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### The Reporting of Sudanese Refugee Movements to Chad on Aljazeera.net: A Critical Discourse Analysis from Theo Van Leeuwen's Perspective

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#### ABSTRACT

**Background:** The movement of refugees from Sudan to Chad is one of the global issues in the complex dynamics of the Middle East. News media plays a strategic role in shaping public understanding through discourse.

**Aims:** This research aims to reveal the discourse strategy in Aljazeera.net's news coverage of the Sudanese refugee crisis, based on Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis.

**Methods:** This research used a qualitative descriptive method. The data sources used in this research were news texts about the displacement of Sudanese people to Chad on Aljazeera.net, along with various supporting literature for analysis. The data collection techniques used are reading and note-taking methods. In addition, the data analysis technique involves data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

**Results:** The results of this study revealed that the news coverage is presented factually and fairly, following the exclusion and inclusion strategies, where these strategies help readers assess the quality of the news.

**Implications:** This study implies that it provides readers with a deeper understanding of how news texts convey certain issues and can help policymakers understand media bias and highlight the importance of neutrality in reporting.

**Keywords:** *Aljazeera media; refugee news; Sudanese refugees; Theo Van Leeuwen's; critical discourse analysis*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Amid the current global turmoil, the issue of refugees has become one of the most highlighted topics by the international community ([Darussalam et al., 2021](#)). In 1951, the United Nations defined refugees as individuals who face fear of persecution, whether based on race, religion, nationality, or political views. According to social scientists, refugees are those who sever ties with their country of origin and seek protection in a host country ([Hein, 1993](#)). Fundamentally, this occurs due to government actions that seem indifferent to the well-being of their people, failing to prevent other harmful events ([Betts, 2021](#)). The issue of refugees is certainly not new. As is currently happening in the Middle East, which historically

dates back to the Arab-Israeli War in 1948 and the Gulf War in 1990 ([Pinfari, 2009](#)).

One of the refugee issues currently being discussed in various media outlets is the displacement of Sudanese people due to internal conflict in their country. This internal conflict has actually been ongoing since 1955-1972 between North and South Sudan, stemming from social inequalities between the two regions, which also involved political interests and internal military factors ([Poggo, 2008](#)). However, among several factors, religion became one of the key causes that escalated the conflict. If mapped, this internal conflict can be described as occurring between Arab Muslims from the North and African Christians from the South ([Nilsson, 2000](#)). The internal situation in Sudan became even more complex, leading to a resurgence of the conflict on April 15, 2023, involving the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF). According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the conflict has caused at least 1.9 million Sudanese to flee to neighboring countries. The majority sought refuge in Chad (37%), South Sudan (30%), and Egypt (25%) ([UN Migration, 2024](#)).

In the coverage of this refugee crisis, mass media plays a significant role as a means of disseminating information and influencing public perception ([Anwar et al., 2020](#)). This is because information is a crucial resource for society ([Ripollés, 2020](#)). Ideology also becomes inherent in the news information, serving as a form of social control over the attitudes of certain groups and reflecting how journalists' mentalities respond to the events that occur ([Wahl-jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009](#)). Through the media, events happening across the world can be easily accessed, as mass media serves as an information hub that is not limited by distance ([Holilah, 2020](#)). Therefore, in analyzing the ideology embedded in the news coverage, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach is one of the methods applied in this study. CDA views discourse as part of social practices, requiring a holistic and contextual approach ([Samsuri et al., 2022](#)).

Regarding the issue of Sudanese refugees, the researchers identified a relevant news discourse, which is a report on the Sudanese refugee movement to Chad published by the online media Al Jazeera on October 16, 2024. The facts and issues presented in the report are the main reasons the researcher selected this news article as the object of critical discourse analysis. To examine the coverage of the Sudanese refugee crisis in detail, the researcher uses Theo Van Leeuwen's perspective on Critical Discourse Analysis as the analytical framework.

According to Kholid ([2018](#)), Critical Discourse Analysis (AWK) examines discourse as a practice of power that controls society and forms certain ideologies ([Amalia et al., 2021](#)). From Theo Van Leeuwen's perspective, CDA serves as an analytical tool to observe how events and social actors are represented in news texts ([Rika et al., 2024](#)). This study discusses two strategies: (1) exclusion strategies and (2) inclusion strategies ([Handayani & Pranoto, 2023](#)). Exclusion is an important element in critical discourse analysis, where texts can omit details such as the actors or activities involved ([Leeuwen, 2008](#); [Malik, 2024](#); [Simanullang & Pangaribuan, 2021](#)). This strategy aims to obscure the actors, shifting the readers' focus to the events themselves ([Iskandar et al., 2023](#)). On the other hand, inclusion is a discourse strategy used to highlight specific individuals, groups, or issues within news coverage ([Tyas Gusti et al., 2024](#)), through the use of words, sentences, information, or specific sentence structures, as well as through the way the story is conveyed ([Lestari & Effendi, 2022](#)).

Several studies have explored Critical Discourse Analysis, including research on criminal discourse ([Lestari & Effendi, 2022](#); [Malik, 2024](#); [Rahmayati et al., 2018](#); [Wati et al., 2023](#)), political reporting ([Handayani & Pranoto, 2023](#); [Rofii & Yuniarti, 2023](#)) the Palestine conflict ([Rika et al., 2024](#)), sports journalism ([Kholisin & Haris, 2023](#); [Tyas Gusti et al., 2024](#)), the ideology of news in online buying and selling transactions ([Susetyo, 2024](#)), refugee wave from the Middle East to Italy post-Arab Spring ([Istiqomatunnisa et al., 2022](#)), state policies

regarding Middle Eastern refugees ([Darussalam et al., 2021](#)), the dynamics of Syrian refugees in Lebanon ([Alamari, 2023](#)), and Hungary's policies toward migrants from the Middle East ([Rachmat, 2023](#)).

Based on the preliminary studies mentioned above, this research shares similarities and differences with the prior studies. The similarity lies in the theme, which focuses on refugee issues in the Middle East ([Alamari, 2023](#); [Darussalam et al., 2021](#); [Istiqomatunnisa et al., 2022](#); [Rachmat, 2023](#)), as well as in the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on Theo Van Leeuwen's perspective. The difference, however, is that none of the previous studies have specifically addressed the discourse on Sudanese refugees. Previous research has primarily focused on the analysis of criminal discourse ([Lestari & Effendi, 2022](#); [Malik, 2024](#); [Rahmayati et al., 2018](#); [Wati et al., 2023](#)), political news ([Handayani & Pranoto, 2023](#); [Rofii & Yuniarti, 2023](#)), the Palestinian conflict ([Rika et al., 2024](#)), sports journalism ([Kholisin & Haris, 2023](#); [Tyas Gusti et al., 2024](#)), and the ideology of news in online transactions ([Susetyo, 2024](#)).

### 1.1 Research Gap and Novelty

The novelty of this research lies in the use of critical discourse analysis based on Theo van Leeuwen's perspective, in analyzing social actors and actions to dig up information and strategies used on the news of Sudanese refugees to Chad. This approach has not been explicitly applied in previous research on the issue of Sudanese refugees. The selection of the object of research on Sudanese refugees is a new contribution, because previous studies have focused more on conflicts in Palestine, Syria, or other migration policies.

Thus, the position of this research is to fill the gap in previous research, especially in the news coverage of Sudanese refugees to Chad, which has never been explored in depth using Theo Van Leeuwen's CDA. This approach is relevant to understanding how the media shapes public perceptions of refugees and how media power and ideology influence the representation of social actors in humanitarian crises. The implications of this approach are closely related to power relations, marginalization, and social dynamics in the media (Pohan, 2022).

### 1.2 Research Question

Based on the description above, the research question guiding this study is: How does the use of Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework impact the understanding of exclusion and inclusion strategies in the reporting of Sudanese refugees to Chad on Aljazeera.net? Thus, this approach is relevant because, as previously explained, the media plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of humanitarian issues such as displacement. Through CDA analysis, it can be understood that media, using certain strategies like exclusion and inclusion, can influence how social actors are represented in the coverage. Therefore, this study aims to analyze Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis strategy in the reporting of Sudanese refugees to Chad.

## 2. METHODS

### 2.1 Research Design

This research adopts a descriptive qualitative approach. According to Moleong, qualitative research examines phenomena experienced by the research subjects, which may include behaviors, perceptions, motivations, or actions ([Nasution, 2023](#)). In this study, the researcher aims to identify exclusion and inclusion strategies in the discourse of news coverage on the Sudanese refugee movement to Chad, published on the Al Jazeera news

portal under the title *الأمم المتحدة تحذر من موجة نزوح جديدة من السودان لتتشاد*.

## 2.2 Research Objects

The object of this research is a news article titled *الأمم المتحدة تحذر من موجة نزوح جديدة من السودان لتتشاد*, published on the Al Jazeera news portal. This article was selected as it specifically discusses the Sudanese refugee movement to Chad, which aligns with the research objective to analyze the inclusion and exclusion strategies in news discourse.

## 2.3 Research Procedures

The research procedure begins with the selection of the research object, namely the news article about the displacement of the Sudanese people to Chad published on the Al Jazeera portal on 16 October 2024. The discourse was chosen by researchers because the issue of Sudanese refugees is slowly less highlighted by online media. The internal conflict in Sudan greatly affects the welfare of the Sudanese people, as well as can have an impact on the social conditions of the people in the Middle East more broadly (Afriyie, 2024). Furthermore, after the object of research was determined, researchers read the entire news text to understand the context and discourse contained in it. In addition, researchers marked sentences or parts of the text that contained elements of inclusion and exclusion strategies, according to Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis framework. This process was carried out repeatedly to ensure that each relevant element was recorded accurately, and to ensure that the analysis was carried out systematically and objectively.

## 2.4 Research Instruments

The researcher acts as the main instrument in this data collection. The main data collection technique in this study is to use documentation techniques. This is done to find data related and relevant to the object of research. The documentation in this research is in the form of digital documents, namely digital news that discusses the discourse on the displacement of Sudanese people to Chad in 2023.

## 2.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis technique follows Theo Van Leeuwen's CDA perspective, focusing on analyzing exclusion and inclusion strategies. The stages of data analysis involve data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion (Sahir, 2021). During the data reduction stage, the researcher identifies the content of the news regarding the phenomenon of Sudanese refugees to Chad, then selects text excerpts that linguistically align with Theo Van Leeuwen's model. In the data presentation stage, the researcher classifies and reveals the characteristics of exclusion and inclusion strategies. Finally, in the conclusion-drawing stage, the researcher summarizes the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies in the news coverage of Sudanese refugees in Chad, based on the patterns observed in the reduced and presented data.

## 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 Findings

The researchers conducted a study on news media covering the Sudanese refugee movement to Chad, published on the Al Jazeera news portal on October 16, 2024. Based on the findings, the research is divided into two sub-discussions: (1) Analysis of Exclusion

Strategies: Which includes passivation and nominalization, and (2) Analysis of Inclusion Strategies: Which includes nomination, individualization, association, objectivation, and differentiation.

**Table 1** Exclusion and Inclusion Strategies in the Coverage of Sudanese Refugees in Chad

Strategy	Category	Amount of Data
Exclusion	Passivation	2
	Nominalization	5
Inclusion	Differentiation	2
	Objectivation-Abstraction	6
	Nomination	1
	Individualization	2
	Association-Dissociation	1

Based on the table above, the researcher found exclusion strategy data relevant to the news text about the displacement of Sudanese people to Chad published by Al Jazeera. The data includes 2 passivation data and 5 nominalization data. The inclusion strategies include 2 differentiation data, 6 objectivation data, 1 nomination data, 2 individualization data, and 1 association data.

### 3.2 Discussion

#### Exclusion Strategies in the Coverage of Sudanese Refugees in Chad Passivation

Passivation is a strategy that uses passive sentences in discourse. This strategy involves the omission of social actors (Ariani et al., 2023). Passive sentences aim to make the object of the event the main focus of the discourse, while the actor acting is not given a primary role in the sentence (Wati et al., 2023). In other words, the text in a discourse can shape the perception of the reader regarding a particular group or individual (Nurhaeti & Hamdani, 2023).

##### Datum 1

وَأَتُّهُمُ كُلُّ مِنَ الْجَيْشِ السُّودَانِيِّ وَقَوَاتِ الدَّعْمِ السَّرِيعِ بِارْتِكَابِ فِظَاعَاتٍ بِشَكْلِ مُتَكَرِّرٍ خِلَالِ الْحَرْبِ، بِمَا فِيهَا اسْتِهْدَافُ الْمَدَنِيِّينَ وَالْقَصْفِ الْعَشَوَائِيِّ لِلْمَنَاطِقِ السَّكْنِيَّةِ وَنَهَبِ الْمَسَاعِدَاتِ أَوْ مَنَعَ إِصْلَاحَهَا (Aljazeera, 2024).

"Both the Sudanese army and the Rapid Support Forces have been repeatedly accused of atrocities during the war, including targeting civilians, indiscriminate bombing of residential areas, and looting or obstructing aid."

Datum1 describes that both the Sudanese army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) are accused multiple times of committing atrocities during the war. In the quote above, there is no explicit mention of the social actors who are accusing or suspecting these forces of committing atrocities, such as indiscriminate bombings and looting of humanitarian aid.

In the analysis of Datum 1, the news excerpt shows the use of an exclusion strategy in the form of passivation. This is indicated by the passive sentence, or "majhul" in Arabic, using the word أَتُّهُمُ (accused). The passivation hides the social actor who is making the accusation, shifting the focus of the reader onto the actions of the Sudanese army and the RSF, while obscuring the legitimacy of the accusations.

#### Nominalization

Nominalization is the process of removing an actor by using a noun (Rika et al., 2024). This strategy is carried out by transforming a verb into a noun (Kholisin & Haris, 2023), or in Arabic, it is referred to as *mashdar*. According to Evayani & Rido, the concept of nominalization is similar to passivation. The difference lies in the removal of words, where passivation changes the sentence to a passive voice, while nominalization transforms it into



a noun ([As'sa'idah & Abdul Basid, 2023](#)).

#### Datum 2

وأكد أن هذا الدعم ليس كافياً لأن عدد اللاجئين مستمر في الارتفاع، متوقعاً "أن يكون هناك المزيد من اللاجئين في تشاد في الأسابيع المقبلة" بسبب تصاعد حدة النزاع في دارفور و"انحسار المياه" الناجمة عن الأمطار ([Aljazeera, 2024](#))

"Baldé emphasized that the support was insufficient because the number of refugees continued to rise, and he predicted that there would be more refugees in Chad in the coming weeks due to the escalating conflict in Darfur and the declining water levels caused by the rainy season."

The datum above explains that two main factors are driving the increase in the number of refugees: the conflict in Darfur and environmental conditions. This indicates that the crisis has a complex dimension. The discourse analysis of the news excerpt above involves the nominalization exclusion strategy. This is shown by the transformation of verbs into nominal forms. Implicitly, this strategy gives the perception that the social actor in the excerpt is not explicitly focused on.

### Inclusion Strategies in the Coverage of Sudanese Refugees in Chad

#### Differentiation

According to Leeuwen, differentiation is a strategy that highlights a contrast related to an event or actor ([Yuliana et al., 2023](#)) and has a significant impact on how readers understand the representation ([Lestari & Effendi, 2022](#)). Furthermore, differentiation, both directly and indirectly, often shows how a group is marginalized by being contrasted with another, more dominant group ([Rofii & Yuniarti, 2023](#)).

#### Datum 3

وفي مؤشر على تفاقم النزاع في منطقة دارفور الواقعة في غرب السودان، وصل نحو 25 ألف شخص، 80% منهم من النساء والأطفال، إلى شرق تشاد في الفترة من الأول من أكتوبر/تشرين الأول إلى السابع منه، في أعلى رقم مسجل هذا العام ([Aljazeera, 2024](#)).

"As a sign of the escalating conflict in the Darfur region of western Sudan, around 25,000 people, 80% of whom are women and children, arrived in eastern Chad between October 1 and 7, making it the highest recorded number this year."

Datum 3 shows that as a result of the conflict, the refugee victims, including women and children, account for 80%. This also marks the escalation of the conflict in Darfur, particularly after October 1 to 7, 2024. Explicitly, this discourse highlights the differentiation strategy, as it mentions the proportion of the vulnerable group—women and children—reaching 80%. Indirectly, this reference leads readers to understand that, in this conflict, women and children are the primary targeted victims. Additionally, Data 3 also presents a contrast that could potentially lead to alternative representations in the minds of readers.

#### Objectivation-Abstraction

Objectification is a strategy that explains whether the information presented in a discourse is conveyed clearly or not (Laily et al., 2022). In other words, this type of discourse presentation can also mean the representation of social actors either in a concrete or abstract manner (Marzuqi & Hamdani, 2023). According to Rosmita, if the text manager has sufficient information, they will present it objectively. Conversely, if there is a limitation in managing the information, the discourse will be presented abstractly (Susetyo, 2024).

#### Data 4

ويستقبل هذا البلد، وهو من بين أفقر الدول في العالم، أكبر عدد من اللاجئين السودانيين (600 و 81 ألفاً و 44 لاجئاً) مؤكداً أن الخدمات الأساسية لاستقبالهم فيه غير متوافرة، ومثنياً على السخاء الذي يظهره التشاديون ([Aljazeera, 2024](#)).

"Chad, one of the poorest countries in the world, is hosting the largest number of Sudanese refugees, totaling 681,044 people. However, the country lacks adequate basic services to accommodate them, despite the extraordinary generosity shown by the people of Chad."

Datum 4 objectively explains the imbalance occurring in Chad. The number of refugees, which totals 681,044 people, cannot be adequately accommodated, as the conditions in Chad itself are insufficient and lacking in proper services. This discourse states that Chad faces significant challenges with the influx of Sudanese refugees into the country. It also helps the readers to better understand the current reality of the Sudanese refugee crisis.

Although quantitative data is presented to provide objectivity, Data 4 also contains an element of abstraction. For instance, the sentence "the country lacks adequate basic services" does not provide specific details about what basic services are being referred to, such as healthcare, food, or sanitation. This abstraction indicates a limitation in the information provided by the media, preventing the presentation of a comprehensive understanding for the readers.

### Nomination

Nominations are a strategy related to presenting information about an actor or group on an issue that is not clearly conveyed ([Wulandari et al., 2023](#)). Additionally, the nomination can also mean that the actor in a discourse is presented as they are, without additional description or elaboration ([Susetyo, 2024](#)).

#### Datum 5

تدفق 25 ألف لاجئ من السودان على تشاد في الأسبوع الأول من الشهر الجاري هربا من الحرب العنيفة المتواصلة منذ 18 شهرا، وهو رقم قياسي خلال العام 2024، وفق تحذير صدر عن الأمم المتحدة ([Aljazeera, 2024](#)).

"Approximately 25,000 refugees from Sudan have entered Chad in the first week of this month, fleeing from a war that has been ongoing for 18 months. This figure marks the highest record for 2024, according to a warning issued by the United Nations."

In datum 5, it is shown that based on the warning issued by the United Nations, the number of Sudanese refugees entering Chad has reached 25,000. This data is presented as it is, based on facts, without exaggeration. Therefore, it aligns with the nomination strategy, where the information is explicitly presented without adding subjective interpretation or specific value, as the figure is based on the statement from an authoritative institution, the United Nations.

In the nomination strategy, it is explained that the Sudanese refugees are the main actors, while the United Nations is the source of the information. This strategy allows readers the space to interpret the situation surrounding the Sudanese refugee issue.

### Individualization

Individualization relates to whether social actors are described specifically and with categories that are explicitly emphasized in a discourse. Information about who or what is involved is presented clearly. This allows the readers to easily recognize the social actors and understand their categories ([Wati et al., 2023](#)).

#### Datum 6

ويرى منسق الأمم المتحدة لشؤون اللاجئين بالمنطقة، مامادو ديا بالده، أن عتبة الـ 3 ملايين لاجئ الفارين من السودان سيتم تجاوزها خلال أسبوعين أو ثلاثة. وقال "وصل العدد إلى 3 ملايين تقريبا"، معتبرا أنها "كارثة" تعود إلى اشتداد "عنف" النزاع ([Aljazeera, 2024](#)).

"The United Nations refugee coordinator in the region, Mamadou Dia Baldé, predicted that in the next two to three weeks, the number of refugees fleeing Sudan would exceed 3 million. He said, 'The number is almost reaching 3 million,' calling the situation a disaster due to the escalating violence in the conflict."

Based on the presentation of datum 6, the discourse conveys a hypothesis predicting that the number of Sudanese refugees fleeing to Chad will surge to 3 million. This statement is made by the social actor in the discourse, Mamadou Dia Baldé, the UN refugee coordinator in the region. In data 6, the identity of the actor is explained explicitly, including the full name, position, and job description.

Therefore, according to the strategy of individualization, data 6 aligns with this strategy because it explicitly mentions the actor in a clear and specific manner. Additionally, the explicit information provided helps readers easily identify the social actor related to the context of the discourse, positioning Mamadou Dia Baldé as an authoritative figure who can be trusted.

### Asosiation-Disasosiation

Association is a strategy in discourse that links social actors with broader groups or events ([Rahmayati et al., 2018](#)). On the other hand, dissociation is a strategy where social actors are represented individually without connecting them to other events or social groups ([Simanullang & Pangaribuan, 2021](#)).

#### Datum 7

يشار إلى أن السودان يشهد منذ أبريل/نيسان 2023 حرباً بين الجيش بقيادة عبد الفتاح البرهان، وهو أيضاً رئيس مجلس السيادة الانتقالي، وقوات الدعم السريع بقيادة حليفه ونائبه السابق محمد حمدان دقلو (حميتي). ([Aljazeera, 2024](#)).

"Sudan has been experiencing a war since April 2023 between the army led by Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, who is also the Chairman of the Transitional Sovereign Council, and the Rapid Support Forces led by his former deputy, Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (Hemeti)."

Datum 7 shows the actors involved in the internal conflict in Sudan, which involves two armed groups: (1) the Sudanese Armed Forces, led by Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, and (2) the Rapid Support Forces, led by Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (Hemeti). These two actors are directly linked during the conflict, reinforcing the narrative of the internal conflict occurring in Sudan.

The discourse above falls under the association strategy, as it presents a connection between one actor and another. In addition to association, the representation of the actors in Datum 7 provides an understanding of the personal relationship in the context of the Sudan conflict. For example, Abdel Fattah is not only referred to as the leader of the army but also mentioned in his capacity as Chairman of the Transitional Sovereign Council. On the other hand, Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (Hemeti) is also referred to as Abdel Fattah's deputy, thus indirectly indicating a personal relationship before the conflict occurred.

This study indicates that the discourse in the text above aligns with Theo Van Leeuwen's exclusion and inclusion strategies ([Handayani & Pranoto, 2023](#)). In the exclusion strategy, there are two sub-strategies: (1) passivization, and (2) nominalization. In the inclusion strategy, there are five sub-strategies, including (1) differentiation, (2) abstraction-objectivization, (3) nomination, (4) individualization, and (5) association. According to Leeuwen's analysis, the exclusion strategy is an analytical tool used to exclude actors from the news, allowing readers to form their own perspectives on the content of the news ([Simanullang & Pangaribuan, 2021](#)). On the other hand, inclusion involves presenting the actors in the news text through the use of certain words, sentences, information, or sentence structures ([Lestari & Effendi, 2022](#)). Broadly speaking, social actions reflected in news coverage often provide an understanding of how ideologies are constructed through the



selection of specific words ([Pontoh et al., 2024](#)).

The issue of refugees is sensitive because it involves how human rights are applied in a given country. The refugee discourse in Aljazeera.net shows a neutral stance in its reporting, focusing on the Sudanese refugee crisis in Chad, which reached 681,044 individuals as of October 2024, according to a UN statement. For example, in the exclusion strategy of passivization, the passive word “accused” is used in the context that both the Sudanese military and the Rapid Support Forces have repeatedly committed atrocities during the war and targeted civilians. This strategy serves the explicit purpose of directing the reader's focus toward the events themselves, rather than on who is accusing these parties of the atrocities.

In the inclusion strategy, the entire discourse presented follows the provisions of critical discourse analysis according to Leeuwen. The differentiation element, marked by the contrast of actors, provides the understanding that women and children are the primary targets of the displacement. This refugee news also contains the element of objectivization, which explains the number of Sudanese refugees in Chad. This element helps readers understand that the information is conveyed clearly ([Laily et al., 2022](#)). Next is the element of nomination, where the discourse is presented as it is without exaggeration. Individualization pertains to the clear depiction of the actors involved, such as in the statement by the UN Refugee Coordinator, Mamadou Dia Baldé, who explains Mamadou as an authority figure. Lastly, the association element presents the connection or relationship between actors to understand the event comprehensively.

In the context of critical discourse analysis, this study continues and expands the discussion from various previous studies. Several earlier studies have examined various issues, such as criminal discourse ([Lestari & Effendi, 2022](#); [Malik, 2024](#); [Rahmayati et al., 2018](#); [Wati et al., 2023](#)), political reporting ([Handayani & Pranoto, 2023](#); [Rofii & Yuniarti, 2023](#)) the conflict in Palestine ([Rika et al., 2024](#)), sports reporting ([Kholisin & Haris, 2023](#); [Tyas Gusti et al., 2024](#)), and news ideology in online buying and selling transactions ([Susetyo, 2024](#)). These studies generally reveal the close relationship between media representation and certain ideological interests. Similar to this study, where the strategies are interconnected and complement each other, the discourse becomes more informative for the reader.

In the context of the refugee issue addressed in this study, previous research such as the wave of refugees from the Middle East to Italy post-Arab Spring ([Istiqomatunnisa et al., 2022](#)), the policies of countries regarding Middle Eastern refugees ([Darussalam et al., 2021](#)), the dynamics of Syrian refugees in Lebanon ([Alamari, 2023](#)), and Hungary's policies towards migrants from the Middle East ([Rachmat, 2023](#)) have uncovered the political, social, and ideological dynamics surrounding refugee issues in various countries. However, these studies did not apply critical discourse analysis, instead utilizing other approaches such as liberalism, Islam, or constructivism. Therefore, the researcher sees an opportunity to discuss this issue using Theo Van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis, particularly focusing on how the media presents discourse.

Thus, this study offers a new contribution by linking critical discourse analysis to the reporting of the Sudanese refugee crisis in Chad from Theo Van Leeuwen's perspective. Focusing on the social representation and actions of actors in the media coverage, this study enriches academic discourse by providing a more specific analysis of the refugee issue in Africa, which is still less frequently discussed compared to refugee issues in the Middle East. This study also reinforces previous findings that the media plays an essential role in constructing ideological narratives that can influence public perception ([Anwar et al., 2020](#)).

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study revealed that the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies in reporting the Sudanese refugee movement to Chad on Aljazeera.net aligns with the research objectives. Ideologically, Aljazeera.net's coverage is fair and neutral in reporting refugee issues. In the exclusion strategy, the researcher identified two cases of passivation and five instances of nominalization. Meanwhile, in the inclusion strategy, there were two cases of differentiation, six of objectivation-abstraction, one of nomination, two of individualization, and one of association. Based on these findings, the researcher concluded that each strategy has its own role and function. The mapping of these strategies enables readers to be more selective about the news they consume. If the news is presented fairly, the information obtained will be of higher quality. Conversely, news that is not delivered fairly may inadvertently lead to misleading perceptions among readers.

These findings can assist policymakers in understanding media bias when reporting refugee issues, particularly whether the discourse marginalizes refugee actors or not. Furthermore, this study expands the framing of media, showing that neutrality and factual reporting provide effective communication strategies. Although this research is limited to a single digital media outlet, it opens new opportunities for future studies to explore the topic more comprehensively. Critical discourse analysis could also be conducted by comparing reports from various media outlets to gain broader insights into how different media construct narratives around social facts.

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