are stock market traded or privately owned, can influence the content and bias of news coverage. Stock market traded companies, driven by profit maximization for shareholders, often face extreme commercial pressures that can lead to partisan slant in news coverage (Garz et al.). Conversely, Rodney Benson claims that privately owned media outlets, including individual or family ownership and private investors like hedge funds, may exhibit political slant based on the owners' interests and views, highlighting what is known as the "amenity potential" of private ownership (71-83).

This distinction in ownership forms highlights how economic and political interests can influence the objectivity and balance of news reporting in the US media landscape. Additionally, Gilens and Hertzman have shown in "Corporate Ownership and News Bias" that corporate media owners can influence news content, potentially leading to bias in reporting. The influence of major US daily news sources' owners, majority voting shareholders, and donors can affect the information presented to the public. This influence can sometimes result in news outlets being labeled as political propaganda, highlighting the importance of radical ownership transparency in the media landscape (369-86).

In addition, competition among media outlets can lead to sensationalism or bias as outlets strive to attract more viewers or readers. Ratings, which reflect audience size and engagement, can influence media bias by incentivizing content that appeals to the largest audience segments. Audience preferences also impact media partiality, as media outlets may cater to specific demographics or ideologies to maintain or grow their viewership. These factors collectively contribute to shaping the editorial decisions and content biases observed in the US media landscape (Steppat et al. 321-34).

Studies suggest that consuming more politically biased media can distort perspectives and deepen negative perceptions of the opposing side, fostering a tribal mentality and reinforcing identity within partisan communities (Roscini). He also added that this phenomenon, known as "identity journalism," tends to bind individuals to specific ideological groups, further entrenching their beliefs and making them resistant to alternative viewpoints. In other words, the interplay between competition among media outlets, the pursuit of ratings and profitability, and audience preferences shape media partiality in the US, contributing to the polarization of news coverage and reinforcing partisan divides.

Likewise, financial pressures and budget constraints can significantly affect media partiality. A research by the Pew Research Center indicates that a growing proportion of journalists believe that increased bottom-line pressure is not only changing the way news organizations operate but also negatively affecting the quality of news coverage. This pressure can lead to a focus on revenue generation, potentially influencing the editorial decisions made by media outlets. Sutter suggests that financial incentives can affect news organizations' coverage of government and other topics. Financial pressures may reduce the audience and revenues of news organizations, giving owners an incentive to check bias in reporting (549-67).

Additionally, financial constraints can lead to staffing cutbacks in newsrooms, affecting the resources available for thorough and unbiased reporting. Strauß writes that budget constraints can limit resources for investigative journalism or fact checking, increasing the likelihood of relying on press releases or unchecked sources, which can introduce bias into reporting. In essence, financial pressures and budget constraints can influence media outlets to cater to specific interests or advertisers, compromising the impartiality and objectivity of the news they deliver (274-91). In summary, financial pressures and budget constraints in the US

media landscape can potentially compromise media partiality by influencing editorial decisions, resource allocation, and managerial priorities.

Government influence on media partiality in the United States can manifest through various mechanisms, affecting the freedom of the press and shaping public discourse. The relationship between the government and media partiality is complex, involving both direct and indirect forms of control that can sway narratives and information dissemination. Direct censorship by the government involves explicit actions to restrict or control the content disseminated by media outlets. This can range from imposing legal restrictions on certain topics to outright suppression of dissenting voices. The recent case before the Supreme Court regarding government pressure on social media platforms highlights concerns about potential overreach in regulating speech (Quinn). Such direct interventions can lead to a biased portrayal of information, favoring certain narratives while silencing others.

In contrast, indirect government influence on media partiality occurs through regulatory frameworks, funding mechanisms, and ideological pressures. For instance, regulations that dictate ownership structures or limit access to information can shape the media landscape in ways that align with governmental interests. Additionally, ideological pressures, as seen in debates over social media regulation, can subtly influence content moderation decisions, potentially leading to biased outcomes (Yaraghi). As a result, Corduneanu-Huci and Hamilton claim that by controlling the narrative through selective censorship or coercion, authorities can shape public opinion, influence debates, and even manipulate electoral outcomes (517-38). This underscores the importance of a diverse and independent media landscape to counterbalance potential biases imposed by governmental actors.

To put it briefly, corporate ownership, competition among media outlets, audience preferences, financial pressures, and government influence collectively shape media partiality in the United States. The ownership structure of media outlets, whether stock market traded or

privately owned, influences news content and bias, reflecting economic and political interests. Competition for viewership or readership and the pursuit of ratings and profitability incentivize sensationalism and cater to specific audience demographics or ideologies. Financial pressures and budget constraints can compromise impartiality by influencing editorial decisions and resource allocation.

In addition, government influence, both direct and indirect, can sway narratives and shape public discourse, highlighting the importance of a diverse and independent media landscape. Overall, these factors interact to reinforce partisan divides, distort perspectives, and affect the quality and objectivity of news coverage in the US media landscape. Maintaining transparency, promoting media literacy, and safeguarding press freedom are essential in mitigating biases and ensuring a more balanced and informed public discourse.

To go over the main points, corporate ownership, competition among media sources, audience preferences, financial pressures, and political involvement all shape media bias in the United States. The ownership structure of media outlets, whether publicly traded or privately held, influences news content and bias, revealing economic and political interests. Sensationalism and catering to specific audience demographics or beliefs are incentivized by competition for viewing or reading, as well as ratings and profitability. Financial pressures and budget limits might jeopardize impartiality by influencing editorial choices and resource allocation. Likewise, government influence, both direct and indirect, can shift narratives and shape public discourse, emphasizing the significance of a diversified and independent media environment.

1.4.5. Implications of Media Partiality

What events the mass media selects to report and how prominently they are dealt with are two vital ways in which the media helps shape public opinion. The ideal role of the media is to inform the public, but there has been criticism of the media's performance. Critics claim

that the media have too much influence on political opinion and that there is little real competition among the media. They also charge that the media presents information in a biased way. The impact of media bias on democracy and public policies has been studied extensively, highlighting its significance in shaping public opinion and decision-making processes (Dellavigna and Kaplan 79).

1.4.5.1. Polarization and Division in Society

Media bias can have significant implications for society, particularly in terms of polarization and division. Biased reporting in mainstream media can distort facts; manipulate public beliefs, and narrow perspectives, leading to increased polarization (Bernhardt et al.). Hobolt et al. claim that this polarization leads individuals to develop intense stereotypes, prejudices, and evaluative biases, further dividing society. For instance, when certain communities are consistently portrayed in a negative light or marginalized in media coverage, it can fuel discrimination, perpetuate inequality, and hinder efforts toward social cohesion and understanding. Therefore, selective exposure to biased media content can further intensify ideological differences and contribute to the deepening divide between different segments of society.

1.4.5.2. Erosion of Trust in Journalism and Media Institutions

Efforts to present news in an impartial manner may be crucial for maintaining trust in journalism (Ojala 2042-2060). However, challenges arise when media outlets are accused of bias. Media partition can significantly contribute to the erosion of trust in journalism and media institutions (Lee 8-21). When audiences perceive bias in news reporting, it can lead to a decline in trust in the media's ability to provide impartial and accurate information (Coats).

In addition, accusations of bias can undermine the credibility of journalists and their profession, affecting the audience's perception of the media's ability to check facts and present information objectively (Pingree et al. e0208600); hence, the perception of bias in news

reporting can influence how individuals evaluate the trustworthiness of media outlets, affecting their overall trust in journalism. For example, when respondents are asked why they do not trust certain news organizations, many will cite inaccurate or misleading reporting, biased or unfair coverage, and politically focused or partisan bias as key reasons for their lack of trust. Simply put, Media bias undermines trust in journalism by casting doubt on the impartiality and accuracy of news reporting, influencing the credibility of journalists and media institutions, and thus influencing overall trust in journalism.

1.4.5.3. Impact on Public Opinion and Policy Making

Media bias exerts a substantial influence on public opinion and the policymaking process. The portrayal of issues in the media significantly shapes public perceptions, consequently affecting policy decisions (Pathak et al. 2798-803). Media bias significantly influences public opinion by dictating the type of information people access, leading to altered perspectives and beliefs. Likewise, DellaVigna and Kaplan assume that media bias has the potential to influence voting behavior by shaping individuals' perceptions of political candidates and issues. When media outlets present information in a biased manner, it can sway public opinion and contribute to the polarization of political preferences (1187-234).

Besides, media bias extends its sway to policymaking by molding public perception of risks and influencing policymakers' understanding of public sentiment, thus affecting policy choices (Zurriyati et al. 14). It also contributes to political polarization, influencing electoral outcomes and policy decisions (Bernhardt et al. 1092-104). Media bias is not confined to specific topics but extends to broader issues such as economic news and political ideologies (Larcinese et al. 1178-189). Studies underscore how media bias can alter public perception of risks, subsequently influencing policymakers' decisions, as policymakers often rely on media coverage as a gauge of public sentiment (Zurriyati et al. 14).

Further, media bias shapes the public agenda by dictating which news stories reach the public (Arsenault and Castells 488-13), thus affecting public opinion and policymakers' perspectives on policy (Zurriyati et al. 14). Additionally, social media significantly influences public opinion by fostering confirmation bias and shaping personal views on various issues (Ghani and Rahmat 47-56). Consequently, the impact of biased media on public opinion and policymaking is significant. When news outlets present a biased version of the news, it can affect how people perceive social issues, which affects public perception, influences decision-making, and even impacts policy outcomes.

1.4.5.4. Challenges to Media Literacy and Critical Thinking

In her article entitled “Critical Thinking and Media Literacy in an Age of Misinformation”, Terry Gilmour states that Media bias poses significant challenges to both media literacy and critical thinking by influencing how individuals perceive, analyze, and interpret information. Biased reporting complicates the recognition of skewed narratives, making it hard to identify credible sources and distinguish between fact and fiction (Johnson). Moreover, biased content manipulates perspectives, validates preconceived notions, and limits exposure to diverse viewpoints, hindering critical thinking by discouraging questioning of presented information (“Detecting Bias in the News”). Overcoming these challenges necessitates promoting awareness, fostering skepticism, and cultivating a culture of critical analysis to enhance media literacy and encourage independent, informed thinking in consuming news and media content (Johnson).

Concisely, in the contemporary landscape of American society, the role of mass media stands as a cornerstone of information dissemination and public discourse. However, amidst its pivotal function, concerns surrounding media bias have become increasingly pronounced. The issue of media bias complicates this landscape, as varying perspectives and agendas can influence the presentation and interpretation of news. Understanding the importance of media

and its susceptibility to bias is essential for navigating the complexities of modern American society and politics. Thus, while the media remains a powerful force in shaping societal attitudes and beliefs, critical engagement with its content is imperative for maintaining a healthy and pluralistic democracy.

Chapter Two

Effects of Media Bias on Public Perception and Political Decision-Making

After having explained in the previous chapter the actual meaning of media bias, its types, its historical background in the United States as well as its causes and implications, this chapter will reveal the impact of media bias on both public perception and political decision-making. The first part introduces public opinion and its significance in the US. Next, through mass communication theories, this chapter is devoted to elucidate how biased media profoundly influences both public opinion and political decision-making. This will be followed by an explanation of how the latter is indirectly influenced by media bias through the electoral process. Finally, it unravels some regulatory responses to media bias ranging from existing regulations to future recommendations.

2.1. Significance of Public Opinion

According to the Oxford Dictionary, public opinion is the aggregation of the views of individuals in society ('public opinion'). It refers to the collective views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic or issue expressed by a significant proportion of a community (Davison). He further states that it encompasses the opinions of individuals within society, reflecting a synthesis of various views, attitudes, and beliefs. Stimson assumes that public opinion plays a significant role in various aspects of governance and decision-making processes. It influences government decisions, policy-making, and even judicial outcomes indirectly through processes like the election-nomination-confirmation process (543-45).

First, an essential factor highlighting the significance of public opinion lies in its influence on governmental decision-making. Elected representatives frequently use public opinion as an indicator to assess the reception and support for their policies and initiatives (Dumdum). This means understanding the prevailing public sentiment enables politicians to make decisions that align with the desires and expectations of their constituents. Ignoring

public opinion, however, can lead to a loss of trust, alienation of constituents, and ultimately, political repercussions (“Public Opinion: Examining the Pulse of Society”).

Furthermore, Burstein indicates that public opinion significantly influences the formulation of public policies and legislation. Governments frequently employ methods such as opinion polls, surveys, or consultations to collect input and perspectives from the public before introducing new laws or enacting reforms (29-36). For instance, Pacheco et al. indicate that in the United States, the Affordable Care Act was heavily influenced by public opinion, with extensive public debates and discussions shaping the final legislation (115-17).

Additionally, public opinion exerts a profound influence on social and cultural norms. It has the power to drive social movements forward by rallying public support and fostering a sense of urgency for transformation. Movements like Black Lives Matter surged in prominence thanks to widespread public sentiment advocating for justice and equality (“Public Opinion: Examining the Pulse of Society”).

Public opinion and media bias are intricately linked, with individuals often perceiving media coverage through the lens of their own opinions and beliefs. Studies have shown that strong partisans tend to project their own opinions onto perceived public opinion while at the same time holding negative views of media opinions, a phenomenon known as hostile media perceptions (Schulz et al. 201-26). Simply put, biased media can affect the way people interpret events and make decisions, especially in the context of politics, and can lead to polarization and the reinforcement of partisan viewpoints.

2.2. Media Bias Mechanisms to Affect Public Perception and Political Decision-Making

Media bias can affect public opinion and thus policy formation, through different mechanisms. The latter can be represented in mass media theories that explain the process through which media bias influences public perception and policymakers’ perspectives altogether. As a result, public opinion is stirred and new policies are born; i.e., how media

portrays issues can significantly influence policymakers' decisions, leading to the emergence of new policies.

2.2.1. The Framing Effect Theory

The framing effect theory, extensively studied in disciplines such as psychology, decision-making, and political communication was originally proposed by Kahneman and Tversky in their work on prospect theory in 1979 (Martino et al. 684-87). It explores how the presentation or "frame" of information can influence individuals' choices and judgments (Tversky and Kahneman 453-58). The framing effect theory, as defined by Matthes and Kohring involves selecting specific aspects of a perceived reality and emphasizing them in a communication context to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, or treatment recommendation (258-79).

Nikolopoulou Kassiani also defines it as a cognitive bias where individuals react differently to information based on how it is presented, rather than the actual content of the message. This bias influences decision-making by emphasizing whether an option is framed as a gain (positive) or a loss (negative). In simple words, the framing effect theory suggests that the way information is presented (or framed) can significantly influence public perceptions. It suggests that framing information in a particular way allows communicators to shape, manipulate, and steer audience perceptions and preferences by directing attention to specific aspects of an issue. Therefore, by framing the message effectively, people can react differently to the same information depending on how it is presented, even if the core message remains unchanged.

Media uses this theory as a strategic tool to shape public perception and influence discourse on various issues. Framing involves selecting certain aspects of an issue while downplaying others, defining the problem, interpreting causality, making moral judgments, and suggesting actions (Kahlström et al. 5). They have further quoted Entman to explain that

“If done successfully media framing could affect and change peoples and even society’s values and beliefs”.

The framing theory is put into action by media professionals through various techniques, such as selective emphasis on specific aspects of a story, using loaded language as a tool to create bias and emotional responses, choosing which events to excessively cover or omit, and utilizing visual framing with specific images and camera angles to sway audience views and emotions. Journalists play a crucial role in framing by applying their interpretive frames when packaging news, influenced by factors like time constraints, resource limitations, social norms, pressure from interest groups, and their own ideological orientations. By employing these framing techniques, media outlets can influence how audiences perceive reality and connect different events, affecting their beliefs, values, and decisions toward social and political problems (Scheufele, *Framing as a Theory* 103-22).

After recognizing that the presentation of a message significantly influences how it is understood, this process will allow the media to choose situations to stress and which debates to spark in order to influence audiences’ behavior (Nwakpoke Ogbodo et al. 257-69). In essence, the media employs the framing theory to shape how the public perceives and discusses various issues. This involves deciding what topics would gain prominence in public discussions as well as highlighting certain aspects of the topic while excluding others depending on what would influence societal values and beliefs more.

Dalia Yashinsky provides the following example to explain this theory. She states that sometimes news outlets may focus on specific aspects of a story, such as emphasizing the background of a suspect in a crime rather than the crime itself, which can influence public perceptions and emotional reactions to events, showcasing how framing impacts news consumption and interpretation. In his article entitled “Media Framing and How It Can Shift the Narrative”, John Amis was able to provide another example of the framing theory

occurring in real life through media; namely the shift in the framing of the refugee crisis in the United Kingdom media in 2015.

Initially, terms like “swarms of migrants”, “illegal aliens” and “marauding migrants” were commonly used instead of “undocumented immigrants” focusing on the perceived negative economic impact of new arrivals. However, when the image of three-year-old Syrian Aylan Kurdi lying lifeless on a Turkish beach circulated in the media, the narrative changed dramatically. This image triggered a global reaction, leading to an immediate shift in the language used to characterize the crisis and a change in strategies by politicians and media organizations of all ideologies. Therefore, the emotional impact of this image altered the framing of the crisis, demonstrating how a single event can rapidly and radically transform the framing of a societal issue in the media, displaying the dynamic nature of framing theory in shaping public perceptions and responses to significant events.

Moreover, studies like those by Yousaf et al. and Tahamtan et al. highlight the impact of media framing during critical events like the COVID-19 pandemic. The framing of COVID-19 in a fear-oriented manner significantly influenced public perception, demonstrating the potency of media framing in shaping attitudes and responses to crises. As a final point, in her article “What is the Framing Effect? | Definition and Example”, Nikolopoulou notes how framing helps politicians communicate their ideas by highlighting some parts of an issue while ignoring others. For instance, the term “Tax relief” has been often used to refer to “tax cuts.” Because the latter is an emotionally neutral term, while “tax relief” is emotionally charged. It evokes the image of an oppressor burdening people with heavy taxes. Even though both terms mean the same thing, it is far more difficult to be against “tax relief”.

2.2.2. The Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting is defined by Chandler in Oxford’s *Dictionary of Media and Communication* as:

A situation where critics perceive inexplicit political motives (or an institutional tendency to overlook underprivileged perspectives) to lie behind the choice of topics covered (e.g. in news, current affairs, and documentaries), their relative importance (inferred from sequence and/or the relative amounts of space or time devoted to them), how they are presented, and what issues are backgrounded or excluded (see also selective representation). (9)

In other words, critics often argue that media coverage, including news, current affairs, and documentaries, is influenced by inexplicit political motives or biases towards certain perspectives, particularly those of the privileged.

Agenda-setting theory, as developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, is a fundamental concept in communication research that focuses on the influence of the media in determining which issues are considered significant by the public. This theory suggests that the media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion by highlighting certain topics and giving them more prominence, thereby influencing what the audience perceives as important (Dunaway et al. 359-78). This theory emphasizes the transfer of “salience” (or prominence) from the media agenda to the public agenda, indicating that the media's selection and presentation of news can affect the public's awareness and prioritization of social events (Chong et al. 629-30). Overall, agenda-setting theory posits that the media has a significant influence on determining the priorities of public opinion.

Agenda-setting theory comprises two levels that are essential in shaping public discourse and influencing perceptions. The theory distinguishes between the first and second levels of agenda setting, each focusing on distinct aspects of media influence. The first level of agenda setting primarily deals with the salience of objects or actors in the media. It involves determining what issues or entities are prominent in the news, thereby influencing the public's perception of what is important (Meijer and Kleinnijenhuis 543-59).

Blanco-Herrero et al. assert that this level focuses on the visibility and attention given to specific topics, shaping the public agenda by highlighting certain issues over others (1054). An example of first-level agenda setting is the coverage of the 2021 Afghanistan withdrawal. The media's extensive coverage of the event made it a significant issue in the public's mind, even though it had little direct impact on most people's lives. However, the second level of agenda-setting delves deeper into the attributes of the objects or actors highlighted in the media. This level goes beyond just identifying what is salient and explores how these objects are portrayed, influencing how the audience thinks about them (Vu et al. 669-86). It emphasizes the characteristics, qualities, or aspects of the objects that are emphasized in the media coverage, thereby shaping the audience's understanding and interpretation of the issues (McCombs et al. 77-92).

By highlighting specific attributes or qualities of objects, the media can influence not only what people think about but also how they think about those issues or entities (Symeou et al. 732-54). Wu and Coleman show that the second level of agenda setting, which focuses on attributes, can be stronger in its effects compared to the first level which concentrates on salience (775-89). An example of second-level agenda setting is the portrayal of political candidates' attributes, such as their experience or character traits, which can influence how the public perceives and evaluates them.

Criticism of the agenda-setting theory has been raised regarding its perceived overestimation of the media's power to influence public opinion. While the theory posits that the media plays a significant role in determining what the public thinks about, Meriläinen and Vos argue that this perspective neglects the agency of the audience in influencing media content (293-10). This criticism suggests that the theory's focus on the one-way flow of information from the media to the public may oversimplify the complex dynamics of agenda setting, where the public's interests and actions can also shape media agendas. Moreover,

Chernov and McCombs have pointed out that agenda-setting theory has been criticized for lacking theoretical richness and narrowly understood underlying mechanisms (63-81). This critique implies that the theory may not fully capture the intricacies of how agendas are set and how information flows between the media and the public.

Overall, agenda-setting theory remains a foundational concept in communication studies, providing valuable insights into the mechanisms through which the media shapes public discourse and influences societal agendas. Its application spans various domains, from politics to health communication, demonstrating its relevance and versatility in understanding the dynamics of media influence on public opinion.

2.2.3. Priming Theory

Chandler and Munday define priming in cognitive psychology as “The triggering of particular expectations, associations, or memories by a contextual cue (or prime)”. In addition, priming in persuasive communication is defined as “providing a prior context within which subsequent communication will be interpreted” (337). In other words, it involves preparing someone's mind by introducing a context or cue that shapes their subsequent thoughts, associations, or interpretations. Similarly, they assume that priming in media is a psychological phenomenon where media content influences the way people perceive and process subsequent related information; the initial media exposure serves as a "prime" or a frame of reference for interpreting subsequent related content (267).

The idea of media priming was initially explored in the field of cognitive psychology, where researchers found that exposure to certain stimuli could influence the way people processed and responded to subsequent information (Ewoldsen et al. 97-120). Media priming on the other hand, was first discovered in the 1970s, when scholars of political communication began to explore the concept of priming as a form of media effect; the idea of

priming emerged as a response to the minimal-effects perspective, which dominated the field at the time (Scheufele and Tewksbury 9-20).

In addition, Scheufele and Tewksbury added that priming research gained significant attention in the 1980s and early 1990s, with scholars developing models that focused on the idea that mass media had potentially strong attitudinal effects, but that these effects also depended heavily on predispositions, schema, and other characteristics of the audience (9-20). The theory of media priming was further developed in the 2000s, with researchers proposing various frameworks and models to explain how media priming occurs and how it influences the audience's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors (Hoewe 312-21). Today, media priming remains an important concept in communication research, with implications for various fields, including media and communications, politics, marketing, and social psychology.

Media priming is a significant factor in shaping perceptions and influencing public opinion in politics. Studies by Willnat and Zhu have shown that media coverage, especially on television news, not only raises awareness of specific issues but also affects how political leaders are assessed (231-46). Media priming goes beyond news coverage to include the tone and framing of stories. The evaluative tone of media coverage, which assigns affective attributes to objects such as candidates and issues, plays a crucial role in agenda-setting and priming processes, ultimately influencing political judgments (Sheafer 21-39).

Additionally, Camaj argues that attribute priming demonstrates how a certain issue attributes highlighted in the media can become significant dimensions of public issue evaluation (634-54). Furthermore, the use of social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram by political leaders and parties showcases how social media has become essential to political communication strategies, enabling the molding of public images and identities (Yavetz 464-82). Zebib argues that the incorporation of social media in political communication has significantly expanded in recent years, with leaders using these platforms

to connect with and engage the masses (87-106). Overall, media priming is a potent tool in politics, influencing public opinion and shaping perceptions; ie, it allows stakeholders to strategically leverage media channels to convey messages, shape narratives, and influence outcomes.

With all that being said, priming and agenda-setting may seem similar at first glance, however, they have distinct differences. According to Behr and Iyengar, agenda-setting and priming should be viewed from two distinct perspectives. On a broader scale, agenda-setting theory focuses on the media agenda, exploring how the media prioritizes issues and personalities. Meanwhile, priming, which is seen as an individual psychological outcome of agenda-setting (see figure 1), operates on a more detailed level, examining how specific issues become prominent in individuals' memory and influence their evaluations of leaders (qtd. in Scheufele, *Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing* 302). In addition, Scheufele defines priming as “the impact that agenda-setting can have on the way individuals evaluate public officials by influencing the thematic areas or issues that individuals use to form these evaluations” (297).

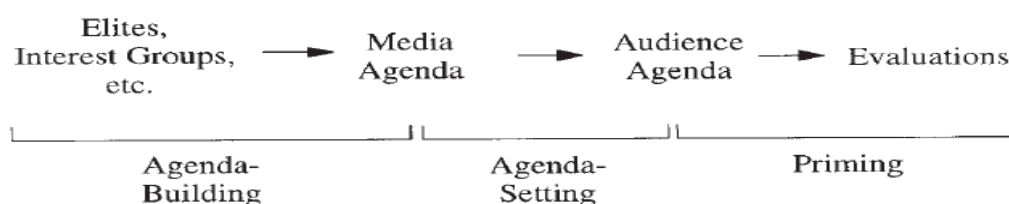


Fig. 1. An Overview of Agenda-setting Research. Scheufele, Dietram A. “Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication.” *Mass Communication and Society*, vol. 3, no. 2-3, Aug. 2000, pp. 297–16, https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327825mcs0323_07.

2.2.4. Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory, introduced by Gerbner and his colleagues in the 1960s and 1970s, has become a prominent framework in mass media effects research (qtd. in Potter 1015-36 “A

Critical Analysis...”). According to Gerbner, cultivation theory posits that exposure to television programming over extended periods shapes individuals' perceptions of reality by cultivating common conceptions of the world. In addition, Gerbner suggests that the more time individuals spend watching television, the more likely they are to perceive the world in ways that align with the portrayals on television (qtd. in Nabi and Krcmar 288-310).

According to Mosharafa, “The theory proposes that the danger of television lies in its ability to shape not a particular viewpoint about one specific issue but in its ability to shape people's moral values and general beliefs about the world”. The theory suggests that heavy television viewers are more likely to perceive the world as it is portrayed on television, leading to a distorted view of reality, leading to a "cultivation effect". This effect is not immediate but rather accumulates over time, as viewers internalize the messages and portrayals presented in media content and are not limited to television but can also be observed in other media contexts, such as social media and video games (Shrum 1-12). This result of cultivation was coined by George Gerbner as “mean world syndrome” due to individuals exposed to high levels of violence perceiving the world as harsh and frightening (qtd. in Kaur 33).

According to Gerbner, cultivation theory has evolved over time to encompass various refinements and concepts such as mainstreaming and resonance (qtd. in Morgan and Shanahan 337-55). Miller argues that television largely mirrors the dominant cultural norms of society. Audience groups vary due to the diverse cultural, social, and political contexts they belong to. TV tends to promote the mainstream trend, minimizing or eradicating differences, particularly among avid viewers. While mainstreaming fosters unity and consistency among individuals in society, it can also hinder change in certain cultural and societal aspects that may be beneficial (qtd. in Mosharafa).

Resonance, on the other hand, suggests that certain groups are more vulnerable to the cultivation of fear by television. Shrum asserts that this effect is more pronounced in groups that are already predisposed to be more fearful, such as those with a higher risk of crime victimization or those who perceive the world as a more dangerous place. Television content, particularly news and crime-related programming, can reinforce these fears and perceptions, leading to a heightened sense of risk and anxiety (191).

Over the years, cultivation theory has garnered significant attention, with a substantial body of literature dedicated to exploring its implications and applications. Scholars have delved into various aspects of cultivation theory, examining its relevance in contemporary media contexts and its impact on society (Morgan et al. 674-99). Despite its criticism, particularly regarding several key issues, including its ambiguity, lack of empirical support, and oversimplification of the relationship between television and social reality, Potter argues that Gerbner's experiments and research provided evidence for the cultivation theory's core assumptions, which argue that television and other forms of media can shape people's perceptions of the world and their attitudes and beliefs over time. The theory has been refined and adjusted over the years to account for new media technologies, and it remains a relevant and influential theory in the field of mass communication and media studies (1015- 36).

2.2.5. Spiral of Silence Theory

The Spiral of Silence theory was initially proposed by Noelle-Neumann in the 1980s in her seminal book, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin*. Noelle-Neumann suggests that this theory explores how individuals decide whether to express their opinions based on their perception of the prevailing opinion climate (qtd. in Gearhart and Zhang, “Gay Bullying...” 208-13). Gearhart and Zhang further assert that this theory suggests that individuals are more likely to speak out when they believe their opinions align with the

majority, while those who perceive their views as in the minority tend to remain silent due to a fear of social isolation (“Was it Something...?”18-36).

The theory thus posits that the fear of isolation plays a significant role in shaping individuals' decisions to express their opinions (Neuwirth et al. 450-68). The spiral effect occurs when individuals see others confidently supporting the majority opinion, causing the minority to feel increasingly isolated and reluctant to voice their opinions (Petersen). He also adds that this theory emphasizes the importance of a distinct moral component in opinions and highlights the role of the media in shaping public perception and influencing the spiral of silence phenomenon.

Simply put, the spiral of silence theory suggests that individuals are more likely to speak out when they believe their opinions align with the majority, whereas those who see their views as in the minority are likely to stay silent due to the fear of isolation or social backlash, thereby reinforcing the dominance of prevailing opinions. In a company, the managing director decides to increase their working hour from 8 to 10 and sends e-mails to all employees. The majority of them accept this time change and a few employees are not satisfied with his decision; however, they cannot or are not ready to express their thoughts publicly because they may feel unsupported by the other employees (Communication Theory).

In relation to media bias, this theory posits that public opinion is influenced by individuals' interactions with their social environments including media content, which in turn would contribute to the spiral effect. When the media consistently presents information that aligns with the majority opinion or a specific agenda, it can create an environment where individuals with differing views feel marginalized or hesitant to express their opinions publicly which in turn will reinforce the spiral effect described in the theory (Hampton et al.).

In other words, media bias can have a significant impact on public opinion through its alignment with the Spiral of Silence theory. The biased coverage can shape public perception by reinforcing majority views and potentially silencing dissenting voices. The spiral of silence theory can be observed in how individuals engage with media content. For example, encountering agreeable political content may encourage individuals to speak out, while disagreeable content may lead to self-censorship, supporting the spiral of silence theory in social media environments (Gearhart and Zhang 208-13).

Despite its enduring appeal and widespread acceptance in communication studies, the Spiral of Silence theory has faced criticism and challenges. For instance, one of the main criticisms of the Spiral of Silence theory is that it is based on the assumption that fear of isolation is the primary reason people choose to conceal their views. However, there is insufficient evidence to support this assumption, and it does not account for other reasons why people may remain silent, such as shyness, disinterest, or a desire not to embarrass someone with an opposing viewpoint (Sohn 140).

In summary, the Spiral of Silence theory and media bias are related concepts that can influence public opinion by shaping individuals' perception of the majority opinion and their willingness to express their opinions. When media outlets consistently present information in a biased manner, those holding minority opinions may fear social isolation or backlash for expressing dissenting views. This leads to a reluctance to speak out, reinforcing the perception that the majority opinion is more widely accepted than it actually is. Thus, biased media can contribute to the silencing of diverse perspectives and the reinforcement of prevailing narratives.

2.2.6. Knowledge Gap Theory

The knowledge gap theory is a mass communication theory that was first proposed in an article entitled "Mass media flow and differential growth in Knowledge" published in 1970

by three researchers at Minnesota University: Philip J Tichenor, then Associate Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication, George A. Donohue, Professor of Sociology, and Clarice. N Olien, instructor in Sociology. They defined it as “the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases higher socioeconomic status segments tend to acquire this information faster than lower socioeconomic status population segments.

Hence the gap in knowledge between the two tends to increase rather than decrease” (Tichenor et al. 159-70). Drew states that this theory is based on the unequal distribution of information in society, which is influenced by socioeconomic status and education levels. The gap in knowledge exists because individuals with higher socioeconomic status have better access to education, critical thinking and open mind, more stored information, and more relevant social contact, which increase their likelihood of acquiring information from mass media.

Simply stated, this theory proposes that individuals with higher socioeconomic status tend to have more access to information and can process this information more effectively compared to those with lower status. As a result, gaps in knowledge and understanding between different groups in society grow wide over time, especially as new information and technology emerge.

Despite its applicability and effectiveness in modern media landscapes, the knowledge gap hypothesis has faced criticism. For instance, in their article entitled “What we do and don’t Know: A Meta-analysis of the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis” Lind and Boomgaarden argued that this theory has a limited scope as it primarily focuses on the knowledge gap between different socioeconomic classes, but it neglects other factors like age, gender, race, cognitive abilities, and motivation that might contribute to the knowledge gap. They further added that the theory assumes that all individuals have equal access to media and information, which is often not the case. Several factors like income, geographical location, and education,

can profoundly impact access to information, leading to an unequal distribution of knowledge (210-24).

2.3. Effects of Media Bias on Electoral Outcomes

Media bias significantly influences voters' perceptions and behaviors, consequently shaping electoral outcomes. These outcomes, in turn, shape the political landscape, the decisions made by elected officials, and the policy agendas they pursue. Therefore, it is crucial to thoroughly examine the extent to which media bias affects electoral results in order to understand its broader implications for the democratic process.

Media bias can influence electoral outcomes in the US through various mechanisms. One way is by affecting the way voters perceive candidates and their character. In a survey by Kull et al., respondents who watched Fox News were more likely to believe that the US found weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, compared to those who watched CNN or Al Jazeera (qtd. in DellaVigna and Kaplan 79-106). Additionally, Ansolabehere and Iyengar found that media bias could also influence the way voters perceive issues. They found that laboratory exposure to a political ad influenced the vote share for the party sponsoring the ad (qtd in. DellaVigna and Kaplan 79-106).

Another way in which media bias can influence electoral outcomes is by shaping the information that voters receive about candidates and issues. Boxell found that during the 2016 US election, there was evidence of nonverbal media bias, with liberal websites being more likely to portray Hillary Clinton as happy, and conservative websites being more likely to portray Trump as angry. As a result, this can affect how voters perceive candidates and their character, potentially influencing their voting decisions. Research has shown that voters may not account for bias in the media and may be influenced by the framing of the news (Sethi and Herrera).

In a research conducted by Baum and Gussin, they discovered that during the 2000 presidential campaign, media coverage of certain issues, such as national security, was found to benefit Republicans, while coverage of other issues, such as education, benefited Democrats. This "issue ownership" phenomenon, where one or the other party benefits disproportionately from media emphasis on particular issues during election campaigns, leads to different candidates being perceived favorably or unfavorably by voters, based on the issues that are emphasized in the media (1-24).

Furthermore, DellaVigna and Kaplan conducted a study on "The Fox News Effect" and found that exposure to Fox News in the 2000 US presidential election had an impact on the Republican vote share in both district and county levels, where "Republicans gained 0.4 to 0.7 percentage points in the towns that broadcast Fox News". Not only that but this study also found that Fox News affected voter turnout and the Republican vote share in the Senate, with estimates implying that Fox News convinced 3 to 28 percent of its viewers to vote for Republican candidates (1187- 234). This shows how media bias can influence not only the perceptions of voters but also their actual voting behavior.

Moreover, newspaper endorsements as part of media bias have a significant effect on voters' decisions. A study conducted by Chiang and Knight revealed that voters are more likely to support the recommended candidate after the publication of the newspaper's approval and recommendation, but the extent of this reliance depends on the degree and direction of the bias; i.e., "endorsements for the Democratic candidate from left-leaning newspapers are less influential than are endorsements from neutral or right-leaning newspapers and likewise for endorsements for the Republican candidate" (795–20). This means that voters are more likely to trust certain sources of information, and less likely to trust others, based on the perceived bias of the media outlet and it can consequently influence the way voters make their choices.

To conclude, media bias plays a pivotal role in shaping electoral outcomes by influencing voters' perceptions and behaviors. Through various mechanisms, such as affecting how voters view candidates, shaping the information voters receive, and influencing voter turnout, media bias can significantly affect the democratic process. Studies have shown that exposure to biased media sources can sway voter opinions on issues and candidates, ultimately affecting election results. Additionally, newspaper endorsements can also sway voter decisions, with the degree and direction of bias playing a crucial role in their influence. Understanding the extent of media bias and its effects on electoral results is essential for comprehending its broader implications on democracy.

2.4. Regulatory Responses to Media Bias

The freedom of the press is a fundamental principle that assures the right to disseminate information without governmental interference; however, today media has evolved rapidly hence regulatory frameworks and policy interventions have become crucial and necessary to balance national interests with the principles of a free press while practicing journalism. Concerns over media bias led to the discussion of some regulatory interventions like the revival of historical doctrines and the promotion of media literacy alongside independent journalism. Therefore, understanding the dynamics between regulatory oversight, journalistic integrity, and public discourse is necessary to build a well-informed and democratic society.

2.4.1. Existing Regulatory Frameworks

In her article entitled “Freedom of Press 101”, Soken-Huberty defines freedom of the press as the individual's right to express and share information, ideas, and opinions without fear of censorship or government interference. However; despite being a fundamental right guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, it is not absolute. Countries like the United States recognize the necessity to put some limitations to prevent harm and ensure the rights and well-being of individuals (Besley and Prat 720). This simply means the

American government follows several mechanisms to limit the press, particularly in the context of national security and government accountability.

Those mechanisms include regulatory agencies like the Federal Communication Commission (FCC). According to Goodman, it is responsible for managing non-federal U.S. radio frequency spectrum allocation and ensuring its efficient use. The FCC's jurisdiction covers a wide range of issues, including spectrum policy, universal service, inmate calling services, and telehealth. They further state that through its regulatory authority, the FCC aims to promote competition, innovation, and investment in communication services while also protecting consumers and ensuring public safety. However, the FCC's authority over content is limited, especially concerning print and online media (173–85).

Another mechanism used by the American government is Surveillance and Targeting of Journalists. At the federal level, reporters do not have legal protection to keep their sources confidential. This means they can be forced to reveal sources and face jail if they refuse (Goldberg). Bradshaw states that such a form of surveillance not only compromises journalists' privacy but also has a chilling effect on their work, potentially leading to self-censorship and inhibiting investigative journalism (334-42).

For instance, James Risen, an investigative journalist, faced legal pressure to reveal a confidential source in the trial of Jeffrey Sterling, a CIA officer accused of leaking classified information. Risen refused, citing journalistic privilege. The legal battle lasted years, with the Supreme Court declining to hear Risen's appeal. Ultimately, Risen was not compelled to testify, highlighting the tension between press freedom and national security concerns (Nast). Organizations like the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) provide ethical guidelines and codes of conduct for journalists to adhere to to avoid similar incidents as they emphasize principles like truthfulness, accuracy, and impartiality (SPJ Code of Ethics).

Finally, limiting access to information is a mechanism employed by the American government to control the flow of information to the public. By classifying documents as secret or top-secret, the government restricts journalists' ability to uncover and report on critical issues (Scott and Choi 556-59). For example, in the context of digital government, limitations on access to information can be exacerbated. Digital government initiatives can potentially restrict access to information by imposing new barriers, falsifying information more easily, and providing excuses for inefficiency (Rowe).

2.4.2. Potential Policy Interventions

A range of policy interventions can be employed to address media bias and promote balanced, objective reporting, thereby enhancing the public's ability to make informed decisions. One such intervention is the reintroduction of the Fairness Doctrine, a policy that mandated broadcasters to provide balanced coverage of controversial issues. This doctrine, though abolished in the 1980s, could be revived by Congress to ensure that diverse perspectives are presented; however, the numerous constitutional and logistical challenges associated with reviving the Fairness Doctrine, coupled with the minimal potential benefits even in the most optimistic circumstances, suggest that Congress should follow the FCC's stance and admit that “it is both unconstitutional and impractical to legislatively direct the editorial choices of broadcasters, and let the Fairness Doctrine rest in peace” (Ugland 301-13).

Additionally, supporting research on media bias is an important intervention that can help identify its causes and effects, which can inform policy decisions aimed at addressing the issue. Spinde et al., in their article “How do we raise media bias awareness effectively?”, state that by funding research on media bias, policymakers can better understand the factors that contribute to media bias and develop evidence-based policies to address it. Furthermore, fostering media literacy is a critical intervention that can empower individuals to recognize

and mitigate the effects of media bias. By educating the public about media bias and its potential impact on public opinion and decision-making, individuals can make more informed choices about the media they consume (Spinde et al.).

For instance, they argue that public education campaigns can help raise awareness about media bias and its potential consequences, encouraging individuals to seek out diverse sources of information. By funding public education campaigns, policymakers can help empower individuals to make informed choices about the media they consume and promote a more informed citizenry. Not only that but Spinde et al. additionally explain that policymakers could consider strengthening media regulation to ensure that media outlets adhere to standards of accuracy and objectivity, potentially through the establishment of media watchdogs. This can help prevent media outlets from becoming too biased or partisan and promote a more balanced and objective media landscape.

Encouraging independent journalism is another potential intervention. An and Ni assert that policymakers could incentivize independent media outlets by providing funding or tax breaks for independent media outlets, which may be less prone to bias than those owned by larger corporations (71). This can help promote a more diverse and balanced media landscape, as independent media outlets are often more willing to challenge established narratives and present alternative perspectives.

To round up, this chapter has extensively examined the significant influence of biased American media on shaping public opinion and electoral outcomes. Through an in-depth exploration of defining public opinion and some mass communication theories, this chapter reveals the intricate mechanisms by which media bias molds voter behavior and political decision-making. It additionally discovers how framing issues, directing attention, and biased depictions of events can profoundly shape the topics that dominate public discussion and ultimately steer voters' decisions at the polls. Finally, the discussion of regulatory responses to

media bias emphasizes the importance of fostering transparency and accountability in media coverage. While some measures have been enacted, ongoing efforts are necessary to maintain media integrity and preserve the democratic process.

Chapter Three

A Comparison of CNN and Fox News Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian and the Palestinian-Israeli Wars

The phenomenon of media bias has become more prevalent in the United States significantly influencing public perceptions and political decision-making. One of the most outstanding cases of American media bias is in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that started on October 7, 2023, and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict that took place on February 22, 2022. This chapter starts with a brief historical background of the two conflicts to provide context for understanding the complexities involved.

Following the historical overview, the chapter delves into an analysis of US media coverage of the above-cited conflicts by CNN and FOX News. This chapter compares the media coverage of the two conflicts by the two selected media outlets and assesses the difference. Then, this chapter examines the impact of the American-biased portrayal of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict on public opinion and political decision-making within the United States.

3.1. Historical Background of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a complex struggle rooted in the historical narratives of two nations. It has defined the landscape of the Middle East for over a century. Emerging from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire's collapse and the British Mandate in Palestine, the clash between Jewish and Arab national aspirations took center stage. The Zionist movement, advocating for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, collided with the indigenous Arab population's resistance to foreign colonization.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict traces its origins to 1915 with the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence. The ruler of Mecca and the Hejaz, Sharif Hussein ibn Ali, sought assistance from Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt regarding the future

political status of the Arab lands of the Middle East to which he agreed especially with Britain aiming to bring about an armed revolt against the Ottoman rule (Britannica). This agreement was followed by the Ottoman Empire's fall at the end of October 1917 in which Britain was given the authority to rule Palestine in 1920 by the winners of the Great War (Beyer).

Britain's then-foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour, wrote a letter addressing Lionel Walter Rothschild, a figurehead of the British Jewish community. The 67-word letter had a notable effect that Palestine still suffers from today as Britain promised to provide a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine (Alsaafin). The conflict intensified with the Arab opposition to Jewish immigration, which increased in the 1930s leading to a rise in intercommunal violence in the region. Jews started migrating in huge numbers to Palestine because of the Nazi movement in Europe. The percentage of Jews living in Palestine rose from 6% to 33% between 1918 and 1947 (see figure 2) (Haddad and Chughtai).

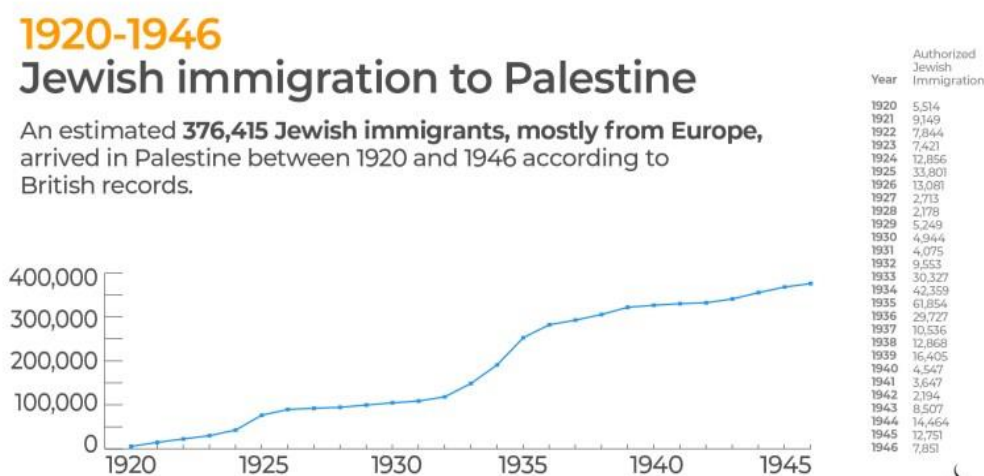


Fig. 2. Jewish Immigration to Palestine (1920-1946). Alsaafin, Linah. “What’s the Israel-Palestine Conflict About? A Simple Guide.” Wwww.aljazeera.com, 9 Oct. 2023, www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/9/whats-the-israel-palestine-conflict-about-a-simple-guide. Accessed 27 Apr. 2024.

As violence took over Palestine, the issue was brought before the recently established United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 181 in 1947,

recommending the division of Palestine into two independent states. One for the Arabs and one for the Jews, giving the Jewish people ownership of roughly 55% of the territory. Jerusalem was designated as a distinct internationalized region, and Arabs were given 45% of the land (Haddad and Chughtai).

Shortly after, more specifically on May 15, 1948, Jews announced the official birth of their state, which they called Israel. Arab world's rejection of the idea was met with Jewish militia attacks on Palestinian towns, forcing thousands from their homes. The situation in 1948 spiraled out of control and ended with a full-blown war, called the Nakba, between neighboring Arab armies and Israeli defense forces. The war ended with over half of the Palestinian population being permanently displaced (United Nations).

In the years after the Nakba, Israel's efforts to expand its territories over the ones set by the UN (see figure 3) and the formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964 led to more conflicts between the two parties such as the Naksa (1967), Yom Kippur (1973), and the first Intifada (Alsaafin). In 1993, the Oslo Accords were signed aiming mainly to establish peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Negotiated secretly in Oslo, Norway, they outlined principles for Palestinian self-governance in Gaza and parts of the West Bank. Though celebrated initially, the accords faced challenges and did not lead to lasting peace as they were faced by the Second Intifada in 2000 (Britannica). Furthermore, a series of Israeli military attacks were launched on the Gaza Strip in 2008, 2012, 2014, and 2021, reaching 2023's Tofan Al-Aqsa.



Fig. 3. Maynard, Judy. “ ‘Disappearing Palestine’ – the Maps that Lie”. *AIJAC*, 7 July 2020, aijac.org.au/fresh-air/disappearing-palestine-the-maps-that-lie/. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.

Those series of conflicts led to devastating and profound consequences, especially for Palestinians. First, in her article, Alssafin clearly states that the repeated military assaults by Israel on the Gaza Strip resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians including civilians, women, and children. In addition to life loss, Perez argues that Palestinians had to go through a massive displacement and refugee crisis as millions of them were forced to leave their homes and ended up living as refugees in camps across the region.

Tollast et al. add that an enormous number of homes, schools, and infrastructure have been extensively damaged or destroyed, making rebuilding difficult due to Israeli restrictions on construction materials reaching Gaza. The conflict has also led to a range of psychological and emotional impacts on Palestinians, including distress, depression, post-traumatic stress disorders, anxiety, a higher tendency towards vengeance, and an inability to forgive (Hamama-Raz et al.). Finally, the ongoing conflicts between Israel and Palestine have had severe economic repercussions on the Palestinian economy as it has experienced substantial GDP contractions (see figure 4) (World Bank Group 3).

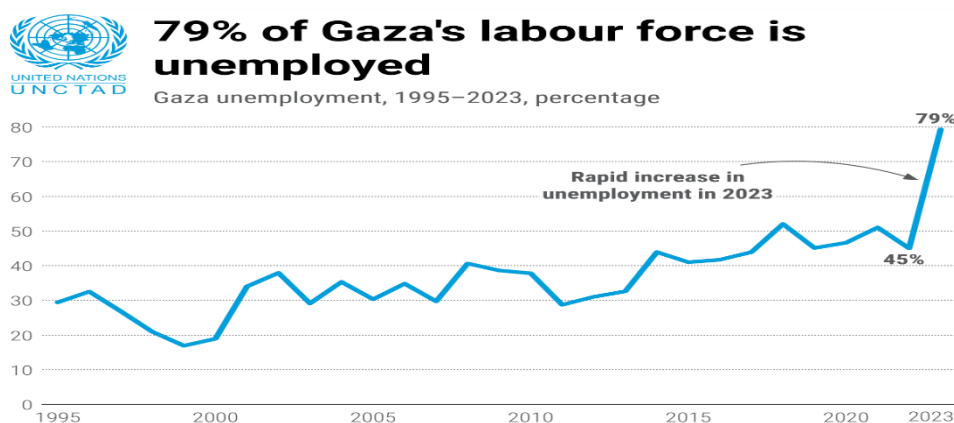


Fig. 4. 97 % of Gaza’s Labor Force is Unemployed. Unemployment Rate in Gaza (1995-2023). United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. “Preliminary Assessment of the Economic Impact of the Destruction in Gaza and Prospects for Economic Recovery.” *UNCTAD*, 31 Jan. 2024, unctad.org/publication/preliminary-assessment-economic-impact-destruction-gaza-and-prospects-economic-recovery. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.

It further states that the conflicts have pushed a large number of Palestinians into poverty. The recent war has increased poverty levels as the conflicts have significantly worsened the already unstable labor market situation in the Palestinian territories. The loss of jobs and income, particularly in Gaza, has been considerable, with a significant portion of the labor force affected. Unemployment rates have escalated, especially among youth, reaching alarming levels (see figure 5). Moreover, Israeli restrictions on movement and access to employment opportunities have further compounded the economic challenges faced by Palestinians (World Bank Group 7).



Gaza: The impact of the blockade and military operation in numbers

Economy of Gaza in 2006, 2022 and 2023, selected indicators

Indicator	2006	2022	2023	2006–2023 percentage change	2022–2023 percentage change
Population , thousands	1 349	2 166	2 227	+65%	+3%
Population density , people/km ²	3 696	5 934	6 101	+65%	+3%
Share of Gaza in Palestinian GDP , percentage	31	17	14	-55%	-20%
Real GDP , millions of 2015 dollars	2 691	2 723	2 068	-23%	-24%
Real GDP per capita , 2015 dollars	1 994	1 257	929	-53%	-26%
Labour force , thousands	267	527	531	+99%	+1%
Unemployed workers , thousands	93	239	421	+353%	+76%
Unemployment rate , percentage	35	45	79	+128%	+75%
Poverty , percentage	39	65	96	+146%	+48%

Note: Data for 2023 is estimated.

Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) and International Labour Organization (ILO) data and UNCTAD calculations.

Fig. 5. GAZA: The Impact of the Blockade and Military Operation in Numbers. Economy of Gaza in 2006, 2022, 2023. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

“Preliminary Assessment of the Economic Impact of the Destruction in Gaza and Prospects for Economic Recovery.” *UNCTAD*, 31 Jan. 2024, unctad.org/publication/preliminary-assessment-economic-impact-destruction-gaza-and-prospects-economic-recovery. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.

3.2. Historical Background of the Russian Ukrainian Conflict

A crucial turning point that resulted in Ukraine's independence was the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Soviet federal state, which had been experiencing internal stagnation and ethnic divisions, was hit by a failed coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991 (D’anieri 31). Following that event, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine on August 24, 1991, re-establishing the country's sovereignty. In an independence referendum held on December 1, 1991, the majority of Ukrainians reaffirmed their support, with over 90% of voters approving

the declaration (Potichnyj 123- 38). This historic event set Ukraine on a journey to establish a stable democracy and economy, while also navigating the struggle between pro-Western, pro-EU, and pro-Russia visions for the country's future.

To understand the origins of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war, it is essential to distinguish between deep, intermediate, and immediate causes, as historian Joseph S. Nye, Jr. suggests in his article “What Caused the Ukraine War?”. The deep causes of the war can be traced back to the end of the Cold War and the failure of the West to support Russia adequately after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This led to a sense of economic and political stagnation in Russia, which was exacerbated by the country's inability to transition to a market-based economy (1-6).

Additionally, he adds that the intermediate causes of the war include NATO's 2008 decision in favor of eventual Ukrainian membership, which was seen as a threat to Russia's borders. Roberts adds that making NATO membership a compulsory government goal for Ukraine, military aid to Ukraine by the United States, and the training of Ukraine's armed forces by Western states also contributed to the growing tension. Not only that but the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 and the subsequent conflict in the Donbass region further escalated the situation (Nye 7-11).

The immediate causes of the war, however, can be attributed to the specific crisis that unfolded in December 2021 and culminated in Putin's launch of the "special military operation" on February 24, 2022. This crisis was characterized by a series of Russian security demands, which were not met by Ukraine, leading to a deterioration in relations and a build-up of military forces on both sides (Nye 22-27).

The Russian-Ukrainian war has had far-reaching and devastating consequences for both Ukraine and the global community. It has resulted in significant humanitarian, economic, and political impacts that continue to unfold. The United Nations reports in “Humanitarian Crisis

in Ukraine” that the war has driven millions of Ukrainians from their homes, with almost 5 million people becoming refugees and over 7 million forcibly moved to "filtration camps" and then to the territory of the Russian Federation, often without their parents.

The humanitarian situation in Ukraine is deteriorating at an alarming rate, with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reporting that 2072 civilians have been killed since the war began, while reality could be much worse. In addition, the war has also led to a refugee crisis, with about 345,000 refugees entering Slovakia, and 7,000 children from Ukraine receiving education in Slovakia's schools. Furthermore, the war has had a significant impact on the global economy, slowing economic growth in 2022 to just 3.1 percent, and projecting it to slow to 2.2 percent in 2023 (Roberts).

Roberts adds that the war has also led to a massive investment in Ukraine, with the cost of rebuilding estimated to be around \$349 billion, a number that is larger than Ukraine's pre-invasion GDP and three times greater than all the military, humanitarian, and financial assistance commitments to Ukraine since the start of the war. The war has also led to a devaluation of the Russian rouble, and international observers expect Russia to suffer further economic contraction and cost-of-living crises (Dodds et al. 1519–36). Dodds et al. further suggest that the war has had significant political consequences, with Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and its ongoing aggression in Ukraine led to widespread international condemnation and sanctions.

3.3. The United States Media Coverage of the two Conflicts

Analyzing the US media coverage of two significant geopolitical conflicts, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict of February 22, 2022, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict of October 7, 2023, is crucial for understanding how these events are portrayed and interpreted within the American media landscape. The decision to select broadcast media as the primary source for

this analysis stems from its enduring role as a significant influencer of public opinion in the United States. As noted by Saad, TV remains Americans' main source of news (see figure 6).

Where Americans Turn for News

Thinking about various sources of news available today, what would you say is your main source of news about current events in the U.S. and around the world? [OPEN-ENDED]

	U.S. adults
	%
TELEVISION (55%)	
Television/TV news (non-specific)	26
FOX	8
CNN	7
Local TV news	4
News/Evening news (non-specific)	2
ABC	1
MSNBC	1
Cable news (non-specific)	1
Univision	1
Other specific television program/channel	1
NBC	1
BBC	1
PBS	1
Other specific cable channel/program	1
CNBC	*
CBS	*
National TV news (non-specific)	*

Fig. 6. Saad, Lydia. “Where Americans Turn for News.” *TV Is Americans’ Main Source of News*, 2013, news.gallup.com/poll/163412/americans-main-source-news.aspx. Accessed 15 May 2024.

However, recognizing the evolving media landscape, particularly the increasing prevalence of digital platforms, and the importance of online sources is also acknowledged. According to the Pew Research Center, a large majority of US adults frequently rely on smartphones, computers, or tablets for news consumption (see figure 7). Therefore, the analysis extends beyond traditional television broadcasts to include content from official websites and YouTube channels of CNN and Fox News.

News consumption across platforms

% of U.S. adults who ___ get news from ...

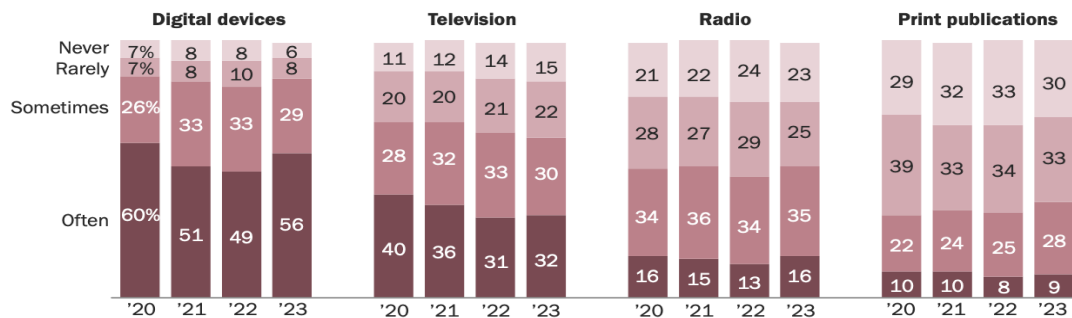


Fig. 7. Liedke, Jacob and Luxuan Wang. “News Consumption across Platforms.” *News Platform Fact Sheet*, Pew Research Center, 2023. www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/news-platform-fact-sheet/. Accessed 15 May 2024.

CNN and Fox News were specifically chosen for this analysis due to their status as the most viewed cable TV news channels, as reported by the Pew Research Center in 2023 (see figure 8).

Average number of TVs tuning to news programming during the prime news time slot for CNN, Fox News and MSNBC

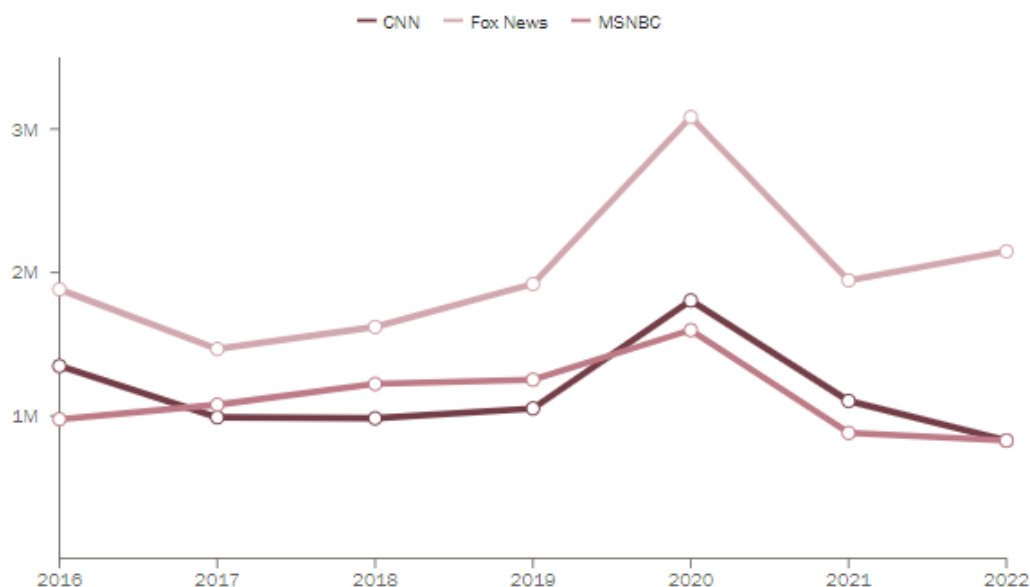


Fig. 8. Liedke, Jacob, and Luxuan Wang, “Average Audience for Cable TV News: Prime News.” *Cable News Fact Sheet*, Pew Research Center., 2023, www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/cable-news/. Accessed 14 May 2024.

Moreover, these networks represent contrasting political orientations, with CNN often attracting democrats and is perceived as leaning towards liberal viewpoints and Fox News attracting republicans and is perceived as conservative (see figure 9).

Republicans place trust in one source, Fox News, far more than any other ...

% who trust each source for political and election news (first 5 shown)



... and rely on Fox News far more for political news

% who got political and election news from each source in the past week (first 5 shown)



Note: Order of outlets does not necessarily indicate statistically significant differences.

Fig. 9. Gramlich, John, and Pew Research Center. “Republicans Place Trust in One Source, Fox News, Far More than Any Other and and Rely on Fox News Far More for Political News.” *5 Facts about Fox News*, Apr. 2020, www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/04/08/five-facts-about-fox-news/. Accessed 14 May 2024.

This ideological divide reflects the broader spectrum of political discourse in the United States, making these networks apt choices for understanding how different perspectives are presented in the media. The methodology involves searching for coverage of the specified conflicts on the official websites and YouTube channels of both CNN and Fox News, setting the search parameters to three months after each conflict's occurrence, and selecting the first result that appears. This approach allows the gauging of the initial response and prioritization of these events by each network, providing insights into their editorial priorities and narrative framing.

3.3.1. CNN's Coverage of the two Conflicts

According to CNN's official website, CNN, or the Cable News Network is a prominent international news organization noted for its thorough 24-hour news coverage, in-depth reporting, and perceptive analysis of business, political, and current affairs news (Morris and Ogan 44-50). Cuofano indicates that CNN is owned by Warner Bros. Discovery, which is a massive group that contains many brands such as Discovery, Home Box Office (HBO), and Home and Garden Television (HGTV).

Cuofano further states that CNN was officially launched in June 1980 after its foundation by media mogul Ted Turner and Reese Schonfeld. As with any other cable news channel, CNN is widely understood to have political leanings. A study published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences examined a decade of three cable news channels like CNN, Fox, and MSNBC to find out their political preferences. The results showed that all of the previously mentioned channels developed a tendency of favoritism towards different political orientations over the period studied especially after the 2016 elections with CNN shifting slightly to the left wing each time (qtd. in Reissman).

3.3.1.1. CNN's Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

The American media has been accused of bias during the coverage of the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict in favor of Israel. This bias was evident in different aspects, starting with the framing of events, the disproportionate attention given to Israelis, and the lack of coverage of Palestinian perspectives and suppression of their narratives.

In his article entitled "CNN Staff Say Network's Pro-Israel Slant Amounts to 'Journalistic Malpractice'", Chris McGreal states that CNN's staff are criticizing the network for biased coverage as they have been favoring Israel and neglecting Palestinian viewpoints in reporting on the Gaza conflict. He quotes a CNN staffer who said, "The majority of news

since the war began, regardless of how accurate the initial reporting, has been skewed by a systemic and institutional bias within the network toward Israel”.

McGreal further notes that the CNN headquarters in Atlanta have set strict guidelines on coverage. Additionally, he states that insiders from CNN declared that their new editor-in-chief and CEO, Mark Thompson, who got his post only two days following the 7 October Hamas attack, was accused of bowing to Israeli government pressure on several occasions. For instance, every story regarding the conflict requires obligatory approval from the Jerusalem bureau before it can be aired or published. This led to many experts declining assignments in Israel because they knew that due to those restrictions, they would not be able to tell the real story.

Moreover, Mark Thompson, CNN’s new editor-in-chief, instructed that all Israeli government statements should be accepted and shared directly. On the other hand, he limited both quoting Hamas and reporting Palestinian perspectives or having them as guests in their shows. In addition, if they were ever invited, Palestinians were frequently asked if they “condemn Hamas”, while Israeli guests are seldom asked to condemn their government’s apartheid policies in the occupied West Bank or its siege and bombardment of Gaza. Meanwhile, there was nearly no attention given to the extent of Palestinian civilian casualties and the devastation Gaza was going through (McGreal).

Another point CNN was harshly criticized for was their bias in reporting casualties. McGreal indicates that in late October 2023, the Palestinian death toll dramatically increased because of the Israeli bombing. CNN staff received a two-page memo of mandatory guidelines in their inboxes. Mark Thompson attached a note asking for a specific focus on the paragraph, which includes the coverage guidelines. In this paragraph, he stated, “We must continue always to remind our audiences of the immediate cause of this current conflict, namely the Hamas attack and mass murder and kidnap of civilians”. This was his attempt to

justify the Israeli horrific actions as a normal reaction to Hamas' initial action (October 7, 2023 Operation).

A CNN staffer criticized the instruction questioning how no matter what massacres Israel commits, Hamas must bear the whole responsibility and be the first one to blame.

Furthermore, McGreal declares that the same memo sent by Thompson requires that any mention of casualty figures from the Gaza health ministry must be attached to "Hamas controlled" questioning the reports of thousands of children's deaths, despite confirmation from international bodies like the World Health Organization affirming their accuracy.

According to McGreal, a CNN network journalist declared "The system results in chosen individuals editing any reporting with an institutionalized pro-Israel bias, often using passive language to absolve the Israel Defense Forces of responsibility, and playing down Palestinian deaths and Israeli attacks". This downplaying of the human cost of the conflict for the Palestinian side contributed to a skewed representation of the conflict, where the Israeli side is portrayed as the victim and the Palestinian side is portrayed as the aggressor.

Another point was the appearance of Rami Igra, a former senior official in the Israeli intelligence service, on Anderson Cooper's show. He pointed out that there are only combatants in Gaza, not civilians. In fact, he even used the term non-existent to refer to the non-combatants stating the Gaza Strip is composed of Hamas and Hamas only. Bias was present as Cooper did not disagree or stop him on any point despite the fact that the interview was aired on November 19, 2023; when 13000 civilians were killed by Israeli attacks at that time. In the same context, Jake Tapper sympathized with one side and totally neglected the other in his program. While he acknowledged the horrible state in Gaza and the death of innocent civilians, he still defended Israel and justified its attacks by saying "What exactly did Hamas think the Israeli military would do in response to that?" he said, referring to the attack on 7 October 2023.

CNN's bias in the coverage of the conflict went far reaching the point of making out events and blaming Hamas for them. McGreal states that the American news channel faced major criticism for reporting unverified Israeli claims of Hamas beheading babies. The claim was supposedly confirmed by the Israeli prime minister's office, which drew parallels with the Holocaust. However, there were doubts about the credibility of the claim, as Israeli journalists found no evidence, and military officials made no mention of it.

Despite questions about the validity of the claim, CNN's editorial director, David Allan, instructed to back up the Israeli government's version asserting that American President Joe Biden has seen pictures of this suspected act of extreme brutality. However; after the White House admitted they had not seen any corresponding photographs, the channel was accused of violating journalistic integrity as the coverage was aired for 18 hours relying only on non-proved or non-verified Israeli claims (McGreal)

For example, when typing CNN Palestinian-Israeli conflict on YouTube's search bar, the first video that pops up is a video entitled "Hamas Militant's Bodycam Shows how Attacks on Israel Began". Published on November 16, 2023, on CNN's official YouTube channel, the video offers a perspective on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict with evident biases. Throughout the footage, the journalist Erin Burnett displays a clear disdain and disgust when discussing Palestine, evident through facial expressions and gestures, often shaking her head in denial. Burnett kept consistently referring to Hamas as a terrorist organization and the youth leading the seventh of October, 2023 operation as terrorists. On the other hand, Burnett and another CNN journalist from Tel Aviv used terms like "soldiers" and "militants" to describe Israeli armed groups. Toward the end of the video, two pro-Israeli guests joined. They attempted to justify Hamas' actions by attributing them to a supposedly distinct mindset. In addition, they sarcastically rejected the idea of preferring to die through martyrdom, suggesting that it is due to many psychological differences between Palestinian, Israeli, and even American cultures.

This comparison was much similar to that of “the other” giving supremacy to Americans and Israelis while devaluing Palestinians. Such portrayal raises questions about the objectivity of the narrative presented.

Another example is also a video that was shared on CNN’s official website on October 19, 2023. The video entitled “Documents Reveal Hamas' Plans to Attack Israeli Communities” offers detailed insights into Hamas' attack on Israeli communities. The language used in the videos and reports included in the video portrays Hamas in a negative light. The use of emotional adjectives such as brutality, chilling, cold methodical killing spree, horror, and extreme violence alongside terms like evoke a sense of shock and condemnation towards Hamas' actions, enforcing a picture of supposedly deliberate and cruel intentions.

3.3.1.2. CNN’s Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict

After checking many articles and videos shared on CNN’s official website, it is noted that the channel’s coverage is perceived as neutral rather than biased towards Russia or Ukraine. Presenting information from both sides and sharing the two parties' perspectives ensured offering the viewers an accurate and comprehensive understanding of the situation. This balanced coverage reflected the channel’s capability to adhere to the ethical implications of journalistic integrity.

As an example of CNN’s coverage of this conflict, two videos have been chosen randomly. The first is entitled “Everything you Need to Know about why Russia has Invaded Ukraine”, which was shared on CNN’s official website on February 24, 2022. The second is entitled "Russian Tanks Roll past CNN Reporter as they Appear to Head towards Ukraine" shared on the same day on CNN’s YouTube channel.

The first video employs a serious and informative tone that only reflects the severity of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The used language is considered more descriptive

and factual, avoiding the use of emotional adjectives and aiming to offer an objective portrayal of the events in a straightforward manner that educates the viewers without any form of manipulation or sensationalism. The first video also includes a few interviews with some experts and officials, which perfectly adds credibility and helps the viewers gain an understanding of the conflict from different angles. Additionally, the second video includes terms related to military movements, such as "tanks," "Ukraine," and "invasion," conveying the militaristic nature of the situation as Russian tanks move toward Ukraine.

3.3.2. Fox News' Coverage of the Conflicts

According to the official site of Fox News, "FOX News Channel (FNC) is a 24-hour all-encompassing news service and has been the number one network in basic cable for the last eight years and the most-watched television news channel for 22 consecutive years, currently attracting nearly 50% of the cable news viewing audience, according to Nielsen Media Research". Rutz and Waskiewicz state that Fox News is a conservative American cable news channel launched in 1996 by Rupert Murdoch under the Fox Corporation. It holds a significant place in American media, especially among those on the ideological right as they trust Fox News more and rely on it far more than any other outlet (Gramlich "5 Facts about Fox News").

Gramlich adds that the network is known for its conservative-leaning content and audience, with viewers tending to be older, white, conservative, and Republican. Furthermore, Fox News is considered to have a right-leaning bias according to Ad Fontes Media, which rates it in the "Skews Right" category of bias. The analysis of hard news articles by Terwilliger from Fox News suggests that the network exhibits bias in its reporting. Fox News tends to emphasize conservative issues, systematically criticizes the opposite side and defends its positions, indicating a clear bias (5-91).

Moreover, a study conducted by DellaVigna and Kaplan, where they analyzed the entry of Fox News in cable markets and its impact on voting, found that the introduction of Fox News in a local market significantly increased the likelihood of Republican voters and decreased the likelihood of Democratic voters. This suggests that Fox News' media bias had a tangible impact on voting behavior, particularly in favor of the Republican Party (1187-234).

3.3.2.1. Fox News' Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Fox News has been especially known to be biased concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To begin with, a study conducted by Suzan Alkalliny in 2017 found the existence of pronounced bias, towards the Israeli side in its coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, evident in their treatment of events, selection of sources and visuals, and justifications provided to the Israeli side (161-65).

More recently, Caglar published a research on November 2023 that claims that the framing of news narratives by Western media outlets, such as Fox News, employs disinformation, creates pre-attack legitimacy, dehumanizes victims, and shadows the perpetrator, all of which contribute to a biased presentation of the conflict. Similarly, Nashed a journalist for Al Jazeera, states that media experts and journalists argue that Western media, including Fox News, also tend to legitimize Israeli actions, dehumanize Palestinians, and fail to provide the necessary historical context of the conflict.

The study conducted by William Youmans published on March 20, 2024; found that Fox News, along with other major news outlets, displayed a bias by prioritizing Israeli lives over Palestinian lives in their reporting. This bias was evident in the disproportionate coverage of Israeli deaths compared to Palestinian deaths, with a significant focus on pro-Israel framing and narratives. In addition, the study revealed that Fox News, among other cable news networks, featured overwhelmingly pro-Israel guests on their shows, contributing to a one-sided discourse that aligned more with pro-Israel talking points. This biased coverage has

raised concerns about the objectivity and balance of reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in mainstream media outlets, especially Fox News.

For example, the YouTube video entitled "Son of Hamas Leader Breaks Silence: They must be Stopped," uploaded by Fox News, emerges as the top result when searching "Fox News on Israel and Palestine." With over 5.6 million views on Fox News' official channel, the video features Mosab Hassan Yousef, introduced as the "son of a Hamas leader," appearing on the program, "Fox and Friends" hosted by Brian Kilmeade. To begin with, the framing of Yousef as a key figure within Hamas suggests credibility, while simultaneously portraying him as having betrayed his own people by reportedly spying for Israel and converting to Christianity, suggesting negative connotations towards Islam.

Moreover, the narrative surrounding Yousef's seeking asylum in the US reinforces the portrayal of the US as a savior amidst conflict. The video employs selective imagery, predominantly focusing on depictions of Hamas and their acts of violence, such as bombings, while neglecting to address recent events at that time, such as Israel's bombing of al-Ahli Arab Hospital in Gaza City. This selective portrayal serves to amplify the narrative of Hamas as the sole aggressor in the conflict.

Similarly, the host Brian Kilmeade made claims about Hamas and propagated Hamas murdering babies in their cribs, despite the lack of evidence to support such allegations. The video also presents a skewed perspective on the conflict, with Yousef asserting that Israel did not initiate the violence, contradicting widely accepted accounts of the situation. Furthermore, Yousef's statement urging the prioritization of winning the war over public opinion reflects a disregard for democratic principles and highlights the video's underlying agenda. Ultimately, the video exhibits a clear bias by disproportionately focusing on the actions of Hamas while downplaying or omitting Israel's role in perpetuating the conflict, thereby presenting a one-sided perspective on the Israel-Palestine issue.

When typing “Israel and Palestine” on Fox News’ official website and setting the timeframe into three months after October 7, 2023, a video entitled “War in the Holy Land: The Israel-Palestinian Conflict Explained” appears first. The video published on October 8, 2023; discusses the historical background of the conflict presented by Will Cain and Pete Hegseth on 'FOX & Friends Weekend'. From the outset, the hosts frame the conflict as between the "state of Israel and Palestinians," effectively suggesting that Palestine lacks recognition as an established state.

Likewise, the hosts refer to the region as Israel even before its formal establishment in 1948. While admitting it is complex, the hosts select very few historical dates, including the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate, and the Holocaust, subtly implying a narrative that validates Israel's right to establish itself in Palestine, disregarding Palestinian viewpoints. Besides, the hosts emphasize Arabs’ resistance to Israel's establishment while neglecting to address Israel's violent acquisition of Palestinian land through illegal settlements and the gradual dispossession of Palestinian territory.

They also talk about how the West Bank and especially Gaza are overpopulated but overlook Israel's role in displacing Palestinians into these areas, where an apartheid-like system restricts Palestinian movement. Still, the discussion of conflicts like the Yom Kippur War fails to contextualize Israel's prior aggression, including its invasion of territories like the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights in the Six Days War. Additionally, the hosts mention the intifadas and attribute them to the actions of the PLO and Hamas while failing to acknowledge the atrocities committed by Israel that fueled the Palestinian resistance in the first place.

3.3.2.2. Fox News’ Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict

A study by Hyzen and Van den Bulck found that Fox News's coverage of the conflict was characterized by a dominant frame of "unjustified, unprovoked, and premeditated" Russian

aggression; hence, framing the conflict as a simple case of "good vs. evil," with Russia portrayed as the aggressor and Ukraine as the victim. This framing is often reinforced with emotive language and imagery, such as descriptions of Russian actions as "aggressive" and "brutal," and Ukrainian actions as "defensive" and "heroic". Additionally, Fox News' coverage of the 2022 Russian-Ukrainian conflict has been criticized for its perceived bias and one-sided reporting.

The network's coverage has been accused of being overly critical of Russia and the Russian government while downplaying or ignoring the actions of Ukraine and its government. Hyzen and Van den Bulck also blame Fox News for its lack of balance in its coverage. The network has been accused of not providing adequate airtime to Russian perspectives or viewpoints, and of not presenting alternative narratives or explanations for the conflict. They further criticize Fox News' headlines for their sensational and biased nature. Headlines such as "Putin's War of Choice" create a narrative that implies Russia is solely responsible for the conflict, without providing context or balancing perspectives.

In a 23-minute-long video entitled "Tucker: We are at War with Russia," uploaded on March 8, 2022, on Fox News' official YouTube channel, Fox News host Tucker Carlson offers a critical commentary on the US response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The video begins with Secretary of State Tony Blinken's statement about aiding Poland in providing Ukraine with fighter jets, a move Carlson comments on as detached from reality, calling it "a conversation between two incredibly shallow people, who have limited contact with reality." He interprets Blinken's statement as an unofficial declaration of war with Russia, stating it was an honest "we are at war with Russia," even if not officially.

Carlson describes Russia's motives for invading Ukraine as "strategic," suggesting that Russia's actions are a defensive measure against American missiles and a hostile government on their borders, asserting Putin does not want Ukraine to join NATO. He highlights the

longstanding US support for Ukraine joining NATO, portraying the current involvement as part of a premeditated strategy from five years ago.

Carlson vehemently argues that “The US intentionally seeks war with Russia” and questions the potential benefits, emphasizing the risks of nuclear conflict, economic repercussions like soaring commodity and gasoline prices, and the possibility of the US losing its position as the holder of the world’s reserve currency. He mocks President Joe Biden for being unaware of these potential damages, humorously mimicking Biden and calling the situation “the most reckless and destructive thing any American president has ever done.”

Carlson criticizes woke corporations for indiscriminately impoverishing citizens and warns that similar techniques could be used against others, rhetorically asking, “What if one morning they wake up and decide you’re Vladimir Putin and you must be erased?” He denounces the public discourse in the US as filled with “screaming, shouting and hysteria” and encourages Americans to oppose the war with Russia despite being labeled as a “tool of Putin,” calling such “name-calling a means of social control.”

Carlson also condemns the media for propagating lies to influence public opinion to support Ukraine and for censoring dissenting news sites, including those from Russia. He criticizes the lack of coverage of other conflicts, such as the Nagorno-Karabakh war, the wars in Ethiopia and Yemen, and the Mexican Civil War, sarcastically referring to them as “just Ethiopia” and “just Yemen,” and asserting that “all human life is equal, all of us are equal in the eyes of God. The death of someone in Ukraine is exactly equivalent to the death of someone in Yemen and it is important, period.” He calls out Republicans as “shameful and disgraceful” for supporting US aid to Ukraine and failing to represent their voters.

Carlson concludes by questioning the Defense Department’s priorities, stating, “That’s why we call it the Defense Department, it is not called the Department of Nation Building or the Bureau of Trans evangelism.” This commentary ostensibly portrays Carlson and Fox

News as critical of US foreign interventions, and advocates for equal concern for all human lives. Yet, this stance contrasts with their coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In another video entitled “Russia-Ukraine Conflict: Why it is a whole New War,” published on May 16, 2022, Fox News contributor Dr. Rebecca Grant discusses the implications of the loss of nearly an entire Russian battalion on 'America Reports.' Amid the war in Ukraine, the video begins with the announcement of McDonald's permanent departure from Russia after 30 years, contrasting this with its open support for Israeli soldiers through free meals. As the host explains Ukraine's plan, he recounts, "They (Ukraine) said let's go blow the crap out of them (Russian troops)," prompting laughter from Dr. Grant. The hosts express joy over Ukrainian successes in the conflict and the killing of Russian troops, with Dr. Grant stating, “I am so impressed with these tactics,” and calling them “incredibly sophisticated tactics.”

The hosts also proudly discuss how the US is aiding Ukraine through NATO with military equipment and celebrate Sweden and Finland's decision to join NATO, noting that this will increase NATO's borders with Russia by 804 miles and calling it “an epic failure on Putin's part” with emphasis. Dr. Grant concludes by stating that Finland seeks security for their children and future, which is why they are joining NATO. This enthusiastic and supportive coverage of Ukraine's military actions and NATO's expansion contrasts with Fox News' different tone and approach when covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, highlighting potential bias in their portrayal of international conflicts.

To conclude, the analysis of media coverage by CNN and Fox News on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict reveals distinct biases and approaches. For the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, both CNN and Fox News exhibit a clear bias towards Israel. This is demonstrated by their use of emotional language and sensitive imagery that portrays

Hamas in a negative light while neglecting to address the brutalities committed by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF).

Both channels also disseminate unproven information that demonizes Hamas, further reinforcing a pro-Israeli narrative. The guests featured on both networks consistently held pro-Israeli viewpoints, reinforcing this bias. In contrast, the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict shows a divergence between the two networks. CNN maintained a factual and objective stance in its reporting. Fox News also presented a dual perspective: one segment criticized the United States' financial support for Ukraine, while another celebrated Ukrainian victories and Russian casualties, indicating a bias toward Ukraine. This analysis underscores the complex and varied nature of media biases across different geopolitical conflicts.

3.4. The Impact of American Media Coverage on the Conflicts

The American public's opinion on international conflicts, such as the Palestinian-Israeli and Russian-Ukrainian disputes, is deeply divided and heavily influenced by the media it consumes. Media outlets like CNN and Fox News often display distinct biases in their coverage, which shape the perspectives of their audiences. For instance, CNN might offer a more liberal viewpoint, focusing on humanitarian aspects, while Fox News may emphasize national security from a conservative angle. This creates echo chambers, reinforcing differing public opinions shaped by media bias.

This polarization extends to policymakers, who also base their decisions not only on national interests but also on the media they follow. A policymaker influenced primarily by biased sources may adopt stances that reflect those biases, resulting in policy decisions that are not only shaped by public opinion but also mirror the partiality of their preferred media outlets. Thus, media bias plays a crucial role in shaping both public sentiment and policy-making.

3.4.1. The Impact of American Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Ever since its establishment in 1948, the United States has supported Israel. This constant support stems from a combination of factors, which shaped the strong bond between the two nations over the years. First, the Lobby has been a significant factor in shaping US policy toward Israel. It was defined by Mearsheimer and Walt in their article entitled “The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy” as “a convenient short-hand term for the loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape US foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction”.

The Jewish Lobby has also been defined by Sadek as several political groups in the United States that put great efforts in various areas such as politics, media, and international relations with the sole aim of advocating the interests of the people in their homeland Israel (456). In simple terms, it refers to a group made up of American Jews who work to influence US foreign policy in ways that benefit Israel. Examples of Jewish lobby groups in the US are the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and the Conference of Major American Organizations (CMAO) (456).

Asghar states three strategies used by the lobby to achieve its objectives. The first operation consists of the lobby providing large amounts of money to politicians to use in their campaigns for a mayor, senator, or president. However, as soon as the candidate wins they start calling in for favors. The second strategy moves to media as the lobby starts to use the media discourse to shape their understanding of events and push them to support Israel. The last strategy is the last solution and it is usually applied after the failure of the two previous ones.

The lobby plays the anti-Semitism card in an attempt to sway whomever they want. An example of this case was provided by Asghar when he referred to President Jimmy Carter who received a massive backlash after writing his book, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*.

Another important factor contributing to the United States' great support for Israel is protecting its interests in the region. Narea asserts that the US support for Israel has been seen as a strategy to counterbalance other regional powers and advance its strategic interests. By aligning with Israel, the US has sought to maintain influence and control in the Middle East, especially amidst shifting alliances and power dynamics.

Zunes quoted Joe Biden who said, “Were there not an Israel, the United States would have to invent an Israel to protect its interests in the region.” For instance, Israel has effectively stopped radical nationalist and Islamist movements in the area while restraining anti-American governments like Syria and Iran. In addition, the numerous wars Israel participated in served as testing ground for American weaponry whereas Israeli advanced intelligence helped the United States to gather specific information to carry out secret operations.

3.4.1.1. Impact on American Public Opinion

The American media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which started on October 7, 2023, had a significant impact on American public opinion. This media coverage caused a split or partisan divide in American society. A study conducted by Jones shows that Republicans greatly voice their support for Israel, followed by the independents who lean toward Israel but do not express their support as Republicans. On the other hand, a recent shift occurred among democrats. Before 2022, they were on Israel’s team then shifted slightly and started showing empathy toward Palestinians.

This split resulted in different protests. For instance, Tait states, in his article entitled “‘No Ceasefire!’: Tens of Thousands March for Israel in Washington DC”, how tens of thousands of pro-Israeli gathered in one of the biggest protests in the United States in Washington DC to demonstrate their unwavering support and empathy with Israel as well as to condemn what they labeled “ Hamas terrorist crimes”. The protestors draped in the Israeli

flag were chanting “no ceasefire” throughout the march. For example, in the same article Paul Stewart, one of those people who were at the demonstration said “I don’t think there should be a ceasefire because Israel has given the Palestinians options to leave, but Hamas has some influence over them and are telling them to stay”. Israel supporters have also launched many hashtags to get global attention to the case. For instance, the hashtag #standwithisrael gained 46 million views on the TikTok platform (Dang).

Finally, Americans who supported Israel raised donations. To give an example, some platforms were created specifically to raise donations to Israel such as the American Jewish Committee donating Israeli hospitals and trauma centers, as well as Jewish National Fund-USA, which offers donations mainly to Israeli citizens affected by the crisis. On the other hand, Americans who supported Palestine followed the same path. On October 21, 2023, 800 participated in a rally on Saturday, marching from the Ohio Statehouse in Columbus to show support for Palestinians and Muslims in Gaza. The participants Chanted through bullhorns, waving Palestinian flags, pausing for speeches, and engaging in sporadic verbal confrontations (Narciso).

Barraza argues that students from different colleges all over the country have joined protests and organized demonstrations calling for an immediate cease-fire in Palestine, putting an end to US military aid to Israel, the cessation of university endowments investing in Israel or Israel-supporting companies, and the assurance of the right to protest on campus without facing consequences. She also gave the example of the student protests at the University of Columbia in New York, which took place on April 17, 2024. However, these protests ended with the arrest of more than 800 students from 20 different universities while others may face suspension and threat of disciplinary actions (Mather).

American supporters of Palestine took advantage of social media and resorted to social activism. In the United States, there have been many posts including hashtags supporting

Palestine that went viral. On TikTok, 8,000 posts used the hashtag #StandwithPalestine (Fischer). However, Walton asserts that many social media users have reported that their posts are being censored. A thread on Twitter explained later the systematic censorship that blocks live streams and removes posts and accounts with hashtags supporting Palestine.

American pro-Palestinians also joined the boycott movement, which has gained momentum in the US, particularly in response to the recent conflict between Israel and Palestine. Activists have targeted multinational companies perceived to support Israel's military campaign in Gaza, leading to significant repercussions for these businesses (Rajvanshi and Serhan). They have further included a list of those companies naming MacDonald's, Starbucks, KFC ...etc. Moreover, there has been a whole website called "Boycott-Israel.org" which provides a list of boycotts that includes international organizations and Israeli businesses that have substantial operations in Israel.

This website acts as a guide for anyone who wants to make purchases that will uphold international law and exert pressure on the Israeli government. Simply put, pro-Palestinian boycotts in the US have targeted multinational companies perceived to support Israel, leading to financial repercussions for these businesses and prompting them to address their positions on the Israel-Hamas conflict. The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) was defined by the BDS official website as "A Palestinian-led movement for freedom, justice, and equality. It upholds the simple principle that Palestinians are entitled to the same rights as the rest of humanity". The BDS has been instrumental in mobilizing consumer activism and pressuring companies to align with Palestinian rights.

Finally, American pro-Palestinian aid groups in the United States also sought to raise funds for Gaza, which faces a deepening humanitarian crisis as the conflict between Israel and Palestine continues. These efforts have resulted in record donations being received by aid groups, reflecting a strong commitment to assisting Palestinians affected by the conflict

despite the stock of supplies stuck in Rafah (Ellis). Ellis finally declares that Steve Sosebee, president of the US-based Palestine Children's Relief Fund managed to raise 15 million dollars in just ten days in comparison to their annual twelve million budget.

3.4.1.2 Impact on American Political Decision Making

The United States has issued different policies and actions to demonstrate its support for Israel. The US Congress passed a law in 2008 requiring the American government to maintain Israel's stability and ensure its ability to defeat any foreign military threats from any country or state (Masters and Merrow). According to Masters and Merrow, Israel has received the largest amount of foreign aid since its founding in 1948 (see figure 10).

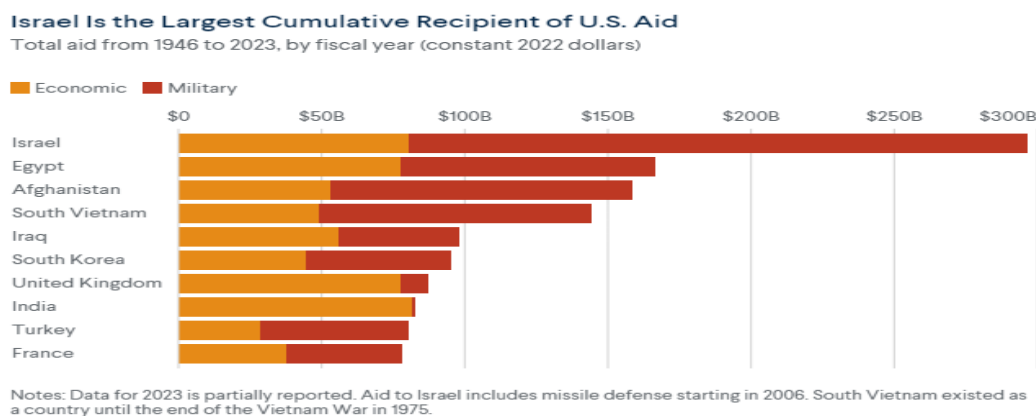


Fig. 10. Masters, Jonathan, and Will Merrow. Israel Is the Largest Cumulative Recipient of U.S. Aid “U.S. Aid to Israel in Four Charts”. *Council on Foreign Relations*, 23 Jan. 2024, www.cfr.org/article/us-aid-israel-four-charts. Accessed 11 May 2024.

Masters and Merrow assume that the country has been receiving approximately 3.33 billion dollars annually from the US through the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program. The majority of this aid is used to get military equipment and services from the US, whereas the rest is used to buy from its own defense companies, a privilege not given to other recipients. The white house released a statement from President Joe Biden in which he said, “My administration’s support for Israel’s security is rock solid and unwavering”.

Masters and Merrow further assert that since the October 7, 2023 incidents, Biden's administration has transferred more than one hundred military aids including tank and artillery ammunition, bombs, rockets, and small arms. They add that the United States has had a strategic stockpile of weapons in Israel since the 1980s. Following the latest events, orders have been made to deliver those weapons and put them under Israel's army control. However, two of these deliveries have been publicly disclosed and have met the threshold for congressional review, totaling about \$250 million. Moreover, recent reports asserted that Biden's administration allowed an 18 million dollar sale of weapons to Israel including fifty F-15 fighter aircraft to use in what they label "self-defense".

Another important move the United States has made to demonstrate its support for Israel was using its veto in the UN Security Council. O'Dell expresses that the UN Security Council, which is considered as the only body in the UN possessing the authority to pass "legally binding resolutions" failed to force a ceasefire after facing the United States veto. It called for an immediate ceasefire on October 18, 2023, and again on December 8, 2023, due to the escalating humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip.

The first vote took place during President Biden's visit to Israel, for which the American representative suggested waiting to see how the US handles the situation diplomatically. In addition, he also expressed the US disappointment, as the resolution did not support Israel's right to defend itself. Shortly after, the US backed a resolution on October 25, 2023; demanding the release of hostages captured by Hamas. This resolution was faced by Russia and China's veto because it did not call for a ceasefire.

3.4.2. The Impact of American Media Coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict

The US support for Ukraine against Russia is driven by a combination of strategic, economic, and geopolitical interests. One of the key reasons for the US backing is to counter Russian expansionism in Eastern Europe. Russia's actions in Ukraine, such as the annexation

of Crimea and support for separatists in eastern Ukraine, have raised concerns about regional stability and the violation of international norms (Davis 167-98). As a prominent NATO member, the US has a strategic interest in preventing further Russian aggression and safeguarding the security of its allies in the region; i.e., the US is keen on upholding the alliance's credibility and deterring potential adversaries (Lyu et al. 755-59).

Economically, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has had ripple effects on global markets, particularly in sectors like energy and commodities. The conflict has caused fluctuations in oil prices and disruptions in supply chains, affecting the global economy (He 121-25). He adds that the conflict has implications for international banking, with economic sanctions, rising commodity prices, and disruptions in the supply chain affecting the global banking industry and economy (121-25). Given the interconnected nature of the global economy, stability in regions like Eastern Europe is crucial for ensuring worldwide economic prosperity and growth.

Ortiz et al. believe that the US interest in supporting Ukraine can also be justified by upholding international law and principles. The violation of principles such as sovereignty, non-intervention, and the prohibited use of force by Russia against Ukraine has raised concerns of international liability and the obligation to provide reparations under the International Court of Justice jurisprudence (89- 116). In conclusion, the US assistance to Ukraine against Russia is driven by a combination of strategic, economic, and geopolitical interests. By supporting Ukraine, the US aims to counter Russian expansionist ambitions, uphold regional stability, protect global security, and promote democratic values in the face of conflict and instability.

3.4.2.1. Impact on American Public Opinion

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict has had a notable impact on American public opinion, as reflected in recent surveys. According to a Gallup poll, published on November 2, 2023, there

has been a shift in American views on the level of support the US should provide to Ukraine. The poll indicates that 41% of Americans now believe the US is doing too much to help Ukraine, a significant increase from previous years. This sentiment has grown, with more Americans expressing concerns about the extent of US involvement in the conflict (Younis) (see figure 11).

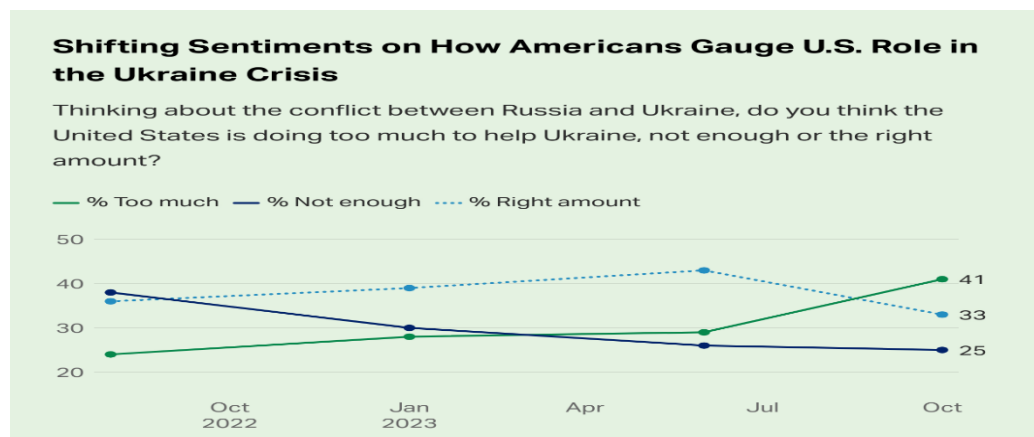


Fig. 11. Younis, Mohamed. “Shifting Sentiments on How Americans Gauge U.S. Role in the Ukraine Crisis.” *GALLUP*, 2 Nov. 2023, news.gallup.com/poll/513680/american-views-ukraine-war-charts.aspx. Accessed 12 May 2024.

Likewise, Younis adds that the partisan divide on the war effort is evident, with both Republicans and Independents increasingly perceiving that the US is doing too much to support Ukraine compared to previous years (see figure 12). This growing skepticism among Republicans and Independents highlights the differing perspectives within American society regarding the appropriate level of US engagement in the conflict.

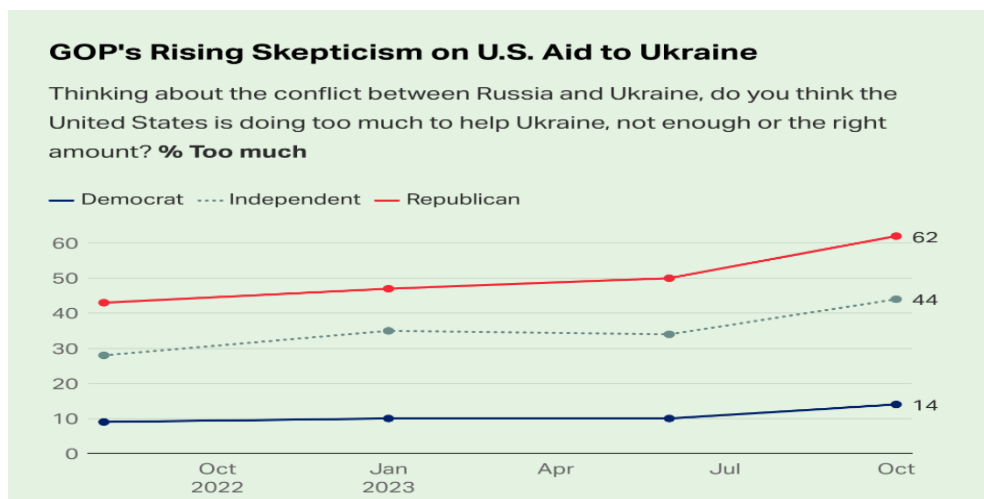


Fig. 12. Younis, Mohamed. “GOP’s Rising Skepticism on U.S. Aid to Ukraine” *GALLUP*, 2 Nov. 2023, news.gallup.com/poll/513680/american-views-ukraine-war-charts.aspx. Accessed 12 May 2024.

On the other hand, the Pew Research Center’s study, published on May 8, 2024; reveals that Democrats and Republicans differ significantly in their views on NATO, with 75% of Democrats favoring the organization compared to only 43% of Republicans. Views on aid to Ukraine also vary by party, with 36% of Democrats believing the US is not providing enough aid, while only 13% of Republicans share this view. Concerns about Russia’s actions in Ukraine and the region have increased, with 55% of Democrats extremely/very concerned about a Russian victory compared to 35% of Republicans.

In addition, Americans are increasingly perceiving a decline in US global influence, with 54% stating the country’s power has weakened, and a significant portion seeing China, Russia, and Iran as gaining influence. In summary, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict has led to shifting sentiments among Americans, with a significant portion now believing that the US is overly involved in supporting Ukraine. The conflict has also exacerbated partisan divisions, particularly concerning views on NATO, aid to Ukraine, and the broader implications of US engagement in the region.

Besides, Caldwell in an article published by CNN on March 1, 2022, states that the Russian invasion of Ukraine has sparked a wave of support and activism in the United States, with Americans rallying in demonstrations, boycotting Russian goods, and pressuring state governments to take action. For example, thousands have gathered in cities across the US to decry the Russian attacks and show solidarity with Ukraine. Demonstrators have waved Ukrainian flags and chanted slogans condemning the invasion.

In addition, Caldwell points out that several state governments have announced decisions to sever ties with Russia and boycott Russian entities. New York Governor Kathy Hochul signed an executive order calling for a review of all state purchases with Russian entities, stating she will not permit any investments that “directly or indirectly aid Russia as it commits these human rights violations”. Other states, including Utah, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New Hampshire, have declared plans to boycott Russian spirits and pull the products from shelves. The news of the conflict has compelled many Americans to show their support for Ukraine, with some expressing their emotions and calling for unity against the Russian aggression. The outpouring of support reflects the American people’s desire to stand up for democracy and freedom in the face of Russian authoritarianism.

3.4.2.2. Impact on American Political Decision Making

The impact of American-biased coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict on American policymaking is a complex issue. Studies have shown that media can influence public opinion by framing issues in a way that resonates with the audience’s existing beliefs and values. This can lead to a polarized public, where people are more likely to hold extreme views and less likely to consider alternative perspectives.

In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, biased coverage has contributed to a heightened sense of nationalism and anti-Russian sentiment, which in turn influenced policy decisions. Additionally, American news media often perpetuate a binary opposition between

the US and Russia, reinforcing negative stereotypes and contributing to hostile public opinion (Alieva and Bluth 2036- 52). Carina Da Costa and Martins Esteves further explain that this biased coverage can lead to increased public support for more aggressive foreign policy actions, such as economic sanctions, which may not necessarily align with the best interests of the US or the international community (107-28).

Moreover, Ayowole asserts that the media's framing of the conflict can also influence the way policymakers perceive and respond to the situation. For instance, if the media emphasizes the aggressive actions of Russia, it may lead policymakers to adopt a more confrontational approach, potentially escalating the conflict further. However, she adds that it is essential to note that the relationship between media coverage and policymaking is not a straightforward one. Other factors, such as political ideology, party affiliation, and individual beliefs, also play significant roles in shaping policy decisions.

After the US, along with NATO, the European Union, and other allies, condemned Russia's actions in Ukraine as "unprovoked and unjustified", the American government issued many policies in aid to the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2022 including substantial financial assistance to Ukraine, and sanctions imposed on Russia. In an article entitled "Russia's War Against Ukraine: Overview of US Assistance and Sanctions"; updated and published on December 20, 2023 by the Congressional Research Service, Cory Welt writes that the Biden Administration has committed over \$70 billion in assistance to Ukraine since February 2022, including security assistance, direct budget support, and humanitarian aid for Ukrainian refugees and neighboring countries.

Moreover, Congress enacted four supplemental appropriations laws in FY2022 and FY2023, providing a total of about \$89 billion for assistance to Ukraine and other countries affected by the war. Not only did the United States provide financial aid to Ukraine, but it also imposed sanctions on Russia. Sanctions include restrictions on transactions with Russia's

central bank, export controls on various sectors, a ban on the import of Russian oil and energy products, and prohibitions on new US investments and imports from Russia.

Uploaded on May 14, 2024, on the official website of the US government is a detailed article entitled “US Security Cooperation with Ukraine” citing all the financial aid the US has provided to Ukraine. The article asserts that since Russia’s full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, the US has provided approximately \$44.3 billion in military assistance, totaling about \$47 billion since 2014. This support includes extensive air defense systems such as Patriot batteries and NASAMS, significant artillery and munitions, advanced ground maneuver equipment including Abrams and T-72B tanks, various aircraft and unmanned aerial systems, anti-armor and small arms, maritime capabilities like Harpoon coastal defense systems, and a wide array of other military supplies and support equipment. This assistance shows the US's steadfast commitment to Ukraine’s defense against Russian invasion, enhancing its capability to secure borders and improve its conditions to join NATO.

To round up, this chapter has highlighted the growing prevalence of media bias in the United States and its profound impact on public perceptions and political decisions, as exemplified by the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian and Russian-Ukrainian conflicts. Through an analysis of CNN and FOX News reporting, it has become evident that biases are pervasive, particularly in the portrayal of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with each outlet framing the narrative to align with its ideological stance.

Conversely, the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict displayed comparatively less bias. The chapter has also underscored the far-reaching impact of media bias on public opinion and political decision-making. Biased reporting not only shapes the perceptions of audiences but also influences their attitudes and beliefs, potentially exacerbating societal divisions and hindering constructive dialogue. Moreover, biased coverage can sway

policymakers' judgments and priorities, leading to faulty or biased decision-making processes.

Conclusion

In contemporary society, mass media serves as a fundamental tool for the dissemination of information, shaping public perceptions, and influencing political decision-making. Its role is crucial in providing citizens with access to diverse viewpoints and facilitating informed participation in democratic processes. However, concerns about media as the phenomenon of bias have become increasingly prominent, raising questions about the objectivity and integrity of news coverage. The tendency of media outlets to present news and information in a manner that reflects their own ideological leanings or aligns with the interests of their owners can manifest in various forms. For instance, news' outlets may openly align themselves with political ideologies or parties causing what is called partisan bias, or media organizations prioritize the interests of their owners or advertisers over objective reporting.

One prevalent type of media bias is partisan bias, where news outlets openly align themselves with political ideologies or parties. Another form is corporate bias, where media organizations prioritize the interests of their owners or advertisers over objective reporting. Furthermore, sensationalism and click-baiting contribute to bias by prioritizing content that generates high viewer or reader engagement, often at the expense of factual accuracy or depth of analysis.

Media bias can have a profound impact on public perception in the United States. It can be understood through various communication theories. For example, the Agenda-setting theory suggests that the media can influence the importance attributed to certain issues by focusing attention on them, whereas the Framing theory posits that the way information is presented can shape how individuals interpret events, leading to different conclusions. On the

other hand, the Priming theory suggests that media coverage can influence the criteria used by individuals to evaluate political figures or policies. Finally, the cultivation theory argues that prolonged exposure to certain media narratives can shape individuals' perceptions of social reality.

The influence of biased media extends beyond shaping public opinion to affecting policy-making processes. Shaped by biased reporting, media narratives may influence policymakers and public opinion leading to decisions that prioritize political expediency over the public interest. Furthermore, media bias can contribute to polarization and distrust in democratic institutions, undermining the ability of policymakers to enact effective and inclusive policies.

The analysis of media coverage by CNN and Fox News on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict reveals distinct biases and approaches. The findings show that for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, both CNN and Fox News exhibit a clear bias towards Israel. This is evidenced by their use of emotional language and sensitive imagery that portrays Hamas in a negative light while neglecting to address the brutalities committed by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). Additionally, both channels also propagate unverified information that demonizes Hamas, further reinforcing a pro-Israeli narrative. The guests featured on both networks consistently held pro-Israeli viewpoints, reinforcing this bias.

In contrast, the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict shows a divergence between the two networks. CNN maintained a factual and objective stance in its reporting. Likewise, Fox News presented a dual perspective: one segment criticized the United States' financial support for Ukraine, while another celebrated Ukrainian victories and Russian casualties, indicating a bias toward Ukraine. This analysis underscores the complex and varied nature of media biases across different geopolitical conflicts.

Media bias significantly affects public opinion, influencing protests, rallies, and social activism, particularly in polarized conflicts like the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Biased reporting

shapes narratives, often portraying one side more favorably, which mobilizes public sentiment and fuels activism. For instance, pro-Israeli coverage by major networks can lead to increased support for Israeli policies and actions, resulting in rallies and protests backing Israel.

Conversely, those critical of Israel's actions may feel marginalized, intensifying their activism to counter the dominant narrative.

This biased media environment contributes to societal divisions. In the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, media portrayal that consistently favours Israel can deepen the divide between pro-Israel and pro-Palestine groups within the society. This polarization is evident in the distinct, sometimes opposing, public demonstrations and social movements, which can lead to increased tension and conflict within communities.

Additionally, media bias influences political decision-making by shaping the electorate's views, which in turn pressures policymakers. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, media framing affects public support for U.S. aid to Ukraine. Although some segments of the public oppose such aid, citing financial and strategic concerns, media narratives that highlight Ukrainian resistance and demonize Russian actions bolster political support for aid packages. Similarly, pro-Israeli media coverage can reinforce political decisions to provide substantial military and economic assistance to Israel.

Regardless of this, it is crucial to note that U.S. foreign policy often aligns more closely with strategic interests rather than public opinion. While public sentiment, influenced by media bias, plays a role, policymakers prioritize national and geopolitical objectives. Thus, even when public opinion is divided, as seen with U.S. aid to Ukraine and Israel, policy decisions tend to reflect broader strategic interests, sometimes at odds with the divided public perspective.

However, there were some limitations to this analysis that must be acknowledged. Firstly, this study was purely qualitative in nature. An in-depth examination of only four videos was

conducted, two from each conflict. While this allowed for a detailed analysis, it does limit the breadth of the findings. A broader study encompassing more videos and incorporating quantitative methods could provide a more comprehensive understanding of media biases.

Secondly, the analysis was confined to broadcast media. The media landscape is vast and varied, including print, online, and social media. Each of these platforms has its own modes of framing and biases. Future research could benefit from examining how different types of media cover these conflicts, thereby offering a more holistic view of media influence on public opinion and political decision-making.

Lastly, the focus was restricted to two television channels: CNN and Fox News. These channels are prominent in the American media landscape, but they do not represent the entire spectrum of media outlets. Including other networks, especially those with differing political orientations, might reveal a more nuanced picture of media biases.

Today, it is crucial to spread awareness of the issue of media bias and make attempts to put an end to it. Starting with enhancing media literacy among the public. Educating individuals on how to critically evaluate news sources, identify bias, and differentiate between factual reporting and opinion in order to empower audiences to make informed judgments. In addition, it is important to encourage people to seek information from multiple sources with varying perspectives to decrease the impact of any single biased outlet. Finally, journalistic standards and ethics should be reinforced within media organizations to ensure balanced and fair reporting.

Works Cited

- Adoni, Hanna, and Galit Nimrod. "The emergence of the hybrid older reader: a cross-national study". *Communications*, vol. 45, no. 4, 2020, pp. 414-39.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2019-2033>. Accessed 27 Apr. 2024.
- Ahmad Ghani, Ahmad Noor Hazim, and Hawa Rahmat. "Confirmation Bias in Our Opinions on Social Media: A Qualitative Approach." *Journal of Communication, Language and Culture*, vol. 3, no. 1, Jan. 2023, pp. 47–56, <https://doi.org/10.33093/jclc.2023.3.1.4>.
 Accessed 6 Mar. 2024.
- Alieva, Luliia, and Natasha Bluth. "Framing the US and Russia Coverage: The Limited Agency of Foreign Correspondents and the Reproduction of Bias in the News." *Journalism Studies*, vol. 24, no. 16, Routledge, Oct. 2023, pp. 2036-52,
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2023.2274603>. Accessed 27 Apr. 2024.
- Alkalliny, Suzan. "Framing of Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in CNN and Fox News." *International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences*, vol. 2, no. 4, 2017, pp. 161-65, <https://doi.org/10.24001/ijels.2.4.20>. Accessed 1 May 2024.
- Alsaafin, Linah. "What's the Israel-Palestine Conflict About? A Simple Guide." *Www.aljazeera.com*, 9 Oct. 2023, www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/9/whats-the-israel-palestine-conflict-about-a-simple-guide. Accessed 5 May 2024.
- Alshahrani, Hussain, and Diane Rasmussen Pennington. "'Why Not Use It More?' Sources of Self-efficacy in Researchers' Use of Social Media for Knowledge Sharing." *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 74, no. 6, Oct. 2018, pp. 1274–92, <https://doi.org/10.1108/jd-04-2018-0051>. Accessed 3 Mar. 2024.
- Amis, John. "Media Framing and How it Can Shift the Narrative." *University of Edinburgh Business School*, 7 Jan. 2022, www.business-school.ed.ac.uk/research/blog/media-framing-and-how-it-shifts-the-narrative. Accessed 31 Mar. 2024.

- An, Yonghong, and Jian Ni. *Agenda Manipulation and Policymaking under Media Bias*. Mar. 2017, p. 71, people.tamu.edu/~yonghongan/policy.pdf. Accessed 18 Apr. 2024.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and James M. Snyder. "The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942–2000." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, vol. 1, no. 3, Sept. 2002, pp. 315-38, <https://doi.org/10.1089/153312902760137578>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2024.
- Argentesi, Elena and Lapo Filistrucchi. "Estimating Market Power in a Two-sided Market: The Case of Newspapers". *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, vol. 22, no. 7, 2007, p. 1247-266. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jae.997>. Accessed 17 Apr. 2024.
- Arsenault, Amelia, and Manuel Castells. "Switching Power: Rupert Murdoch and the Global Business of Media Politics." *International Sociology*, vol. 23, no. 4, July 2008, pp. 488-513, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580908090725>. Accessed 28 Apr. 2024.
- Asghar, Muhammad Osama. "The Foreign Policy of US as Dictated by the Israel Lobby." *Paradigm Shift*, 12 Mar. 2022, www.paradigmshift.com.pk/foreign-policy-of-us/. Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Ayowole, Atinuke Elizabeth. "How News Media Influences Foreign Policy through Public Opinion." *Helms School of Government Conference (HSOG) 2022 Conference*, 2022, pp. 1-14, digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1264&context=hsgconference. Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Barraza, Paris. "College Students across the US are Holding Pro-Palestinian Protests. What about in Iowa?" *The Des Moines Register*, 1 May 2024, www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/education/2024/05/01/palestine-israel-gaza-college-protests-iowa-state-isu-protest/73512726007/. Accessed 16 May 2024.
- Barrett, Paul, et al. "How Tech Platforms Fuel U.S. Political Polarization and What

- Government Can Do about It.” *Brookings*, 27 June 2023, www.brookings.edu/articles/how-tech-platforms-fuel-u-s-political-polarization-and-what-government-can-do-about-it/. Accessed 2 May 2024.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Phil Gussin. *Issue Bias: How Issue Coverage and Media Bias Affect Voter Perceptions of Elections*. Jan. 2005, pp. 1–27. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Benson, Rodney. “How Media Ownership Matters in the US: Beyond the Concentration Debate.” *Sociétés Contemporaines*, vol. 113, no. 1, 2019, pp. 71-83, <https://doi.org/10.3917/soco.113.0071>. Accessed 28 Apr. 2024.
- Bernhardt, Dan, et al. “Political Polarization and the Electoral Effects of Media Bias.” *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 92, no. 5-6, June 2008, pp. 1092–104, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2008.01.006>. Accessed 2 May 2024.
- Besley, Timothy, and Andrea Prat. “Handcuffs for the Grabbing Hand? Media Capture and Government Accountability.” *American Economic Review*, vol. 96, no. 3, May 2006, pp. 720–36, <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.96.3.720>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.
- Beyer, Lisa. “Your Guide to Understanding the Roots of the Israel-Hamas War.” *Bloomberg.com*, 13 Oct. 2023, www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-10-13/israeli-palestinian-conflict-history-the-roots-of-the-israel-hamas-war. Accessed 8 May 2024.
- Blanco-Herrero, David, et al. "Health Advertising during the Lockdown: A Comparative Analysis of Commercial TV in Spain". *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2021, p. 1054. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18031054>. Accessed 26 Mar. 2024.
- Boateng, Henry, and Abednego Feehi Okoe. “Consumers’ Attitude towards Social Media Advertising and their Behavioural Response.” *Journal of Research in Interactive Marketing*, vol. 9, no. 4, Oct. 2015, pp. 299-312, <https://doi.org/10.1108/jrim-01-2015-0012>. Accessed 29 Mar. 2024.

- Boxell, Levi. "Bias in News Coverage during the 2016 US Election: New Evidence from Images." *CEPR*, 13 Oct. 2021, cepr.org/voxeu/columns/bias-news-coverage-during-2016-us-election-new-evidence-images. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Brandenburg, Heinz. "Party Strategy and Media Bias: A Quantitative Analysis of the 2005 UK Election Campaign." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, vol. 16, no. 2, July 2006, pp. 157–78, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13689880600716027>. Accessed 13 May 2024.
- Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. "US Security Cooperation with Ukraine." *United States Department of State*, 10 May 2024, www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-ukraine/. Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Burstein, Paul. "The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda." *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 1, Mar. 2003, pp. 29–35, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3219881>. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.
- Caglar, Edibe. "Opinion-Western Media Framing Reveals more about their Biases than Gaza's Realities." *Www.aa.com.tr*, 13 Nov. 2023, www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis/opinion-western-media-framing-reveals-more-about-their-biases-than-gaza-s-realities/3042383. Accessed 4 May 2024.
- Caldwell, Travis. "From Rallies to Boycotts, State Governments and Ordinary Americans Back Ukraine While Condemning Russia." *CNN*, 28 Feb. 2022, edition.cnn.com/2022/02/28/us/ukraine-russia-us-demonstrations-boycotts-monday/index.html. Accessed 19 May 2024.
- Camaj, Lindita. "The Consequences of Attribute Agenda-setting Effects for Political Trust, Participation, and Protest Behavior." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, vol. 58, no. 4, Oct. 2014, pp. 634–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2014.966363>. Accessed 5 Apr. 2024.

Carey, Sean. "Public Opinion Noun-definition, Pictures, Pronunciation and Usage Notes | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.com."

Oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com, 2024,

www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/public-opinion?q=public+opinion. Accessed 31 Mar. 2024.

Carina Da Costa, Ana, and Silva Martins Esteves. "The Russia-Ukraine Conflict: The Impact of Economic Sanctions on Russia-A Narrative Literature Review." *Portuguese Journal of Military Sciences*, vol. 11, no. 2, Nov. 2023, pp. 107–28, comum.rcaap.pt/bitstream/10400.26/48417/2/Ana%20Esteves_RCM_Vol_XI_2_NOV_2023%20%28eng%29.pdf. Accessed 14 May 2024.

Center for Democracy and Governance. *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach Technical Publication Series Center for Democracy and Governance Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research*. June 1999, 2017-2020. [usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/200sbc.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/200sbc.pdf). Accessed 18 Mar. 2024.

Chan, Michael. "Media Use and the Social Identity Model of Collective Action: Examining the Roles of Online Alternative News and Social Media News." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 94, no. 3, Mar. 2017, pp. 663–81, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016638837>. Accessed 6 Mar. 2024.

Chandler, Daniel. "Agenda Setting." *Dictionary of Media and Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 9. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.

---. "Media Priming." *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 267-337. Accessed 8 Apr. 2024.

Chandler, Daniel, and Rod Munday. "Print Bias." *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 337. Accessed 1 Mar. 2024.

- Chernov, Gennadiy, and Maxwell McCombs. "Philosophical Orientations and Theoretical Frameworks in Media Effects". *The Agenda Setting Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2019, pp. 63-81. <https://doi.org/10.1075/asj.18016.che>. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- Chiang, Chun-Fang, and Brian Knight. "Media Bias and Influence: Evidence from Newspaper Endorsements." *The Review of Economic Studies*, vol. 78, no. 3, 2011, pp. 795–820. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23015831>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2024. Accessed 18 Apr. 2024.
- Chong, Miyoung, et al. "Connective Power of the Twitter Networks: Discovering the Reverse Agenda-setting Effects of Hashtag Activism through Topic Modeling". *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, vol. 56, no. 1, 2019, p. 629-30. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pra2.113>. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- CNN. "CNN Worldwide Fact Sheet." *CNN Press Room*, 2023, cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/cnn-fact-sheet/. Accessed 19 May 2024.
- . "Documents Reveal Hamas' Plans to Attack Israeli Communities | CNN." *Www.cnn.com*, 18 Oct. 2023, www.cnn.com/videos/world/2023/10/18/hamas-video-israel-attack-pkg-chance-vpx.cnn. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- . "Hamis Militant's Bodycam Shows How Attacks on Israel Began." *Www.youtube.com*, 23 Nov. 2023, www.youtube.com/watch?v=nDn10nDnk_k. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- . "Russian Tanks Roll Past CNN Reporter as they Appear to Head towards Ukraine." *YouTube*, 24 Feb. 2022, www.youtube.com/watch?v=aMp8rEmjZC0. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- . "Timeline of Events in Russia-Ukraine Conflict | CNN." *Www.cnn.com*, 24 Feb. 2022, www.cnn.com/videos/world/2022/02/24/timeline-of-events-russia-ukraine-lon-orig.cnn. Accessed 11 May 2024.

- Coats, Janet. "Choose Your Words Wisely: The Role of Language in Media Trust." *UF College of Journalism and Communications*, 30 Nov. 2023, www.jou.ufl.edu/insights/choose-your-words-wisely-the-role-of-language-in-media-trust/. Accessed 1 Mar. 2024.
- Coe, Kevin, et al. "Hostile News: Partisan Use and Perceptions of Cable News Programming." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 58, no. 2, June 2008, pp. 201-19, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00381.x>. Accessed 22 July 2020.
- Communication Studies. "Framing Theory." *Communication Studies*, Nov. 2012, www.communicationstudies.com/communication-theories/framing-theory. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- Communication Theory. "The Spiral of Silence Theory." *Communication Theory*, 10 July 2014, www.communicationtheory.org/the-spiral-of-silence-theory/. Accessed 26 Mar. 2024.
- Corduneanu-Huci, Cristina, and Alexander Hamilton. "Selective Control: The Political Economy of Censorship." *Political Communication*, vol. 39, no. 4, May 2022, pp. 517-38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2022.2074587>. Accessed 15 Mar. 2024.
- Cuofano, Gennaro. "Who Owns CNN?" *FourWeekMBA*, 14 Mar. 2023, fourweekmba.com/who-owns-cnn/. Accessed 1 May 2024.
- Cyrek, Barbara, et al. "Russian Aggression of Ukraine from the Perspective of CNN, PBS, and Fox News-Analysis of Facebook Posts." *Zarządzanie Mediami*, vol. 10, no. 3, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Jan. 2022, pp. 179–92, <https://doi.org/10.4467/23540214zm.22.013.17296>. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- Dalia Yashinsky, Phil. (MA), and Chris Drew (PhD). "15 Framing Effect Examples (2023)." *Helpfulprofessor.com*, 24 Aug. 2022, helpfulprofessor.com/framing-effect-examples/. Accessed 1 Apr. 2024.

- D'anieri, Paul J. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Civil War*. Cambridge; New York; Port Melbourne; New Delhi; Singapore Cambridge University Press, 2019.
Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Dang, Sheila. *TikTok Denies Pushing Pro-Palestine Content*. 2 Nov. 2023,
www.reuters.com/world/tiktok-denies-pushing-pro-palestine-content-2023-11-02/.
Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Davis, Christopher Mark. "The Ukraine Conflict, Economic-Military Power Balances and Economic Sanctions." *Post-Communist Economies*, vol. 28, no. 2, Feb. 2016, pp. 167–98,
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2016.1139301>. Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Davison, W. Phillips. "Public Opinion." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 17 Mar. 2017,
www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion. Accessed 24 Mar. 2024.
- De Martino, B. "Frames, Biases, and Rational Decision-Making in the Human Brain." *Science*, vol. 313, no. 5787, Aug. 2006, pp. 684–87,
<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1128356>. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.
- Deegan, Craig, et al. "An Examination of the Corporate Social and Environmental Disclosures of bhp from 1983-1997". *Accounting Auditing & Accountability Journal*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2002, p. 312-343. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09513570210435861>. Accessed 2 Mar. 2024.
- DellaVigna, Stefano, and Ethan Kaplan. "The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 122, no. 3, Aug. 2007, pp. 1187-234,
<https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.122.3.1187>. Accessed 2 May 2024.
- . "The Political Impact of Media Bias." *Information and Public Choice*. Ed. Roumeen Islam, World Bank Publications, 2008, pp. 79–106. Accessed 18 Apr. 2024.
- "Detecting Bias in the News." *Remc.org*, 2023, www.remc.org/about/past-projects/learn-at-your-own-pace/media-literacy/detecting-bias-in-the-news/. Accessed 12 Mar. 2024.

- Dodds, Klaus, et al. "The Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Implications for Politics, Territory and Governance." *Territory, Politics, Governance*, vol. 11, no. 8, Taylor & Francis, Sept. 2023, pp. 1519–36, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2023.2256119>. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.
- Doyle, Charles. "Broadcast Media." *A Dictionary of Marketing*: Oxford University Press, 2016. Oxford Reference. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.
- Drew, Chris. "Knowledge Gap Theory | the 5 Key Elements (2020)." *Helpful Professor*, 4 Sept. 2023, helpfulprofessor.com/knowledge-gap-theory/. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.
- Duignan, Brian. "Mass Media | Communications." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2019, www.britannica.com/topic/mass-media. Accessed 27 Feb. 2023.
- Dumdum, Omar O. "The Public's Role in Politicizing International Issues: Why Multilateralism Needs to Take Public Opinion More Seriously." *Global Perspectives*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1525/gp.2022.57706>. Accessed 23 Mar. 2024.
- Dunaway, Johanna, et al. "Agenda Setting, Public Opinion, and the Issue of Immigration Reform". *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 91, no. 2, 2010, pp. 359-78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2010.00697.x>. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- Eberl, Jakob-Moritz et al. "One Bias Fits All? Three Types of Media Bias and their Effects on Party Preferences." *Communication Research*, vol. 44, no. 8, Nov. 2015, pp. 1125–48, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650215614364>. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, et al. "Are Perceptions of Candidate Traits Shaped by the Media? The Effects of Three Types of Media Bias." *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 22, no. 1, Oct. 2016, pp. 111-32, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216674651>. Accessed 28 Mar. 2024.
- Ejupi, Vlera, et al. "THE MASS MEDIA and PERSUASION." *European Scientific Journal*, vol. 10, no. 14, May 2014, p. 641. Accessed 14 Mar. 2024.

- Ellis, Aurora. "Palestinian Americans Fundraise for Gaza, as Aid Groups Receive Record Donations." *Reuters*, 31 Oct. 2023, www.reuters.com/world/us/palestinian-americans-fundraise-gaza-aid-groups-receive-record-donations-2023-10-31/. Accessed 17 May 2024.
- Euro Media Research Group. "Control / Watchdog (C)." *The Media for Democracy Monitor*, euromediagroup.org/mdm/indicators/control-watchdog. Accessed 12 Mar. 2024.
- Ewoldsen, David R., et al. "Media Priming: A Synthesis." *Media Effects. Advances in Theory and Research*. Eds. Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002, pp. 97–120. Accessed 8 Apr. 2024.
- Fišar, Miloš, et al. "Media Bias and Tax Compliance: Experimental Evidence." *MUNI ECON Working Papers*, no. 1, Jan. 2020, https://doi.org/10.5817/wp_muni_econ_2020-01. Accessed 19 Mar. 2024.
- Fischer, Sara. "On TikTok, Views of Pro-Palestine Posts Far Surpass Views of Pro-Israel Posts." 23 Oct. 2023, www.axios.com/2023/10/31/tiktok-views-pro-palestine-posts-israel. Accessed 16 May 2024.
- Fox News. "Russia-Ukraine Conflict: Why it is a Whole New War | Fox News Video." *Fox News*, 16 May 2022, www.foxnews.com/video/6306278500112. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- . "Son of Hamas Leader Breaks Silence: They Must Be Stopped." *YouTube*, 19 Oct. 2023, www.youtube.com/watch?v=nMCC2ihCowg&t=1s. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- . "Tucker: We Are at War with Russia." *YouTube*, 8 Mar. 2022, www.youtube.com/watch?v=1PC7DzTRS7A. Accessed 7 May 2024.
- . "War in the Holy Land: The Israel-Palestinian Conflict Explained | Fox News Video." *Fox News*, 8 Oct. 2023, www.foxnews.com/video/6338680838112. Accessed 9 May 2024.

- Gallup. "Where Americans Turn for News." *TV Is Americans' Main Source of News*, 2013, news.gallup.com/poll/163412/americans-main-source-news.aspx. Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Garz, Marcel, et al. "Political Viewpoint Diversity in the News: Market and Ownership Conditions for a Pluralistic Media System." *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, SAGE Publishing, Sept. 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612231178254>. Accessed 17 Mar. 2024.
- Gearhart, Sherice, and Weiwu Zhang. "'Was it Something I Said?' 'No, it Was Something You Posted!' A Study of the Spiral of Silence Theory in Social Media Contexts." *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking*, vol. 18, no. 4, 2015, pp. 208–13, <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2014.0443>. Accessed 12 Apr. 2024.
- Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. "Enhancing Democracy through Legislative Redistricting." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 88, no. 3, Sept. 1994, pp. 541-59, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2944794>. Accessed 9 Mar. 2020.
- GGI Insights, "Freedom of Speech: Exploring the Foundations and Frontiers." *www.graygroupintl.com*, 17 Apr. 2024, www.graygroupintl.com/blog/freedom-of-speech. Accessed 15 Apr. 2024.
- Gilens, Martin, and Craig Hertzman. "Corporate Ownership and News Bias: Newspaper Coverage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act." *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 62, no. 2, May 2000, pp. 369–86, <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-3816.00017>. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Gilmour, Terry. "Critical Thinking and Media Literacy in an Age of Misinformation." *Cambridge Engage Preprints*, 11 Jan. 2024, <https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-bsmt-n-v2>. Accessed 19 Mar. 2024.

- Goldberg, Kevin M. "Reporter's Privilege: Everything You Need to Know." *Freedom Forum*, 10 Apr. 2024, www.freedomforum.org/reporters-privilege/. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Goodman, Ellen P. "Spectrum Policy and the Public Interest." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2008, pp. 173–85, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1299636>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.
- Gramlich, John, and Pew Research Center. "Republicans Place Trust in One Source, Fox News, Far More than Any Other and Rely on Fox News Far More for Political News." 5 *Facts about Fox News*, Apr. 2020, www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/04/08/five-facts-about-fox-news/. Accessed 14 May 2024.
- Gramlich, John. "5 Facts about Fox News." *Pew Research Center*, Pew Research Center, 8 Apr. 2020, www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/04/08/five-facts-about-fox-news/. Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Guo, Chao, and Gregory D. Saxton. "Tweeting Social Change: How Social Media Are Changing Nonprofit Advocacy." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 1, Jan. 2014, pp. 57–65, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764012471585>. Accessed 12 Apr. 2024.
- Haddad, Mohammed, and Alia Chughtai. "A Brief History of Israel-Palestine Conflict in 10 Maps." *Al Jazeera*, 27 Nov. 2023, www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/27/palestine-and-israel-brief-history-maps-and-charts. Accessed 5 May 2024.
- Hamama-Raz, Yaira, et al. "PTSD Symptoms, Forgiveness, and Revenge among Israeli Palestinian and Jewish Adolescents." *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, vol. 21, no. 6, 25 Dec. 2008, pp. 521–529, <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20376>. Accessed 2 May 2024.
- Hamborg, Felix, et al. "Automated Identification of Media Bias in News Articles: An Interdisciplinary Literature Review." *International Journal on Digital Libraries*, vol. 20, no. 4, Nov. 2018, pp. 391-415, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00799-018-0261-y>. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.

- Hampton, Keith, et al. "Social Media and the 'Spiral of Silence'." *Pew Research Center: Internet, Science & Tech*, 26 Aug. 2014, www.pewresearch.org/internet/2014/08/26/social-media-and-the-spiral-of-silence/. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.
- He, Guanzhong, et al. "The Implications of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict on International Banking". *BCP Business & Management*, vol. 35, 2022, pp. 121-25. <https://doi.org/10.54691/bcpbm.v35i.3239>. Accessed 5 May 2024.
- Hobolt, Sara B., et al. "Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum." *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 51, no. 4, July 2020, pp. 1-18, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123420000125>. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.
- Hoewe, Jennifer. "Toward a Theory of Media Priming." *Annals of the International Communication Association*, vol. 44, no. 4, Sept. 2020, pp. 312–21, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1815232>. Accessed 9 Apr. 2024.
- Husayn-McMahon Correspondence | British-Palestinian History." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 24 Feb. 2012, www.britannica.com/topic/Husayn-McMahon-correspondence. Accessed 28 Apr. 2024.
- Hyzen, Aaron, and Hilde Van den Bulck. "'Putin's War of Choice': US Propaganda and the Russia-Ukraine Invasion." *Journalism and Media*, vol. 5, no. 1, Mar. 2024, pp. 233–54, <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia5010016>. Accessed 10 May 2024.
- Iveson, Kurt, et al. "Branded Cities: Outdoor Advertising, Urban Governance, and the Outdoor Media Landscape". *Antipode*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2011, pp. 151-74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00849.x>. Accessed 4 Mar. 2024.
- Jenkins, Brian Michael. "Consequences of the War in Ukraine: The Economic Fallout." *RAND*, 7 Apr. 2023, www.rand.org/pubs/commentary/2023/03/consequences-of-the-war-in-ukraine-the-economic-fallout.html. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.

- Jessee, Stephen A. "Spatial Voting in the 2004 Presidential Election." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 103, no. 01, Feb. 2009, pp. 59-81, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s000305540909008x>. Accessed 12 Mar. 2021.
- Johnson, Matthew. "Bias in News Sources." *MediaSmarts*, mediasmarts.ca/teacher-resources/bias-news-sources. Accessed 3 Mar. 2024.
- Jones, Jeffrey. "Americans' Views of Both Israel, Palestinian Authority Down." *Gallup.com*, 4 Mar. 2024, news.gallup.com/poll/611375/americans-views-israel-palestinian-authority-down.aspx. Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Kahlström, Julia, et al. *Media Framing -as Time Goes? A Qualitative Longitudinal Study*. 2012, www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:546877/FULLTEXT02. Accessed 2 Apr. 2024.
- Kaur, Maganpreet. "Media and Violence in Youth: A Study in the Context of the 'Mean World Syndrome.'" *International Journal of Psychology and Counseling*, vol. 2, no. 1, June 2012, p. 31, <https://doi.org/10.37622/ijpc/2.1.2012.31-36>. Accessed 29 Mar. 2024.
- King, Brayden G. "A Political Mediation Model of Corporate Response to Social Movement Activism." *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 3, Sept. 2008, pp. 395–405, <https://doi.org/10.2189/asqu.53.3.395>. Accessed 4 Mar. 2024.
- Knight Foundation, "Perceived Accuracy and Bias in the News Media." *Knight Foundation*, Knight Foundation, 20 June 2018, knightfoundation.org/reports/perceived-accuracy-and-bias-in-the-news-media/. Accessed 15 Apr. 2024.
- Krishen, Anjala, et al. "Do Consumers Dig it All? The Interplay of Digital and Print Formats in Media". *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, vol. 33, no. 7, 2016, pp. 489-97. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jcm-01-2015-1287>. Accessed 4 Mar. 2024.
- Krutz, Glen, and Sylvie Waskiewicz. "The Media." *American Government*. 3rd ed., Jul 28, 2021, pp. 265-02. OpenStax. openstax.org/details/books/american-government-2e.

Accessed 2 Mar. 2024.

Larcinese, Valentino, et al. "Partisan Bias in Economic News: Evidence on the Agenda-Setting Behavior of U.S. Newspapers." *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 95, no. 9-10, Oct. 2011, pp. 1178–89, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2011.04.006>. Accessed 5 Mar. 2024.

Lee, Tien-Tsung. "Why They Don't Trust the Media: An Examination of Factors Predicting Trust." *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 54, no. 1, Sept. 2010, pp. 8-21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764210376308>. Accessed 9 Mar. 2024.

Legaspi, Carmen Jesusa B., et al. "Client Awareness and Effectiveness of the Information Dissemination Strategies of a Prosecution Office in Negros Occidental." *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences*, Oct. 2022, pp. 20-33, <https://doi.org/10.9734/arjass/2022/v18i4400>. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.

Leonova, I., M. Khramova, and N. Zaichkina. "Advertising Design of Urban Development". *Galactica Media: Journal of Media Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 3, Oct. 2022, p. 223, doi:10.46539/gmd.v4i3.322. Accessed 3 Mar. 2024.

Liedke, Jacob and Luxuan Wang. "News Platform Fact Sheet." *Pew Research Center's Journalism Project*, 15 Nov. 2023, www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/news-platform-fact-sheet/. Accessed 11 May 2024.

Lind, Fabienne and Hajo G. Boomgaarden. "What We Do and Don't Know: A Meta-Analysis of the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis." *Annals of the International Communication Association*, vol. 43, no. 3, May 2019, pp. 210–24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2019.1614475>. Accessed 12 Apr. 2024.

Luhmann, Niklas. *The Reality of the Mass Media*. Polity Press, 2000.

Lundby, Knut, and Giulia Evolvi. "Theoretical Frameworks for Approaching Religion and New Media." 2021, pp. 233-49. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429295683-23>. Accessed 3

Mar. 2024.

Lyu, Yifei et al. "Persistence Analysis of the Impact of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict on NATO Allies' Military Spending-Empirical Analysis Based on Vector Autoregressive Model (var)". *International Journal of Safety and Security Engineering*, vol. 12, no. 6, 2022, pp. 755-59. <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijssse.120612>. Accessed 5 May 2024.

Maniou, Theodora A., and Elena Ketteni. "The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Media Corruption: A Comparative Study in South and North Europe." *International Communication Gazette*, vol. 84, no. 1, July 2020, p. 174804852094275, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048520942751>. Accessed 10 Mar. 2024.

Masters, Jonathan and Will Merrow. "US Aid to Israel in Four Charts." *Council on Foreign Relations*, 23 Jan. 2024, www.cfr.org/article/us-aid-israel-four-charts. Accessed 14 May 2024.

Mather, Katie. "College Students across the US Have Been Arrested and Threatened with Suspension over Pro-Palestinian Protests. But What Legal Rights Do They Have?" *Yahoo News*, 15 May 2024, www.yahoo.com/news/college-students-across-the-us-have-been-arrested-and-threatened-with-suspension-over-pro-palestinian-protests-but-what-legal-rights-do-they-have-150447931.html. Accessed 18 May 2024.

Matthes, Jörg and Matthias Kohring. "The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 58, no. 2, June 2008, pp. 258–79, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x>. Accessed 31 Mar. 2024.

McCombs, M. et al. "Setting the Agenda of Attributes in the 1996 Spanish General Election". *Journal of Communication*, vol. 50, no. 2, 2000, pp. 77-92. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/50.2.77>. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.

- McCombs, Maxwell E., and Donald L. Shaw. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 1972), pp. 176-187. Oxford University Press on behalf of the American Association for Public Opinion Research Stable. www.jstor.org/stable/2747787. Accessed 2 June 2024.
- McGreal, Chris. "CNN Staff Say Network's Pro-Israel Slant Amounts to "Journalistic Malpractice." *The Guardian*, 4 Feb. 2024, www.theguardian.com/media/2024/feb/04/cnn-staff-pro-israel-bias. Accessed 10 May 2024.
- Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 5, 2006, p. 175, mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0040.pdf, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20032117>. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- Meijer, May-May, and Jan Kleinnijenhuis. "Issue News and Corporate Reputation: Applying the Theories of Agenda Setting and Issue Ownership in the Field of Business Communication." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 56, no. 3, Aug. 2006, pp. 543–59, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00300.x>. Accessed 26 Mar. 2024.
- Mellado, Claudia, et al. "Do Digital Platforms Really Make a Difference in Content? Mapping Journalistic Role Performance in Chilean Print and Online News". *Journalism*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2018, p. 358-77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918792386>. Accessed 8 Mar. 2024.
- Meriläinen, Niina, and Marita Vos. "Human Rights Organizations and Online Agenda Setting." *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, vol. 16, no. 4, Oct. 2011, pp. 293– 10, <https://doi.org/10.1108/13563281111186940>. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- Michael, Vallery, and Jussi Okkonen. "Towards a Conceptual Model of Media Education: A Finnish Perspective". *Nordic Journal of Digital Literacy*, vol. 16, no. 3-4, 2021, pp. 144-57. <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1891-943x-2021-03-04-05>. Accessed 12 Mar. 2024.

Micheni, Grace. "Detecting Political and Cultural Bias in News Media." *Medium*, 28 Nov. 2023, medium.com/@gracemicheni20/detecting-political-and-cultural-bias-in-news-media-2a61dc06d7d6. Accessed 29 Mar. 2024.

Michikyan, Minas, et al. "Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Digital Media Research". 2022, pp. 9-38. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108976237.003>. Accessed 3 Mar. 2024.

Morgan, Michael, and James Shanahan. "The State of Cultivation." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, vol. 54, no. 2, May 2010, pp. 337–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151003735018>. Accessed 30 Mar. 2024.

Morgan, Michael, et al. "Yesterday's New Cultivation, Tomorrow." *Mass Communication and Society*, vol. 18, no. 5, Aug. 2015, pp. 674–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1072725>. Accessed 29 Mar. 2024.

Morris, Merrill, and Christine Ogan. "The Internet as Mass Medium." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 46, no. 1, Mar. 1996, pp. 39–50, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1996.tb01460.x>. Accessed 8 Mar. 2024.

Mosharafa, Eman. "All you Need to Know about: The Cultivation Theory". *Global Journal of Human-Social Science*, vol. 15, no. A8, May 2015, pp. 33-47, <https://socialscienceresearch.org/index.php/GJHSS/article/view/1505>. Accessed 30 Mar. 2024.

Moss, Walter G. "Historians' Perspective on Media Bias: Where it Came from, and What Can Be Done?" *History News Network*, 16 May 2021, historynewsnetwork.org/article/historians-perspective-on-media-bias-where-it-came. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.

Nabi, Robin L., and Marina Krcmar. "Conceptualizing Media Enjoyment as Attitude: Implications for Mass Media Effects Research." *Communication Theory*, vol. 14, no. 4,

- Nov. 2004, pp. 288.10, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2004.tb00316.x>. Accessed 31 Mar. 2024.
- Narciso, Dean. “Several Hundred Pro-Gaza Protesters Rally at Ohio Statehouse, March along High Street.” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 23 Oct. 2023, www.dispatch.com/story/news/local/2023/10/21/hundreds-demonstrate-in-columbus-in-support-of-palestinians-in-gaza/71253092007/. Accessed 16 May 2024.
- Narea, Nicole. “How the US Became Israel’s Closest Ally.” *Vox*, 13 Oct. 2023, www.vox.com/world-politics/23916266/us-israel-support-ally-gaza-war-aid. Accessed 13 May 2024.
- Nashed, Mat. “Western Coverage of Israel’s War on Gaza-Bias or Unprofessionalism?” *Www.aljazeera.com*, 29 Oct. 2023, www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/29/western-coverage-of-israels-war-on-gaza-bias-or-unprofessionalism. Accessed 3 May 2024.
- NASSP. “Social Media 101: Using Social Media to Advocate and Influence Policy.” *NASSP*, 15 Feb. 2017, [www.nassp.org/social-media-101-using-social-media-to-advocate-and-influence-policy/#:~:text=You%20can%20tweet%20at%20\(%40\)](http://www.nassp.org/social-media-101-using-social-media-to-advocate-and-influence-policy/#:~:text=You%20can%20tweet%20at%20(%40)). Accessed 9 Mar. 2024.
- Nast, Condé. “What Was New York Times Reporter James Risen’s Seven-Year Legal Battle Really For?” *Vanity Fair*, 17 Mar. 2015, www.vanityfair.com/news/2015/03/james-risen-anonymous-source-government-battle. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Neuwirth, Kurt, et al. “The Spiral of Silence and Fear of Isolation.” *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 3, Aug. 2007, pp. 450–68, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00352.x>. Accessed 22 Apr. 2024.
- Newman, Nic, and Richard Fletcher. “Bias, Bullshit and Lies: Audience Perspectives on Low Trust in the Media.” *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, 2020, reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/our-research/bias-bullshit-and-lies-audience-perspectives-low-trust-media. Accessed 9 Mar. 2024.

- Nieves-Casasnovas, Janice, and Frank Lozada-Contreras. "Marketing Communication Objectives through Digital Content Marketing on Social Media". *Fórum Empresarial*, 2020, pp. 79-104. <https://doi.org/10.33801/fe.v25i1.18496>. Accessed 15 Mar. 2024.
- Nikolopoulou, Kassiani. "What is the Framing Effect? | Definition & Examples." *Scribbr*, 7 Dec. 2022, www.scribbr.com/research-bias/framing-effect/. Accessed 24 Mar. 2024.
- Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. *The Spiral of Silence Public Opinion--Our Social Skin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Nordenstreng, Kaarle, et al. "Coverage of the Russia-Ukraine War by Television News." *International Journal of Communication*, Nov. 2023, pp. 6857–73. Accessed 10 Jan. 2024.
- Nwakpoke Ogbodo, Jude, et al. "Communicating Health Crisis: A Content Analysis of Global Media Framing of COVID-19." *Health Promotion Perspectives*, vol. 10, no. 3, July 2020, pp. 257–69, <https://doi.org/10.34172/hpp.2020.40>. Accessed 14 Apr. 2024.
- Nye, Joseph S. "What Caused the Ukraine War?" *Project Syndicate*, 4 Oct. 2022, www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/what-caused-russia-ukraine-war-by-joseph-s-nye-2022-10. Accessed 28 Apr. 2024.
- O'Dell, Hope. "How the US Has Used its Power in the UN to Support Israel for Decades." *Globalaffairs.org*, 18 Dec. 2023, globalaffairs.org/bluemarble/how-us-has-used-its-power-un-support-israel-decades. Accessed 14 May 2024.
- Ojala, Markus. "Is the Age of Impartial Journalism Over? The Neutrality Principle and Audience (Dis)Trust in Mainstream News." *Journalism Studies*, vol. 22, no. 15, June 2021, pp. 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2021.1942150>. Accessed 13 Mar. 2024.
- Onyenankya, Kevin, and Abiodun Salawu. "On Bended Knees: Investigative Journalism and Changing Media Culture in Nigeria." *Media Watch*, vol. 11, no. 1, Jan. 2020,

<https://doi.org/10.15655/mw/2020/v11i1/49758>. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.

Ortiz, Santiago, et al. "The Russia-Ukraine Conflict: Analysis of the International Responsibility of the States, the Principles of Non-intervention, and Prohibited Use of Force under the International Court of Justice Jurisprudence." *Revista Ruptura*, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.26807/rr.v4i4.111>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.

Pacheco, Julianna et al. "The Affordable Care Act and Polarization in the United States." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, vol. 6, no. 2, July 2020, pp. 114-30, <https://doi.org/10.7758/RSF.2020.6.2.05>. Accessed 17 Apr. 2024.

Pan, Jui-Wen, et al. "Bias or Diversity? Unraveling Fine-Grained Thematic Discrepancy in U.S. News Headlines." *ArXiv* (Cornell University), 27 Mar. 2023, <https://doi.org/10.48550/arxiv.2303.15708>. Accessed 15 Mar. 2024.

Pathak, Anushka, et al. "Needlessly Controversial: The Reporting of Pharmaco- and Psycho-Therapy for the Treatment of Depression in the UK Media." *Psychological Medicine*, vol. 51, no. 16, May 2020, pp. 2798–803, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0033291720001427>. Accessed 12 Mar. 2024.

Perez, Michael Vicente. "Gaza Bombing Adds to the Generations of Palestinians Displaced from their Homes." *The Conversation*, 1 Nov. 2023, theconversation.com/gaza-bombing-adds-to-the-generations-of-palestinians-displaced-from-their-homes-216142. Accessed 25 Apr. 2024.

Petersen, Thomas. "Spiral of Silence | Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann." *Noelle-Neumann.de*, 2022, noelle-neumann.de/scientific-work/spiral-of-silence/. Accessed 28 Mar. 2024.

Pew Research Center. "Average Audience for Cable TV News: Prime News." *Cable News Fact Sheet*, 2023, www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/cable-news/. Accessed 14 May 2024.

- Pew Research Center. "News Consumption across Platforms." *News Platform Fact Sheet*, 2023, www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/news-platform-fact-sheet/. Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Pew Research Center. "Section I: Impact of Financial and Business Pressures." *Pew Research Center - U.S. Politics & Policy*, Pew Research Center, 17 Mar. 2008, www.pewresearch.org/politics/2008/03/17/section-i-impact-of-financial-and-business-pressures/. Accessed 16 Mar. 2024.
- Pingree, Raymond J., et al. "Checking Facts and Fighting Back: Why Journalists Should Defend Their Profession." *PLOS ONE*, edited by King-wa Fu, vol. 13, no. 12, Dec. 2018, p. e0208600, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0208600>. Accessed 1 Mar. 2024.
- Potichnyj, Peter J. "The Referendum and Presidential Elections in Ukraine." *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 33, no. 2, June 1991, pp. 123-38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00085006.1991.11091956>. Accessed 14 May 2024.
- Potter, W. James. "A Critical Analysis of Cultivation Theory." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 64, no. 6, Oct. 2014, pp. 1015-36, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12128>. Accessed 12 Apr. 2024.
- . "Synthesizing a Working Definition of 'Mass' Media." *Review of Communication Research*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1-30, https://doi.org/10.12840/issn.2255-4165_2013_01.01_001. Accessed 3 Mar. 2024.
- Public Opinion." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 17 Mar. 2017, www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion. Accessed 31 Mar. 2024.
- "Public Opinion: Examining the Pulse of Society." *FasterCapital*, 18 Mar. 2024, fastercapital.com/content/Public-Opinion--Examining-the-Pulse-of-Society.html. Accessed 5 Apr. 2024.
- Quinn, Melissa. "Supreme Court to Hear Free Speech Case over Government Pressure on

- Social Media Sites to Remove Content - CBS News.” *Www.cbsnews.com*, 17 Mar. 2024, www.cbsnews.com/news/supreme-court-social-media-sites-government-content-misinformation-censorship/. Accessed 18 Mar. 2024.
- Rajvanshi, Astha, and Yasmeen Serhan. “What to Know about the Global Boycotts against Israel.” *TIME*, 14 Feb. 2024, time.com/6694986/israel-palestine-bds-boycotts-starbucks-mcdonalds/. Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Ramasubramanian, Srividya. “The Impact of Stereotypical versus Counter Stereotypical Media Exemplars on Racial Attitudes, Causal Attributions, and Support for Affirmative Action.” *Communication Research*, vol. 38, no. 4, Jan. 2011, pp. 497-516, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650210384854>. Accessed 16 Mar. 2024.
- Reissman, Hailey. “Cable News Networks Have Grown More Polarized, Study Finds.” *Www.asc.upenn.edu*, 1 Aug. 2022, www.asc.upenn.edu/news-events/news/cable-news-networks-have-grown-more-polarized-study-finds. Accessed 11 May 2024.
- Ricaforte, Micaela. “The History of American Media Bias Part 4: 1950s-2000s.” *AllSides*, 8 Sept. 2023, www.allsides.com/blog/history-media-bias-part-4-1950s-2000s. Accessed 14 Mar. 2024.
- Roberts, Geoffrey. “‘Now or Never’: The Immediate Origins of Putin’s Preventative War on Ukraine | Journal of Military and Strategic Studies.” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, Dec. 2022, pp. 1–27, jmss.org/article/view/76584. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.
- Roscini, Flavia. “How the American Media Landscape Is Polarizing the Country | the Pardee Atlas Journal of Global Affairs.” *The Pardee Atlas Journal of Global Affairs*, sites.bu.edu/pardeeatlas/advancing-human-progress-initiative/back2school/how-the-american-media-landscape-is-polarizing-the-country/. Accessed 18 Mar. 2024.

- Rowe, N. C. "Trust in Digital Government." *Encyclopaedia of Digital Government*, <https://doi.org/10.4018/9781591407898.ch241>. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Rubik, Andrea. "The Role of Social Media in Creativity Management in Advertising Agencies." *International Journal of E-Services and Mobile Applications*, vol. 14, no. 1, Jan. 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4018/ijesma.296583>. Accessed 28 Feb. 2024.
- Saad, Lydia. "TV Is Americans' Main Source of News." *Gallup.com*, 8 July 2013, news.gallup.com/poll/163412/americans-main-source-news.aspx. Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Sadek, Meriem Dalila. "The Jewish Lobby's Causes of Creation in the United States." *Revue LAROS*, vol. 11, no. 1, 18 Feb. 2019, pp. 313–27, www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/232710. Accessed 12 May 2024.
- Sama, Ramzan. "Impact of Media Advertisements on Consumer Behaviour." *Journal of Creative Communications*, vol. 14, no. 1, Feb. 2019, pp. 54–68, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0973258618822624>. Sagepub. Accessed 29 Feb. 2024.
- Saxena, Aastha. "The Impact of Digital Media on Print Media." *IIS University Journal of Arts*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2019, pp. 70–80, iisjoa.org/sites/default/files/iisjoa/2019/pdf/6.%20Aastha%20Saxena.pdf. Accessed 7 Mar. 2024.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication." *Mass Communication and Society*, vol. 3, no. 2-3, Aug. 2000, pp. 297–316, https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327825mcs0323_07.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 49, no. 1, Mar. 1999, pp. 103–22. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1,

- Nov. 2007, pp. 9-20, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x>. Accessed 9 Apr. 2024.
- Schulz, Anne, et al. "We Are the People and You Are Fake News: A Social Identity Approach to Populist Citizens' False Consensus and Hostile Media Perceptions." *Communication Research*, vol. 47, no. 2, Aug. 2018, pp. 201-26, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650218794854>. Accessed 15 Apr. 2024.
- Scott, Craig R., and SoeYoon Choi. "Top Secret from the Bottom Up." *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, vol. 22, no. 4, Oct. 2017, pp. 556-61, <https://doi.org/10.1108/ccij-08-2017-0072>. Accessed 15 Apr. 2024.
- Sethi, Ravideep, and Helios Herrera. "Mainstream Media and Electoral Outcomes." *CEPR*, 31 July 2022, cepr.org/voxeu/columns/mainstream-media-and-electoral-outcomes. Accessed 19 Apr. 2024.
- Settanni, Michele, et al. "Predicting individual characteristics from digital traces on social media: a meta-analysis". *Cyber psychology Behavior and Social Networking*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2018, pp. 217-28. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2017.0384>. Accessed 12 Mar. 2024.
- Sheafer, Tamir. "How to Evaluate It: The Role of Story-Evaluative Tone in Agenda Setting and Priming." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, Mar. 2007, pp. 21-39, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00327.x>. Accessed 5 Apr. 2024.
- Sheng, Jie, and Hao Lan. "Business Failure and Mass Media: An Analysis of Media Exposure in the Context of Delisting Event." *Journal of Business Research*, vol. 97, Apr. 2019, pp. 316–23, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.01.055>. Accessed 17 Mar. 2024.
- Shrum, L. J. "Cultivation Theory: Effects and Underlying Processes." *The International Encyclopedia of Media Effects*, Mar. 2017, pp. 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0040>. Accessed 29 Mar. 2024.

- Society of Professional Journalists. "SPJ Code of Ethics." *Society of Professional Journalists*, 6 Sept. 2014, www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp. Accessed 21 Apr. 2024.
- Sohn, Dongyoung. "Spiral of Silence in the Social Media Era: A Simulation Approach to the Interplay between Social Networks and Mass Media." *Communication Research*, vol. 49, no. 1, June 2019, p. 140, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650219856510>. Accessed 14 Apr. 2024.
- Soken-Huberty, Emmaline. "Freedom of the Press 101: Definition, Examples, Significance." *Human Rights Careers*, 10 Sept. 2023, www.humanrightscareers.com/issues/freedom-of-the-press-101-definition-examples-significance/#:~:text=Freedom%20of%20the%20press%20gives. Accessed 20 Apr. 2024.
- Sorlin, Pierre. *Mass Media*. 1994. 1st ed., Routledge, 2013, p. 168. Accessed 16 Jan. 2024.
- Spinde, Timo, et al. "How Do We Raise Media Bias Awareness Effectively? Effects of Visualizations to Communicate Bias." *PLOS One*, edited by Rogis Baker, vol. 17, no. 4, Apr. 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0266204>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2024.
- Steppat, Desiree, et al. "News Media Performance Evaluated by National Audiences: How Media Environments and User Preferences Matter." *Media and Communication*, vol. 8, no. 3, Aug. 2020, pp. 321-34, <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i3.3091>. Accessed 17 Mar. 2024.
- Stimson, James A., et al. "Dynamic Representation." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 89, no. 3, American Political Science Association, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 543-65, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2082973>. Accessed 22 Apr. 2024.
- Strauß, Nadine. "Financial Journalism in Today's High-Frequency News and Information Era." *Journalism*, vol. 20, no. 2, Jan. 2018, pp. 274-91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917753556>. Accessed 18 Mar. 2024.
- Strydhorst, Natasha, et al. "Exploring Partisans' Biased and Unreliable Media Consumption

- and their Misinformed Health-Related Beliefs.” *Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review*, Oct. 2023, <https://doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-125>. Accessed 14 Mar. 2024.
- Sutter, Daniel. “News Media Incentives, Coverage of Government, and the Growth of Government.” *The Independent Review*, vol. 8, no. 4, 2004, pp. 549–67. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24562196>. Accessed 19 Mar. 2024.
- Symeou, Pavlos, et al. "Cultural Agenda Setting and the Role of Critics". *Communication Research*, vol. 42, no. 5, 2014, pp. 732-54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650214534971>. Accessed 4 Apr. 2024.
- Tahamtan, Iman, et al. “Framing of and Attention to COVID-19 on Twitter: Thematic Analysis of Hashtags.” *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, vol. 23, no. 9, Sept. 2021, p. e30800, <https://doi.org/10.2196/30800>. Accessed 21 Apr. 2024.
- Tait, Robert. “‘No Ceasefire!’ Tens of Thousands March for Israel in Washington DC.” *The Guardian*, 15 Nov. 2023, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/nov/14/march-washington-dc-israel-no-ceasefire. Accessed 16 May 2024.
- Talebian, Sara. "Understanding the Characteristics of Broadcast Media Policy in Iran: A Thematic Policy Analysis". *Global Media and Communication*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2020, pp. 148-66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742766520921906>. Accessed 12 Mar. 2024
- Tenopir, Carol, et al. “Social Media and Scholarly Reading.” *Online Information Review*, vol. 37, no. 2, Apr. 2013, pp. 193-16, <https://doi.org/10.1108/oir-04-2012-0062>. Accessed 10 Mar. 2024.
- Thornton, Bruce. “A Brief History of Media Bias.” *Hoover Institution*, 12 June 2013, www.hoover.org/research/brief-history-media-bias. Accessed 8 Mar. 2024.
- Tichenor, P. J., et al. “Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1970, pp. 159–70, <https://doi.org/10.1086/267786>. Accessed 6 Apr. 2024.

- Tollast, Robert, et al. "What would it Take to Rebuild Gaza after the War?" *The National*, 7 Apr. 2024, www.thenationalnews.com/news/mena/2024/04/07/gaza-israel-war-rebuild/. Accessed 27 Apr. 2024.
- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice." *Science*, vol. 211, no. 4481, Jan. 1981, pp. 453–58, <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.7455683>. Accessed 6 Apr. 2024.
- Ugland, Erik. "The Fairness Doctrine Redux: Media Bias and the Rights of Broadcasters." *Social Science Research Network*, vol. 7, RELX Group (Netherlands), Jan. 2005, pp. 301–13. Accessed 20 Apr. 2024.
- United Nations. "About the Nakba." *Question of Palestine*, 2023, www.un.org/unispal/about-the-nakba/. Accessed 27 Apr. 2024.
- . "Humanitarian Crisis in Ukraine Deteriorating at Alarming Speed, Briefers Tell Security Council, Calling for Attacks on Civilians to Stop." *United Nations*, 19 Apr. 2022, press.un.org/en/2022/sc14865.doc.htm. Accessed 29 Apr. 2024.
- Vu, Hong, et al. "Exploring 'the World Outside and the Pictures in our Heads'". *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 91, no. 4, 2014, pp. 669- 86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699014550090>. Accessed 26 Mar. 2024.
- Walth, Brent, et al. "A New Reporting Approach for Journalistic Impact: Bringing Together Investigative Reporting and Solutions Journalism." *Newspaper Research Journal*, vol. 40, no. 2, May 2019, pp. 177-89, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532919834989>. Accessed 11 Mar. 2024.
- Walton, Adele. "Social Media Users are Bypassing Censorship on Palestine | New Internationalist." *Newint.org*, 30 Jan. 2024, newint.org/social-media-censorship-palestine. Accessed 14 May 2024.
- Wei, Ran. "Mobile Media: Coming of Age with a Big Splash." *Mobile Media &*

- Communication*, vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 2013, pp. 50-56,
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157912459494>. Accessed 8 Mar. 2024.
- Welt, Cory. *CRS INSIGHT Prepared for Members and Committees of Congress INSIGHTi*.
20 Dec. 2023, crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN11869. Accessed 15 May 2024.
- Willnat, Lars, and Jian-Hua Zhu. "Newspaper Coverage and Public Opinion in Hong Kong: A
Time-Series Analysis of Media Priming." *Political Communication*, vol. 13, no. 2, Apr.
1996, pp. 231–46, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1996.9963109>. Accessed 9 Apr.
2024.
- World Bank Group. *Note on the Impacts of the Conflict in the Middle East on the Palestinian
Economy*. Accessed 10 May 2024.
- Wu, H., et al. "Advancing Agenda-setting Theory: The Comparative Strength and New
Contingent Conditions of the Two Levels of Agenda-setting Effects". *Journalism & Mass
Communication Quarterly*, vol. 86, no. 4, 2009, pp. 775-89.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900908600404>. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.
- Yaraghi, Niam. "Regulating Free Speech on Social Media is Dangerous and Futile."
Brookings, The Brookings Institution, 21 Sept. 2018,
www.brookings.edu/articles/regulating-free-speech-on-social-media-is-dangerous-and-futile/. Accessed 16 Mar. 2024.
- Yavetz, Gal. "Bibi and Mr. Prime Minister: Do Different Facebook Identities Imply Different
Messages for Political Leaders?" *Online Information Review*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2022, pp.
464–82, <https://doi.org/10.1108/oir-01-2021-0004>. Accessed 6 Apr. 2024.
- Youmans, William. "Accounting for the Biases in US Media Coverage of Gaza." *DAWN*, 20
Mar. 2024, dawnmena.org/accounting-for-the-biases-in-u-s-media-coverage-of-gaza/.
Accessed 3 May 2024.

Younis, Mohamed. "American Views on the Ukraine War in 6 Charts." *Gallup.com*, 2 Nov.

2023, news.gallup.com/poll/513680/american-views-ukraine-war-charts.aspx. Accessed 11 May 2024.

---. "Shifting Sentiments on How Americans Gauge US Role in the Ukraine Crisis."

GALLUP, 2 Nov. 2023, news.gallup.com/poll/513680/american-views-ukraine-war-charts.aspx. Accessed 12 May 2024.

Yousaf, Muhammad, et al. "Immunity Debt or Vaccination Crisis? A Multi-method Evidence on Vaccine Acceptance and Media Framing for Emerging COVID-19 Variants." *Vaccine*, vol. 40, no. 12, Mar. 2022, pp. 1855–63, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.vaccine.2022.01.055>. Accessed 13 Apr. 2024.

Zebib, Chirinne. "Political Communication through the Prism of Social Media: How are Lebanese Political Parties Using Facebook in Electoral Campaigns?" *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, vol. 38, no. 2, June 2022, pp. 87-106, <https://doi.org/10.17576/jkmjc-2022-3802-06>. Accessed 6 Apr. 2024.

Zhang, Nan, et al. "Information Dissemination Analysis of Different Media towards the Application for Disaster Pre-Warning." *PLoS ONE*, edited by Tobias Preis, vol. 9, no. 5, May 2014, p. e98649, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0098649>. Accessed 10 Mar. 2024.

Zunes, Stephen. "US Support for Israel Bolsters its Own Interests." *Progressive.org*, 27 Feb. 2024, progressive.org/latest/us-support-for-israel-bolsters-its-own-interests-zunes-20240227/. Accessed 12 May 2024.

Zurriyati, et al. "Language and Power: How News Media Construct a Biased Structure of Information in Public Discourse during the Presidential Election." *Journal Unimal*, vol. 4, no. 1, May 2023, p. 14, <https://doi.org/10.29103/mspr.v%vi%i.11031>. Accessed 6 Mar. 2024.

