

Critical Discourse Analysis: Representation of Bangladesh Protest 2024 in Western News Media

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Abstract:

A text is never objective, even in news media. They always give a representation toward the issue based on the journalist interests. This study aims to reveal how Western news media represents Bangladesh protest 2024 and analyze how the media label certain identity on social issue through language. Five news from five western media (Fox News, BBC, The Guardian, VOA, and The New York Times) were selectively collected for data analysis purpose. The collected data were qualitatively analyzed using Fairclough's Three-dimensional model to find the word choice (noun, verb, and adjective) and positive or negative connotation, the discursive practice, and the social practice. Our study observed that the Western news media represent negatively the police as a pro-government actor in the protest, as evidenced by the use of verb to represent the police action such as excessive force, ruined, and attacked. Meanwhile, the protesters were represented as victims in the chaos rather than the victims of the reigning Prime Minister, as evidenced by the use of adjective related to physical condition such as bloodshed, injured, and wounded. The study concludes that western news media labelled the police as a killer rather than security component of a country and represent Hasina as a dictator in the country.

Keywords: CDA, News media, representation

Abstrak:

Sebuah teks tidak pernah bersifat objektif, bahkan dalam media berita. Mereka selalu memberikan representasi terhadap isu berdasarkan kepentingan jurnalis. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana media berita Barat merepresentasikan protes Bangladesh 2024 dan menganalisis bagaimana media memberi label identitas tertentu pada isu sosial melalui bahasa. Lima berita dari lima media Barat (Fox News, BBC, The Guardian, VOA, dan The New York Times) dipilih secara selektif untuk tujuan analisis data. Data yang dikumpulkan dianalisis secara kualitatif menggunakan model Tiga Dimensi Fairclough untuk menemukan pilihan kata (kata benda, kata kerja, dan kata sifat), konotasi positif atau negatif, praktik diskursif, dan praktik sosial. Penelitian kami mengamati bahwa media berita Barat merepresentasikan polisi sebagai aktor pro-pemerintah secara negatif dalam protes tersebut, yang terbukti dari penggunaan kata kerja untuk menggambarkan tindakan polisi seperti 'excessive force', 'ruined', dan 'attacked'. Sementara itu, para pengunjuk rasa direpresentasikan sebagai korban dalam kekacauan tersebut, bukan sebagai korban dari Perdana Menteri yang berkuasa, yang terbukti dari penggunaan kata sifat yang terkait dengan kondisi fisik seperti 'bloodshed', 'injured', dan 'wounded'. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa media berita Barat melabeli polisi sebagai pembunuh daripada sebagai komponen keamanan negara dan merepresentasikan Hasina sebagai seorang diktator di negara tersebut.

Kata kunci: CDA, Media berita, representasi

INTRODUCTION

News media can educate, inform, and entertain through news, features and analysis in the press (GDNET, 2010). However, Media plays an important role in society in educational purposes and influencing public's perception. With an easy access for the public to consume news, it become easier to news media to influence public opinion. Moreover, according to Xie (2018) said that the news media is not always provide an objective and fair news, instead they contained ideology that can affect the readers. Where this condition certainly violates what was said by Bo et al. (2023) about media "Of all media content genres, objectivity is unarguably a news function."

Knowing the fact that media is often not objective and how easy the media can spread to society nowadays, public must practice critical media literacy. It help us to be able to examining representations, systems, structures, ideologies, and power dynamics that can shapes society (Share, 2022). Because, in any section of a text, including news media, it will concurrently representing, setting up identities and, setting up relations (Fairclough, 1995). For example, of this case, during the Indonesian presidential elections there are research to reveal the representation of the second presidential candidate that is Mr. Prabowo Subianto in their official campaign media account and in New York Times news media. Based on their official campaign social media account, Mr. Prabowo Subianto portrayed as a positive representation of his patriotism, as a devotee of the people and the nation, and as a high achiever person (Silalahi, 2024). In contrast, the western news media that is New York Times portrayed Prabowo Subianto as a negative representation based on his violation on human rights, disobeyed orders, broken the laws, and kidnapping (Tanto & Tanusy, 2024). This example concludes that news media serve different representations of the same individual in a political context. Furthermore, news media holds the ability to influence public discourse by choosing from the various frames that is provided by interest group and politicians (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001). Thus, in order to find the framing, representation, and political bias we must conduct a critical media literacy and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to provide in depth understanding about how news represent an issue. Because a discourse not only



emphasizes persuasion and manipulation, but also emphasizes ideology (Fairclough, 1989).

In Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research, there are several previous studies that had been conducted. A research by Munandar et al. (2023) explore the representation of Ukrainian refugees in British news media. This study found that the Ukrainian refugees represented positively unlike the other non-European who got negative representation which indicate there is an ideological reason behind this differential representation. A study by Jones and Collins (2020) conduct a corpus-assisted discourse to reveal how British newspaper represented the users of HIV-prevention treatment namely Pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP). This study finds that user of PrEP is often framed 'men who have sex with men' or gay, this study also found the political leaning where the right leaning newspaper only focuses on the human benefits of PrEP. While the left leaning news framing gay men as a group that giving a risk and do not deserve of health care funding compared to other group, this framing indicates the presence of homophobia in British newspaper. The next study by Bara (2020) who explore the representation of immigrant in Donald Trump speech delivered on August 31, 2016. This study found a negative representation of immigrants in USA by portraying immigrant as a threat to the American people and another group identified as "foreign born" which negatively represented as being different and deviant from American citizens and also deliver xenophobic ideology. A study from Sarvat and Tahira (2022) explore the image of Black Americans in the American print media which is The Washington Post after George Floyd's murder. This study found a shift representation of Black American, the portrayal of Black American as a second-class American citizen has been altered, and the media reflects an awareness of racial inequalities and injustices. The next study is by Samaie and Malmir (2017) conduct CDA combined with Corpus to explore how Islam and Muslims are represented in the American news media between 2001 and 2015. This study found that Muslim often associated with negative terms such as radical, war, and ISIS. The news media often create a distinction of the group between "us" (the U.S.) and "them" (Muslims).

Many studies have focused on examining how news media within a specific region represents issues relevant to that region. These studies primarily explore local or national media's portrayal of political, social, or economic events that directly affect the country or region in question. However, how news media from other countries (outsider), which have

no direct connection or involvement in the issue, represent these same events is still underexplored. Therefore, in the present study, we employ Fairclough three-dimensional model of CDA to explore the representation of 2024 Bangladesh protest on western news media where Bangladesh geographically not in the west and also not part of the alliance with western nations such as NATO. Furthermore, the issue itself is has nothing to do with western nations. Which is a crisis on unemployment, death toll by police, and corruptions in their country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Text Analysis

The three-dimensional analysis of CDA that is coined by Norman Fairclough consist of text analysis, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). In text analysis analyzing the linguistic features such as positive-negative connotations considering the metaphor and rhetorical tropes and word choice (noun, verb, adjectives) in western news media about Bangladesh protest. A text analysis by Abidin et al. (2022) revealing the representation of China and America in CNBC Indonesia news during the south China sea conflict using CDA approach by analyzing the word choice (noun, verb, adjective) of a discourse. It is explained that the function of analyzing the word choice consist of noun, verb, adjective, and adverb is to reveal the implied meaning and the literal meaning in the discourse. the word class of the word choice also has its function, noun group related to how the participant of the event is represented, verb group is related to how the event represented, and the adverb has a function to reveal how the situation is represented. The result of analyzing the word choice in the study, there is a negative representation of CNBC Indonesia toward China and positive representation toward USA. Revealing positive-negative connotation through the rhetorical tropes can reveal how news media shape social identity and reality through language.

Discursive Practice

The discursive practice dimensions involves various aspect of processes of text production and text consumption (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough also focuses the discursive practice on the editorial procedures involved in producing media text and how the text is made, distribute, and interpretation of the audience. Study by Shu-li and Ying (2024) analyze discursive practice of youth's view of marriage in Chinese mainstream

media. in the discursive practice part, they explore how news media draws a reference to other text, it can be found that Chinese mainstream media using related person as the reference. This shown that the news is objective and guarantees the reality of the news toward an issue. In recent study on Bangladesh protest, the discursive practice tries to reveal the news production of the news article, how it distributes to society, how the news media draws the reference to other text (intertextual), and how newsreader interpret the western news media about Bangladesh protest.

Sociocultural Practice

The last dimension of Three-dimensional CDA by Norman Fairclough is socio cultural practice. Discourse is a product of social structure and individual experience, which in terms of discourse in news media, social sociocultural practice is dimension where social context influences the production of media. Then, the result of sociocultural analysis shapes the reader's point of view and aligns with the journalist's desired point of view. A study by Fatinova et al (2024) analyzing the construction of gender equality in Arab news media through Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA. In the socio-cultural section, they explained the broader context of a construction of gender equality in Arab where woman has the same rights as men, then they revealed the ideology that the journalists have. The study reveals that because of the concern of the issue is gender equality, it created pros and cons between men with masculinity ideology and women with feminism ideology. Thus, the production of news media made by male and female journalist appear to be different even they report the same concern. It is because there are pros and cons of both genders, which makes them defend the position of their respective genders, which is influence the production of news media. in the recent study, the researchers are looking for ideologies that influence on western news production reporting Bangladesh protest 2024.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research using three-dimensional CDA by Norman Fairclough. Considering this research is about representation of Bangladesh protest in Western news media, the research data consist only western online news article broadcasted by The New York Times, The Guardian, Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Fox News. The news text data were collected by searching the related news in the news

official website with keyword “Bangladesh”. The search only focused in the news that reported Bangladesh protest between July and August 2024, resulted there are 117 news articles in 5 news broadcasts. After that, the selection of news was focused only on fulfilling the news selection criteria, where the news selected was news that reported when the riots peaked and news about the causalities of the riots. Resulting only 5 news were chosen. The news text then transcribed and critically read by putting attention to the word, phrases, and sentences that indicates representation of social identity in the actor of Bangladesh protest 2024, then marking the word choice specifically noun, verb, and adjective. The word choices intended to find how the western news represented the actor Bangladesh protest by the nouns, how the western news represented the protest by its verb, and how western media represented the situation of the protest by its adjectives that associate with Bangladesh protest in the news article to reveal the connotative and denotative meaning in purpose to strengthen if there is any representation of social identity that implied in the text. Also, positive and negative connotation are searched in this study by looking at the rhetorical tropes such as metaphor, simile, hyperbole, irony, etc. Then the collected data is critically discussed using Fairclough CDA model.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The protest issue in Bangladesh is a series of anti-government demonstrations against the government of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina which occurred from 2022 to 2024. At the beginning of the protest in 2022, tens of thousands of Bangladeshis gathered in Dhaka City Bangladesh to demand the resignation of Sheikh Hasina as prime minister of Bangladesh due to the soaring prices of daily necessities and the effects of inflation caused by the Russia - Ukraine war. Moreover, violence against protesters continued to escalate in October and November 2023, killing 2 protesters.

In 2024 the Bangladesh government under the leadership of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina continued the quota system of Bangladesh Civil Service policy. which is to say that Bangladesh’s civil service quota system only offers civil service positions to certain groups of people, such as people who are descended from Bangladesh's independence war heroes, religious, ethnic minorities, people living in disadvantaged areas or unrecognized districts, and people with disabilities. The reauthorized system certainly raises thousands of critiques and ignited the anger of the Bangladeshi public which led to massive-scale

protests demanding a revolution against the system which was considered to minimize the opportunity for a quota system based on merit. The protests became more massive in a short period of time due to the dissatisfaction of the people of Bangladesh with the performance of their government, which failed to address the decline in economic conditions, corruption, and human rights violations. this time the protest was the worst protest because the government also put pressure on demonstrators with the closure of all schools, internet blackouts, blocking social media in Bangladesh, and the use of sharp weapons and firearms against demonstrators. for this on August 2, 2024 it was confirmed that there were casualties including 215 deaths, more than 20,000 injured, and more than 11,000 arrests of demonstrators. In addition, it is rumored that Bangladesh prime minister Sheikh Hasina fled to India which made the demonstrators even angrier.

Therefore, the Western news media such as BBC, Fox News, The New York Times, VoA, and The Guardian has broadcasted the issue intensively regarding the protests and the violence that occurred during the protests. The coverage is concerned with depicting what is happening in the midst of government issues and demonstrations in Bangladesh. However, the news media is not always objective, they often contain ideology to affect the reader. The news media's lack of objectivity is clearly when they cover an issue that relates to the issue in the news media's home country as it seen on the several studies above. Therefore, it raises the question of how news media report on an issue that does not relate to the country of origin of the news media. Therefore, it is important to analyze how the western media reported and represented the unrest in Bangladesh. From the data that has been collected and analyzed, it has been found that the riots that occurred were portrayed negatively, especially the Bangladeshi government.

Text Analysis

The text analysis shows the negative representation of western media on the Bangladesh protest issue. These negative representations are found in how actors are represented in noun, how actions are represented in verb, and how conditions are represented in adjective, It is found that the western news media negatively represented the Bangladeshi government and supported the demonstrators' actions with a positive narrative, this is because the western media reported this issue with the ideological perspective of the western nation which is more inclined to democracy, where this democracy is in line with the actions carried out by the demonstrators and reverses the

totalitarianism ideology carried out by Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. This findings are in line with previous research by Abidin et al. (2022) which found a bad representation of China in the South China Sea (SCS) conflict and a positive representation for the American state on CNBC's coverage. This can happen because the origin of CNBC itself comes from America, which is where CNBC also writes narratives about the South China Sea issue using the point of view from U.S. ideology. The following discussion consist of (a) news tittle, (b) negative story tone, (c) discrimination, (d) state violence, (e) ideology, and (f) political interference

News Title

News title is the crucial component in making news article. News tittle often contain hyperbolic phrases that triggering emotions to the reader to attract public attention. In 2024 Bangladesh unrest western news media using hyperbolic phrases to its tittle to grabs their reader's attention and trigger negative perception to the issue.

(1) “Drenched in blood - how Bangladesh protests turned deadly”

In data (1) the journalist writes the tittle with hyperbolic tittle that implies negative connotation of the condition. By the tittle, the media tries to tell the reader where the protest in Bangladesh is no longer a safe demo, instead it turned into chaotic demonstration. The word “drenched in blood” that classified as hyperbole that imply negative connotation which can be interpreted as an attempt of news media to exaggerated the condition that giving an idea to the reader about the protest that should be peaceful became a protest that involving physical violence, chaotic condition, and not anymore seeking for justice. The negative connotation is clarified by the adjective “deadly” which means that the protest resulted in loss of life.

(2) “Bangladesh student protests turn into ‘mass movement against a dictator’”

Data (2) presented the protest conditions have changed to a massive scale with more serious issues. The main problem of Bangladesh protest 2024 is because of the reinstatement of a job quota system that only available of certain groups. The protest began among students that represented in the tittle “student” who protested that the new job quota policy killing the opportunities for the general public. Then the word “turn” indicates the protest that continuously escalates into bigger issue with bigger participation that realized by its noun “mass” indicates the participant of the protest is no longer only

students but also civilians of Bangladesh joined the protest. The noun “dictator” is a term used for representing the Prime Minister Hasina leadership during she ruling the country which considered unfair by the Bangladeshi.

Negative story tone

The story tone is the tone of the story that chosen by news media to build a representation of Bangladesh 2024 unrest. The tone of the story in Bangladesh unrest 2024 are mainly negative realized through the word choice to depict the situation in Bangladesh in the middle of unrest.

- (3) “Crackdown began in response and campuses descended into bloody battlefields, leaving about 200 people dead and thousands injured.”

Data (3) implies a negative connotation that highlight the condition and the casualty of the protest. The word “crackdown” has a negative connotation that suggesting harsh and implying violence and use of force rather than peaceful demonstration. The word “descended” imply the condition of the demonstration that become worse. The phrase “bloody battlefield” depicting the ongoing protests as if they were a war involving physical contact resulting in many injuries and deaths.

- (4) “Bangladesh, meanwhile, remains under an indefinite curfew, causing devastation to livelihoods”

In data (4) in the sentence of the news media stated the regulations made by Bangladesh officials are detrimental to the people of Bangladesh. This can be seen in the word "Bangladesh" as a word to represent the entire Bangladeshi community as victims who suffer from the Bangladeshi government which makes regulations on the implementation of curfew, which is ambiguous and there is no follow-up by the Bangladeshi government which is represented in the word "indefinite". In addition, the verb "remain" indicates continuity, which can be interpreted that this situation will continue without any end. The consequences of this regulation can be clearly seen in the text in the adjective "devastation" which can be interpreted as a word that describes the destruction or extreme damage to the economic sector mentioned in the word "livelihoods". Overall, this sentence giving a negative tone that suggest endless suffering without any indication of improvement.

Discriminations

Discrimination is an act of unfairness and unequal treatment toward individual based on their race, gender, religion, age, and ethnics. Western news media in reporting 2024 Bangladesh unrest showing the act of discrimination during the unrest. This of course labeled as negative representation when facing problems with the government but instead take discriminatory actions.

- (5) “Bangladesh has descended into chaos following the shock departure of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on Monday, with religious minorities targeted as riots spread throughout the country.”

In data (5) the western news media represent the protest in Bangladesh with discrimination against minorities. The phrase “religious minorities” positioned as victims of discrimination. where the discrimination is only felt by religiously oriented minorities. The word “targeted” refers to the religious minorities as the main target of the discrimination. The phrase “spread throughout the country” is a verb phrase where if we break it down it consists of “spread” as verb and “throughout the country” as additional information of the verb. That phrase implies acts of discrimination do not only occur in one place, but occur throughout the country. From the textual analysis breakdown above, we can clearly see that the representation of western news media to Bangladesh protest has elements of discrimination and reflects the anti-sentiment of Bangladeshi people towards religious minorities.

- (6) “The ruling Awami League party, which Hasina led, is a secular group, but rivals often view Hindus as their supporters – making them prime targets for their anger in the wake of the prime minister’s flight.”

In data (6) the news media highlighted the bias perception toward Hindus. In the news article noun “Hindus” represented as vulnerable target and the main victim which is thought to be the supporters of Awamu League. The opponent group that targeted Hindus in the news article are not specifically mentioned. Instead, the news writer presented them as “rival” which can be interpreted the word “rival” is related to the protester and opposition party as the main actor of a group that harboring anger toward Hindus. But in the news media it cannot be found why exactly the rival put their anger toward Hindus, what can be found in the text is verb “view” that suggest perception or bias from rival toward the Hindus that influential in driving hostility. This condition is worsened by adjective “prime target” that means the Hindus are deliberately chosen for hostility by

their rival. Overall, In the text reveals bias in perceptions toward Hindus, by portraying them as victim due to association with Awami League. The opponents who target Hindus is portrayed ambiguously and the hostility of Hindu is driven by perception or bias which indicates the anti-sentiment toward Hindu

State violence

Western news media in reporting Bangladesh unrest 2024 showing the state violence to the protester and journalist. This state violence represented in 2024 Bangladesh unrest are refers to the use of force and aggression performed by police and security forces.

- (7) “One student said demonstrators in the capital Dhaka just wanted to hold a peaceful rally, but the police "ruined" it by attacking them as they were gathering”

In data (7) the news media showing the reader about depicting the disappointment of protester toward the police officers. In the text, the noun “demonstrator” is framed as peaceful cooperative participant that showing their non-violent intention. While the noun “police” is presented as an aggressor and someone that responsible for the peaceful rally that had been ruined. The negative action of the police is clearly seen in the verb “ruined” and verb “attacking” which can be interpreted that the action of the police officers conveys violence and aggression toward the cooperative demonstration that tried to build peaceful demonstration. This action by the police officers in Bangladesh protest toward Hasina also convey an irony where a police officers expected to protect and maintain peace which that is the main task of the police officers, but turns out take an action that do not match the expectation as police officer by doing violence and ruined peaceful rally. Even worse, the adjective “Gathering” means the condition of the protester as they were still forming or still bringing another protester to join. It implies that the police already attacking them before the protester started the demonstration as they were still gathering.

- (8) “Journalists were beaten, forced to delete images from their cameras, and struck by pellets fired by police while reporting on the unrest that started in June and intensified in July.”

In data (8) the news media portrays another state violence with another victims. The actors in the text are of journalist and police with different representation. The noun “journalist” presented as victims of violence and neutral because the reporter only performing their duty. While noun “Police” is negatively represented by enacting force and repression to journalist that clearly seen in the verb that related to the police action.



The verb that closely related to the police is “fired”, “beaten”, “forced”, and “struck”. All of these verbs that related to police conveys a physical violence to the journalist. Interpretatively, the word “fired” indicates the use of gun to the protester. However, the text says the journalist were struck by pellets fired by police, which means the police consciously aimed their gun to the journalist as if journalists were also their main targets. This violence act toward the journalist of course it raises a question ‘why would the police do such thing?’ the answer of this question actually already seen in the text in phrase “delete images”. Which can be interpreted that the police action referred to violation of press freedom and media censorship where suppress an information, limit transparency, and the police seems want to hide something from the public.

Ideology

Ideology is the ideas or the principle that applied to politics and policy. In the 2024 Bangladesh unrest, western news media reveal the ideologies espoused by the Prime Minister Hasina and the protesters. The media showing the ideology that espoused by Prime Minister Hasina and the protester as the backgrounding their movement in Bangladesh 2024 unrest.

(9) “These protests are a sign of the struggle between democracy and Hasina’s move towards complete totalitarianism”

Data (9) shows the protesters’ ideological resistance to Hasina’s government movement. The word “protests” refers to the action of the protester, it can be seen that the noun “protest” also refer to protester who align with larger democratic struggle, the protester and the action portrayed as heroic defenders and democracy which given positive representation align with the ideology of western news media that is democracy. The word “Hasina” and “Totalitarianism” is very closely related, it is because Hasina is an actor who wants to rule the country to a complete Totalitarianism. Also, both of them is represented negatively. “Hasina” is an actor that represented negatively through her movement that implies she put Bangladesh toward an absolute control which threat freedom and human rights. While “totalitarianism” negatively represented through the western ideological bias where totalitarianism viewed as extreme authoritarianism which the government has a complete control over public and private life unlike democracy that has a characteristic of political freedom and individual rights.

Political interference

Political interference refers to the influence or manipulation of state's government and institution by political actors. In western news media it showed the political interference that conduct by Prime Minister Hasina as her maneuver ruling her country in making a policy, which interpreted negatively because it narrated Hasina forced to control the nation

(10) "While it was a decision made by the courts, it was seen by many as a thinly veiled political maneuver by the prime minister, Sheikh Hasina, who has a tight grip over the judiciary"

In data (10) the news media highlighted how bad the condition is in Bangladesh by revealing the manipulation maneuver conducted by Prime Minister Hasina that caused the unrest to occur. The main actor of this action describes as noun "Prime Minister" which is Hasina by this text is presented as a manipulative political figure. The manipulative action toward the judiciary of Hasina is clearly described in verb "grip" and reinforced the by adjective "tight" which can be interpreted as Hasina try to dominate and took control of the court with an oppressive control that does not give anyone the slightest opportunity to control the judiciary and gives the impression of silencing the public. However, in the verb "seen" the news media writer tries to avoid 'claim' in the narrative. Instead, the news writer giving the reader an indication of public skepticism toward Hasina.

Discursive Practice

Discursive practice focusing on how text is produced, distributed, and interpreted. Discursive practice reveals the function of intertextuality in news media to reveal which opinion in news media that often appears or which opinion that is more prioritized in Western news media reporting Bangladesh unrest 2024. Finally, in discursive practice also reveal how the news media is distributed and interpret by public.

Intertextuality or external text that can be form of references that incorporate in news articles such as government statement, expert opinion, etc. The main function of analyzing the intertext is to reveal how news media build a narrative and how news media shape public perception of an issue. In 2024 Bangladesh unrest, western news media including The New York Times, The Guardian, Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Fox News were found to using quotes obtained directly from the

protesters, quoting from another news article, and statements from international organization such as UN, UNESCO, and The Vienna-based International Press Institute. Also, there are several statements from foreign governments that is found regarding to Bangladesh unrest 2024 such as Indian Minister of External Affairs, The U.S. State Department, and EU Ambassador to Bangladesh.

Example 1

"Police attacked students by throwing tear gas shells after 11:30am. At that moment, a few students picked up those tear gas shells and threw them back towards the policemen," was how she described it.

The quotation above were taken from one of the protesters that found in BBC news media. The quotation that was taken from the protester also can be frequently found in every Western news media that is being analysed. This kind of discoveries also found in study from Shu-li and Ying (2024) where the China mainstream media using related person as reference to the news article. It means that the Western news media provides a perspective directly from those who are actually involved in the protest. It also indicates that the Western news media reporting this issue by bottom-up narrative where the news article prioritizing public's critique toward Bangladesh Government by exposing a true action and true problem that been said by the protester that might be suppressed by the Bangladesh Government.

Example 2

"The U.N. Human Rights Commission and international watchdogs are calling on Bangladesh's interim government to allow media to work without fear of attack, and to ensure accountability for attacks on journalists."

At example 2, the quotation above were taken from one of the international organizations that is United Nation Human Rights Commission. In the Western news media, a quotation from international organization is often appear in their news articles reporting Bangladesh unrest 2024. By quoting from international organization, Western news media tries to legitimize its narrative by providing quotes from international organizations. In addition, the western media made a regional issue in Bangladesh raised to an international issue that has global attention, and also became a criticism of the Bangladesh government presented with quotes from international organizations which means that the world's international bodies hold accountable for Bangladesh's governance.

From these findings and explanations, it can be seen that the opinions of demonstrators and international organizations are more dominant. Whereas the opinion of the Bangladeshi government was not found in all western news media coverage of the 2024 Bangladesh unrest. This shows that Western news media prioritise the protester and the external statement from international organization in making news article. This emphasis on the voices of protesters reflects a larger discursive approach in Western media to elevate popular opinion at times of turmoil abroad. In doing so, Western media suggest that the opinion of commoners is a moral high ground and criticize other regimes when they are seen to silence these voices. In the case of Example 2, quotes from international entities, such as the United Nations Human Rights Commission, create intertextual implications that confer even greater authority on the critique, with those international bodies allegedly aligned in some way. By adding the participation of international organizations to their stories on issues within specific regions, Western media outlets signal that this is not just a Bangladesh problem but something broader. This is a common approach in Western media, where international organizations are presented as impartial or beyond reproach.

In addition, with a quotation (intertextuality) that only consist of the statement from protester and international organisations, it shows the Western news media made a critique narrative toward Bangladesh government and implies the supportiveness to the protesters action as a form of strengthening the idea of democracy in Bangladesh and as a form of rejection to totalitarianism. The way the story is told and its interpretation is affected by the omission, influencing both the narrative's construction and content. Without the government's perspectives, readers only see one side of the matter, with no direct responses from authorities. This approach may be seen as selective or lacking intertextual balance; upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that either the Bangladeshi government's version is intentionally excluded, or its credibility is entirely discounted.

Sociocultural Practice

After analysing from the textual aspect that explores the hidden meaning of language and continues to analyse discursive by paying attention to intertextuality in western news media to build narratives. The last dimension is socio-cultural practice

which explores how the text is connected to the social context and ideology in the news coverage of the Bangladesh 2024 unrest.

In the western media coverage of the 2024 Bangladesh unrest, it has been found that the western media is more inclined and supportive of the protester movement in Bangladesh by highlighting their struggle and highlighting the victims who fell in defence of justice in their country. As explained, the Bangladeshi protest movement is a response to the injustice committed by the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina in terms of the recruitment of state civil servants who is portrayed as a leader who implements totalitarianism in Bangladesh. Thus, the main reason western media favoured the protesters' movement was to oppose the totalitarianism system by making bad representations of the totalitarianism ideology and making positive representations of the protesters who supported the democratic system. This reflects the western media reporting on the issue of the 2024 Bangladesh riots through the lens of democracy as the ideology adopted by western countries.

In addition to creating a narrative with a western ideological perspective, the western media also portrayed the internal conditions of Bangladesh in a bad light. As evidenced by the western news narrative about internal matters in Bangladesh such as corruption, political repression, and economic inequality which seemed to be another reason for the riots, even though the main reason for these riots was the civil service recruitment system in Bangladesh. Furthermore, this bad internal view reinforces the bad representation of the Bangladesh government system led by Sheikh Hasina, namely totalitarianism. but in fact, according to Economics (2024) the Bangladesh economic growth rate of 6,5% in decade to 2023, which above the 4,3% average for Asia-Pacific region. The data shows the increase in Bangladesh's economy under Sheikh Hasina's government, which is good news for Bangladesh. But the western news narrative does not write about it. Seeing the bad representation of the western country and Bangladesh's economic growth data, shows the ideological bias in making western news narratives about the riots and the condition of Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION

The result of the study showed that the Western news media portray the Bangladesh 2024 unrest reflect an ideological bias. Based on the text analysis, the authorities of

Bangladesh such as police, security guards, and their Prime Minister are negatively represented in the western news article by building a negative narrative using the noun “oppressive” and “violent”. The action of the authorities of Bangladesh identical with verb “ruined” and “attack” which it reinforces the actor representation in Western news media. Otherwise, the protester of 2024 Bangladesh protest is framed positively by word “injured” and “wounded” which implies a victimhood. Also, the positive representation of the protester is because their action is aligned with the ideology, which the Western country preferred democracy over totalitarianism. The selection of sources in Western news media regarding to this issue, that they predominantly using quotes from protester and international organization. This selective intertextuality builds a narrative that supports democratic ideals while criticizing Bangladesh government. The sociocultural impact that influence the making of this news media is that Western news media not only they criticize Bangladesh’s internal policies but it also building a negative image of totalitarianism by building a narrative of the country’s poor governance and poor societal conditions. This research can answer the question of how news media from other countries (outsider), which have no direct connection or involvement in the issue, represent the issue. From this analysis, it can be seen that outside countries, especially the west, represent issues in Bangladesh with their ideological point of view, by building narratives that have negative connotations and criticizing the government system that is not in line with their ideological understanding of democracy. In addition, this also makes the impression that the ideology adopted by the western nation is superior to the ideology adopted by the Bangladeshi government, namely totalitarianism.

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