

THE REPRESENTATION OF HAMAS AND ISRAEL IN AMERICAN AND ARABIAN MASS MEDIA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

(REPRESENTASI HAMAS DAN ISRAEL DALAM MEDIA MASSA AMERIKA DAN ARAB: SEBUAH STUDI ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS)

Arry Purnama

Universitas Padjajaran
Jalan Raya Bandung--Sumedang km 21, Jatinangor
Ponsel: 08996876860
Pos-el: astrajinggaizme@gmail.com

Tanggal naskah masuk: 11 November 2015
Tanggal revisi terakhir: 31 Mei 2016

Abstrak

KONFLIK antara Palestina dan Israel yang berlangsung sejak beberapa dekade terakhir masih tidak terselesaikan sampai saat ini. Beragam argumentasi mengenai penyebab konflik menyebar secara global karena peran media massa. Dari sudut pandang paradigma kritis, media massa bukan merupakan institusi netral yang memberitakan segala hal secara objektif. Media massa selalu memiliki kecenderungan-kecenderungan tertentu dalam memberitakan sesuatu. Oleh karena itu, kecenderungan-kecenderungan tersebut perlu untuk diobservasi lebih lanjut. Berdasarkan penjelasan di atas, penelitian ini berfokus pada cara media massa merepresentasikan Hamas dan Israel melalui pemberitaan media massa, terutama pemberitaan dari CNN yang mewakili media masa Amerika dan Al Jazeera yang mewakili media masa Arab. Menggunakan ancangan kualitatif dan metode deskriptif, peneliti menemukan bahwa CNN merepresentasikan Hamas secara negatif dan merepresentasikan Israel secara positif. Di sisi lain, Al Jazeera merepresentasikan Hamas secara positif tetapi merepresentasikan Israel secara negatif. Representasi-representasi diatas berasal dari kesan-kesan yang akan didapatkan oleh pembaca berkaitan dengan pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalam konflik. Media masa dengan sengaja membangun dikotomi seperti ini untuk mempengaruhi pembaca agar pembaca mendukung atau menentang salah satu pihak; karena pembaca sangat mungkin mendukung pihak yang memiliki kesan positif daripada pihak yang memiliki kesan negatif.

Kata kunci: analisis wacana kritis, linguistik fungsional sistemik, konflik Hamas-Israel, representasi

Abstract

THE Palestine-Israel conflict which has run for decades remains unsolved. Various argumentations about the main cause of the conflict emerged globally as the result of the news released by the mass media. In critical paradigm, mass media is not a neutral entity which reports everything happens objectively. Mass media has its own tendency in reporting what happens. Therefore, the tendency of the report needs to be observed in detail. Based on the background above, this research focused on the way of mass media in representing Hamas and Israel within the conflict, especially CNN representing the American mass media and Al Jazeera representing the Arabian mass media. Using qualitative approach and descriptive method, the researcher found that within the conflict, CNN represented Hamas relatively negatively but represented Israel relatively

positively. On the other hand, Al Jazeera represented Hamas relatively positively but represented Israel relatively negatively. The positive and negative representation come from the impression given by the mass media toward the sides involved in the conflict. The mass media deliberately construct this dichotomy toward the sides involved in the conflict to influence the reader; because by having a positive impression, for example, the reader will possibly support one side rather than another.

Key words: critical discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, Hamas-Israel conflict, representation

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The Palestine-Israel conflict is considered as the most dramatic conflict in 20th century. The drama lies not only on the humanity crisis, but also on the length of it. The conflict which results in sufferings of both sides involved has been “officially” started since 1967, when Israel aggressed Egypt, Jordan, and Syria; and also settled Sinai, Gaza Strip, West Bank, plateau of Golan, and Jerusalem. The conflict which has run for decades remains unsolved. Peaceful situation has been devised not only by the both sides engaged in the conflict, but also by the United Nation as the “mediator” of world-wide society. However, the conflict still goes on after passing through several bilateral agreements approved by both sides engaged.

This terrifying situation draws attention of world-wide society. Various argumentations regarding the issue which underlie the conflict emerge globally. Some observers argue that the conflict arises in the issues of nationality: occupation of Palestine, battle for border, and so on. Meanwhile, some others argue that the conflict arises in the sensitive issues: genocide and religion. The issue which is considered as the origin of the conflict is continuously branching out. The recent argumentation regarding the issue lies on the issue of terrorism. Some observers argue that the conflict remains unsolved because of the role of terrorist.

The argumentations regarding the issues which underlie the endless conflict mainly come from the side engaged: Palestine which is represented by Hamas and Israel which is

represented by Israeli government. Each side engaged has their own justification and clarification of what precisely happens, who supposedly defends their right, and who exactly violates other side’s right. The argumentations then spread world-wide along with the judgment of which side that defends on their right and which side that violates other side’s right. In this case, mass media plays a great role of spreading the argumentations.

In critical paradigm, mass media is not a neutral entity which reports everything happens objectively. Mass media in the view of critical paradigm is a tool to spread particular ideology: ideology belongs to dominant group to legalize what they assume and what they do. As it is stated by Richardson (2007: 1), the sourcing and construct of the media are intimately linked with the actions and opinions of (usually powerful) social group. Therefore, since mass media has its own tendency in reporting what happens, the tendency of the report needs to be observed in detail.

Along with these phenomena, there were some research exploring mass media description of the Palestine-Israel conflict. One of them is a dissertation of Georgia State University entitled *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in American, Arab, and British Media: Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis* written by Magdi Ahmed Kandil (2009). This dissertation has two main goals: a methodological goal, aiming to contribute to the recent research interested in using corpus-based methods in critical discourse analysis, and a practical goal, aiming to learn more about the language used to cover the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in three popular news media

in the Arabian World, Britain, and the United States. Another research related to this topic written by Eugenie P. Almeida (2011) entitled *Palestinian and Israeli Voices in Five Years of U.S. Newspaper Discourse*. This research showed that the U.S. news coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is characterized by expressions of violence, conflict, and negative emotion. There was relatively little positivity in the many descriptions of persons and events in the coverage. Finally, the last research related to this research written by Anita L. Wenden (2005) entitled *The Politics of Representation: A Critical Discourse Analysis of an Aljazeera Special Report*. This paper focuses on the role of language in social life, specifically on discourse as the focus of political struggle, i.e. the struggle for the power of representation.

1.2 Statement of The Problems

Based on the description above, that mass media has hidden ideology toward Hamas' and Israel's role in the Palestine-Israel conflict, the researcher formulates the problem into a research question, as: In what ways are Hamas and Israel represented by the American and Arabian mass media?

1.3 Objective

Based on the questions above, the research focuses on finding out the ways of Hamas and Israel are represented by the America and Arabian mass media.

1.4 Methods

This research used qualitative study and descriptive method. Descriptive method was used to make a description regarding the situation or event of the research (Hikmat, 2011); meanwhile qualitative study is a study which is designed to be consistent with the assumption of a qualitative paradigm (Creswell, 1994). Moreover, sampling technique which used in this research is purposive sampling.

In collecting the data, the researcher conducted the observations toward news release of the American and Arabian newspaper related to the issue of the Palestine-Israel conflict containing Hamas or Al-Qassam (Hamas military wings) and Israel or IDF (Israel Defense Force) as the keyword. The American and Arabian mass media are represented by CNN and Al Jazeera. The two mass media were deliberately chosen based on Kandil's (2009) research. Kandil (2009: 19-20) points that the two mass media are considered as the most representative in representing the American and Arabian mass media related to the news release of the Palestine-Israel conflict.

Moreover, since the Palestine-Israel conflict has run for decades, the researcher confined the data and the source of data. In this writing, the data taken were related to two particular events: the data related to the event of pre-aggression – start from June 14th to July 8th 2014– when the Palestine-Israel relationship was getting worse since three Israeli teenagers were reportedly kidnapped by Hamas, and the date related to the event within the aggression –start from July 8th to August 5th 2014– when Israel army started to aggress Palestine territory and opened fire to Palestinian citizen. The researcher purposively chose two news releases from each mass media for each event; so that the total of source of data is 8 news releases.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994) qualitative data analysis consists of three concurrent flows of activities, namely data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis can be simply described as the study of discourse using critical paradigm. According to Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985), discourse is a general term of language use which has been produced as the result in an act of communication; while

grammar refers to the rules a language uses to form grammatical units, such as sentence, clause, and phrase. Discourse refers to larger units of language such as paragraphs, conversations, and interviews. Meanwhile, according to Crystal (1980: 114-115), discourse is a term used in linguistics to refer to a continuous stretch of language larger than a sentence. From those arguments, we can conclude that discourse in linguistic field refers to the language usage either in speaking or writing which is larger than sentence; such as paragraphs, conversations, and interviews. In analyzing discourse, several approaches were developed. Fairclough (1992, 12) divides the approaches into two major approaches: critical approach and non-critical approach.

Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants (Fairclough, 1992:12).

There are some theoretical approaches in analyzing discourse critically. However, as this research analyzes a discourse constructed within a mass media, specifically newspaper, the theoretical approach used is Fairclough's approach of critical discourse analysis. Richardson (2007, 37) argues that Fairclough's approach provides a more accessible method of doing critical discourse analysis than other theoretical approach.

2.2 Transitivity

One of the three metafunction of clause is clause as representation. Representation here is the representation of process which is very important in English clauses (Sujatna, 2013: 34). Clause as representation represents *ideational function* as it describes the meaning about

phenomena and is realized in wording through participants, processes, and circumstances (Gerot and Wignell, 1995: 12). Clause as representation contextually is determined by *field* that concerns on what is going on with reference to what (Gerot and Wignell, 1995: 11). Therefore, in this research, transitivity as the system of clause as representation is used to analyze the data.

In transitivity, processes are the central since participants and circumstances are incumbent upon the doings, happenings, feelings, and beings (Gerot and Wignell, 1995: 54). According to Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2001: 112), process is events which occurs or states that exists, participants involved in those process, both people and things, and circumstances. So, process is the manifestation of event which occurs represented by verb or verbal group. In line with these arguments, Sujatna (2013, 34) explains that processes are expressed linguistically by verb or verbal group. Therefore, Halliday (2004, 171) divides six types of process in clause as representation, that is *material, behavioral, mental, verbal, relational, and existential*.

A. Material Processes

Sujatna (2013, 35) explains material process as the process of doing. In line with her explanation, Gerot and Wignel (1995, 55) states: "*material processes are processes of material doing. They express the notion that some entity physically doing something—which may be done to some other entity*". The obligatory constituents in material processes are process (doing) and participant (doer). The doer then called actor or agent. Meanwhile, goal, beneficiary, scope, instrument, and circumstance are optional.

B. Mental Processes

Mental process is the process involving feeling, thinking, and perceiving. Gerot and Wignel (1995, 58) states that mental processes differ from material processes in as much the latter are physical, moving, overt doing; mental processes are mental, covert kinds of goings-on. The

constituents in mental processes are mental (doing), experience or senser, and phenomenon. Moreover, Lock (1996, 105) differentiates four kinds of mental processes, they are: *perception* (feel, hear, notice, see, smell, and taste), *cognition* (believe, doubt, forget, know, remember, and think), *affection* (admire, fear, hate, miss, like, and love), and *volition* (desire, hope, intend, need, want, and wish). According to Sujatna (2001, 39):

“subject in mental process is the one who experiences the process, so the participant is labeled experience[r] or senser. That which is experienced is given the label phenomenon.....the semantic role of the object in mental process called phenomenon.”

C. Verbal Processes

Verbal processes are processes of saying (Halliday, 1994: 140). The constituents in verbal processes are sayer, verbal, quoted, recipient, verbiage, and target. Sayer is the doer in verbal process, the process of saying then called verbal. Meanwhile, the content of the utterance, which is in the form of direct speech, is called quoted. Beside sayer, verbal, and quoted, there are also recipient, verbiage, and target. According to Sujatna (2013, 44), recipient is the element that is in material process called beneficiary. It is a participant who or which get benefit from the process. The last element which possibly appears in verbal process is target. Target is someone or something whom the sayer says something about (Sujatna, 2013: 45). According to Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2001, 166), only certain verbs normally include target: *praise, insult, slander, flatter, blame, and criticize*.

D. Relational Processes

Halliday (in Sujatna, 2013: 40) explains relational processes as a generalization of the traditional notion of *copula* construction. Relational processes involve state of being (including having). They can be classified

according to whether they are being used to identify something or to assign a quality to something (Gerot and Wignel, 1995: 64). Bloor and Bloor (2004: 120-121) divide relational process into attributive process and identifying process. Carrier, attributive, and attribute are constituents which obligatory exist in attributive process, while token, identifying, and value are constituents which obligatory exist in identifying process. Carrier and token place subject position in relational processes; while attributive and identifying represents by copula. Attribute and value are constituents which place subject complement function within the clause.

E. Behavioural Processes

Behavioural processes are processes of physiological and psychological behavior, like breathing, dreaming, snoring, smiling, hiccupping, looking, watching, listening, and pondering (Gerot and Wignel, 1995: 52). The obligatory constituents in behavioural are behavior, behavioural, and circumstance.

F. Existential Processes

Existential processes are processes of existence. The participant in existential processes is expressed by the ‘real’ subject of the clause (Sujatna, 2013: 46). The subject in existential processes is called existent. It can be followed by locative circumstance. Bloor and Bloor (2004, 125) argue that there are two types of existential processes: *first*, with a copular verb and an empty *there* as subject and *second*, with a copular verb, the existent as subject and usually a circumstantial adjunct.

2.3 Representation of Social Actor

The social actor can be represented variously within a discourse. It depends on the ideology of the writer. Related to this assumption, Van Leeuwen (2008) provides a broad explanation about the way of the social actor represented within a discourse, as follows.

A. Exclusion

When the social actor is bias within a discourse, the dominant group –further term will be reporters– which form a discourse may use *exclusion* technique. *Exclusion* is a process of excluding the social actor within a discourse. The reporters exclude the social actor as they have particular aim and ideology:

Three Palestinian were shot when the demonstration went wild.

Since the reporters excluding the actors of the event above, the readers will have different interpretations regarding the event. The actors excluded within the discourse become invulnerable in the society. Exclusion can be used to disguise the identity of the social actors.

B. Role Allocation

Role of allocation talks about grammatical participant roles in a discourse. Van Leeuwen (2008: 32) states that participant roles play a significant part in representation. Therefore, Van Leeuwen explains that participant could be possibly described actively or passively through *activation* and *passivation*. *Activation* represents social actors as the active and dynamic forces in an activity; thus, activation signals power. On the other hand, *passivation* represents social actors as undergoing a social action, so that *passivation* signals vulnerability.

C. Association and Disassociation

There is another way in which social actors can be represented as groups: association. *Association* refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors, either generically or specifically referred to, which are never labeled in the text, although the actors or groups who make up the *association* may of course themselves be named and/or categorized. The most common realization of *association* is parataxis, as in the following example.

They believed that the immigration program existed for the benefit of

politicians, bureaucrats, and the ethnic minorities, not for Australians as a whole.

Here, *politicians, bureaucrats, and ethnic minorities* are associated to form a group opposed to the interests of “Australians as a whole.” But, rather than being represented as stable and institutionalized, the group is represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to a specific activity or set of activities, in this case, their beneficiary role in relation to immigration (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 38).

D. Nomination and Categorization

Social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, by being nominated, *nomination*, or in terms of identities and functions that they share with others, *categorization* (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40).

Nomination actually used to foreground the unique entity of a particular social actor since nominated actors are frequently the focus of a particular text. *Nomination* is typically realized by proper nouns, which can be formal –surname only, with or without honorifics–, semiformal –given name and surname–, or informal. On the other hand, *categorization* is used to foreground the identity and the functions of social actors that they share with others. *Categorization* is typically realized by modifier modifying the proper noun.

3. Discussion and Findings

The researcher analyzed the data using Halliday’s transitivity combined with van Leeuwen’s representation of social actors. In this chapter, all of the data were not presented to be discussed. Only several of them were used as the sample. The researcher parsed the analysis based on the mass media descriptions of the sides involved in the conflict.

3.1 Representation of Hamas and Israel in CNN

CNN represented Hamas and Israel differently. The researcher did not focus on

whether CNN was supporting particular side or not, but rather on the way of Hamas and Israel were represented by CNN. Generally, CNN represented Hamas relatively negatively; on the contrary, Israel was represented relatively positively.

Valuing a side negatively or positively is not a simple matter. Considering that value is something which always relates to culture and point of view, valuing would be difficult. For instance, an act like spitting during conversation could have positive or negative value, based on the culture and point of view. In the western culture, spitting during conversation is acceptable and can be positive as it does not break any norms and is healthier, to throw away the saliva, than to keep them inside your mouth. However, spitting would be negative on eastern point of view. It will be considered as impolite act to spit during a conversation.

Although valuing is a difficult, in this research, the researcher kept on valuing the sides involved in the conflict –Hamas and Israel– based on researcher’s culture and point of view. Therefore, the researcher used the word “relatively” to shows that the researcher judgments were based on researcher’s perspective coming from the data analysis which has already done previously. Generally, positive or negative representation comes from positive or negative impression presented by the mass media. In this case, negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war. There are various ways to emerge positive or negative impression in CNN news release, the researcher classified the data as well as the discussion based on *participants*, *processes*, and *circumstances* as follows.

A. Representation of Hamas and Israel through Participants and Processes

As it stated before, CNN represented Hamas relatively negatively while Israel relatively positively. The values came after the researcher explored the data coming from CNN and the others data coming from Al Jazeera. The researcher noted that there are three different

ways of CNN in representing Hamas and Israel through *participants* and *processes*. Using Halliday’s transitivity, the researcher explored *participants*, *processes*, and *circumstances* which were exist in every single CNN’s clause. Those three elements –*participants*, *processes*, and *circumstances*– constructed the researcher’s conclusion that CNN represented Hamas relatively negative and Israel relatively positive. Furthermore, to strengthen the arguments, the participants were analyzed using van Leuween’s representation of *social actors*.

Talking about *social actors*, as well as the difference of CNN’s representation of Hamas and Israel, at the first point, CNN used various noun phrases in representing Hamas and Israel, such as *Hamas*, *a Palestinian government*, *militant*, *armed wing of Hamas* the *al Qassam* or *Israel*, *the military*, *the Israel military*, *the IDF*. However, *Hamas* is mostly used as *logical subject* in *material* and *verbal clauses* containing negative impression. When *Hamas* as *logical subject* was represented relatively negatively through negative meaning of *material* and *verbal clauses*, Israel was represented relatively positively as CNN used other noun phrases of *logical subject* to replace Israel. Israel was only used as *logical subject* in *material* and *verbal clauses* that did not have negative impression. If there were some clauses containing negative impression, CNN would use *Israel soldier*, *the IDF*, *Strike*, or *Israeli shelling*.

- 1) Hamas is a terrorist organization known for its attacks on innocent civilians and which has used kidnapping in the past.

Hamas	is	a terrorist organization	known
Carrier	Attributive	Attribute	Material

for its attacks	on innocent civilian	and	which	has used
Reason	Place		Actor	Material

kidnapping	in the past
Goal	Time

Data 1 shows that *Hamas* is used as *logical subject* in *relational* and *material clauses*. In *relational process*, *Hamas* takes place as *carrier* which has an attribute as *a terrorist organization*; whereas, in *material clause*, *Hamas* takes place as *actor* which –that does something bad– *has used kidnapping*.

- 2) Israel takes 150 into custody in search for missing teens

Israel Actor	takes Material	150 Goal	into custody Place
in search Matter		for missing teens Behalf	

Data 2 shows that Israel takes place as *actor* in *material clause*. However, the *material process* –*takes*– does not have any negative impression. Rather to use *arrest* as the verb phrase in the clause, CNN prefers to use *takes* to give positive impression toward the act that Israel done. *Takes* is not related to any conflict, violence, and war. It is a verb phrase which can be used by anyone in any circumstances. Thus, it does not have any negative impression. Meanwhile, *arrest* is a verb phrase which can be used only in particular circumstances, military and justice, for example. Literally, *arrest* means ‘to take and keep somebody to prison with the authority of the law’. Therefore, unlike *takes*, *arrest* does have impression, whether it is positive or negative impression. However, in this case, *arrests* will have negative impression considering its circumstance. The readers will assume that Israel is overreacting by arresting 150 people only for three missing teenagers. Clearly, it will draw negative impression toward Israel. Thus, CNN preferred to use ‘*takes into custody*’ than *arrests* in describing what Israel’s act, although both of the phrases have the same meaning.

Moreover, to draw positive impression, *exclusion* was also used more by CNN when representing Israel’s act in the conflict. *Exclusion* is used to disguise the identity of powerful actors, or to reduce questioning of their actions. The exclusion was carried out through *passivation*

and *deletion of social actor*. Besides of using *exclusion*, CNN used *nomination* and *categorization*, too. CNN represented Hamas using *categorization* and represented Israel using either *nomination* or *categorization*. CNN used *categorization* to represent Hamas negatively through the negative verbs and Israel positively through the positive verbs; but when CNN came to represent Israel negatively through the negative verbs, CNN used *nomination* to keep up Israel’s positive impression.

Nomination is used to foreground the unique identity of particular social actor. In this case, Hamas is constantly used along with some negative verbs to strengthen the impression that Hamas is really negative. Meanwhile, Israel, along with its positive impression, is constantly used along with some positive verbs to strengthen the impression that Israel is still positive after everything what Israel does. Conversely, *categorization* is used to foregrounds the identity and functions a social actors shares with others. In this case, the other noun phrases used to replace Israel –*the Israeli soldiers*, *the IDF*, or *Strike*, for instance– are the form of *categorization* which is applicable to show that Israel is not related to the negative act such as *fired* and/or *wounded*.

The second point that differentiates CNN’s representation of Hamas and Israel is the words associated with them. Hamas is associated with *terrorist*, *terrorist organization*–as it is on the data 1 above– and/or *militant* while Israel is associated with *soldiers*, *military*, and/or *military forces*. *Military* refers to the army or another branch within the military of a nation state; whereas, *militant* is usually used to describe someone or an organization that is not directly controlled by a nation and does not have the formal training or the official recognition that a nation’s military would have. In mass media, *militant* is always associated with groups which do violence and harm innocent people such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or the Taliban. In the Hamas-Israel conflict, Hamas was associated with *militant* by CNN although Hamas is a political party which legally runs Gaza strip after winning the election on 2006. Despite

associating Hamas with other political party which legally runs a nation, CNN prefers to disassociate them and associate Hamas with other groups which always trigger conflict, do violence, and harm innocent people. The association and disassociation which were done by CNN toward Hamas and Israel are one of the ways to represent them differently: Hamas is negative and Israel is positive.

B. Representation of Hamas and Israel through Circumstances

Circumstances also play a great role in drawing representation of Hamas and Israel in the conflict. CNN depicted various things through *circumstance*. Of course, it still sustained the researcher's finding that CNN represented Hamas relatively negatively and Israel relatively positively. There are various types of *circumstances* appear in the data. At least, the researcher noted that *accompaniment*, *place*, *reason*, *role*, and *quality* appear when CNN represented Israel and *accompaniment*, *place*, *reason*, *role*, *time*, and *quality* appear when CNN represented Hamas.

Place comes in the representation of Israel to show that Israel is also suffering from the conflict but it comes in the representation of Hamas to show the unpleasant act of Hamas.

- 3) An Israel Defense Forces statement said militants had shot at the Israeli military and the IDF responded with "fire toward the origins of the shooting."

An Israel Defense Forces statement		said	
Sayer		Verbal	
militants	had shoot	at the Israeli military	and
Actor	Material	Place	
Verbiage			
the IDF	responded	with “fire toward the origins of the shooting”	
Actor	Material	Accompaniment	
Verbiage			

Data 3 describes *circumstances* representing Israel. The data contains three clauses, two *material clauses* and one *verbal clause*. The clause which representing Israel through *circumstances* is the first clause *militants had shoot at the Israeli military*. In this clause, *militant* acts as the *actor* that do the *material process had shoot* and *at the Israeli military* is *place* in which the *shoot* is aimed at. At least, the researcher finds ten data containing *place* which describes Israel directly, but –as well as data 3– eight of them show that Israel is also suffering from the conflict. Considering the facts that Israel holds the military operation of aggressing Gaza Strip and most of the victims of the conflict are Palestinian, CNN represented that Israel is also the victim of the conflict through *place*. The researcher presumed that CNN set these things out to draw readers' impression that the conflict was equal; both sides were attacking and suffering. So that the readers will assume that this conflict is not an unequal conflict in which one side aggresses, murders, and attacks the other.

Reason was also used by CNN to represent Hamas and Israel differently. Mainly, in this conflict, *reason* is used to give more information of what causes the conflict. However, CNN used *reason* to strengthen the negative representation of Hamas and to show the readers that the conflict is initiated not only by Israel, but also by Hamas. By giving this view, the readers will not draw negative impression through Israel.

- 4) This week's unrest comes as Israelis and Palestinians continue to trade blows....

This week's unrest	comes	as	
Instrument	Material		
Israelis and Palestinians	continue	to trade	Blows....
Actor	Material	Material	Goal
Reason			

- 5) Israel has blamed Hamas for going after its soldiers....

Israel	has blamed	Hamas	for going after its soldier....
Sayer	Verbal	Target	Reason

Data 4 and 5 present *reason* representing both of Hamas and Israel. In data 4, reason as *Israelis and Palestinians continue to trade blows...* explains the cause of *this week's unrest come*. This data is representing Israel and Hamas since Israel appears in the clause along with *Palestinians* which possibly consists of Hamas' members and activist. In this data, *reason* is used to show the readers that the conflict is initiated not only by Israel, but also by Hamas. By giving this view, the readers will not draw negative impression through Israel.

Conversely, data 5 is representing Hamas since Hamas which acts as *target* is acted upon verbally by verbal process *has blamed*; and the *reason* coming after *Hamas* is used to explain the cause of why Hamas is blamed. Clearly, *reason* in this data—as well as in other data—was used by CNN to strengthen the negative impression given to Hamas. *Going after* is a phrasal verb containing *going* as the verb and *after* as particle verb. *Going after* has idiomatic meaning as 'to chase someone or something to try to get or obtain someone or something'. So data 5 can be simply described as *Hamas is blamed by Israel because Hamas chases Israel soldier*.

3.2 Representation of Hamas and Israel in Al Jazeera

As well as CNN, Al Jazeera also represented Hamas and Israel differently. While CNN tended to represent Hamas relatively negatively and Israel relatively positively, Al Jazeera represented them conversely. Al Jazeera tended to represent Hamas relatively positively and Israel relatively negatively. These tendencies were understandable as both of CNN and Al Jazeera had some importance toward the conflict as well as they had a relation with the sides involved in the conflict—either Hamas or Israel.

A. Representation of Hamas and Israel through Participants and Processes

While representing Hamas and Israel as social actor, Al Jazeera used various noun phrases; such as *Hamas*, *Hamas fighter* and *the Al Qassam brigades* or *Israel*, *the military*, *the army*. The researcher found that the *logical subject* used by Al Jazeera to represent Hamas was not as much as the *logical subject* used by CNN. If CNN used fifteen noun phrases to represent Hamas, Al Jazeera only used three, namely *Hamas*, *Hamas fighter*, and *the Al Qassam brigades*. Moreover, *Hamas* is represented without any negative impression which leads readers' assumption into negative representation.

When Hamas is represented as *Hamas* as the *logical subject* by Al Jazeera, *Hamas* acts either as *sayer* in *verbal clause* or as *senser* in *mental clause*. *Hamas* is represented relatively positively because either of the *verbal clause* and the *mental clause* does not have any negative impression. To keep the positive impression of Hamas, Al Jazeera also used other noun phrases to replace *Hamas* as *actor* of a *material clause* if it contains negative impression because the replacement would draw positive impression toward Hamas. This way of representation is actually the same as the way of CNN representing Israel.

- 6) ...while Hamas said that Israeli forces were conducting operations east of Rafah after the ceasefire went into effect.

while	Hamas	said	that	Israeli forces
				Actor
	Sayer	Verbal		Verbiage

were conducting	operation	east of Rafah	After the ceasefire went into effect
Material	Goal	Place	Time
Verbiage			

Data 6 presents *Hamas* as *sayer* in *verbal clause* containing *said* as the *verbal process* and

that Israeli forces were conducting operation east of Rafah after the ceasefire went into effect as *verbiage*. This *verbal clause* does not contain any negative impression which leads readers' assumption into negative representation toward Hamas because there are no constituents related to Hamas containing negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war. The *verb process* itself *said* does not contain negative impression. *Said* is the preterit of *say* which literally means 'to speak words or to tell someone about a fact, thought, or opinion'. In this case, the way of Al Jazeera's represented Hamas relatively positively is the same as the way of CNN's represented Israel relatively positively. Both of the mass media used verb phrase *say* in the *verbal clause*.

Moreover, to draw positive impression, *exclusion* was also used more by Al Jazeera when representing Hamas' act in the conflict. *Exclusion* is used to disguise the identity of powerful actors, or to reduce questions of their actions. Unlike CNN that used *passivation* and *deletion of social actor* to disguise the identity of Israel in the text, Al Jazeera only used *passivation* as the technique of *exclusion*. To disguise the identity of social actor, Al Jazeera constructed the social actor in passive construction through *passivation*.

Oppositely, when representing Israel as *Israel*, Al Jazeera used *Israel* as *logical subject* in *material* and *verbal clauses* containing negative impression which would lead readers' assumption into negative representation. Israel is represented relatively negatively through the usage of the *logical subject Israel* without any replacement as it was done by CNN by replacing *Israel* as the *logical subject* with others noun phrases when it comes to be the *logical subject* for some *processes* containing negative impression.

- 7) Israel has attacked UN schools before, saying that they were being used as safe havens for the armed Palestinians.

Israel	has attacked	UN school	before, saying	That	
Actor	Material	Goal	Time	Sayer	

they	were being used	as safe havens	for the armed Palestinians
Goal	Material	Role	Beneficiary

Data 7 presents *Israel* as *actor* in *material clause*. The *material process* of this clause is *has attacked* and the *goal* of this clause is *UN school*. This clause represents *Israel* as the doer of *has attacked*, a *material process* which has negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war. Literally, *attack* means 'to use violence to hurt or damage someone or something'; and, since *attack* is in the form of present perfect *has attacked*, so the clause simply means that 'Israel is already attacking UN school'. Israel is represented relatively negatively through the usage of the *logical subject Israel* without any replacement as it was done by CNN by replacing *Israel* as the *logical subject* with others noun phrases when it comes to be the *logical subject* for some *processes* containing negative impression.

The second point that differentiates Al Jazeera's representation of Hamas and Israel is the words associated with them. Hamas is associated with *brigades*, *groups* and/or *fighters* while Israel is associated with *soldiers*, *military*, and/or *army*.

- 8) The UN has also previously criticized the Palestinian groups for using UN schools to hide fighters and weapons.

The UN	has also previously criticized	the Palestinian groups	for using
Sayer	Verbal	Target	Reason

UN school	to hide	fighters and weapon
Goal	Material	Beneficiary

As it is explained before that *militants* is usually used to describe someone or an organization that is not directly controlled by a nation and does not have the formal training or the official recognition that a nation's military would have. In mass media, *militant* is always

associated with groups which do violence and harm innocent people such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or the Taliban. In Hamas-Israel conflict, Hamas was associated with *militant* by CNN although Hamas is a political party which legally runs Gaza strip after winning the election on 2006. Despite of associating Hamas with other political party which legally runs a nation, CNN preferred to disassociate them and associate Hamas with other groups which always trigger conflict, do violence, and harm innocent people. On the contrary, Al Jazeera represented Hamas as *brigade* 'one of the units that army is divided into'. The usage of *brigade* rather than *militant* will draw the readers' assumption away from negative impression as *brigade* is the branch of military unit which works legally under control of a nation.

At this point, *association* and *disassociation* which were done by Al Jazeera toward Hamas and Israel do not give negative impression to them as it was done by CNN when representing Hamas relatively negatively but Israel relatively positively. Al Jazeera represented Hamas and Israel equally in term of their roles for their country.

B, Representation of Hamas and Israel through Circumstances

While *circumstances* were used by CNN to represent Israel as the victim of war—as well as Palestinian—which does not need to be blamed for what happen and to represent Hamas as the side with unpleasant act related to the conflict, *circumstances* were used by Al Jazeera to strengthen negative impression of Israel. The researcher noted that there are some kinds of *circumstances* appear in Al Jazeera news release, namely *accompaniment*, *behalf*, *condition*, *degree*, *duration*, *purpose*, *place*, *time*, *quality*, and *reason*. All of these *circumstances* are mainly used to give more detailed information regarding the conflict but they strengthen negative impression of Israel which leads readers' assumption to negative representation of Israel.

- 9) The total number of Israeli soldiers killed since the start of the military assault stands at 32.

The total number of Israeli soldiers	killed	since the start of the military assault
Goal	Material	Duration

stands	at 32
Material	degree

In data 9, the *circumstances* which appear are *duration* and *degree*. In this *material clause*, the *total number of Israeli soldiers* acts as *goal*; *killed* and *stands* act as *material verb*; *since the start of the ilitary assault* acts as *duration*; and *at 32* acts as *degree*. The *logical subject* of this *material clause* is excluded; so, this *material clause* describes the event and the details of the event without presenting the *doer*. In this clause, the *duration since the start of the military assault* is used to give more detailed information about the stretch of time. It contains negative impression because the *duration* relates to conflict, violence, and war—*assault* which means 'a violent attack or an attack on someone or something physically and violently'. Moreover, the negative impression will direct to Israel as the *duration* represents the stretch of time in which Israel starts doing aggression.

4. Closing

4.1 Conclusion

Based the points above, the researcher concluded that there are three ways of CNN's in representing Hamas and Israel through *participants*, *processes*, and *circumstances*, as follows:

1. Hamas is used as *logical subject* in *material* and *verbal clauses* containing negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war; while Israel is used as *logical subject* in *verbal clauses* which mainly does not contain negative impression.

- CNN uses other noun phrases of *logical subjects* in representing Israel in *material clauses* containing negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war.
2. Hamas is represented as *terrorist, terrorist organization, or militant*; while Israel as *military, soldier, or security force*.
 3. *Circumstances* are used to represent Israel as the victim of war—as well as Palestinian—which does not need to be blamed for what happens and to represent Hamas as the side with unpleasant act related to the conflict.

As well as CNN, there are also three ways of Al-Jazeera's in representing Hamas and Israel through *participants, processes, and circumstances*, as follows:

1. Hamas is used as *logical subject* in *mental and verbal clauses* containing negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war; while Israel is used as *logical subject* in *material and verbal clauses* containing negative impression related to conflict, violence, and war. Al Jazeera uses other noun phrases of logical subjects in representing Hamas in material processes containing negative impression.

2. Hamas is represented as *brigades, group, or fighter*; while Israel as *military, army, or soldier*.
3. *Circumstances* are used to strengthen the negative representation of Israel.

4.2 Suggestion

Considering that the researcher confines the research into *textual analysis dimension* of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theoretical approaches, the researcher highly suggests the future research to engage the *discursive practice analysis dimension and social practice analysis dimension* within the discussion. It will also be better if the future research engages Indonesia mass media to know how Indonesian mass media views the Hamas-Israel conflict because Indonesia, as the initiator of the Asian-African Conference which its main idea is to support the independence for the colonized countries all around the world, supposes to support Palestine—or more specifically Hamas—as it has not yet got its independence from the colonization of Israel.

References

- Almeida, Eugenie P. 2011. *Palestinian and Israeli Voices in Five Years of U.S. Newspaper Discourse*. International Journal of Communication, 5, 1586–1605
- Bloor, Thomas & Meriel Bloor. 2004. *The Functional Analysis of English (second edition)*. USA: Oxford University Press
- Creswell, John W. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approach*. USA: Sage Publications
- Crystal, David. 1980. *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London: Andre Deutsch
- Deterding, David H & , Gloria R Poedjosoedarmo. 2001. *The Grammar of English*. Singapore: Prentice Hall
- Gerot, Linda & , Peter Wignell. 1995. *Making Sense of Functional Grammar (second edition)*. London: Gerd Stabler
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Halliday, M.A.K & MIM Matthiessen. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar (third edition)*. London: Edward Arnold
- Hikmat, Mahi M. 2011. *Metode Penelitian dalam Perspektif Ilmu Komunikasi dan Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu

- Kandil, Magdi Ahmed. 2009. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in American, Arab, and British Media: Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis*. Georgia State University: Department of Applied Linguistics and English as a Second Language
- Lock, Graham. 1996. *Functional Grammar*. USA: Cambridge University Press
- Miles, Matthew B. & A. Michael Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications
- Richardson, John. E. 2007. *Analysing Newspapers: an Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*
- Sujatna, Eva Tuckyta Sari. 2013. *Understanding Systemic Functional Linguistics*. Bandung: Unpad Press
- Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2008. *Discourse and Practice: New Tool for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Wenden, Anita L. 2005. The Politics of Representation: a Critical Discourse Analysis of an AL JAZEERA Special Report. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Volume 10, Number 2