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A Critical Discourse Analysis of some Selected Newspaper Reports about Yemen Conflict

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Abstract

The present paper aims at conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis analysis of the reports of two newspapers, namely, **Tehran Times** and **Asharq Al-Awsat** about Yemen conflict. The present paper is mainly limited to the critical discourse analysis of the newspaper reports that tackle Yemen war from March 2015 to December 2016. The study aims at Figure out whether or not there is a clear bias in the reports of these two newspapers. The paper conducts both a qualitative and a quantitative discourse analysis depending on Van Dijk's "Ideological Square" (2000). The analysis of the reports of the two newspapers reveals that the reports are not free from bias. Both newspapers organize their reports in a way in which the 'in-group' and 'out-group' are polarized.

Key Words: Yemen war, Ideological Square, bias

المستخلص

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى اجراء تحليل للخيارات الوظيفية للتقارير الصحفية لاثنتين من الصحف وهما يتعلق بصراع اليمن . فيما Asharq Al-Awsat وصحيفة Tehran Times بالتحديد صحيفة ان التحليل النقدي للخطاب في التقارير الصحفية التي تتناول حرب اليمن في الفترة من اذار ٢٠١٥ لغاية كانون الاول ٢٠١٦ هوما تقوم به هذه الدراسة بصورة رئيسية. تهدف الدراسة الى استكشاف فيما اذا كان هناك انحياز واضح في تقارير الصحيفتين ام لا؟ تبنت الدراسة التحليل الكمي و النوعي الذي يعتمد على لعام (٢٠٠٠). Ideological Square انموذج العالم فان دايك اظهر التحليل بان تقارير كلتا الصحيفتين هي غير خالية من الانحياز. لقد نظمت كلتا الصحيفتين تقاريرهما بطريقة تكون فيها المجموعة الخارجية والمجموعة الداخلية مستقطبة .

1. Introduction

Yemen war 2015 has always been under the consideration of the media, namely newspapers worldwide, on the one hand, and the Middle East, in particular, on the other. Different newspapers around the world whether in Western or Middle East countries have dealt with this war. Each newspaper has dealt with this war differently according to its ideology and interests of the country to which it belongs. The new concept of war nowadays is not only that of using weapons and soldiers in a direct fight between two armies but also there should be a supportive media which can be used to fuel the public with news about what is going on. Van Dijk (1988, p.83) states that "Ideologically news implicitly promotes the dominant beliefs and opinions of elite in society".

Number of studies with different theoretical frameworks has been conducted to study the tendentious representation of events through media and newspapers in particular. Accordingly, Omidi and Rahimi (2013) are among many other researchers who try to deal with this topic. They aim to focus on how events are reported in the newspapers of the Middle East. In the same respect, Taiwo (2007) studies the relation among language, power relations and ideology. Reza and Ali (2016) conduct a study about Yemen crisis in terms of Tendentious Newspaper Headlines.

The previous studies mentioned above mostly concentrate on the analysis of events in media of only one country or take only one point of view. What is

unique in this study is that, it is not limited to only one point of view or opinion. The study makes an analysis of two important newspapers in the Middle East about very important event in the region.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Definitions of Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Van Dijk (1998), CDA is a type of discourse analysis research that mainly concentrates on the ways in which power abuse, dominance and inequality are utilized within discourse in sociopolitical contexts. Therefore, CDA aims to find out and resist social inequality. Moreover, Van Dijk is interested in studying how these discourses can be used by some of the dominant groups in order to be a tool for enabling them to take some advantages from the dominated groups. (p13).

CDA is not too much a direction, specialization or school beside the other "approaches" in the studies of discourse. Rather it aims to present a different "perspective" or "mood" of etherizing, application and analysis throughout this field. We might find a more or less perspective of critical in such diverse areas, such as, conversation analysis, pragmatics, rhetoric, narrative analysis, sociolinguistics, stylistics or ethnography, among others (Van Dijk ,1998.p.57)

Fairclough (1995) states that CDA is one type of DA that tries to find out in a systematic way the frequently vague relations of 'determination and causality 'between (a) cultural structures, wider social relations and processes shaped by relations of power and fights over power. CDA does so by concentrating on linguistic elements to reveal their hidden elements in their social system, and to what extent these elements affect that system (Fairclough , 1989.p.131).

Wodak (2001) states that CDA, as a critical approach, deals with the higher level of discourse to be used as the main element of communication. This approach tries to examine, in a critical way, social inequality as it is constituted, signaled, expressed and legitimized by the language use. Therefore, CDA underlines that discourses are objects of investigation. It justifies both the production and comprehension of discourses as well as tries to find out their relationship to the social structure. Thus in CDA, concepts such as ideology and power are very important. Therefore,CDA tries to

analyse the vague relationships which can be found between discourse and events at any social or cultural discourse practices which might be implicit or exclusive to the others (Fairclough, 1995). CDA aims to study discourse properties that might be beyond the grammatical aspects of the language and may be found in a single sentence or even in isolated words such as discourses, texts, conversations or communicative events (Van Dijk, 2008 b.p.231).

Breeze (2001) states that there are some linguists who have argued that CDA have recently become one of the most common and most autonomous discipline that has its own methods, assumptions, paradigms, and power structures.(p.65).

CDA deals with the analysis of opaque and transparent structural relationships of discrimination, dominance, power and control as established in the language. This approach also investigates, in a critical way, social inequality whenever it is expressed, constituted, signaled and legitimized by the use of language (Wodak & Meyer, 2001.p.89).

This approach is a multidisciplinary approach since it shares methods and interests with other disciplines which study social structures and social groups, disciplines such as sociology, ethnography, ethnomethodology and anthropology. At the same time, CDA intersects with disciplines which are concerned with human cognition and behaviourism such as social psychology and cognition (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). In brief, CDA as relatively new approach, is a multidisciplinary approach of applied linguistics. This approach applies the linguistic studies to non - linguistic ones, such as political or social studies.(p.90).

2.2 News Media

The effect of news media on the communication about conflicts and wars has been extensive along with the development in the technology of communication which enables audience to follow war debates more easily as well as gain new or alternative sources of news.

In the language of 'news media', Bell (1996) states that media discourse are probably our main source of language. Media discourse is a discourse that addresses mass audiences, produces millions of words every day and thus can exert substantial influence. (p.98).

That is particularly the case for the news genre, which is considered by Bell as the primary language genre.

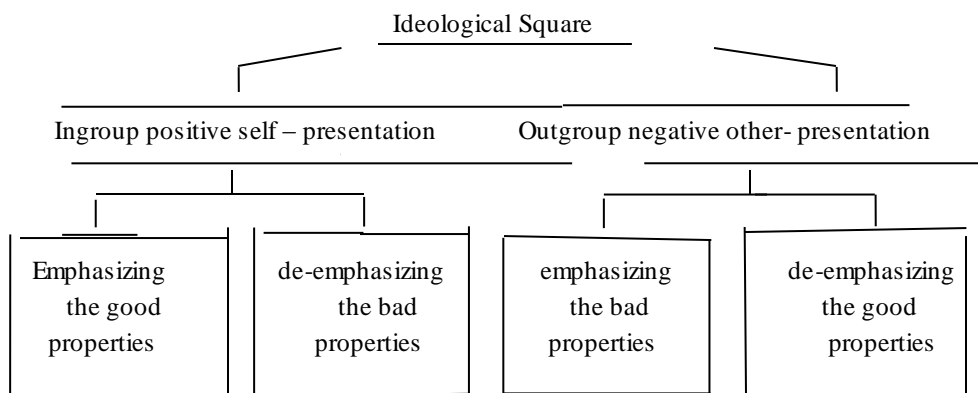


Figure (3-1): The Possibilities of Ideological Square

In this respect, (Cottle, 2009, p.109) argues that “the news media have long occupied

an important part in the battle for hearts and minds, and how the propaganda war is fought. However, the media’s relationship to the war continues to develop and change, and the role of news media is becoming more than merely communicating or mediating the events of war but also increasingly entering its course and conduct.”

News media which include television, newspaper, and the other types of social media, such as, Twitter and Facebook can be defined as “the type of mass media that is specialized in providing latest events to a certain public”

(Wilson , 2009 , p. 34) .

Likewise, Van Dijk (1988b) considers the term ‘news’ as ambiguous since it might be related to various meanings : the first meaning is information about either things or people; the second is as a media program that offers news; the third one is as a news article or a news report. This means that discourses or texts on radio, television or in the newspapers all have information about recent events. However, the third meaning can be considered as the most common and most used one since it refers to news in texts or discourses (p.123).

2.3 The Ideological Square (2000)

Since discourse is very complex and since ideological structures can be expressed in different ways, it is very useful to obtain different methods in order to find ideology and 'bias' in texts. In most of his works, Van Dijk tries to make reference to the notion of "Ideological Square" to analyse discourse as consisting of two moves: "us" that represent the in- group of the speakers and "them" that represents their "out-group". In other words, "us" is related to the good or positive things; while "them" is connected to everything that is negative or bad (Van Dijk, 1995b).

Simply, 'Ideological Square' consists of these twin strategies: "the positive in-group" description and that of "negative out group description". These two strategies of the binary opposition are reflected in the discourse either by linguistic features or lexical choice (Van Dijk, 2000). Strategies can simply be polarised into: "positive self-presentation" and "negative other-presentation." Therefore, the bad features of the "in-group" tend to be neglected as if they were not there; while those of the "out-group" tend to be emphasized constantly to show that "out-group" is the 'negative one' (p.342).

In order to express more subtle analysis (Van Dijk, 2000) modifies these four principles as follows:

1. Emphasize positive things about *us*
2. Emphasize negative things about *them*
3. De-emphasize negative things about *us*
4. De-emphasize positive things about *them*

Accordingly, these four possibilities can be called the 'Ideological Square'. It can be applied into the different levels of the analysis of discourse structure. The use of these opposing pairs 'emphasize' and 'de-emphasize' can allow different types of structural variations. "We may talk at length or briefly about our good or their bad things, prominently or not And so on" (Van Dijk, 2000, p.44).

Van Dijk (2000) proposes (25) linguistic strategies in various categories: Syntactic, Semantic, Pragmatic and Rhetoric in order to analyse discourse at all these levels as follows:

2.3.1 Syntactic Categories

The first category is the syntactic categories. It consists of the following strategies:

1. **Humanitarianism:** It is one of those syntactic strategies which can be considered as call for the reader in order to pay attention to human rights, in other words, to show more sympathy in situations which need sympathy for in-group members.
2. **Disclaimer:** This strategy can be simply used in order to keep face by showing our positive features first, then emphasising their negative characteristics.
3. **Burden:** The burden strategy depends on various standard arguments that represent premises which can take for sure as an appropriate reason in order to accept the conclusion.
4. **Evidentiality:** Simply, this strategy can be found when people have clear evidences for their opinions or information.
5. **Illustration:** It is a very significant strategy in the argumentative level. It can be used by the speaker or writer in order to make plausible point of view by giving examples or any other means.
6. **Distancing:** It is one of those strategies which depend on the use of words that imply kind of distance between in-group speakers when they refer to out-group speakers.
7. **Counterfactual:** It is a very important strategy because it allows people to demonstrate absurd result when alternative is being considered.
8. **Illegality:** This strategy is one of those strategies which can be used to illustrate the negative attributes of the out-group members; so, it is part of the negative other- presentation.

2.3.2 Semantic Categories

The second category which is going to be discussed consists of the following strategies: Generalization, Victimization, History as lesson, Actor description, Comparison, Categorization, Empathy and Consensus as shown below:

1. **Generalization:** It is clear from the title that it tends to make particular events or actions more general. Standard expressions can be used in order to achieve this purpose, such as, quantifiers for nouns (all, most); another

way is the use of expressions of frequency and time (Van Dijk, 2000, p.72).

2. **Victimization:** It is one of the semantic categories which also can be used to deal with two pairs of in- groups and out-groups. The “Others” tend to be presented of course in negative terms, especially when they are connected with a threat (Van Dijk , 2000, p.85).
3. **History as lesson:** This strategy is one of those useful argumentative strategies which can be used to show that the present situations or events can be compared with earlier events or situations (Van Dijk , 2000 , p.73).
4. **Actor description:** Every discourse on action or people involves different types of actor description. Actors could be described as individuals or as groups. (Van Dijk, 2000).
5. **Comparison:** Simply, this strategy can be used to make a comparison between in-groups and out-group (Van Dijk , 2000).
6. **Categorization:** Psychologically, people tend to categorize people; this can be done either by speakers or writers (Van Dijk , 2000 ,p.65)
7. **Empathy:** This strategy can be used by the speakers or writers depending on their ideological or political perspective (Van Dijk , 2000 , p. 68).
8. **Consensus:** This is one of the strategies which can be used by politicians in their debates especially on issues like “national importance” (Van Dijk , 2000, p.66) .

2.3.3 Pragmatic Categories

The third category which is going to be discussed consists of the following strategies: Implication, Fallacy, Vagueness and Presupposition as shown below:

1. **Implication:** One of the pragmatic strategies which imply that speakers or writers do not need to say or write everything they know.
2. **Fallacy:** An argumentative strategy which involves that the speaker or writer supports someone’s point of view by referring to authority (incorrectly) or because someone else says so.
3. **Vagueness:** In all contexts whether they are spoken or written, people use ‘vague’ expressions. Expressions which do not have clear referents or those which refer to fuzzy entities.

4.Presupposition: This strategy is one of the pragmatic strategies which involve the different forms of shared opinions and knowledge.

2.3.4 Rhetoric Categories

The last category which is going to be discussed consists of the following strategies: Metaphor, Number game, Hyperbole, Euphemism and Repetition as shown below:

- 1. Metaphor:** One of the rhetorical categories which can mainly be used to make contexts, especially written ones, more persuasive.
- 2. Number game:** One of the most important rhetorical strategies which can be mainly used to persuasively display objectivity. Numbers and statistics present 'facts' against impressions and opinions.
- 3. Hyperbole:** A semantic rhetoric strategy by which exaggerated terms can be used in order to describe an action or event.
- 4. Euphemism:** This well-known rhetorical strategy can play an important role in mitigating the tough words and expressions which can be used within the strategy of positive self-presentation.
- 5. Repetition:** This strategy may of course play a significant role in the overall process in order to emphasize 'Our' good things and 'Their' bad things.

3. Methodology

The sources of data for the current study are two newspapers: Asharq Al-Awsat and Tehran Times. The reports which were written on the Yemen conflict were collected from the websites of these two newspapers. Many reasons are behind the selection of these two newspapers to be the data for the current study. First, these newspapers belong to countries that have opposing stand points in the case of Yemen conflict.

Since discourse is very complex and since ideological structures can be expressed in different ways, it is very useful to obtain different methods in order to find ideology and 'bias' in texts. In most of his works, Van Dijk tries to make reference to the notion of "Ideological Square" to analyse discourse as consisting of two moves: "us" that represent the in- group of the speakers and "them" that represents their "out-group".

In other words, "us" is related to the good or positive things; while "them" is connected to everything that is negative or bad (Van Dijk, 1995b).

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Strategies can simply be polarised into: "positive self-presentation" and "negative other-presentation." Therefore, the bad features of the "in-group" tend to be neglected as if they were not there; while those of the "out-group" tend to be emphasized constantly to show that "out-group" is the 'negative one'.

4. Findings and Discussions

4.1 Ideological Square Analysis of Tehran Times Reports

In this section, the (14) reports which are selected from TT are going to be analysed according to Van Dijk's (2000) model of 'Ideological Square'.

Report

The title of this report is "Zarif renews call for quick end to Saudi attack on Yemen". It emphasizes the issue of the necessity to stop the 'attack' of Saudi Arabia on Yemen people. The noun 'call' used in the title has many explanation, 'scream', 'shout loud', as well as an 'invitation'. All these meanings ask for empathy with Yemeni people and that there is to stop this 'attack'.

As far as the strategy of '**Empathy**' is concerned, the report uses the word '*defenseless*' which means those people who have nothing to protect themselves with. So, the main purpose of this word is to ask for empathy with Yemeni people in their war against Saudi Arabia and its allies. *He also highlighted the importance of sending humanitarian aid to the "defenseless" people of Yemen.* The use of such words is to emphasizes the empathy with the *in-group* and to concentrates on the bad characteristics of the *out-group*.

Regarding the strategy of '**Hyperbole**', the writer was very witty by using words such as '*disintegration*', '*failures*' and the phrase '*cannot be compensated*' when he describes the Saudi attack on Yemen *In a speech to a security conference in Moscow on Thursday the Iranian Defense Minister Hossein Dehqan said Saudi Arabia, by attacking Yemen, has prepared the ground for its "disintegration" and failures which cannot be compensated.*

The use of such words and phrases aims to remember Saudi Arabia government about the consequences of such attack on ‘defenseless’ people.

By using ‘**Comparison**’ strategy, the writer tries to make a comparison between a current situation and another one in the past. *Dehqan also predicted that Saudi Arabia is repeating the mistake of Saddam Hussein by attacking its neighbors. “A destiny like Saddam Hussein will await” the Saudis, he stated.* This is very common type of comparison in which previous events are being compared with current ones. The purpose of such comparison is to show the negative side of the out group on the criteria of this comparison. The speaker states that the same destiny of Saddam is expected for Saudi Arabia.

Regarding the strategy of ‘**Euphemism**’, the report uses the word ‘discouraged’ which is very common word which can be used to mitigate the formation of the negative impression. For instance, this word can be used instead of the word ‘refuse’ *In an exclusive interview, Zarif discouraged foreign involvement in the ongoing battle between Saudi-backed forces loyal to Yemen’s President Hadi and Shia Houthi rebels.*

In terms of the strategy of ‘**Vagueness**’, the writer in this report uses some words which do not have clear referent or refer to fuzzy entities. Words like ‘foreigners’ and ‘foreign powers’ are used in this report. *“This is not a negotiation between the Yemenis and foreigners, nor is it a negotiation between foreign powers. Foreign powers should not set conditions for the future of Yemen, nor should they engage in negotiations. What they need to do is facilitate the dialogue among various Yemeni groups. And that is what we are prepared to do.”* The main goal of the use of such words here is to make the recipient concludes that the negotiations about Yemen should be an inter- Yemeni dialogue, dialogue among Yemenis only. Saudi Arabia and any other western or Arabic states should not participate. Their report advices these states only to facilitate the dialogue.

The ‘**Humanitarianism**’ strategy is also used in this report. Throughout the report the writer uses words which indicate this strategy. Words such as ‘humanitarian aid’, ‘humanitarian assistance’, ‘medicine and food’ are used. *He also highlighted the importance of sending humanitarian aid to the “defenseless” people of Yemen. At a conference in Madrid on*

Tuesday Iran's foreign minister laid out a four-point Yemen peace plan. Zarif proposed a ceasefire, humanitarian assistance, an intra-Yemeni dialogue, and a broad-based government to end the conflict. The aim of using this strategy is to highlight the role of the 'in-group', and to stand against those 'out-group' and their bad deed in violating the human rights by preventing the efforts of sending 'humanitarian assistance'.

Concerning the '**Distancing**' strategy, the report uses this strategy in order to refer to the out-group avoiding naming them with their names or their political situation. Instead, it uses some other words like "*Others should not participate in the dialogue,*" Zarif responded. "*This is not a negotiation between the Yemenis and foreigners, nor is it a negotiation between foreign powers.*"

Table (1): Distribution of Linguistic Strategies and their Frequent Numbers in TT Reports

| Linguistic Strategies | Numbers | Report Number |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------------------------|
| Illegality | 3 | R 3,4,14 |
| Humanitarianism | 5 | R 3,7,11,12,13 |
| Illustration | 2 | R 2,14 |
| Evidentiality | 7 | R 5,6,7,8,9,12,14 |
| Distancing | 1 | R 1 |
| Disclaimer | 2 | R 2,9 |
| Actor Description | 13 | R 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14 |
| Categorization | 1 | R 5 |
| Comparison | 3 | R 1,8,11 |
| Consensus | 5 | R 2,4,7,8,14 |
| Empathy | 3 | R 1,8,13 |
| Generalization | 6 | R 2,3,4,8,10,12 |
| History as Lesson | 4 | R 1,2,7,8 |
| Victimization | 1 | R 9 |
| Euphemism | 1 | R 1 |
| Hyperbole | 7 | R 1,2,4,5,10,12,13 |
| Metaphor | 2 | R 3,4 |
| Number Game | 7 | R 2,5,6,9,11,12,13 |
| Repetition | 1 | R 14 |
| Fallacy | 1 | R 5 |
| Implication | 7 | R 4,7,9,10,12,13,14 |
| Presupposition | 2 | R 8,11 |
| Vagueness | 1 | R 1 |

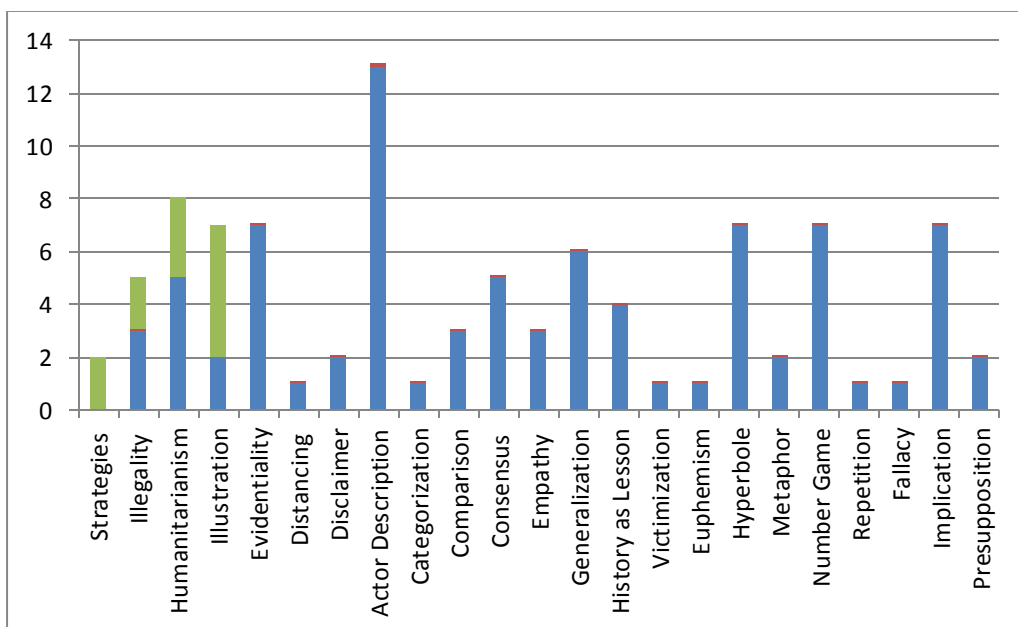


Figure (4-1): Percentages of Strategies in Tehran Times

4.2 'Ideological Square' Analysis of Asharq Al-Awsat Reports

In this section, the (14) reports which are selected from Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper are going to be analysed according to Van Dijk's (2000) model of Ideological Square.

Report 1

The headline of the report is 'Saudi airstrikes target rebel bases in Yemen'. The title gives a clue to what the report is going to be about, 'the attack of Saudi Arabia on Yemen'. The report describes those being attacked as 'rebels' which gives the impression that they are just group of people who make a revolution against the legitimate government.

The first strategy used in this report is 'Illegality'. The writer employs this strategy in order to show the illegality of those repels *Saudi Arabia bombed key military installations in Yemen on Thursday after announcing a broad regional coalition to oust Shiite rebels that forced the country's embattled president to flee*. The writer tries to make recipients infer that the 'out group' is just law breakers and have no right to do such a

revolution. It is part of the move of 'negative other- presentation' and in particular criminalization.

Regarding '**Vagueness**' strategy, it is also used in this report. The writer uses this strategy by using some words which do not have clear referents. *The back-and-forth between the regional heavyweights was threatening to turn impoverished Yemen into a proxy battle between the Middle East's Sunni powers and Shiite-led Iran.* The report does not mention or named those regional heavyweights and whether they are states, organizations or anything else. The report emphasizes the issue of sectarian conflict between Sunni powers and Shiite ones by make a connection between those rebels and Iran.

In terms of the strategy of '**Number Game**', it is also used in this report. The main purpose of using such strategy is to enhance credibility by moves that emphasize objectivity *Saudi-owned Al-Arabiya News reported that the kingdom had deployed 100 fighter jets, 150,000 soldiers and other navy units in "Operation Decisive Storm."* This strategy is used to show positive self- presentation of the 'in-group'. The report employs some numbers to emphasize the positive side of Saudi Arabia and how they deployed this number of fighter jets and soldiers to protect Yemeni people.

Regarding '**Categorization**', this strategy is also used in this report. This strategy can either be used positively or negatively. The strategy in this text is employed negatively, the negative other- presentation *The Shiite rebels, known as Houthis, were calling on their supporters to protest in the streets of Sana'a on Thursday afternoon* . The 'out-group' is attributed negatively by giving them some adjectives, like 'Shiite rebels' or 'Houthis' rather than for example, 'Yemeni rebels' as if they are not Yemenis.

'**Euphemism**' strategy is also used in the report. The writer employs this strategy in order to mitigate the effect of some words which might be used in the report *"I hope the Houthis listen to the sound of reason. With what is happening, they forced us into this," he said.* The phrase 'sound of reason' is employed in the text as a positive self- presentation since it is used by the 'in-group' in order to avoid any other words which can be considered as an odd words.

In terms of the strategy of ‘**Actor Description**’, the report presents the actor ‘Adel al Jubeir’ as an individual by giving his full name and his job as Saudi ambassador to the United States. The actor is presented positively since he represents the ‘in-group’.

The strategy of ‘**Presupposition**’ is also used in the report. The writer uses this strategy to make recipients infer many things without any explicit reference to those things *On a Thursday conference call with foreign ministers from the council, Secretary of State John Kerry commended the work of the coalition’s military action against the Houthis,*

Table (2): Distribution of Linguistic Strategies, their Frequent Number and the Report Number in Asharq Al-Awsat

| Linguistic Strategies | Numbers | Report Number |
|-----------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| Illegality | 8 | R 11,2,3,5,8,9,11,13 |
| Humanitarianism | 6 | R 3,4,6,7,10,14 |
| Illustration | 1 | R 14 |
| Evidentiality | 7 | R 3,4,5,7,10,12,14 |
| Distancing | 1 | R 11 |
| Disclaimer | 3 | R 3,6,2 |
| Actor Description | 10 | R 1,2,3,7,8,10,11,12,13,6 |
| Categorization | 5 | R 1,2,4,8,6 |
| Comparison | 1 | R 12 |
| Consensus | 6 | R 1,2,5,6,9,13 |
| Empathy | 3 | R 7,10,14 |
| Victimization | 1 | R 14 |
| Euphemism | 1 | R 1 |
| Hyperbole | 3 | R 4,9,13 |
| Metaphor | 2 | R 8,11 |
| Number Game | 7 | R 1,4,5,7,10,12,14 |
| Repetition | 1 | R 4 |
| Implication | 10 | R 1,2,5,7,8,9,11,12,13,6 |
| Presupposition | 2 | R 1,3 |
| Vagueness | 3 | R 1,9,11 |

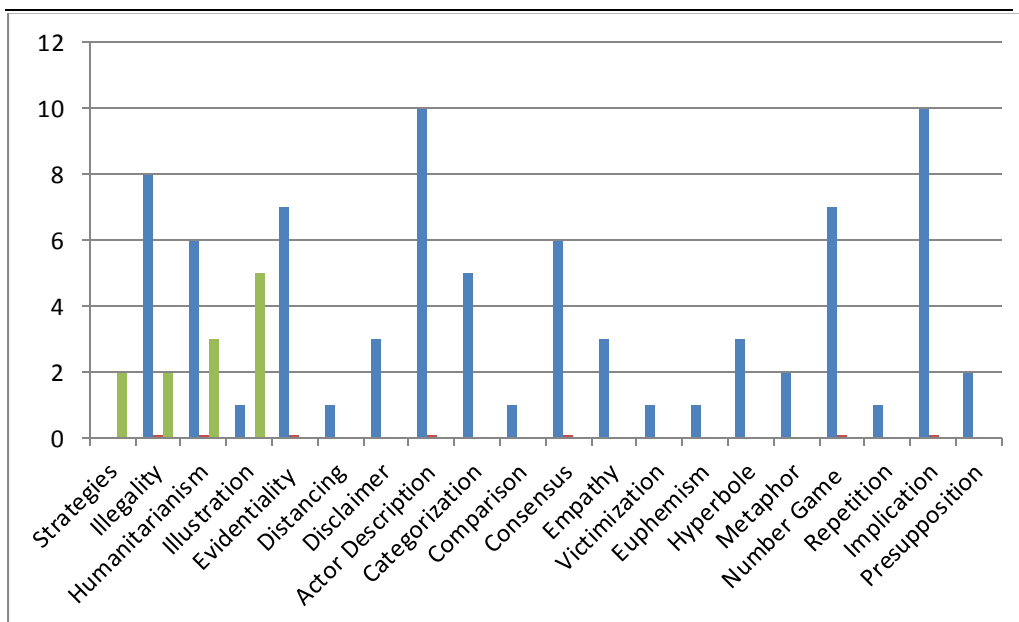


Figure (4-2): Percentages of Strategies in Asharq Al-Awsat

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the reports of the two newspapers reveals that the reports are not free of bias. Both newspapers organize their reports in a way in which the 'in-group' and 'out-group' are polarized. They either use the positive self-presentation or the negative other-presentation. Throughout the two levels of analysis narrative or transitivity level, bias is clear through the use of tendentious and biased statements which reflect interests of the countries to which these newspapers belong.

In each newspaper, some strategies are employed more than the others in order to achieve the required goals of the newspaper and express the point of view of the country to which the newspaper belongs. Strategies like 'Illegality', 'Humanitarianism', 'Consensus', 'Hyperbole', and 'Implication' are mostly used in the reports of Asharq Al-Awsat for the purpose of negative other-presentation and to emphasize the negative side of the 'out-group' represented by Houthis in the first place and Iran in the second. Tehran Times, on the other hand, employs some strategies within its reports in order to show negatively the 'out-group' represented by Saudi Arabia and



its Western and Arabic allies. The following strategies are the most used ones: 'Illegality', 'Humanitarianism', 'Consensus', 'Hyperbole', 'Implication', 'History as Lesson', and 'Generalization'. In both newspapers' reports, the positive acts of the 'in-group' are emphasized while the bad acts are mitigated.

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