

A photograph showing several Red Crescent ambulances in white uniforms with red crescents and crosses. They are carrying a person lying on an orange stretcher through a crowd of people. The scene appears to be outdoors, possibly in a conflict zone. The ambulances have Arabic text on them, including 'الجمعية الطبية الإسلامية' (Islamic Medical Association) and 'دفاع طبي' (Medical Defense).

**MEDIA BIAS IN THE ISRAELI/PALESTINIAN CONFLICT:  
CANADIAN PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF ISRAELI AND  
PALESTINIAN DEATHS**

**A NECEF REPORT CARD**

September 29, 2000 – September 28, 2001  
January 1, 2004 – December 31, 2004

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*Photo: Askar Refugee Camp, August 2004*

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## Media Report Card on Accuracy in Reporting of Israel/Palestine **Canadian Print Media Coverage**

### Study Periods:

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

January 1, 2004 - December 31, 2004

### Introduction

This study of print-media bias in the covering of deaths in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict was commissioned by the Toronto-based *Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation* (NECEF). It builds on a previous study conducted by the California-based media-monitoring organization *If Americans Knew* (IAK) that examined the *New York Times*' coverage of deaths in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (for details of that report see: *Off the Charts* - <http://www.ifamericansknew.org>). Whereas IAK examined print-media biases in the *New York Times*, our study looks at Canada's three largest print-media outlets respectively – i.e. the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, and the *Toronto Star*.

As in *Off the Charts* this study covers the first year of the current uprising by examining coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths from 29 September 2000 through to 28 September 2001. This period was selected for study in *Off the Charts*, because as the authors of that report argued “it set the context within which all subsequent reporting on the conflict is viewed.” As in the original report, we also studied Canadian print-media coverage for 2004 to discover whether the patterns identified for the first year had continued, diminished, or increased.

### Methodology

While there are many potential yardsticks for measuring accuracy in reporting on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, NECEF has elected to use criteria selected by IAK that are “widely acknowledged as significant, conducive to statistical analysis, and immune to subjective interpretation.”

The IAK's decision to look at only headlines and first paragraphs of articles was motivated by the goal of assessing the average reader's experience by tracking the prominence given to the coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths. In addition to the IAK methodology, the NECEF study has also elected to expand the scope of inquiry by looking at other indicators marking prominence given to Israeli and Palestinian casualties in print-media coverage. These indicators include: photographs that appeared in news-stories; the accompanying captions; as well as the percentage of stories reporting Israeli and Palestinian casualties that received front page coverage. We also conducted a sub-study of full articles in one month-long period in 2005 to track current trends in reporting and to provide a more in-depth examination of where in an article Israeli and Palestinian deaths are more likely to be reported on (given that readers are more likely to read about deaths that are reported in the first few paragraphs of any given story).

The focus on conflict-related deaths allows meaningful statistical analysis that would be impossible in a qualitative study. According to IAK, “This unambiguous yardstick allows us to determine whether [the newspaper] demonstrates even-handed respect for human life, regardless of ethnic or religious background.” Fortunately, accurate data for conflict casualties among both populations is available from the Israeli human rights organization *B’tselem* against which coverage could be measured. Reporting on children’s deaths was also studied as a separate category in the IAK study and this decision is reproduced because as the authors of *Off the Charts* argue, “each such event represents a universally recognized human tragedy.”<sup>1</sup> As in the IAK study, we also kept separate track of reports of cumulative death counts that were reported in headlines, first paragraphs, or photo-captions for deaths that occurred in a reporting period greater than 7-days.

This study employs a Distortion Index (DI) to gauge the relative distortion in coverage between Israeli and Palestinian deaths. The DI is adapted from the IAK-study, in which the percentage of Israeli deaths covered was divided by the percentage of Palestinian deaths covered in the period being studied. Thus, equal media coverage of the same percentage of deaths on both sides would result in a DI of 1. Any DI above 1 would indicate a bias in favor of covering a relatively larger percentage of Israeli deaths, while any DI below 1 would indicate a bias in favor of covering a relatively larger percentage of Palestinian deaths.

To gather the quantitative data used in this study the ProQuest newspaper database was used for all relevant *Toronto Star* and *National Post* articles, while the Factiva database was used for all relevant *Globe and Mail* articles. The Factiva database unfortunately did not contain photo/captions of images that appeared in relevant news items, thus comparative figures for *Globe and Mail* coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths in photo/captions are not provided in this report.

Finally, only news items published during the study periods under consideration were taken into account due to their presumed objectivity. Editorials, opinion columns, news briefs, letters to the editor, etc. were not included in the study given that such articles are generally understood by readers to contain biases.

***It is therefore on the presumed objectiveness of Middle East news reporting in Canada’s three-major print-media news outlets that this report bases its findings.***

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<sup>1</sup> A ‘child’ is defined for the purposes of this study as anyone under the age of 18 as stipulated in Article 1 of the United Nations’ *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. In accordance with the methodology of the IAK study, references made in print to ‘teenagers’ or to ‘youths’ in a headline, first paragraph or picture/caption were also counted in the category of children’s deaths.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of the *Off the Charts* study indicated significantly distorted coverage of conflict related deaths by the *New York Times* based on the identity of the person who was killed. Therefore, in the first study period ranging from 29 September 2000 to 28 September 2001, *The Times* covered Israeli deaths with a Distortion Index of 2.8 (i.e. the percentage of Israeli deaths covered exceeded the percentage of Palestinian deaths covered by 2.8). In 2004 the DI increased by almost 30%, to 3.6. Furthermore, the author's of the study found that *New York Times*' coverage of children's deaths in the conflict was even more skewed. In the first year of the current uprising, children's deaths were reported on with a DI of 6.8 in favor of Israeli children's deaths. This differential increased again in 2004 to 7.3. ***These distortions in the likelihood of coverage occurred despite the fact that in all cases Palestinians were being killed at a much greater rate than Israelis.***

The findings of the present study also indicate significant distortions in the coverage of conflict related deaths based on the ethnicity of the victim. All three Canadian newspapers studied in this report recorded Distortion Indices that showed a clear bias towards the coverage of Israeli over Palestinian deaths, particularly in the case of children's deaths. Of course, there were considerable variations in the magnitude of the Distortion Indices recorded for the different newspapers under review.

### *Globe and Mail Summary*

In the first study period the *Globe and Mail* reported recorded a Distortion Index (DI) of 1.9. This figure increased to 2.6 in 2004, thereby widening the disparity in coverage in favor of Israeli deaths. The *Globe and Mail*'s coverage of children's deaths was equally skewed on the basis of the victims' identity. In the first year of the current uprising, Israeli children's deaths were 3.6 times more likely to receive coverage than Palestinian children's deaths. In 2004 this differential increased again to a DI of 4.5 in favor of Israeli children's deaths. Given that in 2004 Palestinian children were killed at a rate of 22:1 with respect to Israeli children, this category held particular importance for the authors of *Off the Charts*. As in that study, we also could not find a basis on which to justify the inequality in coverage of Israeli and Palestinian children's deaths.

### *National Post Summary*

The recorded Distortion Indices for most categories of *National Post* coverage betrayed clear biases in favor of giving greater weight to Israeli over Palestinian victims (particularly in the case of children). In the first study period, the *National Post* recorded a DI of 2.9 in favor of Israeli deaths. In 2004 this figure doubled to 5.8, widening still further the disparity in coverage in favor of Israeli victims. Furthermore, *National Post* coverage of children's deaths was the most skewed of any such study conducted to date. In the first year of the current uprising, the *National Post* recorded a DI of 34.5 in the category of children's deaths. In 2004 this differential increased again, with the deaths of Israeli children covered at a rate 89.5 times greater than the deaths of Palestinian children.

### *Toronto Star Summary*

The *Toronto Star*, which is often perceived as the most ‘pro-Palestinian’ of mainstream Canadian print-media outlets, also betrayed clear biases in reporting on Israeli/Palestinian casualties – although here, once again, it was Israeli deaths that were favored in the likelihood of a death receiving coverage. In the first study period, the *Toronto Star* recorded a DI of 3.5 (i.e. a higher DI than recorder by either the *Globe and Mail* or the *National Post* for the same period). However, in 2004 *The Star’s* DI was significantly narrowed to 1.4 due to excellent coverage of Israeli raids in Gaza during the months of May and October of 2004. The *Toronto Star’s* coverage of children’s deaths, however, was - as in all previously cited cases - also more heavily skewed in favor of Israeli children’s deaths. In the first year of the current uprising, children’s deaths were reported with a DI of 6.8 in favor of Israeli deaths. In 2004 this figure increased to 7.8.

### *Summary of Photos/Captions*

Our examination of photos/captions in the *National Post* and the *Toronto Star* did little to dispel the dismal picture of biased Canadian print-media reporting of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Here again, the *National Post* reported on Israeli deaths in its photos/captions at a rate 10.9 times higher than that of Palestinian deaths for the first reporting period. This ratio increased to 78.3 during 2004. The same pattern holds when examining children’s deaths in the *National Post’s* photos/captions. Here again Israeli children’s deaths were reported at a rate 19.4 times that of Palestinian children’s deaths during the first reporting period, a ratio that increased infinitely **in 2004 as not a single Palestinian child’s death was captured in a *National Post* photo/caption.**

The *Toronto Star’s* own coverage of Israeli/Palestinian deaths in photo/captions, while not as skewed as the ratios for the *National Post*, also displayed clear biases based on the identity of the victim. The *Toronto Star*, therefore, reported on Israeli deaths in its photos/captions at a rate 7.1 times higher than that of Palestinian deaths for the first reporting period. This ratio increased to 10.2 during 2004. The same pattern holds when examining children’s deaths in the *Star’s* selection of photos/captions. Here again Israeli children’s deaths were reported at a rate 3.9 times that of Palestinian children’s deaths during the first reporting period, a ratio that increased to 6.1 in 2004.

Considering the oft-quoted aphorism, ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’ it can safely be stated that such biases in coverage of Israeli/Palestinian deaths in selecting photos/captions significantly affect the perceptions of Canadians as to who the primary victims of the current conflict are.

### *Summary of Front Page Coverage of Casualties*

As in all previous categories, here again Israeli deaths were generally privileged over Palestinian deaths and generally considered more worthy of front-page coverage. However, unlike in the other categories, all three papers saw an improvement in 2004 in terms of a less distorted bias in favor of covering Israeli deaths on the front-pages. In fact, The National Post, despite it’s dismal record on all other indicators in this study, was twice as likely to accord front-page coverage to Palestinian deaths in 2004 than to Israeli deaths – with 16% of stories that covered Palestinian deaths receiving front-pages treatment in *The Post* as opposed to only 8% of stories reporting on Israeli deaths.

## SECTION A – GLOBE AND MAIL COVERAGE

### Findings A-I. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of All Deaths: First Year of the Current Uprising

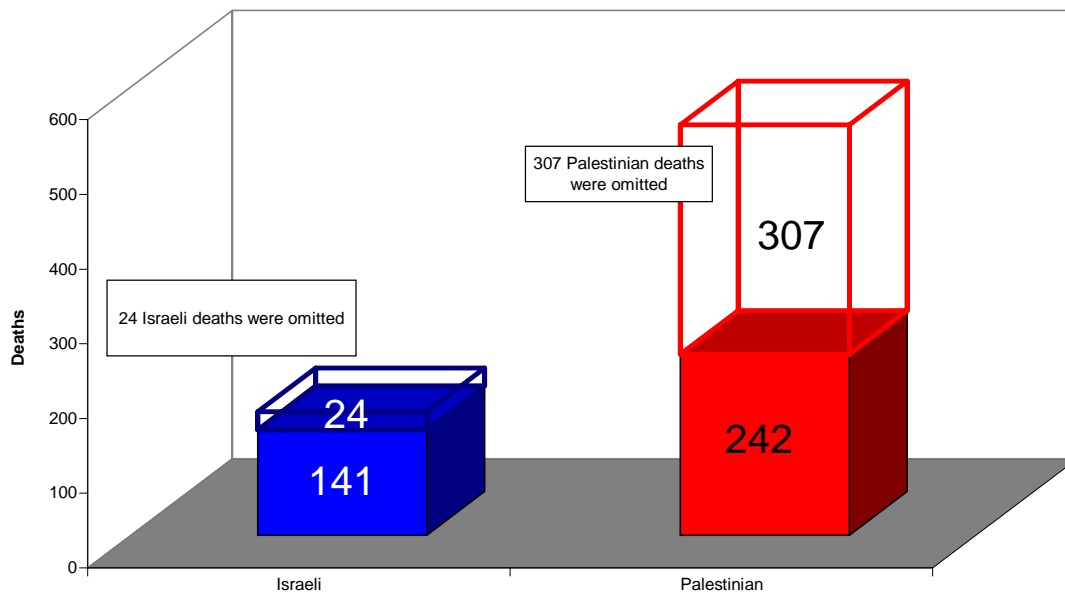
We found a significant disparity in the likelihood of a death receiving coverage based on the identity of the person killed in the *Globe and Mail*.

For the first year of the current uprising, there were 141 reports in *Globe and Mail* headlines or first paragraphs of Israeli deaths. During this time, there had actually been 165 Israelis killed. During the same year-long period, 242 Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs. During this time, 549 Palestinians had actually been killed.

#### Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro

*GLOBE AND MAIL*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

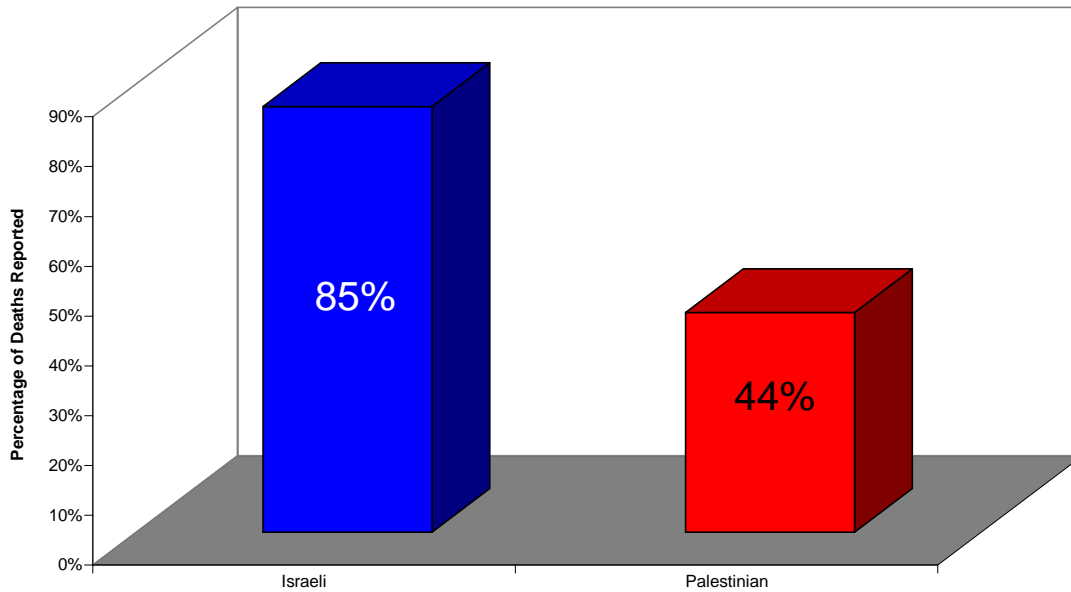


In other words, 85% of Israeli deaths and only 44% of Palestinian deaths were reported in *Globe and Mail* headlines or first paragraphs. That is, the *Globe* registered a Distortion Index (DI) of 1.9, thereby giving greater relative prominence in coverage to each Israeli death that occurred than to each Palestinian death that occurred. Put another way, the *Globe* reported a total number of Palestinian deaths that was 1.7 times greater than the overall number of Israeli deaths reported. This occurred despite the fact that the total number of Palestinian deaths was in reality 3.3 times greater than the total number of Israeli deaths.

### Percentage of Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro

*GLOBE AND MAIL*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

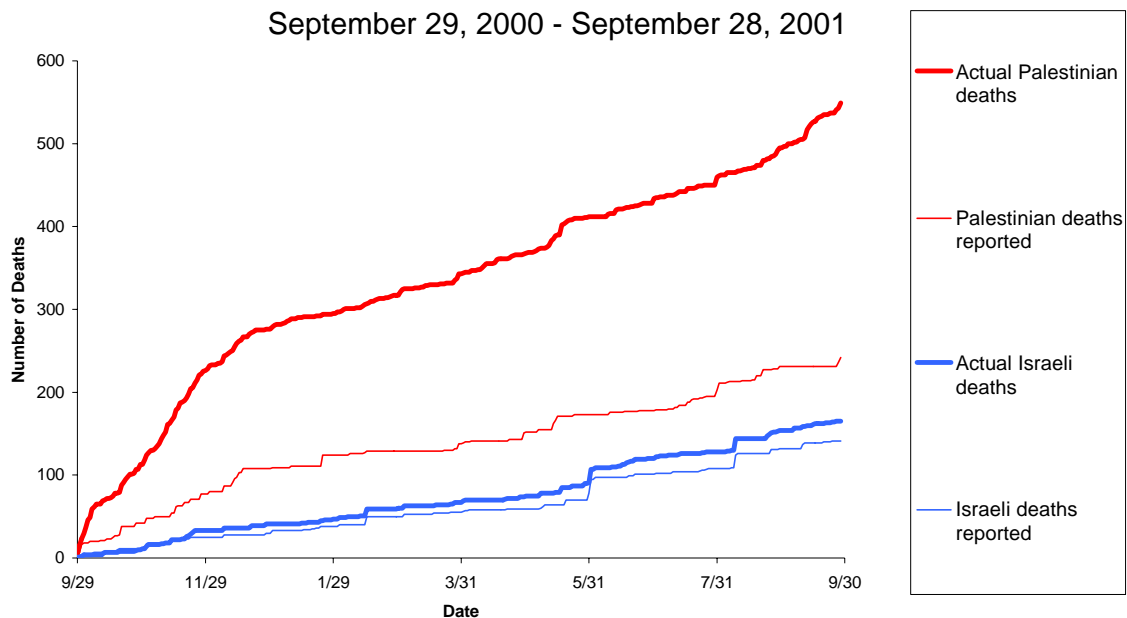


Finally, we compared the running totals of actual and reported deaths for Palestinians and Israelis. The table below underscores *The Globes'* tendency to report a fictional situation in which Israeli and Palestinian deaths occurred at more or less the same rate during the first year of the uprising, thereby illustrating the dramatic gap between the reality of Palestinian fatalities and the coverage of them.

### Running Totals of Deaths Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro

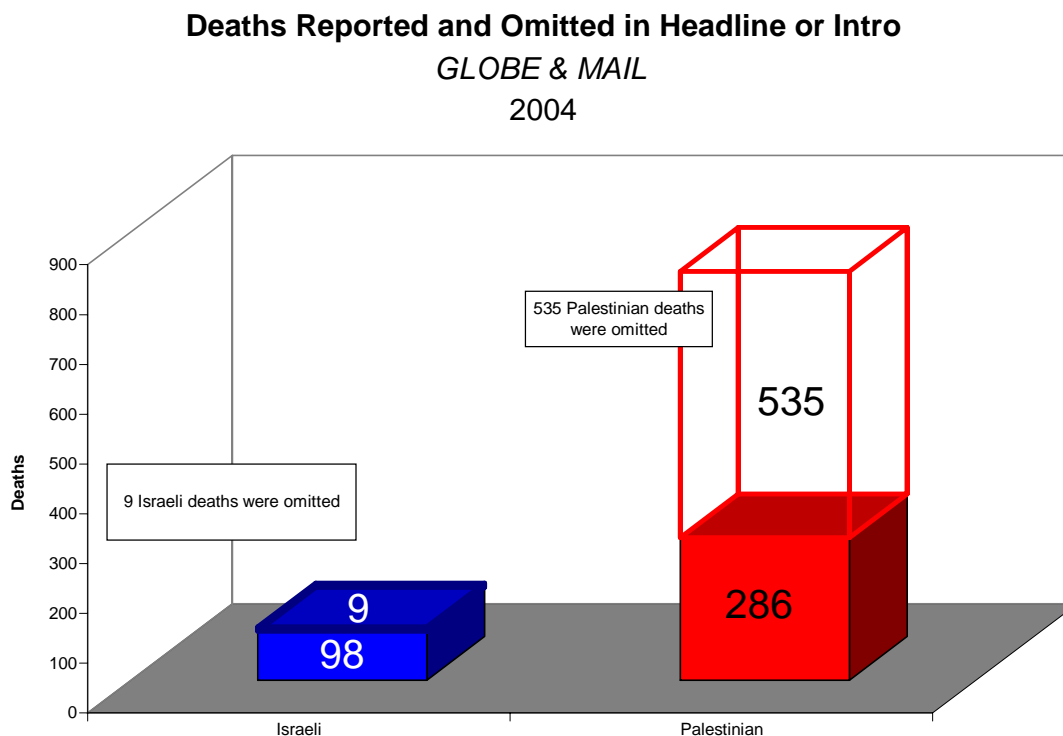
*GLOBE AND MAIL*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



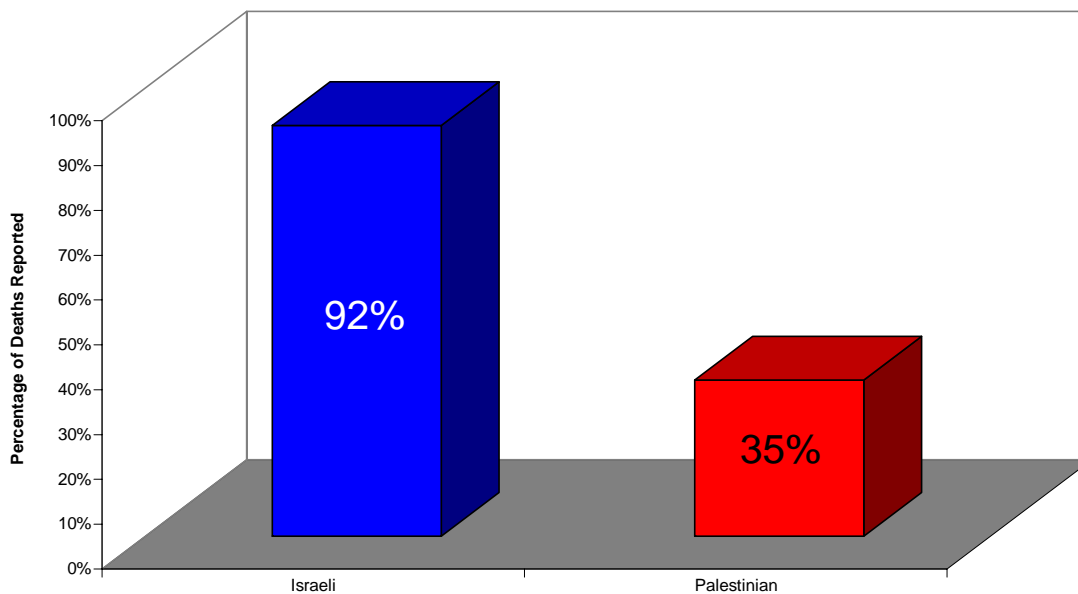
## Findings A-II. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of All Deaths: 2004

In studying *The Globe's* 2004 coverage, we found that this pattern of distortion continued and, in fact, worsened with respect to the previous study period. In 2004, there were 98 reports in *Globe and Mail* headlines or first paragraphs on Israeli deaths. During this time, there had actually been 107 Israelis killed. During the same one-year period, 286 Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs, while 818 Palestinians had actually been killed.



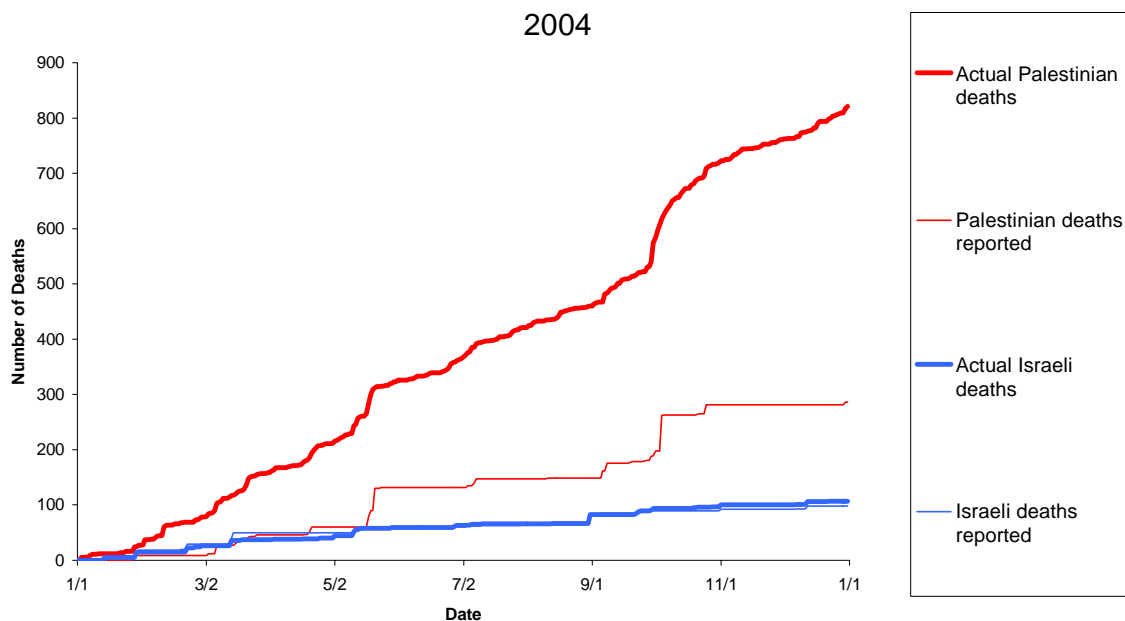
Essentially, 92% of Israeli deaths and only 35% of Palestinian deaths were reported in *Globe and Mail* headlines or first paragraphs. *The Globe* thus favored coverage of Israeli deaths by recording a DI of 2.6. This was up 27% from a DI of 1.9 in the first year. Essentially, *The Globe's* distortions grew even more pronounced in its more recent coverage of the conflict. Put another way, while *The Globe* reported on a total of 2.9 times more Palestinian than Israeli deaths in 2004, in reality, 7.6 times more Palestinians than Israelis were killed in this period.

**Percentage of Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*GLOBE & MAIL*  
 2004



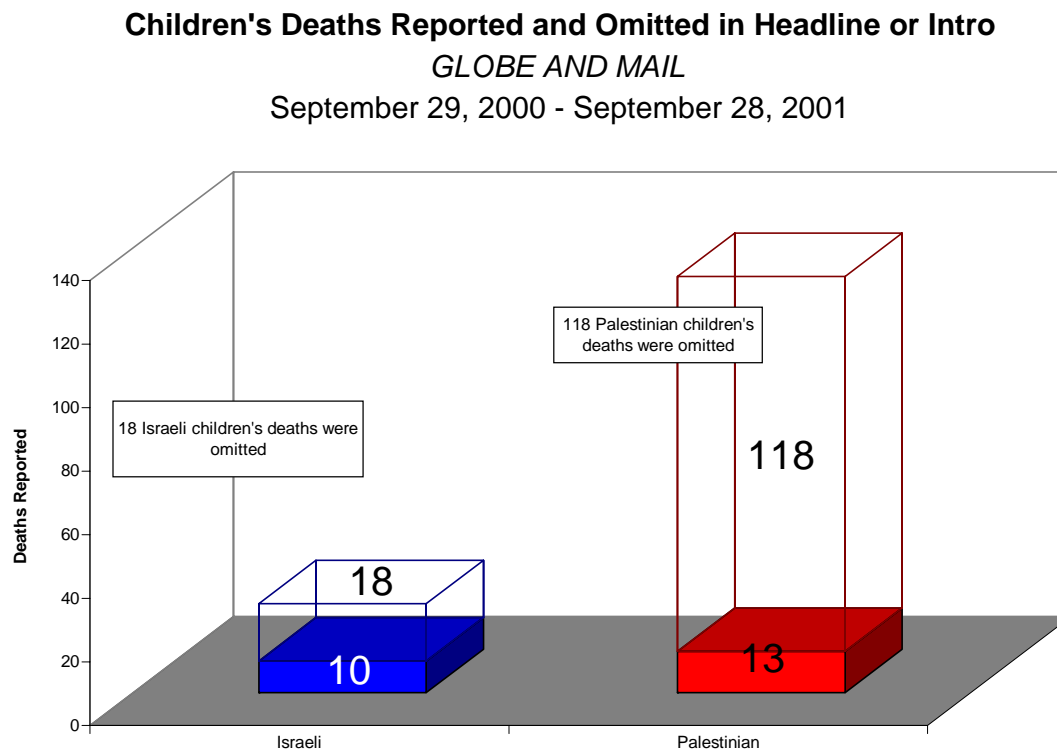
Comparing the running totals of reported versus actual deaths for both populations in 2004, we again found significant divergence in the pattern of reporting and the reality of the conflict. Once again the pattern of reporting on Palestinian deaths was more likely to follow the trend line set by Israeli casualties rather than the reality of actual deaths:

**Running Totals of Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*GLOBE & MAIL*  
 2004



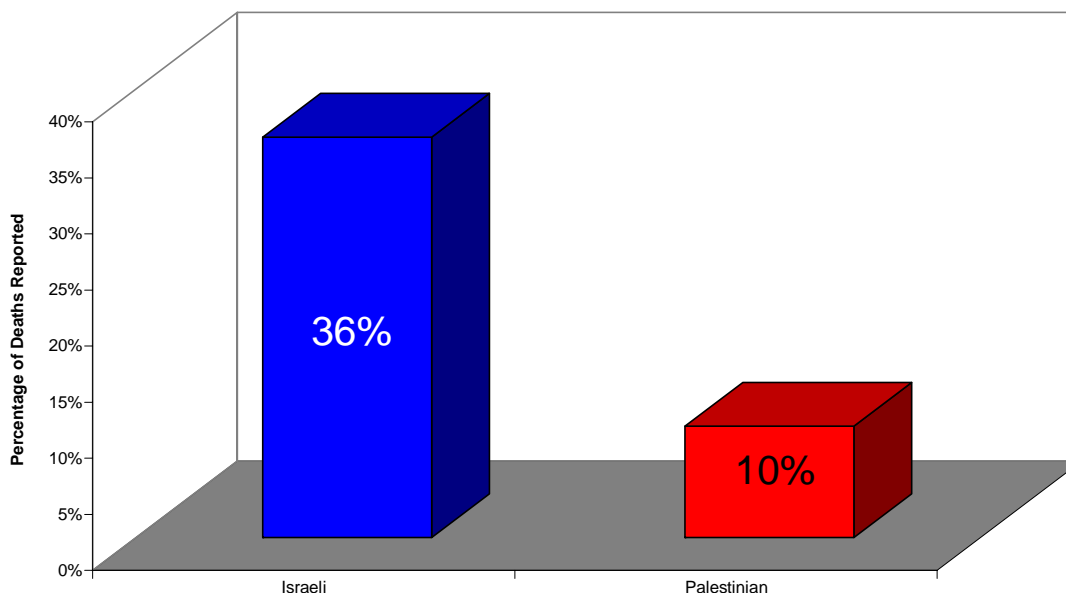
### Findings A-III. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Children's Deaths: First Year of Current Uprising

For the first year of the current uprising, 10 Israeli children's deaths were reported in the headlines or first paragraphs of *Globe and Mail* articles, compared with 13 Palestinian children's deaths. According to *B'tselem*, during this period 28 Israeli and 131 Palestinian children killed.



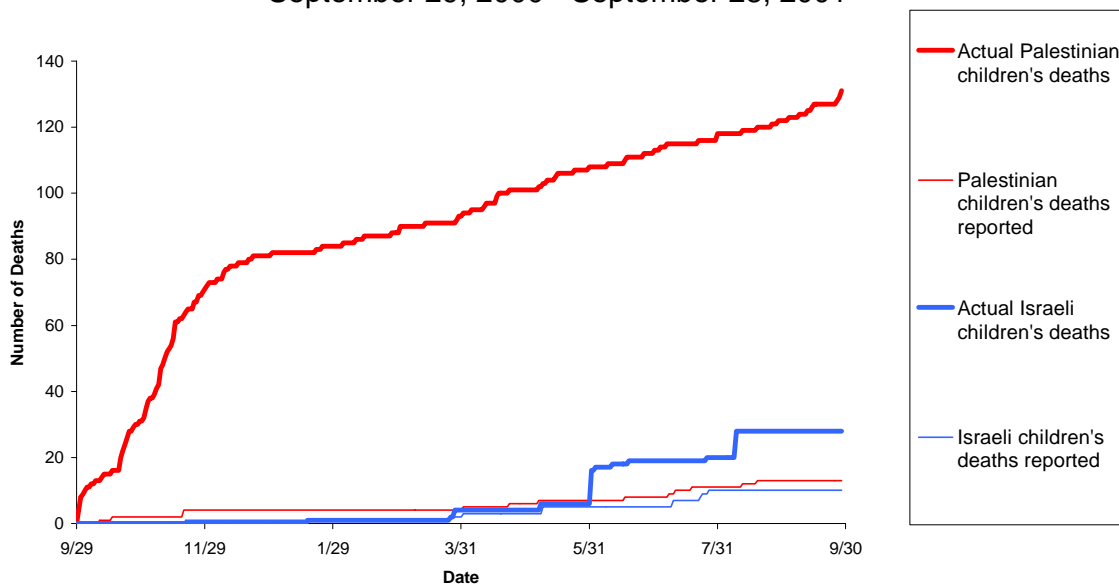
In other words, 36% of Israeli children's deaths and only 10% of Palestinian children's deaths were reported in *Globe and Mail* headlines or first paragraphs (as illustrated in the graph below). That is to say, *The Globe* registered a DI of 3.6 in favor of reporting on Israeli children's deaths. Again, while the total number of Palestinian children's deaths reported in the pages of *The Globe* was 1.3 times greater than the total number of reported Israeli deaths, in actuality Palestinian children were being killed at a rate 4.7 times greater than Israeli children.

**Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*GLOBE AND MAIL*  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



Again, we graphed the running totals of actual and reported deaths for Palestinians and Israelis. Similar to its treatment of deaths in general, *The Globe* tended to underreport the killings of both Israeli and Palestinian children – although again Israeli deaths were relatively privileged when compared to Palestinian deaths. By comparing the running total of children's deaths covered, we again discover that both death rates are reported on almost identically - even though in reality Palestinian children were being killed at a much higher frequency than Israeli children:

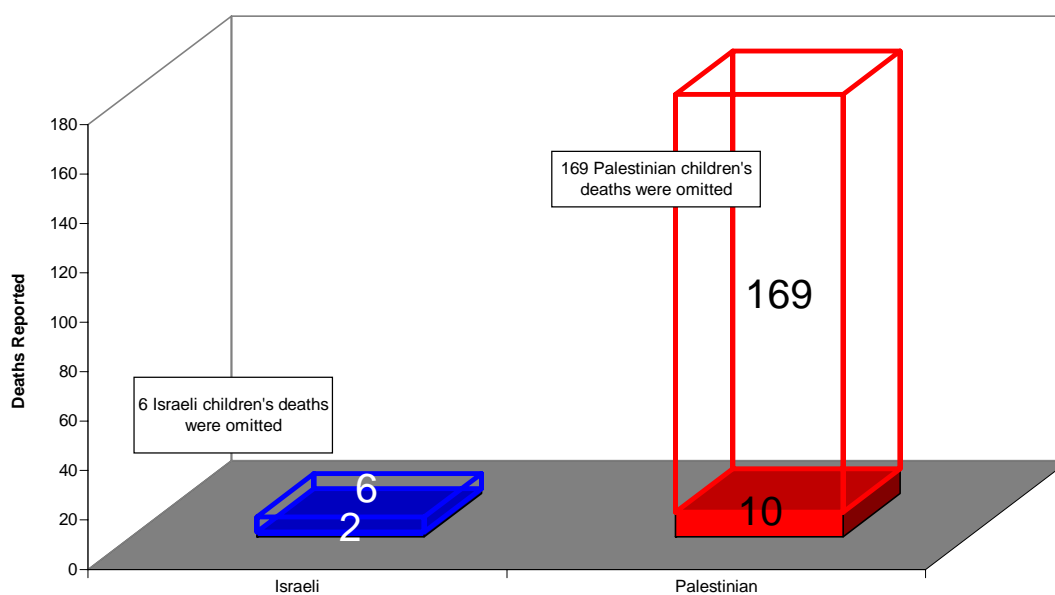
**Running Totals of Children's Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*GLOBE AND MAIL*  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



### Findings A-IV. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Children's Deaths: 2004

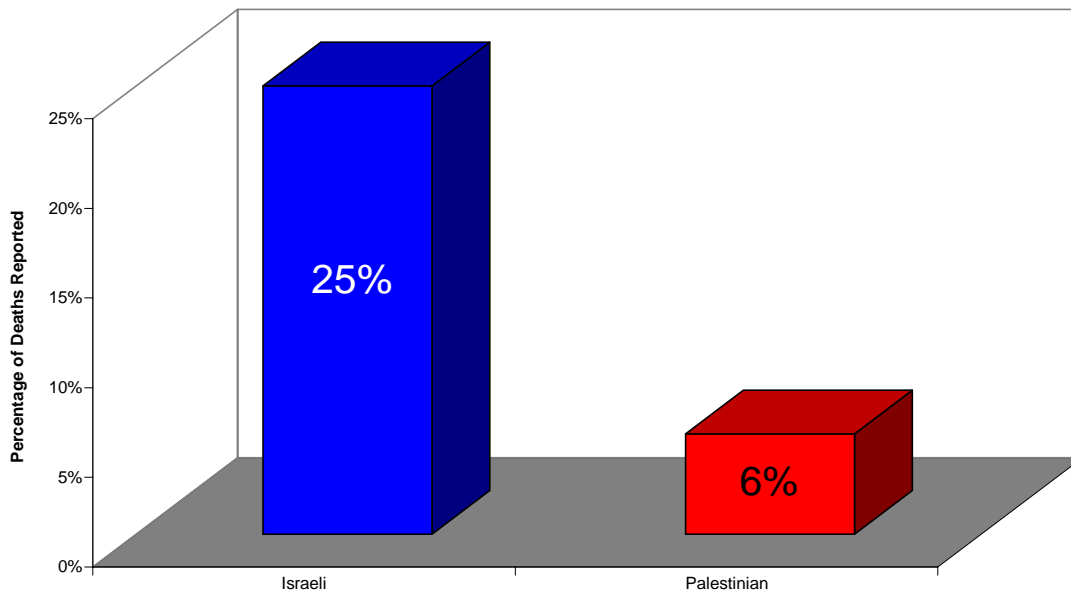
In 2004, we find that the distortions in the reporting of Israeli and Palestinian children's deaths in pages of *The Globe* increased with respect to its coverage in the first year. In 2004, 2 out of 8 Israeli children's deaths were reported. During the same period only 10 out of 179 Palestinian children's deaths were reported.

**Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro**  
**GLOBE & MAIL**  
 2004



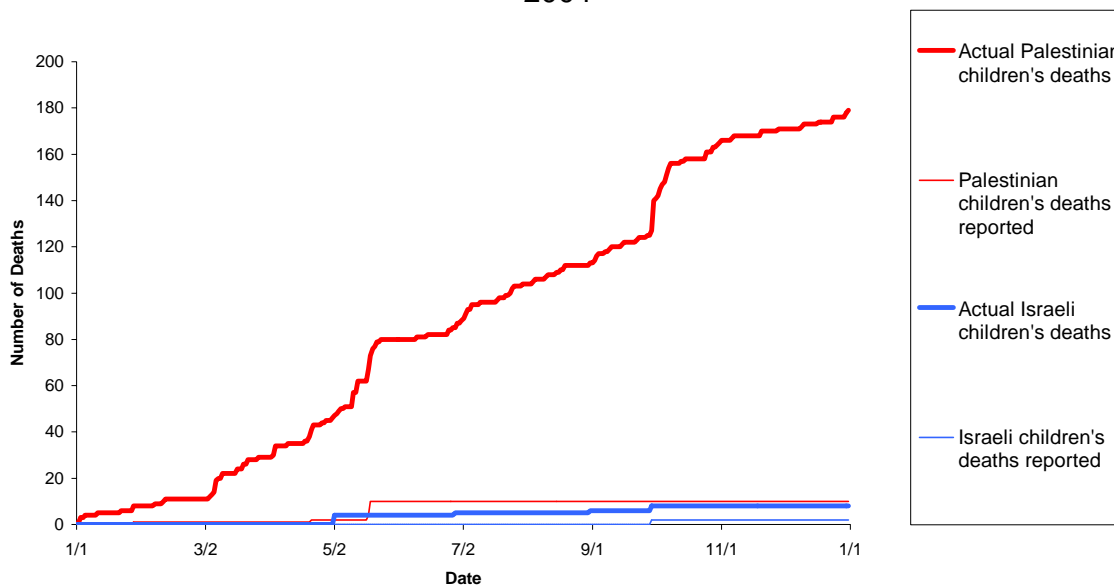
Essentially, *The Globe* reported on 25% of Israeli children's deaths in headlines or first paragraphs, while reporting on only 6% of Palestinian children's deaths. In 2004, *The Globe's* DI increased to 4.5 indicating, once again, a tendency to favor reporting a greater percentage of Israeli children's deaths. Thus, the already large emphasis on Israeli deaths over Palestinian deaths grew even larger. Thus while the total number of Palestinian children's deaths reported on was five times greater than the total number of Israeli children's deaths reported, in actuality Palestinian children were being killed at a rate 22 times greater than Israeli children.

**Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*GLOBE & MAIL*  
 2004



Comparing running totals for 2004, we see again that they followed virtually the same trend line as Israeli children's deaths, in stark contradiction to the reality, in which Palestinian children were being killed in far higher numbers and at a much greater rate than Israeli children.

**Running Totals of Children's Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*GLOBE & MAIL*  
 2004



### Findings A-V. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Deaths in Photos/Captions: First Year

Data were unavailable in this category due to lack of information provided in the Factiva database used in this study to track *Globe and Mail* news items relating to coverage of Israeli and Palestinian conflict-related deaths.

### Findings A-VI. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Deaths in Photos/Captions: 2004

Data were also unavailable in this category due to lack of information provided in the Factiva database used in this study to track *Globe and Mail* news items relating to coverage of Israeli and Palestinian conflict-related deaths.

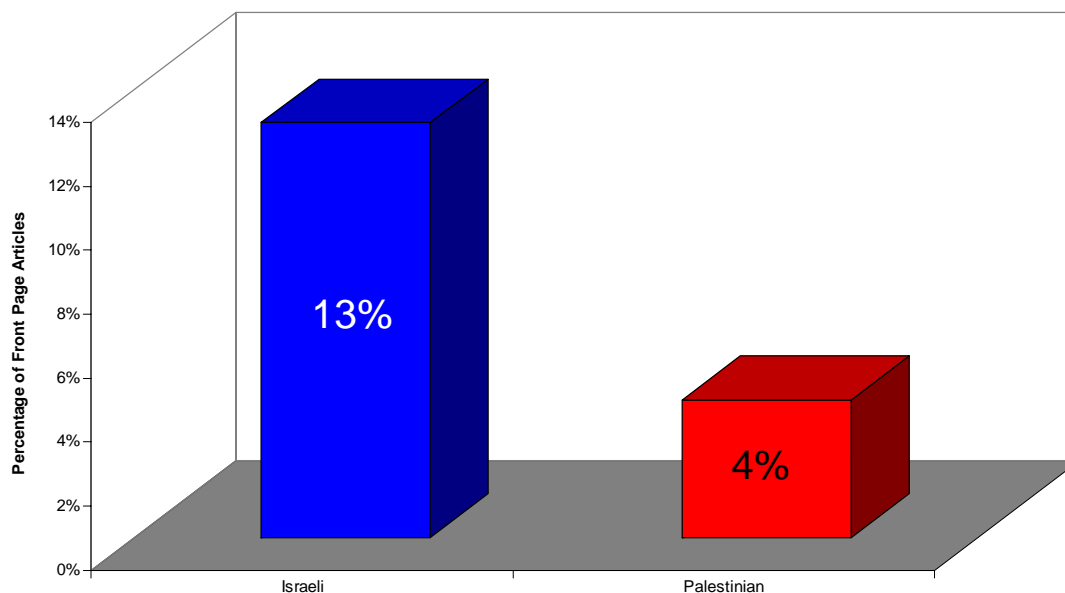
### Findings A-VII. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Deaths on Front Pages: First Year

As in previous categories of *Globe and Mail* coverage, the identity of the victims was found to have a profound impact on which stories received front-page treatment. Here again, the bias was in favor of Israeli deaths with 13% of those articles prominently reporting on Israeli deaths receiving front-page coverage, while only 4% of articles reporting prominently on Palestinian deaths received similar treatment. Here once again, Israeli deaths were more likely to warrant greater attention among the foreign-desk news editors at the *Globe and Mail*, registering a DI of 3.2 in this category.

#### Percentage of Articles Covering Deaths on Front Page

GLOBE AND MAIL

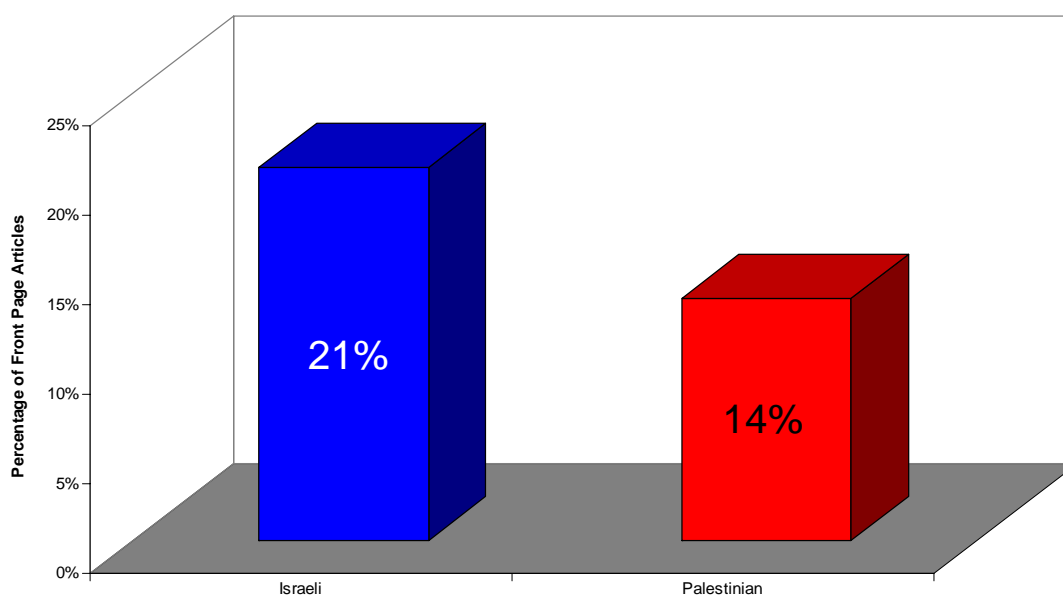
September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



### Findings A-III. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Deaths on Front Pages: 2004

In 2004 the likelihood of articles reporting prominently on Israeli deaths appearing on the front pages of *The Globe* increased. However, so did the likelihood of articles reporting prominently on Palestinian deaths. Thus 21% of articles reporting on Israeli deaths received front page coverage as opposed to only 14% of articles reporting prominently on Palestinian deaths. Although there was a narrowing in the overall gap in *The Globe's* coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths on the front page, once again Israeli deaths were favored, by a recorded DI of 1.5.

**Percentage of Articles Covering Deaths on Front Page**  
**GLOBE AND MAIL**  
 2004



### Findings A-IX. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Cumulative Totals

In *Off the Charts*, the authors of the study found a number of instances in which the *New York Times* had reported cumulative casualties in headlines or first-paragraphs. Cumulatives were defined as reports summarizing deaths over a period of time greater than one week. Such cumulatives have the potential of correcting the frequently distorted picture provided within the pages of major newspapers and can help give a more general context to the bloodshed in the region.

Regarding *Globe* coverage of cumulative totals, we found that *Globe and Mail* headline and first paragraphs had never reported numbers for both populations side by side in either headlines or first paragraphs. One notable exception to *The Globe's* coverage was a 6 November 2000 commentary by Wahida Valiente, "Who are the victims here?" that discussed the fact that Middle East coverage was skewed to give the impression that

Israelis were the primary victims of violence in the Middle East, when in fact the reverse was true. This article came out at a time when 16 Israelis and 135 Palestinians had been killed (by this stage no Israeli children had yet been killed, while 41 Palestinian children's deaths had already been recorded). However, since this article was a commentary, it doesn't fall within the ambit of this investigation. It is merely mentioned as a suggested form of corrective in cases such as these, although it by no means replaces the need for more factual and accurate reporting that gives proper context to deaths in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the pages of the *Globe and Mail*.

In the first three months of the Intifada, while a number of totals were given in news reporting on casualties, not once was the total number of deaths for both populations given side by side. Less than a third of the articles published in the first three months of the current uprising gave a total cumulative figure for conflict-related casualties. None included a breakdown of relative deaths and only two of these articles actually referred to the fact that the victims were 'mostly' Palestinian (see: "Israeli missile kills foreigner" *Globe and Mail*, 17 November 2000, page A16 and "Israel accepts inquiry as U.S. pushes peace Clinton makes settling Middle East conflict top foreign goal of last 50 days as president" *Globe and Mail*, 4 December 2000, page A12).

During this period, 41 Israelis (none of which were children according to the available statistics) and 281 Palestinians (including 82 children) had been killed. However, *The Globe's* reporting never went beyond the generalization that the dead were 'mostly' Palestinian, leaving an average reader with no idea of what those words represented in concrete terms during the first three months.

By January 2001, such cumulative totals were virtually expunged from news coverage in the pages of the *Globe and Mail*. The two notable exceptions for the rest of the year were summaries of 'key events' that gave a selective chronological accounting of violence in the region. These include "Sharon at the Helm" (*Globe and Mail*, April 17, page A12) and a pullout box on "Key Mid-East Events" (*Globe and Mail*, August 1, page A9). However, even in such 'summaries' significant distortions were evident.

The April 17 article covered a period slightly greater than a month stretching from March 7 to April 17. In this 'summary' only 5 Palestinian deaths were reported (out of 35 that actually occurred in this period) and no Palestinian children's deaths were recorded (out of the 7 Palestinian children killed). The *Globe* also failed to accurately report on any of the Israeli deaths that occurred during this period, although with less distortion, reporting on 5 Israeli deaths (7 had in fact occurred during this period), and the deaths of 2 Israeli children (3 had in fact occurred). Thus while 5 times more Palestinian casualties occurred, the same number of Israeli and Palestinian casualties were given in this 'summary.' The distortion was much more pronounced in the case of children, as not a single Palestinian child's death was recorded in spite of the fact that that more than twice the amount of Palestinian than Israeli children had been killed.

The 1 August 2001 'summary,' which covered the entire period since the start of the current hostilities, once again reproduced the tendency towards distortion. In this box, 32 Israeli deaths and 32 Palestinian deaths were reported (2 children's deaths were reported during the whole

period for both groups). At this stage 461 Palestinians and 128 Israelis had been killed (including 118 Palestinian children and 20 Israeli children). A simple comparative statement of deaths given side-by-side – figures that were readily available – could have gone a long way to providing the adequate context necessary for understanding such a summary. Without such information, in the case under consideration, the summary would give an average reader the impression that Israeli and Palestinian deaths were occurring at a 1:1 rate, when in fact at the moment of publication Palestinians were being killed at a rate 3.9 times greater than Israelis (the actual ratio for children’s casualties was 5.9 times greater).

In 2004 the *Globe*, like other papers gave only a partial cumulative figure of Palestinian deaths during the Israeli fall offensive in Gaza on October 16, but did not provide readers with any cumulative totals for the entire year or for the length of the conflict in any headlines, first-paragraphs or photo-captions. The article in question came at the end of a two week offensive in Gaza by the Israeli military that left over 100 Palestinians dead (see: “Israel pulls back from Gaza Strip; Sharon orders end to two-week offensive that killed more than 100 Palestinians” *Globe and Mail*, 16 October 2004, page A22). Such a cumulative total, however, without corresponding statistics for both populations, does little to enlighten readers on the comparative deaths among all people in the region and is hardly a corrective to the other biases displayed in this report.

### **Findings A-X. *Globe and Mail* Coverage of Deaths in Full articles: 2005**

In order to determine whether the patterns found in the above studies of headlines and first paragraphs are amplified or diminished when a larger portion of the article is examined, we did a study of full articles for a month-long period in 2005. We selected the month of October 2005, during which both Israeli and Palestinian deaths were recorded. We looked further into the articles, to uncover if distortions in coverage persisted. We recorded the first paragraph in which a death was mentioned. Thus, if a person’s death was reported in the fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs of a story, we counted it as appearing first in the fourth paragraph of that story. Although repetitions within articles were not counted, we did count repetitions in different articles, e.g. if a death was mentioned in one article in a headline and then in a later article in the fifth paragraph, we counted both of these occurrences.

From October 1 to October 31, 9 Israelis were killed, including 1 child. During the same period 22 Palestinians were killed, including 6 children. That is to say, Palestinian deaths occurred at a rate 2.4 times greater than Israeli deaths, while Palestinian children’s deaths occurred at a rate 6 times greater than Israeli children’s deaths. Thus, the October 2005 death rate between Israeli and Palestinian victims was less pronounced than for the whole of the year 2005 – in which Palestinian deaths outnumbered Israeli deaths by a factor of about 3.9 and Palestinian children were being killed at a rate approximately 8.7 times that of Israeli children.

In the headline and first paragraph of articles printed in this study period 111% of the Israeli deaths that actually occurred during this period were reported in the pages of *The Globe*. Only 14% of Palestinian deaths were covered. No children’s deaths were reported during this period on either side. In other words, Israeli deaths were privileged in headlines or first paragraphs with a DI of 7.9.

#### **First Five Paragraphs:**

In the headlines and first five paragraphs of articles reporting on conflict related casualties in October 2005, 233% of Israeli deaths and 300% of Israeli children’s death were reported. There was also a noted increase in the mention of Palestinian deaths, so that coverage of Palestinian

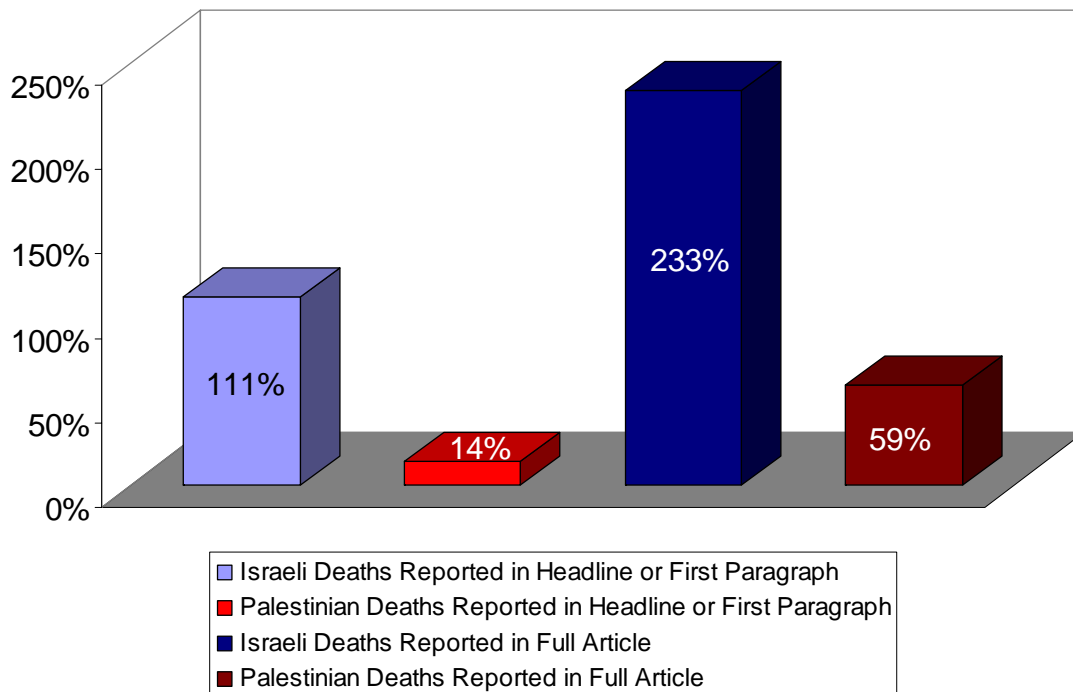
deaths rose to 59% of the total for the month - although the under-reporting of Palestinian children's deaths continued (i.e. no mentions of Palestinian children's deaths were made in the first five-paragraphs of any *Globe and Mail* story, even though 6 Palestinian children were killed in the reporting period). Hence, while the distortion in the coverage of Israeli to Palestinian deaths narrowed for overall deaths, the ratio of Palestinian to Israeli children's deaths grew in the first-five paragraphs. Furthermore, in both headlines/first paragraphs and in the first five paragraphs of the stories under review, the total number of reported Israeli deaths outstripped the total number of Palestinian deaths reported – in essence reversing the reality of the situation.

#### Full Articles:

Expanding to an examination of the full articles, we find that Israeli deaths were covered slightly less disproportionately than they were in the first five paragraphs, as an extra Palestinian death was recorded – although this made no significant statistical change in the totals noted above. In other words, emphasis on Israeli deaths over Palestinian deaths, found in the above studies of headlines and lead paragraphs persisted when the entire article was examined (largely through repetitions of previously reported Israeli deaths). Since readership diminishes the further down an article one goes, such patterns serve to reduce the readers likely awareness of Palestinian deaths.

### Percentage of Deaths Reported (Full Articles)

*Globe and Mail*  
(October 2005)



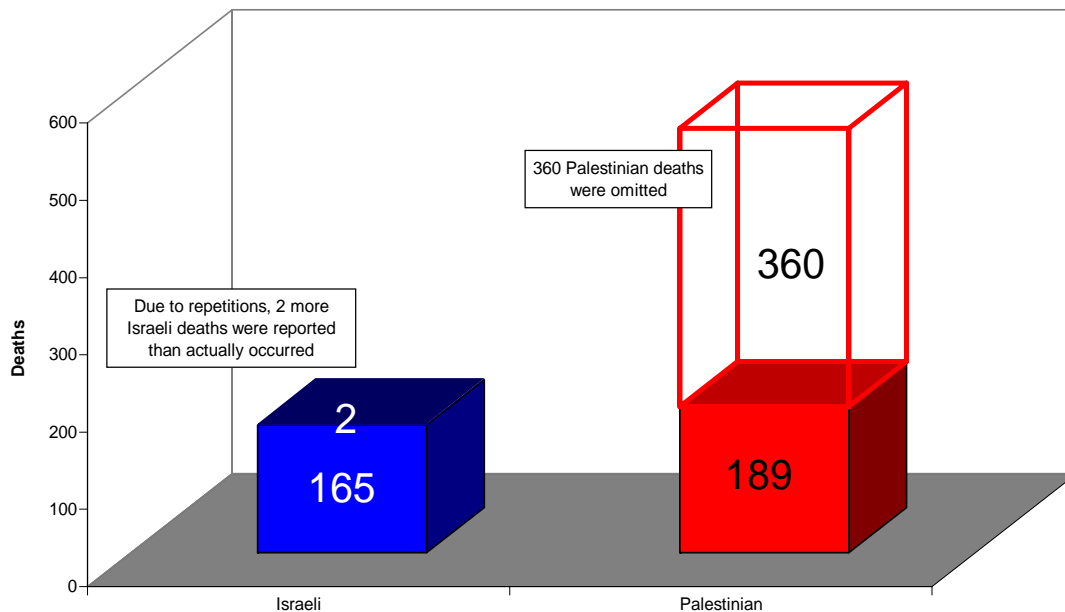
## SECTION B – NATIONAL POST COVERAGE

### Findings B-I. *National Post* Coverage of All Deaths: First Year of the Current Uprising

Just as in the case of *Globe and Mail* coverage, we found a significant disparity in the likelihood of a death receiving coverage in the *National Post* based on the identity of the person killed. Furthermore, the biases displayed in *The Post's* coverage of deaths was generally more marked than for any other print-media news source considered in this study (including *IAK's* study of *New York Times* coverage).

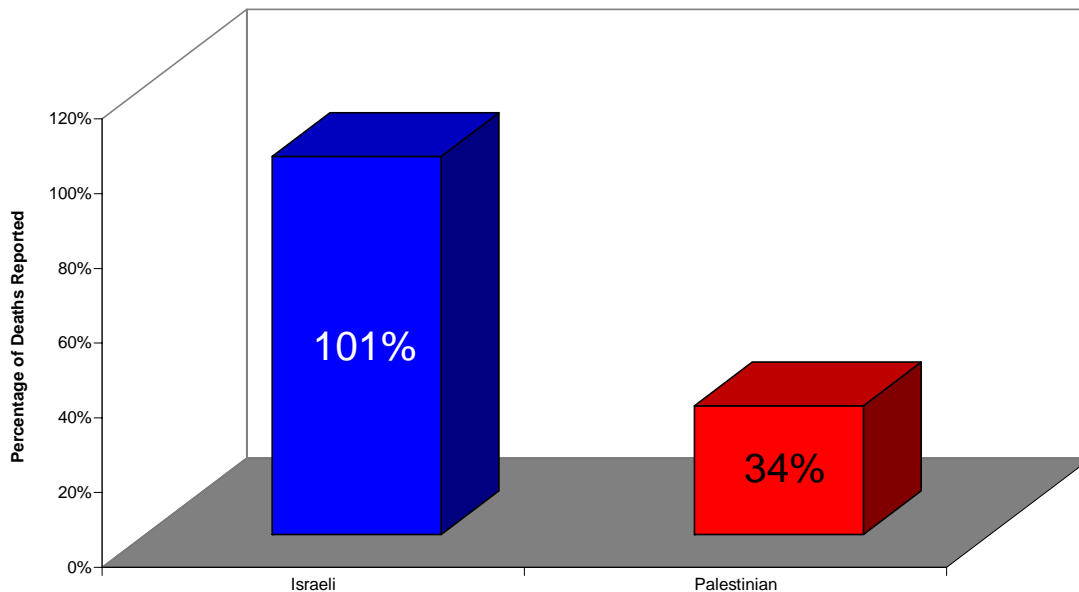
For the first year of the current uprising, there were 167 reports in *National Post* headlines or first paragraphs of Israeli deaths. During this time, there had actually been 165 Israelis killed (the discrepancy is due to the fact that a number of Israeli deaths were reported multiple times). During the same year-long period, 189 Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs. During this time, 549 Palestinians had actually been killed.

**Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro**  
**NATIONAL POST**  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



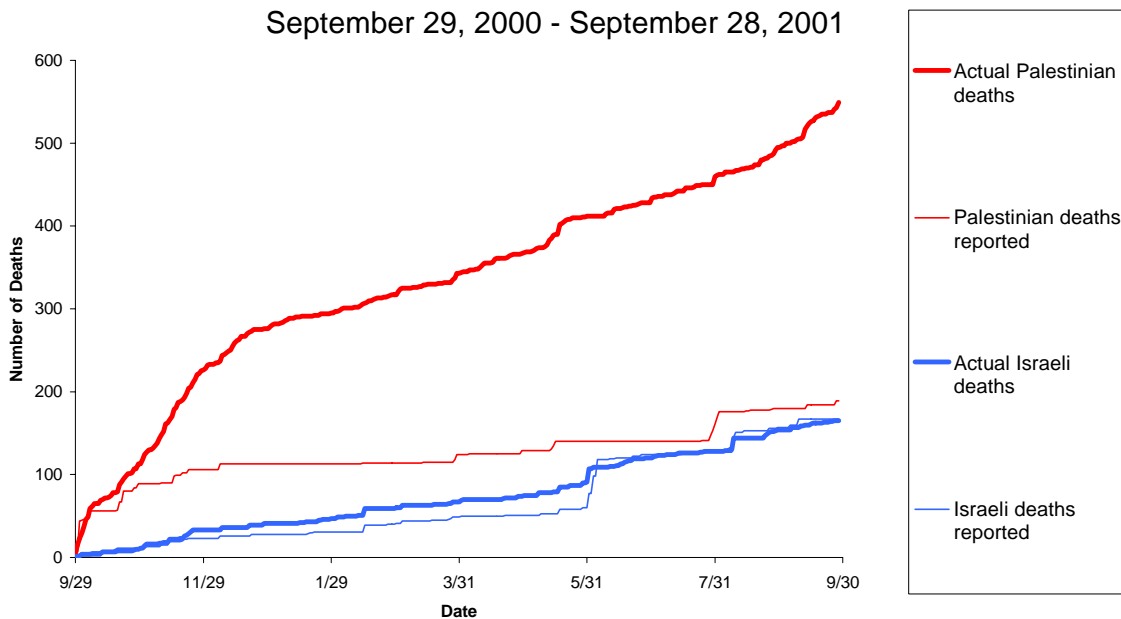
In other words, 101% of Israeli deaths and only 34% of Palestinian deaths were reported in *National Post* headlines or first paragraphs. That is, *The Post* recorded a Distortion Index of 2.9, thereby giving greater relative prominence in coverage to each Israeli death that occurred than to each Palestinian death that occurred. Put another way, the *National Post* reported 1.1 more Palestinian than Israeli deaths in headlines or first paragraphs, when in fact Palestinians were being killed at a rate 3.3 times greater than Israelis during the first year of the Intifada.

**Percentage of Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



A comparison of the running total between actual and reported deaths for Israelis and Palestinians underscores *The Post's* tendency to report a fictional situation in which Israeli and Palestinian deaths occur at more or less the same rate. The diagram again illustrates the dramatic gap between the reality of Palestinian fatalities and the coverage of them.

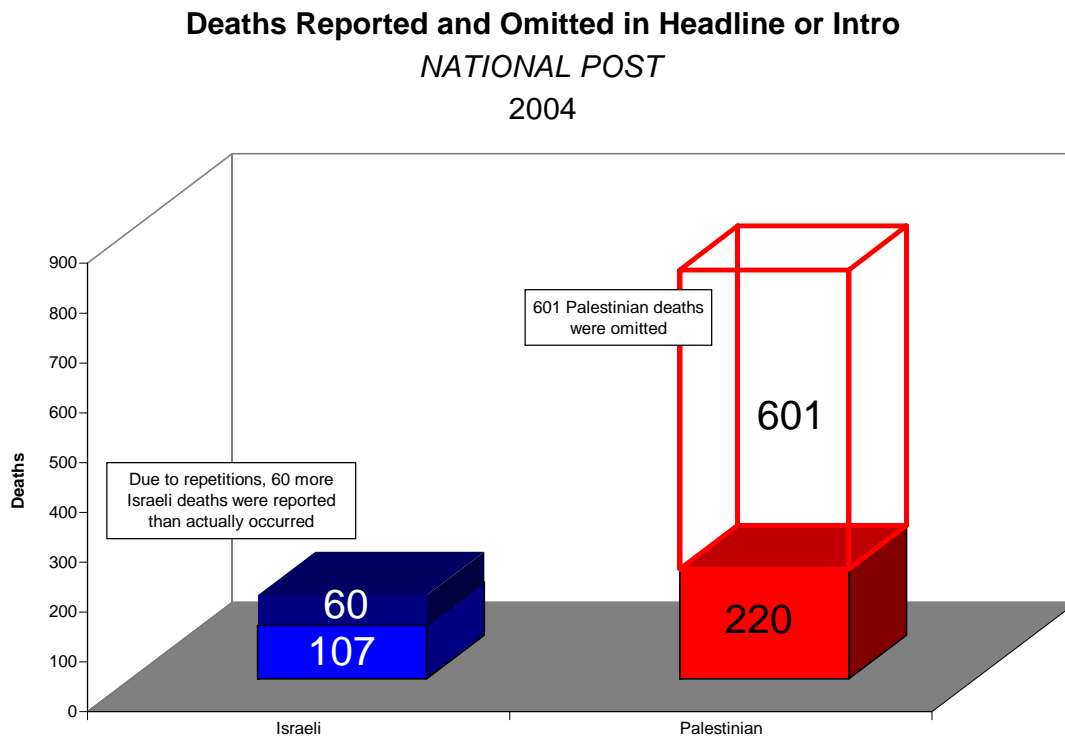
**Running Totals of Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



Once again, as in the case of other print-media sources studied, *The Post* reported Palestinian deaths along a curve that largely replicated the Israeli death count, despite the fact that the curve for actual Palestinian deaths was both considerably different and far higher than the Israeli curve. At the same time, at certain points throughout the year the running total of Israeli deaths reported by *The Post* rose above the actual number of deaths. Such reporting gives readers a substantially incorrect impression of the conflict.

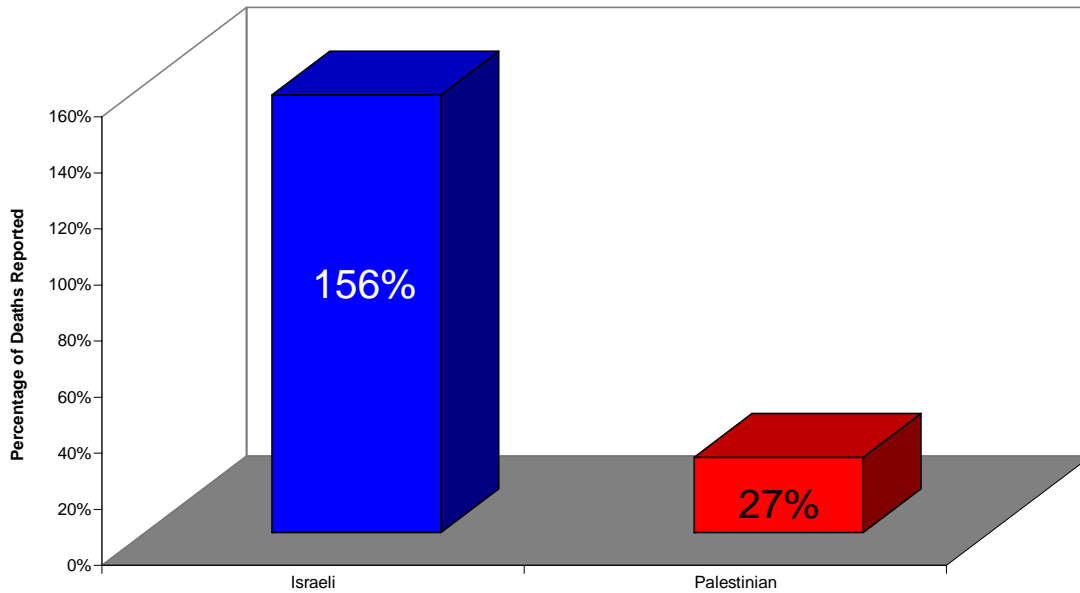
### Findings B-II. *National Post* Coverage of All Deaths: 2004

In studying *The Post's* 2004 coverage, we found that the distortions evidenced in the first year of coverage only worsened. In 2004, there were again 167 reports in *National Post* headlines or first paragraphs on Israeli deaths. During this time, there had actually been 107 Israelis killed (the discrepancy again is due to the fact that a number of Israeli deaths were reported multiple times). During the same one-year period, 220 Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs, while 818 Palestinians had actually been killed.



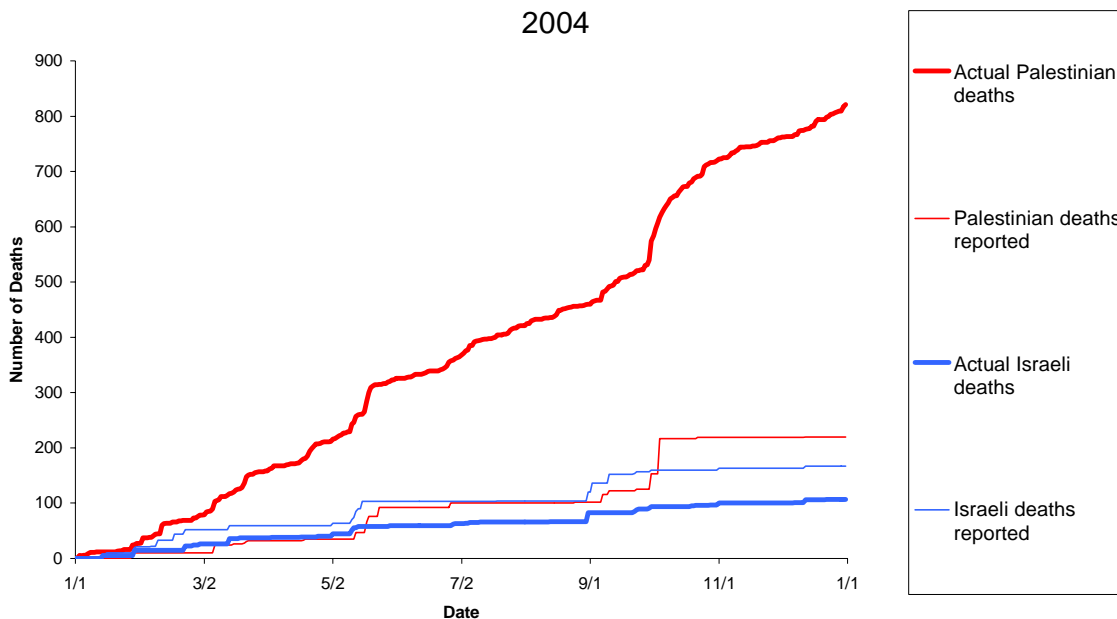
Essentially 156% of Israeli deaths and only 27% of Palestinian deaths were reported in *National Post* headlines or first paragraphs. *The Post* recorded a DI of 5.8, up 100% from 2.9 in the first year. Therefore, *The Post's* distortions in its 2004 coverage of Israeli deaths in comparison to Palestinian deaths essentially doubled in magnitude. While *The Post* covered 1.3 more Palestinian deaths than Israeli deaths in total, this occurred in a context where 7.6 times more Palestinians were being killed than Israelis. The pattern of distortion can be seen below in the percentage of deaths reported for each side in *National Post* headlines or intros.

**Percentage of Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 2004



Again, comparing the running total of reported deaths versus actual deaths for both populations, we find significant differentiation in reporting on the two groups. Moreover, for a number of periods in 2004 *The Post* reported a greater total number of Israeli deaths than Palestinian deaths in headlines and first paragraphs, even though at no point did Israeli deaths outstrip Palestinian deaths in actuality:

**Running Totals of Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 2004



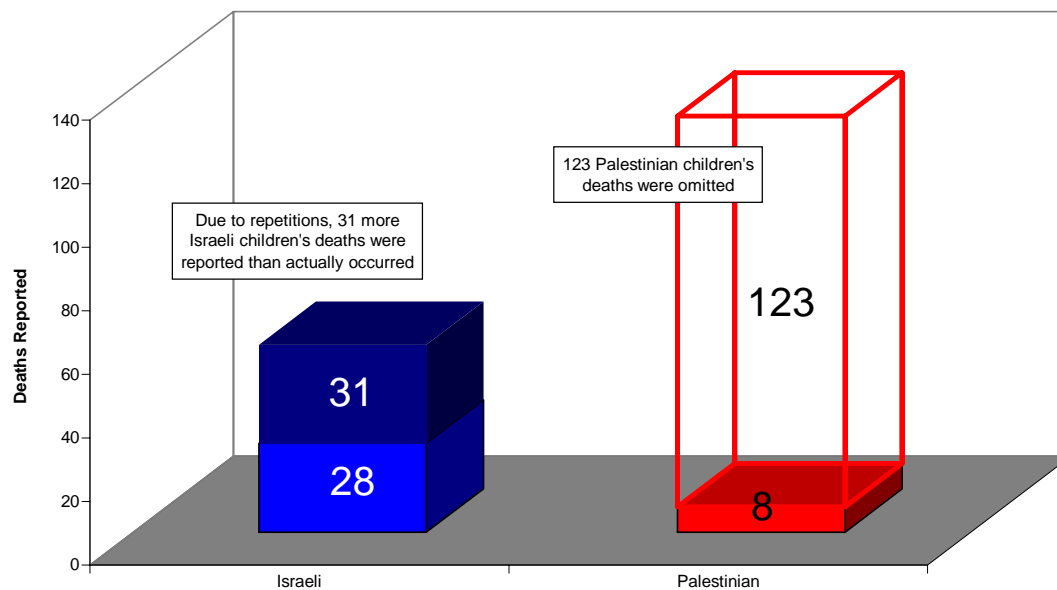
### Findings B-III. *National Post* Coverage of Children's Deaths: First Year of Current Uprising

For the first year of the current uprising, 59 Israeli children's deaths were reported in the headlines or first paragraphs of *National Post* articles on the Israel/Palestine conflict, compared with only 8 Palestinian children's deaths. (For the purposes of this study, the appearance of the term 'teenager' to denote a person killed in the conflict was taken to mean a child, a fact that contributed to the inflation of Israeli children's deaths reported). According to *B'tselem*, during this time there were actually 28 Israeli and 131 Palestinian children killed.

#### Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro

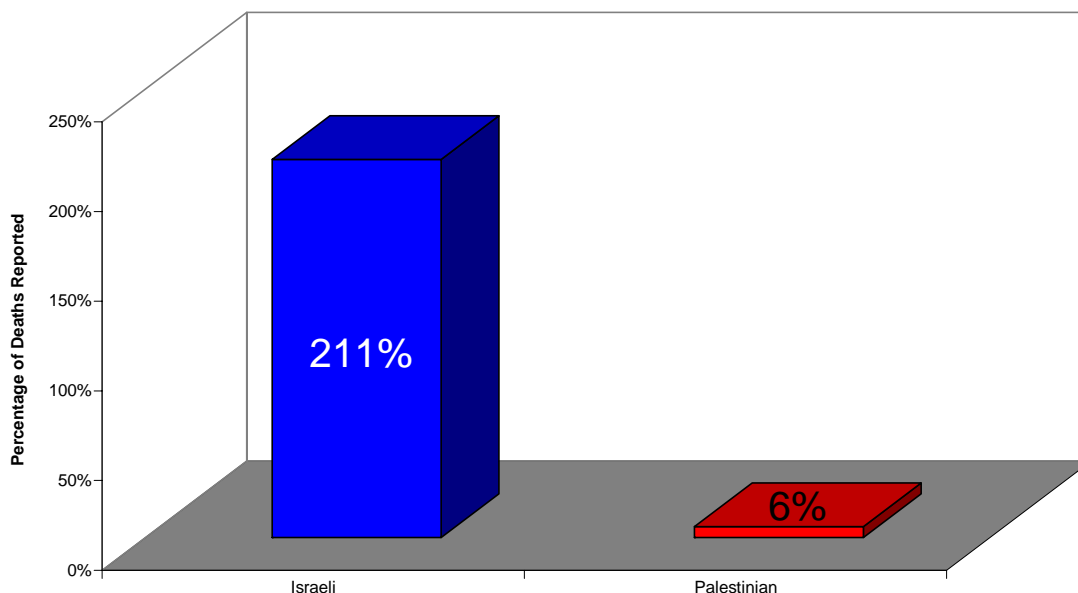
*NATIONAL POST*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



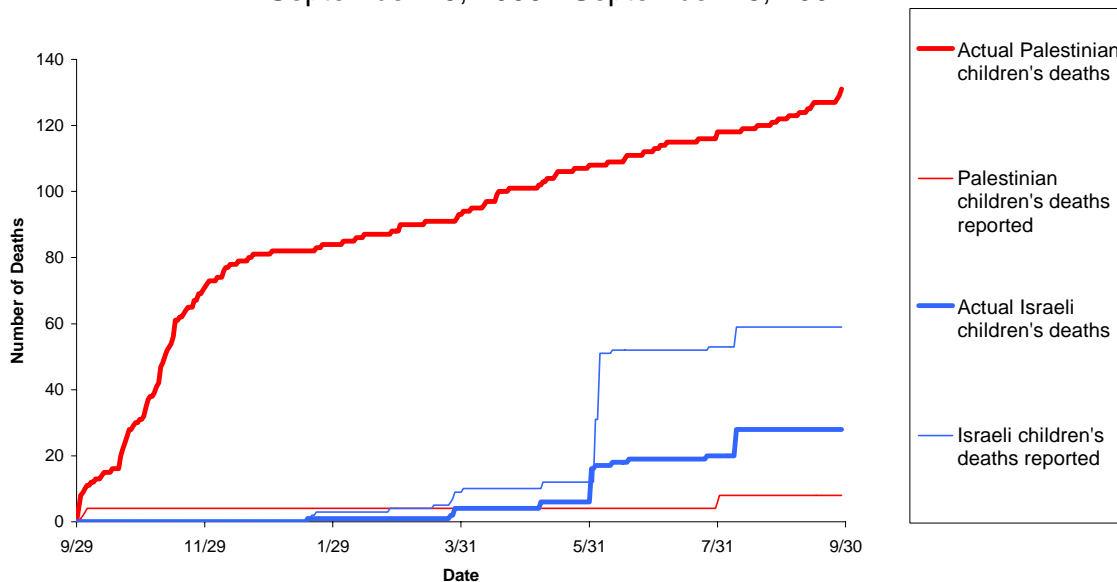
In other words, 211% of Israeli children's deaths and only 6% of Palestinian children's deaths were reported by the *National Post* in headlines or first paragraphs. *The Post* recorded a stunning Distortion Index of 34.5, privileging Israeli children's deaths by more than doubling the actual number of Israeli children killed throughout the first year of the current conflict. A reader scanning *National Post* headlines and first paragraphs for the whole of the first reporting period could ostensibly conclude that 7.4 times more Israeli children were killed than Palestinian children in this time. In reality, Palestinian children were killed at a rate 4.7 times greater than Israeli children. The magnitude of the distortion can be seen by comparing the percentage of children's deaths reported in headlines or first paragraphs for both sides.

**Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



Again, we graphed the running totals of actual and reported deaths for Palestinian and Israeli children to measure the distortions in *National Post* reporting on a chronological scale. While at least 82 Palestinian children were killed before the first Israeli child's death, only 4 of these Palestinian children's deaths were reported in *Post* headlines or first paragraphs. As the year went on, the number of prominent mentions of Israeli children's deaths exceeded the actual number of deaths (due to repetitions in coverage).

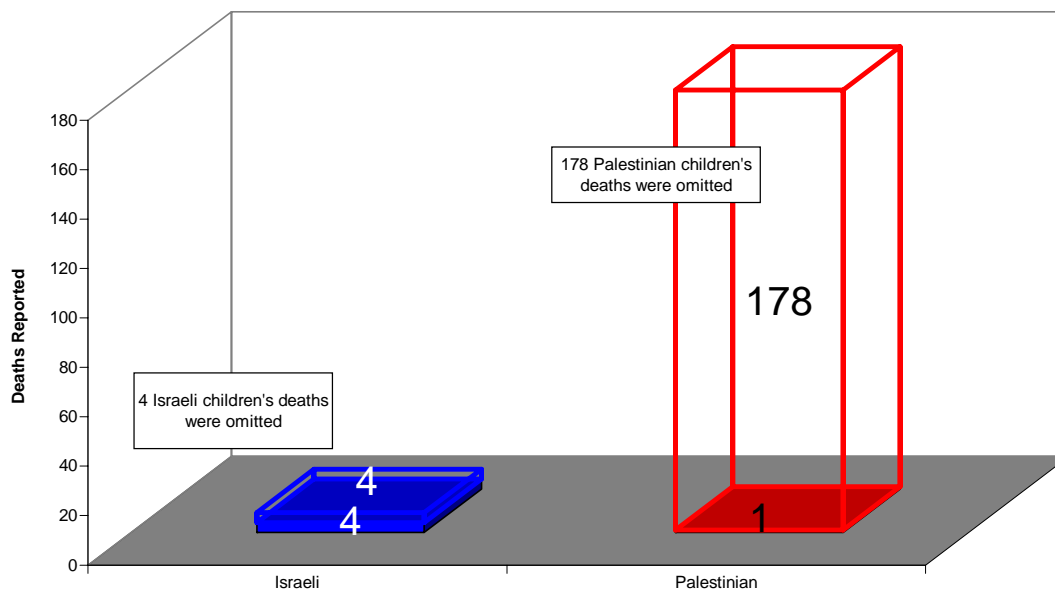
**Running Totals of Children's Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



### Findings B-IV. *National Post* Coverage of Children's Deaths: 2004

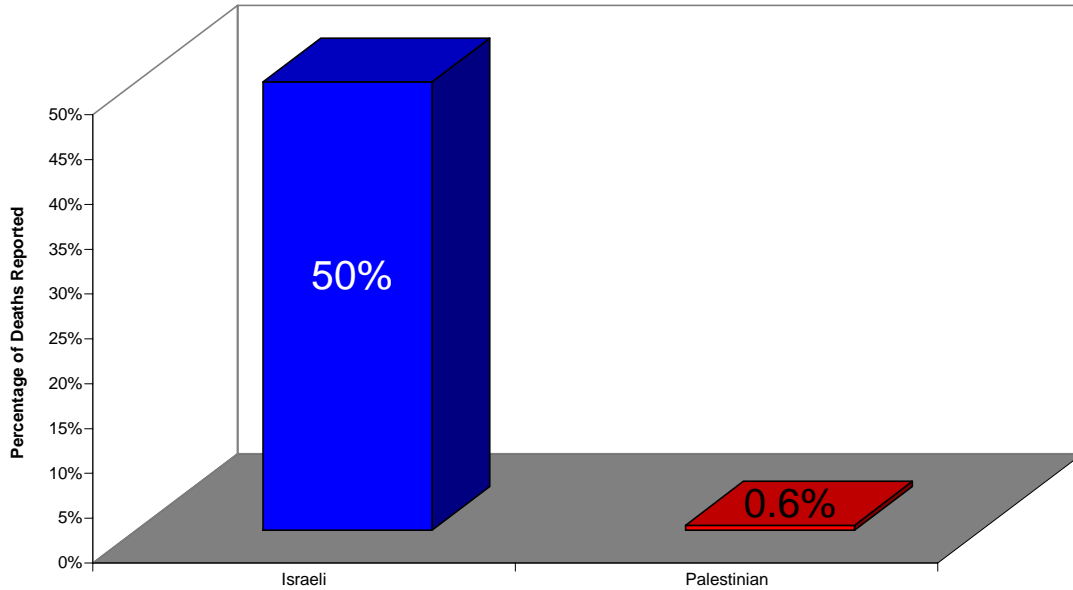
In 2004, we find the Distortion Index almost tripling from the first year of *National Post* coverage in this category. In 2004, 4 out of 8 Israeli children's deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs. During the same period only 1 out of 176 Palestinian children's deaths were reported in the same manner.

#### Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro *NATIONAL POST* 2004



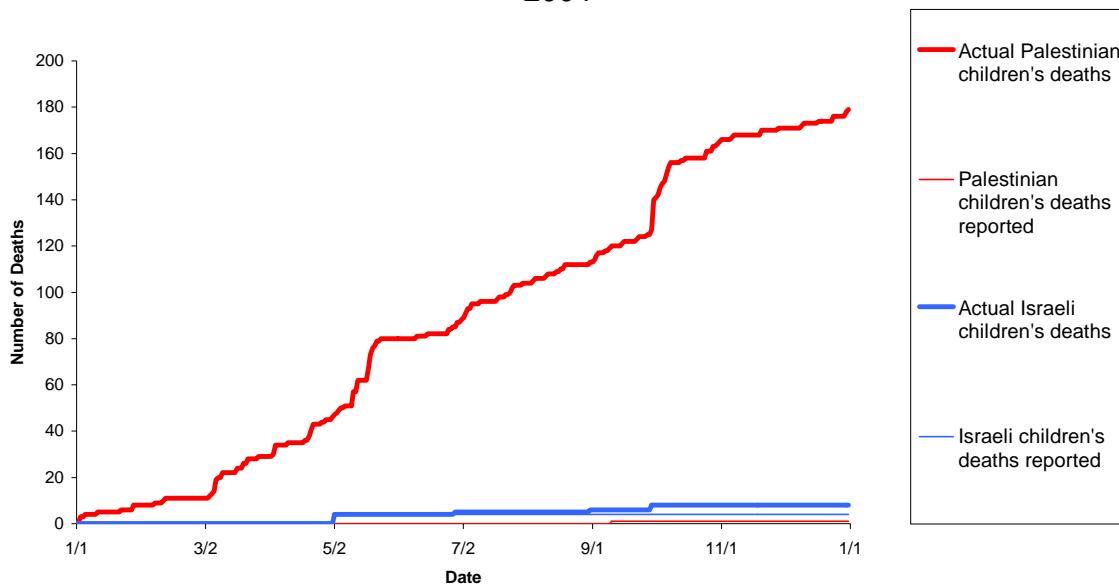
*The Post* thus reported on 50% of Israeli children's deaths in headlines or first paragraphs, while reporting on less than 1% of Palestinian children's deaths (i.e. only one Palestinian child's death was recorded, or 0.6% of those killed in 2004). One of the most disturbing findings of this report is that the already substantial inequality in *National Post* coverage of children's deaths found during the first study period grew markedly worse in 2004. During this year, *The Post* recorded a DI of 83.3. In other words four times more Israeli children's deaths were reported in total by *The Post* in headlines and first paragraphs, when in fact 22 times more Palestinian children were killed in actuality.

**Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 2004



Comparing running totals for actual deaths and reported deaths once again reveals that *The Post's* reporting on Palestinian children's deaths was virtually non-existent throughout the year when compared to Israeli children's deaths, in stark contradiction to the reality.

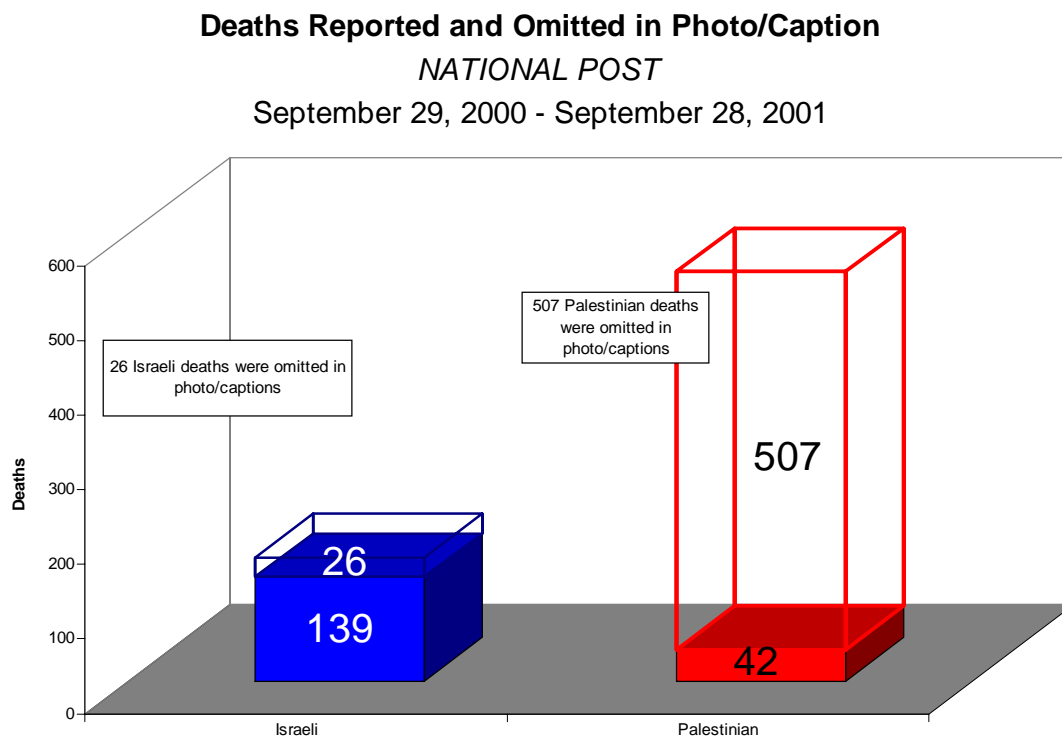
**Running Totals of Children's Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 2004



## Findings B-V. *National Post* Coverage of Deaths in Photos/Captions: First Year

As already mentioned, this study uses additional criteria to gauge the prominence of relative coverage given to Israeli and Palestinian deaths in the print-media sources under consideration. Given the importance of visual media in disseminating information and perceptions of current conflicts, the authors of this study found it necessary to examine how Israeli and Palestinian deaths were treated in photos/captions. The following study of photos/captions follows the same pattern of analysis applied to conflict-related deaths reported in headlines and first paragraphs.

For the first year of the current conflict, 139 Israeli deaths were reported in *National Post* photos/captions, while only 42 Palestinian deaths were covered in photos/captions.

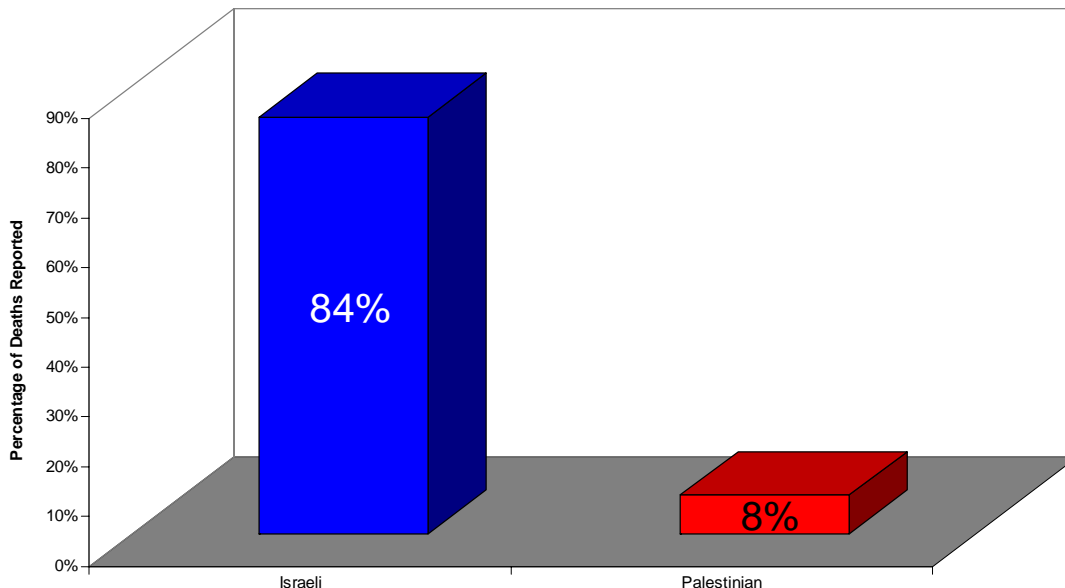


Thus, 84% of Israeli deaths were covered by photos/captions, while only 8% of Palestinian deaths were reported in such a way. For the first year of the current conflict, the Distortion Index recorded for *National Post* photos/captions was 10.9. That is to say distortions in coverage were more pronounced in the images chosen by the *National Post* editors when compared to their choice of headlines and first-paragraphs (themselves remarkably skewed). Put another way, 3.3 more Israeli deaths were reported in photos/captions, when in fact Palestinians were being killed at a rate 3.3 times greater than Israelis. This can be seen when comparing the percentage of deaths reported in photos/captions for both sides.

### Percentage of Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

NATIONAL POST

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



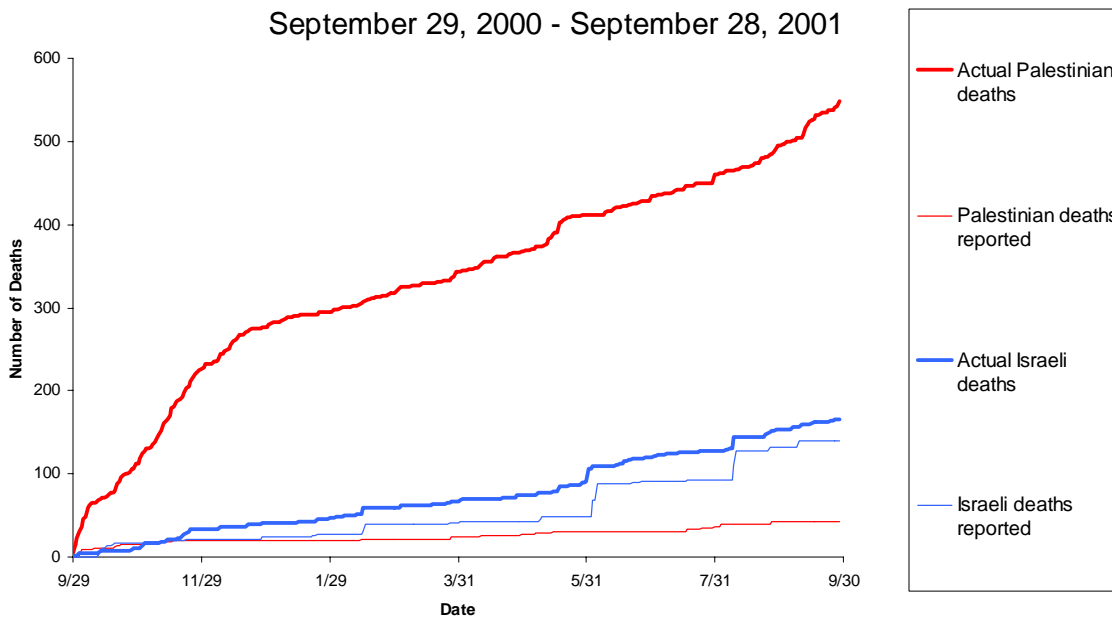
Viewing the comparative trend-line of actual to reported deaths in photos/captions over the year, one can see the tendency to report more Israeli deaths overall than Palestinian deaths (even though at no point did the cumulative Israeli death toll outstrip the Palestinian death toll).

### Running Totals of Deaths

Actual and Reported in Photo/Caption

NATIONAL POST

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

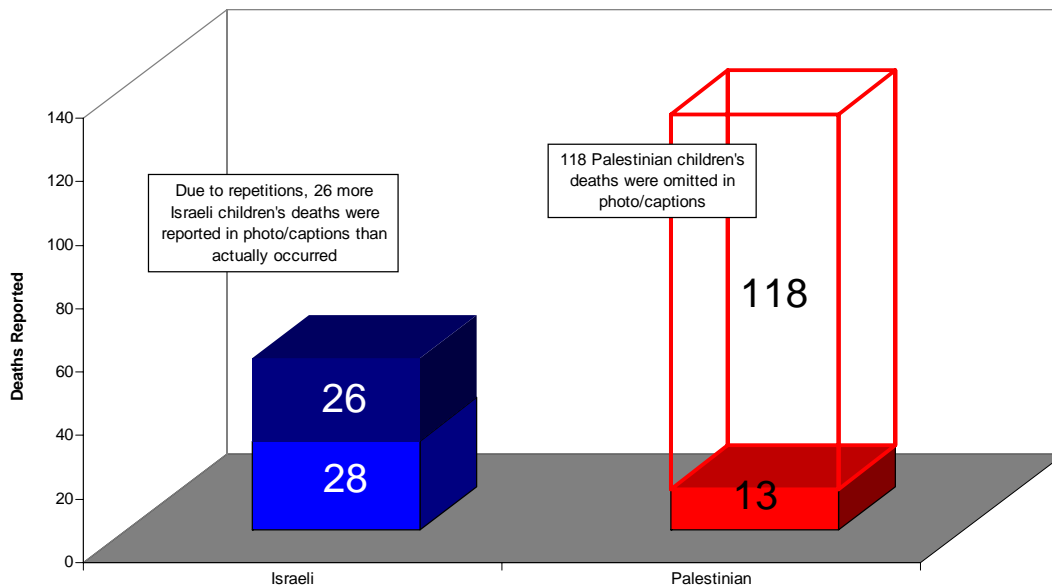


These trends were again reproduced when looking at children's deaths reported in photos/captions, where 54 Israeli deaths (out of 28 actual deaths) and 13 Palestinian children's deaths (out of 121 actual deaths) were reported.

### Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Photo/Caption

*NATIONAL POST*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

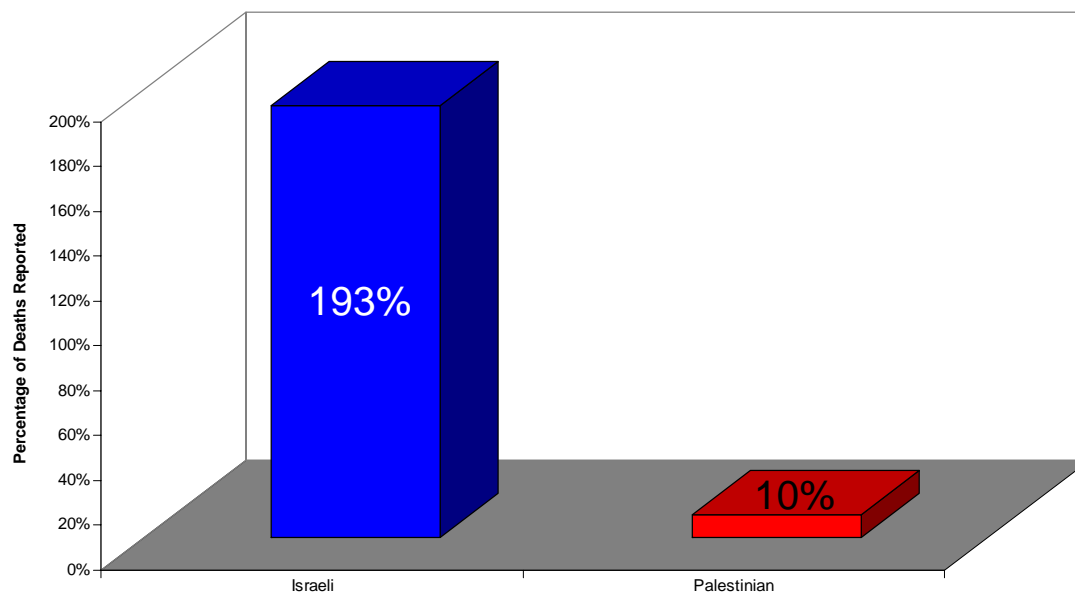


Thus 193% of Israeli children's deaths were reported in photos/captions (due to repetition, mainly due to the use of the word 'teenager'), as opposed to only 10% of Palestinian children's deaths being covered in photos/captions. Therefore, a DI of 19.3 was recorded for photos/captions reporting on children's deaths in photos/captions.

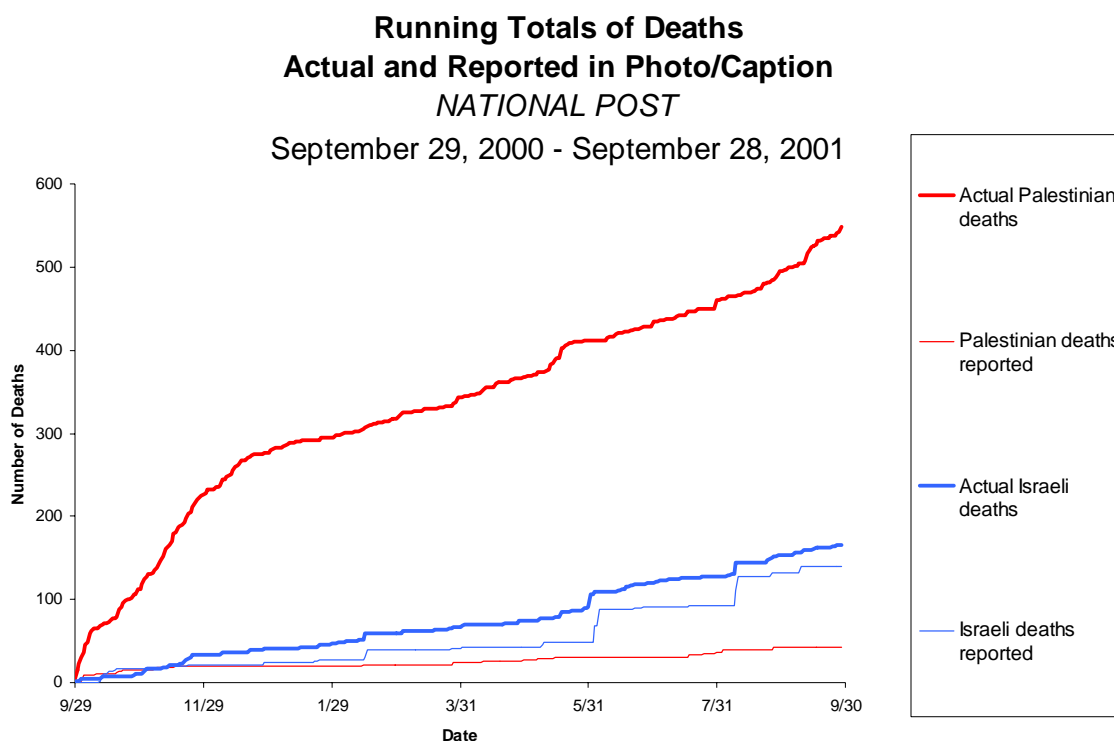
### Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

*NATIONAL POST*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



Therefore, due to repetitions, 26 more Israeli children's deaths were reported than actually occurred, while 118 Palestinian children's deaths were omitted. That is 4.2 times more Israeli children's deaths were reported in photos/captions than Palestinian deaths, even though the ratio of actual deaths was 4.7 Palestinian children's deaths for every Israeli child's death. The distortions in *National Post* reporting on deaths through photos/captions can once again be most clearly seen when comparing the trend-lines of actual and reported deaths for both Israeli and Palestinian children throughout the first year:



### Findings B-VI. *National Post* Coverage of Deaths in Photos/Captions: 2004

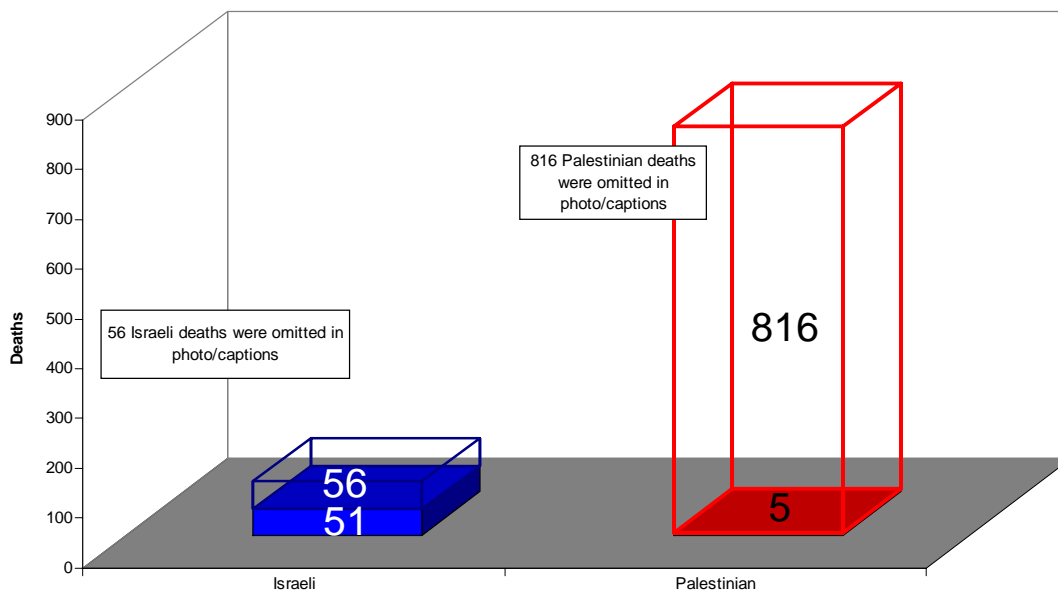
As in previous cases, once again, *National Post* coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths in photos/captions (both as a cumulative total and children's deaths) worsened considerably. In fact, the distortions presented in the *Post's* coverage of children's deaths in photos/captions for 2004 was the most pronounced of any category of coverage in this study.

In 2004, the *National Post* reported on 51 Israeli deaths in photos/captions (out of a total of 107), while reporting on only 5 Palestinian deaths in photos/captions (out of a total of 821 Palestinian deaths that were recorded in 2004). Thus while 56 Israeli deaths were omitted in *National Post* photos/captions, a full 816 Palestinian deaths were omitted.

### Deaths Reported and Omitted in Photo/Caption

NATIONAL POST

2004

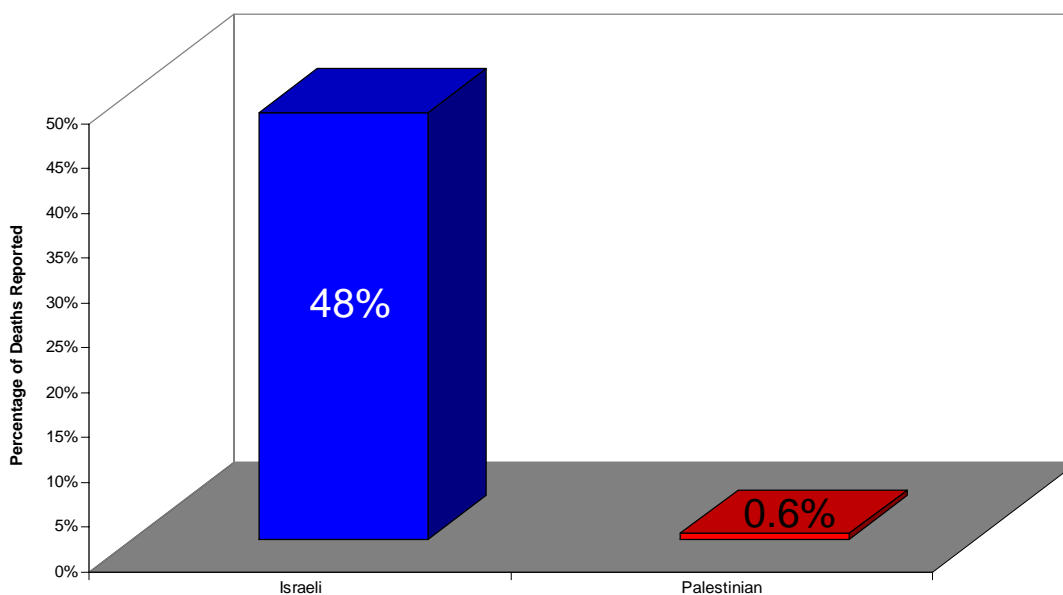


In terms of overall deaths, the *National Post* recorded a Distortion Index of 79.5 in its coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths in photos/captions. Even though only 48% of Israeli deaths were covered in 2004 as compared to 84% in 2000-2001, *The Post* recorded a DI that was 7 times greater than in the first year of the conflict. This results mainly from the fact that only 0.6% of Palestinian deaths were recorded in photos/captions in 2004. Looked at another way, 10.2 more Israeli deaths were reported in photos/captions, when in fact 7.7 Palestinians were being killed for every Israeli.

### Percentage of Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

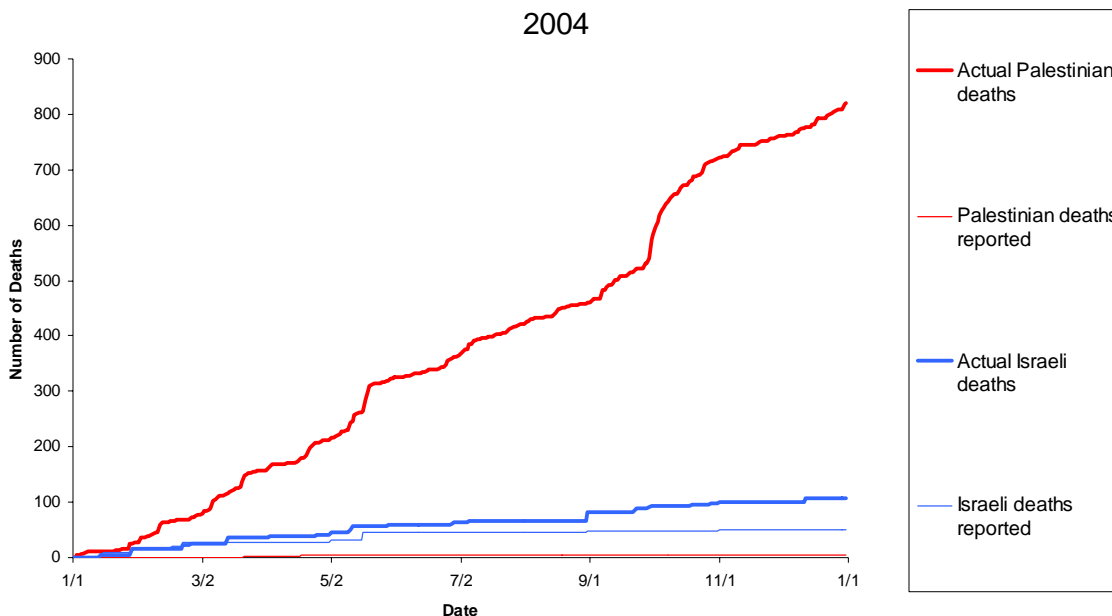
NATIONAL POST

2004



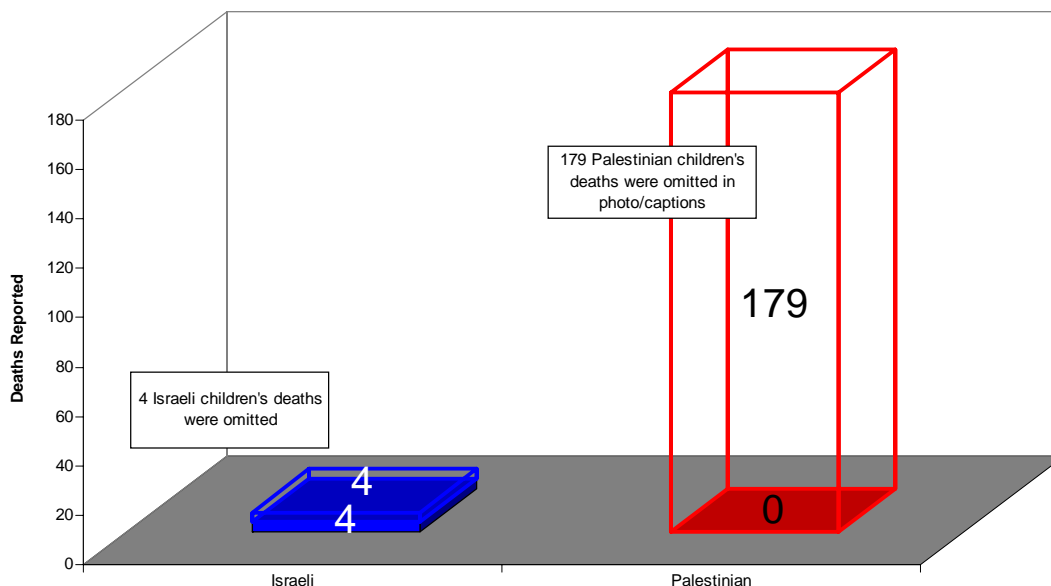
Once again, the trend-line of actual and reported deaths throughout the year tells the story of distortion clearly (with more Israeli deaths reported in photos/captions than Palestinian deaths, even though at no point throughout the year did the number of Israeli deaths outstrip the number of Palestinian deaths in reality):

**Running Totals of Deaths  
Actual and Reported in Photo/Caption  
NATIONAL POST  
2004**



These distortions in coverage reached absurd levels when examining coverage of children’s deaths in *National Post* photos/captions for 2004. This is largely due to the fact that **not a single Palestinian children’s death was recorded through a photo/caption in the pages of the *National Post* for an entire year.**

**Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Photo/Caption  
NATIONAL POST  
2004**

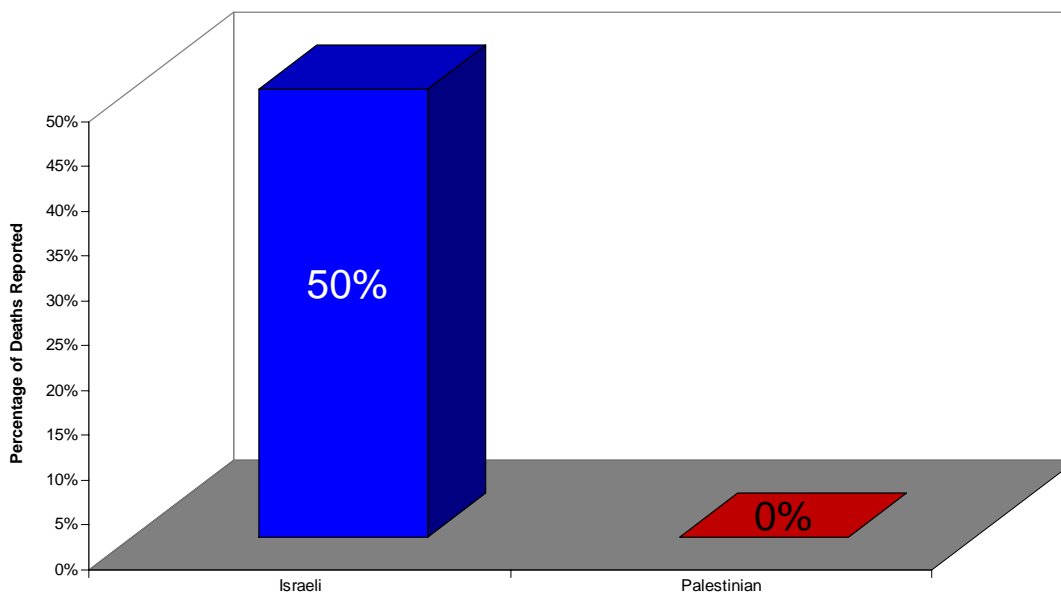


While the distortions in coverage of Israeli children's deaths in photos/captions was again more muted than in the first year of *National Post* coverage, the overall DI was magnified (to infinity!) due to the complete disappearance of Palestinian children's deaths in *The Post's* photos/captions.

### Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

*NATIONAL POST*

2004

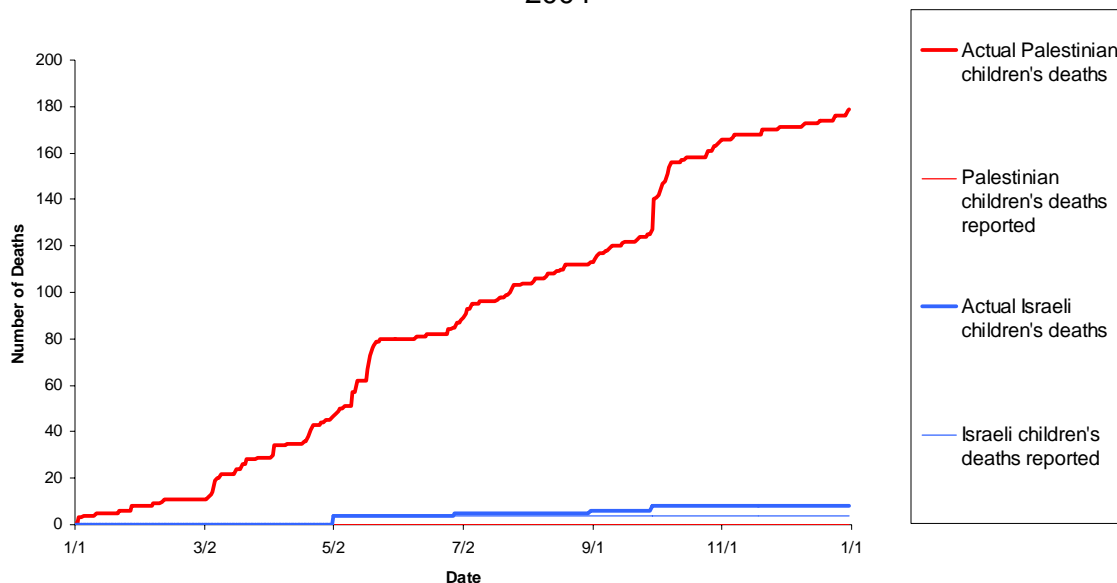


A fact that is also illustrated in the trend-lines of actual and reported deaths for the year:

### Running Totals of Children's Deaths Actual and Reported in Photo/Caption

*NATIONAL POST*

2004



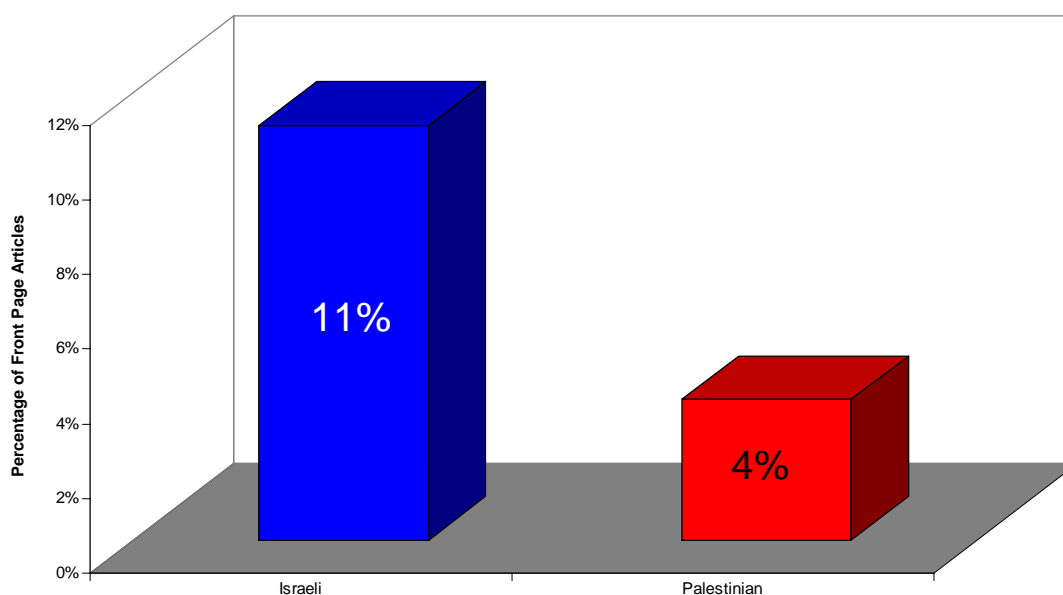
### Findings B-VII. *National Post* Coverage of Deaths on Front Pages: First Year

The biases in this category weren't as pronounced as in the other categories measuring the prominence given to Israeli and Palestinian deaths in *National Post* coverage. The DI for this category was 2.8, since of the 54 articles reporting on Israeli deaths, only 6 received front page coverage (i.e. 11% of the total), while only 2 of the 53 articles (i.e. 4%) reporting on Palestinian deaths received the same coverage. It should also be noted that more articles appeared in the pages of the *National Post* reporting on Israeli deaths in the headline, first paragraph or picture/caption than those covering Palestinian deaths.

#### Percentage of Articles Covering Deaths on Front Page

NATIONAL POST

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

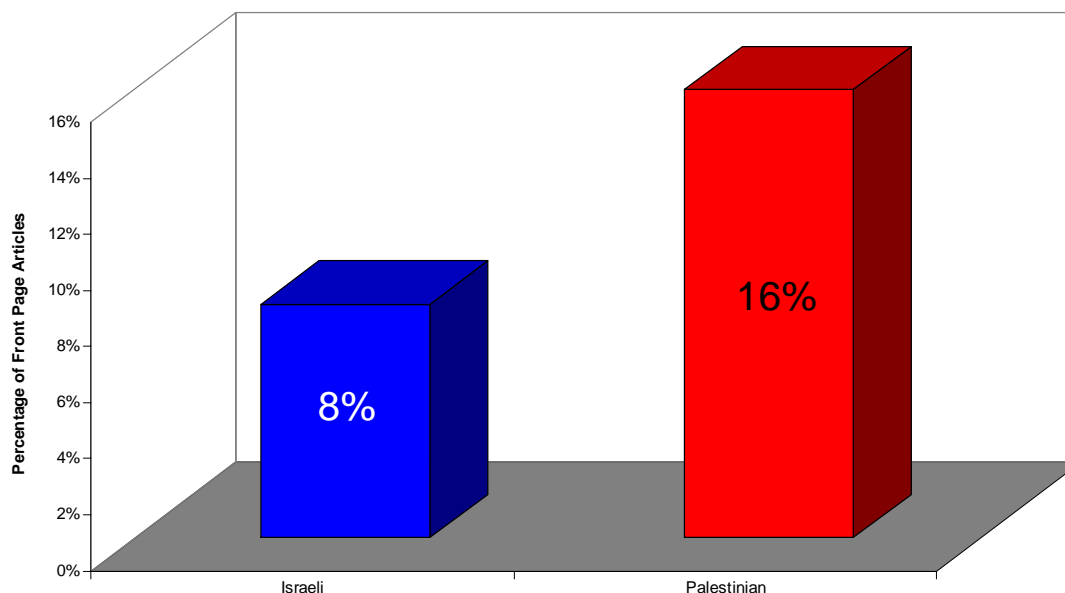


### Findings B-VIII. *National Post* Coverage of Deaths on Front Pages: 2004

Contrary to data collected in all previous categories, *The Post's* coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths actually improved considerably in 2004 in terms of front-page coverage (in fact this is the only instance in which the Distortion Index was skewed in favor of Palestinians). However, even in this category *The National Post* failed to reflect accurately the actual discrepancy in the number of Israeli and Palestinian deaths in 2004.

Out of 24 articles reporting on Israeli deaths in 2004, only 2 received front-page coverage (i.e. 8%), while of the 25 articles reporting on Palestinian deaths 4 received front-page coverage (i.e. 16%). This means that the *National Post* recorded a Distortion Index of 0.5. Unfortunately, despite this improvement the *National Post* produced roughly the same amount of articles in which the headlines, first paragraphs or photos/captions reported on Israeli or Palestinian deaths even though 7.7 times more Palestinians were killed in 2004.

**Percentage of Articles Covering Deaths on Front Page**  
*NATIONAL POST*  
 2004



### Findings B-IX. *National Post* Coverage of Cumulative Totals

Regarding *National Post* coverage of cumulative totals, we found that *The Post* had, in fact, reported numbers for both populations side by side on one occasion in a photo-caption. In the article “Most Israelis oppose peace plan: polls: Hopes for accord undermined by violence, lack of support for Prime Minister Barak” (*National Post*, 30 December 2000, page A9), the last sentence in the caption reads: “Three months of violence have killed nearly 350 people, almost 300 of whom were Palestinians.” While not an exact breakdown of deaths, this is the closest any paper came to prominently reporting on the relative breakdown of casualties in actuality. Unfortunately, this breakdown appeared in the third sentence of a caption for a photo portraying a Palestinian youth hurling a stone at an Israeli soldier. Outside of this exception, *The Post*’s coverage of cumulative totals reproduced the trends observed in *Globe and Mail* coverage in this category.

Four other *National Post* articles gave cumulative totals for deaths in the first three months of the Intifada without any breakdown in the number of Israelis and Palestinians killed. The frequency of reporting on cumulative casualties decreased considerably after the first three months of the conflict (as in the case of the *Globe*’s coverage). Thus, while the first three months of the conflict produced a total of 5 *National Post* articles citing some form of cumulative total, the other 21 months under consideration – i.e. the rest of the first year and the entirety of 2004 - only produced 4 additional articles that gave some form of cumulative number for conflict related deaths. None of these gave a cumulative breakdown of deaths by ethnic-group.

One of these articles gave a partial cumulative total of Palestinian deaths, dealing with a memorial for a hundred Palestinian martyrs from the current Intifada (see: “Martyrs of the Intifada: Palestinian exhibition is a traveling shrine to 100 of the dead” *National Post*, 28 May 2001, page A12). Since no cumulative totals were given - by that stage 410 Palestinians had actually been killed - the partial total fails to provide the adequate context for the story.

A 2004 article spoke of “150 terrorists” that Israel had killed in ‘targeted raids’ over the course of the current uprising (see: “Terrorists long a target” *National Post*, 23 March 2004, page A10). Furthermore, *The Post* also gave a partial cumulative total of Palestinian deaths in October 2004, when it reported on the end of a prolonged Israeli offensive in Gaza “that killed more than 100 Palestinians” (see: “Israel withdraws from Gaza offensive: All 200 tanks removed from area” *National Post*, 16 October 2004, page A15). Finally, another article in the same year also gave a partial accounting of Israeli deaths (see: “Israel sentences bomb-maker to 67 life terms” *National Post*, 1 December 2004, page A16). None of these articles did much to counter the gross-distortions in *National Post* coverage documented in this report.

### **Findings B-X. *National Post* Coverage of Deaths in Full articles: 2005**

In order to determine whether the patterns found in the above studies of headlines and first paragraphs are amplified or diminished when a larger portion of the article is examined, we conducted a month-long study of full *National Post* articles that covered conflict-related deaths in October 2005.

In the headline and first paragraph of articles printed during this study period, there were 19 mentions of Israeli deaths (out of 9 that actually occurred), including three children’s deaths (the victims were described as ‘youths’ although only one was actually a child under the definitions used in this study). These numbers accounted for 211% of Israeli deaths and 300% of the actual number of Israeli children’s deaths occurred during this period. At the same time only 3 Palestinian deaths (or 14% of those that actually occurred) were reported, and no Palestinian children’s deaths were recorded (even though 6 Palestinian children were killed in this period). In other words, the overall Distortion Index for headlines and first paragraphs was 15.1 for the overall number of deaths (and infinite in the case of children’s deaths).

#### **First Five Paragraphs:**

In the first five paragraphs, 322% of Israeli deaths and 300% of Israeli children’s death were reported. There were only two additional mentions of Palestinian deaths, so that coverage of Palestinian deaths increased to 23%. Again no Palestinian children’s deaths were recorded. Overall, DI of Israeli to Palestinian deaths was slightly narrowed when we considered the first five paragraphs of the article, from 15.1 to 14.

#### **Full Articles:**

Expanding to an examination of full articles, we again find that Distortion Index in the *National Post* was again slightly narrowed when compared to our analysis of headlines/first paragraphs and the first five paragraphs of the articles that appeared in October 2005. Hence, when considering the whole article, the DI drops to 11.9, with 433% of Israeli and 36% of Palestinian deaths covered.

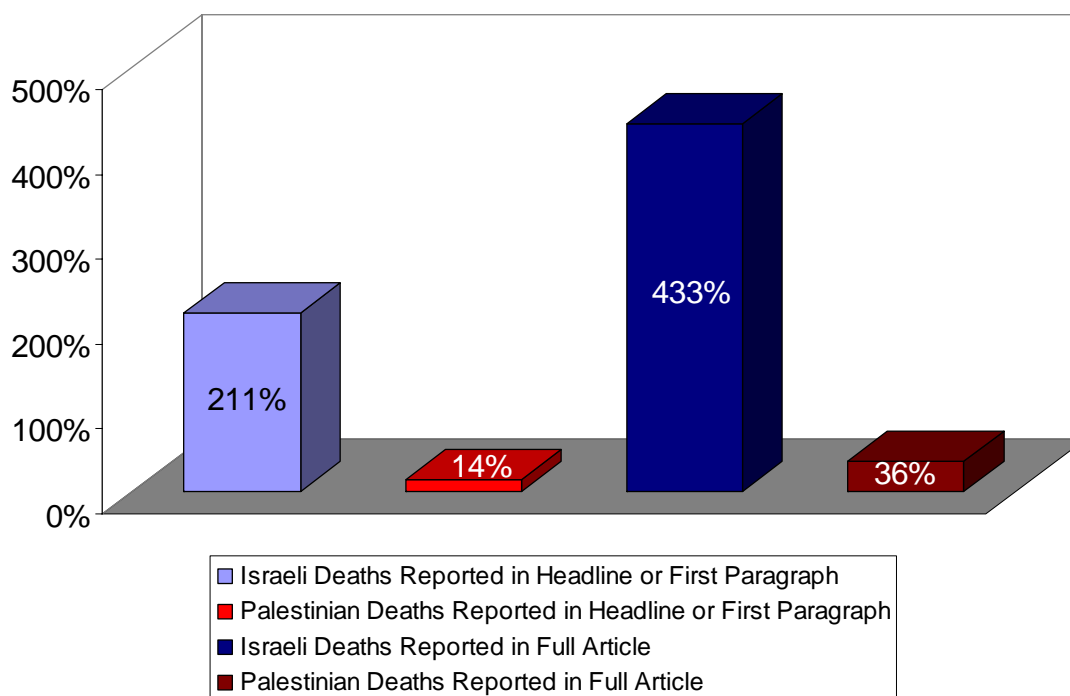
Again, the distortion was even greater in the coverage of children’s fatalities, where 800% of Israeli children’s deaths were reported on when we expand the inquiry to full articles, while still no Palestinian children’s deaths were recorded. This finding reproduced the most worrying trend in *National Post* coverage throughout this study,

which is the tendency to severely under-represented Palestinian children's deaths throughout the study to the point of often disappearing them completely from the record. In fact, in many instances – while no Palestinian children's deaths were covered in many categories of *National Post* coverage – a number of racist 'Comment' or 'Opinion' pieces appeared in which the blame for Palestinian children's deaths was laid on the children themselves or Palestinian society more broadly.

In other words, the marked emphasis on Israeli deaths over Palestinian deaths - found in the above studies of *National Post* headlines and lead paragraphs - persisted even when whole articles were examined (although the rate of distortion was narrowed somewhat as one went further down the articles). This pattern is illustrated in the graph below:

### Percentage of Deaths Reported (Full Articles)

*National Post*  
(October 2005)



## SECTION C – TORONTO STAR COVERAGE

### Findings C-I. *Toronto Star* Coverage of All Deaths: First Year of the Current Uprising

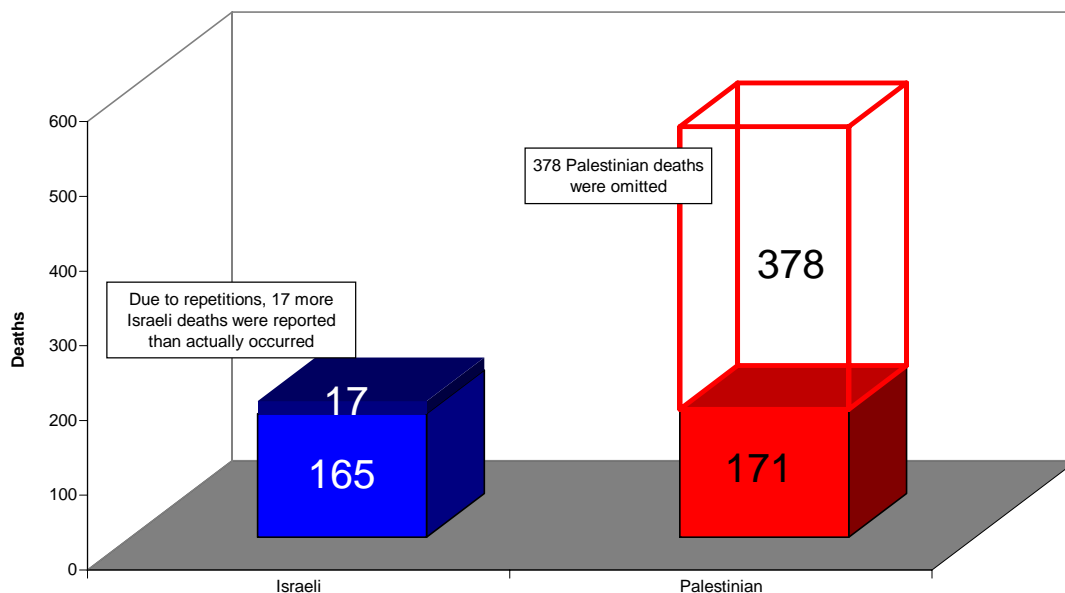
As with other Canadian print-media outlets we reviewed, there was a significant disparity in the likelihood of a death receiving coverage in the pages of the *Toronto Star* based on the identity of the person killed.

For the first year of the current uprising, there were 182 reports in *Toronto Star* headlines or first paragraphs of Israeli deaths. During this time, there had actually been 165 Israelis killed (as in previous cases the discrepancy is due to the fact that a number of Israeli deaths were reported multiple times). During the same year-long period, 171 Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs. During this time, 549 Palestinians had actually been killed.

#### Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro

*TORONTO STAR*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



What emerges from these numbers is evidence that directly contradicts popular perceptions of *The Star* being the most left-leaning or ‘pro-Palestinian’ of papers. What emerges instead, at least for the first year of *Star* coverage, is a reproduction of the racist biases displayed in other Canadian print-media news sources in terms of the relative prominence given to Israeli and Palestinian deaths. In fact, *The Star’s* record for the first year of the current uprising was even worse than that of the *National Post* (widely perceived to be the most ‘pro-Israeli’ of Canadian print-media sources). Thus, *The Star* reported on 15-more Israeli deaths and 18-less Palestinian deaths than *The Post* did for the same period.

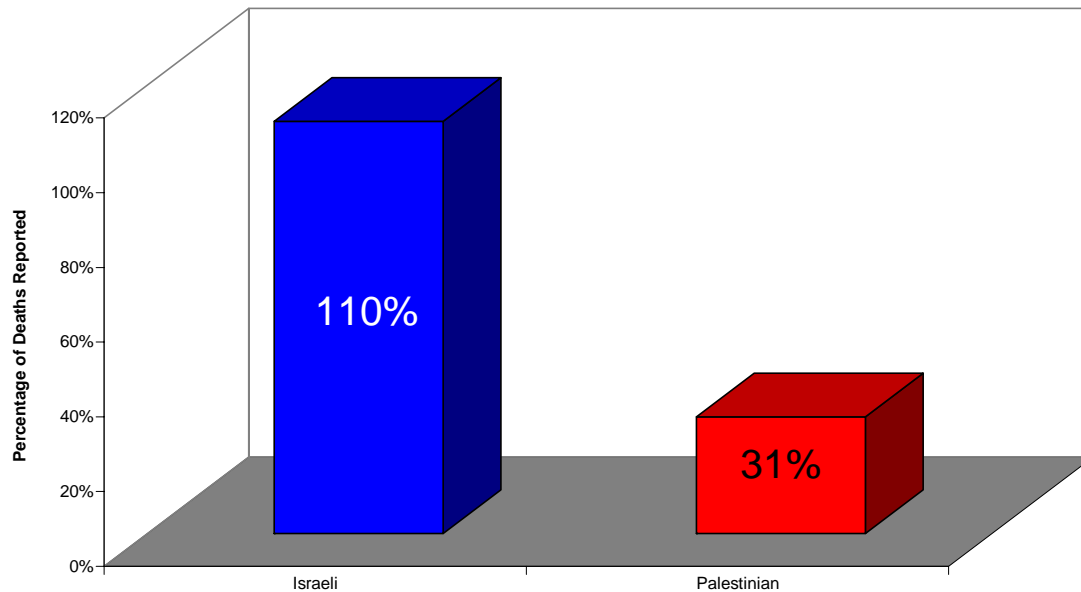
In other words, 110% of Israeli deaths and only 31% of Palestinian deaths were reported in *Toronto Star* headlines or first paragraphs for the first year of the current conflict. This translates to a Distortion Index of 3.5. In fact, *The Star* is the only print publication to report more Israeli than Palestinian deaths in total in headlines/first paragraphs during the first year of the conflict. In

effect, 1.1 times more Israeli deaths than Palestinian deaths are covered in the pages of *The Star*, when in reality 3.3 times more Palestinian deaths occurred. The result is represented graphically in the following table:

### Percentage of Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro

*TORONTO STAR*

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

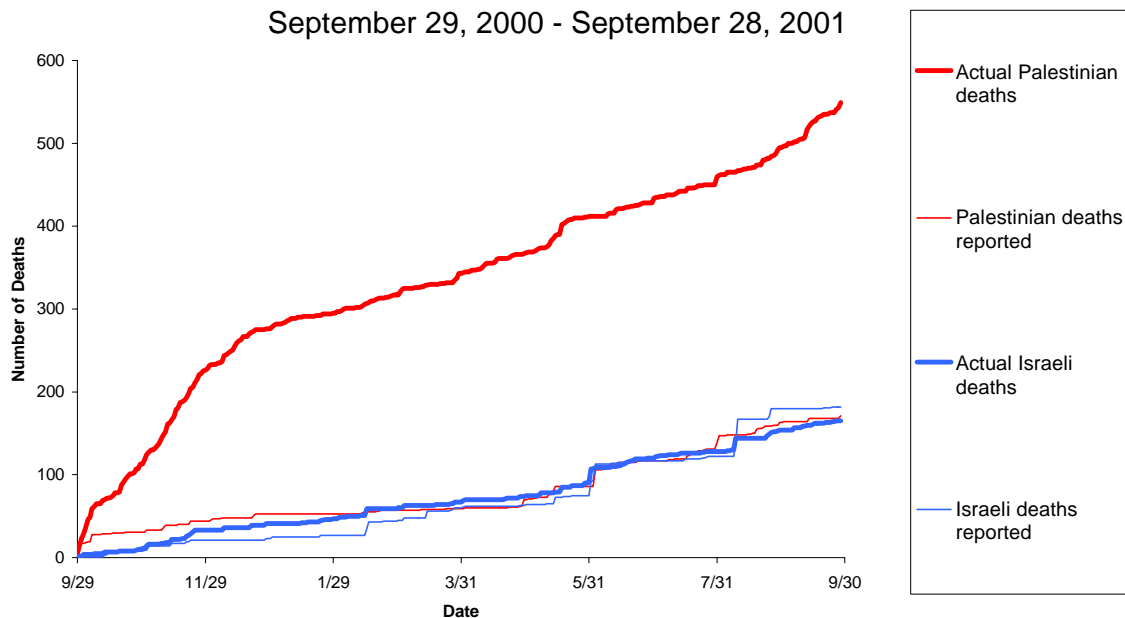


Finally, the running totals of actual and reported deaths not only replicated the tendency of other papers to report a fictional situation in which Israeli and Palestinian deaths occur at more or less the same rate, but also managed to engineer a complete reversal of reality by quantitatively reporting on more Israeli deaths than Palestinian deaths.

### Running Totals of Deaths Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro

*TORONTO STAR*

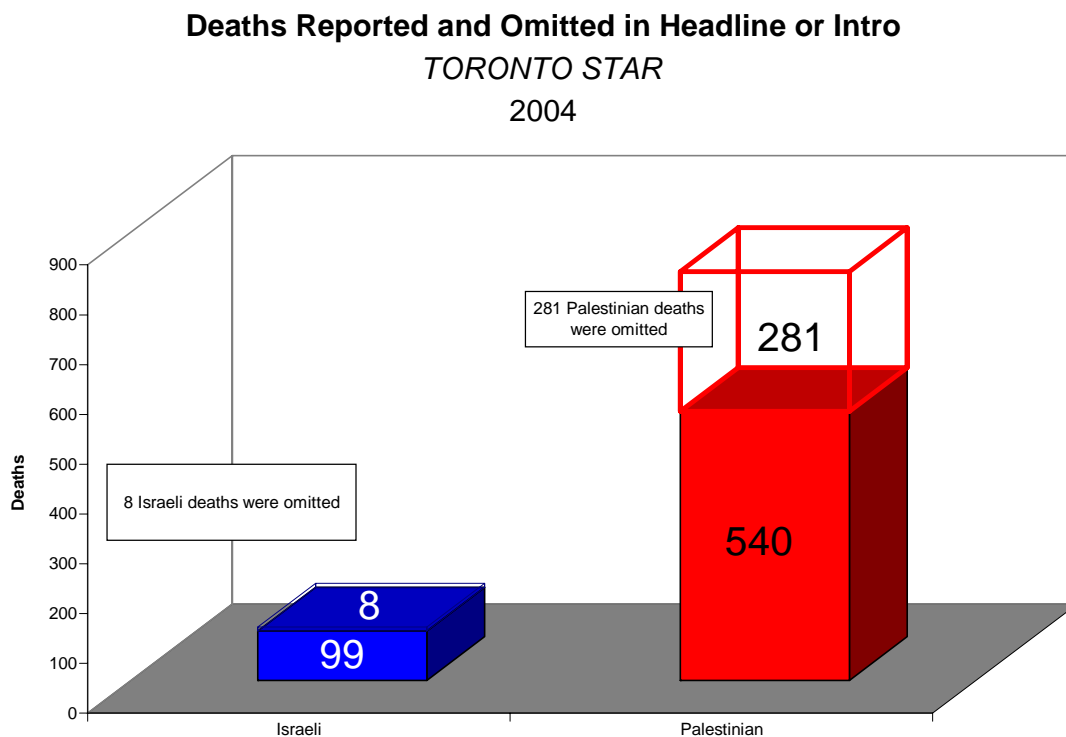
September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



## Findings C-II. *Toronto Star* Coverage of All Deaths: 2004

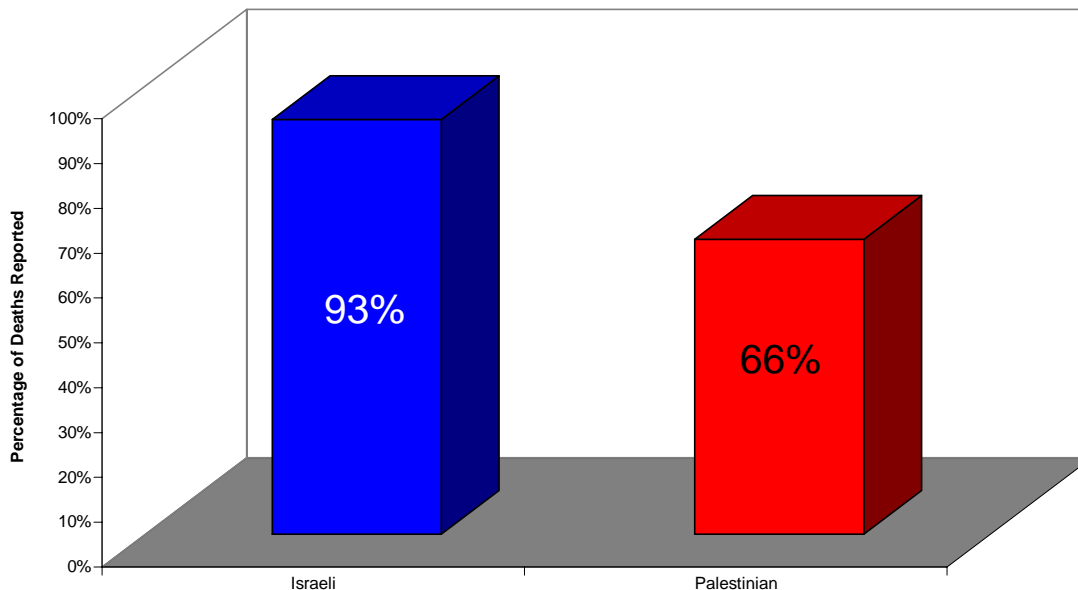
In studying *The Star's* 2004 coverage, however, we found that this pattern of distortion was considerably more muted. Although reporting on Palestinian deaths had improved markedly – largely due to excellent coverage of Israel Defense Force (IDF) incursions into Gaza in May and October 2004 - the tendency to prominently report on a greater percentage of Israeli deaths than Palestinian nonetheless persisted.

Therefore, in 2004, there were 99 reports in *Toronto Star* headlines or first paragraphs on Israeli deaths. During this time 107 had been Israelis killed. During the same one-year period, 540 Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines or first paragraphs, while 818 Palestinians had actually been killed.



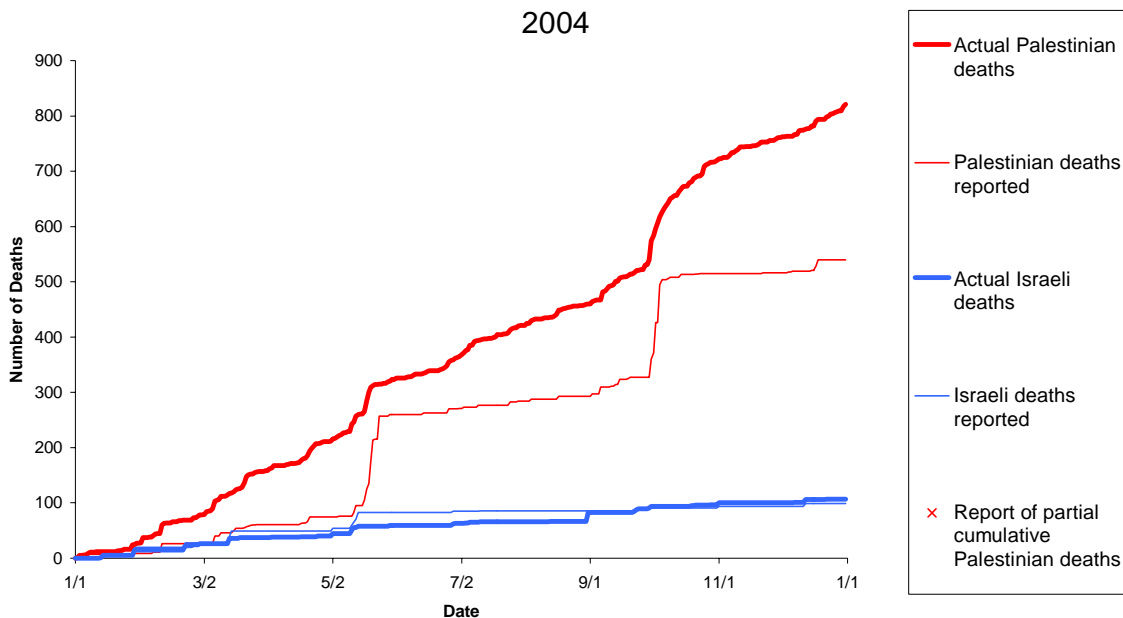
Put another way, 93% of Israeli deaths and 66% of Palestinian deaths were reported in *Toronto Star* headlines or first paragraphs. *The Star's* Distortion Index was therefore reduced to 1.4 in 2004, thereby significantly narrowing the distortions identified in the previous reporting period. Thus, in contrast to the previous reporting period, this time 5.5 more Palestinian deaths were reported in headlines/first paragraphs than Israeli deaths. Unfortunately, this ratio of coverage still failed to reflect a reality in which Palestinian deaths occurred at a rate 7.6 times greater than Israeli deaths.

**Percentage of Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 2004



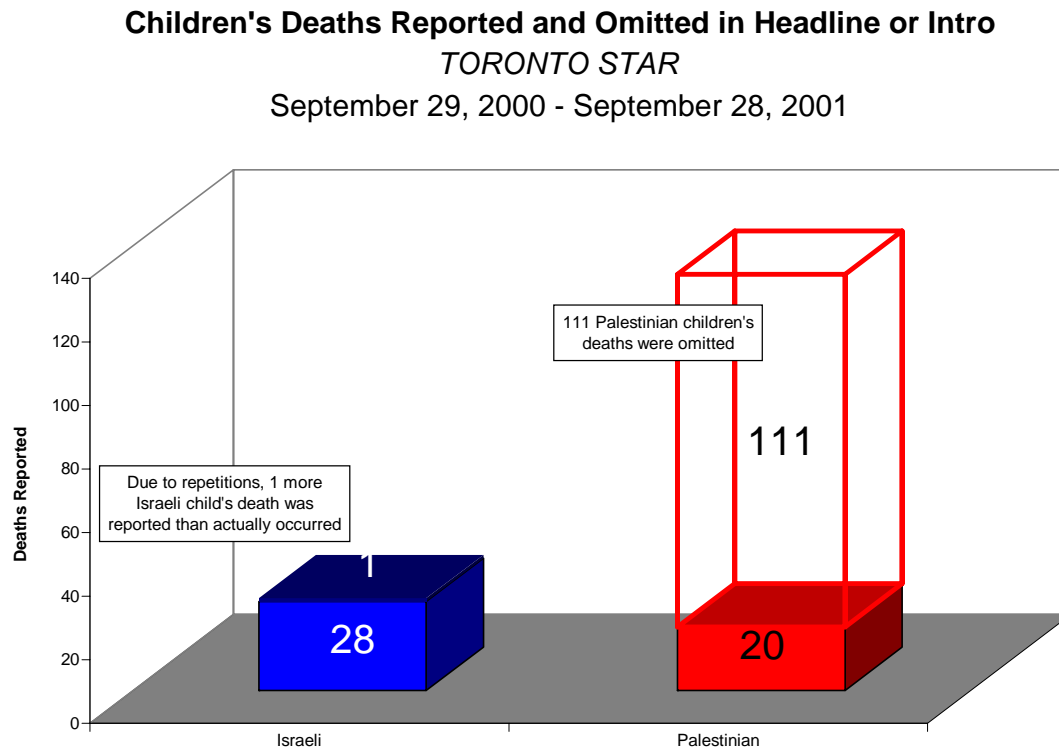
Despite the improved coverage, when comparing the running total of reported deaths versus actual deaths for both populations, we again found significant differentiation in reporting. The casualty lines were relatively correlative to each other, with the exceptions of the two intense reporting periods on Palestinian death in May and October 2004. This means that *The Star's* daily reporting had changed little from the patterns displayed in other publications in which the intensity of coverage was generally shaped by the frequency of Israeli deaths:

**Running Totals of Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 2004



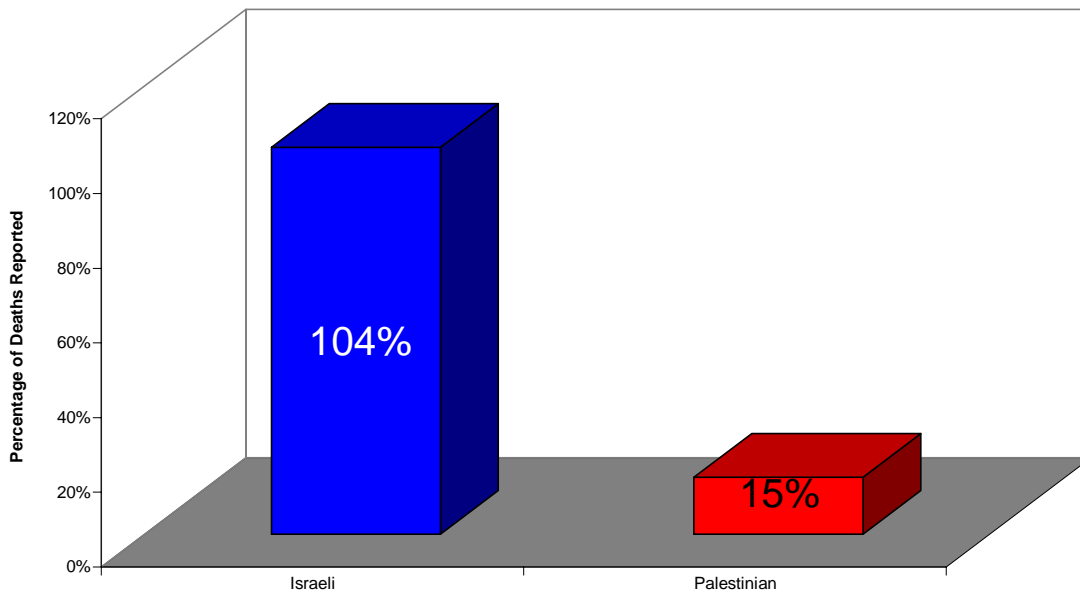
### Findings C-III. *Toronto Star* Coverage of Children's Deaths: First Year of Current Uprising

For the first year of the current uprising, 29 Israeli children's deaths were reported in the headlines or first paragraphs of *Toronto Star* articles on the Israel/Palestine conflict, compared with 20 Palestinian children's deaths. According to *B'tselem*, 28 Israeli and 131 Palestinian children killed during this period.



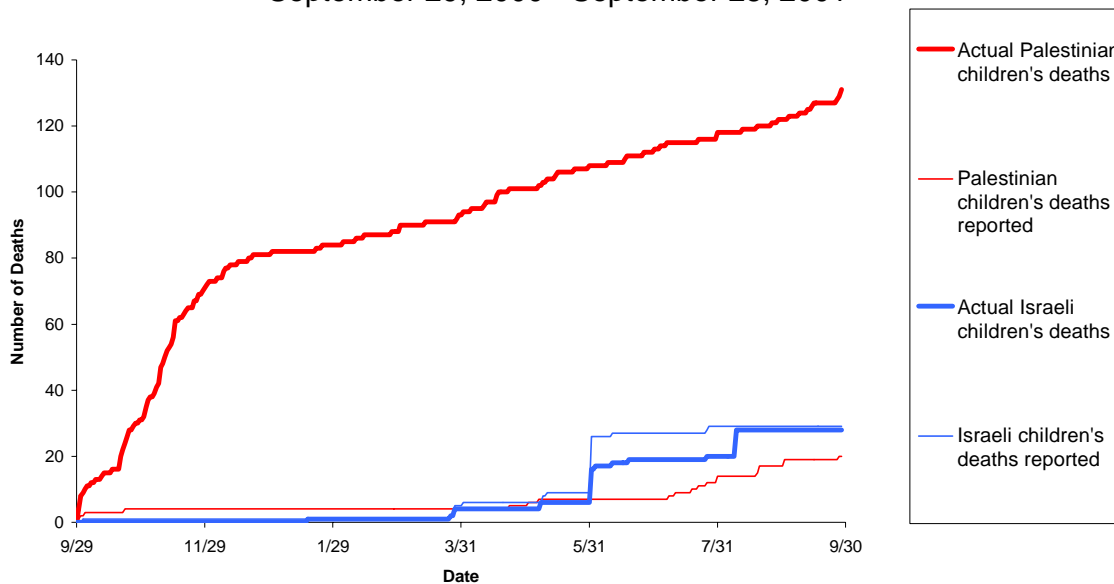
In other words, 104% of Israeli children's deaths and only 15% of Palestinian children's deaths were reported by the *Toronto Star* in headlines or first paragraphs. That is, *The Star* recorded a Distortion Index of 6.8 in its coverage of children's deaths in the first year of the conflict. Again, as in the case of all deaths during the first year, *The Star* reported 1.4 times more Israeli than Palestinian children's deaths in total, when in fact Palestinian children were being killed at a rate 4.7 that of Israeli children.

**Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



Again, we graphed the running totals of actual and reported deaths of Palestinian and Israeli children. Just as in its treatment of all deaths during the first year, *The Star* vastly underreported killings of Palestinian children and inflated those of Israeli children. In fact, here again, *The Star* reported on fewer Palestinian children's deaths in total than Israeli deaths – despite the fact that nearly 5 times more Palestinian children were actually being killed for every Israeli child.

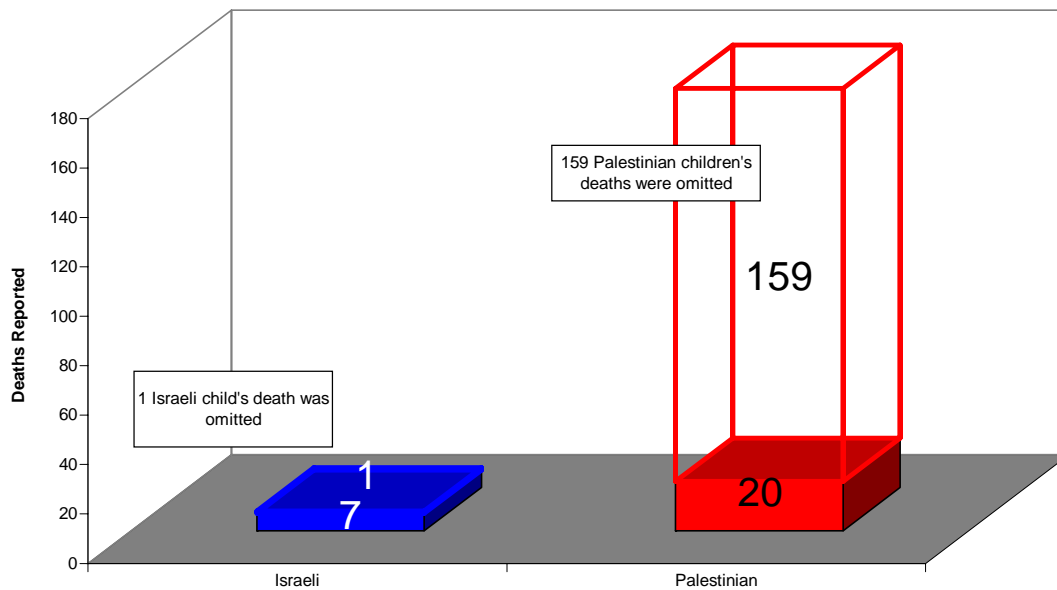
**Running Totals of Children's Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



## Findings C-IV. Coverage of Children's Deaths: 2004

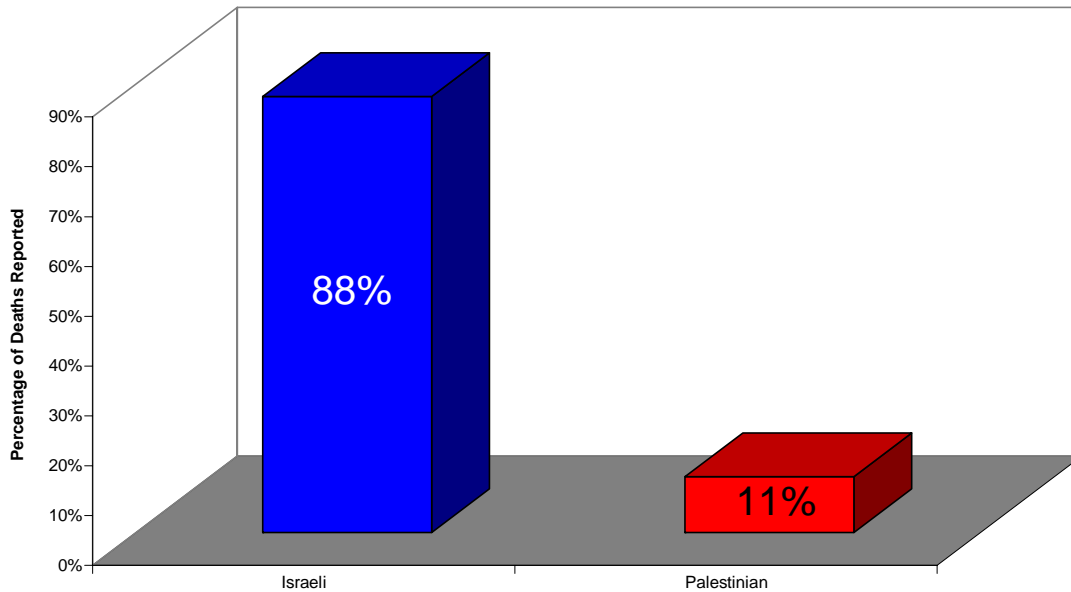
In 2004, we find the disparity of the *Toronto Star's* reporting on Israeli and Palestinian children's deaths even more pronounced than its coverage of the first year. In 2004, 7 out of 8 Israeli children's deaths were reported. During the same period only 20 out of 179 Palestinian children's deaths were covered.

**Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 2004



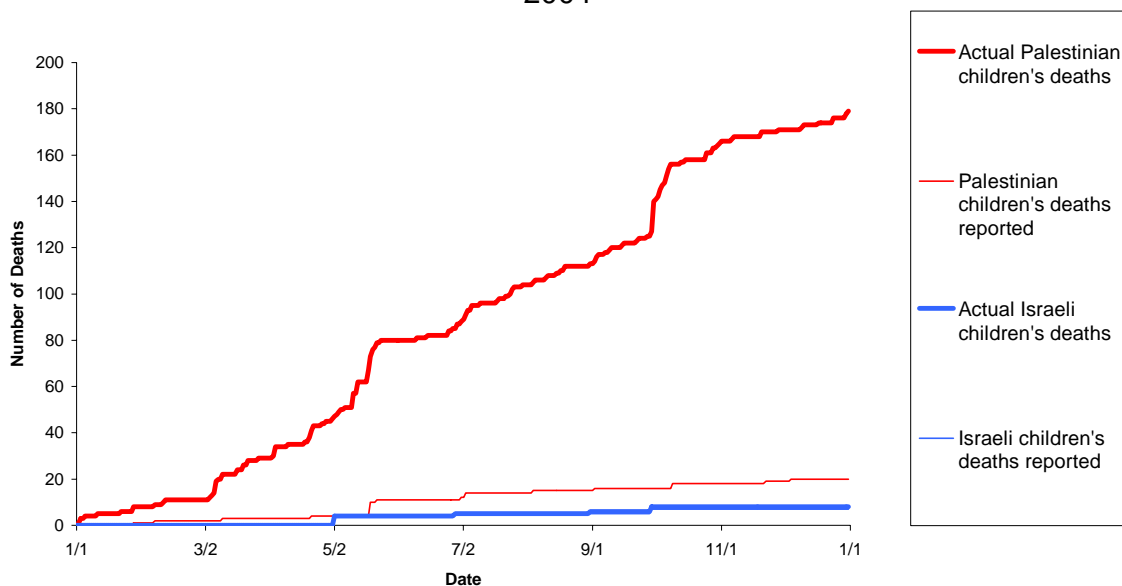
Therefore, *The Star* reported on fully 88% of Israeli children's deaths in headlines or first paragraphs, while reporting on only 11% of Palestinian children's deaths. Thus, *The Star* recorded a DI of 8 in 2004 (up 15% from the previous reporting period). In other words, while *The Star* reported 2.9 times more Palestinian than Israeli children's deaths, in actuality 22 Palestinian children were being killed for every Israeli child. These figures show that despite the positive developments in the *Toronto Star's* coverage of all Palestinian deaths in 2004, the situation when it came to the *Star's* reporting on children's deaths in this period actually worsened.

**Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 2004



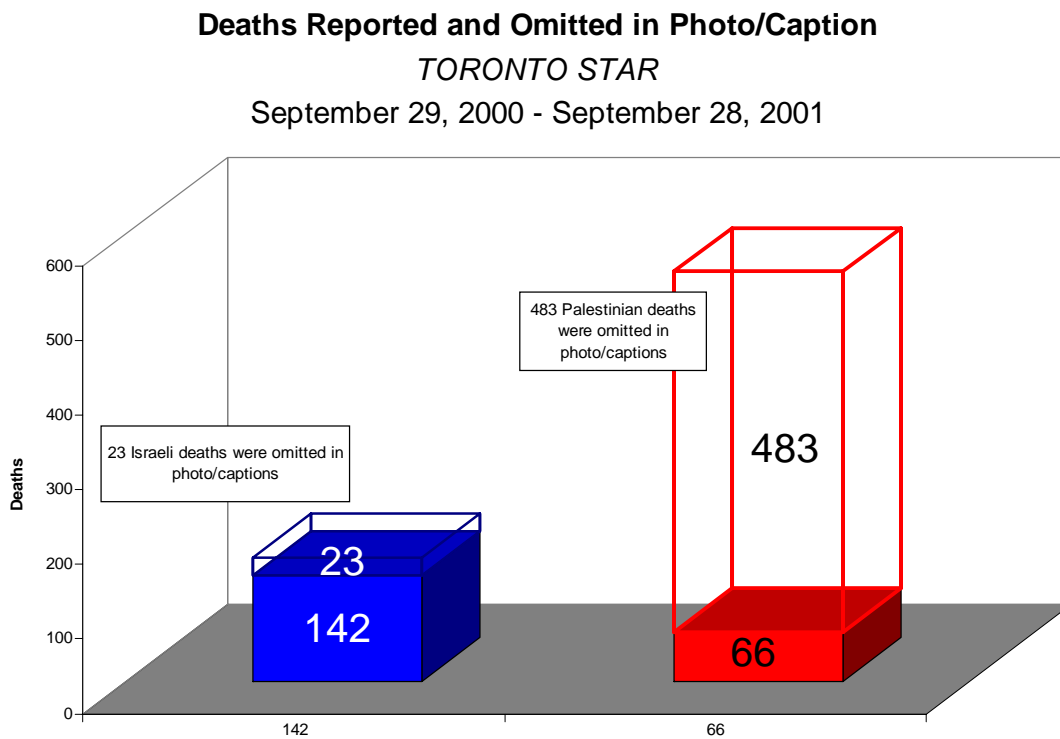
As in previous cases, visual representation of this pattern of omission gives a sense of the enormity of the disparity. Comparing running totals for actual deaths and reported deaths once again reveals that *The Star's* reporting on Palestinian children's deaths followed virtually the same trend-line as Israeli children's deaths, in stark contradiction to the reality, in which Palestinian children were being killed at a far different rate from Israeli children.

**Running Totals of Children's Deaths**  
**Actual and Reported in Headline or Intro**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 2004



### Findings C-V. *Toronto Star* Coverage of Deaths in Photos/Captions: First Year

As already mentioned, this study uses additional criteria to gauge the prominence of coverage given to Israeli and Palestinian deaths in the print-media sources under consideration. One of these measures is coverage of deaths in photos/captions. In the case of the *Toronto Star*, 142 out of 165 Israeli deaths were covered in photos/captions during the first year of the conflict. This is in marked contrast to *The Star's* coverage of Palestinian deaths in photos/captions, in which only 66 out of 549 Palestinian deaths were covered.

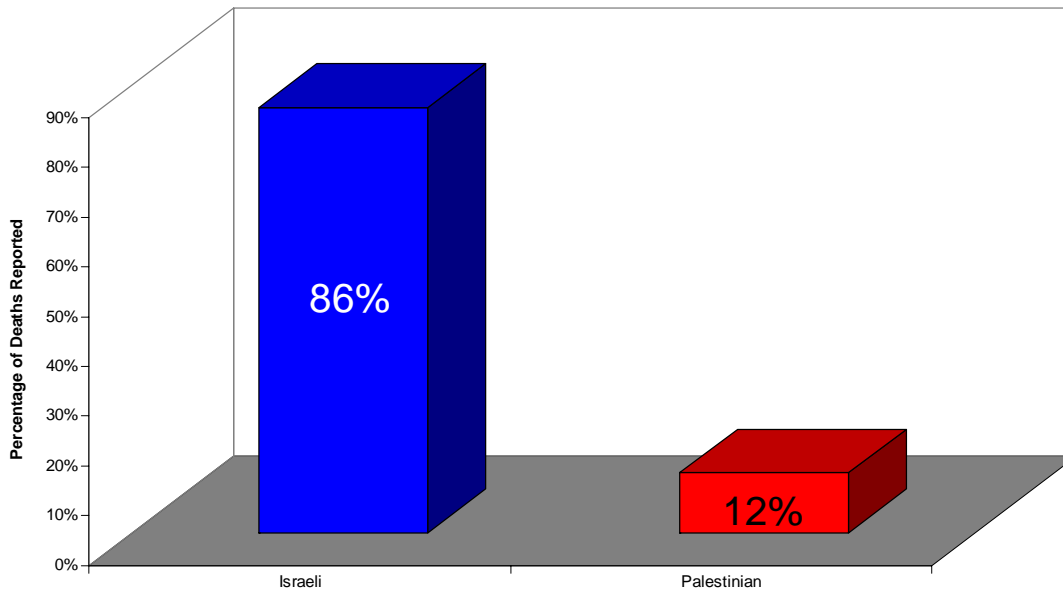


For the first year of the current conflict, the Distortion Index for *Toronto Star* photos/captions stood at 7.2. Overall, 86% of Israeli deaths were covered by photos/captions, while only 12% of Palestinian deaths were reported through such media. Once again, despite expectations of a 'pro-Palestinian' bias among *Toronto Star* editors, our study found that even this publication evidenced a pro-Israeli bias in the likelihood of a death being recorded in photos/captions.

### Percentage of Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

TORONTO STAR

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



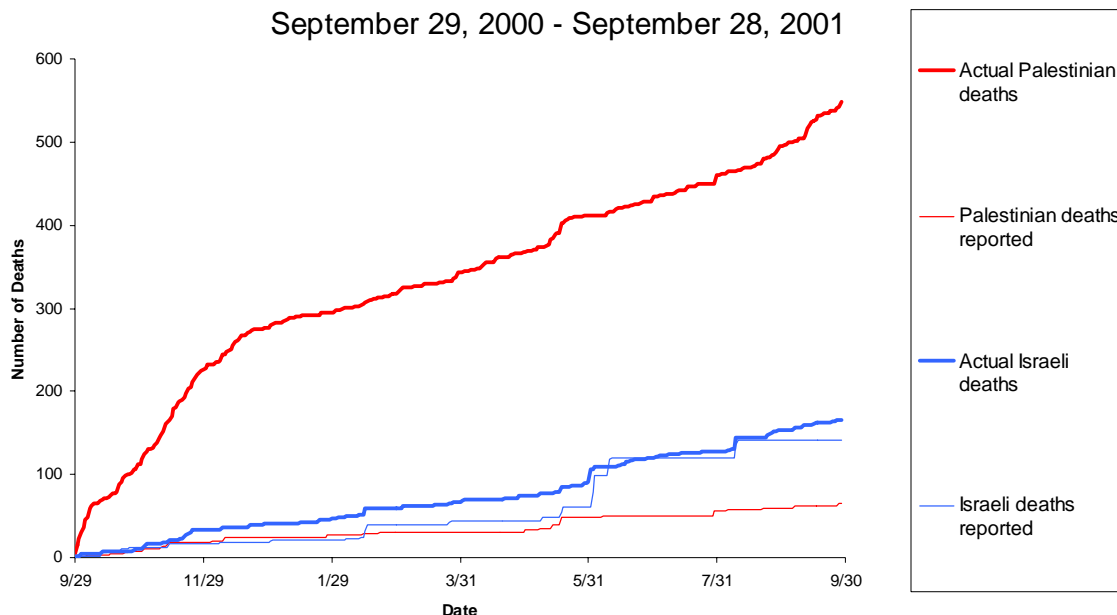
Thus while only 23 Israeli deaths were omitted in photos/captions, fully 483 Palestinian deaths were omitted. Viewing the comparative trend-line of actual to reported deaths in photos/captions over the year, one can see the staggering tendency to report more Israeli deaths in total than Palestinian deaths in photos/captions (even though cumulative Israeli deaths never outstripped Palestinian deaths in actuality for the entirety of the first year of the conflict).

### Running Totals of Deaths

Actual and Reported in Photo/Caption

TORONTO STAR

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

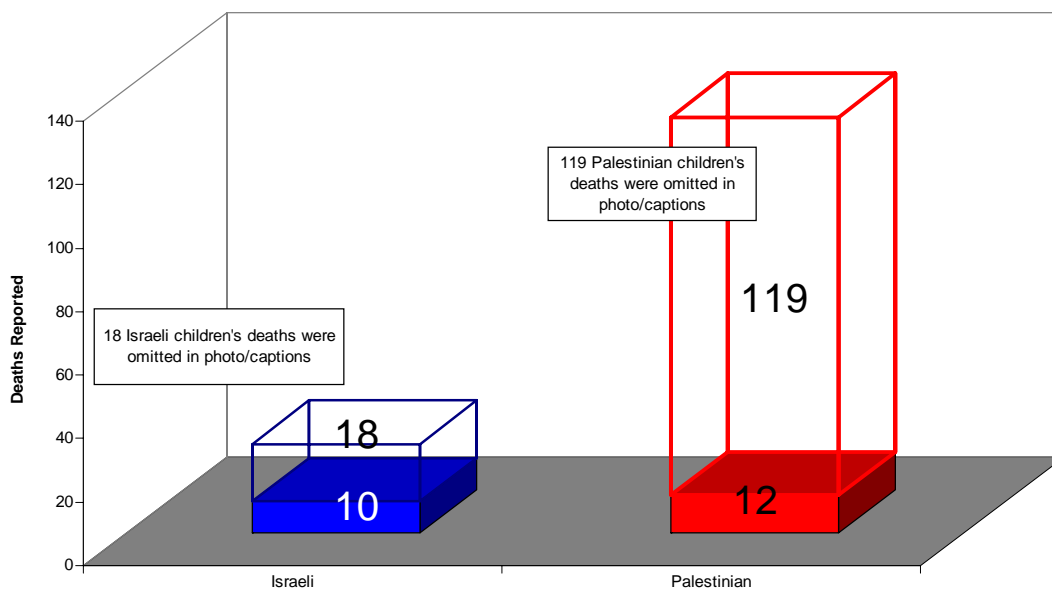


These trends are slightly more muted when looking at children's deaths covered in photos/captions. Here the Distortion Index for the first year was 3.9 (with 10 out of 28 Israeli children's deaths covered and only 12 out of 131 Palestinian children's deaths mentioned in a photo/caption).

### Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Photo/Caption

TORONTO STAR

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001

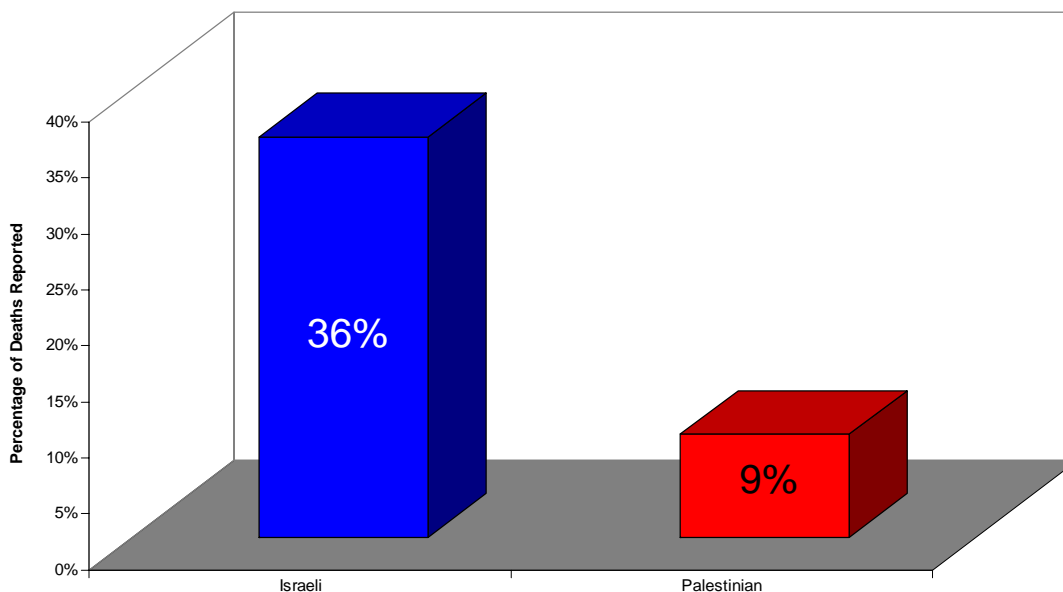


In other words 36% of Israeli children's deaths were reported in *Toronto Star* photos/captions, as opposed to only 9% of Palestinian children's deaths being covered.

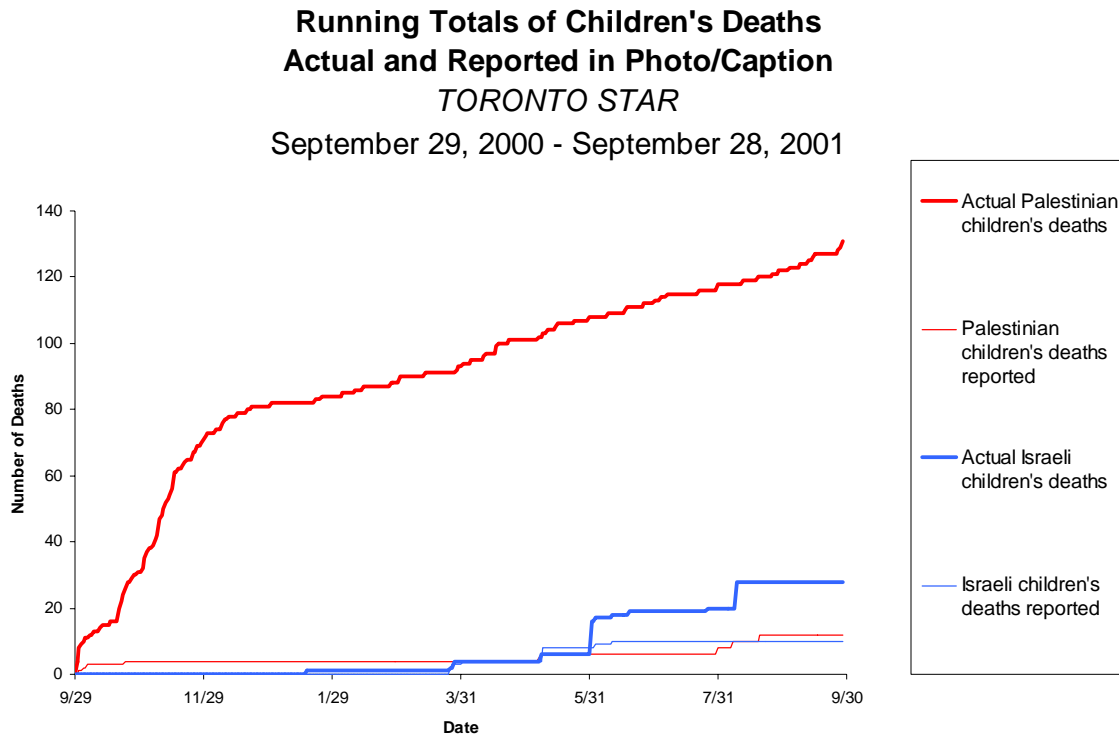
### Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

TORONTO STAR

September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001



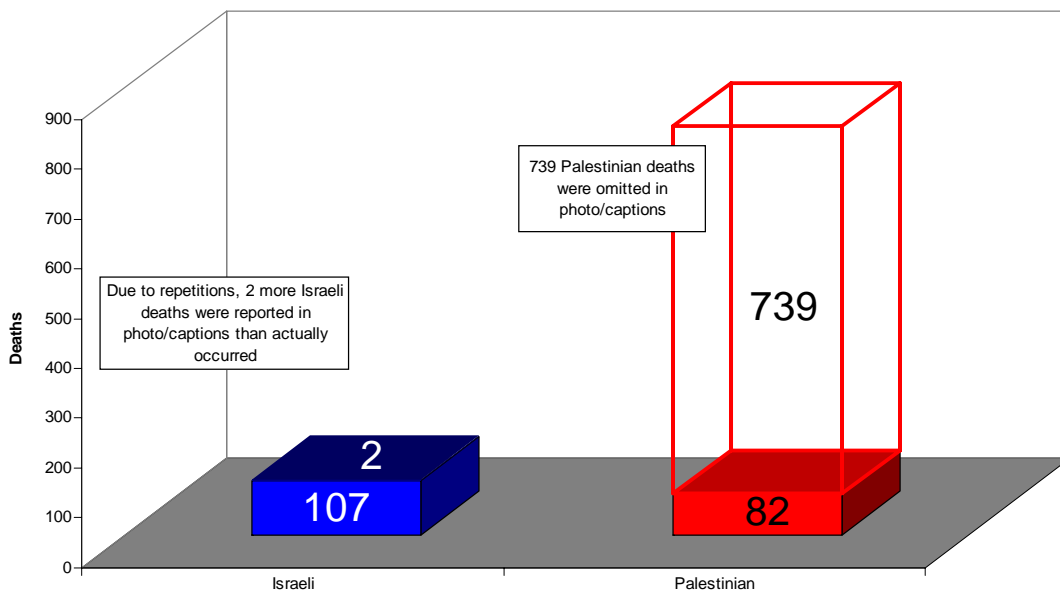
The distortions in *Toronto Star* reporting on children’s deaths in photos/captions can once again be most clearly seen when comparing the trend-lines of actual and reported deaths for both Israeli and Palestinian children throughout the first year:



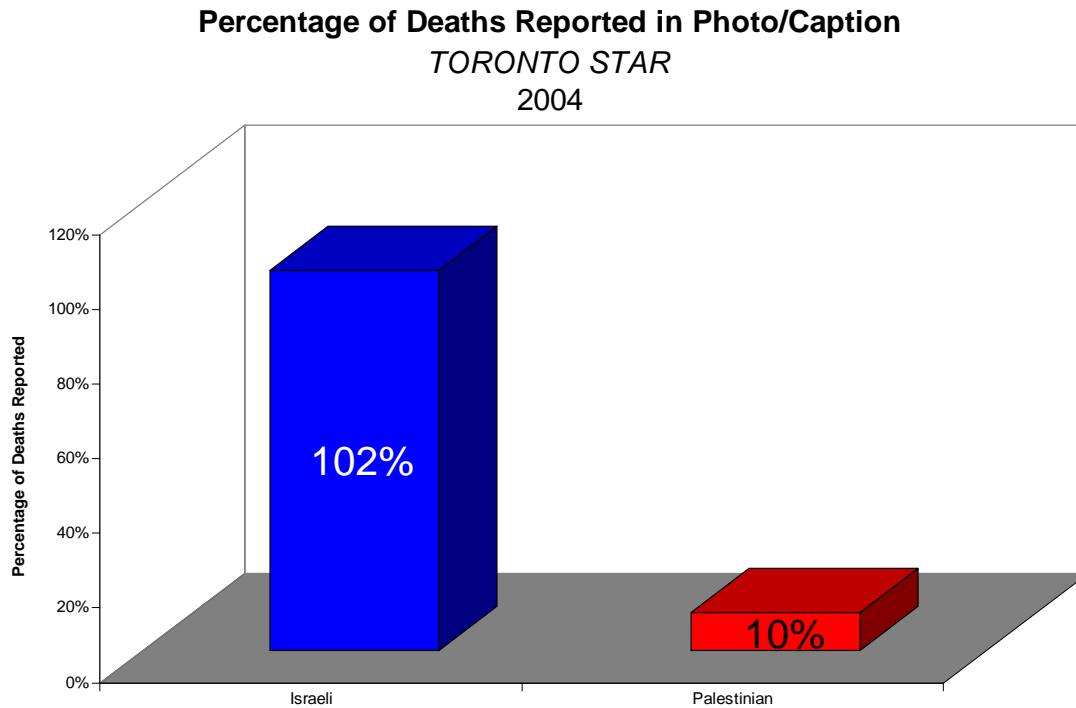
**Findings C-VI. *Toronto Star* Coverage of Deaths in Photos/Captions: 2004**

*Toronto Star* coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths in photos/captions (both as a cumulative total and children’s deaths) worsened considerably in 2004.

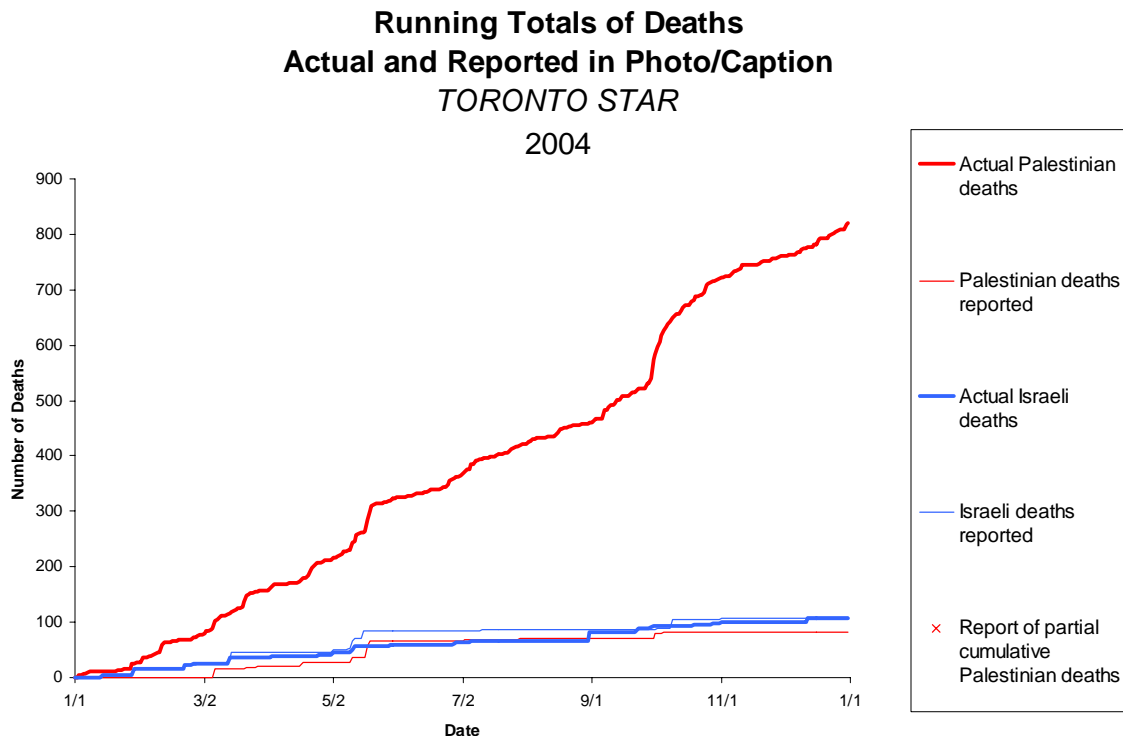
**Deaths Reported and Omitted in Photo/Caption  
TORONTO STAR  
2004**



The Distortion Index for deaths covered in *Toronto Star* photos/captions was 10.2, with 102% of Israeli deaths and only 10% of Palestinian deaths covered in 2004.



Once again, the trend-line of actual and reported deaths throughout the year tells the story clearly, with 1.3 times more Israeli deaths reported overall than Palestinian deaths (even though in actuality 7.7 times more Palestinian were killed).

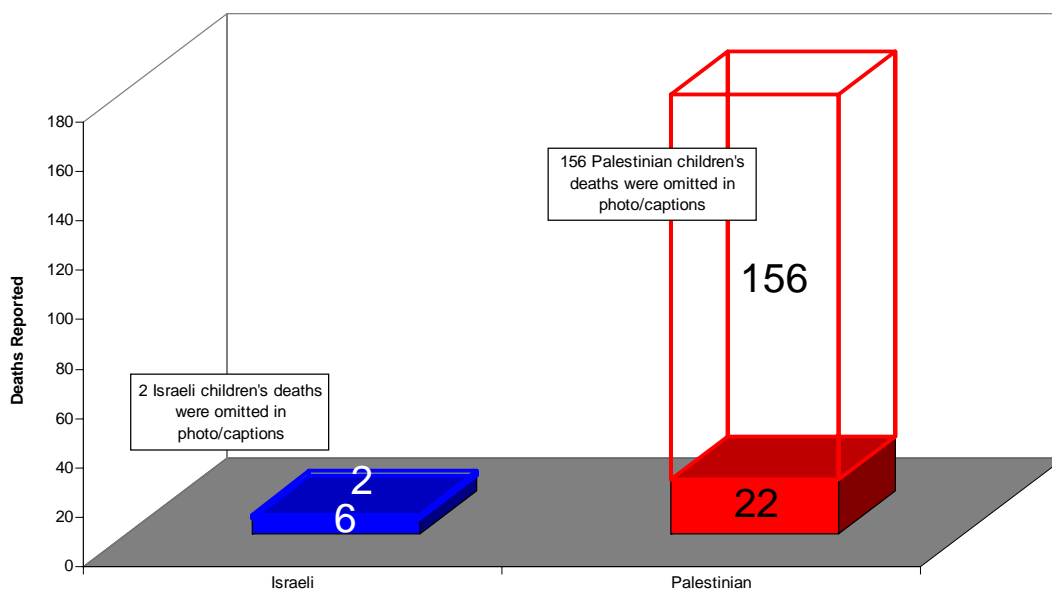


These distortions in coverage continued relatively unchanged when examining coverage of children's deaths in *Toronto Star* photos/captions for 2004. Therefore, in 2004, 6 out of 8 Israeli children's deaths were reported on in *Toronto Star* photos/captions, while only 22 out of 178 Palestinian children's deaths were reported.

### Children's Deaths Reported and Omitted in Photo/Caption

TORONTO STAR

2004

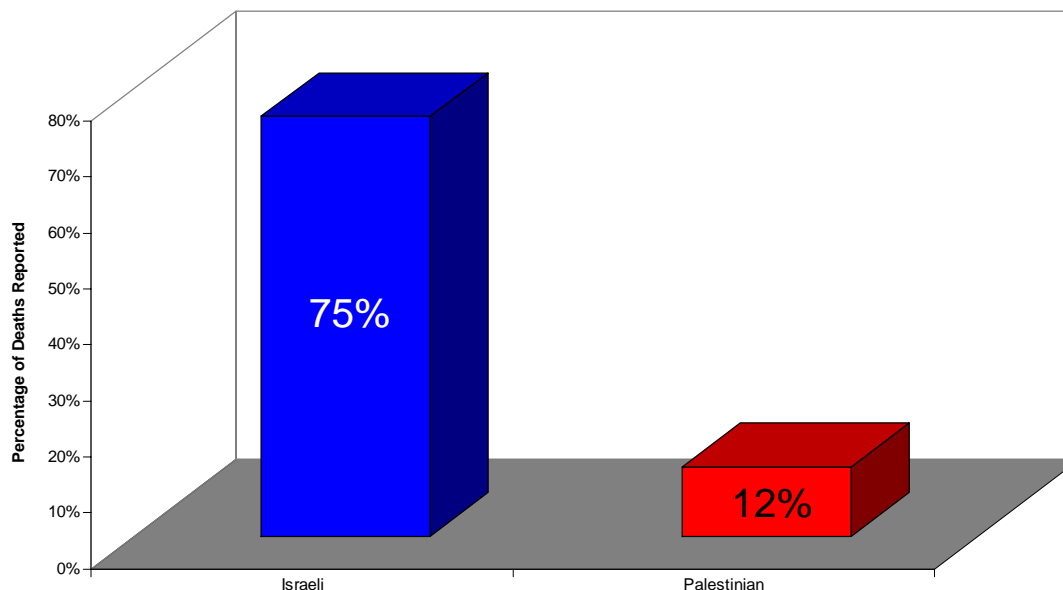


That is to say, 75% of Israeli deaths and only 12% of Palestinian deaths were reported in photos/captions, yielding a DI of 6.1 for *Toronto Star* coverage in this category.

### Percentage of Children's Deaths Reported in Photo/Caption

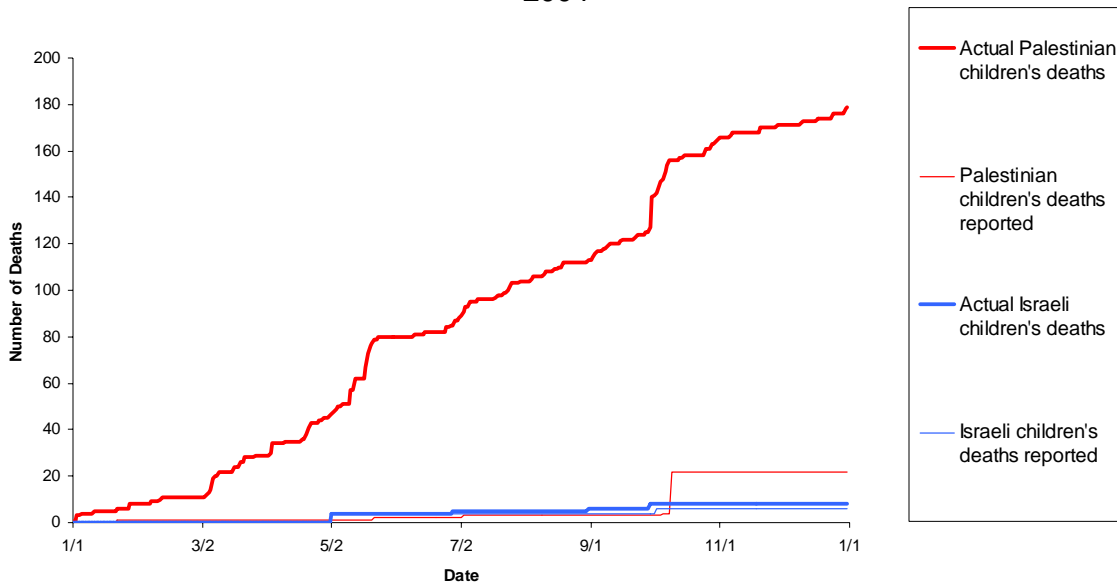
TORONTO STAR

2004



The trend-lines of actual and reported deaths in photos/captions for the year are reproduced below.

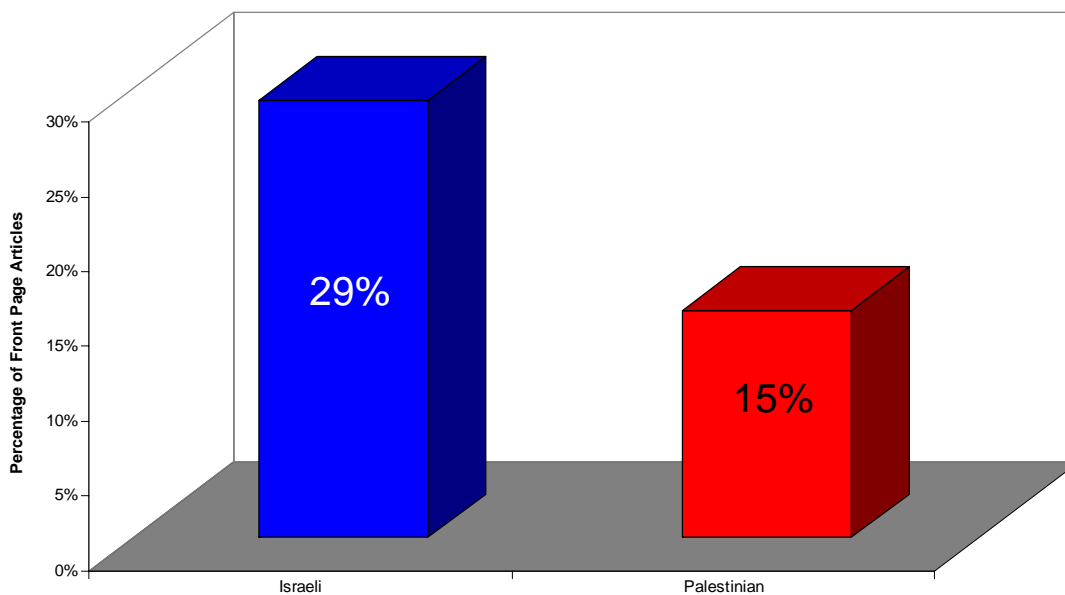
**Running Totals of Children's Deaths  
Actual and Reported in Photo/Caption  
TORONTO STAR  
2004**



**Findings C-VII. Toronto Star Coverage of Deaths on Front Pages: First Year**

Articles reporting on Israeli deaths in headlines, first-paragraphs or photos/captions were 1.4 times as likely to appear on the front-page of the Toronto Star as those reporting on Palestinian casualties. Of 58 articles reporting on Israeli deaths, only 17 received front page coverage (i.e. 29%), while only 12 of the 79 articles (i.e. 15%) reporting on Palestinian deaths received the same coverage. This translates to a DI of 1.9 in this category of Toronto Star coverage.

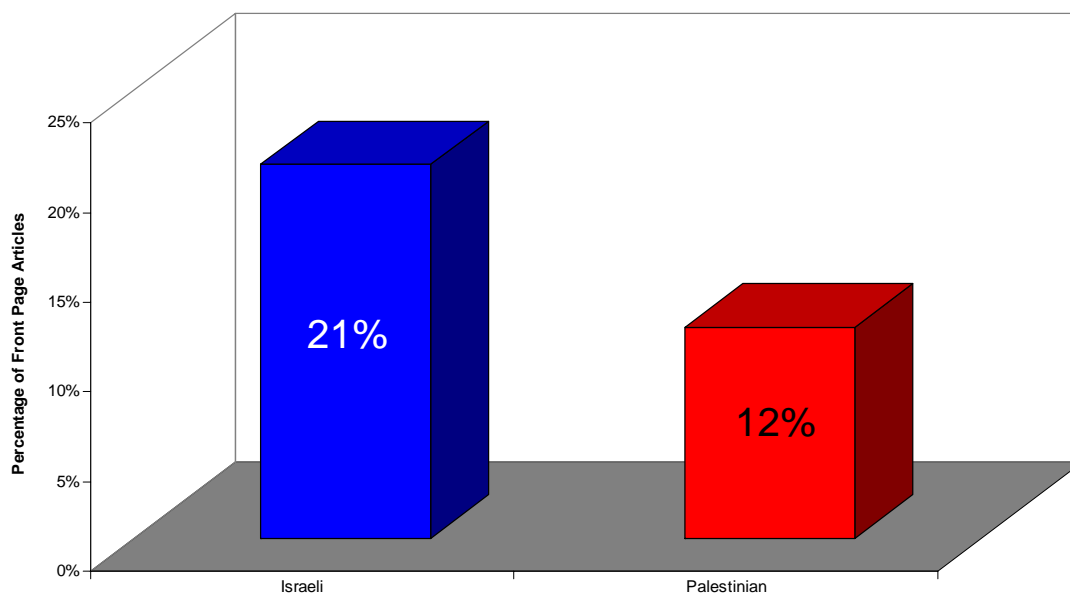
**Percentage of Articles Covering Deaths on Front Page  
TORONTO STAR  
September 29, 2000 - September 28, 2001**



### Findings C-VIII. *Toronto Star* Coverage of Deaths on Front Pages: 2004

The *Toronto Star's* coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths on front pages showed only a slight improvement in 2004. The DI decreased slightly from 1.9 during the first year of the conflict, to 1.8 in 2004. Out of 24 articles reporting on Israeli deaths in 2004, 5 received front-page coverage in *The Star* (i.e. 21% of all headlines, first paragraphs or photos/captions reporting on Israeli deaths). On the other hand, of the 68 articles reporting on Palestinian deaths in headlines, first-paragraphs or photos/captions, only 8 received front-page coverage (i.e. 12% of all such cases).

**Percentage of Articles Covering Deaths on Front Page**  
**TORONTO STAR**  
 2004



### Findings C-IX. *Toronto Star* Coverage of Cumulative Totals

Regarding *Toronto Star* coverage of cumulative totals, we found that *The Star* headline, first paragraphs and photo-captions had never reported a break-down of deaths for both populations side by side. During the first three months of the initial study period only three news articles made reference to aggregated cumulative tolls. One of these articles did, however, partially disaggregate these figures as it mentioned the fact that ‘almost all’ of the 77 deaths recorded to that date were Palestinian (see: “Palestinian rage erupts as prayers come to an end ; Imam's plea ignored and nine more shot dead in new round of bloodshed” *Toronto Star*, 7 October 2000, page A3).

While not in the ambit of our study, it should be mentioned that although the *Toronto Star* performed weakest in terms of its coverage of relative Israeli and Palestinian general deaths in the period 2000-2001, it did publish 7 editorials that gave cumulative totals.

Two of these editorials gave specific breakdowns of deaths by ethnic group (see: “Find the courage for Mideast peace” *Toronto Star*, 4 January 2001, page A20 and “A Mideast buffer?” *Toronto Star*, 9 July 2001, page A12). Again, although making a contribution to correcting biases in relative coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths, such articles do little to rectify the general tendency to display marked biases in news reporting on conflict related deaths among the two groups.

As in the case of the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star* provided partial cumulative totals within the context of summaries. In this case, 5 summaries of ‘recent’ violence appeared in the period covering 30 August – 4 September 2001 (see: “Mideast Violence” *Toronto Star*, 30 August 2001, page A14; “Mideast Violence” *Toronto Star*, 31 August 2001, page A12; “Mideast Violence” *Toronto Star*, 1 September 2001, page A13; “Mideast Violence” *Toronto Star*, 2 September 2001, page A2 and “Recent violence” *Toronto Star*, 4 September 2001, page A10). In each of these cases, *The Star* gave a summary of violent incidents resulting in deaths for the previous few days. Generally, such summaries were extremely accurate. Unfortunately, this is the only period during which such context was given.

In 2004, the *Toronto Star* provided no coverage of cumulative totals in headlines, first paragraphs, or photo-captions. It only provided a partial cumulative summary of Palestinian deaths in one instance, in a table that summarized Israeli targeted killings of Palestinian militant leaders (see: “Targeted Hits” *Toronto Star*, 27 September 2004, page A16). The summary stretched from 1996 to 2004, citing 10 assassinations and an additional 19 victims (with no clear indication as to whether these individuals were civilians or their ages). The summary, therefore, fails to give a precise breakdown of the actual number of Palestinians that were targeted for extrajudicial execution by the Israeli military or the actual number of Palestinian by-standers killed in such attacks. It does however mention that ‘scores of Arabs’ were killed by the Israeli military since the 1970s for ‘attacks on its citizens.’ Again, the pattern of omissions in this case – i.e. leaving out the totals of those killed including civilians and especially children killed in such attacks; the absence of a sentence mentioning the illegality of such killings under international humanitarian law, etc. – minimizes the actual amount of suffering that has resulted from such a policy.

### **Findings C-X. *Toronto Star* Coverage of Deaths in Full articles: 2005**

*Toronto Star* headlines and first paragraphs printed in October 2005, made mention of 11 Israeli deaths (i.e. 122% of Israeli deaths) and 17 Palestinian deaths (i.e. 77% of Palestinian deaths). In other words, the DI for *Toronto Star* headlines and first paragraphs that appeared in October 2005 stood at 1.6. Thus while the distortion in *Toronto Star* headlines/first paragraphs was less pronounced than for the other papers in this month-long sub-study, the distortions in coverage continued to privilege Israeli deaths.

#### **First Five Paragraphs:**

In the first five paragraphs and headlines, coverage of Israeli deaths increased to 311% of the total. There was only one additional mention of a Palestinian death, increasing coverage of Palestinian deaths to 82%. The article “Seven killed in strike on Gaza; Israeli forces target rebel commander, seal borders Sharon accuses Palestinians of failing to rein in militants” (*Toronto Star*, 28 October 2005, page A10) mentioned in the third paragraph that two of the deaths previously recorded in the same article were of children, increasing the percent of Palestinian children’s deaths covered to 33%. The third paragraph of this story also clarified that in total 5 Palestinian civilians were killed in the Israeli attack, something that is not evident from the headline, which only refers to the targeting of a ‘rebel commander’ and to ‘militants.’

Hence, DI actually grew from 1.6 to 3.8 the further one went in *Toronto Star* articles. This is because *The Star* was more likely to give context to previous cases in which Israelis were killed during this period, a trend that wasn't present for Palestinian deaths in the first-five paragraphs of October 2005 *Toronto Star* articles.

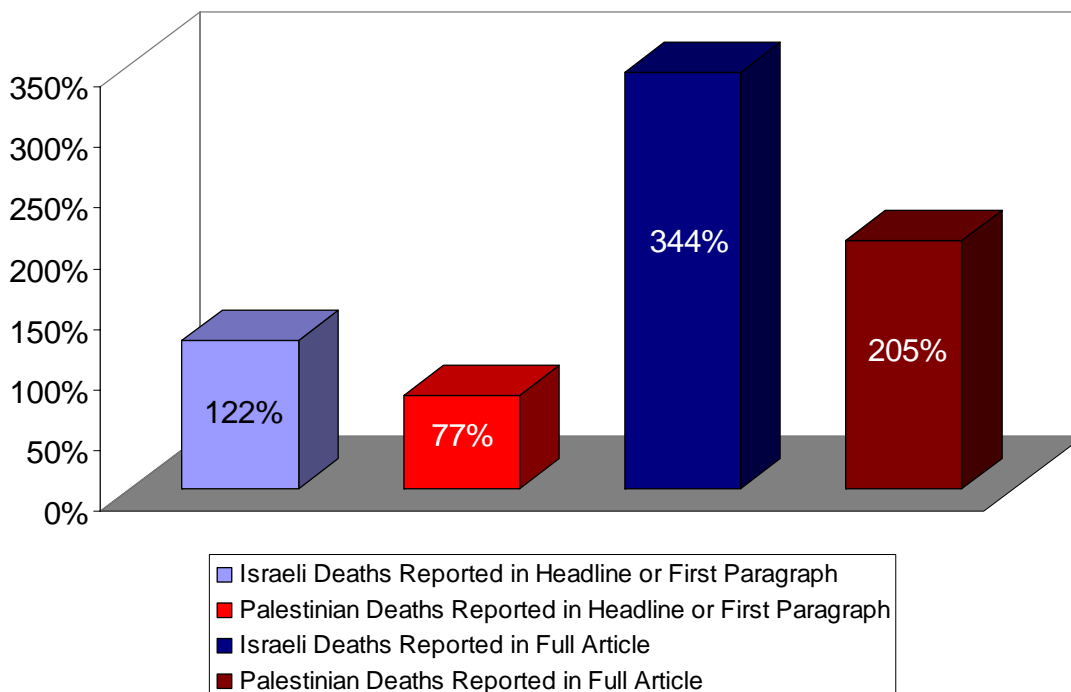
#### Full Articles:

Extending the analysis to an examination of whole articles, we find the DI narrowing to 1.7 (thereby substantially correcting the distortions evidenced in the first five paragraphs), although here again the DI is still marginally worse than that recorded in *Toronto Star* headlines and first in this reporting period. Thus, 344% of Israeli deaths receive coverage in the full article, compared to 205% of Palestinian deaths. The distortion in the coverage of children's fatalities was somewhat greater, with a 100% of Israeli and 33% of Palestinian children's deaths covered (resulting in a DI of 3.3).

The gap in coverage narrowed considerably from the first-five paragraphs largely due to the added context given in the ninth paragraph of the previously mentioned article, "Seven killed in strike on Gaza; Israeli forces target rebel commander, seal borders Sharon accuses Palestinians of failing to rein in militants" (*Toronto Star*, 28 October 2005, page A10). The article cites the Palestinian Authority (PA) giving a number of 22 Palestinians killed since the Gaza withdrawal. While the paragraph imparts important information, it is reported as a claim of the PA. For the researchers of the *New York Times* study, such mentions of deaths were not counted. If the tally in this article would be omitted, we would be left with a DI of 3.3 for our study of full articles in October 2005. In other words, emphasis on Israeli deaths over Palestinian deaths, found in the above studies of *Toronto Star* headlines and lead paragraphs, persisted when the entire article was examined.

### Percentage of Deaths Reported (Full Articles)

*Toronto Star*  
(October 2005)



## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### SUMMARY

This study found that the general trend observed by *If Americans Knew* (IAK) - in which the ethnicity of a victim in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict determined the likelihood of coverage received in the pages of the *New York Times* - was reproduced when examining Canada's three largest print-media dailies. This held not only for headlines and first paragraphs, categories which were examined in the IAK-study, but also for other categories of coverage such as photos/captions and likelihood of front-page coverage.

In categories where comparison for all three Canadian newspapers reviewed was possible, the *Globe and Mail* generally registered the lowest Distortion Index (DI). In fact, despite its liberal and 'pro-Palestinian' reputation, the *Toronto Star* also gave more prominent coverage to Israeli deaths across all categories under review. In some categories, *The Star's* DI was even more pronounced than that of the openly 'pro-Israeli' *National Post* (ex. in its coverage of deaths during the first year of the current conflict and in its front-page coverage for 2004). Overall, however, the *National Post* evinced the most egregious distortions of reality in most of the categories under review.

One particularly worrying trend was the tendency for all papers to report Palestinian casualties at a rate approximating the rate of Israeli deaths throughout the conflict. This occurred despite the fact that the trend line of Palestinian deaths was considerably different than that of Israeli deaths in the periods under review. Such a finding seems to indicate that newspaper editors are more likely to select articles reporting conflict related deaths during periods in which Israelis are being targeted.

More disturbingly, the current study found that these general biases in reporting become even more pronounced in print-media reporting on children's deaths. The degree of under-reporting and downplaying of Palestinian children's deaths – or their near complete omission in the case of *National Post* coverage – was troubling. Such distortions in the coverage of children's deaths magnified a tendency towards minimizing the public's exposure to Palestinian civilian suffering.

Although it was beyond the scope of this study to examine the types of adjectives and descriptive terms used to describe Israeli vs. Palestinian casualties, *ad-hoc* observations during the data collection process seemed to indicate that Palestinians were generally more likely to be described as combatants than Israelis (despite the fact that a greater percentage of Palestinian civilians have been victims of the conflict than Israeli civilians). The following section examines further areas of research and offers initial recommendations based on the findings in this study.

## ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Peer review of this study and the IAK-study that preceded it raises a number of issues that should be considered in future studies of this nature. These include:

- **The need to obtain disaggregated data that distinguishes between the sources of articles that report on conflict related deaths.** One of the key distinctions relevant to such a study is the need to distinguish between biases in stories produced by the major wire-agencies and those produced by a newspaper's own foreign correspondent (if there is one for the conflict). Further distinctions could include data disaggregated according to wire-service (i.e. AP, AFP, UPI, DPA, Reuters, etc.) or even data disaggregated according to reporters that cover the region (in order to produce comparative studies of reporter biases).
- **The need to more critically analyze adjectives and descriptive terms used to frame references to Israeli and Palestinian casualties (and to correlate these to the actual data on civilian and combatant deaths).** Such data can help add further texture to analysis of biases in print-media sources as such framing devices can be used to either minimize or magnify the public's exposure to the suffering of civilian populations among parties to the conflict. This is an especially salient issue given the noted tendency to de-emphasize the combatant status of many Israeli casualties and the constant references to 'militants' or 'terrorists' in discussions of Palestinian deaths. A further study, along these lines, could gather data on the comparative amount of individualizing biographical data that is provided for dead Israelis and Palestinians respectively.
- **The need to undertake a more intensive content analysis of the images used to portray the conflict in print-media.** It is hoped that such a study would again add further texture to our already substantial analysis of print-media biases when reporting on the conflict. Again, such an analysis will help us gauge the way in which the conflict is being framed and the general image being projected of the parties to the conflict.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations for editorial boards of the papers under review in this study emerge as a result of the above findings. Since the general trends observed cut across all sources considered, these recommendations are directed to all newspapers reviewed:

- **There is a considerable need to even out biases in reporting on conflict-related deaths in the Middle East based on the ethnicity of the victim (particularly in the case of children's deaths).** Throughout this study the tendency to produce distortions in coverage that favor prominent coverage for one ethnic-group in the conflict (i.e. Israelis) was repeatedly noted. This bias seems particularly unjustifiable given the fact that in quantitative terms, over the period covered in this study roughly 5 Palestinians were being killed for every recorded Israeli death. The even deeper biases noted in the

case of children's deaths are even less understandable given that during the same period 8.6 times more Palestinian than Israeli children's deaths occurred.

- **Trends in covering conflict-related deaths need to reflect more clearly the actual death ratios of parties to the conflict.** This refers to the noted tendency for Palestinian deaths to be reported along a trend-line that roughly approximates the frequency of Israeli deaths. Thus while there is a general need to even out the percentages of Israeli and Palestinian deaths that are covered prominently in the newspapers under review, in the case of frequency of reporting on conflict-related deaths a greater differentiation between the two groups is necessary.
- **Photos/Captions need to be more reflective of the reality on the ground.** The common adage that a 'picture is worth a thousand words' holds especially in the case of conveying to readers the impact of conflict on civilian populations. Images can be powerful emotive tools that can easily serve to eclipse even the most 'objective' content. Unfortunately, the general pro-Israeli bias observed in headlines/first-paragraphs was reproduced in the case of images and captions used by the newspapers under review. This was particularly true in the case of the *National Post*, which almost completely obliterated the presence of Palestinian conflict-related deaths from the images it selected to portray the conflict in 2004 (at a time when 7.7 more Palestinians and 22 times more Palestinian children were being killed).
- **Front page coverage needs to be more equitably distributed to ensure proportionately equal treatment for Israeli and Palestinian deaths.** Again, front-page coverage of conflict-related deaths is an important indicator of the importance attached to each life lost in the conflict. As in all other categories under review, the newspapers in this study continuously privileged Israeli deaths for front-page coverage (with the anomalous exception of *National Post* in 2004).

**Appendix: Comparison Tables of Actual vs. Reported Deaths of  
Israeli and Palestinians in Leading Canadian newspapers**

**SUMMARY OF DATA FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SECOND INTIFADA**

**Actual Death Toll (Sep. 2000 – Sep. 2001)**

	<i>All</i>	<i>Children</i>
<i>Israeli</i>	165	28
<i>Palestinian</i>	549	131

**Reported Death Toll in the headlines or first paragraph (2000-2001)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli deaths	141	167	182
Percentage of actual deaths	85.5 %	101.2 %	110.3 %
Reported Palestinian deaths	242	189	171
Percentage of actual deaths	44.1 %	34.4 %	31.1 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI)</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	<b>1.9</b>	2.9	3.5

**Reported Death Toll of Children in the headlines or first paragraph (2000-2001)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli children deaths	10	59	29
Percentage of actual deaths	35.7 %	210.7 %	103.6 %
Reported Palestinian children deaths	13	8	20
Percentage of actual deaths	9.9 %	6.1 %	15.3 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI) for children</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	<b>3.6</b>	34.5	6.8

**Reported Death Toll in photos/captions (2000-2001)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli deaths	n/a	139	142
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	84.2 %	86.1 %
Reported Palestinian deaths	n/a	42	66
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	7.7 %	12.0 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI)</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	n/a	10.9	<b>7.2</b>

**Reported Death Toll of Children in photos/captions (2000-2001)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli children deaths	n/a	54	10
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	192.9 %	35.7 %
Reported Palestinian children deaths	n/a	13	12
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	10.1 %	9.2 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI) for children</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	n/a	19.1	3.9

**Deaths receiving front-page coverage (2000-2001)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Number of articles reporting Israeli deaths on front pages (total number of articles)	7 (54)	6 (54)	17 (58)
Percentage of all articles reporting Israelis deaths (total number of articles)	13.0 %	11.1 %	29.3 %
Number of articles reporting Palestinian deaths on front pages (total number of articles)	3 (70)	2 (53)	12 (79)
Percentage of all articles reporting Palestinian deaths (total number of articles)	4.3 %	3.8 %	15.2 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI), front page coverage</b> (% of Israeli front-page articles divided by % of Palestinian front-page articles)	3.0	2.9	1.9

**SUMMARY OF 2004 RESULTS****Actual Death Toll (2004)**

	<i>All</i>	<i>Children</i>
<i>Israeli</i>	107	8
<i>Palestinian</i>	821	179

**Reported Death Toll in the headlines or first paragraph (2004)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli deaths	98	167	99
Percentage of actual deaths	91.6 %	156.1 %	92.5 %
Reported Palestinian deaths	286	220	540
Percentage of actual deaths	34.8 %	26.8 %	65.8 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI)</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	2.6	5.8	1.4

**Reported Death Toll of Children in the headlines or first paragraph (2004)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli children deaths	2	4	7
Percentage of actual deaths	25 %	50 %	87.5 %
Reported Palestinian children deaths	10	1	20
Percentage of actual deaths	5.6 %	0.6 %	11.2 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI) for children</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	<b>4.5</b>	83.3	7.8

**Reported Death Toll in photos/captions (2004)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli deaths	n/a	51	109
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	47.7 %	101.9 %
Reported Palestinian deaths	n/a	5	82
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	0.6 %	10 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI)</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	n/a	79.5	<b>10.2</b>

**Reported Death Toll of Children in photos/captions (2004)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Reported Israeli children deaths	n/a	4	6
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	50 %	75 %
Reported Palestinian children deaths	n/a	0	22
Percentage of actual deaths	n/a	0.0 %	12.3 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI) for children</b> (% of reported Israeli deaths divided by % of reported Palestinian deaths)	n/a	∞	<b>6.1</b>

**Deaths receiving front-page coverage (2004)**

	Globe & Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Number of articles reporting Israeli deaths on front pages (total number of articles)	5 (24)	2 (24)	5 (24)
Percentage of all articles reporting Israelis deaths (total number of articles)	20.8 %	8.3 %	20.8 %
Number of articles reporting Palestinian deaths on front pages (total number of articles)	5 (37)	4 (25)	8 (68)
Percentage of all articles reporting Palestinian deaths (total number of articles)	13.5 %	16 %	11.8 %
<b>Distortion Index (DI), front page coverage</b> (% of Israeli front-page articles divided by % of Palestinian front-page articles)	<b>1.5</b>	0.5	1.8