'Tricksters', 'Victims' and 'Saviours' in the
Israeli-Palestinian Conflict:
A Discourse-Mythological Analysis of Al Jazeera Online and the
Palestine Papers

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Abstract

In 2011 the Palestine Papers were leaked by Al Jazeera. The release of over 1600 secret documents provided a new insight into the negotiation processes of recent Israeli/Palestinian peace talks. This thesis analyses Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage of the leaked papers from 23rd-31st January 2011. It examines how Al Jazeera used the leaks as a political tool in their coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By scrutinising the complex ideological roles of space and myth in the moral storytelling of news media, the thesis develops an understanding of how a news organisation provides significant insight through its cultural and editorial values. A content analysis firstly provides a statistical overview of the news coverage in my sampled time period. A discourse-mythological (and multimodal) analysis then examines the ideological contexts of news stories by showing how the revelations of the leaked papers were constructed through archetypal conventions of mythology.

The thesis argues that Al Jazeera challenged the Palestinian Authority's political status by criticising their approach to the negotiations through discourses of nationalism, treachery, victimhood, and resistance. Jerusalem was also used as a symbolic marker to recontextualise the ideological ('Self/Other') space of the long-lasting conflict. Furthermore, Al Jazeera recontextualised key political actors into spaces of 'Self' and 'Other' through archetypal forms of mythological storytelling, such as tricksters, victims, and saviours. The thesis argues that through these complex ideological constructions of the Middle-Eastern conflict, archetypal roles informed the agency of particular groups in Al Jazeera news content. Hence, Al Jazeera tailored its reporting to appropriate its target (Arabic/English) audience, e.g., in terms of multimodality and contextualisation. This thesis demonstrates the significance of Al Jazeera in the Israel-Palestine conflict and the importance of understanding the role of mythology in moral storytelling and news media.

Key words: Al Jazeera; Palestine Papers; Israeli/Palestinian conflict; news media; mythology; Critical Discourse Analysis; Discourse-Mythological Approach

Declaration

I, Lina Khoulani,
declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me
as the result of my own original research.

Acknowledgement

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction

Early 2011 Al Jazeera released over 1600 confidential documents providing new insights into the recent Israeli/Palestinian negotiations of peace process during the years 1999 to 2010. The leaks of the Palestine Papers were a breakthrough, marking the largest disclosure of secret documents of negotiations in the history of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. They came at a critical period shortly before of the 'Arab Spring' in 2011. They highlighted the influential role and power of the Media in the region and across the globe. It was at this period in time that the role of media was best crystallised in mobilising the public in the conflicts yet to come. Al Jazeera was and continues to be one of the most influential news platforms in the Middle East; it has for a decade presented a news discourse challenging the region's regimes and swaying public opinion in favour of or against a particular side of any conflict. At the time Al Jazeera's reporting of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was striking. Well-narrated stories of villains, heroes and wretched people were unfolding daily on the screen. Living up to its famous logo 'Voice of the Voiceless', Al Jazeera was participating in chronicling an archetypal epic that became the frame for interpreting and understanding the events in the region. Indeed, this was not the first time millions of people in the region became captivated and influenced by Al Jazeera's political contribution to public discourse. However, following the momentous events, uprisings and wars across various countries including Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, and Yemen, the archetypal narrative in Al Jazeera news coverage of the Palestine Papers reflected a particular form of moral storytelling, which functioned ideologically.

In a region like the Middle East, the media is controlled by the state with a small margin for freedom of speech. As a result, it can be argued that many people interested in political events often view news in any form as a biased narrative of events that is either overtly propagandistically prejudiced or misinformed history of affairs. Coming from Syria and having witnessed first-hand the Middle East conflicts, it was understandable why I was reluctant to trust any news outlet. With the exception of Al Jazeera, neither regional nor global news networks, such as CNN, BBC and France 24, succeeded in persuading the Arab audience to trust their reports and

stories. In 2011, at the time of writing this thesis at Newcastle University, I began to follow the news coming from Syria and was struck by the significant difference of news reporting on both Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites. There was a pattern that became apparent; while the delivery of reporting was different, the narrative relatively stayed the same.

This thesis aims to highlight the discursive and ideological functions of Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera English news discourses. The aim is to present a thorough comparative analysis between the Arabic and English news discourses covering Middle Eastern conflicts. When Al Jazeera first reported on the leak of the Palestine Papers, an element of mythical convention of moral storytelling became apparent. Another equally compelling and recurring theme emerged and that is the re-contextualisation of the political actors in this conflict into different archetypal roles. To illustrate, the Al Jazeera narrative has always depicted Israel as the villain. Israel was always seen as the aggressor, the occupying state and has repeatedly committed offensives against the Palestinians. Therefore, constructing the Israelis as villains was a recurring safe theme in Al Jazeera news reporting without deviation, until Al Jazeera depicted the Palestinian Authority as the major antagonist in the story headlines. Drawing on the collective memory of the Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims (the target audiences of Al Jazeera), the Palestinian Authority became the villain and enemy of us all, only second to the Israelis and their American allies. Al Jazeera was attempting to highlight a danger of the PA and create an enemy of them, an enemy who is further endangering the rights of the Palestinians and is as guilty as the occupying, aggressor state, Israel. The Palestinians have always been portrayed as victims of the Israeli power machine, and now according to the Al Jazeera narrative, they are portrayed as victims of their own government; the PA. It was, therefore, the ideological role of mythological storytelling in Al Jazeera news that piqued my interest in studying the moral and political functions of the news stories analysing the Palestine Papers.

1.1 Objectives and Aims of Research

This thesis aims to analyse Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks in 2011. In doing so, it seeks to show the ideological roles of myth and space of the Middle East news discourse in reporting conflicts. It will also illustrate how Discourse-Mythological Approach (DMA) can serve as a flexible tool to incorporate broad discursive elements and theoretical aspects, including but not limited to space. This approach can be further extended, beyond the current scholarship on Western literature to study the mythic archetypes in the Middle East storytelling of conflicts.

By seeking to criticise the Palestinian Authority's approach to the recent Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and challenge their political status, Al Jazeera storytelling approach utilised the leaks in diverse ways, to formulate a story of villain and victim archetypes to rally the public opinion against the Palestinian Authority. By examining the complex ideological roles of myth and space in the moral storytelling of news, this research expands the understanding of how news organisations discursively construct and de-construct particular narratives based on their cultural and editorial values. Using a triangulated methodological framework of quantitative and qualitative approaches (e.g., Kelsey, 2015), Al Jazeera online news discourses are further analysed, along with a comparative analysis between Arabic and English discursive elements underlining significant ideological functions. A content analysis, first, maps out the overall statistical landscape of key discursive elements in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online articles between January 23rd and 31st, 2011. A discourse-mythological approach (DMA), incorporating multimodal analysis, examines how the Palestine Papers revelations were mythologically constructed, and ideologically re-contextualised through archetypal conventions of mythological storytelling.

As this research aims to evaluate the way myth is used in Al Jazeera moral storytelling with the revelations of the Palestine Papers in 2011, the following questions are addressed:

1. How were the leaked Palestine Papers reported in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news discourses in 2011?

This research compares and contrasts how Al Jazeera tailored its Arabic and English online discourses in order to appropriate them to the target audiences. Chapter 4 will explore statistically Al Jazeera Arabic and English discourses giving an overview of the coverage and identifying the main similarities and differences in the two discourses. Furthermore, the discussion will highlight any significant discursive differences between the Arabic and English storytelling and archetypes.

2. How did myth and space function ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in this coverage?

This research will also look at Al Jazeera's re-contextualization of the key political and social actors into spaces of 'Self' and 'Other' through the archetypes of 'Tricksters', 'Victims' and 'Saviours/Heroes'.

It is significant to note that this thesis does not attempt to present a pessimistic view about the role of myth in moral storytelling in news media. The significant role of Al Jazeera in reporting the long-lasting Israeli/Palestinian conflict and defending the rights of the Palestinians must be acknowledged. It must be understood however, that through archetypal conventions of mythology, the Al Jazeera narrative underlines discourses that evoke patriotism and resistance against the Israeli Occupation. The aim of this research does not seek to overlook the national, cultural and historical sensitivities of the conflict, nor the suffering of the Palestinians as they continue to struggle for their identity, space and survival following their exodus from Palestine in 1948. More importantly, it must be understood that this research does not claim Al Jazeera created myths as false stories in its narratives. The view is rather focused on Al Jazeera news storytelling of this conflict as a vehicle that is used to defend the narrative that the Palestinians are legitimate victims. Notwithstanding, the research suggests that when the use of myths works effectively to shape the national struggle in news storytelling and becomes a nationalist political force by a news organisation, it will pose a greater cause for concern. This is mainly due to the lack of scrutiny of

various questions such as, 'Who', 'Why' and 'For what purpose' this story is being told. These myths become unchallenged and are used as tools for the convenience of any given agenda aiming to shape a new political scene. Additionally, the wavering and often contradictory positions of the two Al Jazeeras and other news organisations in rallying behind and/or vilifying different political groups in the Middle East warrants further attention and scrutiny.

1.2 Contribution to Knowledge and Claims to Originality

This thesis aims to provide significant contributions and new insights to this field. It aims to develop an understanding of the important role of mythology in moral storytelling and news media. It specifically looks at the role of myth in Al Jazeera news discourse of the Israel/Palestinian conflict by analysing the Al Jazeera reporting of the Palestine Papers leaks. The following review indicates how this thesis addresses a gap in the current literature:

This research focuses on the discourse, archetypes and space in Al Jazeera's coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks. Three other articles were published in direct relation to these leaks, however, none approached it with the same theoretical and methodological framework as this thesis aims to do. Swisher and Karmi (2011) complied the leaked Papers in a book and discussed their political significance; stressing the serious impact of the Palestinian Authority's concessions on the Palestinian people's cause and rights. In her MA thesis, Subramanian (2011) examined the role of data-driven journalism in Al Jazeera English's coverage of the Palestine Papers. Using and quantitative methodology, she argues that Al Jazeera English showed bias in its negative casting of the Israeli and Palestinian negotiators. Likewise, Zayani (2013) goes further to provide an insight on the complexity of the relations between news organizations, geo-politics and state interests in the one of the most conflicted regions in the world.

Many scholars have looked at the role of myth and archetypes in journalistic practice, but have done so through a Western lens, ignoring the cultural relevance. With this

gap in literature, it becomes necessary to analyse the moral and mythological role of journalism in the region and its impact on the conflict. Jack Lule (2001;2002;2005), for example, explored the mythological role of journalism and its significance in society by identifying seven 'master' myths in news. Marcus O'Donnell (2003;2008) also scrutinized how different mythical images of 'heroes', 'villains', and 'martyrs' impact court trials and news reporting. While Whittle and Mueller (2012) examined the competing mythic storytelling lines and the power of mythic archetypes in public hearing of the recent financial crisis in UK. Other scholars, such as Kelsey (2014;2015;2016) extensively looked at myth and its power in the construction of moral storytelling of news. Kelsey also developed the Discourse-Mythological Analysis(DMA): an interdisciplinary approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), analysing discursive practices framed by myth and different archetypes in various genres.

Moreover, Al Jazeera as one of the most influential news organisations in the globe has been extensively researched. Many scholars have explored its political and geopolitical power in the Middle East (see El-Nawawy and Iskandar, 2003; El Oifi, 2005; Zayani, 2005; Lynch, 2006; Seib, 2008; Powers, 2009; 2010; El-Nawawy and Powers, 2010; Sarnelli, 2013; Zayani, 2013). Other studies used framing and representation theories in analysing Al Jazeera news reporting (Wojcieszak, 2007; Aguiar, 2009; Figenschou, 2011; Mellese and Müller, 2012; Elmasry *et al.*, 2013; Al-Majdhoub and Hamzah, 2016). Al Jazeera has also been a case study of critical discourse analysis (see e.g. Wenden, 2005; Barkho, 2006;2007;2008;2010;2011) This thesis will further add to the field with a pioneering focus on exploring myth, archetypes and ideological space in Al Jazeera Arabic and English narrative. It will also draw upon the role of storytelling aspects by using the DMA model.

1.3 Background of the Palestine Papers

Over the period of 23rd and 31st of January, 2011, Al Jazeera extensively broadcasted the Palestine Papers on both its Arabic and English channels and websites. Both outlets of Al Jazeera focused heavily on the leaked Palestine Papers and their

significance in the light of the failure of the Middle-Eastern peace talks. The Papers were leaked from the office of the Palestinian Chief Negotiator, Saeb Erekat, and having been in the possession of Al Jazeera, a team of experts spent many months studying them before deciding to release them to the public in cooperation with the Guardian. These revelations were divided into five main files: East Jerusalem and territories, Palestinian refugees, security coordination, and Gaza and the Goldstone Report. The leaked documents which were mainly in English (as it was the lingua franca of both sides in these negotiations) were published on Al Jazeera Transparency Unit website (www.transparency.aljazeera.net) and an Arabic translation was also provided on the same website. The leaked documents included thousands of pages of confidential documents of diplomatic correspondence mapping out the Israeli/Palestinian peace talks, including memos, internal e-mails, maps, charts and graphs, minutes from private meetings, reports, studies, and draft agreements. A large number of these documents were classified as highly confidential. These documents included meetings between officials from the US, Europe, Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Al Jazeera dedicated special pages on its two websites for publishing the news stories covering the leaks:

1. The Arabic special page (**Palestine... Negotiation Documents**) (http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/873707D3-61B8-415F-AF13-DB5E0F854888.htm?GoogleStatID=41) [accessed on 04/02/2011]
2. The English special page (**The Palestine Papers**) (http://english.aljazeera.net/palestinepapers/) [accessed on 04/02/2011]

The publication of the Palestine Papers, also joined by the Guardian Newspaper, had a paramount impact on the region and globally. Many of the US, European and Middle East newspapers and corporations have since analysed and discussed these papers extensively. It is important to note that at the time of the leakage, the Middle East was experiencing a tidal wave of momentous events that would forever re-shape the region. These events included the following:

| 9-15 January 2011 | **Sudan**: a referendum which led to South Sudan's independence |
| 14 January 2011 | **Tunisia**: weeks of protests led to the ousting and exile of Tunisian President Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali |

25 Jan-11 Feb 2011   **Egypt**: people's revolution led to the resignation of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak

As a result of these events, which overwhelmingly took over the media globally, the leakage of the Palestinian Papers took a back step and coverage was arrested, albeit for a few circulating articles and television programmes that arbitrarily continued to cover them after 26th of January 2011. The disclosure of these confidential documents caused a political upheaval in the region. The authority of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) were met with heavy criticism on Al Jazeera and by their opponent, Hamas, the 'Islamic Resistance Movement'. Indignation spread everywhere, mainly among the Palestinian diaspora who viewed the negotiators and their attitudes during these negotiations as apathetic and contemptible. Karma Nabulsi, a former PLO representative and Oxford academic, announced in the *Guardian* that "this seemingly endless and ugly game of the peace process is now finally over. The peace process is a sham. Palestinians must reject their officials and rebuild their movement." And on 27 January 2011, Palestinian students and intellectuals staged a sit-in at the PLO offices in London to express their condemnation of the 'shameful' behaviour of the PA. The well-known Palestinian activist, and researcher at the University of Exeter's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Ghada Karmi (2011) condemned the Palestinian Authority's approach stating that:

> The Palestine Papers revealed many more betrayals of Palestinian rights and entitlements. But simple condemnation of this abject surrender by the Palestinian negotiators, deplorable as it is, will not throw light on how and why it happened. Behind the unseemly behavior of Abbas and his negotiators lies a larger issue. What was the political and historical context in which the surrender of basic Palestinian rights was exacted, and who was ultimately responsible for the sorry picture that emerged? It is in answers to these questions that the full significance of what the Palestine Papers tell us can be seen.

(Karmi, 2011, p. 12)

However, rather than rally behind the condemnation, Saeb Erekat, the chief Palestinian negotiator, whose office the papers leaked from, appeared on various shows to express his condemnation of the leakage, accusing the Emir of Qatar (the

sponsor of Al Jazeera Network) of plotting with the CIA against the Palestinian Authority. These accusations were not met with favour by the PLO and they led to a presidential decree on 13th of February 2011 issued by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas ordering PLO officials to cease releasing any press releases in order to preserve the good relations of the Arab countries. After the resignation of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, a long-time ally, the political position of the PLO was weakened and its first casualty was the resignation of Erekat. However, his resignation had only a marginal effect and appeasement. The opposition against the PLO officials grew in the West Bank, Gaza Strip (Hamas' home base) and everywhere else in the Palestinian diaspora causing instability to the already instable Palestinian territories. The instabilities inevitably led to the two main Palestinian fractions, PLO and Hamas signing a reconciliation deal in Cairo on 28 April 2011 in order to calm the volatile situation manifesting in the region. Looking back at the Palestinian political scene, the role of Al Jazeera remains as dynamic as it is effective in terms of rallying the public opinion of both the Arabs and the international community. This role is best exemplified during the Arab Spring and subsequently the wars in Syria, Libya and Yemen.

1.4 Thesis Synopsis

Principally, it can be argued that Jerusalem was used as a symbolic marker to define an ideological 'Self/Other' space division of the long-lasting conflict. This thesis further demonstrates that the social and political actors involved in these revelations were mythically constructed: the Palestinian Authority and Israel as archetypal Tricksters, and the Palestinian refugees and martyrs as 'Victims'. Discourses of treachery, victimhood, and resistance underlined how Al Jazeera re-allocated these actors into the 'Self' (particularly Palestinian people), and the 'Other' (the Palestinian Authority along the 'enemies') spaces. In order for us to understand, just how this has manifested, we will need to explore the complex role of Jerusalem, as a symbol, and the mythical archetypes in defining an ideological space division.

The thesis will impress on the notion that through redefining and re-contextualising these complex 'Self' and 'Other' ideological constructions of the Israeli/Palestinian

conflict, mythological roles empowered and/or deconstructed the legitimacy and political status of certain key political actors via Al Jazeera news content. The thesis will further emphasize just how much the shows the role of Al Jazeera in the Middle East politics, particularly in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict has been a cogent factor that shaped and continues to shape political roles, actors and conflicts.

Chapter 2 will aim to provide a theoretical background for the forthcoming methodology and analytical chapters. It will explore the relevant literature on Al Jazeera and its news discourse as a political and geopolitical power in the Middle East. Concurrently, this chapter will be reviewing the concept of national identity and its relation to this topic. Chapter 2 will also identify the key theories, concepts and studies in the literature of myth and archetypes (Barthes, 1972; Eliade, 1998; Flood, 2001; Campbell, 2008; Jung, 2014). It will explore the relevant literature on Al Jazeera and its news discourse as a political and geopolitical power in the Middle East. Chapter 2 will explain in details the research positions on each key concept of mythology, ideology, space and discourse. A look at the scholarship on the role of myth and archetypes in journalistic practice will be examined (Lule, 2001;2002; 2005; Kelsey, 2014;2015;2016). A particular focus on Darren Kelsey's DMA (Discourse-Mythological Analysis) will bring to light key concepts of ideology, myth and space. The chapter will conclude by accounting for how 'othering' works in news discourse.

In Chapter 3, the methodological approach used in this research will be explained in terms of identifying the research sample. As the focus of this research is Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks in 2011, the background, size, identification, unit of analysis and then qualifying criteria of this sample will be evaluated. An exploration of theoretical framework of the methods used will follow, consisting of the triangulated methodological approach that consists of quantitative (content analysis) and qualitative (multimodal analysis that is integrated into discourse-methodological analysis) methods. A comprehensive discussion of the key theoretical foundations will account for how this triangulation serves cementing any limitation of the two methods, as it is argued that studying

media cannot solely depends on either method: "both methods are important in understanding any phenomenon" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000:49).

Further along the research, content analysis will provide an overall description of the sample and will highlight key discursive elements and patterns that define the discourses. The research will also draw upon the scholarship of Fairclough, Wodak and van Dijk in Critical Discourse Analysis and its implications (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1999; 2008; 2009). Critical Discourse approach facilitates the aims of this research due to the importance of studying the functions of language as a carrier of ideologies and a tool of exercising power. Equivalently, Fairclough (2001:9) argues that CDA starts from "social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, issues which are taken up within sociology, political science and/or cultural studies". The approach used in this research, DMA model, incorporates Fairclough's analytical framework and multimodality in order to analyse discursive/semiotic constructions of mythology in this research. The chapter will conclude by explaining that an adapted from Kelsey (2015)'s analytical tools of DMA will be utilized to demonstrate how this research critically analyses myth and space, and their ideological roles in discourse. This section will reveal that the list is located in the Appendices (Appendix IV) for reference, and where each strategy is utilized in the analytical chapters, it (analytical tool) will be identified and elaborated upon its use.

Chapter 4 will address the first research question: *How were the leaked Palestine Papers reported in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news discourses in 2011?* Statistical analysis will be provided for the sample alongside an explanation of how each variable was codified and measured. Content analysis will map out the overall statistical landscape of the sample and accounts for the most prominent discourses and key discursive practices that explain the online articles composing the sample. They will characterize the data and present a comparison between the Arabic and English sample in terms of size, themes, and so forth. Although the data of this content analysis are extensive, this analysis only aims to characterize and account for significant patterns, themes, voice and focus of coverage, underlining, first; bias, and, second; dominance of representation of a certain social group either passively or actively.

Chapter 5 addresses the second research question: *How did myth and space function ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict during the coverage?* This chapter deliberates how space functions ideologically in particular. It analyzes the discourse of Jerusalem as a symbol that augments the discursive construction of the Palestinian national identity and of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in Al Jazeera news. It examines how this narrative evokes national, religious and resistant values following the negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority. Drawing on different ideologies of Arabism, Islamism, Judaism and Zionism in a Palestinian national narrative, this chapter explores how Al Jazeera uses Jerusalem as a symbolic marker in the mythical construction of 'Our' and 'Their' space division. This will include analysis of articles that underline rhetoric of the landscape of Jerusalem as a space that is Islamic, Palestinian and Occupied. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how Al Jazeera exposes the PA's own discursive practices of naming which promote for Judaification of Jerusalem.

Chapter 6 delves into the mythic storytelling of key Palestinian political actors in Al Jazeera news reporting to address the second research questions. By analysing the moral storytelling of the Palestinian Authority officials and negotiators, the chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of the archetype of trickster in the construction of 'Their' space in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict narrative. It inspects the narrative that constructs the PA as a group of 'villains/tricksters' whose approach to the negotiations is morally evaluated as vicious. A complex archetypal construction of the PA, visually and discursively, unfolds incompetent and villainous tricksters, deceiving yet weak leaders, a naïve yet treacherous negotiators, and businessmen yet jokesters. The chapter then expands on the positions of Israelis and Americans in the sample and their relevance to this topic. They depict how both of these traditional enemies of the Palestinian people are more esteemed than their counterpart, the PA.

Chapter 7 looks further at the second research question and addresses how archetypal victims and heroes are viewed in Al Jazeera storytelling following the leaks. The chapter discusses the elements of mythology in the archetypal construction of the Palestinian people as Victims. It delves into the narrative of suffering, trauma and resistance. This chapter considers how humanizing, infantilizing, and stressing the

vulnerability of the Palestinian refugees promote their suffering. Additionally, the chapter informs broadly on the idea of national resistance against the Israeli occupation, formulated through the storytelling of the archetypal 'heroic victims' of the Palestinian martyrs. After analyzing the archetypal victims in the ideological space of the 'Self', the chapter later demonstrates how the Al Jazeera narrative depicts Arafat, the late leader of PA, as a national hero who fought for his people. The chapter will conclude by accounting for the means by which news storytelling ideologically constructed these myths of victims, heroic victims and heroes within the space of 'Self' versus the evil space of 'Others'.

Chapter 8 will present the conclusion of the analysis, reviewing the importance of the discourses analyzed and discussed along with their implications in the constructions of mythical spaces of 'Us' and 'Them'. In the conclusion, revisiting the research questions, I seek to demonstrate how this analysis has explicated the research questions posed for this thesis. The complex ideological roles of myth and space in the moral storytelling in news discourse will consolidate into a final comprehensive explanation highlighting the prominent role of mythology and space in the discourse of news organizations and their political power in reporting conflicts.

Chapter 2. Literature Review: Al Jazeera, Mythology, Ideology and Discourse

2.1 Introduction

In an era of conflicts sustained and directed by media narratives, present day news organisations have become more influential in rallying public opinion in lines of particular agendas. Employing ideological practices, they have gradually become the main force for driving forth elections, policies, resolutions, and conflicts. This thesis explores the use of ideological space and myths in reporting the Middle East conflicts. Looking at Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives during the coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks, this thesis aims to expose and analyse the ideological practices utilized within the Space of 'Self' and 'Other' to implement particular agenda. By adopting Discourse-Mythological Approach (DMA), this thesis rethinks the use of myths in discourse. It extends the theoretical framework of DMA to incorporate space as a key factor that shapes the role of myths within news narratives. By reviewing literature pertaining to key concepts of discourse, myth, ideology, and space with an extensive discussion of main debates on Al Jazeera, national identity, and othering, this chapter aims to provide a theoretical background for the forthcoming methodology and analytical chapters.

Firstly, this chapter will explore the objectivity, accountability and standard of professionalism in media, particularly the Al Jazeera news agency. Al Jazeera seeks to impress on viewers the idea that it is the defender of the people; a news agency that is unique in its approach of challenging oppressive regimes and dictatorships. It aims to appeal to a wide spectrum of individuals and particularly it seeks to influence political change in the Middle East. Since its launch in 1996, Al Jazeera has been committed to providing full coverage on the Palestinian conflict, becoming a champion of the Palestinian cause. It has covered key milestones in the history of the conflict, beginning with the second Intifada and the recurring Wars on Gaza since. It has offered a platform for the Palestinians in the occupied territories, and the diaspora to express their grievances and highlight the conditions of the occupation. This

chapter will review scholarship debates on Al Jazeera news as well as key concepts and theories of national identity and the construction of national identity in news discourse. The chapter will also offer an analysis on Al Jazeera's strategies in constructing the Palestinian national identity and the role of myth, archetypes, particularly what is considered Tricksters and Victims archetypes.

Next, this chapter will explore the literature on discourse, mythology, space and ideology. There has been a growing focus in the West on analysing mythology in news discourse and little development on non-Western news discourse. Given that there is an absence in the literature on non-Western focused news discourse, this research will review key concepts of myth, archetypes and their relation to the news and will explore further the theoretical framework of the DMA models and its relation to Al Jazeera news narrative in constructing ideological archetypes. The concept of space division and 'Othering' as well as their manifestation through the Al Jazeera news discourse will also be reviewed.

2.2 Al Jazeera

Al Jazeera has been and continues to be an influential news agency in the Middle East for the past two decades, covering key current affairs both in the region and internationally. Many considers it free voice of the millions of Arabs who have always been and continue to be subjected to the state-owned media outlets focused on regimes' propagandas:

> To understand Al Jazeera's influence, it is necessary to look at the channel not from the perspective of Western policymakers who consider it to be a malignant nuisance, but rather from the standpoint of its Arab audience, which sees it as magnifier of shared frustrations and aspirations and as a truth-teller. Relatively free from the control of governments (except its own Qatari government), near or far, Al Jazeera is trusted as a chronicler of Arab and Muslim interests. In the opinion of many of its viewers, if its news coverage stirs passions, fine; if those passions swirl out of control, so be it. In the surge of journalistic-political freedom that Al Jazeera's freewheeling style exemplifies, restraint is often merely an afterthought.
>
> (Seib, 2008, p. 15)

David Pollack expressed in an article for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy that Al Jazeera performs an important role in reporting the conflicts of the Middle East, often criticised and at times praised for its journalistic practices. He also noted that Al Jazeera Arabic and English constitute one organisation, but often deliver two different messages; "The problem is that the content of Aljazeera's English site differs, at times radically, from that of the Arabic version" (Pollack *et al.*, 2011, p. 179). Al Jazeera has hitherto reported several major conflicts, including the wars on Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon and the Palestinian Intifada. It has extensively reported on the Palestine Papers leaks; the case study of this research, and launched an extensive and critical reporting of the Arab Spring as they emerged in various countries in the region. In the Middle East, the media is heavily censored and controlled by the state and only reports on issues that are favourable to the regime. Al Jazeera, launched by the Qatari government, sought to play a proactive and controversial role in the region by challenging authoritarian regimes and offering a wider, more diverse perspective on conflicts globally and regionally. It has surpassed all boundaries in its daily coverage of events and crises, and pushed the limits of government controlled institutes, ultimately emerging as an assertive news organisation and an unprecedented phenomenon changing the makeup of the region (El-Nawawy and Iskandar, 2003). El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2003) contend that Al Jazeera first rose to international media fame after its exclusive coverage of the Bin Laden tapes and the Afghanistan war in the aftermath of 9/11, and subsequently became to be the first non-western network to challenge the monopoly of the Western media, such as the BBC and CNN.

Exposing how agendas reinforce the reporting of conflicts, Al Jazeera has maintained its position in the political scene in the region on the Middle East in particular, as argued by Kevin Marsh of the BBC College of Journalism:

> One of the things that I think Al-Jazeera … has flagged up … is the agenda, not just a way in which we report the stories but the stories that we report in the first place. Actually, this is a very common complaint particularly from the Palestinian or Arab side in the Middle East.
>
> (cited in Barkho, 2010, p. 10)

Adding to Marsh's observation, Barkho asserts that despite the fact that Al Jazeera's rivals, such as BBC, CNN, etc..., seek to meet international production standards, their strife does not usually match Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera English's excellence in constructing the cultural relevance of its news (Barkho, 2010). The expansive and comprehensive coverage illustrated in both samples expose two different strategic agendas applied by the two Al Jazeera services. Al Jazeera Arabic demonstrates a greater interest in covering the Palestinian refugees and their cause in comparison with its English counterpart. Al Jazeera Arabic's main objective is to engage the Arab audience by covering 'hot' topic that are related to their struggles and aspirations, as a result, a focus on the Palestinian/Israeli conflict often takes precedence in their reporting because of its social, demographic and political impact on the region and the citizens as a whole.

Research analysts maintain that when it comes to coverage of events affecting the global community, both Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites offer similar if not identical coverage, as in the case of the coverage pertaining to the US/Al Qaeda conflict (Fahmy and Al Emad, 2011). Judiciously, this is a result of the global significance of the Al Qaeda conflict affecting both the West and the East. Other researchers analysts observe that the Al Jazeera Arabic website offers more coverage on the Arab World, chiefly the "hot spots" focusing on Iraq and the Palestinian territories and less coverage on the rest of the world unlike Al Jazeera English which offers more global coverage (Abdul-Mageed and Herring, 2008). A decade later, the same observations remain pertinent.

As this research considers this argument, and demonstrates statistically in Chapter 4 that Al Jazeera Arabic gives considerable awareness and attention to its coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, compared to its English counterpart. Mostefa Souag, director of Al-Jazeera Centre for Studies affirms that Al Jazeera "feels it is rooted in the soil of the Middle East and it respects the collective conscience in the Middle East culture." He further adds that Al Jazeera acknowledges that its English services are aimed at non-Arab audience, and must therefore offer a wider perspective and a global outlook in its coverage (Barkho, 2010, p. 70).

Key debates in the literature often overlooked the role of Al Jazeera being a political force in the region with an agenda of its own. Researchers, academics, and citizens both globally and regionally have challenged this perspective and do not attribute a political role to it, however, regional and international governments have been known to questions its interference and have accused it of meddling in political affairs. The scholarly debate on Al Jazeera has mainly focused on geopolitical importance and have not offered a detailed study of its discourse; ideological manipulation; or the concept of space and archetypes in its reporting. This research reviews these concepts in this chapter and then aims to account for their role and mechanism in Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives in the analytical chapters.

2.3 National Identity Construction

The Palestinian national identity is interdependent on the identity of Jerusalem. In order to understand the relevance of national identity to conflict, a theoretical perspective on 'identity', 'national identity', and 'discursive construction of national identity' will be reviewed in this section. Extensive research has been conducted on 'identity' in various disciplines, such as philosophy, sociology, psychology, politics and so forth. Largely identity is viewed in terms of possessing an explanatory force and is a relative concept depending on the discipline and objective it is used for. De Cillia *et al.* (1999) claims that identity is what determines the relation between several related subjects in a way that stresses 'sameness' or 'equality'. In this sense, identity defines what to include in the space of 'Self' and what to exclude within the space of 'Other'. Other scholars argue however, that the concept of identity is not intrinsically static or substantial; rather, it is an element that is always changing and evolving (Martin, 1995). Rethinking these arguments, Al Jazeera appears to mark elements of sameness and selfhood in constructing the Palestinian national identity. However, it is noteworthy that Al Jazeera national narrative pinpoints particular static elements of sameness in constructing archetypes of victims and heroes in the space of 'Our' nation, whilst, it utilizes evolving components of Palestinian identity when it reallocates particular individuals, such as Palestinian Authority, into space of the 'Other'.

Smith (1991) offers a satisfactory example of what a nation entails; he confers that, a nation is "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all member" (1991, p. 14). He later expanded on this definition by stating that a nation is also "a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs" (2002, p. 15). Correspondingly, nations, such as the Palestinian nation, are not only political structure; they are also, as Stuart Hall (1996a) maintains, "systems of cultural representations" (1996a, p. 612) and misrepresentations that interpret the imagined communities. In lines of this argument, the Palestinian national culture is a discourse; "a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves" (Hall, 1996a, pp. 612-3) and thereby representations about the Self become the norm, and any deviation from these representations exclude individual outside 'Our' space. It is through national culture that identity is constructed, and that is "by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identity; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and imagines which are constructed of it" (Hall, 1996a, pp. 612-3).

De Cillia *et al.* (1999) portrays the concept of a nation as an "imagined community" and a "mental construct" that reflects "an imaginary complex of ideas containing at least the defining elements of collective unity and equality, of boundaries and autonomy," and therefore this image of the Self becomes "real to the extent that one is convinced of it, believes in it and identifies with it emotionally" (1999, p. 22). The discourse of identity surrounding an imaginary community is made more powerful through national narratives. In contrast to De Cillia's assertion, Uri Ram (1998) interprets "Nationality [as] a narration, a story which people tell about themselves in order to lend meaning to their social world" (1998, p. 153). In this sense, the Palestinian 'national identity' becomes a product of national discourses, and consequently "the discursive construction of [the] national identity revolves around three temporal axes of the past, the present and the future" ((Wodak *et al.*, 1999, p. 26). Hence, the Palestinian national identity is discursively constructed around discourses within historical, geographical, cultural, linguistic, religious, economical, traditional, and so forth spaces. Significantly, examining the Palestinian space of

'Self', it is noteworthy that the personal dimension of the national construction reinforces "themes of 'selfhood', 'sameness', 'equality', 'similarity', 'difference' (or the 'other'), 'uniqueness' and 'autonomous' … 'unity', 'community' and 'group'" (Wodak *et al.*, 1999, p. 26).

Individuals perceive themselves as belonging to a national collective shaped by their social practices and conventionalities forming a national identity. National identity correspondingly is a dynamic system "shaped by state, political, institutional, media and everyday social practices, and the material and social conditions which emerge as their results, to which the individual is subjected" (Wodak *et al.*, 1999, p. 29). The concept of the Palestinian national identity as constructed in the research sample can therefore be argued to be manipulated by Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives in order to serve a particular purpose, as will be explored in later chapters. To reinforce this argument, Way (2011) explains that when news producers are constructing competing national discourses, they tend to recontextualise their political views "to support their [self-serving] interests," by promoting distinctive versions of national identity and national allegiance" (2011, p. 29). His perspective is reinforced by Rose (1996) argument that, nationality is often represented in the aim of excluding particular groups from the national space; a process mediated by the use of place images. She asserts that 'collective identity' is normally constructed through the constant division between 'our' space and 'their' space. This division of space can be explained through the concept of 'paradigmatic oppositions'; a term coined by Shields (1991) which draws on 'binary oppositions'. Paradigmatic oppositions characterize the divisions between the two spaces in cultural, political, religious, and national terms, such as, 'Palestine/Israel', 'Arabic/Zionist', 'Islamic/Jewish', 'Palestinian/Israeli', etc.

National identity is also informed by the use of ideologies and symbols. Symbols are a set of ideas, expressed in a particular manner as to provide a foundation for individuals to fabricate a social and cultural space (Salomon, 1955). Characteristically, symbols function as mediators that help individuals make sense of their identity within a certain group or community. The abstract concept of symbolism can have a physical impact on the world by way of an individual's experiences and perceptions (Lee, 1954; McKeon, 1955). Societies throughout existence have

communicated and will continue to communicate symbols and ideologies through a set of shared history and experiences and this will be perpetuated for many generations to come (Duncan, 1968). Jakle *et al.* (1976) maintains that the process of attaching meaning to any physical or abstract entity is an intrinsic element of human activities, shaping our understanding of the world and informing our social practices. The creation of symbols becomes innate in the sphere of the collective mentality and give birth to numerous ideologies. Firth (1973) contends that, uniformly, symbols, as means of expression, possess instrumental values, particularly the religious and political symbols, are able to stimulate strong feelings of identification with a particular group and thus serve as a mobilizing factor for group activity.

For the purpose of this research analysis, we will explore the relation of how symbols manifest ideological conceptions once they become associated with a particular place or body. Geertz (1973) maintains that ideologies act as reflections of fear, masks of concealed intentions and demonstrator of support in groups; in other words, ideologies are the matrices in the process of creating collective conscience. Whereas nationalist ideologies aim to excite nationalism, "[t]he images, metaphors, and rhetorical turns from which nationalist ideologies are built are essentially devices designed to render" the process of collective identification (Geertz, 1973, p. 252). Through the religious and political symbolism, ideological practices are better hidden in rallying nationalistic sentiments in people. This argument is particularly valid in understand how the political and religious symbolism of Jerusalem, for example, opens up discourses of nationalism and treachery. In other words, symbolism reinforces political ideologies in painting the nationalistic identity of the space of the 'Self' and therefore, political institutions and practices shape the 'territorial space' within their strife to endorse ideological values and objectives, and this political landscape eventually forms the national ideology (Cohen and Rosenthal, 1971; Cohen and Rosenthal, 1977; Cohen and Kliot, 1992). It is worth noting that both political and religious institutions use symbols for the purpose of creating a 'collective consciousness' (Salomon, 1955). A Palestinian nationalistic collective consciousness utilizing Jerusalem as a religious, national and political symbol, is further explored in chapter 5.

2.4 Myth and Archetypes

2.4.1 Myth and News

Myth is a key concept that shapes the national identity and functions ideologically in the construction of the space of the 'Self' and the space of the 'Other' in this research. Examining its role in Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives, and its ideological function in dividing the national space into what is Palestinian 'Self', and what is not, it is significant to understand the concept of myth and its relation to news. Myth has been defined in a multitude ways. According to Campbell (2011):

> what human beings have in common is revealed in myths. Myths are stories of our search through the ages for truth, for meaning, for significance. We all need to tell our story and to understand our story.

Flood (2001) on the other hand suggests that myth, in its form, is a story that consists of a set of linked events. This study aims particularly to examine the aspects of 'interests' and 'moralities': the way in which news discourse constructs stories whose characters are morally evaluated and thus empowered or disempowered, as Campbell deems "Whether you call someone a hero or a monster is all relative to where the focus of your consciousness maybe" (2011, p. 156). This research draws on Kelsey's concept of mythological storytelling in news and its use of moral connotation as they form ideological constructs (Kelsey, 2014;2015;2016). Correspondingly Barthes' concept of mythology is also considered in this research as a means to show that mythology is not a prevarication of facts but rather a construction of meaning:

> Myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing: it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an inflection … We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature.
>
> (Barthes, 1972, p. 129)

Edmund Leach's analysis is compatible with Barthes, asserting that "the special quality of myth is not that it is false but that it is divinely true for those who believe, but [a] fairy-tale for those who do not" (1974, p. 54). Flood substantiates the claim that myth is "a story which has the status of sacred truth within one or more social groups but which would probably not be taken as sacred or literally true by the

observer who labelled it as myth" (2001, p. 32). Myth is therefore, distinguished from other forms of narrative such as folktales, fairytales, fables, legends, and histories (Flood, 2001).

Other scholars define myth by its functions. Joseph Campbell proposes four main functions of myth, but for the relevance of this research analysis I will only consider the sociological and pedagogical:

> [T]he sociological one – support[s] and validat[es] a certain social order... [and] has taken over in our world – [T]he pedagogical function, [is in regards to how humans live their] lifetime under any circumstances.
>
> (Campbell and Moyers, 2011, pp. 38-40)

By taking into consideration the work mentioned previously by various scholars on the definition and role of myth, we are able to better analyse its function in regards to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. For the purpose of this research analysis, I look at how myths in news stories shape the consciousness of identity and values. O'Donnell (2003) contends that "myth are stories that help remind us who we are collectively and individually" (2003, p. 282). Mythological storytelling, as Lule (2001) maintains, "legitimises and justifies positions. Myth celebrates dominant beliefs and values. Myth degrades and demeans other beliefs that do not align with those of the storyteller" (2001, p. 184). This theory is reflected in news stories by journalists who seek to portray an event or report on a particular conflict with the objective of shaping the audience's perspective "Like myth tellers from every age, journalists can draw from rich treasures trove of archetypal stories and make sense of the world" (2001, p. 18). While the term "myth" is repeatedly used to express different perspective of the story being told, this research analysis specifically contends that myth is "ideology in narrative form" (Lincoln, 1999, p. xii), and thereby it examines the ideological role of myth and ideological constructions of mythic archetypes, such as tricksters, victims and so forth, in news organisations as they (news organisations) seek to influence a political agenda and or shape public opinions in conflict. Bird and Dardenne (1988) argued that news is considered to be more than an objective reporting of facts and events, rather it is storytelling that works in mythological form.

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Since "the narrative construction and mythological function of news" necessitates a more developed understanding in order to "fully comprehend the ideological way in which it operates in any culture" (Bird and Dardenne, 2009, p. 205), this thesis aims to expose these roles in the Al Jazeera narratives of a conflict in the Middle East, the research cultivates a better understanding of regional national identities, and local symbols and constructions of archetypes.

2.4.2 Main Archetypes

The third factor that informs the analysis of this research sample is the concept of archetype. As it is defined by Jung, an archetype is:

> essentially an unconscious content that is altered by becoming conscious and by being perceived, and it takes its colour from individual consciousness in which it happens to appear.
>
> (Jung, 2014, p. 5)

Seven archetypal myths are identified by Lule (2001) in the news discourse: the victim, the scapegoat, the hero, the good mother, the trickster, the other world, and the flood. This research analysis considers the various identities of archetypes of myth as defined by Lule and how these archetypes are used by news outlets, specifically Al Jazeera in this case study to form a number of new ideological perspectives and shape political agendas. This literature will account for a number of archetypes depicted in Al Jazeera moral storytelling during the coverage of Israeli/Palestinian negotiations leaked in 2011: Trickster and Victim. Other archetypes, such as Heroic Victim and Hero, will be explored and discussed later in Chapter 7.

2.4.3 The Archetypal Trickster

Previous scholarly studies have explored the myths of trickster within a variety of cultural contexts. Radin gives a complex example of the mythic trickster archetype possessing a number of characteristic traits:

> Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself… He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being.
>
> (Radin, 1956, p. xxiii)

As Abrahams (1968) contends, the figure of trickster is "the most paradoxical of all characters," he is able to adapt various roles in various circumstances. He can be the "…clown, fool, jokester, initiate, cultural hero, [or] even ogre…" (1968, pp. 170-1). This research analysis will only focus on the trickster archetype possessing 'diabolic', 'catastrophic', 'clown', 'jokester' and 'vicious' attributes.

Lule (2001) points out that the archetypal trickster is "one of the most fascinating and complex mythological figures found in hundreds of societies" (2001, p. 24). The most compelling attributes of the trickster is not how he is perceived in his natural surrounding but how the news stories portray his character for any given purpose:

> News too often tells stories of crude, contemptible people, governed by seemingly animal instincts, who bring ridicule and destruction on themselves. In some stories, stupid criminals, dumb and dangerous athletes, hapless hit men, classless and crude rich people are offered up in the news as objects for mockery and contempt.
>
> (Lule, 2001, p. 24)

For the purpose of this research, the mythic Trickster does not have a conventional characteristic, but rather a set of complex identities making it difficult to box them under one category or another. According to the Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian ideological opponent, 'Tricksters', are the Israelis and to some extent, the Americans, though they are fully aware of the law, they breach it to suit their own objective. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged by many, that although they are violating the rights of the Palestinians, they are protecting the rights and existence of their people and therefore are deserving of respect, unlike the Palestinian Authority who are apathetic to the plight of their own citizens. Equally, the American negotiators claim to act as neutral brokers for the purpose of achieving peace, but in fact they are adamant allies of the Israelis' and work for their interests only. In regards to the PA, they are a paradoxical trickster figure with many facets as will be explored in Chapter 6.

2.4.4 The Archetypal Victim

Just as important as it is to understand how the Archetypical Trickster came to inform and shape the debate in news discourse, so it is important to understand how the role of Victim was able to shape and contribute significantly to the direction of the discourse unfolding during the coverage of the Leaks, as further discussed in Chapter 7. The Palestinian refugees came to embody a significant focus of the news coverage, ultimately being constructed as 'archetypal victim' and causalities of their own government as well as their occupier. The Victim is one of the key archetypes in many myths and holds a significant role in societies (see Jung, 1959; Henderson, 1964; Jung, 1976; Eliade, 1996; Lule, 2001). As Eliade (1996) puts it, the significance of these myths of victims emerges from the fact that "they are better than any empirical or rational means of revealing human destiny", they become the consoler in the times of conflict and tragedy (1996, p. 426).

Despite the fact that the portrayal of the Palestinians in news discourse as refugees and victims was intended to win them support, empathy, and agency, such portrayal only served to victimize them further. This research considers MacKinnon's (2008) argument that refugees endure a process of 'objectification' where they are no longer the agents, subjects, but rather become the objects that are "in need of assistance, training and a host of other resettlement services, though never to speak and act of their own accord in the public" stripping them of their own identities and replacing it with a 'refugee status' (2008, p. 398).

2.5 Discourse, Mythology and Ideology

Reviewing the concepts of discourse, mythology and ideology is key to understand the argument of this thesis, and to provide an appropriate background to successfully answer the two research questions. Kelsey (2015) argues that 'mythology', 'ideology' and 'discourse' are 'overlapping terms', but do not hold the same meaning, and we must therefore explore separately the term discourse in its relation to the DMA (Flood, 2002; Bottici, 2007).

2.5.1 Discourse

Discourse has been approached from various perspectives theoretically, methodologically, and analytically (Meyer, 2001; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002; Wodak and Weiss, 2003; Fairclough *et al.*, 2011; Van Dijk, 2011; Kelsey, 2015). According to Richardson (2007), both the terms of 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' are concepts that have been the place of struggle across the disciplines. This research is not restricted to a linguistic level of analysis, specifically, it also scrutinizes context and exposes ideological practices pertained in discourse, as asserted by Brown and Yule:

> […] the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.
>
> (Brown and Yule, 1983, p. 1)

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) distinguishes between the terms 'text' and 'discourse' stating that:

> A text is a product rather than a process – a product of the process of text production. But I shall use the term *discourse* to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part. This process includes in addition to the text the *process of production*, of which the text is a product, and the *process of interpretation*, for which the text is a resource.
>
> (Fairclough, 1989, p. 24)

In this research, the approach to Discourse-Mythological Analysis (DMA) draws on the above-mentioned Fairclough's definition of discourse, as a process of discursive practices and social relations, and Mayr's (2008) analysis of 'discourse' distinguished as "a culturally and socially organized way of speaking" (2008, p. 7). It is 'discourse' that is defined in relation to social practices (Fairclough, 1995) that is considered in this thesis. Similarly, Fairclough *et al.* (2011), explained how they see:

> discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way

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relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them.

(Fairclough *et al.*, 2011, p. 55)

This concept of 'social practice' also draws on Foucault's notion of discourse. Michel Foucault's work was not on language, rather he examined discourse as 'system of representations'. Discourse, according to Foucault, "is about the production of knowledge through language … But … since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect" (Hall, 2001, p. 291). Foucault contends that discourse constructs the topics and defines our knowledge and processes that "govern the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about" (Hall, 2001, p. 72). Foucault also views discourse as a system of restricting and allowing particular ways of tackling topics:

Just as discourse 'rules in' certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, or conduct oneself, so also, by definition, it 'rules out', limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it.

(Hall, 2001, pp. 72-3)

Foucault maintains that discourse does not emerge as a result of a single element, such as one statement or text, but rather, discourse is recurrent across a number of texts or elements as a development of practices of diversity of social institutions and subsequently, when a certain discursive element becomes a pattern or strategy, it becomes part of the same discourse. Discourse is understood beyond linguistics embodying both 'language' and 'practice'. The interpretation of discourse, Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain, can incorporate "a historical monument, a lieu de memoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se" and it is through this broad concept of discourse that we come across "racist discourse, gendered discourse, discourses on un/employment, media discourses, populist discourse, discourses of the past, and many more" (2009, p. 1). This research sample takes into account that Discourse-Mythological Analysis (DMA) model is "concerned with the way that words, statements and texts reflect the social conditions under which we live. Language reflects the social struggles and ideological influences of

those competing for power in society" (Kelsey, 2015, p. 32), and thus discourse in this research is reflected as a process that is both produced and consumed within a network of social practices accounting for how power is exercised in society, and the role of mythology and ideology in sustaining this power.

2.5.2 Ideology

It is universally acknowledged that the exercise of power is unequally distributed, and consequently those who possess power are able to control and shape ideologies, thereby influencing and conditioning the thinking of the masses and more specifically the less informed. Ideology is a central concept in the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). For example, commenting on ideology, Gee (2005) suggests that it is this inverted version of reality, that is sustained by the elite in their discourse as a key tool to exercise their power and dominate the public. Bourdieu and Thompson (1991), drawing upon Bourdieu, maintains that not only language is a carrier of ideology but also that the social institutions resort to certain recurrent linguistic patterns to impose their ideologies. In this sense, other CDA scholars argued that the discursive patterns that hide ideological implications can be detected and demonstrated via critical analysis (Van Dijk, 1998). This research analysis draws on Gee, Bourdieu and Thompson's arguments in relation to how Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives exercise political power in utilizing discourses of nationalism and Islamism. Hence utilizing DMA, this research aims at exposing the discursive patterns, such as topos of threat, metaphor, hyperbole and ideological square, Al Jazeera uses to impose these ideologies, and thereby successfully constructs archetypes that influence public opinion in order to serve particular interests.

The discourse in media is perceived to be the most powerful because it has the ability to influence public opinion, advocate for certain interests and or restricts what it considers undesirable and not benefitting. The Marxist perspective on Media power, suggests that the power of Media does not only shape and create culture but is consistently "renewing, amplifying and extending the existing predispositions that constitute the dominant culture" (Gurevitch *et al.*, 1982, p. 14). The media, according to Hall, is the "producers of messages or transmitters of 'sign vehicles'" (Rojek, 2003,

p. 93). Furthermore, it is "an ideological state apparatus largely concerned with the reproduction of dominant ideologies" and seeks to "reinforce a consensual viewpoint by using public idioms and by claiming to voice public opinion" (Gurevitch *et al.*, 1982, p. 109). Ideology, in Wayne's (2003) words, functions when signs "are pressed into the service of sustaining exploitative social relations, and, because of those social motivations, such ideological signs are impoverished in terms of generating knowledge about the world" (2003, p. 174). Richardson (2007) also argues that "Ideological practices work through signs – that is, through the circulation of ideas, representations and portrayals of social reality" (2007, p. 124). The Al Jazeera narratives, as this research analysis will illustrate, use representations and representation of different social actors during the coverage of the leaks. Richardson's argument explains how Al Jazeera's portrayals of the Palestinian Authority as deceitful, naïve and so forth, for example, serve to delegitimize their, i.e. PA's, political positions in the Israeli/Palestinian negotiations.

Ideology is a term initially coined by Antoine Destutt de Tracey following the French revolution. According to him, the "ideas we hold are not the product of God or nature but are generated by our social environment as perceived through our physical senses" (McLellan, 1986, p. 6). Antoine's ideas hold a Marxist resonance, reinforced by McLellan's argument that ideology is not limited or restricted to our experiences, rather it is ideas that "alter according to their economic circumstances" (1986, p. 6). Hall argues that ideology is key in "constructing meaning so that they become 'obvious' or 'natural'" (Rojek, 2003, p. 93). It is also used by the ruling elite to maintain hold on the working class. Ideologies unveil "the circumstances of the ruling class and their desire to maintain their class privilege" (Richardson, 2007, p. 33). According to Critical Discourse analysts, ideology is a process that is deceiving as it relies mainly on language by the elite to exercise power over the powerless and language by nature is a non-physical; intangible entity and for this reason it is considered to be a deceiving weapon. CDA analysis have since sought to unmask this deception by raising public's awareness on the ways language is used and manipulated to control others (Richardson, 2007; Van Dijk, 2009). Discourse is considered 'ideological' when it carries assumptions and concepts that are contrary to the truth (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1971; Callinicos, 1983; Jones, 2001). Consequently, ideological discourse is often perceived as candid by the

disenfranchised who embrace it to make sense of the chaos surrounding them. This research seeks to uncover the system of beliefs, values and concepts that were exploited in the Al Jazeera discourse and were subsequently embraced by the audience and more specifically the disenfranchised Palestinians.

Hence drawing on this neutral approach to ideology enables my research to conduct a "critical examination of where, how, and to what extent political discourse in any given instance – including the discourse of scholars aiming at objectivity – is ideologically marked" (Flood, 2002, cited in Kelsey, 2015, p. 26). In these terms, I adopt Kelsey's DMA position on ideology: as I do not claim any ideological-free position on approaching this research and interpreting the results, I am as an analyst "can accept that our own knowledge, understanding and critique is influenced by ideology" (Kelsey, 2015, p. 26). As I am aware of how my own ideologies can be seen as reflective upon my analysis, I adopt Kelsey's proposition that: "Analysts are not free from ideology or superior to myth. But they can be reflective without proposing truth or falsity in their own accounts when we understand how myth and ideology function through the discourses we produce and consume" (Kelsey, 2014, p. 327).

2.5.3 Mythology

Ideology is also analogous to Myth (Wayne, 2003, p. 170). Myth functions by naturalising and legitimising the rule of the powerful, and therefore is ideological (Thussu, 2006, p. 4). Mythology and ideology are at times interchangeable, one cannot fully understand the first without comprehending the second. The concept of mythology has been studies extensively across various disciplines, however, the DMA framework and its relation to mythology focuses on the work of three key scholars: Ronald Barthes (1972); Jack Lule (2001); and Christopher Flood (2002). This section will focus on the theoretical implications of mythology and its relation to discourse and ideology. According to Flood (2002), the concept of discourse has to be defined within the theoretical framework of 'mythology', otherwise; the distinction between 'myth' and 'ideology' will be ambiguous. It will also become difficult to understand how certain beliefs communicated through Myth are understood without

understanding the discourse behind it. Myth as understood by Flood is a process that "arises from the intricate, highly variable relationship between claims to validity, discursive construction, ideological marking, and reception of the account by a particular audience in a particular historical context" (Flood, 2002, cited in Kelsey, 2015, p. 25). In relation to Mythology discourse, and as a way to distinguish it from ideology, Flood argues that:

> … if we are to maintain that political myths should be considered as a type of ideological discourse, they need to be distinguished from other modes of ideological discourse but be shown to be in complementary relationship with them as to their form, their content, and their functions. They must be identified as vehicles of ideological beliefs and as supports for ideological arguments. Political myths are therefore in competition with one another insofar as they represent competing ideologies.

> (Flood, 2002, cited in Kelsey, 2015, p. 25)

Characteristically, myths are developed over time as 'cultural constructions', and as they become historically naturalised; their 'ideological function' becomes accepted as 'common sense'. As a result of their development over time, discourse and myth begin to form many similarities, but remain distinct in how they are perceived. Hence, discourse and myth bear many similarities. Nevertheless, Flood argues that these two concepts hold a distinction between them; he maintains that discourse first *constructs myth*, and also *carries ideology*:

> The choices among possible alternatives in the selection of information, the attribution of qualities, motives, and objectives to historical actors, inferences concerning relationships of cause and effect, use of descriptive terms or other lexical items, grammatical constructions, overall organisation, location of the narrative, and any other factors are all relevant insofar as they contribute to the orientation of the discourse in the direction of one ideological current as opposed to another.
> (Flood, 2002, cited in Kelsey, 2015, pp. 27-8)

Here Flood argues that past models of myth do not suffice to apply a systematic approach into analysing myth in language, myths need to be explored within the discourses to be better understood. Consequently, this research considers utilizing myth as an incorporated element in a wider analytical framework, i.e., DMA, in order to systematically analyse Al Jazeera storytelling of Palestinian Authority's

concessions on the Palestinian rights. It is through analysing myths and detecting the discursive patterns in Al Jazeera's discourses this research analysis exposes the direction of the ideologies and how they function.

The Discourse-Mythological Approach model functions by incorporating both the theoretical mythology and Critical Discourse Analysis in a manner that is systematic. Myth has the power to be theatrical, Bottici (2007) contends, it gives the "impression of being part of such drama [where] the typically strong pathos of a political myth derives" (2007, p. 206). Conceiving it systematically, we can understand that from inception, it is discourse that constructs the myth which then transmits the ideology, and conversely it is ideology that shapes the construction of discourse. In sum, this research adopts Kelsey's (2015) position on ideology, myth and discourse: "The distinction and connection between ideology and myth," explains, "is defined by the role that discourse plays in expressing ideology through mythological forms … So ideology functions through a circular process that informs constructions of discourse and is delivered through mythology, which subsequently informs further discursive and social practices" (2015, p. 29).

2.6 Space Division and 'Othering' in News Discourse

Space, Lefebvre (1991) argues, "is a social product… it is not simply 'there', a neutral container waiting to be filled, but is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control and hence of domination, of power" (1991, p. 24) and consequently, social relations originate from and are produced through space; social relations do not exist in reality outside space. This research adopts Lefebvre's notion of space which is understood to be a concept that is first, defined by those who participate in it and those who construct it. This research analysis conceptualises Space as a concept shaped by political and social forces through the construction of one (or more) elements including but not limited to cultural, linguistic, visual, religious. As Foucault (1984) contends, "space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (1984, p. 252). The methods of constructing, practicing and experiencing space should be perceived as "acts of power". The rituals of power are operated through discourse and involve

deciding what is usual, expected and habitual, in opposition to what is regarded as an exception, and thus a deviation. This kind of power produces 'subjects' and self-awareness. It draws ideological spaces into which ideas, actions, and people are allocated. Specifically, it reinforces division procedures of 'Self' and 'Others'.

This research analysis draws on Michel Foucault (1971)'s exclusion practice theory to expatiate on the concept of Space division informing this work. The process of 'division' is based on the construction of 'Us' in the inclusive space and 'Them' in the exclusive space. This section will also focus on demonstrating how the notion of 'othering' functions in news discourse, particularly the Al Jazeera news. Al Jazeera's news discourse exploited the ideological space divisions in order to influence public opinion. They succeeded in doing so by capitalizing on the concept of 'othering'. Numerous literature have explored the concept of 'othering' in media discourse and examined the distinction between the 'Us' and the 'Them' space division formulated in news narrative. The existing literature has hitherto focused on the manipulative tactics of the 'In-Group' or 'Us' to maintain sovereignty over the narrative by excluding the other 'Out-Group', also known as 'Them'. Scholarly research in critical linguistics and CDA have particularly focused on the strategies and patterns of language, Kelly (1996) contends, to cultivate social consent on various ideological positions exercised by the elites for their mutual interests. Scholarly research on 'othering' in various discourse confirmed the significance language plays in the construction of social consent in regards to the 'Them' group, including but not limited to foreigners, refugees, immigrants, and minority groups. Scholarship, however, reveals a gap in the field of a critical analysis on the way news organisations fail to account for the 'othering' and reallocation of social actors into the 'Self' and or 'Other' groups in the non-Western news narratives of the Middle Eastern conflicts, a concept that is developed and reviewed in this thesis.

Conboy (2007) asserts that "news media are directed towards particular groups of people, whether on the basis of their nationality, social standing or educational attainment. The first imperative of any news organization is to categorize which people and which events are of interest for their particular audience" (2007, p. 26). Language, therefore, functions as a vehicle that processes these distinctions and then

maintains both 'distance' and 'solidarity' between individuals. In these terms, the 'Us/Them' dichotomy reveals these complicated relations of 'solidarity/distance' that are characterised by the 'Self' positive representations and the 'Other' negative representations (Conboy, 2007). In this respect, both 'sourcing' and 'attribution' have been viewed as key discursive strategies in the process of developing and sustaining a dominant ideological position in the media. Sourcing, i.e., information about the source, for instance, the author or interviewee, can influence the audience's evaluation and judgement of the information they receive. It serves in enabling the audience to consider the motivation, ability and contextual factors in processing the narrative. Attribution also functions in an ideological way by assigning a cause to the behaviour of the Self and or of the Other. Both discursive strategies serve in sustaining Al Jazeera's ideological positions on the content of the leaks. For example, Al Jazeera's use of sourcing, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, of Shraydeh, an old refugee in a camp in Lebanon, serves in inducing the audience to sympathise with Palestinian refugees as victims of the Palestinian Authority's concessional positions to the negotiations. Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives also manifest the use of attribution of evil doings to the 'Other' space.

Van Dijk (1991) argues that racism in news offers 'systematic negative images' of others. He adds that these images feed prejudices, stereotypes, and other ideologies about the 'others', and thus they indirectly contribute in reproducing racism. It is the task of CDA, he argues, to explore the discursive strategies of public discourse and their key role in reproducing racism, along the systematic patterns where positive images of 'Us' and negative ones of 'Them' are reproduced. Considering van Dijk's theoretical assessment of the systematic process of negative images of others, this research demonstrates that the same process can be used even if taken out of the context of racism. In other words, in this research, Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives utilized systematic misrepresentation of particular individuals within the space of 'Self' by demonising their actions, and thereby expelled them outside of this space.

Caldas-Coulthard (2003) has provided an analysis on the Self/Other dichotomy and its construction in news discourse. Her studies contextualize the events in news

storytelling as they epitomise the 'Others' and the criteria they select to portray an event. She examined the moral perspective of news narrative and their focus on 'elite nations', 'personalization', and 'negativity'. Her findings expose the tactics Western media employ, both textually and visually, that are conceived from an imperialist and colonial attitude, perpetuating a dominant stereotype on developing nations and showing a strong opposing contrast between the 'developing' and the 'developed' or what consider 'civilised' nations. Consequently, this Western media discourse legitimizes the superiority of the West, and underscores the distance between 'Us' and 'Them'. The same tactics can be detected in Al Jazeera misrepresentation of the Palestinian Authority, whose evil doings cast them as inferior Tricksters.

British media while reporting on the Iraq war, always maintained an elitist status emulating the strategies of the American media, as Conboy (2007) maintains. To elaborate, he further explains that during the reporting on the Iraq war, American and British casualties in Western media remained the main focus, while "the number of enemy casualties is not referred to in such stories and even when they are, they are not aggregated over the time of the conflict" (2007, p. 34). When a news story places emphasis on the 'Us', journalists will unreflectingly show a bias and become exponents of national identity. Contrastingly, when a news story places emphasis on 'Them', journalistic professionalism dominates and assumes a free-will approach (Nossek, 2004, p. 343).

Western and Eastern (Arab) ideologies are divergent politically, nationally, culturally, and even religiously. This divergence is "generally implicit and unconscious, often leading to [the] perception of Arabic culture and ideology as a monolithic whole. Lost in this division between 'Us' and 'Other' are multitude of inner-Arabic ideological divisions" (Al Ali, 2011, p. 301). In her analysis of Arab and Western media and how they depicted the execution of Saddam (either a hero or a terrorist) , Al Ali (2011) resolves that the Arab media behaves differently when addressing different audiences. Arab media accommodated for divergent ideologies by reporting contrastively on the same issue. As an example, the local Saudi media was consistent in using the term 'the US invasion' in reference to the American war on Iraq in 2003, despite the Saudi government's support for US troops:

> This suggests the need to expand Van Dijk's definition of ingroup-outgroup ideology to account for the intended target audience, in this case the 'national and international'. The preceding analysis shows the message addressed to Arab-local people is completely different from the message addressed to the West. This double presentation ideology can be labelled as 'indoor-outdoor-presentation'.
>
> (Al Ali, 2011, p. 323)

She stresses that "the media must balance truthful accuracy and objectivity with self-preservation. They must be exceedingly sensitive to the moods and outlooks of their target audiences in order to survive politically as well as economically" (Al Ali, 2011, p. 301). This research analysis will demonstrate how Al Jazeera modified its coverage as well as its Arabic and English discourses to accommodate for this divergence and the discernment for their target audiences in both their services.

It is generally conceded that individual journalists are not to be blamed for cases of bias or even lack of objectivity when reporting, taking into account that there are often met with various constraints imposed on them by their institutions as a result of conventions and or media practices. While news media has a significant role in "processing, punishing and reforming those who break the law… [often] these institutions promote and legitimize discourses of who is and is not a good citizen and who are the evil doers among us":

> Just as news tells us who is bad through the definitions of the powerful who can best act as sources in the institutional value system of news organizations, helping to legitimize the world view of these individuals and the organizations they represent, so do prisons take their place in maintaining the apparent logic of these discourses where crime is simply the act of bad people. And like news organizations, prisons and other institutions are able to *legitimize* their own crucial role in the process.
>
> (Mayr, 2008, p. 2)

It is through these processes of representations and misrepresentations of the different social actors in the research sample, Al Jazeera seeks to legitimise and delegitimise the public opinion of these actor groups. This is specifically conducted by, "shap[ing], categoriz[ing] and transform[ing] reality to make it predictable and more easily manageable. Each sets up systems, which allow them to manage reality... we must

understand the social and cultural goings-on that lie behind news to really understand the nature of the texts" (Machin, 2008, p. 63). News institutions, Conboy (2007) asserts set of a preference when selecting stories, and formulate a hierarchy of credibility in selecting witnesses and respondents in these stories. Questions, such as which story to lead and how to select and represent the protagonists, are influenced by the political and ideological positions of the news organisation in relation to these particular stories and their actors. The sources and resources used in the media reveal a certain bias in news discourse. The notion of 'othering' as a bias source in both Al Jazeera Arabic and English, were used as tool for exerting, influencing and moulding public opinion and events affecting policy makers.

Al Jazeera's coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks: their revelations, bias and objectivity, all played a key role in understanding how myth and archetypes were exploited to serve a particular agenda. Objectivity and bias are among the key concepts that inform news conventionalities and they are important in determining credibility and reliability of any news institution. Objectivity is viewed as an essential condition in news reporting:

> … in the dangerous, strife-ridden world of the late twentieth century, I believe that the billions of people inhabiting this plant deserve to know more about the events and trends that affect their lives and well-being. Only journalists who are free and independent of authoritarian controls and other constraints can begin the difficult task of reporting the news and information we all need to know.

> (Hachten and Scotton, 2006, p. xx)

Literature on news discourse reveals that, although they strive to adhere to objectivity in their journalistic practice, news producers' work through ideological and hegemonic system that influences and often leads them to promote the interests of certain agendas at the expense of others. Elbadri (2010) argues that "such as ideological positions find their way into news stories through the selection of stories, what to foreground and what to background, what type of background and contextual information to provide and how to present these" (2010, p. 64). These ideological positions often reflect a bias that is especially recognised in political news. Uncovering these biases in news discourse requires a thorough examination and analysis of news articles.

It is acknowledged that bias in media often goes unchallenged. This accounts for the fact that media reporting tends to be less cautious about true and accurate depiction of events and news. The limitations of time and space also influence journalistic practices and journalists will often highlight a desired version, while supressing another (Streissguth, 2006). Accentuating these issues of bias is most relevant to this research sample as they affect the concepts of power and ideology in the Al Jazeera news discourse. Objectivity and bias are further significant to the notion of 'othering' in news narrative.

2.7 Conclusion

In sum, this chapter reviewed literature that situates my research. This chapter explored literature pertaining to debates on Al Jazeera, national identity, and othering. It also explained in details my research positions on each key concept of mythology, ideology, space and discourse in relation to the theoretical framework of the discourse-mythological approach (DMA). In order to provide a theoretical background for the research analysis on Al Jazeera's strategies in constructing the Palestinian national identity and the ideological function of myth in Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives, this chapter offered a rethinking of debates on Al Jazeera news and the construction of national identity in news discourse through the use of archetypes, particularly Tricksters and Victims with a detailed
Space division and 'Othering' as related to Al Jazeera news discourse were also reviewed.

Chapter 3. Sampling and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will give an overview of the sampling and methodology used for this research analysis as well as review the research questions. Quantitative and qualitative method will inform the research methodology and an account of content analysis using a quantitative approach in collecting and statistically analysing the sample will be explored. Further along, the content analysis and the theoretical assumptions upon which the method is built will be further explored. This chapter will also outline and identify the sample research of Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks in 2011 and outline the limitations of content analysis approach, as well as highlight the insufficiency of using it as a single research method. An examination Darren Kelsey's DMA model and its relation to the research questions posed, will be discussed.

3.2 The Research Questions

In the following are the main research questions of this research:

1. How were the leaked Palestine Papers reported in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news discourses in 2011?

2. How did myth and space function ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in this coverage?

3.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a quantitative research method that functions by calculating the frequent occurrence of a particular feature or characteristic within a sample, either a text or a number of texts. Being the most widely adopted definition of the method of content analysis, it ".. is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952,

p. 147). Content analysis also functions by classifying the data into categories and thereby facilitating our understanding of hypothesis:

> The content analyst aims at quantitative classification of a given body of content, in terms of a system of categories devised to yield data relevant to specific hypotheses concerning that content.
> (Kaplan & Goldsen, 1949, cited in Berelson, 1952, p. 261)

Researchers consider this 'traditional' definition as simplistic as it does not take into consideration the quantitative analysis of the sample and only accounts for the most palpable elements of the content analysis, disregarding any "influences of media content on audience perceptions of reality" (Gunther and Mughan, 2000, p. 56). Moreover, content analysis is mainly considered in the domain of communication, media and cultural studies (Deacon, 2007). In general, it is a method that involves any systematic research process designed to quantify the recorded information in any content (Walizer and Wienir, 1978).

Content analysis is the best method for this research because its main objective "is to quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation" (Deacon, 2007). Utilizing content analysis will offer a broad understanding of analysis online news articles as well as elucidate the politics of representations and how it influences perceptions of social reality.

Content analysis is objective and any subjective or bias originating from the research will not influence or affect the process, subsequently rendering this method ideal for future research and in the event that the research should be repeated, the results would be the same. "The interests, beliefs, and maybe even the personalities of researchers are important for these factors [and] play a role in determining what researchers choose to investigate" (Berger, 2015, p. 26). Although content analysis is an objective method in forming conclusion on research, Darren Kelsey (2015) suggests that the political framework of the researcher plays a crucial role in the interpretation of the content and drawing conclusions from content analysis. He gives the example of the research of the Glasgow Media Group whose aim was to challenge the ideological practice of TV news, where they concluded that news content of British TV was

"committed to an ideological perspective which is founded on the view of consensus. 'one nation' and 'community', while having to report phenomena which cannot be fitted easily into this framework of understanding" (Philo and Berry, 2004, p. 134).

However, Bertrand and Hughes (2005) argue that this research was affected by a Marxist intellectual framework that informed their position in the ideological role of news. Therefore, as their methodology was valid, it is their "intellectual framework within which the research was conducted" that would be viewed as informing their conclusions (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005, p. 181). Hence, it is the intellectual framework and the political stance of the researcher and the reader that will affect how the content of the content analysis is interpreted and received. Thus in the case of my research, it is not the case that my content analysis would not be affected by my political stance, for example. Rather, how my conclusions are received will also be determined by those who read them. A strict set of guidelines of coding and analysis should be followed by the researcher throughout the analysis in order to ensure reliable and consistent results, as Kerlinger (1986) argues.

Content analysis will provide an overview of the characteristic trends during the coverage of the Palestine Papers and account for the different key political actors in Al Jazeera news storytelling. Therefore, prior to conducting my qualitative analysis, which can be selective and dependent on the initial results of the quantitative method, content analysis is an appropriate and "flexible research technique for analysing a large body of text" (Hansen *et al.*, 1998, p. 123). It will enable this research to be draw on valid references from the data to this context.

Linguistic and multimedia texts, constituting the data of this research, reflect a divergence in discourse genres. As a result, developing a single coding frame that would accurately and comparatively quantify all the genres under examination is not feasible. The research sample will focus on applying a coding frame to the written linguistic texts only. The coding schedule (see Appendix I) illustrates a coding of media component focusing on the details of written texts.

3.3.1 Sample Size and Identification

The sample of the online news media analysed must reflect the primary source material in relation to the content and range. Specifically, the sample needs to be comprehensive within the limited time available to conduct and complete the research. The focus of this research is analysing the moral storytelling of the online news discourse pertaining to specific conflicts in the Middle East. The Al Jazeera online news websites, both Arabic and English, were selected to represent the population of the data. Due to the methods of perceiving information from online source, online news items are not always text-exclusive. Accordingly, the sample of this research includes textual, multimodal, multimedia and other forms of media discourse. These include, but not limited to articles, interactive files, photos, videos, program shows, polls, public surveys, comment threads and so forth. As stated above, the size of the sample must be defined in relation to two main factors; the first being the time needed to complete the research and the second is concerned with the resource availability. The size of this sample is based on two factors:

1. The period of coverage in the sample: 23rd – 31st January, 2011.
2. The extensiveness of the sampled population: 198 news items (72 in the English sample, and 127 in the Arabic one).

3.3.2 Unit of Analysis

In media research, the 'unit of analysis' is considered to be a factor identified as a single 'word', 'case' or even 'article' being studied. Deacon (2007) observes that "Some quantitative content analysis studies have a very precise focus, taking individual words as their sampling units to explore 'the lexical contents and /or syntactic structures of documents'" (2007, p. 375). In this research, the unit of analysis is identified to be a 'complete online media item' which can be a 'complete online article', a 'video clip', a 'poll', a 'public survey', and or an 'episode of a program show'; combined with the comment threads by the readers in relation to any of the aforementioned. The 'complete online media items' might entail different forms. Each 'complete online media item' might entail different forms. As an example, an online article might include a photo and comment threads as well as the text pertaining to it. In the case of the video clips, a text is attached with the

multimedia item. These complete online media items are defined as a 'stand-alone media item'. Concomitantly, a poll or even a public survey is regarded as a unit of survey in itself and hence coded and recorded. The code schedule (see Appendix I) which was developed for this research records 'written' or the 'linguistic' article.

3.3.3 Qualifying Criteria

Once the population and the units of the sample have been identified, a set of criteria classified systematically is developed to form the components measuring the study. As mentioned earlier, the sample will only include all the online media components featured in both Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites relating to coverage of the leaked Palestine Papers. These components will highlight the articles featured in the 'Special Page' section on both websites in addition to any other related information pertaining to 'the Palestine Papers' during the coverage. Further assessment in regards to the main files of the Palestinian Papers (namely; East Jerusalem's Holy Sites, Borders, Palestinian Refugees, Security, Gaza and the Goldstone Report) would be outlined and recorded.

3.3.4 Pilot Study and Systematic Codification

For the purpose of testing the validity and practicality of the designed coding schedule, a pilot study was conducted into 10 Arabic and English news items (units). Upon looking at the feasibility of analysing this limited sample, it revealed that news items such interviews, pictures, videos, and public polls cannot be codified without difficulty in terms of the limitations of this research: time and space. Therefore, content analysis will codify every news item in terms of initial description of the sample. However, content analysis will only examine the written texts in terms of measuring dominance of the coverage, such as tone, social actors, and size of voice. By identifying the size and scope of the sample, this chapter provides a methodological framework on both content analysis, and discourse-mythological approach (DMA).

The coding schedule of this research is presented in 2 main sections: general description, and actors in articles (see Appendix I). The variables and values were

tested several times to ensure reliability and consistency during the coding process. In the first section, for each news item, the details of the title, website (Arabic or English), date of publication, position, item types, written text type, article type, and also theme must be coded to create an overview of the content in relation to the news coverage in this sample. In the second section, only one item type (written text type) is further codified because it will be further qualitatively analysed in the DMA chapters.

For each news article, the presence, dominance and tone in regards to the social actors were coded with the use of 6 questions. These questions study the main focus of the sample content in terms of the number of actors, periods of reference and the main actor categories. Next the task of determining the tone of the news content was easily accomplished by the use of the social actors. The key social actor categories who were mainly identified during the pilot study were: the Palestinian Authority, Hamas, Israel, U.S., other Palestinians, and others.

Thereafter, the tone of each news article in the sample was coded. This research utilizes content analysis to study the content and tone of Al Jazeera news coverage in relation to the Palestine Papers and how the social and political actors are portrayed. To illustrate, the tone of news coverage is particularly coded in this research because tone can be strongly influential over readers and the public. Brunken (2006) explains how tone can be positive, neutral or negative, and therefore, the tone in the coverage of a story can be influential in developing the readers' attitudes towards a certain topic. This means that if the tone of any news content is negative, readers will more likely have negative attitudes towards this topic. Furthermore, studies have revealed how the tone of news content has strong influence on public opinion (Gunther, 1998), tolerance (Nelson, 1997), and identification with the subject (McLeod & Detenber, 1999).

The codification of tone was done by observing and studying the evident and explicit positive or negative wording in regards to the social actor categories. The negative/positive wording, or lexical choices, will be further analysed utilising DMA in the qualitative chapters. As each article can manifest diverse tones towards several social actor groups, the question was formed to mark a neutral, negative, or positive

tone towards the main 6 social actor categories. The neutral tone towards any social actor group avoided strong, critical or supportive wording. Finally, the voice of the social actors was also coded. The 3 questions of voice measure the size based on the number of words that constitute:

a. the direct quotations; utterances with quotation marks "".

b. the indirect quotations; utterances reported to be said by the actor.

c. or the paraphrased quotations; utterances referred to, explained, or loaded with negative/positive lexical choices.

The measuring of voice will give an insight on how powered or marginalised each actor group in the sample is. To summarise, the news items were coded by the same coder and in exactly the same manner, and the results were entered in SPSS. The systematic codification and how variables are measured to obtain and present the findings will be further illustrated in Chapter 4.

3.3.5 Ethical Issues

As this research does not involve violating any confidentiality, or affecting individuals on a personal and or physical level, no informed consent forms or referrals to the ethical regulations for conducting research were required. However, it must be acknowledged that with any research involving critical analysis, the background of the person conducting the research will often be reflected in the subject of the work. Despite the nature of the research, focusing on the ideological aspects of archetypal characters and space in Al Jazeera Arabic and English discourses, no personal ideological sentiment will affect or corrupt the research. The critique will remain focused and objective adopting a rigorous and systematic methodological framework. Furthermore, the researcher's ideological background as a Muslim, Arab, Syrian, and Middle Eastern, serves the research well in relation to both manifest and hidden ideological functions of any discursive strategies recurring across Al Jazeera Arabic and English storytelling of the Middle East conflict, particularly, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Finally, this research will not be involved with any conflict of interest.

3.3.6 Limitations of Content analysis

Richardson (2007) discusses in detail the shortcomings and disadvantages of applying content analysis. He refers to the fact that despite the significance of 'textual co-location', the frequency of certain 'negative' words or topics might not be as significant as 'the agency of this negative social action.' To overcome this limitation, the coding frame is based on a further qualitative analysis, such as in case of measuring the tone during the coverage, as further explained in Chapter 4. Richardson further asserts that "although the 'occurrence of certain characteristics of content' may be important, the recording of texts' manifest content must necessarily ignore textual absences, even when these absences are systematically under-used stylistic alternatives to the coded content" (2007, p. 20). Notwithstanding these disadvantages, content analysis has been proven to be a useful tool in interpreting the general components of the texts being examined and as a result, it will be adopted as the primary research method in this research sample. Content analysis will map out the main multimodal and linguistic trends and patterns in Al Jazeera Arabic and English samples, such as, dominance of coverage, either positively or negatively of the different social actors, and therefore it will inform the mythical archetypes of Tricksters, Victims, and Heroes.

Deacon (2007) warns that studies using content analysis would not always be able to cover all the parts of the content despite its practical application to a large number of texts. Therefore, following his useful recommendations in relation to deciding and developing the sampling, two approaches will be considered in this research analysis to accomplish a successful analysis of content. The first approach focuses on quantitative content analysis to investigate "lexical contents and/or syntactic structures of documents" (Beardsworth, 1981, p. 375).[4] The second approach will focus on theme content analysis. Theme content analysis does not focus on individual words, as it is the case in quantitative content analysis, rather it depends on "the coder to recognise certain themes and ideas in the text, and then to allocate these to predetermined categories" (Beardsworth, 1981, p. 375). The coding schedule (see Appendix I) represents the main trends of Al Jazeera Arabic and English news coverage of the Palestine Papers revelations. A pilot study trail was conducted to test

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the content in the aforementioned schedule for validity and comprehensibility. The pilot study included texts from both websites and it was applied to different types of the 'units of study' which were identified earlier in the previous sections of this chapter. After the completion of the pilot study, it became feasible to modify and develop further the schedule to arrive at a better version of the coding system and prevent issues that might affect the research conclusion.

Deacon (2007) further warns against dismissing quantitative and qualitative approaches as mutually inconclusive when undertaking a study of media texts. "The use of more than one analytical method has the advantage that 'the weaknesses of any single method, qualitative or quantitative, are balanced the strengths of other methods'" (Williams *et al.,* 1988, p. 47). Consequently, this research employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to assay the different aspects of the identified field to achieve a more accurate outcomes, also known as 'triangulation' as described by Long (1983), is a process which aims to establish the validity of the research findings by using different methods in collecting data and demonstrating that these methods achieve the same results.

3.4 Discourse-Mythological Analysis

In addition to the quantitative method used and highlighted above, the qualitative method was applied for the research. This section will outline the theoretical and Methodological framework of Discourse-Mythological Approach, (DMA), incorporating both mythology and traditional approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis. DMA. The DMA which was developed by Darren Kelsey (2015), is suitable to the theoretical position of this research as it integrates theories of mythology, ideology and discourse within a critical analysis of the moral storytelling of news. As Kelsey (2015) notes that the "DMA demonstrates a reciprocal process across disciplines: cultural theory can inform approaches to CDA, whilst CDA can provide the technical toolkits necessary for the analytical application of cultural theory" (2015, p. 24). This research draws upon the three basic concepts of discourse, mythology and ideology as well as various other concepts including Fairclough's CDA framework and multimodality.

As this research mainly incorporates CDA, it is useful to highlight its basic theoretical principles, objectives and approaches. The two main concerns of discourse analysts have been: the use of language in social life, and the relationship between how language is used and the social structure. This relationship between 'language use' and 'social structure' are a significant part of the theoretical method of CDA and concurrently to the understanding of this research. Essentially, discourse analysis "enables us to focus not only on the actual uses of language as a form of social interaction in particular situations and contexts but also on forms of representation in which different social categories, practices and relations are constructed from and in the interests of a particular point of view, a particular conception of social reality" (Deacon, 2007, p. 151).

There are three principal approaches to discourse analysis: Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory, critical discourse analysis (which is to be adopted in this study), and discursive psychology. These approaches "share certain key premises about how entities such as 'language' and 'the subject' are to be understood. They also have in common the aim of carrying out *critical* research, that is, to investigate and analyse power relations in society and to formulate normative perspectives" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 2). Discourse analysis can be applied and expressed in various ways as if is "a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 1). The theoretical method of the method of discourse analysis, is "most often used to identify a set of perspectives that emphasizes the relations between language and power and the role of discourse analysis in social and cultural critique" (Wood and Kroger , 2000, p. 205).

CDA is not considered an impartial tool for examining social relations and practices through discourse. Its main objective has been to oppose the elite and particularly the ones causing suffering by applying a critical analysis approach to expressing and highlighting particular issues (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001). Ruth Wodak takes on a discourse-historical approach where she aims at "tracing the historical (intertextual) history of phrases and arguments … [centring] on political issues such as racism, integrating all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the different layers of a text" (Mayr, 2008, p. 9). In this research, I draw upon her

work and form Fairclough's Marxist approach to highlight the inequality of power relations of capitalist systems and how they are sustained in discourse. Another element that is relevant to this research is Van Dijk, "socio-cognitive framework which theorizes the relationship between social systems and social cognition" (Mayr, 2008, p. 9) to explain the "… subtle means by which text and talk manage the mind and manufacture consent, on the one hand, and articulate and sustain resistance and challenge, on the other" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 354).

CDA is more than a theoretical concept defining language, rather it is "focused on language and meaning by *expanding to a wider social level* in which discourse is not restricted to language and is not a product of language per se, but it is reflected and maintained *in* language" (Kelsey, 2015, p. 32). Correspondingly, this research, seeks to expand on the lexical theories and provide an analysis of news discourses by exploring a variety of discursive practices and concepts, such as contextual, multimodal and mythical storytelling (Lule, 2001; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Kelsey, 2014;2015;2016). This approach to DMA will not only be restricted by the analysis of language use, it will rather take into account van Dijk's macro analysis of discourse: "Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 354). In other words, objective of this research is to examine how news organisations, such Al Jazeera, influence their audience through a measured and focused narrative by incorporating the aforementioned concepts of Critical Discourse analysis focusing on power and the ideological function of myth in constructing Space.

3.4.1 Fairclough's Analytical Framework

This research uses Fairclough's analytical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to understand the mechanism of the ideological practices in discourse. Therefore, this section will review the theoretical basis on his framework in order to better understand how this research will utilize critical discourse analysis incorporated in DMA. According to Fairclough's analytical framework, CDA of any communicative event "is the analysis of relationships between three dimensions or facets of that event, which is I call *text, discourse practice,* and *sociocultural practices.*" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 57). Within this analytical framework, this research analysis will first look at text, either linguistically or multimodally. This analysis will

comprise the form (grammar and syntax), the content (vocabulary and semantics) and the function (pragmatics). Thereby, this analysis will cover small units of text, such as vocabulary and grammar, organisation of sentences, cohesion and the overall structure of the news texts. To illustrate, analysing a sentence in Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives requires an examination of the way the 'representations' and 'recontextualisations' of social practices are communicated in the discourse. Moreover, this research analysis specifically identifies the absences as well as the presences of some features in the texts in Al Jazeera Arabic and English reporting during the coverage of the leaks.

Next, this research will consider in more details Fairclough's second level of critical discourse analysis: the discursive practices. These practices will involve the examination of "various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption": whilst some are institutional in nature, such as the editorial procedures involved in producing the news items in Aljazeera Corporation, others are discourse processes, such as the transformations which news texts on Aljazeera websites undergo in the processes of production and consumption, in a narrower sense (Fairclough, 1995, p. 58).

In accounting for this dimension of his analytical framework, Fairclough is re-tailoring the 'encoding and decoding' model of Stuart Hall (1980) (which states that the meaning in the media text is encoded by the producer (writer) and then decoded by the consumer (reader)) by suggesting that the producer is not the only responsible for producing the text. Thus, the text is as well "the outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 204). Finally, he suggests that successful critical discourse analysis of a text has to entail the analysis of sociocultural practices:

> Analysis of the sociocultural practice dimension of a communicative event may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event; it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture. All of these layers may be relevant to understanding the particular event – and indeed particular events cumulatively constitute and reconstitute social and cultural practice at all levels.

This level of analysis involves the study of power and ideology and their influences on the processes of production and consumption of the text under examination. In the case of this research, the different power relationships and set of ideologies of the different audience of Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites might be of an influence over the process of producing the news items. As discussed earlier, it is these three levels of analysing discourse that accommodate DMA in its critical analysis into discourse.

3.4.2 Multimodality

Multimodality informs a substantial part of this sample and is an important concept of CDA. Analysing the discourse of media requires the analysis of the multimodality of discourse:

> Analysis of text needs to be multisemiotic analysis in the case of the press and television, including analysis of photographic images, layout and the overall visual organization of pages, and analysis of film and of sound effects. A key issue is how these other semiotic modalities interact with language in producing meanings, and how such interactions define different aesthetics for different media.
>
> (Fairclough, 1995, p. 58)

Drawing on Fairclough's explaining of how multimodality is intrinsic to CDA, multimodal analysis is a suitable tool for analysing myths and moral storytelling of news narrative, and appropriately, it has expanded our understanding of the discourse of Al Jazeera news by providing us with an "analysis of visual compositions ... It is [also] a method that allows us to break down compositions into their most basic components and then understand how these work together, how relationships can be made between them on a page, in order to create meaning" (Machin, 2007, p. viii).

Multimodal analysis is becoming an increasingly significant concept as a result of the contemporary innovations in communication becoming 'more' visual'. The theoretical principle of the 'grammar of visual design' approach is contingent on

language. This homologous relationship between language and visual communication ultimately convey the same meanings. Visual communication relies on images to convey a certain message, but with the added element of evoking a sentimental attitude to the subject being represented. A basic assumption of the approach of multimodal analysis to be considered is that semiotic systems are social in their nature. Therefore, they permit the negotiation of social and power relationship. This negotiation takes place in the frame of our relationships with the surrounding people and the relationships between the struggling groups in society (Hodge and Kress, 1988). There have been multiple research studies on the effects of language as a means to form an ideological conception. Visual communication is "equally ideological. Visually we are familiar with seeing certain representations of the evil, the powerful and the vulnerable in the news, in movies and on television. But, as with the term 'terrorist', these will reflect an ideological version of these things. As with language, these images allow certain groups to make their version of the world appear natural and common sense" (Machin, 2007, p. xiii). For example, Van Leeuwen and Jaworski (2002) demonstrate how news photographs of the Israel-Palestine conflict conceal and disguise the Israeli aggression by utilizing photos that suggest otherwise.

Similar to the pre-existing research, this research sample also explored the foundation of ideological representation through a visual focus. This research has also highlighted how visual language is culturally specific and not cosmopolitan. "Societies are not homogeneous, but composed of groups with varying, and often contradictory, interests, [consequently] the messages produced by individuals will reflect the differences, incongruities and clashes which characterize social like" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 18). Multimodal analysis was among the theoretical analysis of this research, examining the medium of online news discourse including but not limited to photography, colour and sound, page layout and so forth. All these mediums served to create a set of ideas forming an ideological agenda reflective of the news organisation. A further look at the multimodality of Al Jazeera Arabic and English discourse and the means by which it constructs complex ideological groups whose agencies will be reviewed in the upcoming chapters.

3.4.3 Critical Discourse Analytical Toolkit

The Critical Discourse Analytical (CDA) Toolkit encompasses various concepts that will be discussed below. Each concept is significant to understanding how news discourse functions and how it can be manipulated. By understanding what this toolkit encompasses, we are able to understand its relevance to the theoretical questions posed in this research sample. The toolkit encompasses a number of discursive strategies: *Compassion moves, Context, Generalisation, Collective or Historical memory, Hyperbole, Indexical meanings, Ideological square, Interdiscursively, Intertextuality, Legitimization, Lexical choices, Modality, Metaphor, Predication, Re-contextualisation, Recurrence, and Topoi (such as topos of danger or threat, topos of humanitarianism, topos of justice, and topos of justice).* These strategies with their definition are enlisted in the Appendices (see Appendix IV). Furthermore, each of these terms will be separately identified and its use in the research analysis will elaborated upon in later chapters.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the research design. It has examined the methodological framework and reviewed the principles, theories, key concepts and limitations of my quantitative and qualitative methodologies: content analysis, and discourse-mythological analysis (DMA), including mythology (reviewed in more details in Chapter 2), Fairclough's analytical framework, and multimodality. This chapter also addressed the research questions and provided a detailed perspective of the research sample, providing an identification of the sample in terms of size, period and scope. The process of how the sample was codified will be explained in Chapter 4, with the statistical findings. The qualitative discursive strategies are identified in the Critical Discourse Analytical Toolkit (see Appendix), and their use will be elaborated upon separately in the analytical chapters (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Chapter 4. Coverage and Social Actors:
A Statistical Landscape

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first research question: *How were the leaked Palestine Papers reported in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news discourses in 2011?* It answers this question by mapping out the statistical landscape of my sample. It first explains how coding worked. Each section will explain how each variable was codified, then it will present and discuss the results of the quantitative approach: content analysis. This chapter presents an initial description of Al Jazeera's coverage including: website, date, position and theme of the news items. Furthermore, it demonstrates the results of the dominance of coverage in the sample that look at the main focus of the text, social actors and the size of the quotations. By examining these results, this chapter depicts significant patterns in the sample and thus forms a comprehensive answer on how the leaks were covered in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online storytelling.

4.2 Al Jazeera's Coverage: Initial Description

4.2.1 Website, Date and Position

Since the research sample comprised news units (items) on both Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites, the codification of the sample looked on the location and date of publication of each news unit. Considering the location on Arabic or English websites, date of publication, including pre-coverage, coverage or follow up periods, of each news unit was recorded. Also, the codification noted down the position of each news unit either on the Spotlight, Al Jazeera created for its reporting during the coverage, or not.

The first interesting finding in these statistical results is that the whole data-set is not equally divided between the Arabic and English websites. Out of the 198 news items that compose this sample, only 72 are in the English sample: close to a third of the whole sample (see Figure 4.1). This shows the intensity with which the Arabic website reported the leaks compared to the English website which covered the leaks and other stories at the same time.

Figure 4.1. Al Jazeera Arabic and English Samples

Al Jazeera Samples

36.40%

63.60%

- Al Jazeera Arabic   - Al Jazeera English
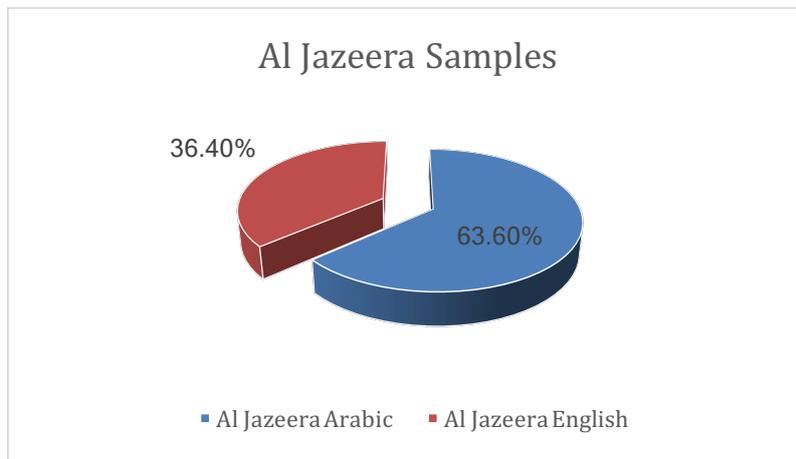
Furthermore, the ratio of Arabic to English news items publishing dates varied moderately but significantly across the period sampled in the study (see Figure 4.2):

Figure 4.2. Publishing Dates in Arabic and English Samples

Date of Original Publishing

100.0%
80.0%
60.0%
40.0%
20.0%
0.0%
           Arabic Sample   English Sample

- Pre-coverage Period   - Coverage Period
- Follow-up Period   - Unavailable (Leaked Documents)
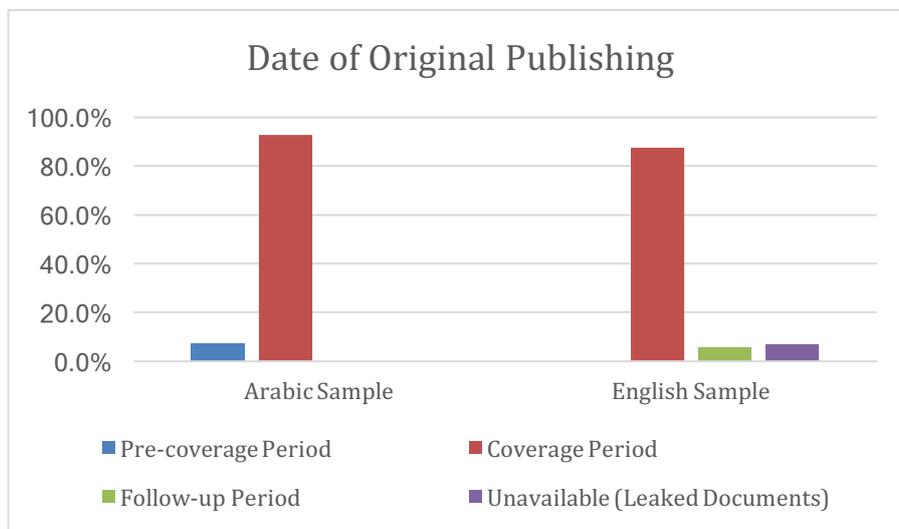
As Figure 4.2 shows, the Arabic website included news items from the pre-coverage period with 7.1 per cent (some dated to January 2008) and stopped publishing any follow-up contents. On the other hand, the publication dates of the English sample start in the coverage period and extend to the follow-up with 4.6 per cent. This break in the follow-up coverage of the leaks is due to the starting of the Egyptian revolution which required intensive coverage on both websites. The percentages do not show great differences; however, combining this result with some other results (to be discussed in later sub-sections) will indicate the broad context each website is presenting to their audience.

The sample also indicates that the position of the news items covering the Palestine Papers leaks on Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites appears to be a very interesting finding. On both websites, a spotlight page was dedicated to present the coverage of the leaks, including articles and videos, despite the fact that the Home page also featured the daily published items. Figure 4.3 shows that the two websites differ greatly in the distribution of their content. Whereas 86.5 per cent of the Arabic sample is located on the spotlight page, the English sample is divided equally, wherein only 52.8 per cent of the sample is located on the spotlight page.

Figure 4.3. Positions of News Items in Arabic and English Samples
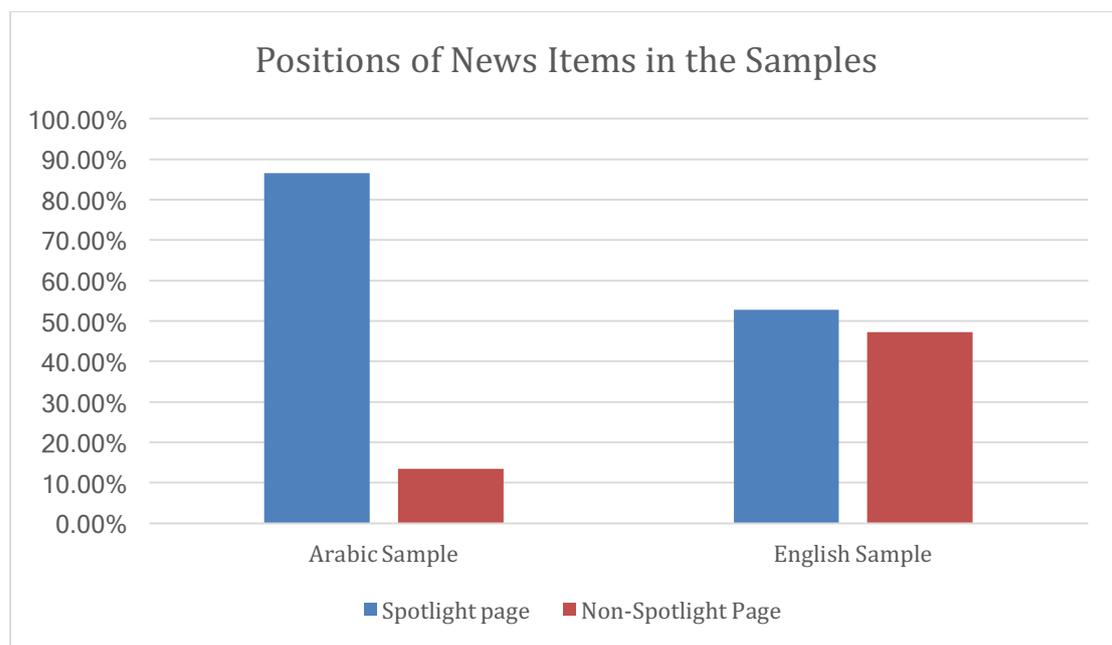
The published 'date' of news items might play a role in including or excluding it from the spotlight page and consequently this might account for this great difference in the distribution of the sample between Arabic and English websites. However, figure 4.4 and figure 4.5 refute this hypothesis. First, figure 4.4 shows that there is no significant relation between the publishing 'date' of an item and its 'position' in the Arabic sample. As for the English sample, figure 4.5 indicates an equal percentage between the spotlight and the non-spotlight positioned items throughout the sample period except for the first day of the English coverage period (i.e. 23.01.2011) where only 21.4 per cent of the news items published on that date are still located on the spotlight page. Nevertheless, this single difference does not indicate any significant relation between the 'position' and 'date' of the news items in the English sample.

Figure 4.4. Position of News Items in Arabic Sample based on Publishing Date
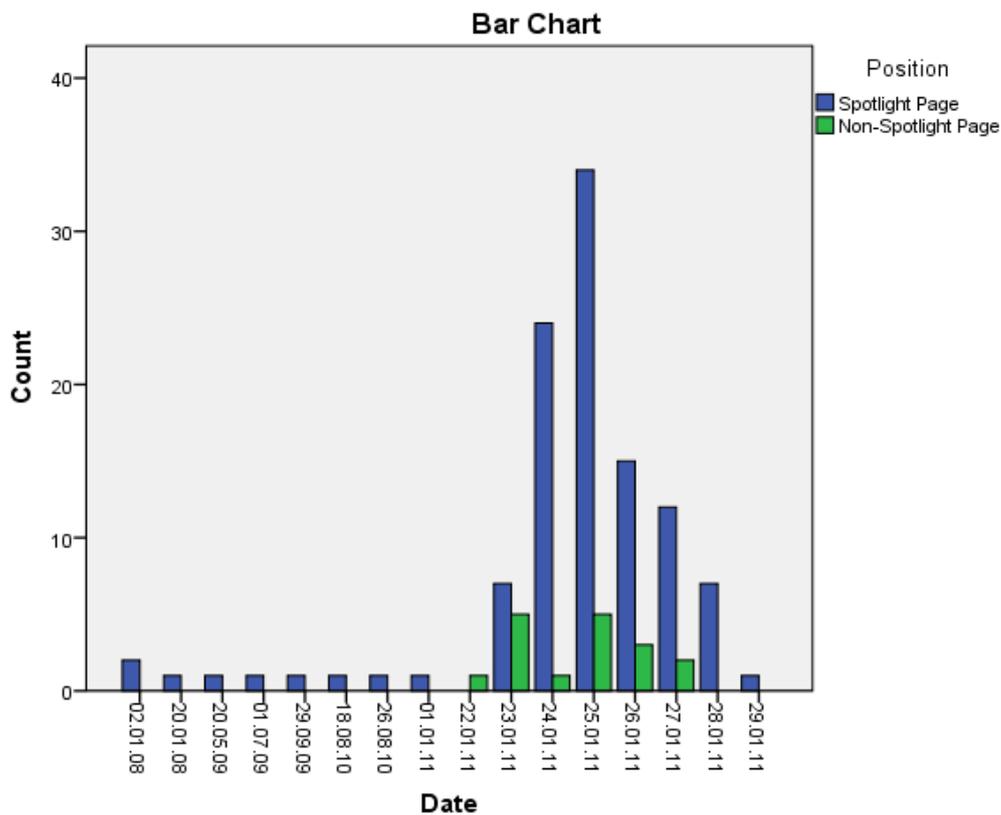
Figure 4.5. Position of News Items in English Sample based on Publishing Date
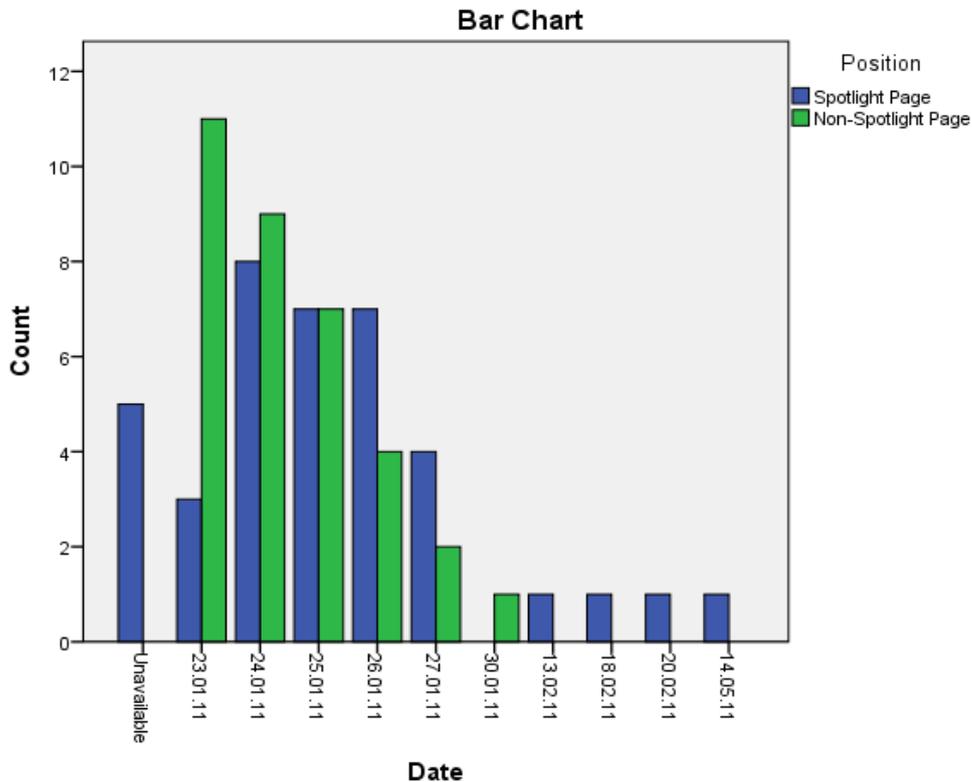
As already discussed, the significant differences in the percentages displayed in figure 4.3 do not relate to the publishing 'date' factor. Therefore, these results can be only accounted for by a discursive factor; namely, the relations between production and consumption. Comparing both Al Jazeera Arabic and English homepages, the Arabic website tends to feature a far greater number of news items than the English one. This tendency is only justified by taking the 'audience' factor into account. As mentioned earlier, each website is directed to a different type of audience. Generally, Arab audience is used to the information which is easily presented and reached; therefore, Al Jazeera Arabic utilizes content-condensed page layouts where an Arab reader can easily find the information and thus the Arabic website can compete the other news websites which utilize the same technique.

Therefore, although Al Jazeera Arabic published a larger number of news items compared to the English website (128 Arabic news items versus only 72 English ones) in order to cover the Palestine Papers leaks, Al Jazeera Arabic has located most

of these items (86.5%) on the spotlight page. Al Jazeera English has reduced the number of the news items on the spotlight page to about the half (52.8%) and this means that Al Jazeera English does highlight the most important news items and present them to the international (particularly Western) reader. In other words, the English website points out the most important information leaving the reader to search for more details unlike the Arabic website which accumulates as much information as possible on one page. This indicates that both websites edit the webpage layout according to the assumed preferences of the target audience; consequently, news is presented to Arab speakers in an easy and directed way whereas the English-speaking audience is presented with highlighted content and left to search for more information.

4.2.2 News Item Type/Genre

In order to provide with a fuller and clearer account of the sample in the current study, the news item types of the Arabic and English samples were recorded. Identifying the genre of each news item, the sample comprised of: written text, video, programme, photos, polls or public surveys, as presented below (see figure 4.6):

Figure 4.6. News Items Types in Arabic and English Samples
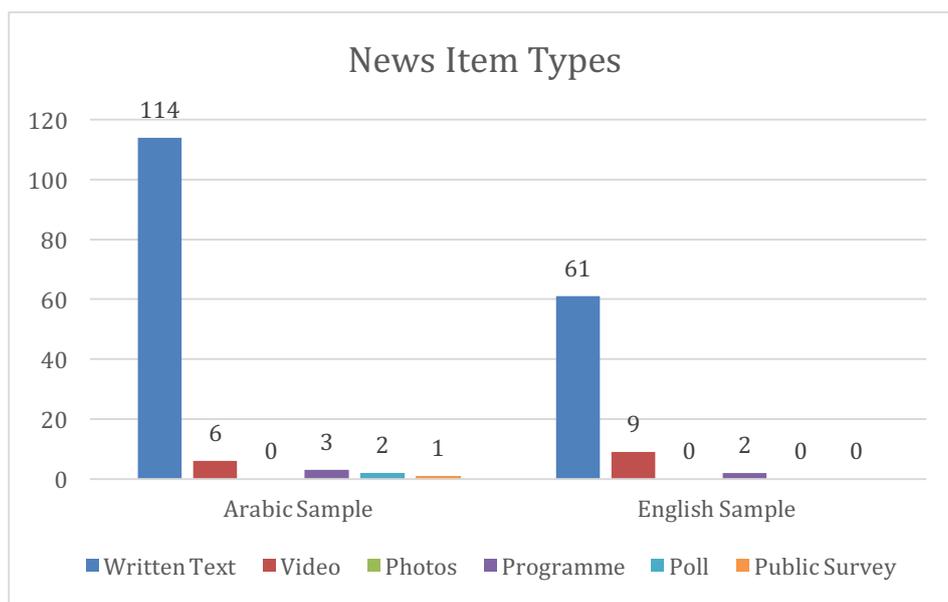
As figure 4.6 shows, photos did not exist in both samples studied despite the fact that photos are usually posted on Al Jazeera Arabic during the coverage of current events. Moreover, the Arabic sample includes two polls and a public survey whereas the English sample does not. This suggests that the Arabic sample (which includes written texts, videos, programs, polls and a public survey) is more varied than the English sample (which includes only three types; namely, written texts, videos and programs). However, there seem no statistically significant differences between Arabic and English percentages of 'Item type'; however, these differences are significant in relation with the contrast they present. A clearer account of the sample is given in the following figure (see figure 4.7) where written texts are explored in more details:

Figure 4.7. Written Texts in Arabic and English Samples
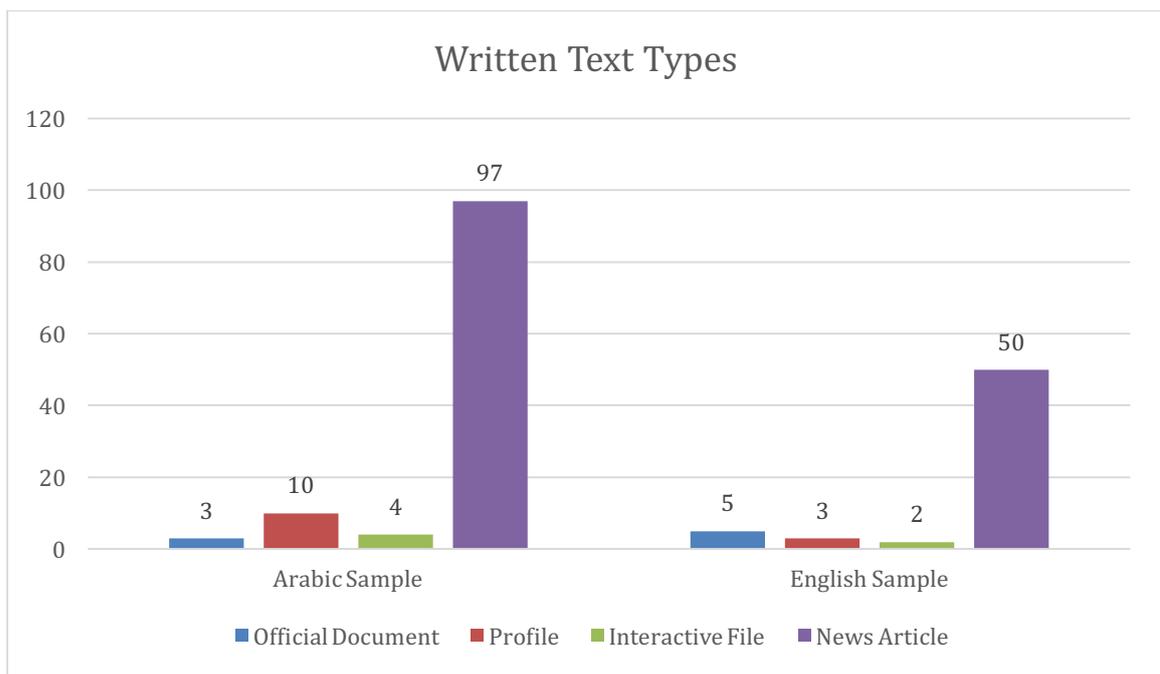
Nevertheless, a more detailed table (table 4.1) suggests a different perspective:

Table 4.1. Crosstabulation of 'Item type' to 'Website' and 'Position' in Arabic and English Samples

Item Type	Website							
	Arabic				English			
	Position				Position			
	Spotlight Page		Non-Spotlight Page		Spotlight Page		Non-Spotlight Page	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Written Text	103	90.4%	11	9.6%	29	47.5%	32	52.5%
Video	6	100.0%	0	.0%	8	88.9%	1	11.1%
Program	0	.0%	3	100.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%
Photo	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
Poll	0	.0%	2	100.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
Public Survey	0	.0%	1	100.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%

Table 4.1 reveals that the variance of the item types in the Arabic sample does not appear when defined by the 'position'. That is to say, the Arabic spotlight page contents comprise of two types only: written text and video, whereas the programs, polls and public survey are located on the non-spotlight pages. On the other hand, the written-texts in English sample are divided almost equally into the spotlight and non-spotlight page contents. This applies to the different item types in the English sample, the exception being video (88.9% on spotlight page). Table 4.1 shows the following percentages in the case of the spotlight page; written texts: 47.5% and program: 50.0%. These results show that Al Jazeera English created a varied content in the spotlight page by featuring a combination of the most important and relevant items of every news item type. On the other hand, Al Jazeera Arabic depended on a different strategy to create this variance on its spotlight page. Due to the huge number of news items on the spotlight page, Al Jazeera Arabic did not feature the different item types. Rather the types were limited to two; namely, written texts and videos.

Another interesting finding in this sub-section appears in the statistical results of the article types in Al Jazeera Arabic and English samples (see figure 4.8). Figure 4.8

illustrates a significant difference in the reporting of 'leaked documents' and 'reacting to leaks' in both Arabic and English samples. These differences appear as an indicative finding. As the graph shows, in the Arabic sample, the reporting of 'leaked documents' comprises 33.3% and articles which reported 'reacting to leaks' represent 38.1% which suggests an equal amount of reporting. In contrast, the reporting of 'reacting to leaks' in the English sample represents only 8.3% compared to reporting 'leaked documents' with 59.7%. The great difference in the numbers of the two types of articles indicates the interest and focus of Al Jazeera English on the Palestine Papers rather than the talks, comments and criticism of officials and public on the leaks.

Figure 4.8. Comparison of 'Article Types' in Arabic and English Samples
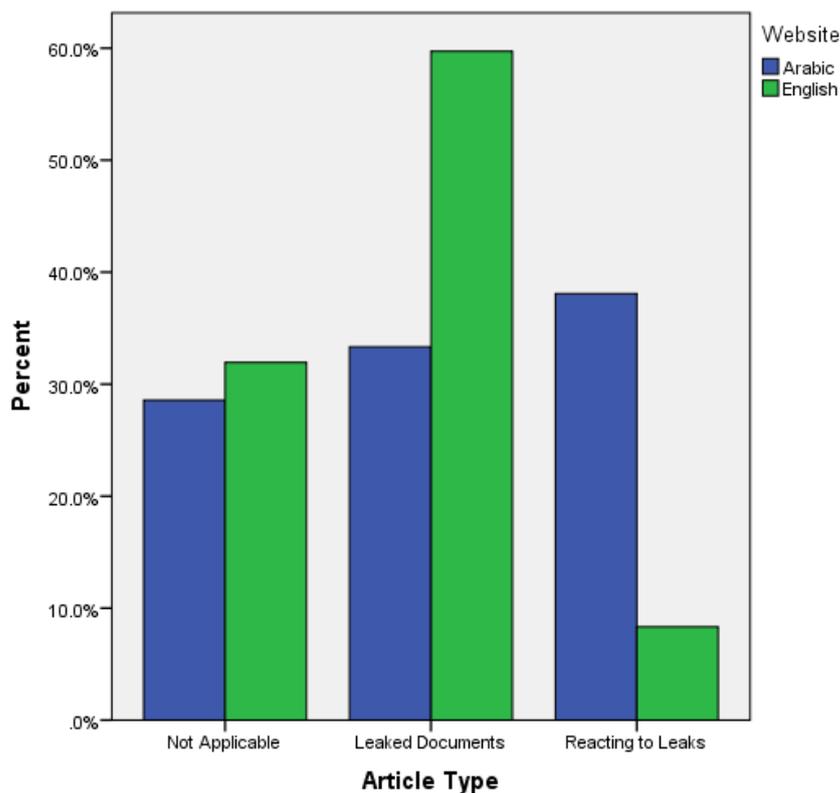
4.2.3 Theme

As 'theme' is a significant variable to measure the focus of the content of the data, the following figure (figure 4.11) demonstrates the broad dominant themes and topics of the samples news articles on Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites. Although the data indicated a wide range of themes in each news article and across the two samples, it is noteworthy to mention that the key topics reveal to be centred around the revelations of the Palestine Papers revelations and their impact of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. As figure (4.11) suggests, the dominant topics of Al Jazeera coverage in this sample include the revelations of negotiation papers, Jerusalem and refugees, among other less recurrent topics. Furthermore, the results show insignificant differences between the Arabic and English samples.

Figure 4.11 Dominant themes in Arabic and English samples
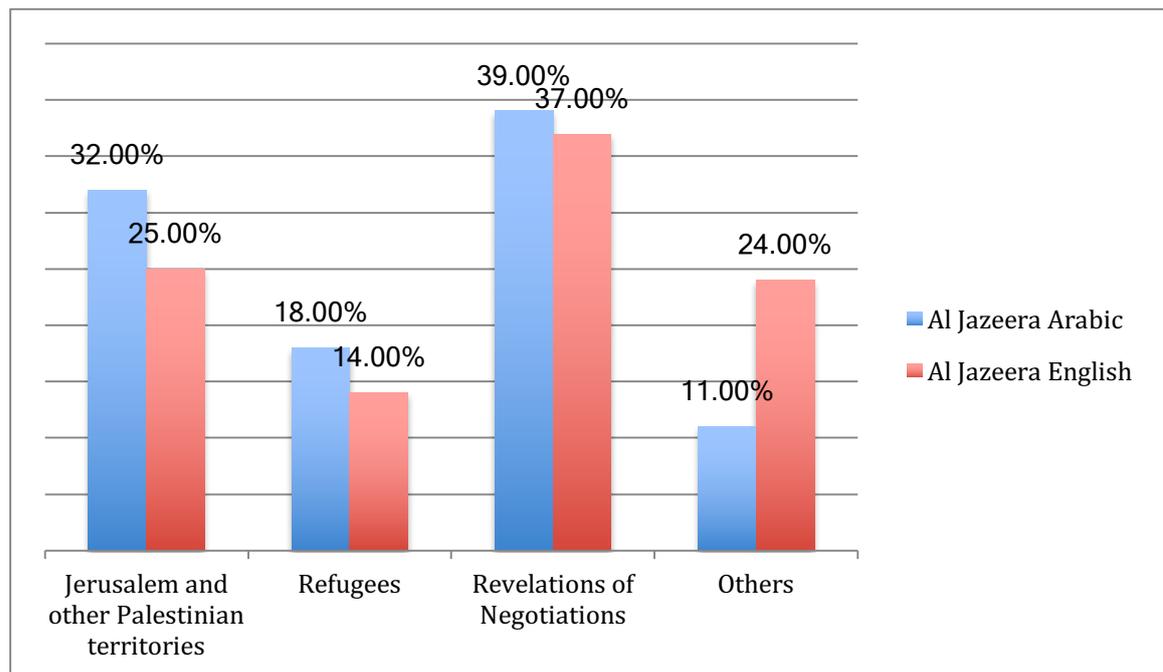
4.3 The Dominance of Coverage

4.3.1 The Main Focus: Period

During its coverage of the Palestine Papers Leaks, codification recorded the two Al Jazeera sample in terms of the period each news item they discussed and focused on: talks, after leaks, others or multiple periods. The first interesting finding is that the two Arabic and English samples demonstrate a significant difference in their focus on the periods covered in the stories.

Figure (4.16): The main focus (Periods)
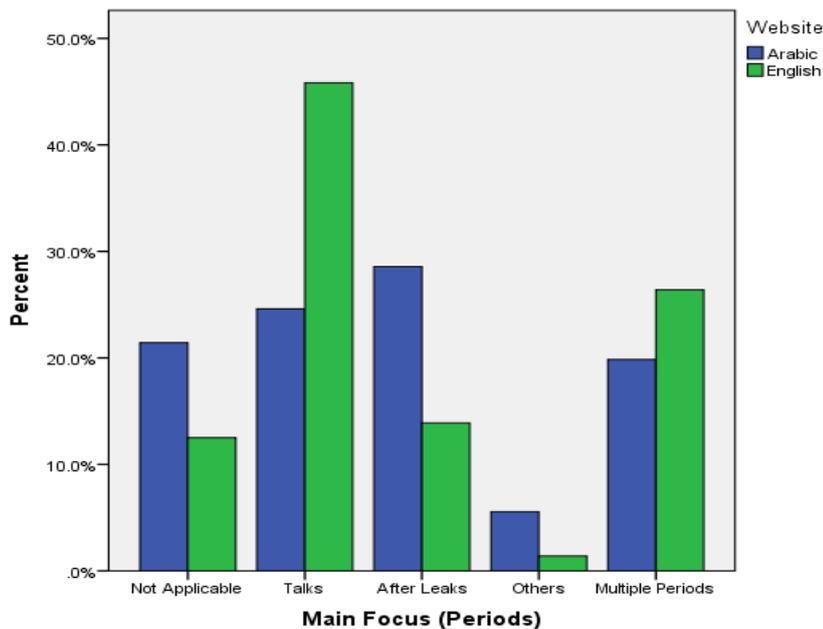
As figure (4.16) shows, the Arabic website tended to cover the different periods equally to a certain degree. It can be noted that stories which discussed the after leaks period had a higher percentage. However, the English website demonstrates a salient difference in its tendency. The major section of the articles (45.8%) covered stories whose content discussed the negotiations whereas a far lower percentage (13.9%)

focused on the after leaks stories. This suggests a significant difference in the two websites interests and agendas. It is clear that in contrast with Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera English did not pay much attention to the reactions of the Palestinians, Israelis or other parties towards the leaks coverage. In other words, Al Jazeera English dedicated the larger section of its coverage to discussing and analysing the leaked documents.

4.3.2 The Main Focus: Social Actors

The prominence of each actor groups in the sample is mainly measured according to a number of factors; number of actors, times of reference to actors, size of direct quotations, and size of paraphrased quotations. The findings reveal that first, despite the fact that the leaked documents concern the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations in the last decade, figure (4.17) indicates a noticeable imbalance of the Palestinian/Israeli actors presentation. The graph shows that the majority of the articles in both Arabic and English samples feature Palestinian actors compared to a very low percentage featuring a dominance of the Israeli actors. It suggests that the Al Jazeera coverage targeted the Palestinian side of the reported stories. Moreover, the two samples demonstrate a different tendency when featuring an equally Palestinian/Israeli actor prominence. Al Jazeera English shows a clearly higher percentage of featuring both Palestinian and Israeli actor groups equally. As for the other actor groups, there are no significant differences between the two samples.

Figure (4.17): The main focus (Actors)
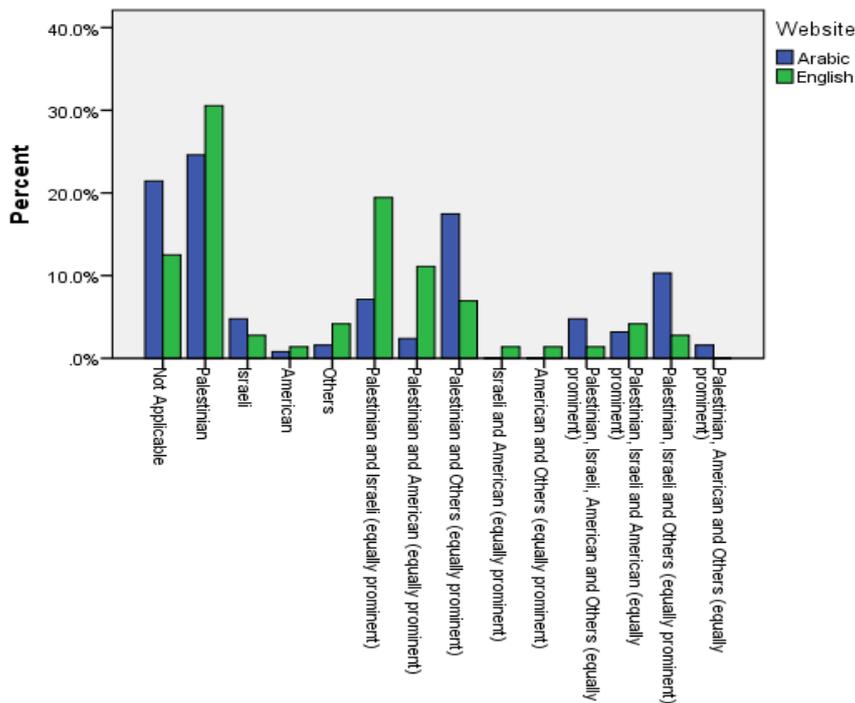
4.3.3 The Main Focus: Tone

As this research focuses on Al Jazeera moral storytelling of the leaked Palestine Papers, the tone of the narrative demonstrates the criticality of these news discourses and how they evaluate the revelations of the papers and the approaches of the different political actors involved in these negotiations. The variable of tone in the sample is specifically measured by a qualitative examination of positive, negative or neutral referential and other discursive strategies used in regards to each actor group in each news unit. In other words, it thoroughly assesses the representations and misrepresentations of these groups.

As figure (4.18) shows, the dominant tone of the news storytelling towards the Palestinian Authority is negative on both Arabic (84%) sample and English (75%) sample in comparison with scarcely positive tone on Arabic (1%) and English (5%). A significant finding emerges from comparing the two figures (4.18) and (4.19). The two samples demonstrate that Al Jazeera moral storytelling is highly critical of the Palestinian Authority in comparison with their narratives of the Israelis.

Figure (4.18): The tone of the coverage towards Palestinian Authority in Arabic and English samples
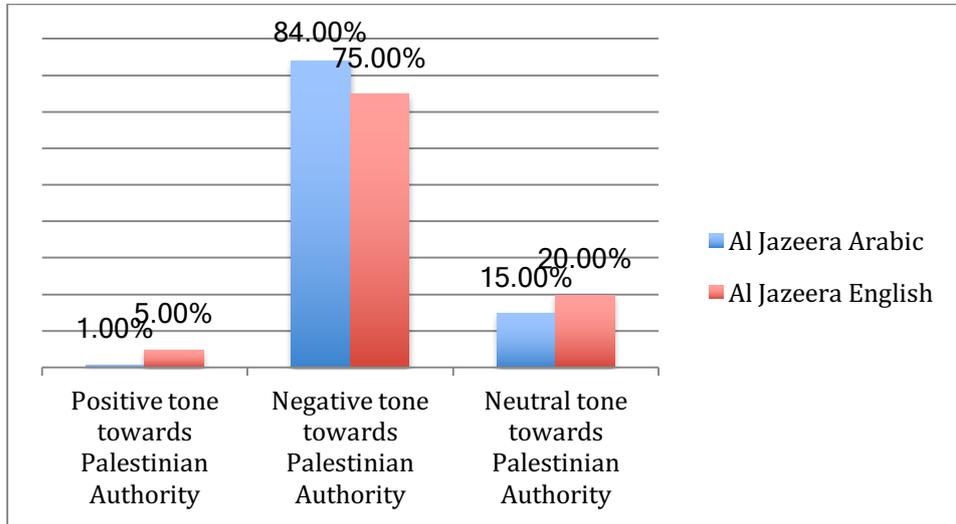
Figure (4.19): The tone of the coverage towards Israelis in Arabic and English samples
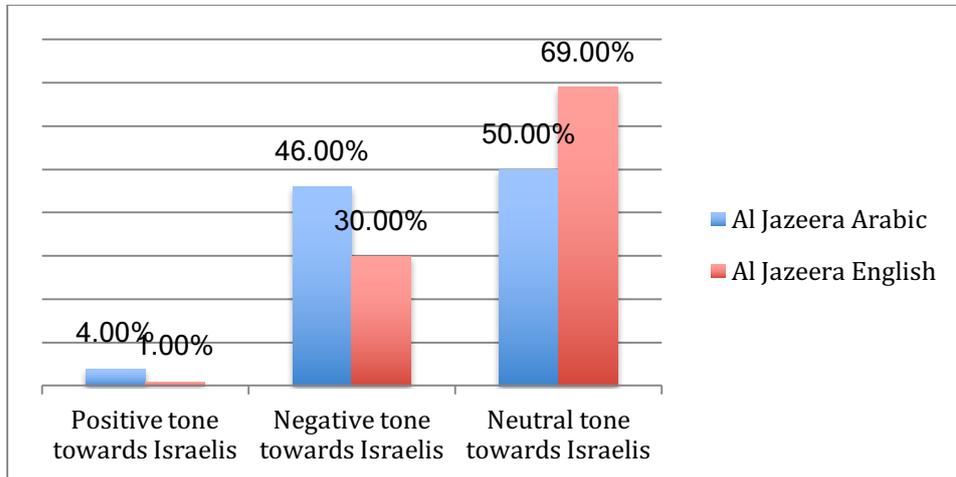
4.4 Social Actors

4.4.1 Number of Social Actors

In order to demonstrate a clearer account of the actor groups' prominence in the sample under study, the number of actors featuring in each article were coded and analysed as the following figure (4.20) shows:

Figure (4.20): The total number of actors
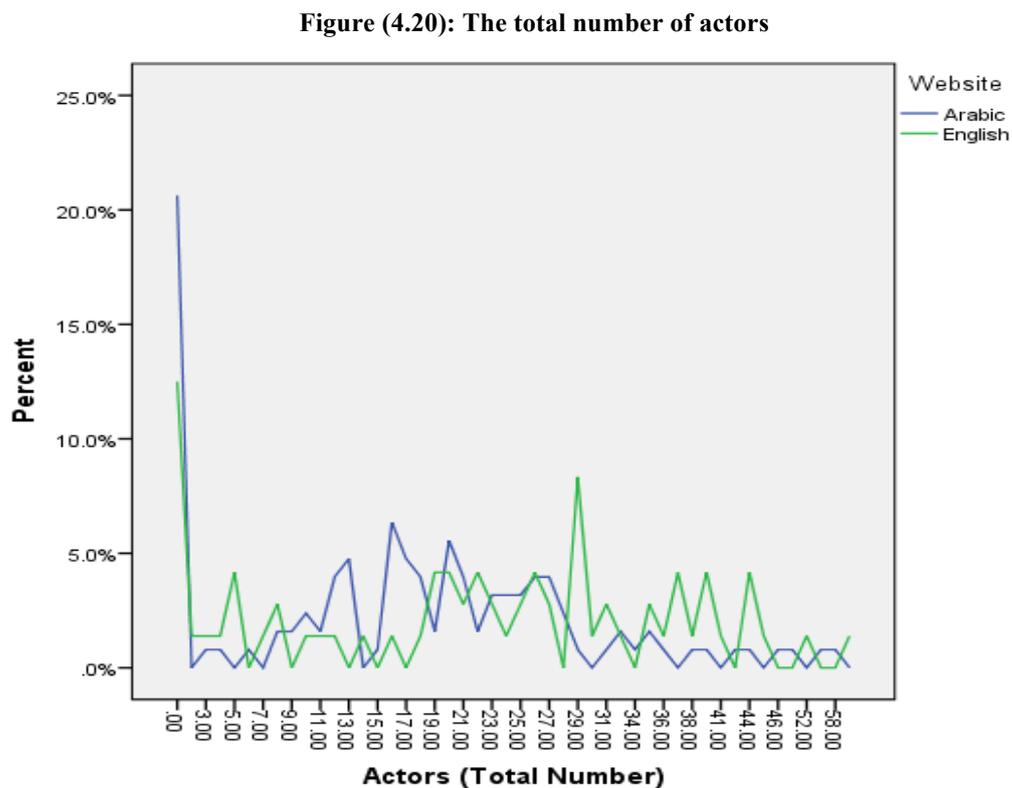
As figure (4.20) indicates, the total number of actors in the articles ranges between 3 and 58. (It is to be noted that "0" actors refers to the 'not applicable' category that was mentioned in the introduction to the Recent Results Section.) Moreover, it reveals a moderate variance across this range. Table (4.8) compares the means of the total number of actors in the Arabic and English samples. It shows an insignificant difference between the two means. The standard deviation supports the previous statement. This suggests a fairly balanced prominence of actors on both Al Jazeera websites.

Table (4.8): The means of total number of actors in Arabic and English samples

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Arabic	17.2143	126	12.63431
English	22.4167	72	14.95886
Total	19.1061	198	13.71959

4.4.2 The Palestinian Actors

As illustrated earlier in the previous section, although the sample under study covers the leaked documents of the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations in the last decade, both Al Jazeera websites exhibit a salient propensity to focus on the Palestinian side of the negotiations. Figure (4.21) displays the moderate variance in the number of Palestinian actors across the range (1-30). The graph, furthermore, does not show any significance differences in featuring the Palestinian actors in the Arabic and English samples.

Figure (4.21): The number of Palestinian actors in Arabic and English samples
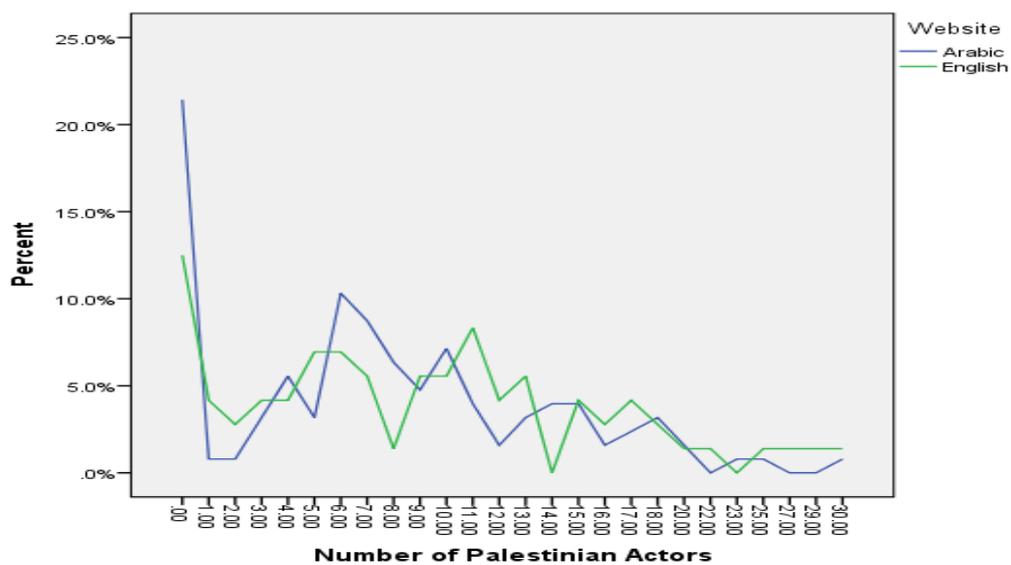
Due to the fact that the Palestinian actors had a greater prominence in the current sample, the coding schedule divided the Palestinians into three actor groups. The first group is the Palestinian Authority, ruled by the PLO, who had participated in the negotiations with the Israelis. The second group is Hamas, the opponent of the PLO, who plays a major role in the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Finally, the third group includes the Palestinian people, academic, and other Palestinian politicians and organizations. The following tables (4.9), (4.10) and (4.11) present a clearer account of the three Palestinian actor groups. The three tables clearly exhibit that the prominence of the Palestinians is equally divided between the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the Other Palestinians groups whereas Hamas has a far lower prominence in the sample.

Table (4.9): The means of the number of actors (Palestinian Authority)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	4.0714	126	3.25252	.00	19.00
English	5.3611	72	3.95149	.00	18.00
Total	4.5404	198	3.56746	.00	19.00

Table (4.10): The means of the number of actors (Hamas)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	.5476	126	.84482	.00	4.00
English	.8333	72	1.43399	.00	8.00
Total	.6515	198	1.10135	.00	8.00

Table (4.11): The means of the number of actors (Other Palestinians)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	3.1190	126	3.37664	.00	16.00
English	3.0556	72	3.64204	.00	22.00
Total	3.0960	198	3.46643	.00	22.00

Interestingly, the tables demonstrate a consistency in the closely related percentages of both Arabic and English samples in the three Palestinian actor groups.

Nevertheless, table (4.12) reveals that, compared with Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera English exhibits a higher tendency towards referring to these same Palestinian actors for several times across the one article. However, this does not have to indicate any significant finding as the morphological differences between Arabic and English (where unlike English, Arabic does not need a separated pronoun to indicate the subject in the sentence) can easily account for this higher tendency.

Table (4.12): The means of the times of references to Palestinian Actors

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	29.6190	126	29.63022	.00	163.00
English	43.7917	72	38.96909	.00	165.00
Total	34.7727	198	33.92787	.00	165.00

4.4.3 The Israeli Actors

As discussed earlier, although the leaked papers covered by Al Jazeera were documents of the negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis, both Arabic and English reporting shed more light on the Palestinian side. Table (4.13) displays the means of the Israeli actor means across the sample. It shows the featuring of a small number of Israeli actors in each article.

Table (4.13): The means of the number of actors (Israel)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	3.0952	126	3.75325	.00	19.00
English	4.4861	72	4.80901	.00	22.00
Total	3.6010	198	4.20990	.00	22.00

However, interestingly table (4.13) reveals that despite the small number of Israeli actors, the frequency of the references made to them was significantly high. Moreover, looking at the same table, it is easy to observe that the English website

attempts to create a better balance in reporting the Israelis alongside the Palestinians by referring to Israelis more frequently.

Table (4.13): The means of the times of references to actors (Israel)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	11.5794	126	14.06121	.00	65.00
English	23.0000	72	25.75836	.00	97.00
Total	15.7323	198	19.87254	.00	97.00

At this stage I will suggest a provisional, initial statement regarding the different agendas of the two Al Jazeera websites. Al Jazeera Arabic is directed to the Arab audience who views the Palestinian/Israeli conflict differently to how Al Jazeera English international audience views it. The Arab audience is very critical of the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations due to the long peace negotiation history that resulted in a number of agreements, which are widely considered as unjust and biased against the Palestinians. Therefore, the current results suggest that Al Jazeera Arabic seeks to focus on criticising the Palestinian negotiation team. On the other hand, Al Jazeera English targets an international audience, which is basically western. Consequently, it attempts to present a more balanced picture of the story.

4.4.4 The American and Other Actors

Across the Arabic and English samples, different actor groups appear frequently. Apart from the two main groups (Palestinians and Israelis), these actors are divided into Americans and Others. First, it is noteworthy that the Americans played an important role (mediators) in the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations in the past decade. They largely participated in these negotiations and therefore they constituted a relatively important section of the actor prominence in the samples as illustrated in tables (4.14) and (4.15). However, the tables remarkably show that Al Jazeera English had featured far more American actors than Al Jazeera Arabic.

Table (4.14): The means of the number of actors (United States)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	1.7143	126	2.92262	.00	20.00
English	3.4444	72	4.55912	.00	25.00
Total	2.3434	198	3.68881	.00	25.00

Table (4.15): The means of the times of references to actors (United States)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	4.9127	126	11.72963	.00	74.00
English	14.9861	72	25.93029	.00	127.00
Total	8.5758	198	18.79442	.00	127.00

The final actor group was labelled as 'Others' and it includes a variety of actors; international newspapers, Middle Eastern countries, European countries, etc. The following tables (4.16) and (4.17) reveal that the Al Jazeera coverage of the leaked Palestine Papers shed light on other indirectly involved actors and to some extent it gave an equal prominence to that of American and Israeli actor groups.

Table (4.16): The means of the number of actors (Others)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	4.6667	126	5.31413	.00	31.00
English	5.3750	72	5.22572	.00	24.00
Total	4.9242	198	5.27991	.00	31.00

Table (4.17): The means of the times of references to actors (Others)

Website	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Arabic	10.3492	126	13.21412	.00	86.00
English	12.2361	72	15.41400	.00	76.00
Total	11.0354	198	14.04466	.00	86.00

4.5 The Size of Voice: Direct and Paraphrased Quotations

For the purpose of studying the dominance of any actor groups, it is not sufficient to count the number and frequency the actors were mentioned in each article in the sample under study. Measuring the word count of the direct and paraphrased quotations makes clear which group of actors is given more voice and consequently greater prominence. Coding the size of both direct and paraphrased quotations helped in illustrating which actor groups played active rather than passive role in Al Jazeera coverage of the leaked Palestine papers. It would be useful to first examine the total size of direct and paraphrased quotations and compare it with the total word count of the articles in the current sample. Table (4.18) illustrates the total size of direct and paraphrased quotations alongside the total size of the written texts. The table indicates a general tendency towards utilizing direct quotations (13.2%) compared with paraphrased quotations (10.9%) of the total word count of the sample. However, examining the same table reveals that Arabic and English websites exhibit significant differences in using quotations in their reporting. On the one hand, the Arabic sample demonstrates a tendency towards utilizing more paraphrased quotations (13.6%) compared to direct quotations (9.8%). On the other hand, the English sample indicates an opposite trend. It shows that Al Jazeera English depends on using direct quotations (17.8%) to report the actors' voice whereas paraphrased quotations comprise only (7.3%) of the total word count of the sample.

Table (4.18): The total size of direct quotations, paraphrased quotations, and written texts.

Website	Total Size of Direct Quotations (word count)	Total Size of Direct Quotations (%)	Total Size of Paraphrased Quotations (word count)	Total Size of Paraphrased Quotations (%)	Total Size of Written Texts (word count)	Total Size of Written Texts (%)
Arabic	9333	9.8%	12921	13.6%	95140	100%
English	12624	17.8%	5217	7.3%	71084	100%
Total	21957	13.2%	18138	10.9%	166224	100%

The following table (4.19) presents the means of the two types of quotations in both Arabic and English samples. This table proves the difference in utilizing quotations

by the two websites. Whereas the mean of direct quotations is lower than that of the paraphrased ones in the Arabic sample, the English sample demonstrates the significance difference between the two means; direct quotations (mean=175.3) and paraphrased quotations (mean=72.4).

Table (4.19): The means of size of direct quotations, paraphrased quotations and written texts.

Website	Mean Size of Direct Quotations	Mean Size of Paraphrased Quotations	Mean Size of Written Texts	Total Size of Written Texts (word count)	Total Size of Written Texts (%)
Arabic	74.0714	102.5476	755.0794	95140.00	57.2%
English	175.3333	72.4583	987.2778	71084.00	42.8%
Total	110.8939	91.6061	839.5152	166224.00	100.0%

The previous tables (4.18) and (4.19) indicate an interesting finding. They suggest that Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites work differently in reporting the voice of the actors. It is clear that Al Jazeera English seeks to quote the actors rather than rewording their statements. However, it should be noted that the content of reporting has a great influence on how actors are quoted. The following set of results will attempt to look at the activity/passivity range of the actors' prominence in the Arabic and English samples.

4.5.1 Direct Quotations: All Actors

Table (4.20) shows the distribution of the direct quotations across the different actor groups. In general, Palestinians (60.8%) is the most directly quoted group in both samples. The second group in terms of being directly quoted is Israelis (19.6%). Although the reporting in this sample cover the leaked documents of the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations, the Al Jazeera coverage of this story is remarkably focusing on one side of the negotiators; the Palestinians. Examining the same table (4.20) indicates that Al Jazeera English attempted to represent a higher percentage of direct quotations of the Israelis (23%) compared to the Arabic website (14.6%).

Table (4.20): The size of direct quotations (Palestinians, Israelis, United States and Others)

Website		Size of Direct Quotations (Palestinians)	Size of Direct Quotations (Israelis)	Size of Direct Quotations (United States)	Size of Direct Quotations (Others)	Total Size of Direct Quotations
Arabic	Mean	50.1111	10.8413	7.9762	5.1429	
	Sum	6314	1366	1005	648	9333
	%	67.7%	14.6%	10.8%	6.9%	100%
English	Mean	97.5694	40.8194	24.0833	12.8611	
	Sum	7025	2939	1734	926	12624
	%	55.6%	23.2%	13.7%	7.3%	100%
Total	Mean	67.3687	21.7424	13.8333	7.9495	
	Sum	13339	4305	2739	1574	21957
	%	60.8%	19.6%	12.5%	7.2%	100%

4.5.2 Paraphrased Quotations: All Actors

Table (4.21) shows a similar tendency to that in table (4.20). Table (4.21) clearly shows that generally Palestinians (53.8%) is the most directly quoted group in both samples. The second group in terms of being directly quoted is Israelis (19.5%). As observed in the previous results (direct quotations), the Al Jazeera coverage of this story is remarkably focusing on one side of the negotiators; the Palestinians. Nevertheless, table (4.21) suggests that Al Jazeera English created a slightly better balance between Palestinians (50.7%) and Israelis (24.8%) in paraphrased quoting compared to Al Jazeera Arabic; Palestinians (55%) and Israelis (17.3%).

Table (4.21): The size of paraphrased quotations (Palestinians, Israelis, United States and Others)

Website		Size of Paraphrased Quotations (Palestinians)	Size of Paraphrased Quotations (Israelis)	Size of Paraphrased Quotations (United States)	Size of Paraphrased Quotations (Others)	Total Size of Paraphrased Quotations
Arabic	Mean	56.4841	17.7857	8.3333	19.9444	
	Sum	7117	2241	1050	2513	12921
	%	55%	17.3%	8.1%	19.4%	100%
English	Mean	36.7361	17.9861	11.8194	5.9167	
	Sum	2645	1295	851	426	5217
	%	50.7%	24.8%	16.3%	8.2%	100%
Total	Mean	49.3030	17.8586	9.6010	14.8434	
	Sum	9762	3536	1901	2939	18138
	%	53.8%	19.5%	10.5%	16.2%	100%

4.5.3 Direct and Paraphrased Quotations: Palestinian Actors

Due to the high intensity of quoting the Palestinian actor group, it would be useful to examine the three Palestinian actor sub-groups; the Palestinian Authority, Hamas and Other Palestinians. Tables (4.22) and (4.23) show that the Palestinian Authority (direct Q: 76.1%, paraphrased Q: 62.2%) was quoted significantly more than other Palestinian actor groups; Hamas (direct Q: 6.9%, paraphrased Q: 8.1%) and Other Palestinians (direct Q: 16.9%, paraphrased Q: 29.7%). Furthermore, the tables suggest that both Hamas and Other Palestinians groups are more quoted in the Arabic sample compared to the English one.

Table (4.22): The size of direct quotations of Palestinian actors (Palestinian Authority, Hamas and Other Palestinians)

Website		Size of Direct Quotations (Palestinian Authority)	Size of Direct Quotations (Hamas)	Size of Direct Quotations (Other Palestinians)	Total Size of Direct Quotation (Palestinians)
Arabic	Mean	30.1905	6.3968	13.5238	50.1111
	Sum	3804	806	1704	6314
	%	60.2%	12.8%	26.9%	100%
English	Mean	88.2083	1.6944	7.6667	97.5694
	Sum	6351	122	552	7025
	%	90.4%	1.7%	7.9%	100%
Total	Mean	51.2879	4.6869	11.3939	67.3687
	Sum	10155	928	2256	13339
	%	76.1%	6.9%	16.9%	100%

Table (4.23): The size of paraphrased quotations of Palestinian actors (Palestinian Authority, Hamas and Other Palestinians)

Website		Size of Paraphrased Quotations (Palestinian Authority)	Size of Paraphrased Quotations (HAMAS)	Size of Paraphrased Quotations (Other Palestinians)	Total Size of Paraphrased Quotation (Palestinians)
Arabic	Mean	29.5317	5.7302	21.2222	56.4841
	Sum	3721	722	2674	7117
	%	52.3%	10.1%	37.6%	100%
English	Mean	32.5972	.9444	3.1944	36.7361
	Sum	2347	68	230	2645
	%	88.7%	2.6%	8.7%	100%
Total	Mean	30.6465	3.9899	14.6667	49.3030
	Sum	6068	790	2904	9762
	%	62.2%	8.1%	29.7%	100%

4.6 The Dominance of the Negotiators in Al Jazeera Arabic and English Discourses

The revelations of the leaked Palestine Papers were extensively reported on both Al Jazeera Arabic and English websites and portrayed as 'unprecedented concessions' on the key issues pertaining to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and which were capitulated by the Palestinian negotiators. Throughout the coverage of these leaks, the main social actors reflected in the sample are the negotiating teams. As figure 4.21 demonstrates, there is a noticeable disparity in the representation of the Palestinian versus their Israeli counterparts. The data confirm that the Palestinian actors have occupied prominent time in the Al Jazeera narrative in both Arabic at 56%, and English at 40%, compared to the Israeli and American actors who were imperceptible in this sample representation.

Figure (4.22): Main focus of actors in the Arabic and English sample
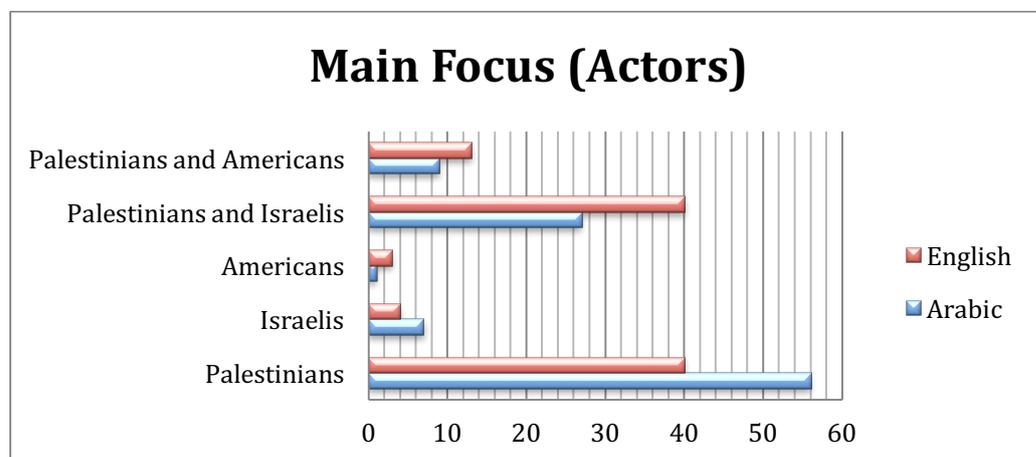
The Palestinian actors are divided into three groups (see figure 4.23). The first group is the Palestinian Authority, led by the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization), who represented the Palestinians in the negotiations with the Israelis. The second is Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), who are representative of the opposition to the PLO and hold an Islamist ideology. They are also major adversaries in the

Palestinian/Israeli conflict as evidenced by their political stance, military operations and vehement resistance to the Israelis and the occupation. The third group encompasses the Palestinian people and refugees primarily, along with Palestinian academics, politicians and various organizations. As indicated by figure 4.23, the main object of representation in the coverage of the leaked Palestine Papers has been the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian people, particularly the refugees. The data reveals that the narrative of 'unprecedented concessions' has been directly linked to the Palestinian Authority (PA), who were the main representative of the Palestinian people during the negotiations.

Figure (4.23): Palestinian Actors in the Arabic and English samples
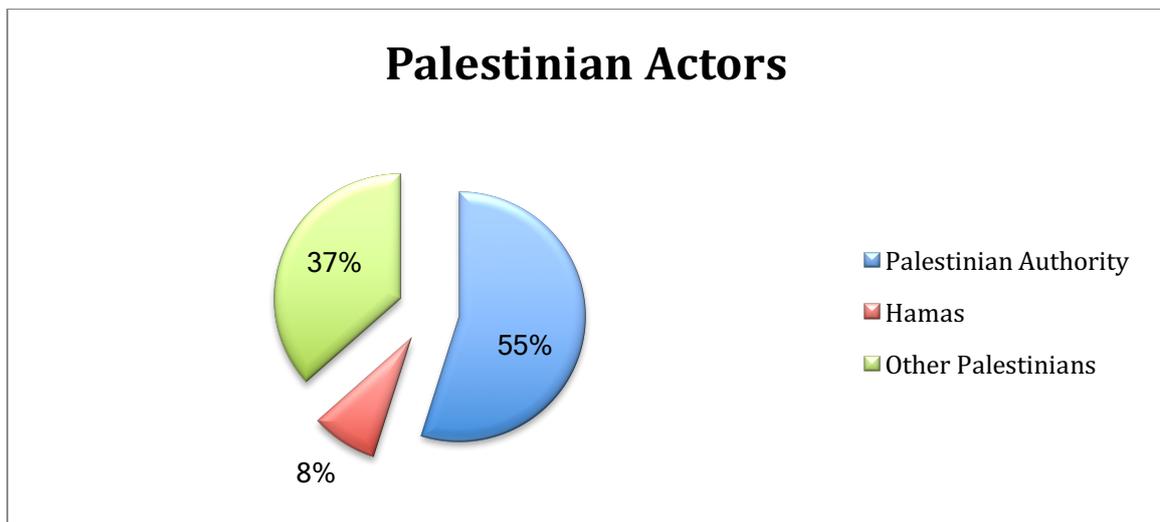
Media representation is a "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretations, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). As Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) demonstrate, "representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (1996, p. 38). Accordingly, Al Jazeera's main aim is to foreground the Palestinian negotiators as social actors at the expense of backgrounding the other actors, such as Israeli negotiators. Al Jazeera actively portrayed the Palestinian Authority leaders and the Palestinian negotiation team as one entity, and subsequently placed most of the criticism on the entire Palestinian Authority organisation. This representation or

misrepresentation of the Palestinian Authority has had a significant ideological and political impact, as will be illustrated in the following analytical chapters.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented the statistical overview of the research sample landscape. Examining Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives during the coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks, it statistically answered the first research question: *How were the leaked Palestine Papers reported in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news discourses in 2011?* Utilizing the content analysis methodology, this research analysis presented the differences and similarities between the Arabic and English samples in relation to size and date of coverage, news item genres, and theme of coverage. For instance, it showed how Al Jazeera Arabic narratives comprised two thirds of the overall coverage of the leaks, a clear indicator of the impact of the target audience on the size and relevancy of the news reporting. The research analysis also examined the dominance of coverage in relations to period and tone, and more importantly, representations and misrepresentations of social actors. The dominance of the negotiators during the coverage was carefully examined in this chapter. These findings depicted specifically how the Palestinian Authority was represented or misrepresented, and therefore, they provided the research analysis with a suggestive portrayal of the mythical 'Trickster' of the Palestinian Authority in Al Jazeera Arabic and English narratives during the coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks, as will be elaborated on in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5. The Discursive Construction of National Identity of Conflict in the News: the symbolic role of Jerusalem

For you, city of prayer, I pray.
For you beautiful city, flower of cities,
Quds (Jerusalem), O city of the prayer, I pray.
Our eyes travel to you every day
Moving about the hallways of the temples
Embracing the ancient churches
Wiping sadness from the mosques.
Night of the Isra, path of those who left for the sky
Our eyes travel to you every day, and I pray.

***

This is our home and Quds is ours
And with our hands we shall return the city to its splendour
With our hands peace shall return to Quds.

Fairouz – Flower of the Cities[1]

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses Al Jazeera Arabic and English discourses on Jerusalem and how this discourse helped evoke national, religious and rebellious sentiments amongst the Palestinians as a result of the perceived threats they face in their conflict with the State of Israel. The symbol of Jerusalem was reinforced in the press coverage and embodied a Palestinian national narrative, fundamentally giving a new criterion for the 'Our' and 'Their' space division. This chapter examines Jerusalem as an occupied and exclusive Palestinian space and goes further to provide a deeper analysis on the visual construction of Jerusalem within the context of the 'Our' space division. The 'naming' apparatus of Jerusalem's political landscape, the PA's concessions, and the Judaification of Jerusalem in conflict will be reviewed in this chapter.

The second research question in relation to how space functions ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict during this coverage will be addressed in this chapter. The focus of Jerusalem in Al Jazeera news discourse, is

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[1] Fairouz is one of the most famous Arab singers. See also: Stone, C. (2007). "Our Eyes Travel to You Everyday": The place of Jerusalem in the works of Fairouz and the Rahbani Brothers. *ArteEast Quarterly*: 1(Fall). http://www.arteeast.org/2012/03/07/our-eyes-travel-to-you-everyday/

used as a national and religious symbol ultimately providing a mythical formulation of a Palestinian national identity within the context of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Jerusalem therefore acts as a determining axis of an ideological square of the two sides of the conflict. On the one hand, 'Us' is identified as the Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims, and on the other hand, 'Them' is perceived as the Israelis, Zionists, and Jews; and in this particular case, the PA's leadership who were seen as complicit with the Israelis. The symbolic role of Jerusalem in Al Jazeera discourse draws on the various ideologies of Arabism, Islamism, Judaism and Zionism and by doing so, Al Jazeera can exploit the concept of space and place in order to better serve its agenda in delegitimizing the negotiations.

5.2 Jerusalem as perceived in Al Jazeera during the coverage of the leaked Palestine Papers

The Al Jazeera leaks, covering the Annapolis period between 2007 and 2009 revealed a willingness and compliance by the Palestinian Authority to make 'unprecedented concessions' on Jerusalem and its borders. These concessions included, but were not limited to the PA's assent to relinquish vast parts of Occupied East Jerusalem and other areas of the West Bank: the Palestinian territories under the Israeli Occupation. The most prominent and controversial concessions of the negotiations were the ones made in regards to East Jerusalem and its holy sites. The leaked Papers detailed the PA's concession on the Israeli annexation of illegal East Jerusalem settlements. Moreover, the PA chief negotiator, Saeb Erekat, expressed pliancy on the final status of Haram al-Sharif. Given its importance as one of the most sacred Islamic sites in the world and home of the Holy Aqsa Mosque, in addition to its international status and the 1967 border lines; acknowledged by UN international law regarding its indubitably as part of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the Haram al-Sharif's sovereignty was seldom debated by former PA officials in previous negotiations.

It was during the Camp David 2000 accords, when the status of Occupied East Jerusalem and its holy sites was first discussed. The former Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak were willing to negotiate the core issue of this ongoing conflict. However, unlike the current PA, the late

Arafat's adamant refusal to compromise over the sovereignty of the Haram[2], represents a striking contrast to the PA's position and flexibility in regards to compromising on key issue surrounding this conflict. The current PA's compromises reflect a serious divide among the PA and their citizens, they also usher in a new era of acquiescence and complicity resulting in severe consequences and impediment to the rights of Palestinians. Within this context, the reporting on the Jerusalem files, occupied a substantial time during the coverage of the leaked Palestine Papers. Jerusalem is predominantly perceived as an Israeli occupied Palestinian city[3] without any deviation from this standpoint. Jerusalem is not considered in the same spectrum as other Palestinian cities, it is a city that is considered regionally and globally to be a holy city, and for the Palestinians and other Muslims, it houses some of the most sacred Islamic sites. The significance of it to the Palestinians is embedded in their national struggle and symbolism. The rhetoric on Al Jazeera maintained a view on Jerusalem belonging to the 'Our' national space, a space that categorizes people into 'Us' vs. 'Them'. In this chapter, Al Jazeera's discursive construction of Jerusalem as a 'space' where the 'Us' vs. 'Them' belong will be critically evaluated. The construction of spaces reflected in the Al Jazeera discourse exposes the power struggle of various actors.

This chapter explores Foucault's procedures of 'division and exclusion' highlighting the similarities of Al Jazeera's discourse on the Us vs. Other space division as reflected in both the Arabic and English news channels and websites. To further elaborate the construction of the 'Our' space (Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims), and the rejection of the PA from the 'Our' space as they are accused of being submissive to the occupation and the Israeli state gave resonance to Jerusalem being a Palestinian national and Islamic symbol.

The paradigm of these inclusion and exclusion procedures is manifested through the visual construction of Jerusalem as a separate entity attaining its own 'Space' and giving birth to a National Palestinian identity and a religiously inclusive Muslim identity. The 'Them' space, is not exclusive to non-Palestinians and non-Muslims but in this sample, it encompasses the PA, who are representative of the Palestinians and

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[2] Al Jazeera discourse of Arafat as 'a national hero' will be discussed in Chapter 7.
[3] This is discussed further in the following section.

whose members are mainly Muslims. However, as a result of their collaboration and concessions to the Israelis, the 'Them' space is expanded to absorb them in its characterization. Accordingly, groups are divided into two opposing camps: while the first group maintains shared values, behavior and views, the other group stands in opposition to them. Indeed this perception involves the process of 'personalisation' of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Personalisation is a key concept that was observed by Galtung and Ruge during their analysis of the news values which they claim are socially constructed (1973, pp. 62-72). Fowler reasons that, personalisation aims "to promote straightforward feelings of identification, empathy or disapproval and to effect a metonymic simplification of complex historical and institutional processes" (1991, p. 15). For the purpose of this research, the personilisation of conflict in news discourse is reflected in the 'Our and Their' space divisions. Al Jazeera's personalisation of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict advocates for national and religious sentiments, built on Arab and Islamist ideologies, endeavoring to counter the threat perceived from Zionist and Judaic influence. In both instances of promotion and rejection, the Al Jazeera narrative during the coverage of the Jerusalem files effectuates a two-space division. Al Jazeera is thereby able to exploit this division to engender a political authority of its own and to influence social and political change in various regions of the world.

5.2.1 Jerusalem: An Exclusive Palestinian Space

Al Jazeera reconciled its reporting with those of the Palestinians' and their uncompromising views on Jerusalem to legitimize its campaign of strategy of criticism against the PA's as a result of their concessions. As will be discussed in the following sections, Al Jazeera sought to construct Jerusalem as a space that is both Arabic and Islamic, and one that is nationally and intrinsically Palestinian. Al Jazeera's Arabic and English rhetoric constructed Jerusalem as an exclusive 'Our' space comprising of both Palestinian factions, the Islamic political party, Hamas, and the national Arabic Palestinian party, the PLO. A representative example of Al Jazeera English reporting on the Jerusalem space and its association with the 'Our' Space division of Palestine is a video titled, "**Jerusalem revelations irk residents**" (art. 459). The video displays the anger of the Palestinians living in East Jerusalem. A

supplementary article follows the video justifying the valid indignation, as a consequent of the Palestinian negotiators relinquishing of East Jerusalem, an area claimed by the Palestinians as belonging to them, but is under Israeli occupation. Jerusalem is framed within the Space of struggle and defiance. It is a space that Israel has no legal claim to and any action violating this space will be met with a justified reaction by the Palestinian residents. To further elaborate on the video and the rationale behind the indignant reaction it received, the video begins by exhibiting scenes of poverty and run down streets of Palestinians living in East Jerusalem, with Palestinians defending their rights to it (see screen captures 5.1. and 5.2.). Alan Fisher reporting at the time on East Jerusalem (see screen capture 5.3) asserts that:

> This is another part of Jerusalem which the Palestine Papers reveal that Palestinian negotiators would hand over to a new Israel. What the Palestine Papers suggest is that Palestinian negotiators were willing to swap areas like this in the heart of Arab East Jerusalem to secure a broader peace deal with Israel.

Further reporting on the issue, exemplifies this space division constructed by Al Jazeera during its coverage on Jerusalem. One reporter interviewing Ezzat Hussain Kiwani, an old Palestinian man with his family members who were all "expelled from West Jerusalem at the creation of the new state of Israel" (see screen capture 5.4) in what has become familiar scenes of the occupation, highlights the vulnerability of those exiled and the arbitrary occupational practices by the State of Israel, thereby humanizing he Palestinians, and allowing for an element of apathy to be afforded them in their Space of struggle. The reporter reflects that Kiwani is angry because he feels that he is wronged twice, first by the Israelis and then the PA claiming that they would even give away his current home if it suits their interest. Kiwani vehemently opposes any deal to be made stating that:

> I came here in 1948 from West Jerusalem. I've lived here since the 48. I am 72 years old. It is impossible to me to move from here. The place I can go to from here is to my grave.

A space consolidating the injustice and suffering of the Palestinians is constructed in the Al Jazeera narrative, as it draws from the Palestinian collective memory of ordeals, displacement, genocides, arrests, wars and deprivation of human and civil rights under the Israeli occupation. Kiwani's ordeal and his story is representative of many of the Palestinians who met the same fate during the creation of the State of Israel. Viewers can easily sympathise with his ordeal and forgive his indignation. His anger is justified because of his vulnerability and because of the injustice that will further befall him should the deal the PA was willing to compromise on be considered. He will become displaced from East Jerusalem and be met with the same fate during his first expulsion from West Jerusalem. He will be victimised twice in one lifetime and the audience, following this narrative being played on Al Jazeera cannot, but sympathise with him and demonise the PA perfidiousness.

Following the video, the legality of the concessions made by the PA are questioned by reporters and analysts alike. This is conducted by Al Jazeera's use of strategy of legitimization. Legitimization refers to the processes by which the author can validate a particular social act. Hence, legitimization is better defined as the act of justification of social behaviours. Within a set of categories proposed by van leeuwen (1996; 2007; 2008), identifying legitimization in discourse, Al Jazeera's excerpt: "One leading analyst says the negotiators have no power to make the offers they did on East Jerusalem" in this video, exhibits the use of the 'expert voice'. The expert's voice is a legitimization strategy that is used in a political discourse to display an expert's argument as a statement that endorses a politician's position. Hence this legitimization demonstrates 'authorization' (van leeuwen, 1996; 2007; 2008) the politician induces in his discourse to support his argument. In this example, the strategy of legitimization was utilized by the attribution of 'leading analyst' to the interviewee, Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi. The voice of this expert, in this narrative, is evoked by the 'acting political entity' Al Jazeera, to reinforce the ideological construction of Jerusalem as a Palestinian national symbol, and ultimately, to justify the Al Jazeera narratives in delegitimizing the Palestinian Authority's concessions. Utilizing the expert's voice, Al Jazeera also manifests a political institutional authority, and thereby, the Al Jazeera narrative sets forth its ideological representations as misrepresentations of the social actors as valid (see Martin Rojo and van Dijk, 1997).

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, expresses his frustration on Jerusalem revelations (see screen capture 5.5): "People like me and many others are very much disappointed and very much angry and frustrated". The 'Argumentum ad populum' fallacy can be applied to Abdul Hadi assertions in this regard. The 'Argumentum ad populum' fallacy, is a conjecture where something can be claimed to be true simply because many people believe it to be so. Inadvertently, Abdul Hadi has constructed a unified space that includes himself and other Palestinians; a space that is 'good'.

Many contend that his argument is justified against the Palestinian negotiators. They insist that no matter what position the negotiators take and regardless of how much they concede to the Israelis from the Palestinian Space; mainly the space associated with Jerusalem, the Israelis will not concede much in return and will never give the Palestinians their full rights. In this analysis, space is used as a mobilising factor; one that works both inclusively and exclusively and validates what is and what is not "acceptable". Al Jazeera has managed to successfully maintain a unified position, as inferred from its rhetoric, against the PA and their ignominious dealings during the negotiations. Al Jazeera's position correlates with the argument in this research sample, reconciling the ideology of Jerusalem as a nationally constructed space; a space that sanctions and/or legitimises the position of various actors and in this particular case the actors are the ones involved in the negotiations.

Screen capture (5.1) in: (art. 459) Jerusalem revelations irk residents. (Time: 0:01)

Screen capture (5.2) in: (art. 459) Jerusalem revelations irk residents. (Time: 0:08)

Screen capture (5.3) in: (art. 459) Jerusalem revelations irk residents. (Time: 0:27)

Screen capture (5.4) in: (art. 459) Jerusalem revelations irk residents. (Time: 0:45)

Screen capture (5.5) in: (art. 459) Jerusalem revelations irk residents. (Time: 1:12)

5.2.2 Jerusalem's Landscape: An Occupied Space

This research sample has provided evidence in support of Al Jazeera's narrative regarding the landscape of Jerusalem and its construction as a national, religious and political space, to counter the threat of Judaification by the Israelis in this conflict. In order for us to better grasp this construction, we must examine further the concept of 'landscape'. Cultural geographers have proposed the compositions of landscape as being inclusive of a cultural, and political, construction, sphere, or process (Cosgrove, 1984; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Mitchell, 2000). Landscape is not only relegated to the idea of "nature" (Tuan, 1979); rather it encompasses the tangible and intangible aspects of "culture" (Schama, 1995). The term "landscape" in its cultural meaning implies the existence and work of human agents (Olwig, 1993). Comparatively Mitchell (2000) introduces the notion that landscape plays a role of 'mystifying' human actions to make it an integral part of the landscape. More specifically, landscape should be viewed as a cultural construct that plays a dual role:

> It naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable.
>
> (Mitchell, 2002, p. 2)

Inevitably, the construction of landscape is linked to politics, power, and forms a continuous dialogue between various factions as they struggle over a definitive meaning (Luz, 2013). Cosgrove (1984) states that the use of power in the construction of landscape embodies all ideology; as a means by which people seek to represent themselves. In conjunction with Cosgrove's argument, Kong (1993) contends that landscapes are ideological as they function in endorsing, legitimizing and challenging political and social dominance. Landscape engenders symbolic meanings that can be used to conceive social norms, identity, memory and cultural conventions and text (Meinig, 1979; Duncan, 1990; Barnes and Duncan, 1992). Landscape is one of the most complex and compelling structures heavily entrenched with signs, symbols, and meanings (Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Barnes and Duncan, 1992). By analysing the landscape of Jerusalem, one can begin to understand and appreciate how centuries of culture, conflict and power struggle engendered numerous meanings, symbols and signs over the centuries. These symbols and meanings can be attributed to the influence of the three monotheistic religions as they were and continue to be a significant part of Jerusalem. Whether it's the Jewish tradition with national, cultural and political symbolism centering around the Temple Mount and eventually formed the basis for the Jewish-Zionist ethos (Eliav, 2008) or the Christian tradition with its significance as the birth place of Jesus' and his crucifixion (Yarbrough, 2008); or the Islamic tradition which adopted the ideologies of the former two and the Islamic Prophet Muhammad's (Isra and Miraj) night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascension to Heaven (Mourad, 2008); all of these and more created a Landscape of Jerusalem rich with symbolism and vicissitude.

The sample further illustrates how Al Jazeera's discourse shaped the constructions of a Jerusalem landscape engulfed in conflict with Israel and a city occupied but defiant. This is particularly evident from files on Al Jazeera Arabic, headlined, "Al-Quds.. story of occupied city" (art. 113), featuring a landscape of Jerusalem as predominately: a. Islamic space, via the prominence of the Haram (al-Aqsa Mosque Complex) site, b. as a Palestinian space, via the old Palestinian woman holding the Palestinian flag, and c. an occupied space, via the Israeli excavation and demolition trucks: see image 6.6. This visual construction of Jerusalem landscape will be discussed in further details in the following section examining symbolism in Al

Jazeera Arabic and English narratives of Jerusalem Space as Palestinian, Occupied and Muslim.

Image (5.6)[4]

5.3 The Visual Construction of Jerusalem as 'Our' Space

Khatib (2013) claims that state and non-state political actors have adopted visual processes in an effort to define and give shape to the conflict and struggle with their political opponents in what he termed to be an "image-saturated world". Manheim (1994) substantiates these claims by asserting that the strategies of 'image management', including but not limited to propaganda and public diplomacy, are mainly dependent on using visual images to legitimize, mobilize and empower the 'Self', while delegitimizing, demobilizing and disempowering the 'Other'. In the

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[4] Image (5.6) is taken from an interactive file on Al Jazeera Arabic (art. 113). First published in the pre-coverage period, this research analysis will not consider elaborating on the multimodal analysis of the image. Rather, the chapter will focus on the following examples to provide a more focused discussion.

Middle East, particularly, visual images are intended to influence domestic and foreign policies (Hansen, 2006). This is best exemplified by Al Jazeera's visual discourse during the coverage of Jerusalem demonstrating the effectiveness of image management, utilizing strategies of *collective memory (of religion, national, history, culture and geography), emotional identification, and van Dijk's ideological square*, functioning as an ideological force to legitimize the "Self" and delegitimizes the "Other".

5.3.1 Jerusalem as a Palestinian Nationalist (Arabic) Space

It is possible to perceive Al Jazeera's visual construction of the 'Our' space by considering the articles they published. An example of these articles is the one published on their Arabic website entitled: "**Jerusalem youths guard city with photos**" (art. 119, 23rd January 2011). The article's main focuses on the importance of Palestinian galleries providing a view of the 'Our Space' through their depiction of historical Jerusalem preserved in the collective memory of Palestinians:

> … to those youths, al-Quds (Jerusalem) with its places is not anymore just a city they reside. "Our memoirs became its streets, allies and shops.. Every corner has a meaning in our personal and public life" as Gharam says.
>
> In Jerusalem, about 40,000 young people basically suffer from poverty and unemployment, and face cultural challenge to preserve their Palestinian identity in confronting the policy of judaising Jerusalem geographically, politically, culturally and religiously.

The reader can appreciate the sentiments expressed in this extract conveying Jerusalem as a national Space associated with the collective memory of Palestinians and the threat of Judaification and this space mobilizes youth to take action and resist this encroachment of their space and national identity.

The symbolism of Jerusalem draws from various national and religious sentiments, both Arabs and Muslims, as well as historical and allegorical to form a collective memory resonating with the Palestinians. To further elaborate on the collective memory shaping views of conflict and more specifically to understand its association

and significance to Jerusalem, it is best to understand further the terminology behind it. According Nora (1989)'s observation, there is a noticeable difference between memory and history; that is, whilst history, as researched by historians, is about representation of the past, memory is about life that is brought by living societies. In other words, what shapes, defines and even mobilizes a specific group is its collective memory. Lincoln (1989) explores the mechanism of the collective memory by explaining the significant role of sentiments in constructing society, asserting that societies are realized and materialized through sentiments ('internal affinity' within the same group, and 'external estrangement' of the outside groups) and thus the change of society is tightly linked to these sentiments and any changes they endure. Furthermore, the 'definition' and then the 'redefinition' of the Self in a group are based on capturing and recapturing of particular moments from the past, within the collective memory of this group. Accordingly, he maintains, that when different individuals evoke a certain moment that is associated with a mutual ancestor in the past, these individuals come to establish a common connection that is based on sentimental 'affinity':

> In this way the past shapes the present, *invocation* of an ancestor being simultaneously the *evocation* of a correlated social group. Conversely, the present also shapes the past that is recollected, for specific ancestral invocations, being stimulated by the needs of a present situation, must be appropriate to those needs: One cannot rally tribal-sized groups for clan-level conflicts, or vice versa.
>
> (Lincoln, 1989, p. 19)

Collective memory is selective and dynamic, and does not often necessitate evidence (Nora, 1989). In conflicts, political factions, often selectively use myth and symbolism to revive or evoke the collective memories of individuals.

5.3.2 Jerusalem as a Palestinian Religious (Islamic) Space: The Haram in Al Jazeera English Discourse

Al Jazeera is careful not to portray Jerusalem as predominantly Palestinian Space, it rather integrates the rest of the wider Arab and Muslim communities in this Space lending a credence to the religious element within the 'Our' Space division of national

identity. The Haram al-Sharif, considered by Muslims and Palestinians as the Islamic noble holy site and where the holy monuments such as the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are built, is considered the symbolic epitome of Jerusalem (Luz, 2004;2009). These aforementioned sites are not only considered a sacred part of Jerusalem but are an intrinsic part of the Palestinian national struggle and identity. No matter what faction the Palestinians may belong to, one thing is for certain and that is they are all in agreement as to sanctity and symbolic significance of Jerusalem. Visual metaphors were also a recurring theme throughout Al Jazeera reporting of the files. For example, in a featured article titled "**Erekat's solution of the Haram**" (art. 420), a thorough analysis was given regarding the "unprecedented compromises on the division of Jerusalem and its holy sites". These were followed by powerful images (image 5.7) featuring the Dome of the Rock Mosque located in the Haram al-Sharif. The composition of the image shows a partial view of the famous Dome surrounded by the ancient buildings of the Old City of Jerusalem. The landscape represents an ancient sphere where long established Islamic traditions are transcended to viewers, no matter whether they are linked to this conflict or are new to it. It can be argued, that the "Dome" continues to successfully evoke religious, political, cultural and national collective memories in the long-standing Israeli/Palestinian conflict and is considered a powerful symbolic force that has the power to influence change, action and political affiliation.

Image (5.7)

In the Al Jazeera English discourse, the identity of Jerusalem is constructed through the emphasis on the 'naturalisation' of the Haram being indispensable 'heritage' site of the city. The 'outsider' view of the Haram is intended to stimulate sentiments of 'rightfulness', whereas the 'insider' view of the city aims to sustain an 'affinity', to the land. Lisa Wedeen contends that, "[p]olitics is not merely about material interests but also about contests over the symbolic world, over the management and appropriation on meaning" (1999a, p. 30). Accordingly, and although this powerful symbolic representation of Jerusalem may appear to be a simple factor in this discourse, it is irrefutably a powerful point of reference for evaluating the significance of the leaked papers and their association with the landscape of Jerusalem.

5.3.3 Jerusalem as a Palestinian Religious (Islamic) Space: The Haram in Al Jazeera Arabic Discourse

Unlike the discourse conceived by the English Al Jazeera, the Arabic discourse relied exclusively on constructing a national identity of the city applying the "Us and Them" division strategy by evoking a religious sentiment and emotional attachment. Two images pose a good example of this 'Islamis Space'. The Arabic article "**Unprecedented concessions by Authority on the Haram**" (art. 83), image 5.9, offers a symbolic image (image 5.9). Also, he Al Jazeera Arabic news article, headlined, "**Within PA's attempts for Solution over Jerusalem Issue: Erekat creates a solution for the Haram al-Sharif**" (art. 97), image 5.8 features the famous Dome of the Rock Mosque. However, in contrast to the English article, the image featured in the article is taken from within the Haram's courtyard and worshippers in prayer positions. The inside of the Haram is intended to evoke sentiments of 'affinity' and 'solidarity' in the collective memory of the Arabs, Muslims and Palestinians alike.

Image (5.8)

To put in perspective, the significance of these images, Ronald Barthes articulated that, "the language of the image is not merely the totality of utterances emitted… it is also the totality of utterances received" (1977, p. 47). The Arab and Muslim audiences of Al Jazeera Arabic identify more with these images by playing on their religious sentimentalities and devotions. The strategy of emotional identification with the Haram is targeting Arab and Muslim audiences allowing them to become part of the Palestinian struggle; facing the same destiny, and or threats, similar to the threats Palestinians, worshipping in these images, are facing.

Having analyzed the symbolic significance of Jerusalem and its landscape, we are able to understand how the actors in this case study become divided into two groups: the good "Us" – Arab, Muslim and Palestinians who strive to protect the Haram and preserve Jerusalem's Palestinian national identity – and the evil "Them"; – the Palestinian negotiators who implicitly support the Israelis in dividing and Judaizing Jerusalem. The symbolism of Jerusalem has been consistently used to challenge the PA's political and national legitimacy throughout the coverage of the leaked papers (e.g. art. 83 and art. 109).

Image (5.9)

5.3.4 Jerusalem as a Palestinian National Icon of 'Resistance'

In September 2000, a short period before becoming elected, Israeli Prime Minister,
Ariel Sharon, accompanied with over 1,000 Israeli policemen, visited the Temple
Mount. This was one of the most contentious moments for the Palestinians, erupting
in violence that lasted over four years. One can appreciate from these events just how
the al-Aqsa Mosque; third holiest mosque in Islam can have such a dominant impact
on the Palestinians. The audience are meant to emphasize with the Palestinians and
forgive their resistance against any encroachment or threat on their perceived space.
Consequently, and because of its dominance in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and
religious significance to the Palestinians, it is often used as a tool to provoke and
invoke a reaction in any given situation by interested parties with political agendas.
The example provided in image 5.7 from the English article (art. 420), offers a
contextualized review of the events that followed:

> Palestinians have accused Israel of trying to undermine the foundations of the
> al-Aqsa mosque through what Israel describes as archaeological excavations.
> In September 1996, Israel opened what it called a tourist tunnel along the

foundations of the Haram, touching off violence that left dozens of people dead – the vast majority of them Palestinians.

In September 2000, Ariel Sharon, the then-Israel opposition leader, visited the Haram al-Sharif accompanied by hundreds of armed Israeli police. Palestinian protests at what was seen as a provocation, and Israel's armed response to them, marked the beginning of the second Palestinian Intifada.

Whereas the English discourse was intended to offer a contextualized perspective to its English audience streamlining past and present events in an effort to offer an understanding to a multifarious conflict, the Al Jazeera Arabic in contrast resorted to the use of archetypal images in an effort to galvanize emotional reactions against the PA's concessions. Images 5.8 and 5.9 offer an example of how Al Jazeera Arabic intended to do so[5].

5.4 The 'Naming' Construction of Jerusalem's Political Landscape: Jerusalem, al-Quds, or Yerushalayim?

The nomenclature of places is harmonious with the classic definitions of symbolism. Cohen and Kliot (1992) observe that place-naming can act as symbols and constitute an innate element of the process in which the individual attaches meanings to their surroundings whereby "they act as source of information, [to] facilitate communication, [and] help us to know, and serve as repositories of values" (1992, p. 655). Being a political, national and religious symbol, the naming of Jerusalem plays a significant role in constructing the space of the 'Self', as place-names are deeply connected to the concept of "sense of place" (see Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1979; Entrikin, 1991; Low and Altman, 1992; Salvesen, 2002) encompassing the sophisticated network of emotions and awareness that are implicated in how an individual relates to his/her space. The nomenclature of space marks an attachment and a meaning to a place giving it an essence of existence and shapes its foundation (Casey, 1993; Ben-Israel and Meir, 2008).

In this sense, the naming of Jerusalem as 'al-Quds' or 'Yerushalayim' marks the city with different cultural and social meanings and shapes its political significance, as

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[5] These threats will be discussed further in the following sections.

'language" not only gives meaning to places, but often creates them, (Tuan, 1991) in the sense that language gives birth to a complicated network of cultural and social foundations often manifesting in feelings and thoughts of ownership and association, as well as related ideologies (Relph, 1976). Individuals are connected to their space on many different levels, be it cultural, ethnographic, and or political. Whilst, an ethnographic-cultural approach understands 'place-names' within its existential importance on indigenous peoples (Cassidy, 1984), a political approach views 'place-names' as components of the 'political landscape' (Whittlesey, 1935; Cohen and Kliot, 1992), in which the Israeli government, by renaming all places in this land, seeks to express their intended 'ideological themes' and 'political processes' of Judaification of Jerusalem, and Palestinian territories.

Hence, this process of Judaification by place-naming is increasingly used as "part of establishing a legitimized hegemonic social order and delegitimizing various others (ethnic, racial, gender minorities)" (Ben-Israel and Meir, 2008, p. 67). Cited in an interview in *Columbia Journalism Review* (2004), Leonard Doyle of the *Independent of London* (2004) gives an overview of how lobbies and groups are involved in the struggles of forcing a particular terminology on their audience giving an example of "Israel's wall/fence/barrier where persistent political lobbying has produced a 'tortured lexicon of safe words.'"

To put this in perspective, Arabs find it offensive to accept terms such as "security barrier" rather than "segregation wall", "disputed territory" rather than "occupied territory", or "neighborhoods" rather than "settlements" or "illegal settlements", in the reporting of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. So whilst major Western news organizations use the term "security barrier" (CNN), or simply as "barrier" (BBC), Al Jazeera Arabic describes it as *jidar al-azil* or "segregation wall" (Barkho, 2010). Barkho (2010) also observes that Al Jazeera Arabic chooses its terminology with the aim of "meet[ing] the aspirations of its estimated 35 million viewers" in the Arab world (2010, p. 73). In the case of the "security barrier/segregation wall", the lexical choice is aimed at legitimizing or delegitimizing the conflict. To elaborate, the "security barrier" connotes an Israeli political discourse – in this discourse, the "barrier" is justified as a security measure by Israel to insure its security against any perceived Palestinian threats and or "terrorists". Contrarily the term "segregation

wall", distinctively, highlights discourse of racism, and thereby implies occupation, discrimination, and exposes the parallel of the segregation policies, other nations, such as South African, faced during their apartheid era (Mueller, 2004; Barak-Erez, 2006; Jones, 2009; Rogers and Ben-David, 2010).

Peteet (2005) describes the struggle of place naming between the Israelis and Palestinians as part of the processes of "colonization" and "resistance". She affirms that in this conflict, "naming can be a diagnostic of power; conflicts over naming reflect and are integral to contests over control and ownership" (2005, p. 157). Therefore, whilst the Palestinian/Arab essentialism is sustained through their persistent adherence to the Arabic (Islamic) names, the Israeli essentialism is manifested via Hebrew (Biblical) names that retain their Jewish identity and are expressive of the shared values of the Israeli collective memories. Jerusalem, over the centuries, has been given countless names revealing its religious and national singularity. The naming of Jerusalem in this conflict such as Yerushalayim (in Hebrew) or Al-Quds (in Arabic), has been a contentious issue and evoked strong sentiments from both sides and has been a significant "mechanisms for manipulating the political environment" (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p. 655).

Barkho (2010) notes that unlike other Western news organizations, such as the BBC and CNN, Al Jazeera, and particularly Al Jazeera Arabic, regards the Muslim and Arab notables and places with great respects: for example, the word "al-Quds" (Jerusalem) is usually followed by *al-Sharif* or "holy". Al Jazeera's selection of a term is a conscious effort to tread softly on, according to the former director general of Al Jazeera Media Network Wadah Khanfar, "a very sensitive issue" and therefore "Al-Jazeera … seeks to rely on scientific, cultural and historical sourcing when adopting a term or an expression" for a particular audience (cited in Barkho, 2010, p. 74). The current sample reflects Al Jazeera Arabic conscious naming of Jerusalem 'al-Quds', in its direct association with the Islamic ethos. The below headlines translated from Arabic offer an example:

art. 80. Raef Najem: Israel will demolish "al-Aqsa"
رائف نجم: اسرائيل ستزيل "الأقصى"

art. 83. Unprecedented concessions by Authority on the Haram

تنازلات غير مسبوقة للسلطة بالحرم

art. 85. Does judaisation of Jerusalem (al-Quds) go with official Palestinian silence?
هل يتم تهويد القدس بصمت فلسطيني رسمي؟

art. 91. Altafakji: Israel won biggest "Quds"
التفكجي: اسرائيل فازت بأكبر "قدس"

art. 96. Erekat: keeping al-Quds to maintain the Authority
عريقات: التمسك بالقدس لبقاء السلطة

art. 113. Al-Quds.. story of occupied city
القدس.. حكاية مدينة محتلة

art. 119. Jerusalem youths guard city with photos
شباب القدس يحرسون المدينة بالصور

In contrast to the Al Jazeera Arabic reporting and sample, the Al Jazeera English reporting and sample shows that the naming of Jerusalem, alternates between Hebrew name, 'Yerushalayim' in quoting the Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erekat, as in art. 421 and the Arabic name Jerusalem, but did not use Al Quds as was reflected in the Arabic Al Jazeera reporting and discourse. Both Al Jazeera English and Al Jazeera Arabic, use the Arabic name 'Haram' to refer to the Islamic religious site in Jerusalem as detailed in the examples below:

art. 420. Erekat's solution for the Haram

art. 421. "The biggest Yerushalayim"

art. 444. "Shocking revelations" on Jerusalem

art. 459. Jerusalem revelations irk residents

The Al Jazeera Arabic article "**Within PA's attempts for Solution over Jerusalem Issue: Erekat creates a solution for the Haram al-Sharif**" (art. 97), implicates Erekat and strengthens the notion that he is complicit with the Israelis, not only in their concessions over Jerusalem but also in his concession over the naming of Jerusalem. By calling Jerusalem, *Yerushalayim*, (see below) instead of its Arabic name Al Quds as he should have done, being a representative of the Palestinians, he essentially debased decades of struggle, resistance and symbolic naming affiliated with the Palestinians, consequently giving legitimacy and hegemonic power to Israel

over the land and nomenclature. Erekat's rhetoric reflects an apathetic and disrespectful mindset towards the Palestinian and the identity of Jerusalem as is reflected by his repetitive use of the word *Yerushalayim* (see examples below):

> Erekat: the Israelis want the two-state solution, but they do not trust anyone. They want this solution more than anything you imagine, and sometimes more than the Palestinians do. What is this paper gives them the biggest Yerushalayim in the Jewish history, the return of a symbolic number of refugees, and a disarmed (Palestinian) state.. What can I give more than this?

> In another meeting with the former Israeli Foreign Minister, Tsipi Livni, on 30 June 2008, Erekat said: "It is not a secret that we offered in our map to give you the biggest Yerushalayim (al-Quds in the Jewish expression) in history".
> (Al Jazeera Arabic, art. 83)

> In another meeting with David Hale, vice of Mitchell, on 15 January 2010, Erekat asserted that "What is in that paper gives them the biggest Yerushalayim in Jewish history".
> (Al Jazeera Arabic, art. 100)

> Erekat: It is no secret that on our map we proposed we are offering you the biggest Yerushalayim in history. But we must talk about the concept of al-Quds [Jerusalem].
> (Al Jazeera English, art. 420)

> To hightlight the extent of the PA's offer on Jerusalem, Erekat on January 15, 2010 told George Mitchell's staff: "What is in that paper gives them the biggest Yerushalayim in Jewish history…"
> (Al Jazeera English, art. 444)

Cohen and Kliot (1992) confirms the notion that Israel selection of Hebrew place-names in the 'occupied territories' of the Golan, Gaza, West Bank and Jerusalem is intended to strengthen its national Zionist ideologies. Meron Benvenisti (2000) further elaborates how the Zionist project, founded the Names Committee in the 1930s in an effort to erase "every Arabic name, even if no ancient Hebrew name had preceded it", from the Israeli map. He argues that this act of renaming by the Zionist project of certain places was a conscious "desire to make direct contact with their own ancient heritage" and "it was a declaration of war" on the Arabic heritage (2000, p. 47). In this sense, Al Jazeera heavily stressed on the lexical choice of Jerusalem by Erekat

and implied he is just as culpable of attempts to erase the traces of his people's national icons of Jerusalem knowing its impact on the Palestinian, Arab, and Muslimaudiences. In another article, "**Al Jazeera Papers put Authority on the spot**":

> An analyst in Taz[6] expressed his astonishment at the chief Palestinian negotiators', Saeb Erekat, intentional use of the Hebrew name 'Yerushalayim' instead of the Arabic one 'al-Quds' in his talks with Israeli officials…'

Al Jazeera sought to strengthen its criticism of Erekat's Jerusalem-naming by stressing on the gravity of what certain use of words can imply and the damage they can create in a conflict heavily laden with symbolic meanings. Al Jazeera English is not shy from using provocative terminology in their articles to express a viewpoint. For example, in an English article titled, "**The biggest Yerushalayim**" (art. 421), the journalist's intent is to show that from these concessions, the only foreseeable outcome is a Jewish Jerusalem; a contingency that would be concerning for the international community and in violation of international laws". The headline was a calculated move to emphasize the political ramifications of these concessions highlighting that the Israelis will offer nothing in return while the PA will concede nearly the entirety of East Jerusalem.

It is important to consider the work of Berg and Kearns (1996) when attempting to reconcile the significance of Place naming in international conflict. They stress that minority groups – racial, gender and ethnic – resist hegemonic social orders by giving prominence to 'alternative' place naming, to highlight their own identity, and subsequently uncover the hidden power relations in the names of these particular places. This is further elaborated upon in the following section.

5.5 The Threat to 'Our' Jerusalem: Judaification and the PA's Concessions

Al Jazeera's reporting on the leaked papers was conscious and sensitive to the Palestinian national identity, this identity informed the tone, text and visual representation of Jerusalem in its reporting. As Ghada Karmi (2011) explains, "The

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[6] Taz (Die Tageszeitung): a German newspaper.

Israeli colonisation and the increasingly fundamentalist Jewish threats to take over or damage the Muslim holy places on the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount) had made Jerusalem a rallying point for Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims worldwide" (2011, p. 9). As this was an intransigent point of reference for the Palestinians, "any tinkering with the legal status of the Haram al-Sharif is dangerous and unprecedented" (Swisher and Karmi, 2011, p. 26), consequently any attempt to undermine the Palestinian dominance over Jerusalem, by any party or medium will be met with resistance. This section examines the threat the 'Other' poses to the 'Us' space beginning with the Judaification of Jerusalem and ultimately the decimation of al-Aqsa Mosque to complete the Zionist project initiated decades ago.

Judaification as defined by Buśko (2014) is "a process of monopolizing [the] cultural heritage of Jerusalem being undertaken to support an argument for Jewish sovereignty as well as strengthening Israel's territorial and political control of Jerusalem being exercised by expansion of Jewish settlement and securing Jewish demographical dominance" (2014, p. 62) (see also Maguire, 1981; Latendresse, 1995; Yiftachel, 2006; Chiodelli, 2013; Luz, 2013). It is a "long-term Zionist" practice that aims at re-establishing the homeland, "the Land of Israel" as a Jewish land (Yiftachel, 2006). Predominantly, this has been a two-way process: 'Judaification' and 'de-Arabisation' of the Israeli/Palestinian landscape both urbanely and demographically, particularly in Jerusalem (Yiftachel, 2006; Chiodelli, 2013).

As a sovereign state, Israel launched a project known as the Judaification policy and built over 500 settlements and cities in areas previously resided by Palestinians (Benvenisti, 2000; Yiftachel, 2006). One of the most crucial consequences of this continuous project has been the disappearance of former non-Jewish cultural artifacts, landmarks, houses, villages, and other cultural spatial presentations of the Arab-Palestinian past and heritage. This state-hegemonic project, as Luz (2013) argues, has resulted in a "public space – the cultural-national landscape – [that] was dominated by Jewish-Zionistic icons and symbols" (2013, p. 61). Meron Benvenisti – an Israeli historian and an advocate of reconciliation and mutual recognition of the loss on the two sides – sums up the contemporary Israeli landscape in the following statement:

One need only read Israelis textbooks or see the albums of "before and after" photos – the land of 1948 and today – to realize how close we are to the point when the vanished Arab landscape will be considered just a piece of Arab propaganda, a fabrication aimed at the destruction of Israel.

(Benvenisti, 2000, p. 5)

Following the Oslo Accords (1995), there was a realization that the negotiations between Israel and the PA would not contribute to any crucial improvement in the Israeli Palestinians' civil status and rights, and this realization was translated into activities that "localize the national struggle" (Rekhess, 2002). The struggle over the (sacred) landscape has been waged on many fronts from the local to the national scale and it is further demonstrated in a variety of forms, for instance, the more prominent photogenic and international conflict over the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem (Luz, 2004;2005;2008). This is because such places are deeply influential in this cultural struggle due to "their religious connotations and social sensitivities" as they "serve as locations and nexuses where various processes are underway: self-empowerment, memory design, identity politics, and more" (Luz, 2013, p. 62).

In Al Jazeera discourse, Judaification of Jerusalem is described as the evil action of the "Others". Judaification constitutes a 'threat' to the 'Our' space. Al Jazeera coverage was consistent in its focus stressing the danger of Israeli practices as they undermine and negate Jerusalem's non-Jewish identity. Israel's double process of Judaification' and 'de-Arabisation' chiefly constitutes this 'threat' and strengthens the notion that in order to establish or take over an identity, one must first remove the 'Other' from the scene.

Assessing "**Erekat's solution of the Haram**" (art. 420), journalist, Swisher, criticizes the Palestinian negotiators' "unprecedented compromises on the division of Jerusalem and its holy sites" stating that:

The highly controversial issue of who controls the Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary), home of the Al Aqsa mosque - Islam's third holiest site - has been a major sticking point during decades of negotiations between Israelis and the Palestinians.

Israel calls the Haram al-Sharif the "Temple Mount" because Jews believe it was the site of the Second Temple destroyed during Roman times. In recent

years, Jewish settler groups – some with close ties to the Israeli government – have advocated building a "Third Temple", which would necessitate the destruction of the existing Muslim holy sites.

The site becomes a dividing line between the two sides. It is the Islamic holy place of the "Haram"; the space of "Us", Palestinians, Arabs and particularly Muslims. Conversely, it is also perceived by the Jewish people as the sacred site of the "Temple Mount"; the space of "Them". This extract on the Haram presented authoritative information about the Islamic site by using state-verb-constructed clauses, such as the "Haram al-Sharif, home of the Al Aqsa mosque", and "Islam's third holiest site". In both examples, the clauses have omitted state verbs: "be". The use of state verbs, which indicate a level of certainty, was contrasted with a modality level of information about the Jewish site: "call" and "believe". The journalist's use of words is intended to imply a non-conclusive resolution on the subject of the al-Aqsa. For example, when he states that 'Israel *calls* the Haram al-Sharif the "Temple Mount"', he is stating a claim made by Israel and not a legitimate ownership of the land, because the claim is based on a 'belief' and not on 'facts'.

Furthermore, the consequential effect of this 'claim' is suggested as disastrous because it "necessitates" the destruction of an existing monument. The gist of journalist's argument is: whereas the Islamic Haram is long-established in the current site, the location of Temple Mount is an idea that is built on claims, therefore, building the "Third Temple" on the ruins of the existing Haram is not pragmatic, rather it is hazardous. To portray the conflict in this explicitly Islamic-driven ideology points out Al Jazeera's attempt to draw on the Palestinian national narrative of the conflict via discursively constructing a religious dimension of Jerusalem's identity. This is another evidence on Al Jazeera discourse's use of Islamic space of Jerusalem – the Palestinian space - in order to exclude and reject the Jewish space posed by the 'Other'.

5.6. Conclusion

Al Jazeera reporting on Jerusalem and consistently portraying it as the Palestinian national symbol, lends it a credibility that is difficult to challenge. Al Jazeera's rhetoric on Jerusalem and use of topos of danger/threat evoked a sense of patriotism, reawakened feelings of resistance among many and exposed the instability that the negotiations and concessions engendered. This chapter demonstrated how the symbolic Haram al-Sharif's both an important national and revered Islamic sire, was able to legitimize and de-legitimise certain rhetoric's and grant authority or strip it from certain actors. Al Jazeera's rhetoric during the coverage of the Jerusalem files relied heavily on symbolism to galvanize the collective memory of Palestinians and shape the response to the negotiations in the case of Al Jazeera Arabic and conceive of a collective memory of the international community, in the case of Al Jazeera English discourse.

Chapter 6. The Trickster in Constructing 'Their' Space: The Palestinian Authority

Do not reconcile
even if they bestow leadership upon you.
How can you step over the corpse of your father's son?
How can you become king with such phony joy?
How can you look at the hands of those who are
shaking your hands, and not see blood on them?
If it was one arrow that stabbed me in the back
for you it will be one thousand
because blood has become a decoration and a badge.
Do not reconcile.
Do not reconcile
even if they bestow leadership upon you.
Indeed your throne is a sword and your sword is a sham
unless it witnesses moments of honor.

Amal Dunqul – Do Not Reconcile[7]

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses Al Jazeera Arabic and English discourses on the Palestinian Authority's apathetic and complicit approach in the recent negotiations with the Israelis. In these discourses, the PA's positions and approaches revealed an antagonistic role in terms of a national Palestinian narrative of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Predominantly, this chapter explores how Al Jazeera reporting focuses on the PA as the archetypal trickster with multifarious characteristics. The nature of archetypal trickster as noted earlier is complex. The trickster is both deceiving and a weak leader; he is also what is considered a jokester, naïve, self-serving and treacherous. The PA as will be demonstrated, has been relegated to the Space of the 'Other Tricksters', a space usually reserved for Israel and allies in previous discourse.

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[7] Amal Dunqul (sometimes spelled as 'Donqol') (1940-1983) is one of Egypt's most significant 20th century political poets and is widely-known in the Arab world. His poem, "Do Not Reconcile", was published in 1976 as a rejection to the Camp David peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Later his poem became an iconic literary heritage of resistance against the Israeli occupation and other tyrannical regimes across the Arab world. The poem was originally written in Arabic. However, this translation was retrieved from:
http://polarabicpoetry.tumblr.com/post/91953926521/%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD-do-not-reconcile-by-amal-dunqul

This chapter addresses the second research question on how myth and space function ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict during the coverage. The archetypal trickster characteristic of the PA presented in Al Jazeera Arabic and English discourses substantiates Al Jazeera's stance in portraying the PA as evil tricksters who delegitimized through their apathetic and complicit actions the negotiations. The PA have become part of the 'Them' space category, a space that is not looked upon favourably by their citizens or the news agency. Al Jazeera successfully managed to emphasize this Space division during the coverage, by accentuating the ideological 'Their' space and 'Us' space. The 'Us' space representative of the Palestinians, and the 'Them' space relegated to the Israelis and their allies and now embodying the PA.

6.2. The Negotiators in the Papers

The leaks have exposed the PA as enemies of the Palestinians and their part in the negotiations has been heavily criticized until now:

> There is no doubt that the display of Palestinian subservience that emerges so clearly from the Papers is deeply embarrassing. As the peace talks went on over the period covered by the revelations, from 1999 to 2010, without result the picture on the Palestinian side is one of hopeless gamblers, trying frantically to win, if even a little, until they eventually stake everything they have but still gain nothing. In this agonised bargaining, they succumbed to making what they believed would be offers irresistible to the Israelis. The most spectacular of these were over the most important issues for Palestinians: Jerusalem and the right of refugee return.
>
> (Karmi, 2011, p. 9)

The PA were held responsible for their 'embarrassing' and 'disastrous' performance and both the Al Jazeera Arabic and English capitalized on their ineptitude to reconstruct the 'moral' storytelling by adopting the mythic trickster figures. This chapter will highlight how *the trickster characterisation of the Palestinian leadership and negotiators* is veritably an ideological construction of Al Jazeera for the purpose of exercising dominance and influence on both sides of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, and more specifically the PA. The ongoing state of this conflict has not improved for decades. Neither the wars that followed with the creation of Israel, or the UN

resolutions, multiple Intifadas, and countless negotiations have done anything but further aggravate the already volatile situation. Undoubtedly the PA, inflamed the already perilous situation, but there is no denying that the political, diplomatic, and military power relations between various sides of the conflict are the ones dominating and exerting influence on the negotiations and the conflict in general.

The research analysis will provide an overview of how the moral storytelling constructed in the Al Jazeera narrative to scrutinize the PA's behaviour, positions and values by painting them in an archetypal characterisation, disregarding any contextualisation of the situation; which might have justified; albeit minimally, their challenging and paradoxical position. This predilection by the news organisation re-focuses the blame on one party (mainly the PA), rather than providing a balanced view or equal blame on both sides. The research data will provide an overview of various times where the PA behaved in an adversative manner and were heavily scrutinised by both the media and their citizens, facilitating the construction by Al Jazeera of a trickster figure that is self-serving and naïve.

6.3. Negotiators in Al Jazeera Coverage: status and power

As the statistical findings, in Chapter 4, convey, Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage of the leaked Palestine Papers showed unequal representation (or misrepresentation) of the different groups (or negotiators) in the Israeli/Palestinian negotiations. Al Jazeera constructed the negotiators, especially the PA negotiators, as archetypal tricksters, possessing an 'evil' predisposition. The research further explores how Al Jazeera succeeded in this casting, by presenting an unequal focus on the different negotiation teams during its coverage of the leaks. The Palestinian negotiation team, regularly referred to as the Palestinian Authority (PA), received the most coverage and were the main point of focus.

The Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage was consistently critical of the revelations of the leaked Papers, but its focused criticism has been directed at the Palestinian Authority who remained submissive throughout the negotiations. Despite

a comprehensive coverage of all parties involved in the negotiation, there was less criticism bestowed on the 'Occupiers' otherwise known as the Israeli negotiation team. The ongoing narrative by Al Jazeera during that period has casted the Palestinian Authority's positions in the negotiations with those of the 'Other' side, affording them less sympathy and understanding by the general public, most particularly the Palestinians. The leaked Papers revealed unprecedented concessions on various key issues during the negotiations, resulting in a heightened state of tension and scrutiny of the negotiators' positions and re-awareness of the conflict in light of these revelations. Predictably, the representations of the Israeli and American negotiators were absorbed into the 'Occupier' and 'Imperialist' paradigms.

As noted earlier the Israeli and other negotiators received coverage on their role of the leaked Papers, but it was mainly the Palestinian negotiators and frequently the Americans, who received the brunt of criticism on two levels. They were criticised as negotiators and as political leaders. The sweeping coverage painted a mythical picture of the revelations involving a number of tricksters. This chapter will explore how Al Jazeera's narrative engendered a sense of inequality between the PA and Israelis during the coverage of the negotiations. The Israeli/Palestinian negotiation process was often described as being unequal in the structural relations between the two sides. The Al Jazeera reporting exploited a narrative of inequality in relation and hegemonic power between the Palestinians and the Israelis during their coverage of negotiations. The discourse of inequality was conjectured from multiple textual, contextual and visual discursive techniques.

A further inspection of the narrative reveals the precariousness of visual representation. Various factors comprised the hierarchical relation of the negotiating team means that this aspect makes a significant, ideological contribution. The narrative delineated the negotiations as unlawful and illegitimate acts done by 'tricksters' to further disenfranchise the Palestinian people. The visual discourse emphasized the submissiveness and complicity of the Palestinian negotiators and highlighted the hegemonic powers of the Israelis. This dichotomy of unequal power relations between the two opposing sides of occupier vs. occupied shaped and informed the outcome of the negotiations. Al Jazeera exploited the power relations and inequality, with the purpose of delegitimizing the negotiation process and

subsequently delegitimizing the role of the Palestinian Authority's leadership, depicting them as ineffective negotiators and deceitful partisans of the Palestinian cause.

Leadership is often defined by status and or power. Status is characterized by how well a person or group are admired and respected by others, whereas power is characterized by how much influence and control one has over socially valued resources (Emerson, 1962; Magee and Galinsky, 2008). As evidence in this research sample, Al Jazeera maintained a position of uncovering the influences of power and status of the various groups and agents in the negotiations. The significance of power and status is a consequence of the authority and influence they have in conflicts and negotiations. Power structures determines the negotiators behaviour and conflict dynamics. Status and or difference in status results in competitive behaviour, at times leading to conflict or aggravating already volatile situations between individuals and groups (Greer and Bendersky, 2013). For decades, scholars have attempted to conceptualise the relation of power and status in the conflict settings. Social hierarchy conceived as the rank order of individuals along a dimension of social value, is essential in social interaction (Tiedens *et al.*, 2007). According to researchers, human beings hold an instinctive preference for hierarchy (Tiedens and Fragale, 2003) and rely mainly on hierarchical differences to process information and make sense of social contexts (Keltner *et al.*, 2008; Halevy *et al.*, 2011; Zitek and Tiedens, 2012).

The coverage of the leaked Papers did not account for the inequality of power relations and hierarchal status, which in this case was a result of several factors, including but not limited to economic, military, diplomatic and other elements, giving an advantage to the Israelis in all aspects of this conflict. Al Jazeera endeavoured to create a rhetoric focusing on the incompetence of the PA. The weakness of the PA as it was understood by this rhetoric engendered inequality. By focusing on their ambitions and self-interest as well as a desire to maintain neutral if not friendly relations with their Israeli counterparts at the expense of the rights of Palestinians, inevitably lead to this imbalance of hegemony and inequality. As reflected in the sample, Al Jazeera maintained an antagonistic position against the Palestinian Authority, accusing them of abuse of power, causing a perilous effect on the

negotiations and consequently harming the interests of the Palestinian people. The PA became the predominant Trickster in the narrative of Al Jazeera during the coverage.

According to Halliday's (1978) theory of Social Semiotics, the meaning of words is not stemmed from their own, rather the meaning of words is derived from a network of other meaning corresponding to these words. Words can bring about "associations from its related clusters of concept" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 39). As Machin and Mayr (2012) argue, texts "often communicate not only through word choices but also through non-linguistic features and elements", particularly images (2012, p. 49). The review of multimodal analysis of this research incorporates various selective images from both the Arabic and English samples to illustrate a picture of the negotiations and the criticism by Al Jazeera during the coverage.

There was extensive coverage of the Palestinians Paper on January 24th by both Al Jazeera Arabic and English news articles. What is compelling, is that on this date, a single image was shown throughout the coverage (see image 6.1). This photo appeared in an Arabic news article, headlined, "Documents Reveal PA Concessions on Jerusalem" (art.100). The article provided a detailed account of the major revelations concerning the case of Jerusalem (see Chapter 5). The revelations in the article were seen as evidence of the on-going concessions by the Palestinian negotiators. They were heavily scrutinised and criticised by both networks. What is revealing in the article is that "the Palestinian Authority relinquished all calls on demolishing all the Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem except for Jabal Abu Ghneim Settlement, or 'Har Homa' as called in Israel, and they appeared willing to offer unprecedented concessions in Haram al-Sharif and the Armenian and Sheikh Jarrah Quarter". The complicit and apathetic attitude of the Palestinian Authority towards the negotiations were characterized in the media as 'concessional', 'languishing', 'shocking', and 'unprecedented' and thereby reflect the audacity of the PA in making concessions that their predecessors dared not consider.

The same image (image 6.1) appeared on the same day in an English news article, headlined, 'Qurei to Livni: "I'd vote for you"' (art.419). The English article discussed the Israeli political party Kadima and their position on the negotiations. Kadima at the time was led by Livni, and maintained an uncooperative and unwavering attitude

during the negotiations. Al Jazeera made a point of exposing the Palestinian Authority unremitting support of the Kadima party in various articles throughout the coverage. Words such 'perplexing', 'non-pragmatic', irrational political approach were constantly used as reference to describe the position of the PA in their support for the 'rigid Kadima party':

> Hala Rashed proclaims that this wasn't a universal view within the PA, "I do not see a big difference between Kadima and [Netanyahu]". But The Palestine Papers suggest that most Palestinian negotiators are strongly supportive of Livni and Kadima – perhaps none more so that Qurei, who told Livni in June 2008:
>
> "I would vote for you."
>
> <div align="right">(Al Jazeera English, art.419)</div>

Image 6.1

Contrastingly, the two articles do not reflect similar content, but both share the same level of condemnation and criticism against the PA's political and relational positions in the talks. This analogy is opening the discursive field up and making it accessible to other elements, such as the visual, that contextualise the recent negotiations as an act of 'concession'. News agencies are particular about the images they use to convey a message. Similarly, Al Jazeera carefully selects images to provoke a reaction from the audience and simultaneously sum up the narrative it seeks to portray in visual

context. Image 6.1, used by both Al Jazeera English and Arabic reflect the nature of the PA's intimacy with their Israeli counterparts and equivalently their 'concessions'. The image shows two figures. The first figure is Tsipi Livni (on the left), a former Israeli prime minister; leader of Kadima; and the chief Israeli negotiator in the Israeli team. The second figure is Ahmed Qurei (on the right), a former prime minister of the Palestinian Authority and the main Palestinian negotiator. The perception conveyed from this image is that Livni who is photographed laughing, is very content and happy with the direction of the negotiations. Queri is also next to her smiling, contentedly and the manner in which he is captured gazing at Livni implies a person who is seeking approval, not a leader who perceives himself equal. The picture holds multiple meanings, but the most telling is that of 'implied consent'. Not only was this implied consent reflected in the image above, but it was also stated by the Palestinian negotiator, when he claimed happily "I would vote for you" to Livni during the talks.

Further inspection of the image confirms the scrupulous selection by Al Jazeera. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) describe two aspects of spatial organisation on information in images: salience and framing. Salience concerns with the size, colour or tonal contrast of the different elements of the image. Framing looks at to which degree each element in the image should be read either as a separate item or as belonging to other elements. In these line, the angle of the image depicts Livni overshadowing Qurei's filling up the entire space with her presence and demeanour. Metaphorically, the image implies a larger Israeli presence and or dominance on the scene. The image is indeed symbolic of the entire process of negotiations where the hegemony of Israel is dominant, unrelenting and forceful.

Examining modality as developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), to illustrate how an image can signify its status as fictional or factual, the image symbolisation of the recent negotiation process inculpates the Palestinian negotiators, and more directly the Palestinian Authority leaders, for their positions. The unequal power relations are the true reflection of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and the image is emblematic of the nature of the situation. What is significant however, is the implicit consent, displayed by Qurie's as he appears at ease, content and willing to give up his authority and those of the Palestinians to the Israelis. The representation in this image poses a dilemma for the Palestinian negotiators because it reveals to the Palestinians

and the audience a misrepresentation of the conflict at hand. While it is understood that there should be a clash of interests and each party should act accordingly to their respective positions, the image shows only one interest being embraced and acceded to.

Additionally, the socio-political gender hierarchy in the Middle East 'ideologies' contrasts with the substance of the image. The image accentuates the contrast between the strong female Israeli, and the weak male Palestinian. The Palestinian patriarchal social system, entails men to be the dominant figures in Political scenes and diplomatic settings. Women are understood in such a system to assume a deferential, submissive role and stay within the lower ranks in any government institution.

Drawing on the semiotic theory of Ronald Barthes and his account of the processes of denoting and connoting by images (Barthes, 1972; Barthes and Heath, 1977), the emphasis in this image of a strong female figure, is intended to humiliate the Palestinian negotiators portraying them as submissive, small and emasculated. The image representation demonstrates the precarious nature of the negotiations, and allude to the influence of both power and status in informing the negotiations. As inferred from the narrative and images circulating and pertaining to the coverage, the Israeli agents have managed to secure an authoritative position in the negotiations sanctioned by the support and consent of the Palestinian negotiators. It warrants that the Israelis would gain more opportunities and become even more influential and dominating in the negotiations and any future political deals. Al Jazeera's coverage actively sought to undermine the Palestinian Authority leaders by purporting on various occasions and throughout the narrative that they are not competent representatives of the Palestinian people or even reliable leaders.

Notably both Al Jazeera English and Arabic narrative avoided and to some extent suppressed any contextualisation of the conflict. No effort was made to highlight the disparity and imbalance of the power relations of the conflict. And no effort was made to draw attention to the inferior status of the Palestinian Authority, or the debilitated economy, military and various other institution which are all major factors strengthening or weakening any political organisation. Perceptibly, the Israeli are much stronger economically, politically and militarily, but the narrative throughout

the coverage of the leaks has focused on PA' submissiveness to the Israelis and a readiness to relinquish whatever power or rights they have to the Israelis.

6.5 The Visual Construction of the PA: the Faces of a Trickster

Al Jazeera relied on mythical representation to formulate he image of the Palestinian Authority and promoted visual symbolism of previous leaders and martyrs. Khatib (2013) maintains that "the Middle East is a region well-versed in the *language* of the leadership. But leaders in the Middle East are also increasingly seen, not just heard" (2013, p. 182). She further asserts that images have become an important feature in the Middle Eastern politics as they aim to connect the leaders' personas with the public interest. For decades in the Middle East, the image of the leader was intended to convey a sense of dominance and fear to "enforce obedience and induce complicity" among the citizens, and to establish "belief in the regime's appropriateness" (Wedeen, 1999b, p. 158). It has always been customary in the Arab world to personify politics. First, because Personification of politics allows the public to understand and relate to the person in charge, usually a male figure (Lacouture, 1970, p. 42).

Disenfranchised people affected by autocratic and authoritative regimes, oftentimes seek to compensate for their weaknesses by exalting strong leadership. Charismatic leadership becomes more prominent in "times of crises in which the basic values, institutions, and legitimacy of the society are at least in question" (Bensman *et al.*, 1986, p. 29). Leader in the Middle Eastern and particularly Palestinian leaders have sought to shape an image of themselves in the public by resorting to symbolism and parables of hope to gain the trust and support of their people. Despite their effort to appear strong, reliable, the Media and more specifically the Al Jazeera media challenged their roles as competent leaders and succeeded in portraying them as weak tricksters a paradoxical characteristic.

6.4.1 The Deceiving Leader

Among Al Jazeera English new articles, the article titled, "**PA selling short the refugees**" (art. 417), featuring an image of Abbas (image 6.2) placed at the bottom of article, discusses the refugee concessions the PA offered to the Israelis, undeterred by the consequences that would follow. The concessions include but are not limited to allowing only a small number of refugees a right of return to their homes in the current state of Israel; denying the refugees in the diaspora a right to vote on any peace agreements; and allowing only a limited number of Palestinians settlement in a future Palestinian state.

Image 6.2

The image in the article features a poster of the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas on a dirty wall in one of the Palestinian refugees' camps. Abbas is smiling in the photo and his most famous slogan is written at the top of the poster reading: "Firm on Principles" (originally in Arabic: الثابت على الثوابت). Abbas has wanted to sell the idea to his citizens that no matter what may come, he will always remain firm on principles, never reneging on his promises to the people. Visually contextualizing the

poster, we can infer that the dirty, polluted wall represents the living conditions of the poor refugees, and the conscientious selection of Abbas's image in the article is intended to hammer in the notion that he is a sell-out, a leader not to be trusted, and one who has no principles. The slogan of Abbas, has therefore lost its meaning and value, serving only a reminder that leaders such as Abbas use empty words and slogans to appease the anger of their citizens without any intention of following through. Al Jazeera, subsequently succeeded in deconstructing the image of Abbas and the PA's, by highlighting their empty slogans and meaningless rhetoric's.

These images and slogans can be found everywhere in Palestine with the intended aim of elevating Abbas and the PA to mobilize the Palestinians in favour of the political agendas of the PA. Abbas is portrayed as the 'hero' and 'saviour', the defender of principles and the Palestinian rights. The discourse of Al Jazeera during the coverage of the leaked Papers, however, not only demolished this image of Abbas and the PA, but rather transformed their image into that of a weak, deceiving trickster, unable to keep to their promises and are deserving of no respect from their people and society in general. Al Jazeera further succeeded in challenging the unequal power relations between the PA and the Palestinian people by deconstructing their symbolic image; an image that was for long used as a dominating tool to keep their citizens in check and acquiescing.

6.4.2 The Weak Leader

Another trickster characteristic of the PA, is that of the weak humiliated leader. Albeit, less detrimental than the deceiving image, it nevertheless is negative and damaging. The Al Jazeera English article, titled, "**The 'napkin map' revealed**" (art. 422), the journalist, Carlstorm, highlights an incident pertaining to a land swap and a map showing where these swaps will take place. Carlson claims that

> Olmert met … Mahmoud Abbas and showed him a map of the proposed swaps. Abbas was not allowed to keep a copy of the map, and so the 73-year-old Palestinian president had to sketch a copy by hand on a napkin.

(Al Jazeera English, art. 422)

Image 6.3 portrays the PA leader, Abbas, engaged with writing, or perhaps illustrating on a paper. The image does not clearly show him drawing a map on the paper, but the journalist uses it in the article symbolically to highlight the demeaning act imposed on him by the Israelis. In combination with the pitiful, yet belittling, undertone of the article, the image of an 'old man' submissively copying a map on a napkin, is a metaphor reflective of the situation of the Palestinians, as they struggle to preserve their rights to the territories in spite of the limitation and even on a sheet of paper.

Image 6.3

The passive syntactic structure of the sentence; 'Abbas was not allowed to keep a copy of the map' places emphasis on Abbas and his weakness as a leader being denied a basic request. The word allowed, carefully selected by the journalist is intended to expose the weakness of Abbas and the PA leadership. Even a '73 years old' man, holding the title of a 'president' of a nation, did not guarantee him the basic right of holding on to a papery copy of a map of his own homeland. He was reduced to sketching a copy by hand on a napkin' in the presence of his superiors, the Israelis who have throughout the negotiations maintained complete dominance. Erekat, the chief Palestinian negotiator is quoted unapologetically discussing the incident:

> He [Abbas] went with the President Peres and me and… actually sat outside discussing all issues. And then the president came out of that meeting 20 or 30 minutes, and we sat with the two presidents. And the offer wasn't made at one meeting. This was three or four meetings actually, one showed him a map,

Abu Mazen had given him a map, he showed him a map and Abu Mazen had to draw with his own hands.

(Al Jazeera English, art.422)

The map is always a symbolic representation of the homeland, more than it is a geographical illustration of borders. Appropriately, the napkin in this incident has adopted the symbolic meaning of 'impossibility' and a failed Palestinian dream of ever returning to the homes they were exiled from. Al Jazeera's repeated emphasis and portrayal of the PA leader as a weak and submissive man, who cannot even respect his position as president and who assumed a helpless role, was intended to provoke a national collective dignity. Hence, we face the same destiny as long as he, Abbas, is governing us and leading the negotiations with the Israelis.

Comparatively, Al Jazeera aimed to evoke a sense of affinity with the Palestinians, by drawing a parallel between their leaders and other Arab leaders, behaving similarly to the PA and consequently endangering their rights, just as the PA has done to the rights of the Palestinians. The existential threat is perceived as antagonistic to 'Our' rights and to the 'Our' Homeland. The Al Jazeera narrative frequently challenged Abbas' control and power as a 'leader' and questioned his legitimacy as an acting president. He was reduced to a weak Trickster, who feigns control and dominance, but only on his 'weak' subjects, the Palestinians, however, when it comes to substantially achieving anything, he assumes a submissive role among his superiors. Visual and textual representation of the PA's as an illegitimate political agency was a recurring theme in both Al Jazeera Arabic and English, during the coverage and will be further highlighted in the following sections.

6.4.3 The Jokester Negotiator

In Al Jazeera English article, headlined, "A glimpse into the negotiation room" (art. 405), Al-Arian's descriptions of 'playful banter', 'inappropriate jokes', and 'bizarre rants' was intended to stress the unofficial, amateurish and unprofessional manner by which the negotiations were conducted:

> But the Palestine Papers give us an inside look into the negotiation room, documenting playful banter, inappropriate jokes and bizarre rants in dozens of meetings between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators during the Annapolis process. The Papers also reveal the complicated relationships between officials from both sides, while illuminating how they deal with roadblocks.
>
> (Al Jazeera English, art. 405)

Image 6.4 depicts the chief Palestinian negotiator, Erekat, laughing in close proximity with his Israeli counterpart. The image signifies intimacy between the two, where the Palestinian negotiator is shown holding the elbow of his counterpart with a wide grin on his face. The atmosphere of the negotiations, as can be inferred from the both the visual and textual connotations are not serious, conducted in a manner unbefitting, and with an indifference to the gravity of the situation. To put it in perspective, the protracted ongoing conflict, involving most of the international community, contributing to the displacement of millions of refugees, violent aristocracies, an oppressive occupation, multiple Intifadas; otherwise known as revolts, and countless UN resolutions, was met with imprudence and callousness by both sides. The criticism, however was mainly directed at the PA who were accused of ridiculing the Palestinians and their suffering by their indifference. These images exposed the PA negotiators as Clown or Jokesters; which is another characterization of the Trickster figure.

Image 6.4

An exchange between Livni and Qurie, underscores the impudence of both sides, but mainly the PA negotiators

> **Qurie:** Do you remember Rabin's saying: "I hope to sleep and wake up and see that the sea has swallowed Gaza."
> **Livni:** We've a saying too. When you want to curse somebody you tell him "Go to hell" but we shorten it and say "Go to Gaza".
>
> (Al Jazeera English, art. 405)

The extract is problematic as it does not account for the entirety of the conversation and therefore, it cannot be contextualized. The exchange is meant to imply complicity and hostility against Gaza (a territory government by Hamas; the PA's opponent), it also implies a conspiracy of transgression against their own people. The exchange is incriminating and reveals the extent that the PA are willing to go to, in order to maintain their self-interest. The article gives a further insight into the unequal relationship between the two sides. The PA is depicted as supporters of the Israelis, who are seeking their favor, rather than agents of equal standing, negotiating on serious matters: "On June 30, 2008, as Livni was gearing up to run in the Kadima party's leadership election, Qurei said fawningly, "I would vote for you." A few months before that Qurei had also expressed amiable words for Rice, telling her, "You bring back life to the region when you come." It is Al Jazeera's intent to challenge the commitment of the PA, and their legitimacy in representing the Palestinians, by focusing on certain aspects of their actions, while ignoring other factors and or contextualizing situations. The PA as a result can easily assume the role of a Clownish Trickster (that Al Jazeera intentionally sought to convey.

6.5 The Incompetent and Villainous Trickster

6.5.1 The Naïve Negotiators

The previous sections have introduced the multifaceted Trickster characteristics of the PA. This section will reveal another component of trickster characterization of the PA, and that is the incompetent one or the naïve one. The narrative centering on naivety of conduct, foreshadowed the PA detrimental behaviors against their people's

interests. The Palestinian negotiating team should have been experts in their fields, taking seriously the gravity of the situation and showing respect to their positions and the people they are representing. However, their performance and actions can only be described as 'simplistic' and or 'scandalous'.

This section will detail how the Palestinian Authority came to be represented as incompetent negotiators; another facet of the trickster figure and one who can easily be blamed for displaying weakness. This section will also demonstrate how Al Jazeera's emphasis on 'naivety' of the archetypal Trickster served to reallocate the PA in the Space of the 'Other'. The PA's position and attitude towards Jerusalem, reflected in the Jerusalem files were disastrous and incriminating. The PA's apathetic attitude towards the symbolic role of Jerusalem and its contribution to the national identity of their "own people", shows, they are disconnected from the reality on the ground, and disconnected from their own people and the wider Arab and Muslim constituency," (art. 444). As an effective argument that is based on Kelsey's 'paradoxical persuasion'[8] or what can be called 'appeal to selective authority of opponent'[9] , the journalist of this article argues that: "[E]ven among some Israelis this seemed infantile; as Israeli lawyer Daniel Seidemann observed in a recent article, 'any attempt to construe the API (Arab Palestine Initiative) in a manner that falls short of 'full-stop' Palestinian or Arab sovereignty on the Haram/Mount would be an exercise in self-delusion.'"

In an Al Jazeera English article, headlined, "A 'naïve' approach to negotiations" (art.446), the journalist criticized the Palestinian Authority's simplistic engagement in the negotiations. The article further reveals the Palestinian Authority's concessions in regards to the Palestinian territories, among them Jerusalem. The journalist draws on the 'negotiator's deficiency' by combining referential and predicational strategies throughout the article. Throughout, the Palestinian Authority, the political body representing the Palestinians in these negotiations were referred to as the 'Palestinian negotiators', a political actionalisation referential strategy highlighting their

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[8] The concepts relates to the situation when two opponents overcome their conflicting positions and unite against a third (common) opponent. (see Kelsey, 2015b)

[9] It is a concept I have developed in relation to the 'Appeal to Authority' in the Red Herring fallacies. It is lending authority to an opponent on positions that match ours. Consequently the arguer's assertion is deemed true because even the opponent holds it true.

'political activities' (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001, pp. 48-52). In this discourse, the aforementioned strategy is often combined with another 'negative' predicational strategy. For example, in the headline, the Palestinian Authority's political activity of 'negotiating' is referred to as 'naïve'; the PA are seen as gullible, believing all they perceive and inexperienced politically. Examples are provided in Table 6.1 of predicational strategies and hyperbolic rhetoric found in the article and which inform on the naïve attitude adopted by the PA.

Table 6.1

Discursive strategies	Examples
Predicational strategies	- A **naïve** approach to negotiations… - … the **reckless** performance of the Palestinian negotiators certainly whetted the Israeli appetite. - The **readiness** of the Palestinian negotiators **to concede** territories… -… indicates **a simplistic** and **rather naïve** approach on their part… - Yasser Arafat had no **such illusions or inhibitions** on these matters…
Hyperbole rhetoric	- ... **startling** contradictions between private and public disclosures… - … while the Palestinians appeared **exceedingly** generous… - This would be part of a pattern of **staggering** concessions… - … reveal a **startling** pattern of concessions that **woefully** failed to protect… - … the PA's negotiators seemed **unrestrained** throughout the process…

The journalist does not hide his denunciation of the Palestinian Authority, and recognizes their 'considerable' and 'irresponsible' complaisance on the holy sites in Jerusalem, such as the Haram al-Sharif, to be prejudicial. It is widely understood that a reasonable degree of flexibility is essential in order for the negotiators to reach agreement, but 'too much flexibility has generally been believed to encourage exploitation by other parties" (Hopmann, 1995, p. 39). Consequently, the considerable flexibility the Palestinian negotiator have imparted is nothing more than a show of weakness and a major failure in conducting negotiations especially when these negotiations appertain to areas or issues of a highly sensitive nature such as the uncontested the holy sites of Jerusalem[10]. The repeated reference to 'harmful flexibility' served to vilifying further the Palestinian Authority's and denounce their weak judgement in the negotiations.

Al Jazeera has done more than insinuate that the PA is naïve, considering that naivety is a character flaw, that should have been acknowledged by the voters who voted for them, in this case the Palestinians and consequently accept responsibility for their actions. Al Jazeera places full blame on the Authority for their weak attitude and lack of negotiation skills, it has also vilified them as a result of their unwavering position, despite its apparent failure and the consequences of these failures to their own people. Al Jazeera perpetuated the argument that the PA are nothing more than Tricksters who are responsible for their actions. "Predication is also used to criticize, undermine and vilify certain social actors, sometimes with potentially dangerous consequences" (Richardson, 2007, p. 53). As a result of these predications, emphasizing the inability of basic negotiating skills by the PA negotiators and the naïve as well as simplistic manner they conducted themselves, not only undermined their legitimacy but causes the already volatile situation to become even more unstable.

The conditions of the Palestinians had an agreement been reached that only served the Israelis interests, would have worsened. However, even prior to reaching an agreement, the situation in Palestine was worsening, as more and more Palestinians grew frustrated with their leaders' ineptitude, naivety and treachery. In lines of Richardson's (2007) note, the following excerpt is a good example of the use of

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[10] This topic was extensively discussed in Chapter 5.

predication. For example, the lexical choice of 'farce' and 'deceptive' as a referential strategy, in the following excerpt, connotes the absurdity of Palestinian Authority's engagement in these negotiations, in relation to terms that are 'biased' to serve Israeli 'segregation' policies. The lexical choice of predications of 'biased' and 'segregationist' induced a discourse of colonialism of the Palestinian lands, and consequently, highlighted a discourse of treachery that serve to vilify the Palestinian Authority:

> The "peace negotiations" were a deceptive farce, whereby biased terms were unilaterally imposed by Israel and systematically endorsed by the US and EU capitals. Far from enabling a negotiated fair end of the conflict, the pursuit of the Oslo process has deepened Israeli segregationist policies and justified the tightening of the security control imposed on the Palestinian population as well as its geographical fragmentation. Far for preserving the land on which to build a State, it has tolerated the intensification of the colonisation of the Palestinian territory.
>
> (Al Jazeera English, art.401)

Another example of how Al Jazeera's sought to link 'naivety' to an 'evil trait' is by contrasting the 'exceedingly generous' Palestinian with the 'greedy' Israelis. In one of the articles, a journalist confers that:

> In effect, … while the Palestinians appeared exceedingly generous, the Israelis were prepared to extract as much as they could for nothing.
>
> (Al Jazeera English, art.446)

The positive traits of 'generosity' is predicated negatively, in this instance by the use of rhetorical hyperbole, such as 'exceedingly' and simultaneously contrasting that with the 'greediness' of the Israelis. Metaphorically, it brings forth the image of "the wolf and the shepherd" or "the wolf and the lamb", a literature that is deeply rooted religious allegory (see Aesop's fables, Plato's Phaedrus, Shakespeare's Coriolanus, etc). While the metaphor, seeks to draw a comparison between the Authority's 'naivety' with that of the lamb or shepherd, it further served to highlight the 'incongruity of the PA, given that they are political representatives and not sacrificial lambs. Retrospectively, their 'weakness and naivety is seen as culpability. It is stipulated that a politician must always possess cunningness and guile and cannot afford to be seen as weak or submissive.

6.5.2 The Self-Serving Businessman

Among Al Jazeera's contestations, is that the PA are self-serving political actors. Encompassed with the other characteristics of Tricksters: the villainous Trickster, is an additional paradoxical characteristic of the PA. The villainous Trickster is one who bargains his people's rights for his own self-interest. Despite the apathetic attitude the PA adopted regarding the Jerusalem file, when it came to appeasing the Israelis, they were willing to acquiesce in the Judaification of Jerusalem[11].Al Jazeera, also highlights the predicament that the PA is met with in regards to Jerusalem as Jerusalem is a significant factor in their political agenda. An article, titled, "**Erekat: keeping al-Quds to maintain the Authority**" (art. 96), explains the dilemma facing the PA's when it comes to negotiating on Jerusalem:

> The chief Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erekat, said that what he called 'concern over East al-Quds' is 'ultimately political' and linked to fear for the destiny of the Palestinian Authority. According to what Erekat said – in a meeting with Special Envoy to the Middle East, George Mitchell on October 1st, 2009 – 'if we overlooked such compromises, there would be disastrous consequences on the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian leadership'.
>
> (Al Jazeera Arabic, art.96)

The journalist maintains that the PA seeks to keep "East Jerusalem" as a bargaining chip for a future "political" gain because they see it as directly "linked" with "their destiny" in staying in power. The symbolic national status of Jerusalem has been "overlooked" by the Palestinian leaders and then "re-tailored" to accommodate their own interests. The reference to the "ambiguous and vague" notion of Jerusalem as reflected by Erekat's positions during the negotiations implies that the PA has reconceptualised Jerusalem to suit their own interests at the expense of their own people. Al Jazeera's main argument consistently describes the PA's approach to the negotiations using terms such as 'concessions', 'relinquishments', appeasement and so forth 'The political terminology of concessions connotes 'weakness', 'submissiveness' and 'surrender:

> Our reading of the Palestine Papers reveal a startling pattern of concessions that woefully failed to protect Palestinian, Arab and Muslim interest in

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[11] Also see Chapter 5.

Jerusalem. In an overall sense, these compromises would result in the de facto recognition of the comprehensive demographic and territorial changes brought about by the Israeli annexation.

<div align="right">(Al Jazeera English, art. 446)</div>

These 'concessions' are described as 'woefully failing' to protect the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim interest in Jerusalem. The rhetorical hyperbole 'woefully' is meant to imply dangerous consequences extending from 'failing to protect the Palestinian' to 'failing to protect Arab and Muslim' interests and rights in Jerusalem. This is particularly true when Al Jazeera's Arabic and English discourses make use of the metaphor of 'selling'.

Although there may be business-like agreements involved in the process of political conflict negotiations, business and political conflict negotiations are conceptually different. Metaphors of 'business', such as 'bargain', 'finance' and 'market' have been used extensively in political discourse, but these terms are symbolic more than they are concrete The danger of the market metaphor does not only lie in what they symbolically entail, rather it is the recurrent ritual concealing of the facts and political reality Fox (1996). Correspondingly, in this sample, Al Jazeera's use of business metaphors 'such as 'bargaining' and 'selling', are symbolic and rather than masking the actions of the PA, they expose them as 'evil' agents, complicit in the occupation and the dismantling of the land.

In an Al Jazeera English article, title the "PA selling short the refugees" (art. 417), major concessions were made by the Palestinian Authority to the Israelis on the rights of the refugees without taking into account the serious implication that could result should these proposals come to fruition. The journalist frequently refers to the 'bargain' to imply the buying and selling of items, in this case refugees without their consent or any say in the matter of their future. 'Selling short' in e and 'concessions' were also recurrent words used in the article. Using political business terminology as metaphors is intended to underscores the negativity and 'evil nature of such proposals. They serve to underestimate the right of the refugees, objectify them and view them as mere commodities to be bargained with for the interest of political gain for a minority of people. Another salient argument to consider is that the Palestinian Authority were not forced to make these concessions but, made them without regards,

betraying their people to gain personal advantage from the Israelis, such as securing continuous funding from Israel's allies, and political and security support against their opponents, such as Hamas.

Bargaining produces "greater flexibility and more frequent, efficient, equitable, and durable agreements" (Hopmann, 1995, p. 24). Additionally, 'flexibility' and 'concessions' are considered important strategies in any process of negotiations. However, excessive flexibility by the Palestinian negotiators has translated to irrational bargaining and a deviation from conventional negotiation strategies. . Metaphorically the 'selling' of the refugees right elicits a collective memory of slave trading, where the Palestinian refugees are treated as commodities, to be sold to the Israelis'. The notion of relinquishing the refugees' right of return is another way to metaphorically sell them.

Further betrayal of the refugees right and selling of their hopes is articulated in the following extract:

> Even so, throughout the camp, refugees cling to hope that someday their situation will change – and there are signs that they place that hope in their leadership, which has shown that it's willing to compromise the right of return.
>
> (Al Jazeera English, art. 417)

'Clinging for survival' is a testament to the powerless and vulnerable situation the refugees find themselves under. The play 'Waiting for Godot' written in 1949 by Samuel Beckett's 'gives an account of human impotence and futility. The main characters, Estragon and Vladimir, are waiting for something that never comes and even if it didoes, is not likely to be of any benefit to them. The allegorical play is representative of the plight of the refugees. Just like Estragon and Vladimir the refugees too are hopelessly waiting and hoping for salvation. 'Godot' is metaphorically the Palestinian leaders who never come to save their people, because they have sold them for personal gain.

6.5.3 The Treacherous Trickster

The other face of the trickster is the treacherous Trickster. Regardless of what the PA claims in term of being true representatives of the Palestinian people and defender of their rights, the leaked documents are a testament to their betrayal of the people. The Al Jazeera Arabic as will be demonstrated, was more critical of the PA and, unlike Al Jazeera English which characterized them as naïve, consistently criticised their approach, and painted them as unreliable 'leaders', Al Jazeera Arabic by contrast openly accused them of betrayal. The Arabic word 'تنازلات' meaning 'concessions' and or 'relinquishments' was repeatedly used to describe the PA negotiation skills. Examples from articles are listed below:

art.19. Concessions might increase Israeli greediness

art.83. Unprecedented concessions by PA on the Haram

art.95. Maps show PA make concessions on settlements

art.100. Documents reveal PA concessions on Jerusalem

In the Arabic Al Jazeera, the Palestinian Authority was repeatedly referred to as a willing participant in serving the occupation and its ally; furthermore, the sample suggested a conspiring role played by the Authority. The examples below of various articles from the Arabic website, reveal the extent by which Arabic Al Jazeera, sought to shock the audience:

art.2. Seeking to overthrow Hamas, PA asked Israel to occupy Gaza

art.5. Abbas knew of war on Gaza beforehand

art.14. The security coordination is a defence of Zionists' security

art.35. PA offered to serve Washington with security

art.45. PA coordinated with Occupation to target the Resistance

The headlines imply that the PA was relentless in defending their own interests even when it meant they compromising their own people and endangering their lives through conflict. In each example, the Palestinian Authority is represented as an active agent of 'the conspiracy', and are fully aware of their culpability. A further emphasis is placed here by disclosing the 'afflicted' (Gaza, resistance against

occupation, etc.) in the headlines. The syntactic structure in the examples serves in highlighting the culprit, the PA, versus the victims, their people, and thus paints a 'Treacherous Trickster, in a discourse of 'conspiracy', where the 'guardian' is selfishly chasing their interests and hurting their 'own people' in the process.

In an Al Jazeera Arabic article, headlined, "Negotiation Papers expose PA's positions", (art. 24), the journalist discusses the key files including but not limited to the security coordination files, refugees and right of return files, Jerusalem and occupied territories files, the precedent knowledge of war on Gaza files, requesting a siege on Gaza files, and relations with other Arab countries files. The word 'تفضح', which means 'expose' in English, and which is derived from the noun 'فضيحة'meaning 'a scandal' is used numerous times. What is noteworthy is that also Al Jazeera claims to hold itself to a high standard of professionalism when it comes to its news ethics, such articles relying on words of scandal, is an indication that Al Jazeera when it finds appropriate will a t resort to sensational language, usually associated with tabloid content. Other sensational phrases besides scandal, included the following: 'disgusting revelations', 'miserable state', 'the scene seems to be deeply rooted in scandal', 'silly recitals', 'shameful practices', 'this indicates the extent of rudeness', 'dirty role', and so forth. Sensational language is intended to delegitimise and to some extent demonise the Palestinian Authority. Within this narrative, the Us and Them space division is aggrandized. The Israelis (or Zionists as they are refereed in many Arabic media) belong to the space of the Other which include inferior politicians, the (PA) politicians have been reallocated to the same space.

An Al Jazeera Arabic article, headlined, "PA leadership betrayed Palestinian people", (art. 17), was a translation of a Los Angeles Times article authored by an American/Palestinian professor. Al Jazeera reworded the articles using a stringer words to further vilify the PA. By using words such as 'Trick and Deception', Absurd and Arrogance', and 'Betraying the People' Al Jazeera emphasized the treacherous role of the PA. Al Jazeera Arabic, similar to Al Jazeera English aims to influence and shape the public opinion. Using a rhetoric filled with words such as scandal and betrayal, conspiracy, misconduct, and immorality, a paradoxical figure emerges out of

the PA. This figure is one who sells short his people, but also one who is more evil and treacherous and sells his people entirely.

6.6 Trickster or Scapegoat?

> Myths of the Scapegoat tell in dramatic fashion what happens to those who challenge or ignore social beliefs. Myths of the Scapegoat ridicule and degrade. They vilify and shun … Native Americans, the Mayans, and African tribes all had myths and rituals in which scapegoats, embodying various evils, were isolated and expelled from the group. As myth, news too degrades and demeans those who are deemed to threaten the comfort of those in control or those who stray too far from accepted social practice. Political activists, religious sects, criminals, radicals, and many others can be cast as scapegoats in the news.

(Lule, 2001, p. 23)

However, the analysis of this chapter has illustrated how Al Jazeera exploited the power of 'agency' in order to maintain its constructed trickster (rather than a scapegoat) figure of the PA. As Burke (1970) suggests, life is a drama where humans interact and communicate using different dramatic elements (such as 'scene', 'agent(s), 'agency', 'plot', and 'purpose') in their storytelling. Drawing on Burke's work, Mills (1940) developed the concept 'vocabulary of motive', where actions are not moved by a particular 'motive' in 'real time', rather actions are characterised by a variety of 'vocabularies of motive' (1940, p. 905). Burke (1970) gives the example of the soldier who can be driven into the action of killing (nationally), however, at the same time, he can also be 'motivated by a horror of killing' on an individual level (1970, p. 37). In Burke's theory, it is the 'ratios' of the 'scene-act' and 'scene-agent' that is significant in storytelling. Thus the telling of stories differs when the ratios between 'scene' and 'agent', for example, vary. As illustrated in the previous sections, the sampled reporting has indicated that Al Jazeera emphasized the 'agency' of the PA in approaching the negotiations incompetently and villainously with the Israelis. As Gabriel (2000) argues, the stressing of the 'agency' is significant in the plot of tragedies: "The attribution of guilt to a malevolent agent or suitable scapegoat is a central theme of tragic stories" (2000, p. 49). Drawing on Gabriel's argument, I also propose that emphasising the 'villainous' agency of actors is crucial in developing plots of villains and tricksters, as illustrated in the previous sections.

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However, the sample also displays that the PA leaders' own storytelling was reported in the sample.

art.81. Fatah decides on boycotting Al Jazeera
art.86. Abed Rabbo: Qatar behind Al Jazeera Papers
art.87. Abbas: We informed Arabs on details of negotiations

art.455. PA negotiators reject leaked report

In an attempt to defend themselves from the scandal that ensured, the PA sought to deflect the blame onto others, by implying that Al Jazeera fabricated the lies and that Arab leaders are just as complicit because they were informed of every detail of the negotiations positions). Indeed, in their reporting, the PA minimised and refuted their 'agency' of incompetent, self-serving and bargained negotiations: by referring to alternative agents (Al Jazeera, Qatar, etc.), and referring to collective forces and scenic influences (e.g., conspiracies and poor diplomatic, military, and other resources, etc).

6.7 Conclusion

The Al Jazeera narrative focusing on the paradoxical Trickster was determined to challenge the Palestinian Authority. Both Al Jazeera websites are consistent in their construction of a 'Trickster' character to portray the Palestinian Authority. The various characteristics of the archetypal Trickster in this discourse, effectively challenged the legitimacy of the Palestinian Authority's and more importantly impugned the negotiations. The narrative painted a picture of incompetence and treachery and thereby addressed the research question on how space functions ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict during the coverage.

Chapter 7. The Victim and Hero in Constructing 'Our' Space:

Palestinian Refugees, Martyrs and Arafat

One day we will return to our homeland
snug and warm in our hopes.
We will return no matter how much times goes by,
no matter how great the distance,
so please, heart, do not cave in along the way.
How it hurts to see the flocks of birds returning
without us.
***
We will return: the nightingale told me
the bulbuls still feed
on our poetry
and there is still a place for us
between the yearning hills
and the yearning people.
Oh, heart, no matter how far the winds scatter us
we will return to our homeland.

Harun Hashim Rashid[12] – We Will Return One Day[13]

7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses Al Jazeera's Arabic and English moral storytelling of the Palestinian people and gives an overview of the narrative that conceived the ideologically archetypal 'Victim', 'Martyr', and 'Hero' in the Israeli/Palestinian negotiations. The construction of the archetypical 'Victim' was built on the humanization of Palestinian refugees and dehumanization of the Palestinian Authority and Israeli occupation. Similarly, the archetypical 'Hero' was concocted as a counteraction to challenge the archetypical 'Trickster', constituting the PA and those belonging to the space of 'Others'. This chapter will also provide a deeper insight into the textual and visual construction of the Palestinian refugees and martyrs. The

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[12] Harun Hashim Rasheed (born 1927) "is a Palestinian poet who, as a child in Gaza, witnessed British soldiers demolishing his home in reprisal against Palestinian rebels. His Palestinian identity is a key theme in his poetry" (Godrej, 2009:124).

[2] This poem was translated from Arabic by Saadi Simawe and Ellen Doré Watson in (Godrej, D. (2009). (Ed.) Fire in the Soul: 100 Poems for Human Rights. Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd).

victimization of the Palestinian refugees, the right of return, martyrdom and heroism, are among the themes that will be addressed in this chapter.

The second research question in relation to how myth and space function ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict during the coverage will take into account the archetypical 'Victim' and 'Hero' narrative in Al Jazeera and identify the space of the 'Self' in an ideological sphere shaping the conflict. To reiterate, the archetypical 'Victim' in Al Jazeera's news discourse was frequently exploited in an effort to dehumanize and de-moralize the PA and stress how their apathetic approach to the negotiations have negatively impacted the Palestinians. This is exercised through re-allocating the agency of this victimization to the 'Other' in order to better serve Al Jazeera's agenda in delegitimizing the negotiations.

7.2 The Palestinian Refugees: The Victims

7.2.1 The Palestinian Refugees in the Coverage

The Palestine Papers leaks, covering the Annapolis Israeli/Palestinian negotiations between 2007 and 2009, demonstrated a complaisance by the Palestinian Authority to make further 'concessions' on the Palestinian rights including the Refugees right of return. The PA conceded to a limited number of only 10,000 refugees, among millions, to return to Israel or what they consider their homeland, as part of the overall peace settlement. Saeb Erekat, the Palestinian chief negotiator, audaciously proffered the withholding of any referendum for the refugees concerning their right of return. The Al Jazeera rhetoric was highly critical of these concessions often referring to them as 'striking concessions' considering that "the right of return [is] an issue all Palestinians consider fundamental to their cause. Enshrined in international law and historical precedent, it had acquired an almost sacred quality for Palestinians" (Karmi, 2011, p. 10).

In 1948, the UN passed resolution 194, requiring Israel to accept the return of the Palestinian refugees to their original home, and has since insisted that Israel honours

the resolution along with all subsequent resolutions but to no avail. The resolution gives the Palestinian refugees a full right of return taking into account the refugees exiled since the first exodus in 1947 and 1948, and the subsequent ones that followed, estimating the total number of refugees at 6.3 million. Many of these refugees according to UNRWA reports, are scattered in camps of neighbouring countries including Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon and many who have stayed, have built refugees camps in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Understandably, many have held hopes that one day they will be granted the right to return to their homeland, a right which Israel has vehemently denied them. Israel's staunch refusal coupled with its military, economic, and political powers, has given it a strong advantage and independence to ignore international laws and maintain its hard-core position of denying the Palestinians' the right of return. Given the disadvantage Palestinian leaders have over Israel, it is only reasonable to expect them to negotiate on what the Palestinian call their fundamental rights, despite officially proclaiming a steadfast resoluteness to honouring and fighting for these rights. Following the 1993 Oslo Accords, the file on the right of return became a bargaining tool, and several negotiations that only produced inconclusive agreements regarding the resettlement of the refugees.

The Right of Return (RoR) was always a fundamental principle for the PLO organisation who later made up the governing body we are referring to in this thesis; the Palestinian Authority. During the Camp David negotiations that took place in 2000, previous members of the PLO/PA remained loyal to their position of not compromising on the Right of Return. During, the leaks, however acting members of the PA at the time, were more than willing to offer concessions on the right of return and other issues pertaining to the Palestinians. Evidence of this will be reflected in this chapter, by analysing the discourse of both Al Jazeera Arabic and English during the coverage. What is even more condemning in the perception of the Palestinians is what these concessions implied. As articulated by Karmi (2011):

> The surrender on the right of return was part of the Palestinian negotiators' acceptance of Israel as a Jewish state. Between 2007 and 2008, the Papers show that Israeli negotiators continually stressed Israel's Jewish character, even suggesting that Arab citizens of Israel could be moved into a Palestinian state. This went unchallenged by the Palestinian side.
>
> <div align="right">(2011, pp. 11-12)</div>

Al Jazeera's position has always been that the right of return is a fundamental human right, and the concessions made by the PA in regards to this right, is a grave violation of the Palestinian refugees internationally recognized human rights. Al Jazeera's set in motion the idea that the Palestinian refugees are not only victims of the Israeli occupation, but they are also victims of the PA's whose concessions during the negotiations was detrimental to the Palestinians' right of return. Al Jazeera's discourse has constructed the Palestinian refugees as archetypical victims, and as with any moral story telling approach, the victim is represented as the good and there must always be an evil. The classical archetypical evil in this narrative are the Israelis and the PA. They dichotomy of Space are inharmonious, Space as will later be elaborated is made up of the Other – PA/Israel, and Self - Palestinian, Arabic and Muslim.

7.2.2 Humanization of the Palestinian Refugees: Victims of the Other

Al Jazeera's divergent approach to portraying the Palestinian refugees as victims, meant that they would rely on narrative focusing on 'humanisation' and 'dehumanization. Dehumanization is a process that "undermines the normal moral restraints on violent behavior and makes violence towards the target group morally acceptable" (Cole and Cole, 2009, p. 250). The 'Other' is one "who lack[s] intelligence, self-restraint, morality and culture. Their behavior is associated with impulsivity [and] criminality" (Cole and Cole, 2009, p. 250).

'Humanization' is mainly viewed in the context of dehumanization. There are advantages to humanizing someone or a group of people, and "there is a responsibility of making individuals … respectful, solidary, fraternal, a whole set of *virtues* that would make individuals *become* human" (2013, pp. 546-7). The Al Jazeera narratives humanized the Palestinian refugees by foregrounding their moral virtues, patriotic sentiments, vulnerability, failed hopes and so forth. Concomitantly, the fate of the

Palestinian refugees used for bargaining purposes by their own leaders, the PA and the Israelis, victimized them, more so than it humanized them. Although these two concepts are at times mutually inconclusive, victimization entailed the portrayal of the Palestinian refugees as a dehumanized object of 'Others' by "[t]he denial of full humanness … and the cruelty and suffering that accompany it" (Haslam, 2006, p. 252).

'Humanization' and 'dehumanization' can also be considered by evaluating Van Dijk's ideological spheres, comprised of a *Positive Self-Presentation* and a *Negative Other-Presentation* (see Van Dijk, 2008). Al Jazeera humanization and 'dehumanization' narrative is congruent with van Dijk's ideological sphere of the 'Self' space and the 'Other' space and has contributed to the shaping of the ideological discourses encompassing themes of nationalism, treachery, victimization and so forth. Conversely, Al Jazeera's narratives foreground the humanness of the space of Palestinian refugees, martyrs, and victims, whilst they foreground the 'brutality' and inhumanness of space of 'Others'. "People's need to humanize the 'ingroup', can be as important as their motivation to dehumanize the outgroup in order to differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup in human terms" Vaes et al (2012, pp. 93-4).

Generally, people humanize those they consider important and the dehumanization of the outgroup, is dependent '…on specific socio-psychological variables that can play at any of the structural levels that characterize intergroup relations" (Vaes *et al.*, 2012, p. 94). The humanization of the Palestinian refugees is an attempt by Al Jazeera to counter the actions of the Israelis and the PA's agency, which were considered dehumanizing and a violation of the refugees' rights. The conceptualization of the Palestinian refugees as victims was made more pronounced through the telling and retelling, visually and textually their calamities and disenfranchisement, and by singling out the culprits of their misfortunes; the PA and Israelis. In an English news article, headlined, "**PA selling short the refugees**" (art. 417), the PA were the main agents responsible for 'selling' the Palestinian refugees. The headline is strongly suggestive, and ideologically laden.

The word 'selling' is generally applied to inanimate object, unless it is applied to slavery and the terminology associated with such practices. The scrupulous selection of the word 'selling', instead of using words such as 'deserting', 'abandoning', 'cheating', or even 'betraying' is an indication that Al Jazeera seeks to hone in the notion of dehumanization by stressing on the victimization of the Palestinians by their own leaders the PA. The Palestinian refugees are depicted as having no agency, they are only victims. Their national, political, religious and economic struggle have become secondary in importance. To recapitulate, the act of 'selling' was a recurrent theme in the article and rhetoric when discussing the Palestinian refugees. The article also stressed on the 'major concessions' offered by the PA on the right of return to further publicize the misbegotten actions of the PA and serve to dehumanize them in the process, while simultaneously humanizing the Palestinian refugees. The excerpt below, highlights the criticism leveled at the PA by journalists. Laila Al-Arian, the journalist, accuses the Palestinian negotiators of neglecting the Palestinian refugees' rights:

> Palestinian Authority proposed that only a handful of nearly six million Palestinian refugees be allowed to return.
>
> The Palestine Papers show that Palestinian Authority (PA) negotiators were prepared to make major concessions on the refugees' right of return: on the numbers potentially allowed to return to their homes in what is now Israel; on whether refugees would be able to vote on any peace agreement; and on how many would be able to settle in a future Palestinian state.
>
> According to the documents, not only did Palestinian officials offer a low figure of returnees, the chief negotiator of the PLO, Saeb Erekat, said that refugees would not have voting rights on a possible peace deal with Israel.
>
> The PLO appears to be vigorously defending its right to solely decide on the refugee issue with Israel.
>
> (Al Jazeera English, art. 417)

Image 7.1 provides a visual contextualization of the suffering of the Palestinian refugees and a conceptualization of how the PA came to embody the archetypical tricksters and victimizers characteristics.

Image (7.1)

Image 7.1, shows an old alley in what appears to be an impoverished urban area. Dirty streets and walls with several layers of torn posters and disappearing graffiti typifies the image. Amidst this impoverished scene, a child is seen gazing at the camera or symbolically at the readers of this article. The caption reads "Many Palestinian refugees still live in camps like Bourj el Barajneh, in Lebanon". The caption aims to engender a sense of empathy towards the girl and the refugees in general, living in such horrid and depraved conditions. It is meant to create an affinity with the suffering of the Palestinian refugees. The symbolic victimization of the Palestinian refugees is emphasized through this image.

Choosing to depict a scene from a camp in neighbouring countries such as Lebanon, is aimed at contradicting the Israeli narrative that the Palestinians have their neighbouring Arab countries to call home, whereas they, the Israelis, have only one place and that is Israel. It also meant to highlight the disenfranchisement of refugees living in exile and the disadvantage they face in social life. Numerous studies have demonstrated that Palestinian refugee children face countless types of stereotyping, including academic and social prejudices, "They have been objectified, like their

parents and grandparents, as passive victims without the benefit of international protection. And they have become the beneficiaries of numerous humanitarian aid packages" (Chatty *et al.*, 2005, p. 2). Palestinian refugees constitute "a politically, socially and economically disadvantaged group", in the Middle East region generally, and the host countries particularly, with " the exception of those living in Jordan, none of them have any rights to citizenship until 1995, when the Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank had the right to Palestinian passports issued by the Palestinian Authority" (Chatty *et al.,* 2005, pp. 10-11).

The Palestinian refugees in Lebanon were estimated around 110,000 in 1949, and the number of the registered refugees have increased to approximately 370,000 in 2001(UN 2001). The number of unregistered is estimated to be much higher, over 10,000. The conditions of refuges countries have been unfavourable to say the least and particularly the refugees living in Lebanon:

> Lebanon denies all Palestinian refugees civil rights. They need work permits for employment and these are issued only when there are no Lebanese available to take on the work. Unemployment is high at 40 percent. Health and educational services are in decline, especially those provided by UNRWA, because of budget limitations.
>
> (Chatty *et al.*, 2005, p. 11)

The Lebanese authorities and to a certain extent the Lebanese people consider the Palestinians a potential danger, considering the history of PLO members fighting the Israelis from within the Lebanese borders causing massive devastation to the country, an event that has not been forgotten by many Lebanese. The Palestinian refugees in Lebanon "endure high levels of frustration and anxiety due to the realities enmeshed in the past, present and future lives of all generations. Images of war are continuously reproduced, while their current situation is deteriorating, and their future remains uncertain" Sehran and Tabari (2005, p. 55). Manifestly, Al Jazeera visual discourse' of the refugee camps in Lebanon were intended to serve as a symbolic example, drawing on the suffering and misery of the Palestinian refugees and the dreadful conditions they live through daily. Further contextualization of the inhumane conditions is articulated in the following excerpt:

At the Bourj el Barajneh refugee camp in southern Beirut, a centre for the elderly serves as an oasis from the overcrowded, filthy conditions outside its metal doors.

Some six million Palestinian refugees are scattered around the world, including more than 400,000 in Lebanon. Here, they are deprived of basic rights, not permitted to buy or sell property, and are banned from more than 70 job categories. Mired in abject poverty, they are dependent on an increasingly incapable United Nations agency for aid.

(Al Jazeera English, art. 417)

Al Jazeera's intent in highlighting the appalling conditions of the refugees in neighboring countries, is not done so with the purpose of re-focusing the blame on the host countries authorities, but to underscore the PA's betrayal of the refugees by selling away their rights and keeping them indefinitely captives to their current misery and subjugated to the prejudices of the host country. The focus of the narrative on suffering, deprivation and lack of human rights, coupled with the deplorable living conditions makes it easier for the reader to conceptualize how PA sold short the refugees.

Al Jazeera's narrative has multiple objectives, among them is to put a spotlight on the refugee situation in an effort to show them as the primary victims and also to mobilize a Palestinian national collective movement of civil disobedience against the PA to force them out of power or to force them to alter their position. Al Jazeera's narrative of mythical Victim plays a key role in this 'Us vs Other' space dichotomy. The 'Victim' archetype forms another figure that allocates and re-allocates the various social actors into the 'Our' or 'Their' space division. The research sample reveals a persistent theme of humanization of the Palestinian refugees by using a moral storytelling approach to convey their history, current and past struggles as well as their compromised sense of identity. Al Jazeera has even allocated a platform to the refugees to express their grievances, and voice their denunciation of the PA's selling out of their rights:

Al Jazeera spoke with three dozen refugees in the Burj al-Barajneh camp, from ages 16 to 88, and they all expressed the same sentiment: They want to return to their native homeland, and to have a say in any final settlement

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between the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Israel ... That sentiment was echoed among younger residents of the camp.

Even so, throughout the camp, refugees cling to hope that someday their situation will change - and there are signs that they place that hope in their leadership, which has shown that it's willing to compromise the right of return.

<div align="right">(Al Jazeera English, art. 417)</div>

As can be deduced from the excerpt above, the refugees of all ages express the same vehement desire to return and consider their right of return as paramount to any negotiation between the PA and Israel. Repeatedly, refugees have voiced their desire to return to the homeland that they were forcibly exiled from. The journalist emphasizing on the youth by stating "That sentiment was echoed among younger residents of the camp" is meant to imply that despite being born and raised away from their family's homeland, the younger generation are just as much if not more so, loyal to the idea that they have a homeland and will not give up on their right to return to it.

7.2.3 The Victims of the 'Other', Israeli Occupation, and the 'Other', Palestinian Authority

In the English article, headlined, "**Children of the Nakba**" (art. 472), the journalist relays the story of one of the survivors of the Israelis massacre. "In October 1948, dozens of villagers, including ten members of the Shraydeh family, were massacred by Israeli soldiers**"**. The lexical choice of the verb 'massacre' over other choices such as 'shot', 'killed' and so forth, implies a collective destruction and conveys the indiscriminate brutality by the Israeli soldiers' killing of entire families. The brutality is exemplified by using dozens of villagers to imply noncombatant persons, only average poor citizens residing in a village of no importance. 'They were villagers, not militias or criminals. They were families.' The selective terminology and phrases such as 'villagers', 'not militias or criminals', and 'families' is intended to draw the reader's attention to the innocence of those being massacred and heavily lays the condemnation on the Israeli 'soldiers'. Such articles and recurrent theme of displacement, exile, massacre and brutality constructed the archetypical figure of victim. The article concludes with the relaying of Shraydeh's hope:

> Shraydeh eventually escaped to Lebanon, thinking he would be there for a few short days before returning to Safsaf. But that day never came, and he has spent his entire life since in refugee camps in Tripoli and Beirut.

All of those who 'escaped' following the Nakba, were under the presumption that they would eventually return within a short period of time once the situation has settled. They like their children and their children's children, however, 'spent their entire life' waiting to 'return' but were never allowed. This victimization they suffered is precisely what the journalist and the discourse of Al Jazeera attempted to convey on multiple occasions. Such articles by Al Jazeera can be classified as persuasive reporting. The stories they relay, are more concerned with evoking and provoking empathy and anger, rather than providing a historical account of past atrocities. These stories and the antagonistic PA rhetoric of Al Jazeera succeeded in expelling them from the Space of the Self.

7.2.4 Children of Nakba

Scholars maintain that labelling refugees as refugees and only as such, further stigmatizes them (Zetter, 1991; Helmreich, 1992; Gupte and Mehta, 2007; Ludwig, 2013). For example, Oromo refugees in Toronto reject the label refugee as they perceive this label as being "stupid, misfits, ignorant, poor an uncivilized" Kumsa (2006)(2006, p. 242). Many other displaced person and refugees reject these terms and oftentimes embrace other terms such as exiled or temporary resident to identify their station. Cubans and other Southeast Asians refer to themselves as 'exiles' escaping 'communist regimes' and defenders of 'democracy' and 'capitalism'. Therefore they are perceived as "good and moral" type of refugees and avoid the stigma of refugees, unlike their counterparts the Nicaraguans and Haitians who are considered ill fitted refugees (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; 2009).

Another example are Russian Jews who identify themselves as 'émigrés' despite the fact that upon their arrival to US in the 1970s they were granted residency based on their refugee status (Orleck, 2001). Correspondingly, Palestinian refugees also reject the label of refugee and have persistently fought to preserve their own national

identity, using stories of myth, history, and culture to overcome their oppressive situation.

Ostensibly, the use of language in the Al Jazeera rhetoric has taken an ideological form embodying sentimental and cultural idioms. Al Jazeera's English, article, titled "**Children of the Nakba**" (art. 472) emphasizes words such as, 'Nakba', 'Children', 'survivor', and 'story', which are all sentimental and highlight the suffering and misfortune of those afflicted. The word 'Nakba' is a term used to reference the forceful displacement of the Palestinian population from their lands following the creation of Israel in 1948. 'Nakba' is an Arabic word meaning 'disaster or catastrophe' and is frequently cited to refer to the exodus of the Palestinian people. It has become synonymous with the fate of the Palestinians and has been mainly used to recall their forceful exile.

Correspondingly, 'Children of the Nakba' refers to the children displaced with their families in 1948 and who are themselves refugees in neighboring countries. The word 'Nakba' carries a strong significance and conjures images of tragedy and consequently is entrenched in the 'Our' Arab, Palestinian, and Muslim space and collective memory. The word Nakba, in correlation with other words such as 'children' and 'survivor', evokes human weakness, vulnerability and suffering. Within context, it invokes compassion and emotional identification with the refugees'; their struggle and hopes. The exploitation of the word by Al Jazeera, successfully shaped the characteristics of the archetypal Victim as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter.

7.3 The Visual Construction of the Palestinian Refugees as Victims

In the first exodus, between 1947 to1948, an estimated 750,000 Palestinian refugees fled from villages and cities, in what was then British-mandated Palestine, escaping Jewish armed militias, such as the Haganah, Irgun, and Stern Gang. This forced migration, understandably, has had a negative impact on men, women, and children, causing lifelong trauma and informed the future behaviour of those afflicted(Ahearn

and Athey, 1991; Young, 1992; Elbedour *et al.*, 1993; Rousseau *et al.*, 1998; Mollica *et al.*, 2001; Rousseau *et al.*, 2001; Chatty *et al.*, 2005).

In instances of forced migrations or exile, what is often perceived by the Media and people is a process of infantilizing. In many of Al Jazeera articles, this process of infantilizing is expressed through the repeated emphasis of the vulnerability of the Palestinians. Correspondingly, adult infantilizing is the process whereby an adult is treated as a child or reduced to the level of a child (De Victoria, 2006). Infantilizing can include altering behaviors of adults to encourage them to participate in child-like activities, giving them pet names, and using child-like remarks, gestures, and or patterns of speaking towards old persons (Hockey and James, 1993). Much of the literature on infantilizing focuses on *verbal communication* such as high-pitched intonation, exaggerated or drawn out phrasing, as well as simple content and vocabulary (Lyman, 1988; Whitbourne *et al.*, 1995; Makoni and Grainger, 2002).

Consequently, infantiliziation renders the individual powerless and helpless. The article "**Children of the Nakba**" (art. 472), mentioned previous, is an example of infantilizing the 'Palestinian refugees, by referring to the Palestinians who are now senior adults as children. Image (7.2) features the children of the Nakba.

Image 7.2

The image depicts a number of old women and men engaged in sketching and or drawing. These adults are not conducting a business meeting, but are sitting like children engrossed in the act of illustration using the colored pencils provided them. Both the headline and the photo use verbal and textual infantilizing references to convey a sense of helplessness and resignation. The caption written below the photo: 'Many residents of Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps have been there since the Nakba' is meant to illicit sympathy from the reader, as it suggests these old women and men have come to old age while in exile.

Al Jazeera clearly seeks to highlight the tragic situation of the refugees and consequently gain the readers' sympathy. This implication is further reinforced by the caption written below the photo: 'Many residents of Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps have been there since the Nakba.' The caption stresses the continuity of this group of old refugees as being victims of the Nakba. This is combined and intensified by the photo where the children of the Nakba have grown old drawing and doing children activities to indicate the wasted years of the victims. Thus, the Palestinian refugees were victims of a disaster, the 'Nakba', and obviously, they are still so. In other words, the use of the concept of infantilization seeks to promote the elderly Palestinian refugees as political prisoners of their age and it further stresses their passivity and victimhood.

7.4 Heroic Victims: The Martyrs

Palestinian, Arab and Islamist ideologies was adopted by Al Jazeera rhetoric during the coverage. The victimization of the Palestinians is viewed in light of a nationalistic and religious discourse. The coverage heavily emphasized the collaboration between the PA and Israel as reflected in the leaked security coordination files. Al Jazeera vehemently criticized the security coordination and highlighted its consequential implication on the Palestinian rights. They also leveled numerous accusation of betrayal and treachery against the PA and accused them of undermining the resistance against the occupation.

Al Jazeera's Arabic and English discourses exploited political and nationalist ideologies in order to construct another archetypical figure and that is the Heroic Victim or the 'martyr'. They martyr is often used in the Arabic discourse, and 'assassinated', in the English discourse; the former conveying an ideological religious sentiment and the later signifying a heroic figure of political importance or a revered resistance fighter. The PA's collaboration and complaisance as revealed through the coverage, meant that they were equally responsible for the martyrdom and or assassination of Palestinians. 'Abetting the occupier as it was conveyed and perceived, meant that the PA is also culpable in victimizing the Palestinians and subsequently, Al Jazeera was justified in excluding from its rhetoric the PA from the Space of 'Self' and allocating them into the space of the 'Other'.

As was previously mentioned, mythical stories of victims and heroes is a catholic concept adopted by many societies for hundreds of generations. The death or martyrdom often inspires a transformation of character, whereby the victim is transformed into a hero and exemplified (Lule, 2001). In the Christian mythology, Jesus was a victim of religious bigotry, but was also a hero and a savior of Christianity. The Christ's myth representing both hero and victim is significant because the victim "is a symbol of the self". In other words, we view ourselves in the stories of victims (Jung, 1959;1976). Correspondingly, the heroic victim is "the exemplar of individuality" (Burk, 1970). The same can be applied to the myth of martyrdom in Islamic cultures, where a martyr who is also a victim, often becomes celebrated as a hero and lives in the collective memory of society:

> The martyr is an almost universal concept in both religious and national histories from around the world. Throughout recorded history, the altruistic self-sacrifice of the martyr for the greater good is reversed. The actions of martyrs are ingrained into the history and folklore of the communities for which they died through repeated remembrances and retelling of stories. This imbues them and their deeds with a measure of historical immorality … Particularly, insurgent organisations have sought to use religious or national discourse identities to garner support for their causes and therefore martyrs become central to their discourse as well. The ultimate aim of these organisations is to subvert religious or national identities so that they provide justification for their actions.
>
> (Cole and Cole, 2009, pp. 257-8)

As previously demonstrated in other chapters, the lexical choices of both Al Jazeera Arabic and English are selective and structure an ideological narrative embodying the notion of power and control. The use of vocabulary to classify others "amounts to a map of objects, concepts, processes, and relationships" by which media agents attempt to make sense of the world and the events they are communicating (Fowler, 1991).

The British linguist Halliday (1970; 1973; 1995), whose systematic theory is used by various scholars as the basis for critical analysis, argues that vocabulary of any language is essential not only for basic communication, but more so for revealing ideas, viewpoints, and the speakers or writers' presumptions of their world and the world around them. However, as Barkho (2010) maintains, media discourse is different from other discourses in the perspective of Halliday's theory and other critical discourse analysis scholars, such as Fowler, van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen, and Wodak, as they have disregarded "the degree of discursive control editorial power holders exert on the selection or rejection of lexical items, particularly those of a controversial, emotive, or loaded nature" (2010, p. 110).

Accordingly, Al Jazeera's coverage of the Israeli/Palestinian leaks, relied on a specific process of communication, classified by Fairclough as "oppositional" to shape its discourse. In this discourse, Palestinians' are represented as preys or victims of an occupation, whose leaders are supported by a powerful hegemonic power; the West and therefore, their 'oppressive' policies remain unchallenged. Contemporaneously, the Palestinians Israeli dichotomy is retold through a mythological paradigm comprising of both victim and villain archetype figures. The archetypical 'Villain' in this discourse is further extended to encompass the PA, who are just as guilty as the 'oppressors' of victimizing the Palestinians.

Barkho's analysis of the Al Jazeera Arabic' discourse focusing on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, suggests the pattern followed in Al Jazeera Arabic is not "arbitrary, natural, or commonsensical" because Al Jazeera Arabic cannot treat both sides on the same level as the Palestinians are the "victim" whilst the other side, the Israelis, is the "victimizers". Nevertheless, it is the concept of "victim" that views the Palestinians who are killed fighting the Israelis as "martyrs", their suicide bombings

as "martyrdom operations" and their opposition to the occupation state, Israel, as "resistance" (Barkho, 2010). Exploring the Arabic and English discourses on the killed Palestinian fighters, I argue that it is the "sacrifice of the victim" myth that is prevailing in Al Jazeera's coverage. However, although Al Jazeera English reported the targeting of the resistant fighters by the Israelis aided by the PA (for example, art. 410: The al-Madhoun assassination), I will only focus of the Arabic sample as it shows more interesting insights into the storytelling of the Heroic Victims.

7.4.1 A Space Division: Martyrs vs. Villains

Al Jazeera Arabic rhetoric in reference to the heroic victim is predominantly exploits stories of the *Shaheed*, or, 'martyr'. The Arabic word Shaheed means 'sacrificing' one's life for a great cause. The Shaheed is an individual that has contributed to many myths for centuries in different cultures, and religions. But it remains that the Marty or Shaheed in many Muslim societies, an individual with "special status akin to that of prophets, righteous men and just Imams" (Cole and Cole, 2009, p. 258). The martyr according to, many Muslims' is someone who brings honor, purity and grace to the whole community, and particularly, the family members, who are often paid in Palestinian societies following his or her death (Ansari, 2005). Al Jazeera Arabic focus on the Heroic victim or resistant fighter and often martyr played on the religious and nationalist sentiments of others evoking feelings of anger and a renewed call of resistance. Among the 'martyr' and or resistance fighters Al Jazeera claimed Israel 'murdered' or committed 'suicidal' operations are the following:

art. 25. Hassan al-Madhoun
art. 26. Fawzi Abu al-Qarea
art. 49. Text of Hassan al-Madhoun assassination order document
art. 101 Story of Hassan al-Madhoun (a video report).

Excerpts below from an article written about "**Hassan al-Madhoun**" (art. 25) will give us an understanding of how Al Jazeera's reporting glorified these resistant fighters and martyrs incorporating them into the ideological storytelling and archetypical hero figure of its news narrative:

Hassan Atieh al-Madhoun is a prominent Palestinian **resistant fighter** who lived for his country's cause and was **martyred** for its sake.

He was **martyred** in Israeli bombing that targeted him and his fellow fighter, Fawzi Abu al-Qarea.

He participated in several **courageous resistant operations** against the **occupation**. He also led big **martyring operations** that **killed** many Israeli soldiers.

His resistance activity:

He is one of the leaders who ran the **operation of martyr**, Reem Al-Rayashi … that **took the lives** of four **Zionist soldiers** and wounded dozens on 14th January 2004.

He is one of the commanders of Ashdod Port operation that was carried out by the **martyrists,** Nabil Massoud and Mahmoud Zuhair Salem that **led to killing** ten Israelis and wounding others.

(Al Jazeera Arabic, art. 25)

These excerpts not only detail the death or martyrdom of Madhoun and his co-resistant fighters 'but highlight the role of the archetypical villain, in this case Israel and its culpability in their 'murder' by bombing them. The word *Istishhadi*, 'Martyrist', recurred across the rest of the article. The use of martyrdom, Zionism and so forth are terms that are heavily charged with religious Islamist ideology. Considering that suicide is forbidden in Islam, the taking of one's life for a greater cause; in this case, the killing of 'Zionists', is not only sanctioned but revered by the religion and the community. Correspondingly, the article also aims at evoking sympathy for the fighters who have met with 'injustice' and 'suffering', and also evoke admiration because they were the ultimate 'resistance' fighters giving up their lives so that others can one day be free of 'oppression'. All of these terms and actions implied through the rhetoric constitute the basis of the archetypical 'Heroic Victim' figure. Noteworthy, the reference to martyrdom is only specific to the 'Palestinians, and not the Israeli victims who belong in the space of the 'Others', and who, as Al Jazeera maintains are not innocent civilians but 'Israeli soldiers' 'killed' by the 'Our' Palestinian martyrs.

In one instance, the Israelis are referred to as 'Zionist soldiers', and in another instance, they are the 'occupation'. Listing these dichotomies (martyred/killed, resistant fighters/Zionist soldiers) enhances Al Jazeera Arabic aim at targeting the readers with the overlapping ideological backgrounds: Palestinian, Arab, and Muslims. In another Al Jazeera Arabic article, headlined, "**Text of Hassan al-Madhoun assassination order document**" (art. 49), the leaked Paper that confirms Al Jazeera's arguments that criticises the PA for their political positions. This article, alongside the other examples, explicitly sets the ideological interpretation of the PA's 'major concessions' to, and 'security coordination' with the Israelis in a political context: "PA coordinated with the Israeli occupation in targeting the Palestinian resistance. Hence the PA accomplices in victimising the Palestinians." The symbolism of the 'Heroic Victim', i.e. 'Martyr', is evoked by emphasizing its importance as a legitimate and noble tool in defying the injustice of the Zionist occupation.

Al Jazeera Arabic's lexical choice and focusing on 'martyrdom', 'Victim' and 'Hero' to create the mythical Palestinian resistant fighter and heroic figure is a reflection of its political position on the conflict and intention to cast itself as the voice of the people. In the fable, "Ancient Myths and Modern Man", Henderson (1964) recounts how a hero is made out of a victim: "Over and over again one hears a tale describing a hero's miraculous but humble birth," his journey of strength and fighting the evil, and then "his fall through betrayal or a 'heroic' sacrifice that ends in his death" (1964, p. 101). Correspondingly, Al Jazeera Arabic storytelling of al-Madhoun recounts his journey of being born in the camps, eventually growing up to become a father himself and is forced to fight the 'evil' – Israeli occupation making him a resistance fighter, a fighter of injustice and a hero. Just like any other archetypical heroic victim, in any mythical story, he became a 'martyr', through the betrayal of his own people – the PA. His victimhood becomes a sacrifice he was willing to offer for what he always deemed as right and noble:

> Al-Madhoun was born in Jabalia Camp, and has five children … He was raised in a conservative family whose roots go back to Al-Majdal town in the 1948 territories.
>
> (Al Jazeera Arabic, art. 25)

7.4.2 Story of a 'Martyr'

In its construction of the 'Our' space, Al Jazeera's narrative integrated the Palestinians' archetypical victim and spent a significant portion of its reporting uncovering assassination of 'resistant fighters' in order to justify its condemnation of the PA negotiators' and denounce the 'major concessions' they offered to Israel, which were considered a treacherous act of betrayal. To reiterate, the space of the 'Others' is not 'a homogenous ideological space, but rather encompasses two distinct political groups, the Zionist Occupational state of Israel and the Arabic Palestinian Authority. Despite their difference, both ideologically and politically, Israel and the PA are relegated to the same space of the 'Others' as will be further demonstrated. This fusion of the Hero and Victim, which is discussed in the previous section, was further intensified in the Arabic video, headlined, "**Story of Hassan al-Madhoun**" (art. 101). The video report detects the story of an archetypal Palestinian 'Martyr':

The aforementioned article concerning the assassination of Hassan al-Madhoun, was reported by Al Jazeera as an act of criminality and a violation of the Palestinian rights, subsequently justifying the act of martyrdom and expected anger directed against the agent 'doer' of the assassination, the Israeli and the PA who were seen as complicit. Introducing the space of Victim, where the Palestinians struggle for their rights, and meanwhile sacrifice their own lives, the views, and particularly anger, of Palestinian martyr's, Hassan al-Madhoun, family are held as justified. Screen capture 7.1.1 depicts a graphic scene of a bombing, reported to be of al-Madhoun and his friends. The graphic reporting of the bombing is not meant to ignore the sensitivity of the viewer. It was done with the intention of evoking anger but at the same time highlighting the ideological connotation of martyrdom. A person who becomes a 'martyr' will gain immortality.

The victim or hero's sacrifice becomes incorporated in the collective memory of the nation, forever living in their conscious. Al Jazeera like many other news organization, will often turn a person tragedy into a heroic action to appease the audience conscious and to also make sense of what often time are considered senseless acts. As Lule (2001) observes: "… the portrayals of victims as heroes seem appropriate and somehow comforting. In their attempts to give meaning to death of an

innocent person, to somehow explain lives lost to fire and floods, news stories turn death into sacrifice and victims into heroes. They appropriately fit in the 'Heroic Victim' Al Jazeera strives to highlight. Myth has been doing that for centuries" (Lule, 2001, p. 54).

Although Lule's observation holds resonance, the status of a martyr in the Arab and Islamic discourses, and specifically the Palestinian people endows the martyr a prestigious symbol among its heroes. 'Martyrdom' in the Palestinian culture has become a legacy to be celebrated and those killed or martyred for the greater cause, are celebrate posthumously with mass funerals paying tribute to them and their families (see screen capture 7.1.3). Streets become, a public discourse, adorned with posters glorifying them and mosques pay tribute to their sacrifice (see screen capture 7.1.2). Screen capture 7.1.6, depicts Hassan al-Madhoun as another member of his family honoring a traditional legacy of martyrdom. The poster depicts the father, Hassan and his two brother who gave themselves to the cause. The aim of such visual symbolic representation is to evoke sentiments of national collective resistance and influence others to become heroes like the ones glorified through martyrdom. The photo draws on national, resistance and religious discourses. The various discourses co-exist within a narrative of heroic actions for the good of the Palestinian and Muslim 'Self'. The space of 'Self' was further enhanced in the following screen captures.

Multiple screen images included below, (screen capture 7.1.4., 7.1.5., and 7.1.8) offer a glimpse of the pain and suffering that the family of the martyr endures following their martyrdom. Themes of love, pain, grief and anger are but a few of the emotions depicted in the images below. Capture 7.1.5 depicts the mother, brother and children sitting under a big poster featuring the 'martyred' Hassan. The dichotomy of the poster gives a binary version of Hassan; the first showing him as the loving family man and the other, heroic resistance. The story of Hassan, the 'martyr' fits within Erich Neumann (1970)'s narrative that states: "The nature of the hero is as manifold as the agonizing situations of real life", he is always "compelled to sacrifice normal living in whatever form it may touch him, whether it be mother, father, child, homeland, sweetheart, brother or friend" (1970, p. 378). It is in these mythical stories that we glimpse "man's eternal longing to find a positive meaning in death, to accept

death as a transition rite to a higher mode of being" (Eliade, 1958, p. 136). His sacrifice is specifically endorsed by positioning the mother of martyr surrounded by her orphaned grandchildren in this family interview.

Through various meaningful elements of the composition of this screen capture, combined with the family members' visually and verbally expressive storytelling, his sacrifice is not meant to go in vain as the community, the society, and Al Jazeera aims to reflect. He will live through his mother and his children, and in the collective conscious of others. His death, we are meant to understand was for a greater cause and therefore, his life did not go to waste but was given for a higher purpose. Furthermore, the symbolic image of his son holding his gun is a testament to the endurance, anger and persistence to fighting the unjust occupation. Martyrdom, as can be inferred from the image is seen to be the only means for this boy to liberate the homeland and to honor his father's legacy by following in his footsteps. Al Jazeera successfully transformed him from a victim to a hero sacrificing his life to the common good of all.

While Al Jazeera aims to reflect the heroism of martyrdom, it also seeks to show the vulnerability of those who are left behind, remaining consistent in its approach of encompassing the archetypical victim. For example, 7.1.4 and 7.1.7, Al Jazeera utilizes compassion moves by exploiting the suffering of the family of the 'martyr' who have become even more disenfranchised with the killing of their son by Israeli aggression and the complicity of the PA. The close-up shots focusing on the grieving mother and the small orphaned boy, further emphasizes the brutality of the 'Other'. Drawing on various discourses of religion, resistance, sacrifice and family love, this portrayal is used as a powerful vehicle that serves Al Jazeera's argument of the brutality of the 'Others' actions, and hence the PA's positions have rightfully excluded the PA from the Palestinian national and religious space.

Screen capture (7.1.1) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 00:13)

Screen capture (7.1.2) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 00:27)

Screen capture (7.1.3) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 00:37)

Screen capture (7.1.4) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 00:45)

Screen capture (7.1.5) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 00:51)

Screen capture (7.1.6) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 02:13)

Screen capture (7.1.7) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 02:25)

Screen capture (7.1.8) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 02:46)

Screen capture (7.1.9) in video 7.1: Story of Hassan al-Madhoun. (Time: 02:36)

7.5 Arafat as a National Hero: Setting the Role Model

Chapter 6 explored how Al Jazeera discursively constructed the PA representation using the mythic trickster figure and thus placing the PA within the space of 'Other' during the coverage of the leaks. It also demonstrated that the exclusion of the PA negotiators as the "Others" was based on their bad workings, unprecedented concessions which serve as a vehicle to aid the Israelis, for example, in Judaification of Jerusalem[14]. Built on arguments (topos) of danger/threat, their bad workings form a threat to 'Us' in this conflict. This section will contrast Al Jazeera's Trickster figure representing the PA leadership with that of the 'heroic' or perceived hero by the majority of Palestinians, Arafat, the former Palestinian president. Al Jazeera's, drew on the collective memories of the Palestinians of Arafat and fabricate a role of model out of him and someone who must be emulated.

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[14] Also see Chapter 5.

The national influence of Arafat's as the former Palestinian president and leader of the PLO was symbolic of a wider rhetoric in the Palestinian national resistance. Both Al Jazeera Arabic and English frequently praised his position during the 2000 Camp David talks. He was celebrated as a national hero who embodied all that forms the mythical heroic archetypical figure (Fowler, 1991, p. 80).

Societies for generations have often dramatized and personified their own core values and ideals through the mythical creation of heroes. The hero adopts one of the principal characteristics of myth, "the creation of exemplary models for a whole society." "In this … we recognize a very general human tendency; namely, to hold up one life-history as a paradigm and turn a historical personage into an archetype" Eliade (1967). Myth therefor, "supplies models for human behavior and, by that very fact, gives meaning and value to life" (1967, p. 32). Heroes embody valuable ideals such as courage, virtue, modesty, hard work, wisdom, and or loyalty. They can also have "a thousand faces", among the most relevant to society is that of the fighter, peacemaker, scientist, leader, writer and so forth.

Arafat became an even greater role mode and exemplary figure posthumously and came back into focus once more during the coverage of the Palestinian Leaks. Al Jazeera exploited his past historical political deals and leadership qualities to draw a comparison between him and the PA. Such was done for the purpose of highlighting his moral characteristic and refusal to make any concessions on Jerusalem to Israel, unlike his predecessors. It is due to his staunch approach when it comes to concessions that he came to embody the characteristic of a national hero as well as a political role model. The Al Jazeera English article headlined, "**A "naïve" approach to negotiations**" (art. 446), gives a contrasting account of the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's 'heroic' approach to negotiations in the 2000 Camp David talks:

> The late Palestinian president Yasser Arafat had no illusions or inhibitions on these matters. When pressured to cross the red line on Jerusalem in 2000 he told President Clinton, "If anyone imagines that I might sign away Jerusalem, he is mistaken. I am not only the leader of the Palestinian people; I am also the vice president of the Islamic Conference. I also defend the rights of Christians. I will not sell Jerusalem."

The above excerpt is telling as it illustrates the antithesis characteristics and approaches of past and present leaders. Arafat's ideological and nationalistic attitude further informed the paradoxical mythic figures; the trickster(s) vs. the hero) Table 7.1 provides an illustration to the contrasting discourse by Al Jazeera in regards to former and present PA members and how these discourses came to shape the Trickster and Hero mythical figures.

Table (7.1)

Past Palestinian negotiator *(Yasser Arafat)*	*Present Palestinian negotiators* *(Abbas, Erekat, etc)*
- He 'had **no such illusions or inhibitions'** on key files.	- Their approach seemed '**naïve**' and '**simplistic**'.
- When '**pressured** to cross the red line' **he did not respond**.	- They seemed '**unrestrained** in the process'.
- He is **not willing to** 'sign away Jerusalem'.	- Their approach 'can be described as cavalier' in terms of Jerusalem file. - They seem **willing to swap lands** 'at an "incredible ratio of 50:1 in Israel's favor'.
- He **took his responsibilities** towards 'Palestinians, Muslims and Christians' **seriously.**	- They offered startling 'concessions that **woefully failed to protect** Palestinian, Arab and Muslim interests.
- He would '**not sell Jerusalem'**.	They offered **'staggering concessions'** in Jerusalem.

The Al Jazeera English article **"'Shocking revelations' on Jerusalem**" (art. 444), highlights the importance of Jerusalem and its legal standing under international Law[15][16]. The Journalist Abdullah states that "Under international law, Jerusalem (including the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount) is regarded as part of the illegally occupied Palestinian territories", and the Clinton's administration's proposal during

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[15] Topos of law.
[16] Topos of law was used across the sample in relation to several themes, particularly Jerusalem (e.g. art. 85 and art. 113) and refugees.

Camp David accords on the status of the Haram have always been "exceedingly problematic" as they recognized Israel's sovereignty of the Haram. Consequently, the proposals were rejected by Arafat the ''national hero' of the negotiations, who acted according to his principles and did not concede on the rights of his people:

> Realizing the dire consequences of such an outcome, Arafat rejected the offer and defended the Palestine Liberation Organization's unwillingness to compromise on the sovereignty of the Haram. His was a principled position that quickly earned him the scorn of Israelis and Americans alike – though universal support at home, and throughout the Islamic world.
>
> In what was by all accounts a bruising encounter, Arafat told Clinton, "The Palestinian leader who will give up Jerusalem has not yet been born. I will not betray my people or the trust they have placed in me. Do not look to me to legitimize the occupation! Of course, it can continue longer, but it cannot last forever."

Another article titled "**Erekat's solution for the Haram**" (art. 420), Swisher gives a further example of the heroic actions by the late president Arafat and his bravery in standing up to the American and Israelis and incurring their wrath but remained loyal to his people and his principles:

> Bill Clinton, the then-US president advanced various proposals for dividing or sharing sovereignty, but Arafat proudly defended the unwillingness of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) to compromise on the Haram al-Sharif's sovereignty. It was a principled position that earned him scorn among Israelis and Americans, but universal support at home and throughout the broader Islamic world.

Significantly, Campbell (1949) explains how news promote the production and reproduction of never-changing model: "the humble birth, the early mark of greatness, the quest, the triumph, and the return" Lule (2001). In this timeless pattern, it is Arafat's "principled position" in the negotiations that was portrayed in terms of a hero's 'triumph'. It is a triumph that Arafat could maintain his position in the Camp David summit despite all the pressures, which constituted a 'quest' or 'trial'. This triumph was evidenced by angering his opponents, or rather enemies, and by pleasing his Palestinian people and the wider community of Muslims worldwide. The rhetoric used by the journalists, Swisher and Abdullah, in the two articles rely on a binary moralism in: The national 'hero', "Arafat proudly defended the unwillingness of the

Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) to compromise on the Haram al-Sharif's sovereignty". However, a 'villain', for example the current Palestinian negotiators, is willing to do so. In his argument of the role the myth of Hero maintains in society, Lule (2001) confirms that:

> The Hero seems to speak directly to individual endeavor and accomplishment. The Hero encourages individuals. Yet the Hero also embodies crucial social values. The Hero shows that hard work or kindness or sacrifice or study will bring success. The Hero enables society.

(Lule, 2001, p. 23)

Such rhetoric was intended to stress the point that, despite the inevitable scorn and challenges the PA would have incurred had they remained steadfast in their approach, there was no conceivable excuse that would justify their complaisance and complicity, because former leaders such as the late Arafat remained loyal to his principles and the will of the people not concerning himself with the 'scorn' of the Israelis and Americans. Although Arafat was always revered as a political figure, he became more so during the coverage of the leaked papers; he became the symbol of national 'pride' and resistance of the Palestinian people and the broader Muslim community.

In present-day storytelling, Lule (2001, p. 100) points out that it is often the case that Hero figures are portrayed in a way where their faults and follies are foregrounded in an attempt to make them more 'familiar' and 'realistic'. For example, Kelsey (2016) illustrates how the *Mail Online* journalistic storytelling of UKIP leader, Nigel Farage, constructed a mythological hero figure in a populism discourse. He demonstrates that one of the characteristic traits of this mythological heroism was foregrounding "certain faults, quirks and character traits to his advantage since they function coherently within this modern archetype" (Kelsey, 2016, p. 6).

Notably, the portrayal of Arafat in an 'ideal image', the archetypical mythical hero with no flaws is part of the moral and ideological storytelling of Al Jazeera of this conflict. There was no contextualization of past events or the conditions Palestinians found themselves under following the Camp David Oslo Accords. Arafat's refusal to negotiate and remaining steadfast on his principles meant delaying a resolution to the conflict and a prolonged suffering of the Palestinians. That is not to say that his

refusal to negotiate on Jerusalem resulted in the disenfranchisement of the Palestinians, but rather to stress that there is a danger in not contextualizing events and only focusing on the personal and moral characteristics of individuals and comparing them to idols that have remained a part of the collective memory of society.

Those negotiations were not particularly represented negatively as they were in past Al Jazeera reporting of the conflict. For example, in her study on the politics of representation in Al Jazeera English 2003 special report on the third anniversary of the al-Aqsa Intifada (Second Intifada), Wenden (2005) argues how Al Jazeera discourse communicated a cynical view of the negotiations in general where:

> [s]elf-serving motivations are attributed to the participants in the peace process. For example, as regards the Oslo and Madrid meetings, "the PLO leadership outside Palestine took part to translate the uprising into political dividends"… They were "nothing but a conspiracy aimed at rescuing Israel from the serious predicament created by the first Intifada".., "a veneer" which legitimized Israel's hold and "stealing" of Palestinian land and resources.
> (Wenden, 2005, p. 96)

Similarly, in Al Jazeera Arabic and English sample, the PA leadership was described as naïve negotiators and self-serving politicians earlier. This suppression of any negative representation of previous negotiations in the case of portraying Arafat's political stance serves in demonising the PA's willingness to breach the principles as being a precedence in the history of Palestinian negotiations. Furthermore, Abdullah's argument reinforces this intentioned demonising by making a contrast between the late Arafat's heroic political stance and the current PA's positions: "[T]en years later the leadership of PLO, now substantially weakened and fragmented, was prepared to deviate from the red line laid down by Arafat." The fact that Jerusalem is promoted as a "red line" signifies that any action that deviates from it is intolerable. Thus the "weakened" and "fragmented" leadership is threatening a symbolic tenet in the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim identity.

In his work on the rituals of national narration in the British press following the 7th July bombings, Kelsey (2015) argues how the symbolic status of the Royal Family and Churchill was often contrasted with and used to challenge the status of Blair as

dishonest and deceitful after his failing foreign policies (starting from the alliance with Bush to the causalities brought by an 'illegal' war). Likewise, in Al Jazeera stories on the recent revelations of the leaked Palestine Papers, the symbolic status of Jerusalem and mythic hero archetypal story of Arafat were often used to delegitimize the PA's positions in these negotiations and to contest their status as a Palestinian national disgrace. In its storytelling, Al Jazeera defines the roles of good and evil and allocates them to the different actors. Al Jazeera is defining the morals: if they desire to maintain their belonging to 'Us', the PA is presupposed to hold a stronger position on Jerusalem in the negotiations. Indeed, Al Jazeera as the "voice of the voiceless" leads the way: it is defining a morality paradigm that others can be part of if they follow 'Al Jazeera's' morals.

7.6 Conclusion

The construction and portrayal of the archetypical 'Victim', 'Heroic victim' and 'Hero' shaped the Al Jazeera narratives. Suffering, injustice and resistance were recurrent themes and informed the characteristics of the archetypical hero of the narrative. Drawing on Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian national ideologies, Al Jazeera's discourse was intended to evoke sentiments of patriotism and mobilize a movement of resistance against the PA or force them to abide by the principles and promises of former leaders such as the late Arafat. This chapter critically addressed the second research question in relation to how space functions ideologically in Al Jazeera's narrative of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. An overview of the construction of the 'Our' space through the use of the archetypal 'Victim', 'Heroic Victim' and 'Hero' was detailed throughout.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

This thesis has evaluated how the recent Israeli/Palestinian negotiations were constructed in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks in 2011. The ideological role of myth and space of the Middle East news discourses in reporting conflicts was thoroughly examined and a look at DMA as flexible tool incorporating complex elements and theoretical aspects, such as space, was analysed. This approach can be extended, beyond the current scholarship focusing on Western discourse and archetypes, to further examine the mythical archetypes in Middle East storytelling of conflicts.

A look at the symbolic role of Jerusalem as a mythical national signpost was heavily scrutinized. An explanation of how various archetypes of social actors following the leaks revealed the role of media in manipulating individuals and casting them as either tricksters, heroes and or victims. Moreover, consideration was given to the ideological role of mythical constructions unfolding in the narrative during the coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks. This thesis outlined the moral storytelling in Al Jazeera news of Middle East conflicts featuring archetypal roles that informed the agency of particular actor groups to be reallocated onto complex ideological spaces of the 'Self' and the 'Other'.

The thesis further demonstrates how Al Jazeera challenged the Palestinian Authority's political status by criticising their approach during the negotiations through the use of various discourses of nationalism, treachery, victimhood, and resistance. The focus of this thesis has been in demonstrating the importance of understanding the role of mythology in moral storytelling and news media, and thereby, offering a significant contribution to the field on archetypal and space roles operating ideologically in the Middle Eastern news discourse of conflicts.

This concluding chapter will offer an insight on how the thesis makes a number of contributions to the field, by providing significant theoretical and empirical insights on the mythological role of journalism. The research outcomes, first, demonstrate that Kelsey's (2015) DMA is a flexible model that can be extended and applied to wider

complex ideological news discourses beyond the current major, Western-focused scholarship. Second, the thesis provides a dynamic understanding of how space, and the introductory concepts previously outlined, offer platforms to various news agencies to manipulate myth and ideological archetypes in order to influence political attitudes and agendas. Therefore, it is useful to revisit my research questions:

1. How were the leaked Palestine Papers reported in Al Jazeera Arabic and English online news discourses in 2011?

2. How did myth and space function ideologically in Al Jazeera's moral storytelling of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in this coverage?

As has been illustrated, this analysis of Al Jazeera's coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks adopts Kelsey's DMA model drawing on ideology and mythology; the two key concepts that theoretically frame this research. However, a synergized approach incorporating other theoretical perspectives, such as space was combined. Kelsey, as well as Barthes, consider myth chronologically in their research, whereas this analysis goes further to examine myth in terms of space, either spatially, religiously, or geographically offering significant insights on multimodal mechanisms of mythology and what it can contribute to the literature. Simultaneously, the DMA model is expanded through this thesis as a framework that incorporates this perspective. This thesis has shown how mythological storytelling draws on the discursive constructions of space and assessing those aspects by analyzing myth in relation to space and ideology. It is implied that the analytical toolkits for understanding space enhances our understanding of archetypes and other key elements of discourse. Five different propositions on myth and space and their ideological roles in Al Jazeera news discourse demonstrated in this analysis will be evaluated in this chapter.

The propositions will illustrate how myth and space were invoked ideologically in a set of complex discursive elements in order to serve various ideological purposes within a unified political agenda. It is noteworthy that these propositions are not used to classify individual articles, as it is often the case. The following propositions will demonstrate key elements in the examination of myth and how it is utilized in a story

to reallocate social actors into different ideological roles within a given place and time. By doing so, the propositions reinforce Kelsey's DMA approach and expand further the current Western scholarship of archetypal functions in Middle Eastern discourses. The approach is further manifested to incorporate different theoretical perspectives, such as space in this research and in future research. Finally, they offer further scholarly insights on how ideological divisions of space can be adapted by myths in discourse to empower news organizations politically.

8.1 Two Faces of Coverage, One Political Agenda

The first dimension of this analysis maintains that news organization providing services in different languages will not necessarily offer identical coverage of the same story. While other studies focused on particular discursive aspects of the discourse of multi-lingual news organizations, mainly employing lexical or ethnographic approaches (see Barkho, 2010; Elbadri, 2010), this thesis expands its analysis qualitatively and quantitatively and adapts the DMA model integrating CDA, mythology, and multimodality. In this analysis, the coverage, on different lingual services, is shown to exhibit discrepancy in both pattern and communication. More specifically, different services maintain a specific discourse accommodating and adapting to different target audiences. Reviewing the statistical landscape of Al Jazeera Arabic and English online coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks in 2011, outlined in Chapter 4, provided a characteristic depiction of discursive production of the online news articles. A statistically significant divergence in the coverage of the two services underlines a wider framework of telling mythic stories in discursively constructing ideological spaces. In the first instance, the intensive coverage of the leaks exposes the agenda and political focus of Al Jazeera in the region. Since its establishment, Al Jazeera has devoted much of its broadcasting time and online news stories to the coverage of the Intifada, war on Gaza and other affairs pertaining to the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Al Jazeera has always presented a clear pro-Palestinian stance on the conflict. Zayani (2005) points out that Al Jazeera's approach in the coverage of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict has entitled Al Jazeera to claim a political role in the Arab world. He maintains that:

> Al Jazeera's intense coverage of the intifada has not only fed Arab fury but also fostered anti-government behaviour in the Arab world, making Arab governments vulnerable to charges and open to criticism that they have not sufficiently supported the Palestinians or decisively acted on the Palestinian cause. In this sense, Al Jazeera places itself as a counter-force to the official indifference towards the plight of the Palestinian people.

> (Zayani, 2005, p. 174)

Within this agenda, the statistical findings marked a clear disparity of information in Arabic and English coverage that further reiterated Abdul-Mageed and Herring (2008) claim that information is offered with a variation based on the target audience. Al Jazeera Arabic received a much more focused, extensive and direct coverage than its counterpart Al Jazeera English. There are several instances where the dissimilarities between the two services – both ideological and multimodal – appeared throughout the period of the coverage of the leaks. They have been thoroughly discussed in the quantitative and qualitative analysis across chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. The differences between the Arabic and English Al Jazeera are more pronounced in the multimodal constructions of Jerusalem; the nature of vulnerability and victimhood of the Palestinian refugees, and the various actors depicting various traits of the archetypal trickster, best exemplified by the Israelis and Palestinian Authority negotiators. The narrative often impresses the notion that the victim is either one who has been assassinated or Martyred, lending a heroic semblance to the storyline. Al Jazeera is proclaimed as a multifaceted agency offering two different linguistic services tailored to suit the needs of many audiences across one of the biggest and most influential regions in the globe. It also serves as a tool of power confronting what it considers the aggressor, and for the relevance of this paper, the aggressors are not only the Israelis, they are the Palestinian negotiators. Hence the next dimension comes to set a more-detailed framework within which qualitative insights are revealed.

8.2 The Traditional Case of 'Self/Other' Space Division in Conflict

The basic construction of news stories in Al Jazeera coverage of the Palestine Papers leaks reflects Foucault's 'exclusion procedures' which entail the processes of 'division' and 'rejection'. They also offer a classic example of van Dijk's ideological

square, as discussed in Chapter 2. This analysis of space provides new perspectives on discursive strategies and multimodal dynamics that function ideologically in the archetypal storytelling of Al Jazeera Arabic and English. A familiar case of the 'Self/Other' dichotomy recapitulates the narratives of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. The conflict is defined through the elements of the national, religious, political, cultural, linguistic, spatial, geographical and metaphorical space division between the two opposing sides. Within this space division, two identities emerge - 'Our' and 'Their' - perspectives of this conflict. Al Jazeera identifies the Palestinians, Arabs and even Muslims within the 'Self' perspective. In contrast, the Israelis, Zionists, Jews, and their allies are identified within the 'Other' perspective. This space division, drawn on van Dijk's ideological square, worked in dichotomies of 'occupied vs. occupation', 'good vs. evil', and most importantly, 'victim vs. villain'.

This series of dichotomies polarized the discourse dividing it into rightness and wrongness. Discourses of rightness often centered on the Palestinian and their struggle to preserve the national identity of Jerusalem and other holy sites; regain the occupied Palestinian territories; and guarantee the rights of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland, as discussed in Chapter 5. Discourses of wrongness were expressed through a focus on the occupation and its practices including, but not limited to displacing Palestinian refugees and oppressing the Palestinians living within the occupied territories. It is noteworthy to mention that this space division only served to invoke a collective consciousness and memory of the Nakba (also known as the Palestinian Catastrophe that took place with the Creation of Israel in 1948). Massacres, Intifadas, civil disobedience, and other Palestinian struggles since the beginning of this conflict were intensified during this period. A familiar, and rather long-established, national narrative of the Palestinian sufferings under occupation and the refugees suggested that the Palestinians hold the 'Right of Return' as a national symbol of resistance and one of the means by which they can fight the 'evil' Israeli occupation and the Zionist injustice. The space division allowed Al Jazeera a strong basis for mapping a moral storytelling of the two spaces upon which it constructed its archetypes of tricksters, victims and heroes.

8.3 Reconstructing an Ideological Space Division

Examining Al Jazeera storytelling of the leaked Papers the research indicates that the dominance of coverage on both the Arabic and English services, was particularly focused on the Palestinian Authority and their negotiation team (see Chapter 6). This is notably significance because it negatively characterized the PA, depicting them as archetypal tricksters, while remaining less vocal on the Israeli negotiators. The blame rested heavily on the PA and the response that followed was a result of the way the storytelling unfolded in the news. The discrepancy highlights Al Jazeera role in 'redefining' the two spaces of the 'Self' and the 'Other' in its mythical storytelling. It also demonstrates the complicated nature of archetypes in journalistic practice and the myriad forms of manipulation and exploitation intended to serve the news producer's interests and or agendas.

Foucault's ideological processes of 'division' and 'rejection' expounds on the notion of the 'Other' in a traditional space division in a conflict such as the Israeli/Palestinian one. However, his methods do not account for Al Jazeera 're-division' and 're-definition' of space and 're-allocation' of the different social actors into the two spaces of the 'Self' and the 'Other'. As has been previously demonstrated in this research a historical narrative shift during the coverage of this conflict complicated the construction the fabrication of this ideological space division. The narrative inspired a new discourse on Jerusalem redefining its role as a symbolic marker, as explored in Chapter 5. Much of the discourse centered on Jerusalem as exclusively embodying the Palestinian space and identity reinforcing its direct association with the 'Self'. Other discourse underlined visually and textually how this space echoes the 'Self'. As an example, the narrative around the landscape of Jerusalem as an occupied space manifested a set of visual and lexical elements of meanings that are exclusively Palestinian. Albeit there were periods in which this space was used to promote a set of nationalistic ideological values accentuating a national Palestinian identity, there were other periods of complications when this discourse negated the development of this identity, by giving rise to certain ideologies while suppressing others.

 To further elaborate on these complications, Al Jazeera succeeded in incorporating the traditional nationalistic Arabic space of Jerusalem in its English visual discourse.

The Arabic visual narrative opened up connotations of Islamic ideological values and historical references to resistance. For example, the Haram Complex worked as a visual metaphor of the Palestinian national identity foregrounding the Arabic and Islamic traditions, while suppressing the Christian tradition, not to mention any mention of the Jewish tradition layer of the city. The different depictions of the city, catering to different audiences, through the articulate use of language, was facilitated by drawing on the collective memory of the Palestinians and was able to resonate with both audiences. Nevertheless, this attempt was not free from controversy, as it failed to account and incorporate the non-Muslim Palestinians, mainly the Christians in its narrative. Consequently, the ideological space construction of Jerusalem contradicted its own affirmation of an exclusive and unified Palestinian space.

Despite the contradictions, the ideological representation of Jerusalem as a Palestinian symbol remained unchallenged by complications of ideological meanings. Certain discursive elements, including, but not limited to place-naming, remained a strong point of reference a unified and exclusive Palestinian space free of Jewish and Israeli influence. The narrative surrounding Jerusalem's various names placed emphasis on its political landscape as a space where ideological and hegemonic powers clash. This also served to legitimize the Palestinian resistance and vilify the Israeli occupation. The narrative enabled the formulation of a Palestinian identity with ownership of the landscape, and the Israeli occupation with its attempts at Judaification was seen as a threat to the 'Our' space of Jerusalem. Zionism as its own ideology was viewed as the source of this threat and consequently was responsible for situating all Israelis in the 'Other' space category. The same argument contends that the social actors aiding the occupation are accomplices of the Israelis. As such, they are seen as weak and dangerous and must be allocated into the 'Other' space, irrespective of their nationality, religion, and or race. The re-allocation of the involved social actors from the 'Self' into the 'Other' spaces allowed for the possibility of scapegoating any of the 'undesired', 'competitive' actors.

8.4 The Use of 'Trickster' Archetype in Reconstructing 'Their' Space

Drawing from works of Barthes, Campbell, Lule and Kelsey on the role of myth in journalism (see Chapter 2), the thesis has demonstrated how particular actors in news stories reported by Al Jazeera during the leaks were mythically constructed as archetypal figures: "Tricksters", "Heroes", or "Victims". The thesis further explored the role of myth as an ideological space division where the archetypes of 'Victims' and 'Heroes' belong to the space of the 'Self', and the archetype of 'Trickster' belong to the 'Other' space. Chapters 6 and 7 explore the narrative of Al Jazeera Arabic and English and their ability to contrive two different groups, one being the Israeli and American negotiators characterized as archetypal tricksters and the other group, the Palestinians characterized as Victims and or Heroes. Discourses of 'treachery', 'incompetence', 'occupation', 'imperialism', and 'victimhood' was a recurring theme throughout the coverage. The PA's presence in Al Jazeera storytelling was significantly large in comparison with other social groups in the landscape of this sample and was invariably seen as antagonistic.

During the coverage, the PA received most of the spotlight. The different approaches and strategies used by Al Jazeera Arabic and English did not alter much the image of the PA in the reporting and consistently depicted their character as the 'evil' villains in the story as it unfolded. Their 'bad' apathetic approach to the negotiations brought havoc on 'innocent' Palestinian actors. As was reflected in Chapter 6, Al Jazeera's rhetoric on the Israeli/Palestinian negotiations exhibited an inequality in its representation of status and power. Two ideological and hegemonic dichotomies were intertwined in Arabic and English discourses: 'Israelis/PA' as 'occupier/occupied' and 'masculine/feminine', and thus as 'suppressor/suppressed.

The ideological paradigms were problematic. Complications emerged from combining different rhetoric in an attempt to ascertain the PA's complicity during the negotiations. As an example of their complicity, they were accused of offering many concessions to the Israelis and assuming a submissive role during their negotiations with their Israeli counterpart. The focus on 'submissiveness' implied implicit consent and complicity by the PA in their dealings with the Israelis; an unambiguous trait in the complex trickster archetype characterization of the PA in Al Jazeera storytelling.

The leadership of the PA and negotiators is seen as a 'destructive' leadership. Chapter 6 delineates the rationale behind this viewpoint. As O'Connor *et al.* (1995) assert, "Leaders are not always interested in effecting change for the purpose of benefiting the organization and its members as a whole; rather, the leader maybe more interested in personal outcomes" (1995, p. 529), and thus, they become self-serving destructive leaders. It is therefore understandable why the PA is delegated the role of Trickster in this research. They are the trickster that manifests an array of conceptual complexities such as: a trickster who is weak and self-serving, naïve, but an opportunist, a clown who is also wicked, incompetent yet deceitful. This is rather contradictory and problematic, yet served to successfully destroy the symbolic role of the Palestinian leadership. In a region well known for its powerful visual communication of leadership, the symbolic image of the PA leadership became challenged in the narrative that followed, creating a paradoxical trickster archetype out of them. The visual discourses, in particular, the one focused on 'deceit', 'weakness', and 'clownishness' was a recurring theme in this narrative and can be fully comprehended by this research sample.

The iconic image of the PA President, Mahmoud Abbas, as the protector of the Palestinian people was demolished by the constant undermining of his leadership slogan "firm on principles". One of the most iconic moments that can best exemplify how Abbas has come to lose his credibility, was when he was denied a request from the Israelis for a map. Humiliated, he was forced to copy it on a napkin paper symbolizing a power divide and his indisputable weakness. The map symbolized the homeland of the Palestinian people. The refusal by the Israelis to offer a printed copy, and Abbas's impotence and compliance can be viewed as an analogy of the power divide. Abbas has failed the people through his actions, and Israel has demonstrated its hegemony over the leadership, the people and the land. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that following the rhetoric during the coverage on his leadership, Abbas eventually lost much of his credibility and influence over many of the Palestinians.

The perpetual portrayal of clownish Tricksters never ceased throughout the coverage of the leaks. The leaks exposed the immature, disregardful, apathetic and perilous behavior of the Palestinian negotiator's. At one point, the coverage featured footage of laughter and inappropriate intimacy with the 'Other' side; the Israelis. This attitude

undermined the grievousness of the Palestinians and ridiculed their long-standing struggle in this conflict. The PA's attitude during the negotiation diminished the atrocities the Israeli's were accused of, and debilitated the countless UN resolutions condemning these atrocities since the beginning of Nakba. Al Jazeera succeeded in challenging the unequal power relations between the PA's leadership and the Palestinians by dismantling the symbolic image of the PA and consequently its dominance over the Palestinian people.

Chapter 6 underscored the complex nature of the trickster archetype, going beyond the weakness and deceit of politicians. Much of the narrative depicted the PA's as naïve performers, who have failed to respect their position and behave professionally in view of the seriousness of the political situation and the uncompromising negotiations. Chapter 6 further underlined how the personality of a self-serving opportunistic politicians facilitated the direct association between the trickster and the space of the 'Other'.

The basis of 'incompetence' 'wickedness', 'self-serving attitude' and 'treachery' encapsulated the narrative of the PA's attitudes and political position as reflected in the leaked Papers. The PA came to be viewed as bullies, not only to their own people but to their political opponents; Hamas. Subsequently, they came to be viewed as accomplices with the enemy, committing treason owing to their ineptitude. In accordance with the view that the PA serves to encompass a complex trickster archetype and one that has become rejected from the space of the 'Self' and repositioned in the space of the 'Other', the PA is further viewed as a destructive entity. An entity that has willingly consented to sell the rights of their people, and to frame it in a moralistic view; an entity that has sold their 'soul to the devil'.

As has been demonstrated in the analysis of the Trickster archetype, it is often the case that significant factors accounting for Trickster's 'evil' behaviour, are often omitted. To further illustrate, the economic, military and diplomatic prowess, along with other on-ground factors that has given the Israelis an advantage were overlooked during the coverage of leaked Palestine Papers. The negotiations were often considered only within the context of a weakness and political incompetence, and revealed the PA's own self-interest, at the expense of their own citizens.

Al Jazeera's casted a light on the PA's agency and their disagreeable affairs, guaranteeing a fluctuating archetypal characteristic oscillating between a trickster and a scapegoat. This research asserts that the ad hominem of various agents and their casting as 'villain' during conflict reporting is not exclusively relegated to the 'Others'. Comparatively, the trickster archetype can be ascribed to the social actors belonging to the space of the 'Self' but who do not hold the same set of values as those belonging in the space of 'Self' or indeed the news organization' political agenda. Perceptibly, the character of archetypal tricksters is complex. They are typified and exploited ideologically to serve the purpose of news organisations in their moral storytelling narratives, as they seek to either empower or undermine particular groups.

8.5 The Use of 'Victim' and 'Saviour/Hero' Archetypes in Reconstructing 'Our' Space

The research further considered the archetypes belonging to that the space of 'Self'. The archetype of 'Victim' was frequently portrayed during the storytelling of the leaks, as explored in Chapter 7. The Palestinian refugees were consistently exhibited as victims of the conflict and the coverage of the leaks on Al Jazeera's. The theme of narratives of the 'suffering' and 'victimhood' were a recurrent narrative in news articles presented in this research sample. The vulnerability of the Palestinians was expressed through the discourse of humanization and infantilizing, specifically of Palestinian elderly and children. The national Palestinian narrative surrounding the Nakba transformed the language of suffering, 'hardship' and 'trauma' interlinking them permanently in the collective memory of the Palestinians and the events of the 'Nakba'. The Palestinians were not only victims of the Israeli occupation and aggression, but they were also victims of their own government – the PA. The concessions on the refugees right of return made of the PA to the Israelis, directly and indirectly influenced the suffering of the Palestinians, victimizing them even more. The terminology of 'conspiracy' and 'accomplice' centered on the PA was a recurring theme throughout this research sample as well as the terminology focusing on the archetypal 'Heroic Victim', that were mainly comprised of the assassinated

Palestinian 'martyrs'. This discourse succeeded in shifting the focus to, 'resistance' and 'sacrifice' aggrandizing the rhetoric of patriarchal values throughout the coverage of the leaks.

The discourse of archetypes focusing on 'Victim' and the 'Heroic Victim' in addition to the 'suffering', 'injustice' and 'resistance' drew on Arab, Islamic, and Palestinian national ideologies setting the tone for future reporting on Al Jazeera. The purpose was to evoke a sense of patriotism and defiance to be used against the PA as punishment for their concessions on the refugees and their right of return. However, the use of such archetypes can in itself victimize the subjects as Ludwig (2013) points out. He warns against using the term refugee as an only label to identify the Palestinians exiled. He resolves that "while it may be tempting for scholars, the media, NGOs, and refugees themselves to use images of distressed refugees to draw attention to 'the greater cause,' such images and labeling can be another form of victimization" (2013, pp. 15-6). It is understandable, that Palestinians have suffered immensely upon their expulsion from their land, forced to live in foreign and at times hostile countries and while it is rational for them to focus on this suffering to highlight their plight and draw attention to the oppression Israel has caused them, continuous use of the label 'refugee' and 'victims' ultimately reduces them to only victims. Victimization and refugee labels become inherently a part of their existence and national identity, stripping them of their rich culture, resistance and perseverance.

Further to the analysis of archetypal characters and the definition of the 'Self' space, we are able to gain a better understanding of how Al Jazeera Arabic and English storytelling constructed another Palestinian group, or more specifically an individual embodying the foundations of an archetypal 'Hero'. The collective memory of the Palestinians during the period was sparked by the rhetoric of 'heroism' and 'national resistance' surrounding the former Palestinian president and leader of the PLO, Arafat, who became the symbol of the archetypical 'Hero'. Additionally, rhetoric of 'bravery', 'loyalty', and 'patriotism' became a recurring theme in both Al Jazeera Arabic and English reporting, as highlighted in this research sample. Despite Arafat's previous shortcoming in political negotiations, he became a champion of the people, they praised and hailed him as a national hero; someone who would not have made concessions to the Israelis unlike his successors the PA. Al Jazeera portrayed him as

the archetypal hero suppressing all his shortcomings and weaknesses and cast him as the ideal role model for society and an example of patriarchy and a quintessential role model to other politicians. The juxtaposition between Arafat's and the PA leaders' stances on the negotiations influenced the rhetoric surrounding heroism and created a hero of Arafat, a champion of the Palestinians, a defender of their rights, values and principles. Hailing Arafat as a Palestinian hero manifesting national pride and resistance served to demonize further the PA's leadership made more acute as a result of their defiance to long standing traditions of principled positions in negotiations maintained by previous 'heroes'.

8.6 Further Implications

As Miller (1988) once excogitated, "there is no Big Brother out there watching you – not because there isn't a Big Brother, but because Big Brother is you, watching" (Miller, 1988, p. 331). In his analysis of George Orwell's novel Nineteen Eighty-Four, Miller observed that the hegemony applied by the governments is internalized; therefore, the real actors of dominance becomes the 'Self', regulated by the strategies of governing regimes' as they manipulate their citizens into submission. He points out that the actual controller is the 'Self'; and if the 'Self' becomes aware, it becomes possible to rid itself of the propaganda of submission to the authorities and recognize manipulation, consequently becoming. As can be observed in the Middle East within the past decade, non-state-owned news media have sprung and succeeded; albeit to a marginal level, in questioning the authorities' propagandas and control over their citizens. Al Jazeera, was much more successful through its coverage on Middle Eastern affairs in brazenly challenging the various authorities in the region and became an effective news Media outlet that can fairly be argued, assisted in the toppling of various regimes later in the region.

Built on topoi of threat and danger, the discursive elements of representing Jerusalem as a Palestinian symbol deployed patriotism and resistance against not only the Israeli occupation but also intertwined are the recent negotiations that indicated 'non-national' concessions on Jerusalem, 'Our' space. The Haram al-Sharif's symbolic

power as a national and reverend Islamic site has been a strong constituent in challenging the authority's complacency during the negotiation, because it was viewed as an abandonment of inherent right of the Palestinians; a surrender of the national symbol and national treasure. National symbols, as can be asserted, are reconstructed within an ideological space division and often become a vehicle for retelling mythological stories in the news reporting. They challenge the hegemony of political institutions because they represent something much more significant, and that is a cultural struggle for identity and self-perseverance.

There has been and continues to be a unifying view on both Al Jazeera websites that Jerusalem has been and will continue to be the national symbol of the Palestinian people. It is a symbol, so powerful, it can trigger spontaneous rebellion, fuel the passions of resistance and keep the struggle for rights and identity ongoing. Needless to say, when national symbols become effective in mobilizing a nationalist force on what is perceived to be an 'objective' news organization, issues of concern arise. The logic behind such concern, is that any individual can be casted as a 'Trickster', a 'Hero', or even a 'Victim'. The media can manipulate the outcome through the use of symbolism to provoke national sentiments and create villains and heroes in already volatile situations. In the chaos that ensues as a result, people often fail to ask the important questions such: Who is telling the stories? Why are they being told? And whose interest are they serving? Al Jazeera's disclosure of the files on Jerusalem and refugee in the leaked Palestine Papers was intended to provoke national sentiments, aggrandize the symbolic role of Jerusalem, and invoke compassion and sympathy to the sufferings of the refugees as they stirred the collective memory of the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim alike. This was mainly done for the Al Jazeera Arabic audience, whereas, for the audience of Al Jazeera English the aim was to inspire the international community to empathize with the Palestinians giving birth to a new collective memory for the audience not affiliated with the Palestinian cause.

It can be argued that journalists draw on their own cultural identity as they seek to represent a story. Humans are a product of their social practices and we often see these practices reflected in journalistic articles and the Media. Once an idea becomes ingrained in the minds of others through the telling and retelling of it, it becomes

difficult to challenge. As an example, the case of Jerusalem being sold as the nationalist symbol of the people and the PA as the archetypal 'Tricksters', while the Palestinians being represented as both 'Victims' and 'Heroes'. The symbolic role of Jerusalem further contributed to the notion of national resistance and the politically and ideologically significance of it can be measures in how the audience eventually perceived the news following the leaks. Also, it is the amenability in which particular groups are cast to perform multiple archetypal roles in different national narratives that matters.

This research has provided an expansive analysis of the myth and ideological space in both the Al Jazeera Arabic and English moral storytelling of the conflicts in the Middle East. It has provided a critique on the power of myth and ideological perceptions in the region. It has sought to expand our understanding on how the agency of particular groups such as archetypes of 'Tricksters' and 'Victims' can be manipulated, and then reconstructed to alter the roles of interested parties in news storytelling in troublesome regions and multi-sided conflicts.

Appendices

Appendix I: Coding Schedule

1. General Description

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 01	Title	(Please refer to Appendix II and III)
Q 02	Website	1=Arabic 2=English
Q 03	Date	dd.mm.yy
Q 04	Position	1=Spotlight Page 2=non-Spotlight Page
Q 05	Item type	1=written text 2=video 3=programme 4=photo 5=poll 6=public survey
Q 06	Written text type	0=Not Applicable 1=Official document 2=profile 3=interactive file 4= news article
Q 07	Article type	0=Not Applicable 1=Leaked documents 2=reacting to leaks
Q 08	Theme	0=Not Applicable 1=Jerusalem and Other Palestinian territories 2=Refugees 3=Revelation of Negotiations 4=Others

2. Actors in Articles
2.1. Main Focus

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 09	Main focus (actors)	(Please refer to Appendix IV)
Q 10	Main focus (periods)	0=Not Applicable 1=Talks 2=After leaks 3=Others 4=Multiple periods
Q 11	Total number of actors	0-1-2-...

2.2. General Tone towards Actors

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 12	The Palestinian Authority	0=Not Applicable
Q 13	Hamas	1=positive
Q 14	Other Palestinians	2=negative
Q 15	Israel	3=neutral
Q 16	U.S	
Q 17	Others	

2.3. Number of Actors

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 18	Palestinian Authority	0-1-2-...
Q 19	Hamas	
Q 20	Other Palestinians	
Q 21	Israel	
Q 22	United States	
Q 23	Others	

2.4. Frequency of Reference to Actors

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 24	Palestinian Authority	0-1-2-...
Q 25	Hamas	
Q 26	Other Palestinians	
Q 27	Israel	
Q 28	United States	
Q 29	Others	

2.5. Size of Direct Quotations

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 30	Palestinian Authority	0-1-2-...
Q 31	Hamas	
Q 32	Other Palestinians	
Q 33	Israel	
Q 34	United States	
Q 35	Others	

2.6. Size of Paraphrasing Quotations

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE	VALUES
Q 36	Palestinian Authority	0-1-2-...
Q 37	Hamas	
Q 38	Other Palestinians	
Q 39	Israel	
Q 40	United States	

Q 41	Others	

Appendix II: Al Jazeera Arabic Articles

This appendix lists all Al Jazeera Arabic articles that compose the Arabic sample in this research. The following list includes:

1. the headline of the article in the original language: Arabic (as coded in the statistical analysis)
2. the headline of the article (translated into English)
3. the date of online publication
4. the author name of the article
5. the hyperlink of the article (all last accessed on 14th January, 2017)

Al Jazeera Arabic Page of Palestine Papers:
(The Official Page: Palestine.. Negotiation Documents)
الصفحة الرئيسية: فلسطين .. سجلات التفاوض
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/873707D3-61B8-415F-AF13-DB5E0F854888.htm?GoogleStatID=41

Al Jazeera Transparency Page (Arabic):
كشاف الجزيرة
http://transparency.aljazeera.net/ar

art. 1. After he turned his back to Rice's promise to approve 67 borders
Obama returns negotiations back to square one
بعد أن أدار ظهره لوعد رايس باعتماد حدود 67
أوباما يعيد المفاوضات للمربع الأول
(29th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/831042B1-FD7A-4226-BE2E-E354E670745E.htm

art. 2. Seeking to overthrow Hamas,
PA asked Israel to occupy Gaza
ضمن سعيها لإسقاط حماس في غزة
السلطة طلبت من إسرائيل احتلال غزة
(28th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/91349EA0-3E28-4037-8D3E-54A0EADE6C9D.htm

art. 3. According to contents of confidential documents,
Washington is an Israeli-biased mediator
وفقا لفحوى وثائق سرية
واشنطن وسيط منحاز لإسرائيل
(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/7B3B922C-7A6E-4F0B-8181-F4267CB70E24.htm

art. 4. Sharp criticism from PA to Arab countries
نقد لاذع من السلطة لدول عربية
(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/archive/pages/72c94428-1e5a-4771-aab2-b7e3be6a171c/071c2fc3-4340-4c65-b9ac-9c730de6792b

art. 5. Abbas knew of war on Gaza beforehand
عباس علم بحرب غزة قبل وقوعها
(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E69C12EE-C58D-400C-B583-D85BA8347914.htm

art. 6. Academics: Palestinian Security blocks resistance
أكاديميون: الأمن الفلسطيني يمنع المقاومة
(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/AAEA8C35-E4B0-40C3-8CE2-B84EEE20DCFD.htm

art. 7. Hamas calls for a revolution against PA
حماس تدعو لثورة ضد السلطة
(26th January 2011, Deaa Alkahlot)
http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2011/1/26/%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B3-%D8%AA%D8%AF%D8%B9%D9%88-%D9%84%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%B6%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A9

art. 8. Students break into Palestine Mission in London
طلبة يقتحمون البعثة الفلسطينية بلندن
(22nd February 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2012/2/22/%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D9%8A%D9%82%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B9%D8%AB%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D9%84%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%86

art. 9. Negotiation confidential documents
PA postponed "Goldstone" for the negotiations
وثائق المفاوضات السرية
السلطة أجلت "غولدستون" للمفاوضات
(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/33FE7E50-99D9-4FA4-A790-EE3D58411D54.htm

art. 10. Palestine Papers in British Press
الوثائق الفلسطينية في صحف بريطانيا
(26th January 2011, British Press)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/64EBAC71-958D-46D1-97CE-764FA0D6ED0B.htm

art. 11. Based on Al Jazeera Papers
A call in London for resignation of Palestinian Authority
على خلفية وثائق الجزيرة
دعوة بلندن لاستقالة السلطة الفلسطينية
(26th January 2011, Madin Deriye)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/8E7E2C13-1CF8-453F-852F-F7CA3B4A9FAE.htm

art. 12. Palestine Papers in British Press

الوثائق الفلسطينية في صحف بريطانيا

(26th January 2011, British Press)

http://www.aljazeera.net/news/presstour/2011/1/26/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8
8%D8%AB%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%82-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86
%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%B5%D8%AD%D9%81-
%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%
A7

art. 13. Any chance for reconciliation between Hamas and Fatah?

هل تبقى فرصة لمصالحة حماس وفتح؟

(27th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)

http://www.aljazeera.net/archive/pages/72c94428-1e5a-4771-aab2-
b7e3be6a171c/f6fdf975-3afd-4978-bb16-971ffe5c7915

art. 14. The security coordination is a defence of the Zionists' security

التنسيق الأمني دفاع عن أمن الصهاينة

(21st February 2011, Abd as-Sattar Qasm)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/DC0EADF1-0541-48F9-A47D-F58FA7B2FF47.htm

art. 15. Despite the years, oppression, and distress
        Palestinian refugees are firm on principle

رغم السنين و القهر و العسر
اللاجئون الفلسطينيون ثابتون على المبدأ

(25th January 2011, Laila Al-Arian)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F82F36E1-BFC0-4C2D-80B1-6473FF4EFFC8.htm

art. 16. The Palestinians misunderstood the Israeli motives
        Why is not a Palestinian state being established?

الفلسطينيون أساؤوا فهم الدوافع الإسرائيلية
لماذا لا تقوم دولة فلسطينية؟

(25th January 2011, Alastair Crooke)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/3D85FD40-D763-48D8-8862-841BC67E68EF.htm

art. 17. PA leadership betrayed Palestinian people

قيادات السلطة خانت الشعب الفلسطيني

(27th January 2011, Los Angeles Times)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/511F5A2A-14D6-4E9B-B0A2-C159A92A8C64.htm

art. 18. Palestinian Authority.. Down.. Live!!

السلطة الفلسطينية.. تسقط.. تعيش!!

(24th January 2011, Mohsen Saleh)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/104D86FF-4AD4-4EB0-ADDA-1B36F0D48BDE.htm

art. 19. Concessions might increase Israeli greediness

التنازلات قد تزيد جشع إسرائيل

(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F4AB2D0F-99B7-4792-BFF0-CD83BA68A359.htm

art. 20. The Palestinian refugees in negotiation Papers
اللاجئون الفلسطينيون في وثائق التفاوض
(26th January 2011, Tarek Ahmad Hammoud)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C12C4759-2B23-48C0-80A9-B66499037F5D.htm

art. 21. Among concerns over displacement of 1948 Arabs
Obama turned against 1967 borders
وسط مخاوف من تهجير عرب 48
انقلاب أوباما على حدود 1967
(24th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
**http://www.aljazeera.net/archive/pages/72c94428-1e5a-4771-aab2-
b7e3be6a171c/a5f5787a-60b3-4198-b754-ae8bb8eadc33**

art. 22. Obama is enemy of Arabs and Muslims
أوباما عدو العرب والمسلمين
(25th January 2011, Mounir Chafiq)
**http://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/opinions/2011/1/25/%D8%A3%D9%88
%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A7-%D8%B9%D8%AF%D9%88-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8-
%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8A
%D9%86**

art. 23. When Al Jazeera and sisters caught perplexed regimes of fear
يوم ضبطت الجزيرة وأخواتها نظم الخوف المرتبكة
(25th January 2011, Ghazi Dahman)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/855757EB-E403-4C23-8DF8-D9FDB4EF053A.htm

art. 24. Negotiation Papers expose PA's positions
محاضر التفاوض إذ تفضح مواقف السلطة
(23rd January 2011, Yaser Zaatreh)
**http://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/opinions/2011/1/23/%D9%85%D8%AD
%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%B1-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D9%88%D8%B6-
%D8%A5%D8%B0-%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%B6%D8%AD-
%D9%85%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%82%D9%81-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A9**

art. 25. Hassan al-Madhoun
حسن المدهون
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B9E71DD5-DD2B-4B8C-89EA-34FBF3E6EA1D.htm

art. 26. Fawzi Abu al-Qarea
فوزي أبو القرع
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/564B3857-9D01-41E0-821B-7C92115FE3A3.htm

art. 27. General Nasr Yousef

اللواء نصر يوسف

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C8D26000-B406-44F3-92E3-ECBA1D31CED4.htm

art. 28. Erekat.. Snatching a country with negotiations

عريقات.. انتزاع وطن بالمفاوضات

(29th September 2009, Mohammed Daoud)

http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/EF0EEA92-C468-4306-B16B-D4728E53068D.htm

art. 29. Most prominent Israeli negotiators

أبرز المفاوضين الإسرائيليين

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/archive/pages/72c94428-1e5a-4771-aab2-b7e3be6a171c/52beeabd-bd9f-4365-a2c5-4f02612225e3

art. 30. Livni.. The politician and negotiator

ليفني.. السياسية والمفاوضة

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

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حازم عطا الله

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art. 32. Dayton.. Leader of Palestine

دايتون.. زعيم فلسطين

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art. 33. Most prominent Palestinian negotiators

أبرز المفاوضين الفلسطينيين

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أبرز المفاوضين الأميركيين بعملية السلام

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

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art. 35. PA offered to serve Washington with security

السلطة عرضت خدمة واشنطن أمنيا

(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

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art. 36. Call on Public trial of PA leaders
دعوة لمحاكمة شعبية لقادة السلطة
(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/60935A09-DA14-4DE5-9AC8-8D100E288CE7.htm

art. 37. Israeli writer: PA converted to a group isolated from its people
Peres supports Mahmoud Abbas in face of leaks
كاتبة إسرائيلية: السلطة تحولت إلى جماعة منقطعة عن شعبها
بيريز يدعم محمود عباس بمواجهة التسريبات
(27th January 2011, Wadee' Awawdeh)
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art. 39. Israel informed PA of offense on Gaza
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(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 40. Israeli rejection of existence of future Palestinian army
Israel wants Palestine without claws or wings
رفض إسرائيلي لوجود جيش فلسطيني مستقبلي
إسرائيل تريد فلسطين بلا مخالب ولا أجنحة
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السلطة: الأمن سعى لمصلحة الشعب
(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
**http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2011/1/26/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3
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%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-
%D8%B3%D8%B9%D9%89-
%D9%85%D8%B5%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A9-
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هل علمت السلطة مسبقا بحرب غزة؟
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السلطة طبقت خطة بريطانية بغزة
(27th January 2011, Deaa Alkahlot)
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art. 44. Reunification files to liquidating return of refugees
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(26th January 2011, Mohammad Mohsen Watad)
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art. 45. PA coordinated with Occupation to target the Resistance
السلطة نسقت مع الاحتلال لاستهداف المقاومة
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 46. Loss of EU voice in "peace process"
Blair plan to fight armed action ''Alertness''
ضياع صوت الاتحاد الأوروبي في "عملية السلام"
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(25th January 2011, Alastair Crooke)
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 49. Text of Hassan al-Madhoun assassination order document
نص وثيقة الأمر باغتيال حسن المدهون
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 51. In the light of contents of PA
Concerns over rights of refugees in Jordan
في ظل ما جاء بسجلات التفاوض
قلق على حقوق اللاجئين في الأردن
(26th January 2011, Muhammad Najjar)
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سجلات التفاوض "أثبتت شكوكا" قديمة
(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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ديرمر ينتقد تعامل واشنطن مع دحلان
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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(2nd January 2008, Kamal Alkaseer)
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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السلطة تنازلت عن حدود 67
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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كشاف الجزيرة موقع يحوي الوثائق
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 64. In his comments on Al Jazeera Papers
Israel media supports Palestinian Authority
في معرض تعليقه على وثائق الجزيرة
إعلام إسرائيل يساند السلطة الفلسطينية
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 65. Member of Al-Quds and Borders Committee in negotiation team (1992-2001)
Al-Tafakji confirms the credibility of Al Jazeera Papers
عضو لجنة القدس و الحدود بطاقم المفاوضات (1992-2001)
التفكجي يؤكد صدقية وثائق الجزيرة
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 66. Accusing Al Jazeera of conspiring to weaken Abbas
اتهام الجزيرة بالتآمر لإضعاف عباس
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 67. In the light of Jordan's fear to lose its "financial rights"
Jordanian/Palestinian class over the refugees
في ظل خشية الأردن من ضياع "حقوقه المالية"
صدام اردني فلسطيني حول اللاجئين
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 68. Advisor of Olmert: the Papers are true
مستشار أولمرت: الوثائق صحيحة
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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السلطة لا تمانع في "يهودية" اسرائيل
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 71. Israel used negotiations to deport the Arabs
إسرائيل استغلت التفاوض لترحيل العرب
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 72. Al Jazeera in Negotiation Papers

الجزيرة في سجلات التفاوض

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/4FB06F52-98AB-45BA-A0DC-2E55E49CE91B.htm

art. 73. Academics: compromise on refugees cause

أكاديميون: مساومة بقضية اللاجئين

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

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art. 74. Shaath: Refugees' referendum is not abiding

شعث: استفتاء اللاجئين ملزم لأي اتفاق

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http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/AC2869C0-6E39-4D98-B025-9757524A994C.htm

art. 75. Call on stepping down of Palestinian Authority

مطالبة بتنحي السلطة الفلسطينية

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E0232F26-8843-41B2-9A37-993DBD22A8A4.htm

art. 76. Feeling desperate
Independent: PA offered all concessions

في ظل الشعور باليأس

إندبندنت: السلطة قدمت كل التنازلات

(25th January 2011, The Independent)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9D8A733E-1E94-4895-813C-3A4C0BD3C50A.htm

art. 77. Palestinian division over leaked Papers

انقسام فلسطيني إزاء الوثائق المسربة

(25th January 2011, Awad AlRajjob)

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art. 78. Fact finding committee on Negotiation Papers

لجنة لتقصي وثائق المفاوضات

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

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art. 79. Jordan denied knowledge of Palestinian concessions
Mixed reactions over Negotiation Papers
الأردن نفى علمه بالتنازلات الفلسطينية
ردود متباينة على وثائق المفاوضات
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
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art. 80. Commenting on leaked Negotiation Papers
Raef Najem: Israel will demolish "al-Aqsa"
تعليقا على وثائق المفاوضات المسربة
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art. 81. Fatah decides on boycotting Al Jazeera
فتح تقرر مقاطعة الجزيرة
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art. 82. PA ready to publish Negotiation Papers
السلطة مستعدة لنشر وثائق المفاوضات
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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تنازلات غير مسبوقة للسلطة بالحرم
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/51B90706-4394-4DC3-9535-3542E000B4C4.htm

art. 84. According to confidential Papers disclosed to Al Jazeera
Authority willing to swap 'Sheikh Jarrah'
وفق وثائق سرية اطلعت عليها الجزيرة
السلطة مستعدة لمبادلة "الشيخ جراح"
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
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art. 85. Does judaisation of Jerusalem go with official Palestinian silence?

هل يتم تهويد القدس بصمت فلسطيني رسمي؟

(20th May 2009, Al Jazeera)

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art. 86. Abed Rabbo: Qatar behind Al Jazeera Papers

عبد ربه: قطر وراء وثائق الجزيرة

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E7D58FF7-05E1-45B4-AA46-CF204BF13A2E.htm

art. 87. Abbas: We informed Arabs on details of negotiations

عباس: أخبرنا العرب بتفاصيل التفاوض

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C68B70AF-C45E-4FDB-8DBE-51450FC40857.htm

art. 88. Guardian monitors reactions over Al Jazeera Papers

غارديان ترصد أصداء وثائق الجزيرة

(24th January 2011, Guardian)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/D7CD313F-905C-4469-9C37-CB1552E9ED01.htm

art. 89. "Islamic Action Front" condemns PA's renunciation

"العمل الإسلامي" يدين تفريط السلطة

(24th January 2011, Muhammad Najjar)

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art. 90. In an interview with Al Jazeera Net
Najem: Reality is worse than Al Jazeera Papers

في حوار مع الجزيرة نت

نجم: الواقع أسوأ من وثائق الجزيرة

(24th January 2011, Muhammad Najjar)

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art. 91. Altafakji: Israel won biggest "Quds"

التفكجي: اسرائيل فازت بأكبر "قدس"

(24th January 2011, Wadea Awawda)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/80EA0346-A16F-4C8C-992E-D32E1688645F.htm

art. 92. West Bank Press ignores Negotiation Papers
صحف الضفة تتجاهل وثائق المفاوضات
(24th January 2011, Palestinian Press)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/87AB355B-31F0-4254-B71F-B4577BA4379A.htm

art. 93. Having said to adhering to two-state solution
Washington studies Al Jazeera Papers
قالت إنها تتمسك بحل الدولتين
واشنطن تدرس وثائق الجزيرة
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E7BF98E1-4FCF-4131-9486-F9FBDC04B02F.htm

art. 94. Popular Front confirms the death of settlement
الشعبية تؤكد وفاة التسوية
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/DF69A8C8-03E3-4DB5-9232-0205D13B65B6.htm

art. 95. Maps show PA makes concessions to settlements
خرائط لتنازل السلطة بشأن الاستيطان
(23th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/5B869F27-086B-410B-868A-64F7C8F253BE.htm

art. 96. Erekat: keeping al-Quds to maintain the Authority
عريقات: التمسك بالقدس لبقاء السلطة
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E793C222-D9D4-47F6-899E-981C2A0DC2BC.htm

art. 97. Within PA's attempts for Solution over Jerusalem Issue:
Erekat creates a solution for the Haram al-Sharif
ضمن محاولات السلطة الفلسطينية لحل مسألة القدس:
عريقات يبتكر حلا للحرم الشريف
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/FCC8B867-4EF9-4ECC-A811-423F2E525E54.htm

art. 98. Hamas: PA is implicated in liquidation of the cause
حماس: السلطة متورطة لتصفية القضية
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera and German Press)
http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9A35116A-C9EE-483B-BFCB-554BF3BD5778.htm

art. 99. Experts discuss Negotiation Papers

مختصون يناقشون وثائق المفاوضات

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/24E0C1F3-3498-4A26-BAD4-266D82BB519B.htm

art. 100. Documents reveal PA concessions on Jerusalem

وثائق تكشف تنازلات السلطة بالقدس

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/51B90706-4394-4DC3-9535-3542E000B4C4.htm

art. 101. Story of Hassan al-Madhoun

سيرة حسن المدهون

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hq2KCnyQbpo [The article was deleted from Al Jazeera Arabic website but the video is still available on YouTube]

art. 102. Salam Fayyad objected opening Gaza crossing points

سلام فياض عارض فتح معابر غزة

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UOEesDMbyzE [The article was deleted from Al Jazeera Arabic website but the video is still available on YouTube]

art. 103. Story of Sepphoris tells story of immigrants inside Israel

قصة صفورية تحكي قصة المهجرين في داخل إسرائيل

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KywPchWWouQ [The article was deleted from Al Jazeera Arabic website but the video is still available on YouTube]

art. 104. Palestinian negotiator accepts the minimum number of returning refugees

المفاوض الفلسطيني يقبل الحد الأدنى لعودة اللاجئين

(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-OfL9YMFqmI [The article was deleted from Al Jazeera Arabic website but the video is still available on YouTube]

art. 105. Plight of Palestinian refugees in Aida Camp

معاناة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين في مخيم عايدة

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=znQ4VI1EbTE [The article was deleted from Al Jazeera Arabic website but the video is still available on YouTube]

art. 106. Confidential Papers of negotiations on Palestinian refugees

وثائق سرية للمفاوضات بشأن اللاجئين الفلسطينيين

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-H56otSdFr8 [The article was deleted from Al Jazeera Arabic website but the video is still available on YouTube]

art. 107. Do you support security coordination between Palestinian Authority and Israel?

هل تؤيد التنسيق الأمني بين السلطة الفلسطينية وإسرائيل؟

(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/PORTAL/KServices/supportPages/vote/vote.aspx?voteID=3283&dispType=1

art. 108. Do you think the Papers of Palestinian/Israeli negotiations path are able to change the Palestinian political reality?

هل تعتقد أن الوثائق الخاصة بمسار المفاوضات الفلسطينية الإسرائيلية قادرة على تغيير الواقع السياسي الفلسطيني؟

(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/PORTAL/KServices/supportPages/vote/vote.aspx?voteID=3285&dispType=1

art. 109. Public Survey: PA unprecedented concessions??

استطلاع رأي: تنازلات غير مسبوقة للسلطة الفلسطينية؟؟

(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1BA59FE2-0FC5-47AA-A0D2-4B89EB7CB051.htm

art. 110. From Washington Show:
Palestine Papers.. and East Jerusalem poll

برنامج من واشنطن:
وثائق فلسطين.. واستطلاع القدس الشرقية

(30th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/468E6DF8-C546-4315-B5E1-DE9468AD3E5A.htm

art. 111. Without Borders Show:
Palestinian negotiations with Israel

برنامج بلا حدود:
المفاوضات الفلسطينية مع إسرائيل

(28th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/CA184112-2445-4853-A2F0-23D44ADD73F0.htm

art. 112. Opposi te Direction Show:
Security coordination between Palestinian Authority and Israel

برنامج الاتجاه المعاكس:
التنسيق الأمني بين السلطة الفلسطينية وإسرائيل

(26th January 2011, Al Jazeera)

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C821E496-A296-4348-951D-EBF5A279F462.htm

art. 113. Al-Quds.. story of occupied city

القدس.. حكاية مدينة محتلة

(1st January 2011, Odai Juni)

http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/f354d211-1970-4a70-a731-0fb9672f49f3

art. 114. Map of Settlements
خارطة المستوطنات
(26th August 2010, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/FDED5D00-CE2F-4375-B4F6-30BBD9C3FE75.htm

art. 115. The Arab/Israeli conflict.. Conflict of roots
الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي.. صراع جذور لا تحسمه التنازلات
(18th August 2010, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/7A552FD9-3B85-43CA-A71F-04DD23878C50.htm

art. 116. Al Jazeera Papers put Authority on the spot
وثائق الجزيرة تضع السلطة على المحك
(27th January 2011, German Newspapers)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9C297675-A2D0-46E3-80AD-89E80BF4B016.htm

art. 117. Hamas: PA committed a national crime
حماس: السلطة ارتكبت جريمة وطنية
(27th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2011/1/27/%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D8
%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A9-
%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AA%D9%83%D8%A8%D8%AA-
%D8%AC%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%85%D8%A9-
%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9

art. 118. They refused proposition on residents-land swap
Palestinians of 1948: We are not a commodity in negotiations
رفضوا مقترح تبادل السكان و الأراضي
فلسطينيو 48: لسنا سلعة بالمفاوضات
(25th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/0DA3BB3A-F6CC-4D65-9077-BF6CF7B472E0.htm

art. 119. The "Chronicle" of Jerusalemites' memory
Jerusalem youths guard city with photos
معرض "يوميات"الذاكرة المقدسيين
شباب القدس يحرسون المدينة بالصور
(23rd January 2011, Mirvat Sadeq)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/20072370-53BD-4F0E-8ECD-1D1096835595.htm

art. 120. Thousands protested in Ramallah in support of him
Abbas abides on principles and attacks Al Jazeera
آلاف تظاهروا برام الله تأييدا له
عباس يتمسك "بالثوابت" و يهاجم الجزيرة
(25th January 2011, Agencies)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B7B3CF03-3B1D-4ED3-A803-E72ACB5E0D9C.htm

art. 121. In a trial of Opposite Direction in Jordan
Son of Abbas complains about "Al Jazeera slander"
في محاكمة بالأردن للاتجاه المعاكس
نجْل عباس يشكو "تشهير الجزيرة"
(26th January 2011, Muhammad Najjar)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/86963AE4-9ADF-4A29-83DC-8B9636CE6322.htm

art. 122. Offering what peoples pursue
Al Jazeera is best platform of information
كونها تقدم الضالة التي تبحث عنها الشعوب
الجزيرة أفضل المنابر الإعلامية
(26th January 2011, Guardian)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E29FC184-112D-4668-9D28-ED09006FADEA.htm

art. 123. Al Jazeera reveals secrets of peace negotiations
الجزيرة تكشف أسرار مفاوضات السلام
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/4CA3B63D-10C0-449F-86BF-3A99FE8F43EA.htm

art. 124. Britain joins torturing prisoners in the Bank
بريطانيا تسهم بتعذيب السجناء بالضفة
(23rd January 2011, Times)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9D56728E-99D3-45EF-97D0-CC87228583C1.htm

art. 125. Hamas regarded it as proof on the occupation unfairness
Turkey condemns clearing the raid of "Freedom"
حماس عدته دليلا على عدم عدالة الاحتلال
تركيا تستنكر تبرئة مهاجمة "الحرية"
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C8145C2C-ECBE-4304-8530-8A96F53A0B82.htm

art. 126. Faced with Palestinian rejection
A project of temporary state prepared by Lieberman
و وجه برفض فلسطيني
مشروع دولة مؤقتة يعده ليبرمان
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/520FB818-BA2F-483B-BB2F-A13EDC8A6BD4.htm

Appendix III: Al Jazeera English Articles:

This appendix lists all Al Jazeera English articles that compose the English sample in this research. The following list includes:
1. the headline of the article in the original language: English (as coded in the statistical analysis)
2. the date of online publication
3. the author name of the article
4. the hyperlink of the article (all last accessed on 14th January, 2017)

Al Jazeera English Page of Palestine Papers:
http://english.aljazeera.net/palestinepapers/

Al Jazeera Transparency Page (English):
http://transparency.aljazeera.net/

art. 401. Palestine Papers: Why I blew the whistle
(14th May 2011, Ziyad Clot)
http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/05/201151432144832519.html

art. 402. PA's foreknowledge of the Gaza war?
(27th January 2011, David Poort)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112618289133202.html

art. 403. "The region is slipping away"
(26th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112618022814446.html

art. 404. PA stonewalled the Goldstone vote
(26th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011126123125167974.html

art. 405. A glimpse into the negotiation room
(26th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112612168903251.html

art. 406. The PA vs. Al Jazeera
(26th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112612212385624.html

art. 407. The threat of a one-state solution
(26th January 2011, David Poort)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112612953672648.html

art. 408. Erekat "told Amr Moussa to behave"
(26th January 2011, Amira Howeidy)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112613021910996.html

art. 409. Qurei: "Occupy the crossing"
(25th January 2011, David Poort)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112512459777415.html

art. 410. The al-Madhoun assassination
(25th January 2011, David Poort)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112512109241314.html

art. 411. PA lobbying blocked Shalit swap
(26th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011126132936232554.html

art. 412. Erekat: "I can't stand Hamas"
(25th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112511595595810.html

art. 413. PA questions Tony Blair's role
(25th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125102658387688.html

art. 414. MI6 offered to detain Hamas figures
(25th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125123356396297.html

art. 415. Demanding a demilitarized state
(25th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112512170239319.html

art. 416. Expelling Israel's Arab population?
(24th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011124105622779946.html

art. 417. PA selling short the refugees
(25th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011124123324887267.html

art. 418. Deep frustrations with Obama
(24th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011124113952425385.html

art. 419. Qurei to Livni: "I'd vote for you"
(24th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011241517890936.html

art. 420. Erekat's solution for the Haram
(22nd January 2011, Clayton Swisher)
http://english.aljazeera.net/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011122114545946119.html

art. 421. "The biggest Yerushalayim"
(23rd January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://english.aljazeera.net/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011122112512844113.html

art. 422. The "napkin map" revealed
(23rd January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011122114239940577.html

art. 423. Erekat condemns Palestine Papers
(27th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011127163052761490.html

art. 424. Sit-in at Palestinian mission in UK
(27th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2011/01/2011127165034705276.html

art. 425. Jordan, PLO clash on refugee issue
(24th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011124122125339673.html

art. 426. The meaning of the Palestine papers
(25th January 2011, MJ Rosenberg)
http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/01/2011125125430514484.html

art. 427. What prospect for reconciliation?
(26th January 2011, Alastair Crooke)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011126134655577761.html

art. 428. The US role as Israel's enabler
(26th January 2011, Mark Perry)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112614122782761.html

art. 429. US sidelined Palestinian democracy
(26th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011126145337346201.html

art. 430. Leaks claim Palestinian 'collusion'
(26th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201112522018483408.html

art. 431. Blair's counter-insurgency "surge"
(25th January 2011, Alastair Crooke)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125142614893217.html

art. 432. Cutting off a vital connection
(25th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125144345427365.html

art. 433. Dayton's mission: A reader's guide
(25th January 2011, Mark Perry)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125145732219555.html

art. 434. It's time for Obama to say Kefaya!
(25th January 2011, Mark LeVine)
http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/01/201112518178586889.html

art. 435. PA negotiators reject leaked report
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011123234940952149.html

art. 436. A dangerous shift on 1967 lines
(24th January 2011, Ali Abunimah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112411450358613.html

art. 437. Israel's lawyer, revisited
(24th January 2011, Mark Perry)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112412759856229.html

art. 438. PA relinquished right of return
(24th January 2011, Amira Howeidy)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011124121923486877.html

art. 439. "We can't refer to the past"
(24th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112412266583548.html

art. 440. Livni: A lawyer 'against law'?
(24th January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011124165334291715.html

art. 441. Main Palestinian negotiators
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112315858283532.html

art. 442. Main Israeli negotiators
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123162916156662.html

art. 443. Main US negotiators
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112316591588347.html

art. 444. "Shocking revelations" on Jerusalem
(23rd January 2011, Daud Abdullah)
http://english.aljazeera.net/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123134738643818.html

art. 445. "Risks for peace"
(23rd January 2011, Robert Grenier)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123135633144648.html

art. 446. A "naive" approach to negotiations
(23rd January 2011, Daud Abdullah)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123141733325695.html

art. 447. Watch: Creative solutions
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123133117236157.html

art. 448. Introducing The Palestine Papers
(23rd January 2011, Gregg Carlstrom)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112214310263628.html

art. 449. Glossary: The Palestine Papers
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112311458501594.html

art. 450. Timeline: Palestine-Israel conflict
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123105618579443.html

art. 451. FAQ: The Palestine Papers
(23rd January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011123114726552723.html

art. 452. Meeting Minutes: 4th Plenary Meeting on Territory
(Leaked Palestine Paper)
http://www.ajtransparency.com/files/2454.pdf

art. 453. Meeting Summary: Saeb Erekat and George Mitchell
(Leaked Palestine Paper)
http://www.ajtransparency.com/files/4842.pdf

art. 454. Meeting Minutes: Saeb Erekat and George Mitchell
(Leaked Palestine Paper)
http://www.ajtransparency.com/files/4844.pdf

art. 455. Meeting Minutes: Saeb Erekat and General James Jones
(Leaked Palestine Paper)
http://www.ajtransparency.com/files/4902.pdf

art. 456. Meeting Minutes: Saeb Erekat and David Hale
(Leaked Palestine Paper)
http://www.ajtransparency.com/files/4827.pdf

art. 457. Al Jazeera in The Palestine Papers
(27th January 2011, Clayton Swisher)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112785722783104.html

art. 458. Palestine Papers spark fury in Ramallah
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/video/middleeast/2011/01/2011124191526641961.html

art. 459. Jerusalem revelations irk residents
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera English Staff, video: Alan Fisher)
http://www.aljazeera.com/video/middleeast/2011/01/2011124183027617276.html

art. 460. "You choose... not to choose"
(27th January 2011, Clayton Swisher)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112792038281291.html

art. 461. Expanding the occupation?
(27th January 2011, Clayton Swisher)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112793216850168.html

art. 462. Shlomo Ben Ami discusses the Palestine Papers
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/video/middleeast/2011/01/201112416533136853.html

art. 463. Interview: Abdel Bari Atwan
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/video/middleeast/2011/01/2011124115623191674.html

art. 464. Saeb Erekat accused of treason
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/video/middleeast/2011/01/201112465019885803.html

art. 465. The Palestine Papers fallout
(20th February 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2011/02/2011219134917532278.
html

art. 466. Posturing in Palestine
(30th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/frostovertheworld/2011/01/201113072915833
265.html

art. 467. Erekat quits over Palestine Papers
(13th February 2011, Al Jazeera and Agencies)
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/2011212135152355248.html

art. 468. Two-state solution: A postmortem
(18th February 2011, Sandy Tolan)
http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/02/201121810588471977.html

art. 469. The limits of autonomy
(25th January 2011, Alastair Crooke)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125135344596198.html

art. 470. A letter to the Israeli people
(25th January 2011, Robert Grenier)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/2011125145132395850.html

art. 471. Misunderstanding Israeli motives
(24th January 2011, Alistair Crooke)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112412224387862.html

art. 472. Children of the Nakba
(24th January 2011, Al Jazeera)
http://www.aljazeera.com/palestinepapers/2011/01/201112417946244191.html

Appendix IV: Critical Discourse Analytical Toolkit:

- Compassion moves:

Compassion moves is a concept that reflects on the process of suffering and how suffering is perceived. It is also a term used to express empathy and sympathy for "(weak) victims of the Others actions, … [and] enhance the brutality of the Other" by shedding light on their actions (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 154).

- Context:

Context concerns the processes of 'production', 'interpretation' and 'consumption' in terms of understanding 'who', 'what', 'how' and 'why' of the discourse. Kelsey and Bennett (2014) state that 'context' should not necessarily be defined in terms of a fixed approach, rather, context should be considered though several forms and functions in relation to the social and discursive processes of 'production' and 'consumption' (see also, Gumperz, 1982; Auer and Di Luzio, 1992; Duranti and Goodwin, 1992; Wodak *et al.*, 1999; Van Dijk, 2001; Androutsopoulos, 2008; Kelsey and Bennett, 2014; KhosraviNik, 2014; Kelsey, 2015).

- Generalisation:

Generalisation extends a particular point from the level of "one person or a small group to a larger group or category" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 155). It particularly dissolves the individuality and dissimilarity between people, and reinforces the homogeneity of the group in face of differences and irregularities.

- Historical or collective memory:

Historical memory is a concept that is conceived by Wodak's in her discourse-historic approach. This concept is a perquisite to forming 'national identity'; "the further into the past the real or imaginary memories reach, the more securely the nation is supported" (Wodak *et* al., 1999, p. 25).

- Hyperbole:

Hyperbole as it relates to discourse is the exaggerations in texts. It is the "description of an event or action in strongly exaggerated terms" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 155).

- Indexical meanings:

Indexical meanings concern the "way [individuals] refer to, and label, certain characters in a story … ideologically" (Kelsey, 2015, p. 44) (see also Richardson, 2007).

- Ideological square:

Ideological Square is a concept that was developed by van Dijk. It is an ideological principle involves four processes on positive Self-representation and negative Other-representation:

1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us.
2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them.
3. Supress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them.
4. Supress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

(Van Dijk, 1998, p. 267)

- Interdiscursively:

It accounts for the way particular discourses are linked together in certain ways across the texts. Baker *et al.* (2008) maintain that "a discourse on un/employment often refers for example to topics of other discourses, such as gender or racism: arguments on systematically lower salaries for women or migrants might be included in discourses on employment" (Baker *et al.*, 2008, p. 299).

- Intertextuality:

Intertextuality is a concept that accounts for the 'interlinking' of a text to other texts in contexts of the present and past (Wodak, 2008, p. 3).

- Legitimization:

Legitimization refers to the processes by which the author can validate a particular social act. Hence, legitimization is better defined as the act of justification of social behaviours (see van Leeuwen, 1996; 2007; 2008).

- Lexical choices:

Lexical choices enhance the role of the dichotomy of 'Us vs. Them'. An example being "the well-known pair of freedom fighter and terrorist" represented in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 143). Lexical choices legitimise certain actions of the Self and simultaneously de-legitimise the actions of the Other.

- Modality:

Modality accounts for the "different ways in which people can temper or qualify their messages and express attitudes and judgements of various kinds" (Mayr, 2008, p. 19). Modality can be expressed through a set of grammatical terms, ranging from modal verbs ('can', 'must', and 'should'), modal adverbs ('obviously', 'clearly', 'probably', 'perhaps', and 'definitely'), copular verbs ('be', 'seem', and 'appear') to cognitive verbs ('think', 'believe', and 'feel') (Mayr, 2008, p. 20).

- Metaphor:

A metaphor is a group of words that work as a device "for simplifying and giving meaning to complex and bewildering sets of observations that evoke concern" (Edelman, 2013, p. 65). A metaphor is composed by combining two unrelated terms in order to produce "new images, concepts, and meanings. [Particularly, in policy talk], when we say that two problems are alike, we infer that their solutions are also similar" (Patterson, 1998, p. 225). Taking into account Metaphors relevance to political discourse, we are able to discern how metaphors are utilized for the purpose of presenting ready 'prescriptions' that facilitate illustrating the similar conditions. Subsequently, metaphors become more powerful than the words and shape what we think and how we act because of their reliance on 'art' and 'argument' through 'comparison' and 'analogy' (Embler, 1966; Bartel, 1983; Weston, 1992; Patterson, 1998; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

- Predication:

Predication involves the "words used to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors" (Richardson, 2007, p. 52). It is through this discursive strategy that linguistic qualities are assigned to "persons, animals, objects, events, actions, and social phenomena" (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001, p. 52).

- Re-contextualisation:

Re-contextualisation is the process that works "simultaneously in different spheres, domains and social fields, and through relationships between them and between events and texts within them" (Fairclough *et al.*, 2011, p. 22). For example, Fairclough *et al.* (2011) argue how through social processes, 'recontextualisation' works "simultaneously in different spheres, domains and social fields, and through relationships between them and between events and texts within them" (Fairclough *et al.*, 2011, p. 22).

- Recurrence:

Recurrence describes the repetition of certain elements shaping discourse, and is a factor that enhances cohesion through the "repetition of lexical elements, sentence components and other linguistic elements" (Wodak, 2008, p. 8).

- Topoi (Topos):

Reisigl and Wodak (2005, pp. 74-5) define 'topoi' or 'loci' in relation to argumentation theory as "parts of argumentation that belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument or arguments with conclusion, the claim." Here are some examples of topoi that will be used in this research. Thus topoi work as a transitional facility that connects the argument(s) to the conclusion (Kienpointner, 1992, p. 194). Therefore, discourse analysts, as argue Reisigl and Wodak should be aware that "the lines between more or less plausible argumentation or fallacies ('*argumenta ad* x') cannot be drawn clearly in any case, especially where prejudiced

predications are part of the argumentation schemes"(2005, p. 75). This list is mainly adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2005, pp. 74-80):

a. Topos of danger or topos of threat are a result of political actions and must be defined and or prevented before they occur. It can be paraphrased as: if there is a certain danger or threat as a consequence of political actions, one should be against it and prevent its occurrence. This topos has several subtypes, all based on the conditional of threat being the motive for doing or undoing a certain action.

b. Topos of humanitarianism represents a deviation from following or adhering to humanitarian laws. It is based on the conditionals that if a specific (political) action or decision does not conform to human rights, then one should not make it. On the other hand, if this action or decision conforms to the human values and rights, then one should perform it.

c. Topos of justice is based on the notion of "Equality rights for all". Thus achieving equality of rights and treatment determines whether one should make the decision/action or not.

d. Topos of law or topos of right: This topos is usually institutionalized and is used in politico-administrative genres, based on the following rule: if a specific law or rule authorizes or prohibits an action, then one has to abide to perform it or omit it.

e. Topos of history suggests that we must learn from our historical mistakes. Topos of history can be used to manipulate through the use of historical examples that are not contextualized to a particular situation. This topos is similar to the Ciceronian topos of *historia magistra vitae*, "history teaching lessons" (see De Cillia *et al.*, 1999, pp. 205-7).

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