

**IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION ON CNN ONLINE
NEWS OF RUSSIA – UKRAINE CONFLICT**

THESIS



**UIN SUNAN AMPEL
S U R A B A Y A**

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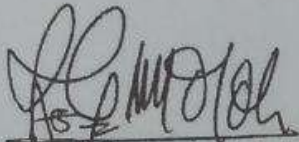
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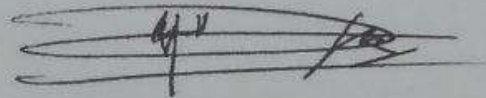
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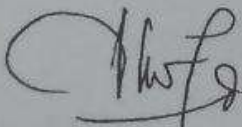
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ABSTRACT

Laila Sari, Eka. (2023). *Ideological Representation on "CNN" Online News of Russia-Ukraine Conflict*. English Department, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Advisors: (1) Raudlotul Jannah, M. App. Ling (2) Endratno Pilih Swasono, M.Pd

This thesis aims to reveal the ideological representation of media bias in the online news published by CNN International. The ideology of media bias is identified through the theory of transitivity by Halliday. The researcher selected six online news published on February 24, 2022, as research data with limited news focusing on the Russia – Ukraine conflict.

The researcher used the CDA approach by Norman Fairclough in the analysis process. There are three stages of analysis based on the CDA approach by Norman Fairclough; description, interpretation, and explanation stages. In the description stage, the researcher used the transitivity theory by Halliday to analyze news at the text level or language features. Halliday has six types of transitivity processes: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential. The method used in this study is a descriptive-qualitative method, in which the research analysis focuses on the clauses in a unit of news discourse. The researcher is the main instrument in this study because she is the only one who collected, classified, and analyzed the data during the entire research process.

The result of this study is the discovery of all types of transitivity in the news discourse, which have different functions. Throughout the analysis, the researcher found that online news by CNN International media implied an ideology biased toward Ukraine.

Keywords: ideology, transitivity, critical discourse analysis, online news.

ABSTRAK

Laila Sari, E. S. (2023). *Representasi Ideologi pada Berita Online “CNN” terkait Konflik Rusia-Ukraine*. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Pembimbing: (1) Raudlotul Jannah, M. App. Ling (2) Endratno Pilih Swasono, M.Pd

Tesis ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap representasi ideologi keberpihakan media dari berita online yang dipublikasi oleh media CNN Internasional. Ideologi keberpihakan tersebut diidentifikasi melalui teori transitivitas oleh Halliday. Peneliti memilih 6 berita *online* yang dipublikasi pada tanggal 24 Februari 2022 sebagai data penelitian dengan limitasi berita yang diambil berfokus pada topik konflik antara Rusia dan Ukraina.

Peneliti menggunakan pendekatan CDA dari Norman Fairclough di dalam proses analisis. Ada tiga tahap analisis berdasarkan pendekatan CDA dari Norman Fairclough yaitu tahap deksripsi, interpretasi, dan eksplanasi. Di tahap deskripsi, peneliti menggunakan teori transitivitas oleh Halliday untuk menganalisis berita di tingkat teks atau fitur bahasa. Ada enam tipe proses transitivitas oleh Halliday yaitu material, mental, relasional, perilaku, verbal, dan eksistensial. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode deskriptif-kualitatif, yang mana fokus analisis penelitian ada pada klausa dalam satu kesatuan wacana berita. Peneliti adalah instrumen utama dalam studi ini, karena dia adalah satu-satunya yang mengumpulkan, mengklasifikasi, dan menganalisis data di dalam seluruh proses penelitian.

Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah ditemukannya semua jenis transitivitas dalam wacana berita yang memiliki fungsi berbeda. Melalui keseluruhan proses analisis, peneliti menemukan bahwa berita online oleh CNN Internasional media mengimplikasikan ideologi keberpihakan pada Ukraina.

Kata Kunci: ideologi, transitivitas, analisis wacana kritis, berita online.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher explained why she conducted the research, why the research is important, and why she was interested in the research topic. It contains several points: background of the study, research problems of the study, significance of the study, scope and delimitation, and definition of key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Recently, many news from various online media has been presented with many reports on conflict cases between Russia and Ukraine. The historical and geographical proximity between Russia and Ukraine has a lot of impact on their relationship. This relationship had been established for a long time, even when the Russian empire was still in power, and continued when Russia changed its government form to a republic. Their relationship had experienced fluctuation since 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed. The two countries are currently experiencing a precarious relationship (Syahbuddin & Tati Haryati, 2022).

The conflict between Russia – Ukraine re-emerged since the 'revolution' of February 2014. The revolution is about Ukrainian resistance to Russian supremacy. This revolution triggered Russia's involvement in Ukrainian domestic politics (Muhamad & Nainggolan, 2018). Then, the conflict peaked on February 24, 2022, when Putin announced that he had decided to carry out a "special military operation" in Eastern Ukraine (Syahbuddin & Tati Haryati, 2022). This military operation of Russia in Ukraine has become the spotlight of many media

in this world. Since then, this case has affected the two countries involved in the conflict and other countries worldwide in many sectors, such as economics and politic. To date, the conflict remains a significant issue of international politics and affairs. Therefore, the present research analyzed the news of the current global issue of the Russia – Ukraine conflict.

News can be delivered to the readers by various media, such as printed and online. In this globalization era, news that is delivered through websites or online media in the internet is more affordable and accessible than the printed version. This kind of news is usually called online news. Everyone with internet access can easily access the most updated online news from many areas worldwide. According to BPS data from Susenas Survey data collection in 2021, 62.10 percent of Indonesia's population accessed the Internet in 2021 (BPS, 2021). It means that more than half of Indonesia's population has internet access. The vast online news consumption among internet users is the researcher's reason chose online news over printed ones.

Since Putin announced a military operation in Eastern Ukraine, various online media have reported the latest update about the conflict. Online media come from many different countries in the world. One of the online media in the world that has attracted researchers' interest is Western online media. The researcher is interested in Western online media because of the involvement of the E.U (European Union), NATO (North Atlantic Threaty Organization), and the U.S. as the superpowerful institutions in the Western countries. The involvement is the revolution in 2014 that opened up Ukraine's desire to join the E.U. and

NATO. Russia considers this a threat as well as a violation. In fact, Russia has proposed legally binding guarantees that the NATO military alliance would cease any military activity in Eastern Europe and Ukraine (Syahbuddin & Tati Haryati, 2022). However, the U.S. rejected this proposal, making the Russia – Ukraine conflict more complicated than before the event. Thus, this Western involvement has interested the researcher in analyzing how Western online media reported the news about the Russia – Ukraine conflict. Furthermore, the researcher chose CNN International as the primary data source since it is a Western online media.

CNN (Cable News Network) is a U.S. cable news channel founded in 1980 by the U.S. media conglomerate Ted Turner. CNN has been in the broadcasting business for 40 years (Robertson, 2021). It is a well-known Western media news channel that also consistently reports the news of the Russia–Ukraine conflict daily. CNN has been known as a well-recognized media outlet. In many dimensions, it is considered the most recognized brand in news from a global context (Hossain et al., 2022). In this case, the prestige and popularity of media can profoundly impact the international community's views regarding issues published by that media. Therefore, the researcher chose CNN because of its reputation, popularity, and its relation with the U.S. as a Western country which is the origin of this channel.

The media's messages through their products are built and shaped for a specific purpose. There is a motive behind every message displayed in the media product, whether in the form of news, headlines, exceptional coverage, etc. This motive is in the form of values that the media wants to instill in the

minds of viewers and readers. In addition, the media does not only act as a means of information that conveys actual and factual news but more than that; they try to build value in our minds as viewers and readers. From the explanation above, it is what can be called "ideology."

Ideology in the news can be analyzed using a critical discourse analysis approach. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is basically one of the ways or methods for tracing and understanding the values, ideas, motives, ideologies, or hidden meaning behind the text (Pawito, 2016). CDA has become a common approach in analyzing written and spoken texts, ranging from critical linguistics to critical semiotics, and generally can be seen in socio-political studies investigated through language, discourse, and communication (van Dijk, 1995). The critical discourse analysis referred to by van Dijk focuses on analyzing linguistic texts and other aspects, such as social practices that shape the discourse. As Rogers et al. (2005) argued, critical discourse analysis must answer the relationship between language and social practice. Therefore, the present research analyzed news as a kind of discourse through the CDA approach to reveal its ideological representation. Specifically, in the linguistics study, the researcher attempted to investigate the ideology of media bias represented through a news discourse published by CNN International.

Critical discourse analysis has piqued the interest of many scholars as a tool for analyzing language properties in a specific social and cultural context, especially ideology. There are several previous pieces of research in analyzing ideology using the CDA approach. The approach is applied to analyze ideology

in different data such as speech (Faiz et al., 2020; Khaled, 2020; Maghfiroh & Triyono, 2020), news (Al-Ghamdi, 2021; Jiaying & Cuiqiong, 2019; Munfi'atul Mawaddah et al., 2021; Visiaty et al., 2021), humor speech (Dzihni et al., 2020), and another research (Sahmeni & Afifah, 2019). However, an approach or theory applied to different data with different topics might imply different results.

The study by Khalid (2020) applied the CDA approach by Ruth Wodak, named Discourse Historical Approach, in Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech. Other researchers applied different models of CDA in different subjects to analyze the ideology. Several previous studies have investigated ideology in many discourses in various ways. Faiz et al. (2020) analyzed ideology through illocutionary acts in Donald Trump's speech using Fairclough's three models of CDA. Maghfirah & Triyono (2020) analyzed Nadiem Makarim's speech using van Dijk's model.

Other studies used different approaches in the news. The first study was conducted by Al Ghamdi (2020), which elaborated two theories: van Dijk's model and Fairclough's insight on the news with Covid-19 as the subject from Saudi Gazette and Arab News media. The following study on the news is from Jiaying & Cuiqiong (2019), which discussed the implication of significant media with the subject of China-US trade issues. Another study is conducted by Munfi'atil Mawaddah (2021). She conducted a study as Al Ghamdy had done on his research with Covid-19 issues as the subject. However, she only used one model of CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough. The last study analyzed

news by Visiaty et al. (2021) that used van Dijk's model of CDA with Ancol reclamation as the news topic.

Different from those previously mentioned studies, Dzihni et al. (2020) analyzed Gusdur's speech with their focus on humor using Fairclough's model. The last previous study was from Sahmeni & Afifah (2019), who conducted a study with the research data from other researchers to know how the CDA approach is applied in many discourses to reveal ideology. Their research found that the most used theory of CDA in sixteen journal articles is the theory by van Dijk.

Based on the literature review that the researcher has done, there is little attention to using transitivity and the CDA approach by Fairclough as the knife to analyze ideology in the news, especially news with Russia – Ukraine conflict as the issue or topic. Since this issue has been an actual issue from the first until the last year of 2022, there is little attention to analyzing ideology in reporting news in any media related to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Therefore, the researcher attempted to fill the gap from the previous research by applying Halliday's theory of transitivity process along with the CDA approach by Fairclough to analyze the reporting news from CNN International media regarding Russia – Ukraine conflict.

From the preceding explanation, this research aimed to reveal the ideology of media bias in reporting news from CNN International media regarding the Russia – Ukraine conflict using Halliday's theory of the transitivity process within the CDA approach by Fairclough.

1.2 Research Problems of the Study

The research questions are formulated in consideration of the study's background. The study examined the language used by CNN International media to present the news of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The language used was analyzed through transitivity theory by Halliday within the CDA approach by Fairclough to reveal the ideological representation of CNN media, as follows:

1. What are the transitivity process types that appear in the news of the Russia – Ukraine conflict on CNN?
2. How does the transitivity process reveal the ideology of media bias in the news of the Russia – Ukraine conflict on CNN?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In line with the problem of the study in the previous point, this study aims to:

1. Find the transitivity process types that appeared in the selected online news article of CNN International Media.
2. Reveal the ideology of media bias by CNN International that is represented through the news discourse.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Theoretically, the present research is expected to explore how the transitivity process and CDA reveal the ideology of the news discourse. Then, the result may help newsreaders understand the news discourse from different perspectives. The research is also expected to be a helpful reference or the basis for comparison in the following study. Thus, it can trigger the next researcher to develop new insights and ideas to improve the critical discourse analysis study. Therefore, it is hoped that this paper will contribute to the development of the linguistics study, in critical discourse analysis, specifically regarding ideology, media bias, and news discourse.

1.4 Scope and Delimitation

The researcher took only six online news articles as the research data. The reason for choosing six online news articles is because they were published by CNN International media on the first day of a military operation by Russia to Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The delimitation of the data is news with Russia – Ukraine conflict as the topic, and the publication date is on February 24, 2022. Since the situational aspect, which means what happens when the news articles are published, has a significant influence on the ideology of the news article, the researcher decided the publication date as the delimitation to focus on a significant event, the first day of military action.

The selected news articles were analyzed through Halliday's theory of transitivity process in order with the CDA approach by Fairclough since CDA research covers an analysis of discourse, ideology, and some other parts related

to CDA.

1.5 Definition of Key Terms

Online news is a report of an event packaged by the media, both spoken and written, that can be accessed through media websites.

Discourse is a complete record of events about communication or linguistic units larger than sentences and clauses and has a relationship between one linguistic unit and another.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a linguistic study that discusses discourse from linguistic elements and relates it to context and social practice.

Ideological Representation is the representation of beliefs or doctrines considered true in society, which is implied through language in discourse.

Transitivity Process is a method by M. A. K. Halliday that includes a set of experiential functions used to analyze language at the clause level.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, the researcher explained in more detail several points of discussion related to this study. It consists of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Ideological Representation, CNN International, and about Russia-Ukraine conflict.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has grown in popularity and influence recently. It has adopted the word critical to describe its particular characteristics, exposing how language has been used to establish socio-political control. Critical discourse analysis makes discourse, an obscure powerful thing in social practice, increasingly observable and apparent (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

Consequently, CDA has grown in importance as a study technique that goes into the text and the social context. This technique is also described as an investigation of discourse to demonstrate how language may establish and conceal deep structural power and unequal connections.

Van Dijk defined CDA as a form of study that critically analyzes a discourse. This study usually focuses on the relationship between text and language around politics and society. How a discourse acts out, recreates, and against the power abuse in social practice, domination, and inequality. Critical discourse analysis explicitly investigates, exposes, and ultimately opposes social inequity (Van Dijk, 2001).

According to Fairclough, CDA investigates the unintelligible causality and determines the relationship between discursive practices (events and texts) and socio-cultural systems (relations and processes). CDA also analyzes how such activities, events, and texts are derived, how power relations form an ideology, and how these discourse-society relations' complexity ensures power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1993).

"CDA, as its proponents have always insisted, is an approach to discourse analysis that is ideological in intent. It is committed to the cause of social justice, and its purpose is to expose exploitation and the abuse of power" (Widdowson, 2004). In this way, CDA serves a social purpose by revealing and attempting to mend societal issues via the impact of its discourse interpretation on readers. The topic of power, ideology, and inequality concerning discourse or language and social structure is a prominent point in this critical paradigm.

The researcher concluded that CDA is the development study of discourse analysis. CDA analyzed the discourse through critical thinking from different perspectives, including its context, social, politics, power, and ideology. There are five characteristics of CDA based on Van Dijk, including action, context, history, power, and ideology. Besides its characteristics, several approaches are proposed by several influential figures on CDA, such as the dialectical-relational approach by Norman Fairclough, the social actor approach by Theo van Leeuwen, the socio-cognitive approach by Teun A. van Dijk, the discourse-historical approach (DHA) by Ruth Wodak, feminist-stylistics approach by Sara Mills (Masitoh, 2020).

Based on the previous explanation, CDA is the most appropriate approach to analyze the ideology within discourse. The researcher used the CDA approach by Norman Fairclough to analyze the ideology of media bias in the news on the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

2.1.1 Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Framework

Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis procedures consists of three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 1989). Textual analysis at the description stage refers to the level related to the formal nature of the text, and the study includes aspects of vocabulary and grammar which are included in the aspects of experiential (ideational) meaning, interpersonal and textual meaning of the text, while aspects of text structure are in the genre analysis. Overall, it can be said that the description stage is a stage that refers to linguistic features.

The interpretation stage is related to the relationship between text and interactions in the text, namely by viewing the text as a product of the production process and as a source in the interpretation process. This stage is a stage that includes the social factor (context interpretation) of a text, for example, about who is involved, what is happening, in what relationship, and what is the role of language in the text, then the interpretation of the text is determined based on its relationship with an interpretation of that context. Fairclough explained in more detail that interpretation is generalization through what is in the text and what is in the interpreter's mind (Fairclough, 1989).

Next is an explanation. This stage deals with the relationship between interaction and social context. The stages are related to the social process of production and interpretation and social effects on the embodiment of a text. The question that arises at this stage is what helps to form a discourse related to social determination that includes situational, institutional, and societal levels. Meanwhile, at the ideological level, the question that arises is what elements are described as having ideological content.

2.2 Transitivity Process

The first analysis step on CDA by Fairclough is a description. This stage focused on textual analysis. In analyzing the textual level, the researcher applied Halliday's theory of the transitivity process. Transitivity is a realization of a language user's linguistic experience that is influenced by certain factors, such as the social process experienced by speakers. The theory is in Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) scope. SFL has three sub-points of discussion in analysing a discourse, generally called three metafunctions. Those are textual, interpersonal, and ideational. The transitivity itself is a subpoint of ideational metafunction in SFL.

The researcher attempted to adopt the transitivity system in the description stage within the CDA approach by Norman Fairclough. Theoretically, they have a similarity in viewing a discourse. They view discourse as a result of three factors that influence it. Those factors are discourse itself, discourse practice, and social practice. Thus, the researcher combined two theories of transitivity and CDA to reveal the ideology of the news.

Transitivity is a realization of the linguistic experience of language users. Linguistic realization consists of processes. A process, in principle, consists of three components: process, participants, and circumstances (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This formula provides a frame of reference to get the language user's experience of what happened. The concepts of process, participant, and goal are semantic categories that describe, in the most general way, how real-world phenomena are represented as linguistic structures. The process is a critical element of transitivity, which can be associated with one or more participants and circumstances. According to Halliday, there are six types of processes: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential (Halliday & Webster, 2009). The detailed explanation of six types of transitivity processes is as follows:

2.2.1 Material Process

The material process is the process of doing something. This statement conveys the idea that some entities do things to other entities. In other words, someone or something that does for someone or something else. This process generally involves two participants, the actor and the target. The target or goal is the person or thing as the object of the action, and the actor is the person or thing doing the action (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

I	Sweep	the floor
Actor	Process	Goal

2.2.2 Mental Process

The mental process is the sensory process. It can also be said that the mental process is the process of seeing, feeling, thinking, and wanting. This process describes what happens in a person's mind. The mental process maintains processes such as wanting, liking, thinking, seeing, imagining, etc. There are four type of sensing; perspective, cognitive, desiderative, and emotive. In a mental process, a participant can always perform the action. In this case, a participant must be equipped with awareness. This participant is known as a senser. Another participant is a phenomenon, namely something that is sensed, felt, thought, or seen (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

He	Feels	Sad
Senser	Process: Perspective	Phenomenon

2.2.3 Relational Process

A relational process is a process of associating between one participant and another. In other words, a relationship is established between two different entities, but without implying that one entity affects the other in any way. The association can provide attributes or provide value to the first participant. This process consists of two modes, namely: relational attributive processes and relational identification processes. There are also three main types of relationships in the relational process: intensive, possessive, and circumstantial (1) intensive (Rina is a student) shows that two things are alike. (2) possessive (Rina has a piano), which shows that one thing owns another. (3) circumstantial (Rina is in

the room), it describes the thing in terms of where it is, when it happens, and how it happens (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

Ms. Dina	Is	a lecturer
Carrier	Process	Attributive

That beautiful lecturer	is	Ms. Dina
Token (Identified)	Process	Identifier

2.2.4 Behavioral Process

The behavioral process is a process of behaving. This process is also defined as a physiological or psychological activity expressing human physical behavior. In this case, that can be categorized in this process, for example, the verb to breathe, yawn, complain, laugh, etc. A participant in this process, only one is named by behavior. Generally, this participant is a conscious being. Sometimes, there is another participant in some clauses, which is not an actual participant. It might be additional specific action to the process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

No one	is listening
Behaver	Process

2.2.5 Verbal Process

Verbal process is a pure speech process. There is no element of behavior. However, "said" should not be interpreted in a narrow sense. "Said" can mean all kinds of symbolic meanings. Participants in this process category are the sayer,

the person or thing that conveys the message, and the receiver, the person or thing that receives the message. Verbiage is a verbalization process. There is also another participant who is the target. The existence of a target is only in the sub-type of the "verbal" clause. Target is the participant in the sub-type of verbal, which is targeted by the process of saying. The sign of target existence is the verb such as insult, accuse, and so on (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

He	Talks	to his mother
Sayer	Process	Receiver

He	accused	Nina	of stealing his money
Sayer	Process	Target	Verbiage

2.2.6 Existential Process

The existential process is the process that reveals the existence of something. It reveals the existence and entities without predicting anything about them. There is only one participant in the existential process. That is the existent, which can be any phenomenon, not just a person, object, or institution, but also any action or event (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

There	Is	a world war
	Process	Existent: entity

2.3 Ideological Representation

Ideology is a term that has an attractive history. The figure who used this term first was Antoine Destutt de Tracy after the Revolution of French. He wrote

a book entitled *Eléments d'idéologie* between 1801 and 1815. In his book, he introduced a new idea which is ideology. De Tracy rejected the concept that 'innate ideas' or 'established authorities' originated knowledge in human life. He argued that every idea in the human brain appears from information about the world they get from their sense of physic. Humans think and act based on their experiences (Gee, 2015). While based on Fowler's opinion, ideology is "beliefs, values, theories, and propositions" (Fowler, 1991).

Other scientists also define ideology. One of them, Sargent (2009), argued that ideology is a rule that is believed and a norm that is well-accepted as truth by a group of people in society. In short, ideological values are correct in society based on their consideration. Van Dijk (1998) also added his opinion about ideology. According to him, ideology refers to social representation followed by a group of people. Specifically, ideology builds a perspective of a group of people in various aspects such as values, doctrines, attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions directed at various life sectors such as politics, religion, economics, and society. In general, some people with dominant power in society construct a belief in society. Ideology can influence whether to blame or justify a statement. It can be interpreted that ideology is a system regulating and conditioning people's interpretation of existing truth. The researcher concluded that ideology is someone's point of view in seeing anything from any term or perspective.

Representation means the depiction, explanation, description, or explanation of something. Hall (1997) states, "Representation is the production of meaning through language. Specifically, Hall defined representation as "the

production of conceptual meanings in our minds through language." It can also be said to be a relationship between language and concepts that allows us to refer to an abstract and concrete object. Representation works through a representational system consisting of two essential concepts: concepts in thinking and concepts of language. They are influenced by and related to each other. The concepts in the human mind will not be conveyed if not through language, and vice versa. Language without concept is something meaningless. For example, when anyone has the concept of thinking about a glass, which is a tool for us to drink, then he/she needs the concept of language to communicate it.

From the previous explanation, it can be concluded that ideological representation is how ideology is represented through language in discourse. It can also be said that based on the research, ideological representation of the news is the representation of authors' or the media's ideology which they deliver through language in the news they produce.

2.3.1 Media Bias

It is essential to discuss the point because the ideological representation of the present research is whether the media is biased toward certain parties involved in the conflict or neutral. This claim is based on the second research question that the ideological representation is in the term of bias. This type of ideology was investigated through how the media used the language to report the conflict. Generally, every conflict in the media has several social actors involved. In the conflict between Russia – Ukraine, the social actor are Russia, Ukraine, the U.S., and Western organizations that are NATO and European Union.

Media bias is mass media reporting that can be distorted, manipulated, or interfered with by either journalists' subjective opinions or the ideology of media organizations. Based on Merriam-Webster, bias is "an inclination of outlook." Media bias is possibly detected in media that are not independent, namely partisan media, government mouthpiece media, or media that are propaganda tools for specific political forces. Partisan media, for example, owned by politicians, will only report good things about the politician, his colleagues, and his group (his party). Suppose a significant issue inevitably has to be reported. In that case, the news will be biased because it uses the point of view (angle) of the interests of the politician or his group. The notion of bias is showing an opinion about something not based on all the facts.

2.4 CNN International Media

CNN is a U.S. cable news channel founded in 1980 by the U.S. media conglomerate Ted Turner. CNN has been in the broadcasting business for 40 years (Robertson, 2021). It is a well-known Western media news channel that consistently reported the news of the Russia – Ukraine conflict daily. CNN has been known as a well-recognized media outlet. In many dimensions, it is the most recognized brand in news from a global context.

Cable News Network (CNN) International media is the central part of CNN Global. Its headquarter studio is in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. It is a global website of news media in the U.S. Cited in the webpage of CNN's worldwide fact sheet, CNN covered the worldwide news. CNN reports the news on many issues in the world, such as international politics, lifestyle, entertainment, health,

weather, and many other issues. The news can be read and downloaded through the CNN website, www.cnn.com.

It has had many significant changes from the beginning of the channel release until now. CNN International nowadays becomes the second largest channel in the world after BBC. It also has many branches in many countries around the world, such as Indonesia, Philippines, and India. Now, CNN International is owned by Warner Bros. Discovery, Inc (WBD). WBD is the merger of WarnerMedia and Discovery, Inc. Those two media are influential American Companies specialising in mass media and broadcasting. CNN International and its branches company in many countries are the updated news media with various topics such as politics, entertainment, sports, and lifestyle around the world. In conclusion, based on CNN's history, the owner of this media is an American.

Cited from CNN's vision from its fact sheet page, CNN International spreads the news from around the world and share it back to the people around the world. So, the newsreaders or the audience of CNN's news is all people around the world. The CNN International media updates the news through their website, which is easy and free to access by all people from any circle, every time and everywhere. CNN's mission is to cover news distribution to people all over the world. There is no specific target audience since CNN International has many subjects in the news. It is not only encompass political news but also sport, entertainment, lifestyle, technology and so on. However, the reader of the news discourse on the Russia-Ukraine conflict is certainly anyone who needs

information regarding the conflict itself, who interests in the political conflict in the world, or who interests in analyzing any kind of aspect related to the conflict.

2.5 Russia-Ukraine Conflict

Russia and Ukraine experienced almost the same historical journey, both of which were countries that were part of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 due to the collapse of the Soviet administrative command economy, which failed to realize its programs. The Soviet economy suffered from hidden inflation and ubiquitous supply shortages compounded by the increasingly open black market that was ruining the economy. The collapse caused 15 countries in Eastern Europe as Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Lithuania, Russia, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine, to gain their independence.

Russia and Ukraine's historical and geographical proximity has dramatically impacted their relationship. This relationship existed for a long time, even when the Russian empire was still in power, and continued when Russia changed its government form to a republic. Their relationship has experienced good and bad. Even now, the two countries are experiencing a phase of precarious relations.

Chronologically, the Ukrainian-Russian conflict has been going on since 1991. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine continued to reject Russia's dominance in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the military in Eastern Europe. Ukraine preferred to join the European Union. The Ukrainian-Russian conflict then continued in 2013, which began with the

Ukrainian economic crisis and the removal of the pro-Russia Yanukovych from the presidency. This case caused several pro-Russia regions, such as Luhansk, Donetsk, and Crimea, to riot and declare to join Russia. This condition was aggravated by the desire of the Ukrainian government under President Volodymyr Zelensky to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The Russian government under Putin feels threatened in economics, political and military aspects if Ukraine joins NATO. Putin opposed the decision by submitting a legally binding guarantee that the NATO military alliance would stop military activity in Eastern Europe and Ukraine. The proposal was rejected by the United States (US). The refusal led to Vladimir Putin's decision, announced on February 24, 2022, to launch a "special military operation" in Eastern Ukraine. The conflict has continued until nowadays. It is still an overwhelming issue in many of the world's media.

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CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter discussed the research steps from data collection to the data analysis description. It consists of three main parts; research design, data collection techniques, and data analysis techniques.

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research is an approach to exploring and understanding the meaning, and then the researcher interprets the meaning of the data (Cresswell, 2014). Qualitative-descriptive was considered the most appropriate method in this research since this research used critical discourse analysis. The overall step of data analysis in CDA is in the description form. Therefore, the researcher used this method because it was appropriate to analyze the ideological representation using Halliday's transitivity and Fairclough's CDA framework.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Research Data

The data used in this research were the whole text in the selected news discourse from CNN with the Russia-Ukraine conflict as the issue or topic as primary data. The secondary data are sources that provide information regarding the conflict and CNN International media. The researcher analyzed six news articles from CNN Media published on February 24 2022. The research limited the data to a similar issue and publication date to make the researcher more focused on a certain situation.

3.2.1 Data Source

The data of this research were taken from CNN International media through its online website, www.cnn.com. Then, the researcher searched the news articles published when Russia's military operation began, precisely on February 24, 2022.

3.2.2 Instrument

The researcher was the only instrument in this research because the one who collected, analyzed, interpreted, and described the data was the researcher herself. Since it is qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument in collecting the data without any other tool such as a questionnaire, interview, and so on (Cresswell, 2014).

3.2.3 Data Collection Techniques

1. The researcher selected six news articles published on February 24, 2022, on the Russia-Ukraine conflict.
2. The researcher downloaded the article from the following website <https://edition.cnn.com/europe/live-news/ukraine-russia-news-02-24-22-intl/index.html>.
3. The researcher read the whole text of the news discourse to ensure that the content is about the Russia-Ukraine conflict and to understand the news and the angle/point of view.

3.2.4 Data Analysis Techniques

1. Data Identification

In this step, the researcher identified the data that has been collected in the previous step into six type of transitivity process. The data was highlighted by the six different color as follows:

Table 3.1 Colors for Identifying the Types of Transitivity Process

Types of Transitivity Process	Code	Color
Material Process	MP1	Red
Mental Process	MP2	Yellow
Relational Process	RP	Green
Behavioral Process	BP	Blue
Verbal Process	VP	Orange
Existensial Process	EP	Purple

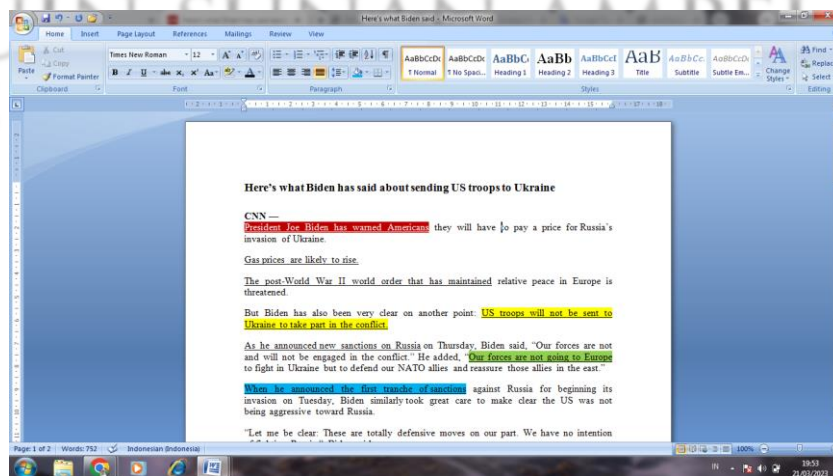


Figure 3.1 Identifying the Data

2. Data Classification

In this step, the researcher classified the data into the table for classifying the transitivity process. The researcher put the data in the form of clause in the data column. The table as presented in the following image.

Table 3.2 Example of Data Classification in the Transitivity Process

No	Transitivity Process	Code	Clauses	Total	Percent-
1.	Material Process	MP1			
2.	Mental Process	MP2			
3.	Relational Process	RP			
4.	Behavioral Process	BP			
5.	Verbal Process	VP			
6.	Existential Process	EP			
		Total			

3. Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the data based on the data table in the previous step. The analysis of the transitivity process was at the description level because it analyzed the linguistic features in the news discourse. The step of transitivity process analysis would answer the first research question. The second research question was answered through the whole step of analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation.

4. Drawing a Conclusion

The final step was concluding all steps of the research. The final result of this research is the answer to two research questions: the transitivity process and the ideology of media bias in the news reported by CNN International media through the whole analysis process.



CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discussed the finding and discussion of the research. The researcher presented the finding of the two research questions. The first finding is about the transitivity process type in the selected news. The second finding is the ideology of media bias.

4.1 Findings

In this part, the researcher provided the result, which consists of two points based on the research questions. The first point is the transitivity process type that appeared in the news discourse from selected media, then how the transitivity process, along with CDA, revealed the ideology of the CNN International media from the language used in the news discourse.

The researcher applied Fairclough's framework. The framework consists of three steps; description, interpretation, and explanation. In the description step, the researcher analyzed the discourse's linguistic features using Halliday's theory of the transitivity process. In the next step, the researcher interpreted and explained the data from the answer to the first research question.

After the analysis process, the researcher presented the result to answer the second research question. The question is about the ideology of media bias represented in the news by CNN International media. The analysis was done by interpreting and explaining the finding of the first research question with the discourse practice and social practice.

4.1.1 Transitivity Process Types in the Selected News Articles on Russia – Ukraine Conflict

At this point, the researcher provided the transitivity analysis process, which was included in the description stage to answer the first research question. The first part of Fairclough's CDA framework is the description. The researcher presented the description stage by applying the transitivity theory to answer the first research question.

The transitivity process is a theory of SFL focused on the process in the clause. The process type is material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential. In this part, the researcher provided the finding of the process type based on the theory of transitivity by Halliday. Six news articles were chosen to be the research data. Those six news was limited to the news that only reported Russia-Ukraine's conflict, published on February 24 2022.

Three common factors that need to be examined in the process are clause, participant, and the participant's role (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The researcher focused on the clause to determine the transitivity process. From all the data found in the data collection process, it would not be provided with all of them. However, the researcher considered a number of clauses as the data to present them in this part to answer the first research question.

In the transitivity analysis using the step explained previously in the third chapter of the research, the researcher found 303 clauses containing the type of process in the six news selected. The researcher presented the data in the following chart and its percentage.

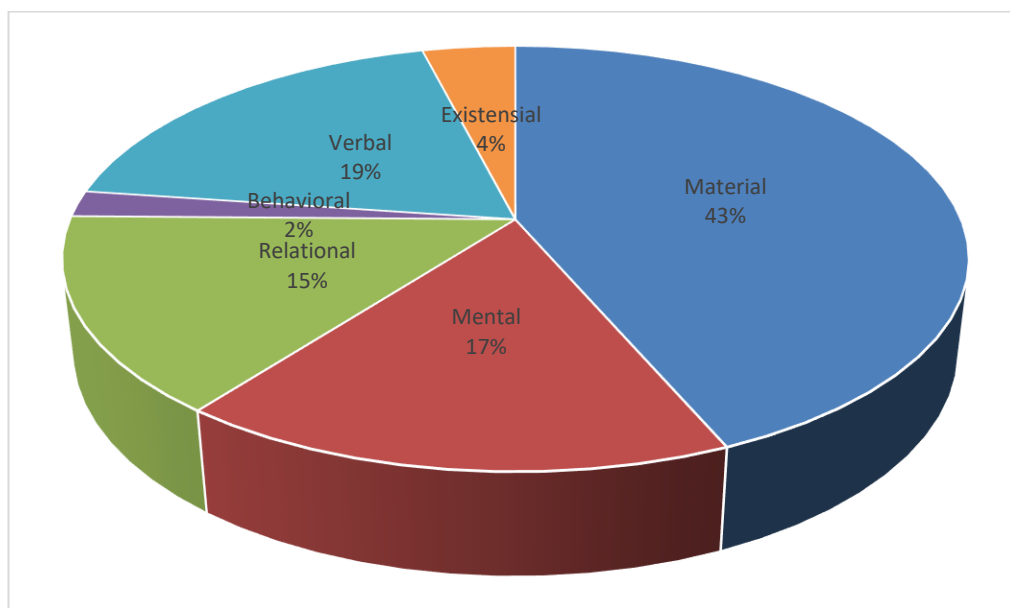


Figure 4.1 The Percentage of the Transitivity Process Types

The chart in the figure above presented the percentage of the transitivity process types that appeared in the whole selected news. The most frequent type of process in the text is the material process, with 43% or 132 appearances. They are then followed by a verbal process in the second position of the most appearance type of process with 19% or 57 appearances. The mental process is in the third position with 17% or 51 appearances. The mental process and verbal processes are quite similar. They only differ in six number of appearance. The next position is the relational process, which gains 15% or 45. It means that the relational process is in the fourth position. The fifth position is existensial, which gain only 4% or 12 appearances. The type of process that gain the least number of all is behavioral processs with 2% or 6 times appearance. The data explanation of the types of transitivity processes is in the following passage.

4.1.1.1 Material Process

The material process involves the action of "doing." In other words, this process results in change or action. As a result, the verb is thought to indicate the action, whether concrete or abstract. Two participant roles—an actor and a goal—comprise the material process. Actor refers to the person doing the activity, whereas goal refers to the thing that experienced the process.

Excerpt 1

After months of predictions and warnings, **Russian forces began their attack on Ukraine** Thursday morning local time, with reports of troops crossing the border to the north and south, explosions in multiple cities including the capital Kyiv, and warnings from Putin of future bloodshed unless Ukrainian forces lay down their arms (CNN, 2022)

The bold clause pointed out that "Russian forces" are a participant who become an actor. The word "began", a verb, indicates that this clause belongs to material process. The goal is the abstract participant, "their attack". The phrase "on Russia" became the circumstance of place means the Russian forces' attack began on Ukraine. The Russian forces are doing action. What kind of action is that? The action is "began". Then, what did the Russian forces begin? They began their attack. The word "attack" was chosen to be the goal of the process.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, "attack" means "the act of attacking with physical force or the unfriendly word". This word tends to have negative meaning or negative connotation addressed to Russia. Moreover, the word "attack" is repeated 26 times in the whole passage of the selected news. The

excerpt informed the Ukraine's situation at the beginning of the Russian forces' attack on this country.

Excerpt 2

The tensions between Ukraine and Russia escalated after **Russian forces invaded Ukraine from three sides**, while explosions rang through a number of cities, including the capital Kyiv, in a broad attack that began before dawn on Thursday. **The West condemned Russian President Vladimir Putin for this invasion** (CNN, 2022).

Two material process was found in the passage. All of those two material processes showed a negative impression of Russia. The first clause informed that the conflict was raised after Russia's invasion. The word "invaded" also refers to Russia as an actor in this process. It is explained in the dictionary that the word "invaded" means "to enter the country for conquest or plunder". In the second clause, the newswriter chose the word "condemned" which has the negative connotation. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, "condemned" means "to declare to be reprehensible, wrong, or evil". This word is generally used to "suggests an unqualified and final unfavorable judgment". This word also refers to Russia as the target or participant who received condemnation.

Excerpt 3

The US had been issuing stark warnings for weeks that **Russian President Vladimir Putin would launch an attack on Ukraine** on a scale not seen in decades. **The US and its European allies are set to unveil sanctions** on Russia Thursday in response to Moscow's aggression, ... (CNN, 2022).

The researcher found three clauses containing material processes. Two of them enacted "the U.S" as the actor of the material process. The process in those two clauses are "issuing" and "unveil". The actor of another one is "Russian President Vladimir Putin", and its process is "launch". The whole passage implied a negative impression towards several words such as attack, sanction, and stark warning. Those three words become the target or the goal of the material process. Based on the Merriam-Webster dictionary, sanction means the reward of lawlessness action. The act of lawlessness is denoted to Russia's military action.

Excerpt 4

President Joe Biden on Thursday unveiled harsh new sanctions on Russia meant to **punish** the country for its full-scale **invasion** of Ukraine, calling out Russian President Vladimir Putin for **his aggression** even as he acknowledged it would take time for the new measures to alter Putin's behavior (CNN, 2022).

The data contains one clause of the material process. The material process also becomes the main idea of the passage. The other clause gives a detail explanation about Biden's sanction. In this material process, "President Joe Biden" acts as the actor. The verb "unveiled" acts as a sign of material process because it shows the process of action. The object "harsh new sanctions" becomes the material process goal. The word choice of "sanction" construct a negative impression on the reader's mind. Moreover, another words with negative meanings are also reused to explain the sanction. The words are "punish", "invasion", and "aggression". Those words are utilised to explain that the sanction is the punishment for the invasion and aggression. Furthermore, the word

"invasion" was found 35 times in the whole news discourse that all refer to Russia.

Excerpt 5

The United States will defend every inch of NATO territory with the full force of American power," the President said. "And the good news is NATO is more united and more determined than ever (CNN, 2022).

The passage indicated the material process at the beginning of the clause. The actor in the process is "The United States". The process was signed by the verb "defend". The clause "every inch of NATO...." becomes the goal of the process. From the data, it can be concluded that the American President showed his power to defend NATO's land. It is clear by the use of the phrase "American power, the excerpt implied to emphasize the U.S. power. He also emphasized that NATO has become stronger than before Russia's invasion.

Excerpt 6

While Biden has pledged not to send US troops to Ukraine, **the US has sent additional troops and fighter jets to Eastern European countries** including Poland and Romania in recent weeks and on Thursday announced the deployment of 7,000 additional troops to Germany (CNN, 2022)

The material process in the passage showed the US action of sending troops. The U.S. stands as the actor which doing the process of sending "sent". The goal of the process is "additional troops and fighter jets". The passage implied to show the U.S military power capability to defend NATO's land in Eastern

Europe. The US announced not to send their troops into Ukraine. However their troops were deployed in the Eastern European countries. The Eastern Europe is the country that borders Ukraine directly. The excerpt clearly shows the action of the US to defend NATO's member. Implicitly, the purpose of the excerpt is to emphasize US power.

4.1.1.2 Mental Process

Mental process is sensing process that occurs in the mind. The four main sub-types of this process are: perspective (seeing, hearing, feeling, etc.); cognitive (thinking, knowing, understanding, learning, etc.); desiderative (wanting, wishing, hoping, etc.); and emotive (liking, loving, fearing, wondering, enjoying, etc.). In a mental process, there is always participant who can perform the action. In this case, participant must be equipped with awareness. This participant is known as senser. Other participant is phenomenon, namely something that is sensed, felt, thought or seen.

Excerpt 7

The new sanctions, the latest US reprisals against Moscow this week, had been reserved as **Biden hoped to maintain some leverage in dissuading Putin** from a full-scale invasion (CNN, 2022).

The senser of mental process is "Biden". The sign of the mental process is the verb "hoped" that is classified into the desiderative process. The process is classified into the desiderative process because it shows the desire of the senser. The phenomenon is the last phrase in the clause, "to maintain and so on". Biden

expected to maintain the influences of the sanction to prevent Putin from carrying out an invasion. The researcher interpreted that Biden's expectation is to control Putin's action. The excerpt implied the emphasis of the US power toward the mental process of a clause.

Excerpt 8

All eyes around our country and the world are on Ukraine – and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. **And I want to be clear that we know and believe that this is a war of choice,**" the vice president said (CNN, 2022).

The sign of the mental process in this passage is the existence of process such as "want", "know", and "believe". The clause indicated recognition of the U.S. about the Russia's military action in Ukraine. He recognized clearly that Russia's invasion is war of choice. For the umpteenth time, the word war is reused in the news discourse. The researcher interpreted the passage. It is the direct speech of the U.S. Vice President that implied Russia's military action is a war that was labelled by him as the wrong choice.

Excerpt 9

But in the days since the invasion, admiration for him has soared both inside and outside Ukraine; **Zelensky refused to leave the country** and has instead posted frequent videos from the streets of Kyiv, where he has been encouraging his fellow countrymen to resist Russian forces (CNN, 2022).

The bold clause in the passage consists of mental process of recognition. The mental process was signed by the verb "refused". This verb classified into the

cognitive mental process because it involved the process of consciousness in the human mind. The sener is the name of Ukraine's president "Zelensky". The last part of the mental process is phenomenon. The phenomenon in this clause is the phrase "to leave the country". From the passage, the news construct an ideology. The ideology is Zelensky, the Ukrainian President, was depicted as a good and responsible man for his country. In fact, Zelenslsky is the pro-West Ukrainian President.

4.1.1.3 Relational Process

The process of being and having is usually called as the relational process. It helps to identify and to characterize. In this process, not only the things but also the act and the fact can be one part of any relational process. This process also explains the three different kinds of relationship between two things: quality, circumstantial, and possessive. There are two ways to use these types: to characterize or to identify. When one thing is used characterized another, this is called attributive mode. It is made up of two things: a carrier and an attribute. Then, defining mode is when one thing is used to figure out what another thing is. It has two parts called identified (token) and identifier (value).

Excerpt 10

Putin is the aggressor. Putin chose this war. And now he and his country will bear the consequences," Biden said, laying out a set of measures that will "impose severe cost on the Russian economy, both immediately and over time (CNN, 2022).

The clause is classified into the relational process of identifying, while the type is identification of quality. The one who was identified is Putin. It can also be

called as token. The relational process was signed by the to be “is”. This to be identified Putin as the aggressor. The aggressor stand as the identifier or value of the relational process. That clause was said by the American President, Joe Biden. He choosed the word “aggressor” to identify Putin. Based on Merriam-Webster dictionary, aggressor means country or group of people which attacks without reasonable cause. This word tends to have negative meaning.

Excerpt 11

Biden’s sanctions are now meant to punish Putin’s actions, rather than prevent them, by going after Russia’s economy, its military capabilities and those closest to the Russian president (CNN, 2022).

The beginning of the passage showed the relation between two entities. The entities are “Biden’s action” and “to punish Putin’s action”. This clause indicated as the relational process in the mode of identification with the type of intensive or quality. In the clause, Biden’s sanction described as “to punish Putin’s action”. It show the relation of function. It means that Biden’s sanction has the function to punish Putin’s action. Based on the news, Putin’s action is his invasion. In this excerpt, the word with negative imprssion was reused again such as sanction and punish. Sanction from Biden mean to punish Putin’s millitary action on Ukraine. The excerpt implied the US power toward Biden’s policy in sanctioning Putin’s action.

Excerpt 12

A major element of Putin’s invasion is his fear that Ukraine could become part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization,

or NATO, ... (CNN, 2022).

The relational process in the clause was signed by the to be “is”. This to be related the carrier and attributive. The attributive is the phrase “his fear” which refers to Putin’s fear. The attributive described the carrier which is the first underlined phrase in the clause “A major elementand so on”. It means the prior thing that to be cause of Putin’s invasion is his fear. His fear is about Ukraine could join NATO or “North Athlantic Threaty Organization”. Based on Merriam-Webster dictionary, the word “fear” which refers to Putin “implies anxiety and usually loss of courage”. The passage implied such a hidden purpose. The purpose is constructing the ideology that Putin’s invasion caused the anxiety of NATO’s expansion. In indirect ways, the use of the word “fear” showed that Russia’s power is inferior to NATO’s power

4.1.1.4 Behavioral Process

The behavioral process can be defined as the series of actions and reactions that an individual exhibits in response to internal and external stimuli. In other words, behavioral process means the process of behaving. This process refers to the physiological and psychological involved in an action. The aforementioned is the boundary line that separates the physical and cognitive operations. This statement suggests that various forms of behavior, including but not limited to breathing, smiling, listening, coughing, waving, and dreaming, are indication of the process of consciousness. The prevalent structure observed in this particular procedure involves a clause that solely comprises of the behavior and process.

Excerpt 13

We haven't seen a conventional move like this, nation-state to nation-state, since World War II, certainly nothing on this size and scope and scale,” the official told reporters Thursday (CNN, 2022)

In the first word of the clause, there is a pronoun “we” which acts as behavior in this behavioral process. The phrase in the middle of the clause is the behavioral process. The process means that the behavior has not do the process which is “seen”. The behavior of the process is “a conventional move”. This behavioral process is near mental process, because the process in this behavioral process is “seen” means, paying attention to a thing. The action of paying attention of thing involves the process of cognition. From the passage of the news, the researcher concluded that the behavior “we” refers to the senior U.S defense official. The senior U.S defense official told to the reporters that they have not seen the conventional move as what Russia had been did to Ukraine. The news provided the U.S. official's statement that exaggerated Putin's action.

Excerpt 14

Putin has seen NATO's expansion as an existential threat, and the prospect of Ukraine joining the Western military alliance a “hostile act” – (CNN, 2022)

The behavioral process above was signed by the phrase “has seen”. This phrase showed the conscious action by the behavior. The behavior in this process is “Putin”. Putin as a behavior is a conscious being. Behavioral process actually consists only the behavior and process. However, if there is another participant,

that is a behavior. The behavior of the process is the last phrase which is “NATO’s expansion. This behavioral process also categorized as near mental process similar with the previous explanation of behavioral process. It means that Putin has seen NATO’s expansion to Ukraine. Since, NATO has also expanded its influence to Eastern Europe in several countries of the former Soviet Union such as Poland, Hungary, Latvia, and Estonia. All of those countries borders Ukraine in its west. The excerpt explained Putin’s argument that NATO’s expansion to Ukraine and ex-parts of Soviet Union is a threat and antagonistic action.

4.1.1.5 Verbal Process

The verbal process is a phenomenon that involves the act of speaking, with two primary participants. Those are the sayer, who is the individual produced the verbalization, and the receiver, who is the intended recipient of the verbalization. The verbalization itself is referred to as verbiage. The process is typically carried out through the use of verbs such as talk, speak, tell, notify, ask, announce, and report. The other participant in the process, known as the target, is the individual upon whom the sayer is directing their verbalization. This can take the form of actions such as insulting, praising, abusing, or flattering.

Excerpt 15

Biden announced a more limited package of sanctions on Monday following Putin’s initial decision to send troops into Ukraine following recognition of two pro-Russia regions in the Eastern part of the country (CNN, 2022).

The clause was said by Joe Biden. It was categorized as the verbal process. The sign of the verbal process is the verb “announced”. The sayer is the one who said. The sayer in the clause is Biden as the U.S President. The phrase “ a more limited package of sanction” to be the verbiage which means for what the verbal process was done. He did the verbal process to announce sanction. He announced again about the sanction. He said the word “sanction” several times. The announcement was described by the circumstance of time “on Monday”. The word “sanction” has the negative impression. The researcher interpreted that the excerpt emphasize the US power. This passage attempted to construct the reader’s point of view. The point of view is the US power as the only power that has capability in maintaining any millitary action from state to another state or in punishing a state because of its millitary action.

Excerpt 16

Biden also said in his sanctions announcement that he was working to limit the fallout the new sanctions would have on energy prices (CNN, 2022).

The sayer of the verbal process is Biden. Once more, the news presented the verbal process from Biden, the American President. He said about the announcement of sanction to Russia. He said that he has been working for effect of sanction to American citizen. The effect is the increasing of energy prices, since Russia is the major importers of energy in the U.S. It showed the construction of language to denote the propitious image of the US government.

Excerpt 17

In a speech to the UK parliament, the prime minister said the UK is announcing the "largest and most severe package of sanctions that Russia has ever seen (CNN, 2022).

It is clear that the verbal process was signed by the phrase “in the speech” and “the Prime Minister said”. Different with the two previous data of verbal clause, the sayer in this verbal process is the UK parliament. However, the verbiage or what is said is similar with what Biden said. The Prime Minister of the U.K. parliament also said in his announcement about sanction to Russia. The UK considered as the part of the West. In the beginning of the EU instituion, UK is the part of the EU. Nevertheless, the UK seceded itself from EU in 2019 exactly on the Brexit referendum. Overall, the excerpt means that the UK as the West country also did the same thing as the US. The UK announced sanction on Russia. Implicitly, the hidden purpose of the excerpt is emphasizing the West power.

4.1.1.6 Existential Process

The existential process pertains to the existence or occurrence of something. The term "existence" is typically denoted by the word "there," which lacks a representational function. Therefore, it is necessary to consider it as a subject. This phenomenon is commonly denoted by the verbs "occur," "happen," "exist," and similar expressions. The individual in question, referred to as "existent," is currently present and accounted for. The term "participant" may refer to a phenomenon that can be construed as an object, individual, action, event, or entity.

Excerpt 18

Despite a ceasefire agreement in 2015, the two sides have not seen a stable peace, and the front line has barely moved since. Nearly 14,000 people have died in the conflict, and **there are 1.5 million people internally displaced in Ukraine**, according to the Ukrainian government (CNN, 2022).

The clause in the excerpt showed the existential process clearly. The sign of the existential process is the to be “are”. To be “are” used to show the plural existent. This to be showed the existent of something which explained in the last phrase of the clause. The existents are 1.5 million people displaced in Ukraine. The word “there” in the first of the clause or sentence generally showed the existent of something. This word usually followed by “to be. This existence showed the number of displaced people in Ukraine. The number is 1.5 million. It is like a huge number of victim from Ukraine side. The respondent that was chosen to be interviewed also from the Ukraine. It is safe to say that the exact number of the victim was presented in the news without showing the condition of another side. Perhaps, it will be fair if the respondent is not from Ukraine government. The respondent can be the neutral people which is not from Ukraine, Russia, or the U.S. to show the real condition or the number of the victim. The excerpt implied the bias of the media towards Ukraine. It is because the news only reported about the exact number of victim from Ukraine side, without paying attention to the condition of another side, Russia.

4.1.2 The Ideology of the News of Russia-Ukraine Conflict on CNN

The ideology of the news is the second finding, based on the second research question. The researcher analyzed the ideology through diction or word

choice in the transitivity analysis in the previous step. The term " ideology " in this research refers to the ideology of media bias. Thus, the answer is whether the media through the news represent the ideology of media bias towards particular parts or neutral. Several points in the following passage are explained as the indicator that indicated the angle or the point of view of the news discourse to reveal the ideology of media bias.

a. Russia's Invasion is the Leading Cause of the Conflict

Based on the transitivity analysis in the previous stage, the researcher found many words that mostly appear in the news discourse. Those words tend to have a negative meaning. The most negative meaning refers to Russia. CNN wants to build the ideology of the reader that Russia is the one who should be responsible for the conflict. It was proven by several data below:

- “Russian forces began their attack on Ukraine” Excerpt 1
- “The West condemned Russian President Vladimir Putin” Excerpt 2
- “The US and its European allies are set to unveil sanctions” Excerpt 3
- “Putin is the aggressor” Excerpt 10

The data in the form of clauses showed that negative words were mostly intended for Russia. The first four clause is included in the material process. The word used in those clausess with a negative impression is “*attack, condemned, and sanction*”. The news is intended to build the ideology of the reader. The ideology is that Russia must be responsible for the conflict. They want to construct the reality to show the world that Russia is the leading cause of the conflict. The last clause is included in the relational process. This relational process involved Putin as the participant of the process. The news named Putin as

the aggressor. It is known from the Merriam-Webster dictionary that the word “*aggressor*” refers to “a group which attacks without reasonable cause”.

Factually, it is also the negative word chosen to represent Putin as the President of Russia. It is slightly different from the word choice of the news discourse to represent the Ukrainian President. The proof is in excerpt 9 in the transitivity analysis.

“But in the days since the invasion, admiration for him has soared both inside and outside Ukraine; **Zelensky refused to leave the country...**”

The depiction of the president from Russia and Ukraine is vice versa. Russia’s President was depicted as evil, while the Ukrainian President was depicted as the hero of his country.

CNN International tends to focus the news on the U.S. or The West action to respond to Russia’s military operation. They responded to Putin’s action by condemning and imposing sanctions. The claim is insisted by repeating the words “sanction” in the whole news. The researcher found that the word “sanction” is repeated 42 times. It can be concluded that CNN International only focused on a certain angle or perspective on the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Thus, this angle of the news led the readers’ perspective to judge that Russia is the leading cause of the conflict.

Russia’s military operation becomes the focus of the theme in the news discourse published by CNN International media. They reported the updated news only from the angle of Russia’s military operation in Ukraine without reporting other conditions and situations of Russia. When in fact, the cause of Putin’s

military operation is the Ukrainian President's approval of the new policy about Ukraine's National Security Strategy, which includes a partnership with NATO. Russia saw this approval as a threat as well as a violation. CNN International media only focus on reporting the conditional situation of Ukraine. There is no information about the condition of Russia's citizens or anything from the Russian side. This fact indicated that CNN International media is biased toward Ukraine.

b. The Emphasis of the U.S. Power

Several utterances were found in the transitivity analysis process. Those utterances implied that the U.S. is the country that has the power to judge or punish Russia. It showed the ideology of the U.S power. The word choice and the language used in the news discourse showed the U.S. power toward the conflict. It was proven by the following data below:

“President Joe Biden on Thursday unveiled harsh new sanctions on Russia”
Excerpt 2

“The United States will defend every inch of NATO territory” Excerpt 5

“Biden's sanctions are now meant to punish Putin's actions” Excerpt 11

“Biden announced a more limited package of sanctions on Monday following Putin's initial decision to send troops into Ukraine” Excerpt 15

Those clauses showed the domination of the U.S power regarding the conflict of Russia-Ukraine. The material process in the clause above is “*unveiled*”, and “*insisted*”. The researcher interpreted that those kind of words that were chosen to show the material process are intended to influence the newsreaders that the U.S has the power to organize the world's rule .

The relational and verbal processes in the last two clauses showed the U.S power by the attribute of the relational process and the verbiage of verbal clause.

The clause talked about Biden's sanction on Russia. The news wants to show the U.S power in maintaining the conflict. Those clauses raise the reader's point of view that the part which legitimates to punish or sanction any country in this world is the U.S.

In conclusion, how CNN International media reports news related to the Russia-Ukraine conflict has created a perception or worldview. The perception is that Russia is a country that destroys the freedom of other countries. CNN International represents the ideology that Russia is a destroyer of peace in the European region. CNN International also portrays America as a country that supports peace and condemns war. In fact, Putin says there are no plans to occupy Ukrainian territory, and he supports the right of the Ukrainian people to determine their policies. (*Full Text: Putin's Declaration of War on Ukraine | The Spectator*, 2022). The contradictory depiction between Russia and the US that the US emphasized its power and condemned Russia as the guilty party indicated that the news discourse published by CNN International media is not neutral. It can be said that CNN International is biased toward certain parties.

c. The Bias of The West Towards Ukraine

The researcher interpreted from the whole news which is analyzed, that The West is biased towards the Ukraine side. The claim is proven by the research finding that the most negative words are intended for Russia. Another proof of the bias is the most participant in the process. The most participant in the whole process of transitivity analysis is Russia. The news pointed out that Russia is the

only part that should be responsible for the happening of the conflict. It is proven in the following clauses:

“Russia’s action in Ukraine is “unprovoked” and “unjustified.”

“Biden also said in his sanctions announcement” Excerpt 16

“In a speech to the UK parliament, the prime minister said the UK is announcing the “largest and most severe package of sanctions that Russia has ever seen.” Excerpt 17

Those clauses are included in the relational process for the first clause. The last two clauses are verbal processes. The four clauses implied that Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is one of the wrong things and inexcusable. The news informed the readers that the leading trigger of the conflict is only Russia. The news reported that all of the West institution allied to condemn Putin’s action instead of holding a peace discussion.

Those three points are perspectives or angles of the online news discourse published by CNN International Media. Those perspectives or angles from the selected news become the indicator that denote whether the media is biased or neutral. From those indicators obtained from the analysis process, it can be concluded that the online news discourse published by CNN International media biased toward Ukraine. The proof of the claim is the appearance of many negative words referring to Russia that led the reader to focus on a certain conflict and ignore other points.

The background of the media owner, the US multinational company, also becomes a strong reason why CNN International is biased toward Ukraine. The US, as part of the West country and Russia, as an ex-part of the Soviet Union, are

two superpower institutions with a long historical background. Both of them desire to expand their influence to several countries around them. The news discourse wants to construct the reader's point of view that Russia is in the wrong way and biased to Ukraine because, as the US news channel, it is right that CNN International media defend its nationalism. It is in line with Antonio Gramsci, that observed the media as a space where various ideologies are represented. Media can transmit ruling ideology, legitimacy, and control tools over public discourse. However, media can also be a tool of resistance against power (Sobur, 2009).

4.2 Discussion

In this part, the researcher discussed the whole finding of the research. The findings answer the two research questions mentioned in the background of the study. The findings are the transitivity process and the ideology of media bias in the news discourse published by CNN International media.

The first finding is the transitivity process. The type of transitivity process revealed in the online news discourse published by CNN International media has a dissimilar function. Most of the material process is used to show the action of the U.S. in condemning Russia and to show Russia's action of invading Ukraine. The mental process is used to show what Biden thinks about Russia's invasion. The relational process appeared in the selected news discourse to show the relation between two entities, such as naming Putin as the aggressor. Behavioral process was used to show the Putin's behaviour about seeing an action of NATO's

expansion. Then, the most verbal process in the news discourse was used to show the statement and argumentation of any institution related to the conflict, such as the U.S., Zelensky, Putin, and Biden. However, the most sayer in this verbal process is Biden and government institution staff of the West. It constructed the readers's point of view to focus only into the West opinion. The last process is an existential process which is used to show the existence of something related to conflicts such as the existence of bombers, US troops, world wars, or the displaced people in Ukraine.

It can be implied that the transitivity process focused on the participant, process, and circumstance has the ability to reveal the motive or hidden message in a news discourse through the word choice in those three things. The word choice of three things, participant, process, and circumstance, in each type of transitivity process affects how the readers construct a perspective of any issue in their mind. It is in line with Suparto (2018) argued that the concept of transitivity can elucidate the writer's utilization of processes, participants, and circumstances in portraying an issue. This case can result in divergent perspectives among the newsreaders, as the depiction of the phenomenon can vary depending on the writer's employment of participants and processes in their news report. Thus, the researcher drew the common thread that transitivity analysis can act as the prominent analytical tool to unveil hidden message or ideologies in any discourse especially in a news article.

The second finding is the ideology of media bias in the online news discourse published by CNN International Media. The ideology of media bias was

analyzed through three steps of CDA by Norman Fairclough. The analysis of the description stage was done by applying the transitivity theory by Halliday. Then, the result of the transitivity analysis in the description stage in order with the interpretation and explanation stage was used to determine the implied ideology of media bias of the online news discourse published by CNN International media.

There are three perspectives or angles of the online news discourse published by CNN International Media. Those perspectives or angles from the selected news will later be the indicator that denote whether the media is biased or neutral. The first is Russia as the leading cause of the conflict. The second is the emphasis on the U.S. power. The third is the bias of the U.S. toward Ukraine. From those indicators obtained from the analysis process, it can be concluded that the online news discourse published by CNN International media biased toward Ukraine. The proof of the claim in the description stage is the appearance of many negative words referring to Russia. It means that the news discourse wants to construct the reader's point of view that Russia is in the wrong way. The finding agrees with Tuchman (1978) that the news often employs framing, which narrows the audience's perception of reality by selectively highlighting certain aspects while ignoring others. It is also strengthened by the statement of White (2006) that the reporting of the news, in particular, is perceived as being ideologically motivated and designed to influence its intended audience.

CNN International media is owned by an American company. It is in line with CDA theory that the ideology of the news discourse is influenced by the discourse practice such as the production, distribution, and consumption of the

text (Fairclough, 1989). The media emphasized the U.S power because the media is owned by American companies. It is in line with Shoemaker & Reese (1996), who revealed media coverage is influenced by media workers, extra media organizations, media routines, external parties, and media ideology. Furthermore, a view that the news is influenced by background and media owners is reinforced by Rusadi (2015), who argued that news ideology is determined by the structure of the media who published the news, the related background of the media establishment, and the resources on which the media is formed.

The researcher found that there is a struggling power between Russia and the U.S. to recruit or to maintain Ukraine to be their part or their member. The U.S. biased toward Ukraine because they desire Ukraine to be the NATO member. It intelligibly answers the second research question that the ideology represented from a news in terms of media bias. It is the precise result of the previous study of Mawaddah et al. (2021), who claimed that the news published by the mass media is news that is adjusted to the wishes, interests and editorial ideology of the media. These interests and ideologies can determine that the information presented by the media contains absolute truth or false truth, conveys subjectivity or objectivity, is biased or neutral, represents facts or hides facts, describes reality, or constructs reality.

In response to the previous study, the present study is in line with several studies by Maghfirah and Triyono (2020), Khaled (2020), and Faiz, Chojimah, and Khasanah (2022). Similar to the present research, all of those researchers analyzed the ideology. They found that spoken discourse reflects a certain purpose

or ideology. Although the subject of the research is different, the subject is still in discourse scope. They analyzed the ideology in a speech of influential figure. It can be concluded that the present research corroborates the previous study. It means that linguistic feature can be applied to critically analyse the hidden purpose or ideology in a spoken and written discourse. The ideology intends to construct the reader's point of view to focus on a certain perspective and ignore another perspective regarding a certain issue or topic.

In conclusion, this study strengthened the previous study in the scope of ideology. It also proved that the use of language in a discourse hid certain motive, hidden purposes, or ideologies. Therefore, it is safe to say that every newsreader prefers to read any information from any angle or perspective to get precise judgment or not directly blame a certain side. As stated by Fairclough (1989) in his book "Language and Power" the objective of a critical study of language is to help people become more aware of how language helps some people take control over others.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This is the last chapter of the present research. It consists of two parts which are conclusion of the study and suggestion for another researcher who desire to conduct the research in similar field of study or topic.

5.1 Conclusion

The present research analyzed the ideological representation in the selected online news discourse of CNN International media regarding the Russia – Ukraine conflict, published on February 24, 2022. The researcher selected six news discourses to be the research data. The transitivity system proposed by Halliday and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach proposed by Norman Fairclough was applied in this research to analyze the ideology in the news discourse.

The researcher found all types of transitivity process in the news discourse has a dissimilar function. It can be concluded that the whole step of the analysis indicated that the online news discourse published by CNN International media is biased toward Ukraine. The proof of the claim in the description stage is the appearance of many negative words referring to Russia. It means that the news discourse wants to construct the reader's point of view that Russia is in the wrong way. The claim of bias also strengthen with three points of view that was concluded by the researcher through the whole analysis step and the background and the socio-historical background of the conflict. Those three points are Russia

being the leading cause of the conflict, the emphasis on the US power, and the bias of the West towards Ukraine.

5.2 Suggestion

This study is conducted to reveal the ideology using the transitivity system by Halliday and CDA approach by Fairclough. The research proved that transitivity can be used as a tool to analyze ideology in the news discourse. Therefore, the researcher suggests the next study in analyzing ideology using a different approach. It can be van Leeuwen's CDA approach which is social actor approach since the focus of each theory is different. It can also use different news topics to be the data such as culture, religion, or human rights. It is because different theory or different topic can result different answer. Another suggestion is CDA research to compare the ideology between the two media. It can be filling gap to answer the media bias deeper than just analyzing one media. The last, the researcher expects that this study can be a reference for the future researcher with a similar interest.

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