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Article:	A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Selected Print Media on the Representation of Israel-Gaza War (2023-2024)		
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#### **ABSTRACT**

The research aims at highlighting the discourse of war and peace journalism in the frontpage stories and articles produced by two newspapers e.g., Express Tribune (Pakistan) and New York Time (USA). The data for the study consists of front-page stories and articles from both of the newspapers. Applying the Discourse Historical Approach by Wodak and Mayer (2001), this study reveals that newspapers have used war discourse with the linguistic patters which intensify the situation in conflicted areas. The selected texts have been examined to evaluate the mentioned positions of Israel and Gaza (i.e. nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification and mitigation) by the newspapers. Nomination highlights the social actors involved in the ongoing situation in Israel and Gaza. Prediction unveils the actions with the help of metaphors and modifying adjectives. The news frames use positive and negative modifying adjectives accordingly. Perspectivation through the use modality, denials, narratives and stories. Lastly, intensification and mitigation through the use of rhetorical questions, hyperbole and nominalization.

**Keywords:** War, Terrorist, Militants, Injured, Dead, War Journalism, Peace Journalism, Israel, Gaza, Discourse

#### Introduction

In the last year on October 7, 2023, Hamas started an extraordinary attack on Israel from the Gaza Strip, resulting in 1,400 mortalities and more than 200 captives. This event took the Middle East region by surprise. Then, Israel answered with reactive air and land strikes on Gaza. According to the health ministry run by Hamas, the death toll has exceeded 8,000 just in a week, surrounding both innocent civilians and military personnel, and is increasing. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu demanded that his ground forces entered Gaza to "pull to pieces" Hamas and rescue hostages. BBC reported that the Israel Defense Force (IDF) removed dozens of Hamas terrorists who had hidden themselves in buildings and tunnels. The IDF continued to conduct airstrikes on hundreds of Hamas targets (BBC News, 2022, 2023a).

The Israel-Gaza war is believed to be a revolving point in shifting Palestinians thoughts towards Israel and more participation of global community in the ongoing Israeli–Palestinian conflict. In the recent years, the Israelis and the Palestinians have continuously suspected the media and especially the Western media (both US and UK) for favoring the killings of common Palestinians. On the other hand, the Israelis accused the Western media for focusing on the only the killing of Palestinian. Palestinians and the nations who stand in their support believe that the media has prominently depicted the Palestinian unprecedented attacks on Israelis as a flaring point to push Israel towards a war with destructive weapons (see Cordesman and Moravitz, 2005, p 390).

### **Research Questions**

- 1. How print media(s) is promoting war or peace journalism through their discursive strategies?
- 2. How does newspapers apply linguistic patterns to depict the situations in conflict zones?

#### **Literature Review**

Johan Galtung, a prominent Norwegian sociologist and groundbreaking peace researcher, projected the key conceptual models that differentiate between war journalism from peace journalism. These models were established to examine the influence of media discourse in war situations (Galtung, 1986, 1990, 1996, 1998, 2002). According to his preparation, war journalism inclines to order the noticeable consequences of political ferocity rather than its historical. It also tends to shorten conflicts by depicting one side as good and the other as bad, using degrading language. Additionally, war journalism often trusts on victimhood narratives that defend series of revenge and rejects moderate voices supporting for non-violent answers. Peace journalism aims to provide complete insight into battles by leading thorough analysis of important complaints and underlying historical factors. It intensifies reasonable viewpoints from all parties involved, including fatalities of the conflict. Instead of continuing negative stereotypes, peace journalism emphasizes shared human suffering to substitute empathy. Furthermore, it emphasizes the examination of ethical, non-violent political resolutions that indorse equitable outcomes and respect for variety (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000; Galtung, 1986). The available literature conflict situations suggests that the print media are a major concern to combatants, the public and media professionals, and have an insightful effect on calling attention to the conflict arena. Media coverage is integral to shaping the course of events in war and peace. Conflict reporting leads to accusations of bias from both sides (Siraj, 2008 & 2010).

The theories of CDA emerged in the mid of 1980s in the publications of Fairclough, Wodak, Van Dijk, and others. This linguistic movement started in 1992, with the presentations in Amsterdam by Norman Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001, 2008). These presentations were printed in a special issue of Discourse and Society (1993). After that meeting between these theorists, they expanded the study to sociology, psychology and social sciences and started to meet annually from 1992 to onward. Since then, the field of CDA is increasingly growing as interdisciplinary movement. Later on, in 2004, in Valencia another international conference was held and two new journals were introduced for further elaboration of the term. Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis relate to the term "critical" which is introduced by some critical linguists from Frankfort school. The concepts of CL were established in 1970s and 1980s, at the university of East Anglia with the works of Roger Fowler, Tony Trew, and Gunther Kress. During the recent times, the researchers have used the term CDA in place of CL as a theory. CDA denotes as a theory to see "language as social practice" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and studies the background of language use important for textual analysis (Weiss and Wodak, 2003; Wodak and Weiss, 2004).

The social theory of discourse aims to explore the social and political events in a society. As per this theory, the discourse is observed as a social practice to establish power and domination. Fairclough (1992) argued that language use in a society is a social practice and not an individual activity. This idea is related to the notions of ideology and power. Fairclough talks about text, description, explanation and interpretation in his model of analysis called three-dimensional model. This model works as an analytical framework to analyze communication in a society. It works on three linguistics features of communication; text analysis, discourse analysis and social analysis. In this analytical model, text is studied on three stages of CDA, it comprises on description, interpretation and explanation. Fairclough theorizes three scales as a 3D model containing of discursive events (micro), discursive practices (meso) and social structures (macro). Fairclough (2001) emphasizes that language has a place in social relations of power and ideology. He brings forth the facts that how language brings social changes like 'globalization', neo-liberalism' and 'new capitalism'. Jorgensen and Philips (2002), argue in this context that the discursive practices are the production, distribution and consumption of texts in which discourse is molded by the social practices. Fairclough (1992) projected three principles which are considered as social practices. He claims that discourse is constitutive and constituted as well, social practices construct social identities and social practices construct knowledge and belief. Fairclough (2001) believes that language is based on social relations, social identities and social beliefs. He highlights that language is multifunctional and claims text is constructed parallel to ideational, interpersonal and textual purposes. He prioritizes analyzing language first with social problem and then its semiotic aspect should be located. Language is complex when analyzed for critical discourse analysis. Fairclough has divided the linguistic features in four different categories which are vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure.

Wodak (2001) states that every discourse is equipped with a historical background and is relatable to future as well. DHA approach focuses on textual and contextual analysis to connect past and present discourse practices. DHA helps in interpreting and examining the context of a text with a historical background. Wodak's framework uses six strategies to explore the text in context (i.e., nomination, prediction, argumentation, perspectivization,

intensification and mitigation). In discourse, the reality is taken as a social fact which gives rise to material and identity consequences of inner and outer groups. Wodak & Meyer (2009) argue that social, political, racial, economic and cultural realities are based on context but the social beliefs and identities are the creation of discursive construction of knowledge. Wodak investigated discourse, text and genre which are the crucial features of discourse and argued that texts fill the gap between discourse and ideological structures. Text, in discourse, is manipulated for specific purposes and discourse, as a social practice can be found in different genres like political debates, news and public speeches. DHA examines the context-dependent linguistic realizations of these genres.

In researching through peace journalism methods to war, the journalist promoting peace sets methods to the body of front-page story or any other form of news where the reasons and possible answers to the war become upfront and undeniable. According to Galtung, added peace journalism methods include lettering opinions i.e. columns, editorials and the collection of letters to editors to desire settlement, negotiations and concentrating on communal belief rather than on payback, striking back, and differences (Tarique, 2017, 2022).

**Table 1**Classification on peace/war journalism Adopted from Galtung's (1986, 1989).

War	Peace	Neutral
Journalism	Journalism	
1. Noticeable properties of war: Dead, injured and deceased	1. Unseen effects of war Expressive damage to shock, society, damage to property and culture	1. Journalism that covers none of the two methods, war and peace journalism in the
<b>2.</b> Variances concerned with Story lead to the battle	<b>2.</b> Solution-oriented: Story leads to a solution to the battle.	section or number of unbiassed values in a front-page story is
3. Elite-oriented. Emphases on leaders and influential as actors and sources of information	<b>3.</b> People-oriented: Emphases on shared people as actors and sources of information	greater than the war and peace methods, the story will be implicit as neutral
<ul><li>4. Here and now:</li><li>Journalism on the war stadium</li><li>5. Opposition: Good guys and bad guys or prey and villain</li></ul>	<ul><li>4. Reasons and penalties:</li><li>Reporting on the causes and future effects of the conflict</li><li>5. Avoid classification decent and evil people</li></ul>	
<b>6.</b> Two-party location: One party win, one party drops	<b>6.</b> Multi-party location: Gives voice to many gatherings battle intricate	
<b>7.</b> Biased: Prejudiced for one adjacent in the conflict.	7. Non-partisan (unbiassed, not winning sides)	

- **8.** Zero-sum location: One goal: to win
- 9. Usages of Demonizing linguistic features: Use of language such as spiteful, ruthless, cruel, unfeeling, oppressor, violent, callous, radical, extremist, obsessive, fundamentalist
- **8.** Win-win location: Many goals and subjects, are solution-oriented.
- **9.** Dodge linguistic: Report on more exact descriptions, titles or names that the individuals give themselves

# Methodology

The study is qualitative in nature which aims to analyze the national and international print media discourse of English newspapers concerning current wars. This research plans to explore the linguistic construction of war and peace journalism within the war discourses constructed in print media. The purpose is to examine how discourse is naturalized to legitimize the need of war and claiming the justifications of state actions based on the ideologies and international relations.

Wodak's discourse-historical approach (DHA), developed with the help of her colleagues, has been influenced particularly by European critical social theories (e.g., Frankfurt School) and puts emphases on criticizing the linguistic naturalization and covering of ideologies in discourses developed in public sphere. She has explained on the following kinds of critiques (summarized from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009):

- 1. Existing researches on texts or discourse aim to discourse the social injustices, inconsistencies in law and law making, social level tensions and internal structure of discourse.
- 2. In CDA, the researchers use their contextual knowledge and ideas from social theories and frequently used rhetoric devices to interpret or analyze the discursive events.
- 3. CDA attempts to solve the language related issues and contributes to improve communication (e.g., by particularizing strategies against sexist language use and by reducing language barriers in hospitals, schools, and at public places, etc.).

DHA follows a three-step analytical procedure for text analysis. Which begins from (a) "categorizing the topics and texts of a socially constructed Discourse, then (b) "discursive strategies are examined". Then linguistic specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations are investigation. Followings are some of the questions usually guide analysis via DHA;

- 1. How are the individuals, items, proceedings and actions named and linguistically referred?
- 2. What features are credited to social actors, events and processes?
- 3. What debates are used in the discourse taken for study?
- 4. From what perspectives are these names, characteristics, and arguments expressed?
- 5. Are the utterances voiced clearly; are they strengthened or mitigated?

According to Wodak (2015), the DHA adopts a three-dimensional analytical process in a text analysis. The first step that will be followed in this research is the identification of a specific topic and texts of a particular discourse, the second step is concerned with the examination of discursive strategies whereas the third step is concerned with the investigation

of the linguistic ways (as types) and the specific context-dependent language realizations (as tokens). Wodak (2005) suggested the diachronic and synchronic aspects of communicative events. Therefore, discourse is a social act and it is linked to other events that have happened concurrently or have occurred before. CPEC is a project with a long history and still is in progress.

## **Data Collection**

The data for the study is based on frontpage stories and articles collected from two English newspapers e.g., Express Tribune (Pakistan) and New York Times (USA). Both of the papers and their news items talk about the situation of conflict between two countries through discourse. Both of the newspapers are read by a large number of readers, as they are available online, and motivate readers to construct their perspective about the actions taken from both of sides.

## **Data Analysis**

The data from the newspapers have been linguistically analyzed to develop the potential themes and sub-themes emerging of the text through the coding process.

**Table 2** *Themes in War Discourse from New York Times (USA) and Express Tribune (Pakistan)* 

Selected Texts	Codes	Themes
Hamas is attacking Israeli civilians in a way that is clearly calculated to provoke a devastating Israeli response, one that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu promises is coming. (NYT, a)	<ul><li>Attack</li><li>Provoke</li><li>Civilian</li></ul>	Israeli civilians are being attacked. Israelis have been provoked to respond very aggressively. Lives of innocent Israeli civilians are in danger.
The videos circulating of Israelis — women, children, older people — taken hostage, defenseless, will haunt us for the rest of our lives. The images are anathema not only to the basic Israeli ethos of self-defense but also to the	<ul><li> Hostage</li><li> Defense</li><li> Ethos</li><li> Jews</li></ul>	The people watching the condition of civil citizens of Israel are sad on the powerlessness especially seen on the faces of hostages. The Israelis should need to strengthen their self-defense to provide a safe-shelter to the Jews.
country's raison d'être as a safe-haven for Jews. (NYT, b)		Now it is the time for the Jews of Israel to stand for the safety of Jews everywhere in the world.
Israelis are reeling, in shock over the toll of	<ul><li>Killed</li><li>Wounded</li></ul>	-

people killed, wounded and taken hostage, and the world is mourning with them. The militants killed more than 800 Israelis in a series of coordinated rocket attacks and continued fighting. (NYT, c)

Despite an Israeli blockade and round-the-clock surveillance, Hamas has apparently been able to build and buy more rockets, steadily improve their range and accuracy, provide offensive combat training for its fighters and develop an intelligence network sophisticated and far-reaching enough to launch a simultaneous assault on 22 Israeli locations. (NTY, d)

Hamas's stated reasons for this war are that Benjamin Netanyahu's government has been provoking the Palestinians by the morning strolls that Israel's minister for national security, Itamar Ben-Gvir, was taking around Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and by the steps that he was taking to make imprisonment of Palestinians harsher. (NYT, e)

Reasonable people can also oppose other

- Mourning
- Militants
- Rockets

- Weapons
- Hamas
- Offense
- Launch Attach

- Provocation
- Security
- Imprisonment
- Harsher
- Mourning
- Imprisonment

Israelis are in terrible condition due to the attack from the militants' groups of Hamas. The attackers are still targeting the people. Killing is continuously going on from the opposite side of Israel. The attacks have left 800 dead and a large number of wounded people as well.

Hamas is preparing for further attacks. They want to be more destructive than before. They are arranging more weapons.

The Hamas plans to be more offensive and desires to construct more accurate intelligence system to attack Israel.

Hamas has their own reasons for justifying their acts of violence on Israel. They state that the current government was influencing on Muslim religious points which was not tolerable for the groups like Hamas.

Al Aqsa Mosque was restricted for visit of Palestinians. They found this attitude harsher and painful.

- Massacre
- Holocaust
- Cut off
- Hostages

Journal of Peace, Development and Communication Volume 08 Issue 03 measures that Israelis have taken in response to the deadliest massacre of Jews since the Holocaust. It seems neither right nor smart for Israel to cut off water and electricity to Gaza until Hamas's hostages are returned not because Israel shouldn't do whatever it takes to obtain their release but because the people who suffer most from the action are the ones who have the least say over the fate of the hostages. (NYT, f)

"The enemy will pay an unprecedent price." Netanyahu vowed after Hamas had launched its first such combined ground, air and sea offensive half a century after the outbreak of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. (ET. a)

Tel Aviv's desire for collective punishment of Palestinians, in the guise of obliterating Hamas, is a crime against humanity. With Hamas holding around 100 Israelis as captives, it should come as an opportunity for the war cabinet in East Jerusalem to talk it out with the Palestinians. (ET, b)

- Suffer
- Fate

Any response from Israel cannot be connected with the killing of Jews during the Holocaust. The Israeli forces can use any harsh means to give lesson to the people of Palestine. But the suffering overall will not be good for the hostages.

- Unprecedented
- Offensive
- Outbreak
- War

Israel will have to be very careful in taking any action like cutting of water and electricity supply. But they will have to negotiate first for the survival of the hostages.

- The Israeli Prime Minister vows against the unexpected attack from Hamas. He says that is a surprise attack from the militant group since 1973 Arab-Israeli War.
- Punishment
- Humanity
- Captives
- **Talks**
- Cabinet

The authorities believe that the common citizens of Palestine are supporting Hamas and they should be punished for it. It is against the humanity to support the militant groups by voting them or providing them with shelter.

- Air strike
- **Bloodiest**
- Strike
- Unrelenting

About 500 Palestinians were killed in a blast at a hospital in Gaza on Tuesday that Palestine health authorities said was caused by an Israeli air strike. The blast was the bloodiest single incident in Gaza sine Israeli launched an unrelenting bombing campaign against the densely populated territory in retaliation for a deadly cross-border Hamas assault on southern Israeli communities on Oct 7. (ET, c)

- Deadly
- Assault

Israel's "total siege" of Gaza, launched after Oct 7 cross-border attack on southern Israel by Hamas fighters, has left the enclave's 2.3 million people running out of food, water, medicine and fuel. (ET, d)

Israel on Wednesday chose to turn a blind eye and deaf ear to the death and destruction it unleashed against Palestinian people of Gaza Strip and the desperate world calls for allowing aid it headed towards a showdown with the United Nations. (ET, e)

- Siege
- Fighters
- Million
- Medicine
- Cross-Border

- Blind eye
- Death
- Unleash
- Desperate
- Showdown

Pakistani media talks about the deadliest strikes on Palestine especially at the places like hospitals where the already wounded civilians are treated. The media talks about the unethical war activity which is targeting the populated areas where civilians are in big number.

The retaliation is shown as a very harsh actions which are actually harming people of every age and even those who are already in very terrible condition.

The numbers shown in the news show that how far the effects of war are going and what is the current condition of Palestinians at the moment. It also highlights that what can be the further consequences of war.

Express Tribune uses the linguistic patters which show that how the world should react towards the present condition of the Palestinian on Gaza Strip. The intense strikes against
Hamas provided cover for
Israeli ground forces to step
up operation inside Gaza.
"Since early Friday
evening, combined combat
forces of armour, combat
engineers and infantry have
been operating on the
ground in the northern
Gaza Strip," the army said
late Saturday. (ET, f)

- Forces
- Operation
- Combat
- Infantry
- Armour
- War Engineers

The excerpt shows that how far the strategic operation against Gaza is going on. It shows the military professional strikes against the people who are already struggling a battle of survival.

The above-mentioned Table 1 highlight the emerging themes from the selected texts from the two newspapers (Appendix). The themes which are emerging from the texts are the escalation of war from both sides of the borders. The civilians of both Israel and Palestine have been shown as the main sufferer during all the situation. The condition of the people has been highlighted with the lexical choices which generally fall in war discourse. On the other hand, the atrocities done by the Israeli forces in the areas where a large number of civilians are living which is the reason of lost of a large number of people every day. Similarly, the Israeli attacks on the Palestinians struggling in the hospitals, has been highlighted with great stressed. While the US media has highlighted that the attacks are due to the hidden terrorists. Resultantly, both of the newspapers are using the language to promote the discourse of war.

## **Macro Context of News Item**

Overall, 6 articles and frontpages stories from each newspaper have been examined to evaluate the discourse highlighting war or peace. The articles and frontpage stories show the pictures which are portraying the condition of people who are suffering due to conflict. The people of both Israel and Palestine have been shown in helpless and bad condition. The people are shown crying and looking for their missing loved ones. The newspapers have not been using the language which can help the people to raise their voice to deescalate the conflict. It shows that the newspapers are not using the language to promote peace through peace journalism. The writers and news reporters, with help of visual images showing devastation, are creating war discourses which appears to be as a hurdle in the way of paving ways for peace discourses and peace negotiation at global level.

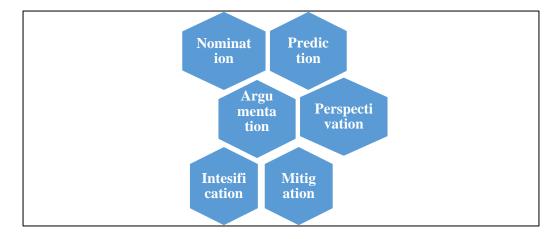


Figure: 2 Discourse Historical Approach stages of discursive construction.

#### **Nomination**

I. Hamas must have missed that lesson when it decided to disrupt the status quo around Gaza with an all-out attack on Israel last weekend. This is in spite of the fact that over the past few years, Israel and Hamas developed a form of coexistence around Gaza that allowed thousands of Gazans to enter Israel daily for work, filled Hamas coffers with cash aid from Qatar and gave Gazans the ability to do business with Israel, with Gazan goods being exported through Israeli seaports and airports. (New York Times – e)

In this example, Israel and Hamas have been shown as two social actors on the territory of Gaza. It gives a message that Hamas and Israel are the two actors who have been struggling to get the control of Gaza. But, on the other hand, the Gazans have been blamed for entering the Israeli territory for an attack. Here the text raises a blame on the whole of the citizens of Gaza rather than Hamas who is often blamed to be responsible for attacking Israel. It gives a message the whole of population of Gaza is held responsible and to face the retaliation from Israel.

#### **Prediction**

II. Hamas is attacking Israeli civilians in a way that is clearly calculated to provoke a devastating Israeli response, one that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu promises is coming. Large numbers of Palestinian casualties will probably derail a peace deal between Israel and Saudi Arabia — not just by inflaming Muslim opposition to the Jewish state but also by giving Israel's far right a stronger argument to oppose any accommodations with Palestinians as a price of the deal. (New York Times -a)

Adjectives are used to describe the meaning which is very close to the reality and helps the media readers to understand the situation and feel it as well. Adjectives highlight the stance of the reporter e.g., attributive adjectives and predictive adjectives. In New York times, both qualitative and quantitative adjectives are used to show the number of causalities and condition of civilians after the attack from Hamas. Adjectives like devastating, inflaming, stronger and large are used to show the condition of Israeli civilians after attack of Hamas.

#### **Argumentation**

III. "There are still 22 locations where we are engaging with terrorists that came into Israel, from the sea, from the land and from the air." Army spokesperson Richard Hecht said on what he labeled a "robust ground invasion". (Express Tribune -a)

Topoi has been used in argumentation strategy to read to a conclusion and raise an argument that who is responsible for the war going on in Gaza. Topoi in newspapers reporting and articles have been used as a place of generally known facts which can invoke discourse interpretation. The articles writers and reporters have used topoi with the references to the statements of politicians and spokespersons of the institutions who have the authority to take steps during conflict.

## Perspectivization

**IV.** Hamas knew that the attack on Saturday would give Mr. Netanyahu little choice but to retaliate with a ground invasion, and it knows that the Israel Defense Forces' technology and military superiority would offer little advantage on the crowded streets of Gaza City; in Jabalia, Gaza's largest refugee camp; or through Hamas's labyrinth of underground tunnels. Gaza, 140 square miles with a population of more than two million, is one of the most densely populated places on earth. (**New York Times – d**)

Perspectivation is used to frame the politicians and their point of views to show their contribution in the discourse raised via print media on conflict. The utterances from the politicians show that what is their position in the ongoing situation. In the given discourses, it can be seen that the Israeli Prime minister believes that, after invasion by Hamas from Gaza, the Israeli forces have every right the retaliate or attempt to rescue the ones who were kidnapped on first day of invasion. In the discourse of mainstream media, the linguistic strategy used can be in the form of information that is generally communicated with the use of modality, narrative stories, pronouns and denial strategies.

## **Intensification and Mitigation**

V. About 500 Palestinians were killed in a blast at a hospital in Gaza on Tuesday that Palestinian health authorities said was caused by an Israeli air strike. That blast was be bloodiest single incident in Gaza since Israel launched an unrelenting bombing campaign against the densely populated territory in the retaliation for a deadly cross-border Hamas assault on southern Israeli communities on Oct 7. (Express Tribune – c)

In Discourse Historical approach hyperbole, antithesis and question/answer pairs are used to build a powerful discourse. These are the linguistic tools which intensify the statements given by the reporters and article writers. The superlative degrees used by the writers in mainstream media intensify the portrayal of the situation during conflict. The language used shows that how the newspapers are promoting war or peace with the help of their discursive strategies. When the miseries of people are highlighted with the help of given descriptions about the weapons used by the forces shows that media is promoting war and not motivating peace talks to calm down the parties involved in the conflict.

## Conclusion

The study shows that both of the newspaper, especially at the outbreak, have used the linguistic patterns which highlight the war discourse. In the frontpage stories and articles, the language used shows the bad condition of the people both in Gaza and Israel. Similarly, atrocities and cruel attitude from the forces of both of sides have been shown. It shows that the media promotes the war journalism to peace journalism. The pictorial support to the frontpage

stories and articles intensifies the perceptions of the readers and they start believing in revenge and war rather than talks and peace negotiations. Language plays a vital role in promoting peace journalism in newspapers which shows that it is necessary for newspapers to promote peace through language.

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# **Appendix**

#### **NYT (New York Times - USA)**

NYT - a

https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/07/opinion/gaza-israel-hamas.html

Hamas's Control of Gaza Must End Now

**Bret Stephens** 

NYT - b

https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/08/opinion/international-world/israel-hamas-attack.html

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**Bret Stephens** 

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