

An Analysis of the New York Times Coverage of the War Between Israel and Hamas

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Abstract: I conduct a quantitative analysis of the text of 1,561 New York Times articles published from October 7, 2023 to June 7, 2024 that reference both “Israel” and “Gaza” to assess whether there are imbalances in the coverage that have a potential to influence readers opinions about the ongoing war between Israel and Hamas in a systematic way. I find that there is a dominant narrative of the war that contextualizes many of the articles. In this narrative, Hamas attacked Israel on October 7th, 2023, killing 1200 Israelis, and Israel’s military response has killed X thousand Palestinians with X increasing over time. Little mention is made of Israeli casualties post-October 7 or of Palestinian acts of violence post-October 7, even as Israel and Hamas were locked in intensive combat over the eight months of the study period. In fact, “Israel” is mentioned more than three times as often as “Hamas”. Personal stories of Palestinian or Lebanese suffering appear an average of two out of every three days while it is common to go a week at a time without a single mention of IDF deaths even when such deaths were frequent. I argue that the net result of these imbalances and others is to create a depiction of events that is imbalanced toward creating sympathy for the Palestinian side, places most of the agency in the hands of Israel, is often at odds with actual events, and fails to give readers an understanding of how Israelis are experiencing the war.

1. Introduction

The New York Times has extensively covered the war between Israel and Hamas that broke out on October 7, 2023, when thousands of Hamas fighters overran the Israeli border defenses and murdered, raped and pillaged the Israeli villages neighboring the Gaza strip (Kershner 2003a, Sella 2024). Many Gazan civilians (Kingsley and Berman 2023) followed in their wake to participate in the atrocities of the day. The invaders (including UNRWA workers) then abducted approximately 240 people including the elderly and children (Berman and Kingsley 2024b, Kingsley and Berman 2023) and took them back to the labyrinth of tunnels under the densely populated cities of the Gaza strip. Many of these hostages were abused (Kingsley and Berman 2024, Gavrielov 2024, Stack 2024b) psychologically, physically, and sexually and some were murdered. All the above has been reported in the pages of the New York Times (NYTimes). The NYTimes has also extensively covered the Israeli military response to the October 7, 2023, Hamas invasion and its impact on Palestinian civilians in Gaza, as well as the related warfare Israel has been engaged in with Palestinian terrorist groups in the West Bank, Hezbollah in Lebanon, various Iranian proxies in Yemen and Iraq, and with Iran itself. The NYTimes also has covered the spillover of the war into international diplomacy, local politics around the world, university campuses, and culture. The war between Israel and Hamas has indeed had global repercussions and the NYTimes has been there to cover all aspects of the war’s impact.

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One could argue that the global impact of the war is not fully independent of the coverage of the war by the NYTimes and other media. The amount of coverage, what is reported, and how it is reported all shape the opinions of readers and viewers who are exposed to that coverage. It shapes their sense of the importance of the war, their sense of **what** is important about the war, and also their sympathies for the various participants in the war. It is hard to know the degree to which people's opinions on these issues are shaped by the media, but it is not unreasonable to assume that the reporters of the NYTimes and its editors are motivated by the belief that they do indeed have the ability to shape the opinions of readers².

The NYTimes coverage has been criticized from both the pro-Palestinian and pro-Israeli sides of this war. In fact, the NYTimes coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been criticized for years. (e.g. Viser 2003, FAIR 2002, Hollander and Ini 2012). Various dimensions of the coverage have been criticized: the volume of coverage, factual errors, who is quoted, the language that is used, and others. Various techniques have been used to analyze the coverage. Similarly to some of the previous analyses, the purpose of the current study is to quantitatively analyze the NYTimes coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to assess whether there are imbalances in how it reports on the Israeli and Palestinian (and their allies) sides, but focusing on the war that began October 7, 2023. Focusing on this war is of interest because it is a significant event having large consequences around the region and world, it is a well-defined event, and at the same time it is extending over a long enough period to generate many articles providing a large data set. It is not my intention to generalize from the coverage of the war to NYTimes coverage of the conflict as a whole or historically.

I find that, almost from its start, the reporting has been locked in a specific narrative of the war. In this narrative, on October 7, 2023, Hamas perpetrated a brutal assault on Israel that subjected a mainly civilian population to horrific atrocities and from October 8th, 2023, onward Israel has been the sole aggressor that seemingly bears no costs from conducting the war except for a loss of international support and public sympathy, particularly among young people and the political Left. Meanwhile, post October 7th, Palestinians are portrayed as passive victims whose suffering grows daily as they are relentlessly bombed by Israeli warplanes. In the following, I will present data on the NYTimes coverage that demonstrates various elements of this narrative and the mechanisms by which this narrative is reified. I will point out ways in which this narrative is out of sync with the actual events and why it provides a distorted view of the war that does a disservice to the readers of the NYTimes.

Using a detailed analysis of all articles that reference the war published by the NYTimes between October 7, 2023 and June 7, 2024³, I will show the following:

² An alternative hypothesis is that the reporters and editors of the NYTimes are primarily motivated by generating content that leads to clicks and thus advertising revenue for the Old Grey Lady as suggested by Gentzkow and Shapiro (2010). In that case their decisions about coverage is an outcome of what they think their market wants to read.

³ This is work in progress and will be updated as more articles are processed. I believe that the 1,561 articles are sufficient to make the arguments in this paper.

1. The dominant summary description of the war is that Hamas attacked Israel on October 7th, 2023 killing 1200 Israelis, and Israel's military response has killed X thousand Palestinians with X increasing over time.
2. Mention of the Israeli hostages is often left out of the above summary.
3. Mentions of Israeli violence is extensive.
4. Mentions of Palestinian violence post-October 7th is rare and at odds with actual events.
5. Mentions of Israeli casualties after October 7th is relatively infrequent and out of sync with actual Israeli casualties.
6. There are many articles whose main topic is some aspect of Palestinian suffering with many personal accounts of such suffering.
7. Very few articles mention any Israeli suffering that is not directly related to the events of October 7th.

Common sense suggests that readers exposed to this reporting pattern will be influenced in the direction of certain beliefs and attitudes. For example: Israelis are not incurring significant cost from the war, Israel bears all of the responsibility for what is happening on the ground, and the war is achieving little purpose other than to inflict death and misery on the Palestinians of Gaza and thus Israel is acting unjustly. As a result, the war must be ended at any cost and Israel must be forced to do that with external pressure. A corollary of the above is that it becomes easier to vilify Israel and its supporters as immoral.

2. Literature Review

The literature critiquing the NY Times as being pro-Israeli is extensive because it is intertwined with the literature that critiques Western depictions of Arabs and Muslims, and critiques U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. The claimed pro-Israel bias of the New York Times and other western media is viewed both as an example of a general bias against non-Westerners and as a mechanism by which a pro-Israel bias is generated in U.S. public opinion and politics. Academic works purporting to show an anti-Israeli or pro-Palestine bias in the media are rarer. This imbalance may indicate that any bias that exists is in the pro-Israel direction, or it could be driven by the political leanings and interests of the majority of researchers in those academic disciplines that study these subjects. There are also non-academic investigations of this subject on both sides of the conflict, notably FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) on the pro-Palestinian side, and CAMERA (Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting and Analysis) on the pro-Israel side.

A slightly closer analysis of this literature does raise some questions about whether the claims of pro-Israeli bias are valid or more a by-product of the researcher's framing of the question. For example, in an analysis of NY Times and Chicago Tribune coverage of the second Intifada, El Masry (2009) finds that killings of Palestinians by Israelis are much more likely to be framed in a way that justifies them than killings of Israelis by Palestinians. This is viewed as a pro-Israeli bias because the assumption of the author is that the main groups committing the violence, Israeli security forces and Palestinian terrorist/militant groups are equivalent in justification and means of violence. The author does not consider the possibility that they are systematically not equivalent. This thinking appears in Jackson (2023) as well. She uses a comparison of two headlines as an example of passive versus active voice usage: "For example, 'Palestinian killed as clashes erupt with troops' from a 1990 article by Chartrand vs 'Palestinians slay 2 Israeli hikers' from a 1993

article by Greenberg.” Clearly, these two events have very different contexts for the violence, and one should not be surprised by differences in diction.

In an editorial El Masry (2024) says: “For example, a 2002 study by US academics John Noakes and Karin Wilkins revealed that between 1984 and 1998, The Times sourced Israeli officials almost twice as often as Palestinian officials. Other studies have produced similar results.” What he doesn’t mention is that Noakes and Wilkins (2002) report data on the use of Palestinian Official AND Palestinian “Other” sources. Taken together the Palestinian sources are the “first source” almost the same fraction of time as Israelis over their study period, 25% to 24%.

A FAIR analysis of coverage of the second Intifada in the period September 2000 to March 2002 found that 79 percent of the references to retaliation were about Israeli retaliation against Palestinians versus 9 percent for Palestinians versus Israelis. They view this distinction as important saying: “This disparity is meaningful. The term “retaliation” suggests a defensive stance undertaken in response to someone else’s aggression. It also lays responsibility for the cycle of violence at the doorstep of the party being “retaliated” against, since they presumably initiated the conflict.” Taking their data at face value, it is not self-evident that this imbalance in the use of the word “retaliation” makes the Israeli side appear more sympathetic. One could interpret the use of the word “retaliation” as framing Israeli military action as driven by an emotional response to “get even” rather than a rational action by the Israeli government to eliminate threats to its populace.

The above is not to say that there has never been or does not exist now biases in media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that favor Israel. Rather, my critiques aim to raise some caution about those claims. On the other side, Gilboa and Sigan (2024) document examples of specific errors and omissions by the Times that were unfavorable to Israel in reporting of the October 7, 2023 war. They also report on testimonials about the inner workings of the NY Times newsroom and editorial process that could cause systematic errors. While the examples of errors they identify are very serious they do not discuss errors that may have been unfavorable to the Palestinian narrative. CAMERA (2012) analyzes the content of NY Times coverage of the conflict between July 1 and December 31 of 2011. They find that during this period Israeli deaths were suppressed in headlines, that Palestinian voices on the peace process are much more frequent, and that Israel is presented in a critical light much more often. In many ways they find the opposite of what the studies of pro-Israel bias claim to find.

The fact that the NY Times is criticized from both sides does not mean that it is doing a good job! It could mean that instead of following good journalistic standards it is simply producing a stream of articles that are of poor quality with x% heavily pro-Palestinian and (100-x)% heavily pro-Israel. It could also be the case that the criticisms from one side are better grounded than the criticisms from the other. One thing is certain, the NYTimes is viewed as important, and many people care about how it reports on any subject. Lewis (2012) gives a description of the many factors that likely have influenced the evolution of the NY Times coverage of this conflict from the 1960’s until the 2000’s with the clear implication that there are good reasons to expect that the coverage has become more favorable to the Palestinian cause in recent years than in the past. This shift has been noticed, particularly by American Jewish readers who are supporters of Israel and has led to much criticism of the Times from those quarters, as Lewis documents. This shift may also indicate that there is some validity to both sets of critiques though they apply to different eras.

In this study, I use similar techniques to those in the above literature focusing on coverage of the Israel-Hamas war that began October 7, 2023. I do not make a claim that the NYTimes is “biased” in its reporting. To determine if bias exists one needs a benchmark of what “unbiased” reporting would look like. For example, what is the “correct ratio” of Israeli to Palestinian casualty mentions? If there was an answer to that question, one could, in theory, perform statistical tests to determine if the actual reporting ratio appears to deviate from the “correct ratio” in a statistically meaningful way. Even if such an analysis was feasible, the question of intent is also relevant. There are many factors that will influence what is covered, particularly availability. For example, Israel is a relatively open society with many political divisions and no shortage of voices critical of the government. Gaza, because of the war, is dangerous to report from and has a Hamas run government that suppresses dissent. Journalists will naturally have access to larger amounts of information for stories critical of the Israeli government than they will for criticism of Hamas. In other words, differences in access to information will undoubtedly impact the relative frequency with which topics are covered in news articles, creating a bias that is unintentional.

Given these challenges, this study does not attempt to directly address the question of bias in reporting. Rather, I document several imbalances in the reporting of the war that could plausibly influence the opinions of a reader in a direction that is at odds with reality. While these imbalances raise questions about whether the NYTimes is best serving its readers and whether it has an agenda about the conflict that it is trying to advance, I leave drawing conclusions about those questions to the reader.

3. Research Methods

I used ProQuest to identify all NYTimes news⁴ articles published on or after October 7, 2023, that mention both “Israel” and “Gaza” and downloaded their full text (a total of 2,063 articles through June 7, 2024). I read the full text of every article and performed two levels of tagging. The first level identified up to two main topics for the article. See Appendix A for a description of each topic. Some articles were identified as “Duplicates” if they were earlier versions of an article. These were typically “Late Editions”. There were 482 such articles and they are removed from the sample. Also removed were the “News Quiz” and a few articles that came through the search that did not appear to be true news articles or were not actually covering a topic relating to the conflict in any way whatsoever. These led to the removal of 20 more articles leaving a corpus of 1,561 articles. The remaining articles received a second level of tagging that focused on mentions of very specific topics. These are all binary and the tags are described in Appendix B.

One person (the author) did all the tagging. While there is a risk of bias in this process, I believe most readers will find this labeling uncontroversial and in almost all cases self-evident, particularly for the secondary tagging which is perhaps the most important. The 1st level tagging is primarily used to do a coarse clustering of articles based on how directly they are addressing action on the ground in the war.

I use the main topic tags to organize the articles into “Rings” as follows:

⁴ Editorials, Op-eds, and letters to the editor are all excluded from this study.

Ring 0: The innermost ring is about what is happening on the ground in Israel, Gaza, West Bank, Lebanon, and Iran regarding the conflict.

Ring 1: Israeli and Palestinian Politics and Society topics that are not specifically about the action on ground but more about its impact on the societies and politics. Also, diplomatic activity directly targeting the ground events i.e. Hostage and Ceasefire negotiations and diplomacy with main actors.

Ring 2: Regional (Middle East) events

Ring 3: World events outside the region that are trying to impact what is happening in the conflict, e.g. UN resolutions, Campus protests, Military aid discussions.

Ring 4: Topics for which the conflict is part of the general context. E.g. Business/Economy, Local politics (US presidential election or congressional races) cultural impacts, discussion of antisemitism on college campuses.

We will see that these rings are distinct with respect to the second level tags and are thus useful for organizing the article content analysis. A mapping of common Level 1 tags to Rings appears in Appendix C. A separate data file⁵ that is publicly available provides a list of all the articles in the corpus with their ProQuest ID, titles, URL at the NYTimes, and all their tags.

Data on Israeli Defense Force deaths was downloaded from the IDF's website:

<https://www.gov.il/en/pages/swords-of-iron-idf-casualties>

Data on armed clashes, rocket attacks from Gaza and Hezbollah, and Israeli civilian deaths from terror attacks post October 7 are drawn from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED, <https://acleddata.com/>) database.

4. Dominant Narrative

I define the dominant narrative of articles (among those that give some description⁶ of the war) as a combination of information that is consistent with describing the war as starting with the Hamas attack on October 7th that caused significant Israeli deaths on October 7th, followed by Israeli violence that has caused many Palestinian deaths ever since, without mention of Israeli deaths after October 7th or mention of the deaths of Hamas fighters.

There are 895 articles (see Table 1) that are consistent with the narrative described above forming 70% of the total articles that give a description of the war, that is, they are the dominant way of describing the war. The most common (411 articles) version of the narrative mentions all four elements (the Hamas attack, Israeli October 7 casualties, Israeli violence, and Palestinian casualties). Of those 31% do not mention the Israeli hostages held captive in Gaza. Across all 895 articles only 50% mention the Israeli hostages held captive in Gaza. 41% do not mention the Israeli deaths on October 7. In this narrative there are only 28 cases where Israeli violence is not mentioned but 234 where the Hamas attack is omitted. Taken as a whole, this narrative reinforces a distorted view of the conflict, namely that Hamas attacked Israel on October 7, killing many Israelis, and this led to Israeli violence that has been killing only Palestinian civilians since then with

⁵ Data files are available at: <https://github.com/epinker-sharing/NewYorkTimes-Gaza-War-Coverage>

⁶ I exclude articles that don't describe the war beyond that there is a war happening, e.g. "the war in Gaza" or "the Israel-Hamas war".

no further Israeli deaths. The reader is also inconsistently reminded of the Israeli hostages and often the Israeli deaths on October 7 are ignored as well. In other words, even though the status of the Israeli hostages has been the basis of every negotiation to halt the fighting in Gaza, they are not a consistent part of the war narrative.

A) Total Articles	1,561
B) Articles not mentioning Israeli casualties post October 7, or death of Hamas fighters	1,423
C) Articles not mentioning Palestinian Casualties, October 7 casualties, Hamas attack or Israeli violence (i.e. not describing war)	278
D) Mention Israeli casualties but not Palestinian (inconsistent with narrative)	127
E) Only mention Hamas Attack (inconsistent with narrative)	123
Total giving description of the war (A-C)	1,283
Total consistent some version of narrative (B minus sum of C, D, and E)	895

Table 1

5. Israeli Casualties post October 7

Between October 8th 2023 and June 7th 2024 the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) lost 364 soldiers on the various fronts of the war. Several thousand were wounded with a large number seriously wounded (Fabian 2024)⁷. 34 civilians have also been killed (with a total of 127 incidents killing or wounding Israeli civilians causing injuries out of 794 recorded attacks in Israel and the West Bank due to attacks by various Palestinian groups and Hezbollah).

The NY Times reporting on these post-October 7 Israeli casualties has been thin. Even in the Ring 0 articles that most directly address the fighting of the war only 14% of the articles mention Israeli casualties post October 7. Why couldn't cumulative Israeli casualties be tracked post-October 7 as consistently as Palestinian casualties? In other words, it would be eminently possible to make a count of Israeli casualties part of the summary narrative of the war, and yet the NYTimes fails to do so. What are the potential implications of such a reporting lapse?

One implication of such a lapse is that it appears to create a hierarchy of human life that is perhaps linked to degree of victimhood. Those Israelis murdered on October 7 do receive coverage by the NY Times, appearing in 57% of Ring 0 articles, as do the hostages. Israeli soldiers (conscripts and citizen soldier reservists) are less like victims and thus get less coverage. Once the Israeli counteroffensive began it also appears that Israeli civilians are viewed less as victims (see analysis in section 4).

⁷ This report is from August 2024 so may include soldiers wounded in June and July of 2024.

		Rings				
		0	1	2	3	4
Number of Articles		565	220	187	344	245
% Mentioning	Hamas Fighter Casualties	10%	4%	2%	0%	0%
	Palestinian Casualties	70%	57%	44%	33%	21%
	Israeli Casualty October 7	57%	54%	32%	27%	20%
	Hostages	58%	53%	30%	23%	19%
	Israeli Casualty post October 7	14%	5%	1%	0%	0%
	Palest/Lebanese Personal Suffering	36%	5%	4%	1%	2%
	Israeli Personal Suffering	3%	2%	0%	0%	1%
	October 7 Victim Personal Story	16%	4%	1%	1%	2%
	Palestinian Violence post October 7	18%	5%	3%	1%	1%

Table 2: Percentage of Articles Mentioning Topics by Ring

Another implication of this lapse is that it leads to a misunderstanding of how Israelis view the war and how they believe it should be prosecuted. Every soldier killed in the war makes the front page of Israeli newspapers. In our 244-day sample there are 128 days with at least one IDF death. There are only two stretches of time a week or longer in length during which there are no deaths. One of those stretches is during the November 2023 temporary ceasefire. In comparison, in the NYTimes coverage there are 74 days with a mention of Israeli casualties post October 7 (including both military and civilian mentions). More tellingly, there are nine stretches of a week or longer with no mention of Israeli casualties. That means that a regular reader of the NYTimes war coverage is much more likely to go long stretches of time not seeing a mention of Israeli post-October 7 casualties than an Israeli will.

Israelis will naturally be more sensitive to deaths of their soldiers than non-Israelis and owing to Israelis' broad participation in military service and close-knit society, military deaths affect a large proportion of the population. Therefore, from the Israeli perspective, the war has been costly in terms of Israeli lives. For the NY Times reader the cost that Israelis are bearing will not be salient. Given their sensitivity to casualties the Israeli public expects its military and political leadership to conduct the war in a manner that reduces risk to their soldiers. This approach will inevitably lead to greater civilian deaths among the Palestinians. This context is lost to the reader of the NY Times. A similar analysis finds that a NY Times reader will **never** go more than five days in a row without an article mentioning a personal stories of Palestinian or Lebanese suffering from the war. This pattern of reporting thus contributes to the perception that post-October 7 the war is a one-sided affair.

Streak Length (Days)	Number of Streaks with no actual	Number of Streaks with No-Mention			
	IDF casualty	Israeli Casualty post October 7	Hamas Fighter Death	Main Topic Palestinian suffering	Palestinian/Lebanese Personal Story
1	20	20	9	24	31
2	11	7	6	19	11
3	6	7	6	4	3
4	3	3	5	2	3
5	3	3	4	2	2
6	1	0	1	1	0
7	0	0	2	0	0
8	0	3	3	0	0
9	1	2	1	0	0
10	0	3	1	2	0
11	0	0	0	1	0
12	0	0	1	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	0	2	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	1	0	0	0
Days with a mention	128	74	62	115	160
Days NO Mention	116	170	182	129	84
Total	244	244	244	244	244
# of no mention stretches at least 7 days	2	9	10	3	0

Table 3: Streaks with no events and/or mentions

On February 25, 2024, the NY Times wrote (Fuller and Kershner 2024): “Mr. Netanyahu's comments seemed to underline the yawning gulf between how the war is being perceived inside Israel, where the main concern is the release of Israeli hostages and the defeat of Hamas, and much of the rest of the world, where there is anger and despair over the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza.”

This is ironic given the Times’ contribution to the gulf in perception of the war. The NY Times has an obligation to its readers to enhance their understanding of world events. By hiding the Israeli perspective, they are distorting the reader’s understanding. This is not a question of generating sympathy, it is about incomplete information.

6. The Phantom Menace

In a January 4th, 2025, interview with the NYTimes (Garcia-Navarro 2025), Secretary of State Anthony Blinken said:

“But fundamentally, look, one of the things that I found a little astounding throughout is that for all of the understandable criticism of the way Israel has conducted itself in Gaza, you hear virtually nothing from anyone since October 7 about Hamas. Why there hasn’t been a unanimous chorus around the world for Hamas to put down its weapons, to give up the hostages, to surrender — I don’t know what the answer is to that. Israel, on various occasions has offered safe passage to Hamas’s leadership and fighters out of Gaza. Where is the world? Where is the world, saying, Yeah, do that! End this! Stop the suffering of people that you brought on! Now, again, that doesn’t absolve Israel of its actions in conducting the war. But I do have to question how it is that we haven’t seen a greater sustained condemnation and pressure on Hamas to stop what it started and to end the suffering of people that it initiated.”

Why is world opinion so singularly focused on Israel without placing attention or pressure on Hamas? A partial explanation could be that media attention is focused on Israel. The NYTimes reporting has consistently diminished Hamas’ role in the war beyond starting it. As of June 7th, 2024, the IDF has been fighting in Gaza for eight months. Who have they been fighting? Only 10% of the Ring 0 articles (and much less for Rings 1-4) mention the death of Hamas fighters. In this 244-day period there are 182 days with no mention of Hamas casualties. There are ten one-week or greater streaks with no mention of Hamas casualties. Only 18% of Ring 0 articles mention acts of violence by Palestinians post October 7. These mentions of Hamas fighter deaths and Palestinian violence serve as a proxy for NYTimes reporting on combat in Gaza. According to the ACLED data there were 414 armed clashes between the IDF and Hamas/PIJ in that period. From the NYTimes perspective Israeli soldiers are mainly fighting civilians or shadows. The NYTimes says (Kershner and Yazbek 2023): “IDF soldiers were killed”; it is a mystery how.

The lack of coverage of acts of violence directed at Israelis by Palestinians is much worse than the statistics in the previous paragraph suggest because the criteria I used for identifying a mention of Palestinian violence is lax. I do not consider how much detail is given about the violent actions, how much significance is placed upon it within the article, or the relevance of the mention. I am intentionally lax to minimize the need to make judgement calls about the article tagging and thus potentially introduce a bias. To see the effect of this laxness let’s look at Hamas/PIJ rocket attacks on Israel during the period from October 8, 2023, through November 2, 2023. This is at the outset of the war and straddles the start of the Israeli ground invasion of Gaza on October 27th which led to a sharp decrease in the Palestinian rocket fire.

From October 8 through November 2 (26 days) there were 17 days with 31 incidents⁸ of Hamas rocket fire on Israel causing injuries to civilians. During that period there were 12 days that Palestinian violence was mentioned and 20 individual mentions. On the face of it, the count of incidents and article mention of violence appear similar and do not indicate a shortfall in coverage of Palestinian attacks on Israelis. However, looking more closely at the article content reveals a different story. I find there are only 4 days in which any Israeli casualties are mentioned. Only one out of these four mentioned Israeli civilians injured by a rocket attack (Yazbek and Boxerman 2023). (One mentioned IDF casualties in a clash with Hezbollah in the north (Kershner 2023b), another was about IDF casualties in clash with Hamas in Gaza (Kershner et al 2023), another regarded a

⁸ Here an incident is the firing of multiple rockets at a specific location that is identified in the ACLED database by a town name and latitude and longitude.

shootout in the West Bank (Gettleman et al 2023)). Putting aside Israeli casualties, of the 20 articles mentioning Palestinian violence there are 16 that mention Hamas or PIJ rocket firing toward Israel. Again, this appears to be extensive coverage. But 11 of those 16 articles only mention the rocket fire within the context of discussing the explosion at the Al Ahli Hospital in Gaza which was blamed on an errant PIJ rocket aimed at Israel.

Of the remaining five articles, four appear between October 8 and October 16 and do not mention any Israeli casualties from the rocket fire. Table 4 presents a side-by-side comparison of the way the NY Times articles reference the Palestinian rocket fire toward Israel and the description of incidents from the news sources referenced by the ACLED database. One can see that the references to rocket fire in the NYTimes give no indication that the rocket attacks are of any significance or real threat to the Israeli population. The ACLED descriptions, drawn from publicly available media sources, are very terse but provide much greater content. For the NYTimes articles the word count is also provided. There does not appear to be a space constraint that prevented mentioning the Israeli casualties. Only on November 1, 2023, is there mention of rockets causing damage and injuries. Thus, from the 17th of October through November 2nd, there was a single mention of rocket attacks on Israel that was not about the debate over Al Ahli Hospital. But, during those 17 days, there were 13 incidents with Israeli civilian injuries caused by Gazan rocket fire.

This example illustrates a few points. First, the tally of articles mentioning Palestinian violence post October 7th in Table 1 is overestimating the significance of the NYTimes reporting on this topic. This contributes to the diminishment of Hamas' responsibility for the continuation of the war. Second, underreporting the continued attacks on Israeli civilians undermines Israel's justification for the war. Note that in the 22 days from November 2nd until the temporary ceasefire begins there were only two days in which civilians were injured by rocket fire, indicating the impact of the Israeli ground operation in Gaza. Third, this pattern of reporting is already established in the first weeks of the war. While the NYTimes is still regularly reporting about the Israeli civilian victims of the October 7th Hamas attack it is already downplaying the attacks on other Israeli civilians⁹.

⁹ During this same period there were six incidents of Hezbollah rocket or anti-tank rocket fire injuring Israel civilians. None of these were reported by the NYTimes despite it covering the tensions on the northern border and reporting on Hezbollah violence. There were 25 articles mentioning the violence during that period in some way.

Date	NY Times quote re: Rockets	ACLED quote re: Rockets
10/8/23	NONE	On 8 October 2023, Hamas militants fired several barrages of rockets from Gaza at Sderot (Ashqelon, HaDarom) throughout the day, with several direct hits reported within the city. As a result, two people were injured, one seriously, and at least six buildings and homes were hit directly.
10/8/23		On 8 October 2023, Hamas militants fired barrages of rockets from Gaza at Ashqelon (HaDarom), with several reported direct hits within the city. Directly hitting an Israeli woman, injuring her severely. 5 others were lightly injured. The woman was hospitalized. At least four buildings were hit and damaged, including a hospital.
10/9/23	<p>Israeli troops fought to expel Palestinian militants from Israeli territory for a second day on Sunday, battling in firefights between homes, ducking under rocket fire and striking Gazan cities from the sky in retaliation for the militants' assault, which officials described as the worst attack on Israel in decades.” (Kershner and Kingsley 2023)</p> <p>6828 Words</p>	On 9 October 2023, several missiles were launched by Hamas militants from Gaza hit Sderot (Ashqelon, HaDarom). 10 building and vehicles were hit by the missile attack. A middle aged Israeli sustained medium injuries.
10/9/23		On 9 October 2023, several missiles were launched by Hamas militants from Gaza fell in 4 different spots in Ashdod (Ashqelon, HaDarom). Several vehicles were damaged. A middle-aged woman was seriously injured and hospitalized.
10/9/23		On 9 October 2023, a missile fired by Hamas militants from Gaza fell in the Neve Ilan neighborhood in Yavne (Rehovot, HaMerkaz). No casualties occurred.
10/9/23		On 9 October 2023, a missiles launched by Hamas militants from Gaza hit a mosque in Abu Ghosh (Judean Mountains, Jerusalem). 1 Arab Israeli civilians was injured by missile fragments, and at least 2 others as well. 1 civilian succumbed to his wounds days later.
10/9/23		On 9 October 2023, Hamas militants fired barrages of rockets from Gaza at Ashqelon (HaDarom), with several direct hits reported within the city. As a result, a boy was injured by shrapnel after a rocket hit his home, a residential building was hit and damaged, and several fires broke out in the city. Separately, Israeli military Iron Dome missile defense system intercepted several missiles launched by Hamas in Ashqelon (Ashqelon, HaDarom). 4 Israeli civilians were injured from missile fragments caused by the interceptions. Also, a missile launched by Hamas militants from Gaza directly hit a building in Ashqelon (Ashqelon, HaDarom). A civilian was lightly injured.
10/10/23	<p>“Palestinian fighters also continued to fire rockets into Israel, targeting central cities like Tel Aviv and driving Israelis into basements and underground shelters.” (Kershner and Boxerman 2023)</p> <p>6072 Words</p>	On 10 October 2023, several missiles launched by Hamas militants from Gaza fell near Talme Eliyahu (Beer Sheva, HaDarom) causing 4 injuries, one of them is critical.
10/10/23		On 10 October 2023, a missile launched by Hamas militants from Gaza fell in the Eshkol regional council near Magen (Ashqelon, HaDarom). 2 foreign workers were killed, and 1 was seriously injured.
10/10/23		On 10 October 2023, a missile launched by Hamas militants from Gaza hit the Regina hotel in Ashqelon city (Ashqelon, HaDarom). The building sustained material damages, and an Israeli woman was injured. Also, Israeli military iron

		dome missile defense system intercepted several missiles launched from Gaza by Hamas in Ashqelon (Ashqelon, HaDarom).
10/11/23	<p>“As we went through the village, we heard booms of rocket and mortar fire from Gaza, blasts of Israeli artillery fire into the enclave and the rat-a-tat of gunfire as Israeli soldiers crouching in the fields continued to secure the area” (Kershner 2023a)</p> <p>9218 Words</p>	On 11 October 2023, Hamas militants fired several barrages of rockets at Sderot (Ashqelon, HaDarom). Five buildings were hit and damaged by rockets, including a school and homes. One person was moderately injured.
10/11/23		On 11 October 2023, Hamas militants fired several barrages of rockets at Ashqelon (HaDarom). At least 12 people were injured. One rocket hit a medical center in the city, causing material damage. Several other rockets hit residential buildings and cars, causing material damages and fires. Since the beginning of the war on 7 October, about 900 rockets have been fired toward Ashqelon. At least 126 of them have landed within the city.
10/12/23	NONE	On 12 October 2023, Hamas militants fired several barrages of rockets at Sderot (Ashqelon, HaDarom). One person was killed and six others were injured due to seven rockets that landed in the city.
10/12/23		On 12 October 2023, Hamas militants fired barrages of rockets toward Bet Shemesh (Judean Foothills, Jerusalem). Two were injured when a rocket hit a construction site in the city.
10/14/23	NONE	On 14 October 2023, a mortar launched by Hamas militants hit Nirim kibbutz (Beer Sheva, HaDarom) injuring 5 Israeli civilians. 2 were seriously injured, and 2 others sustain medium injuries, and 1 was lightly wounded.
10/14/23		On 14 October 2023, Hamas militants fired an anti-tank missiles towards the Eshkol regional council near Magen (Beer Sheva, HaDarom), injuring 5 Israeli civilians.
10/14/23		On 14 October 2023, a missiles launched by Hamas militants from Gaza fell in a diving club in the Nahariyya marina (Akko, HaZafon) injuring 2 Israeli civilians, who were hospitalized.
10/16/23	<p>“Hamas, the group that controls the Gaza Strip, continued firing rockets deep into Israel and the military has retaliated, pounding Gaza with punishing airstrikes.” (Kershner 2023c)</p> <p>8562 Words</p>	On 16 October 2023, Hamas militants fired several barrages of rockets from Gaza toward southern Israel, including Beeri (Beer Sheva, HaDarom). Shrapnel from an intercepted rocket fell in Beeri and lightly injured a person.
10/16/23		On 16 October 2023, Hamas militants fired several barrages of rockets from Gaza toward central Israel, including Holon (Tel Aviv). Shrapnel from an intercepted rocket fell in Holon and injured a woman.

Table 4: Comparing NY Times coverage of Palestinian rocket fire with ACLED accounts of actual events October 8, 2023 to October 16, 2023

During this same period there were six incidents of Hezbollah rocket or anti-tank rocket fire injuring Israel civilians. None of these were reported by the NYTimes despite it covering the tensions on the northern border and reporting on Hezbollah violence. There were 25 articles mentioning the violence during that period in some way.

Another measure of this exculpation of Hamas is a simple count of mentions of “Hamas” versus mentions of “Israel”. Of the 1561 articles in the sample, there are only 105 (7%) in which the number of times the word “Hamas” appears is greater than or equal to the number of times the word “Israel” appears. In total, the word “Israel” appears 27,205 times vs 8,499 for “Hamas” across all articles in the analysis. If one excludes articles with the main topics: Iran, Lebanon, Israelis, Israeli Politics, Israel-US relations the imbalance does not change much (“Israel” appears 21,335 times and “Hamas” appears 7,086 times). If one restricts the sample to only articles in which Hamas appears the ratio also does not change very much (“Israel” appears 26,184 times and “Hamas” appears 8,499 times). This imbalance in mentions diminishes the responsibility of Hamas for the war and the situation. It supports the view that all agency is in hands of Israel and thus most blame should fall on Israel for negative sentiment about the war.

One could argue that this imbalance simply reflects that Israel has more independence than the Palestinians and thus will have more freedom of action. If that were the case, one would expect that there would be less of an imbalance in the mentions of Hezbollah and Iran in articles where they appear. Hezbollah is the de facto ruler of Lebanon and Iran is a sovereign state. They both have great independence of action. Yet the same imbalance in mentions relative to “Israel” appear for both “Hezbollah” and “Iran” (see Table 5).

	Counts	
	All Rings	Ring 0
Count of articles with Hezbollah	212	101
Counts of "Hezbollah"	878	580
Counts of "Israel" when Hezbollah appears	6,222	3,672
Count of articles with "Israel" less frequent than "Hezbollah"	7	0
Count of articles with Iran	375	107
Counts of "Iran"	3,196	1,092
Counts of "Israel" when Iran appears	8,208	3,759
Count of articles with "Israel" less frequent than "Iran"	98	12
Count of articles with Hamas	1,344	546
Counts of "Hamas"	8,499	5,058
Counts of "Israel" when Hamas appears	26,184	13,594
Count of articles with "Israel" less frequent than "Hamas"	105	21

Table 5: Count of mentions of main actors

7. The Balance of Suffering

No matter one’s political leanings and loyalties in this war, I think there are a few facts that all can agree on. First, war causes human suffering. Second, the people of Gaza are experiencing immense suffering that is in aggregate and on a per capita basis much greater than the suffering of the Israeli people. Third, worldwide public opinion is playing a large role in this war and therefore all parties have an incentive to use their suffering to generate sympathy. Within this context, reporting the

suffering of one party in the conflict should not come at the expense of reporting the suffering of the other party unless one has an agenda to influence public opinion in a particular direction.

My analysis shows that the NYTimes coverage of Palestinian suffering in this war is extensive. There are many dimensions to the Palestinian suffering including, the impact of the many deaths and serious injury, displacement, hunger, lack of medical care, family separation and more. 57.5% of all Ring-0 articles mention some aspect of Palestinian suffering of these types with more than 36% of Ring-0 articles including a personal account of a Gazan's struggles. Out of 244 days in the sample there are only 84 days with no such personal account. I.e. on average 2 out of every 3 days has such an account. It is difficult to conceive of a newspaper dedicating more coverage than this to such a phenomenon.

With respect to Israeli suffering there are also many dimensions. But in Israel there are two populations with differing experiences. The residents of the border villages near Gaza and the Lebanon border can be thought of as direct victims of the October 7 attack and the almost immediate follow-on attack by Hezbollah in the north. This population includes people who are displaced, have lost family members, are families of the hostages, or are hostages themselves. The rest of Israel forms the second affected population. Some of them have close personal ties to the population hurt on October 7. The rest are impacted because of reservists called up for hundreds of days leaving behind spouses, children and workplaces and impacted by the thousands of wounded including many severely, the widows and orphans created by combat deaths and the disruption to the Israeli economy. In other words, there are no shortage of topics related to the human cost of the war on Israelis. The NYTimes coverage is very different across these two populations. 16% of Ring-0 articles have personal stories of October 7 victims. This is less than the number mentioning Palestinians, but I don't think that is an indication of any diminishment of the Israeli October 7 victims suffering. On the other hand, only 3% of the Ring-0 articles have an account of an Israeli's struggles post October 7. Only 52 articles overall (out of 1561) make any reference to some dimension of Israeli suffering among the population that are not direct victims of October 7. Is there are correct number of mentions? I cannot say. But 3% is very low and it is natural to ask: what is the potential impact of such a low frequency? Again, it reinforces the view that Israelis are incurring little cost from the war and makes it difficult for outsiders to understand the Israeli attitudes about the war.

8. Revenge, Genocide and Famine

In section 3, I defined the "dominant narrative" of the NYTimes. That is not the only narrative that exists about the war. Another narrative is that after the Hamas attack on October 7, Israel embarked on a war of revenge with the goal of committing a genocide on the people of Gaza using famine among other mechanisms. The NYTimes coverage can play a role in amplifying such narratives intentionally or unintentionally.

Over the course of the conflict there have been many moments when various governmental and aid organizations have raised alarms over potential famine in Gaza (Stack 2024a). Sometimes these alarms appear inaccurate as reported recently (Livni 2024) when responding to a report regarding

famine in northern Gaza, US Ambassador Jack Lew pushed back: “At a time when inaccurate information is causing confusion and accusations, it is irresponsible to issue a report like this,” Mr. Lew said. “We work day and night with the U.N. and our Israeli partners to meet humanitarian needs, which are great.” These alarms are “news”, as are the critiques of the alarms by government officials, and the NYTimes reports them. It is difficult to see another approach in this situation.

The accusation of “genocide” appears in 24% of the Ring 3 articles. Ring-3 includes articles about protests against Israel and the war including university campuses. The protesters often make the accusation of genocide against Israel. When the NYTimes reports on the protesters and their motivations and quotes them it is amplifying their message. This is exactly what the protesters want to happen. Here we can ask, is the NYTimes overreporting these stories and serving the goals of the protesters? Could the NYTimes also interview students who don’t agree with the genocide claims and find them offensive?

When it comes to the language of “revenge” or “retaliation” I find that, after excluding articles with main topics including Iran and Lebanon, more than 21% of the Ring 0 and Ring 1 articles use this language to describe the Israeli military operation in Gaza. This use of language is an author’s choice and can cause the reader to believe that Israel’s invasion of Gaza has less of an objective purpose to defend the country and is instead driven by an emotional need for vengeance which may be less justifiable. Interestingly, in the first month of the war the revenge language is used in 38% of Ring 0 articles but drops to less than 15% in all but one of the following months. Did the editors view this language as introducing a bias in the reporting and thus suppressed it? Or, did the Israeli rhetoric about the war shift as the shock of October 7 subsided?

9. Conclusion

In this study I have closely reviewed the NYTimes reporting on the war between Israel and Hamas that started October 7, 2023. I found numerous imbalances in the NYTimes coverage. Namely, reporting on both Israeli military and civilian casualties incurred, post October 7, is sparse. Reporting on Israeli suffering through personal accounts of non-October 7 victims is very limited while reporting of Palestinian personal accounts of suffering is very frequent. Reporting of Hamas militant casualties is sparse and reporting of Palestinian acts of violence post October 7 is very sparse. Mentions of Hamas, Hezbollah, or Iran are much less frequent than mentions of Israel.

The potential net effect of these imbalances is multi-faceted. The imbalances create great sympathy for the Palestinian people while at the same time diminishing Hamas’ responsibility for their situation and the continuation of the war. Outside of the direct Israeli victims of October 7, there is little relative sympathy for Israelis, little recognition of the costs of the war to Israel, and great responsibility is placed upon Israel for the suffering of the Palestinians and the situation in the region. There is a certain irony in this pattern of coverage. The lion’s share of responsibility for the situation and its resolution is placed on Israel. Yet, at the same time the reporting does not give the reader a full understanding of how the war is being experienced by Israelis.

This study is incomplete. The criteria for identifying articles almost certainly excluded some relevant articles. But given the size of the corpus analyzed it is unlikely that the reported statistics would be changed much. Because the war has evolved over time, particularly the escalation of the

Lebanese front, it will be interesting to continue the analysis past June 2024. However, the damage of the imbalanced coverage has already been done in the first 8 months. More interesting gaps in the study have to do with elements of article content that have not been analyzed. For example, how does the NYTimes use photographs? Is there an imbalance there? How does the content of photographs match the article content? How do the headlines match the article content? This study did not look at editorials or op-eds; there are likely imbalances in the opinions expressed there. I have also not attempted to judge the accuracy of any of the NYTimes reporting. All of these are avenues others can pursue.

There are also several in-depth analyses the NYTimes performs in its coverage. For example, analyzing the conditions of Gazan detainees in Israel (Kingsley and Shbair 2024). Are these types of analyses primary of Israeli actions and in a negative light? In reading through all of the articles covering the war there are also sub-narratives that reflect the conventional thinking at the time they were amplified uncritically by the NYTimes. For example, a few months into the Israeli ground invasion of Gaza, it was depicted as a failure (Bergman and Kingsley 2024), an Israeli operation in Rafah was viewed as likely to cause vast Palestinian casualties, imminent Gaza famine was declared many times in, and a ceasefire with Hezbollah was only possible after one was reached in Gaza. Is it a coincidence that all this conventional thinking pointed toward creating a ceasefire in Gaza as soon as possible, perhaps unconditionally?

It is my hope that the analyses presented in this study helps increase understanding of how choices in what to cover can create an imbalanced perspective of an important issue. The result of these choices can be to shift a newspaper, in this case the NYTimes, from being a reporter of the news to a manufacturer of the same.

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APPENDIX A: Main Topic Categories

Main topics: Every article is assigned one or two main topic categories that characterize its subject matter. We also define a set of issues that we are interested in tracking coverage of that we believe shape impressions of the war.

Business: Stories primarily about business and economics that are impacted in some way by the war.

Campus: These stories about the impact of the war on campuses (mainly in the US and mainly college campuses) that have to do with anti-Israel/pro-Palestinian protests, policies, anti-semitism, and campus environment. These stories usually do not go into much detail about the war but often include strong anti-Israel statements made by protesters.

Culture: These are articles about various cultural settings such as art exhibitions or the Oscars in which opinions about the war arise.

Diplomacy: These articles are about interactions between world leaders to find resolutions to problems related to wars in Gaza and Lebanon but distinct from negotiations involving the combatants about ceasefires or hostages. For example, the visit of the King of Jordan to the United States and his meeting with President Biden.

Education: Stories about how the war is impacting K-12 schools

Hostages: These are articles that focus on the status or experiences of the Israeli hostages (or their families) held by Hamas.

Humanitarian Aid: Articles that are primarily about humanitarian aid delivery in Gaza

International Court: Articles about efforts to accuse Israel (and Hamas) of war crimes or other violations of international law.

Iran: These are articles about the direct confrontation between Israel and Iran and its escalation. Stories about Iran's role in supporting various proxies and its relations with the US and other countries are classified under "Regional".

Israelis: Articles are focused on some element of Israeli society separate from specifically political issues

Israeli Politics: Articles about the Israeli government, its various factions, and popular opinions about the government.

Israel-US: Articles about relations between the two countries and diplomatic interactions.

Journalism: Articles about various aspects of the journalistic enterprise in this war.

Lebanon: Articles about events in Lebanon.

Military Aid: Articles about military aid to Israel and the politics around that.

Military Analysis: These articles are discussing details of military operations being conducted mainly in Gaza and Lebanon but also throughout the region. These articles often involve other

topics such as Humanitarian Aid, Suffering of the Gazan population, Negotiations about cease-fires and hostage release.

Negotiations: Articles specifically about ceasefire and hostage release negotiations.

October 7 Events: These are articles that are focused on the specific events of October 7, 2023 and how they impacted individual Israelis. For example, an article about a family returning to a Kibbutz on the border area that had been attacked.

Palestinian Politics: Articles about different political forces and their support within Palestinian society

Palestinian Suffering: These are articles that devote considerable attention to various aspects of difficult conditions under which Palestinian civilians are living in Gaza and/or the West Bank. For example, articles describing lack of food, access to healthcare, or displacement. Also articles that focus on traumas experienced such as death or injury.

Regional: These are articles about events in the Middle East that are related to the war but the specific events don't directly involve the main combatants Israel, Hamas, or Hezbollah. For example, Houthi attacks on Red Sea shipping and US/UK responses to that or attacks on US forces in the region by various militias.

Sanctions: These are articles that discuss the topic of military aid to Israel being restricted in some way because of its conduct in the war in Gaza.

U.S. Politics and Military Aid: These are stories about aid packages being deliberated on by Congress.

U.S. Politics: These stories are mainly about the Presidential campaign and have some reference to voter opinions about the candidates' positions on the war in Gaza.

UN/UNWRA: Articles focused on actions taken by the UN such as resolutions calling for ceasefires or issuing of reports on various aspects of the conflict. Articles about UNWRA are included among these.

War Crimes: Articles discussing whether specific Israeli actions violate rules of war.

West Bank: Articles about events in the West Bank

World Politics: These are articles either about the internal politics of a non-US country not directly involved in the conflict or about the interactions between such countries. For example, the war in Gaza as a topic in British elections.

Appendix B: List of second level tags

Palestinian Casualties: 1 if the article mentions any (civilian or non-civilian) Palestinian casualties caused by Israel (Gaza or West Bank), 0 otherwise.

Lebanese Casualty: 1 if the article mentions any (civilian or non-civilian) Lebanese casualties caused by Israel, 0 otherwise.

Israeli Casualty October 7: 1 if the article mentions any (civilian or non-civilian) Israeli casualties that occurred on October 7th, 2023, caused by Palestinian attack, 0 otherwise.

Israeli Casualty post October 7: 1 if the article mentions any (civilian or non-civilian) Israeli casualties that occurred **after** October 7th, 2023 caused by any attackers of Israel, 0 otherwise.

Palestinian Suffering: 1 if the article mentions some aspect of human suffering or significant hardship for the Palestinians (in Gaza or West Bank) caused by the war other than death or injury from violence that are included above. For example, destruction of critical infrastructure, need/lack of medical care, access to food or water, financial hardship, and displacement. 0 otherwise.

Lebanese Suffering: Same as above but for Lebanese.

Israeli Suffering: Same as the above but for Israelis and not including victims of the October 7 attack and their families. For example, Israeli residents displaced from the north of the country because of Hezbollah attacks, or reservists who have had their lives disrupted because of the war.

October 7 Victim Suffering: 1 if the article mentions the suffering of Israelis on the day of October 7th who were in the areas attacked by Hamas or the difficulties faced by these people in the aftermath of October 7th. This includes the hostages and what they experience in captivity as well as the families of the hostages. 0 otherwise.

Hamas attack October 7: 1 if the article mentions the Hamas attack on October 7th, 2023. 0 otherwise.

Palestinian Violence Post Oct7: 1 if the article mentions any Palestinian violence that occurred after October 7th. This includes Hamas rocket firing, descriptions of Hamas (and other militant groups) fighters in combat with Israeli soldiers in Gaza or West Bank, and terrorist attacks within Israel or the West Bank. 0 otherwise.

Other Violence against Israel: 1 if the article mentions any non-Palestinian group or nation launching attacks on Israel. This includes Hezbollah, the Houthis and Iran. 0 Otherwise.

Israeli Violence: 1 if the article mentions violence by Israelis against non-Israelis. This includes for example, descriptions of violent acts like airstrikes, shelling, and shooting. But it also includes more general descriptions of the war such as: "Israel's war in Gaza", "Israeli military action", "Israel's invasion of Gaza". On the other hand a description such as the Israel-Hamas war in Gaza would not be tagged as describing Israeli violence. 0 otherwise.

Hostages: 1 if there is any mention of the Israeli hostages taken by Hamas on October 7th. The word "hostage" does not have to be used. Mentions of Israelis "abducted" or "kidnapped" count as well. 0 otherwise.

Palestinian or Lebanese Personal Suffering: 1 if there is an account of an individual's personal suffering from the war with a direct quote that is not from an official. 0 otherwise.

Israeli Personal Suffering: Same as above but for an Israeli who was not a victim of violence on the day of October 7th. For example, a personal account of a resident of a northern Israeli village undergoing shelling by Hezbollah.

October 7 Victim Personal Story: 1 if the article mentions the personal story of an individual's experiences on October 7 or how that experience continues to impact them. This includes the families of hostages. 0 otherwise.

Hamas Fighters casualty: 1 if the article has any mention of Hamas fighters being killed. This can be a mention of an estimate for the total number of Hamas fighters killed as of some date or it can be a mention of Hamas fighters (or leaders) being killed in a specific incident. If the article only says something like "Israeli army says it targeted Hamas militants" it does not count. 0 otherwise.

APPENDIX C: Mapping of Level 1 Tags to Rings (for combinations appearing at least five times)

Topic 1	Topic 2	Ring	Article Count
Egypt	Military Analysis	0	6
Gaza	Military Analysis	0	93
Gaza	Palestinian Suffering	0	94
Hostages	Oct 7 Events	0	7
Hostages	Military Analysis	0	5
Hostages	Negotiations	0	5
Hostages	Blank	0	19
Humanitarian Aid	Military Analysis	0	8
Humanitarian Aid	Blank	0	51
Iran	Military Analysis	0	22
Israelis	Blank	0	9
Israelis	Business	0	6
Israelis	Culture	0	6
Israelis	Oct 7 Events	0	7
Lebanon	Military Analysis	0	17
Military Analysis	Blank	0	5
Military Analysis	Palestinian Suffering	0	8
Military Analysis	Oct 7 Events	0	11
Military Analysis	Humanitarian Aid	0	13
Military Analysis	Israel-US	0	6
Military Analysis	Wrap-Up	0	6
Negotiations	Military Analysis	0	6
Negotiations	Hostages	0	6
Negotiations	Blank	0	28
Oct 7 Events	Blank	0	26
Palestinian Suffering	Military Analysis	0	14
West Bank	Israelis	0	7
West Bank	Palestinian Suffering	0	6
Business	Blank	4	40
Campus	Blank	4	26
Culture	Blank	4	93
Culture	Business	4	7
Other	Blank	4	15
World Politics	Blank	4	51

Topic 1	Topic 2	Ring	Article Count
Iran	Diplomacy	1	8
Israeli Politics	Blank	1	21
Israeli Politics	Military Analysis	1	8
Israel-US	Diplomacy	1	7
Military Aid	Israel-US	1	9
Military Analysis	Diplomacy	1	14
Negotiations	Blank	1	28
Regional	Military Analysis	1	46
Sanctions	Military Aid	1	5
UN	Humanitarian Aid	1	10
UN	Blank	1	5
US Politics	Israel-US	1	7
War Crimes	Blank	1	6
Diplomacy	Regional	2	13
Diplomacy	Military Analysis	2	6
Diplomacy	Regional	2	13
International Court	Blank	2	20
Journalism	Blank	2	9
Regional	Iran	2	22
Regional	Protests	2	6
Regional	Iran	2	22
Regional	Blank	2	10
Regional	Protests	2	6
Social Media	Blank	2	6
US Politics	Military Aid	2	38
World Politics	Military Aid	2	5
Campus	Protests	3	76
Campus	US Politics	3	10
Culture	Protests	3	9
Protests	US Politics	3	17
Regional	Business	3	5
US General	Blank	3	6
US Politics	Blank	3	182