

Framing as Naming: *Actor Visibility in CNN and Al Jazeera English Live-Update War Reporting*

Mouad Mbeker¹, Karima Bouziane²

¹Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, ALCS, Chouaib Doukkali University, El Jadida, Morocco

²Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, CEOS.PP, FCEP, Technical University of Porto/ALCS, Chouaib Doukkali University, El Jadida, Morocco

Correspondence: Mouad Mbeker, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, ALCS, Chouaib Doukkali University, El Jadida, Morocco.

Received: June 21, 2026

Accepted: October 7, 2026

Online Published: October 20, 2026

doi:10.11114/smc.v14i4.8981

URL: <https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v14i4.8981>

Abstract

Actor naming is a framing decision that comparative research rarely examines systematically in live-update war reporting. This study compares primary actor visibility in CNN and Al Jazeera English headlines during the first month of the Hamas-Israel war, from 7 October to 7 November 2023. Based on framing theory and Entman's four framing functions, the analysis applies a frozen ten-category codebook to 6,578 valid coded headline units. Outlet differences are assessed using Pearson chi-square tests, Pearson residuals, and Wilson 95% confidence intervals. Actor distribution differs by outlet, $\chi^2(9, N = 6,578) = 198.85, p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .174$, with a modest association persisting after headlines without a recoverable primary actor are excluded, $V = .187$. CNN gives greater relative visibility to Hamas armed actors, Israeli military actors, and U.S. officials. Al Jazeera English foregrounds United Nations and international actors, Arab states, and Israeli civilians. These findings identify actor naming as a distinct analytical entry into framing. Within the same live-update genre, outlets can construct systematically different patterns of actor visibility that aggregate frame counts alone cannot capture.

Keywords: framing, actor visibility, conflict reporting, live-update journalism, social actors, CNN, Al Jazeera English, digital journalism

1. Introduction

Transnational publics rarely encounter a war as a settled sequence of events. What can reach them first is neither the archive nor the long article but a vertical column of short, time-stamped blocks (Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Pantic, 2020; van der Lubben et al., 2026). Such blocks, live-update headlines, are the smallest discursive objects that the reader actually acts on, and this study attends to them as an analytical object in their own right.

The war examined by this study began on 7 October 2023, where Hamas launched a large-scale armed incursion out of the Gaza Strip into southern Israel. By the reported impact recorded at the close of the first month, some 1,200 people had been killed in Israel and about 240 taken hostage, while more than 9,000 Palestinian deaths had been reported in Gaza (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [OCHA], 2023). It is this opening month that this study observes, in which both outlets maintained their live-update pages and the question of whom a headline names carries particular interpretive basis.

Among the operations a headline performs, this study foregrounds one, the decision of which actor the headline names, and treats it as analytically prior to the rest. That is, this selection is treated as the point at which the headline begins to propose what the event is about, and it is examined here as an operational premise rather than asserted as a universal law of headline meaning (Andrew, 2007; Borchmann, 2024; Dor, 2003; Finkbeiner, 2024).

This study examines, comparatively, how this first selection is made by two prominent transnational English-language outlets, CNN and Al Jazeera English, across the same 32-day window. Such an acute phase provides, of course, a dense window within which the recurring editorial choices of the two outlets can be compared, since they publish at scale and update almost continuously (Damanhoury & Saleh, 2017; El Damanhoury et al., 2025). The two outlets have long been positioned, in the literature, as institutionally distinct without being categorically opposed (Aday et al., 2005; Bebawi, 2016; Figenschou, 2014).

The study operates on the basis of three important aims. The first aim has a descriptive nature, and it approaches, within each outlet, how the full base of named actors is distributed across the live-update headlines of the opening month. The second aim is to measure how far the two distributions move apart and where that divergence concentrates. The third aim is to read the resulting pattern on the basis of Entman's (1993) four framing functions of problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation.

Across the 6,578 valid coded units, whom does CNN name as the primary actor, whom does Al Jazeera English name, and how far do the two distributions move apart? The actor decision is held apart from every other coded operation by design, because the live-update format is what renders it most visible at the unit level.

There are, of course, some considerations that sustain this narrowing. The first one sees the live-update headline as a highly compressed textual unit, which limits the range of framing operations it can perform; the weight of such brevity is well established in headline research (Finkbeiner, 2024; Lee, 2022; Shulman et al., 2024). Another consideration is that the actor decision can structure the reader's first model of the event, since the named subject is the entity around which the remaining content is organized (Finkbeiner, 2024; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Actor representation is also a sensitive basis of editorial divergence, because naming is already a conferring decision of subjecthood and of implying both suffering and responsibility (Alluhaidah, 2023; Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; Philo & Berry, 2011).

We ask, on that basis, some sub-questions that specify this narrowing: how the ten-category actor distribution is shaped within each outlet, how it moves apart across the two outlets, and which actor categories, located through Pearson residuals, contribute most strongly to that divergence.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Actor Representation in Conflict Coverage

Actor representation is considered a long-standing and especially consequential object of inquiry in the reporting of war and conflict (Fairclough, 1995; Machin & Mayr, 2012; van Dijk, 1988, 1998). That is, the named subject is not a neutral placeholder, because it is the entity through which a text organizes its evaluative work, and social actors enter discourse already carrying an evaluative load that can condition the interpretation that follows (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Simonsen, 2023; van Dijk, 1998).

A number of studies of Western outlets report a tendency to center the Israeli state, military actors, and U.S. officials, and to place Palestinian civilians in the background or inside an aggregate casualty count (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; Elmasry, 2025; Philo & Berry, 2011). Outlets within the global South, Al Jazeera English among them, more often bring Palestinian civilians, Arab actors, and humanitarian institutions into headline visibility (Bebawi, 2016; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Figenschou, 2014). Recent work on the 2023 war shows that lexical selection and the backgrounding of agency can organize divergent conflict narratives (Mbeker, 2024).

Two qualifications can discipline this contrast. Actor representation is not a binary but a multi-actor distribution, so that the comparative question has to do with how the relative shares of a full roster move between outlets (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018; Hendrickx & Vázquez Herrero, 2024; Molek-Kozakowska, 2026). In the platform era, the live-update block has become a contemporary basis at which the actor decision is repeatedly realized, taken quickly and at high frequency, and not settled once in a narrative paragraph (Carlson, 2020; Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Pantic, 2020).

These qualifications carry a methodological consequence of their own. That is, if actor representation is distributional and is realized repeatedly in the live-update headline, then the comparison is well suited to assessment across a large body of such units, and not across a handful of articles (Avinesh et al., 2021; Boumans & Trilling, 2016; Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020).

2.2 The Headline as a Discursive Form

Headline research has established that the headline is a partly autonomous unit of meaning, not a transparent summary of the article beneath it (Andrew, 2007; Dor, 2003; Finkbeiner, 2024). It can organize salience and set up the schema through which the longer text will be read (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). Within that unit the named subject is prominent, since in unmarked English declaratives the grammatical subject position often overlaps with the topical Theme and with early informational prominence (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Kuiken et al., 2017; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Live-update headlines intensify this logic. These headlines may be the only unit that a scrolling reader processes before continuing the sequence of events (Avinesh et al., 2021; Pantic, 2020; Shulman et al., 2024). They are produced under a pressure that is closer to live broadcast than to the deliberation of sub-edited print (Ekström et al., 2021; Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; van der Lubben et al., 2026).

2.3 *The Comparative Cases of CNN and Al Jazeera English*

CNN and Al Jazeera English have been compared extensively in conflict literature especially on feature articles, broadcast packages, and longer segments, and not on live-update streams (Abdelraouf, 2025; Figenschou, 2014; Haigh & Bruce, 2017). The findings of this body of work are relatively stable, where CNN is described as privileging institutional sources and security vocabularies. Al Jazeera English foregrounds humanitarian conditions, civilian experience, and regional contextualization (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Figenschou, 2011, 2014). Recent works also approach Al Jazeera's regional reporting as a counter-narrative repertoire (Elouardaoui, 2025).

There are some caveats that can qualify this body of work. Neither outlet is internally homogeneous. CNN can shift register across its localized variants (Morales, 2026), while Al Jazeera English can speak from more than one editorial hub (Figenschou, 2012, 2014). The Western-Arab contrast is complicated, moreover, by shared platform pressures and metric-sensitive production routines (Bélair-Gagnon et al., 2020; Laaksonen et al., 2024; Nielsen & Fletcher, 2023). The literature has concentrated on which frames and moral vocabularies can be deployed, and has attended less to which named actors are admitted into headline visibility in the first place (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Ibrar & Khan, 2025).

This study addresses the third caveat. That is, in place of a restatement of the frame-level contrast, it asks whether the two outlets, reduced to the single question of who is named in the headline, produce distinguishable rosters of named actors, and whether that divergence concentrates in the cells that Pearson residuals can identify.

2.4 *Platformization and the Live-Update Genre*

The platformization literature holds that the temporal, ranking, and metric infrastructures of digital platforms reach back into newsroom production and distribution (Helmond, 2015; Poell et al., 2019; van Dijck et al., 2018), and that headline decisions in particular are taken where freshness signals, scannability, and audience metrics exert a continuous pressure (Dodds et al., 2023; Hase et al., 2023; Nielsen & Fletcher, 2023; Petre, 2021; Schneiders & Stark, 2025; Welbers et al., 2016). The live-update page is, in this sense, a characteristic platformized form that is built for scrolling and organized around brevity (Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Pantic, 2020; Thurman & Walters, 2013).

Taken together, this body of work leaves some concerns unresolved. Much comparison of CNN and Al Jazeera relies on broadcast packages, article samples, or case-based designs rather than on complete live-update streams (Abdelraouf, 2025; Bebawi, 2016; Haigh & Bruce, 2017), and is pitched at frames and moral vocabulary, so that the prior question of who enters headline visibility remains unasked (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Ibrar & Khan, 2025). The live-update headline remains under-examined as an object in its own right (Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Pantic, 2020; van der Lubben et al., 2026).

3. **Analytical and Theoretical Approach: Centering the Named Actor**

In this study, each headline is regarded as a small textual act within which the analysis identifies a single primary actor, the entity around which the unit's interpretive work is organized. The unit is assigned to an unspecified residual where such actor is considered not retrievable from the surface text.

The approach sheds light on three positions. One deals with framing as a matter of selection, where naming an actor is already a selective act, since the other actors who might have been named are by the same move backgrounded (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). The other is that this selective act can extend across successive production gates, where editorial decisions can reallocate salience, legitimacy, and responsibility before news reaches its publics (Mbeker et al., 2026). The third is that the named subject of a clause carries topical and evaluative prominence in English headline discourse (Dor, 2003; Finkbeiner, 2024; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Kharbach, 2020; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Consistent asymmetries in actor representation across outlets may index recurrent editorial repertoires rather than a purely random distribution (Alluhaidah, 2023; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Fairclough, 1995; Kharbach, 2020; Richardson, 2007; van Dijk, 1998).

The study adopts the interpretive framework of Entman's (1993) functional analysis of framing as the performance of four functions, which are problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Naming is treated as a ground at which problem definition may begin, since to place an armed actor, a civilian population, or an international institution at the head of a headline is already to propose what the event is about and who is acting (Entman, 1993; Machin & Mayr, 2012; van Dijk, 1998).

In practice, each headline is assigned a single primary actor from a fixed taxonomy. The actor distributions of the two outlets are then compared and the cells that carry the divergence located. The analysis returns to those cells with the four framing functions, by reading the named actor together with the frame that the same unit carries, so that a difference in counts is given a qualitative interpretation. Primary-actor centering is the single analytical variable of this study, and no multi-layer instrument is constructed that would treat frame attribution, agency, and moral vocabulary as co-equal objects.

The frame attributions logged in the corpus are retained as context, and the actor-by-frame cross-tabulation in Section 5.4 is reported as exploratory rather than confirmatory.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Design and Corpus

The research design is a comparative, corpus-based content analysis that combines a quantitative measurement of actor distributions with a qualitative framing reading of the cells in which the outlets diverge. Because the claim is distributional, that the two outlets center different actors at different rates, it is well suited to assessment across a large body of units rather than a handful of articles, while it is analyzed with inferential statistics (Boumans & Trilling, 2016; Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020). Measurement precedes interpretation.

The two outlets were selected on the basis of three grounds. CNN and Al Jazeera English are among the most widely circulated English-language news providers. They are consistently regarded as institutionally distinct without being categorically opposed, CNN associated with Western institutional sourcing and Al Jazeera English with a global South editorial vantage (Bebawi, 2016; Figenschou, 2014; Hussain et al., 2026).

Both outlets maintained continuously updated live pages throughout the opening month, and both publish in English, which reduces one source of variation while preserving the institutional and editorial differences the study observes. The corpus was assembled from the dedicated live-update pages of CNN and Al Jazeera English for the Hamas-Israel war between 7 October and 7 November 2023, the 32-day window of acute escalation.

The corpus of the study settles at 6,578 valid coded units after relevance screening, deduplication, and the removal of navigational blocks with no substantive content. CNN contributes 2,112 units, while Al Jazeera English contributes 4,466 units. This asymmetry reflects, of course, the publication rhythm of the two outlets, but not a subsampling decision.

The unit of analysis is the live-update headline, which is a short and time-stamped unit at the top of each outlet's rolling column. Where a unit contained a brief subtitle continuous with the headline, the two were treated as a single block, while any linked longer article was excluded, since the object of study is the headline and not the article behind it. Each retained unit was logged with its outlet, date, timestamp, source reference, and batch identifier. The duplicates were removed within a live page and across snapshots of it, and a re-published unit was retained only where its text had changed in a substantive way.

This study uses Hamas-Israel war as a working descriptor for the armed confrontation that began on 7 October 2023, and Israeli-Palestinian conflict for the longer historical field within which that war sits. Both are analytic descriptors of scale, and not endorsements of any party's preferred nomenclature. That is, the study analyzes how the outlets name actors, and not the political questions that the labels themselves raise.

4.2 Coding for Primary Actor

Coding proceeds from a frozen codebook that fixes a taxonomy of ten actor categories. Hamas-affiliated armed actors (HAMAS_MIL) cover Hamas and Palestinian armed groups in a militant capacity; Israeli military actors (IDF_MIL) cover the IDF and other Israeli armed services. Israeli government actors (ISR_GOV) deal with the prime minister, cabinet, and named political institutions. Israeli civilians (ISR_CIV) and Palestinian civilians (PAL_CIV) cover non-combatant individuals, families, and civilian groups on each side, with hostages under ISR_CIV.

However, U.S. officials (US_OFF) cover the president, administration, and congressional and military leadership in a policy or diplomatic capacity; Arab states (ARAB_ST) have to do with regional states and their representatives. United Nations and international institutional actors (UN_INTL) deal with UN agencies, the ICRC, and comparable bodies. Other international actors (OTH_INT) deal with third-state actors outside these categories, and unspecified (UNSPEC) has to do with any unit in which no named actor is recoverable as the topical subject.

Each unit is assigned exactly one primary actor, and a secondary or affected actor, where identifiable, is logged separately but not used here. We identify the topical subject from the surface text, and where two candidates are equally salient a fixed set of tie-break rules decides: the grammatical subject over the object, the first mention over the second, and a named institutional actor over a collective civilian category. Because this last rule could privilege institutions in ambiguous headlines, each tie-break was logged as a sensitivity check.

Two worked examples can clarify the rule. The CNN headline, *'Biden warns Iran against escalating conflict, says U.S. military is in position to respond'*, is coded US_OFF, since the U.S. president is the grammatical and topical subject. The Al Jazeera English headline, *'Gaza death toll climbs past 8,000, according to the health ministry'*, is coded UNSPEC, since its topical subject, the death toll, corresponds to no named actor, and the health ministry functions only as a source of evidence. This rule separates an actor named in the headline from one merely cited.

4.3 Reliability and Audit

The corpus was processed in 32 daily batches, each of which passed through relevance review, deduplication against earlier batches, application of the codebook, and consolidation into a ledger. Because the study is conducted by a single coder, no inter-coder reliability is reported. The study reports an intra-rater stability protocol that is grounded in a stratified and blinded self-audit.

For each batch, we extracted a 20% stratified subsample that is stripped of its outlet labels and codes. We then recoded it by the same coder after a wash-out interval of at least 48 hours and reconciled it against the frozen codebook. The blinded audit covered 1,312 units, which is 19.95% of the corpus, and returned a global agreement rate of 64.63% and a Cohen's κ of .515, within the moderate band.

This coefficient is an omnibus estimate on the basis of the four coded strata, not the primary-actor variable alone. Post-reconciliation agreement reached 100%, which reflects the completion of reconciliation, not a reliability coefficient. Because the actor-by-frame analysis in Section 5.4 is exploratory, its reliability is not advanced for confirmatory claims.

4.4 Statistical Procedures

We computed from the study's ledger all the inferential statistics. For each outlet, the analysis computes the actor distribution, reports Wilson 95% confidence intervals for every within-outlet proportion, and tests the association between actor and outlet with the Pearson chi-square test, taking Cramér's V as the effect size (Kim, 2017). Pearson residuals, computed as $(O - E) / \sqrt{E}$, are then inspected descriptively, so as to locate the cells that contribute most strongly to the global association (Sharpe, 2015). They are regarded as diagnostics of the chi-square pattern, but not as independent post-hoc significance tests. The analysis also reports a robustness recomputation that removes the high-frequency UNSPEC category and computes the statistic again on the nine remaining categories in order to establish whether the divergence persists without that residual.

The corpus exhausts the valid headline units recovered for the defined 32-day window, so that the 6,578 units are a finite census of that window, not a probability sample. The inferential statistics are used as model-based summaries of association, not as estimates of sampling error.

5. Findings

5.1 The Aggregate Actor Distribution

The table below reports the within-outlet primary actor distribution, with raw counts, percentages, and Wilson 95% confidence intervals. A number of observations organize this table. The first is that the unspecified category dominates both outlets, and does so more in Al Jazeera English, which assigns 58.42% of its units to UNSPEC against CNN's 46.26%. This 12-point gap, which is the single widest contrast in the table, reflects a strong corpus-level pattern: a substantial share of headlines name no specific actor, and report instead casualty counts, geographic incidents, moving figures, or aggregate developments.

Table 1. Primary actor distribution within each outlet, reported with Wilson 95% confidence intervals for the within-outlet proportions (N = 6,578 valid coded live-update headline units; CNN n = 2,112; Al Jazeera English n = 4,466)

Primary actor	CNN n	CNN % [95% CI]	AJE n	AJE % [95% CI]
Unspecified	977	46.26% [44.1, 48.4]	2,609	58.42% [57.0, 59.9]
Hamas armed actors	318	15.06% [13.6, 16.6]	399	8.93% [8.1, 9.8]
Israeli military	247	11.70% [10.4, 13.1]	300	6.72% [6.0, 7.5]
Arab states	157	7.43% [6.4, 8.6]	394	8.82% [8.0, 9.7]
U.S. officials	179	8.48% [7.4, 9.7]	216	4.84% [4.2, 5.5]
UN and international	55	2.60% [2.0, 3.4]	199	4.46% [3.9, 5.1]
Israeli government	89	4.21% [3.4, 5.2]	129	2.89% [2.4, 3.4]
Other international	54	2.56% [2.0, 3.3]	108	2.42% [2.0, 2.9]
Palestinian civilians	24	1.14% [0.8, 1.7]	41	0.92% [0.7, 1.2]
Israeli civilians	12	0.57% [0.3, 1.0]	71	1.59% [1.3, 2.0]
Total	2,112	100.00%	4,466	100.00%

When CNN names an actor, that actor typically belongs to the military-institutional or the diplomatic core. Hamas armed actors, Israeli military actors, and U.S. officials together account for 35.24% of CNN's coding, against 20.49% in Al

Jazeera English. When Al Jazeera English names an actor, it carries higher proportions of Arab states, United Nations and international actors, and Israeli civilians.

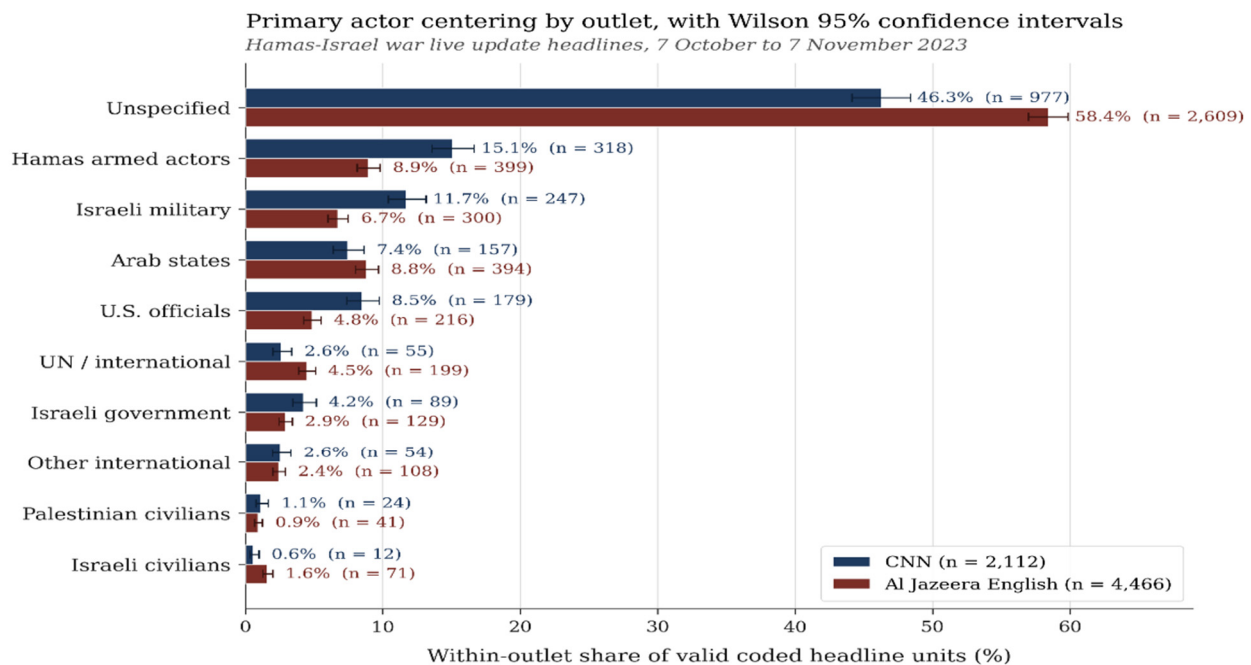


Figure 1. Primary actor distribution by outlet, full corpus (N = 6,578 valid coded live update headline units; CNN n = 2,112; Al Jazeera English n = 4,466). Bars show within-outlet percentages

5.2 Inferential Structure of the Divergence

A Pearson chi-square test on the 2×10 outlet-by-actor table returns $\chi^2(9, N = 6,578) = 198.85$, $p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .174$. The actor distribution is therefore associated with outlet, although the association is modest: a V of .174 indicates a structured difference in relative actor visibility rather than a categorical separation. The two outlets in fact share a great deal, including a high UNSPEC share, a comparable Palestinian-civilian share, and an overlapping engagement with the named institutional actors.

The Pearson residuals localize that difference. The largest positive deviations from the independence expectation occur, for CNN, in HAMAS_MIL (+5.79), IDF_MIL (+5.39), and US_OFF (+4.63); for Al Jazeera English, the largest occur in UNSPEC (+3.53) and UN_INTL (+2.02), with ISR_CIV close to the heuristic $|r| = 2$ threshold (+1.95). These residuals are read as diagnostics of the global chi-square pattern (Sharpe, 2015).

Table 2. Pearson residuals for the 2×10 outlet-by-primary-actor contingency table. The cells are descriptive diagnostics of the global chi-square association, and not independent significance tests

Primary actor	CNN Pearson residual	AJE Pearson residual	Comparative direction
Unspecified	-5.14	+3.53	AJE over-represented
Hamas armed actors	+5.79	-3.98	CNN over-represented
Israeli military	+5.39	-3.70	CNN over-represented
Arab states	-1.50	+1.03	
U.S. officials	+4.63	-3.19	CNN over-represented
UN and international	-2.94	+2.02	AJE over-represented
Israeli government	+2.27	-1.56	CNN over-represented
Other international	+0.28	-0.19	
Palestinian civilians	+0.69	-0.47	
Israeli civilians	-2.84	+1.95	AJE over-represented
$\chi^2(9, N = 6,578)$	198.85	$p < .001$	Cramér's $V = .174$

Note. Direction is reported for the categories in which at least one of the corresponding outlet cells reaches $|r| \geq 2$.

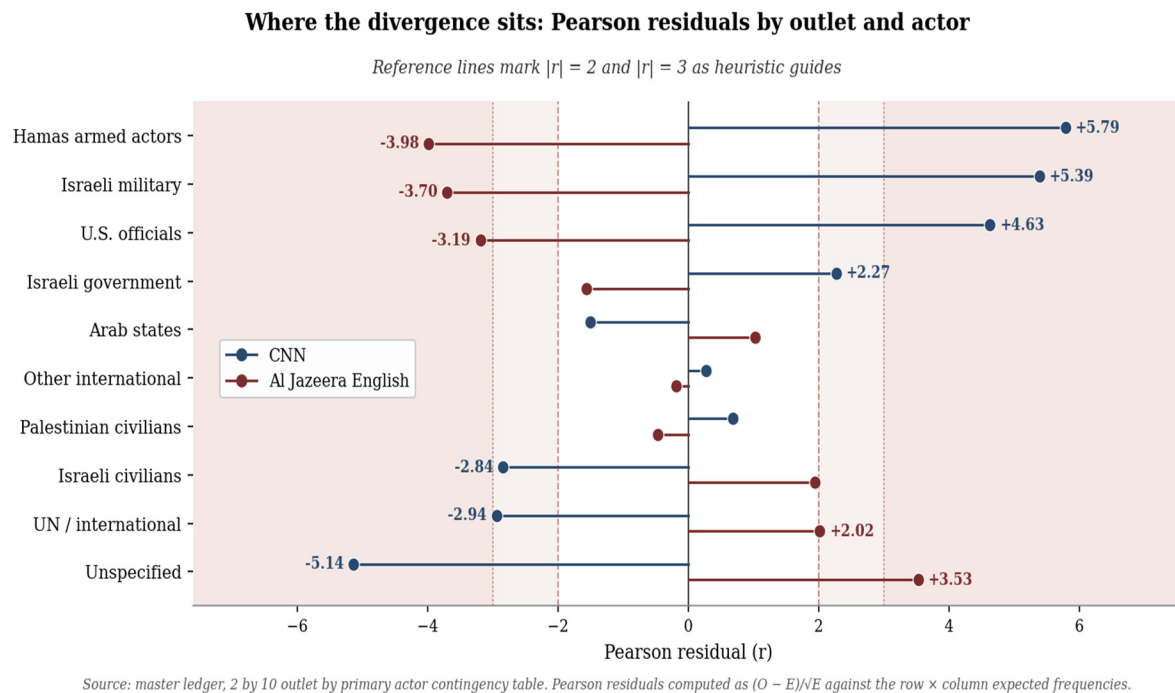


Figure 2. Pearson residuals from the 2×10 outlet-by-primary-actor association. The reference lines mark $|r| = 2$ and $|r| = 3$ as heuristic guides

The three leading positive residuals of CNN each exceed +4, while the strongest positive residual on the Al Jazeera English side is UNSPEC, where the named-actor difference is more sharply concentrated in CNN.

5.3 The Named Actor Signal with UNSPEC Removed

Because the unspecified category absorbs more than half of all units, the analysis asks whether the difference survives its removal while computing the statistic again on the nine remaining categories. The restricted analysis includes 2,992 valid units, 1,135 in CNN and 1,857 in Al Jazeera English, and returns $\chi^2(8, N = 2,992) = 104.94$, $p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .187$. It persists and sharpens slightly when only the headlines that name a specific actor are considered.

5.4 Where Each Actor Sits Inside the Frame Mix

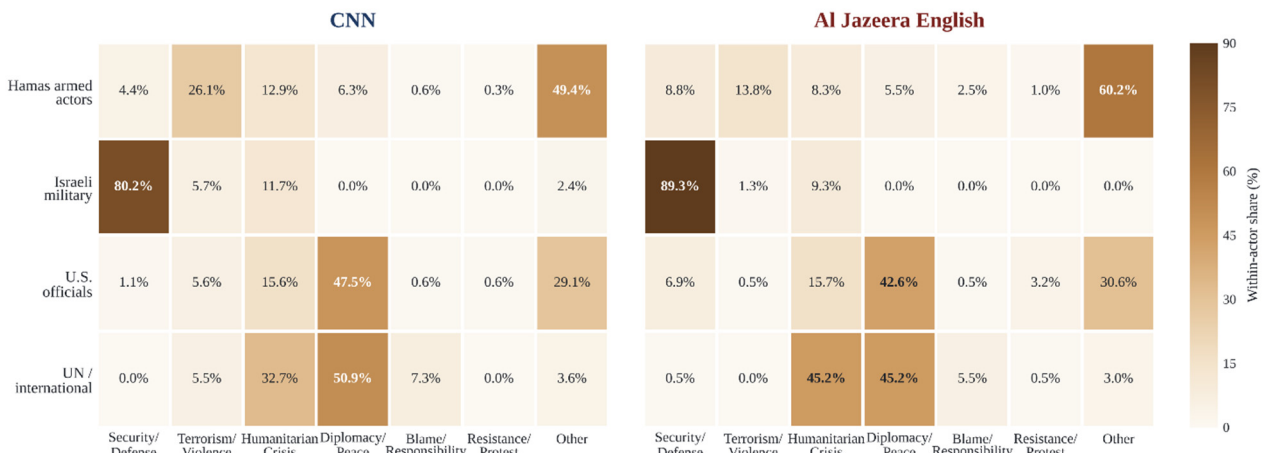
A second and more exploratory question has to do with how each named actor relates to the frame attribution that the same unit carries. Table 3 reports the row-percentage attachments by actor category and by outlet; the observations that follow are exploratory. Israeli military actors are framed almost entirely within Security/Defense in both outlets, at 80.2% of CNN's IDF_MIL units and 89.3% of Al Jazeera English's. Hamas armed actors carry Terrorism/Violence in 26.1% of CNN units against 13.8% of Al Jazeera English's. U.S. officials carry Diplomacy/Peace Process at 47.5% in CNN and 42.6% in Al Jazeera English.

Table 3. Frame attachment percentages within named actor category (exploratory descriptive analysis)

Actor (outlet)	Sec/Def	Ter/Viol	Hum/Cri	Dipl	Blame	Other
Hamas armed actors (CNN)	4.4%	26.1%	12.9%	6.3%	0.6%	49.4%
Hamas armed actors (AJE)	8.8%	13.8%	8.3%	5.5%	2.5%	60.2%
Israeli military (CNN)	80.2%	5.7%	11.7%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
Israeli military (AJE)	89.3%	1.3%	9.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
U.S. officials (CNN)	1.1%	5.6%	15.6%	47.5%	0.6%	29.1%
U.S. officials (AJE)	6.9%	0.5%	15.7%	42.6%	0.5%	30.6%
UN and international (CNN)	0.0%	5.5%	32.7%	50.9%	7.3%	3.6%
UN and international (AJE)	0.5%	0.0%	45.2%	45.2%	5.5%	3.0%
Israeli government (CNN)	14.6%	10.1%	4.5%	21.3%	0.0%	49.4%
Israeli government (AJE)	16.3%	1.6%	4.7%	7.8%	1.6%	67.4%
Palestinian civilians (CNN)	8.3%	4.2%	41.7%	0.0%	0.0%	45.8%
Palestinian civilians (AJE)	7.3%	0.0%	36.6%	2.4%	2.4%	48.8%

Frame attachment within named primary actors

Row percentages: within each named actor category, the share of headline units carrying each primary frame.



Source: master ledger. Each cell is the percentage of headline units within that named actor category that carry the indicated primary frame; rows sum to 100%. Bold marks each actor's dominant frame.

Figure 3. Frame attachment percentages within the four most frequently named actor categories, separately for CNN and Al Jazeera English. Cells show row-percentages within actor

5.5 The Daily Visibility of Named Actors

A temporal view supplements the cross-section. Figure 4 reports the daily counts of HAMAS_MIL, IDF_MIL, and US_OFF in each outlet across the window. Because the two outlets move at a different daily output, these raw counts index the volume of named-actor headlines, and not an outlet-comparable rate.

Read in that spirit, the HAMAS_MIL presence of CNN is concentrated in the first ten days and declines after them, while IDF_MIL is comparatively steady in both outlets, though the count of CNN runs higher, and U.S. officials follow diplomatic events around 10 to 12 October and 25 to 27 October.

Daily visibility of three named primary actors across the 32 day window
Markers: daily counts. Solid lines: 3-day centered rolling mean (smoother).

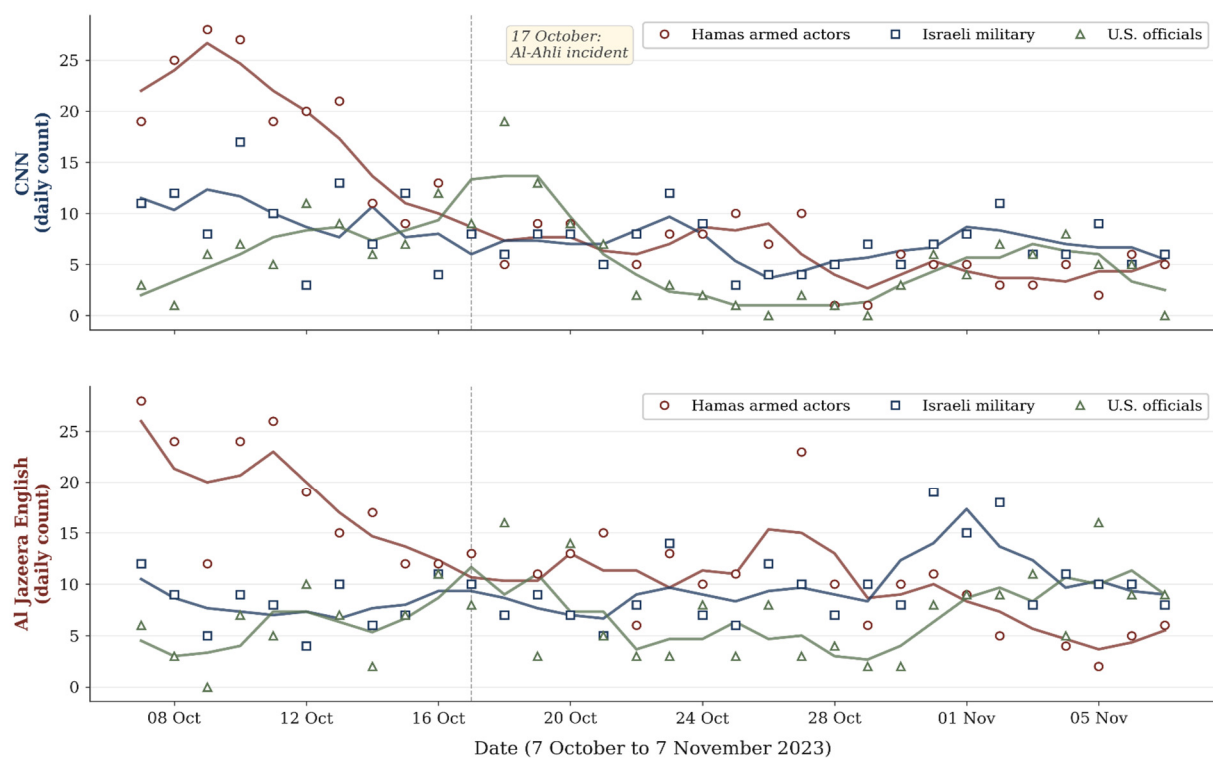


Figure 4. Daily counts of three named primary actors across the 32-day window, by outlet

We plotted the daily counts of CNN in the top panel and the Al Jazeera English counts in the bottom panel. Counts are raw and index daily output volume, not an outlet-comparable rate. The dashed vertical line highlights the Al-Ahli incident (17 October 2023).

5.6 Reading the Actor Signal Through the Four Framing Functions

The actor distribution and its frame attachments can now be read through Entman's (1993) four framing functions, as bounded interpretations of the coded pattern.

At the level of problem definition, the higher proportion in CNN of Hamas armed actors, Israeli military actors, and U.S. officials situates the war inside a problem of security and statecraft. Al Jazeera English, which carries a higher proportion of United Nations, international actors, and unspecified subjects, more often frames it as an unfolding humanitarian crisis.

At the level of causal interpretation and of moral evaluation, the frame frequencies in Table 3 are consistent with different emphases. That is, CNN attaches Terrorism/Violence to its named Hamas units more often than Al Jazeera English does, a difference of frequency through which an implied allocation of blame may accumulate across the stream.

At the level of treatment recommendation, U.S. officials carry the Diplomacy/Peace frame at comparable rates in both outlets, while United Nations actors lean toward Humanitarian Crisis more strongly in Al Jazeera English, so the remedy each outlet foregrounds follows from the actor that it raises into view.

6. Discussion

6.1 Two Patterns of Actor Visibility in a Shared Genre

Within a shared genre, the two outlets organize actor visibility in distinguishable ways. The pattern of CNN is concentrated, since it carries higher-than-expected proportions of a few military and institutional actors and leaves most others in the background. The pattern of Al Jazeera English is more dispersed, since it carries those actors at lower proportions and raises the visibility of United Nations and international actors and of UNSPEC-coded headlines.

6.2 What the Actor-Visibility Pattern Shows, and What It Does Not

The interpretive basis is calibrated and not categorical. The difference reflects outlet-specific naming repertoires that return across the corpus and not incommensurable framing worlds. Part of the large unspecified share that both outlets carry is a property of the live-update genre itself (Avinesh et al., 2021; Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Michael & Werner, 2025; Pantic, 2020; Thurman & Walters, 2013; van der Lubben et al., 2026).

Many such units are, of course, agentless by construction. They rest on passivization and on nominalization, where *'Gaza death toll climbs'* stands in for a clause that would name who acted. On the basis of Critical Discourse Analysis, this is agency backgrounding, which does not by itself establish a conscious intent (Fairclough, 1995; Machin & Mayr, 2012; van Dijk, 1998).

The related literature shows that lexical substitution, omission, and the rekeying of agency can alter ideological interpretation even when the reported event is, on its surface, the same (Mbeker, 2026). That is, because the UNSPEC category is internally heterogeneous and gathers casualty counts, locations, and agentless nominalizations into one residual, its composition limits any equation of UNSPEC with deliberate agent deletion.

6.3 Naming in Relation to Frame Attachment

The frame attachments carry the reading one step further. The IDF_MIL row is largely uniform across both outlets, while the HAMAS_MIL row is the place where they part. CNN attaches Terrorism/Violence to its named Hamas units more often than Al Jazeera English does, a pattern consistent with comparative work on the framing of Hamas in Western and Arab coverage (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Hamzah & Firmonasari, 2025; Ibrar & Khan, 2025).

6.4 Implications for Comparative Media Scholarship

The findings engage three strands of comparative media research. The first strand, on Western and Arab transnational reporting of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, describes inter-outlet differences in terms of frame deployment and moral evaluation (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; Damanhoury & Saleh, 2017; Doufesh & Briel, 2021; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Hussain et al., 2026; Ibrar & Khan, 2025; Jebri, 2025; Philo & Berry, 2011). The results suggest that, for the live-update genre, this difference can be located before frame deployment, at the level of who the headline names, and that it complements the frame-level literature and the protest- and leader-framing studies of Gaza-war discourse without displacing them (Jaber, 2025, 2026).

The second strand is the platformization literature, which argues that platform infrastructures impose comparable temporal, scannable, and metric-sensitive constraints (Bélair-Gagnon et al., 2020; Dodds et al., 2023; Hase et al., 2023; Helmond, 2015; Nieborg & Poell, 2018; Nielsen & Fletcher, 2023; Poell et al., 2019; Schneiders & Stark, 2025). Though CNN and Al Jazeera English share the brevity, scroll, and tempo of the live-update page (Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Pantic,

2020; van der Lubben et al., 2026), they nonetheless produce distinguishable patterns of named actors.

Another strand is the literature on Al Jazeera English that documents its editorial preference for centering Palestinian civilian experience in longer reporting (Bebawi, 2016; Doufesh & Briel, 2021; El Damanhoury et al., 2025; Figenschou, 2011, 2014; Hussain et al., 2026). Al Jazeera English names Palestinian civilians at a rate similar to CNN, but it raises the visibility of United Nations and international actors and of Israeli civilians.

6.5 Limitations and Scope Conditions

There are some acknowledged limitations in this study. The first has to do with the single-coder design. Though the audit covered 1,312 units (19.95%) and returned a moderate-band omnibus κ of .515 across the coded strata, this measures intra-rater stability and not independent agreement. The second limitation has to do with the scope of the corpus, which is 32 days of a single conflict and two English-language transnational outlets, so that the results do not generalize to other conflicts, outlets, or phases.

The analysis also treats units as exchangeable, a standard but imperfect assumption, since units cluster within outlets, days, and event waves such as the Al-Ahli incident, so that a multilevel or cluster-robust reanalysis could better account for that dependence. The last limitation has to do with the high-frequency unspecified category, a conservative coding choice whose internal heterogeneity limits interpretation.

7. Conclusion

This article has asked whom CNN and Al Jazeera English name in their live-update headlines during the first month of the war. The two outlets name different sets of actors at different rates, at a modest but structured effect size, with the difference concentrated in a few interpretable categories. CNN carries higher proportions of Hamas armed actors, Israeli military actors, and U.S. officials, while Al Jazeera English carries higher proportions of United Nations and international actors, regional state actors, and Israeli civilians.

The methodological contribution of this study is to show that primary-actor centering, the headline's first interpretive choice, can serve as a productive point of entry into the comparison of two large live-update streams. Its substantive contribution, is that two transnational English outlets organize headline-level actor visibility in distinguishable ways across a 32-day window of acute escalation.

When it comes to future works, the analysis can be extended in some directions, including an inter-coder replication that tests the stability of the actor codes, a parallel analysis of outlets such as BBC News, Reuters, France 24, or TRT World, and a multi-layer analysis combining the actor aspect with frame attribution, agency, and moral vocabulary.

Acknowledgments

We greatly appreciate the valuable contributions of the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), Portugal, and the National Center for Scientific and Technical Research (CNRST), Morocco. We would also like to thank the Applied Language and Culture Studies Research Laboratory, Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Chouaib Doukkali University, Morocco, for their valuable support.

Author contributions

The first and corresponding author, Mouad Mbeker, was responsible for the research methodology, the research design, and the data analysis, and he drafted the manuscript. The second author, Karima Bouziane, carried out the literature review and consolidated the study's results, conclusions, and implications.

Funding

This research was financed by Portuguese national funds through FCT—Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, under the project UID/05422/2025, and by the National Center for Scientific and Technical Research (CNRST), Morocco [Grant Number 2617UCD2023].

Competing interests

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Informed consent

Obtained.

Ethics approval

The Publication Ethics Committee of the Redfame Publishing.

The journal's policies adhere to the Core Practices established by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE).

Provenance and peer review

Not commissioned; externally double-blind peer reviewed.

Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

Data sharing statement

No additional data are available.

Open access

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Copyrights

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the journal.

References

- Abdelraouf, E. (2025). Covering conflict: A comparative analysis of Al Jazeera and CNN's discourse on pro-Palestine campus protests in the US. *Media, War & Conflict*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17506352251392722>
- Aday, S., Livingston, S., & Hebert, M. (2005). Embedding the truth: A cross-cultural analysis of objectivity and television coverage of the Iraq War. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X05275727>
- Alluhaidah, M. (2023). A critical discourse analysis of Al Jazeera's online coverage of the war in Yemen before and after the 5 June 2017 Gulf crisis. *Discourse & Communication*, 17(5), 553–589. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17504813231163769>
- Andrew, B. C. (2007). Media-generated shortcuts: Do newspaper headlines present another roadblock for low-information rationality? *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(2), 24–43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X07299795>
- Avinesh, P. V. S., Peyrard, M., & Meyer, C. M. (2021). Live blog summarization. *Language Resources and Evaluation*, 55(1), 33–62. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10579-020-09513-5>
- Baden, C., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2018). The search for common ground in conflict news research: Comparing the coverage of six current conflicts in domestic and international media over time. *Media, War & Conflict*, 11(1), 22–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635217702071>
- Bebawi, S. (2016). *Media power and global television news: The role of Al Jazeera English*. I.B. Tauris.
- Bélair-Gagnon, V., Zamith, R., & Holton, A. E. (2020). Role orientations and audience metrics in newsrooms: An examination of journalistic perceptions and their drivers. *Digital Journalism*, 8(3), 347–366. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1709521>
- Bhowmik, S., & Fisher, J. (2023). Framing the Israel-Palestine conflict 2021: Investigation of CNN's coverage from a peace journalism perspective. *Media, Culture & Society*, 45(5), 1019–1035. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437231154766>
- Borchmann, S. (2024). Headlines as illocutionary subacts: The genre-specificity of headlines. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 220, 73–99. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2023.12.007>
- Boumans, J. W., & Trilling, D. (2016). Taking stock of the toolkit: An overview of relevant automated content analysis approaches and techniques for digital journalism scholars. *Digital Journalism*, 4(1), 8–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2015.1096598>
- Cacciatore, M. A., Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2016). The end of framing as we know it ... and the future of media effects. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(1), 7–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811>
- Carlson, M. (2020). Journalistic epistemology and digital news circulation: Infrastructure, circulation practices, and epistemic contests. *New Media & Society*, 22(2), 230–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819856921>
- Damanhoury, K. E., & Saleh, F. (2017). Is it the same fight? Comparative analysis of CNN and Al Jazeera America's online coverage of the 2014 Gaza War. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 10(1), 85–103.

https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.10.1.85_1

- Dodds, T., de Vreese, C., Helberger, N., Resendez, V., & Seipp, T. (2023). Popularity-driven metrics: Audience analytics and shifting opinion power to digital platforms. *Journalism Studies*, 24(3), 403–421. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2023.2167104>
- Dor, D. (2003). On newspaper headlines as relevance optimizers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35(5), 695–721. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(02\)00134-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00134-0)
- Doufesh, B., & Briel, H. (2021). Ethnocentrism in conflict news coverage: A multimodal framing analysis of the 2018 Gaza protests in The Times of Israel and Al Jazeera. *International Journal of Communication*, 15, 4230–4251. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/17498>
- Ekström, M., Ramsälv, A., & Westlund, O. (2021). The epistemologies of breaking news. *Journalism Studies*, 22(2), 174–192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1831398>
- 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), Article 9. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia6010009>
- 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>
- Elouardaoui, O. (2025). Counter-narrative in contemporary Arab media politics: The case of Aljazeera. In K. Bouziane & A. Albuquerque (Eds.), *Digital perspectives and global narratives in new media communication: Book of proceedings* (pp. 1–14). CEOS Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.56002/ceos.0106ba>
- 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>
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. Edward Arnold.
- Figenschou, T. U. (2011). Suffering up close: The strategic construction of mediated suffering on Al Jazeera English. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 233–253. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1004>
- Figenschou, T. U. (2012). The South is talking back: With a white face and a British accent-Editorial dilemmas in Al Jazeera English. *Journalism*, 13(3), 354–370. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911398337>
- Figenschou, T. U. (2014). *Al Jazeera and the global media landscape: The South is talking back*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203067321>
- Finkbeiner, R. (2024). The pragmatics of headlines: Central issues and future research avenues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 222, 17–22. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2024.01.006>
- Haigh, M. M., & Bruce, M. D. (2017). A comparison of the visual and story frames Al Jazeera English and CNN employed during the 2011 Egyptian revolution. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(4), 419–433. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516682141>
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2014). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (4th ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203431269>
- Hamzah, N. A., & Firmonasari, A. (2025). Framing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: A comparative analysis of Al-Jazeera Arabic and CNN International. In *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Language, Literature, Culture, and Education (ICOLLITE 2024)* (pp. 224–232). Atlantis Press. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-438-9_20
- Hase, V., Boczek, K., & Scharkow, M. (2023). Adapting to affordances and audiences? A cross-platform, multi-modal analysis of the platformization of news on Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 11(8), 1499–1520. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2022.2128389>
- Helmond, A. (2015). The platformization of the web: Making web data platform ready. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115603080>
- Hendrickx, J., & Vázquez Herrero, J. (2024). Dissecting social media journalism: A comparative study across platforms, outlets and countries. *Journalism Studies*, 25(9), 1053–1075. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2024.2324318>
- Hussain, S., Arafat, Y., & Sikandar, F. (2026). Reporting on victims in the Israel-Gaza war: A comparative analysis of CNN, Aljazeera, and CGTN. *Electronic News*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19312431261426531>
- Ibrar, Z., & Khan, M. (2025). Framing and media bias in conflict reporting: A comparative analysis of Al-Jazeera, CNN,

- and Global Times during the 2023 Palestine-Israel conflict. *İnterdisipliner Medya ve İletişim Çalışmaları*, 2(3), 42–71. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/imcs/article/1648513>
- Jaber, F. (2025). Framing pro-Palestine protests: A comparative analysis of news coverage by The Guardian and USA Today. *Studies in Media and Communication*, 13(1), 72–82. <https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v13i1.7245>
- Jaber, F. (2026). Framing the Gaza crisis: A comparative analysis of Trudeau's and Biden's social media narratives. *Studies in Media and Communication*, 14(1), 304–315. <https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v14i1.8017>
- 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*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr_00105_1
- Kharbach, M. (2020). Understanding the ideological construction of the Gulf crisis in Arab media discourse: A critical discourse analytic study of the headlines of Al Arabiya English and Al Jazeera English. *Discourse & Communication*, 14(5), 447–465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481320917576>
- Kim, H.-Y. (2017). Statistical notes for clinical researchers: Chi-squared test and Fisher's exact test. *Restorative Dentistry & Endodontics*, 42(2), 152–155. <https://doi.org/10.5395/rde.2017.42.2.152>
- Kuiken, J., Schuth, A., Spitters, M., & Marx, M. (2017). Effective headlines of newspaper articles in a digital environment. *Digital Journalism*, 5(10), 1300–1314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1279978>
- Laaksonen, S.-M., Koivula, M., & Villi, M. (2024). Mediated by the giants: Tracing practices, discourses, and mediators of platform isomorphism in a media organization. *New Media & Society*, 26(8), 4317–4335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221122220>
- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. H. (2019). *News framing effects: Theory and practice*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315208077>
- Lee, N. Y. (2022). Headlines for summarizing news or attracting readers' attention? Comparing news headlines in South Korean newspapers with The New York Times. *Journalism*, 23(4), 892–909. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884920929202>
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction*. SAGE.
- Matheson, D., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2020). The epistemology of live blogging. *New Media & Society*, 22(2), 300–316. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819856926>
- Mbeker, M. (2024). Media framing in the 2023 Israeli-Palestinian war: A crossroads of narratives and implications. In E. Camilo & K. Bouziane (Eds.), *Transcultural media narratives: Cross-cultural communication insights* (pp. 205–228). LabCom Books. <https://doi.org/10.25768/9229-24-2>
- Mbeker, M. (2026). Reframing ideology in English-Arabic political news translation: Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA approach. *E-Revista de Estudos Interculturais do CEI-ISCAP* (14), 1–31. <https://www.iscap.pt/cei/e-rei/n14/artigo22.pdf>
- Mbeker, M., Bouziane, K., & Zakhir, M. (2026). Framing conflict news in transnational media: English-Arabic transediting/translation as secondary gatekeeping and frame mutation. *Studies in Media and Communication*, 14(3), 208–222. <https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v14i3.8518>
- Michael, H., & Werner, V. (2025). Hybrid news (in the) making: A content and corpus-based discourse analysis of political live blogs on the 2020 US presidential debates. *Journalism Practice*, 19(4), 896–922. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2023.2215254>
- Molek-Kozakowska, K. (2026). Social actors and storylines in the coverage of Russian-Ukrainian war in English and Polish-language tabloids. *Journalism Studies*, 27(1), 63–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2025.2567889>
- Morales, P. S. (2026). The localization of global news brands and the symbolic power of CNN in Latin America. *Journalism Practice*, 20(8), 2519–2535. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2024.2441284>
- Nieborg, D. B., & Poell, T. (2018). The platformization of cultural production: Theorizing the contingent cultural commodity. *New Media & Society*, 20(11), 4275–4292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818769694>
- Nielsen, R. K., & Fletcher, R. (2023). Comparing the platformization of news media systems: A cross-country analysis. *European Journal of Communication*, 38(5), 484–499. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231231189043>
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963>
- Pantic, M. (2020). Engagement with live blogs: When passive consumption overpowers participation. *Electronic News*,

- 14(1), 22–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243120910449>
- Petre, C. (2021). *All the news that's fit to click: How metrics are transforming the work of journalists*. Princeton University Press.
- Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2011). *More bad news from Israel*. Pluto Press.
- Poell, T., Nieborg, D., & van Dijck, J. (2019). Platformisation. *Internet Policy Review*, 8(4), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.14763/2019.4.1425>
- Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x>
- Schneiders, P., & Stark, B. (2025). Ensuring news quality in platformized news ecosystems: Shortcomings and recommendations for an epistemic governance. *Media and Communication*, 13, Article 10042. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.10042>
- Sharpe, D. (2015). Your chi-square test is statistically significant: Now what? *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 20(8), Article 8. <https://doi.org/10.7275/tbfa-x148>
- Shulman, H. C., Markowitz, D. M., & Rogers, T. (2024). Reading dies in complexity: Online news consumers prefer simple writing. *Science Advances*, 10(23), Article eadn2555. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.adn2555>
- Simonsen, S. (2023). Social actor representation in media discourse: How neutral linguistic cues get endowed with meaning that signifies ethnicity. *Language, Discourse and Society*, 11(1), 9–26. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10439709>
- Thurman, N., & Walters, A. (2013). Live blogging-digital journalism's pivotal platform? A case study of the production, consumption, and form of live blogs at Guardian.co.uk. *Digital Journalism*, 1(1), 82–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2012.714935>
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2023, November 7). *Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel: Reported impact-Day 32*. https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/Gaza_casualties_info-graphic_7_Nov_2023-32.pdf
- van der Lubben, S., de Haan, Y., Kruijemeier, S., de Jong, J., & Koetsenruijter, W. (2026). Performing discourse in pursuit of credibility: A quantitative content analysis of Dutch live blogs. *Journalism Practice*, 20(3), 1051–1067. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2024.2394561>
- van Dijck, J., Poell, T., & de Waal, M. (2018). *The platform society: Public values in a connective world*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190889760.001.0001>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. SAGE.
- Welbers, K., van Atteveldt, W., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Ruigrok, N., & Schaper, J. (2016). News selection criteria in the digital age: Professional norms versus online audience metrics. *Journalism*, 17(8), 1037–1053. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915595474>