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**Analyses of media discourse of Al Jazeera:
The case of second intifada**

Bachelor thesis

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Statutory Declaration

I declare that I have written this Bachelor Diploma Paper, Analyses of media discourse of Al Jazeera: The case of second intifada, myself and on my own. I have duly referenced and quoted all the material and sources that I used in it. This Paper has not yet been submitted to obtain any degree.

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Abstract:

This research will examine 370 news from both Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English. The aim of this research is to discover Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Second intifada to the Al-Jazeera's Arabic audiences versus the Al-Jazeera's English audiences. The second intifada is a Palestinian uprising against Israel, it took place in 2000-2005.

The method of this research is grounded theory, in this research I collected my data which is newspaper from Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English websites. Then used the three stages of coding, open coding, axial coding and selective coding with writing memos to come up with a result about my initial question which is how Al-Jazeera reported the second Palestinian Intifada?

As the research shows that Al-Jazeera reported the same events in both languages however the difference between Al-Jazeera Arabic and English is that Al-Jazeera Arabic uses slightly emotive language in addressing the Arab audiences. Al-Jazeera Arabic uses words to show sympathy with the Palestinian, like martyrs and commando to describe the Palestinian kill by Israeli and suicide bombers.

1. Introduction

The media is the most important source of information in our current society. People within a community rely on the media to enlighten and receive truthful and accurate updates about significant occurrences in their country. The Islamic community has often felt that the media has had a significant influence on the outcomes of events like the Palestinian cause. Different theorists have come up with different assumptions on the effect of media on its audience. The active-audience model makes the assumption that the media does not act to persuade the society to change their beliefs or perceptions but reinforces what the society wants to hear.¹ Giddens however, states that the effect of the media depends on the perspective of the audience.² An active audience will be affected differently from a passive audience. Further to this, the media is often used by the state to promote a political agenda.³ States own media outlets which they have direct control over, hence can control the programs or what is to be aired.

Islamic nations have always perceived international media as a threat to their Islamic identity and culture.⁴ Further, the difference in ideologies presented can, to a great extent, interfere with the thinking of an individual resulting in the buildup of different perceptions. This led to resistance against international media outlets in the region. This resistance necessitated the formation of Aljazeera in 1996.⁵ Aljazeera has grown to become the most influential media outlet in the region with global coverage. Most contemporary societies are mediated owing to the enormous influence that the media has on several issues within the community.

Also, media globalization gave people an opportunity to have access to a wide array of information from all over the world.⁶ The media, therefore, can present information that can change the public perception of an event. This is because of the manner in which it presents emerging problems and events that occur. By virtue of Aljazeera being the most dominant media outlet in the Islamic nations it plays a vital role in swaying the perceptions of particular events in the Middle East. Giddens describes Aljazeera as “overly sensational” in the way they broadcast

¹ James Fulcher & John Scott. (2011). *Sociology*. Oxford, 357.

² Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*. Polity Press, 2006. P.610.

³ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*. Polity Press, 2006. P 613.

⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*. Polity Press, 2006. P 628.

⁵ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*. Polity Press, 2006. P 629.

⁶ James Fulcher & John Scott. (2011). *Sociology*. Oxford, 382.

wars.⁷ Noteworthy, Aljazeera has managed to cement its place as a media outlet that the Islamic community in the Middle East can relate to, especially the Arabic Aljazeera.

On the other hand, the media has had a tremendously negative impact on the spread of propaganda leading to bias.⁸ Propaganda is any information that is corrupted and misleading in nature. Using such information through the media has excellent effects on the audience especially in times of war.⁹ The objective of using propaganda is sometimes to popularize a particular political cause. This leads to a further lack of objectivity which should be an integral part of any media reporting journalist. The media can propagandize any idea; it can view the victim as a perpetrator, and victimize the criminal. It can praise the terrorist and label them as a national hero. The media can play an active role during the war, be responsible for the increased conflict, be neutral, balanced and help in resolving the conflict or it can stay out of the war.

The role of the media, especially Aljazeera, in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is still a basis for debate in many social circles. Arabic Aljazeera and English Aljazeera each played a significant role in the second Palestinian intifada. Different scholars and experts have published many works on the topic.

This research aims to ascertain whether the Al-Jazeera network news coverage in Arabic and English languages differed in a Qatar based network during the second Intifada; an uprising by the Palestinian people against Israeli, that took place in 2000-2005. This research will, therefore, seek to prove whether the Al-Jazeera Arabic verses Al-Jazeera English reports were similar or that they differed concerning their views, perceptions, use of words and even the content as a whole. To arrive at a reliable, valid and concrete conclusion, this research will employ the use

⁷ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*. Polity Press, 2006. P 629.

⁸ “Definitions of Art Propaganda,” Zayed University
<https://zu.libguides.com/c.php?g=445018&p=3035099>

⁹ “Definitions of Art Propaganda,” Zayed University
<https://zu.libguides.com/c.php?g=445018&p=3035099>

of the grounded theory methodology. It will examine 370 news articles from both Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English.

2. The History of the Israeli-Arab conflict

In this chapter, we will discover the birth of the State of Israel, and the wars between Israeli and the Arab countries will also enlighten us about the first and second Palestinian intifadas, in terms of the main events, the reasons behind the uprising, and the peace treaties.

2.1 Zionist Movement

For years and years Jews were oppressed and persecuted throughout ancient and modern Europe. Therefore, the Jews were not able to assimilate into European society or Russian society. The Anti-Semitism which took root in the Jewish world in Europe since the Middle Ages¹⁰ also accelerated the situation and led to the creation of the Zionist movement.¹¹

In light of the Jewish situation in East Europe and Russia, Theodor Herzl realized it was his duty to find a solution to their displacement and persecution.¹² Therefore, Palestine and Argentina were two potential locations for the Jewish national homeland.¹³ Thus emerged the Zionist movement to exist as a political movement and that was at the end of the 19th century.

In 1986, Theodor Herzl, who was a Hungarian-Austrian Jewish journalist and the founder of the political Zionism Movement¹⁴, found that the only solution and salvation of Jewish

¹⁰ “Anti-Semitism,” ADL <https://www.adl.org/anti-semitism>

¹¹ “Zionism NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENT,” Encyclopædia Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zionism>

¹² Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 286). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

¹³ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 292). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

¹⁴ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 283). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

oppression was to create their own country.¹⁵ Theodore Herzl wrote his well-known book "Der Judenstaat," or The Jewish State. In his book he stressed that "The Jewish State was for Jews to create their own state, in which they would constitute a majority and be able to exercise national self determination."¹⁶

Herzl was elected as a president of the Zionist Congress, he stated that the goal of Zionism is that: "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."¹⁷ In 1899, the Jewish Colonial Bank was established under the name of the Jewish Credit Fund for Colonialism, in 1901, the Jewish National Fund was founded to start buying land in Palestine. The Sixth Zionist Congress in 1907 decided to initiate the colonial activity in Palestine. The Palestine Committee was formed and the Anglo-Palestine in Jaffa to function as a branch of the Jewish Trust Fund for Colonialism in 1908. In 1913, an initial approval to create the Hebrew university in Palestine was made.

There are two reasons behind choosing the Palestinian territory, which was under the ottoman rule, to create the Jewish national state.

First, British imperial interests met with the interests of Zionism in the search for spheres of influence in the world.¹⁸

Second, the Zionist found that it was more reasonable for the Jews to support the creation of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine due to the historical and religious attachment to Palestine.¹⁹

¹⁵ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 286-289). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

¹⁶ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Location 290). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

¹⁷ "Zionism NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENT," Encyclopædia Britannica
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zionism>

¹⁸ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 339-340). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

¹⁹ "Zionism NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENT," Encyclopædia Britannica
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zionism>

Herzl was determined to meet Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the Ottoman Sultan, in Constantinople and offered him a deal to make Palestine a homeland for the Jews under Ottoman rule and tried to lure him with 50 million pounds of gold, but Sultan Abdulhamid rejected the project and the money.²⁰ “Herzl offered capital to refinance the Ottoman public debt in what turned out to be a failed attempt to gain a charter for the establishment of a Jewish Ottoman Colonization Association in Palestine.”²¹

With the Ottoman sultan rejection, Herzl tried to establish the Jewish national homeland in Uganda instead, as he were offered a territory in Uganda. “In April 1903 Neville Chamberlain proposed to Herzl that the Zionists set up a homeland in Uganda under the sovereignty of the British crown.” Herzl accepted the offer however the Jews refused it. Herzl died in July 1903 as well as the Ugandan project.²²

Since then the Zionist movement has continued to seek the patent of settlement in Palestine and to ensure the international recognition of its existence and to seek the achievement of their goals which they have been working on up until the outbreak of the First World War. Thus, the main thrust of this movement was the creation of the Jewish state, which as the Zionist movement claimed would solve the Jewish issue. The Palestinian land was the main objective, where the Zionist Movement promoted their myth, and propaganda slogan: "A land without people for a people without land."²³

²⁰ أمين الحسيني: اسباب كارثة فلسطين (اسرار مجهولة ووثائق خطيرة)، تقديم وتعليق: هشام عوض، دار الفضيلة، ص 130] القاهرة، د. د ت

²¹ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 299-301). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

²² Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 306-308). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

²³ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 324). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

2.2 The British Mandate

Between 1882 and 1914 the life of Arabs in Palestine was a rural life. They relied heavily on agriculture for a living. They cultivated and harvested olives, cotton, grains citrus, and sent to market.²⁴ In the mid nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire required the Arabs in the Syria and Palestine province to register their lands under a clear title of ownership so the Empire could be able to impos an organized system of taxation. The Palestinian peasants were not able to pay the taxes so they registered their lands with wealthy notables and village shykhs who would then pay the taxes instead.²⁵ From 1878 to 1908 the Jews purchased only 400,000 dunams out of 27 million dunams.²⁶ Selling some of the Arab lands to the Jews was one of the factors that contributed to the existance of the State of Israel; however, the British mandate also played a vital role in the existence of the State of Israel.

In 1914 Great Britain started its mandate in Palestine. Great Britain had ambitions in the Middle East. During the First World War, the British promised the Arabs to give them independence, but first they must defeat the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain and France divided the Middle East between themselves. However, Palestine was left as an international region.²⁷ Colonel Edward Mandell House made a comment regarding the division of the Middle East between Great Britain and France: “They are making [the Middle East] a breeding place for future war.”²⁸

²⁴ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1057). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

²⁵ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1062-1066). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

²⁶ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1114). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

²⁷ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1189-1194). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

²⁸ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1145). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

The Balfour Declaration that supported a Jewish national home in Palestine brought so much hope for the Jews. This declaration was to be in line with the privileges and rights of the non-Jewish people. “British support for a Jewish homeland was made explicit in the Balfour Declaration of November 1917: His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”²⁹

The “non-Jewish communities,” refers to the Arab Muslims and Arab Christians in the region, and they constituted 89 per cent of the population, those Arabs have questioned their political rights, and the right of “the British to give away a country which did not belong to them.”³⁰

Following this, an interesting development from the declaration pushed the two sides further because the Jews read the first part while the Arabs read the second part. From this viewpoint, it was clear that they had a completely different understanding of the Balfour declaration. With this in mind, the declaration turned the dream of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine into a reality

2.3 Al-Nakba and The Birth of Israel

In February 1947, Britain announced that it was pulling out of colonial holdings in Palestine and other countries too.³¹

²⁹ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 348-352). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³⁰ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Location 355). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³¹ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 1448). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

Britain handed Palestine to the United Nations, the United Nations set up the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, UNSCOP. The majority of UNSCOP “suggested the partition of Palestine into two states, Jewish and Arab, with Jerusalem existing as an international entity.”³²

The Zionists welcomed the UN resolution while the Arabs rejected it. The vote for the partition was held on November 29, 1947. The UNSCOP resolution 181 was passed with 33 nations in favor, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. Worth noting is that Great Britain abstained and the United States voted in favour.³³

The Arabs were outraged and rejected the UN resolution because it gave the Zionists 56% of Palestine. It is worth mentioning that the population figures in 1946 were 1.3 million Arabs and 600,000 Jews with 300,000 others.³⁴

The UN resolution 181 followed with a year of war. The year was divided into two phases.³⁵

The first phase was a civil war, known as Al-Nakba, between the Arabs in Palestine and Zionists.

The second phase was an international war, after the establishment of Israel, and it was between Israel and the Arab countries, known as the 1948 war.

³² Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1492). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³³ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1514). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³⁴ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1519). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

On May 14, 1948 Britain ended its mandate, at the same day David Ben-Gurion declared the state of Israel.³⁶ However, the declaration did not include the specific boundaries of the new states.³⁷

The next day was the official day of Al-Nakba. ‘Al-Nakba’ in Arabic means The Catastrophe or Disaster, it is a tragic event that happened before and during the Arab-Israeli war.³⁸ Al-Nakba involved the ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948 as well as the violence that ensued with the formation of a Zionist state of Israel. It was because the British trained Zionist armed groups who then expelled by force more than 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland. “During the second world war, nearly thirty thousand Jewish men of the Yishuv volunteered for the British army. These soldiers would become the core of the Haganah, later the Israel Defence Forces, which defeated the Arabs in 1948.”

At this juncture, the effects of the declaration imply that what happens in Palestine today is directly linked to the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate. It is because the British mandate brought conditions that enabled the Jewish minority to gain superiority in Palestine and further allow them to build their state at the expense of Arabs in Palestine. Naomi Shepherd writes that "British rule protected the Zionist beachhead in Palestine during the most vulnerable, insecure period during the 1920s and 1930s. This was, politically, the main legacy of the mandate."³⁹ “Similarly, Segev concludes: "The British kept their promise to the Zionists . . . Contrary to the widely held belief in Britain's pro-Arabism, British actions considerably favoured the Zionist enterprise." ⁴⁰

³⁶ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 1551). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³⁷ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 686). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³⁸ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 771). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

³⁹“The Mandate years: colonialism and the creation of Israel,” The guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2001/may/31/londonreviewofbooks>

⁴⁰ “The Mandate years: colonialism and the creation of Israel,” The guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2001/may/31/londonreviewofbooks>

Al-Nakba resulted in occupying the Palestinian lands, destroying the social and economic life of the Palestinians; also it included a number of massacres and destruction of hundreds of Palestinian towns.⁴¹

Finally, the Zionist Movement achieved its goal and the Israeli State declared its independence on 14 May 1948, right after defeating the Arabs. However, the clashes between the two parties have not stopped yet. Until today the Arabs and the Israelis cannot live together in peace.

After the establishment of Israel, the first war broke out between the Israel State and the Arab countries. The Arab countries sent troops into Palestine to fight Israel, there were approximately 23,000 and they were formed from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Saudi Arab. In return Israeli fought with 30,000-40,000 IDF troops. The number of troops had increased through-out the war. However, Israel had the higher number of troops.⁴²

The new state of Israel won the war. And pushed past their borders under the UN plan. The Israeli territories increased from 56% (given by the UN) to 78%. That left the Palestinians with only 22% of their homeland. Moreover, the remains of Palestinian were controlled by Egypt and Transjordan. Egypt took control of Gaza and Transjordan controlled the west bank.⁴³

2.4 The Arab and Israeli wars

Later the Arabs and Israelis fought another war, the Six Days War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War in 1973.

⁴¹“How Palestine Became Israel,” If Americas knew

<http://ifamericaknew.org/history/ref-nakba.html>

⁴² Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 1574). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁴³ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 1614). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

1967 War

The 1967 war or the six days war, began on June 5, and ended on June 10 of the same year. The war was between Israel and its neighboring Arab countries including Egypt, Syria and Jordan. On the morning of June 5, Israel invaded Egypt and destroyed Egypt's sophisticated air force within three hours. Thereafter, the Israelis captured the Gaza Strip and the Sinai. Furthermore, Israel destroyed the air forces of Jordan and Syria too.⁴⁴ On June 6 and 7 Jordan sought a ceasefire with Israel (resolution 233). However, the latter invaded Jordan and captured the West Bank and Jerusalem, then, after the invasion Israel signed a ceasefire.⁴⁵

On June 8 Egypt and Syria signed a ceasefire with Israel. On June 9 and 10, Israel violated the UN ceasefire and attacked Syria, and captured the Golan Heights.⁴⁶ Israel marked a tremendous victory over the Arab countries. Later the UN passed a resolution 242, requiring Israel to withdrawal from the occupied territories.

1973 War

The 1973 war occurred among a coalition of Arab countries led by Egypt and Syria against Israel from October 6 to 25 in 1973.⁴⁷ The 1973 war commonly referred to as the Yom Kippur War, because it occurred on the most sacred day of Judaism, the "Day of Atonement". "For the Arabs it was Ramadan" however, "this war had nothing to do with religion."⁴⁸

Egypt and Syria attacked the Israeli troops in the occupied regions, Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights. During that war, it did not take long before the Egyptians successful crossed the

⁴⁴ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1812). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁵ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1817). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁶ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 1817, 1826-1831). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁷ "YOM KIPPUR WAR," History <https://www.history.com/topics/yom-kippur-war>

⁴⁸ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2021-2025). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

Suez Canal while Syria entered the Golan Heights. However, the Israeli troops regained those territories in no time.⁴⁹

The Arab countries led by Saudi Arabia imposed an oil embargo which resulted in a global recession.⁵⁰ The military attacked and the oil embargo brought the territorial issue to international attention.

2.5 The First and Second Palestinian Intifada

The First Intifada

On December 8, 1987, four Palestinians died in an accident when an IDF vehicle crashed into a Palestinian truck carrying Palestinian labourers in the Gaza strip. This accident is considered as the spark of the uprising. In the funerals of the four dead Palestinians, there were, as usual, thousands of Palestinians protesting, the IDF troops tried to stop the demonstration with tear gas and live ammunition which resulted in the death of the first martyr of the first intifada, a 20-year-old boy.⁵¹

The first Intifada also known as the Intifada of the Stone. Intifada in Arabic means shaking off or uprising. The first intifada lasted for six years.⁵² During that period, the young Palestinians stand against heavily equipped Israeli troops with only stones and Molotov Cocktails as their only weapons. The participants and the leaders of the intifada were Palestinian children and youth aged from seven to early twenties.⁵³ Nonetheless the whole Palestinian society involved in the uprising, from all ages and classes even the Arab-Israelis (Arab 48).

⁴⁹ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1217). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵⁰ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1229-1231). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵¹ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2294-2299). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵² Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1470). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵³ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2334-2339). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

The intifada took a form of civil resistance in various ways, they threw stones at the IDF troops and vehicles, boycotted the Israeli goods, and organised work strikes.⁵⁴

The Palestinians who were born during and after the 1967 war had seen nothing but the occupation. The political struggle for a self-demonstration since 1948 and the Israeli control over the Palestinian's economic and social life were all factors that fed the Intifada.

The uprising and the outrage among the Palestinian youth did not occur simply because of the accident, but it was as a result of Israeli polices which were described as severe human rights abuses.⁵⁵ There are many reasons behind the uprising; the poor economic situation, the oppression of IDF troops and their arbitrary actions such as closing schools, and the occupation of the Palestinian territories since the 1967 war. According to Harms Gregory the reasons that led to the uprising are:

The political factor: the Arab governments which have barely done anything to aid the Palestinians. And the PLO's "inability to make serious headway regarding the Palestinian sovereignty and statehood." The political factor was a major factor that cause the uprising.⁵⁶

The economic factor: the sharp decline of the economy in Israel which directly affected the Palestinian territories.⁵⁷

The Jewish settlements: since the 1967 war the number of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza were in significantly increased. In the west bank alone the number of settlements increased threefold from 20,000 in 1982 to 60,000 in 1986.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1470, 1506-1509). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵⁵ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1481). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵⁶ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2309). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵⁷ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2314). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁵⁸ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2324). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

The life under occupation which includes checkpoints, searches, curfews, and school closures.⁵⁹ The IDF used cruel tactics in order to suppress the Palestinian population and to put the uprising down, like the usage of toxic gas, live ammunition, and an even crueler and more ruthless tactic such as breaking the defenseless protesters bones, and shooting children in the head or heart.⁶⁰

During the first Intifada Israel received international criticism, especially from the UN and Amnesty International due to Israels brutal tactics. Amnesty International reported in 1987: "In December at least 23 Palestinian demonstrators in the West Bank and Gaza were shot and killed by soldiers during the widespread violent protests against Israeli occupation. There were also severe and indiscriminate beatings of demonstrators, and hundreds were summarily tried and imprisoned. There was an increase in reports of ill-treatment and torture of detainees by members of the Israel Defence Force and the General Security Service. Political activists, including prisoners of conscience, continued to be administratively detained or restricted to towns or villages or imprisoned in violation of their right to freedom of expression."⁶¹

Based on the Human Rights reports the UN General Assembly passed a resolution (43/21) "condemning Israel's "killing and wounding of defenseless Palestinian civilians, the beating and breaking of bones, the deportation of Palestinian civilians, the imposition of restrictive economic measures, the demolition of houses, collective punishment and detentions, as well as denial of access to the media."⁶² The United States and Israel were the only two nations who voted against the UN resolution.

⁵⁹ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2324). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁶⁰ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. *More Bad News From Israel* (Kindle Locations 1539-1548). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁶¹ Donald Neff. "The First Intifada Erupts, Forcing Israel to Recognize Palestinians," AMP. December 1997. <https://www.ampalestine.org/palestine-101/history/intifadas/first-intifada-erupts-forcing-israel-to-recognize-palestinians>

⁶² Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2375). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

During the First Intifada, a resistance movement called Hamas emerged from the Brotherhood. In February 1988, Hamas was founded by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin⁶³ - who was later assassinated by Israeli troops in the Second Intifada. Hamas is a national and moderated Islamic movement. Hamas' aim is to fight and resist the occupation by all legitimate means. "Hamas does not fight and resist the Israelis because they are Jews, but because they are occupiers." "For Hamas, all types of legitimate resistance are practiced to end the oppression and injustice imposed by Israel, and it is Hamas' right then to resist with all means, including armed resistance, guaranteed by divine and international laws."⁶⁴ Hamas also thinks that the only way to liberate Palestine is through Jihad. Moreover, Hamas' agenda includes utilities for the Palestinian society. They built schools, mosques and clinics.⁶⁵

According to the Israeli human rights group B'Tselem website the death toll of the first Intifada, (from December 9, 1987 until September 13, 1993) are as follows:

1070 Palestinians killed by the Israeli security forces, 237 of them were under the age of 17. 54 Palestinians killed by Israeli civilians, 13 of them were under the age of 17.⁶⁶

47 Israeli civilians killed by Palestinians, three of them were under 17. 43 Israeli security forces personnel killed by Palestinians.⁶⁷

Despite the Israelis efforts to suppress the Intifada with power, the Intifada went on year after year until September 1993 when Israel and the Palestinians signed the Declaration of Principles in the White House after eight months of secret meetings in Nonwage.⁶⁸

⁶³ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1549). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁶⁴ <http://hamas.ps/en/page/2/>

⁶⁵ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2359). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁶⁶ Fatalities in the first Intifada. https://www.btselem.org/statistics/first_intifada_tables

⁶⁷ Fatalities in the first Intifada. https://www.btselem.org/statistics/first_intifada_tables

⁶⁸ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2471). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

The Oslo Accord is not a peace treaty between Israel and the Palestinians, but it is an agenda to negotiate peace between the two parties.⁶⁹

The PLO accepted the UN resolution 242 and 338 which demands an end to armed resistance against Israel, and removed the “parts of the Palestinian National Charter which called for the destruction of the Israeli state.” in return Israel agreed to recognize the PLO as the official representative of the Palestinian population.⁷⁰

Israel was supposed to withdraw from Gaza and Jericho four months from signing the agreement and the Palestinians were supposed to take control of education, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism. However, Israel would still take control of external security and foreign affairs.⁷¹

Other important matters like “Palestinian statehood, borders, refugees, settlements and Jerusalem, were postponed to the final settlement talks.”⁷² “Permanent status negotiations would begin in two years and final settlement achieved within five years.”⁷³

On September 24, 1995, the “Second Phase” or Oslo II was negotiated and signed in Egypt. The accords included the establishment of the Palestinian interim self-government. The autonomous regions, the West Bank and Gaza, were divided into three areas A, B and C.

In January 1996, Yasser Arafat the leader of the PLO was elected president for the Palestinian Authority.

The Oslo accords managed to put an end to the uprising however, it did not bring any improvement to the Palestinian situation and lives, the illegal Jewish settlements had increased,

⁶⁹ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2476). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷⁰ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. *More Bad News From Israel* (Kindle Locations 1617-1619). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷¹ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. *More Bad News From Israel* (Kindle Locations 1611-1616). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷² Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. *More Bad News From Israel* (Kindle Locations 1618-1619). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷³ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2481). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition

“between 1992 and 1995 the settler population in the occupied territories (excluding East Jerusalem) rose from 74,800 to 136,000.”⁷⁴

Moreover, the IDF brutal actions and violations of human rights have never stopped. In 1994 the United Nations “issued a resolution ‘condemning’ settler and IDF killings, torture, imprisonment without trial, house demolitions and land expropriations, curfews, collective punishments, restrictions on movement and settlement building.”⁷⁵

The Second Intifada

The Palestinian people want to see the end of the occupation, and it seems that it is the whole truth behind the decades-long conflict. They have tried to achieve this goal in different ways - at the very beginning they weren't doing anything, just waiting for something to happen, but it didn't. After that, they tried rocks and Molotov Cocktail - it was the First Intifada and, again, nothing happened, save for the Oslo I and Oslo II agreements that changed nothing. Then they decided to try a more violent approach – it was the Second Intifada and once more without any progress. They tried diplomacy, as well, and now Palestinians are divided – they are launching missiles and seeking assistance from the UN, simultaneously. Israel, on its side, stays at the same standpoint. Meanwhile, the Palestinians attempted to make some progress by means of non-violent resistance, but they encountered gloomy officials, rubber bullets and open fire. The Palestinians tried everything: violence, diplomacy and non-violent resistance, and still, nothing happened.

On September 28th, 2000, Ariel Sharon, along with soldiers and police, walked into the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem,⁷⁶ - one of the three holiest sites for Muslims. Sharon shouted: “The Temple Mount is in our hands”⁷⁷, certain that this act would incite anger and discontent among the

⁷⁴ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1689-1690). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷⁵ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 1687-1688). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷⁶ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2692). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷⁷ The Second Intifada – Introduction.

Muslim population. The clash erupted between the Palestinians who were defending the mosque and Sharon's guards. During the clash, six Palestinians were killed thus starting the Second Intifada; Intifada al-Aqsa.⁷⁸

Sharon's visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque was the spark for the Second Intifada, "it was a match in a dry forest and should be viewed historically among a long line of individual events that served as triggers for major confrontations."⁷⁹ Arafat was accused of launching and planning the Intifada, however Arafat did not launch or plan the Intifada. Although, Arafat was helpless in reining in the Intifada Arafat and other Palestinian politicians refused to rein in the Intifada once it started.⁸⁰

The atmosphere of discontent among Palestinians was intensified by their resentment over slow economic advancement, as granted by the Oslo agreement, seven years ago.⁸¹

Dr. Kamal Alawneh, a Palestinian professor in political science, discusses several factors and reasons that erupted the Second Intifada and the most important reasons are:

- Political reasons: The occupying of the Palestinian territories which consist 22% of historical Palestine.⁸²

<https://www.ampalestine.org/palestine-101/history/intifadas/second-intifada-introduction>

⁷⁸ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Location 1957). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁷⁹ Jeremy Pressman. (Fall 2003). The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/220/378>

⁸⁰ Jeremy Pressman. (Fall 2003). The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/220/378>

⁸¹ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Location 1957). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁸² 2006 – 2000 (الانتفاضة الفلسطينية الكبرى الثانية) "د. كمال إبراهيم علاونه. "انتفاضة الأقصى في فلسطين (الانتفاضة الفلسطينية الكبرى الثانية) 2000 – 2006" <https://kamalalawneh8.wordpress.com/2013/03/13/%D8%A5%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%B5%D9%89-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84/>

The failure of the peace agreements which includes the two-state solution, and the right of refugees to return, and the Palestinian control and supervision of the holy mosque, Al-Aqsa.

The racial discrimination against Arab-Israeli citizens (Arab 48) in the Galilee, the Triangle, the Naqab and the Sahel, and the refusal to recognize their political rights pushed the Arab-Israel citizens to participate in the Intifada.⁸³

The Israeli government's refusal to implement UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories and insist on the expansion of Jewish settlements.⁸⁴

- Economic factor: the Israeli control over the Palestinian economy and the slow economy.⁸⁵
- Military factor: the increased suppression by the IDF, the iron fist policy and imposing curfew and a strict siege on the Palestinians. The failure of peaceful solutions to put an end to the Israeli military occupation.⁸⁶
- Social factor: The impossibility of Palestinian-Israeli social coexistence under the unjust occupation policies, and the demands of a just life and social stability.

The social resentment over a problematic situation which prevents family gatherings between the Palestinians inside the country and the Palestinians who live outside the country.⁸⁷

- Religious factor: the emergence of the Jihad ideology among the Palestinians as the only valid way to 'liberate' Palestine and end the occupation.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ د. كمال إبراهيم علونه. "إنتفاضة الأقصى في فلسطين (الإنتفاضة الفلسطينية الكبرى الثانية) 2000 – 2006 <https://kamalalawneh8.wordpress.com/2013/03/13/%D8%A5%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%B5%D9%89-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84/>

⁸⁵ ibid.

⁸⁶ ibid.

⁸⁷ ibid.

The visit of Sharon which considers as a desecration of the sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the fear of sharing the Al-Aqsa Mosque with the Israelis.⁸⁸

- Psychological factor: the Israeli policies and the occupation of the Palestinian territories left the Palestinian people feeling dishonored, humiliated and persecuted. Therefore, the uprising was a vent for those emotions. And to overcome the persecution and regain some sense of national dignity.⁸⁹

Four days after the Intifada broke out Israelis killed 20 Palestinians, including a 12-year old boy, Muhammad al-Durrah, whose death was recorded by France 2 TV cameras⁹⁰.

The second intifada was more violent and intense than the first one. It was rather a war than a shake off.⁹¹ In the second intifada, there were “exchanges of automatic-weapons fire between the IDF and Palestinians.” the clashes between the IDF and the resistance group escalated the Intifada.

The USA and Israel were dissatisfied with Yasser Arafat, even though he was a democratically elected leader, and attempted to constitute alternative leadership who could conclude peace with Israel. Both the USA and Israeli officials pushed for the idea that Arafat was the initiator of terror and responsible for the violence.⁹² They requested “reforms” and a Palestinian leader “not associated with terrorism”.

The USA and Israel refused any talks with Arafat; therefore Sharon visited the White House many times, while Arafat was never invited.⁹³ The political dispute among the three

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ BBC, Monday, 2 October 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/952600.stm

⁹¹ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2705). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁹² Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2750). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁹³ Harms, Gregory. *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Kindle Locations 2750). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

countries sabotaged the peace process. Along with that the violence escalated, as the suicide bombing dramatically increased. The Islamic groups and the secular groups targeted the public places and attacked the civilians inside Israel.⁹⁴

In response to the suicide bombings, Israel adopted new tactics, the “target killing”, the assassination of the leaders of the resistance groups. Moreover, the demolition of the house of any suspect. Those actions received a lot of condemnation from the Human rights, the international community and the UN.⁹⁵

According to the BBC News the death toll from 29 September 2000 to 15 January 2005, as follows:

3,189 Palestinians were killed by the security forces 645 of them were under age of 18. 34 Palestinians killed by Israeli citizens including 3 under 18.⁹⁶

649 Israeli citizens killed by Palestinians only 112 of them were under age of 18. 301 Israeli security forces killed by Palestinians.⁹⁷

The Sharm el-Sheikh Summit on 8 February 2005 ended the Second Intifada. The ceasefire took place after the Palestinian head of state at the time, Mahmoud Abbas, along with his Israeli counterpart the then prime minister Ariel Sharon settled that both Israel and Palestine would immediately cease all aggressive acts towards each other’s territories and citizens. However, the

⁹⁴ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2750-57). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁹⁵ Harms, Gregory. The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction (Kindle Locations 2762). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁹⁶ (2005, February8). Intifada Toll 2000-2005.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3694350.stm

⁹⁷ (2005, February8). Intifada Toll 2000-2005.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3694350.stm

solution at the Sharm el-Sheikh Summit did not switch off violence like a water tap. However, there was a significant decrease in suicide bombings.

The Roadmap to Peace

On April 30, 2003, Russia, the United Nations, the United States and the European Union published a document prepared by the US Department of State. The report was based on the United States President George Bush's vision for peace in 2002.⁹⁸ The bone of contention of the plan was to set well-defined goals and benchmarks for moving on in the Israeli-Palestinian process of reconciliation. Its main aim was to reach a comprehensive settlement by 2005. The plan was structured such that it had three phases in which the performance of one stage dependent on the compliance with the obligations on both sides, that is Israelis and Palestinians. Following this line of thought, phase one "all Palestinian violence must stop, Palestinian political structures must be reformed, Israel must dismantle the settlement outposts built since March 2001, and there must be a phased Israeli withdrawal from parts of the occupied territories. In the second stage, an international peace conference would take place and a provisional Palestinian state would come into being. The final stage would involve a solution to the most intractable issues such as borders, refugees and the status of Jerusalem. Arab states would also sign peace deals with Israel."⁹⁹

Sharm El-Sheikh Summit

It occurred on February 7, 2005, in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. It was between Mahmoud Abbas, PA President and the following participants namely Ariel Sharon the Prime Minister for Israel, King Abdullah II of Jordan and Hosni Mubarak, the president of Egypt. The purpose of the summit was to declare the end of the second intifada and launch a new negotiation phase based on the roadmap for peace that would see the involved parties moving on. As a result, an agreement with Israel to

⁹⁸ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Location 2078). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

⁹⁹ Philo, Greg; Berry, Mike. More Bad News From Israel (Kindle Locations 2079-2082). Pluto Press. Kindle Edition.

release several hundred Palestinian prisoners ensued. During the summit, Sharon and Abbas openly included an intended termination of all violent acts against each other's peoples as the summit ended. It marked a formal end to the second Intifada.

3. Al-Jazeera

This research is focusing on how an Arab channel, Al-Jazeera, reported the second Intifada. It is important to discover what is Al-Jazeera. The first part of this chapter will explore the history of Al-Jazeera and why Al-Jazeera is considered a vital channel in the Arab world. The second part will discuss Al-Jazeera's report on the Palestinian case, especially the second intifada.

3.1 Who is Al-Jazeera

The former Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, announced the end of censorship of the media in October 1995. In 1998 the ministry of Information and Culture was abolished and the National Council for Culture, Arts and Heritage established from the same year. Since then there has not been any institutions responsible for censorship in Qatar.¹⁰⁰

In November 1996, Al-Jazeera was founded as the first independent, Arabic media network in Qatar. The Al-Jazeera network is interested in covering the Arab issues and current events.¹⁰¹ Al-Jazeera is an Arabic word which means "The Island" or "The Peninsula".¹⁰² The Al-Jazeera network produces high quality and professional television journalism. The network provides impartial, unbiased and balanced coverage.¹⁰³ It enjoys a lot of freedom with barely any government restriction or influence.¹⁰⁴ Later in 2006, Al-Jazeera English was launched.¹⁰⁵

Al-Jazeera is often the cause of disputes between all regional, dictatorial governments and the Qatari government. Al-Jazeera's notion of objectivity is to provide both opinions in every

¹⁰⁰ "Media," QATAR EMBASSY IN BRUSSELS

<http://www.qatarembassy.be/QatarEmbassy/Arabic/InformationMediaA.html>

¹⁰¹ <http://www.raya.com/home/print/f6451603-4dff-4ca1-9c10-122741d17432/b37e8745-7477-4dc9-8cbc-32cf76dd2a43>

¹⁰² Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.28.

¹⁰³ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ P. Seib, Al-Jazeera English. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. p.6.

matter. This has sparked controversy in the Gulf countries and many Arab countries. Al-Jazeera's motto "The Opinion and The Other Opinion."

Basically, Al-Jazeera gained popularity and fame from two aspects:

Firstly, its coverage of two crucial events.

The Palestinian uprising in September 2000.¹⁰⁶

And the American war on terrorism in Afghanistan. Specifically, the exclusive footage of Osama bin Laden and the Taliban.¹⁰⁷

And secondly is its live converge from the scenes.¹⁰⁸

There have been objections regarding Al-Jazeera's impartiality, one of them has been centered around the financial funding of the Al-Jazeera network by the Qatari government. The Qatari government claims that they have absolutely no restriction over the Al-Jazeera network whatsoever. Moreover, the Qatari government says they support freedom of speech, and they do not use the Al-Jazeera network as a propaganda tool. The Al-Jazeera network has denied any Qatari influence. The network has no objective in protecting the interests of Qatar.¹⁰⁹

This is very difficult for many people to believe especially as the Qatari government openly advocates freedom of speech and support for a free press but is ironically so dictatorial in its regime. Furthermore, the Qatari journalist and the Qatari citizens do not enjoy as much freedom of speech as Al-Jazeera.

During the Arab revolutions, which later became known as 'The Arab Spring', a Qatari poet, Mohammed Al-Ajami wrote a poem titled "Alyasimin" showing his support for the successful Tunisian revolution, and his criticism of the absolute monarchical government in the region, including the Qatari regime and the lack of freedom. In 2011 the Qatari government arrested Mohammed Al-Ajami on charges of inciting a revolution to overthrow the regime and so

¹⁰⁶ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 51.

¹⁰⁹ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.140-141.

sentences him to 15 years in jail.¹¹⁰ That incident is clear evidence against the Qatari government's claim that they support freedom of speech and non-censorship.

Amnesty International condemned Qatar's action and considered it a violation of the freedom of expression. The Deputy Director of the Middle East and North African Program at Amnesty International, James Lynch says: "It is tragic and absurd that Mohammed al-'Ajami has been languishing in prison for nearly four years simply for reciting a poem that did not incite any violence. His arbitrary imprisonment and ludicrous 15-year sentence are the shameful result of the Qatari authorities' inability to tolerate criticism and their disregard for the right to freedom of expression."¹¹¹ Nonetheless, Al-Ajami was released before completing his punishment in 2016.¹¹²

Another factor that raises the question of Al-Jazeera's integrity and impartiality as a free press is that Al-Jazeera openly and freely reports about Arab regimes' corruption, poverty and the maltreatment of the citizens; sharply criticizes the Arab regimes' rules, policies, laws as well as reporting on the violation of civil rights. While at the same time it never highlights anything that happens inside Qatar or in any way criticizes the arbitrary policies in the country¹¹³ - which contradict the freedom of speech and the human rights in general.

The relationship between the Qatari government and Al-Jazeera remains skeptical, is Al-Jazeera free from the Qatari influence?

Al-Jazeera has changed the journalist game in the Arab World. It has "revolutionized the media environment in the Arab World by broadcasting what no other Arab news organization dared to."¹¹⁴ Before Al-Jazeera, the Arab satellite news was merely reporting or condensing any

¹¹⁰ عفو اميري عن الشاعر القطري محمد العجمي بعد 4 سنوات على اعتقاله "القدس"

<http://www.alquds.com/articles/1458144212055977300/>

¹¹¹ "Qatari authorities must free poet serving 15-year jail sentence" Amnesty International. 10 November 2015 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/11/qatari-authorities-must-free-poet-serving-15-year-jail-sentence/>

¹¹² عفو اميري عن الشاعر القطري محمد العجمي بعد 4 سنوات على اعتقاله "القدس"

<http://www.alquds.com/articles/1458144212055977300/>

¹¹³ P. Seib, Al-Jazeera English. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. p.2-3.

¹¹⁴ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 29.

crucial events happening in the Arab world. All of the Arab satellite news channels were using the “numb-policy.” Their report was superficial with barely any important information.¹¹⁵

The Al-Jazeera network offers shocking and controversial topics that touch Arab life and culture, unlike other Arab satellite news channels which often negated serious and relevant issues related to the Arab life and culture.¹¹⁶

Other Arab satellite news channels have been offering harmless entertainment programs and news; however, Al-Jazeera has been courageous in highlighting both banned and outrageous topics to the Arab audiences.¹¹⁷

Al-Jazeera has a bold approach that "touches on issues considered by Arab standards to be forbidden, like sex, polygamy, corruption of governmental regimes, women's civil rights, and Islamic fundamentalism."¹¹⁸ In spite of the resentment and threats of Arab governments, Al-Jazeera continues reporting about these taboos.

However, Al-Jazeera has not presented new or radical topics, Al-Jazeera presents loudly sensitive topics and issues to the Arabs. Al-Jazeera gives a chance for the Arab who has been for a long time suppressed from speaking their minds and never having been listened to, Al-Jazeera gives them the chance to debate and argue. Jian Al-Jacuby, an Iraqi reporter who works for Al-Jazeera said that “the importance of Al-Jazeera: to let people talk.”¹¹⁹ “Where public expression is often suppressed, Al-Jazeera has become an instrument for both marginal and silenced voices, whether radical or liberal, Muslim or Christian.”¹²⁰ Al-Jazeera’s approach in presenting all views when debating any topic, “present an array of views.” that gives the network credibility and objectivity. Moreover, it makes Al-Jazeera unbiased toward any political party even Israeli, and makes the network more desirable.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.43.

¹¹⁶ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.29.

¹¹⁷ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.49-50.

¹¹⁸ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 29.

¹¹⁹ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 50.

¹²⁰ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 50.

¹²¹ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p. 50-51.

Nonetheless, Al-Jazeera's freedom-loving standards seems to bother the Arab leaders to the extent that they are boycotting Al-Jazeera and Qatar until the latter takes steps to shut Al-Jazeera down along with other demands.¹²² The most recent boycott which has been made by half of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries along with Egypt; Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain in 2017 and led by Saudi Arabia on the grounds that Qatari foreign policies are objectionable and that it supports Al-Jazeera without any censorship.¹²³ Half of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries and Egypt forced a blockade of Qatar and sharply criticized Al-Jazeera, claiming that Al-Jazeera follows an outdated policy of nationalism and favoritism of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is upheld by the Qatari government.¹²⁴ Half of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries and Egypt offered to end the blockade if Qatar accepts their demands which include closing Al-Jazeera and imposing media censorship.¹²⁵

Though Arab leaders are not the only ones, who have been bothered by Al-Jazeera, even Israel holds objections. Israel has charged Al-Jazeera of being biased in reporting the Palestinian - Israeli conflict. Al-Jazeera was accused of merely covering the Palestinian tragedy and ignoring Israeli suffering. Its reports were categorized as unreliable, biased, prioritizing and representing only one side of the conflict. Furthermore, the Israeli allegation is that Al-Jazeera favors Hamas, calling the Palestinian fighters martyrs while Israel considers them terrorists and subversives. Israel boycotted Al-Jazeera in 2008.¹²⁶

Al-Jazeera has responded to this by:

¹²² "قائمة مطالب من "دول المقاطعة" لقطر "

<https://www.babnet.net/festivaldetail-144450.asp>

¹²³ "قائمة مطالب من "دول المقاطعة" لقطر "

<https://www.babnet.net/festivaldetail-144450.asp>

¹²⁴ الخلاف بين قطر والدول الخليجية ودول أخرى بين المعن والمخفي <http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-40160580>

¹²⁵ "قائمة مطالب من "دول المقاطعة" لقطر "

<https://www.babnet.net/festivaldetail-144450.asp>

¹²⁶ "Israeli government boycotts Al Jazeera," Reuters. March 12, 2008

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-aljazeera/israeli-government-boycotts-al-jazeera-idUSL1279168820080312?mod=related&channelName=worldNews>

Qatar made a clear announcement regarding the GCC countries demand to close Al-Jazeera and impose censorship that they will never oppress the freedom of speech and restrict journalism or obligate censorship on media.¹²⁷

The vital role Al-Jazeera has been playing as a free press in the Arab world, and its ability to engage the Arab citizen, including women in the critical cases has made an intimidating challenge to other news stations. Obviously, Al-Jazeera is problematic to dictatorial rulers. It is the platform and the voice of the Arab nation. Al-Jazeera's fame extended beyond the Arab world, as Al-Jazeera is the first and most important platform that represents the Arab views and opinions to the West. Furthermore, Al-Jazeera stole the attention of the West and East with its distinctive coverage of the Arab revolutions, also known as the Arab Spring.

3.3 Al-Jazeera Report on The Palestinian Cause

Aljazeera's coverage of the Arab issues like the Palestinian - Israeli conflict is a basis of debate amongst a lot of researchers and journalists. How Al-Jazeera covers the Palestinian cause, and how it describes the events is a matter of discussion amongst many researchers.

The Arabs view the Western media as biased toward Israel, and they air the Israeli positions more often than the Arabs. For instance, the Western media use the term "assassin nation" instead of "target killing" when describing the Israeli policy of target killing the Palestinian politicians and activist. Therefore, the Arab viewers relate more to Al-Jazeera rather than any other network.¹²⁸ However, the main points in this chapter are how Al-Jazeera covers the Palestinian cause and whether it differs from the Arabic channel to the English channel.

¹²⁷ <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2017/7/2/%D9%82%D8%B7%D8%B1-%D8%AA%D8%B3%D9%84%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%AA-%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%87%D8%A7-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D9%85%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8-%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%BA%D8%AF%D8%A7>

¹²⁸ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.53.

Al-Jazeera views the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from an Arabic perspective. Al-Jazeera has received many objections and accusations regarding its coverage of Palestinian cause. Al-Jazeera has been accused of mixing opinion and fact when reporting the Second Intifada. However, Al-Jazeera is accused of its unbalanced coverage of the uprising, and the coverage of the Palestinian - Israeli conflict in general. For example, calling a suicide bomber “martyrs”¹²⁹ - and not referring to an Israeli soldier in the same way.

Al-Jazeera Arabic uses the word martyr in describing the Palestinians killed by any Israeli troops. Before I elaborate more on this matter, I think it is important to define what is martyr in Islam, and whether suicide bombers are considered martyrs or not.

Who is “martyr” or “shuhada” in Islam? According to Sheikh Ahmad Kutty, a senior lecturer and Islamic scholar at the Islamic Institute of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, he stated that there are two categories of “Shuhada” in Islam:

First, the one who dies in Jihad, “those who have died fighting for the cause of Allah.” The first type will be recognized as martyrs in this life as well as in the Hereafter.¹³⁰

Second “those who have died being succumbed to certain types of ailments or calamities, not of their own making.” The second type are only recognized and treated as martyrs in the Hereafter, but not in this world.¹³¹

However according to the teachings of the prophet Mohammed there are seven types of martyrs, they are: “One who dies in a plague, one who dies of intestinal ailments, one who dies of drowning, one who dies under a collapsed building, and one who dies as a martyr in jihad.” And “...one who dies in a fire” and “...a woman who dies during child-birth.”¹³²

Also, the prophet includes other types which are: “Whoever dies while defending his own possessions is a martyr; whoever dies defending his own person is a martyr; whoever dies guarding

¹²⁹ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.52-53.

¹³⁰ "Types of Martyrs," Islam Online Archive. <https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=1363>

¹³¹ "Types of Martyrs," Islam Online Archive. <https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=1363>

¹³² "Types of Martyrs," Islam Online Archive. <https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=1363>

his own faith is a martyr; whoever dies fighting in order to defend his own family is also a martyr.”

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As it is clear now who is martyr in Islam, it is also important to mention that suicide bombers are not considered as martyrs by any means, because committing suicide is strictly forbidden in Islam.¹³⁴ Now the discussion is not about whether Al-Jazeera is using the concept correctly or not but it is about using the concept from the first place to describe a Muslim killed in the Arabic news.

During the second Intifada Fouad Ajami wrote, "The channel's policy was firm: Palestinians who fell to Israeli gunfire were martyrs; Israelis killed by Palestinians were Israelis killed by Palestinians." People who killed in Arab or Muslim countries would be classified as "Shuhada."¹³⁵

El-Nawawy and Iskandar in their book "Al-Jazeera" discussed Aljazeera's coverage of the Intifada from an Arab perspective, whilst in the book Aljazeera English criticizes Aljazeera of being biased and that it violated the peace journalist rules in its coverage of the Palestinian Israeli conflict.

On one hand, El-Nawawy and Iskandar used a soft tone when describing this matter of Al-Jazeera, moreover, the two authors offered some explanation of why Al-Jazeera keep using this word and how it is a matter of how the Arab view the conflict, however, this does not justify Al-Jazeera.

During the Second Intifada, Al-Jazeera Arabic used the term "commando attacks" in describing the suicide bombing against the Israeli civilians and troops. El-Nawawy and Iskandar suggested that Al-Jazeera used the term martyrs because "it reflects the attitude and beliefs of its

¹³³ "Types of Martyrs," Islam Online Archive. <https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=1363>

¹³⁴ IslamQA. <https://islamqa.info/ar/217995>

¹³⁵ Oren Kessler. "The Two Faces of Al Jazeera," Middle East Quarterly, 2012. http://www.meforum.org/3147/al-jazeera#_ftn38

Arab audience.” The Arabs believe that the Israeli occupation is unfair and illegal therefore the Palestinians killed while fighting for freedom “subsequently portrayed as martyrs.”¹³⁶

Al-Jazeera is the first Arab network news that interviews Israelis, which is very controversial for the Arab world. Also, Al-Jazeera is the first Arab network that allows an Israeli to speak and explain themselves to the Arab world via Al-Jazeera’s talk shows.¹³⁷ “Israeli officials praised the network for its credibility and professionalism.”¹³⁸ However an Israeli spokesman complained that Al-Jazeera does not give the Israelis enough time on the interviews. "We're never invited to long interview shows but always short interviews of three and a half minutes," he said. "They're unwilling to engage in a real dialogue, and instead use Israelis as fig leaves."¹³⁹

El-Nawawy and Iskandar stated that “there is a fine line between a real reporting bias and presenting the news from an Arab point of view.” As Al-Ali, Al-Jazeera’s managing director explained:

“We came with our own ideas and our own perspective Al-Jazeera, from the idea up to the launch, was built by a staff coming from Arab countries. Maybe they had experience working with western media – they are ex-BBC ex-U. S media – but all are Arabs. So they take the professional experience from the BBC, but their background as Arabs means we can adapt this experience and apply it to the Arab world. We know the mentality of the Arabs – but we also want the expatriate Arab audience, who are used to Western media.”¹⁴⁰

Al-Jazeera took a step ahead over the other Arab networks by interviewing Israelis, and shows “the devastation caused by Palestinian suicide-bombings inside Israel”¹⁴¹ El-Nawawy and Iskandar, think that Al-Jazeera “may not be perfect” and sometimes “fall short from its ambitious goals” but it remains important network in the region, and it is “the first choice for Arabs self-determination, political openness, and democracy.” El-Nawawy and Iskandar acknowledge Al-

¹³⁶ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.207.

¹³⁷ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.51.

¹³⁸ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.51.

¹³⁹ Oren Kessler. “*The Two Faces of Al Jazeera*,” Middle East Quarterly, 2012

http://www.meforum.org/3147/al-jazeera#_ftn38

¹⁴⁰ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.53-54

¹⁴¹ Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.208

Jazeera as “a force for democracy in the Middle East.” Moreover, the Arab world needs more of networks like Al-Jazeera.¹⁴²

On the other hand, the Eytan Gilboa in his article “Covering Gaza, 2008-2009: An Israeli View” sharply criticize Al-Jazeera for being based and contradict the basic journalist ethics. According to the author Aljazeera negate the principle of peace journalist, as Al-Jazeera have used terms like “martyr” to victimize and sympathy with one side.¹⁴³

The author determine Al-Jazeera’s coverage of the OCL as a typical “war journalist” and failed to provide accurate contexts of the events, and it is unbalance in covering the conflict as it “employed emotional language” and “glorified martyrdom and death.”¹⁴⁴ Nonetheless Al-Jazeera’s biased toward Hamas. All of these factors make Al-Jazeera fail to meet the free journalist standers. Al-Jazeera at least in the case of OCL failed to provide balance and impartial coverage.

The other objection Al-Jazeera has received is the difference in reporting the same event in the Arabic language and English language. Kessler in his article two faces of Al-Jazeera pointed out how Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Palestinian cause differs from the English language than the Arabic language, even though both channels share the same editorial policies and ethics.¹⁴⁵

Al-Jazeera was developed as an Arab news channel. The expansion of the broadcast network led to the creation of an English-language version of the channel with a similar name. The purpose of this solution was to translate the news of the original channel to an English-speaking audience. However, instead of direct translation, the English version of the channel not only adapts the news content but also modifies them, interpreting the meaning. Thus, Samir Kuntar affair is a clear example of the inconsistency of the activities of the channels.

¹⁴² Mohammed El-Nawawy and Adel Iskandar, Al-Jazeera. Basic Books, 2008. p.216

¹⁴³ P. Seib, Al-Jazeera English. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. P.146

¹⁴⁴ P. Seib, Al-Jazeera English. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. P.156

¹⁴⁵ Kessler, Oren. “The Two Faces of Al Jazeera.” *Middle East Forum*, 1 Jan. 2012, www.meforum.org/articles/2012/the-two-faces-of-al-jazeera.

Samir Kuntar was arrested for the murder of a policeman and hostages from a randomly chosen house, including a small child. The policeman was killed on the spot and the hostages were brutally massacred during a firefight between the police and representatives of the Israeli military forces.¹⁴⁶ However, the debatable issue, in this case, is not the given incident, which inevitably entailed the arrest of Kutar, but the coverage of his further release from prison through Arabic and English Al Jazeera.

The Arab Al Jazeera regarded the release of Kutar as an excuse to celebrate, in addition to his imminent birthday. Moreover, the head of the Beirut office was personally present at the release of Kutar, and the pathos and honor of his speeches equated Kutar to the hero, despite the fact that Kutar was not inclined to repent, or have any compunction for what he had done.¹⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, such content within the channel caused a negative resonance, and Israel, in turn, was inclined to block its broadcasting. The English channel not only neglected the demonstration of such a news story but also included a statement on the immediate dismissal of the head of the Beirut office. The goal of such a change and adaptation of news content was the mitigation of the conflict. An additional contradiction between the versions of Al Jazeera was the fact that this person continued to hold office until resignation at his own request.¹⁴⁸ Consequently, the English version has warped the fact, making a discrepancy with the original version of the event.

The reason for the discrepancy in the coverage of the event is the divided target audiences of the channels, which differ in political views and values. In addition, the Arab Al Jazeera is characterized by a pronounced anti-American policy and Islamism that directly influences the compilation and presentation of the channel's content.

¹⁴⁶ Kessler, Oren. "The Two Faces of Al Jazeera." *Middle East Forum*, 1 Jan. 2012, www.meforum.org/articles/2012/the-two-faces-of-al-jazeera.

¹⁴⁷ Kessler, Oren. "The Two Faces of Al Jazeera." *Middle East Forum*, 1 Jan. 2012, www.meforum.org/articles/2012/the-two-faces-of-al-jazeera.

¹⁴⁸ Kessler, Oren. "The Two Faces of Al Jazeera." *Middle East Forum*, 1 Jan. 2012, www.meforum.org/articles/2012/the-two-faces-of-al-jazeera.

Samir Kuntar affair demonstrates the praise of the murderer of innocent people as a Muslim hero, which would cause a negative response of the audience in case of reliable transfer of the context of the Arabic Al-Jazeera. The Arabic version, moreover, is characterized by a prejudiced attitude towards America and Israel, which makes the original content inadmissible for the audience of the English version due to aggressive information. In other words, the auditory can regard this news story as an additional confirmation of the threat of terrorism. Thus, the difference between the perceptions of the audience of the Arabic and English Al-Jazeera explains the change in content and its adaptation but does not justify this fact due to the neglect of objectivity and reliability.

4. Data and Methodology

This research is examining the coverage of Al-Jazeera's news which covers the second Intifada. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a controversial topic that has been widely discussed by the news media from all around the globe. Paying a specific attention to the differences and similarities in the coverage of the conflict by Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic, it is necessary to approach the data from a variety of perspectives and conduct different types of coding in order to perform a qualitative research on the matter. The major sources of the studied data are the articles from Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic but it is not enough to only compare and contrast the data they provide. The use of the systematic methodology for the researches in the field of the social sciences is essential; hence, there is a need to apply the grounded theory as the approach to constructing a systematic methodology.¹⁴⁹ The grounded theory allows to begin the study with the collection of the qualitative data; taking into account the qualitative data presented by the news articles from Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic, the grounded theory is the best methodology for this type of comparative study. The research question for this method should be an open end question, therefore my question is is how Al-Jazeera reported the second Palestinian Intifada?

¹⁴⁹ Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd Edition. SAGE Publications, 2007. P.6

The reviewed qualitative data, the analyzed ideas, and claims presented by the news articles can, thereby, be tagged with different types of codes. The study is based on the comparison of approximately 370 news articles from two different resources; accordingly, chances are that some of these articles would contradict each other, illustrate same events from different perspectives, and even false-claims. That is why it is necessary to tag the collected data with codes in order to make the processes of analysis, comparison, and contrasting more comprehensive.

The analysis of a vast volume of data presented by two news publishers requires the implementation of different coding approaches. For this study, the implementation of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding is most desirable. The combination of these coding approaches is essential for the full and proper analysis of the data provided by numerous news articles, and most importantly, it aligns with the grounded theory. First of all, there is a need to employ the open coding that requires to thoroughly read the articles selected for the study, create specific tentative tables that comprise particular chunks of data or ideas described in the articles, and tag each chunk of data or idea with a specific code or meaning (Corbin and Strauss 220).¹⁵⁰ For instance, it is possible to encode the attitude towards the belligerents in each article and then see how Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic describe each belligerent.

For the axial coding is the second step towards the qualitative study since it draws the lines between the open codes. In other words, it explains the connections between the open codes and helps in systematizing the collected codes. It allows analyzing each code more specifically in relation to the sources of data and other codes.¹⁵¹ For instance, in case some news article shows a negative attitude towards a particular participant of the conflict, it will be possible to identify how many more of the news articles have the same attitude.

The following step for this study is the selective coding that provides the opportunity to identify all the variables within the chosen scope of data. It allows to extract each particular variable, compare them, identify the differences between the representation of different events and

¹⁵⁰ Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd Edition. SAGE Publications, 2007. P.220

¹⁵¹ Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd Edition. SAGE Publications, 2007.p.156

people in the news articles, and contrast them. It will allow to actually identify whether there is a difference between the representation of the Second Palestinian Intifada by Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic; hence, there is a need to undertake all of these procedures and conduct these three types of coding in this exact order in order to conduct a qualitative study on the matter.

The following step is writing the memos on the topic since it allows to summarize the data, comprehend the event, explain the reasons behind it, and identify its outcomes. It is impossible to conduct a qualitative study on the representation of the Second Palestinian Intifada by different news media without being familiar with the very event. That is why it is necessary to conduct a study on the matter, get familiar with the course of events, the causes of the conflict, and its outcomes.

The implementation of the grounded theory and the different coding approaches is the best methodology for this type of study since it allows to effectively systematize the data and study it from a variety of perspectives. It also allows to effectively extract particular messages and ideas from different sources and compare them in order to conduct a broad yet precise analysis of the data provided by different news articles. That is why it is necessary to apply the grounded theory as the major approach to discovering whether Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic reported the Second Palestinian Intifada in the same way or there are drastic differences in the representation of this controversial event in these two major media resources.

4.2 Data:

This research is a qualitative research; therefore, the data are news articles from two different resources; Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic. I have collected the data from Al-Jazeera's news articles in both languages Arabic and English, 370 news in total. The news was collected from the Al-Jazeera's website for the months September 2003, March 2004, and February 2005. The total number of Al-Jazeera Arabic news are 191, and the total number of Al-Jazeera English news are 179.

Al-Jazeera Arabic website has advance research, I entered the 'Palestine' section then used the following key words:

- 152 فلسطين •
- 153 حماس •
- 154 شرم الشيخ •
- 155 فتح •
- 156 المقاومة •
- 157 الاحتلال •
- 158 إسرائيل •
- 159 احمد ياسين •

For Al-Jazeera English, it was difficult to search for news because the website does not have advanced research or selected dates, so I had to go through all of ‘Middle East’ news section to collect my own data sample.

I looked for ten major events happened during the Intifada from 2003 to 2005, then I chose the most critical month from each year. The reason I picked my samples from 2003 and not from the beginning of the uprising is that Al-Jazeera Arabic website does not have the news archive of the first two years of the uprising.

- September 2003: during this month, there were a political dispute in between Yasser Arafat and Mahmud Abbas. Failed assassination of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin
Al-Jazeera Arabic 50 news article.

Al-Jazeera English 52 news article.

152 Palestine

153 Hamas

154 Sharm El-Shaikh

155 Fatah

156 the resistance

157 the occupation

158 Israel

159 Ahmad Yassin

- March 2004: I chose this month because of Israel assassination Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, I am interested in how Al-Jazeera reported the assassination of an Islamic cleric and the founder of Hamas movement. Moreover, this month seems to have lots of clashes between Israel and Hamas, especially when the later vow to take their revenge from the former.

Number of news:

Al-Jazeera Arabic 74 news article.

Al-Jazeera English 59 news article.

- February 2005, during this month there were lots of peace negotiation between Palestine and Israel in Egypt. The peace agreement put an end to the uprising.

Number of news:

Al-Jazeera Arabic 68 news article.

Al-Jazeera English 52 news article.

The data are collected for the English sample are from the website <http://www.aljazeera.com/>

For the Arabic news, the data are collected from the website of Al-Jazeera Arabic; <http://www.aljazeera.net/portal>

5. Analyses and Empirical Findings

- **September 2003:**

Al-Jazeera Arabic news represented during the month September 2003 the failure of the road map. My main finding for this month is: unsuccessfully attempted to revive peace in the region and to put an end to the Second Intifada, or the uprising. The USA plan for this goal is the Road Map which I explained in detail in the previous chapter. The roadmap is a peace process to stabilize the region and boost peace. That requires few steps have to be done by both sides;

Palestine and Israel, and with the supervision of the USA. The roadmap is supported by the European Union and Russia. The USA has established three stages for the roadmap.

“The road map is President George Bush's plan announced 14 months ago and is nominally designed to create two states, Israel and independent Palestine, co-existing as neighbours in peace.

But now the US administration and its road map partners - the EU, Russia and the UN - are at a loss on how to resuscitate the plan for establishing a Palestinian state by 2005.”¹⁶⁰

The first category is the tension between Mahmud Abbas which is the prime minister of the Palestinian authority and the legitimate president Yasser Arafat. The tension mainly about gaining control in the government, which was fueled by the USA and Israel. This tension has effects on the Palestinian society however it did not rein the resistance or distracted the uprising.

“The power struggle between Abbas and Arafat is centred on the premier's demand, backed by Washington, for control over the security forces. It is seen as crucial for reining in the resistance against Israel.”¹⁶¹

The USA and Israel have boycotted Arafat and accused him of supporting terrorism. Arafat has been accused of being an obstacle to the peace process, therefore, the USA and Israel demand a new government that completely has no relation to Arafat or his government. The USA and Israel have stated clearly that both of them will elect the new president otherwise they will not approve the new government or deal with it.

“But on hearing the news of the resignation offer, the Israeli government insisted on Saturday it would not deal with any Palestinian leadership shaped by Arafat.

¹⁶⁰ Al-Jazeera, Abbas' exit leaves US policy in tatters, 7 sep 2003

¹⁶¹ Abbas: Support me or send me home, 4 sep 2003

"Israel will not accept a situation where control of the Palestinian Authority is returned to Arafat or anyone who does his bidding," said a statement from Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's office."

"Bush orchestrated the appointment of Abbas, a longtime Arafat comrade and fellow founder of the Palestine Liberation Organisation's main faction Fatah, as a way of shunting aside Arafat, who he said was tainted by corruption and a history of "terrorism".¹⁶²

Both the USA and Israel found Mahmud Abbas appropriate for forming a new government. Therefore, The USA and Israel have demanded that Abbas dismiss resistance groups as they are the base of "terrorism." Under the code "call for dismissal," the USA demands that Abbas rein in the resistance by dismissing the resistance groups. Abbas worked hard to gain the trust of USA and Israel; he tried hard to help in the peace process. However, he refused to dismiss the resistance groups. Abbas justifies his refusal, by saying that action will lead to a civil war, he continued warning from such action by saying that the dismissal will not help in bringing peace to the region, but it will intensify the situation. Despite Abbas's warning both countries, the USA and Israel kept calling for the dismissal.

"The Palestinian Authority has been under Israeli and US pressure to dismantle groups struggling against Israel's illegal occupation. It has yet to bow to these demands, fearing an outbreak of civil war."¹⁶³

"Despite intense pressure from Israel and demands by the United States, however, Abbas had refused to try to dismantle Hamas and other Palestinian resistance groups. Going beyond persuasion, he insisted, would lead to civil war."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Abbas' exit leaves US policy in tatters, 7 sep 2003

¹⁶³ Israel threatens to annihilate Hamas, 2 sep 2003

¹⁶⁴ Abbas resignation leaves road map shredded 7 sep 2003

The tension between Mahmud Abbas and Arafat ended by Abbas' resign. Mahmud Abbas blames the USA and Israel for his resign as he claims that they did not support him enough. Abbas resigned after a long time of threatening to resign. Abbas's resign led to shredded the peace process.

It is important to note that Mahmud Abbas played a vital role during that time, as the USA and Israel boycotted the legitimate president Arafat besides imposing a siege on him. Therefore, the USA and Israel found a replacement for Arafat.

The second category is "War on Terrorism." The USA and Israel have been accusing Arafat of being a terrorist and supporting terrorism. Therefore, they have boycotted him and refused any talks with the president or any of his representative. They have continually demanded the Palestinians find a new president who is not connected with terrorism. It is good to note that what is meant by terrorism here is the resistance or any act related to the uprising.

Arafat was not only accused of being a terrorist but also of being an obstacle to the peace process. The USA and Israel have requested the removal of the president. And eventually, the Israeli threats to kill president Arafat. That threat was considered as an escalation of violence which would not help in the process of the roadmap; it is a real obstacle to the peace process. The threat of killing the legitimate president has received international condemnation and a call for the international community by the Arabs to protect the democratically elected president Arafat. Surprisingly that request was refused by America.

Arafat did not receive any protection from the Israeli threats. The USA who advocates for peace in the region has in contradiction supported what would defiantly escalate the violence and kill the Road Map.

Arafat blames the USA and its policies of killing the Road Map. The USA's position led the people in Palestine to view the Road Map as a lie. In spite of the Israeli actions which includes building the illegal settlement, not withdrawal from the occupied land and the ongoing killing and violence against civilians by the IDF, American is silence. That situation led the people to lose any hope in the last political solution and led to more outrage. Therefore, their supporters swing to the

more violent option which is resistance. And as Hamas is the first and most organized who adopted the line of resistance, people start to lean toward Hamas.

People's support and favoritism of Hamas was not because of its religious style, but to its ideology. Hamas' ideology is to face the power with power. In another words, Hamas sees the only way to end the occupation is an armed resistance. As it was approved through time, that no political or diplomatic solution that has been introduced in the past helped to end the occupation and bring peace to the region. The only choice left to the people in Palestine is rocks and knives. A Hebron resident Nasr Kawasami, in this regards stated that:

"Kuwasami vowed the new Palestinian generation living under Israel's occupation will be more potent resistance fighters because "they've seen their brothers and schoolmates killed".

"The Intifada will not come to a halt any time soon, he added."

"There's nothing for us to live for: no land, no state, no nothing."¹⁶⁵

Al-Barguti, the leader of Fatah movement, arrested by Israel in April 2000, says:

"The Intifada (uprising) was a clear reaction to occupation and settlements and the frustration of the Palestinian people over non-implementation of Oslo," he said, referring to the 1993 interim peace deals with Israel."

"The occupation cannot continue over the Palestinian people who want freedom and independence like every other people in the world," said the resistance leader."

"There is one solution - two states for two peoples, or one state for two peoples. Otherwise the bloodshed will continue," he told the court."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Al-Jazeera, Where is the peace? 28 sep 2003

¹⁶⁶ Al-Jazeera, Al-Barguti: Intifada will not be crushed, 29 sep 2003

By explaining the two main categories, it shows how Al-Jazeera covered the USA affords in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the biased American policies and position lead to a sabotage of the Road Map, which shows that America was not serious about helping in creating peace in the region in the first place.

An additional category which was not mentioned is the Israeli actions which help so much in sabotaging any peace agreement and so hinder the peace process. The Israeli lack of commitment to the Road Map.

The resentment of the Palestinians which was the first reason to spark the uprising/intifada has continued more violently due to the unsuccessful political solution which assured only one thing that neither America nor its plan “the roadmap” will help the Palestinian in anyways.

Al-Jazeera English during the month September 2003, presented the same news as Al-Jazeera Arabic but with one difference. Al-Jazeera English has not covered the threat of killing Arafat, as much as Al-Jazeera Arabic did. Al-Jazeera English fairly presented Israeli plan of removing Arafat and send him into exile.

“A year ago, Israeli commandos practised an operation to grab Arafat at his headquarters, bundle him into a helicopter and drop him off in an isolated location in a foreign country, security sources said at the time.

Israeli media reports said an army contingency plan calls for Arafat to be exiled to North Africa.”¹⁶⁷

Also, it did cover the international reaction to the Israeli plan. However, if we compare the Al-Jazeera Arabic news to Al-Jazeera English news we will find that the Arabic news under the concept “Arafat’s assassination” we will find that Al-Jazeera Arabic had more repetitions and was more focused on the threat. Al-Jazeera Arabic covered the local response to the Israeli threats. Under the code “people vow for Arafat” Al-Jazeera Arabic covered all the demonstrations in the

¹⁶⁷ World leaders unite behind Arafat, 12 sep 2003

street and front of Arafat's siege. While in Al-Jazeera English it did mention that only twice. Both Al-Jazeera Arabic and English covered the Arab countries demand protection for president Arafat and the USA position which was using the veto power to not protect Arafat. The English news focused more on the exile plan and less on the threat of assassination.

- **March 2004:**

- Tit For Tat

The uprising heated up in March 2004, both Israel and the resistance groups took measures that led to escalate the violence cycle. The resistance groups organized suicide attacks inside Israel and fire mortars and makeshift rocket targeting Israeli settlement, while Israel started the target killing police, which aims to assassinate the top leaders of the resistances groups. The target killing is a strategy for weakening the resistance, as Israel claims this will help in halting the uprising/Intifada. However, target killing is illegal under international law, this policy will not halt the uprising as Israel claim but it will escalate the violence and will cause more outrage among the Palestinian resistance groups.

The main category in this month is how Al-Jazeera reported the intensified tension between Israel and the resistance groups in each channel. In both channels, the month begins with attacks between Israel and the resistance groups. Both Arabic and English news reported the massacre which Israel has committed against the civilians in Gaza. Hamas in retune vow to take revenge which led to more violence. The Arabic news differ than the English news in this month, as the Arabic used sensitive words and terms to describe the events, like calling the suicide bombers 'martyr', use the word 'commando' to describe the bomber. However, both channels used the word 'massacre' to describe the Israeli massive killing in Gaza.

Ariel Sharon embarked on a plan that according to his belief would aim to defuse the conflict. The "disengagement plan" is the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Gaza, and the dismantling of all Israeli settlements in Gaza. however, Israel attacked Gaza many times and killed many of its people which in return provoked the resistance groups and the latter bombed inside Israel.

On 7 March Israelis invaded two camps in Gaza and killed up to fifteen Palestinians, three of them were kids and nine of them were Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam armed members. And more than eighty were wounded. In response to that event, the next day two British men launched an attack inside Israel. Al-Jazeera Arabic reported the event as two British bombers identically to Al-Jazeera English; it did not use the term 'martyr' or 'commando.' However, the rest of Al-Jazeera Arabic news called the Palestinian bombers 'martyrs' and 'commandos' instead of just bombers. Moreover, Al-Jazeera Arabic reported the US reaction to the massacre in Gaza as pro-Israel and a justification for the massacre, as the US supports the Israeli's right to defend itself from the terror. This report was not mentioned in the Al-Jazeera English.

The second category in this month was the assassination of Shaikh Ahmad Yassin and how both channels reported it. During this month, Israel assassinated many people from the Hamas resistance group, on the 22 of March an airstrike struck Gaza again, targeting the leader of Hamas, Shaikh Ahmad Yassin. This is the second attempt to assassinate him, however this time they managed to kill him. This event received a lot of condemnation from the whole world and led to outrage from all Palestinian resistance groups. The resistance groups announced they would target all Israelis including Sharon.

Arab governments including Palestinian leaders call for the international community to protect the Palestinian civilians from Israel's aggression and condemned the killing of Shaikh Ahmad Yassin. However, the US took a biased position toward Israel, and justified its actions. The US used the veto power to block any measures condemning Israel.

Both Al-Jazeera Arabic and English reported the US position under the title 'the US gives Israel a "license to kill."' The US used the veto power for the very reason that the US believe it is unfair condemned Israeli's actions only and excluded Hamas' bombing attacks inside Israel.

"Three days of negotiations failed to find a compromise on the council, where the United States has regularly used its veto power as a permanent member to block measures condemning Israel."

However, Al-Jazeera criticizes the US of being biased against Palestine, as the US keeps pointing out that Palestinians should stop resistance groups' actions against Israel, or in their words the "terrorist actions" while completely ignoring Israel's lack of commitment and its reluctance to

follow the roadmap. Israel has been increasing the number of illegal settlements. From an objective view of the situation it seems both parties have a lack of commitment however it is not fair to lean on one side and to leave the other to suffer and die by the Israeli troops in the name of terror.

- **February 2005:**

Peace is impossible

Egypt made an effort to revive the peace process in February 2005. Egypt invited Israel and Palestine for talks. The Sharm El-Shaikh summit with the presence of Jordan has a vital role in the events of this month.

Both Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English have identical news for the month February 2005. There were intense talks between Sharon and Mahmud Abbas before the summit, and informal meeting after the summit.

During the summit, Mahmud Abbas and Sharon agreed on one thing: the ceasefire. However, they disagreed on other things which are the releasing prisoners, removing settlements and withdrawal from the occupied lands, and to stop the construction of the separation wall. The ceasefire was announced on 8 February 2005. Mahmud Abbas call it as the first phase to revive the road map.

Resistance groups state that they are not obligated to this truce. However, they have endorsed an informal truce in January of the same year and declared their commitment to the informal truce as long as Israel does not attack. They stated that they would hold off on attacking Israel unless Israel starts first. And they will give a time for a cool-down to allow Mahmud Abbas to proceed with the peace process.

*" Hamas endorsed (the need for) calm and will respect that to allow Abbas to ease into his job and exert pressure on the enemy," a spokesman said. "*¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Al-Jazeera, Hamas, Islamic Jihad to lie low, 9 FEBRUARY 2005

Two days later after Sharm El-Shaikh summit, Israel violated the agreement and attacked two Palestinians. The resistance groups as they promised must reply to the Israeli attacked and fired mortars.

“Israeli forces killed a second Palestinian two days after talks Aljazeera's correspondent in Ram Allah reported that a Palestinian was killed on Thursday when occupation forces opened fire on the car he was driving” ... “The death is the second reported killing since a truce was announced at Sharm al-Shaikh on Tuesday.”¹⁶⁹

In response, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Martyrs Brigades, the military wing of Hamas, vow to reply to the Israeli attacked and fired 12 mortar shells and 13 Qassam rockets at illegal Gaza Jewish settlement. By that the resistance group, Hamas end the informal truce.

Mahmud Abbas who was striving to keep the truce valid and accomplish the peace process. He did take serious actions toward that event. Mahmud Abbas fired top leaders in Gaza who were involved in the attacked.

“The sacking comes just hours after Abbas ordered security forces to stop fighters from firing mortars and rockets at illegal Jewish settlements in occupied Gaza.”¹⁷⁰

Furthermore, Mahmud Abbas kept trying to negotiate with the resistance groups' leaders, Hamas and the Islamic Jihad to convince them to sign a ceasefire with Israel

At the beginning the resistance groups refused to be bound to the truce. However, after a long negotiation, they agreed to maintain an informal truce - and promised Abbas that even if Israel attacked again, they would inform the Palestinian Authority before taking any action.

During the negotiation for the peace process there was a disagreement between Abbas and Sharon about the number of prisoners, that were supposed to be released. Sharon refused to release

¹⁶⁹ Al-Jazeera, Second Palestinian killed after summit, 10 FEBRUARY 2005

¹⁷⁰ Abbas fires top Gaza commanders, 10 FEBRUARY 2005

all the prisoners that PA demanded. The objection was to the prisoners who killed Israelis. Later Sharon released 500 prisoners.

“President Katsav: Prisoners who killed Israelis will not be freed

"Humanitarian values dictate that anyone who has committed murder and has blood on his hands should serve his sentence."

His comments came as Israel and the Palestinians continued intensive negotiations over criteria of prisoners to be released, a move likely to be finalised at Tuesday's peace summit in the Egyptian resort of Sharm el-Shaikh.

Defence Minister Shaul Mofaz told the cabinet he had agreed to release two of six prisoners that Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas had personally asked Israel to free, the radio said. Israel had initial denied the request.”¹⁷¹

Sharon also established his plan of disengagement which received a lot of sharp criticism from the Israelis including the Rabbis, and so the settlers threaten to kill Sharon and vow not to leave the settlement even if it costs them their lives.

Sharon promised to withdrawal from five cities within three weeks after the summit. However, Sharon froze the withdrawal just before the due time. Because of the Tel Aviv blast, as Sharon took it as a reason to freeze the disengagement plan.

“In turn, Sharon is hoping his plan will ease pressure on Israel to implement a much wider evacuation in other parts of the West Bank where the vast majority of the some 245,000 settlers live.

Israeli settlers strongly oppose Sharon's plans to abandon Gaza”¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Al-Jazeera, Palestinian prisoners on talks agenda, 6 FEBRUARY 2005

¹⁷² Sharon rejects Israeli FM's remarks 9 February 2005

In Tel Aviv, there was a blast in a disco which resulted in four deaths, and more than fifty injuries. The bomber was not identified, and all resistance groups have denied any involvement in that blast whatsoever. Israel started to blame everyone for it without evidence. It blamed Syria, Hizb Allah, the resistance groups, and even the Palestinian authority.

“Islamic Jihad, Hamas and al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - an offshoot of the mainstream Fatah movement - all have denied responsibility for the explosion.

Some Israeli security sources have suggested that the Lebanese Hizb Allah might be to blame for the attack, Aljazeera reported on Saturday.”¹⁷³

In response to the blast, Israel declared a resumption of the military operations on Palestinians despite the ceasefire and ordered to freeze the pullout from the settlement.

“Israel has ordered the resumption of military operations against the Palestinian group Islamic Jihad after Friday's blast in Tel Aviv that killed four people and wounded many more.”

“Mofaz also announced Israel's decision to freeze plans to transfer security control of West Bank towns to the Palestinian Authority until there was a crackdown on Islamic Jihad.”¹⁷⁴

However, later Israel claimed that they had arrested the suspects and it turns out to be two youths from Palestine. The news did not mention any evidence to prove the two Palestinians were guilty or involved in the Tel Aviv blast. However, both Israel and PA claimed that the two young men were guilty.

¹⁷³ Several killed in Tel Aviv disco blast 26 February 2005

¹⁷⁴ Israel to target Islamic Jihad 27 February 2005

6. Conclusion

This research examined 370 news articles from both Al-Jazeera Arabic and English over three periods of the Second Intifada. The findings of this research are important. The initial research question is how Al-Jazeera reported the second Palestinian Intifada? Al-Jazeera claimed that both Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English share the same editorial vision and the editorial code of ethics.¹⁷⁵ As the research shows that Al-Jazeera represented the second Intifada in both languages almost the same. However, Al-Jazeera Arabic used a slightly different tone while describing the Palestinians killed by the Israeli troops, or the suicide bombers. For instance using the term “martyr” for only one side of the conflict or using it to represent a religious state, is a violation of the peace journalist, and biases toward one side of the conflict.

Nonetheless, we should understand the background of Al-Jazeera Arabic and its targeted audiences. Al-Jazeera has a radical approach in the Arab world it challenges the dictatorial regimes with its democracy and free press style. For years the Arabs view the Western media coverage of the Arab issues and events as partial, and anti-Arab.

Al-Jazeera came from the Arab world to cover the Arab issues with Western journalist standers. Al-Jazeera made a smart move to embrace a more media neutral stands by avoiding the obvious biased of what Western media have done. Al-Jazeera revalorized the media in the Arab world, and its bold approach is controversial to the Arabs' standards. However, Al-Jazeera as the research shows the Al-Jazeera’s subtle use of different words to indicate a more sympathetic approach (martyrs, commando). At the same time showed more sympathy to the Arab issues that, of course, contradicts the professional journalist standards but at the same time, it is a smart way to embrace the Arabs and make them accept Al-Jazeera’s “daring approach.”

The difference of Al-Jazeera content in the Arabic language vs English may be interrupted to the targeted audiences. The emotional language Al-Jazeera Arabic uses when targeting the Arab audiences would result in gaining the audiences sympathy more important, that language which Al-Jazeera uses when describing the Palestinian death and suicide bomber result in praising death

¹⁷⁵ Oren Kessler. “*The Two Faces of Al Jazeera*,” Middle East Quarterly, 2012
http://www.meforum.org/3147/al-jazeera#_ftn38

especially when a religious term like ‘martyr’ used consistently. The way Al-Jazeera Arabic describes the events and adding sensitive terms would most likely outrage the Arabs and Muslims in the Arab world, as the second intifada is a sensitive topic for many people especially the Arab and Muslim, Al-Jazeera should carefully report the events without tempting to provoke the audiences sympathy or outrage them more. Employing emotive language in addressing the suffering of the Palestinian will not help them to end or halt the suffering, but it will promote the tension between the Arabs and Israelis, this will only lead to more bloodshed. Al-Jazeera should use a neutral language when addressing the Palestinian Israeli conflict to the Arab audiences.

I acknowledge that using certain terms to show sympathy to one side of a conflict is a violation of the professional journalist standards. Nonetheless, I think Al-Jazeera when it was first born tried to make its way in the Arab world by using a tone that Arabs would understand. Now as Al-Jazeera has a vital position in both journalism and the Arab world, I think it should strictly stick to the professional journalist standards and stop using the term "martyr." Finally, I would repeat El-Nawawy and Iskandar words that even though Al-Jazeera is not perfect, we need more of a free press like Al-Jazeera in the Arab world.

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