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**Western media coverage of Ukraine Vs Gaza Wars: Bias or  
Professionalism ?**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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## **Dedication**

To our dear families, those who are in God's hands, and those who are with us this work is securely dedicated. We are very grateful for your love and support, which have been the inspiration behind our successes. We also dedicate this work to our wonderful supervisor, who helped us throughout the research process with hard effort, advice, support, and faith in our abilities. Finally, we dedicate this to the lost souls of Gaza, and we pray that Allah gives them mercy.

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## Abstract

The present study compares the coverage of the wars in Gaza and Ukraine by Western media outlets in order to determine whether such coverage was unprofessional or biased towards one conflict. Accordingly, a mixed-methods approach, consisting of framing analysis and quantitative methods, was used to show how the media portrayed these two conflicts. A total of 49 news articles and 14 videos were collected from four media outlets: BBC News, CNN, Fox News, and New York Time, and quantitatively analyzed using a coding scheme that consists of 16 frames categorized under three main predefined news frames, namely generic, diagnoses, and prognoses. The obtained finding demonstrate that the four media outlets were more concerned with explaining the causality of the war in Ukraine and Gaza (61.25% and 55.5% respectively for generic frames) than highlighting the wider social and economic backgrounds of the conflicts (diagnostic: 42.5% and 38.75% respectively), or suggesting solutions for the two crises (prognostic: 34.37%, 35.57% respectively) although bias was blatant in favor of Ukraine. While media and people in the west continued to hold Gaza, particularly Hamas, responsible for the crisis, they portrayed Ukraine as a victim and in a constant need of assistance even though it is receiving aid from all over the world. This question the level of professionalism of western media outlets in covering wars that fall beyond their geopolitical interest. This study helps enhance readers' knowledge of the many vantage points that various media outlets adopt when covering the same event.

**Keywords:** framing analysis, Gaza crisis, media coverage, Ukraine crisis.

## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>CFMM</b>	Centre for Media Monitoring
<b>CNN</b>	Cable News Network
<b>G7</b>	The group of seven
<b>IDF</b>	Israel Defense Forces
<b>MAP</b>	Membership Action Plan
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NTY</b>	The New York Times
<b>UN</b>	United Nations

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# General Introduction

## 1. Background of the Study

Over years, mass media has played a critical role in shaping public opinion and information globally. Many Western media outlets insist on highlighting the immorality of killing and brutalizing Israeli civilians, as Hamas has undoubtedly done, while soft-pedaling the ongoing genocide performed by the Israeli forces in Gaza. In one remarkable interview on BBC News night, when Husam Zomlotè (2023), the Head of the Palestinian Mission to the UK, said that seven members of his family had been killed by Israeli bombs; the reaction of his interviewer was to offer perfunctory condolences and immediately proclaim, "you cannot condone the killing of civilians in Israel". Obvious censorship is the case, where opinions that humanize Palestinians or that deviate from the official line of unconditional support for Israel are suppressed. There have been clampdowns on protests and expressions of solidarity with the Palestinians, threats to arrest people for flying the Palestinian flag, and attempts by leading tech companies to remove or shadow-ban pro-Palestinian content.

The EU and its member states strongly condemn Russia's brutal war against Ukraine. The speed at which the international response has been given, including the exclusion of Russia from some cultural events, is quite fascinating reflecting an ultimate support and sympathy towards Ukraine (European council, 2022). They also repeatedly demanded that Russia should respect the territorial integrity, supremacy, and quickly end its military activities in the country. The EU member states also commended the Ukrainian people for their bravery in protecting their country and emphasized Ukraine freedom to determine its own course in life. The European union is dedicated to keeping its solidarity and helping Ukraine. Journalists have always been critical of the bias reporting on Israel and Palestine by Western media, and this criticism did not start on October 7<sup>TH</sup>, 2023. More than 500 journalists expressed concerns in a public letter dated 2021 over US media's carelessness in covering Israel's treatment of Palestinians. On this subject, countless books and theses have been produced, and

scholarly investigations reveal that Western media, such as the New York Times, tends to represent Israelis and Palestinians more favorably than they do (European council, 2022).

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

It is undeniable that media coverage news has a substantial influence on the public opinion upon wars, and in order to understand people's perception and reaction towards world conflicts, it is necessary to scrutinize how these conflicts are represented by media outlets in the first place. Russia-Ukraine and Israel-Gaza conflicts were extensively covered by media sources. Despite the violation of human rights and the disastrous consequences of the wars in the two contexts, peoples' and western governments' reactions towards the two conflicts vary, showing little bias towards Ukraine. In order to address this bias, the present research investigates how western media outlets portrayed Gaza and Ukraine conflicts.

## **3. Literature review**

The media has always had a unique relationship with war-limited conflicts, mostly because of the significant news value and high public interest that these circumstances hold due to their security implications. The media's energy is conflict. It exists in journalists' training to seek out conflicts and to be drawn to war. And the media's involvement has been judged to be far wider and more passionate when it happens to be 'our battle', which means the wars that are mostly western (Ajai K, 2000).

The humanitarian catastrophe in Ukraine has captured the attention of the entire globe following Russia's invasion. Over the course of the extensive coverage that major foreign news channels have been providing, a trend has evolved that suggests victims of past military conflicts outside of the West are not as deserving of sympathy as Ukrainian residents. Social media users are upset about certain remarks made by journalists for BBC, and Al Jazeera English because they are supposedly biased and racist. These claims have drawn criticism because they imply that those who reside in conflict

areas outside of the West are both savage and used to the brutality of war (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2022).

The coverage of Syrian crisis reveals that in this case, the media did not favor either side of the political debate which caused it remain non-influential the battle in Syria is maybe the first "social media war," as it has frequently kept many of the top media outlets in the world—including the majority of mainstream Western broadcasters—off the front lines. As a result, people started to rely more on activist-supplied social media information streams (Doucet, 2020).

#### **4. Aims of the Study**

The purpose of the present research is to compare how western media outlets have presented Gaza and Ukraine wars and to reveal whether this presentation was unprofessional and biased towards one conflict. This involves analyzing the way how the two wars were delivered to the public, from how much attention each one has received, to the aids provided, and most importantly the reaction of the world towards the wars.

#### **5. Research Questions**

This study attempts to answer one main research question, divided into two sub-questions:

RQ1: Does Western media outlets have double standards regarding the coverage of Ukraine and Gaza conflicts?

Sub-Questions:

- a) How did Western media outlets represent the Russia-Ukraine War?
- b) How did Western media outlets represent the Gaza-Israel War?

## **6. Research Methodology**

This study utilized a mixed-method approach that combined framing analysis and quantitative methods. The former involves examining the ways in which communication messages—such as speeches, news stories, commercials, or posts on social media—are designed to influence people's perceptions of certain problems, occasions, or topics, whereas the latter deals with the process of collecting and analyzing numerical data, the quantitative approach can be used to find patterns and averages, make predictions, test causal relationships, and generalize results to wider populations (Fleetwood, 2024). We chose to employ the framing analysis since it made it possible for us to develop a coding scheme for classifying and arranging the vast amount of data that was used in the study.

## **7. Significance of the Study**

This study helps improve readers' knowledge of the many vantage points that various media outlets adopt when covering the same event. It also supports anecdotal data about the disparities in the responses of Western media to the wars in Gaza and Ukraine. This study is expected to positively impact the studies of media and communication by critically examining the representations of Ukraine and Gaza in news articles and other forms of media.

## **8. Structure of the Study**

This dissertation consists of two chapters. The first chapter presents the historical background of the wars in Gaza and Ukraine and explains the main causes of the conflicts. A brief description of western and Arab worlds' reactions towards the two conflicts is also included within this chapter. The second chapter involves a thorough description of the methodological approach adopted in this research and presents the findings obtained from employing this approach, followed by a comprehensive discussion of the findings which eventually answers the research questions.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza: Historical background and media coverage**

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## **Introduction**

The Ukrainian and Gaza wars have become a symbol of the complex interactions between past records, international responses, alliance behavior, and media narratives. In addition to serving as the center of attention for world politics Russia's 2021 invasion of Ukraine is the main cause of the conflict in the region. The media's coverage of this conflict has frequently highlighted the complex relationships between historical conflicts, geopolitical interests, and the conflict's human cost. The experiences of the citizens impacted by the violence, diplomatic attempts to end the crisis, and the broader consequences for international relations and European security have all been emphasized in reports.

On the other hand, the primary cause of Gaza conflict is the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is marked by frequent violent incidents and long political challenges. The main reasons of the conflict, like as a result of the siege of Gaza, and the larger fight for Palestinian status, are frequently explored in media coverage of Gaza. Journalists have reported on the effects of armed conflicts on civilian populations, the humanitarian crises they cause, and the efforts of the international community to negotiate a settlement.

Accordingly, this chapter presents the historical background of both crises and describes how western and Arab world leaders and communities reacted towards these conflicts. The chapter ends with a through illustration of how different media outlets presented Ukraine and Gaza conflicts.

### **1.1 Historical conflict in Ukraine**

The conflict in Ukraine is a complex tragedy that is likely to significantly escalate in the near future. When the resolution of a conflict is effective, its reasons are rarely examined; however, when the conclusion is catastrophic, it becomes critical to understand how it happened. First, the Ukraine situation is primarily the result of American policy. This is not an attempt to refute the fact that

president Putin started the conflict and holds responsibility for its management. However, most of countries which are allies to America follow Washington's lead when it comes to Ukraine. The main argument is that, as president Putin and other Russian leaders have repeatedly stated, the United States has advanced policies toward Ukraine which Russia considers them as a threat to humanity (Mearsheimer, 2022).

Currently referring to America's obsession with transforming Ukraine into a Western powerhouse on Russia's border and admitting it into NATO, Biden's administration restated the United States' commitment to combating that threat in 2021, but it was unwilling to do so diplomatically; President Putin responded by invading Ukraine on Feb. 24 of the same year, Apparently, the war is likely to continue around for months or even years since the United States is not genuinely interested in a diplomatic settlement. Ukraine, which has already suffered greatly, will suffer even more as a result of this process. Basically, the US is driving Ukraine toward joining the NATO. In addition, there is a chance that NATO could be drawn into the conflict and that nuclear weapons might be utilized, which may eventually cause the battle to escalate (Mearsheimer, 2022).

The war between Russia and Ukraine has had a negative impact on the evolving global order, specifically in Military cooperation and economy. Initially, it has made the already extreme division in world politics even deeper. Russia and China are now paired more closely. Although it is not the no limits alliance but above an alliance,"(Legvold, 2024), as declared By Russia on February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2022, and despite China's seeming anger with President Vladimir Putin's bet, the war has boosted Russia' s and China's anti-Western position and increased their military and economic collaboration , the total value of Russia-China trade rose by 26% to \$240 billion in 2023 from a record high of \$190 billion in 2022, up 30% from the previous year. This includes oil shipments to China and a 50% growth in commerce in commodities, including metals, over pre-war levels in 2023.

In addition, with serious consequences for an unstable global order, the conflict in Ukraine is escalating the cold war between the United States and Russia that has been going on since Russia took over Crimea in 2014 and the events that followed. The possibility of a single nation governing a multipolar nuclear world that is growing more complicated and dangerous has elapsed. More than 12,500 nuclear weapons are in the globe, 11,100 of them remain in the hands of the United States and Russia (Legvold, 2024). Without their leadership, it will be difficult to address a nuclear reality that is changing due to a growing number of unstable technologies, the emergence of the internet and spaceflights as new fronts in warfare, and the expanding nuclear arms races between the United States and China and Russia (Legvold, 2024).

For the time being, the Ukraine War has put an end to fifty years of U.S and Russian attempts to control their mutual nuclear connection, raising doubts about when and if they will start up again. Understandably, the main focus of the leaders of the US, the EU, and Russia is on what needs to be done instantly to bring about a conclusion in the war in Ukraine that would satisfy them. Their energy and attention are clearly being tested by the importance that everyone sees in the battle and the difficult realities that still need to be faced (Legvold, 2024).

### **1.1.1 Western and Arab reaction towards the conflict**

To begin with, it is obvious that President Macron and President Putin's communication has reached a breaking point. Needless to say, that France must continue to be an option for any political solution to the Ukrainian crisis, but the moment of no return has already passed. Nobody could genuinely think that the next French president will be able to sit down with Putin and discuss European peace and security. In order to maintain confidence with its allies in Europe and the United States, France must make a strong statement to Moscow (Duclos,2022).

Also, important to consider how the rest of the world views the conflict. Stating, as we sometimes hear, that "it is the West that is isolated", seems overly dramatic. It is true, nevertheless, that Russia still receives the benefits of favors given by most growing powers. It appears that they are angrier of the West and the United States than they are of this war. Practically speaking, this is creating a scenario in which critical nations like the Gulf States or India decline to adopt the West's strategy of isolating Russia. The war in Ukraine is seen by the Moscow-Beijing alliance as a major defeat to the West-dominated global order. The greater Russia and China can find greater reasons to further challenge and change the current global order if they believe that the rest of the world is just paying the West what it wants (Duclos, 2022). Large-scale military assistance to the Ukrainians has been provided while maintaining wise caution. The message that comes from Western officials is to avoid engaging directly with the Russian forces in order to prevent the war in Ukraine from becoming catastrophic (Duclos, 2022).

Arab nations, however, have responded to the Russian invasion in an unclear manner, whilst Western nations have stood together. Arabs chose to be neutral rather than engaging in this conflict, which is between the West and Russia. As a result, the Arab nations have embraced reality to several levels, adopting different positions based on the topics of the resolutions passed by the General Assembly. For example, 16 out of 21 Arab nations supported a vote issued on March 2nd condemning the Russian invasion, whereas only three supported the vote published on April 7th suspending Russia from the Human Rights Council (Khader, 2023). The difference was also apparent in the number of votes cast for the measures on October 12, 2022, and November 14, 2022. On October 12, 17 Arab nations supported the resolution that called on Russia to cancel its decision "to acquire Ukrainian regions.", but just five supported the resolution calling for Russia to make up for the harm that its invasion caused (Khader, 2023). Israel refused voting on the November 14 resolution call for

settlements from Russia, despite having voted in favor of the resolutions on March 2, April 7, and October 12.

The Assad government in Syria is the only Arab authority that is sincerely in favor of Putin. Not a single other Arab state is attempting to shift its focus to Moscow; instead, they all prioritize their relationships with the West. However, this does not imply that Arab nations are hostile to Russia. In general, they view Russia as an important world force that still matters in their area and occasionally makes operations that serve their interests. When relations with Western capitals are restricted, Moscow is also a useful capital to get close improve around public (Hellyer, 2022).

After three weeks of Russia's military invasion of Ukraine, 47% of Americans said that they are satisfied with how Biden's administration handled the attack. About one-third of the Americans (32%) believed that the level of assistance the US is giving Ukraine in its battle against Russia is about right. Among those surveyed, 42% of them believed that the United States needs to be helping Ukraine more, whilst only 7% of them believed that it is already helping the country too much (Nadeem, 2022), while the Arab Public opinion among Arabs was divided in just as significant ways. There was a lot of spirited public discussion about the Ukraine crisis on social media. Because Ukraine is an independent nation with the right to determine its own foreign policy and security alliances, some members of the Arab public opposed the Russian invasion. Another section criticized the "hypocrisy of the West," which defends Ukrainian resistance to the Russian invasion but labels Palestinian resistance to Israeli oppression as terrorism. Comparing the treatment of the blue-eyed, blond-haired Ukrainian refugees to the treatment of Middle Eastern refugees in the west, a Arabs condemned what they called "racism" and hostility against Arabs and Muslims (Washington, 2022).

## 1.1.2 Ukraine–NATO relations

North Atlantic Treaty Organization or what is known as NATO is a political and military alliance established in 1949 in Washington, D.C. by 12 countries, now comprising 30-member nations, in Europe and North America for the purpose of collective defense against aggression (*Office of the Historian, 2017*).

NATO and its member nations place a high value on Ukraine's security. The right of Ukraine to self-defense and the freedom to select its own security arrangements are unbreakable, and the Alliance strongly supports both. NATO is the future for Ukraine. Beginning in the early 1990s, NATO's relations with Ukraine have grown to become one of the alliance's most significant relationships. In response to Russia's illegal invasion of Crimea in 2014, cooperation has increased in crucial areas. Since 2022, when Russia launched a full-scale invasion, NATO and its allies have given extraordinary levels of assistance, as soon as the newly independent Ukraine joined the Partnership for Peace initiative (1994) and the North Atlantic collaboration Council (1991), dialogue and collaboration began. The signing of the 1997 Charter on a Distinctive Partnership and the 2009 Declaration to Complement the Charter, which reaffirmed the 2008 Bucharest Summit decision by NATO Leaders to include Ukraine in the alliance, further improved relations between NATO nations and Ukraine (NATO, 2024).

The NATO-Ukraine Commission was created by the 1997 Charter to serve as the primary organization in charge of developing friendships and overseeing collaborative efforts. The NATO-Ukraine Council, which seats the Allies and Ukraine equally, took the place of the Commission in 2023. This shift is reflective of the closer political relations and growing NATO membership with Ukraine (NATO, 2024).

Eighty percent of Ukrainian professional's support NATO membership. The escape from the dictatorial and unstable space in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the improvement of civilian control and transparency, and the opportunity to maintain and modernize the Ukrainian military are some of the common justifications of this support. On the issue of Ukraine's NATO membership, experts may have come to an agreement, but support from the people of Ukraine is still very low, regularly between 20 to 30 percent, according to Dubovyk (2007). He blamed this on a number of things, such as the bad press brought about by the NATO bombing campaign in Yugoslavia, the lack of educational engagement by the Ukrainian government, and a negative association with NATO created by stereotypes caused by Soviet propaganda.

The primary aim of the NATO-Ukraine Collaborative working group on military transformation is to encourage the Alliance's participation in the security and defense sector change in Ukraine as well as to maintain of military-political communication. Numerous efforts are being carried out under the direction of this collective working group with the goal of promoting security and defense reform. This involves fighting corruption (NATO's Integrity and Transparency Responsibility, lowering corruption risks in defense and security organizations), retraining and providing social protection for discharged military personnel, repairing military education in Ukraine, and training civilian security and defense personnel. One of the key messages from the final statement of the NATO Summit 2021, which took place in Brussels on June 14, 2021, was the Allies' confirmation of their nation's right to join the Alliance, with the Membership Action Plan (MAP) serving as an essential part of this process (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine,2021).

### **1.1.3 Media Coverage of Ukraine Crisis**

The largest European conflict since World War II began on February 24, when Russia invaded Ukraine on a large scale. Major global news organizations have sent journalists to cover explosions

and violence in heavily impacted towns and cities for broadcast, newspapers, and magazines. In real time, journalists, citizens, and politicians—including Volodymyr Zelensky, the president of Ukraine—have also taken to social media platforms like TV, Twitter and journals to record the atrocities of the conflict for a worldwide audience.

The New York Daily News journalists and cameras have been in Ukraine since before Russia launched its assault on February 24, 2022. More than 100 New York Times reporters, photographers, producers, videographers, security personnel, and staff have been rotating through Ukraine throughout the year, and over 1,000 people from the newsrooms and offices around the globe have contributed to the coverage of the conflict's wide-ranging, global effects (The New York Times Company, 2023). With live updates from newsrooms in Europe, Asia, and the US throughout the year, these reporters have assisted readers in understanding the war. In order to reach viewers where they are—on media, in weekly meetings, and through continuous live coverage—NYT have increased the volume of news reporting on this important issue.

Readers worldwide are informed about the most significant developments as they happen by daily coverage of the battle. The Times has released almost 400 live briefings and writing about the fight since February 2022. Weeks before Russia's invasion, in January 2022, the real-time coverage got underway, it has been running nearly every day since mid-February, with Times newsrooms in Seoul, London, and New York sharing writing duties among themselves uninterruptedly. The live coverage has been sourced by around 500 journalists across six continents, who have contributed updates from places such as Beijing, Washington, Nairobi, New Delhi, Brussels. The voices have been able to provide hundreds of thousands of readers with frequent updates from within Ukraine. Throughout the year, these reporters have provided readers with a comprehensive understanding of the conflict through a variety of means, including groundbreaking investigations, 24/7 live briefings updated by newsrooms in Europe, Asia, and the United States, revealing audio, and unflinching video

and photography that has captured some of the most iconic images of the conflict (The New York Times Company, 2023).

Concerning the Russia-Ukraine conflict, television is the most popular media outlet in three out of five countries. Geographically, Germany (46%) and Brazil (44%) receive the greatest attention for TV news coverage of the conflict, while internet news sources, specialized websites, and social media collectively make up more of the information in the US and Poland; Certain variations in the sources that are selected by market and age are observed (Fletcher & Eddy, 2022). For example, the divisions between younger and older groups in terms of TV versus social media use remain true for the most important channel for keeping track of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. For example, in the UK, 55% of people over 55 and only 13% of people between the ages of 18 and 24 are watching TV news about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Additionally, compared to those 55 and older (2%), nearly eight times as many 18–24s (15%) are following social media news about the war. Furthermore, social media is a particularly significant source of information in Brazil, even while TV is a particularly dominant source in nations like Germany for information about the conflict (Fletcher & Eddy, 2022).

Social media sites have been involved in crises, wars, and conflicts for more than ten years. People utilize these platforms to provide aid and relief, criticize crimes, call for the international community to act, and document violations of human rights during wars. Disinformation is also spread by government and other organizations via these platforms (Al-saied,2023).

The Russian government's social media platforms spread the story that Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the president of Ukraine, had fled to another country on February 25, 2022, the day following the beginning of Russia's war on Ukrainian territory. Following the news, President Zelenskyy posted a brief video of himself in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, on social media. This spread misinformation is a key element of modern military propaganda. The application of past data—in this case, aggressive

wars—to explain current happenings is another instance of a propaganda strategy. The Ukrainian government posted on its Twitter account a caricature of Adolf Hitler, with his hand on President Vladimir Putin's face, gazing down at him with delight. Putin is explicitly linked by the cartoon to one of the most hated attackers in history. The caricature highlights the terrible consequences of having a border shared by an aggressive Russian state (Al-Saied, 2023).

The two countries closest to the crisis, Germany and Poland, have seen an overall increase in TV news consumption compared to before the conflict, corresponding to 3 % and 9 % respectively. In general, the use of social media for news is either unchanged or declining worldwide. In Germany, for example, the usage of social media for news has decreased by up to 7%. This may be due to people's desire to avoid constant updates or to seek out professional coverage. However, generally speaking, it is challenging to make any definitive judgments regarding how the Russia-Ukraine conflict has affected the frequency of news access, particularly considering that the poll was conducted several weeks after the invasion started (Perceptions of Media Coverage of the War in Ukraine, 2022).

The conflict in Ukraine is still gaining international attention despite thousands of deaths and the emigration of over six million Ukrainians, as well as the accusation of widespread human rights violations of Russia by the international community. Most of the five nations under consideration here, including Brazil, USA, Germany, Poland, and the UK), especially those closest to the conflict, are keeping a close eye on it. Many people are turning to television news for the most recent updates on the violence, as we've seen with other significant global events. This shows the ongoing importance of broadcast media during times of crisis. The general public's perception of news organizations offering a variety of viewpoints on the conflict is not as favorable. Meanwhile, given the scope of the invasion and the everyday incidence of new crimes, it is unlikely that journalists will view presenting opposing viewpoints as their top priority. The current situation may involve more than just Ukraine's membership in NATO, as seen by Russia's desire to bring Ukraine back into the fold despite the

significant economic cost it is paying and the possibility of a violent, long war that it may not win. The way the West responds to the crisis will ultimately determine the destiny of Ukraine, but more importantly, it will determine how ready Ukrainians are to fight for a country that Putin feels does not and should not exist (Mankoff, 2022).

## **1.2 Historical conflict of Gaza**

Back to 1917 in Balfour Declaration, the British government promised to provide a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, which was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. The Zionist movement, which maintains that Jews have a title to Jerusalem, or Zion, was registered in the contract. After World War I, the Ottoman Empire gave up control of the Palestine region, and the League of Nations issued an order for the British to take control of it. The law drew criticism for failing to consider the needs and desires of the native Palestinian population, who desired independence. Tens of thousands of Jewish people have migrated to Palestinian territory in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of Britain's promise, the genocide, and Nazi oppression during World War II. several fatalities resulted from ongoing conflicts between Jewish immigration and Palestinian Arabs in the area.

Despite growing tension, the British recommended in February 1947 that the United Nations (UN) take charge of relations in the region and examine Palestine's future. Afterwards, in spite of the local Palestinian Arab population, the UN passed a resolution dividing Palestine into two independent states: an "Arab State" and a "Jewish State," with Jerusalem serving as a trustee state. Jerusalem, a holy city for many religions, would continue to be governed by the United Nations under international supervision. The settlement was not accepted by the Palestinians, and the two sides' battle continued. Israel declared its independence on May 15, 1948, sparking the start of the Israeli-Arab War, in which five Arab governments fought to prevent Israel from becoming a state. Following an extended battle of patience between Egypt and Israel, the Six-Day War broke out on June 5, 1967, between Israel and

its Arab neighbors. Israel took control of the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian Arab regions of the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, and the Sinai Peninsula. Most Palestinians had to leave their homes during the Six-Day War, which also marked the start of Israel's decades-long occupation of Palestinian territory (Alfonseca, 2023).

Palestinians began their first intifada, or uprising, twenty years after the 1967 war, following the deaths of four people when an Israeli military truck crashed with a car transporting Palestinian workers close to Gaza's Jabaliya refugee camps. Protests with stones thrown, strikes, and barricades followed. The Muslim Brotherhood, which is based in Egypt, capitalized on the ensuing rage and established Hamas, an armed Palestinian associated with its headquarters in Gaza. With its goals of overthrowing Israel and reestablishing Islamic law, Hamas emerged as a competitor to Yasser Arafat's secular Fatah party. Hamas and Islamic Jihad, two others revolutionary organizations, bombed targets in Gaza, forcing Israel to further restrict Palestinians' ability to leave the territory (Farrell, 2023). Additionally, Hamas became aware of the mounting Palestinian complaints against Arafat's inner circle for economic mismanagement, bias, and corruption.

The second Palestinian intifada started in 2000; relations between Israel and the Palestinians reached a new low. It marked the beginning of a period characterized by Israeli airstrikes, destruction, deadlines, no-go zones, and Palestinian suicide bombers and gun attacks. Gaza International Airport, which opened in 1998, was one of the victims. A few months after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, Israel destroyed the radar antenna and runway, symbolizing the failure of Palestinian hopes for economic independence and viewing it as a security danger (Farrell, 2023). The fishing industry in Gaza, which employed tens of thousands, was also destroyed. Israel restricted Gaza's fishing zone, citing the need to prevent weapons-smuggling boats. Buildings and abandoned structures were torn down by Palestinians for scrap. More freedom of movement within Gaza resulted

from the evacuation of the settlements, and a "tunnel economy" emerged as armed groups, smugglers, and businesspeople quickly built numerous tunnels into Egypt (Farrell, 2023).

### **1.2.1 Seventh October Events**

On Saturday, October 7, 2023, Hamas carried out a horrifying and meticulously organized attack against Jewish settlements in southern Israel, bringing memories of al-Qaeda's attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. This resistance campaign, which involved psychological warfare and a network of long-term betrayal to surprise Israel, had been planned for at least two years. It was carried out with a high level of military professionalism and organization, more in line with the strategies of a regular army's special forces than a conventional terrorist group (Dosta, 2023).

Thousands of rockets from Hamas were fired into Israel in the early hours of October 7. At the same time, many Israeli officers and troops were on leave. Six Drone squadrons carrying explosive charges and drones fitted with grenades were launched by Hamas's special forces, known as the Nukhba, to target Israel Defense Forces (IDF) weaponry systems and guard stations close to the border. Subsequently, thousands of resistance forces connected with Hamas, each with a unique attack strategy, gathered in the area of the Israeli border. They were able to use explosives to break the border many times, enter Israeli land, and clear the way for thousands of resistance forces on motorcycles and dozens of Islamic State; Every Hamas team had a different goal. Some were tasked with the horrific mission of carrying out killings in villages, while others attempted to take over military sites. These groups were further split up, with the main resistance groups taking control of towns and military installations while focusing on attacking soldiers and civilians. Teams assigned with securing these areas' entry and exit points escorted civilians, interrupting the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) ability to provide civilian assistance. Israel was taken entirely by surprise as there had been no previous

warning of the strike. For the Israeli security system and the IDF, it represented a serious military intelligence failure from a strategic and tactical perspective (Dostri, 2023).

The Islamist organization Hamas launched an unprecedented surprise attack on Israel on October 7, dozens of people have died and thousands more have been injured. Israel responded by surrounding the Gaza Strip, its neighbor, and launching a bombardment assault. According to Israeli officials, since October 7, at least 1,400 people have died and 6,900 more have been injured in Israel. The Gaza Health Ministry, which is under the control of Hamas, reports that there have been at least 11,078 deaths and 27,490 injuries in the Gaza Strip. Protests across the globe have been triggered by the strikes carried out by both the Israeli military and Hamas, which have brought the region's extended war into sharp relief (Alfonseca, 2023). In addition, More Palestinians are dying in Israel's military than in any other major conflict in recent memory, with an average of 250 deaths per day. Since the tragic attacks in Israel on October 7th, which were carried out by Hamas and other armed groups, an additional 330 Palestinians have died in the West Bank (*Oxfam International*, 2024).

Israel claims there are still around 134 captives in Gaza, including two children despite the ceasefire ending in November 2023 and the return of hostilities. The Israeli Defense Forces has confirmed the deaths of 18 hostages as a result of information gathered from soldiers stationed in Gaza. Hamas published three propaganda videos with three hostages on January 14–15, 2023. Yossi Sharabi, 53, and Itai Svirsky, 38, were two of the hostages that Hamas said were murdered in an Israeli bombing in the films. The IDF, however, denied the claim and referred to the assertion that Israel killed them as a "Hamas lie". On November 21, an agreement was made between Israel and the terrorist organization Hamas in Palestine about the release of 50 Israeli captives. At the time of the attack on October 7, the resistance groups have held over 240 persons prisoner. Israel agreed to maintain a four-day ceasefire and release 150 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for their release. After this agreement continued for a few days, 108 captives were freed before hostilities started up again on

December 1. Following weeks of discussions including the US, Egypt, and Qatar—which served as a middleman between the US and the organization Hamas—the deal was declared (American Jewish Committee 2024).

### **1.2.2 Western and Arab reaction towards the conflict**

Western leaders have voiced their opinions in the days following Hamas's unexpected attack on Israel on Saturday. While many have criticized Hamas, some have placed the blame entirely on Israel.

The leaders of the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and Britain condemned the attacks carried out by Hamas, calling them "acts of terrorism" with "no justification," in a joint statement "Our nations will back Israel in its efforts to protect itself and its citizens from such barbaric acts," stated German Chancellor Olaf Scholz, British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, and US President Joe Biden (Rosenzweig-Ziff, 2023). The leaders continued by stating that although Hamas "does not represent those aspirations," they acknowledge the "legitimate aspirations" of Palestinians; in addition to supporting Israel, the European Union said in a statement on Monday night that it would examine its assistance to the Palestinians and that it was not currently freezing funding. This rejected an announcement made by the EU commissioner that the EU will "immediately" stop providing aid to the Palestinians. According to the statement, "the goal of this review is to ensure that no terrorist organization receives indirect support from the EU to carry out attacks against Israel"(Rosenzweig-Ziff, 2023). The Joint Council of the European Union requested that Israel grant access to food, water, and medical supplies as well as the release of all hostages (Rosenzweig-Ziff, 2023). It requested neighbors to work with Iran to achieve calming down and emphasized its support for a two-state solution. During a visit to NATO's headquarters in Brussels on Wednesday, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky condemned Hamas and compared the organization's strategies to those of Russia (Rosenzweig-Ziff, 2023).

The first public reaction in the Arab world to the Resistance activities of Hamas was liberal and moderate. The acts of Hamas on October 7 crossed the lines between crimes of terrorism and lawful opposition to the Israeli occupation and blockade of the Palestinian areas, which clearly does not involve targeting civilians (Hamzawy, 2023). Arab governments, civil society groups, media outlets, and several well-known social media accounts immediately condemned the violence and demanded that lives be protected on all sides. Governmental and nongovernmental viewpoints quickly got excluded when they refused to acknowledge the targeting of Israeli civilians. Nine Arab foreign ministers released a statement on October 26 emphasizing their opposition to violence and the slaughter of civilians as the Israeli assault of Gaza increased. Protests in favor of the Palestinians in Gaza and their fundamental human rights have swept the region, with notable events taking place in Casablanca, Algiers, Tunis, Cairo, Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, and Manama.

The Palestinians are facing an ongoing Israeli military assault and appalling living conditions. The nonviolent character of this wave of Arab public mobilization is reflective of an increasing push away from using violence to achieve political goals and a desire for stability. All of the mainstream Arab public sphere advanced pro-life and pro-peace ideals without attempting to defend Hamas's actions, neither by invoking militant Islamist anti-Jewish argumentation that has recently lost popularity nor by making references to the organization's continuous occupation and siege of the Palestinian territories (Hamzawy, 2023).

The UN Security Council was asked by the Arab League on Monday to adopt a "binding" resolution to end Israel's deadly offensive in the Gaza Strip. The UN Security Council was urged to "assume its responsibilities to maintain international peace and security, and to take a binding resolution to stop the widespread, systematic Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people"(al-Khazen, 2024). in a resolution passed by the pan-Arab group. "To stop its aggression against the Palestinian

people, withdraw from the Gaza Strip, lift the siege and limit its plans and efforts aimed at forced displacement," was the demand made by the Arab League to Israel (al-Khazen, 2024).

Students from 38 cities, including Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Malaga, Bilbao, Zaragoza, and Madrid, attending universities and secondary schools in Spain went on strike to condemn Israeli attack of civilians in Gaza. More than a month into the conflict, which broke out when the Palestinian organization Hamas assaulted southern Israel on October 7, calls for a ceasefire to protect civilians in Gaza have risen (Aljazeera, 2023). Some of the Cairo protesters chanted, "Where is the Arab army?" and, "Here they are, the Zionists," referring to Egypt's riot police, who pushed demonstrators into nearby Bab el-Louk Square and closed access to Tahrir. Protests reflect the growing rage on the Arab street toward the conflict, the rising number of Palestinian casualties, and towards what they see as the US's inability to impose limits on Israel's behavior (Nadeen, 2023).

### **1.2.3 Media coverage of Gaza conflict**

Western news organizations have frequently published unsubstantiated claims, told one side of the story, and selectively glossed over violence to justify Israel's violations of international law and shield it from scrutiny since the start of the latest Israeli assault on the besieged Palestinian enclave, which is turning out to be one of the fastest cultural cleansing efforts in history (The New Humanitarian, 2023).

The society's greater concern for certain crises and victims over others is largely shaped by the media. The way in which current events in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories are covered is the best example of this double standard at work. The political and militant Palestinian party in control of the Gaza Strip is to blame for the October 7th hostage-taking and the deaths of hundreds of Israeli citizens, but since then, thousands of Palestinian civilians have also died at the hands of the Israeli government. Additionally, according to the UN, 3,803 Palestinian civilians have died before

October 7th, compared to 177 Israeli civilians. The term "terrorism" is used generally to describe an organization that individuals find unacceptable". is the reason that BBC does not directly identify Hamas militants as terrorists. The majority of media outlets take great care to point out that the cause of the explosion is unknown while discussing the explosion at the al-Ahli hospital in Gaza City, which claimed hundreds of Palestinian civilians who were seeking cover. However, numerous front-page stories in the same media outlets featured unverified reports of Hamas killing babies (a claim that even US President Joe Biden made, referring to "terrorists killing children"), which were later described by El País as "The murdered babies that no one saw, but someone used" (The New Humanitarian, 2023).

The Media Bias Gaza research exposes major biases and mistakes in mainstream media outlets and provides a critical analysis of media coverage regarding Israel's war on Gaza in the month following October 7, 2023. the analysis examines media coverage and the degree to which essential facts were delivered, without fear or favor, in light of the highly divided debate that has ensued for seventh October events. Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM) examined a wide range of data (2023), including 25,515 news stories from over 28 UK online media websites and 176,627 television footage from over 13 broadcasters. The information was examined for how events were framed, what language was used, and how Palestinian voices were portrayed in the media. The purpose of the report was to evaluate how biased and distorted the conflict was portrayed by different media sources, the vast majority of television programming supported "Israel's right" to self-defense, essentially greater than Palestinian rights five to one. Due to its biased framing, the war was shown in a twisted way, supporting narratives that gave priority to Israeli viewpoints over Palestinian ones. Additionally, CfMM discovered that reference to Israeli TV reporting was nearly three times higher (4,311) than that of Palestinian TV reporting (1,598). It was nearly twice as much in internet news.

Media outlets misrepresented and abused pro-Palestinian voices, using terrorism and discriminatory accusations as an argument to undermine real efforts to mobilize support. This

intentionally damaged pro-Palestine activists' reputation and reinforced negative preconceptions. For example, even though the protests called for a ceasefire and highlighted the misery of Palestinians, 42% of all references to protestors as being "pro-Hamas" came from GB News and Talk TV (Media Monitoring, 2024).

An investigation conducted by Ozkan (2024) reveals that major US newspapers have covered the Gaza conflict with double standards, primarily supporting Israel. Prominent publications including the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times carried content that was biased against Palestinians during Israel's attacks. "An Intercept analysis of major media coverage revealed a consistent bias against Palestinians in the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times's coverage of Israel's war on Gaza," the article said. US journalists closely correlated Israeli claims with the 14,800 Palestinian deaths in the first six weeks of the fighting. Major newspapers described the Israeli dead in the fighting with passionate language and focused excessively on Israeli deaths. Even though Palestinian deaths greatly outnumbered Israeli casualties, "Israeli" or "Israel" appears more frequently in the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times than "Palestinian" or versions thereof (Ozkan, 2024). There is one mention of Palestinians for every two Palestinian deaths. Israelis are referenced eight times for every Israeli death, or sixteen times more often per death than Palestinians. Out of the more over 1,100 articles in the investigation, just two headlines refer to "children" as they relate to Gazan children (Ozkan, 2024).

Major American newspapers covered antisemitic incidents unevenly, emphasizing Israeli deaths in the conflict more than Palestinian deaths. They also used emotional language to describe Israeli deaths, but not Palestinian ones. Finally, they mostly ignored anti-Muslim racism following October 7. Major media outlets have been accused by pro-Palestinian activists of being biased in favor of Israel; the New York Times witnessed protests against its coverage of Gaza at its Manhattan headquarters. Israel bombarded Gaza the first six weeks following October 7th, killing 14,800

Palestinians, including over 6,000 children. Although the war in Gaza has been one of the deadliest in modern history for journalists, who are primarily Palestinians, only nine headlines out of the more than 1,100 stories examined the use of the term "journalists" or its variations, such as "reporters" or "photojournalists, “. At the time of the truce, Israeli attack had killed about 48 Palestinian journalists; as of right now, more than 100 had died. Out of the nine stories that included the word journalist or reporter, only four discussed Arab reporters; it is noticeable that there has been little coverage of the historic murders of journalists and children; two groups for whom Western media usually feels sympathy.

Comparatively speaking, more Palestinian children died in the first week of the Gaza bombing than in the first year of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Nevertheless, numerous in-depth, empathetic articles about the suffering of children during the first six weeks of the Ukraine war were published by the New York Times, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times (Johnson & Ali, 2024).

Western news agencies made it clear throughout the Gaza War that they saw starvation, mass murder, and endless human suffering as normal—even inevitable—when these tragedies were caused by their allies. They demonstrated how conflict journalism, as it is currently conducted in Western newsrooms, is nothing more than an additional type of colonial violence, only verbal rather than physical violence is used to achieve its goals (Johnson, & Ali, 2024).

## **Conclusion**

Both Gaza and Ukraine crises have provoked strong responses from the international community, especially from Arab and Western countries, though in different ways. Western countries, especially those in the US and the EU, have severely criticized Russia's conduct in the Ukrainian crisis, including its invasion of Ukraine and involvement in the fighting in eastern Ukraine. Arab countries, for their part, have largely kept from acting, while several have voiced worries about the

possibility of escalation and called for diplomatic means of reaching a peaceful settlement, However, Arab nations have historically condemned the Gaza crisis widely.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Framing of Ukraine and Gaza crises**

## Chapter Two : Framing of Ukraine and Gaza crises

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## **Introduction**

The present chapter discusses how western media outlets represented the Ukraine-Russia conflict against Gaza-Israel one. The chapter begins by introducing the framing analysis and the quantitative method approach adopted in this research to answer the research questions. Then, it presents the four media outlets, including the BBC News, CNN, Fox News, and the New York Times, from which data were collected; subsequently, it describes the data collection procedures and the coding scheme followed in this research. Finally, the chapter ends with a thorough comparison of the way how the selected media outlets represented the two crises.

### **2.1 Methodology**

One kind of research methodology that is commonly used in social science research is framing analysis. The study of framing analysis focuses on how people make sense of the world by organizing it through frames—or perspectives—that they have been taught to value and comprehend. The act of framing involves highlighting certain characteristics of a perceived reality in a communication text so as to support a specific definition of the problem, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and/or suggested course of action for the item being discussed. This indicates that it is very evident that framing is a social activity that advances a certain interpretation of a subject (Entman, 1993).

The quantitative approach involves gathering and analyzing numerical data in order to identify trends, connections, and causes in audience behavior and media effects. Common quantitative techniques that enable researchers to systematically quantify media exposure, audience attitudes, and the content of media messages include surveys, trials, and content analyses. Surveys, for example, can show how various demographic groups consume media, whereas studies can focus on and evaluate the ways in which particular media material affects the perspectives of viewers (Leith, 2024).

## 2.2 Selection of the media outlets

In this study, four most influential western media outlets were selected, including BBC, CNN, Fox News, and The New York Times.

**BBC:** The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is one of the most reputable international news outlets in the world. It is dedicated to give viewers in the UK and around the globe independent, unbiased, and factual news. The BBC's overseas broadcaster, the BBC World Service, offers an extensive selection of services and programs on radio, television, and digital platforms worldwide. It is one of the UK's most significant cultural exports, reaching an estimated weekly audience of 318 million people (BBC Global Audience Measure, 2023) and inspiring and enlightening people all around the world while aiding in their understanding of the world in which they live. (BBC, 2024)

**CNN:** Cable News Network (CNN) is one of the global leaders in online news and information; CNN Digital aims to educate, enlighten, and empower people everywhere. With a committed staff working in CNN bureaus across the globe twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, almost 4,000 journalists from all over the world contribute news to CNN's digital platforms (CNN, 2022).

**Fox News :**FOX News Media provides its audiences with in-depth news, analysis the concepts of free people, free markets, and diversity of thought. The FOX News Channel, the most popular news network on cable for over 20 years, and the FOX Business Network, the most viewed business channel during market hours, serve as the cornerstones of FOX News Media (Fox News, 2024).

**The New York Times:** The American daily newspaper, The New York Times (NYT), is headquartered in New York City. The New York Times publishes reviews, opinion articles, and investigates stories in addition to covering local, national, and worldwide news. It is one of the nation's record newspapers, having been published for the longest time in the United States. With 660,000 print subscriptions and 9.7 million digital-only members as of February 2024, the newspaper is the second-largest in the nation in terms of print circulation.

These four media outlets were chosen by the researchers because of their global reputation and their fast-paced activity during the Ukraine and Gaza crises. Also, the outlets have access to a large audience in the entire world that allows us to see the reaction of the world through different perspectives from media outlets.

## **2.3 Data collection procedure**

A total of 49 news articles and 14 videos were collected from the selected four media outlets. Three media outlets, including BBC, CNN, FOX NEWS, were represented by eight news articles whereas NYT was studied using 14 videos. We used the official web sites of the first three media outlets as search engines and YouTube as a search engine for the last channel. The articles and the videos were accessed by using the following key words: Ukraine Crisis, Ukraine war, Gaza crisis, Gaza war, Hamas-Israel war, Russian-Ukraine conflict. the collected articles and videos were carefully studied, and the content of each data source was examined thoroughly. For example, in the Ukraine crisis, we extracted articles from 2021 to 2024 that gave greater attention to the conflict than the media coverage of the crisis, whereas for the Gaza crisis, we chosen articles and videos that were published or streamed after the 7<sup>th</sup> October events. The selection of the articles and the videos for the Ukrainian crisis was easier than the Gaza Crisis due to the date range of some articles and videos; some articles go back to 9 years ago.

## **2.4 Data Analysis**

### **2.4.1 Framing analysis**

According to Allen (2017), frame, or framing, analysis is a theoretical, methodological, and critical tool for examining the ways in which the public, news media, governmental and social elites, and others create meaning and exert influence over one another. The social sciences—political science, communication/media studies, and sociology are the source of framing analysis; the sociologist Goffman is credited with coining the term in 1974; according to Van Gorp the goal of a

frame analysis "is to relate them to the dynamic processes in which social reality is constructed and to assess not so much the impact of loose elements in a text but the impact of the essentially cultural phenomena conveyed by all these elements as a whole." (2007, p. 73). Frame analysis highlights the significance of placing discourses in the context in which they were presented by placing context at the center of meaning-making.

The framing analysis was applied to analyze news discourse, with a primary focus on how news is pictured. Framing analysis had been beneficial in the research process because it shows how the world is responding to crises and provides a variety of global views, all of which are necessary for this research.

#### **2.4.2 Producing a coding scheme**

The primary frameworks utilized in the analysis are generic, diagnosis, and prognoses since they include subframes related to the idea of wars and media coverage of public reaction. As we previously stated, the reason we select these specific frames above others is their greater dependability. These frames were also chosen because they relate to our theme and both wars were significant historical occurrences that the public ought to be especially aware of.

##### **a) Generic frames**

According to De Vreese, Perter, and Semetko (2001), the generic frames "allow comparisons between frames, topics, and possibly framing practices in different countries," even though they do not offer a detailed framing of an event (pp. 108-109). The generic frames are thought to be more beneficial for this study in terms of comparability due to their nature (d'Haenens, 2005). Generic frames "transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts", De Vreese (2005, p. 54) explained. Scholars, including Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1980), identified five classes under the generic frames, which are heavily

influenced by the standards and practices of journalists, including conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility.

- **Conflict:** Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) claim that the conflict frame highlights conflicts that arise between individuals, communities, institutions, or nations. Researchers have discovered that conflict can draw in the public (Hoge, 1994; Galtung & Ruge, 1965) since it continues to be a fundamental and important component of news, particularly when it comes to international news coverage (De Vreese, 2005; Neuman et al., 1992). Nonetheless, Cappella and Jamieson (1997) note that the public's mistrust of politicians is a byproduct of the news media's emphasis on conflict.
- **The Human Interest:** According to Van Cauwenberge et al. (2009), tabloids often employ the human-interest frame in an attempt to attract public attention. This is an individual story that has the potential to provoke strong feelings from the audience and enhance the news' narrative quality, drawing viewers in during a period of intense competition (Bennett, 1995).
- **Economic consequences:** Economic consequences frame is a problem or set of facts according to the financial effects they will have on people, communities, organizations, or nations. Previous empirical research has demonstrated the frame's significant news value (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).
- **Morality:** The morality frame puts the problem or facts in relation to social norms, religious beliefs, and moral principles (Godefroidt et al., 2016). Scholars note that reporters typically employ this frame indirectly through citations, reasoning, or inferences due to the journalistic standard of objectivity (Neuman et al., 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).
- **Responsibility:** According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96), the accountability frame is "a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group". By primarily assigning credit and blame in significant media coverage, it

impacts public perception. According to Iyengar's (1987) study on how poverty is covered in the US media, the poor's own predicament is to blame for this kind of societal issue.

### **b) Diagnostic Frames**

Journalists frequently educate their readers on the broader political, social, and economic background of a topic. In the absence of this background, the audience will only perceive separated subjects and will not be aware of the wider picture (Godefroidt et al., 2016). Benford and Snow (2000) refer to these as the diagnostic frames although Iyengar (1991) refers to them as thematic framing because they highlight the issue's broader backdrop. By framing a story thematically, writers draw attention to the issue's history, social context, and broader trends. Specifically, they offer the general public diagnostic frameworks, which identify a situation or facet of life as problematic and in need of adjustment. Snow (2007) argued that the two main diagnostic frames are cause and effect including political causes, socio-economic, religious factors, human rights violation and global dimensions. It should be noted that the following definitions under this class are coined by the researchers based on the questions that were put forward by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in his study to help explain each diagnosis frame.

- **Political cause:** Political cause frame usually refers to the public presentation or framing of a political problem or cause. The way that this problem is framed has a big impact on how others see it and whether or not they agree with it. Different frames connect with different audiences and can build the narrative around an issue; therefore, choosing the right frame can have a big impact on public opinion and policy outcomes. There are several popular frames used in politics. It is common for politicians and activists to intentionally pick frames that will best boost support for their causes.
- **Socio economic:** A political issue or the social and economic dimensions of a particular cause are highlighted by the socio-economic frame. This framework looks at how various social groups' economic well-being is impacted by policies or actions. The overall goal of the socio-economic

framework is to draw attention to the connections between social and economic variables as well as the necessity of laws that advance the well-being of society, opportunity, and equity for all societal members. It frequently urges taking an integrated strategy to solving social and economic problems as opposed to concentrating only on one facet of the problem.

- **Human right violation:** The term "human rights violations" describes acts taken by states or non-state entities that violate the fundamental liberties and rights to which every person is entitled. These violations might involve a variety of actions, such as restrictions, arbitrarily detaining someone, bias, and torture. They frequently take place under the backdrop of oppressive social institutions, authoritarian regimes, or conflicts. Ensuring that every person has access to justice, dignity, and equality requires keeping track of and responding to abuses of human rights.
- **Religious prescriptions:** Religious prescriptions are a broad category of norms, laws, and directives that are established by different religious traditions. Members are expected to conform to established moral behaviors, rituals, food practices, dress regulations, and social interactions. Religious rules can provide followers direction and purpose, but they can also lead to discussions regarding meaning, cultural applicability, and personal freedom. In diverse countries, striking a balance between respect for human rights and diversity and loyalty to religious precepts continues to be a difficult task.
- **Global dimensions:** The term "global dimensions frame" describes an outlook that considers how different phenomenon, events, or concerns are interconnected and have an impact on the entire world. It includes the understanding that decisions, situations, or patterns in one area of the world can have profound effects and consequences in other areas of the world as well. This framework is frequently employed in the analysis and comprehension of numerous facets of geopolitics, economics, culture, and environmental concerns as well as international relations.

### c) Prognoses Frames

Journalists may offer individuals remedies to their problems as diagnoses. Such approaches and solutions are referred to as "the predictive framing" by Snow and Benford (2000). They outline the solution, which consists of "at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan," in order to determine prognoses (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616). In order to provide desirable answers to the problems, prognostic framing describes how the problems found in the diagnostic frames are to be resolved. Therefore, the prognosis and diagnosis are important components of the consensus mobilization (Klandermans, 1984), which may aim to generate support among people in news coverage. The prognostic frames used were: military action, change in government, diplomacy, financial intervention, internal reforms, and removal of the military weapons arsenal (Godefroidt et al., 2016).

- **Military action:** The term "military action frame" usually describes the strategy or frame of mind that military personnel use to organize and carry out actions. It has a number of components, including intelligence collection, logistics, tactical actions, strategic objectives, and enemy engagement. The nature of the battle, the military forces engaged, the political environment, and the overarching strategic goals are just a few examples of the many variables that can affect the military action frame, which is dynamic and subject to change.
- **Change in government:** The "change in government frame" describes the conditions, effects, and process of power transfers or changes in the composition of a governing body within a political system. This framework covers a number of topics, such as the reasons behind regime change, the ways in which it happens, and the effects on the nation and its citizens. The framework for comprehending the complex relationships and ramifications of political transitions is provided by the shift in the government, which also offers insights into the causes, methods, and results of regime change in many situations.

- **Financial intervention:** The term "financial intervention" describes the measures used by governments, central banks, or other authorities to modify or stabilize the state of the economy. Monetary policy interventions, such as interest rate adjustments, quantitative easing, or open market operations, as well as fiscal policy actions, such as changes in government spending or taxation, are some examples of these interventions. In order to support economic development, stability, and employment, financial interventions are frequently used in reaction to inflationary pressures, systemic risks, or economic downturns.
- **Internal reforms:** The "internal reforms frame" suggests that an organization, government, or institution's policies, processes, or systems may need to be reorganized or restructured. It basically refers to the arrangement or framework that internal reforms are put into place within. In general, the internal reforms framework acts as a guide or road map for promoting internal organizational change and advancement. It offers structure and direction to guarantee that changes are carried out in a logical and well-coordinated way, which eventually produces positive outcomes for the improvement of human right it serves.
- **Dismantling military weapons:** In terms of both physical safety and possibly legal consequences, dismantling military weaponry may be a sensitive and possibly dangerous undertaking. When dismantling military weapons for legal purposes like elimination, reuse, or disposal, it is important to follow the right procedures and, if needed, get professional help; it simply means the removal of the weapons of one side by the other side.
- **External assistance:** In general, the term "external assistance frame" refers to a theoretical structure or technique that involves getting resources, advice, or support from outside sources in order to address a specific problem or accomplish a goal. In general, the external aid framework acknowledges the need of utilizing outside knowledge, assets, and viewpoints to support internal initiatives and successfully accomplish desired results.

It should be noted that These definitions were developed using the questions presented in Semetko and Valkenburg's study (2000).

## 2.5 Framing of the Ukraine crisis

**Table 2.1**

*Generic frames for Ukraine*

	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Human interest</b>	<b>Economy consequences</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<b>BBC</b>	87.5 %	75%	25%	50%	75 %
<b>CNN</b>	100 %	37.5%	25%	25%	50 %
<b>FOX NEWS</b>	100 %	87.6%	62.5%	0%	100 %
<b>NYT</b>	50 %	100%	12.5%	62.5%	100 %

As can be noticed in Table 1.1, BBC NEWS, FOX NEWS, and CNN focus much more on the conflict itself as 87.5 %, 100 % and 100 % of the analyzed data sources used the conflict frame respectively, and paying little attention to morality (CNN and FOX NEWS) and economic consequences (BBC, CNN). Table 1.1 also demonstrates that the NYT put human interest and responsibility frames, corresponding to 100 % of the analyzed articles for each frame, in favor of conflict and economic consequences frames.

**Table 2.2***Diagnosis frames for Ukraine*

	<b>Political causes</b>	<b>Socio economic causes</b>	<b>Human right violations</b>	<b>Religious prescriptions</b>	<b>Global dimensions</b>
<b>BBC</b>	37.5 %	25 %	62.5 %	0 %	50 %
<b>CNN</b>	62.5 %	50%	75 %	0 %	75 %
<b>FOX NEWS</b>	25 %	50 %	75 %	12.5 %	62.5 %
<b>NYT</b>	0 %	87.5%	87.5 %	12.5 %	0 %

CNN is the most active channel in the Ukraine crisis as it uses frames to discuss the various angles of the situation on a regular basis. While FOX NEWS and NYT focused more on violations of human rights, socioeconomic issues, and the reasons why the war is occurring, BBC focuses more on exposing the world to the violations of human rights occurring in the crisis. Religious prescription frames are the least common on some stations that do not concentrate on religious issues. Global dimensions are also frequently employed as a framework for the Ukrainian war, particularly on Fox News and CNN.

**Table 2.3***Prognoses Frames for Ukraine*

	<b>Military action</b>	<b>Change in government</b>	<b>Financial intervention</b>	<b>Internal reforms</b>	<b>Dismantling military action</b>	<b>External assistance</b>
<b>BBC</b>	50 %	0 %	50 %	12.5 %	12.5 %	50 %
<b>CNN</b>	75 %	0 %	50 %	50 %	0 %	25 %
<b>FOX NEWS</b>	50 %	0 %	62.5 %	25 %	37.5 %	50 %
<b>NYT</b>	12.5 %	0 %	25 %	37.5 %	0 %	12.5 %

The four channels' financial intervention was the primary focus here, along with the extent of outside aid in the form of military financing and weapons, to explain how other nations responded to the Ukrainian conflict. CNN focused on internal reforms in addition to military activity to present the conflict as it is occurring, whereas Fox News emphasized on the dismantling of military action. Interestingly, none of the four media outlets made use of the change in the government frame.

## 2.6 Framing of the Gaza crisis

**Table 2.4**

*Generic Frames for Gaza*

	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Human interest</b>	<b>Economy consequences</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
<b>BBC</b>	100 %	100 %	37.5 %	35 %	62.5 %
<b>CNN</b>	25 %	87.5 %	12.5 %	37.5 %	50 %
<b>FOX NEWS</b>	75 %	100 %	37.5 %	0%	75 %
<b>NYT</b>	50 %	87.5 %	37.5 %	37.5 %	62.5 %

This table shows that there was a slight lack of interest in the actual battle and how things were going within Gaza as CNN, FOX News and NYT focused more on the human interest framing to show how people in Gaza are coping and overcoming violence. On the other hand, none of the examined media outlets gave morality much thought as a framework, with Fox News using it none at all.

**Table 2.5***Diagnosis frames for Gaza*

	<b>Political causes</b>	<b>Socio economic causes</b>	<b>Human right violations</b>	<b>Religious prescriptions</b>	<b>Global dimensions</b>
<b>BBC</b>	12.5 %	37.5 %	62.5 %	50 %	75 %
<b>CNN</b>	0 %	62.5 %	87.5 %	0 %	25 %
<b>FOX NEWS</b>	12.5 %	50 %	62.5 %	0 %	62.5 %
<b>NYT</b>	0 %	75 %	87.5 %	12.5 %	0 %

The above table demonstrates that the four media outlets were more interested in discussing human rights violations in Gaza than on the political issues that led to this crisis as 62.5 % of the analyzed articles used the human right violations frame in BBC and Fox News against 87.5 % of the articles in CNN and NYT. For them, the story on human rights violations is more appealing than that on politics or religion, which is the least popular frame used across four channels for Gaza. In contrast, political issues were briefly discussed on Fox News and the BBC, accounting for only 12.5% of the articles on both channels that discussed politics—a relatively small percentage for a war.

**Table 2.6***Prognoses Frames for Gaza*

	<b>Military action</b>	<b>Change in government</b>	<b>Financial intervention</b>	<b>Internal reforms</b>	<b>Dismantling military action</b>	<b>External assistance</b>
<b>BBC</b>	62.5 %	12 %	25 %	50%	12.5 %	37.5 %
<b>CNN</b>	100 %	0 %	25 %	25 %	0 %	37.5 %
<b>FOX NEWS</b>	87.5 %	0 %	0 %	50 %	12.5 %	50 %
<b>NYT</b>	37.5 %	0 %	0 %	50 %	0 %	37.5 %

Fox News and the New York Times did not discuss governmental change or financial intervention in Gaza; instead, they focused primarily on military action and outside aid, with over 50% of their coverage focusing on these topics to demonstrate how the Palestinians receive support and how other people are aiding them in their conflict with Israel. CNN focused on the military activity frame in order to inform the global audience on the events taking place within the Gaza Strip. When discussing Gaza in every frame, the BBC was almost biased, in terms of showing the victims and the war actions of the Israeli military on civilians.

## **2.7 Identifying similarities and differences in the framing of Ukraine and Gaza crises**

In this part the purpose is to show the similarities and differences in presenting both wars to the world by the four media outlets:

The Generic frames were used by 61.25% of the analyzed data sources in western media outlets to describe Ukraine-Russia war. More than 50% of them discussed the conflict in Ukraine, that included the initial Russian invasion and the ongoing struggle of Ukrainian people. Human interest and responsibility were also skillfully employed in the media coverage of the country news highlighting the devastation caused by the war, the deaths of civilians and the destruction of buildings. Although the percentage for Gaza was slightly lower than that of Ukraine, which was 55.5%, the focus in Gaza was on human interest, as opposed to Ukraine, which placed more emphasis on the conflict. However, emphasizing human interest will only highlight the human costs of the war, rather than providing background information to help people understand the Gaza war. Conflict and responsibility were also employed though not to the degree that a war requires.

According to estimates, 42.5% of the analyzed articles used diagnoses frames for describing the war in Ukraine, with a particular focus on human rights violations. Since the war has a cost to civilians,

there has also been discussion of the political and socioeconomic causes of the conflict in Ukraine. The emphasis was more on highlighting the suffering of people than on explaining the causes of the war, with a far lower percentage of religious prescriptions than in Gaza since the conflict has no religious roots. In contrast, only 38.75% of the focus in Gaza was on human rights violations and the struggles of the local population; political causes were not as common in Gaza as they were in Ukraine because most people in Gaza were more interested in the human side of the conflict than in the politics and history underpinning it. Interestingly, the religious prescription is slightly more used for Gaza than for Ukraine since the whole war was rooted from a religious perspective.

The prognosis frames for Ukraine were roughly used by 34.37%, with a focus on two main frames: military action and financial intervention. The purpose of the first one is to demonstrate to the world how the Ukrainian military responded to the invasion and how other nations supported Ukraine financially so that it could continue to defend itself against the Russian military. The second frame was used accidentally to show other nations' sympathy for Ukraine by providing it with food and weapons during its war. In contrast, the estimate for Gaza was almost the same as the overall use of the prediction frame, which was 35.57%. However, the primary focus was on the military action, which included Israel's attack of Gaza's hospitals and buildings. It also looked at internal reforms, the struggle of the Gaza people, and the things they do to make their living conditions appear slightly better than they actually are. However, the media's coverage of the nation's provided financial support to Gaza and the absence of such coverage compared to Ukraine is a bit biased.

A throughout a description of how western media outlets used each frame in presenting Ukraine-Russia crisis versus Gaza-Israel crisis is presented subsequently:

**Conflict:** Approximately 84.37% of the conflict frame was used in Ukraine to represent the war's history which is a big percentage that shows the struggle between Ukraine and Russia for instance “Cars burn after a Russian military strike in central Kyiv, Ukraine, on October 10. At least 19 people

were killed and more than 100 injured in Russian missile strikes on Kyiv” (Hodge & Lister, 2022). The following example demonstrates how the Russian military is ruthlessly bombarding Ukrainian cities, resulting in some civilian losses as well. In contrast, the conflict frame was used only by 62.5% of the analyzed articles in Gaza case. Most of these data sources considered Hamas as the main cause of the conflict "The war began when Hamas gunmen attacked southern Israel on October 7"(BBC, 2024). Every article that blamed Gaza did so on the grounds that Hamas was biased toward Russia and not fair while reporting Ukraine-Russia war.

**Human Interest :**About 75% of the analyzed articles employed the human-interest frame for Ukraine to depict the war's victims, casualties, and the damage that Russia left behind as examples of the violence and aggression of the Russian military against Ukrainian civilians. For example, Ukrainian soldiers killed as at least 70,000 and as many as 120,000 injured. In contrast, Gaza saw a significantly higher use of the human-interest frame than Ukraine, with approximately 93.75% of the frames demonstrating the extent of the damage and struggles caused by the crisis there. For instance, Gaza is suffering severe shortages of food and other essentials including fuel and medicine. This indicates that the lack of these critically needed supplies for civilians is what is driving the Palestinians' struggles. This shows how the war is affecting people and society in terms of living standards and death rate.

**Economy consequences:**The enormous destruction of buildings and infrastructure is responsible for approximately 31.25% of the economic deterioration in both Gaza and Ukraine. For instance, in Ukraine, more than 200,000 people left without power, and in Gaza, Shifa hospital was destroyed by the Israeli military's raid. This indicates that both countries have experienced similar hardships in terms of destruction and the struggle to provide first aid to those who are trying to survive and defend their nation.

**Morality:** About 34.37% of the analyzed articles used the morality frame to bring attention to the war currently going on in Ukraine in order to gain sympathy and support for the fight against Russian

troops. For instance, "I hope that the exhibition reawakens the people of Northern Ireland"(Totten, 2024). Suggesting that the Ukrainians are attempting to convey to the media the awful situation that they have been forced to live in as a result of the Russian invasion. In Gaza, where the use of the frame is reduced to 27.5%, the Palestinian people attempted to convey to the world and media the extent of their suffering and agony. For instance, they used the phrase "the price of our freedom" to highlight the numerous deaths that led them to believe that their lives were meaningless.

**Responsibility:** The responsibility framework was utilized in Ukraine with 81.25%, demonstrating the widespread devastation of infrastructure brought about by the Russian military. For instance, the following say "the Russians are destroying everything" (The New York Times, 2023). Suggests that the Ukrainian people are complaining the fact that Russia is destroying everything in their nation, including buildings, schools, and power plants. In contrast, the percentage in Gaza was slightly lower concerning the use of this frame, corresponding to 62.5%. The Palestinians blame Israel's military for cutting off electricity, which has resulted in more deaths at the hospital where patients are trying to recover from wounds and bombing-related injuries during a time when medicine is scarce. In one case, Guillemette Thomas a medical coordinator for Palestine and a member of the group of doctors without borders stated that "many patients will die without electricity, thousands of Palestinians are using Al-Shifa hospital as a safe place from constant bombing"(Mougl & Edwards, 2023).

**Political causes:** Approximately, 31.25% of the examined data sources used this frame for Ukraine. Their purpose is to illustrate the political causes and effects of the war there. For illustration, the Republican Speaker of the House, Mike Johnson, has a plan to get new military assistance approved for Ukraine by Congress while also retaining his precarious position of power. This indicates that the US is planning to support the Ukrainian military in a number of ways, starting with providing it with weapons so that it can defend itself against the Russian military. Since the political frame was utilized in Gaza to a much smaller degree than it was in Ukraine (6.25%), they paid less attention to it than

they did in Ukraine. Therefore, the frame is not used to great effect, indicating that the media was not portraying the war in Gaza as it deserved to be seen, in contrast to what Ukraine has experienced from its own war coverage. This clearly reflects the western media outlets bias in favor of the Ukrainian side when it comes to reporting on the war's casualties and outcomes compared to Gaza case.

**Socio economic causes:** This frame was used by 53.12% of the analyzed data sources in Ukraine case; it depicts the social problems brought about by the Russian military and the devastation of educational institutions as a result. For example, a kindergarten in Stanytsia Luhanska, in the eastern Donbas region of Ukraine, was hit by a shell, resulting in limited educational opportunities. “Russian military personnel are destroying everything in their path, including buildings and schools, and they are attempting to weaken Ukraine in any way possible by destroying their supplies and gathering their men power” (Hodge & Lister, 2022). However, a slightly higher percentage of 56.25% of the examined articles who tackled Gaza crisis used the socioeconomic frame. These data sources reveal to the world the hardship and the suffering experienced by the Palestinian people, including their lack of access to food, fuel, and medical supplies as well as their numerous deaths, as evidenced by the bombing of the Shifa hospital. Numerous corpses have been found in the area of the hospital. “Gaza’s pain and suffering have gone unnoticed by the international community and the media, as Israel's attack on the hospital was considered as a self-defense error”. (Mougl & Edwards, 2023).

**Human right violations:** Approximately, 75% of the examined articles used the human rights violation frame to depict the horrors of war in Ukraine and the bravery of the Ukrainian people against Russian aggression. For illustration, Ukrainians are searching for a normal life in Belfast despite the war, trying to adapt, survive, and endure it until it is eventually over. In some of the videos that were examined, people discuss how they are burying people in an inappropriate manner, wrapping them in black bags and discarding them in the dirt with the rest of the dead (The New York Times, 2022). Despite the fact that 75% of the analyzed articles used the human rights violations in framing Gaza

crisis, Gaza did not receive the same level of attention as Ukraine concerning how this frame is used. For example, Israeli military attacks on hospitals have been continuing, and the military claims it has been targeting Hamas gunmen who use the facilities as a cover. This news spread widely on social media, but the western world still thinks that Israel believes that Hamas troops and gunmen are hiding in Gaza and that they are bombing the hospitals to drive them out.

**Global dimensions:** The frame was utilized by around 46.87% of the targeted media outlets for Ukraine, indicating the relationship between the war between Ukraine and Russia and how it will impact the entire world. An American soldier was killed in Ukraine by Russian forces, which caused the crisis there to escalate and involve the US as well; this means that the US became more involved in the crisis as a result of its support to Ukraine during the war, a problem for which the world views Russia as the bad guy and Ukraine as the victim without even understanding the full context of the situation. However, the global dimension framing was used slightly less for Gaza than for Ukraine, corresponding to 40.62%. This is not a significant difference between the two situations, but the issue lies in how to convey the crisis by highlighting the injustices committed by Israel against the Palestinian people and drawing international attention to it. For instance, Hamas has called for the release of thousands of Palestinian prisoners held in Israel and the lifting of the blockade on Gaza Strip, which Hamas and Israel claim as necessary for security reasons. Hamas has made this announcement after Israel claimed that it held Israeli hostages. According to Hamas, Israel is seizing additional captives and enforcing a blockade on Gaza in order to show the world what Israel is doing and that the war has two sides to look at.

**Military Action:** The military action frame, which is intended to depict the thoughts and tactics that the armed forces are considering or wishing to employ against the opposing side of the conflict, was only utilized by 46.87% of the analyzed articles during the Ukraine crisis. The Ukrainian army is observing the Russians retreat carefully and believes that this is a wise tactical move to launch an

attack, while they are moving to gain the upper hand against the Russians. However, the frame was used significantly more for Gaza than for Ukraine as 71.87% of the studied data sources used it in discussing Gaza-Israel conflict, indicating that the people of Gaza, or Hamas, who are Israel's fighters, are using every resource at their disposal to battle the Israeli army with larger and more powerful weapons. For illustration, Israel promised to demolish the group's extensive network of tunnels beneath Gaza, which it uses to transport goods; people claim that Israel, using its more advanced and powerful weapons, is destroying places where it believes the Hamas are hiding. This has resulted in more destruction than just the tunnels themselves as the tunnels have been transformed into homes, mosques, and even hospitals. When reporting on a conflict, highlighting and showcasing one side may present the worst possible image of what may be the winning side.

**Financial intervention:** About 46.87% of the investigated western media outlets utilize this frame when discussing financial assistance from Western nations; for instance, the British government claims that £50 billion will be invested in the armed forces in 2024 to combat various threats, such as Russian aggression in Ukraine, and that "improving retention across the services and increasing recruitment is a top priority"(Beake, 2024). This suggests that the group of seven, consisting of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States, are attempting to undermine Russia's military power in an attempt to prevent Russia from participating in the global economy. However, this frame was used only by 12.5% of the analyzed articles. This indicates that Gaza did not get any major financial aid like Ukraine that had almost half of the world help; Gaza got the help from some Arab countries, but the issue is that Israel did not allow this aid to enter through Egypt which caused the death of thousands of civilians; for example, convoy of trucks carrying aid supplies for Gaza from Egypt waits on the main Ismailia desert road, about 300 km east of the Egyptian border with Gaza. This shows that Ukraine got a lot more aids, weapons and more financial support compared to Gaza.

**Internal reforms:** This frame was used by 31.25% of the articles discussing Ukraine crisis. During the war, Ukraine failed to support its own internal establishment, which led to the issue of not responding against the Russians strongly enough and instead depending on diplomatic rather than military means. For example, Ukraine is depending on the US to find a diplomatic way to stop the conflict in their country as the US is still looking for a way to defuse the situation along their borders. However, unlike Ukraine, Gaza (43.75%) did not rely on diplomatic solutions; instead, it relied on its own resources. For instance, Hamas declared its desire for an end to the war, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza, the return of displaced people to their homes, and an inflow of aid. Hamas established its own authority independently, while Ukraine continuously requested assistance from the west and NATO.

**External assistance:** This frame, which was used approximately by 34.37% of the time, showed how dependent Ukraine was on outside assistance from the rest of the world because it was unable to hold off the Russian military force. For instance, Ukraine has been heavily dependent on Western supplies, especially when it came to air defense systems and long-range missile deliveries. Ukraine made it clear that it could lose the war against Russia without support from NATO or the West, having made a forceful appeal for assistance from these organizations. However, Gaza's estimated 40.62% of its aid came from outside the country, indicating that it has a bigger percentage than Ukraine given that, as we have already stated, Gaza depends exclusively on its own people, the Palestinians, and Hamas to be freed from Israeli rule. Western observers are limited to what occurs within Gaza due to the actions of the Israeli military. For illustration, both the US and the UN have emphasized the need for countries to follow the "rules" of war, which Israel violated by bombing the Shifa hospital and resulting in needless civilian casualties. This indicates that the US and the UN are observing events inside of Gaza without taking any action against Israel.

**Other Frames:** Three more frames utilized though not exclusively. One of them, religion, was not properly discussed in either of the crises. In the case of Ukraine, the conflict is primarily political rather than religious, but in the case of Gaza, there should be far more discussion of the conflict's religious component than in any other case since Israel's primary motivation for entering Gaza is the al Aqsa Mosque. The second frame: dismantling military actions were not utilized effectively since it did not seem necessary for either of the crises. Along with a shift in the change in government frame, which wasn't always employed properly because it depends on people disliking their president, we find that Ukraine backs its president and that Gaza does not even have a president to hold responsible.

## **Conclusion**

The study highlighted the frames used for the depicting both Ukraine and Gaza crises. Media bias towards Ukraine is apparent for some frames. For example, the world focused entirely on Ukraine and blamed Russia, while in the case of Gaza, it accused Hamas of being a terrorist organization while, providing financial and military support to Israel so that it could continue destroying both Gaza and Palestine in general, in addition to the global perspective on both wars, Russia is viewed as the antagonist and Ukraine as the less powerful side. However, from the Palestinian perspective, the world observes that Israel is defending itself against Hamas, and that everything that occurs is due to Hamas, not Israel, which gives Israel greater authority and support than Gaza.

## General Conclusion

The present research has investigated how western media covered Ukraine and Gaza conflicts in terms of reasons, consequences and solutions suggested to resolve these crises. It was guided by the main question: Does Western media outlets have double standards regarding the coverage of Ukraine and Gaza conflicts? The research question addressed using a mixed-methods approach, comprising quantitative and framing analysis. In the first chapter, we introduced the historical background of the two crises, followed with a thorough description of the major events that caused these conflicts. Finally, we concluded the chapter with media coverage of the reaction of the both western and Arab's world leaders and communities towards the conflicts.

In the second chapter, four media outlets examined during the data collection stage including BBC news, CNN, Fox News and New York Times. A total of 49 articles and 14 videos collected from the four channels to locate the way of media covering the wars and identify any potential bias in presenting the two conflicts. A coding scheme consisting of three primary frames, mainly generic, diagnoses and prognoses employed in the framing analysis to examine the collected data. The results showed that the four media outlets presented a biased account of the Ukraine crisis, in contrast to Gaza, which presented its side of the story and made itself appear to be blamed, while Ukraine is presented to the world as the country in need of assistance even though it is receiving aid from all over the world.

Due to the popularity and the enormous effects of the selected media outlets on public opinion, the findings of this study are important in the sense that it highlights the substantial differences in how media represented Ukraine and Gaza Crises; the study made clear how mainstream media covered both crises in a biased and inaccurate manner. The research's conclusions extend and validate those of previous studies on media bias, adding to the body of knowledge. By offering a comparative

analysis from three distinct major frames within their classes and how successful they were in the four media outlets the study has filled the gap.

For the limitation of the study when it comes to data collection the only limitation we have faced is that the articles of most channels were biased to the Ukrainian side, which means that we have found hundreds of articles describing Ukraine Crisis against a limited number of them describing Gaza conflict, and those describing Gaza, especially ,Fox news and New York Times focused more attention on Israel and blamed Hamas for the disastrous consequences of the war in Gaza. In addition, some of these articles required payments to be accessible. Time is also another constrain in this study. It would have been more appropriate and reliable if we were able to analyze a larger number of articles and videos in each conflict or to include additional channels to provide a comprehensive and a representative picture of how each media outlet covered Ukraine and Gaza conflicts.

One of the most valuable skills we have learned during the course of research is how to analyze articles to extract relevant information for our research; creating percentage statistics is a new skill we acquired while conducting the study, in addition to the writing proficiency we needed to develop in order to write a dissertation in an appropriate manner. Since we were using frames for the first time in our study, they provided us with more information on the subject. The creation of numerical tables presented the most obstacle for us, and it took a long time to complete. As far as content is concerned, we witnessed how the media may downplay the significance of wars by emphasizing other crises, like the one in Ukraine, and marginalizing wars like Gaza, presenting the situation with regard to its positive and negative aspects, as well as the assistance provided or the marginalization of such assistance, which might demonstrate bias when concentrating on only one aspect or one side of the issue.

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## ملخص

الدراسة الحالية تقارن تغطية الحروب في غزة وأوكرانيا من قبل وسائل الإعلام الغربية لتحديد ما إذا كانت مثل هذه التغطية غير مهنية ومتحيزة لصالح إحدى النزاعات. تم استخدام نهج مختلط يجمع بين تحليل التأطير والنهج الكمي لإظهار كيفية تصوير الإعلام للنزاعين بطريقة متحيزة أو مهنية. تم جمع مجموعة من الأخبار والفيديوهات تتألف من 49 مقالة و 14 فيديوًا من أربعة وسائل إعلام BBC News، CNN، Fox News، و New York Times. تم إجراء تحليل كمي على الأخبار والفيديوهات المختارة باستخدام مخطط ترميز يتألف من ثلاثة إطارات رئيسية: الإطار العام، التشخيصات، والتوقعات، تليها إطارات فرعية تقارن النزاعين الاثنان بناءً على هذه الإطارات. أظهرت النتائج أن الوسائل الأربعة للإعلام قدمت تقريرًا متحيزًا حول الوضع في أوكرانيا، حيث قدمت أوكرانيا للمجتمع العالمي كبلد يحتاج إلى مساعدة على الرغم من أنها تتلقى مساعدات من جميع أنحاء العالم. بينما قدمت غزة جانب قصتها، واصلت وسائل الإعلام والناس في الغرب تحميل غزة مسؤولية الأزمة. تساعد هذه الدراسة في تعزيز معرفة القراء بالعديد من وجهات النظر المختلفة التي تتبناها وسائل الإعلام المختلفة عند تغطية نفس الحدث.

**كلمات مفتاحية:** أزمة أوكرانيا، أزمة غزة، التغطية الإعلامية، تحليل التأطير.