The Emergence of Muslim Ideology in The Reporting of Palestinian and Israeli Conflict: A Study on AL-Jazeera News

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Abstract

Al-Jazeera has given its estimated 35 to 45 million viewers within the Muslim world, daily news feed that stands up to its network slogan "The Opinion and the Other Opinion". The network has been the important source and for the first time, represents not only the voice of Arab region, but also the voice of Islamic world into the international news agenda. Therefore, it is vital to understand the discourse presented in the news to understand its meaning and direction. This study analyzes the news clips of Al-Jazeera English coverage of the war in Gaza which started on December 27, 2008 and ended on January 21, 2009. Analysis of the clips has been done using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which assumes language and social process are deeply implicated with one another. Findings identified five (5) distinctive discourses from the selected news clips. Among themes are "Israels are attacking Palestinian, not only Hamas", and "The Zionists keeps lying"; which interlinked as it highlighted a continuous suppression towards Palestinian by Israeli. For Al-Jazeera, this can be regarded as counter discourse to the western media reporting on the conflict.

Keyword: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Al-Jazeera, Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Introduction

Since the earliest introduction of electronic broadcasting in 1950s, the organization of mass media in the Islamic world is mostly practiced in the form of government controlled which frequently led to nationalization of mass media channel (Nisbet et.al, 2004). However since its inception in 1996, the Doha based news network Al-Jazeera has altered that landscape. Even though the news organization is influenced by the western news concept of journalistic values, practices, and norms, there is nothing imitative about how Al-Jazeera represents its news program.

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Al-Jazeera has given its estimated 35 to 45 million viewers within the Muslim world, daily news feed that stands up to its network slogan "The Opinion and the Other Opinion". The network has been the important source and for the first time, represents not only the voice of Arab region, but also the voice of Islamic world into the international news agenda. As a result of this, Al-Jazeera's coverage of the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestinian conflict has irritated the Western world (Tatham, 2005) as well as the head of Islamic government alike. Ironically, Al-Jazeera has also been criticized for being too westernized and being too close to Israel government (Baltodano et.al. 2007).

The network has a much wider audiences besides Middle East, which includes Indonesia, Malaysia, South Africa and Europe (Tatham, 2005). On 15 November 2006, Al-Jazeera launched a global 24 hour English language channel, the world's first global English language news channel based in the Middle East. It has broadcasting centres in Doha, Kuala Lumpur, London and Washington DC and represented by news bureaus all over the world. Its managing director, Nigel Parsons says Al-Jazeera English will continue to be like its parents organization which provides credible, balance alternative view to western media. It will base its aspiration on Al-Jazeera Arabic channel, which continues to support the "developments in the Arab and Muslim world that have changed the face of news within the Middle East" (http://english.aljazeera.net/aboutus/.html, 12 May 2009). Al-Jazeera English will also address more international events outside the Arab world with particular emphasis on the region that has significant Muslim population such as in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Al-Jazeera has built its reputation through uncompromising coverage on the Middle East events, and Palestinian and Israeli conflict is one of the most important agendas that dominates Al-Jazeera news program. Since the establishment of Israel in 1948, Palestinians' suffering through the occupation of their land by Israeli is viewed as the most contentious issue that could easily solidify pan-Arab and pan-Muslim sentiment. Al-Jazeera has constantly been accused of being biased towards Palestinians in its reporting of the perennial conflict. Based on that scenario, the researchers found that the 2008/2009 war in Gaza would be the best platform to study the way Al-Jazeera reports the Palestinian and Israeli conflict.

The war started on December 27, 2008 when Israeli Defence Forces began its attack code named "Operation Cast Lead". The tension between Israeli government and Hamas has simmered since early November 2008 when Israeli closed all its crossing in Gaza which brought the commercial businesses in Gaza to a halt. Israeli claimed the reason for border closing was due to weapon smuggling across the Egyptian channel and frequent rockets and mortars attacks on Israeli cities. In December 19 2008, a six month Egyptian-brokered ceasefire has officially ended. Israel Air Force started bombing Gaza in December 27 2008, which they claimed targeted at

Hamas bases and camps. A week later, Israeli Defense Forces continued with ground offensive. With death toll more than 900 and 4300 wounded, UN Human Rights Council has adopted a non-binding resolution condemning Israel's military offensive on January 12. Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, the president of the UN General Assembly, also condemns the Israeli attacks on Palestinians in which he called a similar to "genocide". The Israelis also barred journalist from making any coverage in Gaza. The war ended on January 21 2009 when Israel claimed that they have completed the withdrawal of its troops from the Gaza Strip. More than 1300 Palestinians have been killed, 5300 wounded, and at least 500000 Palestinian has been displaced (Zuhur, 2009).

This study attempts to analyze the news clips of Al-Jazeera English coverage of the war in Gaza which started on December 27, 2008 and ended on January 21, 2009. The purpose of the study is; to ascertain the ideological structure in the discourse pertaining to the Israeli and Palestinian conflict created by Al-Jazeera, to identify dominant and recurrent themes that emerged in the news discourse and changes in the coverage that may have arisen due to change in the Israel-Palestinian conflict.

The News Framework

The communicative structure of television journalism which paradoxically places conflict and consent in a dominant way has the potential to contribute to the process of democracy (Cottle and Rai, 2006). The style of communication established by the genre of television news is recognizable by the news audiences and news participants alike through a number of 'communicative frames'. This routine structure of television news presentation gives a journalist a responsibility for being the agent within the processes of democracy through the means of "providing information and social surveillance, demonstrating independence, balance and impartiality, acting as a critical watchdog, and facilitating public discussion, debate and opinion formation". The dominant communicative frames employed by the television news however may have its shortcoming. Through communicative frames, television news gives "voice to the powerful; occluding or dissimulating dissent, constructing consensus; and expressing cultural differences".

Al-Jazeera network has been an important player in providing its own communicative structure of television journalism to the world audiences. Since its emergence in 1996, Al-Jazeera has challenged the presumed position of contemporary media hold by the western world that has the privilege on presenting particular version of idea, value, and culture as reality or marginalizes against the other one, in this case, the Muslim world. Al-Jazeera operates in a similar manner only that the privilege position is given to the Arab/Muslim world, "with its regional and global reach broadening pan-Arab and pan-Muslim political interaction and perceived connectedness" (Nisbet et.al. 2004). The network's coverage of the U.S. war in Afghanistan,

Iraq and Palestinian-Israeli conflict have redefined the perceived hegemonic ideological stance by the western world by putting the views of Muslim public in the International agenda.

This study is imperative in looking at how Al-Jazeera redefined the communicative frame through its network news program. The communicative frame may not be drastically different, but the Middle East based news program provides information, acting as a critical watchdog, and facilitating public discussion, debate and opinion formation for a group of people which previously has been marginalized and underrepresented.

Al-Jazeera

Al-Jazeera was established in February 1996 by the Qatari's emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. Translated as "the Peninsula", Al-Jazeera started as a six hours news program with three years later running 24 hours, making it the only daily comprehensive Arab news station in the region (Zednik, 2002). Al-Jazeera quickly catapulted itself into the international media scene during the US launched attack on Afghanistan approximately a month after the 11 September attack on Twin Towers. During the war, The Taliban only allows Al-Jazeera who has favourable reputation among the group to stay on Afghanistan. From then on, the images of US bombing of Kabul only could be seen from Al-Jazeera news videos.

However, that was just a tip of the ice compared to what came later. The network staff received several tapes from Osama bin Laden and aired the video of his message denouncing the US. Since then, Al-Jazeera has famously (or rather infamously among the Western world) become an important player in the international media scene with its ability generating the most important story in the global scenario. Al-Jazeera's ways of reporting news particularly by giving a voice of Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden has immediately caused the ire of the U.S. Americas head of states has also openly expressed their disagreement towards Al-Jazeera news programs and has pressured the government of Qatar to change its content (Davis, 2006). Since its start in 1996, Al-Jazeera has become one of the most influential broadcast networks in the Arab world. Its all-news and public affairs format reportedly reaches 40 million viewers from its base in the tiny Persian Gulf emirate of Qatar. American networks like CNN buy its footage and exclusive video. As war in Iraq approached, the White House allowed Al-Jazeera to interview top officials like Colin Powell and Donald Rumsfeld. Al-Jazeera, which means "the Peninsula," referring to the Arabian Peninsula, was an instant success. The broadcaster's uncensored independence, unusual in most of the 22 Arab countries where its signal reaches, quickly found an audience — and controversy.

The network has expanded to include several Web sites and the television channel, Al-Jazeera English, which seeks to compete directly with international news stations like CNN. It appears to have modified its tone,

no longer referring to Iraqi insurgents as the "resistance" or to casualties of American troops as "martyrs," and has similarly softened its stance on the Saudi government, perhaps under pressure from Qatar's rulers. Al-Jazeera English, which was launched in 2007, is not available on most American cable networks, but can be viewed on YouTube, the online video service. Al-Jazeera has also been accused of being biased towards the pan-Arab sentiment (Tatham, 2005). The coverage of war in Afghanistan and Iraq was believed to literally create solidarity that transcends Arab national boundaries. One of the most important agendas in Al-Jazeera news program is Palestinian and Israeli issues. Zednik (2002) claims that the conflict has been reported from the Arab perspective that panders to the popular sentiments of Arab citizen. He said Al-Jazeera tend to refer "Palestinian killed by Israeli soldier as martyrs". Palestinian and Israelis conflict has become the lead story almost every night with only brief interview with Israeli spokesman and no context provided for Israelis.

A comparative study done between Al-Jazeera's reporting as compared to Al-Arabiya (financed by Saudi and Lebanese businessmen whom have family ties to the royal family in Saudi Arabia) during the warfare between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006 showed that both networks pointed out at Israel as the real aggressor in the war. Media Tenor, the highly respected media research organization in Germany, found, that Al-Arabiya ran 214 stories on the subject, and, second, that 94 percent of them referred to Israel as the "aggressor". Likewise, Al-Jazeera ran 83 stories on the subject and 78 percent of them reached the same conclusion (Media Tenor, 2006). Another survey by Harvard's Shorenstein Centre on the Press, Politics and Public Policy examined headlines and photographs on Al-Jazeera's Web site. It shows 50 percent of the photographs portrayed Israel as the aggressor, only 6 percent portrayed Hezbollah as the aggressor (Kalb and Saivetz, 2007). They also pointed out that BBC's coverage by comparison to that of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya, would have displayed a somewhat more balanced approach. The BBC said that both Israel and Hezbollah were equally to be blamed for the war.

The emergence of Al-Jazeera into the media scene is believed to have created the phenomena called the "Al-Jazeera effect". The concept posits that the television news channel has become a dominant channel within the Muslim world and global reach broadening pan-Arab and pan-Muslim (Nisbet et.al., 2004). The notion believe that the network coverage of the war in the Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine could have raised the level of negative sentiment against the United States in the Muslim world and created pressure on many Muslim governments to act against the US policy. In a span of just 10 years, Al-Jazeera has transformed Arab politics and culture. Al-Jazeera's supporters say the network has built a strong following among 50 million Arab-language viewers by being the first Arab news source to offer viewers an uncensored 24-hour news service (el-Nawawy and Iskandar, 2002; Hanley, 2004). Al-Jazeera's executives also do not deny that the station presents the

news from the Arab perspective to counter dominant western perspectives like CNN and BBC, they also claim that their news has been presented as fair, accurate and in balanced manner (Al-Kasim, 1999; el-Nawawy, 2003).

However Hugh Miles (2006) argues that the barrage of accusation that is thrown towards Al-Jazeera is unjustified. He said that the claim Al-Jazeera supports terrorism is false as the network only presents terrorist groups as legitimate political commentators and it has never supported violence against United States. He also denounced the claim that Al-Jazeera is anti Semitic because the channel has devoted considerable amount of airtime to Israel, which is the first Arab channel to allow Israelis to present their case in their own words. On the claim that Al-Jazeera is biased, Miles said that Al-Jazeera is "no more biased than Fox News or CNN" as Al-Jazeera employ the same stringent editorial process as the western media, and each facts is scrutinized rigorously and fastidious in presenting all sides of a story.

Content analyses of Al-Jazeera programming have identified sensationalism as one of the familiar features of its news presentation (Nisbet *et.al.,* 2004). Sensationalism is said to embody in Al-Jazeera choice of video films and images with reports highlighting casualties and consequences for Muslim in the Palestinian and Iraqi conflict. Al-Jazeera also said to deviate from the western notion of objectivity when it comes to issue enjoying pan Arabism consensus, in which the sense of the balanced reporting of conflicting views seems to be virtually nonexistent. A discourse analysis on a Al-Jazeera's special report entitled "Intifada: 3 years On" by Anita L. Wenden (2005) explains that there are wide range of rhetorical options found in the article such as causes and consequences, problem/solutions, compare/contrast, argumentation or description which shows their ideological biases towards Palestinians. The reports consisting of 13 articles posted on Al- Jazeera's English website between 28 September 2003 and 3 October 2003 to mark the third anniversary of the Al-Aqsa Intifada. Her findings shows there is "militarist ideology that underlies the theme" where it explicitly support armed resistance by Palestinian in dealing with their conflict with Israel.

She also argues that the militarism ideology is linked together with components of Islamic Ideology "as a credible alternative to the failing nationalist trend and ideology and spirituality which promised deliverance and provided motivation and hope." She explains that both verbs and metaphors used in the article suggest images of physical harm and portrayed Israeli government policies as repressive and unjust towards Palestinians. Using the metaphor of losing their land, Palestinians are depicted as powerless but at the same time resistant towards Israelis occupation (Wenden, 2005).

There are a lot of researches that have been carried out pertaining to the bias portrayal of Western media on the continuing conflict between Israel and Palestine. Study done by Baltodano et.al (2007) that examines public discourse in Canada and the United States from the perspective

of cultural issues found similarities in both Canadian and United States media when reporting about the event relating to Israel-Palestine conflict. The occurrences selected for the study are the Israeli pullout from Gaza in 15 2005, the Palestinian presidential election in January 2005 and Hamas winning the Palestinian parliamentary election in January 2006. Five dominant recurrent themes which sided more on Israelis action and execution towards Palestinian emerged; they are 'Israeli benevolence', 'Palestinian opportunity', 'Palestinian failure', 'Palestinian as future threat' and 'Israeli action are justified'.

Al-Jazeera, along with other Arab media are regarded as hostile to the West and Israel in which they reflect and feed the mood of the Arab streets. In their coverage, they both are claimed to exploit the most sophisticated technology to carry their reports into the cafes and castles, huts and hamlets of the Middle East. The West sees Al-Jazeera as being manipulated by Bin Laden and such manipulation is let to happen by Al-Jazeera where media manipulation, according to the western media, works only there as it does in the Middle East (Kalb and Saivetz, 2007).

The Portrayal of Western Media on Islam
The role of the media is not only about presenting and depicting information and images; they also have the ability to shape opinions, and presenting particular version as reality. Through media discourse, a particular idea, value, and culture will be made a privilege position, or marginalizes to the extent of legitimizing violence against the other one. Through subtle or blatant propagation of hegemonic ideological stance, media could influence and adapt their ideas about one group in society. The ability of powerful groups to represent others in certain, stereotypical ways, emphasizing their difference, give them power to mark, assign and classify (Said, 1997). Said (1997) further claimed that malicious generalisations about Islam have become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the West. It is very obvious that mainstream western media reject any discussions pertaining to the positive values of Muslim mind, culture or character which cannot be said in any discussions about Africans, Jews and other Orientals or Asians. Due to such negative portrayals on Islam as a whole by the western media, Palestinians and Hamas are always regarded as terrorists as contrary to the Zionist regimes who are considered as national fighters against terrorism.

The western control over mainstream mass media is something that known well by everyone. Four main news agencies which are Associated Press (AP), Reuters, Agence France Presse (AFP), and United Press International (UPI) that are monitored closely by the West can be seen as one way of suppression under the so-called "freedom of press" slogan. The propaganda presented to the audience through technological and information development is very much prejudiced. When Al-Jazeera covered the war in Afghanistan, the US did not agree because it was totally against their policy. For that matter, the US had deterred CNN from taking any visuals and news updates pertaining

to the war from Al-Jazeera. All news and visuals covered by Al-Jazeera were considered as non-solid evidences and Al-Jazeera's credibility had been questioned. This obviously signifies the discrimination against Al-Jazeera as the valid source of news (Rosidayu Sabran, 2006).

The negative coverage of western media on Islam has become worse after the September 11 attacks in which is seen as another starting point for Islamophobia after the Crusades. Although the term 'Islamophobia' maybe a newly coined word, but it is not new and the western media have played a very significant role in influencing the society in their negative representation of Islam and Muslims. This intense loathing of Muslims has carried out since centuries ago due to the constant clash between Islam and the West, and is now being practiced in a different disguise. Amjad Ali, agrees with Said's viewpoint about the East-West antagonistic relationship;

"Islam has been the West's oldest, nearest and largest neighbour since its emergence in the seventh century. Christendom and Islam have lived side by side for some 14 centuries, and with the exception of Judaism, Islam is the only religion to coexist for so long with Christianity. For almost a millennium, the other world religions – Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, etc. – were thousands of miles away, but Islam was as near as Spain, the Pyrenees, Sicily, or the Balkans. This proximity, however, has not always resulted in the most congenial of interactions on either side. Instead, this relationship has been replete with hostility and suspicion, because Islam was not merely a neighbour; it was also the only real competitor for spiritual loyalty in the Mediterranean world. Today, these tensions have resurfaced and are manifesting in what some would call 'Islamophobia' – the fear, dread and even hatred of all things Muslim" (Amjad Ali, 2006: 291-320)

Previous content analysis research on Al-Jazeera news program showed that the network has been biased towards Palestinian in its representation of the Israeli Palestinian conflict (Wenden, 2005). For that, Al-Jazeera has been criticized for pandering to the views of the Arab-world and particularly by being critical on US policy decisions. However, some argues that Al-Jazeera provides Arab news from an Arab perspective (Zednik, 2002) and it is no bias than FOX or CNN network in representing the American point of views. Others are applauding Al-Jazeera for its brazenness in representing the voice of the repressed group "for what they see as the legitimate aspiration of Arab/ Muslim especially those in Palestine" (Hickey, 2002: 40). The question is; Does Al-Jazeera network, which claimed itself as objective and balance is biased especially in portraying issues relating to Arab-Muslim interest or does it stand to its vision as a network that gives the "voice to untold stories, promote debate, and challenge established perceptions". And with changes in the landscape of Palestinian and Israelis conflict (e.g. crises between Hamas and Fatah), how different is Al-Jazeera's approach to the conflict in Palestine?

Israel Palestinian Conflict

For over two decades now Palestinians have engaged in multiple forms protest against the Israeli government, from the spontaneous acts of individuals to the collective bargaining of formal political agencies (Noakes, J. & Wilkins, K 2002). Previous research demonstrates that coverage of Arabs generally has focus on conflicts with Israel, and according to many analyses, more from an Israeli than Arab perspective (Chomsky, 1989, Daugherty and Warden, 1979, Hashem, 1995). Elseewi's (1998) finding that Palestinians were more likely to be described as violent as terrorists as Israelis is consistent with arguments that challenging groups are viewed through a protest paradigm which, among other things, demonizes the opponents of the status quo.

Zaharna (1995) found that while Palestinians were relatively invisible until about 1967, they were constructed as terrorist or refugees for the subsequent 20 years. This Palestinian resistance however may have increased the legitimacy of the PLO and the Palestinian quest for sovereignty, at least temporarily, As is typical in international coverage, the US news media initially focused on episode of Palestinian protest and Israeli repression (Cohen et al., 1993). Nonetheless, Wolsfeld (1993) argues, at least for a brief period of time, the Palestinian frame of 'injustice' may have eclipsed Israeli frames of this intifada as a matter of 'law and order' or 'terrorism'. Moreover, since the first intifada, news coverage has been more likely articulate Palestinians as a distinct group, separate from their association with more broadly termed 'Arabs' (Elseewi, 1998).The intifada, of course, was not the only change in the political context of the Middle East. In the same way that changes in the Palestinian protests effected media frames, so did Israeli countermeasures.

Studies of the role of the media in Arab-Israeli conflict suggest media rarely report the conflict neutrally. Gamson's (1992) study of media coverage of nine "critical discourse moment" in the Arab-Israeli conflict identified the following five major frames such as strategic interest, feuding neighbours, Arab intransigence, Israel expansionism and dual liberation. An analysis of 25 news stories representative of the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in this period revealed that there was preponderance of quoting of Palestinian and Israeli civilians (78.1% of direct quotes, 56.4% of indirect quotes, 60% of total). For each event, both Palestinian and Israeli were quoted, demonstrating a commitment to "balancing" the presentation, but Palestinian civilians were the most frequently attributed source of both direct and indirect quotes Israeli authorities comprised almost one-third of indirect quotes, but Israeli civilians, along with Palestinian authorities, were infrequently quoted (Almeida E. P. 2005).

Methodology of Content Analysis

The samples for this study are news clips from Al-Jazeera English channel during the War in Gaza. The duration of study is from December 27 2008, where Israel begins its assault on Gaza; until January 21 2009, when Israel claims it has completed the withdrawal of its troops. The clips were downloaded from Al-Jazeera channels on Youtube websites. There are 59 clips have been identified for the study and transcribed into the broadcast news format which contains the reporter's narration and visual narration.

Transcribed news writing will be analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method. CDA is a qualitative process that looks into the dialectical relationship between semiotic modalities such as languages, and social practices (Chiapello and Fairclough, 2002). CDA method assumes that language and social process are deeply implicated with one another, and view language as a representation of social practice that constitute meaning in social process (Chouliaraki, 2000). CDA represents a growing body of work that adopts the functionalist definition of discourse. The overall aim of CDA has been to link linguistic analysis to social analysis (Richardson, 2007). It analyzes obscure as well as visible structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as they are manifest in language (Baker *et. al.,* 2008). In way of producing that, CDA requires interdisciplinary approach to understand how language changes the process of understanding, organizing and exercising knowledge and power in a society.

This study will closely follow Norman Fairclough (2002) approach to CDA which emphasize on an analysis of relationship between language, and social practice with particular concern on "the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:123). Fairclough model argues that to fully understand what discourse is and how it works, analysis needs to draw out the form and function of the text, the way that this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed and the relation of this to the wider society in which it take place (Richardson, 2007). According to Fairclough, languages are manifested through social practice in three ways; First as a part of social activity within a practice, such as the use of languages in particular profession; Second languages that figures in representation, on how social group construct representation of others and themselves and how that enter and shape social process and practices; Third language that define the identity of people in a different social class, such as in gender, nationality, ethnic and culture. Those three representations by languages through social process constitute discourse. Discourse therefore could be said as creating differentiations by making the meaning and social ordering of relationship among different social order. Two important concepts are significant in explaining the concept of social ordering process in discourse. First is dominance, which is a way of making dominant meaning in particular discourse while others are being made marginal, oppositional and alternative. Second is the concept of hegemony as part of the legitimizing dominance

towards other group in a society. According to Fairclough (2002), there are three stages of CDA, namely:

i-   *Description* - the stage which concerns the formal properties of text
ii- *Interpretation* – concerned with the relationship between text and interaction, with seeing the text as the product of a process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation
iii- *Explanation* – concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation and their social effects.

Mass media discourse is interesting because the nature of the power relations enacted in it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it as involving hidden relations of power. The most obvious difference between face-to-face discourse and media discourse is the 'one-sidedness of the latter. In media discourse, there is a sharp division between producers and interpreters. And unlike in face-to-face discourse, media discourse is designed for mass audiences, and there is no way that producers can even know who is in the audience, let alone adapt to its divers section. And since all discourse producers must produce with some interpreters in mind, what media producers do is address an ideal subject, be it viewer, or listener or reader. Media discourse has built into it a subject position for an ideal subject and actual viewers or listeners or readers have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject (Fairclough, 2002).

The procedure of analysis for the transcribed Al-Jazeera news will start with textual analysis. Textual analysis aims to highlight the different ways in which "language is used to construct an explanation of the events and its participants" (Achugar, 2004). It is believed that the choice of words in news reports is deliberately chosen by the journalist who is influenced by his/her society (Pan, 2002). Therefore wordings may represent differentiation of systems of ideas; pertaining social processes that involving conflict. The analyzed texts will help to identify ideological positions of the news story explaining opinions in the news reporting through identification of relevant connotation for a specific social group.

For the purpose of this study, we construct a series of theme from the transcribed news. These themes are based on the keyword or phrases of news clips that reflect the meaning of the story. For example, theme no.1 stated that '*Israelis are attacking Palestinian, not only Hamas*", which can be explained through the following script:

Clip 1: 20 Jan – Israel scorched earth policy

STAND UPPER: (Journalist)
SOT IN
The harsh realities according to all the eyewitnesses here, these homes were not destroyed at the beginning of the operation or during the operation. ***They were destroyed as the Israeli troops withdrew in the last 24 hours****.*
SOT OUT

SOT IN: (Faiza Abbatewi/Gaza resident)
They destroy everything, destroy everything*. All what we need. What we need for life.*
SOT OUT

Clip 2: Israel bombs Gaza cemetery

In Gaza, even the dead do not lie in peace*. **An Israeli bomb dropped** on Sheikh Razwan cemetery, pulverising dozens of bodies some of which have been buried in recent days.*

The highlighted words of '***They were destroyed as the Israeli troops withdrew in the last 24 hours*** and ***An Israeli bomb dropped on Sheikh Razwan cemetery***, are among stories that contributed the construction of the theme and signify certain ideology.

The study of ideology is a study of 'the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds'. This kind of study will also investigate the social contexts within which symbolic forms are employed and deployed. The investigator has interest in determining whether such forms establish or sustain relations of domination. An important perspective in CDA is that it is very rare for a text to be the work of any one person. In texts discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which are themselves in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. In analyzing text, one's focus is constantly alternating between what is 'there' in the text, and the discourse types which the text is drawing upon (Fairclough, 2002).

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                          News Report
                  ┌────────────┴────────────┐
               Summary                     Story
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐    ┌───────┴───────┐
       Headline              Lead  Situational     Comments
                                ┌──────┴──────┐
                             Episode      Background
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Figure 1: Van Dijk's structure of news scheme (Erjavec, 2001).

The analysis of the theme in Al-Jazeera news on the war in Gaza will be based on Van Dijk's "semantic microstructure". This analysis will help to define the most important and relevant information in the news script. This microstructure "defines the coherence of the text and ensures that the meaning of words and sentence have connectivity and unity" (Erjavec, 2001). In analyzing the thematic organization in the news, a schemata or series of hierarchical ordered category will be defined. Van Dijk schemata and category of news report will be employed in this research (Figure 1). His hierarchical news category is divided into Summary category and Story category. The summary category is further sub-divided into Headline and Lead. The Story category, which represents longer news report contains sub division of Episode and Background, while the Commentary category contains the opinion of the journalist themselves which is categorized into verbal and solution.

According to Fairclough (2002), schemata are part of interpretative procedures for the fourth level text interpretation and frames and scripts are closely related notions. They constitute a family type of mental representation of aspect of the world and share the property of mental representation in general of being ideologically variable. A schema (plural schemata) is a representation of a particular type of activity in terms of predictable elements in the predictable sequence. It is a mental representation of the 'larger scale textual structure'. Schemata are mental typification of such structures which operate as interpretive procedure. A frame is a representation of whatever can figure as a topic or subject matter or referent within an activity. Frame can represent types of person, or process or abstract concepts or etc. While frames represent the entities which can be evokes or referred to in the activities represented by schemata, scripts represent the subjects who are involved in these activities and their relationships. They typify the ways in which specific classes of subject behave in social activities, and how members of specific classes of subject behave toward each other (Fairclough, 2002).

How people interpret the point of a text is of considerable significance in terms of the effect of a text, for it is the point that is generally retained in

memory, recalled and intertextually alluded to or reported in other text. The experiential or 'content' aspect of point is what is familiarly known as topic, but point cannot be reduced to topic because they are also relational and expressive dimension of point. The schemata, frames and script can be regarded playing a role in the interpretation of point: they act as stereotypical patterns against which we can match endlessly diverse text, and once we identify a text as an instance of pattern, we happily dispense with the mass of its detail and reduce it to the skeletal shape of the familiar pattern for purposes of long term memory and recall. Schemata, scripts and frames are as said earlier ideologically variable, which bear the ideological imprint of socially dominant power holders that are likely to be a naturalized resource for all (Fairclough, 2002).

Findings

The following analysis covered 59 transcribed TV news clips of Al-Jazeera English channel during the War in Gaza from December 27 2008 until January 21 2009. In all analyzed news script we identify five distinctive discourses by Al-Jazeera related to the Israeli and Palestinian conflict:

Israelis are attacking Palestinians, not only Hamas
The comparison of the propositions of the analyzed news clip enables us to discover that the proposition "Israel are targeting Palestinian" has been adopted by more than 80% of articles in Al-Jazeera coverage of war in Gaza. The discourse by Al-Jazeera's journalists shows that the war has been the *latest method of punishing* Palestinian after many years of imposed economic sanction. The war is described as a continuous suffering, a devastation imposed by Israeli to Gazan who has been *eluded by a peace in life.* The war has not only caused death but also disallowing living Palestinians having their basic need to live; forcing Gazan *to choose between going hungry, or risking their life to get something to eat.* Al-Jazeera has portrayed the life of Gazans during the war as *unbearable.....as people wait for hours to get water and food.*

The discourse continues to display nothing in terms of the sufferings of Palestinians but *cripple every facet of life* due to the attacks. The sufferings of the victims have been continuously exhibited throughout the discourse showing the *ruins that affect thousands of families* who are the civilians and this is what they are *seeing and feeling all over again and again.* Life for the victims has been described as miserable with *no place to go* but no house to stay since all over the place there was only *wreckage replacing their home.* The hope to rebuild Gaza aftermath the war remains hope as *it won't be easy* because *rebuilding Gaza will cost a billion dollars.*

Destruction caused by Israel attack on Gaza is overlexicalized—that is, *destruction* is lexicalized in a variety of ways such as *devastation, destroyed, pounded, cripple, damaged, bombardment and ruined.* The situation in Gaza

is described as *carnage*, *horror, grim, chaos, bloodiest, ruthless, a scene of death, bloody scene, and gruesome*. Israel is said to *massacring* Palestinian and is committing another *Holocaust*. A number of discourses in the clips depict the massacre towards Palestinians by Israelis. The regime is said by Al-Jazeera to kill Gazans regardless of gender and age. One of the examples is the killing of hundreds of Gazans as to prevent *a humanitarian boat from reaching them.*

The word *Attack* by Israel lexicalized as *pounding, pummelling, assault, round of fire, shelling and bombardment*. The attack on United Nation School on the 6th of January 2009 which killed more than 40 Palestinian is particularly highlighted as an example of Israel *indiscriminate* attack on Palestinian civilian:

Carnage outside the United Nation School near the Jabaliyah refuge camp. Many of this victims thought they would be safe inside a UN building ...but clearly they were not

The discourse also explains that Israelis do not really care about the death of innocent by targeting the UN school which was described as *the last place of refuge for civilian trying to flee from fighting.* Al-Jazeera emphasized on the fact that United Nation says the Israel military has the coordination and the location of all its facility in Gaza and yet the shells still landed just meters from the schools which killed dozens of children. The description made by Al-Jazeera shows the ironic part of the attack where the UN school was expected to *protect them but instead their shelter became their death trap*. The discourse that "Israel deliberately targeting Palestinian" is further strengthened with Israeli military attack on Mosques: *a house of God for Muslims*; and even during Friday prayer where *Israeli war plane overhead and shelling all around this destroyed mosque.*

Palestinian hospitals have been the main scene of Al-Jazeera's discourse during the war in Gaza. The Gaza hospital is described as *chaos, inundated, overwhelmed, stuffed, crowded* with *hundreds of people receive dangerously low, limited medical supplies as the regime closes Gaza border to the outside* causing disallowing of *essential medicine and in no position to cope.*. The Gaza hospital has been made a symbol of a *tale of the pain of war* with a scene of chaos as injured and dead arrived with Palestinians helplessly looking for their family member, has become a staple reporting by Al-Jazeera journalist. There is a number of coverage in Sderot, the Israeli town that has been hit directly by the Qassam rocket from Gaza. It gives the context from Israeli point of view on why the war is necessary for the Israeli, but at the same time, the reporting mostly highlighting the uneven proportion of thousand of Palestinian death compared to the infliction caused by the Qassam rocket.

What has happen in this small town has become the trigger for a war that has already killed hundreds of Palestinian. But people in Sderot don't accept argument about proportionality.

The war in Gaza is appropriated to long fought conflict between Palestinian-Israel in which Israel has been describe as the occupying force since 40 years ago. The war is being seen as an extension of Israeli siege starting with *embargo which Israel and International community impose on the people of Gaza*. Israel blockades of goods and supplies since one and half years before the war has *starved them of the right to a decent and dignified life* and *cripples every facet of life* of Gazan. Reporting by Al-Jazeera is also making the existence of hundreds of tunnel in Gaza as legitimate due to *crippling siege of Gaza that's been driving the growth of smuggling network*. It is believed that there are as many as one thousand tunnels linking Gaza strip to Egypt where all types of goods such as foods and fuel go through the underground passages including weapon to arm Hamas according to Israel official. Israel claims that the underground routes give Hamas and other Palestinian faction to smuggle weapon to fire rocket at Israel. However Al-Jazeera discourse portray that the tunnel is seen as a reaction of Gazan whom digs *themselves out of poverty and deprivation*. The tunnel have become *the lifeline for half million Gazan whom Israel has denied free access to the goods to the outside world*. Smugglers have turned the tunnel into multimillion industries and *destroying the tunnels completely may be impossible.*

The casualty of family, women and children is emphasized in the Al-Jazeera's discourse. They are described as the *victim of Israel so called war on Hamas*. The words family is overlexicalized—that is, *family* is lexicalized in the chain of words such as below:

> A **mother** *lying next to her two young* **children** *….for a final few minutes. Another* **family** *lost because of Israel assault of Gaza.*
>
> or
>
> *Another* **mother** *loses her* **son***, another* **sister** *in pain and another* **family** *torn apart because of Israeli's war*
>
> or
>
> *As the assault continues to widen, the effect are being felt right here by* **mothers***,* **fathers, sisters, brothers** *and* **friends***.*
>
> or
>
> *And amidst the war that has ruined thousand of* **families** *…a chance for* **family** *to bury the dead and lay them in peace.*
>
> or
>
> *For five days he has been at home, and like his* **brothers***, he won't leave his* **mother** *side.*
>
> or
>
> *The* **families** *have removed all the glass panels of the window so they don't shatter and injure them when the next strike hit.*
>
> or
>
> *The entire family five children and their parents perished in the attack. Three other children and their mother were killed in a separate attack on a Palestinian home.*
>
> or

> *A pregnant lady in another home… killed with her four children.*
> *This man the only survivor… when his family perished on the*
> *barrage of Israeli rockets.*

People all over the world support Gaza, but not their government
The analysis of Al-Jazeera news during the war in Gaza has shown how Al-Jazeera highlighted the discourse of the support given by people all over the world for the Palestinians during Gaza war. In this discourse, social actors are divided into supporters of Gazan (and its representative Hamas) and supporters of Israeli right to attack Gaza. The proposition "people all over the world are supporting Palestinians and condemning Israeli act" is represented through protest in outside Gaza. The *worldwide official condemnation* is shown through protestors who *demonstrated in anger and in support of Palestinian* and *the protests are expected to grow as the fighting goes on*. They move along the road to express their *anger and frustration against the silence of international community seeing the killing in Gaza and doing nothing*. The popular support towards Gaza is shown not only coming from the Arab world, but also from the Western country:

> *Around three thousand in Washington DC gathered in front of*
> *the state department and marched through downtown DC waving*
> *Palestinian flag and yelling pro Palestinian slogan.*

Some protests shown in Al-Jazeera were done by a small number of Jews at *Israel ambassador residence protesting Israeli actions against Palestinians*. The support is also depicted through the willingness of Non Governmental Organization all over the world sending goods and medical supplies to the people in Gaza, particularly from the *enthusiastic doctors* with *truck of loads medical supply* who are attempting to go through the Rafah crossing point from Egypt.

However, the discourse also shows that the world governments are indifferent towards the Israel bombing on Gaza which killed thousands of Palestinians. The discourse particularly blames America who *spearheaded the sanction against Hamas,* as directly involve in the Gaza war. America is believed to have been part of the war by donating billions of military aids to Israeli government every year. In particular, America is being made guilty for closing its eye towards Israel, which use the US made White Phosphorous weapon, a chemical-based missile against Palestinian, which is a violation of international law. Such *deadly weapon* that has been illegally used *against civilian* killed innocent children and women and this is considered as an *assault of humiliation of all international humanitarian law (Geneva Convention)*. In one of the news, the discourse juxtaposes the relax mood on among the US citizen of Arkansas where the White Phosphorous artillery are made, with the chaotic bombing scene in Gaza.

> *As civilian in Gaza suffer from agonizing burn injuries cause by what human rights official suspects are American made White Phosphorous filled artillery shells sold to and fired by Israel military, then thousand kilometer away…it's bowling night in the US town of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, where these artillery shells are made.*

Arab government has been portrayed as failing to help Palestinians from Israeli bombardment *in any meaningful way* and the *so called Middle East Quartet are still weighing in* while scores of Palestinians continue being killed. Al-Jazeera has stressed out this by claiming that the neighbouring governments *fail to intervene, and the Arab leagues are days away from even meeting.* However, in sharp contrast to *the state of disturb among Arab leaders, the Arab street is unanimous.* Many Arab citizens in neighbouring countries organized demonstrations to show their support towards Palestinians although their own governments seem to remain silent. Al-Jazeera has quoted the event in Khartoum, Sudan where *one leader spoke out against the relaxed mood among his Arab colleagues.* The same happened in Morocco where some members of parliament organized *their own rally in Rabat calling for Arabs not to look at the situation in Gaza just from a humanitarian perspective.*

Hamas will not go away
Analyzed Al-Jazeera news report during Gaza war shows support on Hamas position in Gaza. Hamas leadership vows to revenge and Hamas *chilling called to arms to defend both life and property against Israel ruthless* has been featured on half of the report on war in Gaza. Even though Israel has more superior military apparatus, the discourse portrays that Hamas could not be easily won and the Israeli *cannot enter Gaza lightly* and *any ground offensive will be hard fought.* The war with Gaza will not eliminate Hamas as they repeatedly warned the Israel that the *incursion into a Gaza Strip will not be a picnic*, but *Gaza will be their graveyard* and for the citizen of the Israeli town who has been attacked by the Qassam rockets before, things *may become much worst, as long as people in Gaza are under attack.* Al-Jazeera displays the strength and determination possessed by Hamas in the articles and quoted what said by the Hamas representative:

> *We are aware of our capability. We are also aware we do not have geographical depth. Our military capability is limited and mediocre. But our resolve is as steel, our belief is unshaken and we are ready for a challenge. It is a war of necessity, not a war of a choice.*

The discourse also indicates that Hamas position as the legitimate group for Palestinian in Gaza is strengthening. In 2006, Hamas has won the Palestinian Parliamentary election, but has been rejected by the Israeli and America whom they regard as a terrorist organization. However in the Al-Jazeera discourse the Palestinian group *appears to be widening the quest of a wave of immense popularity*. The Israeli offensive against Gaza has not deterred

support for Hamas rather it has solidify the group standing across the region and *is giving Hamas renewed confidence to remain defiant in the face of Israeli offensive*. Hamas steadfastness against Israel has *won the heart and mind of the Muslim worlds*.

Even though Hamas has been seen regarded as nuisance by the Arab world for refusing to kowtow to Israeli and American demands, it will *grow into something everyone in the region will have to learn to live with*. Many Gazans believe that *if it weren't for the Hamas movement, Palestine would have been lost long time ago.* Support for Hamas has also widened to West Bank, a rivaled Fatah controlled territory. Many in the West Bank appear reluctant to *publicly support its fierce political rival Hamas, or to be seen doing so.* The reporting on the Hamas popularity and persistence in facing the onslaught on Gaza does fortify their position in the Palestine. Quoted the phrases;

In their regular TV appearances since the start of the onslaught on Gaza… Hamas leader, carefully craft a narrative that appeals to Muslim. They often use many quotes from the Quran, Islam most sacred book.

This was said a tactic use by Hezbollah when fighting the Israel in the summer of 2006. However, that popularity also causing real concern to the government of neighbouring countries like Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

The discourse portrayed what can be seen as an ideological positioning, which represent connotation of relevant parties or group that involved in the matter. The words of *carefully craft a narrative, appeals to Muslim* by Hamas leader constructed a meaning by symbolic form in a social context of what happens in Palestine. As mentioned by Fairclough (2002), ideology is the key mechanism of rule by consent, and because it favored vehicle of ideology, discourse is of considerable social significance in this connection.

Palestinians will fight back

The next discourse is a discourse that stated Palestinians will fight back despite being ravaged by the Israel war. Gazans who are represented by Hamas is defiance that they *will defend the territory and said Gaza will be a graveyard for Israel* even on the face of Israel mighty military troops and equipment. The death of several Hamas leaders from Israeli attacks is seen as a way of *remaining defiant until the end*. The official voice of Gazan is mainly represented by Hamas political leader Khaleed Meshall whose *promised defeat to Israel if it invades Gaza.* The Israel offensive Gaza appears to have brought the Palestinian military group together *fighting a common war.* The endless and worthless negotiation with Israel has forced the people of Gaza *to defend both life and property against Israel ruthless occupation* as they call a *time for the third Intifada*. The Israel government believes war is the only way to guarantee security and Palestinian section is prepared to fight. This happened because the Palestinians believe that the Israelis are actually *not at war against Hamas* as claimed, instead they *are fighting Palestinian people*.

Amidst the destruction, there is evidence of resilience among people in Gaza with *a family sticking together through time and hunger and now through days of war.* The Gazan faithful Muslims were seen undeterred, through *a moment of peaceful prayer*. Even the *Israeli show off their military hardware*, *incredibly perhaps unimpressed not one of the mourners seems to look up from their prayer*. The work of Palestinian medics still goes on to help the wounded Palestinians despite *power failures, critically low medical supplies and a mounting death toll*; and Palestinian paramedics remain undeterred in helping the victims of war even with the death of their team members.

The tunnel network is also becoming a symbol of Gaza defiant. Even though Israel has been aggressively bombing and ruining the underground route, it is said to continue long after the current crisis is over as a way of Palestinian showing Israel that they will fight back. In a bigger level, Al-Jazeera discourse portrays that the new generations of Palestinians who are staying in the Western countries are being seen as more politically engaged in Palestinian issues*, one piece of good news out of Gaza horror.* The war that is regarded as *something being spurred by the Gaza crises* has finally raised *awareness of the issues among younger Palestinian Americans*.
The Zionist keeps lying

Another major theme extracted from the discourse is the portrayal of Israelis as absolute liars by Al-Jazeera. The discourse shows what have been reported by the Palestine civilians related to ceasefire. They claim that the Israelis gave them *only one hour and called it a ceasefire*, but what happened was the Israelis kept *bombing and invading* them during this so called a ceasefire. Another discourse displays the release of cockpit video by Israelis *giving the impression its target were hit with precision,* but actually they were not and the victims then arrived in hospitals in hopeless condition. Further discourse depicts that the *Israelis claim they are not harming civilians or their homes, that Hamas in bearing the brunch of this war* but what actually happened is *the evidence of Israel continuing assault and the effect on those they insist is not their target.* When the Israeli were reported to make a statement that they *will decide when to stop* the war, everyone is already aware that they were completely lie on the ceasefire process Hamas has already understood *that Israeli not going to leave anymore in a region in which the bullies control the flames.*

Public places like school, hospitals and university as well as the underground tunnel out to Egypt that always a target for Israel to attack Palestinians is seen as cheating the world by claiming that those targets are centres for Hamas activities. One incident reported by Al-Jazeera is the bombing of the Islamic University of Gaza where *30 students used to study there but Israel said it was a Hamas site for making weapon and explosives*. Another incident is the attack of the supply tunnel which has caused massive destructions and Israel insisted on doing so for the purpose of deterring a so called *Hamas's weapon smuggling activity.*

The high number of death toll among women and children during the war as reported in Al-Jazeera proves Israelis as absolute liars. *Women and children still making half of that casualty toll and these are victims of Israel so called on Hamas.* Hamas was actually not the so called a real target of Israel and they were lying on this as they actually attacked the whole population in which *every place in Gaza strip was targeted.* This attitude of Israel is further shown in the discourse where Israeli Naval vessel had attacked the humanitarian boat from reaching Gaza and Israel claimed that it was an accident, which according to Al-Jazeera was unlikely to be true.

Despite much effort in depicting what really happened in Gaza, the discourse manage to uncover what Al-Jazeera infer as *Israel coverage of Gaza under scrutiny*. They believe that all the reporting made by Israeli correspondences were outside the war zone, and in fact, less coverage on the war by Israel media itself. Textually, the phrases of '*The onslaught is still strong backed by most Israelis is rarely off the screen'* and *'Telling story but on a limited side of the story'*, explains the event happened in the Palestine. This has again illustrated how Israeli manipulates power in regards to ideology; most effective when its workings are least visible. If one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to be a common sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities, i.e. to function ideologically. And invisibility is achieved when ideologies are brought to discourse not as explicit elements of the text, but as the background assumptions which on the one hand lead the text producer to 'textualize' the world in particular way and on the other hand lead the interpreter to interpret text in particular way (Fairclough, 2002).

The discourse portrayed how the Israel media is trying to sterilize the news report by only telling one part of the story, *which is the Israeli side*. People of the world haven't seen much on what happen on the other side. Al-Jazeera captured the coverage as *undoubtedly affected the way Israeli views the conflict*. Regardless the deceitful and lying reports made by the Israeli media, their *coverage is likely to be a key factor in the strong support among Israelis for the ongoing offensive*.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The dominant discourses in the coverage of Gaza war by Al-Jazeera English news included the following themes; *Israels are attacking Palestinian, not only Hamas; People all over the world support Gaza; Hamas will not go away, Palestinians will fight back and The Zionists keeps lying.* These five themes are interlinked in a way that it concerns with Israeli continuous suppression of Palestinian right to live in a peaceful and free country. At the same time the themes are appropriated to a more complex and intricate discourse on Palestinian perennial fight for their lost land since the creation of Israel in 1948. Therefore the discourse theme is not something new for the

Muslim generally and Arab region in particular. However for an international news agency like Al-Jazeera, this discourse could be regarded as counter discourse to the western media arena that has been seen so far as stifling the Palestinian issues from the public sphere of TV news audience.

Study done by Baltodano et.al (2007) that examines public discourse in Canada and the United States for example found that five dominant recurrent themes which shows bias towards Israelis action and regarded Palestinian as a future threat. Study on the mainstream Israeli press coverage of the two Palestinian populations during the start of the Al Aqsa Intifada found that the Israeli press also seems to play an important role in reproducing ethnic stereotypes that perpetuate cycles of inequality and oppression among the Palestinians (Khalil, 2007). Therefore, according to Foucault, the existence of counter discourses is important, as discourse can be not only "an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1990, p. 101). In this case, Al-Jazeera news channel has brought the issues of Israeli and Palestinian conflict to the international news media from the Palestinian perspectives.

Another television news discourse analysis done by Ben-Shaul (2006) on CNN's, Israeli TV channels' and Palestinian Authority Television's (PATV) news coverage on September 11 attacks and al-Aqsa Intifada found that the Israeli TV channels promotes merely a revenge against Palestinians and vice-versa. While Israeli television channels showed no single images of Palestinians being brutally attacked and made numerous claims of the rights to attack Palestinians, PATV on the other hand portrayed casualties and suffering of Palestinians whom depicted by the station as victims of greedy and hatred.

Previous studies on Al-Jazeera programming have identified sensationalism as one of the familiar features of its news presentation (Nisbet et.al, 2004). Al-Jazeera also said to disregard the notion of balance reporting when covering issues that involve pan Arabism consensus. However this study suggests that even though Al-Jazeera tone was notably sympathetic towards Palestinian, Al-Jazeera is fastidious in presenting all sides of a story and each claim is supported with credible sources. This study also found no "militarist ideology that underlies the theme" of Al-Jazeera reporting as claimed by Wenden (2005) in her study of Al-Jazeera's special report on Intifada. This study however found that Al-Jazeera is being as more supportive towards Hamas which is regarded as official representative for Palestinian. In terms of attributing the causal agent for a particular incident, this study found that Al-Jazeera do place Israelis most of the time at the beginning position as "the agent of a very concrete action aimed at the Palestinian".

In the future, it might be fruitful to study the video films and images of Al-Jazeera English news together with its reports coverage on Palestinian and Israeli conflict. This will give more holistic pictures of the role of Al-Jazeera TV news in legitimizing discourse from the Palestinian perspective or delegitimize inequality and the dominant group consensus towards Palestinian reproduced by the mainstream western media. A more detailed and thorough research on Al-Jazeera news coverage related to Palestinian-Israeli conflict could also be conducted by analysing the content of its Web. Its online version of news updates seems to be another alternative for researchers of such interest to explore and analyse. The data would be sufficient enough to see on the level of tensions rise between the two nations.

Along with the above recommendations, the researchers would also like to suggest a research on the Al-Jazeera's news framing on political Islam post September 11. The abundance of news reporting on Islam and political Islam by the western media creates biasness against and fear towards Muslims and Muslim groups. Thus, the research on how Al-Jazeera counters against such prejudice would give some lights to the Muslim world in facing the reality of current situation of political Islam today.

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