



## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### Background of Study

Israel, first recognized as a country by the US in 1948, is located in West Asia and shares its border with Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. Palestine, on the other hand, officially the State of Palestine, is recognized by 146 of 193 member states of the United Nations. The two sides have had a long history of conflict since the early 1900s. In 1947, UN General Assembly Resolution 181 designated Palestine as a Jewish and Arab state. The concept also included a number of Arab residents within the Jewish state. However, in opposition to the plan, Jewish forces took the additional regions in 1948. This event, known as the “nakba,” or disaster, occurred when up to 80% of the Arab population fled or were exiled. After claiming most of the land, Israel succeeded in occupying the Arab states assigned by the UN, which are the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Over the years, many wars have happened, which according to Global Conflict Tracker include the one back in 1987, when Palestinians who lives in Gaza Strip and West Bank come to resistance against Israeli control and also the 2014 escalation between Hamas and Israeli military (2025). The conflict results in the displacement of people and even death to many. Ceasefires and peace negotiations have happened many times in the past, including during the 1990s, with the signing of the Oslo Accords, which agreed on a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine, but then proved inconclusive. In the year 2000, Israel built the West Bank separation wall, separating the occupied Palestinian territory from the rest. It was declared illegal by the International Court of Justice. Israel withdrew its troops from 2005 to 2006 but then imposed a blockade in 2007 after Hamas took over Gaza. Following the previous blockade and conflict, in 2012 and 2014, the conflict escalated, with the 2012 event ceasefire being helped by Egypt.

While the conflict has a long history, it resurfaced in the public eye in October 2023 due to Hamas's attacks on Israel by breaching the Gaza-Israel barrier. Early morning on 7th October 2023, the Palestinian group Hamas breached the barrier separating the Palestinian territory and Israel (Lawati & Ebrahim, 2023). Al-Jazeera reported that the group fired thousands of rockets toward Israel, reaching the North of Tel Aviv. Casualties among the Palestinian side



nt up to 400 people, with at least 2,300 people wounded, while el's death toll has reached up to 700 people. The group is also orted to have taken around 200 hostages from Israel, including ary personnel, because of what the group said to "end Israel's violations" toward Palestine (Al-Jazeera, 2023).

Media coverage across the globe has spread, revolving around this issue in different forms, including news articles, social media posts, and news broadcasts. CNN and Al Jazeera, two news media outlets, have also covered the news on the Israel-Palestine conflict. According to the official website, CNN is a television and online news organization in the United States. For its global news, it has multiple branches in different countries, such as CNN Indonesia, CNN Brazil, and CNN International. CNN's parent company is Warner Bros. Discovery, Inc., an entertainment company also responsible for HBO, Animal Planet, and other various entertainment media. The second media outlet, Al Jazeera, is a Qatari-based news channel. As cited from its official website, it was "the first independent news channel in the Arab world".

News agencies survive either by advertising or backing from influential people. van Dijk (1989) wrote that some news agencies are usually supported by a particular, more significant corporation, such as multinationals or even the government. This is what van Dijk says as the source of media play. Big corporations serve their ideology that the employees, in this case, writers, must follow to be "coherent". Coherence here means having an ideology and not acting contradictive against it. This means they have to write articles that favor the ideology that the people in power believe in.

According to van Dijk (1989), news making is not limited to the technicalities such as the source, the deadline, and so on. However, other factors, like power and ideologies, are included in it. Based on Mankekar (1985), van Dijk also concluded that Western media serve certain ideologies in making news. Powerful groups or big organizations have access to information that is usually legitimate and trustworthy. Nonetheless, they also have the means to sustain or attack other groups. This means that many media outlets will depend on these large groups and seldom criticize them. Nevertheless, despite being dependent, it is not entirely impossible for them to sometimes write critical news about such groups. An example of a group a news agency might depend on is the police (Chibnal, 1977, in van Dijk, 1989).



Powerful groups have a better chance of being heard because they have the most access and the highest chance of being covered in the news. On the contrary, less-powerful people will have a slight or no chance of being listened to at all. As van Dijk described, this includes “women, minorities, the elderly, children, third-world people, and all those who do not have regular, organized access to the media” (1989). This is an example of ideological setting and bias in news articles. van Dijk uses this method to find out how the media used specific words to describe a side in a negative way that affected the readers. Ideology matters because it involves someone’s way of thinking, how they make decisions in the world, and how they view the world, while analyzing bias also matters, especially in media, because it can shape how people believe certain news or pieces of information.

One can use the critical discourse analysis method to analyze what agenda or ideology is being pushed in a news article. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an approach to analyzing text from the perspective of language and sociopolitical power (Widdowson, 2007). The essential concern of discourse analysis is notably broader issues related to the text, such as ideology and social belief. The problem with Israel-Palestine ties is closely tied to politics and sociopolitical power, including the news articles written about it. Therefore, the writer uses the critical discourse analysis method to analyze the news articles by CNN and Al Jazeera about the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Despite the conflict surfacing in the public eye in October 2023, the Palestine-Israel conflict had been researched prior to the event by Heni & Chandra (2022). In their research, they argued that three key points make this conflict gain media attention: the abnormality of this event leading to casualties, the conflict that leads to people’s curiosity, and the concern or attraction society might feel towards this issue. The researcher is particularly interested in the third key point: how society thinks about this issue. As described before, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on sociopolitical power: van Dijk (2015) also defined CDA as a method to expose inequality, particular ideology, and how writings may represent specific ideology that may be an agenda to influence the readers.

Oftentimes, powerful groups use their power to be presented more in the news, to appear more often, and to have their story presented and labelled as "credible". Many news outlets also take their source from Western sources, which they don't consider biased. In return, those of the minorities or people in third-world countries may



have their side of the story covered (van Dijk, 1989). This is crucial because there is a possibility that a particular group has the means to shape the public's opinion or belief. This research aims to discover what kind of ideologies are present in the news outlets and how they use their articles to push certain views.

The researcher believes this discourse is still relevant and will be appropriate as long as the conflict continues. The researcher found a need for newer discourse, specifically after the latest uproar over the 7th of October attack. It is crucial to acknowledge that media sources can have their own biases when reporting this event. This research aims to discover the potential biases of each of the two media outlets, either towards Palestine or Israel. The researcher hopes that with the existence of this study, people can gain more insight into what is happening during this event and be more critical when reading information from the internet.

This study will examine articles from two different media outlets, CNN and Al-Jazeera. This research will analyze the use of active and passive sentence structures, lexical choice, metaphor, and presupposition. Furthermore, the researcher will analyze how these textual features may have a role in how the news articles are being represented and investigating whether there is a possibility of pushing certain ideology or siding with a particular side.

## 1.2 Identification of the Problem

The researcher can identify several problems revolving around this topic based on the initial source-gathering.

- 1.2.1 The textual features and image choices in the articles.
- 1.2.2 The framing and ideology present in the news articles.
- 1.2.3 The reception and interpretation of news readers.
- 1.2.4 The ideology behind the production processes of news articles.

## 1.3 Scope of the Problem

In this analysis, the researcher limits the scope of the problem to limit the research on media biases based on the history of the news sources and how they engage audiences. This study focuses on the following issues:

- 1.3.1 The textual features in the articles.
- 1.3.2 The framing and ideology present in the CNN and Al-Jazeera news articles.



## Research Questions

- 1 What are the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure that appear in CNN and Al-Jazeera news articles in reporting the Israel-Palestine conflict?
  - 1.4.2 Are there differences in framing or bias based on the textual features in CNN and Al-Jazeera news article on Israel-Palestine's conflict?
- 1.5 **Objectives of Study**
  - 1.5.1 To identify and compare the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure in CNN and Al-Jazeera news articles in reporting Israel-Palestine conflict.
  - 1.5.2 To investigate how textual features in CNN and Al-Jazeera news articles may contribute to implicit framing and bias in Israel-Palestine conflict.
- 1.6 **Significance of Study**
  - 1.6.1 Theoretical significance: This study aims to enrich the research on critical discourse analysis. Furthermore, it discusses another perspective on the Palestine-Israel conflict covered by two different media outlets by comparing them.
  - 1.6.2 Practical significance: In practice, the researcher hopes to enlighten readers to be more critical when encountering news and be aware of potential biases that may affect the trustworthiness of an article.
- 1.7 **Limitations of the Study**

This study uses van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method, which includes the analysis of textual structure, cognition, and social context. However, this particular study is limited to analyzing the potential bias in CNN and Al-Jazeera news articles in reporting the Israel and Palestine conflict through their textual structures only.



## CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

### ious Studies

r to this research, several similar studies had been conducted on critical discourse analysis, media discourse, and critical discourse analysis of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

The first one is a study by Yu & Zheng (2022) entitled “A Critical Discourse Analysis of Different News Reports on the Same Event: Illustrated with Examples from China Daily and The Guardian.”. In this study, the researchers used Fairclough's three-dimensional framework to compare two media sources, China Daily and The Guardian, to depict the image of protesters and police. Using a mixed-methods quantitative and qualitative analysis approach, the study analyzed five articles from each news source to identify the lexical choices and sources and discussed the sociohistorical context. The study used research questions to reveal the hidden ideologies of each source and the differences in language style. The researchers came to the conclusion that The Guardian depicted the protestors as “righteous” and “brave”, while the police were portrayed negatively. On the contrary, China Daily condemned the protestors and described the police as “responsible”. Based on their findings, the researchers view China Daily as showing the actual event, while The Guardian strategized to endorse the protestors and manipulate public opinion.

The second study by Wang (2021), “A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on Covid-19 in People's Daily and The New York Times,” also explored two news sources, People's Daily and The New York Times, in informing the Covid-19 outbreak. Similar to the previous study, this study also used the three-dimensional framework proposed by Fairclough but also adopted Halliday's systemic functional grammar analysis method. The researcher collected a total of 12 news articles, of which six were from the two news sources, and used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative analysis methods. This study aimed to unveil the discourse system and ideology implied by the news sources. The systemic functional grammar method by Halliday was employed in this study to determine transitivity or the many processes that humans use to explain the real world. Upon drawing a conclusion, the researcher found that both media used terms that lean toward “derogatory” to describe the hard situation that hit the countries. The researcher also emphasized the political and cultural aspects that affected both media, referring to China as a



socialist country” that values family and country sentiments. In contrast, the United States is a “capitalist country”, promoting the importance of personal interests and pursuits.

The third study by Heni (2022), “The Representation of Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in Online News Articles: A Critical Discourse Analysis”. The researcher compared America's Fox News and Indonesia's Detik.com in this study. The study's goal was to examine the representation of Palestine and Israel. Four news articles from 2021 were taken as the data for the research to be analyzed using Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis, which uses the three main dimensions: microstructure, mesostructure, and macrostructure. The method of the study was descriptive qualitative with the goal of analyzing the news headlines and the content of the articles. The study concluded that it was evident that both Fox News and Detik.com have distinct approaches to representing Palestine and Israel in the conflict. Fox News appeared to direct its focus on the United States government's role in resolving the conflict. The researcher stressed how Fox News perceived Israel as a victim and ally of the US, and in contrast, Palestine, or more specifically, Hamas, is a terrorist. Furthermore, the researcher stated that Fox News' implications of support for Israel stems from the pro-government media coverage. Detik.com, on the other hand, takes on a different view from Fox News. Detik.com portrays Israel as the violator of this event and Palestine as the victim. The researcher drew the conclusion that Detik.com's opposition to Israel is on account of Indonesia's refusal to support Israel and instead align with Palestine.

The fourth study by Raza et al. (2023), “Israel-Palestine and Social Media: SFG-based Critical Discourse Analysis of Opinion Articles about Haaretz Front Page”, examined articles published on the Haaretz website and audiences' reactions. This study used the critical discourse analysis by Fairclough and van Dijk. The study's purpose was to discover the ideology and strategy of the article writer, the significance of electronic op-ed discourse, and the influence of the discourses. The analysis of the data is based on Fairclough's method of the three-layered model, with text serving as the source of interpretation and adopting Halliday and Matthiessen's systemic functional grammars' transitivity. To conclude the study, the researcher pointed out social media's role in molding attitudes and enforcing ideologies. By using syntactic structures, language, and discourse methods, the articles have influenced public opinion to shift



y from the marginalized perspective. The researcher suggested the findings demonstrate the significant role of online media in resolving global political issues and humanitarian crises, as evidenced by online users' solidarity with the Israel-Palestine dispute.

The last study was done by Laelasari (2023) and was entitled, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Israel and Palestine Conflict Reported in Aljazeera and USA Today's News Articles," which contrasted two news sources, Al Jazeera (Middle East) and USA Today (United States of America). The study sought to analyze how each news outlet delivers the news and constructs the text, as well as the social definition and social context of covering the news of the ceasefire between Israel and Palestine. The research used qualitative methods and van Dijk's model to analyze the data, specifically the social cognition theory. The purpose of this strategy is to facilitate van Dijk's text discourse and the inclusion of the journalist's cognition and discourse. The researcher narrowed the emphasis of the study to the difference in media coverage of the same event and the reasons for this difference in news reports. The three critical points of the research are headline differences, social cognition across news sources, and social context. The researcher evaluated one of each media source's articles talking about the same event happening on the same day and determined that Al Jazeera leaned towards neutrality. In contrast, USA Today leaned towards their ideology and implied their support for Israel.

All previous studies above are examples of critical discourse analysis, mainly revolving around media discourse. Previous studies have analyzed data using Fairclough's and van Dijk's theories, as well as Halliday's systemic functional grammar. In this study, however, the researcher will utilize van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis on textual level. This study aims to unveil the possibility of putting ideology in news articles through the use of metaphors, meticulous lexical choice, and even take advantage of active and passive voice. Even if it's only through the discourse structure, this research is plan to analyze whether the discourse structure can subtly reveal ideology or certain view.

## 2.2 Theoretical Background

### 2.2.1 Discourse

A text has many meaningful purposes, and the reason it's being produced could be to express one's thoughts, messages, or ideas, to simply explain something to make others understand a point, or to get



ers to think in a specific way. Widdowson (2007) then refers to this complicated goal as discourse. A discourse may have an underlying meaning, but it is up to the readers or listeners to make up its meaning. Therefore, Widdowson (2007) concluded that discourse means both "what a text producer meant" and "what a text means to the receiver".

Guy Cook (1989), in his book "Discourse", defined discourse as the use of language to coherently communicate something. According to him, a discourse doesn't necessarily follow grammatical rules as long as it is coherent and understandable by its receiver. In understanding discourse, we either employ our understanding of grammar or our knowledge about the world. The employment of knowledge is what we call context: what we know is influenced by our situation, cultural and social relationship with the sender, by our own knowledge, and the sender's knowledge. With all these combined, a discourse can then be unified. In conclusion, discourse, according to Guy Cook, is a coherent and united form of communication that the sender and receiver understand.

Discourse in linguistics, according to Fairclough (1995), is what is referred to as extended samples of either spoken or written language. According to him, discourse focuses on higher-level structures. It involves not just the interaction between speaker and listener or writer and reader, but also includes the process of producing and understanding language, as well as the situational context in which it is used. In addition, discourse is used a lot in social theories and analysis to point out the different ways of constructing fields of knowledge and social practices. In summary, discourse, according to Fairclough, extends beyond simple language and involves its production while being used in many areas.

### **2.2.2 Media Discourse and Agenda Setting**

By the end of the 1970s, specifically in 1979, Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress, and Trew had published a critical study on media entitled Language and Control. This study explored the connection between language, social power, and ideology. In the study, they investigated how sentence structures (e.g., passive and active sentences) could negatively affect the depiction of certain groups. According to van Dijk, critical discourse analysis, specifically media discourse, has been developed to investigate various forms of media and systematically analyze the structure of such media, including but not limited to the lexicon, syntax, metaphor, coherence,



al identities, modality, genres, and rhetorical figures (van Dijk, 1).

News is information about current happenings in a particular tion in the world that is reported in various formats, such as newspapers, television, or the Internet (Qin, 2018). In today's society, news is one of several ways to learn about different parts of the world. However, the researcher noticed variations in how different media sources represented the news. The term for this is called "agenda-setting". While the term's origin is unknown, it was popularized after Maxwell McCombs and Donald Lewis Shaw's study called Chapell Hill in 1968. In 2008, McCombs defined agenda-setting as how the news media influences and directs our attention to specific aspects of issues.

Furthermore, McCombs and Valenzuela (2020) view agenda-setting as the role of mass media in influencing what issues are essential to the public. They subconsciously shape people's opinions by putting up what the press considers important. The specific media that will be analyzed in this study are news articles. Critical discourse analysis will be used on selected articles, specifically focusing on how textual features such as sentence structure, lexical choice, metaphors, and presupposition are used to portray Israel and Palestine while also finding out the possible ideology of each media source. In conclusion, agenda-setting refers to how media control the public's opinion by showing the public the truth, therefore directly or indirectly influencing their views and opinions on an issue.

### **2.2.3 Discourse Analysis**

Zellig S. Harris (1952) coined the term "Discourse Analysis", a method for analyzing connected speech or writing. Harris proposed that this strategy may be used to gather novel information transcending descriptive linguistics. Discourse analysis comprises various approaches that examine language use in different contexts, including spoken, written, or signed language. These approaches can help identify patterns, themes, and structures within a text. Despite this beneficial ability to reveal underlying meaning and connections, there is a potential for subjective interpretation depending on the approach. Discourse analysis is not bound to language analysis but also includes social, political, and cultural contexts; therefore, the focus is not limited to words and the connotations of those words. Additionally, it is not restricted to method; discourse analysis simultaneously dives into the relationship of language to social issues



the viewpoint on the characteristics of the language (Yip, J.W.C., 4).

According to Gill (2000), discourse analysis is one of several techniques for studying a text that emerged from various theoretical traditions and diverse disciplinary settings. Gill highlighted the key elements of discourse analysis, as there is no definition of the term. The features of discourse analysis include being critical of knowledge and questioning the truthfulness of our worldview. Discourse analysis also acknowledges that history and culture have a relative impact on how we interpret the world, as well as how social processes can influence how we understand the world, implying that “knowledge is socially constructed”. Widdowson (2007) analyzed discourse analysis by connecting it with language and context. He defined discourse in the first place as the complex of communicative purposes hidden in the text and the very reason for writing the text.

To conclude, discourse analysis is a way to examine language beyond the text itself and instead takes on another approach to connect it with other factors, such as the social context. Discourse analysis can assist in understanding the implied meaning or idea that is not explicitly described in the text itself.

#### **2.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis**

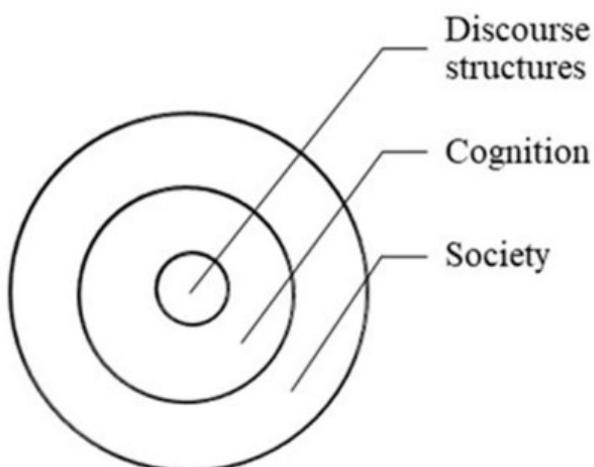
Despite having similar names, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis differ in their methods of investigation. While discourse analysis focuses on language structure and its context, critical discourse analysis delves deeper and examines how the usage of language can portray power and ideology. In other words, critical discourse analysis is a branch of discourse analysis. Norman Fairclough describes critical discourse analysis as a three-dimensional framework that outlines three different analysis designs (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough divided the dimension into the textual dimension (the linguistic features of the text), the discursive practice dimension (the processes of production of the text), and the sociocultural practice dimension (the social, cultural, and historical context that is based on the text).

Ruth Wodak (2014) also contributes to critical discourse analysis by emphasizing social issues and the role of discourse in power dynamics. According to Wodak, CDA is multidisciplinary research problem-focused and encompasses a number of methodologies, each with its own theoretical frameworks, research methodologies, and objectives. To summarize, critical discourse



lysis takes a specific approach compared to discourse analysis. cifically, critical discourse analysis focuses on power and ideology, nly on how language is used within a text to perform a specific nda.

On the other hand, Teun A. van Dijk (1998) proposes three components further to investigate ideologies in text in critical discourse analysis. According to Teun A. van Dijk (2001), critical discourse analysis primarily focuses on language use in order to further understand how social power and ideology are conveyed through language itself. These components include social functions, cognitive structures, and discursive expression and reproduction. The figure below, by Daghigh et al. (2018), further illustrates Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method.



*Image 1. Daghigh et al. (2018) illustrate van Dijk's (1998) critical discourse analysis.*

van Dijk illustrates the analysis of a text in terms of the structures of the text, the cognition, and the context behind it. In the structure of a text, van Dijk analyzes:

- 2.2.4.1 Macrostructure here means the overall theme or topic pushed in a news article.
- 2.2.4.2 Superstructure: the analysis covers the schematic part of a text, or how an article is written and organized.
- 2.2.4.3 Microstructure. In this structure, van Dijk analyzes four subparts.



1. Semantics. The elements analyzed the background, detail, meaning, and presupposition in semantics.
2. Syntactic analysis is analyzing how the sentences are organized. Coherence, sentence type, pronoun, and nominalization are the elements analyzed in syntax.
3. Stylistics analyzes the diction in the news article. The element analyzed here is the lexicon or word choices.
4. Rhetoric is how the text emphasizes a certain point. It is about how language is used in attempt of persuasion method. The elements used include metaphors, repetition and expressions.

After analyzing a text, van Dijk's method analyzes the social cognition. According to van Dijk (2001), social cognition refers to the socially shared cognitive strategies and representations that control discourse creation and interpretation. Social cognition is tied closely with power and dominance, and the factors affecting this power might include, but are not limited to, wealth, income, or status. Their act might not always be by force, but they can be performed subtly by persuasion. van Dijk also emphasizes dominance, which is tied closely with critical discourse analysis, as a form of "social power abuse"; an act might not be orthodox or socially accepted but rather favor the interest of a much more powerful group.

The social context in van Dijk's model refers to the relations between the text and its background, including the social and historical events relating to the discourse itself. What were the things that happened prior to this event? What kind of background do the media outlets have? Who backs the media source? These kinds of questions are to be answered using van Dijk's model by analyzing the social context relating to the discourse text.

Power and dominance play an essential role when it comes to writing a discourse. One's personal beliefs might affect the text one produces, but it cannot be ignored that others in power might affect the result of such text to favor a particular side. The way society is represented in our minds, in this case, includes beliefs, ideologies, and shared knowledge, and is the bridge between the textual structure of a discourse and society. This approach correlates to discourse



lysis because of how language affects the reproduction of a text (van Dijk, 2001).

### Conceptual Framework

