

**Between the headlines of the Israeli - Arabic conflict: the coverage of CNN and
Al Jazeera**

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The purpose of this article is to analyze the coverage made by CNN and Al Jazeera (in Arabic) to operation Cast Lead and the Goldstone Report during 2008 and 2009. This investigation is based in the theory of Qualitative Analysis of Content, by Wildemuth and Zhang. The methodology follows up with the one proposed by the authors in the main theory, complementing it with the Gamson and Modigliani's Framing theory. The methodology mention above display the different in the coverage development, determined by the geopolitical influences; being CNN more influenced by a Western pro USA and pro Israeli speech, while Al Jazeera is more prone to support the Palestinian cause, this is the thesis of this article. During the development of the investigation, the thesis was demonstrated to be only partially accurate as CNN was not completely supportive to the Israeli arguments during the coverage, but Al Jazeera did have preferential speech for the Palestinian cause.

Key words: Cast Lead, Goldstone, Arab- Israeli conflict, CNN, Al Jazeera, Israel, Palestine, Middle East, Gaza, Qualitative Analysis of Content.

The hypothesis of this article is, that in regard to the Israel and Palestine conflict, there were two specific frames. One where western media, represented here by CNN in this paper, was pro Israel; while the eastern media, represented by Al Jazeera (in Arabic), had a discourse more set to defend the Palestine cause.

Is important to declare that the initial hypothesis demonstrated to be only relatively true during the development of this investigation.

There are four main points that these paper each one of them marked by a subhead. The first subhead is the conceptual frame, in this case the *qualitative analysis of content* (Wildemuth, 2009) and methodology followed by this investigation. The second subhead indicates the analysis of the coverage of Operation Cast Lead by CNN and Al Jazeera, focusing in headlines, photos, and main topics (Modigliani, 1989). The third subhead makes reference to the coverage of the Goldstone Report with the same detailing of the aforementioned. And final subhead, here a comparison is made where both coverage media face each other and evidence their differences regarding this specific the specific matter of Operation Cast Lead and the Goldstone report.

This paper is set as an investigation belonging to the journalistic discipline. Is important to highlight that even though there are other papers analyzing the media coverage for the Israeli and Palestine conflict, this paper gives a new perspective in the matter of the media of selection and the theory involved, making it a unique piece. CNN has been analysis before, but regarding Al Jazeera in Arabic, there are not that much material facing this broadcast channel with other western media, this is on its main contribution.

Media coverage from east to west is another recurrent topic in investigations. Especially after 9/11, a good example of this is: That's why *A Comparative Content Analysis of Wartime News Sources: CNN and Al-Jazeera* by Jang, S. He gives an interesting analysis because compares how CNN and Al Jazeera cover war as an overall topic, focusing in the Gulf War and the Iraq War. This study shows that western media specially CNN, only focuses in MENA countries (other than Israel) and undeveloped countries when there are bad things to show.

Another important guideline in this field is related to social media and their role in the current coverage of Middle East situation. One of the most significant studies that has been made around these two elements is *Facebook revolutions: Transitions in the Arab world, transitions in media coverage? A comparative analysis of CNN and Al Jazeera English's online coverage of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions* by Mahara Barshi. Here the author studies the coverage that CNN and Al Jazeera online did around the uprising in Tunisia and Egypt. Analyzing around 941 sources in 70 articles. This analysis was made with the interesting turn of the role that social media played in this particular phenomenon. "A total of 947 sources were examined: 341 routine, 348 informal, and 258 enterprises. Overall, CNN used more sources in their stories than Al Jazeera English." (Bashri, 2012).

There are some other general studies in which the author analyses the overall competition between Al Jazeera and CNN but focusing in one aspect only, the Iraq war. This is the case of *The Competition Between Al-Jazeera's Arab News Diversity and US Channels: Content Analysis of Iraq War*. This analysis was made from early 2003 to the early 2005, focusing on the diversity of the news that each of them provide. He showed how the news influences the thought of people around the Iraq war. Concluding that each of them had different political and social views and interests of news making. (Jenaibi, 2010)

There's another very important line that is very critical for the coverage of this to networks. This is the case of *Does Al Jazeera provide contra flow information? How the Iranian election and its consequences were framed on Al Jazeera Arabic and CNN International* a Student paper presented in Singapore. This text analyses the contra flow of the news that Al Jazeera and CNN published during the time of the Iranian War. It focuses on a cross-national comparative media analysis. The main conclusion of this paper is that Al Jazeera and CNN work as a contra flow from each other. This can be attributed to the fact that this broadcast channels rarely show the same events, or at least hardly ever give them the same level of importance. Meaning that what Al Jazeera features as important is not

shown as significant (or don't appear at all) in the coverage of CNN and the other way around, which contradicts the one way traffic define by the author. This paper works especially with the news coverage on the "War on terror" catapulted Al Jazeera into an international broadcaster whose logo showed up on television screens around the world. (Schenk, 2010)

There's a lot of literature that illustrates the power that the media has especially in the MENA countries. *Turkey and Israel: Reciprocal and Mutual Imaginary in the media 1994 to 1994* by Anat Lewin is a good approach. Compares the media effect in two MENA countries in terms of public perception (Lewis, 2002).

In conclusion there's a lot of literature regarding the case study, but as it was mentioned before, the approach of the Qualitative analysis of content is a distinctive approach to CNN and Al Jazeera regarding the timing of the conflict selected and even the conflict itself.

It is important to state that as the oldest conflict on earth, the Israel and Palestine struggle has evolved to different battlefields during its development. Taking advantage of the media, which is not a new concept, is exactly why this is a relevant topic. This topic in particular reflects not only the importance of public information for the conception about any matter and its effects, but also the importance of accessibility. Because of this, with out a doubt, their lessons that can be traced all over for all matters of international journalism as well conflict journalism. As a matter of fact, this strategy can be traced to the beginning of media, that's why is a relevant case study.

This particular tool is called propaganda or as described; "Persuasive communication may be divided into activities that can be conducted intrapersonal (in our heads), interpersonally (in small groups), organizationally (within a structured context such as the workplace) and publicly (more outwardly directed efforts that require impersonal use of direct and mass media as a way of linking the sender to the audience). Making such a distinction is useful in dividing persuasion into direct in-person audience agitation and more indirect media-based propaganda." (Nelson, 1996).

The importance of media appearance in this conflict can be traced back to the birth of Israel as a state to 1948. Specifically referencing about the decision of the UN to formulate the proposal of resolution 181 for two states, one for Jewish and one for Palestinians. On this occasion, leaders from the Jewish side accepted the proposal while Arabs leaders rejected it. The next day, the New York Times announced "Zionists proclaim new state of Israel; Truman recognizes it and

hopes for peace; Tel Aviv is bombed, Egypt orders invasion” (The New York Times, 1948). Once established the newborn state, five Arab nations, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Iran and Syria, retaliate against the newborn state of Israel, beginning a series of wars, which continue until the present day.

After countless encounters of Israel and Palestine during its history, the conflict reaches a totally new dimension in the 2008 war, with an encounter that forced the lenses of the media to watch every step of the way. The government of Israel named it operation Cast Lead, while the Palestinian government, and with them the Arab league named it The Gaza War.

From this point forward the relations between Gaza and Israel became more complicated and even hostile. The information management that executed by the media was more complex than never before. Facing countless challenges regarding location and accessibility to information. What force them to base a lot of the coverage from other sources. This was occasioned by Israel’s decision of not alluding journalists to enter the Gaza strip during this period of time.

When Operation Cast Lead was over, and as a result of this extreme encounter, the UN released the Goldstone Report. A document that demonstrated that behavior of Israel and of Hamas during the pointed intervention was not the best.

After this report came out, new opinions started to thrive and the role that Israel had in the international media and the academic world changed. The migration from victim to victimizer was more evident at this point than ever before. Facing important accusations like the violation of Human Rights and the international Law of War where determinants for its change of status.

Both of these events illustrated possible preferences during the coverage of the Arab- Israeli conflict. These events meant a meaningful development of a perception in front of the media and public opinion. This not only regards the political scene but also the civilian one.

There are different opinions set on dissimilar foundations and contexts, but what becomes really clear is that opinions are not set on stone, and even though there’re a opinions that are likely to be predominant, the framing of facts and the source management in the news can be determinant in the management of public opinion.

Conceptual frame

The theory that's used during this investigation is the *qualitative analysis of content*, framed in the paper from Yan Zhang and Barbara M. Wildemuth that follows the same name.

This theory is one of the most employed analytical tools, used world wide by information researchers. The *qualitative content analysis* goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner. It is established that the *qualitative analysis of content* has an inductive reasoning. Indeed, in the first steps of the development of the investigation is the data collection. Subsequently themes and categories emerge from it through the researcher's careful examination and constant judgment. (Wildemuth, 2009)

Event though is such a common tool, it has been criticized as an interpretive method, qualitative content analysis differs from the positivist tradition in its fundamental assumptions, research purposes, and inference processes, thus making the conventional criteria unsuitable for judging its research results (Bradley, 1993)

Even though, this is a recurrent critic to this theory, the paper of Zhang and Wildemuth, emphasize in the importance of elements that gives a extra value of trustworthiness to the research, prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, checking interpretations against raw data, peer debriefing, and member checking (Wildemuth, 2009), all present in this investigation.

Methodology

The author emphasis that the "analysis involves a set of systematic and transparent procedures for processing data." The author established this in the following phases or steps also present in this paper:

- Prepare the data: the author mentions that in order to successfully analyze all the data; everything has to be transformed into written texts. In this case where the information is already written. The procedure for the investigation began with the extraction of all articles published during 2008 until 2009 regarding Operation Cast Lead and the Goldstone Report. Both, CNN and Al Jazeera, that have complete online records of their publication, which facilitated the research. But for Al Jazeera's articles,

was necessary to pursue this extraction using Arabic, because its contented is in this language. Although, for the purpose of the analysis, it was necessary to translate everything to English once the extraction was complete. All documents were unified as a Word file to facilitate their management.

- Define the unit of analysis: in this case the theory indicated that the unit of analysis refers to the basic unit of text to be classified during the analysis (Wildemuth, 2009) These units are either words or phrases, even chunks of text, that express an idea such as like adjectives or any indicator of a persistent element. For this paper these units were words (mostly adjectives), phrases and proper names that were selected after the careful reading of every single article.
- Develop categories and a coding scheme: for this item the authors establish three plausible sources of the coding: the data, previous related studies, and theories. The theory highlights the importance of reference to other theories in the specific instance of case studies to found a preliminary model to base the inquiry, but always adjusting this to the specific need of the research. For this investigation, the categories were originated from the theory of Gamson and Modigliani in the *Frame Building*. A series of concepts that relates to media coverage and cultural context “the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames” (Vreese, 2005), but adjusting them to the findings in the raw data. Once all of the pieces were carefully read, finding the concepts isolated in the Gamson and Modigliani’s theory: headlines, pictures and main topics were unified in Excel charts following each topic. For operation Cast Lead, headlines were categorized by empathic, informational and quotations for both media. It is important to clarify these categories presented from this point forward were extracted by the raw data and the careful analysis of the information. It was necessary to do, mainly because it was not possible to find a similar research that contemplates the same case of study with a similar theory. The criteria used to categorize them was the usage of adjectives, words and phrases that could denote recurrent ideas or judgments.

The pictures featured in the articles, were categorized in: graphic contented, landscapes and formal characters. The criteria used during this research was the main features that each one of the pictures display.

And finally, main topics, even though for this item was problematic to create overall standards for both media, because they both feature different kinds of information, it was possible to generalize and identify overall categories: political (including international scene), humanitarian crisis and civic responses independent to government affiliations. The

criteria use to categorized was the selection and systematic appearance of persistent words that denoted the methodical emphasis of each topic.

On the other hand, for the Goldstone Report, the categories for headlines where just informational and emphatic for both media following the same criteria to categorize used in Operation Cast Lead analysis.

For pictures the selected criteria was, graphic contend and main characters. This categorization follows up with the same criteria that Operation Cast Lead analysis.

And, for main topics, the categorization used was: political articles focusing on the reactions towards the report versus, articles focusing in the report itself and its surroundings. The criterion was a follow up of the mythology use in the Operation Cast Lead analysis.

- Test Your Coding Scheme on a Sample of Text: the theory establishes that before coding the whole data, is important to run a test with fewer data. This step is important to adjust the coding and evaluate partial results. In this paper this step was run with the first chunk of articles extracted from Al Jazeera. As a result few of the concepts presented in the Gamson theory where discarded for its lack of presents in the articles.
- Code All the Text: once the step above runs favorably, the analysis might be apply to the whole set of data, always taking brief moment to double check the results.
- Assess Your Coding Consistency: the author describes this step as recheck on the results that might alter the drawing of conclusion. He emphasis in the importance of this step highlighting that human extraction might have errors.
- Draw Conclusions from the Coded Data: the theory describes this point as the reconstructions of meanings derived from the data. Is important because allows the researcher to identify relations between categories and create a overview of the patterns and real dimensions of the data.
- Report Your Methods and Findings: In the case of qualitative content analysis, you need to report your decisions and practices concerning the coding process as well as presenting the results. (Wildemuth, 2009) This paper condensates al of the finding and practices made during the analysis of the coverage made by CNN and Al Jazeera (in Arabic) to Operation Caste Lead and the Goldstone Report during 2008 and 2009.

Operation Cast Lead

Al Jazeera

For the proper analysis of the coverage, it is important to point out that during this subhead the coverage of Al Jazeera will be broken down into each of the items that compose the coverage: a brief description of the editorial view, headlines, photos, and main topics.

Al Jazeera in Arabic was the source of selection, mainly because the discourse management in Al Jazeera in English based in the Washington D.C, London and Kuala Lumpur, its focus is to spread Al Jazeera across to the international scene, constituting itself as an alternative media (Al Jazeera, 2006) by having the purpose of, in the words of Morgan Almedia, director of creativity " extend the Arabic heritage in a language familiar to diverse global audiences", but this statement has been qualified by some academics and journalists as an "anti American bias" (Cunningham, 2008). While Al Jazeera in Arabic, based in Doha-Qatar, has editorial line focus in the Arab world and the Middle East, they claim to be the voice of the Middle East; in their own words they facilitate "the free exchange of information in the Arab world".

There is not a Code of Ethics of Al Jazeera in Arabic, while Al Jazeera in English does have one that states for the public record their editorial view and commitments to its audience. But its slogan claims it is for "setting of the news agenda through fearless journalism", even though this has meant a bit of friction between The Gulf Cooperation Council, created by all of the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, except Iraq. (Gulfnews.com, 2014)

Al Jazeera is the official broadcast channel from Qatar, founded by the royal family of this country in 1996. At its launch the founders of Al Jazeera claimed that they had completed independence in their editorial selection from their founders, meaning that it wouldn't have any bias towards the specific interests of the Qatari government. Even though this was being highly questioned by several of their partners (The Guardian, 2012)).

Some academics have confirmed the success that Al Jazeera represents for the international community, specially regarding media did have a very positive impact regarding its country of origin. Al Jazeera transformed Qatar from an otherwise not so relevant country in the international scene, to one of the main forces in the Arab and Muslim world (Powers, 2009).

When Operation Cast Lead began (or the Gaza War as Al Jazeera refers to it), Israel and Al Jazeera were not on good terms. In 2008, the same year as the beginning of the operation, Israel announced a boycott of this network for their evident bias in preference to Hamas on several occasions, focusing mainly on Palestinian victims and suffering. (Friedman, 2008)

The Israeli government decided not to give any kind of information to the broadcast channel and even refused some of their visas. The Fatah Event, accused of turning Gaza's suffering for Hamas' purposes, by leaving the Palestinian Authority in a bad position with public opinion. Eventually the parties involved disuse the news coverage for the Israeli- Palestine conflict. (BBC, 2008)

Apparently the agreement was not successful at all. At the end of Operation Caste Lead, February of 2009, Israel imposed other sanctions on Al Jazeera and the government of Qatar by closing the trade office based in Doha, while also imposing limited measures to Al Jazeera's activity in Israel, especially with visas, attendance to government based events, and limited contact with public officers. (CBN News, 2009)

Operation Cast Lead marks the most hectic point in Al Jazeera's relationship in Israel and that is why it is important to analyze the coverage.

Headlines

When talking about headlines, there are 3 evident patterns that can be traced during the coverage of Al Jazeera to operation Cast Lead.

The first one has an empathic approach, meaning the main aim of this kind of headlines is to move the reader and reach to the emotional self, toward a compassionate oncoming. A clear example is the article from the 27th of December, which is called: *Black Saturday highlighted the developments in Gaza*. Using the title, black Saturday as a reference to the events that occurred during this event, gives an emotional load to the headline.

The use of adjectives such as "massacre", "bloody" and "martyrdom" are recurrent in this sort of headlines that evidences a strong position towards the Israeli attacks as the words listed above. Headlines like, *Aggression on Gaza Afja martyrdom of two families of eight of their children*, and, *Palestinian girl loses her family and embodies the resilience of the people of Gaza*, clearly use this method to persuade the reader through the emotional writing. Of course, this kind of headline is mostly used in topics that either involve children or family dramas.

But these are not the only topics where the emotional headlines are used. *Gaza Holocaust unite the political parties in Mauritania* and *Gaza summit in Doha..*

Boldness and flexibility underscored the wound are two of the examples where emotional writing is used in other context. In the first example, the word Holocaust is used to describe the events, being this a highly significant word, if not only for the Jewish community, but also is a reference for the entire world of one of the most horrifying moments in history. This of course gives an emotional charge to the headline because it is a global reference of sorrow.

Secondly, the next example features the word “wound”, which is framed by an interlay of different contexts giving it a political surround, and refers to the events in Gaza as a wound for the Arab community. Using this word as an adjective, gives an emotional charge to the headline framing it in a painful and shameful situation. This kind of headline has a presence of 10% off all coverage.

A second type of headline is entirely informational. It uses fewer, or zero, adjectives for making a detailed description of the events. For example, the event on the 29th of December where Al Jazeera claims: *Gaza bombing another episode in the decline of Egyptian role*. The presence of this headline is entirely featuring political news, especially reflecting actions or consideration of third parties, for example: *Intellectuals in the West Bank confirm support the steadfastness of the resistance in Gaza* or *Morocco continues cities solidarity with Gaza and is preparing for a major march*. Al Jazeera makes a huge effort to show what other entities and governments have to say about the events, and this headline is particularly used for this. Most of this news features other personalities or entities and has more of an international purpose. The presence of this kind of headlines is 70%.

And finally, the third one. Al Jazeera uses explicit quotations always showing preference for the Gaza cause. These kinds of headlines have a heavy presence of adjectives but are focusing on events more of a political nature, those also being internationally observed as political matter. For example, in the article of the 7th of January of 2009 where they claim: *Le Monde: What do you expect Israel of renewed violence in Gaza?*. As mention in the paragraph above, Al Jazeera makes a big effort to feature what the rest of the world thinks about the events, it is important to highlight that not one of the headlines is either defending or explaining Israel’s position.

The quotes or preference are either from international media agencies such as Reuters (*The aide said Barak told Reuters that Israel is ready to escalate its military attacks on the Gaza Strip*) and specific media as Le Monde, The Guardian (*As Yael Kahin, from the organization "Islington Frandez Of Yibna" Vtattab the Guardian because of her title last Sunday which said "the Israeli hammer blow in Gaza," she said, "if the Israeli towns bombed and killed hundreds of people, to*

attack Oceftm massacre."), El Pais (*The Spanish newspaper El Pais published a picture of a young man being in tears fell carries injured by Israeli shelling violent*), Le Figaro (*but noted that other Western newspapers published photographs may seem - according to these standards - and violent prejudice feelings similar to French newspaper Le Figaro published a picture of piles Aljtt scattered far barrage*) and the Times (*Times: Israeli war on Gaza has weakened the authority of Abbas*), or relevant personalities or entities greatly add Hamas speakers or leaders of the Arab political scene. All of them give the Palestinian cause a bigger echo. *Times: stories of heartbreak and tears of the people of Gaza in the rubble of homes*, this headline rescues and emphasizes heartbreaking sentences of one of the articles published by the Times, one of the most important references for western media. The most important feature of this kind of headline is that it is trying to legitimize or express their position through the voices of others.

This also happens with members of the government, for example, *Hamas leader: Resistance triumphed and Abbas is a partner in the massacre*. In this case Al Jazeera gives a different tour showing the increasing division in the Arab world by exposing the divergence between Hamas and Ramalah, but still makes use of the strong words, in this case "massacre", to qualify the events.

The percent of this kind of headlines is 20%.

The use of headlines is to highlight relevant information, however in this case they don't use a headline to announce, for example, the end of the war, they only incorporate it between paragraphs even though is a headline kind of information. They present the event under the headline: *Times: stories of heartbreak and tears of the population of Gaza in the rubble of homes*.

Photos

As an overall observation none of the pictures are taken real-time by Al Jazeera's photographers because of the restriction Israel has over this specific broadcast. All of the pictures are either from their archives; also from Alice ... freelance photographer or Reuters.

During the coverage of Operation Cast Lead the photo archive played an essential role, not only because all of the articles have at least two pictures in it, but also because the graphic material is highly controversial. During the coverage, there are 270 pictures. From this number it is possible to classify them into three groups.

The first one, with 30% of the pictures used during the coverage, is featuring either mortal victims, wounded, or blood. These pictures cannot be attached to a

specific sort of headline, they are used for a wide range of topics. Most of these pictures are close ups or mid shots.

The second one, pictures display enigmatic characters that are involved in the news. Most of these pictures are accompanying the international scene articles and government pieces. The percent of this sort of picture is of 30%.

The third one involves landscapes of the events, a general shot either from people or places that expose current events. It is important to clarify that none of the pictures are taken from the Israel side and 100% of them are exposing Gaza. The percent of these pictures is 40%.

The photo captions overall where quotes used to reinforce the message of the picture. 87% of the time this quote belong to Reuters, that was a recurrent source used not only for information, but also for graphic content giving the challenging situation of not having access to the Gaza Strip.

Main topics

The overall focus of the Al Jazeera coverage is centered in the humanitarian situation and the overview of what political leaders and international media says. But the coverage can be qualified in 3 topics:

International community reactions to the operation, including media (162 references) and governments that are not part of the GCC (452 references). In these kinds of articles the most emphatic argument are the horrors Israel (or the Zionist Entity or Zionist enemy with 79 references in those terms) was undertaking in Gaza, using statements like Israeli attacks 34 times, massacre, as they refer to the events happening has appears 228 times during the coverage and even Holocaust 20 references.

Also a recurrent source in this topic are the protests that were happening as a rejection of the events orchestrated by Israel in Gaza with the terms named above and lack of support of the Arab community, 403 references to this topic.

Humanitarian crisis, making special emphasis in human rights, especially the situations with children (110 reference in the coverage), claiming support of the whole world because of their situation (156 references). Even though they certify their human loses as martyrdom (82 references).

Reaction and overall insolence in the Middle East. This, includes theories of conspiracy (23 references) and making special emphasis on Egypt's role (there are 253 in the whole coverage of Egypt's role) and what AL Jazeera has called the Arab silence (15 references.)

The overall management of the information shows the editorial view of Al Jazeera and their specific interests at the moment of covering any news. Always focusing in Middle East behavior and how outside factors affect the issue of Palestine.

CNN

The analysis of this coverage will have four main sections: a short historical and editorial brief, headlines, photos, and concluding with main topics. Each one of the analysis categories is enriched with a large number of examples that illustrate the purpose of the article.

CNN as a main part of the Turner Broadcasting system is an American basic cable company started in 1980, and located in Atlanta, Georgia. CNN interactive (online), which is the specific source of this article, was only relevant in 2005.

During the upcoming years, CNN has faced controversy provoked by an evident support for Democrat interests. This can be traced all the way from the Iraq war in 2003 to the presidential election of 2008 when Barack Obama was elected. (Harvard Kennely School, 2010)

Even though, Georgia's political tradition has been republican, CNN from the beginning has been qualified as "liberal" and "anti-American" (Harvard Kennely School, 2010).

The Israeli conflict being a main concern for the Republican party, it is not shocking to find multiple protests have been raised due to an over critical coverage of the conflict. "The media has ignored the Israeli side of the conflict. The world believes that Israel targets innocent people." (J.Prince, 2014)

This is a contradictory fact as the main complaint concerning CNN bias in the Middle East, specifically taking the statements by AL Jazeera toward CNN, is that it is based in a pro- American perspective in the news and celebrates military duties. (Shah, 2007)

Headlines

Over the 71 articles that were published during Operation Cast Lead by CNN, headlines were constantly informative, lacking adjectives and featuring facts and data. Though during the operation, they rarely used a different kind of headline where thoughts were expressed through adjectives, becoming the featured subject.

During Cast Lead only 4% contain explicit adjectives about the occurring events happening at that time in the Gaza strip, considering them emotional. Specifically the ones covering the humanitarian situation of the strip, such as *Gaza horrors sow seeds for future violence*. This headline shows one of the rare cases where CNN uses adjectives to describe former events. The expression *horror* suggests indignation towards Gaza's situation.

In the article of the 28th of December of 2008 they claim: *Hundreds dead, injured in Gaza as Israeli airstrikes continue*, even though there isn't any presence of adjectives in the headline, the nonexistence of accuracy of the word "hundreds" and filing of the information where a juxtaposition is presumed, featuring the human losses regarding the persistence of Israeli strikes suggests an emotional charge.

Though these kinds of articles do not have an overwhelming presence, these tend to be the most extensive ones with the largest number of pictures.

The rest of the headlines of the coverage, 96% of it, have completely informational features. They present information through facts and data. In the article of the 29th of December of 2008 CNN claims: *Sources: Gaza death toll from Israeli offensive exceeds 375*. In this case they present information as data, lacking any adjectives or judgment towards the information and giving accuracy to it. Other representative headline of this kind is: *Bush blames Hamas for Gaza conflict*. CNN is able to present such a complicated statement without being involved. What they tend to do to maintain distance from any statements or incurring in judgmental phases, is that they attribute whatever is being said to the specific source.

Another important example is from the article published in the 6th of January of 2009 *Gaza hospital crowded with civilians, doctors say*. Even though the adjective "crowded" is present in the headline, they don't hesitate to claim it through someone else's name, even though in this case, that someone is as blurry as the word "doctors" can be.

Photos

During operation Cast Lead, CNN had a graphic reporter in Gaza who allowed them to have real-time photography. Even though CNN tried to send other journalist to the Gaza strip, the restrictions that Israel had for the media entering Gaza were strict and limited, so they had to report the events from the border between Gaza and Israel, with limited pictures of the reported that was already in the field (CNN, 2009).

The Tel Aviv-based Foreign Press Association made a big effort to facilitate the entering of their members, declaring that "The unprecedented denial of access to Gaza for the world's media amounts to a severe violation of press freedom and puts the state of Israel in the company of a handful of regimes around the world which regularly keep journalists from doing their jobs," (Association, 2009) but not even then was entering allowed.

The images in the coverage of Operation Cast Lead were fewer but repetitive. Only 8% of the total amount of pictures had sensitive material; specifically referring to images where blood and casualties were the main focus. Most of the pictures were presented in the articles talking about human rights or specific reality stories about life of ghazalis.

On the other hand 30% of the pictures were from political mandatories in a diplomatic scene, having special preference for imagines from the Israeli government and the US government. All of these pictures were from the archive. Most of the pictures presented during the coverage, 52%, are from landscapes with war scenes, most of them not featuring people, but the damage made to infrastructure with a rare human component introducing sadness and destruction. It is important to highlight that these pictures do not have any casualties present, but are moving.

Main topics

Mainly the coverage of CNN is centered in the political and diplomatic development of the operation. Keeping that in mind, the topics that CNN features are:

Political and diplomatic content. The USA government is one of the main sources used during the coverage, especially Condoleezza Rice, President Bush, and Barak Obama (613 references). Egypt's role also gets a lot of attention with (137

references), CNN refers to Egypt as the mediator and the one able to accomplish the cease-fire (156 references in the coverage).

The United Nations with 368 references, is one of the most quoted sources, even though it has just a few articles dedicated exclusively to its actions, and it does have horizontal appearances during the coverage.

As other of the main characters in the reporting Hamas, with 505 references, is a recurrent source. Surprisingly it is not always referred to as a terrorist group, actually it is only featured like this 35 times during the whole coverage.

This last fact becomes significant because Hamas is qualified as a terrorist group referring to the list launched by the Bush administration after 9/11 (United States Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, 2006). Even though CNN does classify it as terrorist, they are not as reiterative with this label as would be other media more conservative and republican. But they do not follow the prevalent statement made by important European newspapers like Le Monde, which do not classify Hamas as a terrorist group but as a resistance movement.

Is important to highlight that Israel is featured 1367 times during the coverage; quite a bit over Palestine, which is featured 433 times. This shows that there is a predisposition towards Israel being the trendier topic.

Another recurrent topic is protest or civic movements (106 references) that start pumping during the Operation. Even though it doesn't have a long list of articles published concerning this, there are a few showing that protesters were supporting both sides. From the Gaza side with 2 articles, the protesters were featured in Egypt, Afghanistan and Europe. On the other side Israel, with only one short article about protesters who were located in Madrid, Spain.

Civilian casualties (101 references) and human rights is one of the main concerns that CNN features in its emphasis in the cease-fire. Children (73 references) are one of the main concerns where CNN is not afraid to use adjectives like "sadness" and "anger".

These are the only kinds of articles that have those kinds of words included in the text. Even though this topic doesn't have a persistent appearance in the coverage, the articles that do feature this topic tend to be longer and full of graphic pictures.

Contrasts

During Operation Cast Lead, CNN and Al Jazeera presented different approaches for the coverage; beginning with the reporting frequency where Al Jazeera published 133 articles, while CNN presented only 71 during the coverage. Even though the Operation was relevant for both, Al Jazeera shows more interest with a larger range of publication and a more critical view of the operation.

CNN stuck to the strictly informational style and rarely presented any judgmental information; for example *Israel considers truce amid airstrikes*, where the information is presented as a fact without any opinions or adjectives that can frame this information towards a settled opinion.

A more critical and opinionated coverage, like that in Al Jazeera, is usually full of adjectives presented on leads and headlines, as in this headline where Al Jazeera claims: *Israeli bloody massacre in Gaza harvested dozens here*. Al Jazeera uses the word “bloody” as an adjective to describe the events, making the headline full of emotionally appealing language.

The constant use of adjectives can be a clear signal of judgment towards a source or action. This is where the debate of emotional language versus hard cold data comes around. Some experts suggest that adjectives in the coverage of news are a clear sign of bias, and that information should be presented as clear as possible to avoid emotional language and through that, the persuasion of the masses and allowing the viewers develop their own judgment and analyze events with their own criteria. (Entman, 2004).

Concerning photography, consider that during the time of the operation, resources were limited for reporters from both sides. Photography was limited, and most of the pictures were constantly presented for different articles. Keeping that in mind, CNN counted on a journalist inside Gaza that allowed them to have real time photos, while Al Jazeera was counting only on the freelance photography they could get and the archives.

In the content of the pictures, AL Jazeera presents more graphic and disturbing images than CNN. While the human component was not a current resource in the pictures of CNN, they stuck to political character and landscapes of the operation. AL Jazeera presented pictures with a human component featuring kids and woman. Experts have suggested these kinds of pictures are lavish and perhaps sensationalist. (Neiman Reports, 2001)

The main concerns for CNN and Al Jazeera were different. CNN had a political and diplomatic approach to the Operation, giving a loud voice to sources like the

UN, American government, Israeli government, Egypt's government and West bank government; featuring pictures one of the representative leaders of each organization names above. AL Jazeera prioritized the humanitarian situation and the international reactions. They used alternative political sources like Hamas and Hezbollah, NGOs and civilian voices, but especially the international media that show support to the Palestinian case.

Even though CNN and Al Jazeera report different matters and have different audiences, after the analysis made during these investigations, it is clear that Al Jazeera had more of a clear bias over the whole operation reporting.

In the beginning of the investigations the hypothesizers claim that CNN would have a clear pro Israeli bias, but during the examination this was not clear. They used a larger range of sources from both sides even though the UN, the American Government and Israeli government had slightly larger appearance with 67%, the Arab sources has a 33%. The difference was not that overwhelming like in Al Jazeera where the Israeli and American government had only one centerpiece and represented 3% of the whole source selection.

It is important to highlight that Al Jazeera never mentions the rocket attacks made by Hamas from Gaza to Israeli territory since the 18th of December, days before the official beginning of the operation on 27th of December of 2008. The coverage begins with the Israeli retaliation, but there's no record of any mention of the rockets until the 28th of December of 2008

Goldstone report

Al Jazeera

This analysis has the main purpose of analyzing the coverage that Al Jazeera made of the Goldstone report with the main subhead already used in the latest analysis: Headlines, photos and main topics.

After the hectic days of Operation Cast Lead, a new fact was drawn into the media regarding the image of Israel.

Even though the coverage of this particular event was not as widespread, it did had a big influence concerning how the coverage is currently made.

The Goldstone Report had a huge impact in the featuring image of Israel in international news. The idea of victimizer has been built from the United Nations for public opinion. Even though the report also accused Hamas of war crimes, the

heavy lifting was for Israel, as public opinion turned its head around it, Al Jazeera was no exception.

As the analysis developed above proves, this broadcast had a strong opinion regarding Operation Cast. They featured the report from the day they announced the investigation itself during late April, and continuing until early October when most of the reactions took place.

Headlines

Even though the Goldstone report was a politically centered piece, Al Jazeera would enlarge the range of topics it related to.

Most of the headlines have an informational structure. Mainly used for featuring the international reaction to the report and the announcement of the report itself. For example, *Norwegian lawsuit accuses Israel of committing war crimes in Gaza*. This headline features the first international reaction reported by Al Jazeera. The headlines are presented with an absence of adjectives and focuses on the fact. Another good example would be the headline from the 14th of August *UN human rights commissioner criticizes Israel*. In this caption Al Jazeera focuses on the opinion of a certain expert used a reference, making the headline accurate and not critical.

In the headline of the 17th of September, Al Jazeera claims: *Israel and Hamas reject UN report*. Even though it features an important development, Al Jazeera only claims the fact itself without any adjectives or bias.

It is important to clarify that this kind of headline is heavily used for the kind of news that involves an important fraction of the international community, very different from the way they cover confrontations.

On the other hand, there are headlines that frame emotional or opinionated articles. They centered on the human components of the Report, such as victims, but especially Richard Goldstone himself. For example, *Israel: Goldstone, a Jew and his daughter, a resident of ours*. Even though Al Jazeera did have a statement of theirs regarding the declaration, the selection of the quote itself is a proclamation. This article frames the human component of the report, announcing the Jewish origin of its creator. It shows the reaction the Israeli government had when it was making it public knowledge that the report that condemns Israel was made by a Jew.

There are three more articles featuring personal matters of Richard Goldstone life, even his daughter (who is constantly reminded she is a resident in Israel) likes this headline of the 16th of September *Goldstone's daughter: My dad loves Israel eased charges*. Even though the report was extremely political, Al Jazeera gave it a personal and entertaining approach. The fact that this causality got such attention, in an exclusive diplomatic matter, affects the coverage in terms of detachment.

Under the same roof there are other kinds of headlines that clearly reflect Al Jazeera's editorial position towards the report, for example; *Welcome jurist Goldstone report*. This was the headline used to announce the publication of the report. The use of a word such as "welcome", implies a celebration even though, it's not an adjective itself. Another good example for this is: *Authority rejects the "blackmail" of the Israeli*, where Al Jazeera uses the word "blackmail" they even used quotation marks, making a statement regarding Israel's actions towards the launching report.

Photos

Pictures during the coverage of Goldstone were few, and their origin is mostly from archives. Furthermore, the articles have only one picture. It is poor coverage from the visual aspect.

64% of the images featured during the follow-up of the report are of political figures such as Richard Goldstone, creator of the piece, and political leader especially from the Arab world. These pictures are set in places like the UN chamber or even parliament salons, featuring their faces during speeches and political set ups.

22% of the pictures are featuring either images of destruction with human components or close-ups of injuries or dead people. These pictures have a specific characteristic of having a lack of light. For the nature of the event itself, the featuring of these pictures were less predominant than during the coverage of the conflict where they occupied a large majority. It is important to highlight that the use of these images is still a recurrent source of Al Jazeera for the purpose being used as a memory source of the events that occurred during Operation Cast Lead.

The rest of the pictures featured during the coverage are a general portrait of the conflict. Aircraft and destruction in terms of infrastructure, always locating itself in the Gaza strip, are the main suggestions for these kinds of images.

Main topics

The coverage of Al Jazeera for this topic spreads from the beginning of April when the investigation was launched and Norway accused Israel in front of the criminal court (23 references) for their actions in Gaza, until early October when the last reactions to the report were collected. Even though the field of this coverage is clearly political and the large majority of these articles are clearly of this nature, there are two topics than can be identified.

The first being the international responses toward the report and political atmosphere that was born with the launching of the investigation. This includes the reactions of Israel (607 references) and the US (27 references), but also countries like Norway (11 references) and entities like de UN (82 references) that express indignation towards the war crimes (209 references) caused by Israeli and Hamas, especially talking about the use of white phosphorus (18 references) as a weapon. The critics are focusing on the human rights violations (93 references) from the Israeli army (30 references) and Hamas (45 references).

On the other hand, an interesting turn, Al Jazeera chooses to focus on Richard Goldstone (49 references) and his origin as a Jew (17 references). This gives the coverage an interesting turn because it not only features the ethnicity of the judge, but also the facts that his daughter lives in Israel (13 references) and the reaction that this has caused in the Israeli press (25 references). The human face of the report is a different approach and Al Jazeera features how even a Jew can see the highly complicated actions of Israel and the need to punish it (17 references) only giving a small segment to arguments like self-defense (10 references).

CNN

As the statement made in the last subhead, the analysis of the Goldstone Report coverage made by CNN will follow the same categories of analysis: Headlines, photos, and main topics.

As the Report develops from its announcement to its actual consequences, CNN did not have much of a larger coverage to it. The first time CNN reports the investigation is the 1st of January of 2009, two months after its actual launch, beginning with the incursion of the investigator into Gaza, until April the 3rd of 2011 when Richard Goldstone announces he will reconsider the findings of the investigation.

It is important to highlight that even though the last trace of this event is located in 2011, for the purpose of this article, it will only consider the ones published in 2009.

The coverage of the year named above is limited with only 12 news reports covering the whole story, and large lapses of time, beginning on early June and ending on late November.

Headlines

The overall editorial approach of CNN regarding this specific event is exclusively informative, always stepping aside from adjectives and avoid publishing judgments of their own.

A good example of this would be the headline that they used to introduce the readers to the subject: *U.N. human rights investigators enter Gaza*. In this headline, they expose a fact, clean and precise, lacking adjectives or judgmental words. Another example of this clean headline would be the one on the 6th of November when CNN declares: *Gaza war probes get U.N. approval*. This is a headline framing the approval of the report of the United Nation, even though it is an important step that certifies the finding of the report, CNN only presented the fact, again with out any judgmental words.

For the most complicated topics referring to death through violation of human rights, CNN covered itself featuring a quote from one of their sources, for example; *Amnesty: Israel killed hundreds of Gaza civilians*. In this case they feature an Amnesty International quote where they point to Israel as a victimizer. The use of this technic is persistent during the coverage of the Goldstone Report but not always in the same presentation.

In this case they used a quotation, but other times they use paraphrasing, for example in the headline of the 29th of September they claim: *Palestinians call for Israel to be 'punished' for Gaza offensive*. The word "punished" has quotation marks to emphasize that this is not a claim of their own, and is situated in a context that stands for how is the one saying it, in this case, the Palestinians.

Another example of this is the headline featured on the 16th of October when they claim *U.N. rights council backs Gaza 'war crimes' report*. Even though they present a fact stating the United Nations supports the report, they still put quotation marks on the words "war crimes", highlighting that the use of this expression is not entitled to their opinion, but more a terminology used by the source itself.

Photos

The coverage of the Goldstone report did not have much material to develop. There are 16 pictures in the whole coverage of the 12 articles. Even though the range of diversity is not large, there are three kinds of pictures that can be identified.

The first occupies 25% of the pictures featured in the article. These show the humanity in the war, no corpses or injuries, but more nostalgic ones. A kid playing in a destroyed street, or a man standing a pile of rubbish is what these images center on. Of course, these pictures are mainly used for the articles framing human rights.

The pictures presented of political figures are 31%, in this case centering on Benjamin Netanyahu, Mahmoud Abbas, and Hilary Clinton. As it was mentioned before, in these pictures the character is always located in the salon giving a speech surrounded by formal settings.

And finally, with a presence of 44% , the general war scenes. This mostly features war tanks, general damage to infrastructure and landscapes of the confrontations, but also, in this case, they feature the tunnels that Hamas used for attacking Israel.

Main topics

As it has been mentioned before, the center of the CNN coverage is politics but with a component of human rights (58 references). Actors such as Hamas (105 references) and Israel (317 references) are the main topic of the exposure and (being) them being the main characters of the Report.

Sources such as the central US government (89 references) and the UN (40 references) are also sustainably trendy during the coverage.

This coverage is centered in the nature of the Report itself, the development this has, and the implications that directly affects the Arab-Israeli conflict (408 references). The coverage shows the implications in terms of international law (35 references) making special emphasis on war crimes (109 references) committed by both Israel and Hamas, but also civilian damage (79 references) framed in the coverage of the human rights situation for the people of Gaza.

Contrast

When contrasting the coverage of Al Jazeera and CNN under the roof of the Goldstone report, the first thing that pops is the timing differences. AL Jazeera publishes their first article announcing the investigations on the 28th of April 2009, CNN only publishes its first piece on June the 1st of the same year announcing the arrival of the Human Rights investigations.

It is important to highlight that before the announcement of the investigation, Israel did an internal examination that is only mentioned in both cases in the body of the news, never in the headlines. Following the media approach, this investigation did not fulfill the needs of the international community, so the UN decided to make an investigation of their own. This development is not followed by CNN as strictly as Al Jazeera.

The coverage frequency is also an important difference. While Al Jazeera had 31 articles during 2009 featuring the development of the report with an average distance of a week between pieces, CNN did only 12 pieces with an average of 2 months between pieces.

A really important difference is the range of topics of the coverage. Even though, they both have a political and diplomatic approach, AL Jazeera does make an interesting turn by giving attention to the Jewish origin of Richard Goldstone. CNN never mentions the ethnicity of the judge, exclusively his nationality and specialties as an important professional on the international affairs scene.

The facts that Al Jazeera gave so much attention to these facts, and also to the sense of betrayal that was manifested by the Israeli government and media, is a statement itself.

Talking about headlines, CNN has a an exclusively informational tone, while Al Jazeera has a few emotional and opinionated ones, even though the majority of its headlines do fit this description.

Those headlines are presented especially in respect to the Israeli actions, as this example; *Israeli varying attitudes about the Goldstone report* and the *US Abortion Goldstone report U.S. pressure*. Words like “abortion” or “varying attitudes” charge the headline with a judgmental tone, properly used for emotional writing.

International scanning of the situation is also a recurrent topic for Al Jazeera’s headlines, while in CNN the international reactions are exclusively featured in the body of the text, at times, not at all, but they rarely make headlines.

A good example of this is the Israeli reaction to the report, when Al Jazeera features a headline, for example the headline of the 19th of September where Al Jazeera claims: *Israel rejects Goldstone report*. CNN doesn't mention it.

Speaking of the graphic material of the coverage over all, it was poor for graphic terms. All of the pictures were from the archives and most of them were constantly repeated. Even though this statement applies for both, the content of Al Jazeera's pictures was more explicit and somehow inappropriate by featuring close-ups to injuries and corpses. CNN's graphic content tended to be more general scenes with some human components, but never featuring blood or explicit material.



CNN : *Amnesty: Israel killed hundreds of Gaza civilians*



Al Jazeera: *Norwegian lawsuit accuses Israel of committing war crimes in Gaza*

Conclusions

Both Al Jazeera and CNN are giants of the media scene, they are used as reference for a lot of other media around the world and have build a large audience during their time on the air; but have completely different styles and targets.

At the beginning of this investigation the hypothesis suggested that both, CNN and Al Jazeera had really clear and strong editorial views over the Israeli-Arab conflict, specifically from Operation Cast Lead and the Goldstone Report, both analyzed during the course of the investigation.

In the hypothesis Al Jazeera was favoring the Palestinian side, while CNN would have a pro Israeli guideline during its coverage. It is important to highlight that this hypothesis was only partially accurate. Al Jazeera did have a strong pro Palestine discourse as probed in the analysis made above, while CNN did not have an evident favoritism towards the Israeli cause.

As an over view of the analysis, Al Jazeera favors the Arab sources as well as the implementation of the constant use of advertises during its coverage; while CNN sticks to a more informational approach to the events, focusing in unbeatable facts and quotations.

Even though, CNN did have a more Western overview of the events, they did reject the Israeli actions toward the civilians and the infringement of human rights though featuring facts, for example the headline of the 26th of December of 2008, where they claim: *Rocket kills 2 children after Gaza border reopens*. The selection itself of the featuring facts is an editorial view, but even though CNN had a minimum unbalance of the source of selection, it was mostly even, Arab and pro Palestinian sources had a 38%, Israeli and the US government had 47%, and United Nations and other international entities had 15%.

On the other side, Al Jazeera had 86% of sources avocating in favor of the Palestinian cause, 5% of the Israeli and American sources, and 9% of international entities.

In terms of the use of adjectives during the coverage, Al Jazeera had over 76% more of implementation of adjectives. Here is a parallel between some of the adjectives or judgmental words found:

Word	CNN	Al Jazeera
Aggressive	4	129
Martyrs	2	70
Holocaust	1	12
Brutal attacks	0	12
Massacre	3	253
Fear	16	19
White flag	0	5
Bloody	5	109
Terrorist	35	8
Anger	0	30
Sadness	2	1
Criminals	4	8
Murderers	0	42
Martyrdom	0	6
Occupation	17	119
Jewish	25	14
Muslim	27	84

As the table shows, there's a predominant use of these kinds of words during the Al Jazeera's coverage. There are words full of symbolic gestures that change from one media to another. In the case of the word "Holocaust", CNN refers to the events happening during World War II that specifically affect Jewish people. On the other hand Al Jazeera uses this word for describing the events happening in Gaza during that time.

Following the analysis, Al Jazeera featured the international opinion about the operation, but just if it supported the Palestinian cause. They highlight what other media such as Le Monde (*Le Monde: What do you expect Israel of renewed violence in Gaza?*), The Times (*Times: stories of heartbreak and tears of the people of Gaza in the rubble of homes*), and even cultural characters (*Egyptian singer Amr Diab donates his fees to Gaza*). Al Jazeera published over 6 articles of this nature, while CNN didn't feature this topic at all about either side.

The coverage of a conflict, and over all war coverage, tends to be complicated. The implementation of words and even the featured pictures can be argued as bias towards any side. Now days, the conflict has evolved, and it has more actors than never before. The constant featuring of violence in Syria, the ISIS escalation, and with them the focus on terrorist entities, including Hamas, has placed journalist in an incredible mine field, where the understanding of the contexts, including religious and historical aspects, is a "must" for journalism.

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