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News coverage of the Palestinian conflict with Israel: A framing analysis of the October 7, 2023, Hamas attack

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Abstract

One of the prolonged conflicts between Palestine and Israel has yet to find a solution. This study aims to explore Indonesian online media in framing news about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the Hamas attack on October 7, 2023. It analyzes the factors that influence framing, public opinion, and foreign policy. This study uses qualitative research with a framing analysis approach. As for data collection techniques through observation, digital searches, news selection, and documentation. Data analysis uses Robert N. Entman's framing model, and data validity uses audit trails. The results show that Indonesian media frames the conflict with different emphases within a strong pro-Palestinian consensus. *Kompas.com* and *CNBC Indonesia* emphasize the cycle of structural violence, *Liputan6.com* focuses on the humanitarian tragedy, *SINDOnews.com* sees it as a geopolitical maneuver, and *Metrotvnews.com* sees it as a struggle for independence. Although varied, all media outlets show sympathy for Palestine with ambiguous diction for Hamas and encourage diplomatic solutions. This framing is shaped by a national consensus based on religious solidarity, anti-colonial identity, and alignment between public opinion, government policy, and media coverage. This study contributes to Islamic communication scholarship by showing how religious solidarity, justice, and anti-colonialism shape media framing and mediate the relationship between Muslim public opinion, state policy, and media discourse.

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Abstrak

Salah satu konflik berkepanjangan antara Palestina dan Israel belum menemukan solusi. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengeksplorasi media online Indonesia dalam membingkai berita konflik Palestina-Israil pada serangan Hamas tanggal 7 Oktober 2023. Menganalisis faktor yang mempengaruhi framing, opini publik dan kebijakan luar negeri. Penelitian ini menggunakan jenis penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis framing. Teknik pengumpulan data dengan observasi, pencarian digital, seleksi berita dan dokumentasi. Analisis data dengan model framing Robert N. Entman, dan validitas data dengan audit trail. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa, media Indonesia membingkai konflik dengan penekanan berbeda dalam konsensus pro-Palestina yang kuat. *Kompas.com* dan *CNBC Indonesia* menekankan siklus kekerasan struktural, *Liputan6.com* fokus pada tragedi kemanusiaan, *SINDOnews.com* melihatnya sebagai manuver geopolitik, dan *Metrotvnews.com* sebagai perjuangan kemerdekaan. Meski variatif, semua media menunjukkan simpati pada Palestina dengan diksi ambigu untuk Hamas serta mendorong solusi diplomatik. Framing ini dibentuk oleh konsensus nasional berbasis solidaritas agama, identitas anti-kolonial, dan keselarasan antara opini publik, kebijakan pemerintah, serta pemberitaan media. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada kajian komunikasi Islam dengan menunjukkan bagaimana solidaritas keagamaan, keadilan, dan anti-kolonialisme membentuk framing media serta memediasi hubungan antara opini publik Muslim, kebijakan negara, dan wacana media.

INTRODUCTION

With Conflict is an inevitable strategic issue in the dynamics of international relations. One of the most prolonged conflicts that has yet to find a resolution is the dispute between Israel and Palestine. According to Cahya (2022), the polemic between these two entities has become a critical discourse in political discourse, both at the national and global levels. This argument is reinforced by Nurjannah dan Fakhruddin (2019: 16), who explain that the escalation of the conflict is motivated by Israel's ambition to dominate Palestinian territory.

On the other hand, Hadžić (2022: 47) offers a different perspective, emphasizing religious aspects as the root cause of the conflict. Meanwhile, Jones (2018: 509) argues that the conflict is more due to the Zionist movement, which claims Palestinian land as the historical right of the Jewish people. Based on these diverse perspectives, it can be concluded that the war between these two regions is not solely based on religious factors, but is more of a struggle for territorial sovereignty.

The historical roots of this conflict can be traced back to 1880, when Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe began settling in Palestine under Ottoman Turkish administration. According to Al-Ahsan (2019, p. 87), Ottoman hegemony over the region passed to the British in 1917 following defeat in the war. Similarly, Ali (2023, p. 288) asserts that the collapse of Ottoman leadership was a consequence of World War I, marking the beginning of the collapse of the central power of the Arab world and the start of the era of Western imperialism. At the end of the 19th century, the Jewish Zionist movement began to emerge as an organized political force (Indriasandi & Wargadinata, 2023, p. 104).

This movement served as a strategic instrument for the Jewish community to establish a national home called Israel in the Palestinian territory. The proclamation of the State of Israel then gained political legitimacy through the British Balfour Declaration and recognition by the United Nations (Nabulsi, 2023, p. 35). Israel's independence was officially declared on Palestinian soil on May 14, 1948 (Firdaus dan Yani, 2020, p. 105). The mass immigration of Jews to Palestine, triggered by the Balfour Declaration, sparked resistance from Arab countries that refused to recognize the existence of the state of Israel (Hildebrandt-Wypych, 2022, p. 7). Israel's dominance grew stronger through the systematic subordination of Palestinians, who were forced to work as laborers on their own ancestral land.

A similar context is emphasized by Fitria and Putra (2022, p. 45), who state that after consolidating power, the radical Zionist movement continued to attempt to expel the Palestinian population. Palestinian resistance, which emerged as a defensive response, resulted in military defeat accompanied by significant casualties (Jamaluddin & Habibillah, 2023, p. 30). Israel's victory became a catalyst for territorial expansion and the strengthening of hegemony in the Palestinian territories. Romadhony et al. (2024, p. 107) observed that the intensity of forced expulsions of the

Palestinian population increased, supported by a policy of destroying settlements that refused to submit to Israeli authority (Komara & Kusnianti, 2019: 2). This process of forced displacement again resulted in thousands of casualties.

In the contemporary phase, the Palestinian population is concentrated territorially in the Gaza Strip. Structural pressure and systematic violence from Israel have triggered organized resistance that gave birth to the Hamas movement—a political-military organization based in Palestine (Jazuli et al., 2023, p. 2). Khumairoh and Fadhil (2019, p. 10) explain that Hamas, founded on December 14, 1987, adheres to an anti-Israel ideology with a mission to liberate Palestinian land through armed struggle.

The escalation of confrontation between Hamas and Israel reached its peak on October 7, 2023, when Hamas launched around 5,000 rockets into 22 areas outside the Gaza Strip (Simarmata & Yuliana, 2023, p. 31). Israel's response was manifested through a formal declaration of war by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu against Palestinian militant groups. According to Zhafira (2023, p. 21), this prolonged conflict has been accompanied by massive human rights violations, with the death toll continuing to rise until 2024. This phenomenon became the main focus of global media attention, with various online media platforms constructing Hamas' attacks through different frames of reporting (El-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2022, p. 1870).

Based on this argumentative framework, the author was compelled to examine the construction of online media framing in representing the Hamas-Israel conflict on October 7, 2023. The role of the media in shaping public perception of this conflict is decisive, a proposition reinforced by Walangarei et al. (2023, p. 847), who assert that the media not only function as a channel for distributing information but also as the primum *movens* in the construction of public opinion on current issues. Each online media entity has unique characteristics and ideological backgrounds in packaging news. In line with this, Martina (2021, p. 1) states that variations in news framing are motivated by the interests of each media outlet, which are reflected in religious, political, and economic dimensions.

This study adopts Robert N. Entman's framing theory, which defines framing through two essential elements: issue selection and emphasis (Sari & Yulianti, 2022). First, issue selection refers to the process of curating facts from a complex reality, in

which the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of information are key (Lestari & Shasrini, 2023). In this case, the narrative constructed is not comprehensive but focuses on certain aspects that are considered significant. Second, aspect emphasis relates to the representation of selected facts through diction, sentence structure, and visual elements, which collectively form a particular perspective in the news. This process of selection and construction essentially reflects the subjective point of view of the newsmaker.

Interpretation in information production must be designed to be memorable for the audience, given that the effectiveness of message reception and understanding is directly proportional to the level of exposure and memory of the information. Therefore, textual messages that are to be highlighted require a systematic framing strategy. This strategy is realized through repetition or association of information with certain symbols. The framing theory in this context is operationalized through four analytical dimensions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and recommending solutions. *First,* the define problems dimension acts as a master frame that sets the parameters for how an event is understood and constructed (Rahma & Fajar, 2023, p. 8). The same reality can be perceived differently depending on the frame used. *Second,* the diagnosis focuses on identifying actors and factors considered to be the root of the problem (Kusuma et al., 2023), thereby guiding the audience in establishing causality and responsibility.

Third, make moral judgment (making moral considerations) at this stage focuses on formulating ethical arguments regarding the issues that trigger the problems that have been identified. *Fourth,* treatment Recommendation emphasizes the solutions proposed by the author in resolving the reported issue. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the core of the problem and its root causes is a fundamental prerequisite for establishing a conflict resolution mechanism. Entman's framing analysis plays an integral role in the editing process, which involves the author selecting aspects of information to highlight while simultaneously obscuring other aspects. This process focuses on the validity of the author's perspective, which is constructed by considering the epistemic foundations and knowledge gaps of the readers.

As a basis for strengthening the research argument, the author includes several literature references from previous studies that focus on the analysis of the framing of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Based on the results of research by Arrosyid and Halwati (2021, p. 217), which examined the reconstruction of the reality of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the media, kompas.com and republika.co.id. Shahzad et al. (2023, p. 1) examined the framing of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in international media coverage, namely *RT News, Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN*. Jungblut and Zakareviciute (2019, p. 5) analyzed textual and visual framing in US online news coverage of the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict. Meanwhile, Doufesh and Briel's (2021, p. 4230) research examines the framing of news coverage of the 2018 Palestinian protests on the Gaza-Israel border in The *Times of Israel (TOI)* and *Al-Jazeera (AJE)* media.

Based on the above literature studies, there is a gap in the population gap, because none of the above literature studies have analyzed the media studied by the author, so the novelty in this study explores the reporting framework of Indonesian online media, namely *Kompas.com, CNBC Indonesia, Liputan6.com, SINDOnews.com, and SINDOnews.com* regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, focusing on the Hamas attacks on October 7, 2023. In addition, this research has the potential to make a strategic and multi-dimensional contribution. From the perspective of communication science, it can deepen the theory of framing in the complex contemporary media landscape. From the perspective of Islamic communication, it can provide empirical analysis of how Islam, Islamic actors, and issues important to the Muslim world are represented in the global discourse war.

METHODS

This study adopts a qualitative approach with a framing analysis approach. Qualitative research is a scientific approach that focuses on a deep understanding of social reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017) and aims to interpret and describe research findings through verbal narratives to facilitate understanding (Rasimin, 2019) and enables the elaboration of research data into a systematically structured academic report (Gunawan, 2013). This framing study aims to analyze the meaning of news behind reality (Givari & Yunianti, 2023).

The framing analysis method looks at how the media interpret and frame the reported cases (Hafidz & Masitoh, 2023). Framing analysis focuses on how language, discourse, and media construction influence audiences' perception and understanding of an issue or event (Goldstein, 2011, p. 549; Santos et al., 2022, p. 33; Woulfin & Jones, 2022, p. 5; Camphuijsen & Levatino, 2022, p. 3; Woulfin et al., 2015, p. 11). This study explores strike news, hard news, and opinion news from *Kompas.com, Liputan6.com, CNN Indonesia, SINDOnews.com*, and *Metronews.com*. One news item was taken from each media outlet, resulting in a total of five news items to be analyzed using Robert N Etman's framing theory.

The data collection techniques used observation, digital search, news selection, and documentation. This observation supports data collection that does not interfere with field conditions, thus providing authentic insights into social dynamics and ongoing practices (Park et al., 2022). This observation was used by researchers to observe the content of news about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. As stated by Zavalina & Vassilieva (2014), users tend to prioritize advanced search options in digital libraries on online news platforms because they are considered to improve the precision and relevance of search results while encouraging users to optimize features. According to Zhang & Li (2012), the existence of advanced search features can improve the accuracy and relevance of the information obtained.

The digital search stage involves identifying relevant news, and the next crucial stage is to make a selection based on a clear framing framework. The concept of framing in media studies refers to the narrative strategies used by journalists to highlight certain aspects of an event, thereby shaping the audience's perception. Ananda et al., (2021), applied Robert N. Entman's framing model to analyze news construction, which includes problem diagnosis, moral judgment, and solution recommendations. This approach allows users to identify bias, ideological perspectives, and the depth of analysis in a news report.

Documentary studies are studies of personal and public documents, such as diaries, letters, autobiographies, institutional records, and various policy documents (Bowen, 2009a; Ji, 2024). This method expands the scope of qualitative research by providing depth and richness of information (Ulrich, 2020). The integration of document analysis in qualitative research provides important benefits, including the

ability to utilize historical perspectives and personal narratives that help shape the current understanding of various issues (Bell et al., 2022; Friedensen et al., 2017). This documentation study aims to provide secondary data in the form of news from Indonesian online media.

The data analysis technique uses Robert N Etman's framing analysis. The framing analysis model uses four important points that refer to the provision of definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations in a discourse (Kurniawan & Fitri, 2022: 2). The data validity technique uses an audit trail that acts as a critical validation mechanism (Denzin & Yvonna, 2009). Audit trails play a crucial role in ensuring the credibility and transparency of qualitative research. As a comprehensive documentation system, audit trails cover all components of research, from raw data and data collection process notes to analysis documentation (Wolf, 2003). Effective implementation of audit trails can increase the methodological rigour of research, while also enabling independent verification and reproduction of research findings by other parties (Bowen, 2009b). The existence of a structured audit trail not only strengthens the internal validity of the research but also increases the accountability of the entire research process (Carcary, 2021). This makes the research results more objective and transparent.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Robert N. Entman's four functions of framing in news coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict

The Palestinian–Israeli conflict has generated varied responses within Indonesian mass media, reflecting the diversity of public opinion surrounding the issue. Prior to elaborating on the four analytical dimensions of Entman's framing theory, this study first presents several news identities that constitute the corpus of analysis. These news items are subsequently mapped according to the editorial orientations and interests of each Indonesian media outlet. Accordingly, selected news headlines are presented in Table 1. In the following section, the authors provide a detailed and critical explanation of Robert N. Entman's framing analysis as applied to Indonesian media coverage of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict.

Table 1. Indonesian online media framing the Palestine-Israel conflict

No	Date of publication	News Title	Media	Links
1	October 8, 2023, 07:45 WIB	Alasan Militan Palestina Hamas Serang Israel, Korban Tewas 250 Orang (Reasons Palestinian Militants Hamas Attacked Israel, 250 Dead)	Kompas.com	https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2023/10/08/074500765/alasan-militan-palestina-hamas-serang-israel-korban-tewas-250-orang?lgn_method=google&google_btn=onetap&page=all
2	October 9, 2023, 13:05 WIB	Kronologi-Penyebab Perang Hamas Vs Israel: 1.100 Lebih Tewas (Chronology-Causes of the Hamas vs. Israel War: Over 1,100 Dead)	CNBC Indonesia	https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20231009125007-4-479034/kronologi-penyebab-perang-hamas-vs-israel-1100-lebih-tewas
3	September 18, 2024, 13:00 WIB	Perkembangan Konflik Israel dan Palestina dalam Sepekan, Korban Sipil dan Ancaman Hamas yang Mengejutkan (Developments in the Israel-Palestine Conflict Over the Past Week, Civilian Casualties, and Hamas's Shocking Threats)	Liputan6.com	https://www.liputan6.com/hot/read/5704702/perkembangan-konflik-israel-dan-palestina-dalam-sepekan-korban-sipil-dan-ancaman-hamas-yang-mengejutkan?page=7
4	October 21, 2023, 08:16 WIB	Hamas Serang Israel untuk Hentikan Kesepakatan Normalisasi dengan Arab Saudi (Hamas Attacks Israel to Stop Normalization Agreement with Saudi Arabia)	SINDOnews.com	https://international.sindonews.com/read/1231425/42/hamas-serang-israel-untuk-hentikan-kesepakatan-normalisasi-dengan-arab-saudi-1697850616/10
5	October 12, 2023, 16:11 WIB	Perlawanan Hamas ke Israel Disebut	Metrotvnews.com	https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/kj2CnzQP-perlawanan-

	Momentum Mempercepat Kemerdekaan Palestina (Hamas's Resistance to Israel Called a Momentum to Accelerate Palestinian Independence)		hamas-ke-israel-disebut-momentum-mempercepat-kemerdekaan-palestina

Define problems

According to He and Chen (2020, p. 4), defining problems is a stage that aims to explain and determine the issues being discussed. In the same context, according to Al-Hakim (2021, p. 183), defining problems emphasizes how aspects of an issue or problem are raised in a topic. According to Gasa et al. (2023, p. 4), this stage describes journalists' perspectives in the media to understand an event. In the study of the definition problems analysis of Indonesian media in their coverage of the Hamas-Israel conflict, they tend to define the core problem as a cycle of violence rooted in occupation and injustice. *Kompas.com* places the October 7, 2023, attack as part of a long escalation since the 2021 war, as reported in the news that

> *"Hamas' attack on Israel in early October 2023 marked the second escalation between the two sides since they were involved in an 11-day war in 2021. Hamas claimed that it had fired 5,000 rockets, while Israel said that the group's fighter jets had entered its territory. Hamas spokesman Khaled Qadomi said his group's attack on Israel was in response to the atrocities suffered by the Palestinian people in recent years" (Sanjaya, 2023).*

Kompas.com's reporting attempts to place the events of October 7, 2023, in the context of an ongoing conflict, rather than as an isolated incident. By referring to the 11-day war in 2021, this media outlet provides important historical context for Indonesian readers (see Figure 1).
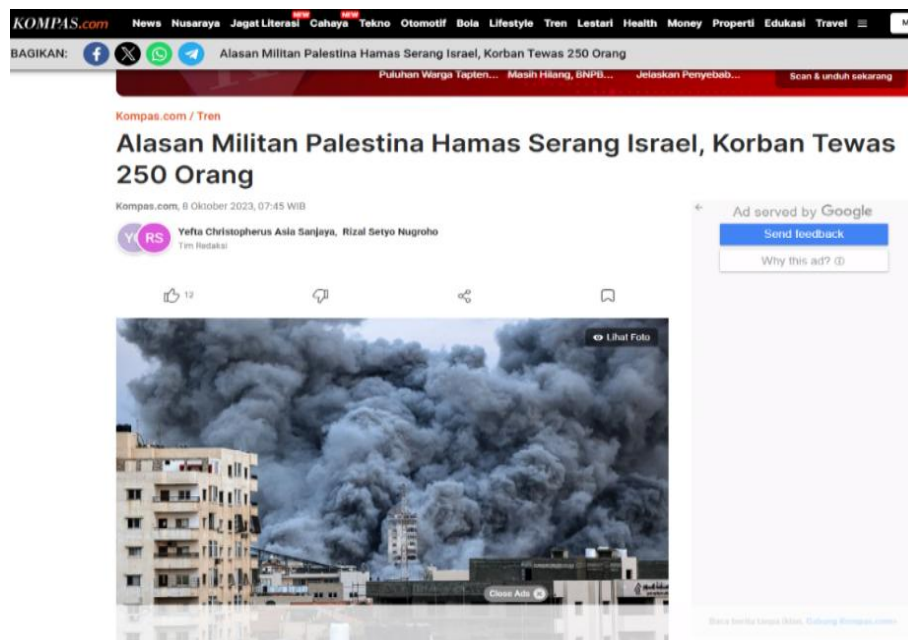
Figure 1. News about the Palestine-Israel conflict from Kompas.com

On *CNBC Indonesia*, the definition of this issue was reinforced by emphasizing the historical context, in which the problem was not merely a sudden attack, but a response to the 16-year blockade of Gaza and the cruelty felt by the Palestinian people, as quoted from a statement by a Hamas spokesperson.

> *"The attack was claimed to be an attempt to reclaim the homeland of the Palestinian people from Israeli occupation. The death toll has reached more than 1,100 people, with around 700 of them from the Israeli side. The escalating scale of the fighting eventually forced Israel to declare war, the first since 1973" (Luc, 2023).*

However, there are variations in the emphasis of the definition of the problem. Liputan6.com defines the issue more deeply as a humanitarian tragedy and collective punishment, focusing on the civilian casualties. This media outlet explicitly quotes UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres as saying, *"there is no justification for collective punishment of the Palestinian people"* (Salim, 2024). Meanwhile, *SINDOnews.com* (see Figure 2) offers a different definition of the problem, namely geopolitical issues and

regional normalization dynamics, quoting President Joe Biden's statement that Hamas attacked because *"they knew I would sit down with (Arab) Saudi Arabia"* (Berlianto, 2023). This frame shifts the focus from a narrative of bilateral conflict rooted in occupation to a broader strategic issue, in which Hamas' attack is seen as a strategic attempt to thwart the diplomatic rapprochement between Israel and Saudi Arabia and change the map of alliances in the Middle East.

Figure 2. News about the Palestine-Israel conflict from SINDOnews.com

This difference in definition clearly shows how each media outlet chooses and highlights certain aspects of the highly complex reality of the conflict to raise as key issues in their reporting. *SINDOnews.com's* choice to highlight the geopolitical perspective of the United States reflects both its access to certain news sources and its tendency to frame events in the context of global power and interests, which differs from the humanitarian or independence struggle frames that dominate other media outlets.

Diagnose causes

Diagnosing causes is a stage in identifying the causes and effects of a problem (Deng & Matthes, 2023, p. 3). According to Horn (2024, p. 213) and Rozalena (2020, p. 163), diagnosing causes is a stage in estimating who or what triggered a problem. Diagnosing the cause in news reporting is done by tracing the root of structural and direct conflicts. The majority of Indonesian media outlets place the fundamental cause on the occupation and blockade, as quoted by *Kompas.com* from Hamas Military Commander Mohammed Deif, who said that,

> *"Meanwhile, Hamas Military Commander Mohammed Deif said that the attacks on Israel were a response to the 16-year blockade in Gaza. He also highlighted Israeli attacks on cities in the West Bank over the past year, including violence at Al-Aqsa. Deif referred to these attacks as Operation Al-Aqsa Storm and called on Palestinians from East Jerusalem and Palestine to join the resistance. "Enough is enough. Today, the people have regained their revolution" (Sanjaya, 2023).*

CNBC Indonesia (see Figure 3) reinforced this diagnosis by providing historical background on Hamas as a movement "*founded to wage armed struggle against Israel to liberate Palestine*" (Luc, 2023).
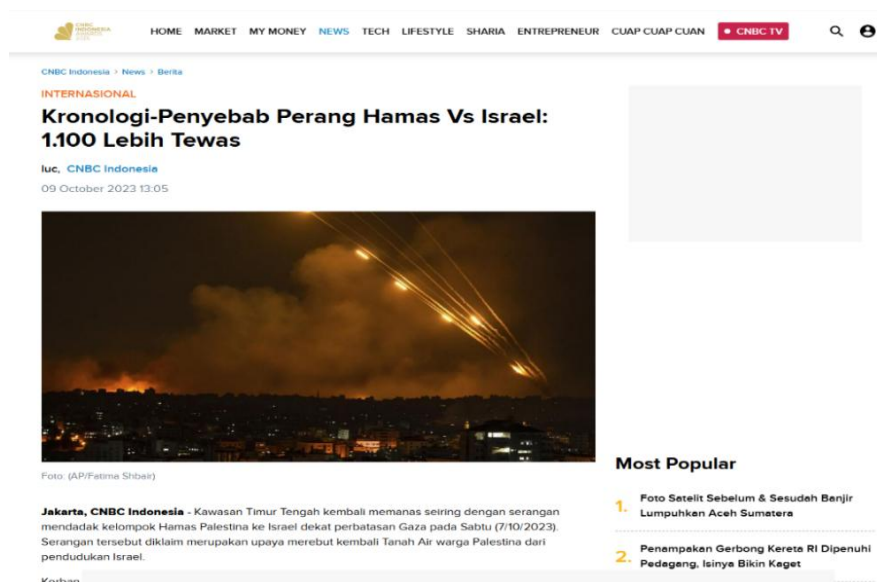

Figure 3. News coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict from CNBC Indonesia

In addition to diagnosing structural causes, the five media outlets also explored the direct causes and political motivations behind the conflict. All media outlets agreed that the direct trigger for the escalation was Hamas's rocket attack on October 7, 2023. However, explanations of the motives behind the attack varied significantly. *SINDOnews.com* diagnosed geopolitical motives, quoting US President Joe Biden as saying that Hamas aimed to *"stop the country from normalizing relations with Saudi Arabia"* (Berlianto, 2023). Meanwhile, *Metrotvnews.com* (see Figure 4) diagnoses the cause within the framework of the struggle for independence, quoting a member of the House of Representatives who said that the attack was *"a milestone to hasten Palestinian independence"* (Sucipto, 2023).

Figure 4. News about the Palestine-Israel conflict from Metrotvnews.com

This diagnostic variant reveals how the media links direct military action to the broader political context. *Liputan6.com* adds another layer of diagnosis, namely the failure of diplomacy and the spiral of military escalation, reporting that *"the possibility of reaching an agreement with Hezbollah is becoming increasingly slim"* (Salim, 2024) as part of the dynamics of the widening conflict. These differences in diagnosis not only reflect differences in the focus of the news coverage but also show how each media

outlet interprets and simplifies the causality of a multidimensional conflict for its audience.

Make moral judgments

Moral judgments are made to justify or provide arguments for the definitions that have been made. This provides strong evidence to support the idea (Junaidi & Ardiya, 2021, p. 362). Making moral judgments is a moral evaluation that discusses the moral values presented to legitimize an event (Safitri & Ayunita, 2022, p. 259). Moral judgments in news reports are implied through the selection of narratives about victims and aggression. *Liputan6.com* (see Figure 5) clearly makes moral judgments by focusing on the suffering of Palestinian civilians, reporting tragic details such as *"11 members of one family killed,"* including four children. This narrative builds sympathy and implicitly judges Israel's attacks as disproportionate. This media outlet also quotes Gaza health authorities as saying that *"more than half of the victims are women and children,"* reinforcing the moral judgment about the disproportionate impact (Salim, 2024).
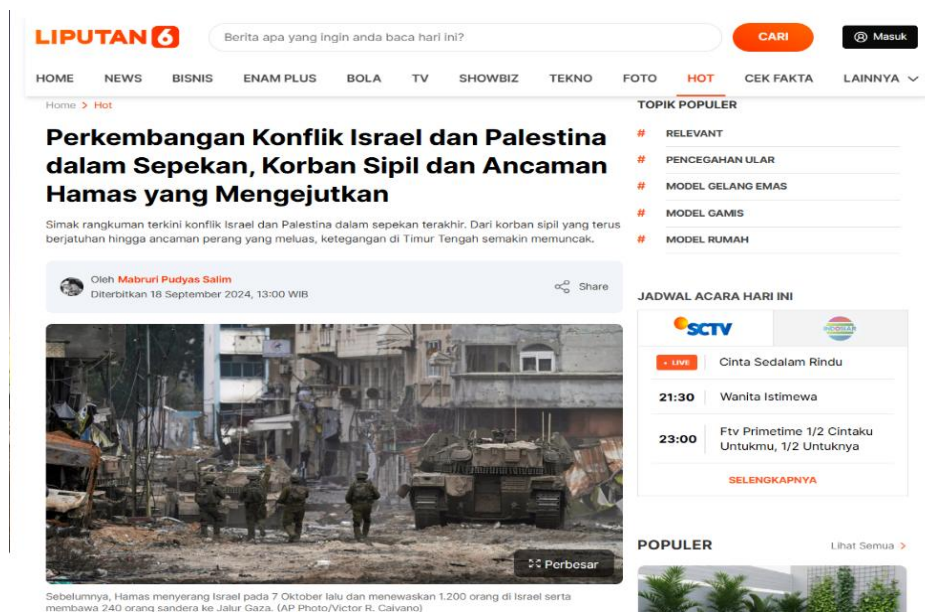

Figure 5. News about the Palestine-Israel conflict from Liputan6.com

On the other hand, moral judgments about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict were also narrated in the Indonesian media outlet *CNBC Indonesia,* which said that,

"The situation began to deteriorate as many civilians were caught in the crossfire. Hamas had previously released images of several Israeli hostages, and another military spokesman, Daniel Hagari, confirmed that soldiers and civilians had been kidnapped. Bodies lay scattered on the streets of the Israeli city of Sderot near Gaza and inside cars, their windshields shattered by a hail of bullets. I saw many bodies, both terrorists and civilians, a man told AFP, standing next to covered bodies on the road near Gevim Kibbutz in southern Israel. So many bodies, so many bodies" (Luc, 2023).

This narrative describes a very serious and undeniable moral violation. The act of taking civilians hostage and leaving bodies scattered on the streets, as witnessed by eyewitnesses, is unequivocally a crime against humanity. Chaos that sacrifices the lives of innocent people, regardless of the context or background of any conflict, cannot be justified by any universal moral principle. Targeting civilians and using them as tools in armed conflict fundamentally violates the principle of non-combatant immunity and human dignity, placing such actions in a morally wrong and reprehensible category.

Treatment recommendation

Treatment recommendation is the fourth stage in Entman's framing analysis (Salman et al., 2023, p. 14). This section contains solutions provided by the media to resolve the issue. According to Triyono (2020, p. 1159), treatment recommendation is a form of treatment in which solutions are offered to resolve the issue and the steps that must be taken to overcome the issue. *Kompas.com* and *CNBC Indonesia* consistently quoted Hamas' calls for international intervention, such as Khaled Qadomi's statement asking *"the international community to stop the atrocities in Gaza"* (Sanjaya, 2023; Luc, 2023). This solution was presented as an urgent need, although without details on the implementation mechanism. *Liputan6.com* is more specific in suggesting concrete diplomatic solutions, reporting that *"the United States is finalizing a new proposal to bridge the gap"* and noting Antony Blinken's diplomatic visit to Egypt (Salim, 2024).

However, there are also suggestions for long-term, transformative solutions. *Metrotvnews.com* explicitly suggests a final solution in the form of Palestinian independence, citing political statements that Hamas' resistance could be *"momentum to accelerate Palestinian independence"* (Sucipto, 2023). Meanwhile, *Liputan6.com* presents a solution based on public pressure and accountability, reporting on demonstrations in Israel demanding the release of hostages as a form of domestic pressure on the government. This media outlet also quotes the UN's warning about the need for a *"fair and sustainable solution"* (Salim, 2024). *SINDOnews.com* implicitly promotes one type of diplomatic solution between countries, in this case, the normalization of relations between Israel and Saudi Arabia. This solution is described as being threatened by acts of violence from non-state actors such as Hamas (Berlianto, 2023). As a result, other, more fundamental perspectives on solutions are not presented, such as resolving the core Israeli-Palestinian conflict through a two-state solution, immediate ceasefire efforts, or humanitarian intervention to protect civilians.

Media Indonesia's framing of the Palestine-Israel conflict

Framing the conflict as a response to injustice and occupation

This frame dominates the news coverage by emphasizing the narrative that Hamas' attacks are not without reason, but rather a form of resistance against the structural conditions faced by the Palestinian people. Media outlets such as *Kompas.com* and *CNBC Indonesia* directly quote Hamas statements, such as *"the cruelty experienced by the Palestinian people in recent years"* and calls to stop the cruelty in Gaza and against the Al-Aqsa holy site. This frame constructs the causes of the conflict from Hamas' perspective, namely as a response to the long blockade of Gaza, violence in the West Bank, and violations at holy sites.

Humanitarian and civilian casualties frame

This frame was specifically developed by *Liputan6.com*, which focused its coverage on the suffering and loss of life among civilians, especially in Palestine. With direct data quotes such as *"More than 41,000 Palestinians have been killed"* and indirect descriptions of the tragedy of families being wiped out, this frame highlights the devastating humanitarian consequences. This narrative is reinforced by quoting

statements from health authorities and the UN, thereby building empathy and emphasizing the most tragic impact of the war.

The struggle for independence frame

Media outlets such as *Metrotvnews.com* and *CNBC Indonesia* frame the Hamas attacks in a narrative of liberation and national independence. Direct quotes such as *"October 7 is a milestone for accelerating Palestinian independence"* from Indonesian politicians, as well as statements from Hamas leaders that the attacks are an effort to *"reclaim the homeland,"* shift the focus from a mere military incident to part of a broader political struggle. This frame connects military action with the ultimate goal of Palestinian statehood.

The frame of political interests and normalization

SINDOnews.com presents a different geopolitical perspective by highlighting the motives behind the attack in relation to regional dynamics. The news directly quotes US President Joe Biden's analysis that Hamas is motivated by a desire to *"stop the country from normalizing relations with Saudi Arabia."* This frame diagnoses the cause of the conflict not solely as a Palestinian-Israeli issue, but as a strategy to thwart broader normalization between Israel and Arab countries, thereby expanding the lens of analysis to the political map of the Middle East.

Comparison of framing between media outlets on Palestina-Israel conflict coverage

A comparison of framing between media outlets shows a spectrum of different emphases despite a broad pro-Palestinian consensus: *Kompas.com* and *CNBC Indonesia* tend to frame the conflict as a cycle of reciprocal violence with structural causes, presenting statements from both sides in a relatively balanced manner but still highlighting the narrative of injustice as the trigger; *Liputan6.com* consistently prioritizes a humanitarian tragedy framing with an in-depth focus on Palestinian civilian casualties, death tolls, and international criticism of Israel, building empathy through narratives of suffering; while *Metrotvnews.com* and *SINDOnews.com* each reinforce the framing of the struggle for independence with quotes from domestic politicians and regional geopolitical framing that links the attacks to the dynamics of

Saudi Arabia's normalization, showing how affiliations and news sources influence the perspectives taken, even though they all converge on the same solidarity with Palestine.

Table 2. Comparison of framing between media outlets

Media	Dominant Frame	Perspective	Emphasis
Kompas.com	Response to injustice	Relatively balanced	Chronology and official statements
CNBC Indonesia	Struggle for independence	Tends toward Palestine	Historical background of the conflict
Liputan6.com	Humanitarian tragedy	Palestine-centric	Civilian casualties and the impact of war
SINDOnews.com	Regional geopolitics	US perspective	Normalization dynamics
Metrotvnews.com	Struggle for liberation	Clearly pro-Palestine	Palestinian independence

Factors affecting Indonesian media framing in reporting on the Palestine-Israel conflict

Political and ideological affiliation

The political and ideological affiliation of the media significantly influences the framing of news reports. Media outlets such as *Metrotvnews.com*, which quote statements from politicians from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), show ideological tendencies that are in line with the party's position, which consistently supports Palestine. Similarly, the choice to highlight narratives of *"struggle for independence"* and *"injustice"* reflects the political orientation of the media, which is often influenced by editorial lines, media ownership, and the ideological backgrounds of journalists and owners. In Indonesia, solidarity with Palestine has become a cross-spectrum political consensus, so mainstream media tends to adopt a sympathetic frame without much critical variation on the Hamas narrative. This is in contrast to media in Western countries, which are more diverse in their framing, ranging from pro-Israel to pro-Palestinian, depending on their political affiliations.

Economic and market interests

Economic interests play an important role in framing, where the media must consider the tastes and expectations of its readership. The majority of Indonesians traditionally support Palestine, so media outlets that present news with a frame in line with this sentiment tend to be more accepted and have greater market appeal. In addition, advertising and indirect funding sources can influence framing choices; media outlets that do not want to offend the government or certain business groups may avoid frames that are too critical of parties that have economic ties with Indonesia. However, it should be noted that in the context of the Hamas-Israel conflict, economic pressure from the market has actually encouraged the media to adopt a popular frame, namely a pro-Palestinian frame, as this is in line with the demand for news among consumers in Indonesia.

Culture and national identity

Indonesia's culture and national identity as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world greatly influence media framing. Religious solidarity, especially regarding the Al-Aqsa issue, which is repeatedly cited in the news, creates a frame that resonates emotionally with Indonesian Muslim audiences. The strong anti-colonial identity in Indonesian history also makes the media tend to frame the conflict as a national liberation struggle against occupation, a narrative that parallels Indonesia's struggle for independence. The humanitarian frame highlighted by *Liputan6.com*, for example, is not only universal but also contains a religious dimension when highlighting the suffering of Gaza residents, who are mostly Muslim. Thus, culture and collective identity act as a lens that filters and shapes narratives that are considered relevant and legitimate by local audiences.

Editorial policy and journalistic standards

The editorial policies and journalistic standards of each news outlet result in variations in framing. *Kompas.com,* known for its motto *"Amanat Hati Nurani Rakyat"* (Mandate of the People's Conscience), tends to be more balanced and factual, presenting statements from both sides while remaining within the corridor of national solidarity with Palestine. In contrast, *Liputan6.com* is more explicit in its humanitarian

framing by presenting detailed data on victims, which may reflect an editorial policy of highlighting the impact of the conflict on civilians. *SINDOnews.com,* which cites the US geopolitical perspective, shows access to or a focus on certain international news sources. These differences are also influenced by the main news sources used; media outlets that frequently cite *Al Jazeera* (such as *CNBC Indonesia*) will have a different tone from those that cite *Reuters* or *AFP*. Journalistic standards, such as balance, although pursued, are still shaped by external and internal factors within the media.

International relations and government foreign policy

The Indonesian government's official position of consistently supporting Palestinian independence and not recognizing Israeli sovereignty provides a strong political context for media framing. National media, consciously or not, tend to align with government foreign policy in framing the conflict, as significant deviations can lead to criticism or indirect pressure. In addition, Indonesia's relations with Arab countries and the Islamic world are also taken into consideration, where framing that is considered "neutral" or overly critical of Hamas could have an impact on diplomatic and economic relations. However, it should be noted that in the context of this conflict, the government's position and public opinion are very much in line, so the pressure on the media to conform is not as strong as in other issues where there are differences between government policy and public sentiment. This factor explains the relative uniformity in the dominant frame in various Indonesian media, albeit with different emphases.

Indonesian public opinion and foreign policy on the Hamas-Israel conflict

Indonesian public opinion on structured and massive solidarity

Indonesian public opinion on the Hamas-Israel conflict, as reflected in news reports and public discussions, is very homogeneous and solidly pro-Palestinian. This solidarity is not merely a spontaneous response, but a position that is historically, religiously, and politically structured. The dominant narrative in the public sphere, including the media, frames the conflict as a struggle for independence against colonialism and occupation, a narrative that resonates strongly with Indonesia's own historical experience. Data from various surveys and the high level of participation in

demonstrations in support of Palestine show that this sentiment transcends political, ethnic, and even religious moderation lines. The Indonesian public tends to view Palestine as oppressed "brothers" of the same faith, with the issue of protecting Al-Aqsa Mosque becoming a powerful emotional symbol, as quoted by the media from Hamas' statement regarding the reasons for the attacks.

However, public opinion also has nuances and stratification. At the elite and educated levels, support is often expressed in the framework of international law, human rights, and anti-colonialism. Meanwhile, at the mass level, the narrative is simpler and more emotional: religious solidarity and humanitarian aid for victims. The "civilian victims" frame promoted by *Liputan6.com,* for example, directly touches on this humanitarian aspect. It is important to note that Indonesian public opinion almost never questions Hamas' methods of struggle, such as attacks on Israeli civilians or hostage-taking. Criticism of Hamas, if any, is minimal and drowned out by the larger narrative of resistance against "Zionist occupation." This shows a very strong national consensus, where the government, media, and public move in harmony, which is rare in other foreign policy issues.

Indonesian foreign policy on consistency of principles and diplomatic realism

Indonesia's foreign policy in this conflict is based on two main pillars that have been consistent since the Soekarno era: the principle of active neutrality and unwavering support for the Palestinian struggle for independence. The Indonesian government, as represented by official statements from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has always called for a ceasefire, respect for international humanitarian law, and a two-state solution. This position is perfectly in line with domestic public opinion, so there is no tension between the will of the people and the actions of the government. Indonesia consistently uses international forums such as the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and the Non-Aligned Movement to advocate for Palestinian interests, push for emergency meetings, and condemn Israeli aggression, as reflected in media reports on the dynamics of international diplomacy.

Behind this consistent principle lies a layer of realism and national interests. First, Indonesia is very careful not to overstep diplomatic boundaries that could

damage its relations with major powers such as the United States, which is an important trading and investment partner. Although it supports Palestine, Indonesia has never severed economic or diplomatic ties with the US or its allies. Second, solidarity with Palestine is a powerful political identity tool for Indonesia on the global stage, especially in the Islamic world, to strengthen its leadership and credibility. Third, the Palestinian issue also serves as a domestic glue that unites elements of the nation that are sometimes divided by domestic matters. Indonesia's foreign policy on this issue, therefore, is a classic example of how norms (support for independence) and interests (maintaining strategic relations and domestic stability) are closely intertwined.

In the field of Islamic communication studies, this research strengthens the understanding of how religious solidarity, justice, and anti-colonialism shape media framing and mediate the relationship between Muslim public opinion, state policy, and media discourse. Islamic communication emphasizes just narratives and promotes the dissemination of universal humanitarian values (Adeni & Mudhofi, 2022). The findings indicate that media framing practices are not neutral but are intertwined with Islamic normative values and ethics that position advocacy for oppressed groups as a moral responsibility of communication. Accordingly, this study underscores that Islamic communication functions not only as a means of conveying religious messages but also as an instrument for fostering critical awareness and transnational solidarity in responding to global issues marked by inequality and structural conflict.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the study on the framing of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Hamas attacks of October 7, 2023, shows that the framing analysis indicates that Indonesian media outlets framed the Hamas-Israel conflict with different emphases but within a strong pro-Palestinian consensus. *Kompas.com* and *CNBC Indonesia* emphasize the conflict as a cycle of structural violence resulting from occupation, while *Liputan6.com* specifically highlights the humanitarian tragedy and civilian casualties. On the other hand, *SINDOnews.com* frames the issue as a geopolitical

maneuver to thwart Israel-Saudi Arabia normalization, and *Metrotvnews.com* sees it as a struggle for Palestinian national independence.

Although the diagnosis of the causes varies, moral judgments tend to be implied with strong sympathy for the suffering of the Palestinian people and the use of ambiguous diction such as "militant" for Hamas, while the proposed solutions uniformly point to international diplomacy and a two-state solution, not a military solution. This frame is shaped by Indonesia's national consensus involving religious solidarity, anti-colonial identity, and complete harmony between public opinion, government policy, and media coverage.

Factors influencing the framing include a homogeneous pro-Palestinian frame shaped by a strong national consensus (political, religious, and historical factors) and alignment with government policy. Variations in the emphasis of the frame are caused by media affiliation, editorial policy, and news sources. In addition, public opinion and foreign policy are in perfect harmony. Indonesian public opinion is very solidly pro-Palestinian based on religious and historical solidarity. Foreign policy consistently supports Palestine, but is implemented with diplomatic realism to maintain strategic relations. The media, the public, and the government reinforce each other in a coherent national position.

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