CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON CHINESE AND AMERICAN NEWS WEBSITES REPORTING SOUTH CHINA SEA TERRITORIAL DISPUTE

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Abstract

This study focuses to understand the differences in reporting the same of The South China Sea territorial dispute by two international news websites namely The New York Times and China Daily and to exposed the hidden ideology behind the representation of those news websites. Three Dimensional Framework by Fairclough in Critical Discourse Analysis were used in this study along with Systemic Functional Grammar particularly in transitivity analysis. The articles in this study were collected from China Daily and The New York Times news website. The finding revealed that both news websites reported the issue of territorial dispute using material process and verbal process dominantly but The New York Times dominantly use material process more than China Daily. Next, the study found out that China Daily depicted the act of Beijing saying that territorial dispute as a normal thing due to the area of water are belong to China while The New York Times depicted the act of China as a violation of Sea rules of navigation in responding the territorial dispute. Last, the result of this study found that China Daily stated in its news about how the US presence as meddling in the disputed area of The South China Sea while The New York Times stated that the act of China in responding the dispute is a harsh attitude and violating the rules. To sum up the study, the combination of both theories is somehow useful in the discourse to expose the hidden meaning and ideology.

Keywords: Constrastive study, territorial dispute, three dimensional framework

INTRODUCTION

The claims done by People's Republic of China (PRC) for the area of South China Sea have gone off the limit and overlapping other countries's exclusive economic zone for several countries like Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Philippines, and Vietnam. It is estimated that 11 billions barrel of untouched oil reservoir and 190 trillion cubic of natural gas are hidden under the deepth of The South China Sea. As in the beginning of 1970s the People's Republic of China (PRC) has began to claim the whole area of the islands and various zones in the South China Sea which it contains huge rich of natural resources and huge fishing areas (Council on Foreign Relations, 2018).

The United States with their action has expressed its support for an agreement on a binding code of conduct and other confidence-building measures, which retains vital interests in maintaining freedom of navigation and protecting sea lines of communication (SLOCs). Chinese claims threaten SLOCs, which are important maritime passages which facilitate trade and naval forces movement.The United States has a role to play in avoiding the ensuing territorial dispute from military escalation. People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States as the world's largest developed country and respectively the most developed country ever existed in the world, are hold important positions in the world as well in every focus like economy, technology and military. The relationship between the United States and People's Republic of China (PRC) is one of the world's most critical and important relationship (Friedberg, 2005). According to Friedberg, the relationship between both of them as two giants pacific power is extremely critical for the security, prosperity, and the future of Asia Pacific and even for the world as a whole system. In addition according to Morrison (2011) a deepening U.S.-PRC relationship could carry with it increased capacity for sustainable global economic growth. The

past of their relationship shows that, at different times, it was full of twists and turns. This kind of relationship are taken to the next level which now known as the territorial dispute occuring in The South China Sea and reported by many news website in different statement and ideologies based on the focus of the language of the news that has a discourse behind every text produced by the news website.

Discourse is described as structure and practices which represent human thought and social realities through particular collections of words and that construct certain meaning in the world (Fairclough, 2003). As one of the approaches in a discourse, critical discourse analysis is a theory of analysis that sees how texts in social and political contexts are raised (Van Dijk, 2004 in Suprayogi & Pranoto, 2020). Hence, as a study in the linguistics field, linguistics features such as vocabulary, grammar, and text structure are imperative to be clearly analyzed especially in a matter of media coverage and news report.

The researches on Discourse Analysis have been widely conducted. In the level of discourse markers, Afrianto and Restika (2018) has conducted the research in the setting of speaking class in tertiary education, and Oktavia and Suprayogi (2021) has conducted the research on grammatical cohesion of a public figure speech. Furthermore, In the context of issue representation, researches on Critical Discourse Analysis have also been widely conducted. Ivana and Suprayogi (2020) conducted the research on representation of Iran and The US in Donald Trump's Speech, Pranoto and Yuwono (2017) conducted leader's attitude towards terrorism, Pranoto (2014) conducted the research on the image of presidential candidate in political news and adverstising, Pratika and Suprayogi (2021) conducted the research on social actor representation in the news reporting Indonesian Protest in the international media, Puspita, Pranoto (2021) conducted the research on the Attitude of Japanaese newspapers in narrating disaster event, Wang and Liu (2015) conducted the research on critical discourse analysis of news reports on china's bullet-train crash, Fornkwa (2015) conducted A Critical Discourse Analysis on the 2015 state budget of Cameroon and Amalia (2019) conducted the textual analysis of power of the government of indonesia and aceh in the helsinki MoU. These previous studies conclude that research on discourse analysis can be conducted in multiple perspectives, focused on trending topics, and seen through various theories from discourse analysis to critical discourse analysis.

Some researchers on contrastive study between two news reports are Xianhong and Lulu (2015) that compared the analysis of lexical choices and ideologies between China Daily and The Washington Post in reporting security incident in China. Zhang (2013) uncover the reasons behind the disparity from the viewpoint of Critical Discourse Analysis in the news coverage among The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and China Daily about the Third US-China Strategic and Economic Dialog. Chen (2016) aims to reveal the hidden ideologies inside The New York Times and China Daily. These researches conclude that two or more media reporting the same issues may result in the different points of view they highlight.

The coverage of media from the United States and PRC produced a result of the question of how actually both countries present the idea of potray what is happening in the world due to their news media from the past until today's conflict especially about territorial dispute happening in the area of Asia pacific. Here through this research of linguistic, this issue analyzed based on how the news website display their differences in a form of passages and also the words choosen both from American and Chinese news media in which it has their own ideological meanings that wants to be delivered to the readers. Since considered as discourse that widely spread in society, newspaper has strongly linked to power and ideology. Hence, the perspective of society is always influenced by information contained in newspaper (Pekkarinen, 2016 in Evayani & Rido, 2019). This research will analyze news media discourses in the online edition of two major newspapers, the New York Times and China Daily. These two newspapers are very authoritative as well as has a strong influential for The United States and China.

METHOD

This research done by using descriptive qualitative study. This kind of approach would also provide a great result of interpretation to the context and the situation (Stake, 2010 in Kuswoyo & Rido, 2019) using Fairclough's model of CDA. Basically, qualitative method emphasized in the aspects of meaning and experience (Afrianto, 2016 in Adelina and Suprayogi, 2020) and highlights diverse points of view of analysis, and also concerns on inductive and deductive processes (Creswell, 2014, in Suprayogi and Pranoto, 2020. Data are in the form of quotes from documents, field notes, and interviews or excerpts from videotapes, audiotapes, or electronic communications are used to present the findings of the study. In other words, the results of the analysis are in form of words (Kuswoyo & Susardi, 2016). The research considered as qualitative due to the result of the research in a form of explanation of phenomenon from the issue of territorial dispute in the South China sea news coverage between news website from The United States and People's Republic of Chinese. The data sources are taken from the news website from both the United States media The New York Times and People's Republic of China media China Daily. The datas are 14 news coverage about media in reporting the territorial dispute happening in South China Sea in 2019. This corpus-based study was currently significant in linguistic studies (Puspita and Pranoto, 2021; Puspita, 2019a, 2019c; Sari and Gulö, 2019, in Puspita and Suprayogi, 2021).

The news were collected by searching all news articles published by The New York Times (https://www.nytimes.com) and by China Daily (http://www.chinadaily.com.cn) for the keywords "South China sea Territorial Dispute". Then, the researcher sorting out and choose the news report with the consideration that the news should having correlation or at least have an argumentation about South China sea territorial dispute. After that, the researcher breakdown the news into several steps according to the theory used in this research from three stages which are Description (Transitivity) which is called as processes and divided into several procesess used to construct personal experience and social reality, Interpretation (Production, Distribution, Consumption), Explanation (Enable us to better understand why different newspapers report the same news event from dramatically different perspectives.)

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this research of constrastive study of news report, there were 14 news from The New York Times and China Daily that were analyzed. The analysis are reviewed by the clause which taken as transitivity and the result are divided into three which are: the Description (Text analysis), in this stage, transitivity analysis is used as analytical tool to analyze the discourse, there are The researcher found 34 transitivity processes described as 25 material process, 6 verbal process, 2 existential process, and 1 mental process. While The New York Times with 7 news article about The South China Sea territorial dispute taken as the comparison to the first data. The researcher found 45 transitivity processes described as 28 material process, 14 verbal process, 2 mental process, and 1 existential process. Second Interpretation (processing analysis), in this stage, the linguistic feature from the transitivity analysis are related to the interaction that will produce concept and the differences from the news website. Third Explanation (Social analysis), in this stage, the concept or theme found in the interpretation will be connected to the social context to reveal the hidden ideologies from both news website.

Description

Description is the stage which the concern with formal properties of text, in other word description is the stage of text analysis. The usage of analysis is to reveal the linguistic pattern in the text and to find the meaning of pattern itself. This study use Transitivity as the analyzing tool in conducting critical discourse analysis for the first part of Fairclough three dimensional framework. The researcher found out that there are several differences from the two news websites in the Description part, from the result of transitivity process found in the news from China Daily and The New York Times.

Material Process

Material process is a process of "happening, doing or creating" which it involves actions or movement either it is concrete or abstract. In material process there are two participants role which are: actor, process, and goal. Actor is the one who perform or did the action, while goal is the thing happened because it is affected by the process.

Material process in China Daily

According to the finding from the researcher, it shows that material process reach the highhest percentage which always occur in every news by China Daily compared to other processes. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) in Utami (2018), material processes "express the notion that some entity 'does' something which may be 'to' some other entity". There are 25 processes found in the data.

In the text, the material process are mostly used by China Daily to describe the USA in their way to sail close to the South China Sea in order to help to turn on the law enforcement and capacity building.

Table 1. Data Sample of Material process 1

Actor	Process	Goal
Washington	*continues to sail*	*close the wind in its bid to turn the screws on Beijing*

The data showed above indicates the occurance of material process in the the text. The material process is described by the verb "continues to sail". In this case, the verb "continues the sail" indicates the process of doing which is done by the actor "Washington" and followed by "close to the wind in its bid to turn the screws on Beijing" as the goal. This process describe that Washington continues to send the fleet of US navy close to the South China Sea eventhough Washington has no jurisdiction over the law enforcement in the South China Sea. The next material process are shown as follow:

Table 2. Data Sample of Material process 2

Actor	Process	Goal
The US Coast Guard	*has been tasked with meddling*	*in the South China Sea disputes*

The data showed above indicates the occurance of material process in the text. The material process is described by the verb "has been tasked with meddling". In this case, the verb "has been tasked with meddling" indicates the process of doing which is done by the actor "The US Coast Guard" and followed by "in the South China Sea Disputes" as the goal. This process describe that US still want to meddle with the disputes by deploying the fleet of Coast Guard namely USCGC Bertholf and USCGC Stratton seeking to enforce law on the water that are not their own, thousand of miles away from US shores.

Material process in The New York Times

According to the finding from the researcher, it shows the similarity compared to China Daily that material process reach the highhest percentage which its also always occur in every news by The New York Times compared to other processes. There are 28 processes found in the data

In the text, the material process are used by The New York Times to describe that China and America can compete and also coexist in many ways. According to Friedberg, (2005) The relationship between the United States and China is one of the world's most critical and important relationships. The past of their relationship shows that at different times, it was full of twists and turns. They can compete or cooperate with one another.

Table 3. Data Sample of Material process 3

Actor	Process:material	Goal
The United States	has historically vowed	not to take sides in these disputes

The data showed above indicates the occurances of material process in the text. The material process is described by the verb "has historically vowed". In this case, the verb "has historically vowed" indicates the process which is done by the actor "The United States" and followed by "not to take sides in these disputes" as the goal. This process describe that eventhough the United States has no law jurisdiction over what is happening in the South China Sea, they arguing that their existential of their fleet in that sea is only to protect free navigation in the regions water. The next material process are shown as follow:

Table 4. Data Sample of Material process 4

Actor	Process: material	Goal
China	has denounced	America's professed commitment to neutrality as hypocritical

The data showed above indicates the occurances of material process in the text. The material process is described by the verb "has denounced". In this case, the verb "has denounced" indicates the process which is done by the actor "China" and followed by "America's professed commitment to neutrality as hypocritical" as the goal. This process describe that China theoretically saying that there is contradiction in the United States's policy between its claim to want to stay out of local disputes and the resurgance of its operations in the region.

Verbal Process
    Verbal process is a process of saying. It is involves the verbal act spoken by the sayer. There are three participants of this process which are: sayer (the one who speak), receiver (the one who receive the talk), verbiage (the name of the verbalization) and target (the one who being a target by the process)

Verbal process in China Daily
    According to the finding from the researcher, it shows that verbal process reach the second highest percentage which always occur in every news by China Daily compared to other processes. There are only 5 verbal processes found here.
    In the text, verbal process are used by China Daily to depict the fact that the South China Sea and the island in it are belongs to China. The example of the verbal process are presented below:

Table 5. Data Sample of Verbal process 1

Sayer	Process: Verbal	Verbiage
He	argued	that China has every legitimate right to deploy necessary defense facilities on its own territory

The data showed above indicates the occurance of verbal process in the text. The verbal process is indicated by the verb "argued". The sayer in the clause is "He" which verbalized the verbiage "that China has every legitimate right to deploy necessary defence facilities on its own territory". The clause above does not mention the receiver or the target, but from the context we can see that the verbalization is adressed to the reporter. This process describe that according to Ambassador of China, Zhang Ming, China would not allow any major power outside of the region to muddy the water of the South China Sea.

Verbal Process in The New York Times
    According to the finding from the researcher, it shows that verbal process also reach the highest percentage which always occur in The New York Times compared to other processes. There are only 14 verbal processes.

Table 6. Data Sample of Verbal process 2

Sayer	Process: Verbal	Verbiage
Mr. Obama	*said*	*America would defend disputed islands in the East China Sea under its security treaty with Japan and reinforced a treaty commitment to the Philippines*

The data showed above indicates the occurance of verbal process in the text. The verbal process is indicated by the verb "said". The sayer in the clause is "Mr. Obama" which verbalized the verbiage "America would defend disputed islands in the East China Sea under its security treaty with Japan and reinforced a treaty commitment to the Philippines". The fact from The New York Times about Verbal process is that, it is also does not mention the receiver and the target like we can see in Verbal process from the China Daily, yet from the context we can see from the context that the verbalization is adressed to the reporter. This process describe the response from Mr. Obama as the president of The United States on a recent trip to Asia that the Washington takes no side in the territorial dispute but insist that they must be resolved peacefully due to the ramming of Vietnamese ship by China.

Interpretation
        The next stage done by the researcher to answer the problem statement is through interpretation. Interpretation is the stage of connecting the textual analysis and social analysis. In this stage, the researcher connect the linguistic features found from the transitivity analysis with the interaction which produce themes reflected by the text. Here intertextual context conducted as Fairclough (1989) assumes that interpretation is examined through the combination of situational context and intertextual context. So this stage is conducted to reveal the representation in the clauses by connecting the pattern of transitivity process, the situational context and intertextual context reflected in the text.

Interpretation of the news article in China Daily
        China Daily here represent what is happening in the South China Sea as a normal thing without any sign to show that the claim of South China Sea is wrong and an act from US to meddle in the South China Sea by sending its warships are also wrong due to the water is not an area of US law area. China Daily describe it through the material process and verbal process. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004;192) stated that material processes "express the notion that some entity 'does' something – which may be 'to' some other entity". Here the material process depict the act of RRC in responding to stop the movement of USA in the South China Sea. With the example provided below:

*The US Navy **has increased** the frequency with which its warships sail to China's doorstep.*
*He **argued** that China has every legitimate right to deploy necessary defense facilities on its own territory.*

        The sample showed above are sentences that produced by China Daily in reporting the South China Sea territorial disputes. The examples consist of material process and verbal process. The clauses reflected what has been done by RRC in responding the USA in meddling with what is happening in the South China Sea using Material process and verbal process. Moreover the Material process were uttered by Senior Colonel of RRC Li Huamin to stop the dangerous provocation by sending its warships to avoid any unforeseeable accidents.

Interpretation of the news article in The New York Times
        The New York Times here represent the image of how China done in claiming the South China Sea by sending their warships, build a port, military outpost and even doing a violence ramming toward other ship from any countries who tried to sail in the area of the South China Sea. The New York Times also use Material process and Verbal process to describe the issue behind the South China Sea territorial dispute. This is the same as has been done by China Daily in discussing the issue. Here

the New York Times depict the conflit of how China doing a dispute in the South China Sea. With the examples provided below:

*A Chinese vessel **rammed and sank** a Vietnamese fishing boat about 17 nautical miles southwest of the oil rig on Monday afternoon.*

*China **believes,** and has said as much in a 2014 position paper, that it has "indisputable sovereignty" over the South China Sea islands and the adjacent waters.*

The example showed above are sentences that produced by The New York Times in reporting the South China Sea territorial disputes. The examples consist of Material process and Verbal process. The clauses of Material process reflected the acts that decided to do by RRC of how they claimed the South China Sea, it depict China in doing the disputes resulting several conflict with other nations around the water. The ramming of Chinese vessel toward the Philippine vessel is an act of violence and violating the guarantee area that given by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Moreover the verbal process here describe how RRC believes that they have indisputable sovereignty over the area of South China Sea and it is planted in the history of law because their government was the first who discover, name and explore the water and also supported by an argument that they are the first to continuously exercise power over it.

Explanation

Explanation became the final stage done by the researcher in investigating the ideology and power constructed in China Daily and The New York Times. The study is put in a wider socio-political context to expose the embedded power and ideology. Explanation of socio cultural context will enable us to understand why different newspaper report the same news event from different perspectives. The differences can be traced to different ideological orientation of both news websites. The news website basically manipulates the people toward the social event by representing the ideologies that they have. So basically news event is not a pure representation of the social event but a construction of it.

Explanation of the news article in China Daily

Based on the transitivity interpretation in the China Daily as explained in the previous stage, the media convey the sign of disagree toward what has been doing by the Washington in meddling with the situation in the South China Sea, considering that US does not have any right to deploy any of their fleet in the disputed water. In fact the United States has made the area of the disputed water as a major venue for maintaining high strategic pressure on China in recent years and for this purpose the US Navy increased their frequency in which they send their warships to sail toward China's door step. The China Daily depict the image that US should never underestimate China's ability in defending their territorial intergrity and sovereignty over the South China Sea because no matter how many times Washington sends its warships to the sensitive water. The action will not change the Sovereignty of it.

Explanation of the news article in The New York Times

Based on the transitivity interpretation in The New York Times as explained in the previous stage, the media potray how the act that choosen by China in defending their sovereignty toward the South China Sea and the island in it. The New York Times through the text convey the action from Beijing in dealing with the disputes in the water as a harsh attitude with violence and more likely resulting a conflict between countries, the act of Chinese fishing vessel in ramming the Philippine boat leaving 22 crewmembers floating into the water near Reed bank before they finally rescued by a Vietnamese vessel, the Reed bank itself based on the Phillipine is internationally recognized as its exclusive economic zone but China claim that area and all the area of the South China Sea. The ramming was actually intentional in which the ramming was also ever occured by Vietnamese vessel in the South China Sea as well.

CONCLUSION

This study succesfully reveal the representational meaning and the ideology behind the news text using Fairclough three dimensional framework combined with Halliday's transitivity analysis used as an analytical tools in China Daily and The New York Times. This study successfully proven that the transitivity processes found in the news are fully capable enough in revealing the ideology of the news discourse. The finding showed that China Daily and The New York Times decribe the issue of the South China Sea territorial dispute similarly through material process and verbal process. However, the result of the representation and ideology construction are different. As the final result, this study demonstrated the the transitivity process is useful in the discourse to expose ideology. For further studies the researcher really suggest the other researcher to use the combination of two different theories by developing any aspect that may not perfect in the previous usage.

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