



Constructing a New 9/11: BBC Framing of Israeli Violence in Gaza after October 7*

Hamdullah Baycar**
Mehmet Rakipoğlu

Abstract: The events of October 7, 2023, were reflexively framed in Western media discourse as a historical rupture comparable to September 11, 2001, reshaping public interpretations of the war in Gaza. Such analogies carry significant implications for how violence, responsibility, and political legitimacy are constructed in international news coverage. Drawing on Robert Entman's framing theory, alongside insights from Edward Said and Antonio Gramsci, this study employs qualitative discourse analysis to examine how BBC reporting structured these interpretive boundaries. This article argues that BBC coverage of the Gaza war following October 7, 2023, not only reflected existing political divisions but also actively participated in constructing them, normalizing Israeli military action within a securitized logic while limiting the historical and political intelligibility of Palestinian claims. By discursively repositioning October 7 as a foundational rupture analogous to September 11, 2001, BBC reporting embedded subsequent events within a counterterrorism paradigm that marginalized broader histories of occupation, blockade, and structural violence. The findings demonstrate that, across Entman's four framing functions, problem definition centered on terrorism; causal interpretation emphasized Hamas' responsibility, including recurrent references to human shields; moral evaluation displayed asymmetries in the personalization and humanization of Israeli and Palestinian suffering; and treatment recommendations prioritized Israeli security-centered responses over structural political solutions. Collectively, these patterns suggest that BBC coverage functioned as a site of epistemic ordering, shaping interpretive hierarchies in which Israeli military actions were rendered intelligible within security logics while Palestinian political claims were more narrowly contextualized in an asymmetrical conflict.

Keywords: Western Media, BBC, Framing, October 7, Gaza Genocide

Öz: 7 Ekim 2023 olayları, Batı medyasında sıklıkla 11 Eylül 2001 ile karşılaştırılan tarihsel bir kırılma noktası olarak çerçevelenmiş ve Gazze savaşına ilişkin kamuoyunu yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Bu tür benzetmeler, uluslararası habercilikte şiddetin, sorumluluğun ve siyasal meşruiyetin nasıl inşa edildiği açısından önemli sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Robert Entman'ın çerçeveleme teorisinin yanı sıra Edward Said ve Antonio Gramsci'nin görüşlerinden yararlanan bu çalışma, BBC haberlerinin bu yorumlayıcı sınırları nasıl yapılandırdığını incelemek amacıyla nitel söylem analizini kullanmaktadır. Makale, BBC'nin 7 Ekim 2023 sonrasında Gazze savaşına ilişkin haberlerinin yalnızca mevcut siyasal ayrışmaları yansıtmadığını, aynı zamanda bu söylemin inşasına aktif olarak katıldığını; İsrail'in askeri eylemlerini güvenlikleştirilmiş bir mantık içinde normalleştirirken Filistinlilerin tarihsel ve siyasal taleplerinin anlaşılabilirliğini

* This research was conducted during Mehmet Rakipoğlu's Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK) International Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Program (2219).

** Corresponding Author

@ Asst. Prof., Karadeniz Technical University, hamdullahbaycar@ktu.edu.tr, 0000-0002-8720-9995
Assoc. Prof., Mardin Artuklu University & Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Exeter, mehmetrakipoglu@artuklu.edu.tr

id <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8720-9995>
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6287-6943>

DOI: 10.12658/M0807
insan & toplum, 2026; 16(3): 134-154.
insanvetoplum.org

Received: 23.02.2026
Revised: 20.05.2026
Accepted: 30.06.2026
Online First: 16.07.2026

sınırladığını ileri sürmektedir. BBC haberleri, 7 Ekim’i 11 Eylül 2001’e benzer kurucu bir kırılma olarak söylemsel düzeyde yeniden konumlandırarak, sonraki gelişmeleri işgal, abluka ve yapısal şiddetin daha geniş tarihsel bağlamlarını marjinalleştiren bir terörle mücadele paradigması içine yerleştirmiştir. Bulgular, Entman’ın dört çerçeveleme işlevi boyunca sorun tanımının terörizm etrafında şekillendiğini; nedensel atfın, canlı kalkan söylemine yönelik tekrar eden referanslar da dâhil olmak üzere Hamas’ın sorumluluğunu vurguladığını; ahlaki değerlendirmenin İsraili ve Filistinli acıların kişiselleştirilmesi ve insancillaştırılmasında belirgin asimetriler sergilediğini; çözüm önerilerinin ise yapısal siyasal çözümler yerine İsrail merkezli güvenlik politikalarını önceliklendirdiğini göstermektedir. Bu örüntüler bir bütün olarak değerlendirildiğinde, BBC haberlerinin epistemik bir düzenleme alanı olarak işlev gördüğüne işaret edilmektedir. Bu süreçte İsrail’in askeri eylemleri güvenlik mantığı çerçevesinde anlaşılır ve meşru kılınırken, Filistinlilerin siyasal talepleri asimetrik bir çatışma bağlamında daha dar ve sınırlı bir çerçevede ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Batı medyası, BBC, çerçeveleme, 7 Ekim, Gazze Soykırımı

Introduction

The war in Gaza following the events of October 7, 2023, has generated extensive scholarly debate across multiple fields, including international law (Verdeja, 2025), genocide studies (El-Affendi, 2024), regional geopolitics (Safdar, 2024), and humanitarian crisis analysis (De Waal, 2024). Media coverage of the war has likewise attracted sustained academic attention (Alkhawaldeh & Alserhan, 2025; Al-Najjar & Zaid, 2025). Scholars have examined issues ranging from the targeting of journalists and restrictions on reporting to alleged double standards in Western media narratives (Alkhawaldeh & Alserhan, 2025; Al-Najjar & Zaid, 2025; Cherkaoui, 2024; Elmasry, 2025). Given the scale of civilian casualties, forced displacement, and widespread infrastructural destruction, media representation itself has become a central object of analysis within communication and media studies. The geopolitical dimensions of this representational asymmetry have also been explored through the lens of popular geopolitics and Orientalism, examining how Western media discourse on the Middle East both reflects and reinforces broader structures of international power (Gökmen, 2012).

It is widely accepted in media studies that news production does not passively reflect social reality but actively constructs it through ideological, political, and cultural frameworks (Mabweazara & Happer, 2025; Schudson, 1989). This structural understanding was empirically demonstrated in Greg Philo and Mike Berry’s *Bad News From Israel* (2004), which found that British television news systematically privileged Israeli perspectives through framing, sequencing, and lexical choices while marginalizing Palestinian voices by removing historical causality and political agency. Importantly, their audience research showed that such reporting not only mirrors public opinion but also helps shape it. In this way, representations presented as balanced may appear neutral within a fundamentally asymmetrical power relationship (Philo & Berry, 2004). Recent framing analyses extend this line of critique. A qualitative study of BBC and i24 News coverage of Gaza finds that even ostensibly “balanced” public service journalism operates within securitized

interpretive frameworks that privilege Israeli security narratives (Miladi & Miladi, 2025). The study shows that Palestinian political subjectivity, security concerns, and agency are frequently marginalized, while Israeli responsibility tends to receive sustained attention primarily in cases involving Western or foreign victims. Such findings suggest that BBC coverage does more than recount events; it participates in structuring interpretive hierarchies through selective representation, humanitarian abstraction, and securitized framing. More broadly, scholars argue that coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Western media functions as a site where normative boundaries are negotiated, shaping which lives are individualized, which claims are treated as credible, and which forms of violence are framed as legitimate within international politics (El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Jebril, 2025). This perspective aligns with research conceptualizing the conflict as a media war, in which lexical choices and framing practices reinforce power asymmetries rather than neutralize them (Miladi, 2023).

Recent critiques of journalistic objectivity similarly challenge the notion of neutrality as a purely professional norm, instead conceptualizing it as an epistemic regime that can obscure structural power asymmetries, particularly in Western coverage of Palestine. This line of critique extends the argument advanced in *More Bad News From Israel*, which contends that appeals to balance and impartiality in British broadcast journalism often function as mechanisms of normalization rather than genuine neutrality (Philo & Berry, 2011). By formally equalizing structurally asymmetrical actors, such discourses may downplay historical and material inequalities, frame Israeli state actions as reasonable or defensive, and position Palestinian resistance as excessive, irrational, or morally suspect. This critique has increasingly been reformulated in explicitly epistemological terms, shifting attention from representational imbalance to questions of credibility, legitimacy, and moral recognition. FB (2025), for example, argues that mainstream media's reliance on distance, neutrality, and both sides framing may contribute to the marginalization of Palestinian voices while reinforcing dominant interpretations of Israeli state actions. Objectivity thus operates as a disciplining mechanism, shaping which testimonies are treated as credible, whose suffering is individualized and humanized, and which claims are framed as excessive or suspect.

One of the most striking rhetorical developments in Western media coverage after October 7, 2023, has been the recurrent analogy between the attacks and September 11, 2001 (*Newspaper Headlines: 'Human Shield Horror' and Israel's '9/11 Moment'*, 2023; Satloff, 2023; Shan, 2023). This comparison—invoked not only in media discourse but also by political leaders such as Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former U.S. President Joe Biden (Baycar & Bakir, 2023)—frames

October 7 as a foundational rupture, a historical reset that reorders temporal and moral narratives. By positioning the attacks as an unprecedented beginning, this framing risks disconnecting subsequent events from longer histories of occupation, blockade, and unresolved political grievances (Pappé, 2007). This may contribute to a securitized interpretive framework in which military responses are understood primarily through counterterrorism logics, thereby narrowing the range of historical and structural explanations available within public discourse.

This discursive erasure, as noted in recent media scholarship (El Hajji, 2025), illustrates how Palestinians are either selectively represented or rendered marginal within dominant narratives, weakening their visibility as historical and political subjects (Iqbal & Farukh, 2025). Such representational patterns produce what Allan and Bishara (2024) described as a contradictory media regime: Palestinians become hyper-visible in moments of violence, yet simultaneously invisible as agents with historical claims and political aspirations. The recurrent analogy between October 7 and September 11 reinforces this dynamic. Just as 9/11 functioned as a foundational moment for the U.S. War on Terror, framing subsequent interventions within a securitized moral universe, the invocation of October 7 as a comparable rupture may orient public interpretation toward counterterrorism logics (Dogan, 2025). This process can be understood through the concept of moral shock, in which a traumatic event elicits intense emotional responses that reshape political evaluation (Sharaf, 2024). In such contexts, media narratives may privilege security-centered explanations and narrow the space available for structural or historical analysis (Krebs & Lobasz, 2007). The coverage of Gaza can be read not simply as descriptive reporting but rather as part of a broader epistemic environment in which certain forms of violence are rendered intelligible as defensive while others are framed as illegitimate or irrational—an interpretive pattern that resonates with classic critiques of media power (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 87).

This article examines how BBC coverage following October 7, 2023, framed Israel's military assaults in Gaza and Palestinian casualties within a securitized interpretive structure. It argues that through specific discursive patterns—including problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation—the BBC's reporting may have contributed to the normalization of Israeli military actions while framing Palestinian losses in ways that limited their historical and political context. In doing so, October 7 was frequently positioned as a foundational rupture analogous to 9/11, potentially narrowing the range of structural explanations available within public discourse. More broadly, the study conceptualizes media discourse not merely as descriptive reporting but as a site of epistemic power, where legitimacy, credibility, and moral recognition are distributed (Matar, 2025). While this

article focuses on the BBC as a case study, recent scholarship suggests that similar securitized framing patterns have appeared across elite Western media ecosystems, including major newspapers and policy institutions (Thussu & Chatterjee, 2026).

In this context, the article addresses the following research question: How did BBC coverage after October 7, 2023, frame Israeli military actions and Palestinian casualties, and through which discursive mechanisms were legitimacy, responsibility, and political subjectivity distributed? To examine this question, the study applies Robert Entman's four framing functions—problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations—as analytical categories. Through qualitative discourse analysis of BBC headlines, lexical choices, source hierarchies, perpetrator positioning, and historical contextualization, the article investigates how interpretive boundaries were constructed within news reporting. By focusing on the BBC, the analysis explores how framing practices may shape normative and epistemic understandings of asymmetrical conflict. The article proceeds in three parts. The first section outlines the conceptual framework, drawing on Entman's theory of framing, as well as insights from Edward Said and Antonio Gramsci on discourse and hegemony. The second section details the methodology and dataset. The final section applies the four framing dimensions to BBC coverage, illustrating how these discursive patterns structured the representation of the war in Gaza.

Conceptual Framework: Framing, Orientalism, and Hegemony

This study analyzes the BBC's framing strategies for events in the war against Gaza, drawing on Robert M. Entman's concept of framing. Framing, according to Entman (1993, p. 52), "essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." When a case is framed, appropriate language is used to make the desired points more visible. Entman identifies four core framing functions: (1) defining the problem, (2) diagnosing causes, (3) making moral judgments, and (4) suggesting remedies. Problem definition determines how an event is categorized and understood; causal interpretation assigns responsibility; moral evaluation assesses the legitimacy of actors and actions; and treatment recommendation proposes or normalizes particular solutions. These dimensions provide an analytical structure for examining how media narratives shape public interpretations of conflict. By applying these four framing functions to BBC reporting, this study investigates how interpretive hierarchies are constructed—how responsibility is distributed, how suffering is personalized or abstracted, and how certain political responses are rendered intelligible or necessary within news discourse.

Entman's framing theory explains the process of perception formation and meaning-making in the media; yet the frames that circulate within news discourse do not emerge in a cultural vacuum. The selection of this analytical framework is therefore informed by Edward Said's (1979) concept of Orientalism, which reveals the deeper cultural logic that determines which representations of the Middle East are rendered legible and credible to Western audiences in the first place, and by Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which explains how such representations achieve the status of common sense rather than appearing as ideological constructs. In Orientalism, Said explains how certain discourses become instruments of power and how they are circulated. According to Said, the West's perception of the East is linked to long-standing cultural dichotomies. This duality functions in media discourse not only as a cultural classification but also, in line with Gramsci's concept of hegemony, as a constitutive element of consent production; thus, Israeli discourse is categorized as natural, while Palestinian discourse is pushed into the category of the abnormal (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 175). Furthermore, the West portrays the East as irrational, primitive, prone to violence, and morally inferior. In this sense, the BBC, as a cultural instrument of the West, has acted in accordance with all these patterns, dehumanizing Palestinians, portraying them as morally inferior, viewing the Palestinian struggle as illegitimate, and explaining the struggle as terrorism. On the other hand, even though it is not geographically part of the West, Israel, which the West sees as its own, has been viewed as democratic, modern, and civilized (Dabashi, 2025). In this hierarchical distinction, Israeli lives are seen as valuable, while Palestinian lives are seen as inferior (Grimm et al., 2025).

Edward Said's later work, *Culture and Imperialism*, examines the relationship among Orientalism, colonialism, and imperialism, demonstrating that the West's perception of conflicts is shaped by its colonial legacy, sense of moral superiority, and civilizational hierarchy (Said, 1994). Israel's defense-based perception of violence does not pose a problem for combating dangerous and savage natives (in this case, Palestinians). Indeed, Israel's democratic perception establishes a hierarchy of civilizations for this purpose, while Palestinians are viewed as inferior. The key concept that inspired Said in both his books, *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, is Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony. According to Gramsci, hegemony does not rely solely on armed means to persuade societies but also on the production of consent (Gramsci, 2012, pp. 12–13). Consent is formed through cultural, ideological, and discursive means, shaping interpretations of events.

Data and Methodology

This study employs qualitative discourse analysis methodology to investigate how Western media, specifically the BBC, framed Israel's military assaults on Gaza following the October 7, 2023, attacks. The BBC's selection as a case is due to its status as one of the most influential and authoritative media institutions in the Western world. Moreover, the BBC's past clashes with the UK government make it a significant platform to evaluate, as it has some degree of independence from the government (Baycar, 2023; Mytton, 2008). Another point that makes the BBC's case selection worth studying is that, notwithstanding this study's argument, the BBC has been criticized for taking Hamas's side, especially due to its rejection of calling Hamas a terrorist organization, and also airing the documentary, *Gaza: How to Survive a Warzone* in February 2025 and then pulled from iPlayer after it was criticized due to one of the narrator's possible links with Hamas (Gaza, 2026). The aim of this study is not to generalize about all Western media organizations, but to use the BBC as a case study to examine the ideological and normative structures of media coverage after October 7, as it is a channel capable of broadcasting against the interests of the UK on issues such as the Suez Canal back in 1956.

The dataset was compiled through purposive sampling and consists of BBC web articles, headlines, and explanatory pieces published after October 7, 2023. The selected content focuses on Israel's military actions, Palestinian civilian casualties, and humanitarian conditions. Relevant materials were manually identified using keywords associated with the study's framing categories, including "terrorism," "human shields," "hostages," "massacre," and "self-defense." In addition to this primary dataset, the study draws on two important external reports: the Centre for Media Monitoring's *BBC on Gaza-Israel: One Story, Double Standard* (2025) and the Media Bias Meter's *Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Media Outlets* (2025). These reports were used to help identify recurring framing patterns and representative cases for closer qualitative analysis.

The study employs critical discourse analysis as its general methodological approach. Qualitative discourse analysis examines how language constructs meaning and reproduces power relations, rather than treating texts as neutral transmissions of information. Unlike quantitative content analysis, which measures the frequency of predetermined categories, qualitative discourse analysis attends to how meaning is produced through word choice, source selection, narrative structure, and what is left unsaid. This approach is particularly suited to the present study because the object of inquiry is not simply what the BBC reported, but how its reporting structured

interpretive possibilities-which actors were granted credibility, which forms of violence were rendered legible, and which historical contexts were foregrounded or suppressed. Critical discourse analysis highlights the relationships among discourse, ideology, and political authority while allowing for the integration of multiple theoretical frameworks. Within this approach, Entman's (1993) framing theory functions as a central analytical tool, operationalized through four framing functions: problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Each item in the dataset is coded according to these four dimensions, enabling the study to map how the BBC constructs interpretive boundaries around the conflict.

BBC's Framing of the Gaza War? Strategies to Legitimize Israel and Discredit Palestine

Since 7 October 2023, the discourse and broadcasting policy adopted by Western mainstream media, particularly by established public broadcasters such as the BBC, has been the subject of intense criticism (Al-Najjar & Zaid, 2025; Ghani, 2025). Despite operating under the Royal Charter and professing adherence to principles such as impartiality and independence, the BBC has been found to use language in its Gaza coverage that contradicts its long-standing claim to impartiality. This section examines the linguistic and discursive strategies employed by the BBC to delegitimize/discredit Palestinian casualties and claims of political agency while legitimizing Israel's genocidal war on Gaza. Entman's framing theory framework, comprising four components-Problem Definition, Causal Interpretation, Moral Evaluation, and Treatment Recommendation-is used as the analytical framework.

Defining the Problem: How is the Issue Framed?

According to Entman's framing theory, the media, the BBC in this case, needs first to identify the problem. In other words, the question arises as to how the BBC frames the war between Israel and Hamas. In defining the beginning and nature of the conflict, the BBC appears to frame events from the Israeli perspective as legitimate defense against terrorism. In this sense, The BBC used words related to terrorism (terrorist(s), terrorism, terror) in 66% of its total articles on the Gaza genocide (*Media Bias Meter - Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets*, 2025). This 'terrorism-focused' intensity preferred by the BBC, when representing Palestinians, demonstrates that the language of the media works with securitization templates and reproduces Israel's political discourse in an almost automated manner (Del Sarto, 2021; Georgia, 2024).

Such characterization erases the historical and political context of the conflict, placing Palestinian actors in the position of perpetrators resorting to unprovoked

violence. It is seen that in the BBC's examined news reports on the events in Gaza after October 7, it referred to October 7 104 times, while referring to the illegal embargo imposed on Gaza since 2007 only once (*Media Bias Meter - Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets*, 2025). The BBC's adopted broadcasting policy shows that the causes of the conflict or the root of the problem began on October 7, 2023, rather than the Israeli occupation, the Gaza blockade, and human rights violations that have lasted for more than half a century. Therefore, with this choice, the BBC is removing the historical context while constructing the narrative and attempting to justify Israel's assaults on Gaza.

Secondly, in defining the problem, the BBC criminalizes the Palestinian side by describing Palestinian resistance (armed or unarmed) not as a political struggle for freedom but entirely as an act of terrorism. In fact, while the BBC avoids using the term 'terrorist' directly for Hamas (using terms like 'Palestinian militants' or 'militants') to appear neutral, it frequently uses the term 'terrorist' in direct quotes. For example, it does so by directly quoting Israeli eyewitnesses (Y. Knell et al., 2023), giving particular prominence to the royal family's statement referring to them as terrorists (Smith, 2023), or quoting Israeli officials (Lukiv & Durbin, 2024). In this sense, the overwhelming majority of expressions used in the news employ the rhetoric of counterterrorism to legitimize Israel's aggressiveness. This distorted framework allows the BBC to label Palestinian resistance fighters as terrorists without any need for evidence. In the BBC's Gaza coverage during the relevant period, 66% of references to Palestinians concerned terrorism (*Media Bias Meter - Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets*, 2025).

Thirdly, the BBC's positioning of Israel, which is one side of the conflict, is also highly biased. The problem or conflict is framed based on 'Israel's existential security' and Hamas being coded as a threat that must be eliminated. For example, when BBC security correspondent Frank Gardner commented on Netanyahu's speech on September 27, 2024, he emphasized that Israel always wanted peace, was unjustly attacked, and was under constant threat. As noted in the Centre for Media Monitoring's report *BBC on Gaza-Israel: One Story, Double Standard* (2025, p. 91), Gardner portrays Israel's 'innocence' in this manner on the program:

I think it's important to remind our viewers that Israel wants peace and has been unfairly attacked in many cases. It is under constant threat, but Benjamin Netanyahu is seen by many, including the US State Department, as an obstacle to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict — specifically, the creation of a Palestinian state. Every day, Palestinians in the West Bank—what Netanyahu refers to as Judea and Samaria—are being tormented, their olive groves burned down, their cars set on fire, as settlers illegally try to push them out of their land. Regarding Hezbollah, he is absolutely right—they

attacked Israel on October 8, the day after the Hamas raid. That attack launched an 11-month period of low-level warfare, which has since escalated significantly. He is also correct that UN Resolution 1701 was meant to push Hezbollah north of the Litani River to prevent them from shelling northern Israel. However, Hezbollah has not abided by this, and the UN has been spineless in enforcing it. The fact remains: if a ceasefire is reached in Gaza and the Palestinians are granted a homeland, many of these problems will be resolved.

Similarly, Yolande Knell, one of the BBC's Middle East correspondents, supported the Israeli narrative in her speech at the BBC on April 1, 2025, stating that although there were allegations that Israel had clearly violated international law, the Israeli army was fighting Hamas, which posed a direct threat to it. Knell framed her narrative as if the allegations had been refuted by Israel's explanation. Again, as stated in the BBC report on Gaza–Israel: One Story, Double Standard (2025, p. 114), Knell sought to legitimize Israel's commission of war crimes in this manner:

This is continuing to generate so much controversy. On the one hand, you have these allegations that Israel has committed an apparent war crime, a clear breach of international humanitarian law, but the Israeli military, in its latest statement, has stressed these were vehicles it says were acting suspiciously and appeared to pose a direct threat to Israeli forces who were operating in the area.

This positioning, which is also Israel's official line, formulates the 20-year blockade imposed by Israel on Gaza as a necessary policy for the elimination of Hamas.

Causal Interpretation: Who is Responsible?

The causal interpretation, which forms the second pillar of Entman's theory, determines whose actions in the conflict are justified and who is responsible. At this stage, the BBC attributes the cause of the Palestinians' suffering to the Palestinian actors themselves, while attributing the cause of Israel's destruction to the existence of Palestinian resistance. First, the BBC justifies Israel's genocidal war on Gaza as an inevitable response to the October 7 attacks that led to the genocide in Gaza. The template sentences repeatedly used and circulated by the BBC in the media condition the reader to view Israel's assaults as a reflexive response to October 7 (Cook, 2025; *What Is Hamas and Why Is It Fighting with Israel in Gaza?*, 2025). The BBC thus attempts to normalize Israel's violence as a legitimate and inevitable defensive reflex.

Secondly, Israel's actions are framed around the rhetoric of legitimate self-defense. In most news reports, Israel's right to self-defense is constantly attributed to it, and this situation has become a legal and moral shield that legitimizes Israel's actions. According to a report by the Center for Media Monitoring, BBC presenters display a

clear imbalance when conveying this Israeli perspective; presenters mention Israel's right to self-defense 11 times more often than the Palestinian perspective (2,340 times versus 217 times) (BBC on Gaza-Israel: One Story, Double Standard, 2025, p. 10).

Thirdly, the BBC has also pursued an editorial policy aimed at shifting responsibility for Palestinian casualties killed as a result of Israel's attacks on Gaza. The deaths of Palestinian civilians have been framed not as a result of Israel's actions, but as a consequence of Hamas using civilians as human shields. For example, in a BBC report on October 7, 2023, while relaying the headlines of British newspapers, the phrase 'human shield horror' was particularly emphasized (*'Human Shield Horror' and Israel's '9/11 Moment'* - BBC News, 2023). This headline produces a narrative that positions Hamas as the perpetrator deliberately using civilians as shields, and therefore as the primary culprit responsible for Palestinian deaths. The language of the report constructs a narrative that indirectly exonerates Israel's actions by presenting the plight of civilians as a consequence of Hamas' tactics, rather than discussing the destruction caused by Israel's attacks. Thus, the BBC has repeated Israel's official narrative that Palestinian civilians are being used as human shields by Hamas without questioning it, creating a media framework that shifts the causality of civilian casualties away from Israel and towards Hamas. This BBC reporting is not a new development. Indeed, similar statements were made in Netanyahu's 2014 interview with BBC Arabic (*Gaza-Israel: Hamas Using 'human Shields'* - Netanyahu, 2014).

Additionally, the BBC reported on the assassinations of Yahya Sinwar, who became Hamas' Political Bureau Chief after Ismail Haniyeh (Baker, 2024) and the killing of Mohammed Sinwar, leader of Hamas' military wing after Yahya Sinwar (Phillips & Usher, 2025), the BBC accepted Israel's claim that fake IDs were found on them and spread the narrative that both men used civilians as human shields. Accordingly, the BBC used the term "human shield" 81 times in its reports on Palestinian deaths, absolving Israel of responsibility for civilian deaths and placing the blame on Hamas (*Media Bias Meter - Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets*, 2025). In other words, the use of this terminology has become a default framing device that shifts responsibility for civilian casualties from Israel to Hamas.

Finally, the actions carried out by Palestinians are portrayed as irrational violence. The origin of any action taken by Palestinians against the Israeli occupation is coded not as occupation or blockade, but as irrational radicalism and fanaticism (Smith, 2023). In this sense, even the Nakba process, known as the Great Catastrophe, caused by Israel, is portrayed as the shameful defeat or irresponsibility of the Palestinians (*Media Bias Meter - Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets*, 2025).

Moral Assessment: Whose Pain Matters and Who is Innocent?

The third stage in Entman's theory, moral evaluation, concerns how the human aspects of the victims are emphasized and how severely the perpetrators' actions are characterized in moral terms. The BBC exhibits a systematic double standard at this stage. Firstly, when examining how Israeli casualties are depicted and portrayed, it is evident that their human, sociological, and familial dimensions are constantly emphasized (humanized) and glorified. It has been observed that both in its news reports and social media posts, the BBC foregrounds the suffering of Israeli victims with personal details and emotional narratives, aiming to evoke strong empathy in the viewer.

For example, immediately after the prisoner exchange in January 2025 (within the first 24 hours), the BBC's news reports depicted the life stories of the Israeli prisoners in an emotional manner. In a report published on 19 January 2025 entitled "Who are the Israeli and Thai hostages released by Hamas?", the BBC recounts the stories of the released Israeli and Thai hostages in dramatic language, through detailed personal histories, family statements, and emotional quotes (*Who Are the Israeli and Thai Hostages Just Released by Hamas?*, 2025). Throughout the text, the trauma experienced by the hostages, the families' waiting, and the intense emotions of the reunion are highlighted; each person's life story is deepened on a human level with expressions such as their profession, family ties, character, and the miracle of their return. Similarly, in the 20 January 2025 article titled "I came back to life' says freed British-Israeli hostage" by Kathryn Armstrong and Lucy Manning, the story of the released British-Israeli captive is crafted in an emotional tone through personal details (Armstrong & Manning, Lucy, 2025). Emily Damari's words, "I'm back to life," are dramatized through individual moments of pain and hope, such as the moment of injury, her family's campaign, and the mother's reunion with her daughter. This approach creates a powerful narrative framework centered on individual victimhood, detaching the prisoner exchange from its broader political context and focusing on the Israeli victim figure.

The terminology used at this point and the meanings attributed to these terms reveal the policy adopted by the BBC. The BBC has used emotionally charged words such as massacre, atrocities, slaughter, barbaric, brutal, and murdered almost exclusively for Israeli victims (BBC on Gaza–Israel: One Story, Double Standard, 2025, p. 10; *Turmoil at the BBC: 'Gravest Possible Concerns' at Its Gaza Coverage*, 2023). For example, the verb murdered appeared 220 times in relation to Israelis, but only once in relation to Palestinians (BBC on Gaza–Israel: One Story, Double Standard, 2025, p. 47). The word butchered was only used in the context of Israeli victims (Gunter, 2023; Manning & Hancock, 2023).

The use of the term massacre in two BBC news reports dated 13 October 2023 clearly demonstrates how selectively the BBC's framing strategy operates (*Shots Fired as BBC Visits Scene of Israel Festival Massacre*, 2023). In the first report published on the same day, titled " Hamas attack on Israel kibbutz Be'eri captured by mothers' WhatsApp group," the BBC systematically conveyed the events in Be'eri using intensely morally charged terms such as rampage, murdered, burned, terror, stalked, and killed (Cuddy, 2023). The report produces a narrative that repeatedly categorizes the attack on civilians as a massacre; every scene of the attack is dramatized, and the voices, fears, and family ties of the Israeli victims are kept central. A second news story published the same day, "Kfar Aza kibbutz massacre: Father saves daughter he hadn't seen for six years," carries the word "massacre" directly in the headline and presents the Kfar Aza incident as an accepted fact: there is an indisputable massacre (Beake, 2023). Violence against children is particularly emphasized in the report; interviews, personal stories, and emotional expressions shape the text. These two examples demonstrate that on October 13, 2023, the BBC categorically framed the events on the Israeli side as a massacre, presenting Israel's suffering with high moral visibility by creating a recognized victim status. In contrast, the systematic avoidance of the same term in relation to attacks on Palestinians indicates that the BBC has constructed an asymmetrical language of violence in its discourse.

Similarly, disinformation has been emotionalized. False claims about babies having their heads cut off have become one of the most powerful tools of emotional manipulation, creating a moral imperative for Israel to retaliate. These claims were featured on the front pages of Western media outlets (including CNN and France24) for days without being questioned. Although the BBC did not report directly on beheaded babies, it did report that Hamas was randomly killing babies (Bowen, 2023). Similarly, it is evident that the BBC, by reporting unverified claims with a tone of certainty, has portrayed Hamas as an organization that systematically uses rape as a weapon (Williamson, 2023). In the BBC's December 5, 2023, news article titled "Israel Gaza: Hamas raped and mutilated women on 7 October, BBC hears", despite the limited forensic evidence and the early stage of the investigation, the statements of the body collectors and witnesses whose identities were concealed were reported with almost no questioning. Although the report occasionally mentions that independent verification was not possible, the overall narrative, graphic depictions of violence, and intense emotional framing present these allegations as if they were verified facts, thereby framing Israel's attacks on Gaza in a context that produces moral legitimacy.

Second, the legitimacy of Palestinian casualties is questioned—a process of delegitimization—and they are dehumanized. In this sense, Palestinians are mostly portrayed as dehumanized in the BBC, and their suffering is glossed over with numerical data or abstract expressions. This situation manifests itself in six different examples. First, passive language is used, and the perpetrator (Israel) is not shown in the news. The BBC generally uses the more neutral and passive word died for Palestinian deaths, while preferring the word killed for Israeli deaths (BBC on Gaza–Israel: One Story, Double Standard, 2025, p. 62; Cook, 2025). This choice of language obscures responsibility for the deaths in Gaza and conveys Palestinian deaths in a passive manner without assigning blame. Second, the denial of political existence and will is evident. Accordingly, although the BBC’s editorial guidelines advocate avoiding the word “terrorist,” Hamas activists are referred to as militants, which exempts Palestinians from an asymmetric definition of terrorism while effectively rendering their humanity invisible (Simpson, 2023). The Palestinian resistance is being confined to the framework of counterterrorism. Third, a hierarchy of source reliability is constructed. The reliability of Palestinian sources is systematically questioned. The BBC has frequently attempted to discredit data by repeatedly labeling it as coming from the Hamas-controlled Gaza Health Ministry when relaying data from the Palestinian Ministry of Health (K. Knell Yolande, 2025; Shalaby, 2023; Wright, 2023). In contrast, statements from the Israeli military are generally accepted as true without question.

Fourth, unchilding is applied (Al Zo’by & Ben Labidi, 2025). Language that casts doubt on the innocence of Palestinian children is used. For example, in a BBC news report dated November 29, 2025, when reporting on the deaths of two brothers aged 8 and 10 killed in an Israeli attack, no explicit childhood category, such as children or boys, was used; instead, the phrase “two young brothers” was used to remove them from childhood status (Cook, 2025). Furthermore, the Israeli army’s description of the killed children as “two suspects who crossed the yellow line” was reported without question; thus, the children’s deaths were coded as a neutralization of a threat within the logic of security, rather than as the loss of innocent civilians (Cook, 2025). This usage reveals a mechanism and linguistic strategy that prevents the humanization of Palestinian children. Thus, while the BBC report appears to make the deaths of Palestinian children visible, the categories and terminology it uses obscure their childhood status, effectively adultifying them discursively and obscuring their innocence.

Furthermore, the BBC has produced two different reports on Hind Rajab, a 6-year-old killed by Israel, whom CNN anchor Kasie Hunt referred to as a “young lady,” thereby removing her from childhood and adultifying her. In the first report

on February 5, 2024, the BBC referred to Hind as “six-year-old Hind Rajab” and focused on the dramatic aspect of the incident, presenting the child as a voice struggling to survive, but did not directly place her being trapped as a result of Israeli fire in a political context (Williamson, 2024). The second report on February 10, 2024, confirmed Hind’s death, but again did not explicitly describe the killing as child murder or an attack on a child; the report largely framed the story as that of a missing person in a conflict zone (Williamson, 2024). Thus, despite mentioning Hind’s age, the BBC’s two separate reports produced a discourse that did not place her within the moral and political protection of the child category, abstracted the tragedy from structural violence, and de-childified the child, violating the rights of children (Wells et al., 2024).

Fifth, double standards are applied to concepts such as prisoner/detainee. This lexical asymmetry is best read as a form of “war-normalizing discourse,” in which naming practices function as political instruments that allocate legitimacy and moral status—mirroring Hadad’s (2021) argument that, in asymmetric conflicts, contestation over labels expands the battlefield into a non-physical arena of legitimacy and perception management. In this sense, the BBC’s double standards are evident here: Israelis are invariably referred to as hostages (prisoners), Palestinians held by Israel (most of whom are political bargaining chips detained by administrative order) are referred to as detainees or convicts. These terms create the impression that there is a legal and legitimate accusation. Sixth, individual stories filled with suffering are deliberately hidden and covered up to prevent empathy for Palestine. While the moments when Israeli hostages are reunited with their families make headlines, the individual stories, traumas, and unjust imprisonment of Palestinian prisoners released from Israeli prisons (including innocent people who have been tortured for years) are not covered in depth and are left in the background.

Treatment Recommendation: Which Actions Are Supported?

The final stage of Entman’s framing theory is to propose a solution appropriate to the problem’s definition and causal interpretation. Within the BBC’s framework, the solution focuses on military and political strategies centered on Israel’s security, rather than recognizing the Palestinians’ claims to political freedom or ending the occupation. This situation can be examined in four dimensions. Firstly, the BBC frequently reiterates its broadcasting policies and its support for a military solution. Accordingly, Palestinian resistance is labeled as terrorism, and the complete annihilation of Hamas is presented as Israel’s goal and adopted policy solution. Consequently, the BBC has consistently portrayed Israel’s attacks on Gaza as a campaign to eliminate Hamas (Abualouf & Donnison, 2025).

Secondly, the chronic problems underlying the conflict have mostly been eliminated and are not mentioned. This situation perpetuates the colonial status quo of Israel, a settler-colonial actor, while ignoring fundamental political rights such as the right of return for Palestinians expelled from their lands, as stipulated in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, thereby preventing the resolution of the fundamental causes of the conflict. The BBC's almost non-existent references to the right of return, its limited use of terms relating to occupation and illegal settlements (around 5% of relevant coverage) and its failure to use the term 'under occupation' 168 times when reporting on East Jerusalem together demonstrate a deliberate neglect of structural problems and an asymmetrical media policy in favor of Israel (*Media Bias Meter - Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets*, 2025).

Thirdly, the BBC implements censorship policies under the guise of impartiality. An example of this is the cancellation of documentaries exposing Israel's war crimes, violations of international law, and genocide in Gaza (such as *Gaza: Doctors Under Attack*) because they would undermine impartiality. Thus, the BBC has demonstrated that it is influenced by the Israeli lobby rather than practicing independent journalism. Indeed, many journalists who have worked at the BBC have stated that the organization prioritizes loyalty over truth and that the censorship of truth is a deliberate policy.

Finally, the BBC supports Israel's elimination of witnesses' strategy, which prevents its crimes from coming to light. The BBC's largely silent response to the killing of approximately 300 Palestinian journalists since 7 October 2023 is a case in point. Indeed, following the Al-Aqsa Flood, 2024 has been called the most challenging test for journalism because journalists and media organizations have been subjected to all kinds of pressure, including death (2024 Is Deadliest Year for Journalists in CPJ History; Almost 70% Killed by Israel, 2025). Reports on Palestinian journalists killed by Israel are few and far between and are largely framed by the Israeli narrative. For example, the killing of Al Jazeera correspondent Anas al-Sharif by Israel was linked to his affiliation with Hamas (Comerford, 2025), supporting Israel's war on media workers and the genocide of journalists (Barghouti, 2025).

Conclusion

This study analyzes the BBC's discourse after October 7, 2023, revealing how Western media frames conflicts and how that framing reproduces power relations in international politics. The article demonstrates that by transforming October 7 into a historical reset point, much like September 11, the BBC obscured the colonial

context of the conflict, thereby removing the structural violence experienced by Palestinians from the media narrative. This situation proves that the transformation expressed in the article's title (Constructing a New 9/11: BBC Framing of Israeli Violence in Gaza after October 7) is not merely a metaphor but a discursive strategy. The analysis based on Entman's four framing categories has made it more visible how the BBC legitimized Israel's violence.

In defining the problem, the BBC's framing of the conflict as a security issue centered on terrorism initially produced a normative bias in favor of Israel. In causal analysis, the systematic shifting of responsibility onto Hamas presented Israel's attacks as an inevitable response. In the moral assessment, the dehumanization of Palestinians (El Masry et al., 2025) and the intense personalization of Israeli casualties clearly show who is considered to have a life worth mourning in the media discourse. In the proposed solutions, the BBC's focus solely on military security-centered options has pushed the structural causes of the occupation out of public debate. These findings demonstrate that the BBC is not merely a news actor but a tool of power that reproduces Western colonial epistemology. The BBC's framing strategies, which echo the Israeli narrative, have not only rendered Palestinians' claims to political subjectivity illegitimate; they have also contributed discursively to legitimizing the genocide by shaping international public opinion. Consequently, October 7 has become a re-enactment of the security-oriented and colonial violence legitimizing discourse that emerged in the BBC's news universe after 9/11.

References

- 2024 is deadliest year for journalists in CPJ history; almost 70% killed by Israel. (2025). Committee to Protect Journalists. <https://cpj.org/special-reports/2024-is-deadliest-year-for-journalists-in-cpj-history-almost-70-percent-killed-by-israel/>
- Abualouf, R., & Donnison, J. (2025, November 22). *Israeli strikes across Gaza kill 22 Palestinians, medical and civil defence officials say*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c20879zzqn8o>
- Al Zo'by, M. A., & Ben Labidi, I. (2025). 'Unchilding' Palestine: Media representation and the limits of civilizational discourse. *Cultural Studies*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2025.2546105>
- Alkhawaldeh, S. K., & Alserhan, F. A. (2025). War of Terminologies in Israeli and Western Media: A Critical Media Discourse Study of Israel and Gaza War. *International Journal of Arabic-English Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.33806/ijaes.v25i2.691>
- Allan, D., & Bishara, A. (2024). Mediating Palestine: Representation, Mobilization, and Experimentation. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 53(3), 11–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0377919X.2024.2415872>
- Al-Najjar, A., & Zaid, B. (2025). Western media's ethical collapse: Silencing Gaza's voice. *Third World Quarterly*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2025.2552361>
- Armstrong, K., & Manning, Lucy. (2025, January 20). 'I came back to life,' says freed British-Israeli hostage. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c9w58k9dy7yo>
- Baker, G. (2024, October 18). *How Israel killed enemy number one Yahya Sinwar*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/czj9zzz8xm7o>

- Barghouti, M. (2025, May 28). *Israel's War on Palestinian Journalists*. Al-Shabaka. <https://al-shabaka.org/policy-labs/israels-war-on-palestinian-journalists/>
- Baycar, H. (2023, February 7). *Britain's final broadcast: Farewell to BBC Arabic Radio*. The New Arab. The New Arab. <https://www.newarab.com/analysis/britains-final-broadcast-farewell-bbc-arabic-radio>
- Baycar, H., & Bakir, A. (2023, November 19). *Israel-Palestine war: Europe is following the US into another disastrous war*. Middle East Eye. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/israel-palestine-war-europe-following-us-another-disastrous-war>
- BBC on Gaza–Israel: One Story, Double Standard. (2025). Centre for Media Monitoring. <https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/CfMM-report-2023-24-ePDF-Edited.pdf>
- Beake, N. (2023, October 13). *Kfar Aza kibbutz massacre: Father saves daughter he hadn't seen for six years*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-67089114>
- Bowen, J. (2023, October 11). *Inside Kfar Aza where Hamas militants killed families in their homes*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67065205>
- Cherkaoui, T. (2024). Framing the Gaza Conflict: Media Bias, Violence, and the Battle of Narratives. *The Political Economy of Communication*, 11(1), 85–98.
- Comerford, R. (2025, August 11). *UN condemns targeted Israeli attack that killed four Al Jazeera journalists*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cq688qz3rlro>
- Cook, J. (2025, November 29). *More than 70,000 killed in Gaza since Israel offensive began, Hamas-run health ministry says*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c8e97kl240lo>
- Cuddy, A. (2023, October 13). *Hamas attack on Israel kibbutz Be'eri captured by mothers' WhatsApp group*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-67105618>
- Dabashi, H. (2025). *After savagery: Gaza, genocide, and the illusion of Western civilization*. Haymarket Books.
- De Waal, A. (2024). Famine in Gaza: An example of the global humanitarian crisis. *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 119(6), 1383–1385. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajcnut.2024.04.015>
- Del Sarto, R. A. (2021). Sectarian securitization in the Middle East and the case of Israel. *International Affairs*, 97(3), 759–778. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iab011>
- Dogan, H. (2025, September 19). *Netanyahu's 9/11 analogy a thin disguise for Israel's systematic slaughter of Palestinians*. TRT World. <https://www.trtworld.com/article/a05ab30f21ee>
- El Damanhoury, K., Saleh, F., & Lebovic, M. (2025). Covering the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Al Jazeera English and BBC's Online Reporting on the 2023 Gaza War. *Journalism and Media*, 6(1), 9. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia6010009>
- El Hajji, S. (2025, January 21). *October 7: The Battle for Narratives and the Forgotten Roots of Palestine*. Al Jazeera Media Institute. <https://institute.aljazeera.net/en/ajr/article/2904>
- El Masry, N., Sawaf, Z., King, G., & Baroudi, S. (2025). Gender hierarchies in reporting genocide: An analysis of the dehumanization of Palestinian men in Western media. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 18(4), 310–321. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcaf032>
- El-Affendi, A. (2024). The Futility of Genocide Studies After Gaza. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2024.2305525>
- Elmasry, M. H. (2025). Images of the Israel-Gaza War on Instagram: A Content Analysis of Western Broadcast News Posts. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 102(3), 695–721. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990241287155>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- FB. (2025). Journalism and Objectivity: Reporting on Palestine and Israel. *Critical Quarterly*, 67(2), 23–37. <https://doi.org/10.1111/criq.12827>

- Gaza-Israel: Hamas using 'human shields'—Netanyahu.* (2014, July 20). BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-middle-east-28394606>
- Gaza: BBC Coverage.* (2026, March 6). Hansard UK Parliament. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2025-02-27/debates/89B386F6-B5B4-4013-B810-B1F4A4A1C741/GazaBBCCoverage>
- Georgia, C. Ştefan. (2024). (In)Security in social media: Exploring Israeli and Palestinian narratives. *Critical Studies on Security*, 12(2), 209–223. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2024.2354576>
- Ghani, F. (2025, March 5). *The Sharp Contrast: How Israeli and Western Media Cover the War on Gaza*. Al Jazeera Media Institute. <https://institute.aljazeera.net/en/ajr/article/3081>
- Gramsci, A. (2012). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (Repr.). Lawrence & Wishart.
- Grimm, J. J., Könneker, J. M., & Salehi, M. (2025). Hierarchies in death: Coverage of Palestinian and Israeli victims in the context of October 7 and the war on Gaza. *Peacebuilding*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2025.2569080>
- Gökmen, M. (2012). Batı Medyasının Ortadoğu Tasavvuru Popüler Jeopolitik Oryantalizm ve Uluslararası İlişkiler. İlke Yayıncılık. İstanbul.
- Gunter, J. (2023, October 14). *Zaka: The volunteers giving dignity to Israel's dead*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-67100014>
- Hadad, O. (2021). A Battle of Names: Hamas and Israeli Operations in the Gaza Strip. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33(5), 931–950. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1594789>
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1994). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. Vintage.
- 'Human shield horror' and Israel's '9/11 moment'—BBC News.* (2023, October 11). BBC. <https://web.archive.org/web/20231011221506/https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-67044212>
- Iqbal, S., & Farukh, A. (2025). Framing narratives: Media representation of metaphors and ideologies in Israel-Palestine conflict. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 12(1), 2564883. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2564883>
- Jebril, N. (2025). Balance and impartiality in public service news: The BBC's news framing of the 2023 Israel–Gaza war. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr_00105_1
- Knell, K., Yolande. (2025, April 23). *Gaza health ministry denies manipulating death toll figures*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cx25x35476yo>
- Knell, Y., Berg, R., & Gritten, D. (2023, October 8). *Israel attack: PM says Israel at war after 250 killed in attack from Gaza*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67036625>
- Krebs, R. R., & Lobasz, J. K. (2007). Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, and the Road to War in Iraq. *Security Studies*, 16(3), 409–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410701547881>
- Lukiv, J., & Durbin, A. (2024, September 1). *Bodies of six hostages including Hersh Goldberg Polin found in Gaza*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/ce31ddege9vo>
- Mabweazara, H. M., & Happer, C. (2025). Rethinking the Sociology of News: Global Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives. *Journalism Studies*, 26(16), 1981–1996. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2025.2590209>
- Manning, L., & Hancock, S. (2023, October 19). *Tributes for 'brave' British-Israeli father murdered in Hamas attack*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-67157564>
- Matar, D. (2025). Habitual media: Interrogating Western legacy media's complicity in the epistemic 'war' against Palestinians. *Third World Quarterly*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2025.2462787>
- Media Bias Meter—Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Outlets.* (2025, November). Media Bias Meter. <https://mediabiasmeter.com/framing-gaza-media-bias-report-2025>
- Miladi, N. (Ed.). (2023). *Global Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Reporting the Sheikh Jarrah Evictions* (1st edn). Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755649921>

- Miladi, N., & Miladi, A. (2025). Livestreamed genocide: Framing analysis of Palestinians in the BBC and i24 News coverage of the war on Palestine (2023–24). *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1386/ajms_00174_1
- Mytton, G. (2008). The BBC and ITS cultural, social and political framework. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 28(4), 569–581. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01439680802311926>
- Newspaper headlines: 'Human shield horror' and Israel's '9/11 moment'. (2023, October 7). BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-the-papers-67043868>
- Pappé, I. (2007). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Repr). Oneworld Publ.
- Phillips, A., & Usher, S. (2025, June 8). *Israel says it has found body of Hamas military leader Mohammed Sinwar*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c62veqrq3yzo>
- Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2004). *Bad news from Israel*. Pluto Press.
- Philo, G., & Berry, M. (Eds). (2011). *More bad news from Israel*. Pluto Press.
- Safdar, M. (2024). Israel-Hamas War in Gaza: Rearrangement of Regional Powers and Implications for the Middle East. *Margalla Papers*, 161–179. <https://doi.org/10.54690/margallapapers.28.1.246>
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. Vintage books.
- Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and imperialism* (ist Vintage Books ed). Knopf.
- Satloff, R. (2023, October 15). *Why 10/7 Was Worse for Israel Than 9/11 Was for America*. The Washington Institute. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/why-107-was-worse-israel-911-was-america>
- Schudson, M. (1989). The sociology of news production. *Media, Culture & Society*, 11(3), 263–282. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016344389011003002>
- Shalaby, E. (2023, November 3). *A doctor, tailor, and bride-to-be: Stories of those killed in Gaza*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-67278549>
- Shan, L. Y. (2023, October 8). *'Israel's 9/11': Political analysts react to deadly Hamas attack*. CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2023/10/08/israels-9/11-political-analysts-react-to-deadly-hamas-attack.html>
- Sharaf, A. (2024). The Significance of Moral Shock – the Armed Conflict in Palestine as a Case Study. *Synthesis Philosophica*, 39(1), 211–231. <https://doi.org/10.21464/sp39111>
- Shots fired as BBC visits scene of Israel festival massacre*. (2023, October 13). <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-67094215>
- Simpson, J. (2023, October 11). *Why BBC doesn't call Hamas militants 'terrorists'—John Simpson*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-67083432>
- Smith, A. (2023, October 11). *Israel-Gaza attacks: Royals condemn 'barbaric' Hamas attack on Israel*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-67080828>
- Thussu, D. K., & Chatterjee, A. (2026). The geopolitics of reporting a genocide: An analysis of the coverage of the Israeli invasion of Gaza in *Foreign Affairs* and the *New York Times*. *Third World Quarterly*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2026.2623199>
- Turmoil at the BBC: 'Gravest Possible Concerns' at Its Gaza Coverage*. (2023, November 1). Jadaliyya. <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/45466>
- Verdeja, E. (2025). The Gaza Genocide in Five Crises. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2025.2452707>
- Wells, K., Cortés-Morales, S., Esson, J., Horgan, D., Nxumalo, F., Phoenix, A., Rautio, P., & Rosen, R. (2024). Israel's war on Gaza and the violation of children's rights. *Children's Geographies*, 22(2), 197–200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2024.2316752>

What is Hamas and why is it fighting with Israel in Gaza? (2025, October 14). <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/clyv7w3gdy2o>

Who are the Israeli and Thai hostages just released by Hamas? (2025, February 2). <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cg5ydgeqrvqo>

Williamson, L. (2023, December 5). *Israel Gaza: Hamas raped and mutilated women on 7 October, BBC hears*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67629181>

Williamson, L. (2024, February 5). *Israel-Gaza war: Unknown fate of six-year-old Hind Rajab trapped under fire*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-68180642>

Wright, G. (2023, November 6). *Israel Gaza war: Hamas-run health ministry says Gaza death toll passes 10,000*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-67332684>