



Framing Comparison of Netanyahu's Denial of the Gaza Famine in Al Jazeera and CNN Arabic

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Abstract

This study investigates the critical role of media framing in geopolitical conflict by analyzing the coverage of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's denial of the Gaza famine, a claim directly contradicted by international humanitarian reports. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach grounded in Robert Entman's framing theory (Problem Definition, Causal Diagnosis, Moral Judgment, and Suggested Remedies), we conducted a comparative analysis of news articles from two ideologically distinct outlets: Al Jazeera Arabic and CNN Arabic. The analysis reveals fundamentally divergent framing strategies. Al Jazeera utilized a decisive Accountability Frame, defining the problem as a "blatant lie" against established humanitarian fact and diagnosing the cause as the "Israeli war of annihilation" and ongoing blockade. Its moral judgment was strongly condemnatory, leading to a proposed political solution (immediate lifting of the siege). Conversely, CNN Arabic adopted a cautious Debate and Juxtaposition Frame, defining the problem as a conflict of high-stakes political claims. It presented an ambiguous causal diagnosis by balancing Netanyahu's denial with counter-data on malnutrition deaths, and implicitly proposed an information solution (transparency and independent journalistic access). This ideological divergence confirms that media alignment dictates narrative construction in highly sensitive conflicts. The findings highlight the significance of discourse linguistics and critical discourse analysis as effective tools for uncovering the hidden agendas and ideological biases embedded in news texts. By analyzing linguistic choices, this research demonstrates how language actively shapes, rather than merely reports, social and political reality.

Keywords: Media Framing, Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Al Jazeera, CNN Arabic, Famine in Gaza

Introduction

Mass media plays a central role in shaping global consciousness through framing, a powerful technique that selectively presents information to construct social reality (Entman & Usher, 2023; Ricciardelli et al., 2024). In a digital landscape characterized by increasing misinformation (Komdigi, 2020), the power of framing to influence social stability and public perception of conflicts is crucial (Entman, 2007; Seungwoo, 2024). Specifically, the framing of conflicts has a significant impact on global policy and public opinion (Van Hulst et al., 2024). The choice of words, images, and narratives by news organizations can dramatically shift sympathy, allocate blame, and determine the urgency of humanitarian response. Therefore, a comparative analysis of how different international media outlets frame the same conflict event is necessary to reveal inherent biases and ideological positions.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an area where media framing exerts great influence, shaping global sentiment regarding morality and responsibility. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's claim **denying the existence of a famine in Gaza**, despite the claim being refuted by international organizations, attracted intense global attention and diverse media coverage (Al-Jazeera, 2025; Arabic, 2025). Because it represents a high-level rhetorical battleground where the *reality* of the humanitarian situation is actively questioned, making the journalistic framing of that denial a determining factor in shaping global policy and public sympathy. This research utilizes as its analytical framework. Entman's model examines four key aspects: problem definition, cause diagnosis, moral judgment, and suggested remedies (Entman, 1993; Entman, 2004). The selection of this theory is important to reveal how international news channels, such as Al Jazeera (Qatar-based, tending to support Palestine) (Khalil, 2025) and CNN Arabic (Western-aligned, often viewed as pro-Israel) (Wienanto, 2024), construct divergent narratives (Lindgren et al., 2024).

Previous research has extensively explored framing analysis across diverse contexts. A significant portion of this literature focuses on the, examining how media outlets frame the conflict's complexities, casualties, and political actors (Zawawi, Mellinda et al., 2024; Hardilla & Zawawi, 2024; Setiawan et al., 2024; Ilmi et al., 2024; Nugraha & Anshory, 2025; Hanief & Ainani, 2024); Malkawi et al., 2024; Jaber, 2025; Shahzad et al., 2023; Hanifah et al., 2024; Duman & Yolcu, 2023; Rahman & Salma, 2024)

The application of **Entman's framing theory** specifically has proven versatile, being utilized in studies covering various political and social issues (Zawawi, Mellinda et al., 2024; Putri & Hariyanto, 2024; Hafidli et al., 2023; Hardilla & Zawawi, 2024; Kerrigan et al., 2024; Setiawan et al., 2024; Oelrich & Siebold, 2024; Pohan et al., 2023). Beyond the Middle East, framing analysis has been applied to domestic issues in **Indonesia** (Pohan et al., 2023; Murti et al., 2023; Ramadhan et al., 2023; Nainggolan et al., 2023 ; Permadi, 2024 ; Sri et al., 2024)

and a wide array of **international topics**, including the Russia-Ukraine conflict, climate change, and various economic and social crises (Ibrahim et al., 2025; Berger et al., 2024; Guenther et al., 2024; Gionfriddo et al., 2024; Zeler et al., 2025; Kagaya et al., 2025; Fong & Smales, 2025; Eady et al., 2025; Rendon, 2024; Seungwoo, 2024; Nguyen & Hekman, 2024; Chu et al., 2025; Jinah et al., 2024; Cuadrado et al., 2025)

Based on this preliminary review, this study shares similarities and differences with previous research. Similarities lie in the thematic focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the use of Entman's Theory. Conversely, the main difference lies in the specific news topic examined: this study focuses on the **denial of the famine in Gaza**. This demonstrates the flexibility of framing analysis theory and its broad application across various news issues and scientific studies, while also enriching the in-depth understanding of the adaptation of Entman's theory to different contexts and issues.

Given the importance of understanding the divergent framing by these influential media outlets, this study aims to answer two explicit research questions, consolidating the core objectives into a high-level inquiry: First, employing Robert Entman's framework, this study seeks to systematically analyze how Al Jazeera and CNN Arabic utilize the four framing elements, problem definition, cause diagnosis, moral judgment, and suggested remedies, in their coverage of Prime Minister Netanyahu's denial of the Gaza famine. Second, the research investigates the comparative differences between the two media outlets' overall framing patterns and evaluates the potential implications of these disparities on global public perception and geopolitical alignment.

This study is expected to complement and strengthen the results of previous studies and provide additional literature on the application of Robert Entman's framing analysis in the mass media realm. The way Al Jazeera and CNN frame the conflict has great potential to shape global public opinion and even influence the foreign policies of countries; therefore, this research highlights the important role of international media in forming global views on regional conflicts. The subsequent sections of this article will detail the methodology, present the comparative analysis, and discuss its implications.

Method

This study employs an in-depth descriptive qualitative research design utilizing a comparative framing analysis approach. This methodology is essential for providing a highly detailed depiction of how two major international media outlets, Al Jazeera Arabic and CNN Arabic, construct and disseminate narratives surrounding Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's denial of the Gaza famine. The analytical framework is strictly based on Robert Entman's Framing Theory, which systematically dissects the news discourse into four core, interconnected elements: problem definition, causal diagnosis, moral judgment,

and suggested remedies (Entman, 1993). The research aims to use these four elements to uncover the underlying ideological mechanisms and bias present in the coverage of this high-stakes denial statement.

The data source consists of two single, highly relevant online news articles, selected using a purposive, single-case selection technique due to their direct focus on the Prime Minister's denial statement. These core articles are: Al Jazeera Arabic's "تنتباهو يكذب تقريراً دولياً حول المجاعة في غزة" (published August 22, 2025) and CNN Arabic's "تنتباهو يدافع عن خطة السيطرة على مدينة غزة.. وينفي وجود مجاعة بالقطاع" (published August 10, 2025). The unit of analysis is defined as the specific textual components within these two articles, including headlines, subheadings, quotes, attributions, and narrative paragraphs, that directly align with and establish one of Entman's four framing elements. Data collection involved the systematic documentation and thorough reading of these two core articles, accompanied by detailed note-taking to annotate text segments relevant to the framing elements.

Subsequent analysis was performed using the structured, three-stage interactive analysis model of Miles and Huberman. First, Data Reduction was executed, where the full text of both articles was selected, simplified, and coded based on its pertinence to Entman's four components, isolating the core framing devices. Second, the reduced and coded elements were subjected to Data Display, where they were arranged into comparative matrices and tables to facilitate direct contrastive analysis between Al Jazeera's and CNN Arabic's utilization of each framing component. Finally, Conclusion Drawing and Verification was executed, where distinct framing strategies and their underlying ideological implications were interpreted in detail, and conclusions regarding the bias and narrative construction of each outlet were constantly verified against the original textual evidence and the established Entman framework to ensure the validity and robustness of the findings (Miles & Huberman, 2014).

Results

This section presents the findings of the comparative framing analysis based on Robert Entman's four-element model (Problem Definition, Causal Diagnosis, Moral Judgment, and Suggested Remedies). The analysis focuses on two primary articles: Al Jazeera Arabic's "تنتباهو يكذب تقريراً دولياً حول المجاعة في غزة" and CNN Arabic's "تنتباهو يدافع عن خطة السيطرة على مدينة غزة.. وينفي وجود مجاعة بالقطاع" (CNN Arabic, 2025; Al-Jazeera, 2025).

Al Jazeera Arabic

Al Jazeera established a decisive **Conflict and Accountability Frame** by prioritizing the factual reality of the humanitarian crisis and directly linking responsibility to the Israeli government.

Problem Definition

The problem was explicitly defined as the **conflict between documented fact and political denial**. The article prominently cited the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) report, which formally declared a famine, framing Netanyahu's counter-statement as a direct and aggressive attack on international fact. The article immediately labeled the denial as a **"blatant lie"** ("كذبة صريحة"), indicating a clear editorial position from the outset. This definitive language emphasizes the severity of the political denial itself, positioning it as an egregious act against humanitarian truth and international consensus. By prioritizing the IPC report, a mechanism with **"stringent, internationally recognized criteria"** ("معاييرها الصارمة لإعلان المجاعة"), Al Jazeera established an authoritative counter-narrative, making Netanyahu's denial appear baseless and morally indefensible. The core issue is thus defined not merely as "famine in Gaza," but as the **Israeli leadership's active deception regarding that famine**.

Causal Diagnosis

Al Jazeera assigned **unambiguous and singular causation** for the famine and resource shortage. The article directly and explicitly attributed the cause to the **"years-long Israeli blockade"** ("استمرار الحصار الإسرائيلي على غزة منذ سنوات") and explicitly referred to the ongoing conflict as the **"Israeli war of annihilation"** ("حرب الإبادة الإسرائيلية"). The narrative structure leaves no ambiguity regarding the primary agent responsible for the catastrophe. By linking the famine directly to both the *blockade* (a long-term structural cause) and the *war* (an immediate catalyst resulting in "تدمير منشآت حيوية"), Al Jazeera establishes a comprehensive indictment of Israeli policy. The cause is framed as systemic state action, moving beyond simple food shortages to deliberate destruction and extermination.

Moral Judgment

The moral judgment was **strongly condemnatory and legalistic**. The use of highly charged phrases, such as the repeated reference to the **"war of extermination"** ("حرب الإبادة"), served as a direct and extreme moral indictment of the military campaign. The article reinforced this judgment by including concrete, legalizing details. Crucially, the narrative strategically included the fact that Netanyahu is **"wanted by the International Criminal Court"** ("المطلوب للمحكمة"), elevating the moral transgression to the level of legal criminality and war crimes. This serves as a powerful rhetorical device to solidify the condemnation using international legal frameworks, not just emotional appeal.

Suggested Remedies

The suggested remedies focused on **immediate policy reversal and cessation of hostilities**. The report directly cited the IPC's demand to end the

famine “**at all costs**” (“وقف المجاعة في غزة بأي ثمن”) and emphasized the critical need to “**open humanitarian corridors**” (“فتح ممرات إنسانية لتدفق المساعدات بسلاسة”). This framing explicitly proposed that the solution requires Israel to **lift the siege** and end the actions identified as the root cause of the crisis, aligning the required “remedy” directly with the “causal diagnosis.” The solution is framed as immediate, political, and mandatory, reflecting an advocacy position for policy modification by the perpetrator.

CNN Arabic

CNN Arabic adopted a more cautious, **Debate and Juxtaposition Frame**, focusing on the competing claims made at a high-level political press conference while utilizing counter-evidence to create a subtle moral critique.

Problem Definition

The core problem was defined as **conflicting governmental claims and political defense** (“دافع رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي... مؤكداً مجدداً عدم وجود مجاعة”). The central focus was Netanyahu's press conference, where he simultaneously defended the military takeover plan and reiterated his denial of the famine, framing the issue as a **high-stakes political debate**. The issue was framed less as a factual dispute (unlike Al Jazeera) and more as a **public relations battle** regarding the Prime Minister's rhetoric and strategic justifications. The article gave substantial space to Netanyahu's attempts to frame the military operation as the “**fastest way to end the war**” (“أسرع طريقة لإنهاء الحرب”) and his assertion that the denial was necessary “**on contrary to false claims**” (“على عكس الادعاءات الكاذبة”).

Causal Diagnosis

The diagnosis was presented via **attributed and competing claims**, making the causation ambiguous in the narrative voice. Netanyahu was quoted directly and prominently ascribing the cause of food shortages to **Hamas, whom he accused of “looting aid”** (“وألقي نتنياهو باللوم على حماس في نقص الغذاء واتهمها بنهب”) (“المساعدات”). However, the narrative immediately counterbalanced this official claim by introducing external data: the Palestinian Ministry of Health's report on **217 deaths due to malnutrition, including 100 children**, and UNICEF's data on **12,000 cases of acute child malnutrition** (“أعلى رقم شهري يُسجل على الإطلاق”). This strategic juxtaposition allows CNN Arabic to report the Prime Minister's causal claim without endorsing it, subtly suggesting that external facts offer a more likely alternative cause related to the blockade's humanitarian effect.

Moral Judgment

Moral judgment was rendered through **strategic juxtaposition and focus on credibility**, rather than explicit condemnation. The most prominent moral

weight was carried by the immediate presentation of malnutrition death statistics following Netanyahu's denial, implicitly highlighting the human cost and casting doubt on his statement. Furthermore, the report focused on defensive and evasive conduct as a form of moral critique. The article included details of Netanyahu's **evasion of a direct question from President Donald Trump** regarding the famine and his threat to **sue *The New York Times*** ("أنظر في إمكانية رفع دعوى حكومية ضد " (صحيفة نيويورك تايمز). This focus on a political figure's attempts to control the narrative serves as a subtle moral indictment of the leader's lack of transparency and credibility under pressure.

Suggested Remedies

The suggested remedy was implicitly focused on **transparency and verification**, rather than policy modification. CNN Arabic did not call for an end to the siege or policy change (as Al Jazeera did). Instead, the final paragraph highlighted Netanyahu's directive to allow a **"large number" of foreign journalists** into Gaza ("أمرت ووجهت الجيش بجلب عدد كبير من الصحفيين الأجانب"). This implicitly suggests that the path toward a resolution (or at least a less contested narrative) lies in **independent journalistic access and fact-checking**, a media-centric solution, rather than political action. This framing elevates the role of the press as the solution agent.

Comparative Summary of Framing Strategies

The comparative analysis reveals two fundamentally divergent framing mechanisms, reflecting the clear institutional alignments of the respective media outlets.

Table 1. Comparative Summary of Framing Strategies

Entman's Element	Al Jazeera Arabic	CNN Arabic
Problem Definition	Explicitly defined as a fact vs. political denial ("كذبة صريحة"). Focus on humanitarian catastrophe as an established reality.	Defined as conflicting claims and political self-defense . Focus on Netanyahu's public statements and strategic justifications.
Causal Diagnosis	Singular and direct: The "Israeli blockade" and "war of annihilation" ("حرب الإبادة"). Causation is explicit.	Competing and implied: Quoted Netanyahu blaming Hamas (looting); used counter-data (217 deaths) to implicitly suggest the siege's effect.
Moral Judgment	Strongly condemnatory: Uses highly charged terms;	Subtly critical: Achieved through the <i>juxtaposition</i> of famine deaths

	links Netanyahu to ICC/war crimes (المطلوب للمحكمة الجنائية الدولية).	against the denial; focuses on Netanyahu's evasiveness and threats to sue NYT .
Suggested Remedies	Policy Change: Immediate lifting of the siege; open humanitarian corridors; end Israeli actions.	Transparency/Verification: Allowing independent foreign journalists into Gaza (جلب عدد كبير من الصحفيين الأجانب) to verify facts.

Discussion

This comparative analysis moves beyond merely stating differences in coverage (Findings) toward a deeper interpretation of why Al Jazeera Arabic and CNN Arabic frame Netanyahu's denial of starvation in Gaza so divergently. This systematic divergence reveals fundamental differences in media philosophy, geopolitical alignment, and ethical priorities. These findings underscore the media's role as a constructor of ideological narratives, consistent with studies comparing Al Jazeera's coverage with that of CNN/BBC in the same conflict (Hanifah et al., 2024; Shahzad et al., 2023).

Issue Identification: The Conflict of Advocacy vs. Questionable Neutrality

Al Jazeera's choice to define the core issue as "fact versus political denial" is an explicit act of advocacy on behalf of the victims. By immediately labeling Netanyahu's statement as a "blatant lie," Al Jazeera establishes its frame as a defense of humanitarian truth. This position is consistent with patterns observed across various studies, where Al Jazeera tends to provide "Pro-Palestine Coverage" and utilize the "Human Interest frame" and "Responsibility frame" more frequently than CNN or BBC (Hardilla, 2024).

Conversely, CNN Arabic's definition of the issue as a "conflict of claims" or a political debate neutralizes the moral urgency. This represents a classic "balance" frame that focuses on "political confrontation and administrative accountability" (Jaber, 2025; Sri et al., 2024). In the context of a starvation crisis, this neutrality risks creating a false equivalence between political denial and verified humanitarian reality, a practice that is ethically questionable. Abdul Rahman similarly highlights that Western outlets like the BBC tend to apply double standards in assigning the label "terrorist," indicating an institutional reluctance to adopt strong, definitive language in certain contexts, a caution that likely influences CNN Arabic (Rahman & Salma, 2024).

Causal Diagnosis and Linguistic Rhetoric

Causal diagnosis is the point where the ideological split is most pronounced. Al Jazeera's direct attribution to the "Israeli blockade" and a "war of annihilation" reflects an ethical commitment to accountability. This rhetorical choice is

supported by the findings of Malkawi et al., who compared headlines regarding the shooting of Shireen Abu Akleh: Arab (Al Jazeera) headlines preferred an active voice structure and assertive language, directly assigning fault to the perpetrator (Malkawi et al., 2024).

In contrast, CNN Arabic achieves subtle obfuscation of fault through the mere juxtaposition of quotes and facts without direct attribution by the journalist. This strategy aligns with the tendency of Western media to employ a passive voice structure (Malkawi et al., 2024), and less assertive language on sensitive issues, as observed in coverage of journalist shootings or conflict coverage in general (Shahzad et al., 2023). This more cautious framing allows CNN Arabic to maintain an apparent objectivity, even as it diminishes moral clarity.

Moral Judgment and Solutions

Al Jazeera's explicit moral judgment (linking Netanyahu to the ICC/war crimes) functions to mobilize public opinion toward outrage and demands for accountability, consistent with its high use of the "Responsibility frame". The solution proposed by Al Jazeera is a Political Solution demanding structural change (ending the siege), reflecting the media's function as an agent for policy change (Jinah et al., 2024).

CNN Arabic shies away from political demands, instead suggesting an Information Solution (transparency and independent journalist access). By focusing on a journalistic/informational remedy, the outlet positions itself as a neutral provider of accountability. This approach risks resulting in high "episodic framing", a focus on single events rather than the broader context, thereby potentially leading to "less attribution of responsibility to policy-makers, thereby conserving the status quo", a pattern observed in coverage of hospital reform in Germany (Berger et al., 2024).

Geopolitical Context and Ideological Implications

These pronounced framing differences are intrinsically determined by the geopolitical context and the ideological alignments of the respective media organizations. Al Jazeera's consistent pro-Palestinian stance is deeply rooted, often serving a Muslim readership that maintains a "strong psychological connection with Palestinian Muslims" (Setiawan et al., 2023; Duman & Yolcu, 2023). This ideological positioning allows AJ to prioritize the humanitarian impact and explicitly assign blame. Conversely, CNN Arabic, operating as an extension of Western media, is constrained by the need for prudence when covering a major Western ally like Israel.

Research confirms this operational framework, showing that Western outlets like BBC and CNN tend to dedicate more "Pro-Israel Coverage" and employ a "Conflict frame," thereby systematically avoiding the Responsibility frame toward Israel, a pattern evident in CNN Arabic's softer framing of Netanyahu's

denial (Shahzad et al., 2023). This dynamic aligns with the observation that the level of a media outlet's ideological involvement in a conflict dictates its focus: highly engaged media frame the opponent negatively, while less-involved media (or those ideologically opposed to the perpetrator's policy, like Al Jazeera) zero in on the negative humanitarian consequences (Duman & Yolcu, 2023). Ultimately, CNN Arabic's approach in this specific case is an attempt to present itself as less ideologically invested than Al Jazeera, thereby preserving a facade of neutral reporting within a sensitive geopolitical axis.

Conclusion

This study, grounded in Robert Entman's framing analysis, finds significant differences in how Al Jazeera and CNN Arabic framed their coverage of Netanyahu's denial of the famine in Gaza. First, Al Jazeera explicitly defined the problem as an acute humanitarian crisis exacerbated by Netanyahu's "blatant lies," while CNN Arabic framed the issue as an information conflict between competing claims. Second, Al Jazeera directly diagnosed the cause of the famine as the Israeli blockade and "war of annihilation," whereas CNN Arabic presented two conflicting causal narratives: Netanyahu's claim blaming Hamas versus counter-evidence from humanitarian groups. Third, Al Jazeera issued a strong moral judgment using condemnatory language, while CNN Arabic maintained a more neutral tone, focusing on the political actor's credibility. Fourth, Al Jazeera implicitly offered a political solution by demanding an end to the blockade, while CNN Arabic emphasized a solution through transparency and access for independent journalism.

The formative findings of this study confirm that Entman's framing theory is highly relevant and comprehensively explains how online news outlets, even those focused on the same region, can produce vastly different narratives. These results are consistent with previous studies: Al Jazeera tends to adopt a pro-Palestinian and humanist frame, while CNN Arabic prefers a conflict frame that prioritizes presenting both sides without explicit advocacy. These findings strongly support the theoretical premise that a media outlet's ideological orientation and geopolitical positioning significantly influence news framing.

This study's strength lies in providing an in-depth comparative analysis between two ideologically divergent media outlets on a crucial humanitarian event. However, its primary weakness is the limited focus on a single event, which ignores the broader context of continuous coverage. Therefore, future researchers are advised to conduct longitudinal analyses to track framing changes over time and to integrate reception analysis to understand how diverse audiences interpret these divergent frames. The implication of these findings for language studies is that discourse linguistics and critical discourse analysis are effective tools for uncovering hidden agendas and ideological biases in news texts. By analyzing

word choice, metaphors, and narrative structure, we see how language not only reports reality but also actively shapes it, demonstrating that the study of language cannot be separated from its social and political context.

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