ANALYZING THE 2021 ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN COVERAGE:

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDY

Agwin Degaf[1][*], Renavi Aziza[2], Nur Fitria Anggrisia[3]
[1]agwindegaf@uin-malang.ac.id, [2]renaviaziza@gmail.com, [3]rianggrisia@uinmalang.ac.id

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG

ABSTRACT

This study explores critical discourse analysis in the context of the prolonged Israel-Palestine conflict. It examines the discourse of two prominent outlets with different geographic and cultural contexts, *The Guardian* and *The Jakarta Post*, during the May 2021 escalation. This qualitative study applies Van Dijk's (1984) three-dimensional framework, with adaptations from Van Leeuwen (2008), to analyze news articles at macro, super, and micro levels. The findings reveal that *The Guardian* emphasized humanitarian impacts and used euphemistic terms, while *The Jakarta Post* highlighted reactive actions and employed a more direct tone. At the superstructure level, differences in story organization and headline framing were evident, with *The Guardian* focusing on chronological sequencing and *The Jakarta Post* emphasizing Indonesia's advocacy for Palestine. At the microstructure level, *The Guardian* framed Israel's actions neutrally, while *The Jakarta Post* reflected a pro-Palestinian stance through dysphemistic lexical choices. Ideologically, *The Guardian* leaned toward a neutral stance, often legitimizing Israeli actions, whereas *The Jakarta Post* highlighted solidarity with Palestinian victims in alignment with Indonesia's cultural and political context. These findings highlight geographic and cultural influences on media narratives. This study fosters deeper conflict analysis, enhancing critical discourse and offering insights into the ideological underpinnings of international media coverage.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Israel-Palestinian conflict, Media Coverage, Online News Analysis, Teun A. Van Dijk

A. INTRODUCTION

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, deeply rooted in land disputes and the status of the Palestinian people, remains a significant focus of global media due to its ideological complexity and violent manifestations. Originating in the 19th century and intensifying during the mid-20th century (Rababah & Hamdan, 2019), the conflict continues to resist resolution and poses threats to regional and global stability. In May 2021, the escalation of violence during Operation Guardian of the Walls, marked by heavy bombings in the Gaza Strip by Israeli forces and military responses by Hamas, brought the conflict to international prominence (Tivadar, 2021; Mansour, 2022). Media reports often reflect these tensions, with

119

language and framing heavily influencing audience perceptions. British newspaper analyses, for instance, reveal biases shaped by historical and political contexts, with coverage often polarizing public opinion and perpetuating divisive narratives (Sirhan, 2021; Filiu, 2014). Furthermore, the political and religious dimensions of the conflict complicate balanced reporting, with international and domestic agendas influencing how events are portrayed (Haase, 2024). Addressing these biases is essential to achieving a more informed and balanced understanding of this enduring conflict.

Numerous academic studies have utilized Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) frameworks, such as those by Fairclough and Van Dijk, to examine the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, focusing on media representation, ideological bias, and the influence of narratives on public perception and policy. Amer (2017) explored ideological framing in US and UK newspapers during the 2008–2009 Gaza War, while Bakan & Abu-Laban (2010) analyzed the racial politics embedded in news coverage that often legitimizes Israeli actions and marginalizes Palestinians. Bourdon (2015) highlighted the colonial legacy in French media's historical framing of the conflict, and Elmasry et al. (2013) documented the use of dysphemistic terms in Western media that shape public opinion against Palestinian groups. Friedman & Herfroy-Mischler (2020) examined the co-construction of international and local Israeli narratives, while Qawariq (2020) focused on fringe ideologies in Palestinian news websites. Wahyudi and Irham (2012) analyzed political discourse strategies in Indonesian media, offering insights into localized narratives, and Rababah & Hamdan (2019) contrasted rhetorical strategies in UN speeches by Netanyahu and Abbas to reveal legitimization tactics. Additionally, Ozohu-Suleiman & Ishak (2012) explored Southeast Asian media's alignment with regional political solidarities. Together, these studies underscore the vital role of CDA in revealing the ideological underpinnings of media narratives and their impact on public discourse and international relations.

Although the CDA framework has been extensively applied in previous research, none have comprehensively addressed the social, political, and religious ideologies within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict using Van Dijk's or Fairclough's CDA models. This study fills this gap through an analysis of events from May 10th to 21st, 2021, during the Eid Mubarak bombing tragedy, as reported in *The Guardian* and *The Jakarta Post*. Using Van Dijk's three-dimensional CDA model, the research investigates macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure to uncover how power relations and ideology shape discourse across religious, social, and political contexts. Insights from previous studies illustrate how media representations often reflect political orientations and ideological stances (Amer, 2017; Wang, 2017). The use of euphemization and derogation as discursive strategies highlights media manipulation in constructing binary oppositions (Bahmani, 2017). Comparative analyses, such as those examining Israeli-Palestinian coverage in the British press, reveal postcolonial influences on framing (Sanz-Sabido, 2015; Sabido, 2019). Real-time reactions and the accessibility of online news platforms enable this study to contrast the framing strategies of *The Guardian* and *The Jakarta Post*, while examining their roles in reinforcing or challenging social inequalities.

The significance of this study lies in its potential to deepen the understanding of the Israel-Palestine conflict as depicted in online articles through the application of Teun A. van Dijk's CDA approach. By focusing on the Indonesian context, this research underscores the multidisciplinary potential of CDA, offering insights into language use, political communication, and sociocultural practices. Building upon earlier research, this study

provides comprehensive analyses of religious, political, and social ideologies in media discourse and illustrates how these elements shape news reporting. The findings contribute to the advancement of CDA methodology and theory, while also offering practical approaches for analyzing media discourse related to complex international conflicts.

The theoretical framework of this study employs Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model, an interdisciplinary methodology that examines the intricate interplay between discourse, power, and society. Bridging linguistics, political science, and sociology (Qowim & Degaf, 2024), CDA addresses societal issues from a normative standpoint, often adopting the perspectives of marginalized groups and critically analyzing language used by those in power. Van Dijk's model consists of three primary dimensions: textual analysis, social cognition, and social context. Textual analysis focuses on the thematic (macro), schematic (super), and phrasal (micro) structures within texts. Social cognition explores the socially shared representations and mental processes that shape discourse (Firmansyah & Degaf, 2024). The social context dimension examines how discourse is influenced by contemporary events and societal conditions (Van Dijk, 1988a), providing a comprehensive framework for analyzing power relations and ideological constructs in media narratives.

News analysis as discourse is crucial in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as online news allows for broader distribution of discourse across larger geographical scales and longer periods. Van Dijk's three-dimensional framework for news discourse analysis includes macrostructure, which refers to the global or universal meaning of a text, superstructure, which is the schematic structure of the text, and microstructure, which focuses on local meaning.

The study aims to answer the following research questions:
1. Macrostructure: What is the overall thematic and topical organization of news articles in The Jakarta Post and The Guardian as analyzed through CDA?
2. Superstructure: How are the organizational and schematic structures of news reports in The Jakarta Post and The Guardian represented in CDA?
3. Microstructure: What are the specific linguistic features and stylistic choices in news articles from The Jakarta Post and The Guardian as analyzed through CDA?

B. METHOD

This study employs a critical paradigm within a qualitative methodology framework, aligning with the interdisciplinary nature of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The critical paradigm emphasizes the role of vested interests and power structures in the production and interpretation of discourse, aiming to deconstruct biases, ideologies, and power relations inherent in language activities (Rosidi, 2007). The researchers serve as the primary instruments in this study, responsible for data collection, analysis, and conclusion drawing. To enhance the validity and reliability of the findings, data triangulation is employed, integrating multiple data sources and methods to ensure comprehensive and credible conclusions. This approach not only captures diverse perspectives but also mitigates potential biases, aligning with best practices in qualitative research (Bekhet & Zauszniewski, 2012). Additionally, consultation with research advisors during the verification process further strengthens the findings by providing expert insights and ensuring methodological rigor (Tobin & Begley, 2004).

The study examines online news coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during May 2021, focusing on articles from *The Guardian* and *The Jakarta Post*. These outlets were selected for their prominence in international affairs and contrasting reporting approaches. *The Guardian*, a British publication, often provides in-depth analyses and historical context, while *The Jakarta Post*, an English-language Indonesian newspaper, tends to offer concise reports, frequently sourced from wire services. Previous studies suggest that media framing in such conflicts varies based on cultural and political contexts. For instance, Western outlets like *The Guardian* may marginalize Palestinian perspectives while legitimizing Israeli actions, influenced by regional political interests (Tasseron, 2023). Conversely, Southeast Asian media, including *The Jakarta Post*, often reflect fragmented alignments shaped by local political climates (Ozohu-Suleiman & Ishak, 2015). This comparative analysis highlights how framing and bias in media can shape public understanding of complex conflicts, necessitating further examination of their narratives and implications.

Online news was selected as the primary data source in this study due to its unique advantages, including greater audience interaction, multimedia integration, accessibility, and frequent updates (Landert, 2014). These features make online platforms particularly valuable for capturing real-time reactions and diverse perspectives on unfolding events. Reader comments were also analyzed to enrich the discourse analysis, offering a range of opinions and fostering interactive discussions. Such interactions reveal patterns of support, critique, and confrontation, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of public discourse (Weber, 2014). Despite challenges like incivility or off-topic discussions, these insights highlight the usefulness of online news as a tool for qualitative analysis.

The data collection process for this study involved a month-long review of online news reports from *The Jakarta Post*, focusing on articles published during May 2021 that covered the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This period saw *The Jakarta Post* publishing 26 relevant articles, highlighting its engagement with the issue and its importance in international affairs reporting. The decision to focus on *The Jakarta Post* aligns with broader media trends where significant global conflicts like the Israeli-Palestinian crisis receive substantial attention, reflecting varied framing strategies and potential biases. These biases, influenced by political and cultural contexts, shape public understanding of the conflict, as observed in previous analyses of international media, including outlets like CNN, BBC, and Al-Jazeera (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; Barkho, 2007). Such coverage provides a rich dataset for examining the framing, narrative construction, and ideological undertones present in reporting.

Data analysis in this study employs Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model, focusing on three primary dimensions: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Macrostructure analysis identifies the thematic structure of texts, uncovering the broader significance of sentences and their contribution to the main themes. For instance, similar analyses in studies of COVID-19 coverage revealed the thematic emphasis on fear and hope to shape public perception (Al-Ghamdi, 2021). Superstructure analysis examines the syntactic organization and text arrangement, such as introductions and conclusions, to understand how meanings are systematized. This approach aligns with findings on coherent textual patterns that enhance the communication of complex narratives, as demonstrated in educational discourse during the pandemic (Pendri et al., 2024). Lastly, microstructure analysis investigates linguistic details, such as diction and sentence construction, to explore how language choices contribute to discourse. In prior research, metaphors in newspaper

headlines were shown to significantly influence readers' interpretation of events (Veronika & Degaf, 2024). By applying these dimensions, the study uncovers how power, domination, and social inequality are embedded in and perpetuated through mass media narratives, particularly in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

C. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This part applies Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model to analyze online news coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in May 2021 by The Jakarta Post and The Guardian. It outlines the analytic methods used and discusses the findings, exploring how they relate to theoretical frameworks. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a longstanding issue since the late 19th century, remains highly discussed and perennially relevant. This study focuses on analyzing coverage from two prominent online news sources, The Jakarta Post (Indonesia) and The Guardian (UK), using Van Dijk's CDA model. The research collected and analyzed 17 articles from both media outlets covering the main events of the conflict and ten articles providing background and context from May 10th to 21st, 2021, coinciding with escalating tensions during Ramadhan and Eid Al-Fitr.

1. Macrostructure Analysis

The Guardian: The macrostructure of The Guardian's articles about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in May 2021 consistently focuses on Israel's aggressive attacks on Palestine following Hamas's rocket fire. The articles begin with descriptions of Israeli police attacks on a mosque compound, triggering rapid escalation with retaliatory rocket and air strikes. For example, one article states, "Israeli police stormed the compound early on Monday, firing stun grenades and teargas and clashing with Palestinians inside, who threw stones" (TG – 20210510). This structure emphasizes the initial provocations by Israeli police and the resulting conflict, with a focus on significant physical losses on the Palestinian side.

Another article notes, "The rocket attacks and retaliatory air raids followed a day of rapid escalation that came after Israeli police stormed the compound early on Monday" (TG – 20210511). This thematic structure continues with details of subsequent events, such as the destruction of residential buildings and casualties among civilians, underscoring the severity of the situation. The Guardian's articles often include visual images and footage to add a dramatic and emotional dimension, such as images of destroyed buildings and injured civilians, influencing the reader's perception of the conflict's intensity. For instance, an article from May 12 shows a photo of a destroyed building with the caption, "The aftermath of an Israeli airstrike in Gaza City" (TG – 20210512).

This thematic structure reveals how the language and framing of news not only present information but also construct narratives about the causes, escalation, and impact of the conflict. By focusing on the sequence of violent events and their human impact, The Guardian shapes a narrative that highlights the disproportionate suffering of Palestinians.

The Jakarta Post: The macrostructure of The Jakarta Post's articles centers on the Israeli attacks towards Palestine's Gaza and West Bank. The thematic structure emphasizes Indonesia's role in advocating for peace for the Palestinians. For example, an article from May 13 highlights President Joko Widodo's statement condemning Israel's actions and calling for international intervention: "Indonesia calls on the United Nations and the

international community to take firm action to stop Israel's aggression and ensure the safety and rights of the Palestinian people" (TJP – 20210513).

The Jakarta Post also frequently references Indonesia's historical and spiritual connection to the Palestinian issue, as well as its domestic political implications. For example, an article states, "Indonesia has always stood by the Palestinian people in their struggle for independence and will continue to do so. This is not only a political stance but also a moral and religious duty" (TJP – 20210514).

The articles often highlight the humanitarian impact of the conflict, focusing on the suffering of Palestinian civilians. For instance, a report on May 15 details the number of casualties: "Overall Palestinian fatalities from strikes on Gaza have reached 126 -- including 31 children -- with 950 injured" (TJP – 20210515). This data-driven approach provides a stark picture of the conflict's toll on Palestinian lives and emphasizes the urgency of international intervention.

The Jakarta Post's thematic focus reflects Indonesia's official stance and its influence on public perceptions of the conflict. By centering on the humanitarian crisis and Indonesia's advocacy, the newspaper aligns its coverage with the nation's diplomatic efforts and public sentiment.

2. Superstructure Analysis

The Guardian: The superstructure of The Guardian's articles presents the conflict in a chronological sequence, starting with Israel attacking Palestinians at Al-Aqsa and escalating through subsequent events. For example, one article outlines the sequence of events: "The rocket attacks, and retaliatory air raids, followed a day of rapid escalation that came after Israeli police stormed the compound early on Monday" (TG – 20210510 – p.9). The articles organize information coherently, providing background and context to the conflict, such as the historical significance of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and previous clashes in the area.

Another article provides a detailed timeline of the events: "Following the raid on the mosque compound, clashes spread to other parts of Jerusalem, and rockets were fired from Gaza into Israel. Israel responded with air strikes on Gaza, killing numerous civilians and destroying infrastructure" (TG – 20210512). This chronological approach helps readers understand the progression of the conflict and the immediate triggers for the violence.

The superstructure effectively organizes the news, highlighting its influence on society and presenting opinions from various countries, including the US, Australia, and several Arab nations, aiming to defuse the conflict. For instance, an article quotes the US Secretary of State: "The United States calls for a de-escalation of violence and a return to negotiations to achieve a two-state solution" (TG – 20210514).

The Jakarta Post: The Jakarta Post provides a logical timeline of Israel's struggle with Hamas and Palestinians, similar to The Guardian. For instance, an article narrates the escalation: "Israel launched deadly air strikes on Gaza Monday in response to a barrage of rockets fired by Hamas and other Palestinian militants amid spiralling violence sparked by unrest at Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque compound" (TJP – 20210511 – p.1). This timeline is complemented by detailed reports on specific incidents, such as the destruction of residential buildings and the impact on civilians.

The superstructure organizes the news to highlight its societal influence, providing background information and presenting opinions from impacted parties, including statements from Palestinian leaders and international reactions. For example, an article from May 16 includes a statement from a Palestinian official: "The international community must hold Israel accountable for its war crimes and ensure the protection of Palestinian civilians" (TJP – 20210516).

This structure ensures a comprehensive understanding of the conflict and emphasizes Indonesia's role and perspective. By providing detailed background information and highlighting Indonesia's diplomatic efforts, The Jakarta Post frames the conflict in a way that aligns with national interests and values. For instance, an article from May 20 discusses Indonesia's efforts to mobilize support from other Muslim-majority countries: "Indonesia is leading efforts within the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to condemn Israel's actions and seek a united response" (TJP – 20210520).

Focusing on the sequence of violent events, the humanitarian impact, and Indonesia's diplomatic actions, The Jakarta Post creates a narrative that emphasizes both the immediate consequences of the conflict and the broader geopolitical context. This method not only informs readers but also aligns with Indonesia's foreign policy objectives and public sentiment.

3. Microstructure Analysis
The Guardian: The microstructure analysis of The Guardian reveals a critical stance towards Israel's provocative activities. The articles use specific linguistic features such as dysphemism and euphemism to describe actions and events. Terms like "Hamas's terrorist," "Palestinian militant," "airstrike," "rocket fire," "bombard," and "Israeli forces" are used to convey violence and conflict. The stylistic choices highlight the causes and consequences of the conflict, emphasizing Israel's relentless strikes and the repercussions on Palestinians. The Guardian often uses active voice in headlines to highlight actors, while employing abstraction such as "hundreds of Palestinians" to provide a general overview. Additionally, anonymity is utilized (e.g., "a father and daughter") to keep identities vague, focusing on the broader narrative.

The Jakarta Post: The Jakarta Post, while supporting the victims of Palestine, employs euphemistic and dysphemistic statements about Israel and Palestine. The sympathetic tone is evident in terms like "occupation," "Israeli riot police," and "killed" to describe Israel's tactics. Euphemism is used in phrases like "respond with force" by Netanyahu to soften the description of military actions, while dysphemism is evident in the use of "terrorist" to describe Palestinian groups. The articles use active and passive sentences to emphasize casualties, ensuring the information is presented in an understandable manner. For instance, The Jakarta Post frequently provides specific numbers and identities, such as "395 Palestinians were wounded" or "Mussa Hassuna, a 32-year-old Arab-Israeli father," to give a detailed account. Similar to The Guardian, The Jakarta Post uses identification tactics in headlines to provide thorough explanations, often using subordinate clauses as clickbait to attract reader attention.

4. Ideological Analysis

The Guardian: The ideological analysis of The Guardian's editorial stance on the escalation of the May 2021 conflict suggests a nuanced shift towards a neutral perspective, presenting both Israeli and Palestinian civilians in a balanced light. While the articles initially adopt neutrality, they implicitly frame Israel's strikes as military responses that risk escalating violence without an immediate ceasefire. This framing aligns with general trends in media coverage, where initial neutrality is often influenced by political, historical, and ideological contexts. For instance, studies have shown that media outlets like CNN have shifted their reporting styles under political pressures, while British newspapers, including The Guardian, reflect postcolonial influences in their portrayal of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Bhowmik & Fisher, 2023; Sanz-Sabido, 2015). The Guardian's emphasis on ceasefire urgency and potential violence escalation mirrors broader media practices of framing conflicts within geopolitical and ideological narratives, subtly reinforcing specific perspectives under the guise of impartiality.

The Jakarta Post: The Jakarta Post reflects Indonesia's official stance towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as demonstrated in President Joko Widodo's statements condemning Israel's attacks. The framing emphasizes strong condemnation of Israel's actions and solidarity with Palestinian victims, particularly women and children. This perspective aligns with Indonesia's identity as the country with the largest Muslim population and its historical commitment to the Palestinian cause, rooted in both domestic sentiment and international diplomacy. Indonesian media, including *The Jakarta Post*, frequently highlight the humanitarian impact of the conflict, framing Israel's actions as aggressive while portraying Palestinians as victims, a narrative consistent with the nation's lack of formal diplomatic relations with Israel and its constitutional mandate to oppose colonialism (Setiawati, 2024; Febrianti & Prihatini, 2023). Furthermore, Indonesia's public opinion, often amplified by religious and political leaders, strongly supports Palestinian independence, reflecting a broader alignment between governmental policies, media portrayals, and societal sentiments (Basid, 2024; Lücking, 2019). This media framing not only resonates with domestic audiences but also reinforces Indonesia's international position as a staunch advocate for Palestine in global forums.

In conclusion, this comparative analysis provides insights into how different media outlets portray the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, revealing underlying ideological biases and the impact of journalistic choices on public perception. The findings highlight the importance of thematic, organizational, and linguistic features in constructing narratives about the conflict.

5. Comparative Analysis of Media Coverage: Applying Van Dijk's CDA Framework

The findings reveal how *The Guardian* and *The Jakarta Post* employ distinct narrative strategies shaped by their respective national and cultural contexts. Macrostructural analysis indicates that *The Guardian* focuses on the chronological progression of events, framing the conflict through international responses and Israeli actions, whereas *The Jakarta Post* highlights the humanitarian crisis and Indonesia's advocacy for Palestine. This distinction underscores the ideological priorities of each outlet: *The Guardian* emphasizes global diplomatic efforts and Israel's legitimacy, while *The Jakarta Post* aligns its narrative with Indonesia's political and moral stance as a predominantly Muslim nation.

At the microstructural level, *The Guardian* employs euphemistic language for Israeli actions and dysphemistic terms for Palestinian groups, revealing an implicit bias that reinforces power hierarchies by portraying Israel as a legitimate state actor and Palestinians as anarchistic entities. This aligns with studies demonstrating how British media often legitimizes Israeli perspectives while marginalizing Palestinian voices through language choices that depict Palestinians negatively (Sirhan, 2021; Neureiter, 2017). In contrast, *The Jakarta Post* adopts a sympathetic tone toward Palestinian victims, evident in terms such as "occupation" and "Israeli riot police," which emphasize Palestinian suffering and critique Israeli policies. This framing constructs a narrative of victimhood and underscores the moral urgency for international intervention, reflecting a pro-Palestinian ideological stance (Karniel et al., 2017). These linguistic strategies highlight the role of media outlets in shaping reader perceptions and constructing divergent realities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The application of Van Dijk's "us" vs. "them" framework further underscores contrasting portrayals of Palestinians in media coverage. *The Guardian* positions Palestinians as "them," attributing limited agency and employing negative connotations that align with broader postcolonial influences on British media, shaped by its colonial history and geopolitical interests in the Middle East (Sanz Sabido, 2015; Al-Ramahi & Rashid, 2024). In contrast, *The Jakarta Post* frames Palestinians as part of "us," emphasizing shared values and solidarity, reflecting Indonesia's historical and political support for Palestine as part of its foreign policy and cultural identity (Hajjaj, 2024). This binary framing not only shapes public perception but also reveals the ideological and geopolitical factors embedded within media narratives.

These findings contribute to critical discourse analysis by illustrating how media narratives are constructed to serve ideological purposes. *The Guardian*, through its reliance on euphemism and abstraction, diminishes the visible human cost of Israeli actions, potentially desensitizing readers to the ongoing humanitarian crisis and reducing empathy for Palestinian suffering (Sirhan, 2021; Nagar & Maoz, 2017). Conversely, *The Jakarta Post* adopts an explicit focus on casualties and detailed reports of Palestinian suffering, aiming to elicit emotional and political support while aligning with Indonesia's pro-Palestinian diplomatic stance (Warshagha et al., 2024; Tasseron, 2023). This stark contrast underscores the role of media in shaping public perception and reinforcing political agendas through strategic framing.

The historical and social contexts of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict further complicate media representations. The establishment of Israel in 1948, which resulted in the displacement of Palestinians, and the ongoing occupation since 1967 serve as critical backdrops for these narratives. These events are frequently referenced in media to contextualize current tensions and justify conflicting positions, as highlighted by Sabido (2019) and Sanz-Sabido (2015). The framing strategies adopted by media outlets emphasize historical grievances and religious significance, including the central role of the Al Aqsa Mosque. Religious elements, such as the Al Aqsa Mosque, add further complexity to these representations, highlighting the deeply rooted nature of the struggle and its global implications (Gómez-García et al., 2024; Avraham & First, 2010).

Comparisons with other studies provide a broader context for understanding media portrayals of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, highlighting both similarities and differences. Amer (2017) used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine US and UK newspaper coverage of the 2008-2009 Gaza War, uncovering how media representations align with

ideological and cultural expectations of their audiences. Similarly, Qawariq (2020) analyzed fringe ideologies in Palestinian news websites, focusing on narratives that challenge dominant political discourses and emphasize local resistance. Irham and Wahyudi (2012) explored political discourse strategies in media, revealing how language choices reflect power structures, while Ben-David and Idan (2021) investigated how Israeli students' perceptions of the conflict are shaped by education and political ideologies. Rababah & Hamdan (2019) studied speeches by Netanyahu and Abbas at the UN, offering insights into the rhetorical strategies used to garner international support. While varied in focus, these studies collectively underscore the importance of critical analysis in uncovering biases, power relations, and the interplay between local and global narratives in shaping public perceptions of the conflict.

This study addresses a gap in the literature through a comparative CDA of online news reports from the UK and Indonesia during the May 2021 escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Applying Van Dijk's CDA framework, this research reveals the ideologies, biases, and perspectives that shape the portrayal of the conflict in online news media. The comparative analysis demonstrates how national and cultural backgrounds influence media narratives, contributing to a deeper understanding of the intricate relationship between media, ideologies, and public perceptions in a globalized digital world. Furthermore, this study emphasizes the role of historical analogies in media coverage, as explored by Bakan & Abu Laban (2010) and Bourdon (2015). Terms such as "apartheid" and "Auschwitz" in media narratives can polarize public opinion and shape the framing of the conflict. Comparing different methodological approaches, this research highlights the importance of comprehensive qualitative analysis in uncovering the complex nature of media representations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

D. CONCLUSION

This study reveals that media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is shaped not only through geographic and cultural contexts but also through intricate ideological strategies. The findings demonstrate that *The Guardian* and *The Jakarta Post* employ distinct discursive approaches to construct narratives about the conflict. *The Guardian* prioritizes humanitarian impacts, using euphemistic language to frame Israel's actions, while *The Jakarta Post* highlights Palestinian suffering with direct and emotionally charged language. These framing strategies reflect the ideological and geopolitical interests of the respective outlets, emphasizing the relationship between national identity and media narratives.

The research contributes to the field of critical discourse analysis by illustrating how media outlets act as ideological agents, shaping public perceptions of sensitive conflicts. Through Van Dijk's three-dimensional framework, this study provides a detailed understanding of how macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure work together to reproduce power relations and ideological biases. The findings underscore the influence of cultural and political contexts on media narratives and offer valuable insights for analyzing media discourse across different cultural landscapes. The study highlights the importance of examining linguistic and structural features to better understand the ideological underpinnings embedded in international media coverage.

While this research offers significant findings, it is limited to the analysis of two media outlets during the May 2021 escalation, focusing on a specific timeframe and qualitative approach. These findings may not represent the diversity of global perspectives on the conflict or account for long-term shifts in media narratives. Expanding future research to include a broader range of media sources from various regions and longer periods could provide a more comprehensive understanding of media framing. Employing quantitative methods alongside qualitative analysis would further enhance the study of ideological framing. Comparative research examining Western, Middle Eastern, and Southeast Asian media would add depth to the understanding of how political, cultural, and linguistic elements shape global conflict narratives.

Disclosure statement
The researchers declare no conflict of interest related to this research. All data and analyses presented in this study were conducted independently and without any influence from external parties. The findings and interpretations are solely the researchers' own and are not influenced by any personal or financial relationships with any individuals or organizations.

E. REFERENCES

Al-Ghamdi, N. A. (2021). Ideological representation of fear and hope in online newspaper reports on COVID-19 in Saudi Arabia. *Heliyon*, *7*(4). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06864

Al-Ramahi, R. A. O., & Rashid, R. A. (2024). The discursive identities of Hamas and Israel in British newspapers: A socio-cognitive analysis. *3L: Language, Linguistics, Literature*, *30*(3), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.17576/3L-2024-3003-01

Amer, M. (2017). Critical discourse analysis of war reporting in the international press: The case of the Gaza war of 2008-2009. *Palgrave Communications, 3*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-017-0015-2

Avraham, E., & First, A. (2010). Combining the representation approach with the framing concept: Television news coverage of the Arab population in Israel during conflict. *Journalism, 11*(4), 481–499. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884910367594

Bahmani, M. (2017). Discursive strategies in the hands of media manipulators: A critical survey of an operation cast lead's news. In *Advances in Psychology Research* (Vol. 124, pp. 145–172). Nova Science Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.8.3.199_1

Bakan, A. B., & Abu-Laban, Y. (2010). Israel/Palestine, South Africa and the "one-state solution": The case for an apartheid analysis. *Politikon, 37*(2), 331–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2010.522342

Basid, A. (2024). From conflict to peace: Fuqaha political exegesis on Israel's war crimes in Palestine. *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam, 9*(2), 597–624. https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v9i2.10597

Barkho, L. (2007). Unpacking the discursive and social links in BBC, CNN, and Al-Jazeera's Middle East reporting. *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, *1*(1), 11–29. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.1.1.11_1

Bekhet, A. K., & Zauszniewski, J. A. (2012). Methodological triangulation: An approach to understanding data. *Nurse Researcher*, *20*(2), 40–43. https://doi.org/10.7748/nr2012.11.20.2.40.c9442

Ben-David, Y., & Idan, O. (2020). Eyes wide shut: Political ideology as a tool of discursive avoidance among Israeli-Jewish students in the context of escalating conflict. *Political Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12702

Bhowmik, S., & Fisher, J. (2023). Framing the Israel-Palestine conflict 2021: Investigation of CNN's coverage from a peace journalism perspective. *Media, Culture and Society*, *45*(5), 1019–1035. https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437231154766

Bourdon, J. (2015). Outrageous, inescapable? Debating historical analogies in the coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. *Discourse and Communication, 9*(4), 407–422. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481315576835

Elmasry, M. H., Shamy, A. El, Manning, P., Mills, A., & Auter, P. J. (2013). Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya framing of the Israel-Palestine conflict during war and calm periods. *International Communication Gazette, 75*(8), 750–768. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048513482545

Febrianti, C., & Prihatini, E. S. (2023). Parliamentary Diplomacy in Supporting Palestinian Independence: Evidence from Indonesia. In *E3S Web of Conferences* (Vol. 426, p. 02112). EDP Sciences. https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202342602112

Filiu, J.-P. (2014). The twelve wars on Gaza. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *44*(1), 52–60. https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2014.44.1.52

Firmansyah, H. D. T., & Degaf, A. (2024). A critical discourse analysis of Jayland Walker's demise in digital journalism. *Englisia: Journal of Language, Education, and Humanities, 11*(2), 67-90. http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/ej.v11i2.21792

Friedman, E., & Herfroy-Mischler, A. (2020). The media framing of blame agency in asymmetric conflict: Who is blaming whom for the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations failure? *Journalism Studies*, 1873–1892. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1797526

Gómez-García, S., Moreno-Cantano, A.-C., & Quevedo-Redondo, R. (2024). Gaming the conflict: *Fursan Al-Aqsa*'s narrative of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle and its reception through moral disengagement. *Convergence.* https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565241295571

Haase, D. (2024). The context, logic, and perpetuation of violence. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, *23*(3–4), 139–154. https://doi.org/10.1163/15691497-12341679

Hajjaj, N. A. (2024). Cultivating cultural humility for Palestinian Rhetoric. *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1080/17459435.2024.2310517

Holmes, O., & Beaumont, P. (2021). Israel launches airstrikes on Gaza Strip after Hamas rocket attacks. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/10/hamas-fires-rockets-into-israel-in-dispute-over-jerusalem-mosque

Holmes, O., & Borger, J. (2021). 31 people dead as Netanyahu vows to intensify Gaza attacks. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/11/dead-in-gaza-after-jerusalem-violence-spreads

Holmes, O., & Sherwood, H. (2021a). Israeli air and ground forces hit targets in Gaza Strip as death toll climbs. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/14/israel-ground-troops-attack-gaza-strip-conflict

Holmes, O., & Sherwood, H. (2021b). Palestinians flee as Israel bombards territory from air, sea and land. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/14/gazans-flee-as-israel-bombards-territory-from-air-sea-and-land

Janti, N. (2021). RI calls for end to violence in Israel-Palestine crisis. *The Jakarta Post*. https://www.thejakartapost.com/paper/2021/05/16/ri-calls-for-end-to-violence-in-israel-palestine-crisis.html

Karniel, Y., Lavie-Dinur, A., & Samuel-Azran, T. (2017). The dream of statehood and the reality of conflict: Local and international coverage of the Palestinian United Nations bid for statehood. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *27*(1), 33–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2016.1258429

Landert, D. (2014). Personalisation in mass media communication: British online news between public and private. *Pragmatics & Beyond New Series, 240*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.240

Lücking, M. (2019). Travelling with the idea of taking sides: Indonesian pilgrimages to Jerusalem. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 175*(2–3), 196–224. https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17502020

Mansour, C. (2022). Toward the consolidation of a Gazan military front? *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *51*(1), 68–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/0377919X.2021.2006997

Nagar, R., & Maoz, I. (2017). The hostile suffering effect: Mediated encounters with the suffering of opponents, recognition, and moral concern in protracted asymmetrical conflict. *International Journal of Communication*, *11*, 1900–1921.

Neureiter, M. (2017). Sources of media bias in coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict: The 2010 Gaza flotilla raid in German, British, and US newspapers. *Israel Affairs*, *23*(1), 66–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537121.2016.1244381

Ozohu-Suleiman, Y., & Ishak, S. A. (2015). Local media in global conflict: Southeast Asian newspapers and the politics of peace in Israel/Palestine. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, *8*(2), 284–295.

Qawariq, R. (2020). Political and ideological tensions in Palestine: A critical language analysis of news reporting of the 2014 Gaza war. *Connections: A Journal of Language, Media and Culture, 1*(1), 68–78. https://doi.org/10.29173/connections21

Qowim, A., & Degaf, A. (2024). Kanjuruhan tragedy in the New York Times: A critical discourse analysis. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 13*(3), 468-476. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v13i3.66957

Pendri, A., Andayani, A., Wardani, N. E., & Suhita, R. (2024). A critical discourse analysis of online media discourse on educational problems during the COVID-19 pandemic. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, *12*(2), 14–27. https://doi.org/10.22034/ijscl.2024.2018254.3305

Rababah, A. G., & Hamdan, J. M. (2019). A contrastive critical discourse analysis of Netanyahu's and Abbas's speeches on the Gaza war (2014). *Journal of Language Teaching and Research, 10*(1), 178–189. https://doi.org/10.17507/jltr.1001.20

Rosidi, S. (2007). Analisis wacana kritis sebagai ragam paradigma kajian wacana. *Published Journal. State Islamic University Of Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/371173802

Sabido, R. S. (2019). *The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the British press*. Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-52646-5

Sanz-Sabido, R. (2015). Palestine in the British press: A postcolonial critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, *8*(3), 199–216. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.8.3.199_1

Setiawati, S. M. (2024). The role of Indonesian government in Middle East conflict resolution: Consistent diplomacy or strategic shifts? *Frontiers in Political Science, 6*, Article 1304108. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1304108

Sirhan, N. R. (2021). *Reporting Palestine-Israel in British newspapers: an analysis of British newspapers*. Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17072-1

Tasseron, M. (2023). The semiotics of visual and textual legitimacy in the 2014 Gaza war. *Social Semiotics*, *33*(3), 580–600. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2021.1903307

Tasseron, M. (2023). Reporting under the microscope in Israel-Palestine and South Africa. *Journalism Practice,* *17*(5), 970–990. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1966643

Tivadar, L.-M. (2021). The Gaza Strip and the Israel-Hamas conflict: From 2008 until nowadays. *Acta Musei Napocensis. Historica*, *58*, 293–311. https://doi.org/10.54145/ActaMN.58.15

Tobin, G. A., & Begley, C. M. (2004). Methodological rigour within a qualitative framework. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *48*(4), 388–396. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2004.03207.x

Van Dijk, T. A. (1988a). *News analysis: Case studies of international and national news in the press*. Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195323306.001.0001.

Veronika, I. D., & Degaf, A. (2024). Anti-vaccine COVID-19 narratives: A critical textual analysis of American and Indonesian online news. *Studies in English Language and Education*, *11*(3), 1782–1800. https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v11i3.37380

Wang, C. (2017). Victimhood in the face of media ideological battle: A critical discourse analysis on the British media's coverage of stabbing incidents in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies*, *16*(1), 79-98. https://doi.org/10.3366/hlps.2017.0153

Warshagha, A. Z. A., Ang, P. S., & Huan, C. (2024). Comparative framing of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in newspapers: An analysis of affect. *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, *24*(3), 112–130. https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2024-2403-07

Weber, P. (2014). Discussions in the comments section: Factors influencing participation and interactivity in online newspapers' reader comments. *New Media and Society*, *16*(6), 941–957. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813495165