

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

“WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR:”
A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEW
YORK TIMES’ COVERAGE OF PALESTINE AND UKRAINE

by
ALAN PETER BOUTROS GABRIEL

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Department of Political Studies and Public Administration
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of Beirut

Beirut, Lebanon
May 2024

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

“WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR:”
A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEW
YORK TIMES’ COVERAGE OF PALESTINE AND UKRAINE

by
ALAN PETER BOUTROS GABRIEL

Approved by:

Dr. Karim Makdisi, Associate Professor
Department of Political Studies and Public Administration

Advisor

Dr. Jamil Mouawad, Assistant Professor
Department of Political Studies and Public Administration

Member of Committee

Dr. Greg Burris, Associate Professor
Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies

Member of Committee

Date of thesis defense: May 7, 2024

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my advisor, Dr. Karim Makdisi, and committee members, Dr. Jamil Mouawad, and Dr. Greg Burris. Thank you to the American University of Beirut, the Issam Fares Institute (IFI) for Public Policy and International Affairs, and the Public Policy and International Affairs faculty.

Thank you to the family of Nadim Makdisi and IFI, who assisted my research for this project through the Nadim Makdisi Memorial Fund. Receiving the grant under the distinguished title of the prolific career of Nadim Makdisi in media and mass communications for a project focused on mass communications media and the New York Times, the leading paper in the US based in the city where Dr. Nadim Makdisi was born is fitting and a great honor.

Most importantly, thank you to my friends and family, both near and far, who I couldn't have done this without. Principally, my mother and father, Mirella Elias Merheb-Gebrael and Boutros Mikhael Gebrael, who have sacrificed and supported me in all my endeavors along the way.

I humbly stand on the shoulders of giants.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Alan Peter Boutros Gabriel for Master of Arts
Major: Public Policy and International Affairs

Title: “Without Fear or Favor:” A Comparative Discourse Analysis of The New York Times’ Coverage of Palestine and Ukraine

This study aims to dissect the discrepancies within *The New York Times* coverage of global events which have long standing histories and find themselves on opposing sides of power imbalances, innate to the global order. At the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian War in February 2022, there was an evident difference in the depictions in the media comparatively to similar conflicts globally. Having followed Israel’s occupation of Palestine closely, it was noteworthy to see how one conflict was reported compared to the other. This study explores the relationship between the online content of *The New York Times*, and its discursive practices and representation and the subsequent implications on power, knowledge production and perceptions for different audiences. This study explores this phenomenon by assessing coverage in Palestine in May 2021 comparatively with Ukraine in February 2022, respective to the narratives, reporting, and subsequent discourse in *The New York Times*, and how that discourse informs knowledge and power dynamics around two significant geopolitical conflicts which shape global relations in the current international affairs arena. The study finds that despite the stated intentions on truth and partiality, *Times* coverage raises problematic implications.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
ABSTRACT	2
ILLUSTRATIONS	5
TABLES	6
ABBREVIATIONS	7
INTRODUCTION	9
1.1. Orientalism in the International Media.....	11
1.2. Media Discourse, Power/Knowledge, Ukraine/Palestine	13
1.3. The New York Times	18
1.4. Historical Trajectories Resisting Opposing Empires.....	19
1.4.1 Palestine and Ukraine: Parallel Timeline of the 20 th Century	19
1.5. The Study: Conceptual Problem/Research Question.....	29
THE NEW YORK TIMES	31
2.1. The Institutional History of The Times	31
2.2 The Newspaper of Record	34
2.3. Editorial Standard, Partiality, and Palestine Coverage	36
2.3.1. The Times in Ukraine	49
2.4. The New York Times Company	53
2.4.1. Political Economy	53
LITERATURE REVIEW	56
3.1. Media Theories: Manufacturing Consent, Framing, Orientalism.....	56
3.2. Content and Discourse Analysis	77

3.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	79
3.2.2. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.....	81
3.3. Comparable Past Studies	82
THE STUDY	96
4.1. Methodology.....	97
4.2. Findings on the NYT Coverage.....	99
4.2.1 Sentiment Analysis	99
4.2.2. Palestine-Israel Coverage.....	100
4.2.3. Russia-Ukraine Coverage	102
4.2.4. ‘Today’s Paper’ Coverage Placement (stories and photos)	104
4.2.5. Opinion Pieces	106
4.2.6. Article Contributors, Headline Length, Videos	107
4.2.7. Images.....	108
4.3. Qualitative Findings.....	110
4.3.1. Palestine- Israel.....	111
4.3.2. Russia- Ukraine.....	120
4.4. Limitations.....	128
CONCLUSION	130
5.1. Discussion.....	130
5.2. Beyond The Study: October 7 th and the Genocide of Palestinians.....	137
REFERENCES	147

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. 1917, Pre-British Mandate Palestine	20
2. 1922-89, Soviet expansion into eastern Europe.....	21
3. 1920-46 Jewish Immigration to Palestine.....	22
4. 1967 Israeli Occupation	24
5. 1991, Fall of the Soviet Union.....	25
6. 1993-95 Oslo Accords	25
7. 2014-Present, Russian-Ukrainian War	28
8. Newspaper of Record, <i>New York Times</i> , 1937	35
9. Diversity at <i>The Times</i> , 2020	37
10. CAMERA billboard campaigns across from <i>NYT</i> HQ and around NYC.....	41
11. “By The Numbers: Our Year of Coverage on The Russia-Ukraine War”.....	51
12. Lynsey Addario's Polk Award Photo.....	53
13. Stuart Hall's Circuit of Culture.....	71
14. Number of Articles on Israel/Palestine	101
15. Number of Articles on Russia/Ukraine.....	103
16. ‘Today's Paper’ Example	105
17. Opinion Pieces (Opinion, 'Letters,' Editorial Board)	107
18. Article Contributors	108
19. Editorial Board Images: Putin, 'The Mad Man'	123
20. Russia-Ukraine Evocative Coverage Examples	127
21. Mona Chalabi <i>NYT</i> Bias	142

TABLES

Table

1. Number of Articles on Israel/Palestine.....	101
2. Number of Articles on Russia/Ukraine.....	103
3. 'Today's Paper' Front Page.....	105
4. Opinion Pieces (Opinion, 'Letters,' Editorial Board).....	106
5. Article Contributors	108
6. Headline Length.....	108

ABBREVIATIONS

ADL	Anti-Defamation League
AIPAC	The American Israel Public Affairs Committee
AP	Associated Press
AMEJA	The Arab and Middle Eastern Journalists Association
BDS	Boycott Divestment Sanctions
CAMERA	Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting and Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
EU	European Union
FAIR	Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Hamas	Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IAK	If Americans Knew
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IFI	Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs
IMEU	Institute for Middle East Understanding
INSS	Institute for National Security Studies
IR	International Relations
IRO	International Refugee Organization
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MSM	Mainstream Media
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NLP	Natural Language Processing
NYC	New York City
NYT	The New York Times
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PIJ	Palestine Islamic Jihad
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
UK	United Kingdom (of Britain)
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNRPR	United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
UPI	United Press International
URL	Uniform Resource Locator
US	United States (of America)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*To those suffering from and fighting against occupation, empire,
imperialism, colonialism, racism, corruption, dispossession, greed, mass
surveillance, militarism, injustice, and oppression globally.*

May we know liberation.

May we know a better world.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“The quality of our discourse is the limit of our civilization.”¹ -Julian Assange

On May 11th, 2022, Palestinian-American and twenty-five year *Al Jazeera* correspondent Shireen Abu Akleh, adorned in a “PRESS” vest and helmet reporting from the Jenin refugee camp in the occupied Northern West Bank, was shot in cold blood with a bullet that went through the back of her skull, through her brain, ricocheting against the inside of her helmet and turning back into her head, killing her instantly. A headline appeared in *The New York Times*, “Shireen Abu Akleh, Trailblazing Palestinian Journalist, Dies at 51.” The next day, after backlash, the headline was changed to “Trailblazing Palestinian Journalist Killed in West Bank.”² How did she die? Who killed her? What had happened? Perhaps that wasn’t clear right away, but almost a year to the day prior, on May 15th, 2021, during Israel’s bombardment of Gaza, the Al- Jalaa tower, an 11-story building housing foreign press in Gaza, including the *Associated Press* and *Al- Jazeera*, and an additional sixty residential apartments had been bombed and levelled to the ground.³ *The New York Times (NYT)* put out a story the next day, “Israel’s attack on a press building in Gaza

¹ Assange, J. (2012, December 20). Statement by Julian Assange after Six Months in Ecuadorian Embassy. WikiLeaks.

² Hubbard, B. (2022, May 12). Shireen Abu Akleh, Palestinian Journalist, Dies, Aged 51. *The New York Times*.

³ Committee to Protect Journalists. (2021, May 15). Israel bombs building in Gaza City housing AP, Al-Jazeera offices.

draws condemnations.’⁴ These two instances, one year apart, represented a massive blow to the access of information and the live reporting from the ground in Palestine, in the direct targeting of media personnel and institutions; a story itself that has become the norm.

In between the two latter described episodes, it had been a tumultuous year globally with the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24th, 2022, where the world had observed up to the hour coverage; reporting and analysis that went ahead of the events on the ground to forecast potential movement and trajectories. The same obfuscation in coverage witnessed in May 2021, in Palestine, was not present several months later when it came to the February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, in-between the destruction of an 11-story foreign bureau media and sixty-unit residential building, and the May 2022 assassination of Shireen Abu Akleh. This sparked an interest, as it did with much of the world, of what was occurring on the ground juxtaposed with our headlines and subsequent news coverage on two extremely important geopolitical occupations by nuclear powers, in the latest episodes of two long standing struggles.

With the world further globalizing and becoming more interconnected, much has been made about the ease of access in the information era, and the ability of media to inform publics and empower them, as an informed citizenry is critical in a democratizing world. Given the hyper aggressive media setting and the advent of the twenty-four-hour news cycle, citizens today are bombarded with information to decipher and understand as their perceptions of the world around them are shaped by these representations. As the world changes towards a more hybrid cosmopolitan

⁴ Patrick, K. (2021, May 16). Israel's Strike on Media Building in Gaza Provokes Outrage. The New York Times.

culture, international news organizations hold a central role in disseminating information and socially constructing realities.⁵

At the beginning of the Russian invasion in Ukraine and the subsequent war between the two countries commencing in February of 2022, there was a noticeable difference in media discourse comparatively to similar conflicts globally. Having followed Israel's Occupation of Palestine quite closely, it was noteworthy to see how one conflict was covered compared to the other, especially given the events that took place in Occupied Palestine in the fractured West Bank and Gaza in May 2021, only months prior. Almost immediately analysts across the world began to chime in with their interpretations of the unfolding events. One of the dominant framings of the war in Ukraine by mainstream Western media was to contrast displaced white, European refugees with brown or black civilians fleeing war in countries in the Middle East and Africa.⁶

1.1. Orientalism in the International Media

On February 25th, one day into Russia's offensive, a *CBS News* senior London correspondent Charlie D'Agata stated that Ukraine, "isn't a place, with all due respect, like Iraq and Afghanistan, that has seen conflict raging for decades. This is a relatively civilized, relatively European- I have to choose those words carefully, city, one where you wouldn't expect that to happen."⁷ Kelly Cobiella, an *NBC News* correspondent

⁵ Damanhoury, K., & Saleh, F. (2017, April). Is it the same fight? Comparative analysis of CNN and Al Jazeera America's online coverage of the 2014 Gaza War. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 10(1), 85-103.

⁶ McCloskey, S. (2022, Spring). The War in Ukraine Has Revealed a Hierarchy of Victims. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, (34), 138-149.

⁷ Bayoumi, M. (2022, March 2). They are 'civilised', 'European' and 'look like us': the racist coverage of Ukraine | Moustafa Bayoumi. *The Guardian*.

reporting from Poland exclaimed, “just to put it bluntly, these are not refugees from Syria, these are refugees from neighboring Ukraine, and quite frankly that’s part of it, these are Christians, they’re white, they’re very similar to (Europeans) ...”⁸ In an interview with the *BBC*, the former deputy prosecutor general of Ukraine, David Sakvarelidze stated, “It’s very emotional for me because I see European people with blue eyes and blonde hair being killed, children being killed every day with Putin’s missiles.”⁹ Former member of the European Parliament and British politician and journalist Daniel Hanan penned a piece in *The Telegraph*, titled “Vladimir Putin’s monstrous invasion is an attack on civilization itself.”¹⁰ Hannan claimed “they seem so like us. That is what makes it so shocking,” likening Ukrainians to Brits. “Its people watch Netflix and have Instagram accounts. War is no longer visited upon impoverished and remote populations.”¹¹ The article continued brazenly on Western hegemony, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), sanctions, and Ukrainian resistance to the ‘madman’ that was Putin. Through another British medium, to continue the initial reaction assessment in another conduit in western media, ITV’s correspondent, Lucy Watson, reporting from Poland exuberantly stated “now the unthinkable has happened to them. And this is not a developing, third world nation. This is Europe!”¹²

Journalist Phillipe Corbé on France’s *BFM TV* remarked, “We’re not talking here about Syrians fleeing the bombing of the Syrian regime backed by Putin. We’re

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Hannan, D. (2022, February 26). Vladimir Putin's monstrous invasion is an attack on civilisation itself. *The Telegraph*.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² TRT World. (2022, March 5). Is coverage of Russia’s attack on Ukraine biased? [Video]. YouTube.

talking about Europeans leaving in cars that look like ours to save their lives.”¹³ On another broadcast, discussing refugees fleeing Ukraine, Deputy of the French National Assembly, Jean-Louis Bourlanges exclaimed that Ukrainian refugees would bring “an immigration of great quality, intellectuals.”¹⁴ In an interview that *Al-Jazeera* later apologized for, anchor Peter Dobbie unfairly compared Ukrainian refugees asserting “looking at the way they’re dressed, these are prosperous middle-class people. These are not refugees looking to get away from the Middle East, in a big state of war or areas of North Africa- they look like any European family that you would live next door to.”

1.2. Media Discourse, Power/Knowledge, Ukraine/Palestine

There was widespread outrage internationally witnessing the discourse taking place with respect to Ukraine. Journalists globally decried the coverage of being riddled with double standards, in many cases ignoring the realities of Europe’s turbulent past and the direct hand the West had in creating conditions in the Mediterranean, West Asia and North Africa western analysts were now comparing Ukraine to. In the decades prior, the world witnessed numerous wars and the narrative and sympathy on refugees and resistance was never met with the same rigor. The Arab and Middle Eastern Journalists Association (AMEJA) issued a statement condemning and categorically rejecting orientalist and racist implications that any population or country is “uncivilized” or bears economic factors that make it worthy of conflict.”¹⁵ AMEJA strongly stated that this commentary reflects the pervasive mentality in Western journalism of normalizing tragedy in parts of the Global South, dehumanizing those

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ AMEJA. (2022, February). AMEJA Statement in response to Ukraine Coverage. AMEJA.

populations, rendering their experience with war as regular or expected. In the view of AMEJA, newsrooms must not make comparisons that weigh the significance or justify one conflict over another, stating that such coverage decontextualizes the reality experienced by populations facing occupation and aggression. The statement concludes that to prevent these explicit biases, newsrooms must train journalists on the cultural and political nuances of the regions they're reporting on, and not rely on American and Eurocentric views, as inaccurate and disingenuous comparisons only serve to inflame stereotypes and mislead viewers, ultimately perpetuating prejudicial responses to political and humanitarian crises.¹⁶

On April 21st, 2021, in the midst of the Israeli-settler aggression in Sheikh Jarrah, Human Rights Watch (HRW) released a 213-page report titled “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution” documenting Israel’s treatment of Palestinians.¹⁷ Echoing these same reverberations were Amnesty International¹⁸ and B’tselem, leading global human rights group and an Israeli human rights group, respectively, which characterized Israeli governance as a regime of ethnic supremacy and apartheid. Over 500 journalists agreed that terms such as apartheid, persecution, and ethnic supremacy have more traction institutionally and that as journalists,’ coverage must reflect the reality on the ground.

Similar to AMEJA regarding Ukraine, on June 9th, 2021, following the May 2021 Israeli bombardment and aggression on occupied Palestine, “An open letter on US

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Human Rights Watch. (2021, April 27). A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution | HRW. Human Rights Watch.

¹⁸ Amnesty International. (2022, February 1). Israel’s apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity. Amnesty International. p

media coverage of Palestine” was written and cosigned by over 500 current and former journalists from about every major news and media network in today's landscape.¹⁹ The letter asserted how uncovering truth and holding the powerful accountable is at the core of journalism's principles. Asserting that for decades the news industry has abandoned its values when it comes to Israel and Palestine and thus failed audiences with narratives that obscure Israel’s occupation and systemic apartheid. The journalists posited that in the name of the truth, and for the sake of readers, it is a duty to stop sanitizing oppression and change course on journalistic malpractice. The letter describes coverage in Sheikh Jarrah, East Jerusalem, and how the media portrayed the forced displacement of Palestinians as “evictions,” implying a real estate dispute, rather than an illegal act and war crime since East Jerusalem is an occupied Palestinian territory not recognized under Israeli jurisdiction by international law. As B’tselem has documented for years, “Israel does not consider the residents of East Jerusalem as individuals with equal rights, instead seeking to evict them from their homes since they stand in the way of the state’s objective of Judaizing Jerusalem.”²⁰

On May 7th, with a few days left of Ramadan in 2021, Israeli occupation forces attacked Palestinian worshippers at the Al Aqsa Mosque with tear gas and rubber bullets, which journalists detailed as a ‘clash’ rather than a violent assault, assigning worshippers and Israeli forces equal agency in the unwarranted aggressions that have tormented Palestinians daily for decades. After Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya, Islamic Resistance Movement) launched rockets prompting an attack on Gaza

¹⁹ An open letter on U.S. media coverage of Palestine. (2021, June 9).

²⁰ Aruri, A. (2019, March 11). East Jerusalem cleansing continues: Israel removes more Palestinian families, hands over their homes to settlers. B'Tselem.

by Israel, the assault was framed as a ‘conflict’ between equal parties, ignoring the asymmetry of power, and equating resistance to Israeli aggression and Hamas’ rockets to Israeli airstrikes. While causing significantly less damage as nearly 90% are routinely intercepted by Israeli air defenses, the rockets were covered just as much as the Israeli bombardment with state-of-the-art air superiority and weaponry against medical facilities and residential buildings, fogging the unequal scale of destruction. According to the more than 500 journalists who signed the letter, “asymmetry in context does not just extend to the language we use; stories tend to disproportionately amplify Israeli narratives while suppressing Palestinian ones.”²¹

In the view of over 500 journalists, Israeli military officials are too often uncritically repeated, despite the ample evidence of spreading false information. One example was Ofir Gendelman, the Spokesman for the Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, who posted a clip from Syria nearly three years earlier, claiming it was incoming rocket fire from Gaza. Before deleting the statement, which was viewed by Reuters, Gendelman wrote “Another video showing how Hamas is firing rockets at Israel from populated areas in the Gaza Strip. This is a double war crime: targeting civilians while using them as human shields. 1/3 of these 250+ rockets fell inside the Gaza Strip, killing Palestinians.”²² Similarly, the *NYT* reported on a ground invasion that the Israeli military’s English language spokesmen, Lt. Col. Jonathan Conricus, led the international media to believe that Israeli forces had entered Gaza; this was a lie, but also the impression that Israel wanted to fool Hamas with. David

²¹ An open letter on U.S. media coverage of Palestine. (2021, June 9).

²² Reuters Fact Check. (2021, May 13). Video shared by high-profile Israeli official was filmed in Syria in 2018 – not Gaza in 2021. Reuters.

Halbfinger²³, the current political editor of the *NYT*, and until January 2021, the *Times*' Jerusalem bureau chief who led its coverage of Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories broke the story, "A Press Corps Deceived, and the Gaza Invasion That Wasn't" detailing how the press was turned into an accessory to the Israeli military.²⁴

Further, the letter by over 500 journalists stated that despite Israel's carnage in Gaza killing hundreds, Palestinians in 'so-called times of peace' are ignored, despite their enduring hostile lives under brutal occupation after ceasefires. The letter concludes, "As journalists, we are entrusted with a profoundly important mission in a free and democratic society, the power to inform the people and guide the national conversation, from the family dinner table to Capitol Hill."²⁵ Referring to the *NYT*'s editorial standards manual, the journalists challenged their colleagues to tell the full contextualized truth, claiming that obfuscating Israeli oppression of the Palestinian people fails the journalism industry's objective standards and forgoes the obligation to get the story right, thus failing their audiences, purpose, and the Palestinian people. Scrolling through the list of the 514 verified signatures, I noted nearly every major legacy media organization operating in today's media climate, as well as more independent journalists by name. When I ultimately reached the *New York Times*, way at the bottom of the 514 names, the four journalists who signed were not listed by name, but instead anonymously as "Journalist" alongside 65 other names. This sparked an inquiry on the internal dynamics at the *NYT*, often referred to as the "newspaper of

²³ NYT. (2023). Portrait of David M. Halbfinger. The New York Times.

²⁴ Halbfinger, D. M. (2021, May 18). A Press Corps Deceived, and the Gaza Invasion That Wasn't. The New York Times.

²⁵ An open letter on U.S. media coverage of Palestine. 2021.

record” and why journalists in the letter called out this entity specifically by its editorial standard and why journalists may feel intimidated to speak up.²⁶

1.3. The New York Times

Since I could recall going back in my young academic career on mostly every course syllabus there is a section in participation that involves students doing their due diligence to remain informed of current events. Without fail, the *NYT* is virtually always one of the mediums recommended for young students of social sciences to remain informed. The *NYT* is today one of the world’s leading conduits of information, and despite the trend of print media subsiding, its online subscriptions continue to grow year over year.²⁷ According to the latest indices, the *NYT* is today one of the top three global purveyors of news, amassing billions of visits throughout the world yearly.²⁸ In the United States (US), the *NYT*’s country of origin, sitting a few hundred steps down Golda Meir Square in New York City, the paper ranks first amongst its competitors and boasts a growing subscription by millions of curious intellectuals both at home and abroad.²⁹ The *NYT* recognizes the tremendous responsibility it occupies in today’s world, and in its late 2023 code of conduct titled, “Integrity at the *New York Times* Company, Our Code of Conduct,”³⁰ its stated mission is “To seek the truth and help

²⁶ Diamond, S. (2023, May 21). A History of 'Record' in the Newspaper of Record. The New York Times.

²⁷ The New York Times Company. (2023, September 30). Press Release 9.30.2023. The New York Times.

²⁸ Majid, A. (2024, March 26). Most popular websites for news in the world: Monthly top 50 listing. Press Gazette.

²⁹ Robertson, K. (2023, November 8). The New York Times Passes 10 Million Subscribers. The New York Times.

³⁰ Sulzberger, A.G., & Levien, M. K. (2023, December 6). Our Code of Conduct. The New York Times.

people understand the world. This mission is rooted in our belief that great journalism has the power to make each reader's life richer and more fulfilling, and all of society stronger and more just."³¹

Considering the institutional discourse of the *NYT*'s stated mission regarding "truth, power, and society," I recognized that these were not lofty objectives. The rhetoric and stated intentions for truth and a stronger and more just society brought me back to the episodes aforementioned in the Israeli Occupation of Palestine in May 2021, and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. *The Times*' recognition of its institutional power to influence the understanding of the world drew me to inquire further about the role of the media, and specifically the *NYT* in today's world; the power over episteme, the representation and discourse of polarizing geopolitical events, and the subsequent impressions and perceptions readers are left with as they navigate their world beyond the pages of these channels. Although individuals would like to believe these processes are free of interests and biases, we know through the seminal works of scholars such as Noam Chomsky, Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault and Edward Said that there are today a multitude of dimensions that influence the media environment and the institutional power to shape knowledge through frames of representation.

1.4. Historical Trajectories Resisting Opposing Empires

1.4.1 Palestine and Ukraine: Parallel Timeline of the 20th Century

Although both Palestine and Ukraine have long histories spanning centuries to which many peoples, ethnicities and empires have laid claim, the scope of this study considers primarily the past century. In 1916, the British and French generals, Sykes

³¹ Ibid.

and Picot, secretly agree to divide former Ottoman Empire spheres of influence, paving way to the 1917 Balfour Declaration, promising “a national home for Jewish people in Palestine.”³² Simultaneously, the Ukrainian People’s Republic is undergoing a communist revolution and fighting for its own independence in 1918 prior to being taken by force by Vladimir Lenin and being incorporated as one of the four founding members of the newly established Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR or Soviet Union) in 1922, as the League of Nations is granting the Mandate over Palestine to the British.³³

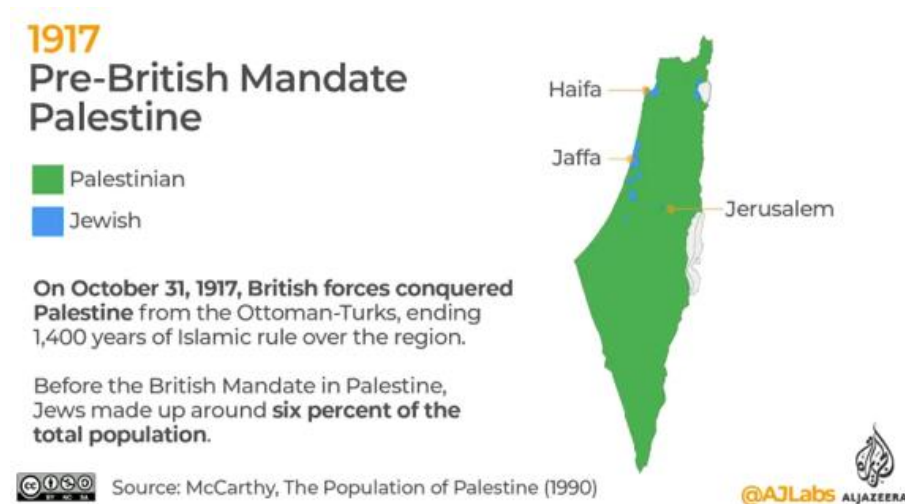


Figure 1: 1917, Pre-British Mandate Palestine³⁴

In the decade after, amid a sudden rise in Jewish immigration from Nazi persecution in Germany, Palestinians rebelled against the British Mandate in 1933 through the rest of the decade. During this time frame in the early 1930’s, and through

³² Balfour Declaration - UK/Non-UN document - Question of Palestine. (2019, March 12). the United Nations.

³³ Cruz, M. (2023, December 28). Historical Timeline - Question of Palestine. the United Nations.

³⁴ Haddad, M., & Chughati, A. (2023, November 27). A brief history of Israel-Palestine conflict in 10 maps. Al Jazeera.

the decade, Joseph Stalin is forcing a policy of collectivization in agricultural lands, leading to widespread famine and the death of millions of Ukrainians.³⁵ To help repopulate the east, Stalin would import Soviet citizens; and under the USSR's non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939, the two countries continued to carve up eastern Europe, expanding Ukraine's territory significantly.

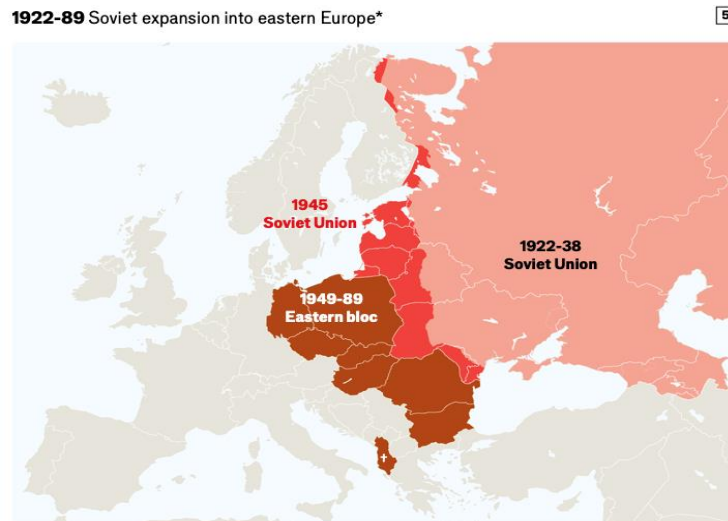


Figure 2: 1922-89, Soviet expansion into eastern Europe³⁶

As the USSR grew considerably and amidst Nazi Germany's persecution of the Jewish people, Jewish immigration changed the demography of historic Palestine, leading to Palestinian revolt against the British Mandate and Jewish migration from 1936 to 1939, increasing the Jewish population from 6% to 33% of the total population of Palestine by 1947.³⁷

³⁵ Mitchell, J. J., & Conant, E. (2023). Russia and Ukraine: the tangled history that connects—and divides—them. National Geographic.

³⁶ A short history of Russia and Ukraine. (2024, January 29). The Economist.

³⁷ Ibid.

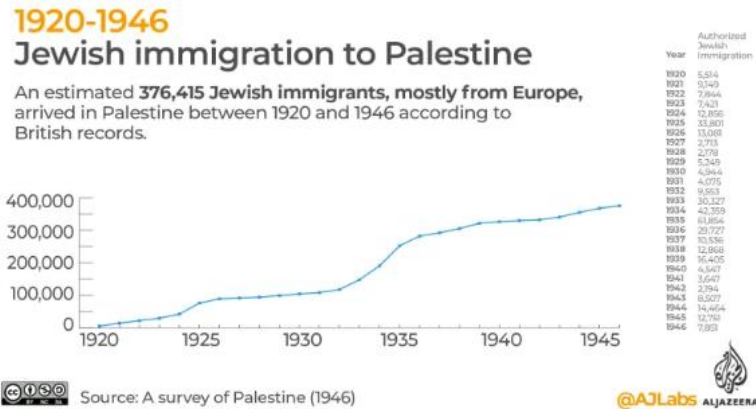


Figure 3: 1920-46 Jewish Immigration to Palestine³⁸

In February of 1947, the British relinquish their mandatory role and place the question of Palestine before the United Nations (UN) and by September, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) issues a report to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on the partition of Palestine.³⁹ By November 1947, the UNGA adopts resolution 181, calling on the division of Palestine, giving 55% to an unnamed Jewish-State and the remaining 45% to an unnamed Arab State, with Jerusalem under UN trusteeship, as a separate internationalized territory.⁴⁰ The plan is never implemented and Zionist paramilitary groups slaughter hundreds of Palestinians in the Deir Yassin massacre in April 1948 near Jerusalem, leading to the May 1948 British termination of the Mandate over Palestine. May 15th, 1948, marks the day Israel declares independence, leading to the Palestinian Nakba (catastrophe) which displaced more than 750,000 indigenous Palestinians, and commences the first Arab Israeli war.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ UNSCOP. (2019, March 11). Question of Palestine/Majority plan (Partition), Minority plan (Federal State)- UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) - Report - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.

⁴⁰ Ismail, A. (2021, August 18). Palestine plan of partition with economic union - General Assembly resolution 181 - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.

⁴¹ Ibid.

In November of 1948 the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR), and the UNGA passes resolution 194 calling for refugees right of return and Jerusalem to be under international regime⁴² and the UNGA adopts Resolution 273 admitting Israel as a UN member state.⁴³ In 1950, Israel moves its capital from Tel Aviv (Jaffa) to the western part of Jerusalem in defiance of UN resolutions. Similarly, in 1956, the USSR transfers administration of Crimea from the Soviet Union to Ukraine. 1964 marks the founding of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in Cairo. On June 5th, 1967, the Six-Day War begins, and Israel illegally occupies the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula, further expelling 300,000 Palestinians from their homes. By November 1967, the UNGA had adopted Resolution 242 (Land for Peace), calling on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, terminating its belligerent claims and respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of all states.⁴⁴

⁴² UNGA. (2019, March 11). Palestine question - UN Mediator report, Conciliation Commission to be established, Jerusalem status, refugees - GA resolution 194 - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.

⁴³ UNGA. (2019, March 11). Israel membership in the UN - GA resolution - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.

⁴⁴ UNGA. (2024, February 16). Mideast situation/Withdrawal of Israeli forces, termination of states of belligerency - Resolution 242 - Security Council resolution - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.



Figure 4: 1967 Israeli Occupation⁴⁵

By 1974, the PLO is recognized by the UNGA and the Arab League as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the UNGA reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence, sovereignty, and refugee return. By 1980, Israel had declared the annexation of East Jerusalem, in contravention with international law, while Mikhail Gorbachev tried to reform the USSR through ‘openness and reform,’ against the demands of freedom of eastern Europeans. In 1982 Israel invaded neighboring Lebanon in an attempt to eliminate the PLO, in what captured international media attention at the perceived indiscriminate bombardment, and subsequent massacres of Palestinian refugees left behind in Lebanon after a ceasefire and PLO withdrawal to neighboring countries. Heightening Ukrainian anger against their Soviet leaders, in 1986 the nuclear disaster occurs in Chernobyl leading to massive damage and cover up by the USSR, leading to the eventual 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of its prior 15 constituent republics.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.



Figure 5: 1991, Fall of the Soviet Union⁴⁷

Simultaneously, with heightening Palestinian anger, the First Intifada (uprising), begins at the end of 1987 at the Jabaliya Refugee Camp in Gaza, marking Palestinian resistance against their occupier. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Soviet nuclear arsenal was left in Ukrainian territory, suddenly marking the newly independent state home to the world’s third-largest nuclear stockpile.⁴⁸ At the same juncture in 1993-95 that US President Clinton is advising Ukraine to sign the Lisbon Protocol and give up its nuclear arsenal, was the PLO and Yaser Arafat capitulating in the Oslo Accords with then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin under US auspices.

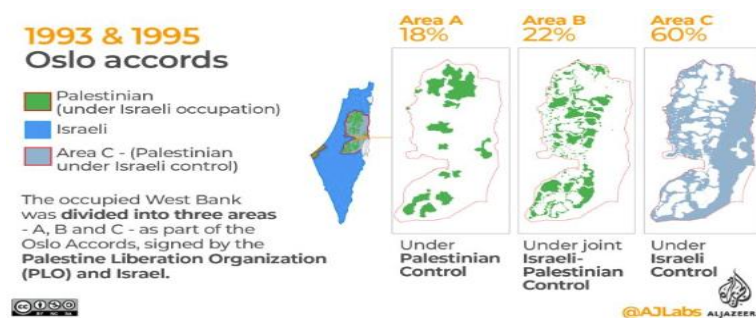


Figure 6: 1993-95 Oslo Accords⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Kelly, M. L., & Lonsdorf, K. (2022, February 21). Why Ukraine gave up its nuclear weapons — and what that means in an invasion by Russia. NPR.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

While the seeds were being laid for the mid 2000's 'Orange Revolution,' against the election of pro-Russian leadership in Ukraine, the Second Intifada was playing out against Israel, a more intense Palestinian uprising than the first. In 2004, the same year as operations 'Rainbow' and 'Days of Patience' the International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued its advisory opinion on Israel's construction of the wall in the West Bank being contrary to international humanitarian law, the Hague conventions, and the Geneva conventions, and affirmed the illegality of territorial acquisition by force against the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.⁵⁰ By late 2005, Israel would pull its occupation forces and settlers out of Gaza; Hamas would win Palestinian legislative elections in 2006, and Israel would enforce a military blockade on Gaza by 2007. Prior to Hamas take over, Israel launched operations 'Summer rains' after capture of a soldier, and 'Autumn Clouds' after increased rocket and mortar attacks by Hamas in resistance to occupation. In 2008, as the NATO summit in Bucharest lays out intention to bring Ukraine into NATO alarming the Russians, Israel completely seals off Gaza with an air, land and sea blockade, launching 'Operation Hot Winter' in February, followed by 'Operation Cast Lead' by the end of the year and into the first month of 2009.⁵¹ This would commence regular incursions into Gaza against Hamas, in what Israeli leadership refers to as a policy of 'mowing the grass,' with operations such as 'Pillar of Defense' in 2012 and 'Protective Edge' in 2014. 2018 marked violent crackdown on the 'Great March of Return'⁵² peaceful protests calling for a lift of the

⁵⁰ Playfair, E. (2004). ICJ Advisory opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the OPT - Full text - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.

⁵¹ Amnesty International Publications. (2009). Operation 'Cast Lead': 22 Days of Death and Destruction. Amnesty International.

⁵² Al Mezan Center for Human Rights. (2018, October 19). Six Months On: Gaza's Great March of Return. Amnesty International.

then 11-year illegal blockade on Gaza and the ‘2021 Israel-Palestine Crisis’⁵³ which this study analyzes, commencing with the forced displacement and ethnic cleansing of families in Sheikh Jarrah, followed by violent crackdowns on worshippers at Al-Aqsa during Ramadan, and finally the assault on Gaza after Hamas’ resistance rockets; these among several other military attacks, home demolitions, settler attacks and daily aggressions against Palestinians spanning decades.⁵⁴

Comparably to its movement calling for democracy in the early 2000’s, the ‘Maidan revolution’ in 2013-14 in Ukraine marked dissatisfaction with Victor Yanukovych, who was seen as being pro-Russian. When Yanukovych refused to sign a free-trade agreement with the European Union (EU), thousands protested, and Yanukovych fled to Russia.⁵⁵ The subsequent government in Ukraine signed the agreement, to the behest of Russian president Vladimir Putin. John Mearsheimer, famous international relations (IR) great-power politics and offensive realism theorist, has argued that in Western powers pushing NATO eastward, they presented Russia with a security dilemma.⁵⁶ Contravening international law in 2014, Russia illegally annexed Crimea and sent troops into Donbas. Led by Russian intelligence, separatist forces would later declare ‘people’s republics’ in Donetsk and Luhansk in 2022, before the eventual February 2022 Russian Invasion of Ukraine, the second case focal point of this study.

⁵³ Hijazi, N. (2021, June 20). May 2021 Events: Adalah defends rights of Palestinian protesters in East Jerusalem and across Israel. Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel.

⁵⁴ Miaari, S. H., Leowenthal, A., & Abrahams, a. (2021, October). How Civilian Attitudes Respond to the State's Violence: Lessons from the Israel- Gaza Conflict. IZA - Institute of Labor Economics.

⁵⁵ What did Ukraine's revolution in 2014 achieve? (2022, February 16). The Economist.

⁵⁶ Chotiner, I. (2022, March 1). Why John Mearsheimer Blames the U.S. for the Crisis in Ukraine. The New Yorker.

2014-present Russo-Ukrainian war



*Declared independence as the People's Republic of Donetsk and the People's Republic of Luhansk in 2014
Sources: Institute for the Study of War; AEI's Critical Threats Project

Figure 7: 2014-Present, Russian-Ukrainian War⁵⁷

While both of these histories are extensive and nuanced, I've attempted to provide a small snapshot, detailing some of the dynamics that have delivered the current moment through a parallel timeline of imperial rule and independence, foreign involvement, occupation and struggle for self-determination, and human catastrophes and displacement. While this snapshot is incomplete and deserves far more attention, we can see how the 20th century has shaped much of the relations to the present, of embattled peoples who have faced great powers, colonizers, and empires. Whereas both Israel and Russia claim they are defending themselves of security threats, they have expanded their territories with brutal disregard for international law. While many differences can be drawn on both case studies, in size and scope, geopolitical significance, and the legitimation of their struggle, in one case the current global superpower (US) and its western lackeys back and supports the occupier in the case of Israel, and fight the

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Russian occupier in Ukraine, militarily through material support and diplomatically through global institutions.

1.5. The Study: Conceptual Problem/Research Question

While there have been numerous studies into the coverage of respective media outlets on the same events, this study aims to study the coverage of *The New York Times*, based on two different events, which differ themselves inherently. Under the *NYT*'s editorial standards and ethical journalism handbook of values and practices for the news and opinion departments, the introduction and purpose statement claim that the goal of *The Times* is to cover the news impartially, quoting their 'patriarch,' Adolph Ochs, 'without fear or favor.' In the 'Our Duty to Our Readers' section, *The Times* claims to treat its readers as fairly and openly as possible, maintaining that the reader is told the complete, unvarnished truth, as best as its learned. Although this may be the intention of the *NYT*, this study attempts to gauge any discrepancy in the manner of which international conflicts are represented to wider publics through the case studies between the Israeli aggression towards occupied Palestine in May 2021, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

This study explores the aforementioned phenomenon through Discourse Analysis and looks at the content and coverage of the *New York Times* on two polarizing world issues in headlines and images. The objective of this study is to ascertain any double standards in editorial policy, and to hold the *Times*' accountable to their own editorial standard, that news is covered impartially, 'without fear or favor.' Specifically, this study questions to what extent coverage between Israel and Palestine differs from that of Russia and Ukraine and how such coverage may shape or alter

perceptions of the conflicts. Particularly, this thesis questions how inconsistencies in *The New York Times* coverage of wars in Palestine in 2021 and Ukraine in 2022 may show partiality in editorial standards and mask power relations.

I have chosen *The New York Times* as a microcosm of the larger media environment, and because it has underwritten history for nearly two centuries and underpins the narrative of the current liberal world order; it's often highly regarded as the 'newspaper of record' that channels 'all the news that's fit to print.' If news media is critical in recording and shaping world history, and how citizens globally interpret current affairs, then the implicit journalistic tendencies, whether conscious or unconscious, become of critical importance. This study considers online coverage of Palestine and compares coverage qualitatively and quantitatively in Ukraine over two, three-week periods (21 days), from May 3rd to May 23rd, 2021, in Palestine and February 21st to March 13th, 2022, in Ukraine. I will determine if there are any inherent discrepancies in reporting or if coverage is consistent, looking at representation through discourse and images. This study explores the relationship between content of *The New York Times*, as a microcosm of the overall western media climate, and the frames, influences, and representation and subsequent implications these journalistic practices may have on power and knowledge production for different subjects and audiences.

CHAPTER 2

THE NEW YORK TIMES

2.1. The Institutional History of The Times

The New York Times has nearly two centuries of history, dating back to its founding in 1851.⁵⁸ As a leading member of the *Associated Press* (AP), on November 21st, 1861, the agency arranged for *The Times* to be the receiver of all war news from the US government, which had been dispensed to a few favored organizations prior to that point.⁵⁹ In 1871, in an effort to reach out to New York's German residents, a quarter of the city's population at the time, *The Times* began printing articles in a German- language supplement. Early on, the budding paper had shown affinity to war, international news, and language (discourse). In 1896, Adolph S. Ochs, then the publisher of *The Chattanooga Times*, acquired ownership with borrowed funds, and installs himself as publisher. A few months later, Ochs coins the slogan 'All the News That's Fit to Print,' after a contest to come up with a slogan doesn't field a strong result. By the end of the year in December of 1896, Ochs had removed the hyphen from the *New-York Daily Times* and the paper becomes the '*The New York Times*.'

By June 1918, *The Times* had won its first Pulitzer Prize as a public servant for publishing official reports, documents, and speeches about the First World War. Throughout those beginning decades, *The Times* can be seen as a political actor, correctly doubting the results of the presidential election between Hayes and Tilden, forecasting the rise to power of Benito Mussolini in Italy, and launching an editorial

⁵⁸ NYTCO History. (2023). 1835 — 2023. The New York Times Company.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

crusade against Franklin D. Roosevelt's "dictatorial" plan to pack the US Supreme Court.⁶⁰ By 1945, *The Times*' science reporter, William L. Laurence, is the only journalist to witness the bombing of Nagasaki and writes the official history of the atomic bomb project and by 1948, *The Times* introduces its international edition.

It wasn't long into the *NYT*'s international coverage that *Radio Moscow* confronts *The Times* as a 'tool for monopolies' charging the paper with falsely distorting Soviet policies in 1952. By 1965, Harrison E. Salisbury a longtime correspondent and editor would report from North Vietnam that American warplanes were bombing indiscriminately against non-military targets, rebuking the Lyndon B. Johnson administration. Playing a further role in international affairs and US wars more specifically, in 1968 *The Times* publishes US General William C. Westmoreland's request for 200,000 more troops in Vietnam, a move that would have wide repercussions among the counterculture protesters and public opinion against the Vietnam war.

The Times Op-Ed page is launched in 1970, opposite the editorial page, a decade that would mark controversy for the paper. In 1971, the *NYT* again found itself in the Supreme Court after publishing classified information on the Vietnam war, a move the Nixon administration would unsuccessfully act to block. During the Nixon's 'Watergate' scandal, Daniel Ellsberg was accused of theft and conspiracy by disclosing the Pentagon Papers, which detailed the extent of US involvement in the Vietnam War. Although Ellsberg would later disclose his conflicted feelings about *The Times*, stating he was misled by a reporter, he was satisfied with their coverage of the Pentagon Papers

⁶⁰ Ibid.

leak, noting it was courageous to take the risk.⁶¹ Two investigations, the Church committee in the US Senate, and the Pike committee in the US house of representatives in the mid 1970's would uncover extensive Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) penetration of the media, which published hundreds of books, some on faked evidence to undermine Soviet communism.⁶² It was also shown that the covert agency owned dozens of newspapers and magazines globally and during Carl Bernstein's 'Watergate' repute in 1977, it would be revealed that over four hundred US journalists were employed by the CIA over 25 years varying from freelance work to agency officers working under deep cover, ranging between intelligence gathering to intermediaries with espionage work. With collaboration by top management, nearly all major US media organizations were claimed to be infiltrated, including the *AP*, *ABC*, *CBS*, *NBC*, *Reuters*, United Press International (UPI), *Newsweek*, *Time/Life*, and *The New York Times*; and among the prominent journalists, editors and publishers was Arthur Hays Sulzberger.⁶³

Ushering in the 1980s, *The Times* starts publishing a national edition. Further spurring growth and connectivity to global and national audiences, in 1996 the *New York Times* goes digital with the launch of www.nytimes.com, giving its readers access to its news articles and pictures anywhere in the world. It is this latest period that this study is most interested in, taking into consideration the long-standing history of the papers ability to influence war time coverage, sometimes controversially, and the affect

⁶¹ Mullin, B. (2023, June 21). Daniel Ellsberg, Pentagon Papers Source, Had Uneasy Relationship With The Times. *The New York Times*.

⁶² Boyd-Barrett, O. (2004). Judith Miller, The New York Times, and the propaganda model. *Journalism Studies*, 5(4), 435-449. Routledge.

⁶³ Boyd-Barrett, 436.

it has on political administrations and audiences in both the domestic and international arenas. At the time of this writing in 2024, *The Times* has over ten million subscribers, and has won 133 Pulitzer prizes, the largest recipient of the award administered by Columbia University since 1917 for achievement in newspaper, magazine, online journalism, literature, and musical composition in the US. In May 2023, “The staff of *The New York Times* won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting, for ‘unflinching coverage of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine,’ including an eight-month investigation into Ukrainian deaths in the town of Bucha and the Russian unit responsible for the killings.”⁶⁴ Although the Pulitzers are yet to take place in 2024, in late February 2024, *The Times*’ won three George Polk Awards in Journalism, another prestigious award recognizing stellar journalism by Long Island University in New York. Two of the three awards were for the *NYT*’s coverage of the ‘Israel-Hamas war.’⁶⁵ “The staff of *The New York Times* was awarded the foreign reporting prize for its coverage of the ‘Israel-Hamas war,’ which included extensive reporting on Hamas’ attack on Israel on Oct. 7 and Israel’s aggressive military response in Gaza.”⁶⁶

2.2 The Newspaper of Record

On December 1st, 1937, a brief self-referential advertisement ran on the bottom right corner of the 41st page of the *NYT*. It read “In its news, comment and tables of

⁶⁴ NYTCO. (2023, May 8). The Times Wins Two Pulitzer Prizes. The New York Times Company.

⁶⁵ Robertson, K. (2024, February 21). The New York Times Wins 3 Polk Awards. The New York Times.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

securities and commodities, *The New York Times* is accepted as the complete newspaper of record. *The Times* rag-paper edition preserves these records indefinitely.”⁶⁷

NEWSPAPER OF RECORD.
In its news, comment and tables of securities and commodities, The New York Times is accepted as the complete newspaper of record. The Times rag-paper edition preserves these records indefinitely.—Advt.

Figure 8: Newspaper of Record, *New York Times*, 1937⁶⁸

According to *Times*' archivist Lora Korbut, this phrase first appeared in 1927 during an essay contest in promotion of the annual index. The contest's title was "The Value of *The New York Times* Index and Files as a Newspaper of Record."⁶⁹ The paper, since 1913, has indexed all of its work, and made it accessible to readers. David Dunlap,⁷⁰ a retired *NYT* reporter from 1981-2017 and now curator of *The Times*' museum at its New York City (NYC) headquarters, which isn't open to the public, said, "If *The New York Times* offers its readers the first rough draft of history, its index since 1913 has offered its subscribers a precise, second draft."⁷¹ Even those most critical of the mass media and *The New York Times* put emphasis on its important role in society.

In a 1992 documentary, *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*⁷² by Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick, Noam Chomsky discusses his influential

⁶⁷ Diamond, S. (2023, May 21). A History of 'Record' in the Newspaper of Record. *The New York Times*.

⁶⁸ NYT Index. (1937, 1 December). Times Machine. *The New York Times*.

⁶⁹ Okrent, D. (2004, April 25). THE PUBLIC EDITOR; Paper of Record? No Way, No Reason, No Thanks. *The New York Times*.

⁷⁰ Dunlap, D. W. (2023). David W. Dunlap. *The New York Times*.

⁷¹ Dunlap, D. W. (2017, April 27). 1913-2017 | The Record of the Newspaper of Record. *The New York Times*.

⁷² Achbar, M., & Wintonick, P. (Directors). (1992). *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* [Film].

book co-authored with Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*.⁷³ Chomsky gives special consideration to *The Times* as one of the ‘elite media’ which plays a role in agenda setting, setting the general framework for smaller media conglomerates to adapt to its structure. In an interview in the aforementioned documentary, Noam Chomsky, with a copy of the paper in his hands, goes on the record and says the “*New York Times* is certainly the most important newspaper in the United States, and one could argue, the most important newspaper in the world.” Chomsky emphasizes that *The Times* plays an immense role and shapes the perception of the present world on behalf of the ‘politically active educated classes.’ Chomsky concludes that the paper has a ‘special role,’ and that his belief is that its editors bear a heavy burden, “in the sense that *The New York Times* creates history” in reference to its index and archives.

2.3. Editorial Standard, Partiality, and Palestine Coverage

Pledging to ethical journalism, *The Times’ Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Opinion Departments* vows to cover the news as “impartially, without fear or favor.”⁷⁴ These are the words of Adolph Ochs, which undertakes the duty to treat readers, news sources, and advertisers fairly and openly. The handbook states that the reputation of the paper rests on perceptions of it, and the professional standing of its staff members, and that avoiding conflicts of interests or appearance of conflict is integral. At its inception, the paper aimed to be “conservative in all cases where

⁷³ Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Bodley Head.

⁷⁴ *Ethical Journalism: A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Opinion Departments*. (2024). The New York Times.

conservatism is essential to the public good, and radical where radicalism and reform necessary, as society is not either exactly right or exactly wrong; what is good we desire to preserve and what is evil, exterminate.”⁷⁵ Today, according to a survey by the Pew Research Center, the papers slant is regarded as being liberal or leaning towards the center left of the political spectrum.⁷⁶ Against the backdrop of US social unrest regarding racist state policies in 2020, *Times*’ leadership produced ‘A Call to Action,’ acknowledging that the cultural inhibitors at the *Times* are guided by a set of complex unwritten rules recognizing the need to change, calling for a transformation in culture, to become a more diverse and inclusive as an institution.⁷⁷

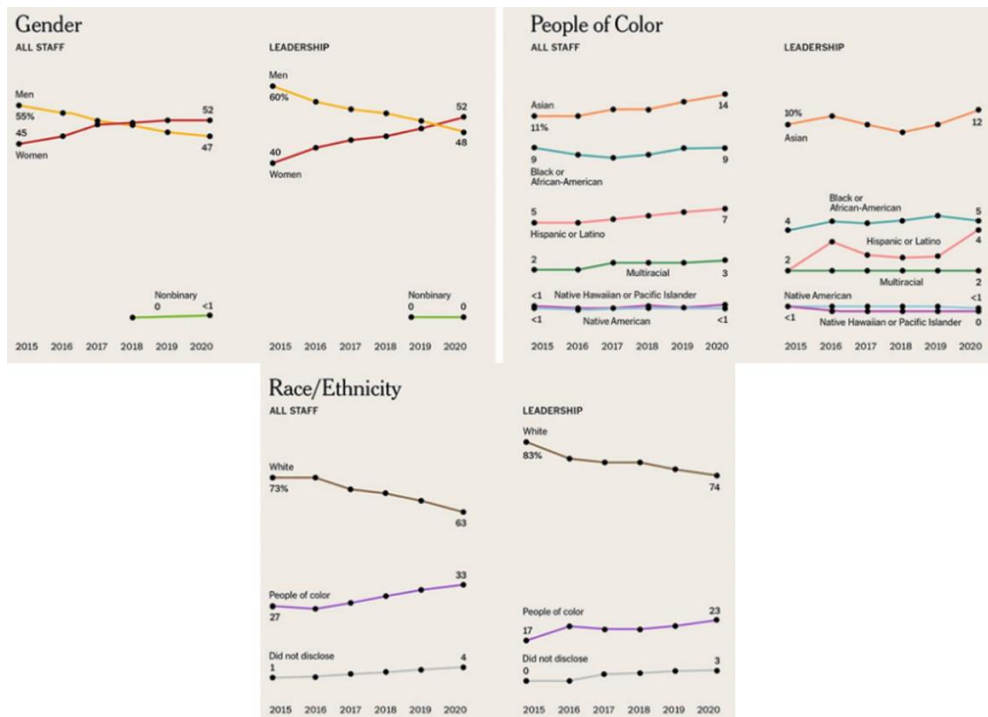


Figure 9: Diversity at *The Times*, 2020⁷⁸

⁷⁵ NYT. (1851). A Word About Ourselves. Times Machine.

⁷⁶ Pew Research Center. (2014). Where News Audiences Fit on the Political Spectrum. Pew Research Center.

⁷⁷ Sulzberger, A.G., Levien, M. K., & Baquet, D. (2023). Making a More Diverse, Equitable and Inclusive New York Times. The New York Times Company.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

The Times partiality has been questioned on numerous occasions where conflicts of interests occur; none more on its coverage of what it calls the ‘Israeli-Palestinian conflict.’ In late 2014, then public editor Margaret Sullivan penned, “*The Conflict and the Coverage.*”⁷⁹ Sullivan opens, “THIS is the column I never wanted to write,” detailing the hundreds of emails she’d received “for many months from both sides” complaining about the biased *NYT* coverage. Sarcastically, she claimed that both sides charge that the Jerusalem bureau chief at the time, Jodi Rudoren, “somehow manages to be — as the critics would have it — both wildly anti-Israel and practically a tool of the Israeli government.”⁸⁰ The context behind this period was what Israel called ‘Operation Protective Edge,’ which according to B’Tselem killed over 2200 Palestinians, 63% being civilians and a quarter of which were children under 18. Of the 72 Israelis killed, 6 were civilians and 62 were soldiers (4 other soldiers were killed by friendly fire.)⁸¹ Sullivan claimed that one of the most frequent complaints is the lack of context and history in coverage.

As the fifth public editor and first woman to hold the position, Sullivan reported directly to Arthur Sulzberger Jr. in a role as ‘readers’ representative.’ Outlining important influences on its paper to deliver the news impartially, the letter mentions the *Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting and Analysis*, (CAMERA) and their constant accusations that *The Times*’ attacks Israel and continues to reference “pro-

⁷⁹Sullivan, M. (2014, November 22). *The Conflict and the Coverage*. *The New York Times*.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ B’Tselem. (2016, July 20). *50 Days: More than 500 Children: Facts and figures on fatalities in Gaza, Summer 2014*. B’Tselem.

Palestinian” websites like *The Electronic Intifada*⁸² and *Mondoweiss*⁸³ and their objections on coverage. In ‘Israel: A Guide for Activists,’ the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), notoriously pro-Israel, outlines advocating to the media recognizing “most Americans’ perceptions of the Middle East conflict come from the mass media, especially large-circulation daily newspapers.”⁸⁴ In the pivotal role shaping public perceptions, the ADL calls for advocacy and involvement on behalf of Israel in response to ‘coverage that is unfairly critical,’ calling for immediate response by writing letters to the editor or ‘readers’ advocate,’ and by commenting on publications online comment sections and outlines effective steps to do so. In their working paper, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* which ultimately was expanded into a book, Walt and Mearsheimer outline the pressures pro-Israel organizations exert on the US media.⁸⁵ In their view, the perspective of ‘the Lobby,’ referring to The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), permeates the mainstream media (MSM) due to most American commentators being pro-Israel, and thus give few criticisms of Israeli policy, the US support of Israel, and the Lobby’s overwhelming power on US policy, where AIPAC backed candidates won 98% of their general election races in 2022. The two IR scholars put forth that media reporting of news events is somewhat more balanced than editorials, since “it is difficult to cover events in the occupied territories

⁸² Khalek, R., & Elagha, R. (2016, May 7). Media promote Israeli distortions as civilians dodge airstrikes in Gaza. *The Electronic Intifada*.

⁸³ Connors, P. (2014, August 2). Inhuman shield: How ‘The New York Times’ protects US elites from Gaza’s brutal reality. *Mondoweiss*.

⁸⁴ ADL. (2012). *Israel - A Guide for Activists* -. Anti-Defamation League. 10.

⁸⁵ Walt, S., & Mearsheimer, J. (2006). *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP06-011.

without acknowledging Israel's actual behavior."⁸⁶ Conversely, in *Permission to Narrate*, Edward Said details the regular omission of the Palestinian perspective in the press, where a "disciplinary communications apparatus exists in the West both for overlooking basic things that present Israel in a bad light, and for punishing those who try to tell the truth," which has found an unconscious adherence and compliance that pervades media discourse.⁸⁷

Sullivan mentions Joseph Kahn,⁸⁸ the top editor for international news at the time, and current executive editor, and how she had inquired his opinion on the 'context complaint' and that behind it are "people who are very well informed and primed to deconstruct our stories based on their knowledge," and that the paper doesn't hear this grievance from folks "who are merely trying to understand the situation." It's noteworthy to point out that the current executive editor of the paper who oversees all aspects of the global newsroom and news report, Joseph Kahn, is son of Leo Kahn, a long time CAMERA board member, an organization which has an "aggressive pursuit of corrections and wording changes in the media to reflect a more pro-Israel stance."⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Ibid, 21.

⁸⁷ Said, E. (1984). *Permission to Narrate*. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 13(3), 30.

⁸⁸ Joseph Kahn. (2023). *The New York Times*.

⁸⁹ Boguslaw, D., & Grim, R. (2024, January 28). *New York Times Puts "Daily" Episode on Ice Amid Internal Firestorm Over Hamas Sexual Violence Article*. *The Intercept*.



Figure 10: CAMERA billboard campaigns across from NYT HQ and around NYC⁹⁰

Sullivan further outlines some conflicts of interest the paper had faced with regards to the personnel covering the stories, and mentions a letter by the first public editor, Daniel Okrent, calling for a correspondent to be placed in the West Bank, to counter Israel-centric reporting from the Jerusalem bureau and its staff who are immersed in Israeli life.⁹¹ Okrent had made this suggestion five years prior to another conflict of interest, where another public editor, Clark Hoyt, had called for the reassignment of Ethan Bronner, a Jerusalem bureau chief whose son had joined the Israeli military.⁹² This was not disclosed by *The Times* until *The Electronic Intifada* brought it to light.⁹³ Despite the recommendation from the public editor, the call for

⁹⁰ CAMERA. (2023). The New York Times. CAMERA.org.

⁹¹ Okrent, D. (2005, April 24). Opinion | The Hottest Button: How The Times Covers Israel and Palestine. The New York Times.

⁹² Hoyt, C. (2010, February 6). Opinion | Too Close to Home. The New York Times.

⁹³ Abunimah, A. (2010, January 25). New York Times fails to disclose Jerusalem bureau chief's conflict of interest. The Electronic Intifada.

reassignment was not heeded by executive editor Bill Keller, who claimed Bronner's son was a 20-year old who made his own decisions. At the time Sullivan penned this piece in 2014, Jodi Rudoren was *The Times*' Jerusalem bureau chief, and although her children were too young to go into the army, she'd spoken openly about how her first contact with Israel were with Zionist youth groups and that she "is knowledgeable about the Jewish-American or Jewish-Israeli side of this beat."⁹⁴ Sullivan admitted who covers the 'Middle East' for *The Times* can be tricky, detailing audience grievance with the employment of former contributor Fares Akram, since he had a picture with former Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader, Yaser Arafat. David Brooks, a conservative columnist, and longtime contributor to *The Times* also had a son join the Israeli army during this same period.⁹⁵

Another conflict of interest arose with a current correspondent in the Jerusalem bureau, Isabel Kershner, who also had a son in the Israeli military, and a husband, Hirsh Goodman, who worked for the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) as senior research fellow and director of the Charles and Andrea Bronfman Program of Information Strategy, which is ironically tasked with shaping a positive image for Israel in the media, as reported by *Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)*.⁹⁶ INSS, a leading Israeli think tank has close ties with Tel Aviv University and the Israeli military establishment, where it has also received funding. According to *FAIR*, this relationship had never been disclosed to readers, although from 2009-2012 Kershner wrote or

⁹⁴ Weiss, P. (2014, February 28). NYT's Jerusalem bureau chief: 'I come knowledgeable about the Jewish American or Jewish Israeli side of this beat'. Mondoweiss.

⁹⁵ Weiss, P. (2014, October 27). Another New York Times' reporter's son is in the Israeli army. Mondoweiss.

⁹⁶ Kane, A. (2012, May 1). New Conflict of Interest at NYT Jerusalem Bureau. FAIR.org.

contributed to 17 articles where officials from INSS were quoted directly- none of which from her husband. It's notable that neither Kershner, nor her husband Goodman were born in Israel, and moved from England and South Africa, respectively.

Until about the 1960's *The Times*, which itself has five generations of Jewish ownership, maintained a policy of assigning only non-Jewish reporters to Jerusalem, to avoid any appearance that the paper may be exercising bias in favor of the "Jewish state." The policy was reversed in the 1970's, due to fear of calls of antisemitism. The current policy and the many voices claiming conflicts of interests are perhaps why the Ochs-Sulzberger family had enacted the latter policy.⁹⁷ Another conflict of interest from a pertinent contributor is Bret Stephens, who is a staunch pro-Israeli voice and editor in chief of SAPIR, "A quarterly journal of ideas for a thriving Jewish future."⁹⁸ It is important to note that no part of Jerusalem under international law is considered part of Israel.

Since 1984, when Thomas Friedman moved from Beirut and was stationed in Jerusalem by Abe Rosenthal when he oversaw the purchase, every Jerusalem bureau chief for *The New York Times* has lived in a home that was ethnically cleansed of its inhabitants in 1948.⁹⁹ Chomsky points out in *Fateful Triangle* that as a *NYT* correspondent in Beirut, in August of 1982 prior to being moved to Jerusalem, Friedman's reported use of 'indiscriminate' shelling of Beirut by Israel was edited out of his headline.¹⁰⁰ The young correspondent, in his own view 'cautious and not

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Stephens, B. (2023). Bret Stephens – SAPIR Journal. SAPIR Journal.

⁹⁹ Abunimah, A. (2010, March 2). NY Times' Jerusalem property makes it protagonist in Palestine conflict. *The Electronic Intifada*.

¹⁰⁰ Friedman, T. (1982, August 5). Israelis Drive to Isolate P.L.O.; Fighting Cuts Off Habib Talks; U.S. Tells Begin Truce is Vital. *The New York Times*.

exaggerating' rebuked the *Times*' editors for lack of courage and fearing to tell readers an inconsistent and approved image of the US' Israeli ally indiscriminately shelling civilians.¹⁰¹ In the memo sent back to the *Times*, professed disappointment with "what I learned in the past afternoon about my newspaper," Abe Rosenthal flew Friedman back to NY to reprimand him after the memo leaked but let him keep his job, after Friedman's success as a reporter in Beirut earned him a Polk Award. This reveals potential unspoken lines that reporters cannot cross in their coverage, since ultimately the editorial staff had the final say in what's published.¹⁰²

Friedman himself is a thought-provoking figure at *The Times* and has been the papers' foreign affairs columnist on the Op-Ed page since 1995. From 1989 to 1995, Friedman held three positions for *The Times*; chief diplomatic correspondent from 1989 to 1992, chief white house correspondent from 1992 to 1994, and chief economic correspondent in the Washington bureau from in the year prior to becoming the lead foreign affairs columnist.¹⁰³ After a stint at the London bureau of UPI, Friedman began working at the *NYT* in May of 1981, specializing in OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) and oil related news; before taking up the post at the Beirut bureau, six weeks prior to the Israel invasion in April of 1982, where he remained until transferring to the Jerusalem bureau in 1984. Friedman studied Mediterranean Studies at Brandeis University and spent semesters at the American University of Cairo and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, where he also took part in an internship in intelligence analysis sponsored by the CIA in Washington.

¹⁰¹ Chomsky, N. (1999). *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*. Pluto Press. 45.

¹⁰² Schwarz, J. (2024, February 7). Thomas Friedman and the Red Lines in Journalism on Israel and Palestine. *The Intercept*.

¹⁰³ Biography: Thomas L. Friedman. (2000). *The New York Times Web Archive*.

Friedman is a decorated journalist and writer and has won three Pulitzers; in 1983 for international reporting in Lebanon on the Sabra and Shatila massacres, in 1988 for international reporting in Israel on the First Intifada, and in 2002 for commentary on the 'war on terror.' He also received the 1987 New Israel Fund Award for outstanding reporting from Israel, the 1985 Marine Corps Historical Foundation Award for writing on the history of the Marines, a 1984 New York Newspapers Guild Page One Award, a 1982 George Polk Award, among others.¹⁰⁴ Friedman's 1989 book, *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, won the National Book Award in that same year; Friedman also wrote the text for Micha Bar-Am's photobook, *Israel: A Photobiography*, and his 1998 book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* narrated the world based on two struggles; the drive for prosperity and development (symbolized by the Lexus (Toyota vehicle)) and the desire to retain identity and tradition (symbolized by the olive tree), among a handful of other books since.

Friedman's texts have drawn many critics in his storied career, and in a book review titled 'The Orientalist Express: Thomas Friedman Wraps Up the Middle East' on *From Beirut to Jerusalem* in *The Village Voice*, Edward Said details Friedman's extraordinary origins, which Friedman starts his book giving an autobiographical account of being a young American Jew growing up in Minneapolis who was "galvanized into Zionist enthusiasm by the 1967 War."¹⁰⁵ "The complexity and richness of his personal background thus make Friedman's book a compendium of autobiography, journalistic reportage, philosophical reflection laced with a political theory whose main idea is that by virtue of their power and enlightened attitudes Israel

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Said, E. W. (1989). Edward Said: The Orientalist Express: Thomas Friedman Wraps Up the Middle East. *The Village Voice*.

and the United States set the standards to which in the end the less gifted and culturally backward Arabs must conform.” Said is critical of Friedman’s access and the influence his sources may have had on him, and he noticeably displays being associated with anti-Arab and anti-Islamic Orientalism, framing his opinions as “reasonable, uncontested and secure,” whereas in reality they’re minority views that “represent a narrow consensus associated not with desirable political change but with the equally political conservative perspective of the status quo.”¹⁰⁶ Friedman also addresses what he calls unfair and relentless fixation on press coverage towards Israel, and compliments Israeli ability to manipulate media. Said concludes that Friedman has “internalized the norms, if not powers, of the secretary of state not just of the US, but all of humanity,” with his opinionated offered solutions; and critiques the *Times*’ institutional status on deciding ‘what’s fit to print’ being tied to various powers and interests, which at times suppress pertinent stories and instead dominated by ‘self-serving myths of victimization’ and “opinions about Muslims and Arabs that could not be printed about any other people on earth.”¹⁰⁷

Margaret Sullivan concludes her letter and draws to the point that at one point the paper had gone out of its way to not assign Jewish staff to the Jerusalem bureau, and that at that moment, the times had no native Arabic speakers at the bureau, a deficiency she cited Joseph Kahn to be actively working on. Discussing a piece by a former AP correspondent in Israel, Matti Friedman, Sullivan mentions the critique of news organizations overplaying the conflict by covering it too much in which Friedman expresses that “mainstream press pays far too much attention to Israel because of ‘a

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

hostile obsession with Jews’ and does so within an unchanging and unfair narrative” and that Israel isn’t an idea of good or evil, or a litmus test for liberal opinion, but a small country in a scary part of the world that’s only getting scarier.”¹⁰⁸ Sullivan counters this argument by stating that the country is one of the US’ most important allies, and one which is provided with more than \$3 billion in aid annually. To this point, Kahn tells Sullivan that in his opinion the subject isn’t overcovered, and that the times is covering what is most relevant to its readers, the international conversation, and the intense interest that is there.¹⁰⁹ In an interview with Ronald Koven, *The Washington Post (WP)* Middle East Editor, Edmund Ghareeb asks Koven if the large Jewish population of New York influences the *NYT* coverage. Koven expresses that “New York is probably the world’s largest Jewish city, and everything that happens in Israel is of local interest for a large number of readers of the *New York Times*. It’s almost like a hometown story.”¹¹⁰

In referencing one headline as an example from the week prior *The Times* had fell short in presentation, Sullivan mentions an Isabel Kershner piece titled “Palestinian Shot by Israeli Troops at Gaza Border,” citing that “that’s not untrue, but it failed to get across an important element of the story: that the victim, who was badly wounded, is 10 years old.”¹¹¹ It’s important to note that this headline, despite editorial realization and regret, was never changed, a practice that happens regularly when pressured.¹¹² Sullivan

¹⁰⁸ Friedman, M. (2014, August 25). Tablet Magazine. Tablet Magazine.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ghareeb, E. (1975). The American Media and the Palestine Problem. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 5, 127-149.

¹¹¹ Kershner, I. (2014, November 16). Palestinian Shot by Israeli Troops at Gaza Border. *The New York Times*.

¹¹² CAMERA. (2023). *The New York Times*. CAMERA.org.

wraps the letter with four recommendations; one, to include more historical and geopolitical context, in which she says, “for example, that the rise of radical Islam is not a distant issue for Israel but a very real one and a very local one.” Secondly, Sullivan recommends more engagement with readers, and thirdly, to diversify and strengthen coverage of Palestinians, since she claimed they are ‘more than just victims’ and their beliefs and governance deserve coverage and scrutiny. Sullivan continues on this point of diversification to realistic examinations of what’s being taught in schools, noting the way Hamas operates should be part of this; “What is the ideology of Hamas; what are its core beliefs and its operating principles? What is Palestinian daily life like? I haven’t seen much of this in *The Times*.”¹¹³ As part of her third point, she says there should be a native Arabic speaker on staff who can penetrate Palestinian culture and brings back Okrent’s idea of a Ramallah bureau, a good idea in her perspective, “but Mr. Kahn has told me that practical problems and expenses continue to make it unlikely.” The fourth and final suggestion is to “stop straining for symmetry,” in headlines and photo galleries, since she says it makes the times look like its ‘running scared,’ which may come from a place of excess sensitivity but doesn’t “reflect the core value of news judgement above all.”¹¹⁴

Joseph Kahn’s responses to Sullivan are noteworthy, especially regarding expenses as an impediment to a future Ramallah bureau, since on the ‘Newsroom’ page the *NYT* boasts upwards of 200 international journalists in over 30 bureaus and subscribers in more than 235 countries and territories.¹¹⁵ In a quote on the page by

¹¹³ Sullivan, M. (2014, November 22). The Conflict and the Coverage. *The New York Times*.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Newsroom. (2023). Newsroom. The New York Times Company.

Assistant Managing Editor for International, Michael Slackman states “Either you cover the world, or you don’t, there are no halfway measures. Our International correspondents are overseen by editors and helped by an army of support staff are given one basic marching order: If you get wind of a story, do whatever it takes to chase it and let us worry about the bills.”¹¹⁶ On the ground reporting is said to bring readers to all corners of the world, where two examples are linked: “travel with the migrant caravan,”¹¹⁷ where a video is linked as a times reporter follows a chaotic 24 hours with a migrant caravan heading from South America to the US, and another which allows you to “decide where to visit on your trip to Jerusalem” where “Jerusalem’s city center has transformed into a vibrant scene, with youthful, often tattooed habitués offering a curious juxtaposition to the religious pilgrims roaming the Holy City” with five Israeli destinations and addresses profiled; a restaurant, cocktail bar, hotel, cultural center and a boutique on Bezalel street with “made-in-Israel apparel.”¹¹⁸ This section further touts the International team members of the world, who are ‘global thinkers’ and bring their incomparable work to readers everywhere, “undoubtedly one of the reasons that *The New York Times* is read in every country on earth.”

2.3.1. The Times in Ukraine

February 24th, 2023, marked one year since the Russian Invasion of Ukraine, and ‘One Year of Reporting on the War in Ukraine,’ for *The Times*.¹¹⁹ The briefing

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Collier, N., Rhyne, E., & Tiefenthäler, A. (2018, October 26). Video: A Day on the Road With the Migrant Caravan. *The New York Times*.

¹¹⁸ Koch, A. T. (2018, November 7). Five Places to Go in Jerusalem. *The New York Times*.

¹¹⁹ NYT. (2023, February 24). One Year of Reporting on the War in Ukraine. *The New York Times Company*.

released by the times rightfully describes the conflict as a global story, and states “we’re telling it in a way only *The New York Times* can.”¹²⁰ *The Times* details how the Russia-Ukraine coverage was its biggest international storyline in 2022 and how it has been on the ground since January 2022, weeks prior to the invasion, and how over the course of the year, hundreds of its reporters, photographers, producers, videographers, security and other staff have been in rotation within Ukraine, as more than a thousand staff across newsrooms in bureaus globally have contributed to the coverage and international impact of the ‘conflict.’ On February 22, 2022, two days before the invasion, *The Times*’ launched the Russia-Ukraine War Briefing newsletter,¹²¹ and by July 22, 2022, the paper had set up a Ukraine bureau and named Andrew Kramer, who specializes in weapons, military readiness and supply lines, and has been a reporter in the countries of the former Soviet Union for most of his career, Kyiv bureau chief.¹²² In 2017, Kramer won a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting investigative series on Russia’s covert projection of power, and in 2023 another, for reporting on the invasion.

Over the year, reporters have provided 24/7 live briefs and constant updates by newsrooms in Europe, Asia, and the US. The coverage has included “expert data analysis, groundbreaking investigations, revealing audio, and unflinching video and photography, which captured some of the most recognizable images of the conflict.”¹²³

¹²⁰ NYT. (2023, February 24). One Year of Reporting on the War in Ukraine. The New York Times Company.

¹²¹ NYT. (2022, February 22). Russia-Ukraine War Briefing Newsletter. The New York Times.

¹²² NYT. (2022, July 22). Andrew Kramer Named Ukraine Bureau Chief. The New York Times Company.

¹²³ Ibid.

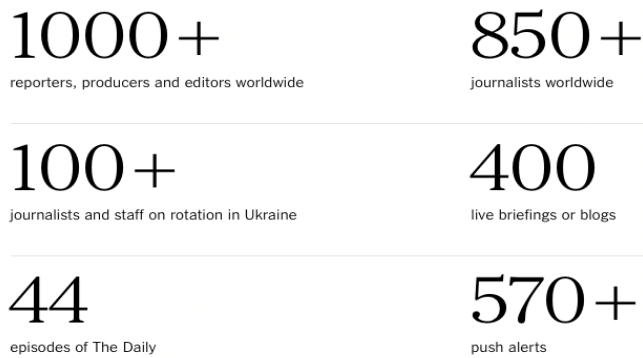


Figure 11: “By The Numbers: Our Year of Coverage on The Russia-Ukraine War”¹²⁴

The Times has had journalists reporting country wide, “from Lviv in the west to Donbas in the east, and from Kyiv in the north to Odesa in the south. We’re one of the few media outlets to have reported from Chernobyl, Bakhmut, Mykolaiv, and the city of Sievierodonetsk as it was falling.”¹²⁵ The coverage in Ukraine has been rigorous and innovative, providing its audience with eyewitness accounts, thorough exposés of ‘Russian atrocities’ in long investigations, and critical tracking and mapping of the physical and emotional toll of the war from the frontlines. As mentioned prior, *The Times*’ Ukraine coverage was recognized with two Polk Awards, one to journalists across the newsroom for foreign reporting, with judges giving special attention to “Putin’s War” a 13,000-word, two-month investigation that “exposed Russia’s military as unprepared, ill-equipped, and badly managed,”¹²⁶ and Paris bureau chief Roger Cohen’s “The Making of Vladimir Putin,” tracing the “Russian president’s 22-year slide from statesman to tyrant.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Shwartz, M., Troianovski, A., Al-Hlou, Y., Froliak, M., Entous, A., & Gibbons-Neff, T. (2022, December 16). How Putin’s War in Ukraine Became a Catastrophe for Russia. *The New York Times*.

¹²⁷ Cohen, R. (2022, March 26). *The Making of Vladimir Putin*. *The New York Times*.

When Russian forces retreated from Bucha, the visual investigations team began an eight-month report to collect documentary evidence collecting “over 23 terabytes of security, witness, and drone camera footage, more than four thousand audio and intercepted phone recordings, thousands of photographs and hundreds of military documents,”¹²⁸ identifying a specific “Russian military unit and commander responsible for potential war crimes against humanity,” in the process. The other Polk Award was in photojournalism, recognizing *Times*’ photographers, and a specific photo taken by Lyndsey Addario, whose spent months in Ukraine.¹²⁹ The photo, pictured below in Figure 12 shows “the bodies of a Ukrainian mother, her two children and family friend laying on the ground after being killed by Russian mortar fire while trying to flee Ukraine.”¹³⁰ The citation for the award recognized that Lynsey “dove for cover as the shell landed and then took the gruesome photo on instinct.”¹³¹ The coverage has been extremely thorough, touching nearly every theme with contributions from virtually every *Times* desk, from “immigration, food shortages, sanctions, supply chains, natural resecures, culture, the global economy, and geopolitics.”

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Kramer, A. E., & Addario, L. (2022, March 6). Ukrainian Family's Dash for Safety Ends in Death. *The New York Times*.

¹³⁰ NYT. (2023, February 24). One Year of Reporting on the War in Ukraine. *The New York Times Company*.

¹³¹ Ibid.



Ukrainian soldiers rushed to aid a family hit by Russian mortar fire Sunday, but there was little to be done. Lynsey Addario for The New York Times

Figure 12: Lynsey Addario's Polk Award Photo

2.4. The New York Times Company

2.4.1. Political Economy

According to *The New York Times Company 2023 Annual Report*, written by Chairman and Publisher A.G. Sulzberger, and President and C.E.O Meredith Kopit Levien, and addressed “To Our Shareholders,” the mission and business strategy of *The Times* propel each other.¹³² The stated mission is to “seek the truth and help people understand the world.” In 2023, *The Times* added nearly one million subscribers, bypassing the ten million subscriber mark with eyes on fifteen million, and pushing subscription revenue to above one billion dollars for the first time in the corporation’s storied legacy. “*The Times* now sees more digital engagement than any other American news source by total monthly time spent.”¹³³ *The Times* also set record highs in

¹³² Sulzberger, A.G., & Levien, M. K. (2023). 2023 10-K_Q4 project. The New York Times.

¹³³ Ibid.

operating profit, earning per share, and free cash flow, based on its subscription and advertising revenues.

As a public company, *The Times* trades under the ticker *NYT* but the business is controlled through a family trust by the Ochs-Sulzberger family,¹³⁴ and A.G. Sulzberger is the sixth male member of the family to continuously publish the paper since 1896.¹³⁵ The family has numerous individuals on its Board of Directors who own parts of the company and are direct lineage of the family tree, such as A.G. Sulzberger, David Sulzberger Perpich, Arthur Golden and Hays N. Golden to name a few.¹³⁶ There are over 815 institutional owners and shareholders of the company that hold over 160 million shares.¹³⁷ The two largest public share owners of *The Times* are the well-known asset-investment management companies, BlackRock and Vanguard, whose combined global assets rival the gross domestic product (GDP) of nearly every nation-state on earth, with approximately \$17 trillion in global assets under management.¹³⁸ There isn't an industry or sector on earth that the latter multinational investment companies don't touch, from news, banking, transport, technology, weapons manufacturing ('defense'), and energy, to name a few.

With this in mind, *The Times* aims to "to seek the truth and help people understand the world. This mission is rooted in belief that great journalism has the power to make each reader's life richer and more fulfilling, and all of society stronger

¹³⁴ NYT. (2022, July 20). What does The New York Times own? The New York Times.

¹³⁵ NYT. (2023). Board of Directors. The New York Times Company.

¹³⁶ Cuofano, G. (2024, February 23). Who Owns The New York Times? FourWeekMBA.

¹³⁷ Fintel. (2024). NYT - The New York Times Company Stock - Stock Price, Institutional Ownership, Shareholders (NYSE). Fintel.

¹³⁸ Brush, S., & Wittenberg, A. (2022, January 14). BlackRock hits a record \$10 trillion assets under management. Al Jazeera.

and more just.” It is this mission that the company and the paper act in accordance with, to serve readers and society through an ensured “strength of our journalism and business and foster a healthy and vibrant *Times* culture.”¹³⁹ Sulzberger and Levien, affirm this important work and the mission could not be possible without the support of shareholders. How this balance plays out internally in balancing the different interests is not easy to ascertain, but something to be mindful of, as *The Times* as an institution and business is an actor with interests of its own.

¹³⁹ NYT. (2023, December 6). Our Code of Conduct. The New York Times. <https://nytco-assets>.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

“If history is made by men and women, it can also be unmade, and rewritten...There is a difference of knowledge of other peoples and other times that is the result of understanding, compassion, careful study, and analysis, and on the other hand, there’s knowledge, that is part of an overall campaign of self-affirmation, belligerency, and outright war. There is, after all a profound difference between the will to understand for purposes of coexistence and humanistic enlargement of horizons, and the will to dominate for the purposes of control and external dominion.”¹⁴⁰ – Edward Said

3.1. Media Theories: Manufacturing Consent, Framing, Orientalism

As technology and globalization further interconnect the international system, the world culture evolves further, and conventional wisdom would assume that gaps in knowledge amongst the global populace are bridged. With digital, print, and internet media providing substantial mediums to inform individual populations, it becomes of crucial importance to understand how news is framed, projected, and interpreted. Although democratic backsliding has become more patterned, democratic governing structures remain most dominant within the international system. Informed citizens are crucial in being able to adequately understand the world around them, and vote based on their desired visions and beliefs; especially as governments become more interventionist in foreign policy affairs. Given the corporate commodification and political economy of today’s news and information climate, its essential that we understand the coverage we receive, and its respective biases, interests, and inconsistencies. Noam Chomsky through *Manufacturing Consent: The Political*

¹⁴⁰ Said, xiv.

Economy of the Mass Media sets the overall environment that mediums such as the *NYT* function in. Edward Said and Stuart Hall draw out the historical trajectory that birthed the archived framed lens of *Orientalism* in which culture is produced through *Representation*, and Michel Foucault contextualizes how these institutions acting with and for power/knowledge shape truth regimes, and the overall epistome.

Detailing the important role of mass media, in 1979 Eugene Shaw describes the function of *Agenda-Setting and Mass Communications Theory* and its pervasive and persuasive function in shaping, manipulating, focusing, and determining public attention on specific events, issues, individuals and their importance.¹⁴¹ Specifically, Shaw considers that newspapers and news media shape reader awareness and guide attention in what to include or exclude in their cognition, based on what these mediums include or exclude in their content, and that individuals will assign importance resembling what emphasis is given to events by mass media.¹⁴² In Shaw's analysis, the power of the press is alluded to, as agenda setting assumes direct and indirect impact on audience, their attitudes and cognitions, playing a gatekeeper role, especially in western democracies where information is diffused mainly through mass media institutions before being spread interpersonally.¹⁴³

Similarly to Shaw's Agenda-Setting function is the 1988 work by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* details the medias role to emphasize trends, topics, and themes into an orderly organized structure, giving media the power to influence popular opinion not

¹⁴¹ Shaw, E. F. (1979). Agenda Setting and Mass Communication Theory. *Gazette*, 25(2), 96-105. Sage Journals.

¹⁴² Ibid, 96.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 98.

only by inclusions, but also omissions.¹⁴⁴ *Manufacturing Consent* outlines how this is done in a multitude of ways, by selecting topics, distributing concerns, emphasis, tone, framing of issues, filtering information, and binding the debate within certain acceptable limits. Chomsky and Herman assert that elite media determine, select, control, restrict, and shape news to serve the interests of dominant groups in society. The book focuses on what Chomsky and Herman call the ‘Propaganda model’ which provides analysis on the framework that US media operates in under institutional structural relationships, where the “media serves and propagandizes on behalf of powerful societal interests that control and finance them.”¹⁴⁵ The propaganda model is centered on the inequality of wealth and power at various levels of mass media interests, which filters news based on five key themes.

The first of five primary themes around which medias interests are positioned are ownership, size, concentration and profit orientation of its owners, or firms and stakeholders. Secondly is advertising, as this is the primary income source, thus having to be conscious of alienating advertisers with sensitive topics; thirdly is information sourcing, as the media is reliant on information provided by government officials, business interests, and ‘experts,’ which are “funded and approved by these sources and agents of power.”¹⁴⁶ Fourthly is ‘flak,’ or the fear of discipline, criticism or backlash, if the media organizations deviate from established discourse and challenge power, and lastly is ‘anti-communism,’ as a national and control regulating mechanism. The fifth filter, anti-communism’ is aligned with the popular conflicting ideologies of the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 103.

¹⁴⁵ Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Bodley Head. 13.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 41.

moment, which today may be adversaries to Western multinational corporate interests, the ‘rules based international order,’ ‘the war on terror,’ or any ideological ‘us versus them’ principle that the ruling class and media elite, or power, holds in any given period. These five components work together and reinforce each other in filtering what’s ‘fit to print.’ According to the propaganda model, both liberal and conservative branches of the media fall within the same framework of assumptions, and if the system is functioning properly, it will be appear to have a liberal bias, which binds thought effectively, since the press will be perceived as extreme, or adversarial to power, confining how much further individual opinions can go.

Synonymous with meaning making and reality construction, framing theory, first introduced by sociologist Erving Goffman applies masteries such as cognitive psychology, media and communication studies, political science, and linguistic discourse to comprehend how events unfold and what can be expected in their coverage. Goffman proposes the role of perception is considerable within framing, and especially within the process of journalism, as journalists’ perceptions of the world precedes the narrative and structure they put forth.¹⁴⁷ Considering the volatile nature of international relations, the interpretation of events by different mediums, individuals and societies can greatly differ. Although we’d like to believe this information dissemination and knowledge production process is free of bias and interests, scholars have distinguished the processes that have become inherent in these practices.

In *Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power*, Robert Entman, sets out to understand the larger implications for political power and democracy of framing, priming, and agenda-setting as tools in the distribution of power through the slant and

¹⁴⁷ Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Northeastern University Press.

bias in media.¹⁴⁸ While the discourse on bias in personalities, media, activists and academia is extensive, bias is yet to be defined clearly or receive adequate empirical attention.¹⁴⁹ Entman outlines three major meanings bias takes on; distortion bias, which is applied to news and distorts or falsifies reality; content bias, which favors one side rather than providing equivalent treatment to both sides in a political conflict; and decision-making bias, which refers to motivations and mindsets of journalists who produce biased content. Developed frames perform four functions: they define the problem, offer causal analysis, cast moral judgment, and promote remedies; this process shapes and alters audience perceptions, interpretations, and their preferences, in a process called priming. Agenda setting can be seen as another name for successful framing: defining problems worthy of public attention and government action.¹⁵⁰

Entman shows how agenda setting, framing and priming fit together as critical tools in media's role in exercising political power and discusses how the scholarship on bias in the past was focused on presidential campaigns and administrations, assessing favoritism to ideology and political actors, while pointing out a gap in the assessment of patterned and persistent media images of minorities, and coverage of US foreign policy. "Powerful players devote massive resources to advancing their interests precisely by imposing such patterns on mediated communications," assembling narratives that promote and raise salience of specific ideas over others to shape particular interpretations.¹⁵¹ Avoiding terminological confusion, Entman suggests differentiating

¹⁴⁸ Entman, R. (2007). Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 163-173.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 163.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 164.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 164.

bias from what he calls ‘news slant,’ the process of framing that “favors one side over the other in a current or potential dispute,” and discusses a perceived liberal bias that permeates the US press, which ironically consistently slants in favor of preferred conservative frames, and the side regarded as most powerful, popular, and unified.¹⁵² Comparably to *Manufacturing Consent*, Entman points to how ideologies held by reporters and editors play a role in shaping the news, and how personal ideology “combines with other forces, including external spin managers and internal pressures from owners and executives responding to market incentives” to influence news stories and editorials.¹⁵³ While these frames are largely embedded and unacknowledged, they structure the world for both journalists who do the reporting, and those who rely on their reports.

A seminal work proposed by Edward W. Said in 1978, *Orientalism* conveyed a new way of examining the representations of the East, and the frames and lens at play in which the Western world views “other” cultures.¹⁵⁴ *Orientalism* refers to a common condescending slant towards Middle Eastern, Asian, and North African civilizations shaped largely by colonial forces, which has been “made and re-made countless times by power acting through an expedient form of knowledge to assert the Orient’s nature.”¹⁵⁵ *Orientalism* depicts that the way knowledge is acquired is not innocent or objective, but the result of a process that reflects certain interests. Specifically, Said contends these cultures are perceived through a lens that misrepresents the actual reality

¹⁵² Ibid, 165, 167.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 167.

¹⁵⁴ Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism* (Penguin Modern Classics). Penguin.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, xiii.

of those nations and their respective inhabitants, mainly by “shabby screeds with screaming headlines about Islam and terror, political polemicists pretending knowledge is imparted on them by experts, warmongering expertise” on omnipresent western media networks, and ‘middle-brow journalists,’ recycling unverifiable fictions and generalizations.”¹⁵⁶ Said calls this lens through which ‘the Rest’ are viewed Orientalism; cultivating a structure used to understand the different and the strange, to make people outside of the west appear dissimilar and threatening.

In Said’s examination, knowledge of language, culture, and history are necessary in understanding for a wholesome humanistic world view, rather than the “fragmented knowledge available on the internet and in the mass media” where societies are framed as static, undeveloped and barbaric constructing a certain view of the culture, history, and art, which is reproduced and improperly portrayed, forming a false perception in the interpreters mind on the ‘foreign Other.’¹⁵⁷ Contained in this fabrication is the idea that Western society is developed, rational, flexible, and superior, as education and humanistic research shrinks, and archival knowledge is threatened by nationalist and religious orthodoxies disseminated by mass media sensationally and ahistorically. Orientalists house and mobilize many false insights and simplified views thus always creating an inaccurate representation of the Arab world and painting an inaccurate visualization when the Western world considers the Orient. Said insists that reductively herding people under false unifying rubrics like “the West, Arabs, Orientals or Islam,” inventing broad stroke collective identities for individuals who are actually diverse must be opposed, their effectiveness reduced in influence and mobilizing power,

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, xv.

¹⁵⁷ Said, xix, xx.

and instead, individuals should employ logical interpretive skills through humanistic education, and worldly secular rational discourse to inform power.¹⁵⁸

Said lays out the groundwork pertaining to ‘the West,’ and how historically, the perceptions of Americans towards the Orient differed than those of their European counterparts. One society associates it with the far East due to geographical positioning, and the latter is adjacent, and the place of Europe’s oldest colonies, civilizations, languages and its contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience; “an integral part of European material civilization and culture.”¹⁵⁹ “*Orientalism* expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.”¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, *Orientalism* is a cognitive mode constructed on ontological and epistemological distinctions between the Orient, and ordinarily, the Occident which gives the corporate institution authority on “describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling it,” and in turn dominating, restructuring, and having authority over it.¹⁶¹

Central to identifying *Orientalism*, are Michel Foucault’s notions of discourse, through which Said contends it is impossible to understand the systematic discipline which western culture was “able to manage- and even produce- the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively,” without.¹⁶² Said asserts that *Orientalism* is so formidable, that anyone writing, thinking or acting,

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, xxii.

¹⁵⁹ Said, 2.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 3

¹⁶² Ibid.

on the Orient couldn't, without accounting the limitations it imposes, and the vast network of interests at play when the Orient is the subject. It is through the Orient that European culture increased its power and identity, first through the French and British, until after World War two, and then with the ascension of the US by pitting themselves against the Orient. The Orient is "not an inert fact of nature," but a man-made variation of historical, geographical, and cultural entity, similarly to the West, or Occident, and therefore a configuration of power.¹⁶³ Referring to the structure of Orientalism as a system of knowledge, culture and hegemony, Said states "I myself believe that *Orientalism* is more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse," which enables the durability of socio-economic and political institutions through a body of generational theory and practice which have garnered substantial material investment.¹⁶⁴

Said discusses the distinction between pure and political knowledge, and individuals whose work delves into ideological sciences, such as economics, politics, and sociology being interpreted as "political," since that work has policy implications and alludes to knowledge production in the US intended to be nonpolitical (scholarly, academic, impartial, above partisan, or small-minded doctrinal belief).¹⁶⁵ While Said believes the ambition to be impartial is noble in theory, the practice is problematic since "No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of

¹⁶³ Said, 5.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 6.

¹⁶⁵ Said, 9,10.

beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of society.”¹⁶⁶ These components of an individual’s identity affect their professional lives, although the individual could reach a level of autonomy making the knowledge produced less partial than its producer. “Yet, this knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical.”¹⁶⁷ Said takes issue with the liberal consensus that ‘true’ knowledge is nonpolitical, and political knowledge isn’t ‘true’ knowledge, obscuring the highly political circumstances in obtaining and producing knowledge and the given importance a field may be granted on the basis of its economic prospects and power, drawing on the connection of Chomsky’s study between the Vietnam War and ‘objective scholarship’ applied to cover state-sponsored military research.¹⁶⁸ Said marks this point to stress that within imperial powers, political societies play a role on civil society as direct political infusion that serve imperial interests, thus linking that “no production of knowledge in human sciences can ignore or disclaim its authors’ involvement as a human subject...then it must also be true for a European or American studying the Orient, he comes up against the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual second,” belonging to a power with definite interests.¹⁶⁹ Accordingly, *Orientalism* is a distribution of geopolitical awareness and an elaboration on the geographical distinction of the world being made up of two unequal halves, and a series of interests that seek to understand, manipulate or even incorporate what is a noticeably different world; through a discourse that is produced with various uneven exchanges with power

¹⁶⁶ Said, 9, 10.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 11

¹⁶⁹ Said, 11.

(political, intellectual, cultural, and moral). Finally, and important to *The Times*' index, Said situates *Orientalism* as a library or 'archive' of commonly held information, bound together by a family of ideas and unified values, which explained the Orientals behavior, mentality, and genealogy for the Europeans (West) which drew the "ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority"¹⁷⁰

Another important work by Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, the third and final text after *Orientalism* and *The Question of Palestine*, describes how Western media distorts Islam; questioning media impartiality, while analyzing the nexus between epistemological production and power.¹⁷¹ Specifically, Said describes what he calls an 'invisible screen,' whereby the media controls and filters information selectively, setting limits and pressures on how reporters are able to cover their subjects.¹⁷² Said declares that Western media's coverage gives news consumers a feeling that they have comprehended Islam without implying that their coverage is far from objective and inherently biased. Media can thus 'blind' and audience to alternative interpretations of events and imply consensus by not offering opposing views.¹⁷³ Deepa Kumar in 'Framing Islam: The Resurgence of Orientalism During the Bush II Era,' cites this very notion that since 9/11, the debate on issues pertaining to Muslims or Islam has narrowed and again become dominated to Orientalist approaches of rational.¹⁷⁴ Particularly

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 41, 42.

¹⁷¹ Said, E. W. (2008). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (Fully Revised Edition). Random House.

¹⁷² Ibid, 188.

¹⁷³ Dimitrova, D., & Stromback, J. (2005). Mission Accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the Elite Newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *International Communication Gazette*, 67(5), 413.

¹⁷⁴ Kumar, D. (2010). Framing Islam: The Resurgence of Orientalism During the Bush II Era. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 34(3), 254-277.

noteworthy during this period is the rise of nationalism coinciding with Islamophobia in the West, and especially so in the United States and Europe, with the election of populist, nationalist right-wing figures. As documented earlier, a pervasive narrative has pierced perceptions in the media after the offensive of Russia on Ukraine, where media framed the ‘Middle East’ as the stage for conflict for thousands of years, while war is foreign to Europe, since Europe is civilized and free of conflict, outwardly ignoring the historical record. Robert Jervis, Author of *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* posits how crucial it is for individuals to grow in their views as the world diversifies and assimilates more ideas; since ignoring discrepant information or assimilating it to pre-existing beliefs will perpetuate inaccurate images and maintain unsatisfactory paradigms.¹⁷⁵ Misperceptions permeate reporting and policymakers’ decisions are influenced by unrealistic perceptions, and the public’s stereotypical images affect the formation and acceptance of policy.¹⁷⁶

Consequently, discourse in the media becomes of paramount importance. Liu Yongtao views discourse and meanings in international relations studies, pondering the sources of hostility and conflict in global politics while arguing that discourse as a social practice, while being crucial, is largely neglected and treated as a less vital unit of political analysis.¹⁷⁷ Coinciding with the notion of Said’s ‘invisible screen,’ Yongtao claims that the reality told and understood is not neutral, but refined, cut, and modified in a process of linguistic production, where language is used as a tool that is conditioned

¹⁷⁵ Jervis, R. (1976). *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton University Press. 172

¹⁷⁶ Shaheen, J. (1985). Media Coverage of the Middle East: Perception and Foreign Policy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 482(Changing Patterns of Power in the Middle East), 160.

¹⁷⁷ Yongtao, L. (2010). Discourse, Meanings and IR Studies: Taking the Rhetoric of "Axis of Evil" As a Case. 85-107.

historically, socially, and culturally, and constructed to provide a reality, or knowledge that's subjective relative to its reconstruction in time and space.¹⁷⁸ Being an integral part of culture, language becomes representative and produces meaning as both a symbolic system and form of social power.

Supplementing the aforementioned literature with his work in cultural and media studies, Stuart Hall addresses the role of communication and mass media in society, and the central practices that produce culture through the process of *Representation*, connecting meaning and language to culture.¹⁷⁹ For Hall, the concept of representation plays an active and complex role in the manner individuals interpret the world and their role in it, and the subsequent ways in which power intersects with knowledge.

Representation itself carries a double meaning Hall asserts, in one sense 'to present, to depict, to image' something (topics, people, events, situations), as in something is already there, and the media re-presents it, and in another sense, being represented; how political figures "represent us, and in that sense, stand in for us."¹⁸⁰ With the duality of meaning in representation, the onus then falls on the scholar to assess the potential distortion between real meaning, and the gap of how it is presented in the media. Hall uses the example of the political situation in Northern Ireland and contending Irish and British factions meeting, and media coverage of the events to ascribe whether 'fixed or true' meanings really exist, since one would have to understand history that led up to that moment, the different positions of the meetings participants and consequences of the event would be, prior to presenting a meaning. Using this example, Hall submits

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 87.

¹⁷⁹ Hall, S., Evans, J., & Nixon, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE Publications. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Hall, S. (1997). *Representation and the Media*. Media Education Foundation. 6.

that there is never a single interpretation of the same event; the meaning will be contested based on different perceptions, with no unified fixed, final, and settled meaning and therefore the representation doesn't actually capture the essence at all, since what is being re-presented was not fixed in the first place. "The true meaning of it will depend on what meaning people make of it; and the meaning that they make of it depends on how it represented."¹⁸¹

Building further on the concept of representation, Hall defines how this process becomes one of the conditions of the event and doesn't take place after the event but enters into the event itself and constitutes the event; it is a power that organizes and establishes meaning. Moving from the notions on representation, Hall examines culture, much in the same way Said does with *Orientalism*, on how events are constituted and culture becomes a primary force, giving meaning to the world, since individuals, and subsequently societies have their own shared and learned perceptions in a conceptual world; thus cultures consist of 'maps of meaning' that classify and represent the world, "frameworks of intelligibility which allow us to make sense of a world that exists, but are ambiguous until made sense of."¹⁸² Additionally, Hall discusses that these concepts are shared through language and discourse, themselves systems of representation and classification which express the meanings made of the world and events where "nothing meaningful exists outside of discourse," and "without language, meaning could not be exchanged in the world."¹⁸³ Grounded in media studies, the production of meaning is referred to by Hall as 'signifying practices,' which are widely disseminated by media,

¹⁸¹ Hall, 7.

¹⁸² Ibid, 9.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 12.

as a powerful and extensive systems for circulating meaning. For Hall, the question of circulating meaning in media inherently involves power, which can never be separate from the idea of representation; “who has the power, in what channels, to circulate which meanings to and of whom?”¹⁸⁴

Adding nuance, Hall considers that absence signifies just as much as presence; maintaining that what is not said, or stated, or pictured, is just as important of what is represented. There is an autonomous function on the individual in the production of meaning related to that individual’s identity, constructed positionally in identifying the depicted knowledge, event, or image. Hall references advertising and imagery, which implicates the viewer into the represented setting; the image has a meaning relationally to the perception of the viewer, who projects themselves into the image, thus completing one of many potential meanings of the stand-alone image through the viewers imagination, or what Said may call ‘mythical constructions.’¹⁸⁵ In Hall’s interpretation, there is no fixed meaning, but a wide range of possible meanings, and consequently an inescapable contestation, drawing again on power and ideology, as ‘fixers’ of language and representation which is done through stereotyping, suggesting interpretations, and knowledge production, ultimately as tools of power.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 14.

¹⁸⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 321.

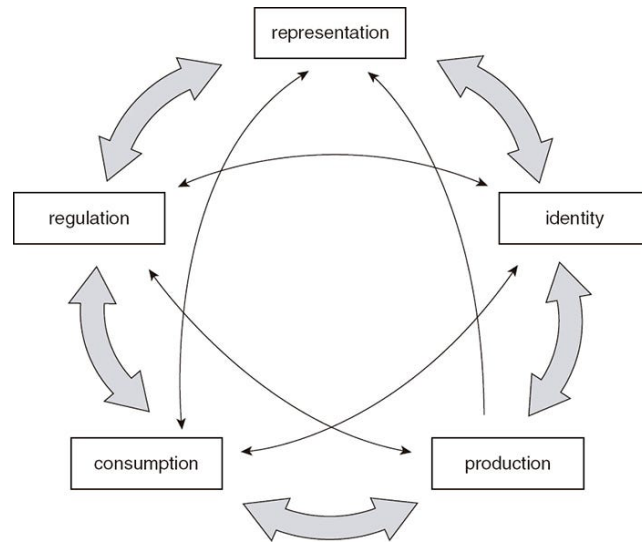


Figure 13: Stuart Hall's Circuit of Culture¹⁸⁶

In *The Formations of Modernity: Understanding Modern Societies*, a culmination of accounts of principal historical processes, institutions and ideas that shaped the development of modern societies, map the evolution of distinctive political, economic, social, and cultural life through the examination of their rootedness in knowledge.¹⁸⁷ It also examines the emergence of social sciences through 'Western' identity, and its encounters in exploration, trade, conquest and colonization with 'other civilizations.' In the sixth and final chapter of the collaborative work, Stuart Hall puts forth 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,' outlining how interactions between western and non-western societies became represented through the discourse of 'the West and the Rest.' Similar to Said's notion of the 'Orient and the Occident,' Hall situates the ideas of the 'East and West' outside of defined geography, which in actuality represent complex concepts in shorthand form referring to types of society,

¹⁸⁶ Hall, S., Evans, J., & Nixon, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE Publications. xviii.

¹⁸⁷ Hall, S. (1992). *The Formations of Modernity: Understanding Modern Societies- The West and the Rest* (S. Hall & B. Gieben, Eds.). Polity Press.

varying levels of development, and cultural markers. While ‘the West’ first emerged in Europe, it isn’t all encompassing or confined exclusively to Europe; it is an idea constructed through discourse that is wielded as an instrument that sets a certain ideological structure of knowledge in motion as a model for comparison.¹⁸⁸

In other words, ‘the West’ is a produced discursive idea, which in turn became productive of knowledge, identity, and representation itself, and organized discourse on global power relations and ‘the West’s’ contact and contrast with non-western societies, or ‘the Rest;’ historical and linguistic constructs with meanings that change over time. Even within Europe itself, there was a time when Western Europeans regarded their Eastern European counterparts as barbaric and inferior, much in the same way Orientalism functions, simplifying peoples and cultures, representing the world through divided dichotomies.¹⁸⁹ Even within a modern context, the “Holocaust posed a difficulty for liberal understandings of the West and its role in world politics.”¹⁹⁰ As Barkawi and Laffey remark, to retain faith in ‘Western myths,’ of progress and ethical superiority, founded in an imagined geography which displaces evils onto an intrusive ‘Other,’ the Holocaust had to be ‘othered’ from the West, turning the quintessential western society of Germany into nonwestern. After detailing the long historic trajectory of exploration, conquest, settlement, colonization and exploitation between Europe, the Americas, and their colonial pasts and despite internal differences, Western Europeans eventually began to consider themselves as one ‘family or civilization,’ and challenging

¹⁸⁸ Hall, 186.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 189.

¹⁹⁰ Barkawi, T., & Laffey, M. (2006). The postcolonial moment in security studies. *Review of International Studies*, 32, 341.

Islam was a key factor in forming and solidifying the in-group solidarity and idea of ‘the West.’¹⁹¹

Like Said, Hall also draws on the French philosopher, historian, and social theorist Michel Foucault in the formation of language, or ‘discursive formations,’ which Europe used to describe and represent the difference it encountered between itself and ‘others’ as it expanded. These constructed systems of representation of relations between ‘the West and the Rest,’ are built on bodies of speech, images, writing, and produced knowledge which form the topic in a certain, or limited way. “One important point about this notion of discourse is that it is not based on the conventional distinction between thought and action, language, and practice. Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But it is itself produced by practice: ‘discursive practice’- the practice of producing meaning.”¹⁹² Therefore, discourse enters into and influences all social practices and is produced by numerous individuals and institutions and is not a closed system; binding into other networks of meaning.

In addressing ‘truth,’ Hall describes how critical language is in the assessment of ‘facts’ and how the discourse ultimately interferes in what is deemed true, or false. Hall portrays this by using the example of Palestinians fighting to regain land in the West Bank from Israel and how this action can be represented in a multitude of ways through discourse and differing perspectives; are they freedom fighters’ or are they ‘terrorists?’, the fact they are fighting alone doesn’t mean anything until the language used in practice is enacted into a ‘truth.’ Competing and social discourses will decide what is true or scientific, or what is false or ideological; thus, contestations of discourse

¹⁹¹ Hall, 197.

¹⁹² Hall, 201.

circle back to power, which decides what the ‘truth’ is any given situation; power produces knowledge.¹⁹³

In this context, Hall explains how ‘the West’ brought its own cultural categories, languages, images, and ideas that formed conceptual frameworks which represent and describe the world, standing vis-à-vis ‘the Rest,’ in positions of dominant power, influencing what and how things are seen, as well as how they’re not, implicating the intimate relation between discourse, knowledge and power. Therefore, “the question of whether a discourse is true or false is less important than whether it is effective in practice.” When discourse is effective, it systematizes and regulates relations of power, forming a ‘regime of truth.’¹⁹⁴ Consequently, power to produce discourse is power to make ‘truth,’ as discourse is a system through which power circulates. In representing the ‘Other,’ Hall draws on ‘*Orientalism*’ as a primary example for Foucault’s ‘regime of truth,’ in the systemized discourse of the ‘the West, and the Rest.’¹⁹⁵

As referenced by Said and Hall, Michel Foucault is critical in the understanding of modern institutions, discourse, knowledge, and power. In *The Order of Discourse*, Foucault, like Hall and Said, describes the production of discourse as controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed in practices that gatekeep and gain mastery over society.¹⁹⁶ Foucault details the procedure of exclusion, and who has the right to say what and around which topics, in which sexuality and politics are the most disarmed and pacified of subjects that power has the most authority to speak on. For Foucault,

¹⁹³ Ibid, 203.

¹⁹⁴ Hall, 205.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Foucault, M. (1981). *Untying the Text: A Post-structuralist Reader- The Order of Discourse* (R. Young, Ed.). Routledge & Kegan Paul.

like Hall's assertion on meaning, power is always contested and never fixed; it is an "organized, hierarchical, coordinated cluster of relations."¹⁹⁷ Equally, discourse is also an object that is in flux, and not only manifests or hides in society, but needs to be fought for; a power which must be seized.

Discussing exclusion in society further, Foucault refers to the opposition between reason and madness, or true and false, which see outright division and rejection; "Since the middle ages, the madman has been the one whose discourse cannot have the same currency as others; his word considered null and void, having neither truth nor importance, worthless as evidence and law, inadmissible in the authentication of deeds, never recorder or listened to."¹⁹⁸ This will to know, and who's able to contribute to truth and history takes shape as a system of exclusion, which is modifiable and institutionally constraining, sketching schemas of observation and classification reinforced and renewed by pedagogical practice.¹⁹⁹ In order to speak truth, according to Foucault, an individual must follow the order and discipline of discursive policing, which controls the production of discourse, and fixes limits for discourse by rules set around identity and permits who's qualified and allowed to enter the order of discourse. "Not all regions of discourse are equally open and penetrable. Some of them are largely forbidden while others seem to be open to all winds and at the disposal of every speaking subject without prior restrictions."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (C. Gordon, Ed.; C. Gordon, Trans.). Pantheon Books. 198.

¹⁹⁸ Foucault, 1981, 53.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 55.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 62.

The *Order of Discourse*, working inside a complex system of restriction, allows exchange and communication, which is set out ritually and defines qualification on who contributes or is excluded. For Foucault, education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses and the powers those discourses carry, proposing ideal truths as the laws of rational discourse, in turn reinforcing the limitations and exclusions by denial of other discourses.²⁰¹ Discourse is therefore conceived, a hierarchical and institutionalized practice regularly imposed on the world we seek to understand around a set of rules that are constantly in flux; “a violence which we do to things.”²⁰² Foucault does not divorce power from knowledge, referring to them as power/knowledge and sees them instead as inherently self-regulated practices, which have no set rules or norms but rather limits of practices which have been defined through historical struggle. “Society does not just rule out certain practices. It works because actors accept and maintain what is known to be acceptable action,” power excludes knowledge that is not said, and selects what knowledge is.²⁰³ As touched on prior, this is the essence of discursive practices and ‘truth regimes,’ which embody technical institutional practices, in patterns of behavior that are imposed and maintained, and especially in media environments through codes of conduct and style guides.

One final work by Foucault that must be included without being too exhaustive is *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, which outlines institutional power

²⁰¹ Foucault, 1981, 65.

²⁰² Ibid, 67.

²⁰³ Foucault, 1980, 36.

through its ability to intimidate, and as the title suggests, discipline and punish.²⁰⁴ Foucault draws on the panopticon model put forward first by Samuel Bentham to monitor workplace productivity, then his brother, Jeremy Bentham who uses the annular architectural model with a tower for a prison design. This model allowed the guard, or supervisor to oversee and amass knowledge constantly which disciplined behavior by the constant perception of being watched, regulating the actions of employees, or prisoner into eventual self-censorship and discipline; “inspection functions ceaselessly, the gaze is alert everywhere.”²⁰⁵ For the purpose of this study, this concept is important to carry forward in seeing the Editorial Board of the *NYT* as a similar lever of power and institutional control in disciplining, punishing, or socializing journalists who may push the limits of institutional discursive practices and the established knowledge, who eventually self-regulate through both stated and tacit understandings, internalizing expected behavior.

3.2. Content and Discourse Analysis

Highlighting the powerful effects of the media on the public in the study of mass communication, Van Dijk highlights that media power is “not restricted to the influence of the media on their audiences, but also involves the role of the media within the broader framework of the social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society.”²⁰⁶ Van Dijk suggests discourse analysis is best fit to systematically examine

²⁰⁴ Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 195.

²⁰⁶ Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). *Power and the News Media*. In *Political Communication and Action* (pp. 9-36). Hampton Press

the structures and functions of text and talk in their social, political, and cultural contexts, since discourse analysis takes a multidisciplinary approach centered in the social sciences and humanities. Similar to discourse analysis, content analysis is also an adaptable research method that can yield qualitative and quantitative results by making replicable and valid inferences from texts (images, symbols, or audio/video data). In using content analysis, conclusions can be drawn on the text, the communicator, the contributors, and the context or condition surrounding its construction.²⁰⁷ While discourse analysis and content analysis are both interpretivist in nature, discourse analysis is considered the more qualitative method of the two. In content analysis, coding is popular theme-based approach which can be useful, but a method which is only able to measure what is presented rather than what's excluded and therefore values present over absent social productions.

Although media power can be conceptualized as symbolic or persuasive since it shapes ideas and perceptions but doesn't directly control actions of individuals, it can form the ideology or reason behind potential actions. Some areas that are important to consider in the analysis of media power are influence of individual journalists and their potential access, both individually and institutionally, as power can be based on special access to valued social resources.²⁰⁸ "Most interesting for this analysis is the remarkable parallel between the political, corporate, and media elite positions on international affairs and North-South relations as it is for gender, race, and class... the news media has been persuaded, manipulated, or even coerced to follow corporate and political (or

²⁰⁷ White, M. D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. *Library Trends*, 55(1), 22-45.

²⁰⁸ Van Dijk, 11.

military) views.”²⁰⁹ It is these shared elite interests and ideological positions which are jointly produced with and by news media that sustains elite power.

3.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

As Ruth Wodak outlines, since the 1980s, critical discourse analysis (CDA), an interdisciplinary problem oriented method has been well established in researching the “semiotic (study of texts, signs, symbols, and their use or interpretation) dimensions of power, injustice, and socioeconomic changes in society.”²¹⁰ The notions of ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ are utilized in various ways in the social sciences, and can range from history, memory, policy, political strategy, narratives, and speech, to name a few. “CDA is characterized by the common interest in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and reproducible investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken, visual).”²¹¹ This method explores the social phenomena beyond and simultaneously inherent to language, which requires a multidisciplinary approach centered on an evaluation of ideological discourse and its reproduction of the current social order and its relation to power.

An instrumental voice in the critical study of discourse, Norman Fairclough in his 1989 book, *Language and Power* states two main purposes for this undertaking; one theoretical and one practical.²¹² Theoretically, “to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 28.

²¹⁰ Wodak, R. (2014). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. 302.

²¹¹ Ibid, 303.

²¹² Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Longman.

change of social relations of power; and practically, “to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step toward emancipation.”²¹³ CDA views discourse as a social practice, and thus denotes an interactional relationship between discursive events, and situations, and the institutions and social structures that frame them; “the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them.”²¹⁴ Discourse is socially constitutive and socially conditioned, it represents situations, subjects of knowledge and social identities and relationships between groups of people; it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and also contributes to transforming it. The practice of discourse is critical for ideology, it produces imbalanced power relations between social classes, sexes, ethnic groups, and minorities, through representational positionality. The word critical in CDA shouldn’t be understood through negative association with criticism, but rather a tradition that makes the implicit relations of discursive practice, power, and ideology, explicit.²¹⁵ CDA is inherently concerned with latent beliefs and unchallenged dominant ideologies that appear neutral, without considering alternative concepts, and competing discourses. “Resistance is necessary to an understanding of power relations and irreducible to the concept of power,” as relations of power cannot be properly understood without specifying social context.²¹⁶

Although Noam Chomsky has been seen as an intellectual for his work in political activism, anti-imperial philosophy, and socially enlightened apprehensions of

²¹³ Ibid, 1.

²¹⁴ Wodak, 303.

²¹⁵ Wodak, 304.

²¹⁶ Barbalet, J.M. (1985). Power and Resistance. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 36(4), 531-548. Wiley.

power in the 20th century, Chomsky was a linguist first and foremost, known as the ‘father of modern linguistics’ since the release of *Syntactic Structures* in 1957.²¹⁷ This work was groundbreaking for studying the structure of sentences and grammar. Fairclough details ‘CDA in practice’ through the examination of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. Vocabulary is assessed by words with classification schemes; ideologically contested/significant, rewording/overwording, relations between words (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy), euphemisms, formal/informal, expressive values, and metaphors. Grammar is evaluated on its features; predominance of process/participant, clear/unclear agency, nominalizations, active/passive voice, positive/negative sentiment, grammatical modes (declarative, question, imperative), and modality. Finally, textual structures are analyzed on interactional conventions; logical connectors, turn taking and overall structure.²¹⁸ Although incomplete, these are some of the linguistic elements in CDA, which through text, interaction, images, sourcing, and context can be effective in making significant contribution to social and political analysis and the intersection of discursive power structures that can move the episteme beyond positive self-presentation, and negative ‘other’ presentation.

3.2.2. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Similar to CDA, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) is also concerned with power and the construction of meanings which lead to societal imbalances and is beneficial in qualitative analysis to examine social legitimacy.²¹⁹ FDA conceptions of

²¹⁷ Chomsky, N. (2002). *Syntactic structures*. Mouton de Gruyter.

²¹⁸ Fairclough, 111.

²¹⁹ Khan, T. H., & MacEachen, E. (2021). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis: Moving Beyond a Social Constructionist Analytic. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 20, 1-9.

power inevitably assume resistance, and therefore has the ability to promote unheard voices as legitimate sources, allowing agency and access into the narrative of those who otherwise wouldn't be heard. FDA approaches to discourse analysis promote researchers to look for difference, omissions, and local contexts instead of similarity, presence, and universal contexts. This qualitative method draws on Foucault's conceptions analysis through the genealogy of the internal structures of governance systems and institutions that form the understanding in shaping production of knowledge and discourse (power/knowledge).

This form of discourse analysis considers aspects described in the literature review regarding Foucault, especially the construction of 'truth,' omissions, and the systems of exclusion around the 'madman', discursive practices, truth regimes, and the hierarchical manner in which power/knowledge occur. Although similar to CDA, FDA focuses less on the micro analyses of the discourse semiotic structures and more on the macro substance of meaning constituted by the text; FDA is not merely concerned with meaning, but also the omitted, or cryptic 'truths' of sociopolitical contexts capturing a more complete representation and complexity of the human experience.²²⁰

3.3. Comparable Past Studies

There have been numerous studies which undertake the examination of content and discourse in the media; their results can be useful in generating a larger picture of the discursive practices of the media across networks, countries of origin, different conflicts, and time periods. Since no study is comparably exact in scope, subject, and methodological choices, analyzing a multitude of similar studies can begin to form an

²²⁰ Ibid, 7.

idea of how distinctive media institutions, ideology, power, and knowledge intersect across a range of diverse geographies, mediums and conflicts. Staying current to my case studies of Palestine and Ukraine, I have largely focused on studies which include one or both of the case studies. The studies exemplify different research modalities in assessing focus, time periods, and methodological choices that future studies can use as a foundation to propel research in this area.

In 1991, Entman studied the framing of US coverage in international news by contrasting narratives in *Time*, *Newsweek*, CBS, *NYT*, and *WP* between two airline incidents for a two week period; a soviet fighter plane shooting down a Korean Airlines flight killing 269 aboard, and a US Navy ship shooting down an Iranian flight killing 290 aboard.²²¹ “By deemphasizing the agency and the victims and by the choice of graphics and adjectives, the news stories about the US downing of an Iranian plane called it a technical problem while the Soviet downing of a Korean jet was portrayed as a moral outrage.”²²² For Entman, comparing media narratives on similar events assists in revealing discursive choices that frame stories that would have otherwise remained immersed in undifferentiated text. Without comparing narratives, frames are difficult to identify consistently, as ‘framing devices can appear as natural, unremarkable choices of words or images,’ that establish the widespread interpretation of similar events differently due to framing.²²³ Entman acknowledges that news frames live at two levels; ‘mentally stored principles for information processing and as characteristics of the news text’ which encourage perceptions to develop certain understandings based on the

²²¹ Entman, R. M. (1991). Symposium Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication*, 41, 6-27.

²²² *Ibid*, 6.

²²³ *Ibid*

construction through emphasized keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and images. Vitaly important and to the premises of FDA, “the frame does not eliminate all inconsistent information; texts inevitably contain some incongruent data. But through repetition, placement, presentation and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible, and memorable than others.”²²⁴

Detailing the reciprocal relationship between frames and audience thinking, Entman puts forth that media shapes reporting to prompt favorable views from the public, which affect ‘rhetoric and actions’ from political elites, who are ‘primary sponsors of news frames;’ and this is extremely important when breaking news as this function sets the framing process in motion where the first impression may be the last. Framing therefore makes opposing information more difficult, as the journalists rational and constraints (organizations), coalesced with dependence on elite sourcing leads to ‘frame-confirming’ data represented saliently in news, de-emphasizing, or shrinking alternative information while magnifying more ‘prominent’ frames. This framing is also extended to the victims of the airline incidents, as the Korean victims were humanized with verbal and visual messages, which encouraged identification, while Iranian victims were much less visible. Entman concludes that analysis of the two narratives imply that frames are comprised of five main traits in media texts: “important judgements, agency, identification, categorization, and generalization.”²²⁵

In 2004, Alison Weir, co-founder of *If Americans Knew*, visited the Occupied West Bank, and encountered a young boy that was shot by occupation forces at the

²²⁴ Ibid, 7.

²²⁵ Entman, 25.

Balata Refugee Camp. Activists from the International Solidarity Movement had filmed the incident and recorded the army vehicles and Weir confirmed the episode by tracking the boy to the hospital and interviewing him. While the video had been sent to the *AP* bureau in Jerusalem, the video was erased, and the story never saw the light of day. Inquiring on the matter, Weir discovered that the *AP* had a Ramallah bureau which was not allowed to send wires and all stories had to go through the Jerusalem bureau. When Weir asked the Jerusalem bureau chief about the incident, he expressed his lack of permission to discuss the incident, referring Weir to the *AP* director of Corporate Communications, who said the matter was internal.²²⁶ The incident was one of many that led to Weir's inquiry into the accuracy of reporting on Israel and Palestine, where *If Americans Knew (IAK)* began to publish media report cards. Titled 'Off the Charts,' *IAK* published a report card on the *NYT* in 2004 which studied two periods; from September 2000 to September 2001, and from January to December of 2004.²²⁷ The study uncovered alarming findings in the headlines and first paragraphs, dealing mainly with deaths as a focus, and the deaths of children as sub focus. In the 2000 to 2001 period, the *NYT* reported Israeli deaths at nearly three times as those of Palestinians, and seven times more when it came to children; and the 2004 period showed increases on both, although Palestinian children had been killed at twenty-two times the rate of Israeli children. The study raises additional patterns of distortion; deaths were never published side by side cumulatively, and only received cumulative representation after the fact of long periods. Further, context was constantly unavailable, Israeli deaths were

²²⁶ Caballero, J. X. (2010, December 21). The Impact of Media Bias on Coverage of Catastrophic Events: Case Study from The New York Times' Coverage of the Palestine/Israel Conflict. Semantic Scholar.

²²⁷ If Americans Knew. (2006). Off the Charts - NY Times Coverage of Israeli & Palestinian Deaths. If Americans Knew.

nearly always emphasized and treated as innocent victims of Palestinian aggression whereas Palestinian deaths were minimalized and treated as an inherent result of conflict or combatants, and nearly all deaths of ‘clashes’ were Palestinian, “which suggests a more unilateral violence than the word is commonly understood to convey.”²²⁸

Exploring ‘How bias shapes the news,’ Barbie Zelizer et al., challenges the *NYT*’s status as a ‘newspaper of record’ on the ‘Middle East,’ by examining 30 inconsecutive days of coverage during the Second Intifada by comparing the *NYT*, the *Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*. Commonly used features of news presentation, often heralded among the best of US journalistic practices, inevitably shape, and slant the story through the mere act of coverage; bias emerges as far more embedded and complex dimension of US journalism than commonly assumed.²²⁹ The study analyzed news reports, headlines, photographs, editorials, columns, cartoons, and graphics for structure, authors, size, placement, sourcing, language, tone, and other significance.

Zelizer et al. points at a regular pro-Israeli slant and questions its disproportionate role in influencing the US press and population. The authors assert that the question of bias requires a more nuanced and wide-ranging understanding, to develop a rigorous framework for understanding media coverage, perceptions, and the tensions within the ‘clash of civilizations.’ In assessing coverage of the three papers, the study concludes that “no feature of American print news presentation was free of values

²²⁸ Ibid, 21.

²²⁹ Zelizer, B., Park, D., & Gudelunas, D. (2002). How Bias Shapes the News: Challenging the New York Times’ Status as a Newspaper of Record on the Middle East. *Journalism: Theory, Practice, and Criticism*, 3(3), 303.

or preferences...all three resembled each other, producing a shared perspective that was similar yet unevenly realized across the different features of news presentation.”²³⁰

Among distinct critique, Zelizer et al. found that the *NYT* was an outlier in presenting Israelis as victims and Palestinians as aggressors more often, discussed Israeli-instigated violence less, established middle ground accountability, was more likely to use photos to put blame on Palestinians or paint a visual middle ground and more likely to feature American and Israeli sources over Palestinian voices, in line with general claims against American media journalistic practice. “Not only does our analysis suggest the difficulty of ever assigning the standard of coverage to one paper but it questions whether it has been appropriately assigned to *The Times*.”²³¹

Seth Ackerman also examines US reporting in the Second Intifada in “Al-Aqsa and the US Media,” noting a systematic absence of context, resulting a narrow view that ignores fundamental issues regarding Israel’s occupation of Palestine and US’ administrations pro-Israeli bias through daily reporting and editorial commentary.²³² Ackerman notes the external pressures exerted on media by partisan supporters, mainly in the case of Israel, and articulates that while each side may have its reasons in war, journalism must represent both perspectives with context and balance; ultimately giving audience autonomy to decide. Although the UN has condemned the continuous and contrary to international law occupation of Palestine since 1967, in reporting its “almost ethereal in its absence and hovers over each report, yet never fully appears.”²³³ This is

²³⁰ Ibid, 302.

²³¹ Zelizer et al. 304.

²³² Ackerman, S. (2001). Al-Aqsa Intifada and the U.S. Media. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30(2), 61-74. JSTOR.

²³³ Ibid, 61.

especially true of the illegal Israeli settlements built on occupied Palestinian territory, where the words ‘occupation’, or ‘occupied territories’ have become taboo for American reporters.

Ackerman notes that in the early 1990’s the phrases were common, appearing hundreds of times and in almost a third of all articles in the *AP*; but by the end of the decade, it had dwindled to dozens. “During the first eleven months of 2000, barely one percent of such articles had mentioned the dreaded phrase.”²³⁴ Looking at the evening news of major network news broadcasts of NBC, CBS and ABC, the word occupied (or any variation) was mentioned in four of the nearly one hundred stories on the West Bank and Gaza; noting it was slightly better on CNN, but still missing in eighty percent of reporting, perhaps due to network awareness of an international audience. Ackerman notes a deterioration in reporting from 1990-1992 during the First Intifada when 156 of 199 stories mentioning the West Bank or Gaza on CBS or ABC used the term. In 2001, while London’s *Independent* mentioned occupation in two-thirds of its stories, the opposite was true for the *NYT* as it omitted the term in two thirds of its stories. Comparing the absence of ‘occupation’ in reporting of the Second Intifada, Ackerman shines light on “the words ubiquity in covering Iraq’s seven-month occupation of Kuwait.”²³⁵ Ackerman emphasizes the obfuscation in discussing resistance to occupation as ‘attacks,’ ‘hatred’ or ‘Palestinian violence,’ while Israel’s always painted as a retaliator rather than aggressor; occupied territory as ‘disputed,’ and illegal settlements as ‘Jewish neighborhoods.’ Ackerman acknowledges that on coverage of Israel-Palestine, American journalists feel more pressure than any other subject.

²³⁴ Ibid, 62.

²³⁵ Ackerman, 64.

Setting forward a framework for balanced coverage using international human law as the common denominator, in 2007 Howard Friel and Richard Falk contributed *Israel-Palestine On Record* outlining ‘How the *NYT* misreports conflict in the Middle East.’²³⁶ This extensive documentation is the second part of an initially released work in 2004, *The Record of the Paper* on ‘How the *NYT* misreports US foreign policy,’ especially in the wake of the Judith Miller scandals, and the papers apology for its coverage of the Iraq war and its failure to provide readers with journalistic accuracy and integrity disregarding international law and the UN charter.²³⁷ The book focuses on ‘(mis)representations’ in the editorial and news pages of the *NYT* Israel and Palestine from 2000 to 2006 by comparing *Times*’ content with well-respected human rights organizations, in attempt to understand the detrimental effects of inaccurate depictions and the implications on the prospects for peace, and “more broadly it casts a long, dark shadow across the failure of the *Times* to hold Israel and the US accountable under international law when it embarks on controversial foreign policy initiatives.”²³⁸ The thorough introspection gives insight on the papers lack of consideration of Palestinian rights, specifically the right to self-determination, territorial rights, refugees, Jerusalem, protection of civilians, excessive force, collective punishment, settlements, water rights, targeted assassinations, and the right of resistance, with an approach that fails to ‘give readers a true grasp of these vital matters,’ hindering perceptions on the road to any peace process or potential sustainable solution.

²³⁶ Friel, H., & Falk, R. (2007). *Israel-Palestine on record*. Verso Books.

²³⁷ Friel, H., & Falk, R. (2004). *The Record of the Paper: How the New York Times misreports US foreign policy*. Verso Books.

²³⁸ Friel & Falk, 2007, 1.

Two more recent studies, by Siddiqui and Zaheer²³⁹ (2018) and Jackson²⁴⁰ (2023) utilize Natural Language Processing (NLP) machine learning techniques and text and data mining technology to analyze a large corpus of articles. Siddiqui and Zaheer focused on five US MSM newspapers (*Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, NYT, WP, and The Wall Street Journal*) and examine fifty years' (1967-2017) worth of coverage, while Jackson focuses solely on the *NYT*, analyzing over 33,000 articles during the First and Second Palestinian Intifadas for active and passive voice, objectivity, tone, and violent sentiment in language. Jackson found that lacking historical context, anti-Palestinian bias not only persisted disproportionately, but actually worsened from the First to Second Intifada; mainly through unbalanced passive voice referring to violence against Palestinians, and use of more negative or violent discourse towards Palestinians comparatively to Israelis. Siddiqui and Zaheer found that Israeli centric headlines outnumbered Palestinians four to one, the *NYT* had the largest number of headlines while the Wall Street Journal had the least, coverage was most intense during 'violence/war', Israeli sources appear two and half times more than Palestinian sources, and overall coverage has declined since the signing of the Oslo accords. The study also found a 75% decline of the use of 'occupation,' in Israeli (85%) and Palestinian (65%) centric headlines, while the mention of refugees has declined 93%. Both studies overwhelmingly support past academic literature on partiality within US media.

Comparing UK and Russian media coverage of the 'Ukraine crisis' with a mixed methods approach for a period of fifteen months between 2013 to 2015, Zixui Liu

²³⁹ Siddiqui, U., & Zaheer, O. (2018). 50 Years of Occupation- A Sentiment and N-Gram Analysis of US Mainstream Media Coverage of The Israeli Occupation of Palestine. 416LABS.com.

²⁴⁰ Jackson, H. (2023). The New York Times distorts the Palestinian struggle: A case study of anti-Palestinian bias in US news coverage of the First and Second Palestinian Intifadas. *Media, War & Conflict*, 17(1), 116-135. Sage Journals.

analyzed how outlets in differing political regimes affected the role of coverage.²⁴¹ Liu examined six total networks, three from Russia (*RT*, *The Moscow Times*, and *Pravda*) and three from the UK (*BBC*, *The Guardian*, and *Mail Online*). The study explores if coverage supports or refutes media systems theory, attention and frames of the media outlets, and the differences in framing. Liu found that Russian media devoted more attention to the ‘Ukraine crisis’ than UK media, citing Russian geopolitical interests. All six of the networks focused on humanitarianism, with UK media emphasizing Ukrainian sovereignty and justifying involvement and *The Moscow Times* of the Russian media being most critical of country policies. Liu also found that while UK media covered the roots and solutions of the ‘Ukraine crisis’ more than Russian media, the overall tone was anti-Russian and one-sided.

Considering the refugee component of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Olivia Mäenpää conducted a CDA on *Deutsche Welle* (German public state-owned) and *Al Jazeera* in their coverage of Ukrainians taking refuge after the Russian invasion.²⁴² Taking note of the ‘usual discourses on forced migration,’ Mäenpää found that discourse within the member states of the EU was characterized with positive sentiment. Contrasting discourse between the in-group (Europeans/Ukrainians) and the out-group (Russians/Others) the study found an asymmetry on classifying actors which was founded in Eurocentric supremacy. In the German media, Mäenpää cites power relations clearly embedded within the discourse, considering EU policy as the main source, while *Al Jazeera* was split between two discourses; one that saw the EU as an

²⁴¹ Liu, Z. (2019). The Ukraine crisis and media systems: Comparison of UK and Russian media coverage. University of Liverpool, 1-377. ProQuest.

²⁴² Mäenpää, O. (2022). A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Reporting of the Ukrainian Refugees Fleeing the Russian Invasion: The Notions of Eurocentrism and Othering in Mainstream Media. Malmö University, 1-34.

exemplary actor and the other which offered criticisms in the varying discourses and treatment between European refugees and those from the Middle East and North Africa.

Relatedly to the latter studies, Lichtenstein et al. undertook a comparison between talk show debates in Russian and German television in ‘Framing the Ukraine crisis.’²⁴³ Investigating the use of constructive and destructive frames, the study puts forth a qualitative content analysis on twenty total shows (ten Russian/ ten German). “While constructive frames address situational causal interpretations and constructive problem treatments, destructive frames blame one party for the crisis and apply either no treatment or a destructive one.”²⁴⁴ The findings show both networks provided different frames on the relations internally in Ukraine and international tensions between Russia and the West; with both destructive and constructive frames in different periods. Russian media gave more attention to Ukraine’s internal politics, Russia’s economic and political interests, and the need to protect Russian minorities in Ukraine, providing reasoning for Russian intervention in Crimea against anti-democratic measures set forth with the Maidan protests in line with Western geopolitical and economic interests against Russia. German media gave less attention to structural problems inside of Ukraine, emphasizing the international hostilities and Russian aggression resulting in violence in Eastern Ukraine, placing blame on the separatist movements and the incoming Ukrainian government, legitimizing sanctions, and highlighting Russian violations of international law.

²⁴³ Lichtenstein, D., Esau, K., Pavlova, L., Osipov, D., & Argylov, N. (2019). Framing the Ukraine crisis: A comparison between talk show debates in Russian and German television. *International Communication Gazette*, 81(1), 66-88.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 66.

Bachman and Ruiz (2023) consider ‘The geopolitics of human suffering’ by undertaking a ‘comparative study of media coverage on the conflicts in Yemen and Ukraine’ via the *New York Times* headlines, the number of stories and their placement, frames, agency and responsibility, and content analysis to identify descriptive and normative terminology.²⁴⁵ The study ascertains extensive bias and framing in coverage which is based in ‘peripheralism, culturalism, and geopolitical US positioning.’ “This results in reduced coverage of the war in Yemen, shielded in neutral language and lacking responsible attribution- serving to devalue the suffering of victims and condemning the crisis to be functionally forgotten.”²⁴⁶ Bachman and Ruiz assert that the representation of actors involved in one case compared to the other creates ‘worthy victims in Ukraine and implicitly unworthy victims in Yemen, and have a correlative relationship to US foreign policy objectives within each case, signaling a systematic difference in the *NYT* approach to similar, yet different international crises.

Similarly to Bachman and Ruiz, Alan Macleod conducted a 2022 study that focused on one week of MSM coverage between *Fox News*, *NYT*, *WP*, *CNN*, and *MSNBC* in which he examined the coverage of four intense military actions occurring at the same time; the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Saudi Arabian strikes on Yemen, US bombing campaigns on Somalia, and Israeli missile attacks on Syria.²⁴⁷ In sum, Macleod found that between the five major US MSM networks, 1,298 stories were on the Ukraine invasion, two stories on the Syria attack, one story on Somalia, and none on

²⁴⁵ Bachman, J. S., & Ruiz, E. B. (2023). The geopolitics of human suffering: a comparative study of media coverage of the conflicts in Yemen and Ukraine. *Third World Quarterly*, 45(1), 24-42. Routledge.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 24.

²⁴⁷ Macleod, A. (2022, March 2). Its Different, They're White: Media Ignore Conflicts Around The World To Focus On Ukraine. *MintPress News*.

the Saudi- led war on Yemen. Macleod marks that despite the quantitative disparity, there is also a difference in tone and outlook, as the war was being shown from the vantage of the victim, and “the coverage is not dry and matter of fact, but emotive and full of outrage.”²⁴⁸ This coverage again falls on the perpetrator and victim, and where they fall within the power relations with the West; as victims of western aggression are ignored and aggressions by the West’s enemies are focused on. Macleod references the study within Chomsky and Hermann’s *Manufacturing Consent* where the Cambodian and East Timor genocides were compared, where US ally (Indonesian military) actions were not covered, and the aggressions of an enemy state (Cambodia) was world news.

Noting the heightened role opinion pieces play in shaping understanding of the news, Palestinian-American historian, and Professor Maha Nassar in a 2020 study, evaluated the presence of Palestinian voices in contributing to their own narrative in major US newspapers over a fifty-year period.²⁴⁹ Nassar examined two daily papers, the *NYT* and *WP*, and two weekly news magazines, *The New Republic*, and *The Nation* from 1970 to 2019. Although Israel and Palestine were constantly the subject of opinion pieces; 1.8% (46 out of the 2,490) were written by Palestinians in the *NYT*, and 1% (32 out of 3,249) in the *WP*, 0% (0 out of 497) in *The New Republic*, and 10% (34 out of 323) in *The Nation*. Nassar channels the frustration that despite the many willing Palestinian intellectuals, their viewpoints have consistently been excluded from MSM networks; citing only three *NYT* op-eds from Edward Said in the 1980’s and subsequently only one letter to the editor from 1993 to the time of his passing in 2003. “During that time, Said’s opinion pieces explaining Oslo’s fatal flaws appeared in *The*

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Nassar, M. (2020, October 2). US media talks a lot about Palestinians — just without Palestinians. +972 Magazine.

Guardian, *al-Ahram Weekly*, and even the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Yet readers of America's 'newspaper of record' were not able to hear from one of the country's most eloquent and prescient Palestinian critics of the "peace process" narrative."²⁵⁰ Of course, despite his own accord of surprise that the paper did not request his opinion as a previous contributor and prominent figure, instead relying on the likes of Thomas Friedman (33 columns), William Safire (24), Anthony Lewis (39), Abe Rosenthal (56); Said understood better than anyone that, "Hand in hand with the economic and strategic control of Third World countries that happen to be close to, or possess, resources like oil that are necessary to the US, is the media system, whose reach and control over thought is truly astounding."²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Said, E. (1993, October 21). Edward Said · The Morning After. *London Review of Books*.

CHAPTER 4

THE STUDY

“But is it mandatory for a writer to be ambiguous about everything? Isn’t it true that there have been fearful episodes in human history when prudence and discretion would have just been euphemisms for pusillanimity? When caution was actually cowardice? When sophistication was disguised decadence? When circumspection was really a kind of espousal? Isn’t it true, or at least theoretically possible, that there are times in the life of a people or a nation when the political climate demands that we- even the most sophisticated of us- overtly take sides? I believe that such times are upon us.”²⁵² – Arundhati Roy

In establishing the media environment which influences representation and shapes the dynamics of knowledge production, interpretation, and power, and given the stated mission of the *New York Times* ‘to seek truth and help people understand the world... through the power of journalism to make society stronger and more just,’ it becomes critical to assess the content and discursive practices of the institution. As laid out in the previous chapters regarding the histories of Palestine, Israel, Russia and Ukraine, their current relevance in international affairs, and the growing power in shaping knowledge in both cases *The New York Times* possesses, discourse analysis is conducted on the *NYT* webpages for two three-week periods to form an understanding of how each case is represented, which may offer further potential inquiry in future studies in the relationship between media power, and its ability to shape knowledge and overall understanding. The first period is from May 3rd to May 23rd, 2021, for the case of Palestine and Israel in what’s been referred to as the ‘2021 Israel-Palestine crisis,’ the ‘May 2021 Hamas-Israel confrontation,’ or ‘Israel’s onslaught on Gaza,’ respectively. The second period is from February 21st to March 13th for the case of Ukraine and

²⁵² Roy, A. (2001). *Power politics*. South End Press. 12.

Russia, in what's been come to be known as the 'Russian invasion of Ukraine' or the 'special military operation.'

The time periods were chosen according to the official dates of commencement of each of the unfolding situations, which were May 6th and February 24th respectively for each case study; I began tallying on May 3rd for Palestine and February 21st for Ukraine, giving three days prior to each official start date (May 6th and February 21st), as there were major events that unfolded prior to the 'official' period. The end dates are a bit different, as an 'end date' was clear in Palestine with a ceasefire agreement reached, though the occupation continues. In Ukraine there was no end, as the conflict continues, but this is not a major impediment on the study since there was vitally no way of knowing the potential trajectories beyond the periods on analysis. The data is also further broken down on Israel and Palestine, and Russia and Ukraine respectively, which constitute each case study to understand how *NYT* representation diverges of the individual countries within the same three-week period. This is carried out largely through qualitative introspection of the texts, employing a purposive sampling within each collection of data. While this section does incorporate limited quantitative features in understanding major thematic characteristics, it principally centers on interpretation and contrast.

4.1. Methodology

This study undertakes an interpretive mixed methods research analysis on qualitative and quantitative thematic frames (violence/resistance, refugees, economic/sanctions, local/international, international law/human rights, occupation) arising in the discourse of *NYT*'s webpage coverage of the two aforementioned case

studies with respect to the front page (Today's Paper), headlines, placement, contributors, and images in editorial, interactive, opinion and news pieces in the time periods of each case study. The sampling method is purposive and non-random, which was found to be the most suitable for this study due to the difference in corpus size and themes arising in the coverage, representation, and case studies. The study dually considers primary and secondary sources to understand partiality of coverage of the *NYT*, juxtaposed with reports from international human rights groups, international bodies, and other news mediums as they can present a balance in understanding partiality within the content and discourse of the *NYT*.

While incorporation of NLP and text/data mining tools were considered and attempted, the study determined that although all encompassing, these tools brought focus mainly to what was presented in the texts, disregarding the discursive practice of omission and exclusion, central to the concepts outlined by Foucault and Hall in the literature review. Further, in my view, while extremely helpful and adequate for employability, there is an element to these technologies that evades qualitative findings such as human reason, scope, orientation, timing, and context while also not being extremely accurate in all cases, as noted by the Jackson (2023) study which noted a 90% accuracy. At various stages of the research, the researcher attempted coding practices through language processing tools such as Stanford CoreNLP, ProQuest TDM studio, Atlas.ti, and Speak AI. Therefore, while NLP tools were used cautiously to understand major themes in the formation of a word bank, a classical method of content and critical discourse analysis is undertaken that meticulously examines texts through the *NYT* archive, the ProQuest data base, and the Wayback Machine of each day within the time periods. Using the *NYT* archive query, I selected each specific date and sorted

sections by filtering ‘opinion’ and ‘world,’ leaving ‘any, arts, at home, books, business, New York, sports, style, and US’ unselected. For type, I kept ‘any’ toggled, meaning this would give me ‘articles’ and ‘interactive material.’ I also went through the Wayback Machine, an internet archive that holds digital receipt and screenshots of webpages to make sure that both versions were consistent.

In first undertaking a quantitative understanding for the representation in the *NYT*, I tallied the number of articles with particular focus on the events themselves, being careful in not selecting erroneous articles. I also tallied the number of total articles for each day, to provide an understanding on how much each of the cases was represented contrasted with the total amount of articles in the selected sections. I gathered all the links for each of the pertinent articles, pulling out the article headline, contributors, and headline length. I repeated the same process for opinion pieces, ‘letters,’ video and other interactive coverage such as ‘In photos,’ ‘On the Scene’ and podcasts. I counted contributors in two ways, one in the total number of contributors stated in the bylines of each article cumulatively, and the other which just counted them once as a contributor within the three-week period; this helps paint a picture of the number of resources and personnel the *NYT* tasked within its coverage. I grouped opinion pieces, ‘letters,’ and pieces by the Editorial Board into one section.

4.2. Findings on the NYT Coverage

4.2.1 Sentiment Analysis

In discussing the quantitative findings prior to qualitative analysis, the section outlines the results of sentiment analysis on headlines of news and opinion pieces (opinion, letters, Editorial Board) on the entirety of the corpus. Although sentiment

analysis is not a major focus of this study, due partly to doubts about its efficacy, while running headline data through NLP tools, sentiment analysis was available, thus this information is provided but not magnified as a major finding of this study. Speak AI's sentiment analysis tool classifies texts as either positive, neutral, or negative based on a score normalization between negative one (most extreme negative) and positive one (most extreme positive). The findings of the sentiment analysis on headlines for the case of Palestine/Israel were 8.63% positive sentiment, 23.74% neutral sentiment, and 67.63% negative sentiment. The findings for Russia/Ukraine 20.56% positive sentiment, 33.33% neutral sentiment, and 46.11% negative sentiment. The researcher is weary to extrapolate further on sentiment analysis, but provides the findings made available.

4.2.2. Palestine-Israel Coverage

During the twenty-one-day period analyzed for Palestine and Israel, there were 128 total news, opinion, or interactive pieces on the May 2021 events out of 648 total stories. Markedly, this marks a 19% saturation rate in coverage during this period. In the first seven days (May 3- May 9) observed, 3 out of 211 (1%) stories outlined the events in Sheikh Jarrah and the occupation forces aggression that had occurred throughout April into early May that laid the foundation for the larger provocation. In the next 7 days (May 10- May 16), 64 out of 211 (30%) stories, and in the final 7 days (May 17- May 23) 61 out of 226 (27%) stories highlighted the case study. For the totality of the observed period, the events in occupied Palestine and the subsequent bombardment of Gaza represented 19% of news during this period, an average of 6 out of 31 stories.

Table 1: Number of Articles on Israel/Palestine

Date	# of Articles	/Out of Daily	Percentage %
May 3	0	26	0%
May 4	0	33	0%
May 5	0	39	0%
May 6	0	37	0%
May 7	2	39	5%
May 8	0	21	0
May 9	1	16	6%
May 10	3	31	10%
May 11	4	21	19%
May 12	12	36	33%
May 13	15	41	37%
May 14	8	32	25%
May 15	9	23	39%
May 16	13	27	48%
May 17	11	30	37%
May 18	13	37	35%
May 19	9	34	26%
May 20	10	36	28%
May 21	13	45	29%
May 22	3	25	12%
May 23	2	19	11%
Totals	128	648	19%

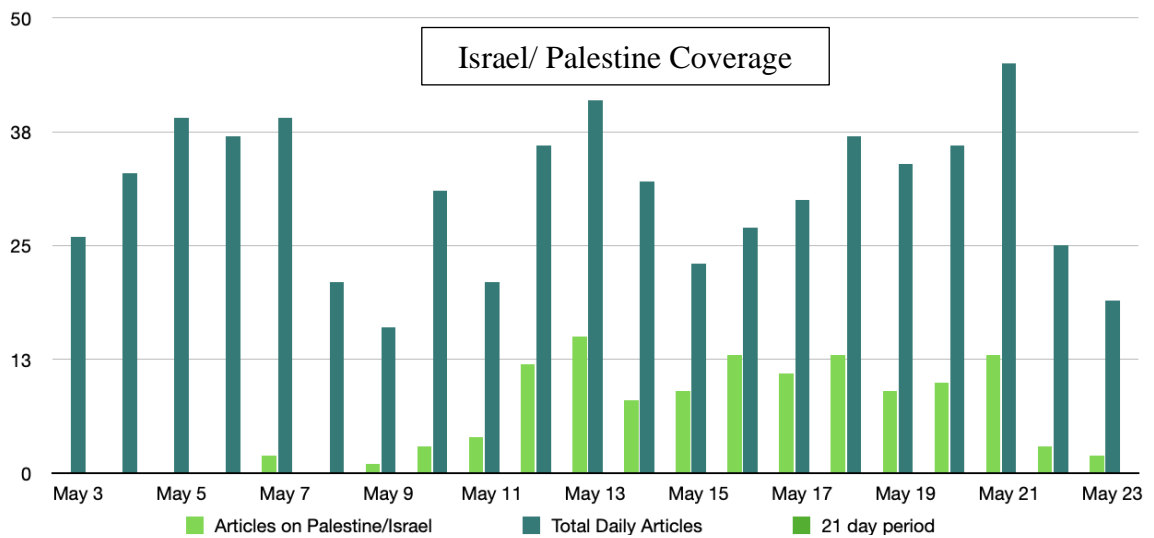


Figure 14: Number of Articles on Israel/Palestine

4.2.3. Russia-Ukraine Coverage

During the twenty-one-day period analyzed for Russia and Ukraine, there were 508 total news, opinion, or interactive pieces on the February- March 2022 events out of a total 776 stories. Markedly, this marks a 65% saturation rate in coverage during this period. In the first seven days (February 21-February 27) observed, 206 out of 295 (70%) stories outlined the Russian military buildup and subsequent aggression. In the next 7 days (February 28- March 6) 161 out of 242 (67%) stories, and in the final seven days (March 7- March 13) 141 out of 239 (59%) storied highlighted the case study. For the totality of the observed period, the events in Ukraine and the subsequent invasion by Russia represented 65% of news during this period, an average of 24 out of 37 stories.

Table 2: Number of Articles on Russia/Ukraine

Date	# of Articles	/Out of Daily	Percentage %
February 21	20	27	74%
February 22	28	44	64%
February 23	26	38	68%
February 24	50	62	81%
February 25	33	52	63%
February 26	24	35	69%
February 27	25	37	68%
February 28	17	30	57%
March 1	30	48	63%
March 2	30	39	77%
March 3	22	32	69%
March 4	24	39	62%
March 5	23	30	77%
March 6	15	24	63%
March 7	27	40	68%
March 8	24	33	73%
March 9	17	37	46%
March 10	15	27	56%
March 11	28	49	57%
March 12	14	27	52%
March 13	16	26	62%
Totals	508	776	65%

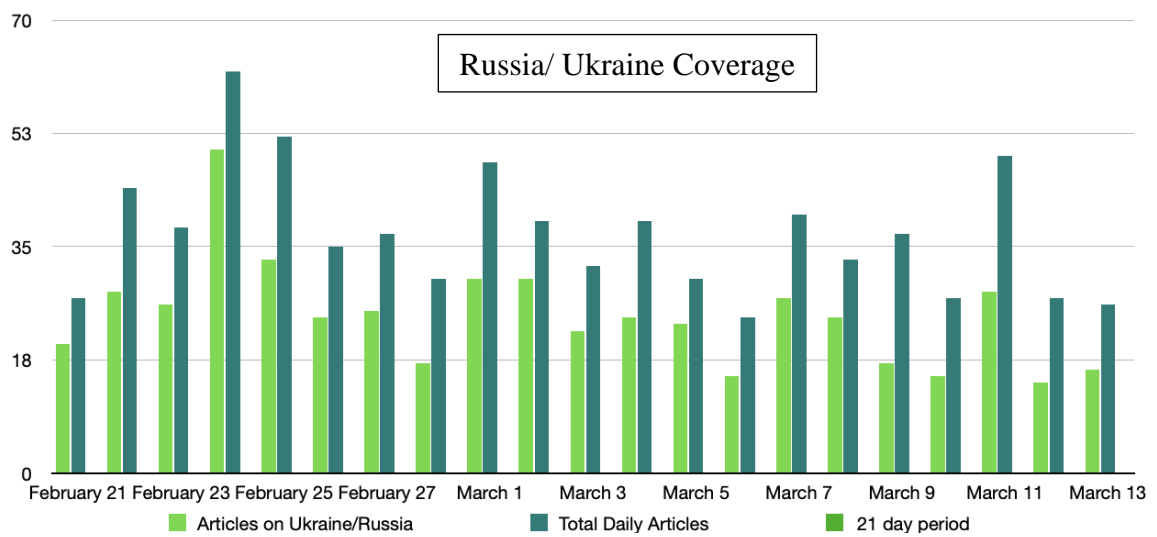


Figure 15: Number of Articles on Russia/Ukraine

4.2.4. 'Today's Paper' Coverage Placement (stories and photos)

Similarly to the process undertaken to gather articles and headlines, the *Times* provides a "Today's Paper" page in which can be viewed by date. I went through day by day for each of the twenty-one days within the research periods to ascertain the placement of the pieces I had collected. There is an example below in Figure 16 of how the page appears; I doubled checked this snapshot with the Wayback Machine archives to gauge if the page was changed overtime which it had not been. The pages collected were 100% accurate to the same day in which they were publicized. The page is divided into two equal halves; one half is filled with a lead story, and the other half is filled with 3 stories, one that's vertical and takes half of the remaining half, and two more stories which take the remaining quarters. I have included the day by break down in Table 3 below, and an example of the page in which the twenty-one smaller examples are modeled after in Figure 16. The coding is as follows: an X marks the subject present, and an O marks a different subject, not relating to Palestine- Israel, or Ukraine-Russia, respectively. Each day is represented by four sections, leading to 84 total slots for the 21-day period (4 sections for each of the 21 days). In the lead story spot, taking half of the total space, Palestine- Israel was placed in 12 of 21 (57%) spots, Russia- Ukraine was in all 21 (100%). In the second story spot, Palestine- Israel took 7 of 21 (33%) spots, Russia- Ukraine was in all 21 (100%). In the third spot, the top quarter of the remaining half, Palestine- Israel was in 1 of 21 (4%) spots, Russia- Ukraine was in 20 of 21 (95%) spots. In the fourth spot, the bottom quarter of the remaining half, Palestine- Israel was in zero of the 21 (0%) spots, Russia-Ukraine was in 16 of 21 (76%) spots. In total, Palestine- Israel was represented in 20 of 84 (23.8%) spots while Russia- Ukraine was in 78 of 84 (92.8%) spots. The same images are analyzed in the qualitative section.

Table 3: 'Today's Paper' Front Page

Russia- Ukraine "Today's Paper" Front Page			Palestine- Israel "Today's Paper" Front Page		
February 21	March 4		May 3	May 14	
X	X	O	O	X	X
		O			O
February 22	March 5		May 4	May 15	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		O			O
February 23	March 6		May 5	May 16	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		O			O
February 24	March 7		May 6	May 17	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		O			O
February 25	March 8		May 7	May 18	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		X			O
February 26	March 9		May 8	May 19	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		X			O
February 27	March 10		May 9	May 20	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		X			O
February 28	March 11		May 10	May 21	
X	X	X	O	O	O
		X			O
March 1	March 12		May 11	May 22	
X	X	X	X	O	O
		X			O
March 2	March 13		May 12	May 23	
X	X	X	X	O	O
		X			X
March 3			May 13		
X	X	X	X	O	O
		X			O
Russia/Ukraine-Out of 84			Palestine/Israel-Out of 84		
X	O	%	X	O	%
78	6	92.8%	20	64	23.8%

X- Subject present
O- Other subject present

Today's Paper

The Times in Print For March 3, 2022

THE FRONT PAGE | INTERNATIONAL | NATIONAL | OBITUARIES | EDITORIALS, OP-ED AND LETTERS | BUSINESS DAY | SPORTS FRIDAY | WEEKEND ARTS | PAGES A2-A3 AND CORRECTIONS

The Front Page



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kremlin Vows Victory in Ukraine as Refugees Swell to One Million

Defiant Ukrainians slowed the invasion, but Russian forces gained ground in the south, and the Kremlin insisted the week-old campaign was "going according to plan."

March 4, 2022 - By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA



THE NEW YORK TIMES

Last Vestiges of Russia's Free Press Fall Under Kremlin Pressure

"Everything that's not propaganda is being eliminated," a Nobel Prize winning editor said as Russian authorities moved to control the narrative in the Ukraine war.

March 4, 2022 - By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and VALERIYA SAFRONOVA

How Ukraine's Military Has Resisted Russia So Far

Ukrainian troops have mounted a stiffer-than-expected opposition to a superior force in the early days of the war. But U.S. officials say it may not last.

March 3, 2022 - By ERIC SCHMITT, HELENE COOPER and JULIAN E. BARNES

On the Exodus West, Ukrainians Flee Hardship for an Uncertain Future

Many thousands of Ukrainians, fearful of the war, are leaving their homes on a slow journey west, enduring difficulties but also buoyed by the generosity of their countrymen.

March 3, 2022 - By VALERIE HOPKINS

Figure 16: 'Today's Paper' Example

4.2.5. *Opinion Pieces*

The opinion pieces are grouped by Op-eds, ‘Letters,’ which are featured texts from readers of the *NYT*, and pieces penned by the Editorial Board. I went through the entire corpus for each of the two twenty-one-day periods once all data was collected, screening for the above three categories of pieces, which were coded in the initial data collection period, and double checked in the Uniform Resource Locators (URL). In the case of Palestine-Israel, I also made note of the contributor, since there is often discussion around whose given voice in this space, as identity plays a role in this discussion and who’s given ‘permission to narrate’ it. For Palestine- Israel there was a total of 21 pieces (one daily); 17 op-ed pieces (11 Jewish/Israeli- 4 Palestinians), three ‘letters,’ and one contribution from the Editorial Board. For Russia-Ukraine, there was a total of 112 pieces (5.3 daily); 94 op-ed pieces, 13 ‘letters,’ and five contributions from the Editorial Board. In op-ed pieces there were five and a half times more in the Ukraine-Russia case than Palestine-Israel, nearly four and a half times more ‘letters’ from readers, and five times the number of pieces by the Editorial Board.

Table 4: Opinion Pieces (Opinion, 'Letters,' Editorial Board)

Case	Opinion	'Letters'	Editorial Board	Totals
Palestine/ Israel	17	3	1	21
Russia/ Ukraine	94	13	5	112

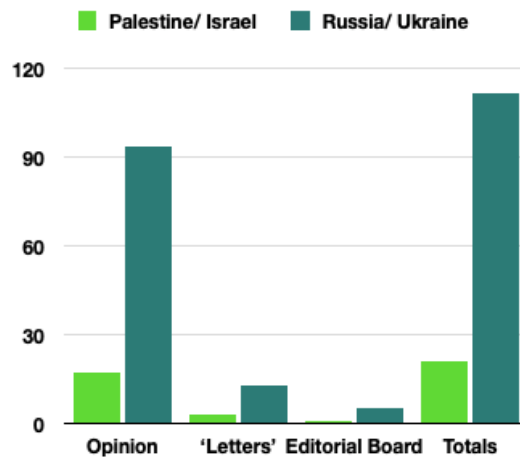


Figure 17: Opinion Pieces (Opinion, 'Letters,' Editorial Board)

4.2.6. Article Contributors, Headline Length, Videos

In the initial data gathering phase, both contributors to articles and headline lengths were counted. Contributors were counted in two ways; one in the total number of contributors stated in the bylines of each article cumulatively, and the other counted them once as a contributor within the three-week period; this helps paint a picture of the number of resources and personnel the *NYT* tasked within its coverage. For example, in the individual tally, a contributor was counted only once, while in the cumulative tally, they were counted each time they contributed additional texts. For Palestine-Israel, there were 61 individual contributors to the 128 pieces, and 181 cumulative contributors on those stories, meaning some texts had more than one contributor. For Russia-Ukraine, there were 262 (4.3 times more) individual contributors on 508 (four times more) pieces, and 771(4.3 times more) cumulative contributors. Average headline length was comparable, at nearly 10 words average per headline, with a slight increase in length on headlines pertaining to Russia-Ukraine. While videos were not analyzed beyond quantitative reason, the total tally for Palestine-Israel was 24 videos, while

Ukraine- Russia was 74 (3.1 times more) videos total in 21 days of coverage marking over three times the number of videos in the same period.

Table 5: Article Contributors

Contributors	Palestine/ Israel	Russia/ Ukraine
Individual	61	262
Cumulative	181	771

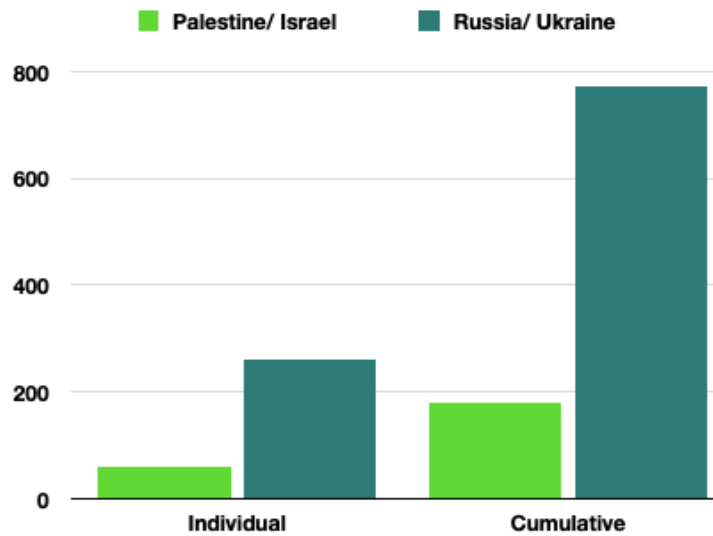


Figure 18: Article Contributors

Table 6: Headline Length

Headline Length	Palestine/ Israel	Russia/ Ukraine
Words	10.11	10.18

4.2.7. Images

Citing again the imbalance in representation and overall coverage and relying on the images presented on the front pages the entire corpus was considered from the 21 days in each case study, resulting in 20 images for Palestine-Israel and 78 images for Russia-Ukraine. These images help comprehension of how coverage was shaped, and which frames were emphasized. The focus is considered in each image and then

codified based on six main repeating frames: Location, Destructive, Militarism, Personal Figures, Political Figures and Economic/Other (mainly economy). Location signifies a faraway portrait of for example, Jerusalem, or Kyiv, as a faraway image of a place without much focus into an individual or object. The destructive frame signifies various images of damage, explosions, rubble, or subsequent destruction. Militarism represents both soldiers and military vehicles (helicopters, tanks, transport). Personal figures represent individuals/civilians, this could be a victim on a stretcher, images of grieving families, or pictures of protest. Political figures represent political leaders of respective states, for instance heads of state, or individuals in government. The Economic/ Other frame was created for the Russia- Ukraine case, as this case had an economic aspect not represented 'Today's Paper' images for Palestine-Ukraine over the 21-day period. There is some overlap within these codified frames which were created based on noticeable repetition of the same represented images, for instance you could have soldiers standing within rubble, or a political leader standing behind military vehicles, or a group of women with rifles. In these instances where there is no clear focus, the image is filed under both themes, with a further evaluation of the image byline where clarity of image depicted was in question.

Due to the unequal number of images in the 'Today's Paper' section of four times more Russia-Ukraine stories, we can of course expect this disparity will carry over into the images section, therefore the quantitative aspect of this section is not of major finding, but shared, nonetheless. All six themes fielded results which represented Ukraine-Russia more than Palestine-Israel. Locations were represented at five times (10 to 2) more the rate. The Destructive frame was the closest, with a 10 to 7 ratio favoring Russia-Ukraine. Militarism frames were represented at five times the rate (20 to 4).

Personal Figures were represented at slightly over four times the rate (33 to 8). Political Figures had the largest disparity, as the Russia-Ukraine case yielded more images represented on the ‘Today’s Paper’ webpage of the NYT with nearly ten times the amount (19 to 2). There were also six times the number of Economic/other frames (6 to 0) in the Russia-Ukraine case.

4.3. Qualitative Findings

Having carried out the quantitative aspect of this study, the researcher then moved to CDA and FDA, which are fundamentally interpretive in nature, noting representation, repetition, and omission as key principles of analysis in textual and visual data. Due to the large and imbalanced corpus, the sampling method was purposive and chosen to reflect discursive elements and practices, unlike the quantitative section which relies on enumerating coverage and dividing it rather than analyzing it for content on social schematized basis. Since there is large difference in total articles and images within the two- three-week periods for each case study, it was decided that focusing on the same set of articles that were represented in the ‘Today’s Paper’ would be the most consistent sample to focus on for images, as well as most representative of *Times*’ coverage, since this reflects an editorial decision on positionality and emphasis. The headlines and images are considered dually, as stand-alone cases, and cases within each case; meaning perspective is considered from the point of view of within each conflict.

4.3.1. Palestine- Israel

In the case of Palestine-Israel in 2021, headlines are more often Israeli-centric, yet don't really describe actions of Israel and cover events in hindsight rather than as they're occurring, despite the presence of journalists. For instance, beginning with the analysis period of on May 3rd to May 6th, the *NYT* does not cover the unfolding events in Sheikh Jarrah and Jerusalem, although other outlets in the international press were covering the events in detail.²⁵³ Instead, the *NYT* presented five articles; three by Isabel Kershner and one by Patrick Kingsley on Israel's internal politics between Netanyahu, Naftali Bennett, and Yair Lapid, and another joint piece by Kingsley and Kershner on a stampede by ultra-orthodox Jews. Amnesty International describes events had been occurring since the beginning of Ramadan on April 13th and through the month where Israel imposed restrictions on entry to the Damascus Gate, Al Aqsa compound, and the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem.²⁵⁴ There is no coverage afforded to the provocations in Jerusalem and at Al Aqsa mosque until May 7th, where a video by *Reuters*, 'Palestinians Protest Over Jerusalem Evictions,' shows Israeli occupation forces, referred to as 'police,' firing and throwing concussion grenades, with an article by Kingsley titled 'Palestinian Evictions in Jerusalem Become Focus of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.'²⁵⁵

Kingsley details 'the effort to evict six Arab families from a 'contested' neighborhood,' and that the decision would go to Israeli courts, with no mention of

²⁵³ Alsaafin, L. (2021, May 1). What is happening in occupied East Jerusalem's Sheikh Jarrah? Al Jazeera.

²⁵⁴ Amnesty International. (2021, May 10). End brutal Israeli repression of Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Amnesty International.

²⁵⁵ Kingsley, P. (2021, May 7). Evictions in Jerusalem Become Focus of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. The New York Times.

international law, or that the Israeli judicial system has no legal authority over occupied Jerusalem to evict, or the right to give those ‘Arab’ families homes to ‘Nahalat Shimon,’ a US registered settlement organization. Instead, Kingsley mentions the annexation of East Jerusalem as a matter of fact, and describes everything from the Israeli point of view, detailing the ‘dispute’ through the settler claims to the land, only mentioning international law in the 36th of 38 paragraphs as a quote from the spokesman from the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.²⁵⁶ There is no coverage on May 8th, but there is one article related to Russia and Ukraine that stuck out while I was pulling the data titled ‘Where Ukrainians are Preparing for All-Out War with Russia,’ which describes the ‘Russian-occupied Crimean peninsula,’ and ‘Russia’s responsibility as an occupying power to provide water under the Geneva Conventions,’ pointed language not visible from the Jerusalem bureau.²⁵⁷ This obfuscation is telling, since both Russia and Israel claim annexation, but neither of their claims are recognized by international law, yet international law is disregarded in Israel, with the journalist echoing Israeli claims, and brought to the forefront in the Russian case.

When the effort to ‘expel’ Palestinians was delayed in the ‘Israeli Supreme Court’ on May 9th, Kingsley again makes the stand-alone statement, ‘Israel captured East Jerusalem in 1967 and annexed it,’ with no mention of international law.²⁵⁸ When Israeli forces continued their onslaught of protesters in Jerusalem, injuring more than 600 individuals, Saleh Higazi, Deputy Director for MENA at Amnesty International

²⁵⁶ Yousef, N., Thabet, N., Imran, H., & Birat, H. (2021, May 13). Fact Sheet Regarding the Case of Sheikh Jarrah – The Occupied Jerusalem (Field Facts & Legal Findings). Law for Palestine.

²⁵⁷ Troianovski, A. (2021, May 8). Where Ukrainians Are Preparing for All-Out War With Russia. The New York Times.

²⁵⁸ Kingsley, P. (2021, May 9). Israeli Court Delays Expulsion of Palestinian Families in East Jerusalem. The New York Times.

outlined the events in Jerusalem, “Evidence gathered reveals a chilling pattern of Israeli forces using abusive wanton force against largely peaceful protesters...including innocent bystanders or worshippers making prayers.”²⁵⁹ By May 10th, Palestinian resistance forces (Hamas and PIJ) had issued a demand for Israel to withdraw its forces from the compound by six in the evening, rockets were fired when that demand was not met.²⁶⁰ It is then when the *NYT* gaze begins to pick up the story, with a collaboration by Kingsley and Kershner, originally titled ‘Violence Erupts Between Israelis and Palestinians,’ later changed to ‘After Raid on Aqsa Mosque, Rockets From Gaza and Israeli Airstrikes,’ where the journalists write that the ‘escalation followed clashes.’²⁶¹ This was the first article presented in the ‘Today’s Paper’ section with a faraway picture of the Dome of the Rock in the Al Aqsa compound, and an individual being carried on a stretcher, barely noticeable. The rockets launched numbered nearly 150, with only one landing in Israel causing damage but no casualties, while Israeli airstrikes on Gaza killed 20 people, nine of whom were children.

There is a constant effort to minimize and present equivalency of Israeli actions through headlines such as ‘Why So Much Rests on the Fate of a Tiny Neighborhood in East Jerusalem,’²⁶² ignoring the long history of forced displacement, ethnic cleansing and ethnonationalist policies to keep a favorable Jewish ratio in Jerusalem, and all of

²⁵⁹ Amnesty International. (2021, May 10). End brutal Israeli repression of Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Amnesty International.

²⁶⁰ Gross, J. A. (2021, May 10). IDF sends reinforcements to Gaza border as Hamas issues ultimatum on Jerusalem. *The Times of Israel*.

²⁶¹ Kershner, I., & Kingsley, P. (2021, May 10). After Raid on Aqsa Mosque, Rockets From Gaza and Israeli Airstrikes. *The New York Times*.

²⁶² Salameh, R. (2021, May 11). Opinion | Why So Much Rests on the Fate of a Tiny Neighborhood in East Jerusalem. *The New York Times*.

historic Palestine, otherwise known as the ‘Tiny Neighborhood.’²⁶³ The second image that is presented is on May 11th in an article by Kershner and Kingsley titled ‘More Than 30 Dead in Gaza and Israel as Fighting Quickly Escalates;’ the image is of airstrikes between crumbling buildings in Gaza, but the headline byline is ‘ Hamas fires rockets at Israeli cities. Israel hits Gaza with airstrikes.’²⁶⁴ The ‘more than 30 dead’ were 35 Palestinians, including ten children and five Israelis by that time.

This would begin a stretch of twelve days where Palestine-Israel was represented in ‘Today’s Paper’ on the *NYT*. On May 12th, Kingsley contributed ‘As Gaza War Escalates, New Front Opens in Israeli Cities,’ with the byline “Rioting and mob violence between Arabs and Jews tore through towns and cities across Israel. Rockets from Gaza and Israeli airstrikes continued to kill civilians.”²⁶⁵ The image presented for this story was from a perspective behind Israeli forces, near a burning dumpster impeding the roadway in Lydda. Although the death toll had risen to 67 Palestinians (16 children), and six Israelis (one child) the attention was geared towards protests internal to Israel. As FAIR’s Gregory Shupak wrote, the coverage of Palestine and Israel constantly ‘presents false equivalency between occupied and occupier,’ misrepresents events in Israel’s favor by suggesting Israel acting in self-defense, and concealing knowledge essential to comprehend the ‘scale of Israeli brutality.’²⁶⁶ The

²⁶³ Amnesty International. (2004). Israel and the Occupied Territories - Under the rubble: house demolitions and destruction of land and property - AI report - Non-UN document - Question of Palestine. The United Nations.

²⁶⁴ Kershner, I., & Kingsley, P. (2021, May 11). More Than 30 Dead in Gaza and Israel as Fighting Quickly Escalates. *The New York Times*.

²⁶⁵ Kingsley, P. (2021, May 12). Conflict Between Israel and Palestinians Continues to Escalate. *The New York Times*.

²⁶⁶ Shupak, G. (2021, May 18). Israel/Palestine Coverage Presents False Equivalency Between Occupied and Occupier. FAIR.org.

next three images depicted come from stories images from the Israeli perspective, in ‘Israel Ground Forces Shell Gaza as Fighting Intensifies,’²⁶⁷ ‘In Mixed Israel Cities Proud of Good Relations, a Sudden, Explosive Division,’²⁶⁸ and ‘Israeli-Palestinian Strife Widens as Frantic Calls for Calm Go Unheeded,’ where the images capture an Israeli tank firing from behind the Israeli army, a restaurant within Israel with broken glass and visible damage, and another Israeli tank with Israeli forces at a ‘staging area near the border with Gaza.’²⁶⁹

The represented article by Kingsley, titled, ‘After Years of Quiet, Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Exploded. Why Now?’ The image to this story is faraway portrait of the Al Aqsa compound, with construction cranes in the background, which can be assumed to be building of new settlements, due the doubling of illegal settlement units advancements from 6288 in 2020 to 14,894 in 2021 marking a total of 22,030.²⁷⁰ The article is written in hindsight, claiming “A little-noticed police action in Jerusalem last month was one of several incidents that led to the current crisis,” framing the article with “Twenty-seven days before the first rocket was fired from Gaza this week, a squad of Israeli police officers enter Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, ‘brushed Palestinian attendants’ aside” as they cut “cables to the loud speakers that broadcast prayers to the

²⁶⁷ Walsh, D. (2021, May 13). Israel Ground Forces Shell Gaza as Fighting Intensifies. The New York Times.

²⁶⁸ Kershner, I. (2021, May 13). In Mixed Israel Cities Proud of Good Relations, a Sudden, Explosive Division. The New York Times.

²⁶⁹ Yee, V. (2021, May 19). Israeli-Palestinian Strife Widens as Frantic Calls for Calm Go Unheeded. The New York Times.

²⁷⁰ EU Neighbors. (2022, July 22). 2021 Report on Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem - EU Neighbours. EU Neighbours South.

faithful from four medieval minarets.”²⁷¹ By this point there had been 145 Palestinians in Gaza killed and 12 in Israel.²⁷²

The examples mentioned above represent a small sample size of the regular journalistic practice of the *NYT* when it comes to Occupied Palestine, and this could be continued and dissected for the remaining data and full articles. In fact, in the 128 headlines, Palestine is not said as a place or noun, rather Palestinian(s) is used only as an adjective (protest, families, hurt, refugees, Muslims, leaders, territories, grievance, activists, strike, anger); despite Palestine being occupied, and its ‘Permanent Observer State’ status at the UN, there is only one article that mentions occupation, at the last day of the coverage period.²⁷³ There are 90 uses of Israel or Israeli in the headlines (court delays, police, airstrikes, forces, violence, armor) , seven of which are ‘Israeli-Palestinian’ (conflict, violence, strife, ceasefire). Outside of the hyphenated form with Israel attached, Palestinian is used 10 times alone, two of which are ‘Palestinian territories.’ There are 40 uses of Gaza, 18 uses of Hamas, 17 uses of ‘conflict,’ 12 uses of fighting, eight uses of rockets, five uses of Arab (four uses of Jews/Jewish and one use of Muslim), five uses of airstrikes, despite the heavy toll inflicted on Palestinians and the massive imbalance in power; Airstrikes hit things, while conflicts and internal divisions within Israeli society are explosive. There are six instances of kill (or variation kills/killed) two attributed to ‘Gaza rocket,’ and ‘Hamas rocket,’ two attributed to the conflict, and two attributed to ‘Israeli airstrikes.’ The instances of Israeli aggression

²⁷¹ Kingsley, P. (2021, May 15). Why Did the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Explode Now? The New York Times.

²⁷² B'Tselem. (2021, May 15). Killing blockaded civilians and destroying infrastructure on a massive scale: Israel is committing war crimes in the Gaza Strip. B'Tselem.

²⁷³ UN. (2024). Palestine’s status at the UN explained. The United Nations.

don't directly attribute their culpability as they're written in the passive voice, in instances such as 'Dozens More Killed in Israeli Airstrike as Gaza Violence Escalates,' rather than direct statements, Israeli airstrike kills dozens more as it bombards Gaza, for instance. In the slight chance a Palestinian resistance rocket pierces Israeli air defense, its documented and direct, 'Gaza Rocket Finds a Rare Gap in Israeli Armor, and a Boy is Killed,'²⁷⁴ or ' Hamas rocket attack kills two Thai workers in Israel,'²⁷⁵ this despite a child death toll being 33 times greater in Gaza, or the overall death toll being 20 times greater, and Palestinian injuries outnumbering Israelis by the thousands.²⁷⁶ Another stark example is two reports produced three days apart, a Kershner piece titled 'Tel Aviv, Israel's Bustling Financial Hub, Is Shaken as Rockets Rain Down,'²⁷⁷ and a piece by Vivian Yee, 'In Gaza, an Ordinary Street, and Extraordinary Horror, as Missiles Thunder In.'²⁷⁸ The pieces obscure the extent of damage and equate the massive disproportion of damage done onto the Palestinian people, calling Gaza 'ordinary,' and equating it with the 'the bombardment of Tel Aviv' a 'largely liberal, secular beachside city said to live in a hedonistic bubble.'

The only economy themed article was an opinion piece by Nicholas Kristoff, 'What Your Taxes are Paying for in Israel.'²⁷⁹ There is two mentions of refugee; one

²⁷⁴ Kershner, I. (2021, September 23). Gaza Rocket Finds a Rare Gap in Israeli Armor, and a Boy Is Killed. *The New York Times*.

²⁷⁵ Peltier, E. (2021, May 19). Hamas Rocket Attack Kills 2 Thai Workers in Israel. *The New York Times*.

²⁷⁶ Roth, K. (2022, April 11). *World Report 2022: Israel and Palestine*. Human Rights Watch.

²⁷⁷ Kershner, I. (2021, May 16). Tel Aviv, Israel's Bustling Financial Hub, Is Shaken as Rockets Rain Down. *The New York Times*.

²⁷⁸ Yee, V. (2021, May 13). In Gaza, Airstrikes End in Civilian Casualties. *The New York Times*.

²⁷⁹ Kristof, N. (2021, May 12). Opinion | What Your Taxes Are Paying For in Israel. *The New York Times*.

detailing an airstrike of a refugee camp, and a Peter Beinart Op-ed, despite Gaza having eight refugee camps and over 113,000 displaced peoples at the height of the 2021 assault, according to OCHA.²⁸⁰ The lack of coverage on economics and refugees is notable, given the status of Palestinian refugees which are the only refugee population in the world denied their ‘right of return,’ and the heavy funding by the US to both Israel and UN agencies dealing directly with Palestinian refugees, such as UNRWA.

Another notable aspect is the minimization of the US role and its complicity in backing Israel at every turn; there are three uses of the US and Biden, in articles that describe ‘Biden’s hands off approach,’ or assert ‘Israel’s right to defend itself’ or ‘urging calm.’ There is also one opinion piece by Bernie Sanders claiming the US ‘must stop being an apologist for Netanyahu,’ seemingly a pattern which moves any critique to the opinion pages, rather than the *NYT* as an institution itself. The one piece by the Editorial Board came after the ceasefire, in ‘A Cease-Fire, and New Ideas in Israel and the Palestinian Territories,’²⁸¹ and places the context solely in Israel’s favor and perspective, ‘a right, a responsibility, to stop rockets at their source.’ None more telling than articles such as ‘A Look Inside Israel’s ‘Fortress of Zion’ Military Command Beneath Tel Aviv,’ and the images behind tanks, at staging areas and within Israeli military, which sees the vantage point most commonly represented.²⁸² In the image classifications the most common were personal figures, of which were in parity between Israeli’s and Palestinians, where Occupation forces were pictured at the same rate as

²⁸⁰ OCHA. (2021, May 27). Response to the escalation in the oPt | Situation Report No. 1 (21-27 May 2021) | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - occupied Palestinian territory. OCHA oPt.

²⁸¹ NYT Editorial Board. (2021, May 21). A Cease-Fire, and New Ideas in Israel and the Palestinian Territories. The New York Times.

²⁸² Bergman, R. (2021, May 24). A Look Inside Israel's 'Fortress of Zion' Military Command Beneath Tel Aviv. The New York Times.

those suffering their brutality, which are still captured from a far away, non-emotive sense. The Destruction frame was also the most visible, and again represented in near parity yet obfuscated with headlines that lack nuance and unclear image bylines. The political figure frame was represented twice in the Palestinian case, one photo of Biden, and one of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez citing ‘tensions among Democrats growing over Israel as the Left Defends Palestinians,’²⁸³ the left often a boogey word in American politics, and Ocasio-Cortez a young progressive US representative whose a major target for AIPAC, which is rebuked a day later by a Bret Stephens’s Op-ed ‘If the Left Got Its Wish For Israel,’²⁸⁴ following up a piece from four days earlier ‘For the Sake of Peace, Israel Must Rout Hamas.’²⁸⁵

There is a lack of contextualization and dehumanization that treats Gaza, the West Bank, and Palestinians within 1948 historic Palestine as different entities, obscuring the checkpoints, dispossession, house demolitions, second class citizenship status, 700,000+ radical and illegal settlers, regular raids, military rule, detentions, the inhumane blockade that was tightened during this bombardment, and apartheid, among innumerable war crimes, flagrant breaches of international law and human rights conventions and instead framing a truth regime around ‘years of calm,’ and ‘coexistence,’ between ‘Arabs and Jews.’ There is little offered on the ethnonationalist extremism wrought within Israeli society, or the damage to over 50,000 housing units, 331 educational facilities, 10 hospitals, and 23 clinics and \$400 million in physical

²⁸³ Medina, J. (2021, May 18). Tensions Among Democrats Grow Over Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. The New York Times.

²⁸⁴ Stephens, B. (2021, May 17). Opinion | If the Left Got Its Wish for Israel. The New York Times.

²⁸⁵ Stephens, B. (2021, May 13). Opinion | For the Sake of Peace, Israel Must Rout Hamas. The New York Times.

damage and \$200 million in economic losses. The only mentions of international bodies again take a ‘both sides’ slant, despite the international presence that sustains Palestinians and the humanitarian crisis that results of Israel’s brutal sieges and dominion over the land, air, and sea of Palestine. Nowhere in the coverage of the *NYT* is it apparent that “under international law, the Palestinians have lawful right to resist Israel’s occupation of their lands, including through armed struggle.”²⁸⁶

4.3.2. *Russia- Ukraine*

The qualitative data on the representation of Russia and Ukraine is significant when contrasted with the aforementioned section on Palestine and Israel. Of course, due to approximately four times the articles produced by the *NYT* in the equivalent duration of time, the quantitative difference is noteworthy, but the discourse is most suggestive given *The Times*’ treatment of the latter case study and their stated impartiality. The issue of representation in the Palestine-Israel case is already problematic when viewed independently, but when compared with the coverage of Russia-Ukraine, since there is a clear difference, where the *NYT* nearly acts as an intelligence organization with up to the minute coverage on military movements, in line with the US intelligence positions. While the Palestine-Israel case was constituted by little coverage that was emotive, the most dominant frame in this case is Personal Figures, where there is tremendous weight on grieving families, images of women and their children, children boarding trains and other emotional coverage that is missing in the Palestine case. There is a particularly stark human element to the coverage in Ukraine and the images represented on the “Today’s Paper” page. The first image and story represented during the coverage period

²⁸⁶ Cohn, M. (2021, May 14). Under International Law, Israel Isn't Entitled to “Self-Defense” Against People Living Under Its Occupation. Truthout.

is by Steven Erlanger, a former Jerusalem bureau chief now stationed in Berlin, ‘Putin Orders Forces to Russia-Backed Ukraine Regions and Hints at Wider Military Aims,’ where an image depicts a 24-year-old mother in a dirt shelter with her two-year-old son.²⁸⁷

Whereas the Political Figure frame was represented twice in the Palestinian case, it was represented 19 times, starting from the first day of the analysis period alongside the distraught mother and her child, with ‘US Offers Limited Initial Response to Russia as It Weighs Stiffer Sanctions,’²⁸⁸ with a picture of Putin, and ‘Wooing Allies, Publicizing Putin’s Plans: Inside Biden’s Race to Prevent War,’ and a picture of Biden.²⁸⁹ The framing was immediate in representing Putin as a ‘madman’ irrational actor and Biden as a protector or savior of Ukraine, emphasizing the civility of the West, as was done in the Palestine in ‘urging calm’ and a ‘hands off approach,’ when in truth the US plays a considerable part in how events transpire in both cases. The same emotive images are presented the following day, with a little boy and girl in a train window captioned ‘parents said goodbye to their children,’ in an article titled ‘US and Allies Impose Sanctions on Russia as Biden Condemns ‘Invasion’ of Ukraine,’²⁹⁰ in a collaborative piece by four journalists, and an Andrew Kramer piece ‘Ukraine Enclaves

²⁸⁷ Erlanger, S. (2022, February 21). Putin Orders Forces to Russia-Backed Ukraine Regions and Hints at Wider Military Aims. *The New York Times*.

²⁸⁸ Sanger, D. E. (2022, February 21). U.S. Offers Limited Initial Response to Russia as It Weighs Stiffer Sanctions. *The New York Times*.

²⁸⁹ Schmitt, E. (2022, February 21). Inside Biden’s Race to Prevent War Between Russia and Ukraine. *The New York Times*.

²⁹⁰ Troianovski, A. (2022, February 22). U.S. and Allies Impose Sanctions on Russia as Biden Condemns ‘Invasion’ of Ukraine. *The New York Times*.

Long Steeped in Conflict Face New Peril,' with an image of a woman and her 14-year old daughter boarding a train with suitcases.²⁹¹

This was a constant theme where titles of articles were paired with images that didn't capture the essence of the title but painted a more emotive image. The third represented the Militarism frame, with a piece by Roger Cohen, 'The Limits of a Europe Whole and Free,'²⁹² with pictures of Russian tanks, which was also the most common image in the Militarism frame for Palestine-Israel, showing Israeli tanks. Russian military vehicles again appear on the next day on Putin's announcement to 'Military Operation,' against Ukraine, with the next story in the Personal Figures classification in 'European Sanctions Target Putin's Inner Circle,'²⁹³ and an image of the Russian defense minister. Sanctions constituted 39 articles in the period, and the Economic/Other frame was created due to its prevalence in this case, which was missing in the Palestine-Israel case, despite being the largest receiver of US economic 'aid' and the Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) movement being a large part of global protests that unfolded during the coverage period, despite anti-BDS laws in 38 states, including New York.

Despite the Editorial Board submitting one piece at the end of the analyzed period for Palestine, no time was wasted in the Ukraine case, which penned five pieces in the coverage period. The first on day one titled 'A Pointed Response to Putin's Provocations,' with an image of Putin's eyes through a ripped Ukrainian flag, detailing

²⁹¹ Kramer, A. (2021, February 22). Ukraine Enclaves Long Steeped in Conflict Face New Peril. The New York Times.

²⁹² Cohen, R. (2022, February 21). The Limits of a Europe Whole and Free. The New York Times.

²⁹³ Stevis-Gridneff, M. (2022, February 23). European Sanctions Target Putin's Inner Circle. The New York Times.

Putin's underestimation in overlooking 'Western democracies and the Western alliance,' despite their problems, to unite against a mutual adversary and 'threaten him and his country with debilitating economic and social damage.'²⁹⁴ The next followed two days after, "No Justification for a Brazen Invasion,' which claimed that it was clear the invasion wasn't about NATO or security, but " It's all about his xenophobic, imperial and misguided notion that Ukraine was inherently an appendage of Russia, its independence a historical fluke and its rulers usurpers." The piece asserts that Putin bears full responsibility, and that there is no justification of invading a weaker neighbor, and "nobody and nothing have given Mr. Putin the right to seize territory or decide the fate of neighboring nations."²⁹⁵ In 'Mr. Putin Launches a Sequel to the Cold War,' Putin's face is again hyper imposed on the borders of the old USSR, again reprimanding Putin as irrational and again emphasized 'Western unity' in a new 'East-West struggle.'²⁹⁶



Figure 19: Editorial Board Images: Putin, 'The Mad Man'

²⁹⁴ The Editorial Board. (2022, February 21). Opinion | A Pointed Response to Putin's Provocations Against Ukraine. The New York Times.

²⁹⁵ The Editorial Board. (2022, February 23). No Justification for a Brazen Invasion. The New York Times.

²⁹⁶ The Editorial Board. (2022, February 24). Opinion | Mr. Putin Launches a Sequel to the Cold War. The New York Times.

In the fourth piece by the Editorial Board, a fist holding an olive branch is the image under the title ‘I Want Peace. Zelensky’s Heroic Resistance Is an Example for the World’ which details the likely ‘occupation of Ukraine.’²⁹⁷ The final piece by the Editorial Board in the examined period is ‘The Price of Putin’s Belligerence,’ which details the ‘ruthless invasion’ and Putin “trying to break Ukraine by demolishing its cities and brutalizing its people.”²⁹⁸ These last two pieces are telling juxtaposed with the coverage in the Palestinian case, where such poignant language and admonishment was omitted, especially with terms like resistance used three times in Ukraine centric headlines, and the details of the scale of destruction and its effects on a society. It’s attention-grabbing to note the ‘heroic resistance,’ frame applied to Zelensky near the end of the coverage period, as in the beginning headlines had referred to him as inadequate, with pieces such as ‘The Comedian-Turned- President is Seriously in Over His Head,’²⁹⁹ and six other headlines referring to Zelensky simply as ‘Ukraine’s president,’ prior to being broken into the associative public gaze.

Within the twenty-one-day period, there is 212 variations of Russia or Russian, most which show direct blame (aggression, invasion, attack, mercenaries, troops, army, advance, protest, forces invade, missile strike, assault, etc.). There are also 267 variations of Ukraine or Ukrainian (refugees, flee, families, evacuees, statehood, etc.,) most of which show Ukraine as a receiver of Russian aggression. Unlike in the Palestinian case, there is no hyphenation or ‘both siding’ to any of the violence, despite

²⁹⁷ The Editorial Board. (2022, March 4). Opinion | Ukraine’s President Zelensky Is Showing the World How to Resist Putin. The New York Times.

²⁹⁸ The Editorial Board. (2022, March 11). The Price of Putin’s Belligerence. Th New York Times.

²⁹⁹ Rudenko, O. (2022, February 22). Opinion | The Comedian-Turned-President Is Seriously in Over His Head. The New York Times.

Ukraine having a relatively modern and large fighting force with backing from the west, and high death tolls on ‘both sides.’ There were various pieces under the second largest constituted frame, Militarism which detailed arms transfers from Germany and France, where more military images were presented (snipers, bunkers, helicopters, tanks, armored vehicles.) The third largest frame was political figures in the images, which featured Putin seven times, Biden six times, and Zelensky and Chinese president Xi Jinping twice.

In the headlines, Putin was mentioned 84 times, nearly the same amount as the word ‘war,’ at 85. Zelensky and Biden were mentioned 17 times each respectively. There were also 34 uses of invasion, 25 uses of sanctions (four boycotts), 24 uses of US, 15 uses of Europe, 15 uses of refugee(s), 15 references to the UN in the headlines and 12 uses of condemn and crisis. The seven uses of kill, kills or killed were all attributed to Russia, in headlines such as ‘Russian rocket barrage kills civilians,’³⁰⁰ ‘A Ukrainian family killed while fleeing,’³⁰¹ and most notably, two stories on ‘Brent Renaud, an American journalist, is killed in Ukraine,’³⁰² and ‘Brent Renaud, an American filmmaker killed in Ukraine, captured the human toll of war.’³⁰³ The only time civilians were mentioned in the Palestinian case, was in ‘Biden calls for protection of civilians and journalists in calls with Israel and Palestinian leaders.’³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Hopkins, V. (2022, February 28). Russian Rocket Barrage Kills Civilians as First Talks Show No Progress. *The New York Times*.

³⁰¹ Walter, M., Kessler, S., & Niemann, C. (2022, March 7). Opinion | A Ukrainian Family Killed While Fleeing. *The New York Times*.

³⁰² Schwirtz, M. (2022, March 13). Brent Renaud, an American Journalist, Is Killed in Ukraine. *The New York Times*.

³⁰³ Lukpat, A. (2022, March 13). Brent Renaud, an American filmmaker killed in Ukraine, captured the human toll of war. *The New York Times*.

³⁰⁴ Jakes, L. (2021, May 18). Biden Calls on Israel and Palestinian Leaders to Protect Civilians. *The New York Times*.

The largest frame in the Russia-Ukraine images was Personal Figures, which saw 23 images of women and children, some noticeably distraught, injured, dead, boarding trains, waving goodbye to their children, holding babies or framed photos of their dead loved ones, and even armed with rifles resisting Russia. These were fundamentally emotive depictions that resonate with any audience in which an individual can relate with. Despite the religious aspect to the Russia- Ukraine case,³⁰⁵ there is no mention of the Orthodoxy, Christianity or Catholicism, (where the cross is sometimes featured on images of the Ukrainian military insignia) or the Muslim presence in Crimea,³⁰⁶ but there are three headlines detailing ‘For Ukraine’s Jews, the threat of war stirs memories of past horrors,’³⁰⁷ ‘Jewish groups condemn a strike near the Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial,’³⁰⁸ and ‘Once victims in Southeast Europe, Jews Come to Aid Fleeing Ukrainians.’³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Houston, A., & Mandaville, P. (2022, March 17). The Role of Religion in Russia's War on Ukraine. United States Institute of Peace.

³⁰⁶ Bogomolov, A. (2007, October 9). Islam, Orthodoxy, and the State in Crimea. The Wilson Center.

³⁰⁷ Schwartz, M. (2022, February 24). For Ukraine's Jews, the Threat of War Stirs Memories of Past Horrors. The New York Times.

³⁰⁸ Gavrielov, N. (2022, March 1). Jewish Groups Condemn Strike Near Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial. The New York Times.

³⁰⁹ Kingsley, P. (2022, March 7). Once Victims in Southeast Europe, Jews Come to Aid Fleeing Ukrainians. The New York Times.



Figure 20: Russia-Ukraine Evocative Coverage Examples

The Russia-Ukraine coverage in my interpretation was covered from a global perspective, yet still featured the Ukrainian perspective internally, there was much more detail in the discourse of what was happening at international bodies, and the different condemnations through the Security Council, the Human Rights Council, and other organizations such as ‘Time is running out for civilians, Red Cross warns.’³¹⁰ An additional feature emphasized in the Russia-Ukraine coverage was Ukrainian resistance, which featured numerous images that showed destroyed Russian military vehicles, and in two instances, brought *Times*’ viewers directly into Ukrainian resistance with their ‘On the Scene’ feature with ‘A Molotov Cocktail Supplier’³¹¹ and ‘Ukrainians Prepare Molotov Cocktails in Kyiv.’³¹² The ‘On the Scene,’ pieces were interactive stories from the perspective of the journalist which showed multiple photographs, short videos and captions, only featured in the Russia-Ukraine case. As mentioned, these are some of the

³¹⁰ Cumming, N. (2022, March 13). Red Cross Warns Time Is Running Out For Civilians in Mariupol. The New York Times.

³¹¹ Santora, M. (2022, February 27). On the Scene: A Molotov Cocktail Supplier. The New York Times.

³¹² Associated Press. (2022, February 27). Ukrainians Prepare Molotov Cocktails in Kyiv. The New York Times.

differences in what I considered comprehensive yet problematic discursive practices and truth regimes which guided the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine case study which when compared with the case only months earlier, under much of the same staff and standards, paints a slanted and impartial problematic picture.

4.4. Limitations

There are a series of limitations to be mindful of in undertaking this study of *NYT* coverage and discourse in Palestine and Ukraine. Finding causality between two different cases, in two distinctive spheres of the world is a challenge, but at the root of these struggles there are two comparable cases, noting history, leadership, geopolitical significance, and power dynamics. Using a mixed methods approach and quantifying language for qualitative interpretation is also something to be considerate of. As mentioned previously by Said, I myself cannot remove my involvement as a human subject; I am also a producer of knowledge in this context and therefore cannot remove my predisposed understandings and inherent biases I may carry into and from this study. The discursive practices and truth regimes of my own ideological being factor into my understandings of the world, regardless of my analytical method, my own perceptions, and experiences.

There are a set of biases that arise in the methodology of purposive sampling, which are confined to my interpretations of events, despite efforts to ensure a neutral and consistent examination; findings offer valuable insights into pattered trends but should be deduced with caution in aggregation with other scholarly research and empirical evidence. Another limitation is that the texts are confined in the time period I chose, meaning the analysis is limited with a specific time frame which may not have

captured changing narratives and shifts in coverage. As with any research that delves into multiple geopolitical spheres, language itself is a limitation, given my research is conducted in English, on an English medium on cases where multiple languages play a factor, namely Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, and the Ukrainian languages, respectively.

Additional limitations inherent to the study are that not the entire texts of the corpus were considered, nor every image or source. This research was confined by a lack of access to coding features such as Python and Java inherent to expensive NLP tools (which require university subscription) that are able to interpret a large body of texts, instead relying on careful analysis of the researcher which comes with its own constraints and is subject to human error, despite rigorous efforts to avoid any. Further limitations within the case studies present challenges due to the unique historical, cultural, and political contexts inherent to each case which have deep-rooted origins, colonial and ethno-religious dimensions which contributed to how events unfolded in each case. There is also an asymmetry in power relations, resulting partly from the actions of the powers discussed through this paper which have culminated to which significantly impact media representation. Namely, in the Palestine-Israel case, Israel is an established military and political power backed and shielded by the west, whereas Palestine is unrecognized by some forces and faces occupation and displacement by policies, forces, and institution initially and currently indoctrinated through Western power; the Russia-Ukraine case presents two entities with their own asymmetry in power and international support, which adds complexity in the comparative approach.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

I wish I could say, however, that general understanding of the Middle East, Arabs and Islam in the United States has improved somewhat, but alas, it really hasn't... the hardening of attitudes, the tightening of the grip of demeaning generalization and triumphalist cliché, the dominance of crude power allied with simplistic contempt of dissenters and 'others' has found a fitting correlative in the looting, pillaging and destruction... What our leaders and their intellectual lackeys seem incapable of understanding is that history cannot be swept clean like a blackboard, clean so that 'we' might inscribe our own future 'there' and impose our own forms of life for these lesser people to follow.³¹³-E.W.S.

5.1. Discussion

As a significant part of Western MSM, *The New York Times* endures a leading role in influencing public perceptions and affecting decision-making and policies; its responsibility to deliver accurate and balanced coverage in our complex world is vital. Although the editorial standard is defined as being truthful and impartial, drawing on the literature review, one can immediately take issue with the concepts of 'truth' and 'partiality.' Although this study doesn't deal with exactly how media coverage affects audience, its largely implicated in undertaking this type of research, as the functions coexist together into an ecosystem of representation and perceptions, as put forth by Stuart Hall's 'circuit of culture' constituted on representation. My aim through this study has been to analyze the partiality of discourse of *The Times*, a powerful conduit of knowledge domestically in the heart of empire for the US and western hegemony; and internationally, through the 'liberal rules-based world order,' especially since *The Times*' origins in war time reporting, close cooperation with the US government and the birth of the internet and universal accessibility, as outlined in chapter two.

³¹³ Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism* (Penguin Modern Classics). Penguin. xlv.

What Russia-Ukraine representation has shown is that the *NYT* is capable of calling things for what they are, they are capable of writing on sanctions, international law, occupation, resistance and refugees- just not in the case of Palestine; one can hypothesize and think through the reasons why MSM are often stenographers for the powerful, upholding western orientalist thinking and hypothesize about effects this has on the audience of these conduits of power and knowledge- but until the discourse changes, the situations on the ground will remain misrepresented. Therefore, given my question regarding the partiality of *The Times*, and their relevance to power relations, one would think that coverage would be similar with Russia and Israel, and Ukraine and Palestine; but the opposite is true, in one sense the *Times* represents the vantage of the occupier, and in the other the occupied, based on dynamics of power and culture allegiant to western hegemony. In assessing the editorial standard of *The New York Times* on partiality, or ‘without fear or favor’, this study concludes that the *NYT* does indeed favor cases overall, and parties within conflicts themselves; fear is a bit more difficult to assess, but we can extrapolate given the *Times*’ business interests, pressures from individuals, first-hand testimonies of previous employees (Hess,³¹⁴ Dinsmore,³¹⁵ Luyendijk,³¹⁶ and Smith³¹⁷), lobby groups, special interests, societal corporate commodification and further elements of the five filters of the propaganda model that the *Times* is unquestionably privy to that set of considerations when shaping their discursive practices and truth regimes. By no means does this study imply in any

³¹⁴ Hess, J. L. (2003). *My Times: A Memoir of Dissent*. Seven Stories Press.

³¹⁵ Dinsmore, H. H. (1969). *All the News that Fits: A Critical Analysis of the News and Editorial Content of the New York Times*. Arlington House.

³¹⁶ Luyendijk, J. (2009). *People Like Us: Misrepresenting the Middle East*. Catapult.

³¹⁷ Smith, R. M. (2021). *Suppressed: Confessions of a Former New York Times Washington Correspondent*. Lyons Press.

manner or fashion of some grand ‘conspiracy,’ which itself is a word formulated in discursive truth regimes that attempted to delegitimize anti-war protests in 1968 that took over American college campuses as a counterculture to the Vietnam war.

In late 2021, the Institute for Middle East Understanding (IMEU) provided “Guidance for Reporting on Palestine/Israel,” which outlined best practices and suggested language to assist journalists be clear, accurate and fair.³¹⁸ IMEU recommended that diverse Palestinian voices should be included rather than left out, including human rights defenders, political analysts, and ordinary citizens, rather than officials who often lack legitimacy. Further, the context of the 57-year Israeli military occupation and apartheid, including the siege and 18-year blockade imposed on Gaza should always be at the forefront of reporting. Additionally, reports should regularly cite international law and human rights organizations, ignoring the ‘he said, she said’ between Palestinians and Israelis and using international law as the standard, much like Falk and Friel asserted nearly two decades ago. For example, in February of 2022, Amnesty International released a report, following the HRW report months earlier, titled ‘Israel’s apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity,’³¹⁹ the report was not covered by the *NYT* for 52 days³²⁰, and only after criticism did the Jerusalem bureau chief Patrick Kingsley, who was critical of the HRW report, release ‘U.N. Investigator Accuses Israel of Apartheid Citing Permanence

³¹⁸ IMEU. (2021, December 7). Guidance for Reporting on Palestine/Israel. IMEU.

³¹⁹ Amnesty International. (2022, February 1). Israel’s apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity. Amnesty International.

³²⁰ North, J. (2022, March 24). ‘NY Times’ gives in to widespread criticism and mentions Amnesty report on Israeli ‘apartheid’ 52 days late. Mondoweiss.

of Occupation,³²¹ declaring ‘strong denial by Israel and its supporters.’ The IMEU also called for Palestinian lives to be valued and humanized equally to Israeli lives, citing what it calls a double standard which doesn’t consider deaths of Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers worthy of coverage, while Israeli deaths are always given a human element with names, and stories of their lives, while Palestinians if mentioned at all are reduced to numbers, if not omitted altogether. “Avoid saying things like, ‘The deadly violence last May resulted in many civilian deaths,’ when casualty numbers are known and almost all the victims are Palestinians.”³²²

Best practices also include not calling Israel a democracy while it rules over millions of Palestinians without equal rights, compartmentalizing events in Israel and Occupied Palestine; not pretending the US and other western countries are neutral and keeping in mind that the Palestinian Authority is not independent and only ‘nominally represents a minority of Palestinians.’ The IMEU also emphasizes using correct names and terminology and language to avoid such as calling the ‘West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza, ‘occupied Palestinian territories,’ rather than ‘disputed lands,’ ‘land Palestinians claim,’ or ‘contested neighborhoods.’ Similarly, instead of calling settlements ‘communities,’ or ‘neighborhoods,’ they should be named as illegal colonies. Further, the IMEU calls on specific descriptions of events rather than using words like ‘clashes,’ and not using passive language to describe Israeli violence against Palestinians with terms such as ‘died,’ and ‘lost their lives,’ when killed by Israelis, and thus obfuscating agency. It is also suggested that Palestinians who are also Israeli citizens be called as such, rather than ‘Israeli-Arabs’ which denies identity.

³²¹ Kingsley, P. (2022, March 23). U.N. Investigator Accuses Israel of Apartheid, Citing Permanence of Occupation. The New York Times.

³²² IMEU, 2021.

The literature review and conceptual framework outlined in Chapter three of this thesis frame the overall context within which Western legacy media including the *NYT* still operates in. Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, in *Manufacturing Consent*, argue that a “propaganda model” explains how corporate commercial interests and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public. For his part, Edward Said in *Orientalism* and *Covering Islam*, argues that the western media uses dominant orientalist framings to structure power and knowledge relations over the “orient” in ways that to control how non-Westerners should be understood and represented culturally and politically. Power and knowledge, for such critical scholars, are never fixed, just as meanings and representations are constantly in flux given different conduits of information, geopolitical significance, commodification and different audiences globally. While concepts such as the propaganda model and orientalism are still clearly pertinent in understanding legacy media, it is also important to consider ways in which newer technologies and social media influence and shape how information is disseminated and controlled.

These new media and technologies present a discursive resistance distinctive to the coverage represented in legacy media and notably not represented in the *NYT* in the case studies considered, which exist in different temporal boundaries and relations with power and knowledge amplifying a gallant western role in one case and minimize what may be perceived as an undesirable role in the other. Legacy media’s tendencies to omit historical context and limit who and how subjects are represented is being remedied by alternative sources of information which demand the consideration of the social sciences if we are to understand the future relationship between information, new

technologies and the ability of everyday people to now be citizen journalists and spread information globally, in closer interlinked networks that exist on a more individual grassroots level of analysis than traditional media's top down international and state level propagations.

Considering the relevance of new information and communications technology, which is implicated in power, knowledge and discursive resistance, it is important to point out that these technologies also face potential repression as they challenge predominant narratives of traditional and state media. At the core of this thesis were notions of press freedoms and the crackdown on alternative sources of information to western truth regimes and discursive practices as laid out by Michel Foucault, where power shapes narratives and the epistemology around increasingly important global issues. Resistance is naturally implicated anywhere power exists, and with the power that average citizens now hold in spreading alternative sources of information, there is state crackdown and resistance to the power which has been granted to citizens globally. Thus, despite the contributions of this study, there is today a more multifaceted and intricate structure of relations beyond that of traditional media and state sponsored narratives which demand a great deal of attention if we are to reclaim humanistic progress.

And lastly, most important, humanism is the only, and, I would go so far as saying, the final, resistance we have against the inhuman practices and injustices that disfigure human history. We are today abetted by the enormously encouraging field of cyberspace, open to all users in ways undreamt of by earlier generations either of tyrants or of orthodoxies. The world-wide protests... would not have been possible were it not for the existence of alternative communities across the globe, informed by alternative news sources and keenly aware of the environmental, human rights, and libertarian impulses that bind us together...³²³

³²³ Said, *Orientalism*, xxii.

Therefore, although past theorists remain relevant, as the environment changes, new modalities of research paradigms must arise to meet the moment building on past theories, as the nexus between public policy, international affairs, communications technology, representation, power and knowledge become more engrained and nuanced.

There is a part of this work that has to be done through lived experience; meaning, you synchronize and interpret these situations yourself prior to being able to convey them or study them. You see the disproportionate coverage as you integrate the realities between social media, accounts on the ground, live reporting from different channels, and legacy and print media. In real time, you're able to see the focus, and witness the events of the hour and day, and the coverage and topics brought to the forefront down to the minute- some of this is lost when taking on a study which looks back in nature, as you can't scientifically address all the discrepancies, eye witness accounts, sounds, images and sources, but there is a general overwhelming feeling since it's your lived experience, one in which you're taking in, in real time, using your best judgement, and using the knowledge you have of the way the world works, the historical record of how these narratives have been shaped, your personal beliefs and experiences, and the actors at play. One would think a state official should be given more respect into the weight of their statements, but this isn't always the case, sometimes we should believe those individuals directly on the ground, living the brunt of the decisions men in suits in faraway lands cast on innocent human beings who have no agenda outside of the survival and wellbeing of their families and lineage.

As Noura Erakat reminds us in *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine*, the law is largely a tool of power and arguably the same is 'true' for MSM

representation and partiality.³²⁴ Vidya Krishnan documents treatment of Palestine in western media and journalism in the West is largely through the lens of coloniality.³²⁵ This is the case with law, MSM journalism, international institutions, and many other avenues where power manifests. I began this thesis with an anecdote about Shireen Abu Akleh, who was known as ‘the voice of Palestine’ prior to being killed, and I’ll conclude with another credible and influential Palestinian voice, in a small step towards what I believe would begin to remedy the discursive violence western MSM injustices Palestinians with. As Mohamad El Kurd reminds us, himself a resident of Sheikh Jarrah in Occupied Jerusalem, the focal point that started the May 2021 provocations by Israeli occupation forces, that the *NYT* reported only in hindsight:

The past few years have been quite interesting for Palestinians. We have been at the table, sometimes even somewhat steering the conversation. This marks an opportunity to change the rhetoric, to change the discourse, and to create a radical shift in the public sentiment about Palestine and Palestinians. It is up to us as cultural workers, as knowledge producers, as academics, as journalists, as activists, as social media commentators, to be brave. This is a time not to hide behind our fingers or behind qualifiers.³²⁶

5.2. Beyond The Study: October 7th and the Genocide of Palestinians

On October 7th, Palestinian resistance forces broke the blockade on Gaza, and attacked Israeli settlements built upon their ancestral lands. What transpired on that day is to this point in question, as conflicting reports have come to the forefront. Western media immediately picked up Israeli narratives and began disseminating them throughout the world, without any independent investigations to claims that have since

³²⁴ Erakat, N. (2019). *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine*. Stanford University Press.

³²⁵ Krishnan, V. (2024, February 2). Western coverage of Gaza: A textbook case of coloniser’s journalism. *Al Jazeera*.

³²⁶ El Kurd, M. (2023, November 27). *The Right to Speak for Ourselves*. *The Nation*.

been proven fabricated. The International Court of Justice heard two cases since October 7th, one that has found Israel is ‘plausibly’ committing genocide in Gaza in its response against Palestinian resistance on October 7th, and another on the legality of Israel’s occupation of Palestine since 1967. As of March 2024, Israel and Ukraine found themselves on the same funding bills in the US Senate, and as of April the bill passed, allocating a \$95 billion spending package for Ukraine, Israel, and Taiwan.

While new comprehensive sanctions packages are imposed on Russia, funding for Israel and Ukraine has been fast tracked through traditional checks and balances. The *NYT* Editorial Board (unlike that of the *LA Times*³²⁷) in line with US policy is yet to call for a ceasefire, as the US has used its veto in the UNSC five times to give Israel diplomatic cover and once to strike down the recognition of a Palestinian state.³²⁸ The bill also included legislation to pass a bill to either ban TikTok (social media app), or force its sale if its parent company does not sell it.³²⁹ In the week prior, the US house of representatives passed legislation condemning ‘from the river to the sea’ as antisemitic with overwhelming majority (377 for, 44 against and one abstention).³³⁰ These events indicate an abuse of power in clamping down on information that can lead to an understanding beyond established discursive truth regimes that inform knowledge; as the definition of antisemitism has been changed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance to incorporate criticism of Israel, and by the ADL’s definition,

³²⁷ LA Times Editorial Board. (2023, November 16). Editorial: Cease-fire now. The killing in Gaza must stop. Los Angeles Times.

³²⁸ DeYoung, K. (2024, April 18). U.S. blocks resolution for Palestinian statehood at the United Nations. Washington Post.

³²⁹ Paul, K. (2024, April 24). Senate passes bill banning TikTok if parent company does not sell it. The Guardian.

³³⁰ Anderson, B. (2024, April 17). US House resolution condemns river to the sea as antisemitic. The New Arab.

antisemitic acts now constitute any ‘Pro-Palestinian’ protests. The discourse around ‘pro-Palestinian’ itself is being represented in a manner to demonize it discursively, rather than the brutality of Israel’s actions.

In both Russia and Israel, press freedoms have largely been cracked down on, and latest reports even show Ukrainian meddling and over a year of spying on Ukrainian reporters as the battle to sustain state sponsored narratives persists.³³¹ I began this study with the inquiry of the killing of journalist Shireen Abu Akleh and the crackdown on sources of information, and though I’ve tried to show some of the intrinsic power dynamics that affect those mediums, one cannot downplay their importance. In April of 2024 the Israeli Knesset passed a law that would effectively prohibit Al Jazeera through Israeli law; since the killing of journalists and bombardment of media headquarters didn’t go far enough to silence discursive resistance.³³² In Ukraine, there have been reports of the *NYT* embedding its reporters within neo-Nazi right wing groups,³³³ while Palestinian journalists such as Mariam Barghouti are sidelined, as ‘international journalists trope Palestinians and delegitimize them’ while simultaneously framing coverage that denies crimes against them,’ in what she calls journalistic malpractice.³³⁴ This of course extends to all Palestinians, as its Ministry of Health has also been branded ‘ Hamas controlled’ when counting its own dead, using the numbers of the population registry which Israel controls and has since destroyed.

³³¹ Popeski, R., Starkov, N., & Osterman, C. (2024, February 5). Journalists say Ukrainian security service spied on them. Reuters.

³³² Al Jazeera. (2024, April 1). Israel passes a law to shut down Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera.

³³³ Horowitz, E. (2022, November 30). ACTION ALERT: NYT Has Found New Neo-Nazi Troops to Lionize in Ukraine. FAIR.org.

³³⁴ Barghouti, M. (2023, October 24). What’s Unsaid | The media’s silencing of Palestinians. The New Humanitarian.

As mentioned during this study, the attempt to look at the *NYT* as a microcosm of the larger media environment was made mainly because of the reputation that supersedes the paper, but the *NYT* is by no means distinct in its lack of partiality and slant when it comes to western journalism. The Canadian news outlet *The Breach* analyzing Canadian papers (*The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star*, and *National Post*) from October 7th to October 24th, found the papers gave disproportionate attention to Israeli deaths, humanizing them and allocated responsibility for their deaths. “The study found that dozens of Palestinian deaths were required to merit one mention, while there was one mention of Israeli deaths for every two Israelis who died.”³³⁵ *The Breach* details anti-Palestinian bias in Canada’s establishment media, which misleads its readers when violence against Palestinians occurs and stirs emotions about Israeli deaths with emotive terminology, deeming ‘worthy and unworthy victims,’ despite an overwhelmingly larger number of deaths suffered by Palestinians. The report points to a “systematic bias in political framing, assigning responsibility, and sentence construction leading to journalistic trickle-down effect of the media mobilizing support for government and corporate interests in Canada.”³³⁶ Another study by Adam Johnson found that between CNN, MSNBC and Fox News, Israeli spokesman Peter Lerner “was interviewed 44 times in 30 days and given free rein to mislead and distort with little to no pushback,” being broadcasted in 19 out of the 30 days from October 7th to November 7th.³³⁷

³³⁵ Lukacs, M., Innes, K. L., & Cuthbert, B. (2023, December 22). Palestinian deaths count for less in Canada's newspapers. Data proves it ★ *The Breach*. *The Breach*.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ Johnson, A. (2023, November 15). “Massacred” vs “Left to Die”: Documenting Media Bias Against Palestinians Oct 7 - Nov 7. *The Column* | Adam Johnson.

The Breach report followed the coding of a study by Holly Jackson and Mona Chalabi which found that Israeli deaths received more coverage than Palestinian deaths, and even increased as more Palestinians were killed, in the *NYT*. Repeating the same study on the *BBC*, Chalabi found the same result of disproportionate coverage towards Israeli deaths, even as Israeli officials reduced death tolls. Mona Chalabi is a thought-provoking individual, as she had been employed by the *NYT* as a freelance journalist and won a 2023 Pulitzer prize for her interactive work ‘9 Ways to Imagine Jeff Bezos’ Wealth’³³⁸ in which she applied for the Pulitzer herself, against the knowledge of *The Times*. In accepting the Pulitzer, Chalabi got behind the podium against the established norms of not giving speeches and exclaimed, “A small factual inaccuracy, and as journalists we want to correct them; I don’t think it’s the Israel-Gaza war, I think it’s the Israel-Palestine war, and no one in this room is willing to mention the “P” word, and I think it’s really important,” criticizing Gaza coverage. Before going to the awards ceremony, Chalabi posted the aforementioned study (pictured below in Figure 21) calling out *Times*’ bias on her personal Instagram account.³³⁹

³³⁸ Chalabi, M. (2022, April 7). 9 Ways to Imagine Jeff Bezos’ Wealth. The New York Times.

³³⁹ Sommer, W. (2023, November 17). Mona Chalabi criticizes NY Times over Gaza coverage after Pulitzer win - The Washington Post. Washington Post.

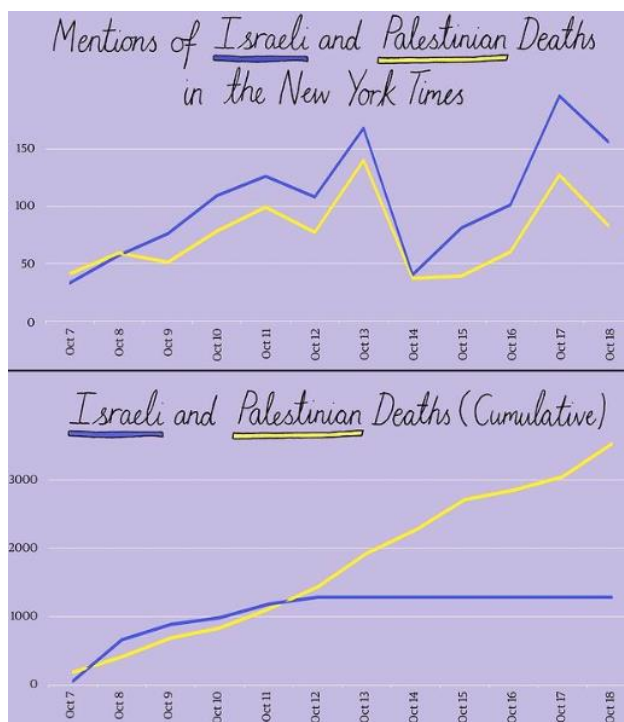


Figure 21: Mona Chalabi NYT Bias

In a *Longform* interview Chalabi expressed it was difficult to be an Arab journalist at this particular time due to being ‘shelved, sidelined, and censored.’³⁴⁰ Chalabi notes the difference in tone on Ukraine and Palestine, and the lack of diversity and coverage between ‘white reporters and white victims’ and a ‘different proximity with Arab victims.’ Similarly, to the open letter signed by journalists amidst 2021 assault on Palestinians mentioned in the introduction, a similar effort to criticize coverage in 2023 lead to the *LA Times* prohibiting staff from covering Palestine-Israel for at least three months if they signed the letter.³⁴¹ Correspondingly, two members of the *Times*’ staff resigned after drawing condemnation from editorial staff; one journalist after signing a letter accusing Israel of genocide which editor Jake Silverstein called a

³⁴⁰ Chalabi, M., & Linsky (Host), M. (2023, November 15). Longform Podcast #558: Mona Chalabi · Longform. Longform.

³⁴¹ Tani, M. (2023, November 17). LA Times blocks reporters who signed open letter criticizing Israel from covering Gaza. Semafor.

‘clear violation of *Times*’ rules,’ and the other resignation came from an editor who didn’t want to be associated with ‘warmongering lies.’

Chalabi noted the double standard of journalists’ independence and neutrality being questioned when writing in support of Palestinian human rights, but editorial pieces across western MSM supporting ‘Israel’s right to defend itself’ not drawing any inquisition. Further, Chalabi mentions the lack of diversity in western MSM, and at the *Times* specifically, noting Arab reporters at the *Times* are suspected of having inappropriate sympathies for Palestinians if they are critical of Israeli policies, stating more *Times*’ journalists have been on the Israeli funded birthright program, and do not face the same scrutiny or suspicions. Chalabi has not again been commissioned by the *Times* since publishing her critique of the paper but was asked to write an Op-ed as how she feels as an Arab woman journalist witnessing the events in Palestine; which Chalabi did not take, citing it as offensive, since it assumes all her views stem from her identity rather than her humanity, in what she detailed as an effort to push Arab journalists to the opinion pages, despite their work being based in fact.

The *NYT* has itself changed its framing from ‘Israel-Hamas war’ to ‘Middle East Crisis’ more recently and along with other western MSM networks been the spotlight in multiple public criticisms. An *Intercept* investigation in January uncovered that CNN runs all stories relating to Israel and Palestine through the Jerusalem bureau, and its reporters, which are embedded in the Israeli army, and must submit their work through Israeli intelligence prior to it being publicized.³⁴² This is standard practice of all foreign news organizations operating in Jerusalem, which are subject to Israeli panoptic censorship by the ‘Israeli Military Censor,’ a unit within the ‘Military Intelligence

³⁴² Boguslaw, D., & Hussain, M. (2024, January 4). CNN Runs Gaza Coverage Past Jerusalem Team Operating Under Shadow of IDF Censor. *The Intercept*.

Directorate.’ *The Intercept* also revealed a story on rape accusations in which a former Israeli military intelligence officer with no journalism experience and her nephew were hired as freelancers, working with Jeffery Gettleman, in which one of the main interviewed families claimed they were pressured under false pretenses to speak with the reporters. The story, ‘Screams Without Words:’ How Hamas Weaponized Sexual Violence on Oct. 7,’ did not pass the fact check for a podcast episode, but somehow still remains up and uncorrected to this day.³⁴³ The freelance journalist was later disciplined after it appeared she had liked social media posts calling for Gaza to be turned into a ‘slaughterhouse,’ prior to her hire. Its notable that at the end of 2022, *NYT* abruptly fired longtime photojournalist Hosam Salem for supporting Palestinian resistance.³⁴⁴ Another problematic and widely reported unsubstantiated claim came from the *Wall Street Journal*, titled ‘A UN Agency is Accused of Links to Hamas. The Clues Were There All Along’³⁴⁵ accusing UNRWA employees of participating in October 7th, leading to major western funders to stop backing the critical agency, at the same time Palestinians began dying of starvation; a story which has since been disproved. The story was sourced from another former member of the Israeli intelligence community who created social media for the army. The timing of these stories has been questionable, as they came on the heels of incriminating Israeli actions, such as the ICJ case finding plausible genocide by the latter mentioned *WSJ* piece.

³⁴³ Scahill, J., Grim, R., Boguslaw, D., & Hussain, M. (2024, February 28). The Story Behind the New York Times October 7 Exposé. *The Intercept*.

³⁴⁴ Weiss, P. (2022, October 5). Palestinian photog says 'NYT' fired him for expressing support for resistance. *Mondoweiss*.

³⁴⁵ Luhnow, D. (2024, February 2). A U.N. Agency Is Accused of Links to Hamas. The Clues Were There All Along. *The Wall Street Journal*.

There have been numerous reports and leaks that the *NYT* has itself internally handed down directives by top editors to restrict use of words and phrases such as ethnic cleansing, genocide and occupied territory when reporting on Israel's war on the Palestinian people. The memo also instructed reporters to only use 'Palestine' in very rare cases, and to avoid of using 'refugee camps' to describe the historically expelled and displaced population that comprises the Gaza strip.³⁴⁶ This is similar to the *AP* 'Israel-Hamas Topical Guide,' which lists similar directives of epistemic strategy, in striving for 'balance.'³⁴⁷ While balance and objectivity have been the stated aims for journalism, in culture, Israel has not faced the same backlash endowed on Russia for its brutality, with cultural bans and boycotts from FIFA, the Olympics and Eurovision, who suddenly claims the contest is 'nonpolitical.' Social media has also been a 'contested space,' as the Unit 8200 saturated META looks to reign in 'dissent' on its platform and 'political content' is moderated.

Israel and Ukraine have been used to rally western unity, despite not being conventional western states, which has been invigorated since the beginning of the Ukraine war. As Boris Johnson made clear in April 2024 lobbying for Western support of Ukraine, if Ukraine loses "it will be a turning point in history, the moment when the West finally loses its post-war hegemony, the moment when borders everywhere are suddenly up for grabs and aggression is seen to pay."³⁴⁸ There await extremely important elections in every corner of the world in the upcoming year, where right wing

³⁴⁶ Scahill, J., Grim, R., & Hussain, M. (2024, April 15). New York Times to Journalists: What You Can't Say on Gaza War. *The Intercept*.

³⁴⁷ AP. (2023). *Associated Press Stylebook*. Associated Press.

³⁴⁸ Johnson, B. (2024, April 12). Boris Johnson: Why are we waiting to give Ukraine weapons it needs? *Daily Mail*.

nationalist forces are projected to do well. As history repeats itself, and we see discourse weaponized in the American legislatures against phrases such as ‘from the river to the sea’ branded ‘antisemitic,’ another violence done onto and by discourse, instead of dealing with the barbaric actions of Israel that have been abetted through funding signed in those same legislatures. Comparably to 1968, college campuses in the West are today rising in solidarity with the Palestinian people, pushing discourse to formerly unimagined places, despite all the efforts to inhibit ‘free speech,’ one of many values *formerly* associated with the west. It has been an increasingly difficult period for journalists, which have seen the deadliest year in over a decade; and especially so for Palestinian journalists who have realized 75% of those deaths as they’re systematically targeted.³⁴⁹ Western journalist have seldom come to the defense of their colleagues as silence has been internalized as impartiality; a shroud now known as complicity.

Had the discourse ‘truly’ been impartial, perhaps the present moment would look different, and thousands of lives would have been saved, in both Palestine and Ukraine, as the European holocaust birthed a genocide of its own eight decades later, empowering Israel’s Zionist ethnonationalist expansionist intentions, while the West continues to arm Ukraine as a buffer on Russia’s western flank, while also militarizing Taiwan. As long as orientalist framing of the ‘other’ informs representation and constitutes society through a binary of power/knowledge in times of massive inequality, humanity faces a grave challenge going forward as it prioritizes GDP growth over civilization, sewing destruction over understanding, and lining the pockets of the ultrarich, on a changing planet exploited by the same forces.

³⁴⁹ McGhee, G. (2024, April 23). Israel-Gaza War. Committee to Protect Journalists.

REFERENCES

- Abunimah, A. (2010, January 25). *New York Times fails to disclose Jerusalem bureau chief's conflict of interest*. The Electronic Intifada.
<https://electronicintifada.net/content/new-york-times-fails-disclose-jerusalem-bureau-chiefs-conflict-interest/8644>
- Abunimah, A. (2010, March 2). *NY Times' Jerusalem property makes it protagonist in Palestine conflict*. The Electronic Intifada.
<https://electronicintifada.net/content/ny-times-jerusalem-property-makes-it-protagonist-palestine-conflict/8705>
- Achbar, M., & Wintonick, P. (Directors). (1992). *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* [Film].
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BQXsPU25B60>
- Ackerman, S. (2001). Al-Aqsa Intifada and the U.S. Media. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30(2), 61-74. JSTOR.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/jps.2001.30.2.61>
- ADL. (2012). *Israel - A Guide for Activists*. Anti-Defamation League.
<https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/advocacy-guide-facts-2012.pdf>
- Al Jazeera. (2024, April 1). *Israel passes a law to shut down Al Jazeera*. Al Jazeera.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/program/newsfeed/2024/4/1/knesset-passes-a-law-that-could-shutdown-al-jazeera-in-israel>
- Al Mezan Center for Human Rights. (2018, October 19). *Six Months On: Gaza's Great March of Return*. Amnesty International.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2018/10/gaza-great-march-of-return/>
- Alsaafin, L. (2021, May 1). *What is happening in occupied East Jerusalem's Sheikh Jarrah?* Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/amp/news/2021/5/1/what-is-happening-in-occupied-east-jerusalems-sheikh-jarrah>
- AMEJA. (2022, February). AMEJA Statement in response to Ukraine Coverage. AMEJA.
<https://www.ameja.org/resources/Documents/Ukraine%20Statement.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (2021, May 10). *End brutal Israeli repression of Palestinians in East Jerusalem*. Amnesty International.
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2021/05/israel-opt-end-brutal-repression-of-palestinians-protesting-forced-displacement-in-occupied-east-jerusalem/>

- Amnesty International. (2022, February 1). *Israel's apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/5141/2022/en/>
- Amnesty International Publications. (2009). *Operation 'Cast Lead': 22 Days of Death and Destruction*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/mde150152009en.pdf>
- Anderson, B. (2024, April 17). *US House resolution condemns river to the sea as antisemitic*. The New Arab. <https://www.newarab.com/news/us-house-resolution-condemns-river-sea-antisemitic>
- AP. (2023). *Associated Press Stylebook*. Associated Press. https://www.apstylebook.com/topical_most_recent
- Aruri, A. (2019, March 11). *East Jerusalem cleansing continues: Israel removes more Palestinian families, hands over their homes to settlers*. B'Tselem. https://www.btselem.org/jerusalem/20190311_east_jerusalem_cleansing_continues
- Assange, J. (2012, December 20). *Statement by Julian Assange after Six Months in Ecuadorian Embassy*. WikiLeaks. <https://wikileaks.org/Statement-by-Julian-Assange-after.html>
- Associated Press. (2022, February 27). *Ukrainians Prepare Molotov Cocktails in Kyiv*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/europe/100000008230394/ukraine-molotov-cocktails.html?searchResultPosition=20>
- Bachman, J. S., & Ruiz, E. B. (2023). The geopolitics of human suffering: a comparative study of media coverage of the conflicts in Yemen and Ukraine. *Third World Quarterly*, 45(1), 24-42. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2023.2228715>
- Balfour Declaration - UK/Non-UN document - Question of Palestine*. (2019, March 12). the United Nations. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-193242/>
- Barbalet, J.M. (1985). Power and Resistance. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 36(4), 531-548. Wiley.
- Barghouti, M. (2023, October 24). *What's Unsaid | The media's silencing of Palestinians*. The New Humanitarian. <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/podcast/whats-unsaid/2023/10/24/whats-unsaid-medias-silencing-palestinians>
- Barkawi, T., & Laffey, M. (2006). The postcolonial moment in security studies. *Review of International Studies*, 32, 329-352. doi:10.1017/S0260210506007054

- Bayoumi, M. (2022, March 2). *They are 'civilised', 'European' and 'look like us': the racist coverage of Ukraine* | Moustafa Bayoumi. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/mar/02/civilised-european-look-like-us-racist-coverage-ukraine>
- Bergman, R. (2021, May 24). *A Look Inside Israel's 'Fortress of Zion' Military Command Beneath Tel Aviv*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/22/world/middleeast/israel-fortress-of-zion.html?searchResultPosition=9>
- Biography: Thomas L. Friedman*. (2000). The New York Times Web Archive. https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/opinion/friedman/bio_friedman.html
- Bogomolov, A. (2007, October 9). *Islam, Orthodoxy, and the State in Crimea*. The Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/islam-orthodoxy-and-the-state-crimea>
- Boguslaw, D., & Grim, R. (2024, January 28). *New York Times Puts "Daily" Episode on Ice Amid Internal Firestorm Over Hamas Sexual Violence Article*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2024/01/28/new-york-times-daily-podcast-camera/>
- Boguslaw, D., & Hussain, M. (2024, January 4). *CNN Runs Gaza Coverage Past Jerusalem Team Operating Under Shadow of IDF Censor*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2024/01/04/cnn-israel-gaza-idf-reporting/>
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (2004). Judith Miller, The New York Times, and the propaganda model. *Journalism Studies*, 5(4), 435-449. Routledge. DOI: 10.1080/14616700412331296383
- Brush, S., & Wittenberg, A. (2022, January 14). *BlackRock hits a record \$10 trillion assets under management*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2022/1/14/blackrock-hits-a-record-10-trillion-assets-under-management>
- B'Tselem. (2016, July 20). *50 Days: More than 500 Children: Facts and figures on fatalities in Gaza, Summer 2014*. B'Tselem. https://www.btselem.org/press_releases/20160720_fatalities_in_gaza_conflict_2014
- B'Tselem. (2021, May 15). *Killing blockaded civilians and destroying infrastructure on a massive scale: Israel is committing war crimes in the Gaza Strip*. B'Tselem. https://www.btselem.org/press_releases/20210515_israel_commits_war_crimes_in_gaza
- Caballero, J. X. (2010, December 21). *The Impact of Media Bias on Coverage of Catastrophic Events: Case Study from The New York Times' Coverage of the*

Palestine/Israel Conflict. Semantic Scholar.
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-Impact-of-Media-Bias-on-Coverage-of-Events%3ACase-Caballero/0983f432074debb575cbf78b5638404673b2feb4>

CAMERA. (2023). *The New York Times*. CAMERA.org.
<https://www.camera.org/nytimes-billboard/>

Chalabi, M. (2022, April 7). *9 Ways to Imagine Jeff Bezos' Wealth*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/07/magazine/jeff-bezos-net-worth.html>

Chalabi, M., & Linsky (Host), M. (2023, November 15). *Longform Podcast #558: Mona Chalabi · Longform*. Longform. <https://longform.org/posts/longform-podcast-558-mona-chalabi>

Chomsky, N. (1999). *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*. Pluto Press.

Chomsky, N. (2002). *Syntactic structures*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Chotiner, I. (2022, March 1). *Why John Mearsheimer Blames the U.S. for the Crisis in Ukraine*. The New Yorker. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/why-john-mearsheimer-blames-the-us-for-the-crisis-in-ukraine>

Cohen, R. (2022, February 21). *The Limits of a Europe Whole and Free*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/world/europe/russia-putin-ukraine-europe-cold-war-nato.html>

Cohen, R. (2022, March 26). *The Making of Vladimir Putin*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/26/world/europe/vladimir-putin-russia.html>

Cohn, M. (2021, May 14). *Under International Law, Israel Isn't Entitled to "Self-Defense" Against People Living Under Its Occupation*. Truthout. <https://truthout.org/articles/as-an-occupier-israel-isnt-entitled-to-self-defense-under-international-law/>

Collier, N., Rhyne, E., & Tiefenthäler, A. (2018, October 26). *Video: A Day on the Road With the Migrant Caravan*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/americas/100000006175881/a-day-on-the-road-with-the-migrant-caravan.html?ref=collection%2Fspotlightcollection%2Fdispatches-international>

Committee to Protect Journalists. (2021, May 15). *Israel bombs building in Gaza City housing AP, Al-Jazeera offices*. <https://cpj.org/2021/05/israel-bombs-building-in-gaza-city-housing-ap-al-jazeera-offices/>

- Connors, P. (2014, August 2). *Inhuman shield: How 'The New York Times' protects US elites from Gaza's brutal reality*. Mondoweiss.
<https://mondoweiss.net/2014/08/inhuman-protects-reality/>
- Cruz, M. (2023, December 28). *Historical Timeline - Question of Palestine*. the United Nations. <https://www.un.org/unispal/historical-timeline/>
- Cumming, N. (2022, March 13). *Red Cross Warns Time Is Running Out For Civilians in Mariupol*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/13/world/europe/mariupol-red-cross.html?searchResultPosition=12>
- Cuofano, G. (2024, February 23). *Who Owns The New York Times?* FourWeekMBA.
<https://fourweekmba.com/who-owns-the-new-york-times/>
- Damanhoury, K., & Saleh, F. (2017, April). Is it the same fight? Comparative analysis of CNN and Al Jazeera America's online coverage of the 2014 Gaza War. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 10(1), 85-103.
<https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/intellect/jammr/2017/00000010/00000001/art00005>
- DeYoung, K. (2024, April 18). *U.S. blocks resolution for Palestinian statehood at the United Nations*. Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/04/18/us-veto-un-palestine-state/>
- Diamond, S. (2023, May 21). *A History of 'Record' in the Newspaper of Record*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/21/insider/a-history-of-record-in-the-newspaper-of-record.html>
- Dimitrova, D., & Stromback, J. (2005). Mission Accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the Elite Newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *International Communication Gazette*, 67(5), 399-417.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0016549205056050>
- Dinsmore, H. H. (1969). *All the News that Fits: A Critical Analysis of the News and Editorial Content of the New York Times*. Arlington House.
- Dunlap, D. W. (2017, April 27). *1913-2017 | The Record of the Newspaper of Record*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/27/insider/1913-2017-the-record-of-the-newspaper-of-record.html>
- Dunlap, D. W. (2023). *David W. Dunlap*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/by/david-w-dunlap>
- El Kurd, M. (2023, November 27). *The Right to Speak for Ourselves*. The Nation.
<https://www.thenation.com/article/world/palestinians-claim-the-right-to-narrate/>

- Entman, R. (2007). Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 163-173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00336.x>
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Symposium Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication*, 41, 6-27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1991.tb02328.x>
- Erakat, N. (2019). *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine*. Stanford University Press.
- Erlanger, S. (2022, February 21). *Putin Orders Forces to Russia-Backed Ukraine Regions and Hints at Wider Military Aims*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/world/europe/putin-ukraine-russia.html>
- Ethical Journalism: A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Opinion Departments*. (2024). The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/editorial-standards/ethical-journalism.html#>
- EU Neighbors. (2022, July 22). *2021 Report on Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem - EU Neighbours*. EU Neighbours South. <https://south.euneighbours.eu/publication/2021-report-israeli-settlements-occupied-west-bank-including-east/>
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Longman.
- Fintel. (2024). *NYT - The New York Times Company Stock - Stock Price, Institutional Ownership, Shareholders (NYSE)*. Fintel. <https://fintel.io/so/us/nyt>
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (C. Gordon, Ed.; C. Gordon, Trans.). Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1981). *Untying the Text: A Post-structuralist Reader- The Order of Discourse* (R. Young, Ed.). Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Foucault, M. (1982). *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Friedman, M. (2014, August 25). Tablet Magazine. *Tablet Magazine*. <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/israel-middle-east/articles/israel-insider-guide>
- Friedman, T. (1982, August 5). Israelis Drive to Isolate P.L.O.; Fighting Cuts Off Habib Talks; U.S. Tells Begin Truce is Vital. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1982/08/05/world/israelis-drive-isolate-plo-fighting-cuts-off-habib-talks-us-tells-begin-truce.html>

- Friel, H., & Falk, R. (2004). *The Record of the Paper: How the New York Times misreports US foreign policy*. Verso Books.
- Friel, H., & Falk, R. (2007). *Israel-Palestine on record*. Verso Books.
- Gavrielov, N. (2022, March 1). *Jewish Groups Condemn Strike Near Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/01/world/europe/kyiv-babyn-yar-holocaust-memorial.html?searchResultPosition=3>
- Ghareeb, E. (1975). The American Media and the Palestine Problem. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 5, 127-149. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2535687>
- Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Northeastern University Press.
- Gross, J. A. (2021, May 10). *IDF sends reinforcements to Gaza border as Hamas issues ultimatum on Jerusalem*. The Times of Israel.
<https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-sends-reinforcements-to-gaza-border-as-hamas-issues-ultimatum-on-jerusalem/>
- Haddad, M., & Chughati, A. (n.d.). *A brief history of Israel-Palestine conflict in 10 maps*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/27/palestine-and-israel-brief-history-maps-and-charts>
- Halbfinger, D. M. (2021, May 18). *A Press Corps Deceived, and the Gaza Invasion That Wasn't*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-disinformation.html>
- Hall, S. (1992). *The Formations of Modernity: Understanding Modern Societies- The West and the Rest* (S. Hall & B. Gieben, Eds.). Polity Press.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation and the Media*. Media Education Foundation.
<https://www.mediaed.org/transcripts/Stuart-Hall-Representation-and-the-Media-Transcript.pdf>
- Hall, S., Evans, J., & Nixon, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE Publications.
- Hannan, D. (2022, February 26). Vladimir Putin's monstrous invasion is an attack on civilisation itself. *The Telegraph*.
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/02/26/vladimir-putins-monstrous-invasion-attack-civilisation/>

- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Bodley Head.
- Hess, J. L. (2003). *My Times: A Memoir of Dissent*. Seven Stories Press.
- Hijazi, N. (2021, June 20). *May 2021 Events: Adalah defends rights of Palestinian protesters in East Jerusalem and across Israel*. Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/10313>
- Hopkins, V. (2022, February 28). *Russian Rocket Barrage Kills Civilians as First Talks Show No Progress*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/world/europe/russia-ukraine-war-kharkiv.html?searchResultPosition=1>
- Horowitz, E. (2022, November 30). *ACTION ALERT: NYT Has Found New Neo-Nazi Troops to Lionize in Ukraine*. FAIR.org. <https://fair.org/home/action-alert-nyt-has-found-new-neo-nazi-troops-to-lionize-in-ukraine/>
- Houston, A., & Mandaville, P. (2022, March 17). *The Role of Religion in Russia's War on Ukraine*. United States Institute of Peace. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/03/role-religion-russias-war-ukraine>
- Hoyt, C. (2010, February 6). *Opinion | Too Close to Home*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/07/opinion/07pubed.html>
- Hubbard, B. (2022, May 12). *Shireen Abu Akleh, Palestinian Journalist, Dies, Aged 51*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/11/world/middleeast/shireen-abu-akleh-al-jazeera-dead.html>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021, April 27). *A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution | HRW*. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-persecution>
- If Americans Knew. (2006). *Off the Charts - NY Times Coverage of Israeli & Palestinian Deaths*. If Americans Knew. <https://ifamericansknew.org/media/nyt-report.html#end>
- IMEU. (2021, December 7). *Guidance for Reporting on Palestine/Israel*. IMEU. <https://imeu.org/article/guidance-for-reporting-on-palestine-israel>
- Ismail, A. (2021, August 18). *Palestine plan of partition with economic union - General Assembly resolution 181 - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-185393/>
- Jackson, H. (2023). *The New York Times distorts the Palestinian struggle: A case study of anti-Palestinian bias in US news coverage of the First and Second Palestinian*

Intifadas. *Media, War & Conflict*, 17(1), 116-135. Sage Journals.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/17506352231178148>

- Jakes, L. (2021, May 18). *Biden Calls on Israel and Palestinian Leaders to Protect Civilians*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/15/world/middleeast/biden-netanyahu-abbas-palestine-gaza-israel.html?searchResultPosition=3>
- Jervis, R. (1976). *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, A. (2023, November 15). “Massacred” vs “Left to Die”: Documenting Media Bias Against Palestinians Oct 7 - Nov 7. The Column | Adam Johnson.
<https://www.columnblog.com/p/massacred-vs-left-to-die-documenting>
- Johnson, B. (2024, April 12). *Boris Johnson: Why are we waiting to give Ukraine weapons it needs?* Daily Mail. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-13301849/BORIS-JOHNSON-waiting-Ukraine-weapons-needs.html>
- Joseph Kahn. (2023). *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/by/joseph-kahn>
- Kane, A. (2012, May 1). *New Conflict of Interest at NYT Jerusalem Bureau*. FAIR.org.
<https://fair.org/home/new-conflict-of-interest-at-nyt-jerusalem-bureau/>
- Kelly, M. L., & Lonsdorf, K. (2022, February 21). *Why Ukraine gave up its nuclear weapons — and what that means in an invasion by Russia*. NPR.
<https://www.npr.org/2022/02/21/1082124528/ukraine-russia-putin-invasion>
- Kershner, I. (2014, November 16). *Palestinian Shot by Israeli Troops at Gaza Border*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/17/world/middleeast/palestinian-shot-by-israeli-troops-at-gaza-border.html>
- Kershner, I. (2021, May 13). *In Mixed Israel Cities Proud of Good Relations, a Sudden, Explosive Division*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/13/world/asia/israel-lod-arab-jewish.html?searchResultPosition=2>
- Kershner, I. (2021, May 16). *Tel Aviv, Israel's Bustling Financial Hub, Is Shaken as Rockets Rain Down*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/world/middleeast/israel-tel-aviv.html?searchResultPosition=4>
- Kershner, I. (2021, September 23). *Gaza Rocket Finds a Rare Gap in Israeli Armor, and a Boy Is Killed*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/world/middleeast/ido-avigal-israel-palestine-gaza.html?searchResultPosition=8>

- Kershner, I., & Kingsley, P. (2021, May 10). *After Raid on Aqsa Mosque, Rockets From Gaza and Israeli Airstrikes*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/10/world/middleeast/jerusalem-protests-aqsa-palestinians.html?searchResultPosition=28>
- Kershner, I., & Kingsley, P. (2021, May 11). *More Than 30 Dead in Gaza and Israel as Fighting Quickly Escalates*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-airstrikes.html?searchResultPosition=14>
- Khalek, R., & Elagha, R. (2016, May 7). *Media promote Israeli distortions as civilians dodge airstrikes in Gaza*. The Electronic Intifada.
<https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/rania-khalek/media-promote-israeli-distortions-civilians-dodge-airstrikes-gaza>
- Khan, T. H., & MacEachen, E. (2021). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis: Moving Beyond a Social Constructionist Analytic. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 20, 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211018009>
- Kingsley, P. (2021, May 7). *Evictions in Jerusalem Become Focus of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/middleeast/evictions-jerusalem-israeli-palestinian-conflict-protest.html?searchResultPosition=21>
- Kingsley, P. (2021, May 9). *Israeli Court Delays Expulsion of Palestinian Families in East Jerusalem*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/09/world/middleeast/israeli-court-palestinian-families-east-jerusalem.html?searchResultPosition=6>
- Kingsley, P. (2021, May 12). *Conflict Between Israel and Palestinians Continues to Escalate*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/12/world/middleeast/israeli-palestinian-conflict-gaza-hamas.html?searchResultPosition=2>
- Kingsley, P. (2021, May 15). *Why Did the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Explode Now?* The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/15/world/middleeast/israel-palestinian-gaza-war.html>
- Kingsley, P. (2022, March 7). *Once Victims in Southeast Europe, Jews Come to Aid Fleeing Ukrainians*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/07/world/europe/ukraine-israel-moldova-jews.html?searchResultPosition=4>
- Kingsley, P. (2022, March 23). *U.N. Investigator Accuses Israel of Apartheid, Citing Permanence of Occupation*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/23/world/middleeast/israel-apatheid-un.html>

- Koch, A. T. (2018, November 7). *Five Places to Go in Jerusalem*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/07/travel/five-places-to-go-in-jerusalem.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fmiddleeast>
- Kramer, A. (2021, February 22). *Ukraine Enclaves Long Steeped in Conflict Face New Peril*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/world/europe/ukraine-breakaway-regions-conflict-russia.html>
- Kramer, A. E., & Addario, L. (2022, March 6). *Ukrainian Family's Dash for Safety Ends in Death*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/06/world/europe/ukrainian-family-killed-war.html>
- Krishnan, V. (2024, February 2). *Western coverage of Gaza: A textbook case of coloniser's journalism*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/2/2/western-coverage-of-gaza-a-textbook-case-of-colonisers-journalism>
- Kristof, N. (2021, May 12). *Opinion | What Your Taxes Are Paying For in Israel*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/12/opinion/israel-palestinians-gaza.html?searchResultPosition=10>
- Kumar, D. (2010). Framing Islam: The Resurgence of Orientalism During the Bush II Era. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 34(3), 254-277. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859910363174>
- LA Times Editorial Board. (2023, November 16). *Editorial: Cease-fire now. The killing in Gaza must stop*. Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2023-11-16/editorial-ceasefire-now-the-killing-in-gaza-must-stop>
- Lemert, C. C., & Gillan, G. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Social Theory as Transgression* (G. Gillan, Ed.). Columbia University Press.
- Lichtenstein, D., Esau, K., Pavlova, L., Osipov, D., & Argylov, N. (2019). Framing the Ukraine crisis: A comparison between talk show debates in Russian and German television. *International Communication Gazette*, 81(1), 66-88. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518755209>
- Liu, Z. (2019). The Ukraine crisis and media systems: Comparison of UK and Russian media coverage. *University of Liverpool*, 1-377. ProQuest. DOI:10.17638/03071360
- Luhnow, D. (2024, February 2). *A U.N. Agency Is Accused of Links to Hamas. The Clues Were There All Along*. The Wall Street Journal. <https://www.wsj.com/world/middle-east/hamas-israel-attack-united-nations-unrwa-0ec8d325>

- Lukacs, M., Innes, K. L., & Cuthbert, B. (2023, December 22). *Palestinian deaths count for less in Canada's newspapers. Data proves it* ★ *The Breach*. The Breach. <https://breachmedia.ca/palestinian-deaths-canadian-newspapers-data/>
- Lukat, A. (2022, March 13). *Brent Renaud, an American filmmaker killed in Ukraine, captured the human toll of war*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/13/world/europe/brent-renaud-career-work.html?searchResultPosition=10>
- Luyendijk, J. (2009). *People Like Us: Misrepresenting the Middle East*. Catapult.
- Macleod, A. (2022, March 2). *Its Different, They're White: Media Ignore Conflicts Around The World To Focus On Ukraine*. MintPress News. <https://www.mintpressnews.com/ukraine-russia-war-media-bias-study/279847/>
- Mäenpää, O. (2022). A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Reporting of the Ukrainian Refugees Fleeing the Russian Invasion: The Notions of Eurocentrism and Othering in Mainstream Media. *Malmö University*, 1-34.
- Majid, A. (2024, March 26). *Most popular websites for news in the world: Monthly top 50 listing*. Press Gazette. https://pressgazette.co.uk/media-audience-and-business-data/media_metrics/most-popular-websites-news-world-monthly-2/
- McCloskey, S. (2022, Spring). The War in Ukraine Has Revealed a Hierarchy of Victims. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, (34), 138-149. <https://www.developmenteducationreview.com/issue/issue-34/war-ukraine-has-revealed-hierarchy-victims>
- McGhee, G. (2024, April 23). *Israel-Gaza War*. Committee to Protect Journalists. <https://cpj.org/full-coverage-israel-gaza-war/>
- Medina, J. (2021, May 18). *Tensions Among Democrats Grow Over Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/15/us/politics/democrats-israel-palestinians.html>
- Miaari, S. H., Leowenthal, A., & Abrahams, a. (2021, October). *How Civilian Attitudes Respond to the State's Violence: Lessons from the Israel- Gaza Conflict*. IZA - Institute of Labor Economics. <https://docs.iza.org/dp14776.pdf>
- Mitchell, J. J., & Conant, E. (2023). *Russia and Ukraine: the tangled history that connects—and divides—them*. National Geographic. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/russia-and-ukraine-the-tangled-history-that-connects-and-divides-them>
- Mullin, B. (2023, June 21). *Daniel Ellsberg, Pentagon Papers Source, Had Uneasy Relationship With The Times*. The New York Times.

- <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/21/business/media/daniel-ellsberg-pentagon-papers-nyt.html>
- Nassar, M. (2020, October 2). *US media talks a lot about Palestinians — just without Palestinians*. +972 Magazine. <https://www.972mag.com/us-media-palestinians/>
- Newsroom. (2023). *Newsroom*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytimes.com/careers/newsroom/>
- North, J. (2019). How The New York Times Rigs News on Israel-Palestine. *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, 38, 31-37. <https://www.proquest.com/magazines/how-new-york-times-rigs-news-on-israel-palestine/docview/2246150476/se-2>
- North, J. (2022, March 24). 'NY Times' gives in to widespread criticism and mentions Amnesty report on Israeli 'apartheid' 52 days late. Mondoweiss. <https://mondoweiss.net/2022/03/ny-times-gives-in-to-widespread-criticism-and-mentions-amnesty-report-on-israeli-apartheid-52-days-late/>
- NYT. (1851). *A Word About Ourselves*. Times Machine. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1851/09/18/109920974.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&ip=0
- NYT. (2022, February 22). *Russia-Ukraine War Briefing Newsletter*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/series/russia-ukraine-war-newsletter>
- NYT. (2022, July 20). *What does The New York Times own?* The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-does-the-new-york-times-own.html>
- NYT. (2022, July 22). *Andrew Kramer Named Ukraine Bureau Chief*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytimes.com/press/andrew-kramer-named-ukraine-bureau-chief/>
- NYT. (2023). *Board of Directors*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytimes.com/board-of-directors/>
- NYT. (2023). *Portrait of David M. Halbfinger*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/by/david-m-halbfinger>
- NYT. (2023, February 24). *One Year of Reporting on the War in Ukraine*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytimes.com/press/one-year-of-reporting-on-the-war-in-ukraine/>
- NYT. (2023, December 6). *Our Code of Conduct*. The New York Times. https://nytimes.com/assets/2023/12/20231206_NYT_Code-of-Conduct-External-English.pdf

- NYTCO. (2023, May 8). *The Times Wins Two Pulitzer Prizes*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytcocom/press/2023pulfizers/>
- NYTCO History. (2023). *1835 — 2023*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytcocom/company/history/our-history/>
- NYT Editorial Board. (2021, May 21). *A Cease-Fire, and New Ideas in Israel and the Palestinian Territories*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/21/opinion/ceasefire-israel-palestinian-territories.html?searchResultPosition=17>
- NYT Index. (1937, 1 December). *Times Machine*. The New York Times. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1937/12/01/issue.html>
- OCHA. (2021, May 27). *Response to the escalation in the oPt | Situation Report No. 1 (21-27 May 2021) | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - occupied Palestinian territory*. OCHA oPt. <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/response-escalation-opt-situation-report-no-1-21-27-may-2021>
- Okrent, D. (2004, April 25). *THE PUBLIC EDITOR; Paper of Record? No Way, No Reason, No Thanks*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/25/weekinreview/the-public-editor-paper-of-record-no-way-no-reason-no-thanks.html>
- Okrent, D. (2005, April 24). *Opinion | The Hottest Button: How The Times Covers Israel and Palestine*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/24/weekinreview/the-hottest-button-how-the-times-covers-israel-and-palestine.html>
- An open letter on U.S. media coverage of Palestine*. (2021, June 9). <https://medialetterpalestine.medium.com/an-open-letter-on-u-s-media-coverage-of-palestine-d51cad42022d>
- Patrick, K. (2021, May 16). *Israel's Strike on Media Building in Gaza Provokes Outrage*. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-associated-press.html>
- Paul, K. (2024, April 24). *Senate passes bill banning TikTok if parent company does not sell it*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2024/apr/23/senate-passes-bill-banning-tiktok-will-parent-company-sell>
- Peltier, E. (2021, May 19). *Hamas Rocket Attack Kills 2 Thai Workers in Israel*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/world/middleeast/hamas-attack-thai-workers-israel.html?searchResultPosition=19>

- Pew Research Center. (2014). *Where News Audiences Fit on the Political Spectrum*. Pew Research Center.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/interactives/media-polarization/outlet/new-york-times/>
- Playfair, E. (2004). *ICJ Advisory opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the OPT - Full text - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-178825/>
- Popeski, R., Starkov, N., & Osterman, C. (2024, February 5). *Journalists say Ukrainian security service spied on them*. Reuters.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/journalists-say-ukrainian-security-service-spied-them-2024-02-06/>
- Reuters Fact Check. (2021, May 13). *Video shared by high-profile Israeli official was filmed in Syria in 2018 – not Gaza in 2021*. Reuters.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/factcheck-gaza-syria/fact-check-video-shared-by-high-profile-israeli-official-was-filmed-in-syria-in-2018-not-gaza-in-2021-idUSL1N2N01RD/>
- Reuters Fact Check. (2021, May 13). *Video shared by high-profile Israeli official was filmed in Syria in 2018 – not Gaza in 2021*. Reuters.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/factcheck-gaza-syria/fact-check-video-shared-by-high-profile-israeli-official-was-filmed-in-syria-in-2018-not-gaza-in-2021-idUSL1N2N01RD/>
- Robertson, K. (2023, November 8). *The New York Times Passes 10 Million Subscribers*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/08/business/media/new-york-times-q3-earnings.html>
- Robertson, K. (2024, February 21). *The New York Times Wins 3 Polk Awards*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/19/business/media/polk-award-winners.html>
- Roth, K. (2022, April 11). *World Report 2022: Israel and Palestine*. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/israel-and-palestine>
- Roy, A. (2001). *Power politics*. South End Press.
- Rudenko, O. (2022, February 21). *Opinion | The Comedian-Turned-President Is Seriously in Over His Head*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/opinion/ukraine-russia-zelensky-putin.html?searchResultPosition=31>
- Said, E. (1984). Permission to Narrate. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 13(3), 27-48.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2536688>

- Said, E. (1993, October 21). *Edward Said · The Morning After*. London Review of Books. <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v15/n20/edward-said/the-morning-after>
- Said, E. W. (1989). *Edward Said: The Orientalist Express: Thomas Friedman Wraps Up the Middle East*. The Village Voice. <https://whereshouldthebirdsfly.wordpress.com/2012/08/08/edward-said-the-orientalist-express-thomas-friedman-wraps-up-the-middle-east-18-2/>
- Said, E. W. (2003). *Orientalism (Penguin Modern Classics)*. Penguin.
- Said, E. W. (2008). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World (Fully Revised Edition)*. Random House.
- Salameh, R. (2021, May 11). *Opinion | Why So Much Rests on the Fate of a Tiny Neighborhood in East Jerusalem*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/opinion/jerusalem-israel-palestinians.html?searchResultPosition=1>
- Sanger, D. E. (2022, February 21). *U.S. Offers Limited Initial Response to Russia as It Weighs Stiffer Sanctions*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/us/politics/russia-ukraine-biden-response.html>
- Santora, M. (2022, February 27). *On the Scene: A Molotov Cocktail Supplier*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/02/28/world/europe/molotov-cocktail-ukraine.html?searchResultPosition=11>
- Scahill, J., Grim, R., Boguslaw, D., & Hussain, M. (2024, February 28). *The Story Behind the New York Times October 7 Exposé*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/28/new-york-times-anat-schwartz-october-7/>
- Scahill, J., Grim, R., & Hussain, M. (2024, April 15). *New York Times to Journalists: What You Can't Say on Gaza War*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2024/04/15/nyt-israel-gaza-genocide-palestine-coverage/>
- Schmitt, E. (2022, February 21). *Inside Biden's Race to Prevent War Between Russia and Ukraine*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/us/politics/biden-putin.html>
- Schwarz, J. (2024, February 7). *Thomas Friedman and the Red Lines in Journalism on Israel and Palestine*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/07/israel-palestine-journalism-nyt-thomas-friedman/>
- Schwartz, M. (2022, February 24). *For Ukraine's Jews, the Threat of War Stirs Memories of Past Horrors*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/world/europe/ukraine-jews-russia-evacuations.html?searchResultPosition=7>

Schwartz, M. (2022, March 13). *Brent Renaud, an American Journalist, Is Killed in Ukraine*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/13/world/europe/brent-renaud-irpin.html?searchResultPosition=16>

Shaheen, J. (1985). Media Coverage of the Middle East: Perception and Foreign Policy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 482(Changing Patterns of Power in the Middle East), 160-175.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1046388.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ad30a9b630b75a10cbc8205f5d4b479d3&ab_segments=&origin=

Shaw, E. F. (1979). Agenda Setting and Mass Communication Theory. *Gazette*, 25(2), 96-105. Sage Journals. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.aub.edu.lb/10.1177/001654927902500203>

A short history of Russia and Ukraine. (2024, January 29). The Economist.

<https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2024/01/29/a-short-history-of-russia-and-ukraine>

Shupak, G. (2021, May 18). *Israel/Palestine Coverage Presents False Equivalency Between Occupied and Occupier*. FAIR.org. <https://fair.org/home/israel-palestine-coverage-presents-false-equivalency-between-occupied-and-occupier/>

Shwartz, M., Troianovski, A., Al-Hlou, Y., Froliak, M., Entous, A., & Gibbons-Neff, T. (2022, December 16). *How Putin's War in Ukraine Became a Catastrophe for Russia*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/16/world/europe/russia-putin-war-failures-ukraine.html>

Siddiqui, U., & Zaheer, O. (2018). *50 Years of Occupation- A Sentiment and N-Gram Analysis of US Mainstream Media Coverage of The Israeli Occupation of Palestine*. 416LABS.com. https://vridar.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/416LABS_50_Years_of_Occupation.pdf

Smith, R. M. (2021). *Suppressed: Confessions of a Former New York Times Washington Correspondent*. Lyons Press.

Sommer, W. (2023, November 17). *Mona Chalabi criticizes NY Times over Gaza coverage after Pulitzer win - The Washington Post*. Washington Post.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/style/media/2023/11/17/mona-chalabi-gaza-criticize-new-york-times-pulitzer/>

Stephens, B. (2021, May 13). *Opinion | For the Sake of Peace, Israel Must Rout Hamas*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/13/opinion/gaza-hamas-israel.html?searchResultPosition=8>

Stephens, B. (2021, May 17). *Opinion | If the Left Got Its Wish for Israel*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/17/opinion/israel-palestine-gaza.html?searchResultPosition=4>

Stephens, B. (2023). *Bret Stephens – SAPIR Journal*. SAPIR Journal. <https://sapijournal.org/authors/bret-stephens/>

Stavis-Gridneff, M. (2022, February 23). *European Sanctions Target Putin's Inner Circle*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/23/world/europe/eu-sanctions-putin-russia-ukraine.html>

Sullivan, M. (2014, November 22). *The Conflict and the Coverage*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/23/opinion/sunday/the-conflict-and-the-coverage.html>

Sulzberger, A.G., & Levien, M. K. (2023). *2023 10-K_Q4 project*. The New York Times. https://nytco-assets.nytimes.com/2024/03/2023-Annual-Report_WR_Final.pdf

Sulzberger, A.G., & Levien, M. K. (2023, December 6). *Our Code of Conduct*. The New York Times. https://nytco-assets.nytimes.com/2023/12/20231206_NYT_Code-of-Conduct-External-English.pdf

Sulzberger, A.G., Levien, M. K., & Baquet, D. (2023). *Making a More Diverse, Equitable and Inclusive New York Times*. The New York Times Company. <https://www.nytimes.com/company/diversity-and-inclusion/a-call-to-action/>

Tani, M. (2023, November 17). *LA Times blocks reporters who signed open letter criticizing Israel from covering Gaza*. Semafor. <https://www.semafor.com/article/11/16/2023/la-times-bars-reporters-who-signed-open-letter-from-covering-gaza>

The Editorial Board. (2022, February 21). *Opinion | A Pointed Response to Putin's Provocations Against Ukraine*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/opinion/putin-ukraine-sanctions.html?searchResultPosition=49>

The Editorial Board. (2022, February 23). *No Justification for a Brazen Invasion*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/23/opinion/ukraine-biden-putin-invasion.html?searchResultPosition=4>

The Editorial Board. (2022, February 24). *Opinion | Mr. Putin Launches a Sequel to the Cold War*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/opinion/putin-biden-ukraine-russia.html?searchResultPosition=42>

The Editorial Board. (2022, March 4). *Opinion | Ukraine's President Zelensky Is Showing the World How to Resist Putin*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/04/opinion/ukraine-russia-war-biden.html?searchResultPosition=6>

The Editorial Board. (2022, March 11). *The Price of Putin's Belligerence*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/11/opinion/russia-sanctions.html?searchResultPosition=7>

The New York Times Company. (2023, September 30). *Press Release 9.30.2023*. The New York Times. <https://nytco-assets.nytimes.com/2023/11/NYT-Press-Release-Q3-2023.pdf>

Troianovski, A. (2021, May 8). *Where Ukrainians Are Preparing for All-Out War With Russia*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/08/world/europe/ukraine-russia-canal-crimea.html?searchResultPosition=27>

Troianovski, A. (2022, February 22). *U.S. and Allies Impose Sanctions on Russia as Biden Condemns 'Invasion' of Ukraine*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/us/politics/us-russia-ukraine-sanctions.html>

U.N. (2024). *Palestine's status at the UN explained*. The United Nations.

<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/palestines-status-at-the-un-explained-news-item/>

U.N. Amnesty International. (2004). *Israel and the Occupied Territories - Under the rubble: house demolitions and destruction of land and property - AI report - Non-UN document - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations.

<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-193492/>

UNGA. (2019, March 11). *Israel membership in the UN - GA resolution - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-187677/>

UNGA. (2019, March 11). *Palestine question - UN Mediator report, Conciliation Commission to be established, Jerusalem status, refugees - GA resolution 194 - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations.

<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-177019/>

UNGA. (2024, February 16). *Mideast situation/Withdrawal of Israeli forces, termination of states of belligerency - Resolution 242 - Security Council resolution - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations.

<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-184858/>

- UNSCOP. (2019, March 11). *Question of Palestine/Majority plan (Partition), Minority plan (Federal State)- UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) - Report - Question of Palestine*. The United Nations.
<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-179435/>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Power and the News Media. In *Political Communication and Action* (pp. 9-36). Hampton Press.
- Walsh, D. (2021, May 13). *Israel Ground Forces Shell Gaza as Fighting Intensifies*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/13/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-hamas-war.html?searchResultPosition=6>
- Walt, S., & Mearsheimer, J. (2006). The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy. *KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP06-011*.
<https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/israel-lobby-and-us-foreign-policy>
- Walter, M., Kessler, S., & Niemann, C. (2022, March 7). *Opinion | A Ukrainian Family Killed While Fleeing*. The New York Times.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/07/opinion/letters/ukraine-russia-war.html?searchResultPosition=13>
- Weiss, P. (2014, February 28). *NYT's Jerusalem bureau chief: 'I come knowledgeable about the Jewish American or Jewish Israeli side of this beat'*. Mondoweiss.
<https://mondoweiss.net/2014/02/knowledgeable-american-israeli/>
- Weiss, P. (2014, October 27). *Another New York Times' reporter's son is in the Israeli army*. Mondoweiss. <https://mondoweiss.net/2014/10/another-reporters-israeli/>
- Weiss, P. (2022, October 5). *Palestinian photog says 'NYT' fired him for expressing support for resistance*. Mondoweiss.
<https://mondoweiss.net/2022/10/palestinian-photog-says-nyt-fired-him-for-expressing-support-for-resistance/>
- What did Ukraine's revolution in 2014 achieve?* (2022, February 16). The Economist.
<https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2022/02/16/what-did-ukraines-revolution-in-2014-achieve>
- White, M. D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. *Library Trends*, 55(1), 22-45. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lib.2006.0053>
- Wodak, R. (2014). Critical Discourse Analysis. 302-316.
- Yee, V. (2021, May 13). *In Gaza, Airstrikes End in Civilian Casualties*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/13/world/middleeast/gaza-airstrikes-palestinians-israel.html?searchResultPosition=3>

- Yee, V. (2021, May 19). *Israeli-Palestinian Strife Widens as Frantic Calls for Calm Go Unheeded*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/world/middleeast/gaza.html>
- Yongtao, L. (2010). Discourse, Meanings and IR Studies: Taking the Rhetoric of "Axis of Evil" As a Case. 85-107. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/44449177_Discourse_Meanings_and_IR_Studies_Taking_the_Rhetoric_of_Axis_of_Evil_As_a_Case
- Yousef, N., Thabet, N., Imran, H., & Birat, H. (2021, May 13). *Fact Sheet Regarding the Case of Sheikh Jarrah – The Occupied Jerusalem (Field Facts & Legal Findings)*. Law for Palestine. <https://law4palestine.org/fact-sheet-regarding-the-case-of-sheikh-jarrah-the-occupied-jerusalem-field-facts-legal-conclusions/>
- Zelizer, B., Park, D., & Gudelunas, D. (2002). How Bias Shapes the News: Challenging the New York Times' Status as a Newspaper of Record on the Middle East. *Journalism: Theory, Practice, and Criticism*, 3(3), 283-307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146488490200300305>