



INTERNATIONAL MEDIA FRAMING OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL WAR

FİLİSTİN-İSRİL SAVAŞININ ULUSLARARASI MEDYADA ÇERÇEVELENMESİ

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Abstract

The Palestinian-Israel conflict is a complex and multifaceted issue that has persisted for decades. The violent incidents that erupted on October 7, 2023, have significant global repercussions. This study analyzes the framing employed in the headlines and subheadings regarding the Palestinian-Israel conflict during the initial five days of the outbreak, as well as how these frames relate to the editorial policies of major newspapers. In this context, the available issues of The New York Times, The Guardian, Hürriyet, and Taz newspapers published in the USA, the UK, Turkey, and Germany from this period were analyzed using a framing approach. The analysis revealed that Hürriyet, representing Turkey, utilized frames that reinforced neutrality in the early days of the conflict. Conversely, The New York Times, The Guardian, and Taz predominantly employed frames that favored Israel in their coverage. Overall, we found that Hürriyet and the other sample newspapers did not present the news with complete impartiality and objectivity in accordance with journalistic principles.

Keywords: Palestine-Israel War, Framing, News Frames.

Öz

Filistin-İsrail savaşı, on yıllardır devam eden, karmaşık ve çok boyutlu bir sorundur. 7 Ekim 2023'te yeniden alevlenen şiddet olayları, dünya genelinde büyük yankı uyandırmıştır. Bu çalışmada, savaşın ilk beş gününde manşet ve alt başlıklarda Filistin-İsrail savaşına dair hangi çerçevelerin kullanıldığı ve bu çerçevelerin gazetelerin yayın politikalarıyla nasıl ilişkili olduğu incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda ABD, İngiltere, Türkiye ve Almanya'da yayın yapan The New York Times, The Guardian, Hürriyet ve Taz gazetelerinin bu döneme ait erişilebilen sayıları çerçeveleme yaklaşımıyla analiz edilmiştir. Analiz sonucunda, Türkiye'yi temsil eden Hürriyet gazetesinin savaşın ilk günlerinde tarafsızlığı pekiştiren çerçeveler kullandığı tespit edilmiştir. Buna karşılık, The New York Times, The Guardian ve Taz gazetelerinin manşet ve alt başlıklarında genellikle İsrail'i destekleyen çerçeveler kullandığı gözlemlenmiştir. Genel anlamda, Hürriyet ve diğer örneklem dâhilindeki gazetelerin, gazetecilik ilkeleri çerçevesinde haberleri tam anlamıyla tarafsız ve nesnel bir şekilde sunmadıkları ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Filistin-İsrail Savaşı, Çerçeveleme, Haber Çerçeveleri.



INTRODUCTION

Goffman's framing theory serves as a crucial foundation for comprehending the media's presentation of events. By presenting news through certain frames, the media shapes the public's perception of events (Goffman, 1974) and plays a critical role in bringing international conflicts to the public and understanding them. The media conveys conflict zones, which the public cannot directly access, within specific frames that significantly influence the public's perception of the conflict. The media particularly conveys international crises, and the frames employed in this process shape the conflict's construction (Cottle, 2009, p. 110). Mass media present events by shaping them in line with both the perceptions of journalists and the commercial interests of media organizations; thus, the media has the capacity to direct social perception by highlighting certain (Stout & Buddenbaum, 2003, p. 1).

The Palestinian-Israel war has been one of the issues at the center of media framing studies. Both local and international media outlets have presented this long-lasting and complex conflict through different frames, creating various narratives about how to interpret the events, which side is right or victimized, and what the possible solutions are. The selective narratives used by the media in framing this conflict have directly affected the perception of the masses and created different perspectives on the internal dynamics of it. As Goffman (1974) puts it, the media not only conveys information but also provides viewers with a guide on how to interpret events.

According to framing theory, the media chooses specific narratives that highlight conflict aspects, assign blame to specific actors, and propose solutions (Entman, 1993, p. 52). For example, the frames used by media outlets during different periods of the Palestinian-Israel war created different understandings of the nature of the conflict. These narratives, sometimes based on terrorism, sometimes on legitimate defense, and sometimes on human rights violations, have significantly shaped attempts to understand and resolve the conflict.

The Palestinian-Israel war is one of the most protracted and complex in modern history. There is an extensive literature on the origins, development, and effects of this war (Morris, 2001; Gelvin, 2014). This study employs media framing theory to comprehend the international media's framing of the Palestinian-Israel war and their perspectives on this conflict.

This study examines the framing of the Palestinian-Israeli War by foreign media and comprises three sections, excluding the introduction and conclusion. The first part examines research on the representation of the Palestinian-Israeli War in the media and provides a comprehensive analysis of framing theory. The next part outlines the methodology, objectives, and constraints of the research. The final part examines the research data through the content analysis methodology. In the end, we analyze and contextualize the findings in relation to previous research.

A LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL WAR IN THE MEDIA

International media has consistently focused on the Palestinian-Israel war, leading to the production of numerous academic studies in this context. These studies scrutinize the framing of the war, the representation of the parties, and the impact of these representations on public perception.

Amer (2022), in his study titled 'BBC and New York Times' Coverage of the May 2021 Israel Onslaught on Gaza: A Critical Discourse Analysis,' aims to analyze how the New York Times and BBC covered the Israel attack on Gaza in May 2021. The study reveals that the New York Times and the BBC tend to legitimize Israel's attacks, prioritizing Israel's interests at all costs.

In their 2024 study, 'Corpus-Based Metaphorical Framing Analysis of War and Genocide Metaphors in the Palestinian-Israel Conflict in Western Media,' Jannat Nazir and Sidra Haroon (2004) conducted a critical and discursive analysis of CNN and The Guardian's coverage of the Palestinian-Israel war. The study concluded that CNN and The Guardian used the concept of 'war' 443 times to frame the conflict as a constant state of military aggression and violence and repeated the concept of 'genocide' 377 times to frame the conflict as a moral crisis.



Nurdan Akıner and Ayhan Küngerü (2016), 'Israel's 2014 Gaza Attack in International Media Discourse: A Comparative Analysis on CNN and Al Jazeera,' The authors examined the news on CNN and Al Jazeera channels regarding Israel's Gaza attack in 2014 using the discourse analysis method. The study concludes that significant discursive differences exist between CNN and Al Jazeera's news, highlighting the need to rethink the criteria of 'objectivity,' 'justice,' and 'equality' in the international media's approach to the conflict.

In her study, 'The Analysis Of The Israel-Palestine War In British Media Based On Bias In The News,' Ayça Gökdemir (2024) sought to comprehend how the Daily Mail, Guardian, and Sun Newspapers approached the war. The content analysis method concluded that all three newspapers had a largely Pro-Israel attitude.

Dursun Yılmaz (2024), in his study titled 'The Palestinian-Israel Conflict: An International Analysis from the Perspective of the Liberal Press,' examined the attitude of the liberal press towards the Palestinian-Israel conflict and analyzed the ideological and political factors affecting its approach to the conflict. Yılmaz found that the liberal press emphasized the humanitarian dimension of the conflict more and presented a more objective perspective on it. This study makes an important contribution to how the ideological foundations of media outlets shape news content.

Again, Yılmaz's (2024) study titled ' Hamas-İsrael Conflict in Turkish Media: Analysis and Evaluation' analyzes how the Turkish media covers the Hamas-İsrael conflict. This study underscores the impact of Turkish media news frames on societal perceptions and their reflection of specific political stances. Yılmaz has shown that the representation of Hamas in the Turkish media is generally negative, and this creates a negative attitude towards Hamas in public opinion.

FRAMING

Goffman first proposed the framing theory under the name "Frame Analysis." Goffman argued that individuals interpret what is happening in the world through their primary frames. This frame is considered primary because it is considered natural by the user (Gavin, 2024). We divide primary frames into two categories: natural and social. While natural frames describe purely physical events, social frames cover events shaped by human will, purpose, and intelligence (Goffman, 1974, p. 22). Natural frames serve as the foundation for social frames, which emerge in the course of communication and significantly impact the interpretation, processing, and dissemination of data. Goffman stated that individuals use these frames effectively even if they are not aware of them (Gavin, 2024).

Framing theory essentially posits that the presentation of an event influences the audience's processing of this information. News most commonly uses frames, abstractions that organize the meaning of the message. Frameworks influence audience thought and behavior (Gelvin, 2014).

Some media scholars characterize the framing approach as second-stage agenda setting, focusing on the specific presentation of issues without examining the processes that structure the media agenda. According to most researchers, framing analysis, unlike the first stage agenda-setting studies, analyzes the adjectives added to the topics through the framing of the news (Erdoğan, 2011). In this context, framing studies emphasize how the message shapes the perception structure of the society (Özarslan, 2007).

Agenda-setting theory and framing theory have a close relationship. Both theories are concerned with how the media draw public attention to certain issues. However, framing advances this process by presenting the news in a way that shapes the audience's interpretation of the information. Journalists typically consciously create frames (Gavin, 2024). Agenda-setting studies scrutinize the impact of media messages on the agenda, whereas framing studies scrutinize the presentation of the message and its genesis (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001).

Frame refers to the way communicators organize and present ideas, events, and issues (Gelvin, 2014).



Bateson (1972) defined the frame as a structure of meaning that offers insights into the interpretation of communicative acts within a specific context. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) see the frame as a central organizing idea for making sense of events, while Friedman (1979) characterizes frames as functions that determine the relationships between arguments at a certain level of abstraction. Vu and Lynn (2020), on the other hand, defined frames as emphasizing some elements and hiding others while producing content. All these definitions underscore that various contextual factors influence the design and construction of messages, aligning them with their determined purposes.

Entman (1993) stated that frames can emerge in four different dimensions: communicator, text, receiver, and culture. Communicators construct frames in line with their belief systems, while texts reflect frames through keywords, phrases, and visuals. Recipients interpret frames in texts, and culture functions as the source of commonly used frames. Frames select and emphasize an event, define the problem, establish cause-and-effect relationships, make moral judgments, and propose solutions.

Framing analysis is a method that examines the regular ways that social actors make sense of the world. Symbolic tools such as language play an important role in the process of objectifying and specifying experiences (Pan & Kosicki, 2001). According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), frames serve as the "central organizing ideas" that structure political reality.

Framing organizes the presentation of events by selecting specific aspects of perceived reality, defining a problem, and proposing solutions (Entman, 1993). In media stories, the frames chosen by journalists can cause the same event to be presented in different ways (Özarslan, 2007). The creation of news frames assumes the natural emergence of certain behaviors (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). According to Ozarslan (2015), frames establish the fundamental framework of the news and dictate the elements of the message that receive emphasis.

Finally, framing is the main tool of meaning management. Determining the meaning of a topic or attributing meaning to it is about assessing its character and significance (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). According to Fairhurst & Sarr (1996), framing involves establishing the context, which encompasses the location and speaker of a meaning, as well as its correlation with the meanings that precede and follow it.

Framing in the media

In recent years, the concept of framing has received increasing attention in media studies. Media professionals and audiences, particularly in the fields of communication, sociology, and political science, organize and make meaning of events and issues through framing (Reese, 2001). The media organize reality in various ways by framing social, political, and economic events through language choice and specific news patterns (Durfee, 2006).

There are two types of actors in the creation of news frames: internal and external actors. While media professionals are internal actors, public relations experts, advertisers, pressure groups, and politicians are external actors. The interaction of these two actors determines the conveyed news. Rodelo and Muñiz (2019), argue that the material that political actors present to media members is an important influence that should be taken into account in framing the news.

The selection process of framing determines the presentation of news content. Frames emphasize certain aspects of events and affect the understandings that viewers will develop about them (Entman, 1991). This process selects, emphasizes, and elaborates on certain elements, leaving out others. Thus, framing becomes an organized structure of thought that forms the context of a news story (Tankard, 2001).

Media frames are the organization of meaning through visual and verbal symbols (Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). The audience perceives and emphasizes certain aspects of an event based on these frames. In this process, the media influences public perception by deciding which stories to cover. Journalists, on the other hand, often present the news within an ideological bias (Patterson & Donsbagh, 1996).



According to framing theory, the media actively creates frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret political events (Tuchman, 1978). The fact that the media emphasize a particular issue and provide explanations about the causes and consequences of events contributes to the formation of news frames (Bloch-Elkon, 2007). The main elements of framing include tools like main and sub-headings, photographs, statistics, and graphics, which enhance the effectiveness of message delivery (Tankard, 2001).

Keywords, metaphors, concepts, and symbols concretize news frames. Frames process texts, emphasizing or hiding certain ideas. In this process, some information becomes more prominent, while others become invisible (Entman, 1991). Although framing does not completely eliminate inconsistent information, it makes one interpretation more understandable and memorable than others through repetition and embedding.

Media frames have a strong relationship with public beliefs and attitudes. By emphasizing certain situations, they shape public interpretations of events (Entman, 2008). Repetition makes media frames more salient (Huang & Fahmy, 2013). In political conflicts and crises, the media frames events in a dramatic way, making the public feel sympathy for one side (Karniel, Lavie-Dinur, & Azran, 2016).

News framing affects individuals' mental representations and understandings of events. We refer to these representations as 'event-specific schemas,' which shape viewers' perceptions of events. Journalists also influence the attitudes of political actors by presenting the news they frame in order to get the expected reactions of the public (Entman, 1991).

METHODOLOGY

The Palestinian-Israel war, which intensified on 7 October 2023, has become one of the most popular topics in the world press. Considering the impact of the media and news on the attitudes and behaviors of the masses, the framing of this war by the world press constitutes an important area of investigation. This study examines the print media's coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through a framing approach, a qualitative research methodology. We preferred framing analysis due to its prevalent application in the examination of international conflict news.

Framing analysis employs both inductive and deductive approaches. The inductive approach aims to identify all possible frames by evaluating the ones used in the media from a broad perspective and does not use previously coded frames. This approach reveals a wide variety of frames. The deductive approach, on the other hand, relies on previously identified and coded frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Previous research has revealed that the most frequently used frames in news texts are attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and morality (Brants & Neijens, 1998; Gan, Teo, & Detenber, 2005). The analysis considers these frames as variables, determining their extent of use in the news. Therefore, the deductive approach offers a more systematic structure and has high repeatability.

Attribution of Responsibility: The attribution of responsibility frame refers to a mindset that aims to identify the source of a problem and the responsibility for its solution. This framework involves blaming or holding an actor or party responsible, especially in social and political issues.

Conflict: A conflict frame refers to a narrative or perspective that emphasizes disagreements or tensions between different parties, groups, or individuals.

Economic Consequences: The economic consequences frame refers to a perspective that emphasizes the economic effects of an event, policy, or decision. This framework addresses issues by considering criteria such as economic gains and losses, efficiency, costs, or effectiveness.

Human Interest: The human interest frame refers to an approach that emphasizes the human dimension and emotional aspect in presenting an issue or problem. This framework aims to evoke emotional reactions in viewers or readers by emphasizing the personal stories, tragedies, and difficulties of the



individuals affected by the event or issue.

Morality: The morality frame refers to the treatment of an event or issue in terms of religious and moral values. This framework emphasizes the ethical and moral dimensions of social events, decisions, or policies and interprets them according to values such as right or wrong, good or bad.

This study employed both approaches. The analysis evaluated both commonly-used frameworks in the literature and subject-specific frameworks. We checked the consistency of the identified frameworks with three academicians who are experts in their fields.

Purpose and Importance of the Research

Since 7 October 2023, the press has shifted its focus to the events and massacres that occurred after the intensified Palestinian-Israel war. Not only did the press report on the war, but it also acted as a platform to clearly identify the sides involved in the conflict. Furthermore, the quality and content of the news in the press not only elucidated the states' support for the war but also reflected their humanitarian and conscientious approach. In this study, we attempted to comprehend the framing analysis used by the world press to approach the Palestine-Israel war.

Population and Sample of the Study

The study population comprises newspapers published daily in various countries worldwide. The random sampling method determined the sample to represent the study population. We selected The New York Times (USA), The Guardian (UK), Hürriyet (Turkey), and Taz (Germany) as the sample in this context. The notable and widespread readership of the investigated newspapers in the worldwide arena, along with their significance as media organizations in their respective nations, has contributed to their selection as the sample. Russian and Arab newspapers were intended to be included in the sample, but since they could not be accessed, they were not included in the analysis.

Limitations

Various tools enable the creation of frames in the media. The framing process includes elements such as texts, visuals, explanations, spatial organization of the news, and headlines. This study identified and analyzed the frames used in the headlines and subheadings of The New York Times, The Guardian, Hürriyet, and Taz Newspapers. We limited the analysis to newspapers published between 07.10.2023 and 13.10.2023.

The study evaluated the relationship between prominent frames in newspaper headlines and subheadings and the editorial policies of the newspapers. The study's sample serves as a crucial foundation for comparing how media organs portray social and political dynamics across various countries. In this context, we have attempted to understand the media's attitudes toward conflict processes by analyzing the highlighted news elements and the pushed-back aspects.

FINDINGS

Analysis of Headlines and News Titles

The New York Times, The Guardian, Hürriyet, and Taz Newspapers are significant media entities in their respective countries, exerting significant influence in the global sphere and attracting a broad readership. These four newspapers cover events in the international arena and reach large masses with daily news headlines. This analysis aims to understand the framing of the Palestine-Israel war by these newspapers, their chosen news headlines, and their attitudes towards this conflict. The analysis aims to provide a basis for understanding the approach of newspapers to a particular event and for comparing the reporting styles of media organizations.



Table 1. The New York Times Newspaper Headlines and Frames.

Date	News Title (Headline)	Frame	Sub-title	Frame
08.10.23	Palestinian Militants Stage Attack On Israel	- Terror - Support to Israel	1- The Children Were Terrified': Blasts and Gunmen at the Door	- Human Interest
			2- As Netanyahu Speaks of War, The Question Is, 'What Then?'	- War
09.10.23	Caught Off Guard, Israel Fights Back	- Attack	1- Missed Warning Signs and Slow Responses	
			2- At a Dance and a Kibbutz, Attackers Slipped In and Unleashed Horror	- Attack - Horror
			3- Shaken to the Core,' Israelis Question the Nation's Security	- Attribution of responsibility
10.10.23	Israel Orders Siege; Hamas Issues Threats	- Attack - Attribution of responsibility	1- Group Pledges to Kill Civilian Hostages	- Human Interest
			2- They Took Him': Israeli Families Left in Dread (Wrenching Accounts as Attackers Kidnapped Some 150 People)	- Human Interest - Horror
			3- A Once-Pragmatic Approach To Hamas Ends in an Instant	- Attribution of responsibility
11.10.23	Israel Takes Back Towns, Preparing to Go on Offense	- Attack	1- Mobilizing 360,000 Troops as Toll Mounts	- Attack
			2- In Rows of Tidy Houses, Carnage in a Kibbutz at Gaza's Doorstep	- Massacre - Attribution of Responsibility
			3- U.S. Leaders Unify, at Least for Now	- Support to Israel
			4- Gazans With Nowhere to Hide Issue a Plea: 'At Least Warn Us'	- Human Interest
12.10.23	Israel Assembles a Unity Coalition to Steer The War	- War	1- Security Breakdowns Left Border Open to an Incursion	- Attribution of responsibility
			2- Netanyahu Declares Hamas Will Be 'Eliminated'	
			3- A Trail of Terror in Israel	- Terror

The headlines in the newspaper reflect the increasing violence and tension in the war between Palestine and Israel. In the headline dated 08.10.23, 'Palestinian Militants Stage Attack On Israel,' the frames of 'Terror' and 'Support to Israel' were used. The headline characterizes Palestinians as 'militants/terrorists' and emphasizes their attacks against Israel. The newspaper employed the 'Human Interest' and 'War' frames in its subheadings. With the 'Human Interest' frame, messages with emotional content about the Israelis taken hostage/killed in the Hamas raid were framed, and meaning was constructed to support Israel violence. We used the war frame as a subject-specific frame, attempting to convey the message that war is the only solution. The sub-headings reflect the newspaper's perspective by identifying Hamas as the cause of the attacks and using the term 'militant'.

The newspaper headline 'Caught Off Guard, Israel Fights Back' from 09.10.2023 used the frame 'attack'. The subheadings employed the frames 'attack,' 'horror,' and 'responsibility'. The headlines emphasize Israel's reaction to the unexpected attack and Israelis' concerns about their security. The frames 'attack'



and 'horror' label Palestinians as the aggressors and the party responsible for inflicting terror on the innocent. The 'attribution of responsibility' frame refers to the country's security system. During the third day of the war, when Israel was indiscriminately bombarding the Gaza Strip, the newspaper's emphasis on "Israelis' concerns about their security" should not be interpreted as a neutral stance.

The headline 'Israel Orders Siege; Hamas Issues Threats' from 10.10.2023 used the frames 'attack' and 'attribution of responsibility'. The headline's frames held Hamas accountable for Israel's attacks on Palestine. The newspaper used the frames 'Human Interest,' 'Horror,' and 'Attribution of Responsibility' in its subheadings. Once again, the sub-headline reinforced the headline by holding Hamas responsible for the war. The 'Human Interest' and 'horror' frames shaped the message to the advantage of Israel citizens.

The sub-headlines dramatize the impact of the attack on families. Furthermore, the news text strikingly highlights a sudden shift in Israel's policy towards Hamas. Reporting on the third day of the war, the newspaper attempted to overshadow Israel's bombardments by emphasizing Hamas' threat to kill civilian hostages, rather than highlighting the civilians who lost their lives due to Israel's intense bombardment.

The headline from 11.10.2023 states, 'Israel Retakes Towns, Ready to Launch Offense.' The headline once again employs the 'attack' frame. The headline, 'Israel Takes Back Towns,' attempts to legitimize the Israel occupation. In general, the headline details Israel's efforts to take back towns and villages and the destruction caused by Hamas. The sub-headings of this date employed the frames 'attack','massacre', 'attribution of responsibility','support to Israel', 'human interest', and 'terror'. On this date, the 'Human Interest' frame in 'Gazans With Nowhere to Hide Issue a Plea: "At Least Warn Us"' took into account the concerns of Palestinian citizens. The headlines include a news analysis highlighting the massive military mobilization, international reactions, and the unity of Western leaders. According to official figures, it should not be perceived as impartial journalism to put the "destruction caused by Hamas" on the agenda rather than the "destruction" caused by Israel, which razed Gaza, home to over 2 million people, including schools and hospitals, to the ground.

The title 'Israel Assembles a Unity Coalition to Steer the War' from 12.10.23 employed the frame 'war'. The sub-headings employed the frames of 'attribution of responsibility' and 'terror'. The headlines emphasized Israel's border security problems and its decision to establish a unity government. While the newspaper highlighted Israel's border security measures and did not ignore Gaza and its inhabitants, who face unending bombardment, its emphasis on Israel raises doubts about its claimed impartiality.

Table 2. The Guardian Newspaper Headlines and Frames.

Date	News Title (Headline)	Frame	Sub-title	Frame
09.10.23	Violence escalates as death toll surges to over 1,000	- Violence	1- Number of Israeli dead rises to 700 after Hamas attack	- Attack
			2- Airstrikes in Gaza kill at least 400 and leave 2,000 injured	- Human Interest
			3- Conflict will be 'long and difficult', warns Netanyahu	- War
			4- Conflict will be 'long and difficult', warns Netanyahu	- Support to Israel
10.10.23	Israel declares 'siege' of Gaza as Hamas threatens captives	- Blockade - Human Interest	1- 'We felt the bullets flying around us' How the Supernova festival attack unfolded	- Attack
			2- UN chief condemns the escalating violence amid soaring death toll	- Violence
			3- 'They are in my house' Terror in the kibbutz	- Horror



11.10.23	Israeli troops mass on Gaza border as death toll from Hamas attack passes 1,000	- War - Attribution of responsibility	1- UN warns of Gaza catastrophe as Israel prepares ground invasion	- Human Interest
12.10.23	Israelis suspended between fear, grief and foreboding	- Human Interest	1- Netanyahu forms war cabinet' as crisis grows	- War
			2- Massacre at the kibbutz	- Massacre
13.10.23	US promises arms to Israel as UN sounds Gaza warning	- Support to Israel	1- Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians flee their homes, amid dwindling food and water supplies	- Human Interest
			2- I come before you not only as the US secretary of state but also as a Jew	- Support to Israel
			3- British children of hostages plead for safe return	- Human Interest
			4- 'The buildings are now ashes' Nowhere feels safe in Gaza, say residents	- Human Interest

When the headlines and subheadings of the news published by 'The Guardian' newspaper between 09-13 October 2023 reveals a predominant use of the 'Support to Israel' and 'Human Interest' frames in relation to the Palestinian-Israeli war. The headline 'Violence escalates as death toll surges to over 1,000' on 09.10.2023 employed the 'violence' frame. In this frame emphasized the exposure of Israel citizens to violence. the frames 'attack,' 'war,' and 'support to Israel' used in the sub-headings are constructed in favor of Israel, the frame 'human interest' used in the sub-heading 'Airstrikes in Gaza kill at least 400 and leave 2,000 injured' is constructed in favor of Palestine.

In the 10 October headline 'Israel declares "siege" of Gaza as Hamas threatens captives,' 'blockade' and 'humanitarian' interest frames were used. By emphasizing Israel prisoners, the 'humanitarian' interest frame effectively conveyed the message in favor of Israel. The message prominently emphasized Hamas's threats against the prisoners. In the sub-headings, 'attack,' 'support to Israel,' and 'horror' frames were used. The subheadings emphasized the horror of the attacks against Israel citizens and the support of the international community.

The news article titled 'Israel troops mass on Gaza border as Hamas attack death toll hits 1,000' dated 11 October 2023 emphasized that Israel troops massed on the Gaza border and the death toll of Hamas attacks reached 1,000. The headline employed the terms 'attack' and 'attribution of responsibility.' The headline focuses on Hamas' attacks, which have increased the death toll, and attributes responsibility for the violence to the Palestinian side. In the sub-headline '1- UN warns of Gaza catastrophe as Israel prepares ground invasion,' the 'Human Interest' frame is used. The 'Human Interest' frame conveyed a message in favor of the Palestinian people.

The 12 October headline, 'Israelis suspended between fear, grief, and foreboding,' used the 'Human Interest' frame. The headline created a certain emotional tone, emphasizing that Israel civilians were in an emotionally and psychologically difficult situation. Although the headline seemed to be an attempt to present the human dimension of the effects of the war by emphasizing the emotional state of Israelis, there was no mention of Israel's disproportionate use of force beyond Israel's heavy bombardment of Palestinian civilians and Hamas' attacks. Only the expression of the suffering and hardships experienced by Israelis and their victimization explains the perspective of the newspaper. In the sub-headings, the frames 'war' and 'massacre' were used. With the headline 'Massacre at the kibbutz,' the newspaper again created a one-sided message in favor of Israel. Therefore, while the headline dated 12 October presented a negative evaluation of the Palestinian side, it was framed in a way to support Israel.



The 13 October headline ‘US promises arms to Israel as UN sounds Gaza warning’ used the frame ‘support for Israel.’ The United States' simultaneous pledge of arms aid to Israel and its warning to Gaza, a founding member of the UN, demonstrates a lack of seriousness regarding the Palestinian issue. While the headline emphasizes the positive elements related to Israel's security and the support provided by the United States, it does not address the security of the Palestinian people and the UN warning by establishing a neutral position. While Israel's security is emphasized, the vulnerability of the Palestinian people and the United Nations warning are presented more as humanitarian dramatization. This shows that the language and emphasis in the content of the heading tend to ignore the security concerns of the Palestinian side and emphasize the Israel perspective. The ‘Human Interest’ frame was used in three of the sub-headings, and the Support to Israel frame was used in one of them. In two of the ‘Human Interest’ frames, Palestinian citizens were emphasized, while in one of them the Israel side was emphasized.

Table 3. Hürriyet Newspaper Headlines and Frames.

Date	News Title (Headline)	Frame	Sub-title	Frame
08.10.23	The Middle East has turned into hell. World in Shock (Ortadoğu cehenneme döndü. Dünya Şokta)	- Conflict	1. They Crossed the Border with Paramotor. (Paramotorla Sınırı Geçtiler.)	- Weakness
			2. Iron Dome Pierced (Demir Kubbe Delindi)	- Weakness
			3. The 50th Year of Yom Kippur (Yom Kippur'un 50. Yılı)	
			4. Analysis: 5 Questions 5 Answers (Analiz: 5 Soru 5 Cevap)	
			5. Call for Moderation from Erdogan (Erdogan'dan İtidal Çağrısı)	
			6. Both Sides Shoot Civilians (İki Taraf da Sivilleri Vuruyor)	- Human Interest
09.10.23	İsrail-Hamas Conflict Spreads. Hundreds of human shields (İsrail-Hamas Conflictsı Yayılıyor. Yüzlerce canlı kalkan)	- Conflict	1- Those Who Couldn't Escape Were Held Hostage (Kaçamayan Rehin Alındı)	- Human Interest
			2- They Put a Sack on the Hostage (Rehineye Çuval Giydirdiler)	- Human Interest
			3- Why Did Mossad Not Receive News? (Mossad Neden Haber Alamadı)	- Weakness
			4- Horror at the Festival (Festivalde Horror)	- Horror
			5- That Corpse is Nicole's (O Ceset Nicole' ün)	- Human Interest
			6- Actual Number Unknown (Gerçek Sayı Bilinmiyor)	- Human Interest
			7- People Search for Missing Persons (Halk Kayıpları Arıyor)	- Human Interest
			8- Türkiye Did the Right Thing (Türkiye En Doğruyu Yaptı)	
			9- Missile Rains Down on Gaza (Gazze'ye Füze Yağdı)	- Attack
			10- Call to 'Evacuation of Homes' in Arabic (Arapça 'Evleri Boşaltın' Çağrısı)	
10.10.23	Gaza despair (Gazze çaresizliği)	- Human Interest	1- Civilian Massacres Are Unacceptable (Sivil Massacreları Kabul Edilemez)	- Human Interest
			2- We Are Ready for Mediation Including Prisoner Exchange (Esir Takası Dâhil Arabuluculuğa Hazırız)	- Human Interest
			3- Neither İsrail Nor Palestine (Ne İsrail Ne Filistin)	- Human Interest
			4- There Are No Losers in Peace (Peacein Kaybedeni Olmaz)	- Peace



			5- 123 Thousand People Lost Their Homes (123 Bin Kişi Evinden Oldu)	- Human Interest
			6- Will Egypt Open the Door? (Mısır Kapıyı Açar mı)	- Human Interest
			7- Preparation for Land Operation (Kara Harekâtı Hazırlığı)	- War
			8- İsrail's Pearl Harbor in the Middle East (İsrail'in Pearl Harbor'ı Ortadoğu'da)	- Attack
			9- US Sends Aircraft Carrier to the Region (ABD Bölgeye Uçak Gemisi Yolladı)	- Support to İsrail
			10- Serious Accusation Against Netanyahu (Netanyahu'ya Ağır Suçlama)	- Attribution of Responsibility
			11- Architect of Shock Attack: 'Guest' (Şok Attackın Mimarı 'Misafir')	- Attack
11.10.23	No exit from Gaza (Gazze'den çıkış yok)	- Human Interest	1- What is the US Ship Doing? (ABD Gemisinin Ne İş Var)	
			2- Where are Human Rights? (Hani İnsan Hakları)	- Human Interest
			3- Turns into a Bloodbath (Kan Gölüne Çeviriyor)	- Human Interest
			4- Hamas Gave Time and Strikes (Hamas Saat Verip Vurdu)	- Attack
			5- US Sends Second Aircraft Carrier (ABD İkinci Uçak Gemisini Yolluyor)	- Support to İsrail
12.10.23	Where shall I go? (Ben nereye gideyim?)	- Human Interest	1- İsrail Should Not Act Like an Illegal Organization (İsrail Örgüt Gibi Davranmasın)	- Terror
			2- No Civilians Should Die on Both Sides (İki Tarafa Da Siviller Ölmesin)	- Human Interest
			3- Call for Moderation Once More (Bir Kez Daha İtidal Çağrısı)	
			4- There is no place they haven't hit (Vurmadıkları Yer Yok Ki)	- Attack
			5- Everywhere is Close to Hamas (Her Yer Hamas'a Yakın)	
			6- Bombs Are Raining (Bombalar Yağıyor)	- War
			7- Well done Gigi Hadid (Bravo Gigi Hadid)	- Human Interest
			8- Breaking News, Palestinian Mother Screams on CNN (Breaking News, Filistinli Anne CNN Ekranında Feryat Etti)	- Human Interest
			9- Hamas Continues to Fire Rockets at İsrail (Hamas İsrail'e Roket Atmaya Devam Ediyor)	- Attack
			10- Minister Gives 'Atrocity' Instruction (Bakan'dan 'Vahşet' Talimatı)	- Massacre

08.10.2023 The Middle East has turned into hell. "World in Shock" employed the conflict as a frame. The headline neutrally emphasized the conflict's negative effects without mentioning the Israel and Palestinian sides. The sub-headings 'They Crossed the Border with Paramotor' and 'Iron Dome Pierced' employed 'weakness' frames, while the heading 'Both Sides Shoot Civilians' employed 'Human Interest' frames. The newspaper used the 'Human Interest' frame in an impartial manner.

09.10.2023 dated 'Israel-Hamas Conflict Spreads. The headlines titled 'Hundreds of Human Shields'

employed the term 'conflict' to describe the situation. The phrase 'hundreds of human shields' in the title emphasizes that Hamas considers hostages as a worthless commodity. The 'Human Interest' frame was used in the sub-headings "Those Who Couldn't Escape Were Held Hostage," "They Put a Sack on the Hostage," "That Corpse is Nicole's," "Actual Number Unknown," and "People Search for Missing Persons." Despite the massacre of hundreds of civilians, including children, during the attacks on Palestine under the guise of 'Human Interest,' the inclusion of only Israel-side content demonstrates the newspaper's lack of impartiality. The subheadings employed the frames of 'weakness' and 'horror'.

The headline 'Gaza despair' utilized the 'Human Interest' frame on 10.10.2023. The headline's use of the 'Human Interest' frame underscored the desperation of the Palestinian people. 'Civilian Massacres Are Unacceptable,' 'We Are Ready for Mediation Including Prisoner Exchange,' 'Neither Israel Nor Palestine,' '123 Thousand People Lost Their Homes, and 'Will Egypt Open the Door?'; 'peace' frame in the subheading 'There Are No Losers in Peace'; 'war' frame in the subheading 'Preparation for Land Operation'; 'attack' frame in the subheading 'Israel's Pearl Harbor in the Middle East'; 'Support to Israel' frame in the subheading 'US Sends Aircraft Carrier to the Region; and 'attribution of responsibility' frame in the heading "'Serious Accusation Against Netanyahu'.

In the sub-headings '123 Thousand People Lost Their Homes' and 'Will Egypt Open the Door?' where 'Human Interest' frames were used, the drama of the Palestinian people was emphasized, while in the other headings where 'Human Interest' frames were used, both the Palestinian people and the Israel people were emphasized.

The headline 'No exit from Gaza' from 11.10.2023 employed the human interest frame. The headline emphasized the desperation of the Palestinian people. 'The headlines 'Where are Human Rights?' and 'Turns into a Bloodbath' utilized the Human Interest frame, 'Hamas Gave Time and Strikes' used the attack frame, and 'US Sends Second Aircraft Carrier' used the Support to Israel frame. The newspaper generally used the "human interest" frames in favor of the Palestinians.

The headline 'Where shall I go?' from 12.10.23 used the 'Human Interest' frame. The headline reported the desperation of a Palestinian mother. The 'Human Interest' frame was used in the subheadings "No Civilians Should Die on Both Sides," "Well Done, Gigi Hadid," and "Breaking News: Palestinian Mother Screams on CNN." 'Israel Should Not Act Like an Illegal Organization' used the terror frame; "There is no place they haven't hit" and "Hamas Continues to Fire Rockets at Israel" used the attack frame; and "Minister Gives 'Atrocity' Instruction" used the massacre frame. The subheadings of the newspaper emphasize the humanitarian aspect of the conflict by focusing on issues such as Israel's behavior and the death of civilians.

Table 4. Taz Newspaper Headlines and Frames.

Date	News Title (Headline)	Frame	Sub-title	Frame
09.10.23	İsrael at War: Most Violent Attacks in 50 Years (İsrael im Krieg: Heftigste Angriffe seit 50 Jahren)	- War - Attack	1- Scholz: "Firmly on İsrael's side" (Scholz: „Fest an der Seite İsraels“)	- Support to İsrael
10.10.23			1- A counterattack is almost the only choice (Ein Gegenschlag ist fast die einzige Wahl)	- Attack
			2- Loud silence after the massacre (Lautes Schweigen nach dem Massaker)	- Massacre
			3- The blockade of the Gaza Strip (Die Blockade des Gazastreifens)	- Blockade
11.10.23	Door to Door after Terror (Tür an Tür nach dem Terror)	- Terror	1- Diplomacy is their only hope (Diplomatie ist ihre einzige Hoffnung)	- Human Interest
			2- Delicate Hamas relations (Heikle Hamas- Beziehungen)	- Support to İsrael



12.10.23			1- Help for those in need is essential (Hilfe für Notleidende ist unverzichtbar)	- Human Interest
			2- Hopeless: Gaza before the counter-offensive (Ausweglos: Gaza vor der Gegenoffensive)	- Human Interest
13.10.23	A trap for everyone (Eine Falle für alle)	- Support to Israel	1- Hamas ban (Hamas Verbot)	- Support to Israel

The headlines and sub-headlines of the Taz Newspaper dated 7-13 October have a Pro-Israel perspective on issues related to the Palestinian-Israel conflict. The headlines and subheadings have a positive meaning for Israel and a negative meaning for Palestine. The newspaper started to include news about the Palestinian- Israel war on its first page on 09.10.23.

The news article titled 'Israel at War: Most Violent Attacks in 50 Years', which was published on 09.10.2023, emphasizes the terms 'attack' and 'war'. The headline statement characterized Hamas as a terrorist, emphasized the number of dead, and predicted an increase in Israel's counterattacks. In the same news article, the sub-headline 'Scholz: Firmly on Israel's side' employed the "Support to Israel" frame. In the subheading, a message of solidarity was given by statiThe subheading conveyed a message of solidarity by advocating for the protection of Jews in Germany. ublic through German Prime Minister Olaf Scholz and reveals the Pro-Israel perspective of the newspaper. Through this support policy, the newspaper emphasized a position in favor of Israel and conveyed a message to its target audience in this direction.

Taz Newspaper dated 10.10.2023 covered the news on the Palestinian-Israel war as three sub-headings instead of a headline. Upon evaluating the headline's functions to arouse interest, emphasize the importance of the news, and attract attention, we can interpret the newspaper's failure to cover the Palestinian- Israel war from the headline as an attempt to diminish interest in the war zone or trivialize the event. The newspaper presented the news about the war under three subheadings.

The first subheading underscores the 'attack' frame by asserting that 'a counterattack is almost the only choice.' The statement underscores the brutal attacks on Israel and suggests that a prolonged war is the only solution. This discourse provides a perspective that reinforces the perception that the conflict will inevitably continue.

The second subheading, 'Loud silence after the massacre,' uses the 'massacre' frame towards Hamas. The news item's description includes the information that Hamas massacred 260 people at a music festival. This frame emphasizes the dimension of horror and evaluates the actions of Hamas through violence and massacre.

The term 'blockade' appears in the last subheading, 'The blockade of the Gaza Strip'. The article focuses on the sanctions imposed by Israel and the European aid cuts to Palestine. This frame provides a perspective that underlines the economic and humanitarian pressures on Palestine.

The newspaper's 11.10.2023 issue prominently features the word 'terror' in its headline, 'Door to Door after Terror.' The headline description underscores the fear that Palestinian Arabs living in Israel and Israelis feel about Hamas attacks. This frame underscores the security concerns of the civilian population in the region and grounds the conflict in the context of terror.

The subheading 'Diplomacy is their only hope' uses the 'Human Interest' frame. The news item's statement underscores Germany's unwavering support for Israel and highlights the rescue of hostages held by Hamas as the primary objective. This frame emphasizes the humanitarian dimension of the conflict by focusing on the search for a diplomatic solution and humanitarian efforts to rescue the hostages.

The subheading 'Delicate Hamas relations' employed the frame 'Support to Israel'. The news article



characterizes groups supporting Palestine in Germany as 'groups sympathizing with Hamas' attacks,' underscoring the public opinion's call for harsh measures against their actions. This subheading deals with the increasing pressure on pro-Palestinian groups in German domestic politics and their association with terrorist activities.

The newspaper on 12.10.2023 featured two subheadings covering the Palestinian-Israel war. The first subheading, 'Help for those in need is essential,' employed the 'Human Interest' frame. The news article underscores the importance of continuous aid. This frame emphasizes the importance of humanitarian aid under war conditions and the necessity of meeting urgent needs.

The second subheading, 'Hopeless: Gaza before the counter-offensive,' again adopted the "Human Interest" framework. The news item's description emphasizes that Israel occupied the closed Gaza Strip and that the Palestinians had nowhere to flee before the offensive. This frame reveals the human tragedy in the region and expresses the desperation of the civilian population and the hopelessness created by these conditions.

Both subheadings highlight the humanitarian crisis resulting from the war, appealing to the audience's emotional world. In this way, the newspaper enables readers to evaluate the issue with a deeper empathy.

On 13.10.2023, the Taz Newspaper published the headline 'A trap for everyone', accompanied by photographs showing the buildings in Gaza reduced to rubble. The article emphasizes that the ground operation following the bombardment poses a significant risk to both Israel troops and the civilian population. This framework underscores the war's humanitarian crisis and the detrimental impact of military operations on civilian life.

Secondly, the subheading 'Hamas ban' employs the frame 'Support to Israel'. The news article's description states that the Jewish community and security authorities were concerned about the calls made by Hamas at the rally on Friday. The article emphasized the need for Germany to ban the activities of Hamas and Samidun (Association for the Defence of Palestinian Prisoners). This framework reflects international security concerns and growing anti-Hamas attitudes in the political climate, particularly in Germany.

CONCLUSION

Media frames are the essence that gives meaning to the news. Frames function to convey the essence of the story to the reader. By using various frames, journalists effectively convey the news to the masses in line with a certain policy and shape the target audience's perception of the subject in line with their own goals. In this context, frames establish boundaries that shape the reader's or receiver's perception within a specific framework. Therefore, identifying the frames used in the news facilitates the understanding of the media's perspective. The goal of this study is to identify the frames used in news reports on the Palestinian-Israel war by The New York Times, The Guardian, Hürriyet, and Taz Newspapers.

We determined and analyzed the framing of the Palestinian-Israel war in the headlines and subheadings of the newspapers included in the sample. The New York Times used the terror frame against Hamas twice to strengthen the perception of a terrorist organization; the "support for Israel" frame to legitimize Israel violence twice; the "attack" frame in five headlines; the "attribution of responsibility" frame in five headlines; the "war" frame in two headlines; the "human interest" frame in three headlines; and the "horror" and "massacre" frames in one headline each. The New York Times employed a total of twenty-one frames, with only one 'Human Interest' frame demonstrating empathy towards Palestinians.

When evaluated in the context of journalistic principles, news headlines should be as impartial and objective as possible. However, upon examining the frames employed in newspaper headlines, it becomes evident that they often reinforce a particular viewpoint held by the reader. The headlines gave the readers the message that it was Palestine that started the war, that war was the only option, that the hostages in the hands of Hamas were facing death, that Israel citizens were subjected to horror, that



Hamas was responsible for the events, and that there was strong international support for Israel.

Three of the headlines in The Guardian Newspaper used the 'Support to Israel' frame; two used the 'attack' frame; two used the 'violence' frame; one each used the 'attribution of responsibility,' 'war,' 'horror,' and 'massacre' frames; and seven used the 'Human Interest' frame. Three of the 'Human Interest' frames emphasized Palestinian citizens, while the other three emphasized Israel citizens. We created one 'Human Interest' frame to emphasize both sides. The newspaper used a total of two 'Human Interest' frames in its headlines, both of which emphasized Israel citizens. The 'Support to Israel' frame is another important headline frame. The newspaper emphasized its support for Israel in a total of three places, one of which was in the headline.

The Guardian's headlines cannot be characterized as completely neutral for both sides. This is because the content of the headlines generally emphasizes the problems faced by Palestinians and the effects of Israel's policies. In conclusion, an analysis of The Guardian Newspaper's headlines reveals a comprehensive coverage of various aspects of the conflicts between Israel and Palestine. However, in general, the content of the headlines and subheadings emphasizes the Israel perspective more. In particular, most of the headlines focusing on Israel's military operations, civilian casualties, and the humanitarian situation reflect the difficulties and suffering of Palestinians.

The Hürriyet Newspaper used a total of 37 frames in its headlines. The Hürriyet Newspaper used one headline each for 'terror', 'attribution of responsibility', 'war', 'horror', 'massacre', and 'peace'; two headlines for 'Support to Israel', five headlines for 'attack', nineteen headlines for 'human interest', three headlines for 'weakness', and two headlines for 'conflict'. Several headlines covered the details of the attack on the first day. After the third day, the news began to shift in favor of Palestine, incorporating a slightly more political discourse. We used nineteen 'Human Interest' frames to emphasize the human dimension of the events.

Taz Newspapers used a total of thirteen frames in their headlines and subheadings. The Taz Newspaper used the words 'terror', 'war', 'massacre', 'attack', and 'blockade' in one headline each; 'Support to Israel' appeared in four headlines, 'attack' in two, and 'human interest' in three. The German newspaper used the 'Support to Israel' frame in approximately one-fourth of the headlines, clearly showing that it was on the Israel side. The newspaper emphasized the Palestinian people in three human interest frames.

It is noteworthy that the headlines and sub-headlines of the newspapers include statements emphasizing human rights, but these headlines generally use language and style in favor of Israel or against Hamas (Palestine). For instance, a partisan approach to the incident is evident in The Guardian's headline 'Israelis trapped between fear, sadness, and grief' on the fifth day of the Gaza bombardment. The newspaper's tendency to favor one point of view over another by emphasizing the emotional state of Israelis warrants criticism for its representation of the conflict. On the other hand, the Hürriyet Newspaper raises questions about balance and fairness in its headline 'Hundreds of human shields,' which highlights the actions of Hamas and the negative humanitarian values of this situation, without criticizing Israel's attitude of killing even its own citizens.

Recommendations:

The following studies may further the understanding of the media's representations of conflicts and the influence of these representations on public perception.

- 1) A comparative analysis of the media organizations' approaches regarding the Palestine-Israel conflict with a larger sample is possible. This analysis might include Russian, Arab, Israeli, and Asian media groups, as well as an examination of the worldwide media's perspective on the crisis.
- 2) The framing of the Palestine-Israel conflict might be compared between traditional media (newspapers, television) and social media platforms (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram)..
- 3) The influence of media framing on readers' or viewers' views of the conflict might be examined.



- 4) The correlation between the frames utilized by media organizations and the political and economic setting in which they function might be analyzed.

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