

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON IDEOLOGICAL
REPRESENTATION OF *THE JAKARTA POST* AND *THE NEW
YORK TIMES*' COVID-19-RELATED NEWS**

THESIS

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG**

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THESIS

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2022

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled “**A Critical Discourse Analysis on Ideological Representation of *The Jakarta Post* and *The New York Times*’ Covid-19-Related News**” is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, July 4th 2022



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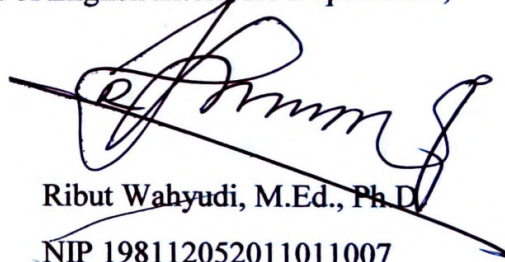
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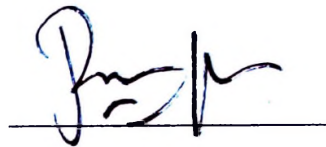
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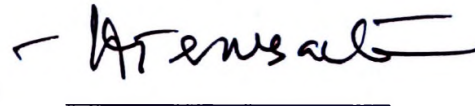
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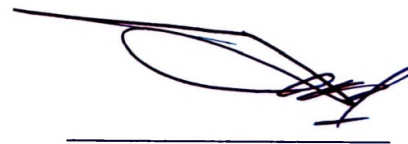
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MOTTO

“There is no greater weapon than a prepared mind”

- Zhuge Liang

DEDICATION

It is with genuine gratitude and warm regard that I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Mr. Jakfar Sodik and Mrs. Ida Saifiatun, who have given me unconditional love since day 1 and whose constant prayers have encouraged me to put my all into things I desire to achieve. This work is also dedicated to my brother and sisters; Rafika Aprila, Zahira Naynawa, and Ali Zaflan Jakfarian who have always been by my side and my source of happiness. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my best friends whom I cannot mention for supporting me and always having my back.

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This thesis is far from perfection and has a lot of drawbacks, any criticism or suggestion of future studies are expected to enrich the results of this study.

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ABSTRACT

Rizaldi, Syauqi (2022). *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Ideological Representation of The Jakarta Post and The New York Times' Covid-19-Related News.* Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.

Keywords: *COVID-19, ideology, social actors, transitivity, US-China tension*

The outbreak of coronavirus had affected every part of society in the past two years. The issue entangling the United States and China had been one of the hottest issues and had become heated in regards to the virus' widespread. Consequently, attempts to investigate this issue have been carried out through various lenses, approaches, and theories. Characteristically, this research paper applies a descriptive-qualitative approach through the eye of a Critical Discourse Analysis with a reference Social Actor Representation theory pioneered by Theo Van Leeuwen and Transitivity model by Michael Halliday. The present article aims at discovering the representation of ideology through the processes and how the actors in the processes are represented in 20 online news of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post. Succeeding the data collection and analysis comprehensively, the researcher discovered that material processes dominate both outlets' news compared to other processes even though The Jakarta Post shows a wider coverage compared to The New York Times. Both the exclusion and inclusion strategies are utilized by both news publishers but The New York Times has a greater tendency to use nomination compared to The Jakarta Post. Thus, the ideological representation found is that The New York Times is biased towards America's side while The Jakarta Post is fairly more neutral.

ABSTRAK

Rizaldi, Syauqi (2022). *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Ideological Representation of The Jakarta Post and The New York Times' Covid-19-Related News*. Skripsi. Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.

Kata kunci: *COVID-19, ideologi, aktor sosial, transitivity, ketegangan Amerika-Tiongkok*

Wabah virus corona berdampak pada setiap bagian masyarakat dalam dua tahun terakhir. Isu yang melibatkan Amerika Serikat dan China telah menjadi salah satu isu terpanas dan semakin memanas disebabkan oleh penyebaran virus tersebut. Oleh karena itu, upaya untuk meneliti permasalahan ini telah dilakukan melalui berbagai lensa, pendekatan, dan teori. Melihat dari karakteristiknya, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif-kualitatif melalui kacamata Analisis Wacana Kritis dengan teori Representasi Aktor Sosial yang dipelopori oleh Theo Van Leeuwen dan model Transitivity milik Michael Halliday. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui representasi ideologi melalui proses-proses dan bagaimana aktor dalam proses tersebut direpresentasikan dalam 20 berita online The New York Times dan The Jakarta Post. Setelah berhasil mengumpulkan dan menganalisis data secara komprehensif, peneliti menemukan bahwa proses material mendominasi berita kedua outlet dibandingkan dengan proses lainnya, meskipun The Jakarta Post menunjukkan cakupan yang lebih luas dibandingkan dengan The New York Times. Baik strategi eksklusi maupun inklusi digunakan oleh kedua penerbit berita tersebut, namun The New York Times memiliki kecenderungan yang lebih besar untuk menggunakan nominasi dibandingkan dengan The Jakarta Post. Dengan demikian, representasi ideologis yang ditemukan adalah The New York Times menunjukkan keberpihakan terhadap Amerika sedangkan The Jakarta Post cenderung netral.

مستخلص البحث

رجالدي، شوقي (٢٠٢٢). تحليل خطاب نقدي حول التمثيل الأيديولوجي لصحيفة جاكرتا بوست والأخبار ذات الصلة بكوفيد-19 التابعة لصحيفة نيويورك تايمز. أطروحة جامعية. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة الإسلام نيجري مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج. مستشار الأستاذ الدكتور موجيا راجاراجو

الكلمات المفتاحية: كوفيد-19، أيديولوجية، فاعلون اجتماعيون، انتقالية، توتر أمريكي صيني

أثر تفشي فيروس كورونا على كل جزء من المجتمع في العامين الماضيين. كانت القضية المتشابكة بين الولايات المتحدة والصين واحدة من أهم القضايا وأصبحت ساخنة فيما يتعلق بانتشار الفيروس. وبالتالي، فقد جرت محاولات للتحقيق في هذه القضية من خلال عدسات ومقاربات ونظريات مختلفة بشكل مميز، تطبق هذه الورقة البحثية نهجًا وصفيًا نوعيًا من خلال عين تحليل الخطاب النقدي مع نظرية تمثيل الممثل الاجتماعي المرجعية التي ابتكرها ثيو فان ليوين ونموذج الانتقال بواسطة مايكل هاليداي. تهدف المقالة الحالية إلى اكتشاف تمثيل الأيديولوجيا من خلال العمليات وكيف يتم تمثيل الجهات الفاعلة في العمليات في 20 خبيرًا، على الإنترنت في نيويورك تايمز وجاكرتا بوست. نجح الباحث في جمع البيانات وتحليلها بشكل شامل واكتشف أن العمليات المادية تهيمن على أخبار كلا المنفذين مقارنة بالعمليات الأخرى على الرغم من أن صحيفة جاكرتا بوست تُظهر تغطية أوسع مقارنة بصحيفة نيويورك تايمز. يستخدم كل من ناشري الأخبار استراتيجيتي الاستبعاد والتضمين، لكن نيويورك تايمز لديها ميل أكبر لاستخدام الترشيح مقارنة بصحيفة جاكرتا بوست. وبالتالي، فإن التمثيل الأيديولوجي الذي تم العثور عليه هو أن نيويورك تايمز منحازة نحو الجانب الأمريكي بينما تعد صحيفة جاكرتا بوست أكثر حيادية إلى حد ما

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces background of the study, objectives of the study in the form of questions, significance of the study, scope and limitations, and definitions of essential terms.

A. Background of the Study

The studies of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have been explored by a lot of scholars. One of the prominent ones have concluded that CDA is a crucial tool to understand how power and ideology are interrelated to discourse, society, and culture (Fowler et al., 1979). CDA is also a means to raise the awareness of ideological indoctrination that improves and manipulates society (Fairclough, 1984). Multiple attempts of CDA have varied in terms of the object of the study including but not limited to webtoon comics (Anshari et al., 2021), political speech (Yang, 2017; Megah, 2019; Al Umami, 2020), and news reports (Chalimah et al., 2018; Lombardi, 2018). However, little attention has been paid to the comparison between Indonesian and Western news. The goal of the current study, therefore, is to reveal the ideological representation in Indonesian and Western news outlets with reference to COVID-19 through transitivity and Social Actor Representation analysis. This is expected to enrich the discussion of CDA especially in dealing with current global issues.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the notion of ideology are almost inseparable. Ideology is the result of discursive practices that produce and

reproduce power relations among communities (Fairclough, 1985). According to Van Dijk (2006), ideology can also be understood as the ideas and beliefs produced by society in different forms of discourses such as speech and texts. Texts including news reports are thus one of the mediums where ideology is operated.

Employing two different tools of CDA; Halliday's (1994) transitivity and Social Actor Representation pioneered by Leeuwen (2008), this research makes an attempt to discuss the representation of ideology as well as its relation with the social actors involved in the selected news reports. The Indonesian news outlet chosen is The Jakarta Post while The New York Times represents the Western media. The New York Times and The Jakarta Post were chosen due to their significant degree of readership measured by circulation rate. According to Nielsen Consumer & Media View or CMV (2018), The Jakarta Post is one of the largest circulation newspapers in Indonesia with an average circulation of 842,000 per day. In addition to the Indonesian news publisher, the New York Times, according to the Alliance for Audited Media (2013), was claimed as having the highest distribution rate amongst the US newspapers in 2012.

This inquiry is thus necessary to provide a depiction of how similar or different Indonesian and Western media are in presenting their ideological discourse on COVID-19, one of the most heated issues in today's world. The explosion of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) has brought about a globally hazardous crisis that deeply affected the way we see our daily basis. Apart from the rate of contagion and transmission sequence endangering our sense of agency, the safety protocols put in place to restrain the viruses' rapid movement also need social

distancing by isolating from doing normal activities, which is to seek comfort and support in the company of others (Al-Ghamdi, 2021). In this issue of physically visible threat, social and physical distancing, and public alarm, it is thus crucial to explore what had been (and could be) the threat of the various mass media reports in our trajectories individually and socially.

Investigations of ideology and Critical Discourse Analysis have been done previously in multiple ways. Anshari et al. (2021) attempted to examine webtoon comics through the analysis of interpersonal function. In a similar vein, Ruobing et al. (2020) applied the ideational function of Systemic Functional Linguistics in discussing ideological tendencies found in online news. Megah & Noor (2020) and Nielsen (2018) have conducted analyses to explore the representation of social actors regarding political issues and president election respectively. Studies on ideological representation in two media belonging to different countries have also been worked on. For instance, Zhang et al. (2021) carried out a comparative study of Chinese and American Media Reports on COVID-19 and Abdulameer et al. (2019) conducted an analysis of transitivity on Middle-Eastern and Western political online news. The current study thus tries to examine the ideological biases in Indonesian and Western news that remain receiving little attention, especially by employing two different tools of analysis which are Halliday's (1994) ideational function of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the assistance of Leeuwen's (2008) theory of Social Actor Representation.

This study seeks to further scrutinize how different or similar news media are in representing their ideological implication of a certain issue such as COVID-

19 (Beibei, 2021) and political affairs (Mujahid, 2018). Notwithstanding, the present research brings up novelty by filling the gap of relevant previous studies in applying two different tools of analysis and two different news publishers belonging to Indonesia and America to be specific. What makes this research gap significant to be sealed is that it might potentially bring about the possibility of each theory unveiling different results in terms of the ideology underlying the news. Furthermore, the need to further analyze the difference between Indonesian and Western news reports should be covered to support or contradict the common notion that frames of Western and Eastern media are typically different and sometimes contradict each other (Liu, 2021).

All things considered, multiple scholars and investigations in regards to ideological representation and Critical Discourse Analysis in general have been conducted through various theories, methods, and data. Trying to draw something new from what has been not covered in earlier studies, this research tries to combine two theories as the knives of the analysis and tackling the ideological representation of Indonesian and Western news media that also receives a considerably little attention. These all are expected to complement existing state of knowledge or generate different results that might oppose those conducted by previous attempts. Such an inquiry is significant to further enrich the development of Critical Discourse Analysis and can better acknowledge manner of thinking, cultural values, attitudes, and judgments in Indonesia and the United States.

B. Research Questions

1. How does the transitivity model reveal the processes in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post online news on COVID-19?
2. How do The New York Times and The Jakarta Post portray the social actors involved in the online news about COVID-19?
3. What is the representation of ideology in the online news of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post based on discussions of the textual analysis?

C. Significances of the Study

1. Theoretical significance

This study can enrich the development of studies on Critical Discourse Analysis, especially in relation to ideological representation. The findings of this research questions are expected to fill the gap of studies done previously by employing two different analyses in investigating one topic with two different news outlets. Furthermore, the results are expected to be used as a reference for other researchers who are going to do similar research.

2. Practical significance

The results of this study are expected to contribute to how people in general can unveil underlying ideology or certain hidden agendas behind texts. Furthermore, the findings can provide students and teachers with appropriate examples of an analysis of Transitivity or Social Actor Representation.

D. Scope and Limitations

In the present study, the researcher concentrates on representations of ideology found in Indonesian and Western online news reports with special reference to COVID-19 issues. The Jakarta Post and New York Times were then picked out due to their high distribution rate in the representative country. The topic of the news selected as the locus of the study is made specific to the coverage of the conflict between the United States and China during the first outbreak period of COVID-19 emergence in China that later expanded worldwide. In accordance with this, only news published from January to May 2020 are selected and filtered to get the scope stayed in line.

The ideological representation is analyzed through two different theories namely Transitivity model by Halliday (1994) and Social Actor Representation by Van Leeuwen (2008). Since this study presents a critical discourse analysis, the coverage of this research thus falls within discourse, power, representation, inclusion and exclusion, and some other notions related to critical discourse analysis. What remains under discussion is the strategies of presenting ideology that is based on Van Dijk's (2006) work. Thus, any other strategies and concepts of ideology and critical discourse analysis in general that are not part of Van Dijk's (2006) study will be set aside.

E. Definition of Key Terms

Several important terms in this research need to be introduced by providing definitions to give readers an initial understanding of what this study is about:

1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): a qualitative-based approach of analysis to describe and illuminate the ways discourse contributes to constructing, maintaining, and legitimizing social inequalities in a critical manner.
2. Ideology: opinions or beliefs that characterize a particular cultural value of a group or an individual.
3. Transitivity: a set of grammatical systems that construes the world of experience into a manageable set of types of processes.
4. Social Actor Representation (SAR): a model of analysis to analyze how a certain group of people or individuals as social actors are marginalized in a discourse.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This section will explain several pivotal concepts that will support and give a general understanding of what the current study is heading to. This chapter consists of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis (Transitivity and Social Actor Analysis), power, representation, and ideology.

A. Discourse Analysis

The word ‘discourse’ is something that is not foreign in daily life. The use of word discourse is often used by various disciplines ranging from language studies, psychology, politics, communication, literature, and other disciplines. Each discipline of course has a perspective and understanding of the term discourse. The term discourse in the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Kontemporer* (KBIK) can mean be understood as multiple things; conversation, speech, the unity of speech and conversation, and a form of most complete linguistic unit that can be realized in the form of a complete essay, such as novels, books, and articles (Salim, 2000). Salim also suggests that discourse is broader than clauses and sentences, has strong cohesion and coherence, has comprehensible beginnings and ends, is continuous, and can be expressed orally or written.

Moreover, Sumarlan et al. (2009) state that discourse is a unit of propositions that are intertwined for providing the listeners or readers a sense of cohesion or belonging. Cohesion itself should appear from the content of the discourse, but many senses of cohesion the listeners and readers feel must emerge

from expression, the expression of the discourse. Discourse analysis is one of the scientific disciplines in linguistics that specifically examines discourse (Alwasilah, 2005). The analysis can be done internally or externally. The analytical material in discourse analysis includes language units that involve communication between the sender of the message and the recipient of the message. The language used can be in the form of spoken or written language (Rohana & Syamsudin, 2015). The principle of discourse analysis is divided into two, namely the principle of locality and the principle of analogy. Discourse analysis was initially conventional by using a cohesion and coherence approach. In its development, modern theories that are critical, sociological and psychological have been used for discourse analysis (Arifin, 2017).

B. Critical Discourse Analysis

As one of the studies that has gained a lot of attention, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is defined in some varying ways by scholars of the field. CDA according to Fairclough (1984) is a means of analyzing language as a social practice through discourse in both speaking and writing matters. To further illustrate, CDA should be fundamentally focused on tackling issues relating to social topics (Van Dijk, 2006) and be emphasized on interdisciplinary work to understand how language works in organizing social institutions through knowledge (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). A more comprehensive definition of CDA is that it deals with power and justice and how economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation lead to the construction, reproduction, and transformation of social system (Rogers et al., 2005).

Critical Discourse Analysis perceives language as a crucial factor, that is to find out how language is applied to observe how the inequality of power in society prevails. Eriyanto (2012) presents the important characteristics of critical discourse analysis:

The first characteristic is action. Discourse is referred to as an action. Having understood that associating discourse is a form of interaction, discourse is not placed in closed and internal space. There are several predicaments of how discourse should be seen. First, discourse is considered as something that has a goal, whether to influence, question, persuade, support, react, etc. Second, discourse is perceived as something that is deliberately expressed and controlled, not something that is uncontrollable or conveyed unconsciously.

Context is another key feature of critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis makes allowances for the discourse context such as setting, situation, event, and condition. The discourse at this point is constructed, acknowledged, and analyzed in a certain context. Discourse analysis also scrutinizes the context of communication: who communicates with whom and why; what types of audiences and situations; through what medium; how the communication develops; and relationships of each party. The point of departure of discourse analysis is that language cannot be seen as an internal mechanism of languages alone. The language here is realized in the whole context.

The third pivotal characteristic is history. Understanding of the discourse of text can only be gained if we can provide the historical context in which the text

was produced. At times, conducting an analysis needs a review to find out why the discourse developed in a certain way, why is the language used? and so on.

Another essential characteristic of CDA is power. Every discourse that arises in the form of text, conversation, or anything, is not understood as a neutral entity, but as a form of power struggle. The concept of power is one of the important aspects of the connection between discourse and society.

Finally, the last important feature is ideology. Ideology is also a primary conception in critical discourse analysis. This is due to the reason that text, conversation, and others are manifestations of the practice of ideology or the reflection of a certain ideology.

A lot of experts also have proposed their own concepts to provide a tool for people and researchers in general to undergo and understand Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1984) is well-known for his three-dimensional concepts that aim to delineate three different forms of analysis: language texts, discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice. Additionally, Van Dijk's (2006) approach mixes cognitive theories with linguistic and social theories. Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) also proposed three meta-functions comprising ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. Furthermore, Leeuwen (2008) argued through his concept of Social Actors Representation (SAR) that social actors are represented in whether they are excluded or included in the discourse.

All things considered, the researcher has decided to not solely rely on one CDA concept only to answer the research questions. The researcher has chosen Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of Social Actors Representation while combining it with Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar (also known as Systemic Functional Linguistics). This consideration was based on the reason that SAR can guide the analysis by focusing on the people involved in the data who in turn are called social actors in order to unveil which parties that are involved and diminished in the text (Megah & Noor, 2020). Regardless, SAR alone cannot help us reveal the whole ideological context of the issue. Therefore, the assistance of Halliday's (1994) ideational function of SFL can further grasp the issues and all elements entrenched in that events together with the relationship of logic between an affair state and those events (Barlett and O'Grady, 2017).

1. Transitivity Model

Reality is made up of processes. A process consists, in principle, of three components: the process itself, participants in the process, circumstances associated with the process (Halliday, 1994). These provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on. The concepts of process, participants and circumstance are semantic categories which explain, in the most general way, how phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures. Process is the key element in transitivity, which can be related with one or more participants and circumstances. Together there are six process types, namely, material process, mental process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process, and existential process.

a. Material process

The material process is the process of doing. It represents the idea that some entity “does” something which might be done to some other entities. Thus, what we can understand is what someone or something did to whom or what. It typically involves two participants: Actor and Goal. The actor is the one who does the action, each material process has an actor and the goal is the one being the object of the action (Halliday, 1994).

b. Mental process

Mental process is the process of sensing. This process explains what is happening inside of one’s mind that pertains to such processes as thinking, imagining, wanting, liking, seeing, etc. In mental processes, there is always a participant that can perform such actions. That is to say, the participant should be equipped with consciousness. This participant is known as the Senser. The other participant is the phenomenon, which is something that is sensed, felt, thought or seen (Halliday, 1994).

c. Relational process

Relational process deals with the process of being. In other words, a relation is constructed between two different entities, but without suggesting that one entity impacts the other in any way. According to Halliday (1994), the system of English language operates with three main relational processes types: intensive, circumstantial, and possessive.

d. Behavioral process

Behavioral process refers to such physiological or psychological behavior like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring. There is only one participant labeled as Behavior, which is usually a conscious being. In some clauses, there may be another participant: the Range, which is not a real participant but only adds specific action to the process (Halliday, 1994).

e. Verbal process

Verbal process is defined as the process of saying. However, the word “saying” must be understood in a broad sense. It can mean any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning. Therefore, there must be someone or something plays the role of the “Sayer” who delivers the message. The other participant is Receiver, the one to whom the message is directed (Halliday, 1994).

f. Existential process

Existential process refers to something existing or happening. It expresses the existence and an entity without predicting anything else of it. There is only one participant in existential processes: the Existent, which can be any kind of phenomenon not only person, object or institution but also any action or event (Halliday, 1994).

2. Social Actor Analysis

Van Leeuwen defined social actors as human beings that are presented as participants in clauses and can be represented as subjects (agents) or objects (goals) in the clause (Baker & Ellece, 2011). Thus, an actor is represented as a certain individual or as a kind of a person that is located in a discourse (Van Leeuwen,

2008:6). Van Leeuwen employs the term 'Exclusion' and 'Inclusion' to refer to social actors, that is, social actors can be excluded or included dependent upon the goal and ideology of the writer.

a. Exclusion

Exclusion refers to the process of deleting actors by some linguistic mechanisms for different reasons. Exclusion can be differentiated between two subcategories: suppression and backgrounding. The first one deals with excluding both the social actors and their actions leaving no trace anywhere in a text. Backgrounding, contrarily, suggests that social actors leave a reference in a text.

b. Inclusion

Inclusion is more common in any text which means that social actors are mentioned clearly in a text and they are put in the center of attention. Van Leeuwen (2008) classifies inclusion into different kinds. The following categories are used in the corpora:

1) Activation/Passivation: takes place when social actor is presented as the performer of action, that is considered as the active, dynamic forces in an activity. However, passivation happens when the social actor is the recipient action or is shown as undergoing the activity (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

2) Genericization/Specification: the former takes place when the social actors are considered as groups or classes. Specification occurs when social actors are represented as specific and identifiable individuals (Van Leeuwen 2008).

3) Assimilation: occurs when the actor is described in a group. Assimilation is described by plurality. It can be divided into two types: aggregation plays an essential role in different contexts, quantifies groups of participants treating them as "statistics" and is realized by definite or indefinite quantifier; and collectivization is represented by the first or third-person plural and collective words like 'this nation', 'the community' and so on (van Leeuwen, 1996).

4) Association: refers to representation of groups made by participants or groups of participants, like 'politicians, bureaucrats, and ethnic minorities', without labeling them in the text (Caliendo & Magistro, 2009).

5) Indetermination: this strategy occurs in the text when the participants are described as unspecified or anonymous entities (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

6) Functionalization/Identification: the former takes place when social actors are portrayed depending on their activity or something they performed instead of their person's features such as an occupation or a role. Identification, on the other hand, occurs when participants are represented in terms of what they are, rather in terms of what they do (Van Leeuwen 2008).

7) Personalization/Impersonalization: Personalization occurs when the participants are described as a human being including the features of human. However, social actors can also be impersonalized when they are described

by abstract nouns or concrete nouns that do not have the feature of human, i.e., those objects that are not human (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

C. Ideology

The notion of ideology and Critical Discourse Analysis is intertwined thus both cannot be separated. In the eye of Fowler (1991), ideology refers to the ways in which people order and justify their lives, giving a neutral definition with no reference to other areas. In its relation with politics, Fairclough in *Language and Power* (1984, p.44) argues that “ideology involves the representation of ‘the world’ from the perspective of a particular interest”. Thompson (1990) also defines ideology in a political manner by stating that ideology in general supports and is in the state of power. Another expert in the field who coined a definition of ideology is Simpson (1993) who believes that groups of powerful people use language to construct and reinforce their domination of ideology.

Some conceptions by scholars with regards to ideology have been established in different manners. Fairclough (1985) demonstrates transforming goals from the views of textual and contextual variations that discourse practices might contain significant effects of ideology that produce and reproduce inequality of power relations among the different parts of the community. Besides, Hodge’s (2012) concept is grounded on interaction as a basic need for discourse which is strong and transformative since it promotes different forms of ideologies. Van Dijk’s (1995) former concept, however, emphasizes ideological consumption in both cognitive and social levels. As the present study attempts to present ideological

analysis in its close relation with power, the researcher has decided to pick Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive model for its coverage that includes both text and context. Thus, this selection is expected to portray comprehensive results, especially in its employment with the approaches mentioned previously.

Three dimensions of a socio-cognitive discourse analysis that inform this study (Van Dijk, 2006). The cognitive aspect tackles cognitive processes that allows the understanding of discourse via personal and social cognitive elements. The social aspect discusses power by examining the people's communication in micro-macro stages and discursive concept. The discursive aspect concerns with the components of semantics and grammar to identify the importance of ideologies in constructing the discourse. Because cognitive levels govern the structure of discourse, words, clauses, sentences, and discourse are analyzed along with their hidden beliefs and ideologies as to find out how impactful they are to the readers (Van Dijk, 2006).

D. Representation

Representation means to represent, describe and explain a thing. In a narrow sense, representation is a picture of a thing in life that is drawn through certain media (Ilhamsyah, 2019). Based on Hall's (1997) point of view, he stated that representation can give rise to various meanings and speculation and the consequences of the exchange and the resulting meaning in a community group. Hall defined Representation in two ways: 1) Conceptual Mapping of Mindset, namely the formation of the pattern of the system of plans that have been thought

out by humans conscious. 2) Formed construction by language, language construction is when we convey what we have thought and compiled before. Language must be conveyed clearly so that it is easy to understand to the point ideas and concepts can be conveyed well (Aprinta, 2011).

Representing a certain thing means showing thought through imagination or description. To represent the concept of something, the first process in making meaning of the world is through the construction of a map correspondence chain conceptual in a certain language. Seeing through the language of relationships between “things”, “conceptual maps”, and “language and symbols” is the most important part of the construction of meaning in representation. Organized concept mapping and easy-to-understand language can create a concrete form so that the representation can be interpreted correctly and the media can successfully convey the meaning of the representation of reality that is represented (Kosakoy, 2016: 3)

E. Power

Power refers to an ability to control the activities of other people, even if against that will. Power is one's ability or society to be able to control the activities of the controlled ones in a way to come up with ideas that make it difficult to resist. Powerful people's ideas are their potential to hold the power. Thus, the people who are controlled need to submit and obey (Wijikangka, 2008).

Weber (2002) defines power as an opportunity that exists in a person or a number of people to carry out his own will in social action, or get challenges from others involved in that action. Weber's concept of opportunity (chance or

probability), i.e. opportunity can be linked to economy, honor, political party or whatever only is the source of power for someone. Power is not forever running smoothly, because in society there must be someone who doesn't agree or do resistance, either openly or veiled (Pawestri, 2015).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

In this section, the present study will be explained in terms of what research method is being used. To be specific, this chapter consists of research design, source of the data, data collection, and data analysis.

A. Research Design

This research is descriptive-qualitative in nature – one of the most frequently used research designs – since the data analysis is presented through observation and description of textual information and does not account for numerical data in the analysis (Hennink et al., 2020). This is in harmony with the idea that qualitative-based study analyzes and generates descriptive data in the forms of written or spoken words from people or behavior being observed (Taylor et al., 1990). The objective of this method is to gain holistic and depth understanding rather than numerical information analysis. The research questions of this research are all attempted to observe and describe textual information thus the selection of qualitative design should be appropriated.

To be more specific, the present study struggles to seek the representation of ideology via two tools of Critical Discourse Analysis. Halliday's (1994) concept of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) will be employed specifically through ideational meaning (also known as transitivity). As has been stated by Halliday, the transitivity model elucidates the world of experience into a feasible set of types of processes. Every process type explains its own mode or schema to construe a

particular realm of experience as a figure of a certain type (Halliday, 1994). It functions as an explanation of the phenomena in the real world to represent language structure, including six categories: Material Process, Verbal Process, Mental Process, Relational Process, Behavioral Process, and Existential Process. Each of these processes has three components: Process, Participant, and Circumstance linked to the Process. Circumstantial elements are almost always noncompulsory enhancement of the clause instead of mandatory parts. Contrarily, participants are innate and inevitable components in the process: each experiential kind of clause has at least one participant and certain types made up of three participants (Halliday, 1994).

Following the transitivity process, the assistance of another theory as a tool of analysis is expected to perfect the analysis of the data. Leeuwen (2008) in his theory of Social Actor Representation uses the term “Exclusion” and “Inclusion” to refer to social actors. This means social actors can be excluded or included depending on the purpose and ideology of the writer. Exclusion deals with the process of deleting actors by some linguistic mechanisms for different reasons. Exclusion can be distinguished between two subcategories: suppression and backgrounding. Inclusion, on the one hand, is classified into different kinds: nomination, differentiation, indifferentiation, objectivation, abstraction, categorization, identification, determination, indetermination, individualization, assimilation, association, and dissociation.

The decision of mixing these two theories is based on that the transitivity system alone cannot give a holistic representation of the events. As Fowler (2013)

said, the central concept of Halliday's transitivity is the base of representation: it is the way the clause is used to scrutinize events and situations as belonging to certain types. This means that transitivity focuses more on the processes of experience. What I believe to be lacking is that it needs another tool to grasp the focus on people involved or taking part in the processes. Thus, the employment of Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation is expected to fill the tiny hole of Halliday's transitivity. SAR goes behind grammatical processes focusing on socio-semantic issues that deal with the way participants of events are depicted in the discourse such as 'exclusion' for representing social practices (De Rycker, 2014). These theories thus are expected to answer the objectives of this study as well as its data analysis, that with the employment of two tools, the findings and discussions can be more comprehensive and can answer the research questions completely.

B. Data and Source

The locus of this study was taken from online news outlets. To be specific, the researcher picked The Jakarta Post and New York Times in the form of news accessible online. The Indonesian news in The Jakarta Post represents the Eastern media while The New York Times represents the Western media. The New York Times and The Jakarta Post were selected because of their high level of readership measured by circulation rate. According to Nielsen Consumer & Media View or CMV (2018), The Jakarta Post is one the largest circulation newspapers in Indonesia with an average circulation of 842,000 per day. While the New York Times, according to the Alliance for Audited Media (2013), had the highest circulation rates among newspapers in the United States in 2012.

A total of twenty news is chosen with a certain specific topic. The specific topic pertains to the tension between the United States and China during the emergence of COVID-19. The Jakarta Post news being selected are but not limited to “US-China war of words clouds WHO meet focused on pandemic” and “China’s top political meetings open with minute silence over virus, threat to US” published in May 2020. The titles of The New York Times news under discussion include “China Spins Tale That the U.S. Army Started the Coronavirus Epidemic” published in March 2020 and another news published a month later entitled “Chinese Agents Helped Spread Messages That Sowed Virus Panic in the U.S., Officials Say”. The selection of these sources is in line with the research problems proposed previously that these popular outlets are expected to bring a piece of fruitful information to answer the research questions.

C. Data Collection

The methods of collecting data in a qualitative approach include interviews, document analysis, observation, audio-visual substances, and artifacts (Creswell, 2012). In the present study, the previously mentioned data were collected by conducting a document study through some stages that are digitally enhanced, resulting in faster, more accurate, and practical processes compared to manual ones (Rahardjo, 2021). Firstly, the researcher tried to look for information on several reliable news both in Indonesian and English which in turn The Jakarta Post and The New York Times were chosen. Afterward, some news that match the topic (the relationship between U.S and China) are kept and bookmarked to be filtered later on. The selection of the news then was fixed scanned by scanning them manually

in terms of language use and the discourse practice that might suit the data analysis. The researcher eventually copy-pasted the news to the researcher's note. These stages were applied in answering both research questions since both do not technically need different steps in collecting the data.

D. Data Analysis

This study underwent some steps in analyzing the data to tackle the research objectives. The data firstly are read comprehensively and in detail by paying attention to the words, clauses, and sentences in the news text. Then, highlighting and selecting important points were considered essential before applying the theories. Each news' sentence then was analyzed through Halliday's transitivity (1994) model first to explain the processes to be followed by Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Representation in order to depict the representation of the actors involved in the text. Finally, the results of the analysis through both tools are discussed to generate and elaborate the ideological representation based on Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive framework. These processes of data analysis were applied to both research questions similarly.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Throughout this chapter, the study will be conducted through some stages. Halliday's (1994) Transitivity theory will be first employed to find out the social processes of experience. Afterwards, the analysis will be explored via Van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Analysis model to explain the social actors. Finally, the results of the analysis through previous theories will be elaborated to unveil the ideological representation by applying Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive analysis.

A. Transitivity Analysis

In doing transitivity analysis, three components need to be examined: identifying the pattern of process of the clauses, identifying the participants as well as the roles of those participants (Halliday, 1994). In this study, the analysis of transitivity model will focus solely on the clauses in order to find out the processes. Only 20 clauses with ideas necessary to the main topic (US-China tension during COVID-19 pandemic) will be taken into consideration.

After examining the data comprising a total of 20 online news (10 news of The New York Times and 10 of The Jakarta Post) through the analysis of ideational metafunction or transitivity model, the results reveal that material process is the most frequent process occurred in the data (59), followed by mental process (19), verbal process (12), relational process (6), existential process (3), and behavioral process (1) respectively. The distribution of the processes found in the data will be presented through the following table:

Table 1. Transitivity Analysis of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post

No.	Processes	News media	
		The New York Times	The Jakarta Post
1	Material process	37 (74%)	22 (44%)
2	Mental process	8 (16%)	11 (22%)
3	Behavioral process	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
4	Verbal process	4 (8%)	8 (16%)
5	Relational process	1 (2%)	5 (10%)
6	Existential process	0 (0%)	3 (6%)

As can be seen in the table of The New York Times, material process take up 74% as the majority (n= 37), then mental process followed afterwards with 16% of percentage (n= 8), verbal process takes up 8% (n=4), relational process 2% (n=1), and no clauses found with behavioral and existential processes which mean both take up 0% (n= 0).

In The Jakarta Post, material process comes as the most frequent process occurred in the news by taking up less percentage (44%) than that of The New York Times (n= 22). The next process with the most occurrence is mental process that take up 22% (n=11). Verbal process comes third with 16% (n=8). Relational process comes after with 10% of percentage (n= 5). Lastly, existential and behavioral process take up 6% and 2% as the least occurred process in the news media (n= 3, n= 1).

1. Material process

In compliance with Halliday's point, material process is a process of "doing" by which one entity is "doing something" for another. In **The New York Times** as a representative of western Media, material process accounts for a great proportion of the six types of processes. Material process depicts the actions done by the social actors involved in the news including but not limited to Donald Trump as the president of the United States, Chinese government, and World Health Organization (WHO).

. In describing the United States, The New York Times implies that the United States is a powerful party. Each action taken by the government or by the president contains a huge impact on the readers as well as on China as the 'villain' in this situation. Have a look at the excerpts below:

Excerpt 1:

*The temporary restrictions followed announcements by American Airlines, Delta Air Lines and United Airlines that they **would suspend** air service between the United States and China for several months.*(The New York Times)

During the initial emergence of COVID-19 in China, the United States had taken precautionary action by restricting the air service entry from China into the United States. This action of suspending the travel shows that the United States was not blind of the situation. This travel disruption is a form of action to give impression that the United States was aware of the outbreak and able to prepare for the possibility that the virus might enter the county anytime soon. The use of material process is hugely related to emphasize the power contained in the actions (Abdulameer et al., 2019). In this case, the action of travel disruption by the United

States' administration is a sign of and awareness despite the raising fear and capability as a powerhouse country.

Excerpt 2

*In an episode last fall, the Trump administration **expelled** two Chinese officials who trespassed on an important military base in Virginia, evading the authorities until fire trucks blocked their car. (The New York Times)*

As the tension between the two countries intensified, the United States went one step further to showcase its bravery in conjunction with the threats coming from China. The United States noticed the threat from Chinese news outlets operating in the United States such as Xinhua, China Radio, and China Daily. The United States claimed that the Chinese employees working at these news organizations need to be expelled in order to deliberately escalate the diplomatic tensions between Washington and Beijing. The action of expelling Chinese citizens indicates that the United States was not afraid and wanted to assert their dominance, power, and strength to protect the country at all cost (Zhang, 2017).

To describe China, The New York Times also want to indicate that China is a serious threat to the United States through the domination of material processes found in the news. Pay attention to the following excerpts:

Excerpt 3

*But U.S. intelligence officials have said they expect tensions to flare again, and China to **restart** its efforts to deflect blame for the virus and **spread** disinformation about the United States' role in its origin. (The New York Times)*

It is common to everyone's knowledge that the first case of the infection of Coronavirus was spotted in Wuhan, China. The United States of course was one of the countries that believed that China needed to be held accountable for the widespread of the virus since it originally came from the country (Christensen, 2020). However, China somehow managed to dodge the bullet by deflecting the blame through a claim that the origin of the virus came from the American military. The action of spreading the misinformation was a clear intention to intensify the conflict between China and the United States. With material process, the New York Times as one of the largest American news publishers attempted to emphasize the incompetency of China in handling the virus.

Excerpt 4

*In response, Chinese officials and state news media **have stepped up** their criticism of American officials' comments. (The New York Times)*

China had also shown its willingness not to stand still to fight against negative comments from the United States. What caused this to happen was that Donald Trump, the former U.S. President, frequently referred to the Coronavirus as "Chinese virus" which is xenophobic and racist at the same time (Yuan, 2020). In response to the president's remark, Chinese news media clapped back by claiming that it was "Washington's poisonous coronavirus politics". Moreover, Chinese officials said that Trump's irresponsible commentary only and it could be more dangerous than the virus itself. What the New York Times tried to tell the audience is that China had never been silent and always looked up at the political situation happening between the two countries.

The Jakarta Post, on the other hand, showed a relatively similar number of occurrences among the six types of processes. Material process is used most frequently although it is not as many as that in The New York Times. Material processes in this Indonesian news publisher is employed to describe actions done mainly by the Chinese government and the United States officials.

Excerpt 5

*Officials in Washington and Beijing **have been firing** charges at each other for weeks as the US became one of the countries hardest-hit by a disease first identified in the central Chinese city of Wuhan. (The Jakarta Post)*

As has been explained previously, the United States and China were in a heated situation caused mainly by the outbreak of Coronavirus. In this example, however, The Jakarta Post did not make one party specified as the doer of this action. Instead, the action of “firing charges” was attributed to both Washington and Beijing officials by adding “at each other”. This implies directly that America and China were the ones responsible of their own action. Despite the explanation that material process is often related to actions that have a powerful effect, this inclusion of both parties dismissed the effect of power or authority underlying the actions and remained to keep the nuance relatively neutral (Zhang, 2017).

Excerpt 6

*China's annual high-level political meetings **opened** Thursday with a minute's silence for the victims of the coronavirus pandemic and a threat to hit back at the US in an escalating blame game over the disease. (The Jakarta Post)*

China has been consistent in holding a high-level political meeting every once a year. In 2020, the topic of the meeting was focused mostly on the coronavirus

disease, the outbreak that it caused, and other important things related to the virus. To begin the meeting, the politicians performed a material process - they held a silence that lasted for a minute to those who lost their lives due to the disease. In other words, this action denotes a positive attitude of these Chinese politicians. Contrary to the majority of findings saying that material processes are forms of actions with powerful impact, The Jakarta Post attributed this action to describe these delegates as well-mannered human beings, giving the readers the impression to also see this party in a positive way (AlAfnan, 2019).

2. Mental Process

Mental process also has a relatively high proportion in both The New York Times and The Jakarta Post. Mental process is the process of “sensing”. In The New York Times, the mental processes were performed by the actors that mostly revolved around the United States and China’s officials.

Excerpt 7

*But since the beginning of the outbreak in Wuhan, Mr. Trump has repeatedly signaled in his public remarks that he **viewed** the virus as a foreign threat. (The New York Times)*

COVID-19 took not too long to enter the United States. The first case was confirmed only a month after its first appearance in China in December 2019. A middle-aged man from Washington became the first patient of the coronavirus confirmed in the United States after he spent some months traveling to China. However, Mr. Trump had sensed the virus as a possible threat to the United States before the US’ first case happened. Donald Trump saw the disease as an unwanted

threat coming from foreign area that could affect every single aspect of the country. Therefore, a lot of precautionary actions were taken to protect the land from the foreign threat although in the end, the virus managed to break through. The performance of this mental process signals that the United States was ready and had prepared everything to protect the country (Zhang et al, 2021).

Excerpt 8

The China hawks say privately that they see the virus weakening the party's legitimacy and further separating the two countries. (The New York Times)

Several attempts of uniting both China and the United States were done despite the never-ending blame game between the two parties. Nevertheless, it all did not manage to come true immediately as the tension kept escalating in the first months after the worldwide pandemic (Zhang et al, 2021). The hawks of China believed that the virus had weakened China's legitimacy and reputation. This is not a surprise since the majority of the world considered China as the one who had the most responsibility for causing the widespread of the disease (Yuan, 2020). Furthermore, the China hawks also sensed the peace would never happen. The more rapid the virus moved, the further both parties separated.

Excerpt 9

Asked on Monday about reports that the US believed Chinese hackers were targeting US vaccine research, Trump replied: "What else is new with China?... I'm not happy." (The Jakarta Post)

The officials of the United States warned that there were attempts to hack the treatments and vaccines data of coronavirus by Chinese spies. Additionally, they

claimed that this attempt was to make the world believe China as a leader in technology. However, this allegation was never provided with clear examples and proof (Christensen, 2020). It was crystal clear that America just wanted to add fuel to the fire of the epidemic tension between Washington and Beijing. What The Jakarta Post wanted to tell the readers was that the United States made up this allegation to put dirt on the Chinese side. The mental process of “believing” by Donald Trump is just a harsh try to drag people to perceive China as the villain of this “drama”.

Excerpt 10

Chinese authorities themselves saw Wuhan and the rest of Hubei province as a threat as they placed the region of 56 million people under strict quarantine to contain the epidemic.
(The Jakarta Post)

As has been discussed previously, the United States saw China as a threat and vice versa. However, China also recognized the threat that was also coming from inside the country. As the blame game between both countries kept going, Chinese officials quarantined a total of 56 million citizens of Wuhan and Hubei province as a way of suppressing the dissemination of the virus although eventually the virus won and haunted the whole world. Through this process of mental - acknowledging the danger of the area where the virus was first spotted, China needed to keep an eye on upcoming threats from outside, especially from the United States, and ones from the inside (Zhang, 2017).

3. Verbal Process

Following material and mental processes, verbal process comes third as the transitivity process with the most occurrences. Verbal process is a process of uttering, that is mainly employed to deliver some information. In The New York Times and The Jakarta Post, the verbalization not only is uttered by the direct actors (the United States and China) but also by the citizens of both countries.

Excerpt 11

*Asian-Americans **have reported** incidents of racial slurs and physical abuse because of the erroneous perception that China is the cause of the virus. (The New York Times)*

The former president of the United States, Donald Trump, really took a brave step by conveying remarks that have xenophobic notions. It is not a doubt that China was the origin where the COVID-19 virus first detected. Nonetheless, referring to the virus as “Chinese virus” was completely wrong and resulted in harm and discrimination (Yuan, 2020). From the above data, we can conclude that Trump’s xenophobic remark had caused serious damage to Asian-American people living in the United States. They have reported that they had unpleasant experiences including racist insult and physical violence. If these poor people did not have the courage to perform verbal process, we will never know how hazardous Trump’s xenophobic comment was.

Excerpt 12

*US President Donald Trump sharply criticized the World Health Organization on Tuesday, **accusing** it of being too focused on China and **issuing** bad advice during the coronavirus outbreak. (The Jakarta Post)*

World Health Organization (WHO) has played a very pivotal role in

tackling the pandemic of COVID-19 since its first emergence. Nevertheless, not everyone was satisfied with the decisions taken by the organization. The former president of America, Donald Trump, had fiercely criticized WHO for its failure to stay neutral. He said that WHO had made terrible suggestions as “China’s puppet” (Yuan, 2020). Once again, this action belongs to verbal process. Verbal process is a process of uttering something. Donald Trump was openly accusing WHO to assert dominance and authority, especially in events where China got to be in an advantageous position (Yuan, 2020).

Excerpt 13

*On Monday the Department of Justice **announced** the arrest of University of Arkansas engineering professor Simon Saw-Teong Ang for hiding ties to the Chinese government and Chinese universities while he worked on projects funded by NASA. (The Jakarta Post)*

The United States authorities claimed that Chinese spies were trying to hijack and steal America’s data on COVID-19 vaccines research to heighten the tension between the two parties. In conjunction with this, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents arrested Simon Saw-Teong Ang, a professor at University of Arkansas, for his involvement in a program of recruiting experts around the world to work for China that facilitated the stealing of the US intellectual property. Through this announcement, the United States’ authorities tried to intensify the threat to China. This action of verbalization is another one to corner China to be more cooperative with them to solve the case together (Ruobing et al, 2020).

Excerpt 14

*While diplomats have agreed in principle on the draft resolution, observers **voiced** concerns that in the current politicised atmosphere, some countries might still choose to break the consensus next week. (The Jakarta Post)*

Despite the rising hostility between the United States and China, a lot of countries wish there could be a solution to tackle the pandemic of coronavirus. European Union held a consultative meeting that resulted in the draft agreed by countries to cooperate in easing the access to kit tests, treatments, and vaccines (Christensen, 2020). Nevertheless, some observers were performing verbalization by which they were afraid that the consensus would be broken by some countries, especially by powerful ones such as the United States and China that keep showing a continuous conflict. These concerns need to be voiced so that the authorities of the European Union supported by other countries could prevent this situation to happen.

4. Relational Process

Relational process is a process of “being”, aiming to explain the relations between two different units and to examine attributive details of the units.

Excerpt 15

*Now a spiraling epidemic has **become** the latest and potentially most divisive issue driving apart the United States and China (The New York Times).*

It is undeniable that what caused the United States and China to keep engaging in an endless hostility in 2020 was the outbreak of coronavirus. However, there were other factors contributing to the tension prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Trade affairs, South China sea, Hongkong, Uyghurs, journalists and

students, Huawei, and North Korea were among the areas that contribute the most to the continuity of US-China tension (Zhang et al., 2021). The process of “being” in this case is the shift of the influence of the epidemic that started as something non-existent and in the end became the most influential area that drove apart the relationship between America and China.

Excerpt 16

*Officials in Washington and Beijing have been firing charges at each other for weeks as the US **became** one of the countries hardest-hit by a disease first identified in the central Chinese city of Wuhan. (The Jakarta Post)*

The outrage of coronavirus disease had caused a global-scaled pandemic in 2020. Starting out as a regional-based virus, COVID-19 “traveled” around the world in the nick of time. The United States and other countries had taken precautionary actions to prevent the virus from entering their lands but they are not prepared enough to do that. By the time this analysis is conducted, the confirmed case of the disease has hit 84.8 million with more than 1 million confirmed deaths. The relational process of this excerpt indicates that the United States started as an alien area to the virus and ended up as the country with the highest COVID-19 cases ever as of May 2020 according to World Health Organization (WHO) monthly report (Christensen, 2020).

Excerpt 17

*A growth-starved US economy will also lose a major source of external demand, because China **has become** America’s third-largest and fastest-growing export market (The Jakarta Post)*

The damage caused by the outrage of coronavirus impacted multiple areas

across the globe. The economic sector was definitely one of the most damaged parts including that of the United States. In the case of economic loss, the pandemic had become a two-sided knife for both China and the United States. China lost one of the biggest sources of foreign demand and technological supplies while America lost the main source of external demand. This was because China had rapidly become the US' third biggest and quickest market for export. This process of "being" and "becoming" also implies that at the end of the day, the United States and China relied heavily on each other and needed to end the beef as soon as possible (AlAfnan, 2019).

5. Existential Process

Existential Process is a process that insists to the happening and existence of an entity. The most common feature of this process is the presence of a dummy 'there'. However, only three examples of this process were identified in the total of 20 online news, and below is one of them:

Excerpt 18

There has been a great deal of frustration and anger expressed by a number of different countries about China's response and its role in the spread of COVID-19 around the world. (The Jakarta Post)

Not only the United States, but a lot of other countries were also upset by the way China responded to the outrage of coronavirus. Some countries questioned China for its handling of the supply of medical stockpiles. Some others also were angry at the claim that China was treated too soft by the World Health Organization (Ruobing et al, 2020). The existential process performed by The Jakarta Post

asserted that there existed a number of parties who also got frustrated by this issue just like America did. Nevertheless, the use of dummy 'there' here indicates those who did get angry were hidden and not mentioned explicitly.

6. Behavioral Process

Behavioral process refers to a process of behaving physiologically such as laughing, breathing, and sneezing. In the context of COVID-19 and US-China tension, such behavior is not a necessary focus. Thus, only one example of behavioral process is found in The Jakarta Post.

Excerpt 19

*More than 2,000 delegates from across the country **bowed** their heads in silence after singing the national anthem in Beijing's Great Hall of the People. (The Jakarta Post)*

In the annual political meeting held by the Chinese government in 2020, 2000 great politicians of the country sang the national anthem and then paid tribute to the lives that were lost during the outbreak of COVID-19. Bowing heads and contemplating in silence for approximately one minute is one of the ways to do that as has been practiced by the delegates. The Jakarta Post included this behavioral process to portray a positive image of the Chinese politicians and thus the readers will be left impressed with a good point of view because of this method by news media (AlAfnan, 2019).

B. Social Actor Analysis

As the discussion of social actors in the previous transitivity analysis was excluded, the social actors in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post will be discussed through the theory of Social Actor Representation (Van Leeuwen, 2008). More than 100 clauses taken directly from clauses that had been analyzed via Transitivity model were examined in terms of the strategies used to exclude or to include the social actors as served in the following table:

Table 2. The Analysis of Social Actor Representation

No.		Strategies	News outlets	
			The New York Times	The Jakarta Post
1.	Exclusion	Suppression	3 (4.6%)	5 (7.7%)
2.		Backgrounding	6 (9.1%)	8 (12.3%)
3.	Inclusion	Nomination	41 (62.1%)	31 (47.7%)
4.		Differentiation	1 (1.5%)	1 (1.5%)
5.		Indifferentiation	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
6.		Objectivation	2 (3%)	2 (3%)
7.		Abstraction	4 (6%)	6 (9.2%)
8.		Categorization	2 (3%)	0 (0%)
9.		Identification	2 (3%)	2 (3.0%)
10.		Determination	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
11.		Indetermination	4 (6%)	8 (12.3%)
12.		Individualization	1 (1.5%)	2 (3%)
13.		Assimilation	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
14.		Association	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
15.		Dissociation	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

As can be seen in the table of The New York Times, nomination strategy is the strategy that was most frequently used in the news. Other strategies followed after; backgrounding, abstraction, indetermination, suppression, objectivation, categorization, identification, differentiation, and then individualization. However, there are no examples of indifferentiation, determination, assimilation, association, and dissociation strategies spotted in the text.

In a similar vein, the strategy of nomination was used the most in the news of The Jakarta Post. Backgrounding, indetermination, abstraction, suppression, objectivation, individualization, differentiation, and identification followed respectively. Furthermore, some strategies were apparently not found in the data including indifferentiation, categorization, determination, assimilation, association, and dissociation.

1. Exclusion

a. Suppression

Excerpt 20

*Asian-Americans have reported incidents of racial slurs and **physical abuse** because of the erroneous perception that China is the cause of the virus. (The New York Times)*

Suppression is the first category of exclusion strategies that deals with the deletion of actions and the social actors without leaving any trace or reference in the texts. The strategy of suppression can be manifested through two ways: passivization and nominalization. In the data shown above, the suppression is made true by nominalizing a verb, meaning that the verb that explains an action is turned

into a noun. Instead of saying that someone physically abused the victims, The New York Times chose to present the act of physical attack in noun form. This strategy is deliberately applied so that the readers have no idea who the doer of the physical abuse is/are since this type of exclusion leaves no trace to be tracked. According to Abdulkareem and Qassim (2017), the use of the strategy of suppression especially nominalization pulls the readers to focus on the victims instead.

b. Backgrounding

Excerpt 21

US President Donald Trump this week threatened to cut ties with China, where the outbreak began late last year, over its role in the spread of COVID-19. (The Jakarta Post)

Another way to exclude social actors in an event is by employing backgrounding strategy. Contrary to suppression, backgrounding strategy leaves a reference of the backgrounded actors to be guessed by the readers. One of the ways to perform this strategy is the use of possessive adjectives. In the last clause of the excerpt shown above, the actor is eliminated and replaced by a possessive adjective 'its'. Since backgrounding leaves a trace that can be referred to, it is obvious that 'its' here refers to China as it is the only noun that makes sense to be the reference. However, this exclusion strategy does not always mean completely deleting the actors, but sometimes it is for avoiding redundancy Abdulkareem and Qassim (2017).

2. Inclusion

a. Nomination

Excerpt 22 & 23

[22] *Beyond the expulsions of the Journal reporters, **the Chinese government** has repeatedly allowed the visas of foreign correspondents whose work is perceived as unfriendly to lapse, forcing them to leave the country.* (The New York Times)

[23] ***The United States** has already delivered most of this year's WHO contribution, so Trump's announcement makes other countries believe falsely that the decision will have a major impact.* (The Jakarta Post)

There are several alternatives that a media can apply to display the actors in an event. In this case, The New York Times and The Jakarta Post make things clear that they have a preference to represent the social actors in the news through the use of nomination which is a technique to include actors as they really are without any attributive particles. In [22], to illustrate, the social actor in the event is the Chinese government. Instead of attributing it, it was showcased in a simpler way. This asserts an impression that the Chinese government is in a neutral state, meaning that the absence of categorization makes the image of the police is neither bad nor good, unless other parts of the clauses say otherwise (Asad et al, 2019).

Having a look at excerpt 23, the nomination strategy is realized by displaying The United States as the social actor without any attributive details. 'The United States' here belongs to a proper noun. Just as in most occurrences in both news outlets, the domination of proper nouns can be seen almost everywhere throughout all the news. This strategy depicts an impression that there are no labels that sometimes are unnecessarily attached to The United States so that the readers will merely read it without the involvement of larger contexts. This reflects Evayani and Rido's (2019) discussion suggesting that any type of strategy used contributes to the image of the actors.

b. Differentiation

Excerpt 24

As China moves forward with expelling almost all American journalists from three major American newspapers, Trump administration officials have intensified discussions over whether to evict employees of Chinese media outlets who they say mainly act as spies. (The New York Times)

Differentiation is another strategy of inclusion that is used to distinguish a social actor from another actor - both individual or group. To explain Trump administration officials, the main actor in this clause, the presence of the preceding clause “As China moves forward...” becomes important. The first clause acts as the trigger of the main event ‘intensifying discussion’ performed by the officials of the Trump administration. This kind of technique contributes to the difference between “self” and “other,” or between “us” and “them” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). To this extent, The New York Times wanted to highlight the action of America by marginalizing China’s actions.

c. Objectivation

Excerpt 25

*Chinese authorities themselves saw Wuhan and the rest of Hubei province as a threat as they placed the region of **56 million people** under strict quarantine to contain the epidemic. (The Jakarta Post)*

Objectivation is a discourse method that deals with the dilemma of whether attributive numbers about an event or social actor should be presented as specific details (Patalia et al, 2020). In this excerpt of data, the number of Chinese citizens that become the object of the event is shown explicitly by The Jakarta Post. By displaying the exact number of people under quarantine, the readers will not be left

hanging or guessing the exact number of the actors. This representation of the actors may help the reader not to exaggerate and manipulate the information on actors engaging in the events.

d. Abstraction

Excerpt 26

Many countries have been questioning US leadership on the global stage, both before and during this pandemic. (The Jakarta Post)

Contrary to objectivation, This strategy is often used to depict something that cannot be predicted or is not concrete. In the above example, the abstraction strategy was used to portray an uncertain quantity of subjects. With the presence of the modifier ‘many’, the audience or the readers are in the dark about the precise number of countries that had been in doubt of the United States’ leadership on the international level. The text does not identify specifically which countries or how many they are. Indeed, it will raise a question, of whether the exact numbers are not as many as that in reality. This finding is in line with the analysis of social actors as has been done by Sobari et al. (2018) saying that abstraction might lead the readers to question their understanding of the actors or even the issues.

e. Categorization

Excerpt 27

Asian-Americans have reported incidents of racial slurs and physical abuse because of the erroneous perception that China is the cause of the virus. (The New York Times)

Another inclusion strategy found in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post news is categorization. According to Leeuwen (2008), this strategy is

employed to tell the readers about the social actors by providing additional characterization of ethnicity, religion, etc. In the excerpt, the categorization is embedded inside the actors (nouns) without the addition of adjectives as a typically categorization strategy does. “Asian-Americans” refer to American people of Asian ancestry. Through this categorization, it is crystal clear that the ones who experienced the physical assault and racist acts were Asian-Americans. This is the result of Trump’s careless statement “Chinese virus” (Yuan, 2020).

f. Identification

Excerpt 28

The America, an amphibious assault ship, and the Bunker Hill, a guided missile cruiser, entered contested waters off Malaysia. (The New York Times)

The identification strategy, the opposite of nomination and similar to categorization, emphasizes how social actors are identified with the use of a particular clause to briefly explain or describe the actors (Evayani & Rido, 2019). Through the identification as in the excerpt, “The America” is best identified as a warfare ship that can attack both in land and water area and “the Bunker Hill” as a ship equipped with powerful missiles. The intention of giving additional information typically in a separate clause is mainly to help people in general understand uncommon words so that the readers will comprehend the context of the topic better (Evayani & Rido, 2019).

g. Indetermination

Excerpt 29

*On Monday the Department of Justice announced the arrest of **University of Arkansas engineering professor Simon Saw-Teong Ang** for hiding ties to the Chinese government and Chinese universities while he worked on projects funded by NASA. (The Jakarta Post)*

Indetermination is another strategy to have social actors taken into account in the action or events in a text. The actors through this discourse method usually are accompanied with brief additional information regarding their authority, position, or degree (Asad et al, 2019). As can be observed in the datum, “Simon Saw-Teong Ang” becomes the target of arrest by the United States. Simon is displayed with the addition of his occupation and the place he works at. This kind of strategy asserts that even though he is an important and well-known person, the United States was able to sentence and take him to prison. The Jakarta Post wanted to highlight how powerful America is to deal with anyone messing with them.

h. Individualization

Excerpt 30

Mr. Sayers, who is now a vice president at Beacon Global Strategies, a Washington-based consultancy, has written about the need to increase short-term military spending in the Pacific given Chinese expansion and military activity in the region. (The New York times)

Indetermination and individualization share a similar definition that the attributive information usually is about the actors’ position, degree, or power (Asad et al, 2019). What makes the two strategies different is that indetermination displays the additional information in the same clause as the actors while the brief detail about the actors in individualization strategy is put separately in a different clause. Mr. Sayers here acts as the subject of the action of writing and we can conclude that

now he is a vice president at Beacon Global Strategies. The New York Times, once again emphasized the power that this actor has.

C. Socio-cognitive Analysis of Ideological Representation

According to Van Dijk's (2006) explanation, ideologies are understood in a socio-cognitive way as representations or fundamentals of the representations in social groups. This means that how people define and accept social phenomena get interfered with the ideologies they share. Texts including news act as a tool of ideology where news outlets and certain groups influence the way people understand and believe social phenomena (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). What makes this possible to happen is the help of what Van Dijk (1995) called 'biased mental models' and 'social-cognitions'. We will be able to scrutinize the ideology of the news content of The New York Times and The Jakarta Post (henceforth TNYT and TJP) via Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive model.

Firstly, the bias of ideology in TNYT news content as has been presented in the previous textual analysis, is indicated through several features of patterns of syntax and lexicon. Through the analysis of transitivity processes, the type of process chosen in the news displays different effect. The domination of mental process (74%) to describe the action of both America and China says a lot about how viable the effort of TNYT to exaggerate them. However, it results in different impact for both parties. Mental process for any US subjects or actors is to display the power, authority, and bravery of the US party. While on the one hand, the mental processes for China's party is to assert negative images (Zhang, 2017).

On the other side, TJP shows a more ‘colorful’ preferences of the transitivity processes. While TNYT only accounts for four processes, TJP employs all of the six processes to present the events of experience by the actors (both the United States and China). Nevertheless, material process are also the ones that dominate the TJP news but with fewer numbers compared to that of TNYT. Thus, it is safe to say that TJP explicates a fairer method to elucidate the social processes of the conflict between the United States and China as well as other political issues (Evayani & Rido, 2019).

The analysis of lexical and clausal levels of social actors through Leeuwen’s (2008) theory also reflects some biases of ideology. TNYT holds the grip on nomination strategies with 41 occurrences and TJP with a slightly smaller number of occurrences (31). This relatively huge gap says that TNYT tends to be direct in displaying the social actors, attributive details were considered somehow unnecessary in most cases. Contrarily, TJP shows better coverage in the use of the strategies with more diverse choice of strategies especially the exclusion ones. This means that TJP likes to ‘decorate’ social actors with additional information and tone down the involvement of the actors (Evayani & Rido, 2019).

Accordingly, TNYT as an American news publisher serves to stand and serve the American side, meaning that the choice of words and clause pattern is intended to showcase the aggression and repression of the United States against its counterpart, China. At the same time, China’s aggression is also made obvious to show that China is a serious threat to America (Zhang et al, 2021). TJP, as an ‘outsider’ in the context of US-China tension, provides more neutral reports and

does not possess any ideological bias. Furthermore, TJP at some point tend to lessen the tension through deleting the social actors and less use of material process. This is in line with Suwarno and Sahayu's (2020) findings that Indonesian news media usually takes a neutral stand in reporting international issues where Indonesia does not directly involve or get affected.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Through this chapter, the conclusions of what had been found and analyzed and suggestions for future studies will be presented. This chapter concludes the findings and discussions of the previous chapter and also provides suggestions for the readers especially those who want to do a similar study.

A. Conclusion

This study has analyzed how the rivalry between the United States and China is presented in The New York Times and The Jakarta Post online news by paying attention to the transitivity processes of Halliday's (1997), social actors of Leeuwen's (2008), and the ideological implications contained in the news. These tools of analysis were then used to analyze a total of 20 online news with special reference to COVID-19 issues, specifically the hostility between America and China amidst the outbreak of coronavirus. The ideological representation then was presented by applying Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive framework.

The findings reveal that the analysis of the transitivity model results in the domination of material process in The New York Times online news. Other processes were also found in a relatively small number including mental process, verbal process, and relational process. While in The Jakarta Post news, material process also takes up a large proportion but the other five processes were discovered unlike that of The New York Times that only accounted for four processes. This suggests that The New York Times has the preference to put a large emphasis on the power of the action and The Jakarta Post asserts a fairer preference.

Furthermore, the analysis of social actors in The New York Times online news has shown that strategy of nomination is used most frequently to include the social actors such as the United States and China. Other strategies that were also found are backgrounding, abstraction, indetermination, suppression, objectivation, categorization, identification, differentiation, and then individualization. Similarly, The Jakarta Post uses nomination strategy the most compared to other methods found including backgrounding, indetermination, abstraction, suppression, objectivation, individualization, differentiation, and identification. Nevertheless, there is a huge difference in the occurrences of nomination in both publishers' news (41 in The New York Times and 31 in The Jakarta Post). This suggests that The New York Times is more direct in describing the actors while The Jakarta Post tends to attribute the actors with additional information.

The ideological implications that we can conclude after undergoing the analysis via Halliday's (1994) transitivity and Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Representation is that The New York Times shows a bias in presenting both parties. America is portrayed as powerful and aggressive while China is attached to negative portrayal. The Jakarta Post, on the other hand, is more neutral by not showing any biased point of view to explain the issue as well as displaying America and China as the social actors.

B. Suggestions

The present study is expected to enlighten the readers on the selected issue and to enrich the endeavor of critical discourse and social studies that have been

done previously. However, this research leaves an enormous room for future studies to complement or question. Thus, pertaining to this current topic, further studies may conduct an investigation that focuses on the aftermath of the US-China tension or another coverage of COVID-19 by comparing news of other countries other than Indonesia and America. More analysis through different Critical Discourse Analysis models are also suggested as it may reveal another important point and contribute to a new enlightenment in linguistic and social studies.

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