**Appendix A: Ideological Orientations and Political Alignment of the Newspapers in the Study**

The newspapers in this study are aligned based on their known ideological orientations and the demographics and political audiences that they mostly sold to. Some of the newspapers in this study have a known ideology as leaning towards a specific group or left-right ideology. others that cater to broader audiences have a more specific interest that is explained in this appendix. In the context of protest coverage, liberal newspapers tend to give more standing to “protest events than the more conservative newspapers” (Oliver & Maney, 2000, p. 468). These characteristics are the rationale for aligning the newspapers from left to right and grouping them in the news ideology factor.

**News Ideology Alignment of France's newspapers**:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Left-wing | Right-wing |
| *L'Obs* | *Libération* | *Le Monde* (centrist) | *Le Figaro* |

**France:** Below arethe ideological orientations and interests of France's main newspapers concerning the 2018-19 Yellow Vests Movement **(**see also BBC News 2006)

*Le Figaro* is known to be a center-right newspaper that is sold to, and represents the interest of, the French middle-class. The newspaper's main owner until 2018 was Serge Dassault, a businessman and conservative politician. Former chief editor Étienne Mougeotte once replied to criticism about the right-wing orientation of the outlets that "We are a right-wing newspaper and we express it clearly, by the way. Our readers know it, our journalists too. There's nothing new to that!" (L'Obs 2012). As such, it is classified as having a right-wing news ideology.

*Le Monde* is considered a centrist newspaper that is mainly sold to the French middle-class with a smaller international circulation. It has endorsed both right-wing and left-wing politicians over the years. As of 2019, the newspaper's main owners were three business tycoons with an Independency Group, which is a minority group of shareholders (Willsher 2019). Due to its owners' interests, its readers' demographics, and its place in the alignment among the four outlets of this study, *Le Monde* is grouped into the right-wing newspapers.

*Libération* is considered a left-wing newspaper that was founded following the wave of protest movements in the late 1960s. In 2014, *Libération* published an article concerning its affiliation with the left, claiming to be "newspaper of the common house of the left" and "for a long time, our 'liberal libertarian' DNA served as a compass. Societal issues, the defense of freedoms and minorities were our identity, the foundation on which the community of Liberation journalists found themselves" (Biseau 2014). *Libération* is classified as a left-wing newspaper in this study.

*L'Obs* is a left-wing news magazine known as "the French intellectuals' parish magazine" (BBC News 2006). *L'Obs*' mission statement is to be "a cultural and political weekly whose orientation belongs within the general social-democratic movement. A tradition ever concerned with combining respect for freedom and the quest for social justice". It is the most read news magazine in France. *L'Obs* is classified as a left-wing newspaper in this study.

**Israel:** Below arethe ideological orientations and interests of Israel's main newspapers concerning the 2011 Social Justice Protest Movement

**News Ideology Alignment of Israel's newspapers**:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Left-wing | Right-wing |
| *Haaretz* | *Yediot Ahronot* | *Maariv* | *Yisrael Hayom* | *Yated Ne'eman* | *Makor Rishon* |

*Haaretz* (The Country) is considered a left-wing and liberal-oriented newspaper, sold to, and read by, mainly to liberal-oriented readers. Its publisher and owner, Amos Schocken, self-identifies with the left-wing in Israel and supports a two-state solution (Schocken, 2017). The newspaper editorial articles are usually critical of Former PM Netanyahu and the right-wing in Israel more generally. It is classified as a left-wing newspaper in this study.

*Yediot Ahronot* (Last News) is the most sold newspaper in Israel aiming at the broader public. Arnon (Nony) Moses, owner and chief-editor, has a long history of hostility against Former PM Netanyahu. In 2011, animosity escalated between Moses and Former PM Netanyahu over the latter's support of *Israel Hayom* (see below) launching of a freely distributed weekend edition which caused *Yedioth Ahronoth*'s monetary losses. This development in the news market eventually led to (allegedly) bribery talks between the two and criminal charges against them (Bachner, 2019; Kershner, 2017; Navot, 2019; Ynet, 2019; Wiess, 2017). Arnon Moses thus presumably waged a "media war" against Netanyahu and supported the 2011 protests as means to undermine Netanyahu. It is therefore grouped in the left-wing newspapers in this study.

*Maariv* (Evening) is a centrist newspaper. In March 2011, Nochi Dankner bought the newspaper in order to advance his interests (Rosner & Romm, 2015). Dankner and *Maariv* did not have a partisan position concerning Former PM Netanyahu or the protests. He even initially issued an open letter of support for the Social Justice Protest Movement, urging Netanyahu to address the living costs problem in Israel. *Maariv* is therefore grouped in the left-leaning newspapers in this study.

*Yisrael Hayom* (Israel Today) was established in 2007 by American business tycoon Sheldon Adelson. The newspaper is distributed for free and is known for its ardent support to former PM Netanyahu who once admitted that he initiated new elections to prevent the passing of a bill that would have limited the free distribution of *Yisrael Hayom*.[[1]](#footnote-1) Netanyahu also admitted that he holds midnight briefing talks with (former) chief editor Amos Regev before the daily issue is printed (Maariv, 2017). The newspaper generally leads a conservative right-wing ideology. It is therefore classified as a right-wing newspaper in this study.

*Yated Ne'eman* (Reliable Peg) is a sectorial newspaper for the ultra-religious community and is owned by the ultra-religious and ultra-conservative political party, *Degel HaTorah*. *Yated Ne'eman* is classified among the right-wing newspapers in this study.

*Makor Rishon* (First Source) is a sectorial newspaper for mostly national religious readers. It is the most right-wing daily which advocates the settlement of the West Bank. Shlomo Ben-Tzvi was the owner and chief editor in 2011. He is a former partisan of the Likud party and its national-religious wing (Israel and Doek 2003). *Makor Rishon* is classified as a right-wing newspaper in this study.

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1. PM Netanyahu usually talked with former chief editor Amos Regev around midnight, in the critical hours when the newspaper is brought to print (Maariv, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)