

**MANUFACTURING CONSENT OVER
STATEHOOD RECOGNITION:
THE NEW YORK TIMES COVERAGE OF
PALESTINE AND KOSOVO STATEHOOD
RECOGNITION**

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by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BTC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CoE	The Council of Europe
CPI	The Committee on Public Information
EU	The European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
ICC	The International Criminal Court
ICJ	The International Court of Justice
IDF	The Israeli Defense Forces
IMC	Independent Media Centres
ISG	International Steering Group
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LPK	The People's Movement of Kosovo
Op-Ed	Opinion Editorial
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<i>NYT</i>	The New York Times
PA	The Palestinian Authority
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PM	Propaganda Model
U.N.	The United Nations
UNGA	The United Nations General Assembly
UNMIK	The United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo
U.S.	The United States of America
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

**MENCIPTA PERSETUJUAN TERHADAP PENGIKTIRAFAN
KENEGARAAN; LIPUTAN THE NEW YORK TIMES TERHADAP
PENGIKTIRAFAN PALESTINE DAN KOSOVO**

ABSTRAK

Media arus perdana dalam masyarakat demokratik memainkan peranan utama dalam membentuk persepsi khalayak, terutama berkaitan dengan hal ehwal luar negara. Ia mempunyai keupayaan untuk "mencipta" persetujuan orang awam terhadap dasar luar negara. Pengiktirafan antarabangsa oleh kuasa-kuasa besar dunia (iaitu Amerika Syarikat) adalah sangat berpengaruh. Dasar luar negara A.S. terhadap pengiktirafan kenegaraan Palestine dan Kosovo merupakan contoh yang jelas amalan pilih kasih pentadbiran A.S. Walaupun kedua-dua negara memenuhi kriteria minimum kenegaraan, A.S. menentang pengiktirafan Negara Palestina dan menyokong Kosovo. Kajian ini meneliti cara *New York Times (NYT)* – sehal akhbar A.S. yang dominan mencipta persetujuan berkenaan dengan dasar pengiktirafan negara asing A.S. Penyelidikan ini menggunakan Model Propaganda Herman dan Chomsky (1988) sebagai teras teori. Kajian ini meneliti perkara berbangkit berkenaan kecondongan dalam laporan dan ideologi. Seterusnya, tiga pemboleh ubah disiasat: tahap pergantungan pada sumber berita rasmi A.S.; tahap perhatian yang diberikan pada isu-isu di teliti; dan interpretasi pelaku social dan amalan dalam wacana yang berkaitan. Dua analisis digunakan: analisis kandungan; dan Analisis Wacana Kritikal (CDA). Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa *NYT* menawarkan ketidakseimbangan perbincangan dalam liputan yang berkaitan. Ia lebih cenderung bergantung pada sumber berita rasmi A.S. dan menyokong pentadbiran luar negara berkaitan pengiktirafan kenegaraan. Tambahan lagi, kepentingan lebih banyak

diperuntukkan kepada Kosovo berbanding pengiktirafan Palestin. Percanggahan ini jelas melalui kandungan, kepadatan dan ruang liputan. Jenis perkara baru dan pengagihan pemberita di lapangan juga mendedahkan perbezaan dalam isu keutamaan. CDA mendedahkan pembinaan "kami" dan "mereka" yang dikotomi. Tiga kedudukan diskursif boleh dikenal pasti. Pertama, "diri sendiri" atau "kita" yang melihat legitimisasi atau de-legitimisasi menyokong atau menentang pengiktirafan suatu negara yang baru muncul. Mereka secara positif digamabarkan melalui pilihan leksikal dan peranan yang dilabel dan diperuntukkan kepada mereka masing-masing. Kedua, "musuh" atau "mereka" yang merupakan pihak lain yang menentang pandangan "diri". Mereka dikonstruksi sebagai tidak baik, tidak bermoral dan lemah. Ketiga, "korban" yang dibahagikan kepada dua posisi: "wajar" dan "tidak wajar". Mereka yang menerima akibat daripada "musuh" adalah lebih bersifat peribadi, kemanusiaan dan menjadi mangsa, oleh itu, mereka adalah "wajar" dikira mangsa, atau sebaliknya. Analisis ini juga menunjukkan pengaburan sejarah selau sistematik dan kontekstualisasi politik yang boleh mengubah pandangan audien. Dapat disimpulkan bahawa wacana *NYT* menggemakan suara dan mengikuti pendirian pentadbiran dasar luar negara AS terhadap pengiktirafan kenegaraan.

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ABSTRACT

The mainstream media in democratic societies play a key role in shaping the audience perceptions, especially in relation to international affairs. They have the ability to “manufacture” the public consent over the state’s foreign policies. Recognizing or opposing an emerging state is deemed one significant policy at the agenda of governments’ diplomatic foreign affairs. Still, the international recognition by superpower states (i.e. the United States) is influential. The U.S. foreign policy of Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognition constitutes a clear example of the administration’s double standards. Although both states fulfil the minimum criteria of statehood, the U.S. opposes the recognition of the State of Palestine and supports Kosovo’s one. This research examines how the *New York Times* (*NYT*)—as a dominant U.S. media—manufactures consent pertaining to the U.S. foreign policy of statehood recognition. The current research employs the Propaganda Model of Herman and Chomsky (1988) as a theoretical thrust. It examines the occurrence of both reporting and ideological biases. Subsequently, three variables are investigated: the degree of reliance on U.S. official news sources; the degree of attention paid to issues under scrutiny; and the representation of the social actors and practices within the related discourse. Both quantitative content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are adopted. The findings demonstrate that the *NYT* has offered a fake balance of voices within its related coverage. More reliance on news sources of U.S. officials and proponents of the administration’s foreign policy of statehood

recognition. Further, more prominence is allocated to Kosovo than Palestine recognition. The discrepancy is clear through the volume, intensity and placement of coverage. The type of news items and the distribution of the paper's correspondents on the field also reveal distinctions in issue prominence. The CDA reveals a dichotomous construction of "us" and "them". Three discursive positions could be identified. First, "the self" or "us" that sees a legitimization or de-legitimization of supporting or opposing a recognition of a given emerging state. The "Self/Us" are positively represented through lexical choices and roles labelled and allocated to them, respectively. Second, "the enemy" or "them" that constitutes the other camp who opposes "the self" point of view. They are unfavourably constructed, demoralized and undermined. Third, "the victims" who are divided into two positions: "worthy" and "unworthy". Those who are the outcome of "the enemy" are more personalized, humanized and victimized, thus, they are "worthy" victims, and vice versa. The analysis also illustrates a systematic obscuration of significant historical and political contextualization that could shift the audience related perceptions. It could be concluded that the *NYT* discourse is reverberating the voice and following the line of the U.S. administration's foreign policy of statehood recognition.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter constitutes the introduction of the current research study. It composes of eight main sections. The first includes the background of the study. It briefly introduces the critical view of news media performance in democratic societies. The following section presents the foreign policy of statehood recognition and its intersection with the international law. More details are offered in three related subsections with reference to the adopted case studies and the United States (U.S.) pertaining foreign policy of statehood recognition. The third section states the current research's problem. The two sections that follow are communicated with the research's objectives and questions. As for the sixth section, it details the significance of the study. The seventh section determines the scope of the study. Lastly, the eighth section offers a visualization of the alignment between research objectives, questions and data analysis.

1.1 Background of the Study

In an ideal democratic society, the media constitute a platform of information between the ruling elites and the public. The media watch the performance of the policymakers and inform the public with the process of policymaking (Boaz, 2005). In so doing, the media are tools of the public to debate and express contentment or discontent of the ruling class. In this sense, the media are not involved in the policymaking process. They are not participants in this process, but they are the eye of the public. However, in the real world, the media are tools of propaganda. They are tools in the hands of ruling elites (p. 349). The media, thus, participate in the

process of policymaking to gain the public support. Their support over the state's policies is obligatory in contemporary democratic systems.

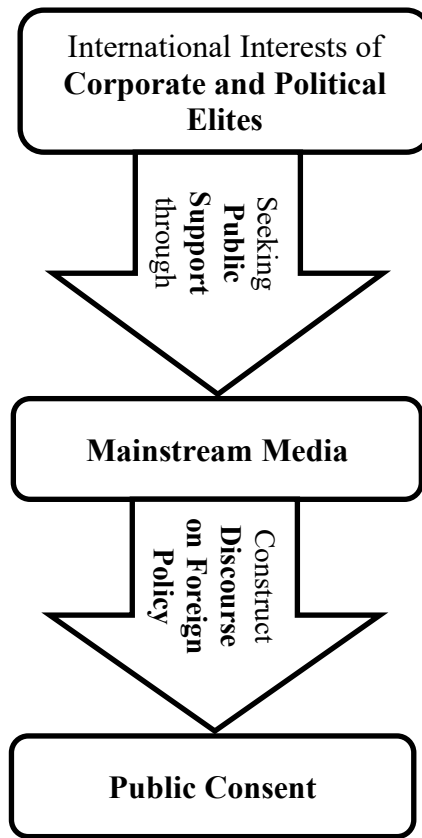


Figure 1.1 The Critical View on Mainstream Media Performance in Democratic Societies

*Notes: Developed from Lippmann (1922); Bennett (1990); Zaller and Chiu (1996); Herman and Chomsky (1988; 2002); Kennis (2015a; 2015b)

News media are deemed the chief source of information to the public especially about international events. The public relies overwhelmingly on the mainstream media to shape their perceptions about international affairs. The mainstream media, therefore, play a key role in promoting the state's foreign affairs. Figure 1.1 illustrates the relationship between the political elites, the mainstream media and the public in a capitalist democratic society vis-à-vis the state's foreign affairs. In this linear relationship, the performance of mainstream media is seen as "following" the interests of the government (Muravchik, 1985). In other words, this

performance is a “reflection” of the state involvement, interests and commitment (p. 11).

The news media performance with respect to the foreign policies of democratic governments is best interpreted as the phenomenon of “manufacturing consent”. This notion was first used by Walter Lippmann (1922) as a concept that critically describes functional democratic governments. In 1988, it was again employed by Herman and Chomsky in a way that introduces mainstream media in capital democracies as powerful ideological organizations (see Chapter 2). Manufacturing consent could be defined as the process of gaining the public support—by means of mainstream media—over the state’s foreign policies that serve the interests of political elites. The news media construct their discourses in a way that promotes the elites’ agendas.

Critical media scholars, at the main, have devoted their efforts to assess media behaviour in reporting international conflicts, political crises and natural disasters (see Chapter 2). More attention was paid to study the phenomenon of manufacturing the public’s consent over the foreign policy of military and humanitarian interventions. Still, there is a noticeable dearth in scholarly research that examine how the public consent is manufactured in relation to foreign policies of diplomacy (i.e. statehood recognition). Albeit statehood recognition at the present time is subject to diplomatic relations among states, the international law contains criteria determine which entities are eligible to be upgraded to states. It is crucial, therefore, to initially clarify the intersection between governments’ foreign diplomacy and international law on the topic of statehood recognition.

1.2 Statehood Recognition: A Foreign Policy

Creating a state and consequently having it recognized by the international community is a debatable issue. It is subject to political considerations and certain legal criteria. In fact, the overlapping between political agendas and international law complicates the process of recognizing an entity as a state. After the World War II ended, a major trend in the field of international law has taken the position of considering statehood recognition as a question of policy—not of a law (Lauterpacht, 1947). At present, this orientation is still strongly supported. Rich (1993) emphasizes that statehood recognition is becoming more optional and at states' discretion (p. 36; see also Panganiban, 2016). Yet, it is worthy to introduce the main school of thoughts in terms of statehood recognition. Two theories are the most relevant, namely: the Declarative; and the Constitutive.

States—especially of the superpowers—increasingly occupy significant positions in international organizations designing treaties, directing the flow of world's economy and producing policy discourses (Grant, 1999, p. 403). In this sense, they also contribute in defining what a “state” means. In 1933, Montevideo Convention—ratified by 16 American countries, including the U.S.—has offered the most accepted definition of a state at this time. Four basic components have to exist in an entity in order to be recognized as a state: a permanent population; a defined territory; an independent government; and the willingness to get involved in international relations (Dixon, 2005, pp. 105-108). These minimum components are the main premise of the Declarative theory of statehood recognition.

As for the Constitutive theory, it postulates that an entity will be upgraded to a state if “merely” another state recognizes it (Crawford, 1990). This orientation,

however, drives to “extreme subjectivity” in statehood recognition, where third-party states are not obligated to follow suit. Contemporary political systems mostly reject the Constitutive theory in relation to statehood recognition, therefore (p. 309). Scholars of international law have been calling for not being limited to these two theories. Several attempts have been invested to define states and when they should be recognized.

Boyle (1988; 1990) argues that it is much more important to concentrate on the independence of a state as a prerequisite instead of meeting the criteria of Montevideo Convention. In this sense, he sees that for an entity to be eligible for independence, it must have a self-governing body independently ruling a specific territory. Essentially, this territory must not be subject to other state’s right of self-governing. Maass (2009) refers to the entities struggling to be internationally recognized as “small states”. The reference has no relation with the size of the state. Small states are those who lack the components to be members in the international system of states. So, for a small state to be recognized, it is not required to be a member of the United Nations (U.N.). But it must simultaneously meet the criteria of Montevideo Convention and attain its independence (p. 69). Maass (2009) somehow combines the Declarative theory with Boyle’s (1988; 1990) notion of independence.

Recently, Panganiban (2016) has found that the most important component to achieve a full statehood recognition is by receiving a unilateral acceptance and/or abstention from the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Namely, the U.S., Britain, France, Russia and China. Such a conclusion leads to frame the process of statehood recognition as a political foreign policy more than being an exercise of international law. In other words, statehood recognition is

strongly affected by international relations with superpower states. This also demonstrates how much a recognition by a superpower state, such as the U.S., is influential and determinant.

In this research, two case studies of statehood recognition are adopted for juxtaposition, namely: Palestine; and Kosovo. The selection is purposive. Both states are not full members at the U.N. and their applications at the UNSC were threatened to be vetoed. Both states need the support of the permanent members of the UNSC in order to be upgraded to full U.N. member states. However, the State of Kosovo was immediately recognized by the U.S. after it has declared its independence in February 2008. Britain and France recognize it, too. But Russia and China are against its independence and consequently its recognition. Meanwhile, the State of Palestine is still not recognized by the U.S. although it has been upgraded into an observer state at the U.N. in November 2012. Neither France nor Britain officially recognize the State of Palestine. However, it has been recognized by Russia and China since 1988. The following subsections show how both states—Palestine and Kosovo—are deemed states by international law. They meet the criteria of statehood outlined in Montevideo Convention, the Constitutive theory, Boyle's (1988; 1990) notion of independence and the notion of "small states" by Maass (2009).

1.2.1 The State of Palestine

A permanent population is the first criterion of Montevideo Convention. By 1914, there were approximately 595,550 indigenous inhabitants in what became Mandatory Palestine (McCarthy, 1990, p. 10). After the 1948 War, a total of almost 740,000 Palestinians were living in what is now called "the Palestinian Territories" (Tessler,

2009). About half of this population were Palestinian refugees escaped from other parts of Mandatory Palestine after the war (p. 458). By 2019, the population in the State of Palestine is estimated around 5, 273,000 (see www.countrymeters.info). They are Palestinians residing within the Palestinian Territories (the West Bank and Gaza Strip). However, more than 5.5 million Palestinians are still refugees in the neighbouring Arab countries. Over 25.0% of them live in refugee camps (see www.worldpopulationreview.com).

According to Boyle (2013), the Palestinian population composes of an “original” inhabitants and occupants. He sees that they are certainly form a distinguishable population due to being permanent and determinate (p. 59). They are also ethnically homogenous despite that the Convention does not require such a characteristic (Quigley, 2010, p. 209). The State of Palestine, thus, fulfils the first criterion of Montevideo Convention.

The State of Palestine meets also the second criterion of Montevideo Convention: a defined territory. The Palestinian territories—including East Jerusalem—represent almost a 22.0% of Mandatory Palestine (Negotiation Affairs Department, 2011). The Green Line is considered the border that separates the Palestinian territories from Israel. It is an internationally recognized border following the signature of the armistice agreements between Israel, Jordan and Egypt after the 1948 War and the creation of the State of Israel on 78% of Mandatory Palestine. Notwithstanding the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian Territories, the territorial integrity of Palestine has been recognized through the 242 UNSC Resolution that calls for an immediate Israeli withdrawal. Besides, if a territory is being disputed by another state, this territory can still exist (Crawford, 2006). So, being occupied

should not bring the existence of a state into question (p. 52). An advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) also confirms that Palestine has a defined territory (ICJ Advisory Opinion, July 9, 2004). Further, Montevideo Convention does not state that the territory must be with fixed borders (Panganiban, 2016). Consequently, the State of Palestine meets the second criterion (p. 65).

The existence of an independent government is the third criterion within Montevideo Convention. Two UNGA resolutions—3210 and 3236—recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. Moreover, the UNGA offered the PLO an observer status in 1974 through the 3237 Resolution (see UNGA, Question of Palestine). In November 2012, the UNGA also passed a resolution upgrading Palestine status from an observer entity into an observer state (see UNGA Resolution 67/19). Based on this resolution, the Palestinian Authority (PA) is officially replaced by the “State of Palestine”. In June 2014, the Palestinian political parties have formed a unity government in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Most importantly, the European Union (EU), the U.S., China and the U.N. recognize this government. Even if there is a government that does not exercise a full control over its territories, this government will remain considered effective according to Montevideo Convention (see Vidmar, 2013).

The State of Palestine also meets the fourth criterion of the convention. It shows a capacity in establishing relations with other states. By August 2018, the State of Palestine has achieved bilateral recognition with 137 states. It also has 77 embassies, three consulates and 19 representations abroad. Further, it hosts eight consulates and 41 representations (see www.embassypages.com/palestine). In general, Palestine is deemed a state following the Declarative theory of statehood

recognition. It lacks full control over its borders, but this does not affect the legitimacy of its statehood creation (Pitta, 2018, p. 39).

Palestine also meets the requirement of the Constitutive theory. It enjoys bilateral recognition of other states. By 1990, more than 100 state have officially recognized it (Crawford, 1990, p. 309). Besides, it is a member of a number of international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Moreover, it has ratified a number of international treaties such as of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Even if Boyle's (1988; 1990) notion of independence and the notion of "small state" by Maass (2009) are followed, Palestine will meet these prerequisites of statehood creation. The State of Palestine has declared its independence since 1988. Palestine is also a state following Maass (2009) argument as it meets Montevideo criteria along with achieving the declaration of independence.

In the same vein, Quigley (2011) upholds the conclusion that Palestine is a state according to the international law. He points out that the Palestinian people have sovereignty over the Palestinian territories started by the end of the British Mandate of historical Palestine. Thus, the Palestinians have the right to establish a continual statehood. Further, there is no other group of people claiming sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The U.N. also regards Palestine as a state.

1.2.2 The State of Kosovo

Kosovo has also a permanent population. It is ethnically diverse with a majority of ethnic Albanians and a minority of ethnic Serbs. By 2019, they are estimated to be around 1, 809,000 inhabitants residing within Kosovo's boundaries (see

www.countrymeter.info). Kosovo is also a defined territory. Its borders were determined in 1946 as a part of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The then Yugoslavian Constitution has defined Kosovo's territory to be administratively separated from the Socialist Republic of Serbia (Panganiban, 2016). Kosovo was one of the seven Yugoslav republics, where it enjoyed an autonomous status (pp. 56-57). At the present time, Kosovo's borders are fixed and internationally recognized (Elise, 2015, p. 7).

Despite that it is not widely agreed that Kosovo government is fully independent (see Perara, 2018), the country's Constitution—created in 2008—states that Kosovo is “multi-party parliamentary represented democratic republic”. It could be argued that Kosovo's institutions are not strongly effective (Panganiban, 2016). Still, its government meets the basic criterion of Montevideo Convention. As for Kosovo's capacity to establish international relations, it also meets this criterion. By 2019, Kosovo enjoys a bilateral recognition of 118 states (see www.kosovothankyou.com). It has 27 embassies, 15 consulates and two representations abroad. The country also hosts 22 embassies, six consulates and six representations (see www.embassypages.com/kosovo). Following the Declarative theory of statehood recognition, Kosovo, as well, is deemed a state.

Kosovo also meets the only requirement of the Constitutive theory, which is to be recognized by another state. The fourth criterion of Montevideo Convention demonstrates that Kosovo is a state according to the Constitutive theory. In addition, it is a member of several international organizations and treaties such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Further, according to Boyle's (1988; 1990) notion of independence, Kosovo is also deemed a state. It has declared its

independence in 2008 establishing an organized self-governing community totally independent from Serbia. In fact, it is not the first time Kosovo declares its independence. In 1991, the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija—known shortly in the Constitution of Serbia as the Province of Kosovo—was declared as a sovereign and independent by the Assembly of Kosovo Province (Vidmar, 2009). Following that, the Assembly also held a referendum of independence. An overwhelming majority of voters—with a turnout of 87.0%—supported the Assembly’s declaration of independence (p. 789). Only the neighbouring Albania has recognized Kosovo at that time (Benson, 2004). Kosovo is also a state according to how Maass (2009) sees the minimum requirement of a statehood: meeting Montevideo criteria along with successfully declaring independence.

1.2.3 The U.S. Foreign Policy of Statehood Recognition: Palestine versus Kosovo

The U.S. is considered one of the leading democratic and capitalist systems at the present time. In fact, it is the only democratic country where no labour parties are involved in its political structure. Its foreign policies—whether trade, defense, foreign aid, intelligence, sanctions or diplomacy—are powerful and prominent. Within the context of achieving a fully independent and sovereign Palestinian state, the U.S. recognition plays a key role. By opposing the recognition of the State of Palestine, the U.S. is deemed the most important actor that prevents granting Palestine a sovereign status and full membership at the UNSC (Panganiban, 2016).

The U.S. opposes the Palestinian unilateral approach in pursuing a statehood. It also stands against the international unilateral recognition of the State of Palestine. Contrariwise, the unilateral declaration of Kosovo independence by the ethnic

Albanians was almost immediately supported. The U.N. Special Envoy to Kosovo encouraged adopting a unilateral plan to achieve Kosovo independence. To a great degree, the U.S. pushed forward in this direction. At the end, the unilateral approach in Kosovo has come to fruition. Recently, both parties—Kosovo and Serbia—has agreed on normalizing ties and relations (*BBC News*, August 26, 2015).

Such an outcome puts the U.S. opposition to Palestinian unilateral approach into question. To date, the U.S. insists on a bilateral approach to achieve a Palestinian statehood. Its official position from the Palestinian international progress is manifested in condemnation, disapproval and calling for non-preconditioned negotiations with Israel. According to Chomsky (2016), accepting the American offer means that the Palestinians will negotiate the Israelis while the illegal settlements keep their proliferation on the occupied Palestinian territories. He construes that the peace process will remain in the hands of the U.S., the senior ally to Israel, instead of being administrated by a relatively neutral state (pp. 138-139). Likewise, Falk (2013) sees the Palestinian refusal of the American request to negotiate without any preconditions is logically valid for two reasons. First, the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, adamantly continues the settlements' expansion, and therefore the negotiations have been halted by the Palestinians since September 2010. Second, the Palestinians basically have the right to search for alternative solutions that guarantee them achieving a full sovereign and independent statehood (p. xvii).

After the UNGA has upgraded the status of Palestine to an observer state in 2012, the Palestinian unilateral approach of achieving an independent Palestinian statehood started witnessing an international growing momentum of support. Sweden

(October 2014) and the Vatican (May 2015) have officially recognized the State of Palestine. A significant wave of European Parliamentary resolutions encouraging official recognition of Palestine (for instance: the British Parliament vote (October 2014); the French Parliament vote (December 2014); the European Parliament vote (December 2014)). At the same time, the European Parliament has also voted on reversing the terrorist labelling of Hamas. During the same period, Hamas and Fatah have signed the reconciliation agreement (April 2014) and consequently formed a national unity government in Gaza Strip and the West Bank (June 2014). They joined several significant international organizations and signed a number of international treaties (for instance: The International Criminal Court (ICC) (April 2015); the Rome Statute (January 2015); the U.N. Convention of the Law of the Sea (June 2016)).

As for the State of Kosovo, after the declaration of independence on February 2008, several events in relation to its unilateral approach of statehood have taken place. It has approved a new Constitution of the country (April 2008); applying to join the EU; negotiating with Serbia; first local elections (November 2009); Serbia's bid at the U.N. to revise Kosovo independence (October 2008). At the international level, the U.S. recognition of Kosovo (February 2008); the EU recognition of Kosovo; the triple recognition of Kosovo by Croatia, Hungary and Bulgaria (March 2008); the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the legality of Kosovo's independence (July 2010).

As a leading democratic country, the U.S. shows a double standard in terms of practicing its foreign policy of statehood recognition. Yet, the U.S. public opinion is determinant and has the power to gain support for the U.S. official recognition of Palestine statehood. It is crucial, therefore, to investigate how the U.S. administration

maintains its position of opposing Palestine's recognition in the face of the growing momentum of international support. On the other hand, it is also essential to examine how it supports Kosovo statehood against the voices of opposition, especially those of Serbia and its ally, Russia.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The U.S. is one of the superpower democratic countries whose public plays a key role with its political structure. Its foreign policies are deemed of a great influence. Statehood recognition is amongst these determinant foreign policies. At the Security Council of the U.N., the U.S.—as a permanent member—is one of those countries that have the right to veto upgrading an entity into a full member U.N. state.

Instead of following the criteria of International Law on this subject to determine the recognition of emerging states, the foreign policy rules. The foreign policy of statehood recognition of superpower states affects the right of self-determination and future of emerging states. A clear example on that is the U.S. foreign policy of Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions. According to International Law, both states meet the criteria of recognition. They have permanent populations, defined territories and independent governments. Both states maintain official relations with other countries and are members of international treaties and organizations. They also declared their independences and are recognized by more than 100 countries. Still, both states are not full members at the UNGA. Palestine lacks the recognition of the U.S. and Britain, meanwhile Kosovo lacks the recognition of Russia and China.

As a leading democratic system, the U.S. support of Kosovo unilateral approach of statehood is supposed to be pursued with Palestine. Yet, the U.S. foreign

policy of statehood appears to adopt a double standard, where its interests and relations with allies determine the U.S. position and the direction of its related policy of diplomacy.

In fact, the U.S. administration has employed its privileges at the UNSC by vetoing 32 resolutions condemned Israeli actions since 1982 (Safty, 2009, p. 276). It remains opposing the recognition of an independent Palestinian state. In 2012, the U.S. voted against upgrading Palestine to an observer status within the UNGA. In similar fashion, it opposed a UNSC resolution in December 2014 calls for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian Territories within a three-year timeframe. Moreover, the U.S. President, Donald Trump, has recognized Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel and accordingly relocated the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Proclamation 9683, December 6, 2017; see also Arandas et al., 2018).

It has been observed that the U.S. public opinion is effectively aligned with the U.S. administration's foreign policy of statehood recognition. In February 24, 2015, a Gallup poll reveals that 38.0% of Americans oppose an independent Palestinian state. The poll also reports that the support level is at its "lowest point" since 2000 (Saad, February 24, 2015). The U.S. public opposition keeps growing in this direction. Another Gallup poll released on November 29, 2017 shows that 42.0% of American people are against the existence of an independent Palestinian state (Saad, November 29, 2017). In contrast, the U.S. public opinion remains "firmly positive" toward Israel and its actions. Despite that it continues occupying the Palestinian territories since 1967, 62.0% of the Americans sympathize with Israel, whereas only 15.0% of them commiserate with the Palestinians (Saad, February 29, 2016). By the same token, the bulk of both houses in the Congress—Democrats and

Republicans—constantly pledge to keep financial, military and political support of Israel (Rosenson et al., 2009).

Almost a contrasting policy is adopted with the State of Kosovo. The U.S. public was principally supportive of the military intervention in 1999. A Gallup poll conducted one month before the air strikes illustrates that 43.0% of the American public are in line with such an action. The support has kept on increasing. Another Gallup poll—conducted after two months—demonstrates that 61.0% of the Americans agree with the U.S. military intervention in Kosovo (Gillespie, April 16, 1999). The NATO and U.S. airstrikes were promoted through the U.S. media, at the main, as a humanitarian intervention to help the ethnic Albanians gaining their right of self-determination (Balabanova, 2017; 2010; Bharthapudi, 2012).

The U.S. public occupies a vital role in adopting new foreign policies and/or maintaining the current ones. At this level, it is crucial to understand how the U.S. public demonstrates consent over such U.S. double-standard foreign policies. To achieve that, the attention should be directed to the public's main source of information regarding international affairs: mass media. The role of mass media in reporting and constructing discourse about foreign affairs can strongly affect how the public perceives related state's foreign policies. This is simply what the advocates of media strong effects believe.

Two main schools of thoughts have appeared regarding media strong effects, namely: the critical; and the liberal. While the latter sees mass media as an influential but independent constituent, the former believes in the corporate/political elites' hegemony over media. One of the earliest advocates of the critical school is Walter

Lippmann (1922). He introduces the phenomenon of “manufacturing consent” as a concept that criticizes that way modern systems function democracy.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) have developed the Propaganda Model (henceforth PM) to examine the phenomenon of “manufacturing consent”. This model primarily constitutes a critical assessment of the U.S. media performance (Herman, 2018, p. 54). It suggests that U.S. corporate and political elites pursue foreign policies that serve their interests. To gain the U.S. public support over these policies, they rely on the U.S. mainstream media as the major source of information for the public. Critical media scholars argue that the U.S. mainstream media behaviour is significantly influenced by American rationales, elite interests and standards (Guyot, 2009, p. 69; Bennett, 2016; Kennis, 2015a; 2015b; Lancaster, 2008; Bennett et al., 2007; Bagdikian, 2004; Boyd-Barrett, 2004; Kozol, 2004; Herman, 2018; 2000; 1996; 1993; Herman and Peterson, 2000; Hertog, 2000; Zaller and Chiu, 1996; Bennett, 1990; Hertsgaard, 1988; Hallin, 1984).

Because news media have strong effects, they can mobilize the public support and gain their consent, especially over foreign policies. Yet, they are not independent as the advocates of the critical school of thoughts believe. The PM explains the alignment between the mainstream media and the elites’ interests. The U.S. mainstream media are subject to several structural factors (filters) that affect their performance in a way to serve the agenda of corporate/political elites. These factors are media ownership, advertising as the major income of news media, the free accessibility of the state into the news content, the “flaks” as watchers of media performance and the dominance of anti-Communism ideology (see Chapter 2 for a detailed clarification).

The impact of these structural factors will affect the content the news media produce on international affairs. The PM assumes the effect of the structural factors will be translated into two types of biasness: reporting; and ideological. This assumption is introduced as the Dichotomization Hypothesis (see Bharthapudi, 2012).

The PM hypothesizes that a “dichotomous” construction of related media discourses will take place. More accessibility will be granted to the voices of “our” political elites than “their” voices. Further, more attention will be paid to issues “we” support than issues “we” oppose. These assumptions reflect reporting bias.

Further, the hypothesis assumes a construction of dichotomous discursive positions within the related discourse. “Us” and “our” allies will be more positively represented. Meanwhile, “them” and “their” allies will be more negatively represented. Those regimes—including their elections—supported by “us” are “legitimized”. On the other hand, regimes and elections opposed by “us” and/or supported by “them” are “delegitimized”. Moreover, the victims caused by “us” are “unworthy”, and vice versa.

Following these quantitative and qualitative-oriented assumptions of biasness, the model invites to examine the degree of reliance on the news sources used in reporting related foreign affairs. Besides, it urges to assess the degree of salience and prominence the related issues receive. It also calls for investigating how the involved actors and committed actions within a related discourse are represented to examine the occurrence of ideological biasness.

The literature review demonstrates an evident concentration of scholarly efforts on studying the phenomenon of manufacturing consent of military and

humanitarian intervention. More attention was directed to political crises and how the Western media promote involvement in international conflicts. For instance: The 1998-99 Kosovo Crisis (Balabanova, 2017; 2010; Bharthapudi, 2012); the 2003 Iraq War (Kennis, 2015a; Phillips, 2008; Boyd-Barrett, 2004; Chomsky, 1991), The North and South Korea Crisis (Moon, 2018); the Liberation War of Bangladesh (Hossain, 2015), the U.S. intervention in Libya, Syria and Egypt (Zollmann, 2017) and the policy of U.S. Navy presence in Puerto Rico (Kennis, 2015b). Further, some scholarly attention was paid to support and/or oppose elections in allied and/or non-allied regimes of the U.S. (MacLeod, 2018; 2019; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; 2002). Most importantly, assessing the Western media performance, in general, and the U.S. mainstream media specifically, with respect to manufacturing the public consent over U.S. foreign policies of diplomacy (i.e. statehood recognition) has almost not been devoted.

This research study is specifically focusing on the U.S. foreign policy and examining the U.S. mainstream media as a tool to manufacture the related public consent. Further, there are other reason that validates studying the U.S. mainstream news media in particular. To date, it remain the most reliable source of political news at all levels to the U.S. public (Grinberg, 2019). In the current study, the *New York Times* (henceforth *NYT*) is selected as a dominant U.S. mainstream newspaper. It is a U.S. daily newspaper founded in 1851 by the New York Times Company. The paper is publicly traded and is controlled by the Sulzberger family through a dual class share structure. The Sulzberger family has owned a controlling interest of the *NYT* since 1896. Currently, the publisher of *NYT* is Arthur Gregg Sulzberger. His paternal grandfather was Jewish. The family's Jewish history has often been the subject of scrutiny, especially during and after the WWII (Dolsten, December 18, 2017). There

are also several reasons behind choosing to examine the coverage of this daily newspaper in relation to Palestine and Kosovo discourse of statehood recognition (see Chapter 3). For instance, the *NYT* is among the U.S. daily print media outlets that have the highest criterion of circulation. This means that it reaches a very wide proportion of U.S. readers.

In the light of the foregoing, the current research study endeavours to examine how the *NYT*—as a dominant U.S. mainstream media—manufactures the public consent over the U.S. foreign policy of opposing Palestine and supporting Kosovo statehood recognition. It is an examination of how the *NYT* has reported and constructed its discourse on Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions. The findings of this study will contribute to the debate on PM's validity as a model that studies the phenomenon of manufacturing consent over the foreign policy of statehood recognition.

The *NYT* is selected due to several rationales. It belongs to one of the giant news media conglomerates in the U.S., it has a high circulation criterion and it is a newspaper of record (see Chapter 3 for further details). This research study juxtaposes the *NYT* coverage of Palestine and Kosovo unilateral approaches of statehood recognition. The selected periods of study include several events related to Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions. For instance, upgrading Palestine into an observer state in 2012, its consequences, the international recognition by other states, joining international organizations and acceding to international treaties. As for Kosovo, events such as their declaration of independence in 2008, their recognition by other states and membership at international treaties and organizations.

1.4 Research Objectives

The overriding goal of the current research is to understand how the *NYT*—as a dominant U.S. mainstream media—manufactures the public’s consent over the foreign policy of support or oppose statehood recognition. It, therefore, seeks to achieve that through:

RO1: Investigating the occurrence of reporting biasness during the *NYT* coverage of Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions.

RO2: Examining the occurrence of ideological biasness in constructing the *NYT* discourse of Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the research objectives, the following are the research questions that this study seeks to answer:

RQ1: What are the news sources that the *NYT* used in reporting Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions?

RQ2: What are the degrees of prominence that the *NYT*—through its coverage—allocated to Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions?

RQ3: How the social actors and actions are represented in the *NYT* discourse of Palestine and Kosovo statehood recognitions?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The current research study is distinctive in several ways. Overall, it defies the scholarly approach contending that the U.S. mainstream media are independent from

the administration's position, principally about foreign affairs. By way of explanation, it sheds the lights on the fact that the democracy in the leading democratic system of the U.S. is at risk. As Kennis (2015a) puts it, an independent Fourth Estate is indispensable to preserve the democratic spirit of civilization. So, this research study adds to the literature on media's behaviour in democratic bureaucracies. It contributes in unravelling the long running—but somehow less highlighted—debate of communication scholars about media's strong effects, hegemony and independence.

This study follows a critical school of thoughts. A plethora of research have critically examined the performance of Western mainstream media in reporting foreign affairs of international crises. At large, these efforts were directed to study the superpower states' foreign policies of military and/or humanitarian intervention in political conflicts, wars or natural disasters (see Chapter 2—the Literature Review). In the two cases adopted for juxtaposition (Palestine and Kosovo), a plethora of media scholarly work is allocated to study the Western media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Kosovo crisis unconnectedly or otherwise. The Western media reporting of Gaza wars and the Palestinian uprisings, for instance, have been exhaustively investigated (see Kaposi, 2019; Qasem and Hussein, 2018; Durante, 2018; Neureiter, 2017; Gilboa et al., 2016; Baranya, 2013; Handley and Ismail, 2010; Ismail, 2010; 2008; Stawicki, 2009; Wolfsfeld et al., 2008). In similar fashion, Kosovo crisis and the NATO intervention in the late 1990s was to a great extent the main focus of communication scholars (see Hammond, 2018; Abazi and Doja, 2017; Vukasovich and Dejanovic-Vukasovich, 2016; Kolsto, 2016; Bloch-Elkon, 2007; Willcox, 2005; Yang, 2003). The current research study, thus, constitutes a reference for media scholar of how the U.S. mainstream media perform

and construct their discourses in relation to U.S. foreign policies of diplomacy. More specifically, the foreign policy of statehood recognition—as it has almost not been devoted through a critical lens on the performance of the U.S. mainstream media.

To a great extent, the current research also contributes in exposing the social injustice and inequality. In general, it calls for shifting the public perceptions of unsettled international conflicts in leading democratic countries. In this direction, it is believed that gaining momentum for achieving a fully independent Palestinian statehood relies greatly on the U.S. official recognition. By this means, the long-running Palestinian-Israeli conflict will be driven to end. The U.S. public consent over a U.S. recognition of the State of Palestine is crucial, therefore.

It is also worthy to note that several scholars have concentrated on examining media discourses in two or more different media outlets. For instance, American media versus Arab or European (see Kandil, 2009; Zaher, 2009). This research study scrutinizes how one mainstream media outlet promotes dichotomous ideological U.S. policy of support and opposition through its discourse. In other words, it demonstrates how one U.S. media organization addresses the public about one issue in two different ideological orientations.

Further, it urges communication scholars to dig deeper rather than merely examining media performance in isolation from the corporate power influence. In so doing, the weaknesses the U.S. mainstream media suffer will be revealed. The current study—through employing the PM—juxtaposes media content with institutional discourse to detect the links of power and hegemony (see Chapter 3 and 5). This research study also employs the CDA as its central methodology to investigate media content. It uses key CDA techniques to examine ideological

biasness. It, thus, constitutes a valid reference for future critical studies of political discourse on foreign diplomacy (i.e. statehood recognition). Since Herman and Chomsky (1998; 2002) have not determined a specific framework to investigate the media performance, the current research study shows a uniqueness by combining the PM and the CDA to study the phenomenon of manufacturing consent over foreign policies.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The current research study focuses on examining the U.S. mainstream media. As stated earlier, the U.S. is deemed the only capitalist and democratic system that includes no labour affiliated parties within its political structure. Besides, the U.S. foreign policy of statehood recognition is deemed influential and determinant. The mainstream media are in particular selected as they commonly constitute the main source of information for the public with regard to international affairs. They also belong to large conglomerates and owned by the corporate elites in the United States. In this research study, the performance of the daily print mainstream media is under scrutiny. Other types of news media are out the study's scope.

The current research concentrates further on studying the media discourse of statehood recognition. In this connection, the textual coverage of mainstream media is investigated as the focus is paid to how the language is employed within the concerned discourse. The visual coverage, on the other hand, are excluded. This research study selects *NYT* due to several reasons such as circulation and quality of content (see Chapter 3 for further details). It is also worthy to note that the current research study is textually oriented. Since the PM suggests that the news media—without coercion—follow the corporate and political elites' line, Herman and