MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS IN MALAYSIA

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MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS IN MALASIA

ABSTRACT

This study explores the media representation of foreign domestic helpers working in Malaysia. It aims to provide an insight on the strategies employed by the media to portray the foreign domestic helpers as a social group. So, the study compares the representations offered by the most prominent Malaysian online news agencies and the most prominent online news agencies in Indonesia and the Philippines between 2009-2018. These years witnessed frequent changes in policies that involve temporarily withholding the domestic helpers from working in Malaysia. This unstable situation is believed to have influenced media representation. The analysis was carried out using three theoretical frameworks. Firstly, Discourse Historical Approach DHA developed by Wodak (2001) was selected to analyze the discursive strategies employed in the representation and to offer the socio-historical context surrounding it. DHA offers five discursive strategies: *Referential, Predication, Argumentation, Intensification/ Mitigation* and *Perspectivation*. Secondly, Semantic Macrostructures developed by Van Dijk (1980) was employed to assist in locating the discursive strategies within discourse topics. Lastly, Van Dijk's Ideological Square (2004) was employed to highlight the in\out group polarization. The results showed that the representation in the Malaysian media was highly affected by the changes in the state policies resulting in conflicting representations. So, in crime related discourse, the Malaysian media represented FDHs as *victims* and as *criminals.* In recruitment discourse, FDH were represented as a *need* and as *replaceable*, also as *abusers of the law* and as *victims of human trafficking*. On the other hand, the media in Indonesia and the Philippines was less affected by the policy changes as it predominantly represented the domestic helpers as *victims*, *desperate* and *vulnerable*.

Their representation was enhanced by justifications for illegality and demands for international laws' protection.

REPRESENTASI MEDIA TERHADAP PEMBANTU RUMAH ASING DI MALAYSIA

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menyelidiki pandangan pembantu rumah warga asing di Malaysia. Ia membandingkan pandangan di dalam akhbar-akhbar di Malaysia sebagai negara dituju dan akhbar-akhbar Indonesia dan Filipina sebagai negara asal kebanyakan pembantu rumah warga asing di Malaysia. Selain itu tempoh 2009-2018 menyaksikan pihak negara asal sering mengenakan sekatan ke atas warga mereka yang ingin ke Malaysia kerana laporan-laporan berkaitan penyiksaan dan keadaan bekerja yang kurang memuaskan. Keadaan pembantu rumah warga asing yang tidak stabil ini juga dipercayai turut mempengaruhi bagaimana mereka dilaporkan di dalam media.

Analisis ini dilaksana menggunakan tiga rangka kerja teori. *Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)* yang dibangunkan oleh Wodak (2001) dipilih kerana memberi tumpuan kepada stretegi seseorang untuk menggambarkan pandangan mereka serta perihal sosio-sejarah di sekelilingnya. DHA dipilih untuk analisis mikro menggunakan lima strategi mengenai seseorang: Rujukan, Ramalan, Perdebatan, Memperhebat/Melega dan Pandangan. Selain itu, struktur- struktur makro semantik yang dibangunkan oleh Van Dijk (1980) dipilih untuk analisis tajuk perbincangan. Akhir sekali, *Ideological Square* Van Dijk (2004) dipilih untuk menyerlahkan masuk/keluar polarisasi kumpulan. Keputusannya menunjukkan bahawa dalam topik berkaitan jenayah, media Malaysia kebanyakannya mengaitkan pembantu rumah warga asing sebagai mangsa. Mereka dikatakan sebagai yang melanggar undang-undang. Berkaitan topik perubahan dasar dan pengambilan, pembantu rumah warga asing dikatakan sebagai mahal.

Sebaliknya, kedua-dua negara asal mengatakan rakyat mereka terdesak dan lemah dalam usaha untuk mempertahankan taraf pendatang haram mereka serta menuntut hak asasi manusia dan perlindungan undang-undang antarabangsa. Kajian ini menunjukkan

pandangan akhbar-akhbar Malaysia amat terjejas dengan perbezaan dasar negara manakala pandangan media negara asal tidak turut terjejas dengan perbezaan dasar negara.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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FDH : Foreign Domestic Helpers

CDA : Critical Discourse Analysis

DHA : Discourse Historical approach

OFW : Overseas Filipino Workers

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1   CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0   Introduction

This research focuses on the representation of Foreign Domestic Helpers (FDH) in Malaysia. It particularly focuses on the media representation of domestic helpers in Malaysia and their respective countries of origin particularly: Indonesia, and the Philippines. Sections 1.1 and 1.2 provide a brief description of the background of the population of the foreign domestic helpers and the problems surrounding them in the Malaysian context. Section 1.3 discusses research objectives and research questions. Section 1.4 provides a summary of the theoretical background. Section 1.5 discusses the significance of this study. Section 1.6 explains the contextual background and the major state policies concerning the helpers in the past decade as it will facilitate understanding the socio-political context surrounding the representation. Section 1.7 provides information on the status of the media in the selected countries.

1.1   Background of the Study

In the past decade, Malaysia has experienced a significant increase in the demand of low-cost workers. The increase in demand has driven hundreds of workers from Southeast Asian countries with lower economic status to migrate to Malaysia. This came in response to the states' policy of enhancing the level of middle-class educated Malaysian women to participate in empowering the economic competence (Elias, 2010; Elias 2009). Employing FDHs is not new to Malaysia. It has been rooted in the Malaysian history since the 1970s. To many Malaysian middle- and upper-class families today, having a foreign domestic helper has become an important part of their lives. Thus, the demand for foreign domestic helpers as always been high (Wahyono, 2007, Anderson, 2020).

It has always been a challenge for the Malaysian government to provide an accurate count of foreign workers in the country. Many statistics are available, yet they might drastically differ from one other. For example, Hwok-Aun and Leng (2018) published ISEAS statistics of 2017 that provided an estimate of the number of foreign workers based on the number of working permits issued. In a review of 17 years, the last 8 years witnessed more dramatic changes in the number of workers as follows:

Figure 1. Number of foreign work permit holders and employed persons (thousands)

Sources: Work permit holders: 2000-2013 (MEF 2014), 2016 (*The Star*)[5]; Foreign workers employed (Department of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey Report*)
Notes: Work permit figures for 2014 and 2015 are not available
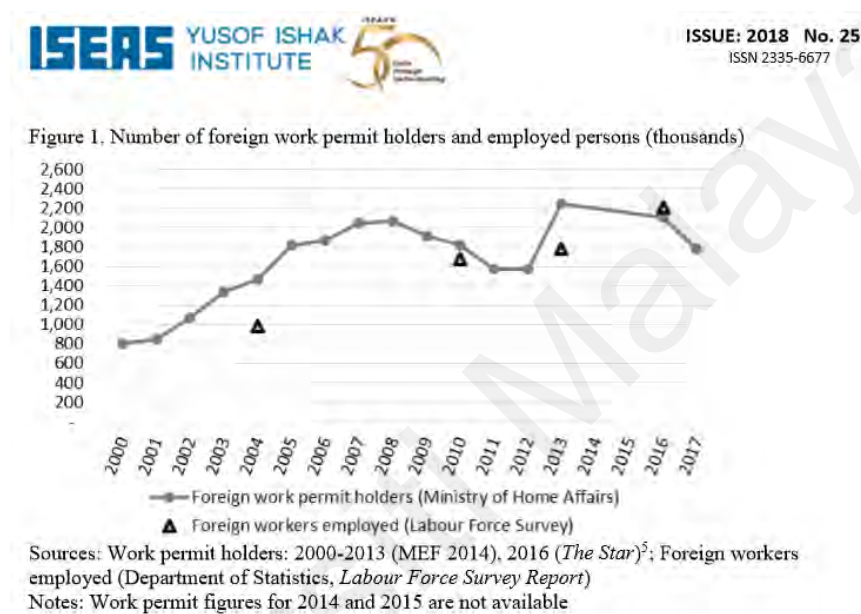
Figure 1.1 The number of foreign workers' permit in Malaysia (2001-2017)

Between 2010 and 2011, there was a gradual drop in the number of foreign workers. Then between 2011 and 2012, the number stabilized at about 1,600,000 permits. Then between 2012 and 2013, the number increased rapidly to hit 2,000,000 permits. After that, it remained high until the end of 2016. Then, it dropped sharply in 2017 to about 1,790,000 permits. These events might have possibly influenced the number of foreign workers in Malaysia. The instability in the number of workers is due to constant change of policies.

As for domestic helpers, some attempts were made to capture at least the number of the legal ones. According to the Ministry of Human Resources Malaysia as cited by Aliran (29 June 2017), in their statistics that covered the domestic helpers working in Malaysia coming from 13 countries as stated in table 1.1, the number of foreign domestic helpers was 141,969 workers in 2016 then dropped to 132,558 workers in 2017.

Table 1.1 The number of temporary work-permits granted to foreign domestic helpers by country of origin between 2016-2017

No.	Country of origin	Number of workers (March 2017)	Number of workers (August 2016)
1	**Indonesia**	91,175	96,531
2	Nepal	65	63
3	Bangladesh	142	137
4	Myanmar	94	102
5	India	892	909
6	Pakistan	41	38
7	**Philippines**	36,317	38,860
8	Vietnam	480	621
9	China	91	155
10	Thailand	314	333
11	Cambodia	2,096	3,147
12	Sri Lanka	832	1,053
13	Laos	17	20
Total		132, 558	141,969

Source: Ministry of Human Resource Malaysia, 2016, 2017; Aliran.com 29 June 2017.

In table 1.1, there were two significantly big populations. The biggest population was the Indonesian domestic helpers which was 96,531 in 2016 and 91,175 in 2017. The second biggest population is the Filipina domestic helpers' which was 38,860 in 2016 and 36,317 in 2017. The two nationalities' size witnessed a drop that will be explained in the coming sections. It is worth noting that these are the legal figures. The illegal domestic helpers have no records. It can be assumed that the number of illegal FDH could be double or triple the number of total FDH in Malaysia.

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On the other hand, other studies provided different figures. According to Ismail and Yuliyusman (2014), the number of domestic helpers was 94,192 in 1999. This was followed by an increase to 232,282 in 2002. The population increased furthermore to hit 320,171 in 2005. After that, the number dropped to 293,359 in 2008. The reported number of Filipina domestic helpers in Malaysia rose from 4,000 in 2009 to about 10,000 in 2011[1]. While the Indonesian domestic helpers' population dropped from 230,000 in 2009 to 184,092 in 2011 (Ismail & Yuliyusman, 2014).

Furthermore, the International Labour Organization (ILO) also provided figures of the population size of foreign domestic helpers in several countries.

Table 1.2 The number of foreign domestic helpers/ care givers in South-East Asia 2014

Country	Total number of migrant domestic/care workers	Total number of households (million)	Total population (million)	Ratio of migrant domestic/ care workers to households
Malaysia	400000[1]	6.60	29.90	1/16.5
Singapore	231500	1.17	5.47	1/5.1
Hong Kong	320000	2.40	7.19	1/7.5
Taiwan	224356	8.19	23.40	1/36.5
Japan	1211[2]	51.84	126.95	1/42807.6
South Korea	70000[1]	18.50	50.50	1/264.3

"Decent work for migrant domestic workers: moving the agenda forward", International Labour Organization, 2016

Table 1.2 shows that ILO put Malaysia at the top of the list of the destination counties of FDHs in 2014. These figures show claims to count the undocumented domestic helpers.

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[1] "PHL stops accrediting new maid agencies in Malaysia", GMA News Online, November 8, 2012

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One the other hand, the statistics provided by the Home Affair Ministry showed different figures as shown in table 1.3.

Table 1.3 The number of foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia

Table 1.3 shows that the total number of foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia dropped gradually from 184,092 in 2011 to 148,627 in 2015 as cited in The Free Malaysia Today (2 May 2017). It can be inferred from the various statistics above that it is not possible to accurately get the number of foreign domestic helpers especially with regards to legality issues. Yet it is possible to draw an estimation as follows:
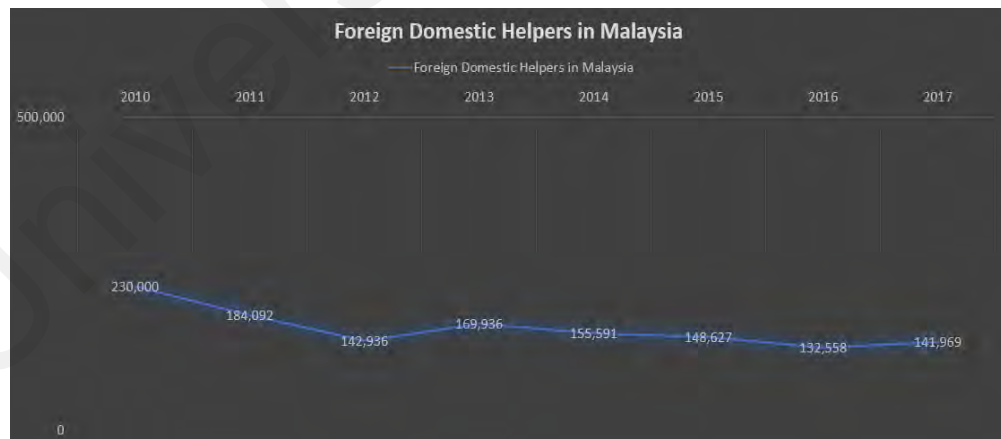
Figure 1.2 The estimated number of foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia

Figure 1.2 shows an estimated number of foreign domestic helpers based on the statistics mentioned earlier in this section. It can be summarized that the estimated number

of foreign domestic helpers is about 230,000 in 2010 and 141,969 in 2017. This has two indications. Firstly, the multiple statistics shade light on the issue of legality and the irregular mobility of foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia. As the number increased with time, it can be inferred that there are rules or work conditions that affect the decrease in the number. The huge number requires considering the issue of foreign domestic helpers. This set of statistics is relevant to this research as it helps in providing a better understanding of the Malaysian context which hits to the complexity of their situation.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Most of the FDHs come from Southeast Asian countries. In the ASEAN union, the lower economic status countries such as Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Nepal, the Philippines, and Bangladesh allow prospective workers to migrate to countries with more economic stability such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Malaysia (Kuo, 2021). According to the Immigration Department official portal, the countries of origin of the foreign domestic helpers available in Malaysia are 8 countries: Indonesia, Cambodia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Laos.

With the enormous influx of FDHs in Malaysia, they face many problems starting from the departure from their respective countries, their arrival to Malaysia, to their plans for returning to their countries of origin. The challenges faced by FDHs can be summarized into five main areas.

Firstly, cross-borders' smuggling has been a continual problem in Malaysia for decades. In simple terms, this phenomenon refers to the illegal border crossing of foreign workers looking for work opportunities. It is difficult to estimate when the problem started. Border smuggling is part of a bigger global trade referred to as "*Maid Trade*". This is when smugglers and agents impose charges and/or threats onto women who lack sufficient education and are running from their state of poverty in their countries (SST and Azman

2005). The FDHs then become trapped with those charges or fear for the consequences of the threats received from the agents who arrange for crossing the borders. So, individuals that illegally obtain jobs in Malaysia lose their rights and protection (Elias, 2010). Neither the law nor individuals can save the FDHs in case of physical abuse or any other form of exploitation which, on one hand, is the reason behind becoming victims of human trafficking and forced labour. On the other hand, having no legal record comes as an advantage for the smugglers as they have a way to escape the law (Timmons, 2014). United Nations' definition of the international standard for trafficking is as follows:

> *"The action or practice of illegally transporting people from one country or area to another, typically for the purposes of forced labour or commercial sexual exploitation… Trafficking in persons is a serious crime and a grave violation of human rights. (Human Trafficking, United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime)."(Timmons, 2014, p.8)*

In this definition, the FDHs in Malaysia fall under the category of human trafficking. Secondly, these domestic helpers end up experiencing many forms of exploitation. Exploitation is evident through working for long hours, forced labour, physical and verbal abuse, and sexual harassment (Noor and Shaker 2017; Wahyono, 2007; Murty, 2009; Liow, 2003, Anderson, 2020). Thirdly, in the Malaysian Employment law, they are referred to as *servants* while in the Immigration Law, they are referred to as *foreign workers*. These two references exclude them from law protection and many rights that the other foreign workers enjoy as will be detailed in Section 1.6. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) report dated (2016), FDHs are excluded from many rights as detailed below:

> *"Domestic workers are excluded from many of the basic labour protections afforded to other sectors. This includes the articles within the law related to work hours, rest days, public holidays, annual leave, sick leave, maternity leave and severance benefits. In addition, minimum wage rules, social security coverage, mandatory medical insurance and workers' compensation benefits do not apply to their employment."* (Tayah, 2016, p.21)

Another point is the expenses of hiring foreign domestic helpers and the expectations of the employers contribute to the cycle of problems. On the one hand, hiring an illegal foreign domestic helper cut the cost to half as compared to the amount paid if they are hired legally which encourages the illegal domestic helper's market. Hiring a legal domestic helper comes with high charges such as the first deposit which by itself is higher than one-month salary of an employer from the middle-class. Therefore, hiring an illegal domestic helper is common. Furthermore, the gap between employers' expectations after the high charges and reality of FDHs in terms of competence raise the tension. For that, agents are accused of sending fake information and making many false promises of the helpers' competency. Therefore, the workers end up being victimized (SST and Azman, 2005).

Consequently, every few months, cases of FDH abuse spread and views towards who is responsible vary. This is evident by police reports and the news that are full of stories of physical abuse, rape, and mistreatment towards the foreign domestic helpers (Ayub, Yusoff, Wahsb, Badarulzaman, 2016; Murty, 2009). When those cases of abuse reach the governments of the FHDs' countries of origin, the government representatives raise questions whether the law protects the FDHs. The tension between the countries results in multiple policies imposed to ban the helpers from working in Malaysia for temporary time. Although these policies are assumed to have been issued to protect their citizens from abuse and exploitation, yet it increases the population of illegal employment as will be detailed in the next sections.

Another problem is the phenomenon of *runaway domestic helpers* that is deemed to be unpredictable. The Free Malaysia Today (2 May 2017) reported 1,200 runway domestic helpers in 2017 alone. Some attribute it to legality issues while others attribute it to poor working conditions or silenced abuse cases.

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Therefore, the problems mentioned above are interconnected and the FDHs are trapped in in those problems. So, the problems surrounding the foreign domestic helpers mentioned above can be summarized as in Figure 1.3.
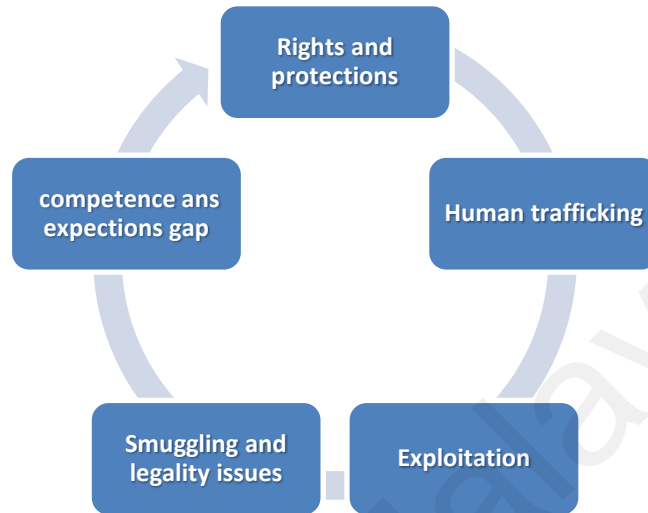
Figure 1.3 Problems facing foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia

It is important to highlight the issues surrounding the foreign domestic helpers in order to better understand the Malaysian context. It is noted that the problems listed in Figure 1.3 are rights and protection, human trafficking, exploitation, smuggling and legality issues and competence and expectations gap cannot be separated from one another. Each of the problems mentioned has long history and require institutional and legislative solutions. These problems are reflected in the media and will appear frequently in the data selected for this research.

1.3   Research objectives and research questions

There are three research objectives that this study aims to achieve as follows:

- To analyze the linguistic tools employed in constructing the representation of FDHs in the media discourse.

- To provide an equal platform for the *host country* and *the country of origin of the FDH* to represent issues in their media from their point of view as one will

represent the FDH as part of the *Self* group while the other will represent them as the *Other* group. And then to draw a comparison between the two representations.

- To provide better understanding of the socio-political setting surrounding the FDHs and the influence of the constant change of state policies on their representation in the media.

To achieve the first objective, the analytical tools are adopted from the Discourse Historical Approach and Semantic Macrostructures. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) provides the main linguistic tools to uncover discursive practices manifested in the media representation. To achieve that, five discursive strategies will be used to examine the selected data. The discursive strategies are referential strategies, predication strategies, argumentation strategies, intensification and mitigation strategies, and perspectivation strategies. Therefore, the first research question will highlight these strategies. On the other hand, Semantic Macrostructures is employed to elicit the main discourse themes and provided a gateway to the representations. While the notion of the ideological square is the point of verification.

To achieve the second objective, news articles will be collected from the online Malaysian media and the media of Indonesia and the Philippines for being as the countries of origin of the two biggest foreign domestic helpers' populations in Malaysia. Therefore, research question one will highlight the comparison of data between Malaysia and the countries of origin. Therefore, the second research objectives will also be covered by research question One.

To achieve the third research objective of situating the data within the context and link it to the state policies, the data will be divided into three phases or time periods based on the variations in state policies. Phase I is characterized by four state polices imposed by the countries of origin. Phase II is characterized by having no state polices as both FDHs

groups were permitted to work in Malaysia. Phase III is characterized by one state policy imposed by the Philippines and one optional policy by Malaysia. Therefore, the context and state policy variations which are represented by the third research objective will be covered by the second research question. Thus, to address the research objectives, the research questions are as follows:

1.How are the foreign domestic helpers (FDH) in Malaysia represented in the Malaysian media as compared to the representations by the (FDH) countries of origin?

1.1 What are the referential and Predication strategies employed?

1.2 What are the argumentation strategies employed?

1.3 What are the perspectivation strategies employed?

1.4 What are the intensification and mitigation strategies involved?

2. How do the state policies and the contextual background impact media representation of the foreign domestic helpers?

To answer Research Question One, the notion of the ideological square is employed to reveal whether the text highlights positive *Self* and negative *Other* representations. The study aims to analyze whether this polarization is evident or not. To test this polarization, the study selects online news agencies from the countries of origin of the domestic helpers and online news agencies from Malaysia. Furthermore, the five discursive strategies adopted from DHA will be the micro level analysis units to identify representations. These representations will be located within sets of discourse topics that will be analyzed via Semantic Macrostructures to better understand them.

To answer Research Question Two, the analysis will refer to the state policy variations that occur during the time the media text was produced. Then, the news texts will be analyzed within its context of time and the surrounding state policies.

1.4 Theoretical background

This study follows Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a "transdisciplinary" approach that crosses many fields of social and human sciences including linguistics, history, sociology, communication, and many others. Its transdisciplinary characteristic allows many theories, approaches, methodologies, and traditions to enhance a process, in which each internally appropriates the logic of the other as a resource of development on its own (Teo, 2000).

CDA is defined as the type of social research that draws a relationship between text and discourse on the one hand and social processes and social change on the other, aiming at offering a deep and comprehensive analysis of texts (Wodak 1995, p. 204).

1.4.1 Ideology Square (1998)

Much social research on perspectives and attitudes towards minorities and immigrants confirm that many social groups tend to misrepresent outsiders such as the foreigner, the refugee and the immigrant negatively because those individuals are out of the group of *Self* (Bleich et al., 2015; Leavitt et al., 2015; Ahmed, 2014; Cretu, 2014; Strom, 2017, Valt, 2002). However, the same social groups tend to represent themselves with positive traits to create a social group unity and pride which might be interpreted as a form of patriotism in certain contexts. Therefore, this research probes to what extent those with this view of positive self-representation and negative other representation is true in the Malaysian context.

Van Dijk (2011) refers to this notion of positive *self*-representation and negative *Other* representation as the Ideological Square which consists of four angles aiming to emphasize the good properties or actions of the Self group; and to mitigate the bad properties or actions as much as possible. On the other hand, it aims to emphasize the bad

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properties or actions of the social groups that are excluded from the Self group referred to as the Others; and to mitigate or suppress the good properties or action of that group. (Van Dijk, 2011, p 396).

Van Dijk (2004) asserts that emphasizing the positive or negative attributes is linguistically realized in the choice of lexical items that imply positive or negative evaluations and in the choice of the grammatical structures and the whole propositions.

This research does not assume that FHD will be portrayed negatively in the Malaysian media for being represented as the *Other*. Instead, this research evaluates the hypothesis of positive self and negative other representation evident in literature. It also aims to investigate whether the *Other* group will be represented positively, negatively, or neutrally. Only the analysis of data will reveal the nature of representation.

1.4.2   Semantic Macrostructure (1980)

The macro-level analysis of a discourse suggests the analysis of themes. The importance of analyzing themes lies in the tendency of discourse producers to compose themes that have positive or negative connotations. In other words, it is suggested that theme selection is subjective. As for the news discourse, it also involves the evaluation of the causes of events, reasons for actions and selection of sharing perception of events best understood by readers who share the same sociopolitical attitude. It may also involve the perspective from which the news events are given prominence. Therefore, it is suggested that events, and groups prominence are also subjective (Van Dijk, 1988).

To analyze the themes systematically, the theoretical notion of macrostructures is used to make explicit the gist or the global meaning of a discourse. Macrostructures are semantic in nature and are mainly employed to identify the most essential information of a discourse. Analyzing macrostructures suggests that language users often depend on semantic macrostructural information to construct meaning and draw conclusion towards

the news events. From the theoretical point of view, the semantic macrostructural analysis helps to breakdown what is known to be the gist of the discourse into smaller units of discourse topics and semantic propositions (Van Dijk, 1988a; Van Dijk 1988b).

The analysis of macrostructures suggests that the propositions are the base of the analysis process. Propositions as Van Dijk (1998) suggests, are the smallest independent meanings constructs that are usually expressed by a single clause or a sentence. In order to migrate from the sentence or clause level to the overall gist of a text, three macro-rules are involved: (1) generalization which in simple terms involves grouping the related minor topics and replacing them with a superordinate idea, (2) deletion, that involves eliminating irrelevant propositions and inconsequential ideas (3) construction that involves the construction of purified macrostructures as a result of the two previous processes. The three processes reduce, categorize, and organize the semantic information of the text (Alsaidi, Pandian and Al-Shaibani, 2016; Pajunen, 2008). According to Brown and Yule (1983), macrostructural analysis identifies possible discourse topics rather than definitive discourse topics.

1.4.3 Discourse Historical Approach (2001)

CDA is essentially concerned with analyzing solid and clear structural association between dominance, power, control, and discrimination, as they are manifested in language (Baker et al., 2008). Out of several CDA frameworks that are equally very powerful in assimilation the linguistic and the social aspect of the language, the Discourse-Historical Approach (henceforth DHA) particularly attempts to incorporate the historical, social, and political context to analyse of language (Wodak & Reisigl 2005). DHA also allows a wide range of argumentation strategies that will help to identify the ideologies behind the representations (Forchtner, 2011; Kilic, 2011).

1.5   Significance of research

There are four main areas this research highlights. Firstly, it addresses the socio-political context as fluctuating rather than static, this is because the state policies have been changing by which the legal status of the helpers also alter. It addresses the changes in the state policies surrounding the FDHs and the influence of those events in changing the social context by the political elites and powerful figures. This is believed to be not only reflected in the media but also unrestrictedly shaping the representation of the helpers back to the society. Therefore, the research shows how the events were shaped by the elites and how the media is shaped by the shadows of those elites to attain their ideology. Consequently, the status of foreign domestic helpers is characterized by its sudden change, from legal to illegal, which the study considers with regards to the change of rules and policies. The foreign domestic helpers' representation might differ according to their legal status.

Secondly, the research focuses on the comparison between the representation of *Self* and the representation of the *Other*. The representation of *Other* is manifested in how the Malaysian newspapers exemplified by the *Star* represents the workers. The representation of the *Self* is manifested in how the newspapers of the sending countries represent their own citizens. But the study does not ignore the fact that the mainstream media in South-East Asia is not fully independent of the political and social elites' support. Therefore, the study does not view the group of *Self* as one entity or the group of the *Other* as one entity. Instead, the research argues that within the group of *Self*, there are subgroups that differ in the views.

1.6   State Policies governing foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia

In order to understand the situation of FDH in Malaysia, it is of great importance to shade the light on the policies that govern them. As mentioned earlier, legality is a dilemma

faced by FDHs. The increasing presence of unidentified and undocumented workers has led the government to arrest and deport them. Therefore, highlighting the laws implemented on the FDH as necessary.

In the past 10 years, there were several policies that were implemented by Indonesia and The Philippines to regulate and protect their citizens who work in Malaysia as FDHs. These policies are usually in the form of agreements between the two countries. These policies were motivated by reports of cases of abuse and exploitation. The polices were to bar the citizen of these countries from working in Malaysia until Malaysia offers better working conditions. In the Malaysian media, these policies are referred to as "*state polices*".

To trace the series of baring policies, Indonesia barred its citizens from working in Malaysia as domestic helpers and care givers for a month and a half in 2009 which is from June to mid of July 2009; then there was another bar for two years effective from September 2009 until December 2011 then in June 2017. The Philippines, on the other hand, barred its citizens from working in Malaysia more often as compared to Indonesia. The policies took place from June 2009 to March 2010, February 2011 to November 2012, and from July 2015 to November 2017. Some argue that these legislative amendments and state policy changes were not effective enough as compared to the size of the problem not forgetting the implementation of these rules that involves some forms of corruption (Kaur, 2015).

As explained above, the policies sometimes take place within the same year. It has been stated by several media sources that for the Indonesian FDHs, for instance, the ban was attributed to cases of abuse by employers and recruitment agencies in addition to poor working conditions. In response, the Malaysian government amended some of these agreements in terms of minimum wages policy and improving hiring processes

(Medenilla, 2018, 26 February). Table 1.4 [2] provides a chronological list of policy changes related to domestic helpers that is believed to have influenced the figures presented in section 1.1.

Table 1.4 state policies affecting FDHs between 2009-2018

	Indonesian government's policies	The Philippines government's policies
2009	**June**- Mid July-Indonesian banned its citizens to workers in Malaysia for a month and a half (1), (2), (3), (5), (6)	**June**- Filipino workers banned (7)
2010	September 2010-Indonesians were banned. (1)	**March**- ban was lifted (7)
2011	**March**- Indonesian government announce minimum wages for Indonesian FDHs as RM700. **December**- Indonesia lifted the ban (1), (2)	**February**- Filipino workers banned (4)
2012		**November**- Ban was lifted with the condition of Minimum wages policy implemented $400 (4)
2013		
2014		
2015		**July**- Pilipino workers banned (4)
2016		
2017		**November**- ban was lifted with the condition of increasing Minimum wages to $400 (from RM1440 to RM1680) (4)
2018	The Malaysian government's policy	
	January- Direct Hiring Maid Online System (SMO) (8), (9), (10)	

Table 1.4 summarizes the state policies that took place between 2009 and 2018 which have made changes to the Malaysian context with regards to the foreign domestic helpers.

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[2] The sources of the information of state polices:
(1)"Indonesia mulls temporary ban on maids to Malaysia", FMT February 17, 2018
(2) Nielsen, I (2014) Wellbeing Among Indonesian Labour Foreign to Malaysia: Implications of the 2011 Memorandum of Understanding. Social Indicator Research, Vol. 117 no. 3 pp.191-938
(3) Facts and Figures (2017) Foreign Maids Malaysia.
(4)"Philippine agency: Readjust monthly wage based on US $400" The Star, 23 Nov 2017
(5)"It takes a little bit of juggling", TSO, 3 April 2012
(6)"PHL stops accrediting new maid agencies in Malaysia", November 8, 2012, Gmanetwork- news
(7) Marouanib, M., Nilssond, B., Wagnerf, M., (2017) Foreign Workers In Malaysia: Labour Market And Firm Level Analysis. In Mazlan, A., Manaf, Z., Rahman, R., Saad, S. (Eds.), Foreign Labour in Malaysia: Selected Works. (47-72). Malaysia: Ministry Of Higher Education
(8) "Working Mums Welcome Maid Move", The New Straits Times, 29.10.2017
(9) "Source Maids Now, Register Them Later; Maid Employment Agency Ready to Help for Rm3,000", The New Straits Times, 31.10.2017
(10) "No coercion in direct hiring of maids", TSO, 03.11.2017

The table shows the state polices imposed by the governments of the two biggest countries that send domestic helpers to Malaysia along with the Direct Hiring System that involved all the foreign domestic helpers working in Malaysia irrespective of their countries of origin. It can be observed in the table that the variation of state policies went into three phases according to the frequency of policy change:

i.   Phase I [2009-2012]: four state polices by Indonesia and the Philippines (too frequent policy variation).

ii. Phase II [2013-Mid 2015]: no state polices.

iii. Phase III [Mid 2015- April 2018]: state polices by the Philippines (less frequent policy variation) and direct hiring policy by Malaysia.

The state policies were very much interrelated as they were mainly regulated by the same memoranda of understanding between the countries. The following sections provides some details of the policies highlighted in table above with relation to some of these memoranda. The discussions will be proceeded with a background on the Malaysian employment act. Therefore, the phases will be divided as in Figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4 State policy phases

Figure 1.4 shows that between 2009 and 2012, there was a frequent policy alternation. While in the period between 2-13 and mid of 2015, there were no policy changes. Lastly

between the mid of 2015 and about the mid of 2018, there were less frequent policy changes.

1.6.1   The Malaysian Employment Act 1955

In the Malaysian Employment Act 155, a foreign domestic helper is referred to as "*domestic servant*". The definition specifies their employment in terms of venue, and duties.

> *"Domestic servant means a person employed in connection with the work of a private dwelling-house and not in connection with any trade, business, or profession carried on by the employer in such dwelling-house and includes a cook, house-servant, butler, child's nurse, valet, footman, gardener, washerman or washer-woman, watchman, groom and driver or cleaner of any vehicle licensed for private use"* (Saadin et al. 2016, p. 5).

The employment act does not recognize the category of FDH as the definition above is limited to duties of daily home chores of any domestic servant. As for the Malaysian Employment Act 265, FDH are mentioned with regards to the termination of contract:

> *"(2) An employer who contravenes subsection (1) commits an offence and shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding ten thousand ringgits. Duty to inform Director General of termination of service of foreign domestic servant 57B. (1) If the service of a foreign domestic servant is terminated— (a) by the employer; (b) by the foreign domestic servant; (c) upon the expiry of the employment pass issued by the Immigration Department of Malaysia to the foreign domestic servant; or (d) by the repatriation or deportation of the foreign domestic servant, the employer shall, within thirty days of the termination of service, inform the Director General of the termination in a manner as may be determined by the Director General. (2) For the purpose of paragraph (1)(b), the termination of service by a foreign domestic servant includes the act of the foreign domestic servant absconding from his place of employment. (3) An employer who contravenes subsection (1) commits an offence and shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding ten thousand ringgit"* (Noh et al., 2021, p.49-50).

Most of the hiring procedures and conditions are governed by the agreements between the two countries. According to the International Labour Organization report 2015, in the

Malaysian context, FDHs are mainly governed by immigration laws leaving the labour laws in the secondary position.

"*In Malaysia, immigration law is the principal instrument of governance for domestic work, with labour legislation as a secondary focus.*" (Ryder, 2015, p. 10). Thus, the employment act focused only on the procedure of hiring and the termination of contract.

1.6.2 State polices

The state polices is regulated by memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed between Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines to state the rights of each party i.e., the Malaysia employer and the foreign domestic helper. "Ban on maids" as referred to in the Malaysian media is caused by reports of domestic abuse- as mentioned above-. However, ban lifting takes place when an agreement in reached between the two government's representatives to approve rights and more protection.

In comparison of the two countries, the Filipina domestic helpers have more rights and higher pay due to negotiation attempts according to the International Labour Organization (Tayah, 2016). Though memorandum of understanding (MOU), minimum wages are regulated mainly to protect the financial rights of FDH working in Malaysia. Minimum wages usually come as one of the conditions in the articles of the memoranda.

For instance, in 2006, Malaysia and Indonesia signed memorandum of understanding yet gaps and loopholes in the article allowed employers to abuse the FHD. Therefore, between 2006- 2011, Indonesia continued to receive series of complaints from their citizens who are employed in Malaysia. The complaints included inadequate rest periods, withholding passports and unfair wages. In addition, the media was full of high-profile cases of abuse reported. These factors pushed Indonesia to suspend deployment of

domestic workers to Malaysia in 2009 pending a revised agreement. With regards to minimum wages the article included:

"The total amount charged in recruitment fees was fixed at MYR4,511 (US$1,030), of which the employer was made responsible for MYR2,711 (US$620) and the worker MYR1,800 (US$410)" (Ryder, 2015, p.14). The article notably missed the base wages requested by the Indonesian government which was MYR700 (US$160) per month by then. The constant change in these policies is believed to have an influence on the conditions experienced by the domestic helpers in Malaysia.

1.6.3   Direct Hiring System (SOM)

A relevant policy to minimum wages is the Direct Hiring System. The Direct Hiring System is attributed to the former Prime Minister Najib Razak that in 2018 who allowed the FDHs to be directly hired online without going through recruitment agencies. This policy reduces the extra charges imposed by the recruitment agencies that reach up to RM12,000 (Andrea, 2018). On the other hand, Tinaganita, an NGO that advocates for the rights of foreign workers and domestic helpers showed support to the Direct Hiring System not only to reduce cost but also to reduce human trafficking (Free Malaysia today, 2017, 27 October).

1.6.4   Criticism of state policies concerning FDHs in Malaysia

Migrant workers who work in factories or plantation are more prone to get legalized than the FDHs. Getting legalized means getting protection by the law. on the one hand, FDHs are listed under migrant workers, but they are out of reach due to their physical isolation as the nature of their job requires. Therefore, they easily become illegal immigrants and lose their rights accordingly. In addition, Tenaganita confirmed in an interview with the Star newspaper that the FDHs do not fall under the employment Act except as domestic

servants therefore they are denied the rights accorded to the other migrant workers (Tan, 2017; Whelan et al., 2016; Davadason, 2021).

1.7 Prominent online news agencies

To understand the role of the media in Southeast Asian region, it is important to know the social powers that control the media and the popularity of those media agencies in the society. Therefore, this section will provide the background information about the status of media in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Special attention will be placed on the selected news agencies in terms of ownership, distance to the governments and circulation.

1.7.1.1 Malaysian online media

In principle, the goal of journalism is to spread information to as many people as possible about events, opinions and current issues. Its function is highly idealized as a wide-open marketplace of ideas where opposite views meet (Talbot, 2007). Yet the media at the same time is not opinion free. It promotes and circulates the ideologies of the powerful agents in the society. That leaves no room for the silenced and marginalized groups to represent themselves. Media portray the marginalized groups to the public with what suits the ideologies and benefits of the powerful elites in the society. This is done professionally using language tools and persuasive arguments to control the minds of the public (Van Dijk, 2001). Many studies have highlighted the limited freedom of expression in the Malaysian Media. Those studies argued that the voices of the elites are maintained in the news. They support the decisions of the government and social elites and find justifications to their judgement (Che Yussoff & Nordin, 2021; Leong, 2015; Wok & Mohamed, 2017; Wong, 2000).

Furthermore, the online media has become increasingly popular in Malaysia. Most of the news agencies have an online website, an application on the phone, a Facebook page, and a Twitter account (Staples, 2016). The following section provides an overview on some of prominent the news agencies selected for analysis.

1.7.1.1.1 The Star

The Star newspaper was established in 1971. It offers local and international news, in-depth analysis and reviews on politics, business, sports, entertainment, and more. It is also the channel of many advertisements and job offers. It is one of the largest paid tabloid-format newspapers in Malaysia in terms of circulation. *The Star* newspaper is produced in English. Its daily circulation hits about 1.5 million according to Audit Bureau of Circulations (2015). The Star's E-paper edition is also one the most popular paid e-paper in Malaysia. Its circulation hits more than 100,000 according to 2015's records. *The Star* is also published online for free.

Table 1.5 The circulation of The Star newspaper in 2015

ABC circulation			NEWS
Dailies	**Jan - June 2015**	**July - Dec 2014**	
The Star	**365,804**	**372,242**	
Print	272,507	286,436	
Digital	93,297	85,806	
NST	**58,172**	**71,561**	
Print	55,886	68,812	
Digital	2,286	2,749	
The Sun (Print only)	**306,249**	**306,023**	
Weeklies			
Sunday Star	**366,727**	**365,814**	
Print	274,046	280,227	
Digital	92,681	85,587	
New Sunday Times	**69,222**	**78,404**	
Print	66,941	75,671	
Digital	2,281	2,733	
The Edge	**36,975**	**37,633**	
Print	23,921	25,396	
Digital	13,054	12,237	
The Edge Financial Daily	**34,567**		
Print	4,438	NA	
Digital	30,129	NA	

<div align="center">Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation   ©The Star Graphics</div>

According to Table 1.5, *The Star* newspaper publishes four types of circulations: *Daily Star, Sunday Star, Daily Star E-paper*, and *Sunday Star E-paper*. They record a high

circulation as reported by ABC in 2015. Daily Star recorded 248,413 papers; Sunday Star recorded 246,652 papers, Daily Star E-paper recorded 105,645 and Sunday Star E-paper recorded 104,804 papers.

The Star newspaper is considered as a pro-government newspaper because of two reasons. Firstly, it is owned by the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), which is a political party that represents the Malaysian Chinese ethnicity, and is one of the Barisan National coalition components, the ruling party in Malaysia up to mid of 2018 (Widyawati, 2008). Secondly, it is, as all other official newspapers in Malaysia, subject to obtaining license that obstruct government criticism as stated by Azlan et al. (2012). Therefore, *The Star* is seen as one of the newspapers that transmit the ideas and ideologies of the social elites in its treatment to the issues of the voiceless marginalized groups as will be detailed in the literature. As mentioned earlier, *The Star* represents mainly the voice of the government in terms of updating people with the new laws and agreements according to Azlan et al. (2012). The Star's online portal is one of the most visited sites as will be discussed in chapter three.

1.7.1.1.2 Malaysia Kini

Malaysia Kini is an independent online news agency that is also popular. It is famous for its critical views of the mainstream media. According to Fong and Kit (2017), to Malaysia Kini is Malaysia's first commercial online newspaper. It was first launched in early 1999 by Steven Gan and was first funded by Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEPA). According to Yang and Md Sidin (2015), Steele (2009) and Liang (2014), it represents the counter-hegemonic discourse in reporting various interethnic issues. "*Considering the ideological differences of The Star and Malaysiakini, this study therefore aims to investigate the framing of the Cow-Head protest from four different dimensions: 1)*

intensity of coverage, 2) news sources, 3) news frames; and 4) valence of the articles"
(Fong & Kit, 2017, p. 77)

It has always been ranked as one of the most viewed cites. Malaysian Kini had two court cases in 2007 and 2012 with series of trials for having issues in reporting some events that were deemed to defame some political figures. Therefore, Malaysia Kini is seen as an alternative media (Fong & Kit, 2017).

1.7.1.2 Online news in Indonesia and the Philippines

It is important to know the status of freedom of expression in the media of the countries that send domestic helpers to Malaysia. To fully understand the limits of that freedom, it is vital to refer to the original definition set by the United Nations. The United Nations (UN) recognizes the freedom of speech as an international human right. In Article 19 of the ICCPR, UN articulates the international standards of freedom of speech as:

"[e]veryone shall have the right to hold opinion without interference' and that '[e]veryone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and import information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice." (Staples, 2016, p. 3).

In accordance with Article 19's wording, the freedom of speech extends to the newspaper and the online media. However, this freedom is not possible to be fully practiced in many of the sending countries. For example, the Indonesian press is ruled by the law. One of the laws is *the law of sedition* that is believed by some to have been weakening the freedom of expression. This is evident in the case of two activists and lawyers, *Sudjana* and *Lubis*, who were charged with sedition for providing statements that are believed to have insulted the President (Staples, 2016).

As for the Philippines, it is reported by the UN's rapporteur of the non-government organization *Let's Organize for Democracy and Integrity* (LODI) that the Philippines is losing its freedom of the press under Duterte regime. *"LODI stressed that the Philippine press is facing the 'most serious challenges since the downfall of the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos' citing attacks against journalists under the Duterte administration"* (Cabico, 2018, 3 May).

FREEDOM STATUS: PARTLY FREE	Freedom in the World Scores		Quick Facts	
	Freedom Rating	4/7	Population:	30,800,000
	Political Rights	4/7	Capital:	Kuala Lumpur
	Civil Liberties	4/7	GDP/capita:	$9,649
	(1=Most Free, 7=Least Free)		Press Freedom Status:	Not Free
	Aggregate Score: 45/100 (0=Least Free, 100=Most Free)		Net Freedom Status:	Partly Free

FREEDOM STATUS: PARTLY FREE	Freedom in the World Scores		Quick Facts	
	Freedom Rating	3/7	Population:	259,400,000
	Political Rights	2/7	Capital:	Jakarta
	Civil Liberties	4/7	GDP/capita:	$3,336
	(1=Most Free, 7=Least Free)		Press Freedom Status:	Partly Free
	Aggregate Score: 64/100 (0=Least Free, 100=Most Free)		Net Freedom Status:	Partly Free

FREEDOM STATUS: PARTLY FREE	Freedom in the World Scores		Quick Facts	
	Freedom Rating	3/7	Population:	102,600,000
	Political Rights	3/7	Capital:	Manila
	Civil Liberties	3/7	GDP/capita:	$2,878
	(1=Most Free, 7=Least Free)		Press Freedom Status:	Partly Free
	Aggregate Score: 62/100 (0=Least Free, 100=Most Free)		Net Freedom Status:	Free

Figure 1.5 Freedom of expression in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines

As Figure 1.5 shows, the level of freedom of expression in the host and the sending countries is shown below in the order of: Malaysia, Indonesia, and The Philippines. These records show that the freedom of expression in the four mentioned countries does not hit 50%. Therefore, the four countries shown above are not enjoying the freedom of press from the ideologies of the powerful elites (Cabico, 2018). The following section provides

some background information on some of the prominent newspapers of the countries of origin.

1.7.1.2.1 Jakarta Post

The Jakarta Post is one of the most widely circulated daily broadsheet newspapers in Indonesia. It is published daily in English. The paper was started as a collaboration between four Indonesian media stations under Jusuf Wanandi, the influence of Information Minister Ali Murtopo and other politicians. Its first publication dates to 25 April 1983. It features a weekend magazine and an online edition. Being in English language, the newspaper is targeted at the educated Indonesians and foreigners. However, the readership in the middle-class of the Indonesian society has increased. The establishment of Jakarta Post was further supported by the information minister Harmoko (Tarrant, 2008). As for readership, it is considered the most popular English written newspaper. Therefore, due to its popularity, *Jakarta Post* can act as a good representative of the Indonesian media.

According to Harun (2009), Hadi (2014) and Surwandono and Maksum (2019), the Indonesian media has developed a negative perception towards Malaysia after the *Ambalat* territorial tension between Malaysian and Indonesia.

1.7.1.2.2 The Daily Inquirer

Out of 55 English newspapers in the Philippines, the Inquirer Daily is one of the most popular newspapers. Founded in 1985, the Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI) is a daily broadsheet described as one of the bravest newspapers in the Philippines. It is leftist and liberal. It is known for criticizing the government's policies according to the New York

Times[3]. Its prominence is evident in its huge popularity especially online according to various sources. It marks the highest news website in term of viewing and the number of shares according to Alexa (2019). The number of its followers on social media is the highest among all other newspapers according to Feedspot (2021) as 3,683,130 followers. Therefore, it is one of the most representative news of the Philippines and can reflect what the Filipino public are exposed to. In addition, GMA is one of the well-known news websites in the Philippines and one of the most popular online sources of news. Therefore, in DHA terms, the a few newspapers selected from the sending countries mentioned above can best represent the point of view of the group of *Self* as they have the highest exposure to the public.

1.7.1.2.3 GMA

GMA is an online news platform that is also prominent in the high online trafficking as will be explained in Chapter Three.

1.7.1.2.4 Rappler

Rappler is a digital-native news site whose legal challenges under the President Rodrigo Duterte's government have gotten wide international attention. On June 15, Rappler's executive editor Maria Ressa and a former staff writer-researcher were convicted in a cyber-libel lawsuit.

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[3]"Can fearless journalism survive Rodrigo Duterte" New York Times, 22 August 2017

1.8   Scope of the study

As far as CDA is concerned, Wodak and Meyer (2009) confirmed that there is no CDA specific methods of data collection. Many scholars rely on traditional sociolinguistic methods.

Based on the research objectives, the analysis is conducted on online news articles from three countries: Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. This is to examine the representation of FDHs on both platforms being the destination country and the countries of origin of the two highest populations of FDHs in Malaysia as explained in the records of the Ministry of Human Resources in Chapter One. The data was collected from online news agencies from each of the countries as a representative of the media discourse.

The online news agencies from each country were selected based on the criteria of readership, accessibility, and subscriptions. First, the readership is measured by the online access records as compared to other news agencies in those countries. So, the highest readership was based on a few records sources such as APAC that bases its statistics on *Statistica*, a digital media records software that provides computer generated statistics and ASEAN UP website that measured the highest readership online news in Asia pacific (2017) among others. According to these statistics, Malaysia's highest readership online news goes to *SinChiew (Chinese), The Star Online* and *Malaysia Kini (English)*. As for the Philippines, the highest readership goes to *Rappler, The Inquirer, Phil Star, Manila Bulletin* and *GMA*. As for Indonesia the highest readership goes to *Kompas, Republika, Jakarta Post,* and *Jakarta Globe.*

The second criteria of selecting the news agencies is the accessibility to the new articles between 2009 and 2018. For some of these news agencies, there was no access to the older news articles prior to certain years while others did not report much on the topic of foreign domestic helpers. For example, *The News Straits Times*, one of the mainstream

news agencies with high readership in Malaysia was eliminated due to accessibility reasons. The news articles published between 2009 and 2015 were not accessible. Another example was *Phil Star*, that although it has a high readership but very few news articles were published on the topic of domestic helpers in Malaysia. Therefore, the following list is the selection of news agencies based on the three criteria:

Table 1.6 Online news agencies selection

Malaysia Mainstream agencies	Indonesia Mainstream agencies	Philippines Mainstream agencies
The Star	Jakarta Post	Daily Inquiry
The Sun Daily		GMA
Independent news agency		Independent news agency
Malaysiakini		Rappler

As can be seen in Table 1.6, seven news agencies' websites were selected for analysis based on readership measured by internet trafficking, accessibility, and frequency of reporting on the topic. As mentioned in chapter one, these news agencies have different orientations. Some of them are mainstream media while the others are independent agencies that could have different views from the mainstream. Therefore, considering the orientation of the selected news agencies, *The Star, Jakarta Post, Daily Inquirer* and *GMA* are categorized as mainstream media while *Malaysia Kini* and *Rappler* are the alternative media.

For each of the news agency, the articles were obtained via inserting the relevant keywords in the search engine of the websites. All the news sections were included in the query search such as the main news, opinions, and business news.

This research attempted to cover the media representation of FDHs in light of the state policies variations that took place in the past 10 years. Yet this study is limited to one

field of action which is the media text. Other genres of media such as TV news and advertisements were not included. The study was also limited in terms of access to the foreign domestic workers themselves due to their legality issues.

1.9 Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One provides the contextual background of domestic foreign workers in Malaysia. It also presented the research questions and objectives. Chapter Two is the literature review chapter. It is divided into two parts: the theoretical background of the thesis and the review of previous studies on the topic of foreign domestic helpers. Chapter three is the methodology. In the methodology, there are two sections: the procedures of data collection and selection, and the framework of this research. Chapter Four is a comparison of media representation of FDHs in Phase I [2009-2012]. Chapter Five is a comparison of media representation of FDHs in Phase II [2012-June 2015]. Chapter six is a comparison of media representation of FDHs in Phase III [July 2015-April 2018]. Chapter seven is the conclusion where all the research questions are answered, and the implications of research will be provided.

2   CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This section presents the theoretical stance from which the representation of FDH was analyzed. Research on elite and non-elite discourses were included because they shape the public opinion.

There are three angles in literature related to the issue of FDH in Malaysia: the theoretical background underpinning DHA, elites' media discourse on FDH and non-elite discourse on FDH. Firstly, the theoretical background will explain the foundation and evolution of CDA and the concepts that are relevant to the analysis. Secondly, the elites' discourse will be manifested in the studies that discussed the representation of the FDH in the mainstream media. Thirdly, the non-elite's discourse will be manifested in the studies by the humanitarian organizations and human rights activists in different fields such as law, gender studies, women's rights, medical and psychological welfare of the FDH.

2.1   Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Van Dijk (2018) defined Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an analysis type of discourse that focuses on the methods of producing and disseminating social power abuse, dominance, and inequality in the social and political context. It aims to *"understand, report/expose and raise resistance to social inequality"* (2018: 467). CDA is a term used interchangeably with what was known as Critical Linguistics (CL). It aims to link linguistic analysis to language functions in the societies as CDA views "*language as social practice*" (Fairclough and Wodak, 2005). To analyze the functions of language in a society, CDA asserts a necessity to understand and explain society in terms of power relations, the ideologies that manipulate language use and the channels in which language

is used (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). There are four unique characteristics that all CDA frameworks share.

Firstly, CDA is multidisciplinary as it relates the linguistic varieties with their applications in social settings. In terms of the linguistic analysis, CDA adopts several approaches that vary in their scope from word to macro level. This means focusing not only on a discourses' linguistic features but also at the hidden messages conveyed and circumstances surrounding its' production. Pertaining to social analysis, CDA combines concepts available in various theoretical paradigms borrowed from various social science fields such as: sociology, anthropology, media, economy, philosophy, history and politics; believing that these fields are able to explain the linguistic choices (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Sheyholislami, 2010). CDA also revolves around explaining the language choices in relation to the notions of power, dominance, and hegemony; discrimination of race, gender, or social class; interests and ideologies of social elites, social order, social structure and reproduction of discourse (Van Dijk, 2001). Its transdisciplinary characteristic allows many theories, approaches, methodologies, and traditions to enhance the process by which each internally appropriates the logic of the other as a resource for its own development (Teo, 2000). In Addition, scholars working on CDA generally argue that linguistic and non-linguistic social practice constitute one another.

Secondly, CDA views text as located in specific time and place which encapsulate social, cultural and ideological context (Fairclough, 1995; 1993; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 1996). Therefore, there is an undeniable emphasis on the historical background of events which services to explain and uncover ideologies and perspectives (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The third characteristic of CDAs focus on prejudice and inequality in societies. It assumes that social elites are privileged to access public discourse unlike the minorities and

silenced groups. Therefore, it takes it upon itself to support the discriminated groups in the society. Thus, making it a social problem-oriented approach (Van Dijk, 2001). It focuses on the oppressed and "*aims to evolve socio-political, socioeconomic and societal practices by demystifying discourse manipulation and dissemination of ideologies through text and talk*" (Van Dijk, 2001: 81). It plays the role of investigating the ways of resisting dominant representations and hidden ideologies. It is believed to service a purpose rather than only record linguistic options. (Wodak 1995, p. 204).

The last CDA characteristic emphasizes that discursive practices highlight domination strategies practiced by powerful elites. The ideologies that are constructed and disseminated by the powerful elites through discourse. That means the system of *right and wrong* in societies are constructed and contextualized through discursive practices executed using a variety of channels including the media (Wodak 1995).

In an attempt to analyse ideologies in news text, a research report by Ghannam (2011) analysed three Lebanese newspapers about the war in 2007 between Hezbolla and Israel. The researched focused on linguistic elements such as active, passive voice, transitivity, direct and indirect discourse, nominalisation and modal verbs among others. The analysis was based on multiple critical discourse analysis approaches such as Fairclough 1998 framework, Fowler's 1991 framework and Reah's 1998 framework. The analysis was done on two layers micro and macro. The study aimed to distinguish the different representations of the same political event as that representation is influenced by different ideological goals.

Ideology is associated with the concept of power and hegemony, which is located and transmitted through language. News by theory should reflect the world events in written or spoken words, as it is considered by many as an unbiased mediator tool. But practically

every piece of information that is reported in the news cannot escape articulated from an ideological position. This means, there are different ways of reporting the same event. The choices of expressions vocabulary, articulation of information are not accidental or random alternatives. The variety of expressions carry ideological differences and that creates variant representation (Ghannam, 2011).

In one study (Wenden, 2005) on headlines analysis using Fairclough approach, it was found that ideologies underlying language are reflected via different forms of reporting and reshape the same event in different ways. The CDA of the selected articles revealed the occurrence of certain omissions and additions and sequence of which drew conclusions as to the reasons of the variation of representation. The study had extended its analysis to the use of different photographs attached to those articles that are reporting the same event. On the linguistic level, when the articles were compared, instances of omissions of participants along with passivation of actions, repetitions of expressions, and deletion of information were found. That constructed sound evidence that particular media source was not neutral.

Ideologies are defined as "organized sets of fundamental and often normative ideas and attitudes about some aspect of social reality shared by members of a group, society or culture. They are used to frame, legitimate, or validate opinions and actions in the domain to which they are applicable" (Wenden, 2005: 93). Ideology is interwoven in discourse therefore studying discourse helps to unveil ideology to raise awareness towards language manipulation (Khosravi Nik, 2008).

In summary, CDA aims to analyze solid and unclear structural connections between power, dominance, discrimination, and control. These notions are manifest in language. For critical discourse analysis, language is not powerful by itself, but it gains power from

its functions and from the power of people who have access to language means and public forum (Baker et al., 2008, p.9).

2.1.1 Foundation and evolution of CDA

CDA as a discipline of research that has developed its principles and methodologies through time until it reached its current stage. According to Van Dijk (2001), CDA is rooted in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School that was popular before the Second World War. Then in the early 1970s, the term critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Critical linguistics (CL) were used interchangeably. Critical Linguistics was based on Halliday's Systemic Functional grammar (SFL). During the 1970s, the theoretical trends were still focused heavily on the linguistic tools which were by themselves adequate linguistic analysis techniques.

By 1979, language analysis extended from the solely theoretical dimension to more of the functions of language in the societies. Scholars paid more attention to the concept of "*Ideology as manifested in the language*". A distinguished attempt was made by Trew, one of CL practitioners, who aimed at proving that ideologies are a set of organized systems that have linguistic characteristics. Trew developed his ideological modal of CL which stated that it was constructed around the notion of SFL (Fowler, 1997; Van Dijk, 2001; Sheyholislami, 2000). Based on SFL, CL research was focused on analyzing the language in terms of three functions: "*Ideational", "interpersonal"* and *"textual"*. *Ideational* refers to the speakers' repertoire and their world's viewpoint and experience. As for *interpersonal*, it refers to the function of interaction between speaker and listener and their attitude and viewpoints towards each other. *Textual* refers to both functions in text form. Through the *textual* function, it is believed that its' analysis was the start of finding the connection and echo of one text to another, what is known now as intertextuality (Fowler, 1991; Sheyholislami, 2000).

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Like sociolinguistics, CL and SFL assert the connection between linguistics and social structures and views language as an essential part of the social process. Furthermore, CL and SFL also meet at the principle that the speaker's choice of vocabulary and grammar are consciously or unconsciously 'systematic', which means are ideologically driven (Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler 1991; Fairclough, 1992, 1993). In addition to the linguist theories, CDA approaches draw from social theories and contributions from Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Jugen Habermas as they examine ideologies and power relations in discourse emerging from the principle that *language is the domain of ideology*. Ideologies have formed the social representations of groups. CL which is now referred as CDA has further been developed and broadened.

2.1.2 Frankfurt school

Frankfurt school is known through the work of Horkheimer and Adorno 1973 "*the dialectic of enlightenment*" and Adorno's book of "*negative dialectics*" in 1973. These two bodies of work are believed to have influenced the evolution of CDA as a whole but, DHA in particular.

The first body of work by Horkheimer and Adorno, '*The dialectic of enlightenment*' criticizes capitalism and claims that human history and mass culture have enormous evidence of human deviation from their 'good potential' to become more violent. Concepts of cunning and renunciation and (self-) restriction were ideologies believed by humanity for the sake of survival. It states, domination and reinforcement are not a capitalist product, they are rather in the seeds of all civilizations that use the tools of rational reasoning to justify their means of survival, emphasizing one negative human nature trait.

In addition to the objective of "*The dialectic of enlightenment*", the second body of work '*negative dialectics*' emphasized that human reasoning should ascent to the level of

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critiquing the tools of survival. It calls for criticizing the thoughts that are considered as unarguable facts by reconsidering them and rejecting the thoughts that cause suffering for other members in the societies.

From the two books summarized above, the concepts of ideology driven social rules; reconstruction of the norms, traditions and unquestionable social facts are the main concepts that CDA adopted from Frankfurt's school.

2.1.3 Habermas

As a continuation of the Frankfurt school, Jurgan Habermas emphasized several concepts that were the foundation of CDA such as the concepts of *language and emancipation*, and Ideal Speech Situation (ISS). He later identified patterns of communication in a theory called 'Formal Pragmatics' in 1976. He also re-established what is known as hermeneutics, which is considering interpretations based on intuitive knowledge as a science. He also developed a theory of intersubjectivity by setting universal standards for pragmatics. His theories lead to the analysis of different aspects of human interactions such as strategic actions which refer to the speakers' intention to influence the other. It also led to communicative action which is the formal pragmatic properties of every conversation which is rereferred to as *validity claims*. Validity claim is related to how a speaker view themselves with regards to the ideas they believe in. It means that every speaker believes that his perception of reality is the true perception and sharing the shared perceptions to participants create a bond.

2.1.4 CDA criticism

CDA has been criticized in terms of its political nature, theoretical selections, and limited textual selection. In the following paragraphs, the criticism of CDA will be discussed. CDA has been accused of being biased and political in nature (Widdowson,

2004; KhosraviNik, 2010). Admittedly, CDA is political in the sense that it involves power and ideology analysis as being the base of discriminatory practices that are reflected and reinforced through discourse. Yet CDA is committed to the struggle against inequalities and suffering of certain social groups in the societies. It comes in support of silenced groups or those who have no access to public discourse. For that limitation in their access, they are therefore represented from the perspective of the powerful groups. CDA has become an established academic tradition for its pluralistic character believing in the coexistence of various social groups in one society (Wodak, 2001).

Another critic of CDA is that it's scholarly insufficient. However, on a theoretical level, it is ardently adherent to the scholar principles of the social theories it adopts, and it follows the linguistic systematic research through mostly case studies. By that it avoids overgeneralization and early assumptions (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

Blommaert (2005) summarized the theoretical principles that CDA uses, along with all critical approaches to language they share in common, into four principles. The first principle was to adequately analyze language, a researcher should highlight the purpose of using the language and the goals of communication. Achieving that necessitates the analysis of the society where the linguistic interaction takes place. Secondly, different environments have an influence on how language operates. So, to analyze the language, a researcher needs to contextualize, understand the purpose and present conditions in which language occurred along with the linguistic analysis. The linguistic units of analysis should not be abstract because the same expression can refer to bare different messages in different situations. Thirdly, every language speaker has sets of repertoires that dominate their use of language. A researcher should not ignore language varieties between individuals. Therefore, the cognitive analysis seems to fill that gap. Fourthly, globalization has made our societies interconnected. It also broadens our world view though language choice, argumentation strategies and topics selection. This necessitates

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the researcher to consider the change in the modes of interaction and to be aware of the connection of societies that have an influence on the cognitive, interactional, and textual levels (Blommaert, 2005, Khosravi Nik 2010). In order for CDA to achieve its goal of resisting against inequality, context seems very important (Forchtner, 2011).

Answering to the criticism of CDA being political in nature, CDA is concerned with power and ideology in societies, yet it commits itself to the struggle against suffering of silent groups and the unequal access to public discourse. It supports the notion of social groups coexistence. Therefore, it has pluralistic character (Wodak, 2001; KhosraviNik, 2010; Widdowson, 2004).

2.1.5 Directions in CDA

CDA was developed into various frameworks that are united in their notions and principles (Van Dijk, 1998). So, among many frameworks that enriched CDA research, Wodak developed the Discourse Historical Approach (1995, 1996, 1999), Ideological square (1998) and Semantic Macrostructures (1980). The following sections provides a brief description of the frameworks relevant to this research.

2.1.6 Ideological Square (1998)

As explained in section 1.4.1, the ideological square involves grouping different races, social groups, social classes into prototypical ideological pronouns *Us* or *Them*. It is a way of in/out grouping represented in text and talk aiming at segregating actors as the positive *Us* or the negative *Other*. This is done by emphasizing good attributes and actions of the *Self* group and emphasizing the negative attributes or actions of the *Self* group on one hand and emphasizing the negative attributes and actions of those who falls out of the group of *Self* (*Other*) and de-emphasizing their good qualities or actions (Van Dijk, 1993, 1995, 1998 and 2008).

In classical rhetoric, emphasizing qualities and actions is known as hyperboles strategies and de-emphasizing is known as euphemism. In discourse, these two concepts are applicable at all levels of multimodal talk text such as: the level of visual images, sounds, syntax, lexicon, local and global semantics, pragmatics, rhetoric, and the schematic organization of discourse (Van Dijk, 20011, p. 397). To elaborate the possible applications of *Self* and *Other* polarization in discourse, Van Dijk (2011) elucidated the possible strategies of polarization on the sematic level by the choice of negative topics, degree of specification vs vagueness, presupposition, denomination, predication, agency, and modality among others.

There are several similarities between the polarization strategies listed above and the discursive strategies suggested by Wodak (2001). Firstly, both strategy lists aim at highlighting the polarization practices in discourse. Second, they are similar in their emphasis on nomination (referred to above as denomination), predication, and rhetorical devices. Thirdly, they are both concerned with the argumentation strategies (which is listed under superstructures. Fourthly, they are both concerned with interpreting the discourse topics which are categorized under semantic macrostructures.

2.1.7   Van Dijk's Semantic Macrostructures Theory (1980)

According to Van Dijk (1980), in the news discourse, the topic or the gist of the news article is summarized in the headline and the lead paragraph. Yet these components might reflect polarization strategies of negative *other* and positive *self*-representation and then it will appear more prominently in the detail's paragraphs. So, topic selection and construction might also be manipulated by polar ideologies. There lies the importance of analyzing discourse topics. Semantic macrostructures are the global meaning of the text. They are derived from the sentence meaning or the local meaning (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

In his book Macrostructure, Van Dijk (1980) explains the systematic rules of extracting discourse topics. These rules are referred to as macro-rules of *deletion, generalization and construction*. These rules must be applied multiple times to ensure consistency. Yet it is important to note that these steps depend heavily on the lexical choices, which explains the term semantic, and the researcher's background information of the topic (Al-shaibani, 2011). In simple terms, the process of applying macrorules goes by examining several sentences (propositions) of a text. This is done by deleting the irrelevant details that distract the sentences from falling into a central theme. Then a researcher needs to form a *generalization* which refers to constructing a more general picture- derived from the similar components of selected sentences. Then, constructing a paraphrased statement which forms a new proportion (Van Dijk, 1980; 1988; 2001).

According to Van Dijk (1988), after applying the macro rules for multiple times, the discourse topic is shaped. Van Dijk (1988) and Brown and Yule (1983) commented that the analysis of macrostructure is subjective in nature. That means different researchers might produce different propositions for a given text. The propositions are the analyst's interpretations of what the text means. Therefore, according to Brown and Yule (1982) and Pajunen (2008), the theory of macrostructures is a way to determine the possible topic rather than the definite topics of a discourse.

2.1.8   Discourse Historical approach (2001)

This section elaborates on Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in terms of principles, theoretical stance, and evolution, as well its analytical approaches. Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical approach developed in Vienna is inspired by sociolinguistic studies focusing on the historical heritage of nations believing that the historical heritage is what forms the current attitudes, perceptions and viewpoint towards events and social groups. It is based on the ideas of the Frankfurt school, especially those

of Jürgen Habermas and on the Bernsteinian tradition (Wodak, 1995). According to Wodak (1996):

> *"Discourse Sociolinguistics…is a one which isn't explicitly dedicated to the study of the text in context, but also accords both factors equal importance. It is an approach capable of identifying and describing the underlying mechanisms that contribute to those disorders in discourse which are embedded in a particular context--whether they be in the structure and function of the media, or in institutions such as a hospital or a school—and which inevitably affect communication"* (p.3).

Wodak carried out research on various social institutions such hospitals, schools, courts among others. Her goal was to codify the Antisemitic utterances and themes encapsulated in discourse. She places special attention to race and gender discrimination issues. She asserts that context plays a central role in expression choices and perceptions. Like all CDA approaches, her approach focuses on the concept of power, dominance, hegemony, and discrimination in the societies (Wodak, 2001).

DHA supports the view of '*language as a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power*' (Wodak, 2001, p.2). By that it refers to Habermas's Ideal Speech Situations (ISS). ISS is the communication between individuals that is free of any biasedness or constrains. DHA does not claim that such a situation of communication exists. Rather it states that the ideal speech situation should be recognized in terms of its principles and should be compared to what is available in the real-life situations that are impossible to be biased free. Such comparison will enable DHA to achieve two of its objectives: i) emancipation of integrating pluralist societies through self-reflection and; ii) being empirical as a research framework. DHA claims a utopian role of discourse in correcting the social inequality (Forchtner, 2011). For example, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) refer to Van Eemeren and Groorendorst rules of rational reasoning. They argued that that both correct rules of rational arguments and argumentative fallacies should be identified in the analysis, one as the utopian -ideal-

ways of arguments and the other as the manipulative practices. This by itself is rooted in Hebrmas's validity claims (Wodak, 2009).

There are a few reasons that justify the selection of DHA as being the most suitable approach to this research. Firstly, although DHA is similar to the other CDA approaches in its notion and principles, it differs in that it is more systematically adherent to the Frankfurt's school (Forchtner, 2011). Secondly, DHA aims to elucidate the persuasive construction- in its analysis of argumentative strategies- that are manipulative social constructions (Wodak, 2009).

Thus, the general concept of social critique that DHA adopts is similar to those of all CDA approaches. It aims to demystify and reveal the power structure in the society from the perspective of the social groups who suffer. Forchtner (2011) summarized DHA's role as a social critique in the following three dimensions that mentioned by Reisigl & Wodak (2001, pp. 32) and Wodak (2001, p. 65):

- "Immanent critique – problematizes contradictions in the text/discourse internal structure. This kind of critique can be 'objective' as logical contradictions are perceivable by every competent language user."

- "Sociodiagnostic critique – intends to demystify propagandist, populist, etc. discursive practices. This kind of critique takes a normative standpoint insofar as the critic refutes such positions and has thus to justify its point of view."

- "Prognostic/retrospective critique – at this level, the DHA tries to transform the current state of affairs via direct engagement by referring to guiding principles such as human rights or the rejection of suffering. Here too, a justification of one's own standpoint is needed." (Forchtner, 2011, p.3)

Clarify the three dimensions mentioned above, DHA reveals and renounces the presence of contradicting perspectives and representations in one or multiples texts under

one discourse topic. It also confirms Habermas' and Frankfurt's view that logical arguments which denote a successful argumentative strategy may be used sometimes to hide or substitute the truth in a discourse. The second-dimension states that DHA is problem-based as it helps to diagnose social problems of inequality from the viewpoint that different social groups should coexist. Thirdly, it considers *interpretation*s as being a scientific analytical tool if it could be justified logically from the viewpoint of human rights and rejection of injustice. Thus, the reasons of selecting DHA for this research is mostly to highlight the persuasive strategies to justify the representations and to bring social justice to the group of FDHs. Furthermore, the historical context considers interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits unveiling the reconstruction or recontextualization and links texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time (Wodak, 2008, Hansson, 2015).

2.1.8.1 Discourse topics

Reisigl and Wodak, (2012) highlighted the importance of identifying discourse topics in order to locate the utterances scrutinized within their contextual background. Discourse topics are themes in which the utterances analysed appear. These themes act as summaries to long chains of discourses that have synchronic and diachronic dimensions. In other words, these themes interconnect texts produced by different sources at one point in time and different texts produced at different times. Therefore, discourse topics are the manifestation of *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity*. They are defined as '*As units summarizing the meaning of entire text or their selected passages'* (KhosraviNik, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak, 2012).

2.1.8.2   Discursive strategies

On the micro level, there are five discursive strategies that are preserved as the tools of analysis. They are referential strategies, predication strategies, argumentation strategies, intensification/ mitigation strategies and perspectivation strategies. These strategies are explained in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 Discursive strategies of Discourse Historical Approach

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. • tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (*pars pro toto, totum pro parte*) • verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns • collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
argumentation	justification and quest-ioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	• topoi (formal or more content-related) • fallacies
perspectivization, framing or discourse representation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	• deictics • direct, indirect or free indirect speech • quotation marks, discourse markers/ particles • metaphors • animating prosody, etc.
intensification, mitigation	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocut-ionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	• diminutives or augmentatives • (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. • hyperboles, litotes • indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion) • verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

(Reisigl, and Wodak, 2009:95)

Wodak (2006) defines referential strategies as the strategies that categorize social groups into an in-group and out-group. Predication strategies is associating these groups with positive or negative attributes. As for the argumentation strategies, they are the tools

for justifying positive or negative traits. Two important concepts constitute the main parts of argumentations: Topoi and fallacies. "Topoi" or "loci" are as parts of argumentation which belong to the "*obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises*". They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Wodak, 2006, p. 74). Perspectivation strategies refers to the text producer's involvement or distance and the positioning of the point of view. As for intensification and mitigation strategies, they refer to tools used to intensify or mitigate certain actions, attributes, or qualities of certain social groups.

Firstly, Referential strategy refers to the construction of in-group out group expressions using nouns, pronouns, metaphors metonymies and synecdoche's. Secondly, Predication, on the other hand, refers to evaluative, stereotypical attributions of negative or positive traits in the form of appositions, adjectives, prepositional phrases, conjunctional clauses, relative clauses, infinitives clauses, etc. (Wodak, 2001).

Thirdly, according to Van Der Valk (2002), argumentations have predominantly a persuasive function. These arguments may give information about underlying opinions, e.g. on ethnic relations. The purpose of argumentation as a social activity is to resolve a difference of opinion "by means of exploring the relative justification for competing standpoints" (Van Eemeren et al., 1987; Eemeren, 2018). The primary focus in this approach is thus not on the form or content of arguments, but rather on interactions and procedures. Pragma-dialectical research has distilled 10 central rules that constitute the common ground for argumentative discourses. Half of these are related to the process of argumentation, they prescribe the rules of conduct for participants in a discourse in order to better resolve differences of opinion. These I refer to as the process-argumentation rules. The other half of the rules for critical discourses are less related to the process and more to the product, to the arguments as they are produced in the process of

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argumentation. I refer to these as the product-argumentation rules. Three argumentative devices have been examined in the data under scrutiny, topoi, counterfactuals, and fallacies.

'*Topos*' is a concept that originated in the classical argumentation theory of Aristotle. Literally it means '*place*' or, in the words of Erasmus, '*seat of arguments*'. Broadly speaking, a contemporary consensus exists about the following properties. A topos is a stem of public knowledge, a discursive resource in which one may find arguments for sustaining a conclusion. A topos may be characterized by its social use in the political arena rather than by its formal properties, although certain structural features have been identified. Topoi are general principles that support an argument without themselves constituting the argument itself. They are the consensual, self-evident issues of a community, laws of life at any one-time, basic principles of human thought and conduct. Moreover, it is not exceptional for a topos to exist simultaneously alongside its opposite (Rubinelli, 2006; Zagar, 2010; Toolan, 2002).

Here is a list of some of topoi. For example, Topos of burden means that foreigners are a burden on social expenditure. Its implied conclusion is that we must stop immigration by means of strict immigration policies. Topos of profit only comes to profit from our country. The implied conclusion is that we do not need such dishonest people. Topos of abuse is only abusing laws and rules. Implied conclusion: we should not trust them. Topos of advantage is given more advantages than the French. Implied conclusion: the French are discriminated against and must be cared for. Topos of decline, the growth of illegal immigration will lead to the decline of our civilization. The implied conclusion is that illegal immigration must be curbed if we want to survive. The topos of foreigns as causing and thus being responsible for unemployment, the topos of foreigns' welfare-dependency.

The topos of numbers, the implied conclusion of these four topoi is that immigration should be curbed.

More generally, the fallacies that are violations of the process-argumentation rules are used particularly to delegitimate opponents' standpoints. Some fallacies that may be distinguished and frequently occur in discourse on ethnic issues are populism, overgeneralization, setting up straw men, the fallacy of the slippery slope, the ad hominem fallacy, and the fallacy of compassion.

On the other hand, Fallacies (vague words and groundless alarm arguments that are visibly used to claim that the opponent is wrong. for the sake of winning the moment argument. For example, if u facilitate imforeigns' procedures, you are helping in human trafficking. baseless accusation Several fallacies may be identified in the argumentation strategy of the Right. Bentham in his Handbook of Political Fallacies (1962) defines a fallacy as

> '*An argument employed, or topic suggested for the purpose, or with the probability of producing the effect of deception, or of causing some erroneous opinion to be entertained by any person to whose mind such an argument may have been presented*' (Grootendorst, 1997, p. 72).

Next, Perspectivation is about narrating a story from the narrator's perspective. Studying this strategy is concerned with highlighting the expressions that reveal how the participants are situated (framed) in an image. For the narrator –being the media agency here- to effectively build a frame for the readers, media agents employ tools of nomination, predication and select some arguments to influence the reader's perception of the participants involved. That means, the choices of expressions and pieces of information associated with the event is the narrator's choice that is ideologically oriented. Having the sole access to the information, media can narrate events indisputably from their point of view. The audience. On the other hand, do not have access to the event

except through media agency. For example, the readers of a print or online media does not have access to information about wars, riots, or rallies in different parts of the world except through news agencies that take the responsibility of sending reporters to the affected places. The audience –being readers or viewers- wait for the agencies to deliver the information at their fingertips.

There are two types of text producers who may use this strategy: the media agency as an *animator of the text,* who might be the voice of the invisible where the readers are not aware of and *the author*, the participants who are quoted in the news text. This terminology is borrowed from the participation interplay presented in Goffman's notion of '*Participation Framework*' (Reisigl &Wodak, 2001; Rasti & Sahragard, 2012).

Perspectivation also includes the notion of '*Strategies* of *Involvement and strategies of Detachment*'. This is concerned with the degree of distance speakers put themselves in with regards to the actions presented whether to declare responsibility of the action or to veil those who are responsible. This is when once, for instance, passive voice is used to detach participants from the action in order to avoid blame or to generalize negative behaviors not to be blamed as individuals and to strengthen the sense of legitimization. This is in addition to metaphors that are used as a metonymy tool to construct a frame. Thus, perspectivation is applied to attain certain goals such as to modify the cognitive status of proposition, modify expressions of the speaker, to persuade audience, to play upon the degree of certainty and the degree of involvement and detachment of speakers among other goals (Reisigl &Wodak, 2001).

Evidence of perspectivation strategies can be found in the way reporting, quotations, descriptions, and narrations take place. It can be measured as the spacious allotment granted to certain participants. That is detected by comparing the pace of expressing opinion given to two participants such as the number of quotations of the 'US'

group and the 'Other' group as in Rasti and Sahragard, (2012) restricted by the rules of different genres and fields of action. (Reisigl &Wodak, 2001).

In other words, reporting events in the media is not –opinion free- because our minds do not produce a neutral thinking naturally. The way a story told is always bond by the point of view of the narrator. The narrator selects the pieces of information according to the perspective they have towards the issue presented (Richardson, 2007).

It is a way of expressing involvement. It includes the expressions that reflect racism and support the point of view of one of the counterparts. It is evident in reporting, quotations, and other forms of expressions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Furthermore, Mitigation and Intensification are ways of placing more or less emphasis on certain information or individuals or events for the purpose of manipulating the representation of the subject. It is very much related to the tools of involvement. For example, the two opposing strategies assist to enlarge or alleviate a person's responsibility of certain actions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Wodak (2001) explained that intensifying strategies and mitigation strategies have wide range of varieties as in the table above. They help in modifying and qualifying the epistemic status of a proposition by escalating or lessening the illocutionary force of ethicist, nationalist, or racist utterances. These strategies play a vital role in clarifying and modifying the tone of discursive presentation.

2.1.9 Representation

CDA is concerned with the notion of power in the society. It tries to explain its causes referred to as ideologies and its effects referred to as either representation or identity

formation. The term *representation* – as the main concern of this research- refers to the language choices used in a text to convey meaning and portray an image to groups of people or to their social position or their social practices. It also refers to how events are portrayed in a type of text that could be verbal or written (Wenden, 2005). For representation to be influential, it is implicit most of the time. It is not whether the meaning conveyed is a fact or not, it is how social reality is formed using linguistic representation (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak, 2002; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 2002; Halliday, 1990, Hart 2012).

Furthermore, there are a few linguistic tools of representation referred to as '*modes of representation*'. Those modes of representations depend heavily on the selection of certain information in order to construct a particular image towards a group of people or an event. The selection of tools starts from the choice of words, choice of arguments and fractions of reality. For example, if a text highlights particular information of the biographical, historical, and sociocultural background of certain group, it will be based on certain ideologies. In terms of the effect of representation, linguistic representations determine the way in which we think about particular events, situations and a group of people (Wenden, 2005).

There are many forms of representations. According to Wodak (2001) and KhosraviNik (2008), sympathetic representation refers to the use of topoi of victimization where the subjects (represented group) are represented as powerless, helpless, and victims of attack. Strategies such as *referential* and *predication* are employed for the same purpose. Victimization strategies are employed in some discourses on refugees, asylum seekers and other marginalized groups. On the other hand, negative representation refers to the predications and themes that represent a social group with qualities that harm the others, or using conventional negative attributes such as lazy, dirty etc.

2.1.9.1 Types of representations and media discourse

There are many forms of representations. According to Wodak (2001) and KhosraviNik (2008), sympathetic representation refers to the use of topoi of victimization where the subjects (represented group) are represented as powerless, helpless, and victims of attack. Strategies such as *referential* and *predication* are employed for the same purpose. Victimization strategies are employed in some discourses on refugees, asylum seekers and other marginalized groups.

One of the most prominent discourse channels is media. As the social elites are responsible for the production and distribution of the public media, they equally play a vital role on the ideology carried by the media. Instances of racist social representation are seen in the mass media, and in politician speeches and parliamentary debates that are influential on the public.

On the other hand, scholars and writers may influence the public opinion through books and articles, when their ideas are published through the news media. Besides that, textbooks distributed worldwide may also promote certain racist attitudes and ideologies in the society. In these cases, the audience will be on a wider range from kids to adults. In short, the mass media is a vital influential source of prejudice, racism, and racist bias (Van Dijk, 2012; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Discourse as a manifestation of text and talk reports various discriminatory language (Van Dijk, 2012). It has been used all over the world to record racial practices, identify problems, highlight them and mitigate them. Through discourse these problems are used to oppress minorities and other ethnic groups directly or indirectly.

The role of discourse exceeds its conventional role of presenting social groups, it is further used to reproduce and represent the social groups in accordance with the discourse sources' point of view. This reproduction of groups is based on a set of ideologies, norms,

and values. Therefore, it could be a powerful transmitter of negative social representation or even prejudices to certain social groups (Van Dijk, 2012).

The influence of discourse on the society as Van Dijk (2012) asserts is directly proportional to the accessibility of discourse by the public. The public discourse is believed to have a stronger influence in the society as compared to private discourse. In comparing the influence of family talk or neighbourhood conversation to the influence of journalists, politicians and society elites whose voices are heard through the public media channels. Public discourse channels offer a wider space of opinions to be dissimilated which results in influence on the public opinion results in the reinforcement of public social cognition. Therefore, the symbolic social elites are one of the chief sources of collective ethnic ideologies and prejudices (Van Dijk, 1992).

The social elites are often responsible for popular racial attitudes and practices that are aggravated and legitimated through discourse. This is because racism may also be reproduced and empowered by the other ethnicities through personal experiences and interpersonal conversations, but these experiences cannot reach the public eyes without media channels, therefore, it is unlikely that it may have the widespread influence of public discourses such as parliamentary debates, news, movies, TV programs, novels, or textbooks. Voicing the popular racism ideologies through the media has to be approved and encouraged by the media elites who are in charge of and take the responsibility for its publication and production in the public sphere.

Since the elites are responsible for disseminating the racial discourse, the approval of the discriminatory discourse leads to legitimizing popular discourse. In every society there are antiracist elites in different domains such as politics, education and media yet their voices are not as influential as their racist counterparts as they might be marginalized themselves (Van Dijk, 1991).

Media has an undeniable power to influence the public opinion. This is because the dominant group has access and control over the public discourse and people are passive targets of the text. The control is not only over the content, but also over the structure (Van Dijk, 2004). People have access to information and news through media and by giving specific information, certain meanings, discourse is transmitted directly or indirectly.

Analyzing media texts and discourse brings interest to researchers of critical discourse analysis for several reasons. First, media provides a rich source of research. Second, media reflects culture, social life politics and ideological beliefs. Third, most of our knowledge about the world comes from the media. Fourth, media discourses uncover a lot of social meanings and stereotype (Mustafa, 2010).

Fairclough believes that media is gradually changing in form, from the direct one-way communication of telling the information, to a conversational way of disseminating the information. It is also gradually shifting in purpose from seriousness to more entertainment content and manner (Fairclough, 1995).

Wodak (1996) considers the socio-political and historical context of the development of polarized discourse in terms of argumentative strategies of constructing a 'Us' discourse using strategies of self-justification. She maintains that even the linguistic elements such as grammar might reflect in group and out group polarization. *'The aim of a discourse of self-justification, which is closely wound up with 'we discourse', is to allow the speakers to present herself or himself as free of prejudice or even as a victim of so-called 'reverse' prejudice'* (1996, p. 116).

According to Van Dijk (1988), some schematic categories in news articles are mandatory, others are optional, others are recursive and may occur a number of times. The mandatory components of the newspaper include:

- **Headline:** summarizes the gist of the article.

- **Lead:** repeats the headline with more details of the actual incident reported.

- **Paragraphs:** provides some details such as background, relevant topics and some narrations of the participants of the event reported.

- **Pictures:** give a visual illustration of the event or of a pervious article. It helps readers follow the story.

- **Quotes and reported speech:** of either participants in the event or social figures who are relevant to the topic.

- **Comments** of the writer.

It is important to understand the functions of each paragraph. Van Dijk (1988) highlighted that the lead paragraph and the headline might contain opinions the same as the other components. Of all these newspaper components the lead and the summary are the obligatory components while the rest are optional.

Media plays an important role in Southeast Asia. Its influence on the society and the public relations is undeniable. For example, a study suggested that the media in Southeast Asian countries is powerful enough to cause tension between countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia (Shariff et al., 2012). In their analysis of two newspapers from each of the counties (*the Star* and *Bernama* from Malaysia and *Kompas* and *Antara* from Indonesia), they found that the media plays a vital role in increasing and aggravating the resentment between the countries. The content analysis of the headlines issued between January to August 2012 suggest that the media has portrayed Malaysia negatively in the Indonesian newspapers. Majority of the topics of dispute were regarding the domestic helpers' issues and oil palm plantation issues. In other words, the issues of foreign workers were sensitive topics in the news of the two countries in terms of frequency of occurrence of these topics, they constituted (45%) of the news report that marked the highest percentage of dispute topics that is believed by the researchers as causing a high level of resentment.

In terms of the government involvement in the Malaysian media, Sofian and Hussein (2013) concluded that most of the newspapers in Malaysia is financially supported by individuals from the ruling party. Other newspapers are financially supported by the other political parties. Yet the source of the news is mostly from the ruling party. Hua (2008) suggested that the newspapers in Malaysia play a mediator role between the government and the public. Thus, the government is involved in the production of the news whether directly or indirectly.

Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009) confirmed that journalists subconsciously portray their viewpoint of the political scene through framing process. This is reflected in the choice of words and images that influence the interpretation and evaluation of events by the audiences.

One the other hand, the Philippines has a wide range of newspapers for different ethnicities, languages, regions, and political stance. Among the four countries under investigation, the Philippines marks as the country with the most variant press.

2.2   Review of literature

Several studies have discussed the issue of foreign workers from an economic, political, social point of view. It is important to shade the light on these studies as they would reflect the image of foreign workers in these fields that might be mirrored in the newspapers. In addition, including non-linguistic studies helps to rectify and support the major themes of analysis and in return to assist in finding the ideologies beneath. Therefore, the representation in this section focuses on the themes, arguments, terminology in a content analysis of the studies from different fields associated with domestic foreign workers. However, not much attention is paid to media representation of FDHs in Malaysia.

2.2.1 Dominant representation of foreign workers

There aren't many studies on the representation of FDHs as mentioned earlier. Some studies merged the foreign domestic helpers FDHs representation together with the foreign workers migrant workers representations. These two social groups have some similarities and some differences. They are similar in terms of state laws such as minimum wages, amnesty program, and levy. Yet they are different in terms of gender, domain and employers. The FDHs work at homes and are mainly females, while the migrant workers mainly refer to the construction, plantation and security workers who are mainly men and work either in factories, farms, or companies. Therefore, this section will highlight some of the studies that merged migrant workers and foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia.

The two social groups migrant workers and foreign domestic works have similar representations in the Malaysian media. For example, a study examined the media representation of all foreign immigrants in Malaysia which are: foreign students, workers, employees, and expatriates which are referred to collectively as *'foreign nationals'* in crime news (Misman, et al., 2017). The study analyzed the language used in a number of headlines from Malaysian newspapers such as: *The Star, The New Straits Times, The Sun,* and *The Malay Mail* between January to April 2016. Using DHA, the findings showed that the representation of *'foreign nationals'* suggest constructing their social group as *'others'*. On the thematic level, the *'foreign nationals'* were portrayed in the local crime news as *victims* in (20) articles and as *offenders* in (27) articles. the victim image is elicited from representations like *weak, terrified, and pitiful*. On the other hand, the *offenders* image comes from portraying them as *horrific*, *cruel*, and *rogue* especially in violent crime events. In other words, the two sympathetic and negative representations are competing in the same newspapers.

2.2.2 Conflicting representations of foreign domestic helpers

As it is important to understand how the media in Malaysia represents the FDH, it is equally important to understand how the world media represents them. This is important because the issues related to the FDH is a global phenomenon. FDH in Malaysia are but a small segment of the large group of foreign domestic workers around the world. The cases selected are media comparison representations from countries that have similarities to Malaysia especially in terms of the nationalities of the FDH.

FDH were represented with conflicting images. Staab and Maher (2008) conducted a field study in 2002 using participant observation and interviews of recruitment agencies. They found that the domestic helpers from Peru were represented in two ways simultaneously for ideological purposes. They are represented both as *superior workers* and as *uneducated and uncivilized*. The representation and the references to them are for the reason of discipline and warning.

Similarly, Spigelman (2013) found out that the domestic helpers from Maldives, Mexico and the Philippines were represented as victims of human trafficking or heroes and as a threat to the immigration and economic systems in the Canadian and Italian newspapers. More drastically, another study (Pratt, 1997) revealed that domestic helpers from the Philippines are stereotyped as *poorly motivated and uncivilized but educated*. This is depicted in a series of interviews which referred to the colonial past and racial differences among other interpretations. Therefore, the issue of the negative representation of foreign workers is an international phenomenon, especially in the counties that accept a huge number of foreign workers like United States of America, Australia, and United Kingdom.

In similar veins, Hennebry, et al. (2017) analyzed the newspapers representation of women foreign workers in four different countries: Italy, Canada, Mexico and the Philippines from a gender equality\discrimination point of view under a project by the

United Nations Entity for gender equality and empowerment of women. The selection of these countries was because the Philippines has the largest number of FDH being sending to countries, Italy, US and Canada. While Mexico has been reported to be a receiving country for workers from the Philippines and a sending country to US and Canada. The results of this study revealed that in the four countries, there were three representational themes*: a victim (38%), a hero (27%), and a threat (35%).* Yet in some cases, the representational themes appear together in some news articles.

Another study highlighted the Jakarta Post portrayed the Indonesian FDHs who work in Malaysia as *heroic victims*. In her chapter, Austin (2017) found that Jakarta Post showed interest in the abuse victim cases such as Nirmala Bonat and criticized both governments for not combatting human trafficking. She also found that Jakarta Post often refers to international law and human rights activists to support the victimization image.

Thus, the representations above shows a list of attributes and predications that were employed to represent the domestic foreign workers in the selected countries.

2.2.3 Negative representation of foreign domestic helpers

A number of studies have discussed the issue of FDH from a women's rights point of view. They provide an insight on the socio-cultural environment. These studies mostly used interviews, surveys as methods of collecting data. The importance of these studies lies in the direct interaction with the domestic helpers and listening to their perspective.

Another study was conducted on the perception of reequipment agencies towards the FDH helpers in Lebanon (Ghaddar et al. 2018). Using thematic analysis, 42 interviews were conducted with requirement agencies in Lebanon. The study revealed that the workers were perceived negatively by the employment agencies workers that described them with negative attributes based on stereotypical perception according to nationalities.

For example, Filipina workers were considered *educated and strong*, yet they have *tendency to run away* with boyfriend or occasionally marry Lebanese citizens. They share the same characteristic of escaping as the Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan FDH. Yet the Bangladeshi workers have an additional characteristic of '*creating gangs of theft and prostitution*'. As for the Ethiopian workers, they are perceived as mentally disturbed and practice black magic which would scare the host families.

The researcher suggested that these negative attributes are used by the interviewees to justify the abuse and exploitation the FDH face. The study shows that the FDH are vulnerable to various types of exploitation in terms of wages and working hours and living conditions. In addition, they are also *vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse*, forced labor, and restriction of movement and travel documents. These practices were violations to the ILO Convention No. 189 in terms of economic, and physical abuse.

Another study by Ridaryanthi (2011) warned that the in order for the Indonesian foreign workers in Malaysia to adapt to the Malaysian culture, media has a big role in helping them to achieve that. Yet, the local media in Malaysia construct a stereotypical image of Indonesian foreign workers which in return slows their adaptation to the Malaysian culture which leads to communication problems with their employers at least. The evidence mentioned above show that the Malaysian media often refer to the non-citizens social groups with mostly negative attributes. Therefore, the Malaysian media portray all those groups as stereotyped *'Other'*. The international labour Organization (2015) found that the media coverage of migrant workers in Malaysia and Thailand encourage negative perception towards migrants which describes them as illegals and criminals.

This shows that the domestic foreign workers are stereotyped and overgeneralized by the employers and the recruitment agencies.

2.2.4 Sympathetic representation of foreign domestic helpers

The studies under this category are either conducted by a humanitarian organization or the findings and implications are humanitarian in nature. Humanitarian motives may include, human rights, citizen's rights, law and justice, anti-discrimination, anti-racism, and so on. Such concepts revolve around the human rights, freedom, and equality.

A study was conducted highlighted the suffering of women's foreign workers in India (Srinivasan and Illango, 2012). According to interviews of 125 foreign women in South India witnessed exploitation in terms of denial of their rights, unpaid wages, and poor housing conditions. In addition, the absence of security and safety in the working place. The women foreign workers narrated tragic stories of physical and sexual abuse. This study sympathizes the poor conditions of the women foreign workers and calls for amendments to the existing law and for understanding the worker's background and listen to their side of the story.

This set of studies uses court documents, police reports as their data. They conduct content analysis for such documents. They may also include some interviews with FDHs and focus groups of those who are victims of abuse.

An interesting doctrinal study was conducted by Ayub et al. (2016) on the condition of foreign workers in Malaysia. After analyzing three levels of documents through primary, secondary, and tertiary sources. Which were, primary sources, collected from statutes and decided law cases, secondary data collected from journals, textbooks, commentaries and articles, and tertiary data, collected from online news, internet websites. The study found that physical discrimination often took place because of the ineffective enforcement of the law, human trafficking, and abuse of social power. The discrimination comes in the form of violence, lack of access to justice, discriminatory detention, and deportation, limited or absence of health care, deprivation of family, and

housing. Physical and sexual abuse was the problem associated with domestic foreign workers in Malaysia who are mainly Indonesians.

The study also confirms that there is a perceptive discrimination of foreign workers. This negative perception is due to of reports associating them with crime. These reports, from the law and statistic perspectives, do not hold enough evidence to criminalize the foreign workers. Therefore, the study is evidence of negative perception and discrimination against foreign workers.

The international labour (2015) found that the media coverage of migrant workers in Malaysia and Thailand encourage negative perception towards migrants and describe the, as illegals and criminals. It conducted a set of interviews and focused group interviews with the FDHs and employers in Malaysia and Thailand and concluded that there is a negative perception from the employer's point of view and a dissatisfaction from the FDHs point of view. The report concluded that the absence of the proper state policies to protect the FDHs is the main source of the problem and the recommended action to take place as soon as possible.

Furthermore, in a publication by Tinaganita, the Employment Act 1955, which purportedly protects the rights of domestic workers, doesn't even recognize the foreign domestic helpers as workers. They are classified as servants, maids and helpers and are excluded from key protections granted under the law for other workers. (Low, 2021; Tinaganita, 2019).

2.2.5 Critique of previous research and research gap

The review of literature confirms that the negative representation of FDHs is a world-wide phenomenon in the elites' discourse and humanitarian studies have showed more sympathetic representation towards them. The available literature lacks the following aspects:

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i) The available studies do not emphasize the influence of socio-cultural context on the perception towards FDHs.

ii) The previous research do not pay much of attention on the state policies constant alteration that might cause the media representation to vary.

A small number of comparative studies were conducted between the receiving countries and the country of origin. More comparative studies are needed in order to give an equal platform for both sides. A very small number of studies discussed the issue of forced labour. In the Malaysian context, there are a number of studies that are concerned with the laws, yet they are limited to the legality issues. Important events such as barring FDHs or minimum wages or hiring processes are hardly linked to legality issues. Therefore, the significance of this study lies in its attempt to fill the literature gap in the following aspects:

- This study will conduct a comparison between the host country's media representation and the media of the country of origin to provide equal chance for representation of both the *Self* group and the *Other* group.

- This study aims to shade the light on the social context and how it influences media representation with special reference to the state policies' variations.

- The study also aims to highlight the historical progression of representation.

2.3 Summary of chapter two

The theoretical background showed a variety of frameworks offered by CDA. The literature on FDHs revealed and migrant workers and domestic helpers shared similar representations. They were both represented as victims, illegals. Foreign domestic helpers enjoyed more heroic role in media representation. The literature revealed the media of the countries of origin tend to victimize its citizens who work as FDHs. The chapter shows a gap in the existing literature in areas such as state policy influence on the representation

and forced labor. The central themes in the literature were: FDHs as victims, FDH as Heroes, and FDHs as illegals.

3   CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

1.0   Introduction

The first part of this chapter presents the tools and procedures of the analysis. The second part of the chapter presents the tools of data collection, sampling, and the analytical framework.

3.1   Tools of Analysis

3.1.1   Discourse Topics

The analysis of discourse topics is the starting point of the analysis within DHA (Wodak, 1999). It helps in providing a systematic overview of the content. There are a few ways to identify discourse topics such as by reference to the same events or by explicit reference to a certain topic or social actor. From analyzing discourse topics a few elements of the text will be highlighted such as: the type of information in the text and their influence on naming the participants in addition to the grammatical agency. Identifying discourse topics also enables the researcher to understand the influence of topic and context on the presentation. It also enables the researcher to build an intertextual connection between different texts when one argument is transferred from one text to another by which it experiences the process of recontextualization. Some elements are taken out of the text and substituted with additional elements that suit the contextual background in which the new text is produced. Therefore, DHA tries to investigate the transformation of meaning that comes with the transfer of arguments from a text to another (Reisigl, 2017).

In order to accurately identify the discourse topics, this study employed the concept of Macro-propositions coined by Van Dijk (1980) in his framework of Semantic Macrostructures. Macro-propositions are the smallest meaningful units "*expressing a complete thought*" (Van Dijk, 2007, p.16). Hence, the objective of employing this

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framework was to allow analysing the topics within the text as topics might also motivate polarization of positive representation of the *Self* and negative representation of the *Other*. Semantic Macrostructures utilizes grammatical transitivity, prominent expression, and context to identify themes. Macro- propositions can be identified via applying macro-rules: Deletion, Generalization and Formation as will be explained in details in section 3.5.1.

3.1.2   Discursive Strategies

As explained in the literature, the application of Discourse Historical Approach is manifested in five main discursive strategies: Referential, Predication, Argumentation, Perspectivation and Intensification and Mitigation. These strategies employ various linguistic devices ranging from the choice of words, the choice of arguments to the choice of perspective in which the representation is framed. The table below shows the main objectives of these five discursive strategies.

Table 3.1 The discursive strategies of discourse historical approach

Strategies	Objectives	Devices
Reference nomination	Construction of in-group and out-groups	Membership categorization metaphors and metonymies synecdoche
Predication	Labelling social actors positively/ negatively	Stereotypical, evaluative attributes of negative/ positive traits implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation strategies	Justification of positive/negative attributes	Topoi, Fallacies
Perspectivation framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement positioning speaker's point of view	Narration, description, Reporting, or quotation of events and utterances
Intensification or mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Mitigating or intensifying the illocutionary forces of utterances that imply discrimination

(Meyer & Wodak, 2012, p. 73)

The importance of selecting these five strategies lies in the multiple levels of analysis:

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1- Referential and predication strategies highlight the word choice that reflect an in-group/ outgroup construction and negative or positive traits and attributes assigned to social groups.

2- Argumentation strategies highlight the persuasive means of justifying ideologies.

3- Perspectivation strategies highlight the perspectives, orientations, involvements and points of view of the text producers.

4- Mitigation and Intensification strategies reveal how the text is modified using intensification and mitigation to help qualify the epistemic status of propositions.

Therefore, this study will employ the five discursive strategies of DHA.

3.2   Summary of Data Collection and Sampling

The process of data collection, sampling and coding can be summarized in the Figure 3.1.
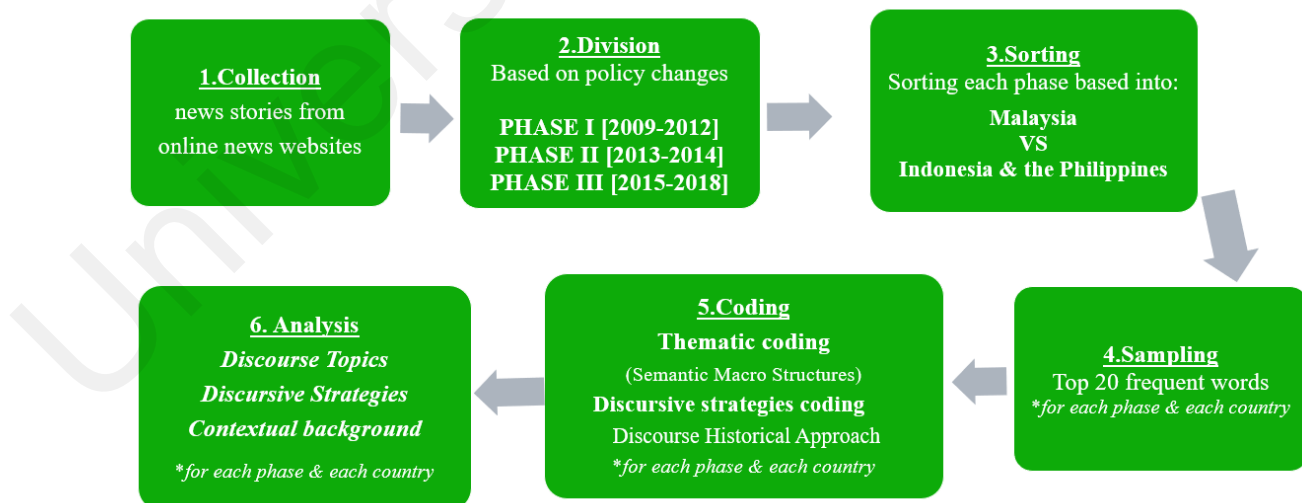
Figure 3.1 Summary of data collection and sampling

Figure 3.1 shows a summary of the methods of this research. Step one, the news articles will be obtained from the online news websites. Step two, the data will be divided into

three group based on the timeframe of the three phases. Step three, the data of each phase will be further divided into two groups namely, Malaysian media and the countries of origin's media. The result will be six groups of data. Step four, the data under each of the six groups will be uploaded on NVivo 12 Plus. According to Talanquer (2014), using qualitative research software facility analysing the data. Then, the word frequency function will be used to obtain the 20 most frequent words. Step five involves codifying the data thematically and discursively. Then the last step involves analysing the data in terms of discourse topics, discursive strategies, and contextual background. According to Comai (2017), word frequency provides an insight of qualitative data and has been proven useful in textual analysis. Heny and Leone (2016) also confirmed that word frequency is useful at predicting patterns of occurrences in the data.

The following sections will provide the details of these steps.

3.2.1   Keyword Search

The query words are adapted from the following sources:

1- Based on previous studies on foreign workers in the context of Malaysia.

2- Based on the definition and classifications offered by the Malaysian Immigration website.

3- Based on observations from the data particularly with reference to the nationalities, job, and state policies.

The query keywords were inserted in the search engine of the news websites are: 'maid', 'domestic helpers', 'foreign domestic worker', 'female foreign workers (TKM)' -in Indonesian news agencies-, 'Overseas Filipino/Filipina Workers (OFW)' -in the news agencies of the Philippines-, 'servitude', 'ban', 'bar', 'freeze', "Direct Hiring System" and 'minimum wages'.

3.2.2   Data Collection

After the articles were collected, it was found that the number of news stories of the Malaysian news agencies was significantly bigger than the number of articles in the newspapers of the countries of origin. This is because the Indonesian and the Philippines news agencies were concerned more with their citizens who were working in the Middle Eastern countries where there are a lot of problematic issues that concern the public opinion. That was evident in the number of articles on the Middle East countries that was a lot bigger than the number of articles about FDHs in Malaysia. the following tables shows the number of articles concerning the topic of foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia.

Table 3.2 The number of new articles collected

Malaysian mainstream media	Indonesian mainstream media	Philippines mainstream media
The Star (1400)	Jakarta Post (70)	Daily Inquiry (62)
The Sun Daily (397)		GMA (90)
Malaysia Alternative		**Philippines Alternative**
Malaysiakini (453)		Rappler (70)

As the table shows, the selected seven online news websites have many articles on the foreign domestic helpers working in Malaysia in the span of ten years. Therefore, considering the huge number of news stories from the Malaysian news agencies and the small number from the agencies of the countries, a narrower sampling technique was required to avoid redundancy. Using word frequency for both groups would be a fair sampling technique to identify the most frequent expressions, arguments, topics, and representations associated with the foreign domestic helpers.

3.2.3   Data Sorting

The data obtained from the ten-years period was divided into three phases based on the state policy alteration. Firstly, Phase I [January 2009- December 2012] is approximately

four years between January 2009 and December 2012. In this period, four state polices took place on the Indonesian FDHs and the Filipina FDHs:

- Ban on Indonesian maids 2009 (June- July 2009)

- Ban on Indonesian maids 2010 (Sep 2010- Dec 2011)

- Ban on Filipina FDH June 2009 (June 2009-Mar 2010)

- Ban on Filipina FDH February 2011 (Feb 2011- Nov 2012)

This is considered a frequent alteration that might have a great influence on how the FHDs from these countries are represented and the topics associated with them. Therefore, this phase is marked as "*high policy alternation frequency*".

Secondly, Phase II [January 2013-June 2015] is approximately two years and a half from January 2013 to June 2015. In this period, both domestic helpers from Indonesia and the Philippines were allowed to work in Malaysia. Therefore, this period is ideal to be compared with Phase 1 as the status of the foreign domestic helpers is considered stable in Malaysia. The comparison would be based on the thematic analysis, the discursive analysis and contextual analysis. Therefore, this phase is labeled as "*No policy alteration*"

Thirdly, Phase III [July 2015-April 2018] is approximately two years between July 2015 and April 2018. Only the Filipina FHDs were banned again from working in Malaysia. They constitute the second largest FHDs community after the Indonesians. Therefore, the importance of this period lies in the influence of the absence of the second largest nationality on the media representation. In addition, the Malaysian Direct Hiring System was unpreceded change in the process of recruitment. Therefore, it could have

affected the representation as well. Therefore, the two major events in this period are as follows:

- Ban on Filipina FDH July 2015 (Jul 2015- Nov 2017)

- Direct hiring January 2018.

Therefore, this period is labeled as "*Low policy alteration frequency*".

After that, each phase will be divided into two sections: Malaysia media and the countries of origin's media. In the analysis, the data from the three phases will be compared to one another. Therefore, the data will be divided into six groups as in Figure 3.2:

Phase I [Jan 2009-Dec 2012]	Phase II [Jan 2013-Jun 2015]	Phase III [Jul 2015- Apr 2018]
Malaysian Online News	Malaysian Online News	Malaysian Online News
Countries of Origin Online News	Countries of Origin Online News	Countries of Origin Online News
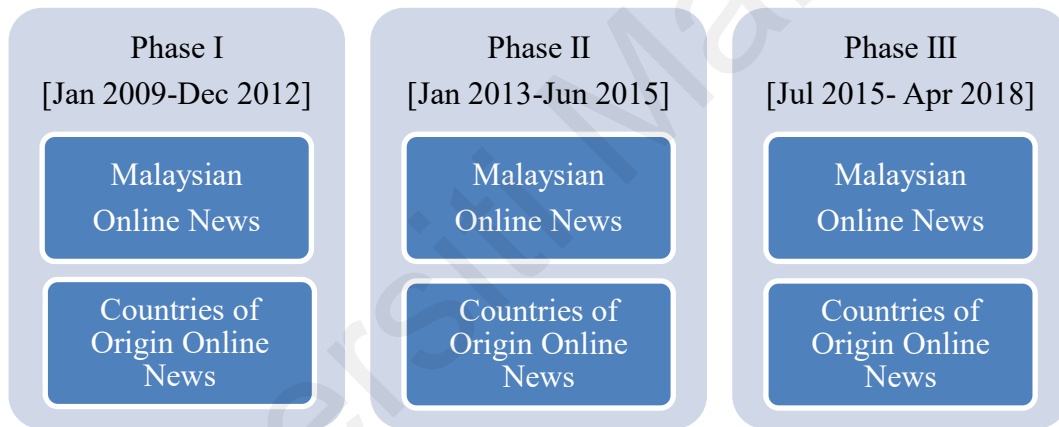
Figure 3.2 Data sorting

Figure 3.2 shows that there are six groups of data created based on the phases and the categorization of counties as host and countries of origin.

3.2.4   Data Sampling

After the data was sorted into the six files shown above, a word frequency query was run on each of the files using NVivo 12 Plus to avoid biasedness in data selection. So, for each phase the top 20 frequent words were selected as in Figure 3.3:
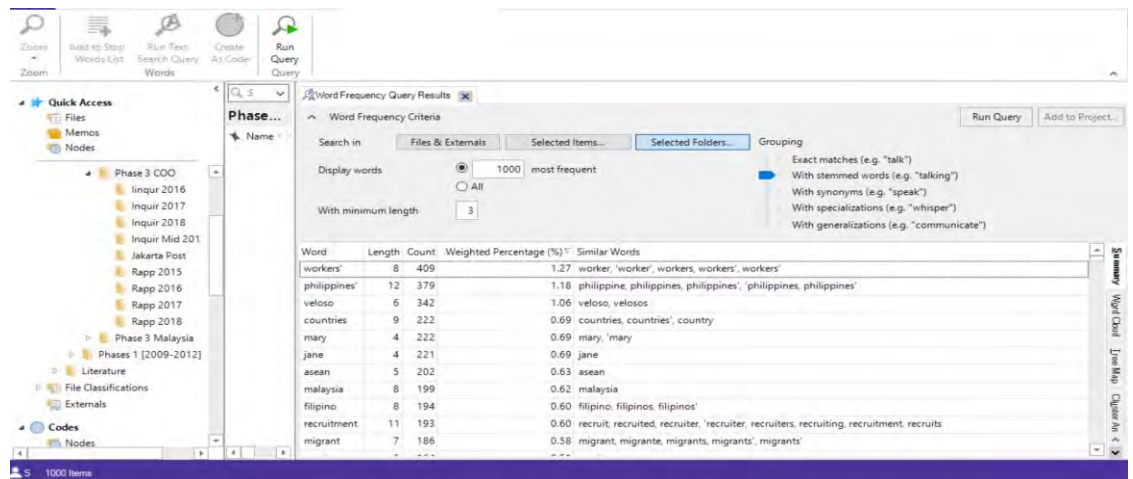
Figure 3.3: Word frequency using NVivo 12 Plus

Figure 3.3 shows that each of the frequent words was put as a node on NVivo 12 Plus to allow the next level of analysis. A few frequent words were eliminated due to irrelevance to the analysis such as the names of the newspapers and the news sections such as: Opinion section, Business news section and so on. The names of the newspapers and their sections appear in every article. Therefore, their numbers are high but due to irrelevance.
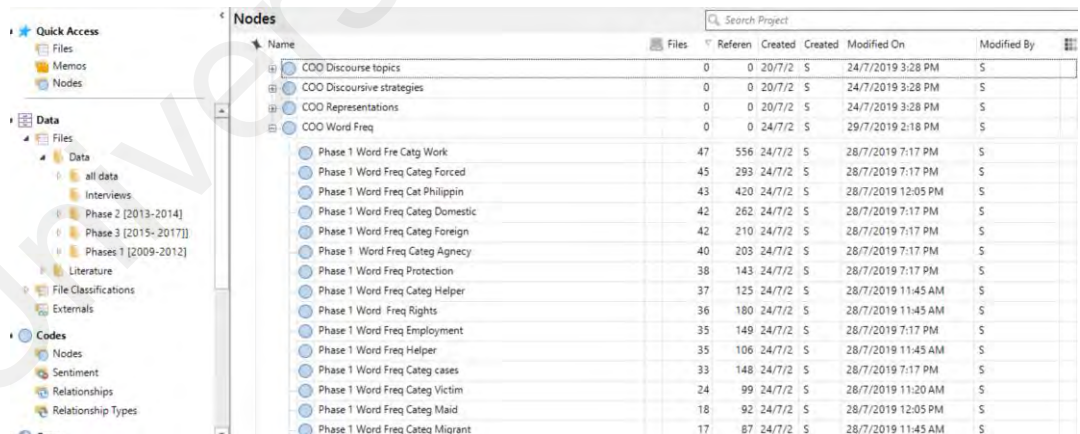
Figure 3.4: Coding the most frequent words

Then the news articles selected through their keywords were analysed thematically and discursively. They were coded into nodes based on DHA's 5 discursive strategies as shown in Figure 3.5 that shows how the sentences are selected and tagged under DHA's discursive strategies.

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Figure 3.5: Coding based on DHA discursive strategies

3.3   Analytical Framework

As suggested by Wodak (Reisigl 1998; Wodak, 1999), DHA is a useful framework for analyzing discourse. It has been applied in several studies on foreigners, nationalist, culture clash and the concept of '*Othering'* as a whole. It consists of three dimensions. First, discourse content or discourse topics that should be established. Second, the discursive strategies including the argumentation strategies that should be analyzed. On the third dimension, the linguistic means should be categorized as types as 'context-dependent linguistic realizations' Wodak (2001, p. 44). Therefore, this research will adopt this three-dimensional framework. The analytical procedure of this research is inspired by Discourse Historical Approach by Wodak and Meyer (2011). DHA analysis goes in the following analytical procedure:

1) Identifying and classifying discourse topics.

2) Investigating the discursive strategies used to represent the social actors: referential, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and mitigation.

3) Analyzing the linguistic means within their context-dependent realization. This is done by linking socio-political level with the linguistic level. Tracing back the historical roots of a representation whether positive or negative.

Table 3.3: The analytical Framework

Representation of FDHs In the Malaysian media	Representation of FDHs In the media of Indonesia and Philippines
Discourse Topics (Thematic level)	Discourse Topics (Thematic level)
Discursive strategies (Discursive strategies)	Discursive strategies (Discursive strategies)
State policies (Contextual level)	State policies (Contextual level)

Table 3.3 shows the three levels of analysis. The following sections provide the explanation.

3.3.1   Extracting Discourse Topics

The lead paragraph will be selected to extract the discourse topics. The lead paragraph is usually a long one or few sentences that summarize what the topic is about. According to Van Dijk (1988), word order is important as the main information, or the sentence topic always lies in the grammatical subject and the main verb of the sentence. Therefore, the sentence theme of the lead paragraphs will be considered here as the macro theme of the news article.

There are three macro-rules that function 'to reduce, categorize and organize semantic information' (Pajunen, 2008):

1) Deletion: deleting the less important information ie, the place and time (Pajunen, 2008, p. 18).

2) Generalization: a series of propositions can be replaced with one generalization. For example, furniture will be a replacement of chair, table, bed etc. in other words, to find umbrella term. This step can be verified by putting all the selected lead paragraphs on NVivo12 query generalization.

3) Construction: replacing a series of propositions with one umbrella statement which is a paraphrase and a summary of the entire sentence (Al-Shaibani, 2008).

In short, the findings from the applying the macro-rules to the lead paragraphs will generate the macro themes. Macro themes can indicate and lead to confirming the representations. therefore, from the macrostructure analysis, discursive strategies of DHA and analyzing the contextual background, the representations will be revealed.

3.3.2 Extracting Discursive Strategies

As mentioned before, the word frequency was considered when the data selection was done. The frequent occurrence of the words '*maid*', '*domestic helper*', *Foreign domestic helper*' and similar words that appear in the concordance lines were analyzed to find common patterns. Then the representation themes emerge.
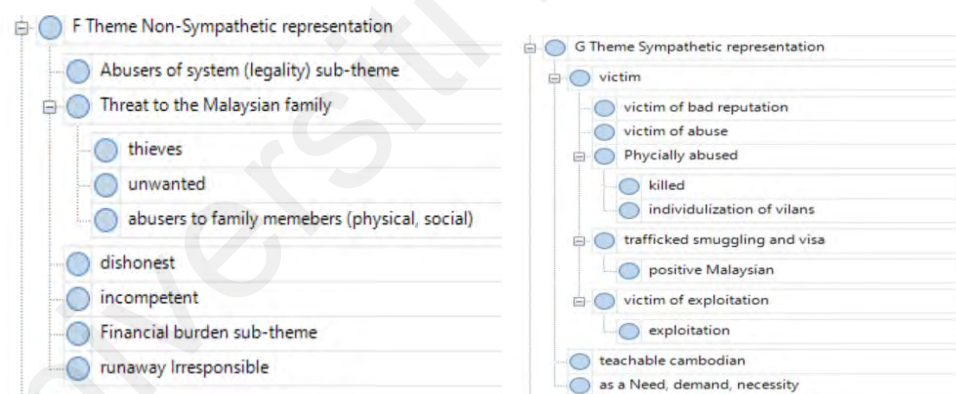
Figure 3.6: Coding based on DHA discursive strategies

Figure 3.6 shows how the findings are grouped in nodes to categorize the postive and negative representations, and combine reoccuring findings.

3.4 Summary of Chapter Three

Chapter Three summarizes the theories involved in analyzing. It also summarizes the tools of data collection and sampling plus the analytical categories. It explains the

procedure of conducting the research provided by picture of NVivo 12 Plus software. It also provides justifications for the selection process starting with the selection of theory to the selection of analysis units.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF FDH IN PHASE I
[2009-2012]

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a comparison between media representation of FDHs from the Malaysian media perspective and from the countries of origin's perspective. The data selected for this chapter is the online news text published between January 2009 and December 2012, the period referred to as Phase I. Analysing this period shows the effects of the sociocultural dimension of the phase on media representation with particular emphasis on the changes in state policies.

The analysis is divided into two levels, namely the macro level and the micro level. The macro level analysis is conducted via applying the Semantic Macrostructures framework that aims to identify the discourse topics surrounding the representations. The micro level is analyzed using the five discursive strategies of DHA. The chapter is organized based on the discourse topics. Within each discourse topic, the findings of the representations will be discussed.

4.1 Representation by the Malaysian Media

As mentioned before, this period witnessed four banning policies imposed by Indonesia and the Philippines which created conflicting representations. So, the following sections will show how the analysis was carried out in terms of extracting discourse topics, identifying discursive strategies, finding the representations situated within their context.

4.1.1 Discourse Topics Analysis

Extracting discourse topics involves a few stages. The first stage involves selecting the articles with the most frequent and relevant words as explained in data sampling in

chapter three. Using NVivo 12 Pro, the 20 most frequent words found in the Malaysian media files were as follows:

Employment (1619), Indonesian (1289), agencies (690), Malaysian (640), Police (594), Indonesia (585) case (567), domestic (558), foreigners (558), abuse (532), court (455), family (422), need (329), hiring (242), helper (234), raping (226), cost (221), salaries (220), recruitment (215), and victim (213)

In addition, some words were eliminated either because they were names of the online news agencies or names of the website sections. Other words were also eliminated as they are deemed to be too broad or irrelevant such as: *nation [a section in TSO], year, Malaysia [a section in TSO], words, news, homes, also, com, www, the star, read, ones, 2011, month, 2009, people* and so on.

The next stage was done manually by reading through the selected news text and analyzing the headline and lead paragraph to have a general view of the macrostructures as they offer the gist of the news story (Van Dijk, 1988). Other paragraphs were also selected especially where there is a reference to FDHs. Then, the macro-rules were applied to come up with the themes of each news story.

The first macro-rule that was processed on the lead paragraph was deletion. Deletion was done by deleting the less important words such as the names of place, dates, and names of the participants that represent a constitutional body. For example, the name of the Minister of Human Resources, *Datuk Seri Dr. S. Subramaniam*, was deleted and replaced by the constitutional body of the *Ministry of human resources*. Similarity, adverbs of time such as *yesterday* and *tomorrow* were also deleted. Names of cities, neighborhoods or unidentified places such as *an apartment* were deleted too.

The second step was generalization. Generalization was done by creating a more general proposition from the respective propositions of the article. In other words, actions were grouped under umbrella terms according to their nature. For example, *killing, raping,* and *torturing* are material verbs. They were all grouped together under an umbrella term: *physical attack*. Similarly, for the quotations of different individuals, an umbrella term was generalized according to a common feature such as *employers*. For example, instead of *"Wan said", "Alfred said",* the general term is *''employers said''.*

The last step was construction. Construction is the creation of a new proposition from the previous two steps. The constructed proposition was a paraphrase and a summary. Below is a sample of extracting the macrostructure from an article's lead paragraph.

<div align="center">Excerpt 4.1</div>

[news agency]	The Star Online- Nation
[date]	Wednesday, 20 January 2010
[headline]	'Maid was a reject'
[lead paragraph]	"~~KUALA LUMPUR~~: (1) **A former real estate agent charged with hurting her Indonesian maid** told ~~the Sessions Court~~ that she employed her despite knowing that (2) **she had run away** from a previous employer."

The quotation above went through the three macro-rules. First, the names of places and date were deleted. Then the processes and participants were identified. *Hurting* is a material process; it involves both an agent *a former real estate agent* and a recipient *her Indonesian maid*. This sentence represents the first proposition of the lead paragraph. Next, the phrasal verb *run away* required only one agent which is the pronoun *she* which refers to *the Indonesian maid*. The next step is a generalization of the actors and the actions. For example, *a former real estate agent* is replaced with *an employer,* and *her Indonesian maid* is replaced with *an Indonesian FDH*. The action of *hurting* is generalized into the term '*abuse'*. Therefore, this lead paragraph contains two main propositions:

- An employer is charged for abusing her FDH,

- The FDH has runaway records.

Then, a dominant theme is formulated as 'a *case of abuse*'. By applying the macro rules on the other news texts, the research reveals several discourse topics that will pave the way to the representation of FHDs.

Discourse topics were identified by manual and qualitative examination of the lead and content paragraphs of the Main News and the Opinion sections in the news websites. Upon the examination of the concordance lines, similar features of the text started to appear such as similar semantic units, similar proper nouns, similar events, etc. After that, the words that were close in meaning were grouped together. Then, by reading through the articles, the most frequent topics were selected, and the less frequent topics were eliminated. The discourse topics shown in the Figure below were the result of the first step of discourse examination.

Crimes and abuse	Recruitment	State policy
Criminality Murder cases: FDH is the victim	Minimum wages policies	Indonesian Ban 2009: causes and effects
Criminality: Murder cases: Employer is victim	Cost: charges and agencies	Philippines ban
concerns over safety	adherence to rules of employment, exploitation of rights, deception	Indonesian ban 2011
Criminality theft	Employment rights and conditions: Days off ..	Cost of loss of FDHs, Malaysian society welfare and working women
Trust issues	Trust issues & runaway FDHs	dependency of the malaysian family on FDH

Figure 4.1: Summary of the salient discourse topics in the Malaysian media

As shown in figure 4.1, there was a number of sub-topics that were grouped under three major themes. The topics related to criminality, abuse, safety issues, theft cases, and trust were grouped under one macro theme: crime and abuse. Whereas the topics related to minimum wages policies, costs, recruitment agencies, rules of employment such as leave days, exploitation and so on were grouped under one major theme: recruitment. Thirdly, as there were four state policies that took place in this period. Therefore, the policies were a central theme.

4.1.2 From discourse Topics to Discursive Strategies

This section explains the connection between discourse topics and the discursive strategies and how they are both employed to elicit the representational themes.

For example, under the cases of crime and abuse, the number of news articles that involved news on FDHs being victims of abuse, trafficking, and murder were higher than the articles that involved crimes committed by the domestic helpers such as theft, murder and abuse. They were 61.1% and 38.9%, respectively. These figures can be seen in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Extracting representational themes from macrostructure analysis

Themes extracted from the macroanalysis of Malaysian media [2009-2012]	No. articles	Expected discursive representations
FDH abused (raped, tortured ... etc)	35	FDH as victim of physical abuse
FDH killed by employer	19	
FHD trafficked	4	FDH as victim of human trafficking
Total	58	
FDH abused employer or family members	14	Employer as a victim of FDH abuse
FDH killed her employer	14	
FDH stole (money, belongings… etc)	5	
Total	33	
Total number of articles	91	

The findings in Table 4.1 indicate that the researcher will be expecting two major representations: FDHs as a victim of physical abuse and human trafficking; and FDHs as

abuser. Examining the number of articles, it is expected to find the theme of FDH as victim more prevalent than the theme of FDH as abuser.

The next stage involves discursive analysis based on DHA's five discursive strategies: *referential, predication, argumentation, mitigation and intensification, and perspectivation.* The following stage explains the discursive strategies employed within the context and time frame of Phase I.

4.1.3   Summary of Findings of the Malaysia Media in Phase I

The analysis of discursive strategies revealed a number of findings as shown in Figure 4.2.
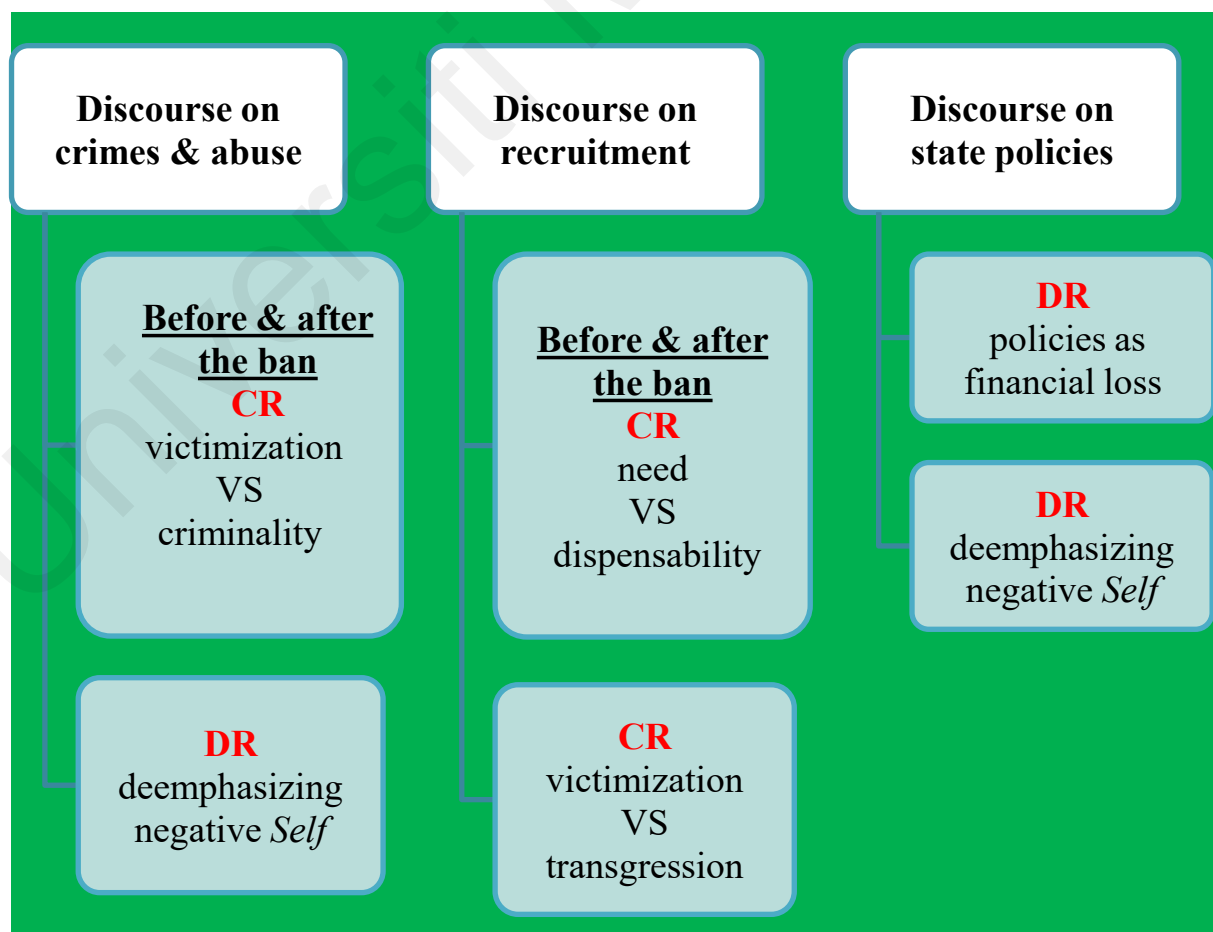
Figure 4.2: Summary of findings of the Malaysian media in Phase I

The findings in Figure 4.2 suggest that there are three main discourse topics namely: crimes and abuse discourse, recruitment discourse, and state policies discourse. Within each discourse topic, there are a few representational themes. Some of these representations were conflicting with one another (CR). The conflict is attributed to changes happened in the sociocultural background because of the variations in state policies. For example, under crime and abuse discourse, the FDH were once represented as victims and once as criminals. Similarly, under the topic of recruitment, the FDHs were represented as a *need* after the ban was imposed and as *replaceable* when new recruitment agreements were signed between Malaysia and other countries. In addition, there were other participants in the news discourse that are of great relevance to the main findings such as the employer, the government, and the policies that exhibit dominant representations (DR) of deemphasizing negative attributes. The following sections will provide the detailed analysis.

4.1.4   Discourse on Crime and Abuse

From the start of 2009 until the end of 2012, there were articles that reported tragic stories of abuse towards FDHs from Indonesia and the Philippines. They were reported to have suffered from being locked-up, beaten, raped, and subject to trafficking by agents and employers. On the other hand, there were also crimes committed by the FDHs.

Upon examining the news text, the propositions where the FDHs appear were selected for analysis to highlight the sub-discourse topics that were associated with the FDH. The table below shows a sample of paragraphs analysis of one news article.

Table 4.2: A sample of analysis using sematic macrorules

	News article	Macrorules application	Themes indicated
Date of article	Wednesday, 20 January 2010	between two bans Jun-Jul 2009 and Sep 2010	between two Indonesian ban policies

Headline	'Maid was a reject'	-	
lead paragraph	"KUALA LUMPUR: (1) **A former real estate agent charged** with **hurting her Indonesian maid**told the Sessions Court that she employed her despite knowing that (2) **she had run away**from a previous employer."	Employer charged for abusing her Indo FDH Indo FDH who has runaway records	(The overall theme is stated below)
Inferred	Indonesian FDH is abused		

The table shows the quotations of paragraphs, a shortened version of the paragraphs after applying the macrorules, and the extracted themes. The analysis sample above shows that some paragraphs in the news article were excluded from the analysis as they did not serve the purpose of representing FDHs through topical analysis. In addition, the date of the article is of great importance as it indicates whether the article was published before or after the policies implementation.

The topical analysis of this news article indicates that the Indonesian FDH is represented sympathetically as *victim* of multiple acts of abuse. Although the FDH was referred to as a *runaway*, the justification provided was that she had escaped abuse. Therefore, the topical analysis of TSO news agency is conducted through the selection of relevant propositions in the news articles.

4.1.4.1 Conflicting Representations (Victimization VS Criminality)

The query wizard function in NVivo 12 Plus revealed two of the most frequent expressions: *maid* and *victim*. As for the term *maid*, FDHs were referred to as *maids* more than being referred to as *domestic helper*s. This might imply a social hierarchy in the Malaysian society where the FDHs are at the bottom of the hierarchy as evident in literature. Domestic work is deemed to be of low social status yet hiring a domestic helper has become a symbol of the employer's family achievement of middle classhood as they

serve as a symbol of status (Killias et al., 2020). Therefore, this term is common in the Malaysian media.

Likewise, the term *victim* appeared frequently in collocation with terms such as *abuse*, *hit*, *kill*, and *murder* among others, in crime related topics. The word *victim* does not necessarily imply sentiment. This is because in all crime related news articles, the affected party or the grammatical recipient is referred to as the *victim*. As in the following example.

> Example 4.1
> "Sunday police believe the murderer was known to the 36-year-old victim as there were no signs of break-in."
> *Source: "Filipina maid found murdered in her bedroom" TSO, 24 July 2011.*

The example shows the term *victim* is used to refer to the grammatical recipient of the action verb *murder* with no sentiment. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the functions of the two terms *maid* and *victim* before analyzing the discursive strategies.

As for the representation, TSO represented the foreign domestic helpers as victims via several strategies such as *referential* strategies through proper nouns, *predication* strategies and *argumentation* strategies of victimization.

The *referential* strategies were employed via the use of proper nouns. Individualization is established through singling out the abused FDHs names rather than referring to them in aggregation. In addition, a few news articles provided space for the FDHs personal narratives or narratives of the court lawyers. Individualization or the use of proper names is evident for two reasons. First, as said before, individualization is employed to create a sense of sympathy and attachment to the victim. The second reason is that some of these individualized FDHs were the high-profile cases that motivated the state policies. As reported in the International Labor Organization ILO (2016), the high-profile cases reported in the media were one of the reasons behind 2009 Indonesian ban, "*a series of*

high-profile cases of abuse documented in the media, led Indonesia to suspend deployment of domestic workers to Malaysia in 2009" (ILO, 2016, p. 14). In addition, the BBC among many other sources reported that the case of Siti Hajar was the reason behind the Indonesian ban in 2009:

Therefore, the case of Siti Hajar provoked public sympathy. Table 4.4 shows some excerpts on this topic.

Table 4.3: Referential strategies of FDs

1	"Indonesian housemaid **Siti Hajar** sadly shed tears in the Sessions Court here Tuesday as she **bitterly** recalled how her employer splashed hot water and slashed her with a kitchen" *Source: 'Indonesian maid in tears as she recalls abuse',12 January 2010*
2	"..The latest **victim of maid abuse** involved Indonesian **Siti Hajar**, who escaped to the Indonesian Embassy last week." *Source:" Chew proposes agency visits to protect maids from abuse", TSO, 15 Jun 2009*
3	"**Abused Indonesian maid Nirmala Bonat** is suing her former employer for damages, claiming she suffered pain, humiliation and physical and mental anguish." *Source: 'Abused ex-maid claims damages for pain and humiliation', The Star, 29 January 2010*

Table 4.3 shows examples of representing FDHs with references to their names. Their names came in association with phrases such as "sadly shed tears... bitterly recalled", "victim of maid abuse", "abused", "suffered pain, humiliation, and physical and mental anguish". Those phrases serve as predication strategy that emphasizes the victimization theme.

Table 4.4 also shows examples of predication strategies. FDHs were portrayed as *weak* implying a passive role with expressions such as "*the abused maid", "victim of circumstance",* and *"could not endue any more assaults"*. It can be inferred that TSO showed its support to the FDH by using predication strategies in the form of adjective in "grievous" and verb "hurt" as follows:

Table 4.4: Predication strategies of FDH as victims

1.	"…causing **grievous hurt** to Siti Hajar, 34" *Source: 'Jan 7 appeal for woman found guilty of abusing maid', TSO, 13 November 2010*
2.	"..when she could not endure any more assaults" *Source: 'Maid was a reject', TSO, 20 January 2010*
3.	"She **had suffered pain and suffering** while working for Yim Pek" *Source: 'Abused ex-maid claims damages for pain and humiliation', TSO, 29 January 2010*
4.	"At the court proceedings earlier, her lawyer Raftfizi Zainal Abidin, said his client had been raped by her employer's drunk nephew and she had been traumatised … She is a **victim of circumstances**. His death is also a punishment for her as she is the biological mother and she will have to carry the burden of her action forever in her life." *Source: "Maid jailed 5 years for killing her baby boy", TSO, 18 Feb 2009*
5.	"He concluded that Sonirih was **a victim of abuse** during her 10 months employment with Gan." *Source: "Businessman's jail term reduced by two years", TSO, Jul 17, 2009*

In addition, TSO employed some argumentation strategies to highlight the theme of victimization. For example, TSO employed topoi of number in expressions such as '*the increasing cases of abuse*', and '*one out of 10 cases*' in the following examples. TSO reported the difficult conditions faced by the FDHs with regards to the little protection they had before the 2009 and 2010 ban. This was the officially declared reason behind the state policies. Therefore, although FDHs belong to the *Other* group are foreigners in Malaysia, they were not portrayed negatively in the cases of abuse.

Table 4.5: Argumentation strategies

1	"In view of the **increasing cases of abuse**, Wanita MCA has proposed that maid agencies talk to their clients regularly to know how the maids are getting on." *Source:" Chew proposes agency visits to protect maids from abuse", TSO, 15 Jun 2009*
2	"**Only one in 10 cases of child and maid abuse was reported** because of society's apathy and bureaucratic red tape, an expert said…."Even if they are certain that abuse is being committed, they are reluctant to assist for fear of infringing on the privacy of their neighbours," he said." *Source: "Don Reported abuse cases just tip of iceberg", TSO, 12 Jul 2009*

Implicitly, the assimilation is derived from the passive role of both groups and their silenced status. TSO condemned the practices of not reporting neighbors' cases of abuse and condemned its motif by describing it as a *bureaucratic red tape,* placing responsibility on the society who keeps quiet. With that, there were attempts to change

the mind set of *not invading the neighbor's privacy* to instead offer protection for the victims of abuse.

TSO represented to the foreign domestic helpers as *victims of human trafficking*. To convey that representation, TSO utilized *predication* and *argumentation* strategies.

The *predication* strategies were manifested in describing the underage foreign domestic helpers with attributes of being vulnerable, weak, easily cheated and given false promises as in the table below.

Table 4.6: Predication strategies of FDHs as victims of trafficking

1	"The maids **became victims of human trafficking** when they were brought in under the impression that they would receive a certain amount in wages but ended up being cheated." *Source: 'Loopholes in maid hiring', TSO, 4 September 2011*
2	"A grass-cutting contractor and his wife have pleaded not guilty to *jointly trafficking an Indonesian maid* for the purpose of exploiting her.." *Source: 'Couple claim trial to trafficking Indonesian maid', The Star, 25 September 2010*
3	"His wife has been already jailed eight years after admitting to **trafficking their Indonesian maid.** *Source: "Contractor to enter defence for human trafficking", TSO, 28 May 2011*

The *argumentation* strategy was manifested when TSO showed sympathy to a FDH who set fire in the house of her employer. So instead of portraying her as a criminal, TSO redefined the situation through reference to an older article that raise the possibility of being a victim of human trafficking via adding the modal verb '*may*' in *"may have been a victim of human trafficking'*. So, TSO established a connection between the old story which reflect a humanitarian perspective to the case as in the example below:

Example 4.3

> "(1) the underaged Indonesian maid who allegedly torched a house in Seberang Takir, Terengganu, before running off with her employer's money and valuables, **may have been a human trafficking victim**… we are classifying this as a **trafficking case**."
>
> *Source: 'Evidence that underaged maid was victim of human trafficking', The Star, Nation& Community, 14 January 2010.*

Human trafficking was widely practiced between 2009 and 2012. Even though both the Indonesian and the Malaysian governments made efforts to combat human trafficking.

The US Trafficking in Person (2010) mentioned that the efforts were insufficient to tackle the problem. The two governments conducted campaigns to raise awareness, yet the traffickers were mostly able to flee to their countries before getting caught by the police. According to Ismail (2014), human trafficking records in Malaysia show that domestic servitude is one of the jobs in which female foreign workers are more vulnerable to human trafficking. The interviews with the human trafficking victims at shelter homes in Malaysia revealed that some victims left their country with legal documents to work in Malaysia but as soon as they arrived, the agents did not process their working permits. Furthermore, Malaysia's tier ranking in the trafficking records decreased to tier 3 in 2008 and tier 2 in 2010 due to unresolved issues in human trafficking (Ismail, 2014, p. 155).

In contrast to the victimization theme discussed before, the Malaysian media negatively represented FDHs as criminals in cases of abuse committed by them. These cases involved attacks towards the employers and family members. It also involved stories of the domestic worker's killing their own infants. To convey this representation, predication and argumentation strategies were employed. *As for Predication* strategies, the acts of assault were described as *brutal* and *inhumane*, and *cruel* as in the following examples.

Table 4.7: Predication strategies of FDHs as criminals

1	"It is **brutal** and **inhumane** to kill your own child," judge Nor Hazani Hamzah told Julianna, 26, who pleaded guilty to using a pair of scissors to kill her new born." *Source: "Maid jailed right years for killing her newborn", TSO, 29 March 2012*
2	"Animals should be taken care of with love. What the accused did was **cruel** and **inhumane**," he submitted." *Source "Maid jailed for killing dog", TSO, 26 January 2012*

The cases presented are individual cases that portrayed the FDHs as criminals to vulnerable individuals like the newborn baby and the pet. As an *Argumentation* strategy, TSO employed the strategy of negative consequences on the society. These tools reflect

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topos of danger. The representation of FDH as criminals reflected a humanitarian

perspective towards the crime victims.

Example 4.4

> "Judge Mohd Azhar Othman said the offence was very serious and had **caused a huge impact**, not only to the boy's family, **but to the public**. "Your action has resulted in **the society being afraid** and **not having peace of mind** when leaving their children with their maids."
>
> *Source: 'Maid Jailed for hurling child', TSO, 20 February 2012*

It is noted that the representation of FDHs as criminals contradicts with the earlier

representation as victims. Both representations appear under the same discourse topic of

crime and abuse. This contradiction could reflect a mixed attitude towards the FDHs due

to changes in the sociocultural background in Phase I. This period was marked by four

banning policies that generated multiple and conflicting attitudes towards the foreign

domestic helpers.

4.1.5   Discourse on Recruitment and Agreements

Many articles have discussed issues related to government agreements between Indonesia

and Malaysia, as well as the Philippines and Malaysia. They discussed the details of

recruitment, number of workers, rules of contracts, salaries, rights and protection. The

following table shows selected samples of discourse topics analysis via applying the

macro rules.

Table 4.8: Extracting discourse topics using macrorules

Reference	Quote	Macro-rules	Discourse Topic	Context	Representations indicated
"Groups laud govt's move to protect migrant workers", TSO, 18 Jun 2009	"PETALING JAYA: Non-governmental organisations have expressed support for the Government's decision to make it mandatory for employers to grant their maid a day off in a week."	Change in the system "mandatory" day off is approved by the Malaysian government and the NGOs.	Recruitment: off day for FDHs	before 2009 Indonesian ban	The Malaysia government and NGOs support FDHs

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'Loopholes in maid hiring', TSO, 4 September 2011	"PETALING JAYA: The Indonesian Embassy has criticised the Government's move to allow hiring of maids without going through agencies, saying it opened up loopholes for human trafficking."	Indonesian government is against direct hiring. Direct hiring cause trafficking	recruitment: direct hiring	After the second Indonesian ban	FDHs might be at risk of human trafficking.

The table shows the process of formulating discourse topics from three excerpts of news articles. this is done by applying the three macro rules. Firstly, deletion is applied by deleting the names, locations and verbal processes such as *warned*, *criticized*, *announced*, *added* and *said*. Secondly, generalization was applied by creating umbrella terms out of the similar word families such as *deceived*, made *to sign blindly*. Finally, construction is implemented by formulating comprehensive phrases that serve as the gist.

Under the requirement discourse, the subtopics reflected the contextual background of that phase. Subtopics such as extra charges by the agencies, possession of the passports and permitting the FDHs a day off were frequent. Some cases show that the employers were victims of expense and runway FDHs. There are also stories of FDHs who escape their place of employment and provide fake identity information. The table below shows the results of the analysis.

Table 4.9: Extracting representational themes from macrostructure analysis

Themes extracted from the macro analysis of [2009-2012]	No of articles	Discursive representations indicated
FDHs running away	15	FDH as runaways
FDHs provide fake information	6	FDHs as dishonest
High cost imposed by recruitment agencies	30	Employers as victims of financial burden

4.1.5.1 Conflicting Representation (Victimization VS Transgression)

TSO mostly reported cases of exploitation that reached the justice system. The articles reported stories of unpaid wages, long working hours and being forced into sex trade. The

word slave appeared in the data more than 20 times in association with the words exploit\ exploitation\ exploited referring to the FDHs. TSO showed its disapproval via several discursive strategies.

Predication strategies were evident in the describing those cases as '*horror stories*' and '*slave conditions*'

Example 4.5

> "**Given past horror stories of maid abuse**, unpaid wages and "**slave conditions**", a new programme dubbed Helper (Hal Ehwal Pembantu Rumah) has been created to protect the well-being of Indonesian maids."
>
> *Source: "New 'Helper' for maids", TSO, 11 June 2011*

TSO employed the *argumentation* strategy of civilized societies to show disapproval of the act of exploitation. TSO indicates that members of civilized societies will condemn the acts of exploitation as in the following example.

Example 4.6

> "A **civilised western society** would regard Malaysia's treatment of foreign domestic workers as an **exploitation of human labour**."
>
> *Source: "Stop mistreating foreign domestic workers", TSO, 25 May 2010*

The quotation also highlights negative self-representation by assuming that the western society which is portrayed as the standard of human rights and the standard of the internationally agreed rules of conduct will criticize what is happening in Malaysia.

On the other hand, TSO portrayed the FDHs as dishonest on many occasions. The Argumentation strategy of storytelling or anecdote was employed by TSO as a persuasive tool to negatively represent the Indonesian FDHs as dishonest. Verbs such as *told*, *startled, entered Malaysia illegally as a 23-year-old Dinda,* and *capable of theft and arson* were used as in the following examples.

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Example 4.7

> "She **told** me the swollen eyes were caused by the ointment she applied around my mother's
> eyes. **I became suspicious** when she became **startled** when I questioned her"
>
> *Source: "Cops nab maid over 'attack'", TSO, 4 March 2009.*

In addition, several predication strategies have been employed to portray FDHs negatively such as the metaphor *hair raising stories*. In the following example, the employer is portrayed as a victim of having no choice in *has no choice but to hire a foreign maid.* The FDHs were generally portrayed with the predication strategy of '*maids from hell'*, a hasty generalization that portrayed all FDHs negatively.

Example 4.8

> "WITH her mother's worsening health, Marie Gomez **has no choice but to hire a foreign
> maid** to help care for her. But after **hearing numerous hair-raising stories** about maids
> **from hell**, Gomez is **being extra careful** in the selection process."
>
> *Source: "Maid to fit the bill", TSO, 17 January 2010*

Intensification strategies were employed to portray the FDHs as *dishonest, ungrateful*, and *violent* using expressions such as 'more rampant', as in the following examples:

Table 4.10: Intensification strategies

1	"She was apparently **treated as a member of her employer's family**, thus their **shocking sense of betrayal**. Evidently nobody thought she was capable of **theft** and **arson**." Source: "Maid to fit the bill", TSO, 17 January 2010
2	"Falsification of biodata, including for their official documents, among foreign domestic workers is **more rampant** than we realise" Source: "Maid to fit the bill", TSO, 17 January 2010

In the examples above, the employer is portrayed in a passive role as *unsuspecting*, need to *be extra careful*, at *shocking sense of betrayal*, *treated* the FDH *as a member of the family*, and *was suspicious*. The stories are portrayed as *hair rising stories, unfortunate cases, useful lessons,* and *sobering lessons*. These instances were mostly associated with discourse of abusive FDHs towards their employers.

The context of the state policies of that phase reveal that there was no particular policy that influenced the behavior of FDHs and pushed them to run away from their employers.

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The cases of running away are present in all three phases as will be discussed in the coming two phases. Most of the fleeing cases were reported in reference to the Indonesian FDH. TSO employed topos of number in more than one occasion as *92.3% of the 18,716 cases,* and *8,000.* In these cases, there was mostly no mention of the motive behind running away. The issue of fleeing the employment house is referred numerically by focusing on the financial loss faced by employers rather than from a humanitarian point of view.

4.1.5.2   Conflicting Representation of FHDs as Runaways

The FDHs were represented as runaways yet the representation was negative at times and sympathetic or justified at other time using the predication strategy *runaways*. This image was mostly associated with the Indonesian FDHs. In most of the examples, the adjective *runaway* was used negatively to portray them as *unreliable* and *cannot be trusted.* Using the topos of number, the FDHs were stereotyped as having the habit of *runaway from employers.* TSO used numbers and plural forms to create a fallacy of hasty generalization *Secundum quid* that portrayed the FDHs with a negative image.

Table 4.10: Negative representation of FDHs as runaways

1	"MOST of the maids who ran away from their employers were Indonesians, making up 92.3% of the 18,716 cases recorded as at December." *Source: "Maznah: Most runaway maids were Indonesian". TSO, 22 June 2011.*
2	"92.3% of runaway maids are Indonesian." *Source: "92.3% of runaway maids are Indonesian ", TSO, 21 Jun 2011.*
3	"Distressed employers are seeking protection against fraudulent agencies and runaway maids." *Source: "distressed employers are seeking protection against fraudulent agencies and runaway maids", TSO, 16 January 2011.*
4	"Last year alone, about 8,000 Indonesian maids ran away from their employers, he said." *Source: "Employers who paid will get Indonesian maids", TSO, 6 Jul 2009.*

The TSO approached the issue of runaway FDHs from a financial perspective and the employer's interest point of view as evident in the following example.

Example 4.9

> "On maids running away from their employers, Dr Subramaniam said he had requested the Indonesian authorities to ensure that there was no repeat of such incidents… **To protect the interest of employers**, he said, Malaysia requested that the insurance coverage for Indonesian maids be expanded to cover incidents of maids running away from their employers."
>
> *Source: "Employers who paid will get Indonesian maids", TSO, 6 Jul 2009*

Representing the FDHs as a negative *Other* and shifting the responsibility to the Indonesian government could be interpreted as blaming the victim. Up to this point, little has been reported on analyzing the motives behind running away. In summary, the FDHs from Indonesia were mostly portrayed negatively when they were referred to as runaways. In the 2009 Indonesian ban, the issue of running away was used as a discourse topic to push the Indonesian government for solutions when asking for an increase in the minimum wages and forging domestic helpers' protection.

On the other hand, there were a few cases in which the word *runaway* itself did not involve negative connotations. In a few cases, the Indonesian FDH was described with the predication *runaway* to indicate her attempt to escape abuse with TSO sympathizing with this situation as in the following two examples. Physical abuse was employed as a justification for the runaway FDHs.

Example 4.10

> "She said she ran away that time because the previous employer had **caned her several times** and **did not provide her with halal food**."
>
> *Source: "Attacked over affair with boss", TSO, 16 April 2011*

As mentioned earlier, Siti Hajar was one the famous cases that won the heart of the public opinion. The society knew about Siti Hajar and the other cases through the media. Therefore, when the Malaysian media describes the pain endured by the victim, it builds a mental model of victimization.

Example 4.11

> "Siti Hajar said she wanted her employer to be given a heavy sentence **for inflicting injuries which have left her traumatised for life**. Siti Hajar **escaped** from her employer's house on Monday and made it to the Indonesian embassy."
>
> *Source: "Abused maid has tearful meeting with sister", TSO, 12 Jun 2009*

In short, TSO portrayed the Malaysian employers as *victims* of state policies and regulations as well as *victims* of abusive FDHs in some articles. This image of victimization is an attempt to represent the group of *Self* positively, a practice that is consistent with the ideological square.

The gap between expectations and reality could be the core of the problem between the employers and the FDHs. Cases of running away remain vague in terms of causes. Yet, FDHs acquired the reputation of running away by the media. This may affect the readers perception of FDHs especially when it is associated with financial loss.

4.1.5.3   Conflicting Representation (Need VS Dispensability)

As mentioned before, there were four state policies that took place between 2009 and 2012. In June 2009, the Indonesian government imposed its first state policy stopping their citizens from working in Malaysia. The ban was temporary as it lasted only for three months. This was followed by a second ban in the following year. In June 2010, the second ban was implemented, and it was not lifted until March 2011. On the Philippines side, the Filipina FDHs were banned from working in Malaysia in June 2009. That ban was only lifted in March the following year. After less than a year, the Filipina FDHs were banned again from working in Malaysia particularly in February 2011, a ban that was only lifted in November 2012. Therefore, the country has experienced the absence of the two largest FDHs groups. The news agencies were full of calls to lift the ban and complaints from the *desperate families*. In later years, when the state policies were less frequent, the calls for policy adjustments were not as loud.

Thus, the words *local need, demand for maids* and *shortage* appeared in association with *desperate families* in the articles of this period. This reflects the country's dependency on FDHs. The discursive strategies employed were explicit intensification and topos of number.

In the following example, the Malaysian Association of Foreign Maids Agencies (PAPA) was represented as the *rescuer* who took immediate action by bringing FDHs from other countries to solve the problems faced by Malaysian families. The problems were referred to collectively as *local needs* for FDHs after the ban was imposed by Indonesia in June 2010. In the phrase *about 3,000 foreign maids,* the topos of number is employed to intensify the solution. In other words, the media attempted to assure the Malaysian reader that the government will find a solution for the absence of foreign domestic helpers from Indonesia. It also suggested that there are available substitutions that can fill the Indonesian gap.

Example 4.12

> "The Malaysian Association of Foreign Maid Agencies (Papa) has brought in **about 3,000 foreign maids** from several countries every month to meet **local needs** since Indonesia froze the service to Malaysia."
>
> *Source: "3,000 maids coming in every month, says Papa", TSO, 28 June 2010.*

After a few months of the 2010 Indonesian ban, another topos of number *around 6,000 to 7,000 maids a month* was employed to intensify the problem of the Indonesian FDH gap.

Example 4.13

> "On average, he highlights, **around 6,000 to 7,000 maids** a month **are needed to meet demands here** and get replacements."
>
> *Source: "Filling the maid void", TSO, 21 November 2010*

Furthermore, the expressions *need*, *shortage* and *demand* were used in association with representing the employers as *desperate*. Here are a few examples of predication strategies describing the shortage as *critical shortage, dire shortage* and *current shortage*. Conversely, the employers were described *as desperate employers*, and *were in need for maids*. Using the topos of number, the problem was intensified as *tens of thousands of families are in a lurch*, *35,000 families were in desperate need*, *35,000 families were in need* and *some 35,000 families have taken a turn for the worst with Cambodia*, and the demand was described as *difficult to meet* as shown in the following table. Therefore, it can be concluded that all the strategies listed served as intensification strategies to implicitly push authorities to resolve the issues between the two countries and end the ban.

Table 4.11: Intensification strategies of being "on demand"

1	"The critical shortage of foreign maids and demand from desperate employers have pushed the employment fees so high that an upfront sum in the five-figure region is now a must." *Source: "RM12,000 for a maid", TSO, 29 August 2011.*
2	"A critical shortage of maids in Sabah has prompted calls for the state government to review its policy which only allowed foreign workers from the Philippines and Indonesia….Indonesia's move to ban its citizens from seeking employment as maids in Malaysia since June last year had compounded the problem in the state…The Sabah Foreign Workers Recruitment Agencies Association (Pappas) said its members are finding it difficult to meet the demand for maids due to the freeze by Indonesia." *Source: "Sabahans want to hire from more countries too", TSO, 16 January 2011.*
3	"Tens of thousands of families are in a lurch as the shortage of foreign maids has become more acute." *Source: "35,000 families badly hit by shortage of maids", TSO, 10 Jan 2011.*
4	"(Papa) estimated that about 35,000 families were in desperate need of maids with the average waiting time now stretching to more than seven months." *Source: "35,000 families badly hit by shortage of maids", TSO, 10 January 2011.*
5	"We are facing a shortage of maids." *Source: "Agencies making a killing using illegal temps", TSO, 16 January 2011.*
6	"Papa had earlier estimated that about 35,000 families were in need of maids" *Source: "Dial for an Indonesian Maid", TSO, 28 February 2012.*
7	"Families are the hardest hit by the maid shortage." *Source: "Those without maids find it a chore", TSO, 10 January 2011.*
8	"Maid agencies are appealing for the Government to legalise the rotation of foreign domestic helpers as part-time maids due to the current shortage of such workers." *Source: "Papa: Legalise rotation of foreign maids to overcome shortage", TSO, 20 October 2011.*

From the examples in Table 4.11, it can be inferred that these calls to end the 2010 Indonesian ban presented themselves in two conflicting reactions. One reaction was by portraying the employers as in *desperate need*, thus reflecting a more supportive image

of FDHs from Indonesia as being wanted. As for the other reaction, it portrayed the Indonesian FDHs as being replaceable and negative compared to the Cambodian counterparts. The second reaction came in response to signing a memorandum of understanding between Malaysia and Cambodia that allowed the latter to bring in their citizens to work in Malaysia as domestic helpers. Therefore, it can be concluded that TSO manipulated the portrayal of FDHs from Indonesia to an image that supported the decisions of the government.

According to KhosraviNik (2008), the Guardian news agency drew on topoi of usefulness, contribution and ethics to suggest a positive representation of the immigrants and refugees. The same is true for certain news articles in the TSO.

Furthermore, there are large numbers of domestic helpers in Malaysia with an undeniable number of unregistered workers who might even double the registered ones. Therefore, many media articles described the country's situation as being in the state of '*shortage*' of FDHs when the state policies take place. In addition, expressions like '*demand*' and '*need*' were employed to emphasize the message of supporting their presence and welcoming them back.

However, as the FDHs were seen as a '*need*' or *demand*', they were also portrayed as *a financial burden*. This gave rise to two questions that needed to be answered. Firstly, *which image is dominant*? Secondly, *why are there competitive representations that have almost the opposite meaning but are produced by the same source of data?* To answer the first question, the data revealed that the representation was highly motivated by the context. The representation was made dominant due to consistent need to apply the image of financial burden in recruitment discourse and criminality in crime related discourse. The media agencies employed the grammatical agency and several types of argumentation and predication strategies to reinforce the representational themes. For

crime related topics, therefore a need to infer to the salient representation through analyzing and frequency of occurrences of the representations of criminality and victimization in order to decide the dominant representation.

As for the second question, having conflicting images can be due to the historical dimension of the text. An assumption can be made that the FDHs are referred to as *a need* at certain times [with reference to the date of the article] and condemned at other times as a result of the alterations in state policies. Essentially, the FDHs might be represented as a *need* and a *shortage* when there is a ban stopping them from working in Malaysia. But when their services are accessible, they are represented as a *financial burden*.

In contrast to the theme explained above, the FDHs from Indonesia were represented as *replaceable by other nationalities*. The topos of number was employed again by using the term *thousands of Cambodians*, further highlighting that the Indonesian FDHs are replaceable, and the country will no longer need them.

Example 4.14

> "**Thousands of Cambodians** were being brought into the country every month to **cater to the demand for maids**."
> *Source: "Cambodian maids fill Indonesian void", TSO, 20 August 2010*

In the same article, the FDHs from Indonesia were represented negatively. They were compared to another FDH group – the Cambodians- in an explicit way, as summarized in the following example.

Example 4. 15

> "Prior to the Indonesian maids freeze in June last year, he said there was only between 2,000 and 3,000 Cambodian maids in Malaysia. This was in comparison to the 4,000 to 5,000 Indonesian maids who were brought in monthly before the freeze, he said adding there were currently more than 200,000 of such maids in the country."… "Agencies used to bring in 400 to 500 Cambodians before, but now some 3,000 come in every month," he told The Star. By comparison, Alwi said 20% of Indonesian maids ran away from their employers. The Cambodians get job training and attend English and Malay language classes in their homeland before they are sent to Malaysia, he said. However, Alwi said Malaysians preferred Indonesian maids because of the cultural similarities."

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The example above shows a comparison between FDHs from Indonesia and FDHs from Cambodia. The Cambodian FDHs were represented as available *to fill the void* which portrayed the Indonesians as replaceable. Secondly, by employing topos or fallacy of number, TSO claimed that the number of Cambodian FDHs is big enough to meet the need as mentioned in the first phrase *Cambodian maids are filling the void*. Yet, TSO fell in the fallacy of unequal numbers *5,000* and *3,000*. Thirdly, FDHs were negatively represented as runaways using the topos of number portraying them as irresponsible or unreliability. On the other hand, the Cambodians were represented as known *for their discipline records*. Then, this was supported by mitigating any story of runaway Cambodian FDHs referring to it as *maybe one or two isolated cases*. This might be implicitly aimed at shifting the Malaysian employers' attention away from the Indonesian FDHs because the government has signed a MoU with another country. Therefore, TSO provided an explicit comparison disfavoring the Indonesian FDHs. It can be concluded that the state polices imposed by the Indonesian government in 2010 impacted the representation of the Indonesian FDHs.

In addition, FDHs were portrayed as a *financial burden* in discourse topics on state policies like 'banning the Indonesian FDHs' and 'the minimum wages policy'. Several articles have discussed the amounts endured by the employers to get FDHs. These expenses were heavily affected by the minimum wages policy implemented in 2005 and 2007, as well as their amendments after the freeze on Indonesian FDHs in 2009. At one point, there was a disagreement between the Indonesian and the Malaysian governments over minimum wages. The Indonesian government supported establishing minimum wages while the Malaysian government resorted to *the market demand* and *negotiation between the FDHs and their employers*.

TSO clearly stated its stance against the minimum wage policy adopting the Malaysian government's stance. TSO also took the role of the mediator between the government and the public by providing justifications for the government's stance. Not only that, TSO also quoted authority figures to provide justifications and convince the public to accept the government's stance. For that purpose, the topos of win-win situation was utilized. The topos of win-win situation justifies the selection of one stance by claiming it is beneficial for both parties.

Example 4.16

> "**Supporting the Government's stand** that maid salaries should be based on market forces as well as negotiations between employers and employees, he said it should be a **win-win situation** for both parties."
>
> *Source: "Get maids from Papua New Guinea, Myanmar and Timor Leste", TSO, 22February 2010.*

On a different occasion, TSO employed another topos of win-win situation in association to the cost of hiring FDHs from Indonesia by referring to the benefits gained by both parties if they agreed on the minimum wage issue. But TSO or the authority TSO quoted referred to accepting the Malaysian suggestion of lowering the minimum wage rather than the suggested minimum wage by the Indonesian government. Once again, TSO supported the Malaysian government's stance and justified it using the topos of win-win:

Example 4.17

> "**A mutually-beneficial agreement** is therefore important for both countries.
>
> By having maids, women in Malaysia would be able to work and contribute to the nation's economy.
>
> This would also ease unemployment in Indonesia and in some ways, help the republic's economy as these maids would be sending money home."
>
> *Source: "RM450 Minimum wages for Indonesian Maid is enough", TSO, 12 May 2010*

On the other hand, TSO opened its platform for employers to express their disapproval '*we do not agree*', '*we strongly reject*' to the policy change. Therefore, the issue of the

financial burden was expressed from the government's point of view and from the employers' point of view. The employers were quoted providing the justification of *there should be an understanding between employers and maids on a reasonable wage.* However, this justification fell in the fallacy of not defining what a *reasonable wage* is. The only voiceless party in these discussions was the FDH.

Example 4.18

> "**As we have not agreed** on minimum wage, there should be an understanding between employers and maids on **a reasonable wage** and maids, who performed well, should be **rewarded** with an increment," he added."
>
> *Source: "Get maids from Papua New Guinea, Myanmar and Timor Leste", TSO, 22February 2010.*

The employers were represented as the party that will bear the consequences of the decision, yet their opinions were not heard. In addition, the employers used the topos of negative consequences on the Malaysian economy.

Example 4.19

> "By making it expensive to hire maids, **many women will have to stop working** to take care of their children…This way, we are losing good talent that can contribute towards the country's growth and economy."
>
> *Source: "Cost of hiring maids on the rise", TSO, 26 April 2011.*

In summary, TSO adopted a more economic perspective by supporting the Malaysian government's stance and the Malaysian employers' stance by providing justifications for them. Both social actors' justifications revolved around the ideas of topos of financial burden and topos of negative consequences on the economy. Unlike the discourse on cases of abuse, TSO adopted a more humanitarian perspective by highlighting the punishments imposed on the abusers, finding justifications to underaged FDHs who committed crimes and referring to them as victims of human trafficking rather than criminals.

4.1.6 Discourse on State Policies

As mentioned in Chapter One, the Indonesian and Filipina FHDs were banned a few times from working in Malaysia after reports of abuse. With each ban, there were many opinions in the news agencies that objected to the ban. Other state policies were related to the state polices such as minimum wages and visa related issues had contrasting views. The state policies were always portrayed negatively as a financial loss or as a cause of further problems to the family structure especially with regards to working female employers. Therefore, after the ban was imposed, the FDHs were mostly represented as a need to the Malaysian families. The discourse topic on the state policies by the Indonesian government received more attention than the ban imposed by the government of the Philippines. This could be due to the high number of Indonesian domestic helpers in Malaysia as compared to the number of Filipina. Thus, more families and agencies were affected. The following table shows the effects of the state policies on the macro level of the news text. In addition, during the ban, more positive topics were presented about the working conditions in Malaysia. The topics mainly reflected negotiations and compromises between both governments to improve the working conditions in terms of minimum wages. Here is an example:

Table 4.12: Extracting discourse topics

Reference	Quote	Macrorules	Discourse Topic	Context	Representations indicated
"Papa: Households and agencies will suffer from maid ban", TSO, 27 Jun 2009	"The ban on domestic maids from Indonesia is bound to disrupt many households and will also drive maid agencies out of business."	two negative effects of the ban: financial loss to agencies and disturbance to the family	Indonesian Ban	Indonesian ban just commenced	State Indonesian FDHs is a financial loss and disturbance to households
"Would-be employers want their money back", TSO, 27 Jun 2009	"Those who have applied for maids want their money back following Indonesia's decision to ban its womenfolk from coming to work here."	employers want money back. Ban on FDHs Indonesia	Ban on FDHs	Ban has just started	FDHs are needed by employers

"Blame game won't solve maids issue", TSO, Jul 19, 2010	"The ball is now back at the feet of the Malaysia-Indonesia joint working group to find the answer to the outstanding domestic help issue."	The Malaysian and Indonesian governments should return the FDHs and end the ban	State policies	During the second Indonesian ban 2010	The two governments should end the ban soon. FDHs are needed
"Impasse with Indonesia fuels 'black market' maids", TSO, 17 May 2010	"The continuing high demand for Indonesian domestic helpers, despite a temporary ban in place, has created a lucrative "black market" recruitment of maids."	individuals are taking advantage of ban	Recruitment: during 2010 Indonesian ban	within2010 Indonesian ban	FDHs are a need

The findings of this group of articles show the following:

Table 4.13: Extracting representational themes from discourse topics

Discourse topics	No. articles	Expected representations
State policies negative effects on the Malaysia family	37	FDH as a need
Finding alternative countries to supply FDHs	20	FDH as replaceable

To sum up the findings of the discourse topics analysis of the Malaysian media, there were three major findings. First, FDHs were mostly associated with abuse and exploitation during Phase I. second, the Indonesian FDHs received more attention than the Filipina FDHs. The Filipina domestic helpers were represented mainly as a more expensive substitution of the Indonesian FDH during the Indonesian state policies in 2009 and 2010. The highest percentage of the reports of abuse serves as an explanation for the frequent state policies. Third, the state policies reflect dispute over expenses minimum wages and the high charges imposed by the recruitment agencies. The anticipation for the lifting of the FDH ban was evident as many articles only reported the possibility of FDHs coming back to Malaysia.

In addition, in discourse topics related to recruitment procedures, FDHs were associated with running away that caused financial loss for the employers. Therefore, less attention

is given to the quality of their job, their qualification or readiness. Compared to the media of the countries of origin, there was almost no discussion on the background of the FDHs.

4.1.6.1 De-emphasizing Negative Self

In addition to the victim image of the FDHs in the Malaysian media, an alternative victim image was also evident. The Malaysian employers were also presented as victims across the three discourse topics categories.

In recruitment discourse, quotes of storytelling of random employers were used as an argumentation strategy to victimize the employers. Also, pronouns like *I, we* and *us* and derivations of the word *protection* were evident in the narratives; these were employed to intensify the victimization image of the employers. In this section, an example is provided for victimization of employers in discourse related to expenses.

Example 4.20

> "I had to pay for a maid who worked only two days in my house but spent most of the time fainting… I really hope the Government can take some measures to protect us Malaysians. We are also the victims in such circumstances."
>
> *Source: "Short-changed by maid agency", The Star, 19 March 2010*

In the example above, the employer expressed being cheated by the recruitment agency by sending an unfit FDH. The employer's concern was over the expenses as seen in the term *I had to pay.* Although it is a narration of one employer, the employer was quoted using the referential strategy of plural personal pronoun *We* to maximize victimization and a predication strategy of the Malaysians who need protection in *I really hope the Government can take some measures to protect us Malaysians*. The employer's quote suggested that with regards to protection, the government's attention is only focused on the foreigners, not the Malaysians.

Similarly, the victimization theme was intensified using topos of number in describing the number of employers who were deceived by the recruitment agencies through receiving wrong data on the age and health condition of the FDHs. The topos rather the fallacy of number *many employers* was employed with no information on the source of the evidence. Instead, another topos was employed by providing the justification for describing the employers as victims. That is, the employers were referred to as victims of unreliable biological data. The claim was based on *in the sense that this maid had worked for my mother-in-law less than a year, and they…* and the justification provided is as follows.

Example 4.21

> "**MANY employers** have been the **victims of unreliable biodata** provided to them by maid agencies. I **think employers are victims** in the sense that this maid had worked for my mother-in-law less than a year, and they said they'd give her another maid, but she still had to pay all over again **because the local agency wasn't liable**."
>
> Source: *"Employers burnt by misleading biodata", TSO, 17 Jan 2010*

In addition, rhetorical questions were also employed to intensify the financial victimization image in the discourse on state policies as in the following example:

Example 4.22

> "**What will happen to our money** as the ban is effective immediately?"
>
> Source: *"Would-be employers want their money back", TSO, 27 Jun 2009*

Under the discourse on policy, the employers were also represented as victims. After the second Indonesian ban in 2010, calls objecting the recruitment fees adjustments were stronger than those after the first Indonesian ban in 2009. The proposal from the Indonesian government to increase the recruitment fees was not welcomed. Again, TSO resorted to quoting employers' narratives expressing their disapproval.

Example 4.23

> "K. Indira, 45, said it was **unfair** for prospective employers to bear the high cost of the recruitment fee."
>
> *Source: "Would-be employers want their money back", TSO, 27 Jun 2009.*

The employer quoted employed the topos of fairness. With that, TSO typically always

sided with the employer in the discourse on recruitment procedures.

As a positive *Self* representation, the media attempted to minimize the negative actions

of the Malaysian employers in association with abuse cases using topoi of number to

mitigate the number of abusive employers or the abuse cases and to intensify the *good*

employer's image as in the following examples:

Table 4.15: Deemphasizing negative *Self* (Representation of employers)

1	"He (Human Resources Minister) was quoted as saying that **only 1% of foreign maids working in Malaysia are ill-treated.** In other words, **99% of these maids are well treated** by their employers. Therefore, it would be a waste of public funds to organise such courses." *Source: "Maid course a waste of time and money", TSO, 25 February 2010*
2	"Raja Zulkeply said the practice of **a few bad employers** could not be used to paint an overlain picture of employers in Malaysia." *Source: "Papa: Households and agencies will suffer from maid ban", TSO, 27 Jun 2009*
3	"There are more than 200,000 foreign maids here and most Malaysian employees treat them well," he said. .. **one bad example** should not spoil the whole situation... the country had at **least one million foreign workers** holding jobs in various sectors and most of them were **Indonesians**…**The large number of Indonesian employees** indicates that they like working here," he said" *Source: "MCA: Maid suspension move an over-reaction", TSO, 20 Jun 2009*
4	"In June last year, Jakarta halted the recruitment of maids from Indonesia after a series of disputes over minimum wages for the domestic workers and **their mistreatment by certain employers.**" *Source: "Evidence that underaged maid was victim of human trafficking" TSO, 14 January 2010*
5	"**Some Malaysians have resorted** to hiring maids illegally, something which the Indonesian authorities are concerned about as they claimed that these maids would have no protection." *Source: "Blame game won't solve maids' issue", TSO, Jul 19, 2010*

Example 1 shows that in response to the suggestion of establishing courses to teach

employers how to deal with their domestic helpers, TSO reported the human resources

minister providing the statistics of 1% against 99% of percentage of abuse. TSO did not

justify the source of the statistics. Rather, the statistics were used as justification for the

authority of the information. Example 2 shows, in response to the Indonesian ban of June

2009, TSO quoted another authoritative figure which is the Human Resource Minister to justify the claim that only a few employers abused the FDHs. The term *a few bad employers* was used.

Example 3 shows that the ban of 2009 was portrayed as unjustified by maximizing the number of Indonesian workers in Malaysia and minimizing the image of abusive employers. Example 4 shows the same practice of mitigating the number of abusive employers reoccurred in response to the Indonesian ban in 2010. They were referred to as *certain employers.* Finally, example 5 shows, the justification for Malaysian employers to hire illegal workers was made using the verb *resorted to.* TSO justified accusing the delays from the two governments to push them. Therefore, the examples above confirm the ideological square of minimizing the negative actions committed by the group of *Self.*

In crime related discourse, the Malaysian employers were portrayed as victims of physical abuse by FDHs. Again, personal *narratives* and *storytelling* were the dominant strategies. Surprisingly, in one of the cases of abuse towards an employer, the victim was quoted twice in two different news articles with the exact same words. The statement quoted is *I will never again hire a foreign maid for the rest of my life.* In this statement, the victim is portraying all foreign domestic workers negatively leaving the impression of distrust.

Table 4.14: Repetition of quotation

1	"**I will never again hire a foreign maid for the rest of my life**" vowed Phang Kian Huang following the vicious attack by her maid." Source: "No more foreign maids, says attacked woman", TSO, 28 Feb, 2009
2	"**I will never again hire a foreign maid for the rest of my life**." That was the vow Phang Kian Huang made following the vicious attack by her maid.".."**I almost died after my maid attacked me**," the 42-year-old factory worker said at the Penang Hospital yesterday." Source: "42-year-old factory worker cries off domestic help after vicious attack", TSO, 1 Mar 2009

The articles shown above describe a detailed plan of the domestic helper who attacked her employer. Therefore, the FDH is represented as vicious. Although it is an act of one FDH, the selected statement draws an overgeneralization of a stereotypical negative

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image of all foreign domestic helpers. This adds to the pool of negative *Other* representation. In conclusion, TSO adopted a humanitarian perspective by supporting victims of physical abuse.

4.1.6.2 Dominant Representation of State Policies as Financial Loss

The Indonesian state policies were portrayed negatively on all occasions. They were represented as a financial loss for the employers and were further implicated as an extreme reaction by the Indonesian government. Further it was described as a compelling force practiced on the Malaysian employers to pay more. This could be due to the denial of the abuse cases or to deemphasize the cause of the ban. To achieve that the media employed several strategies:

Example 4.24

> "Malaysian Association of Foreign Maid Agencies (Papa) vice-president Jeffrey Foo said **Indonesian agencies were using the ban as an excuse to keep money paid by Malaysian agencies and employers**..."It would be hard for us to compel the agencies there to return our money," Foo said at a press conference at Wisma MCA here yesterday."
>
> *Source: "Agencies and employers stand to lose millions over ban on maids", TSO, 5 Jul 2009*

In addition, the topos of negative consequences and financial loss were employed by TSO to express their disapproval of the state policies. The negative consequences went beyond the employers; it purportedly could result in agencies closing shop and people losing jobs.

Example 4.25

> "If agencies are not able to get their money back, **many will have to close shop and people will lose their jobs,"** added Papa honorary secretary Foo Yong Hooi. **There are** 350 licensed maid agencies in Peninsular Malaysia, and 160 are Papa members."
>
> *Source: "Agencies and employers stand to lose millions over ban on maids", TSO, 5 Jul 2009*

The topos of number has been employed to intensify the negative consequences of the state policies by reporting *350 licensed maid agencies* and *200 agencies.*

Example 4.26

> "Say **200 agencies** had already planned for 20 maids this month at RM2,500 each. Millions of ringgit are locked in Indonesia…**It also affects our Indonesian counterparts**, some of whom have called me, saying they were also suffering as they were unable to send the maids here."
>
> *Source: "Papa: Households and agencies will suffer from maid ban", TSO, 27 Jun 2009.*

In addition, the topos of win-win was employed again using expressions such as *they need the job, we need them too* and *it is a mutually beneficial arrangement.*

Example 4.27

> "Indira said the ban would put many families in a bind as they were dependent on maids to take care of their children and household chores... **Indonesian maids want to come here as they need the job. We need them too**, it is a **mutually beneficial arrangement**," she added."
>
> *Source: "Would-be employers want their money back", TSO, 27 Jun 2009*

4.2 Representation by the Countries of Origin's Media

This section is divided into two major themes, namely the sympathetic representation of FDHs and the justification for illegality. Under this section, the news agencies of the countries of origin (Jakarta Post, Rappler, Philippines Inquirer Daily and GMA news) represented the FDHs as victims of physical abuse, exploitation, and human trafficking. However, the reporting in the media from the countries of origin differs from the reporting in the Malaysian media. The countries of origin referred to the FDHs in aggregations with big numbers.

To reveal the dominant discourse topics that discussed the situation of FDHs in Malaysia, news articles were collected from online news in the Philippines including The Inquirer (IP), Rappler (R) and GMA as well as the Indonesian news agency Jakarta Post (JP). From examining the articles selected through the word frequency query of NVivo 12 Plus,

Philippines (265), domestic (168), Malaysia (153), Filipina (151), trafficking (149), OFW (102), employment (100), government (99), report (95), labor (90), maids (87), agency (85), overseas (75), foreign (69), migrant (69), protection (67), cases(52), Malaysian (52),

helper (50), embassy (48), service (47), human (44), victim (44), recruitment (43), and abuse (41).

Here is a briefing on the major discourse topics found and their relation to contextual background. This will be followed by the analysis and derivation of discourse topics.

4.2.1   From Discourse Topics to Discursive Strategies

The news articles of the media of the countries of origin discuss several subtopics in one article. They have the style of merging current news with past events making assumptions of the roots of problems and so on. The aim of analyzing discourse topics is to highlight and indicate discursive representations of FDHs. For example, topics related to the need for protective laws highlight that the FDHs were not protected sufficiently by the existing laws. In addition, After the ban by the Philippines government was lifted, there were more calls for job opportunities. Therefore, the discursive representations highlighted from the topic analysis were as follows:

Table 4.15: Extracting representation themes from macrostructure analysis

Theme extracted from the macrorules of the countries of origin media	No. of articles	Expected discursive representation
Abuse and exploitation articles	5	FDHs are victims
Illegality issues and human trafficking	8	FDHs are victims
International laws	16	FDHs are unprotected
Recruitment and governments agreements	7	FDHs are on demand

The following themes are expected:

- FDH as unprotected by the law

- Illegal FDH as victims of poverty and ignorance

- FDH as victims of abuse and exploitation

- FDH are on demand

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4.2.2 Summary of Finding of Countries of Origin's Media in Phase I

Here are the summary of findings for the analysis of the media of the countries of origin in Phase I.
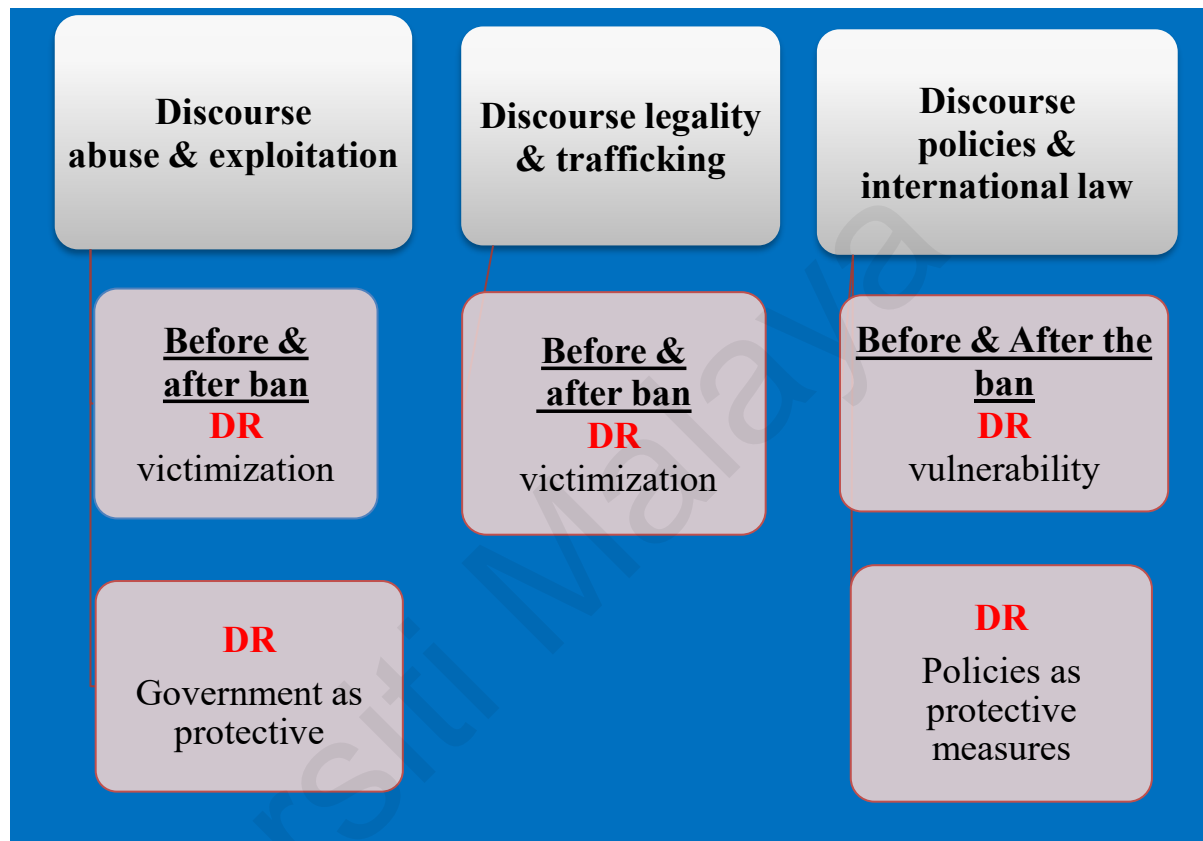
Figure 4.3: Summary of findings of countries of origin media in Phase I

There are several differences between the discourse topics of the Malaysian media and the countries of origin media. The later tends to fuse many subtopics within the same news article. This is because the reporters tend to provide some background information and tend to provide some analysis. Therefore, the categorization shown in the Figure shows discourse topics on human trafficking and international law. In addition, there are dominant representations of foreign domestic helpers revolving around the theme of victimization and vulnerability.

4.2.3   Discourse on Abuse and Exploitation

Similar to the Malaysian media, the media of the countries of origin reported in a different style from the Malaysian media. A report on one case of exploitation or physical abuse generates subtopics of past cases of abuse and exploitation. Therefore, in the cases of abuse, there was always a reference to the insufficient laws to protect FDHs. Here is a sample of macrostructures analysis.

Table 4.16: Extracting discourse topics

Reference	Quote	Macrorules	Discourse Topic	Context	Theme indicated
"Indonesia warns maids to avoid Malaysia", 4 Dec 2012	"~~JAKARTA, Indonesia~~ - Indonesian maids should avoid working in Malaysia, ~~their embassy in Kuala Lumpur said Tuesday, December 4~~, after the latest domestic worker scandal there saw 105 women locked up and forced to work without pay."	Indonesian maids should stop working in Malaysia Scandal of maid exploited	Exploitation	After Indonesian ban was lifted	Maids are victims of exploitation
"DOLE's job portal offers opportunities for domestic helpers", GMA, July 9, 2011	"The Department of Labor and Employment ~~on Saturday~~ urged household service workers who may be affected by a new labor policy in Saudi Arabia to **find opportunities through the government's job portal.** According to DOLE's Bureau of Local Employment director Maria Criselda Sy, the job portal showed that housemaid and domestic helpers are **in demand in Malaysia.**"	Philippines government encourages FDHs to work in Malaysia. Malaysia among other countries demand FHDs from Philippines	Job opportunities in Malaysia	After the second Philippines ban was lifted	FDH are demanded in Malaysia

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The macro analysis showed a prevalent theme of victimization in most of the news articles. yet there is encouragement to the foreign domestic helpers to go to Malaysia. in the coming sections, the analysis will show that there is a conflicting message between exploitation and demand.

4.2.3.1   Dominant Representation (Victimization)

The news agencies of the countries of origin employed several discursive strategies to emphasize the victimization image of FDHs from their countries. According to their reports, the destination countries include at least 21 Middle Eastern countries and six Asian countries. Several strategies have been employed to achieve that. For example, topos of number was one of the dominant strategies employed as confirmed by analysis. They also had the tendency to aggregate all forms of abuse in the same articles such as *trafficking, abusing, exploiting, killing,* and *attacking*. Unlike the Malaysian media, the news agencies exceed the surface level of reporting of abuse and further attempted to highlight the analyze causes behind it such as poverty, and lack of education.

Material processes were the key for several news articles on cases of physical abuse where the FDH was always positioned in the grammatical object position. Unlike the Malaysian news agencies, there were no cases of physical abuse news articles where the FDH were positioned in the grammatical subject. In the following example, the referential strategy is employed to portray Malaysia, the Malaysian system and the Malaysian employers negatively.

Example 4.28

> "A female Indonesian domestic helper **suffered serious injuries** after being **repeatedly tortured** and **raped** by her Malaysian employers."
>
> *Source: "Female worker raped in Malaysia", Jakarta Post, 27 September 2010*

In this example, the materials processes *tortured*, and *raped* and intensified with the adverb *repeatedly* and the effects on the FDH was also intensified using the adjective '*serious*' for the noun injuries. Some articles have gone to the extreme of recalling many cases of abuse towards FDHs describing them as *Recurring incidents*, '*have repeatedly rankled Malaysia's neighbors*' of abuse to intensify the negative image of Malaysia. In the example below, the acts of abuse on the FDHs were also intensified by listing them as '*confined, abused or even killed*'. An alternative reporting would be to aggregate all these verbs into one expression of 'abused' but the news agency chose to intensify the acts.

The news agency referred to other country's decision of state their citizens from working in Malaysia as an argumentation strategy portraying Malaysia as dangerous for FDHs of all nationalities.

Example 4.29

> "**Recurring incidents** in which foreign maids have been confined, abused or even killed **have repeatedly rankled Malaysia's neighbours**… police said they were investigating a man in northern Malaysia for allegedly **raping his 15-year-old Indonesian maid**..three police officers were charged in November with **raping a 25-year-old Indonesian woman** at a police station…**Cambodia also banned** sending maids to Malaysia last year following numerous abuse complaints."
>
> *Source: "Indonesia warns maids to avoid Malaysia", Rappler, December 04, 2012.*

4.2.3.2 Dominant Representation (Governments as Protective)

After the ban on sending Filipina FDHS to Saudi Arabia, the negative representation towards Malaysians altered into a positive representation as the Filipina government tried to channel these workers to other countries. At that point, Malaysia was suddenly portrayed as an opportunity for FDHs. In order to achieve that, the news agencies quoted the Philippine's authorities encouraging their citizens to work in Malaysia and portraying them as wanted or demanded in Malaysia.

Example 4.30

> "The Department of Labor and Employment on Saturday **urged** household service workers who may be affected by a new labor policy in Saudi Arabia **to find opportunities** through the government's job portal. In a news release, the DOLE said its regional directors are spreading the words about the Phil-Jobnet to help the affected HSWs. According to DOLE's Bureau of Local Employment director Maria Criselda Sy, the job portal showed that **housemaid and domestic helpers are in demand in ...., Malaysia**,...**"**
>
> *Source: "DOLE's job portal offers opportunities for domestic helpers", GMA, July 9, 2011*

Another strategy employed to present Malaysia positively was by assuring the FDHs that

Malaysia is safe, and the authorities are powerful enough to protect them by freeing the

victims of exploitation and fining abusive agencies. All of this took place after the Filipina

ban was lifted.

Example 4.31

> "**After freeing** 105 foreign maids, including six Filipinas, **Malaysian authorities** on Tuesday **warned the 330 registered maid agencies** in Malaysia not to tarnish the country's image by abusing foreigners under their care. Subramaniam called for the maximum penalty on the Bandar Baru Klang maid agency, after it was found to keep the 105 women captive in a four-story building. ..He said the Ministry would blacklist the agency and safeguard the victims' interest."
>
> *Source: "Minister Maltreatment of 105 maids, including six Pinays, a shame to Malaysia", GMA, December 5, 2012.*

The same incident was reported highlighting that the abuser was detained, thus

foregrounding the law force.

Example 4.32

> "A general manager of a Malaysian maid agency [that maltreated 105 foreign maids - including six Filipinas -] **has been placed under detention after he surrendered** to immigration authorities, ..."
>
> *Source: "Manager of Malaysian agency that maltreated Pinay maids detained", GMA, December 6, 2012.*

These were promises that the situation in Malaysian will improve. To further assure the

promised improvements, the news agencies employed the topos of verecundiam

(reference to authority) such as labor experts.

Example 4.33

> "**Philippine officials and labor experts** on Monday said the recent conviction of a Singaporean who trafficked two Filipina women in 2008 **should deter recruiters from exploiting Filipina workers**…**Justice finally prevailed**," Philippine Ambassador to Malaysia J. Eduardo Malaya said in a news release."
>
> *Source: "PHL Singaporean trafficker's conviction a warning to illegal recruiters", GMA, April 2, 2012*

Then, Malaysia was represented as an ally to the Filipina government. Both were suggested to be working together to protect the trafficked victims and this collaboration was described as 'strong'. The news agency further employed the strategy of predication describing that Filipina will work tirelessly to ensure the protection of the FDHs.

Example 4.34

> "**We thank the Malaysian Government**, particularly the Attorney General's Chambers and police authorities, for its **strong partnership in the campaign against human trafficking**. In line with the directive of President Benigno S. Aquino III, we will **tirelessly work to ensure** that the **rights and welfare of Filipina nationals are safeguarded,**" Malaya added.... she said should serve as "fair warning" to foreigners who want to exploit Filipina, especially women."
>
> *Source: "Same source "PHL Singaporean trafficker's conviction a warning to illegal recruiters", GMA, April 2, 2012.*

In summary, the positive representation of Malaysia was limited to the time when the two governments agreed to lift the state policies.

4.2.4 Discourse on Illegality and Human Trafficking

Smuggling, human trafficking and forced labor were central themes that seem to reflect a major concern in the media. On the other hand, the news articles that discussed the issue of illegal FDHs and OFW focused on their background. Poverty, lack of education and awareness were central themes that were associated with illegality.

Table 4.17: Extracting discourse topics

Article	Lead paragraph	Macro rules	Major theme	Context	Representations indicted

"20 countries to adopt PHL initiatives to protect women, overseas workers" GMA April 20, 2012	Twenty countries will adopt Philippine initiatives to protect women and overseas Filipina workers, especially in crisis situations, the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) said.	20 destination countries for FDHs. Governments collaborate to protect FDHs.	big number of countries are safe for FHDs	During the second Philippines's ban	FDH are promised protection.

4.2.4.1   Dominant Representation (Victimization)

As an attempt of intensifying the victimization image of FDHs and mitigating the negative image by justifying the illegality. The news agencies in the Philippines also offered justifications for illegality. One justification for illegality is lack of education. In this regard, the news agencies attributed the trafficking of underaged FDHs to lack of education. Again, the news agency employed the topos of number to emphasize that.

Example 4.35

> "Child and adult domestic workers **lack access to education, and are vulnerable to illegal recruitment, force labor, debt bondage and human trafficking**…they have assisted 510 abused domestic workers per year since 2001.Almost 98% of complainants are female. Usual abuses are physical, verbal, and sexual in nature. Huge number of these cases also involved non-payment of wages and social security."
>
> *Source: "PHILIPPINES Fast facts on Filipina domestic workers", Rappler, June 03, 2012*

As mentioned earlier in Section Three, news agencies referred to their citizens who fall under the category of being illegal as 'victims of human trafficking' and further offered justifications for their illegal state to elicit sympathy. The news agencies also highlighted that the servitude jobs abroad are making FDHs vulnerable in many parts of the world, citing the US State Department as below.

Example 4.36

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"The US State Department noted that ... **"A significant number** of women in domestic servitude abroad also **face rape and violent physical and sexual abuse,"** the report said. **"(Filipina) Women were subjected to sex trafficking** in countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Japan and in various Middle Eastern countries," the report added. The US State Department noted that internal trafficking also remains a significant problem in the Philippines."

"After convictions, PHL off US human trafficking watch list", GMA, June 28, 2011.

As seen in the following examples, another justification for illegality is poverty. The FDHs are portrayed as desperate to provide financial support for their families and to 'feed their families'.

Table 4.18: predication strategies

1	"**Desperate** to improve their **families' wellbeing**, seek out such labor recruiters." *Source: "For migrants' peace of mind", Jakarta Post, Editorial, 30 October 2017.*
2	"… To avoid **this high cost, the poor** choose to find **illegal channels** to find work abroad, so they can **feed their families.**" *Source: "23 Indonesians die in Malaysian boat accident", Jakarta Post, January 28, 2016.*
3	"ARMM bureau of public information director, said the ARMM wanted to focus on its pragmatic economic dimension. "We must discuss **humanitarian efforts to document them and let them work legally in Malaysia**." *Source: "Malaysia agrees to consult ARMM on Sabah migrants", Inquirer, August 07, 2011.*

The FDHs are portrayed as victims of human trafficking rather than illegal workers on all occasions. This can be seen in the following example.

Example 4.37

"On July 30, authorities in Tawi-Tawi [Island] reported having **held 16 women, who were suspected to be victims of human trafficking**, while they were about to leave the port of Bongao in **Tawi-Tawi for Sabah**. Senior Supt. Rodelio Jocson, Tawi-Tawi police chief, said to the police authorities boarded "We immediately alerted our team... and saved 16 women with ages ranging from 20 to 24 years old,".

Source: "Malaysia agrees to consult ARMM on Sabah migrants", Inquirer August 07, 2011.

In another negative representation of Malaysia along with a few other countries, the Rappler employed a referential strategy.

Example 4.38

"**Trafficking cases** related with domestic work usually involve those bound for **Malaysia, Singapore, and Middle East countries**."

Source: "PHILIPPINES Fast facts on Filipina domestic workers", Rappler, June 03, 2012.

4.2.5 Discourse on Laws and Protection

Many articles discussed the issue of lack of protective laws for FDH and overseas Filipina Workers OFW not only in their country or in Malaysia but in the entire Southeast Asian region. Calls to revise the existent laws by NGS and foreign workers were reported.

The example below shows how the major discourse topics and the subtopics were concluded from applying the macro rules. The table also shows the relevance to the context in terms of state policies. it also shows the derivation of discursive representation of FDHs.

Table 4.19: Extracting discourse topics using macrorules

Article	Lead paragraph	Macro rules	Major theme	Context	Representations indicted
"Group to conduct legal orientation workshop for Pinoys in Malaysia", GMA, 12 March, 2009	"(IDEALS, Inc.), a Philippine-based legal-focused advocacy and service institution, will conduct legal orientation workshop for Pinoys in Malaysia."	non-government organization conduct a workshop. It aims to raise awareness of OFW rights. It is a measure to protect them.	workshop to raise awareness	During first Philippines ban 2009	FDH need aware of the laws that protect them
"Malaysia agrees to consult ARMM on Sabah migrants", Inquirer, August 07, 2011	"On July 30, authorities in Tawi-Tawi [Island] reported having held 16 women, who were suspected to be victims of human trafficking, while they were about to leave the port of Bongao in Tawi-Tawi for Sabah... the women were promised by a still unidentified recruiter to work in Malaysia as domestic helper."	16 women were suspects of being victims of human trafficking going to Malaysia	Human trafficking	After the second ban was lifted	FDHs are human trafficking victims FDH were deceived

4.2.5.1 Dominant Representation (Vulnerability)

The media's disapproval of the government level of protection was sometimes reflected in the media directly and indirectly. This depends on the level of freedom of speech in that country. Jakarta Post indirectly blamed the Indonesian authorities for not making enough effort to help the workers. The news agency employed a passivation strategy with emphasis on the action *prevention efforts* and *made clear* rather than emphasizing on who should 'take action'. The workers were passivated and referred to as *the people*.

Example 4.39

> "**The prevention efforts should be improved** starting from the places of origin [of the workers]. **People should be made clear** about the consequences of using illegal recruitment schemes."
> *Source: "12 confirmed dead in Johor Bahru capsizing", Jakarta Post, 24 January 2017.*

Therefore, passivation has been employed by the two news agencies to place blame on the government and the recruiters. In addition, Jakarta Post took a braver step of criticizing both the Indonesian and the Malaysian authorities for not protecting the migrant workers. They referred to the workers as 'people' to emphasize the government's duty of protecting their citizens. They also used rhetorical questions as a hook to grab the reader's attention.

Example 4.40

> "How come two countries that have authority did nothing to solve people trafficking and illegal migrant worker issues?"
> *Source: "40 Indonesians missing after boat sank in Malaysia", Jakarta Post, 4 August 2013.*

FDHs were represented as passive and powerless by mitigating the forms of protection as seen in the terms *few avenues* and *untouched by the law*. To maintain this image, the news agency referenced international bodies such as international labor organizations and human rights organizations.

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Example 4.41

> "As documented by human rights organizations and the International Labor Organization, Indonesian domestic workers **are untouched by labor law**s and **have little bargaining power** and **few avenues** for legal redress in cases of exploitation."
>
> *Source: "Ending domestic slavery", Jakarta Post, 16 February 2016.*

FDH were represented as unprotected by the laws in SEA using predications such as protection is *very poor, refused coverage* by the system during the ban by all the destination countries.

Example 4.42

> "According to a coalition of civil society groups, **protection of migrant workers in the ASEAN region remains "very poor."**...Also, domestic workers are being refused coverage due to their large number," Gois explained. "
>
> *Source: "Groups press for stronger protection of migrant workers", GMA, April 29, 2010*

This quotation reflects a claim of the absence of protection and portrays the employers as unwilling to comply to minimum wages policies. The FDH were quoted to reflect their perspective as an argumentation strategy. The quotation discussed the issue of minimum wages. Whether direct or indirect, the media tried to show disapproval. There are many possible motives behind that. Topos of number was heavily employed to achieve that. The FDH were represented as alone facing the dangers in Malaysia as in the following example.

Example 4.43

> "**The leader of some 400 Filipina domestic workers said the responsibility is on the shoulder of the OFW.** Ample work experience and trust with private employers overseas will give Filipina domestic workers the chance to earn minimum salaries of US$400, she added. **Sangaran refers to her experience working in Kuala Lumpur for more than five years.** Filipina domestic workers there, she says, receive $245.37, or about 750 Malaysian ringgits. Sangaran said Filipina maids can earn as much as RM2,000 ($654.31). .. "The employer's trust unto the Filipina is deep already". **But even if Malaysian employers do not follow the mandated minimum pay, "lower pay is better than nothing, "Sangaran told** the OFW Journalism Consortium, **in reference to the 80,000-plus domestic workers there**. **Or else Malaysians will prefer other nationals** and give them lower pay, like Indonesians who are given RM500 ($163.58), which is lower than Malaysia's minimum wage of RM800 ($261.73)."
>
> *Source: "Minimum wage for maids on workers' hands", GMA, May 18, 2011*

On the other hand, the Philippines government was shown as a protector as the FDHs from the Philippines were protected by their government after the one-month ban was lifted.

Example 4.44

> "**To better protect our nationals**, the Philippine Embassy has cancelled the license of the agency involved in the maltreatment of 105 foreign workers, including the six Filipinas."
>
> *Source: "Accreditation of agency that deployed six abused Pinay maids to Malaysia cancelled", GMA, December 6, 2012.*

Yet on another occasion, the Philippines government was represented as the protector of foreign domestic helpers. These conflicting representations by the same source could be attributed to several reasons. It could be due to the fear of attack the government in every occasion among others.

Example 4.45

> "DOLE (Department of labour and employment-Philippines Secretary added that the **country wants to ensure that all Filipina domestic workers "enjoy the same protection"** that the other Filipina workers have."
>
> *Source: "PHL urged to ratify domestic workers' convention", GMA, October 27, 2011*

Example 4.46

> "The Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA) .... It was earlier reported the the Philippine officials in Malaysia enforced stricter rules for new agencies bringing in Filipina domestic helpers into the country…Cacdac also said there was nothing wrong with what the Philippine Embassy in Malaysia did, if it was done for the benefit of the Philippines' domestic helpers."
>
> "If it is a measure that our Philippine embassy (in Malaysia) deems proper for the better protection of OFWs, then it's fine with the POEA," he said."
>
> *Source: "POEA Stricter requirements for Pinoy maids in Malaysia does not apply in other countries", GMA, September 12, 2012*

The topos of *other countries' experience* was employed as a persuasive strategy to uphold the ban. The argument conveyed the message that other countries are also state their citizens from working in Malaysia. By that, the news agency built a negative image of

Malaysia as a place of work for FDHs who are portrayed as unprotected by the system. This argument came one month after the ban was lifted.

Example 4.47

> "In June 2009, the **Indonesian Government suspended** the sending of household service workers (HSWs) to Malaysia following numerous reports of abuses. In October 2011, **Cambodia also banned** the deployment of HSWs to Malaysia."
>
> *Source: "Accreditation of agency that deployed six abused Pinay maids to Malaysia cancelled", GMA, December 6, 2012*

The writer also quoted the human rights activist Irene Fernandez on her criticism of the Malaysian law as unprotective to migrant workers with ''terrible weaknesses in the system' and emphasizing the image of vulnerability '*extremely vulnerable'.*

Example 4.48

> **"Irene Fernandez**, executive director of Malaysian migrant labour group Tenaganita, said maids were still not covered under the country's labour laws and thus **extremely vulnerable**. "There are **terrible weaknesses in the system**. We do not have a legal framework for domestic workers," she said."
>
> *Source: "Indonesia warns maids to avoid Malaysia", Rappler, December 04, 2012.*

4.2.5.2 Dominant Representation of State Policies (Protective Measures)

With reference to the 2011 Indonesian ban, although the official reason for the ban was to protect FDHs from abuse and exploitation, the news agencies expressed their disapproval of the ban and portrayed the decision as allowing more abuse and vulnerability to FDHs. To achieve that, the news agencies employed certain vague expressions such as '*citing estimates from Indonesia and Malaysia*' which turned into a fallacy of vague source of information to support the stance of ''thousands' of FDHs will suffer more after the ban. The writer also portrayed the FDHs as naive and innocent '*duped into coming illegally with the promises of better pay'* as a justification of illegality.

Example 4.49

"Citing estimates by Indonesian and Malaysian activists, he said Jakarta fears thousands more may have been duped into coming illegally with promises of well-paid work since the ban was set and were now working in vulnerable situations."

Source: "Indonesia warns maids to avoid Malaysia", Rappler, December 04, 2011

To emphasize the negative image of Malaysia, some news agencies employed repetition. The following example was published on 3rd December 2012. It is very similar to the example of abuse that was issued on 4th December of the same year (one day difference) by the same news agency, Rappler.

Example 4.50

"However, **Indonesia** imposed a **ban on sending maids to Malaysia** three years ago **over numerous cases** of women being abused by their employers or recruiters."

"Indonesia, the main source of domestic workers for Malaysia, announced last December it would lift the ban after the two countries agreed to better protect maids, **but new incidents have continued to rankle Jakarta**."

"In October, an advertisement in Malaysia that offered Indonesian maids "on sale" went viral online in Indonesia, sparking new outrage."

"… a man in northern Malaysia for allegedly **raping his 15-year-old Indonesian maid**, while in a separate case, three police officers were charged in November with raping a 25-year-old Indonesian woman at a police station. –"

Source: "6 Filipinas among 105 maids freed from slavery in Malaysia", Rappler, December 03, 2012

Example 4.51

"Ban did not change anything. the problem is not legality but the Malaysian system. after the ban was lifted. The two sides announced a year ago that the ban would be lifted after they reached an accord to provide maids better protection and working conditions. But the latest case, exposed in a raid by authorities on Saturday, showed Indonesians were still at risk, especially those who come to Malaysia illegally rather than through proper recruitment channels, a spokesman for Jakarta's embassy said.""... **It's better for Indonesian maids not to work in Malaysia**," spokesman Suryana Sastradiredja told AFP.. They (Malaysia) are asking for Indonesian maids, but they cannot protect them well."

source: **"After the ban was lifted, still the same abuse reports"**, Rappler, December 15, 2012.

Example 4.52

"Sastradiredja said fewer than 100 Indonesian maids had arrived through official channels since the ban's lifting, turned off by low salaries and abuse reports."

Source: "Indonesia warns maids to avoid Malaysia", Rappler, December 04, 2012.

4.3   Summary and Comparison of Phase I Findings

The Malaysian media represented the FDHs with two major ways. First, they were represented more as a victim of various types of abuse than as an abuser. Second, they were represented as a financial burden and dishonest. On the other hand, the media of the countries of origin portrayed the FDHs in a different picture. They were represented as victims of poverty and circumstances. These news agencies called the international bodies to protect the FDHs. They also provided a lot of justifications for illegality. Furthermore, there was no negative representation of crimes committed by FDHs. The FDHs were also represented as aggregation rather than individualization. Unlike the Malaysian media, there was no effect of the variation of state policies on the representation. Thus, the comparison shows that the state policies affected the Malaysian media rather than the media of the countries of origin. Figure 4.2 shows a summary of the findings of the Malaysian media analysis. It was found that there were three dominant discourse topics. they are related to one another in a cause-effect relation. Yet for the sake of analysis and as the results imply, FDH were represented in relation to these three discourse topics. For the discourse on crime and abuse, there were two dominant representations, FDH as criminals and FDH as victims of abuse. The representation of victimization was mitigated after the state policies. this might be attributed to the media attempts to mitigating the cases of the ban. In terms of employment related discourse, FDH were always represented in terms of cost and honesty issues. After the state polices, they were represented as a need or a demand by the Malaysian employers. Therefore, it is assumed that the state policies. Although this might seem turning to a positive representation, yet after the government sourced out for other countries, the FDH especially the Indonesians were represented as runaways and replaceable. Finally, in terms of the state policies themselves which are considered to motivator behind the variation of representation, they are represented indirectly as extreme measure taken by the countries of origin. This is inferred

from the mitigation strategies to minimize the causes of the policies. This section elaborate on the representation of FDHs offered by the Malaysian media. Some of the representation shows support while other representation is negative. supportive representations and a set of negative representations.

As for the representation of the countries of origin, the following table provides a summary of discourse topic, discursive representations, and the influence of state policies. The table below shows that the variation of state policies has little impact on changing the representation.

In Phase I, the representation of FDHs in the media of the countries of origin was not affected by the policy variation as there were no changes before and after the state policies variations expect for one type of representation. After the ban was lifted and as the Philippines government attempts to encourage their citizen to work back in Malaysia, the FDH were represented as a demand by Malaysia. other than that, the victimization notion was the central theme of all the representations in terms of human trafficking, forced labor, and abuse.

5   CHAPTER FIVE: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF FDH IN PHASE II

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the representation of foreign domestic helpers in the Malaysian media and in the media of the countries of origin are compared. This chapter includes the period referred to as Phase II which covers the news articles published between January 2013 and June 2015. During this period, neither the Indonesian nor the Filipina FDHs were banned. Both groups worked in Malaysia with no policy restrictions.

Like Phase I, the analysis is divided into two levels, the macro level and the micro level. The macro level analysis includes the discourse topics analysis using the Semantic Macrostructures framework. The micro level is analyzed using the discursive strategies of DHA.

5.1   Representation by the Malaysian Media

In the period between 2013 and mid of 2015, there were no policy changes. Both groups of FDHs were allowed to work in Malaysia. Therefore, most of the news articles were about everyday incidents of crimes, expenses and on encouraging more FDHs to come to Malaysia. Yet, there was more emphasis on the role of the government in the rules pertaining foreign workers.

5.1.1   Discourse Topics

To examine the news collected for this period, the same sampling via NVivo 12 Plus word frequency tool was used. The 20 most frequent words were identified and set as nodes. After that, the functional words such as prepositions, articles, and linking words were removed. Here is the list of the 20 most frequent words that were selected for analysis:

Court (319), charged (297), Death (164), kills (161), victim (144), agent (140), helper (124), rights (121), jail (107), laws (106), suspect (106), immigration (102), mental (102), suffering (95), Nirmala (88), force (87), trafficking (78), recruitment (78), illegal (70) and rape (59).

After that, the news articles where these words appeared were selected for discourse topics analysis then discursive analysis.

5.1.2 Summary of Findings of the Malaysian Media in Phase II

Here is the summary of findings of the Malaysia media in Phase II.
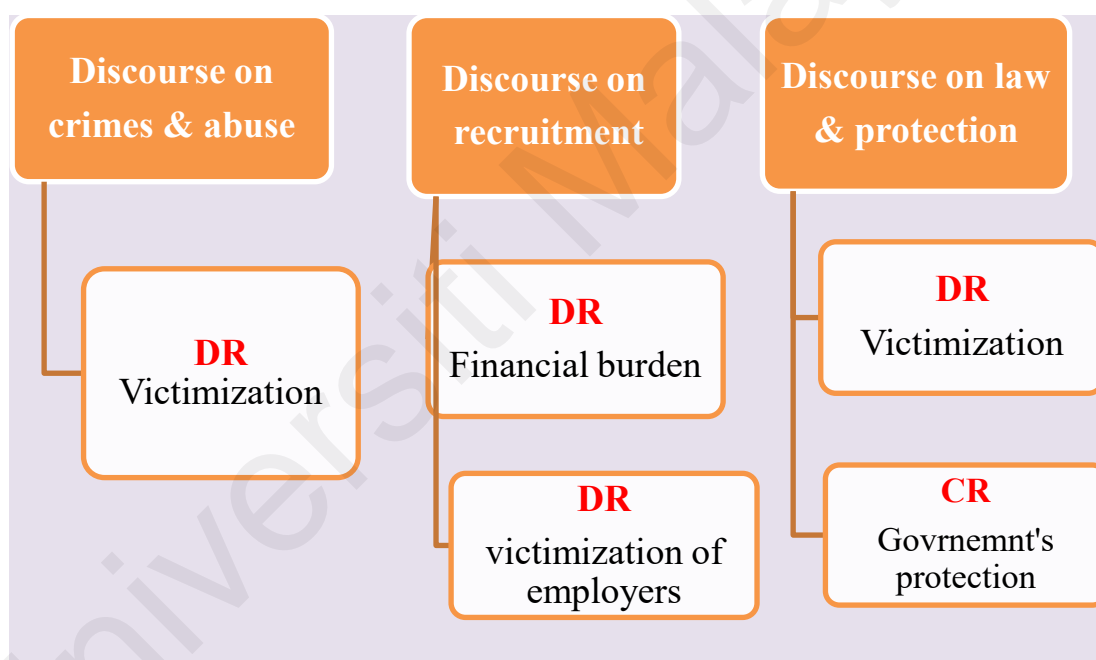
Figure 5.1: Findings of the Malaysian media analysis in Phase II

The Figure shows that there are three dominant discourse topics: discourse on crime and abuse, discourse on recruitment and discourse on law and protection. This phase is characterized by greater emphasis on the representation of the governments. This is because there were a few agreements signed between the countries that those agreements included terms on rights and protection and decisions made by the governments.

In crime and abuse discourse, there was a dominant representation of FDHs (DR) as victims which was based on the cases reported by the media. However, the governments' representation was a conflicting one (CR). The conflicting representation of the government was due to different views by the news agencies towards their governments. Unlike Phase I where the conflicting representations were highly affected by the state policies, the conflicting representations in this phase came from different agencies' perspectives. As discussed in chapter one, some news agencies are mainstream, pro-government and others independent that criticize the government's decisions. This reflects the socio-political situation in the countries involved. In relation to recruitment discourse, there was a dominant representation (DR) of FDHs as financial burden and a dominant representation (DR) of the employers as victims of financial pressure. Overall, the representation of FDHs remained dominant as victims of abuse and a financial burden.

5.1.3   Discourse on Crimes and Abuse

The Star Online (TSO) and The Sun Daily (TSD) which are mainstream agencies focused more on crime related cases, while Malaysia Kini (M Kini) which is an alternative media focused more on rights and protection topics. Malaysia Kini (M Kini) was also a platform for Irene Fernandez, the founder of Tenaganita organization. Tenaganita organization is concerned with the rights and protection of migrant workers and foreign domestic helpers. Fernandez criticized the Malaysian government's laws with regards to FDHs in a series of interviews with Malaysia Kini (M Kini) and some Indonesian news agencies. Here are some examples of the macrostructural analysis.

Table 5.1: Analysis of crime/ abuse discourse topics in the Malaysian media

Headline	Quote of propositions	Macro-propositions	Major themes	Representations highlighted
"Case of maid who hurled baby fixed for mention on Jan 27", The Sun, 06 Jan 2014	"~~KUANTAN:~~ The case of an **Indonesian maid charged with hurling and abusing** ~~a four-month old~~ **baby boy,** which was fixed for retrial at the Sessions Court ~~here today, has been postponed.~~"	A FDH from Indonesia was charged of abusing an employer's infant. The trail is postponed	Crime and abuse	FDH as abuser
"Company director charged with causing hurt on maid", The Sun, 27 Aug 2014 "	"GEORGE TOWN: **A company director pleaded not** guilty at the Magistrate Court here today **to a charge of causing hurt on her maid** at her house in Air Itam here last week.**"	Employer was found not guilty of abusing a FDH.	Crime and abuse	Employer not guilty of abusing a FDH
"Death sentence for husband and wife", The Sun Daily, 6 March 2014	"~~SHAH ALAM:~~ A former wiring consultant and his wife were sentenced to death by hanging by the High Court here today for murdering their Indonesian maid."	Employers murdered their FDH. The employers were sentenced to death as a punishment for the crime.	Crime and abuse	Indonesian FDH victim of abusive employer

The table shows three examples from the crime and abuse discourse topics. In the first example, the FDH is in the role of abuser to the baby of the employer. The information of the location, the court session, and the age of the baby were deleted. There were two prominent propositions, the Indonesian maid as the abuser, and the trial being postponed. The same process of macro rules was performed for the second and the third examples. For the second example, the same type of information was deleted, and the participants were the employer in the role of the abuser and the maid in the role of the victim. The constructed proposition is that the employer is not guilty of the crime. While the third example is about an abusive employer. As mentioned earlier, the discourse topics lead to making expectations on the representational themes. This topic analysis is later supported by the discursive analysis.

5.1.3.1 Dominant Representation (Victimization)

FDHs were represented as victims of physical abuse through applying a variety of discursive strategies such as *predication, perspectivation*, *argumentation*, *mitigation* and *intensification*.

The *predication* strategies were employed in the quotations where the FDHs were described as '*human beings'*, *'not as slave'* from a humanitarian point of view as in the following examples.

Table 5.2: predication strategies of victimization

1	"**As a human being, anyone could imagine her pain** when a hot iron was placed on both her breasts and her back,.." *Source: "Ex-employers ordered to pay Nirmala Bonat RM129,147", Malaysia Kini, 31 Oct 2014*
2	"Let this be a lesson to the others to treat their maids well, **as human beings** and **part of their household** – **not as slaves**," said MAMA president... "Justice has been done. It was a sinful case!" *Source:" Association Justice achieved but more needs to be done" The Star, 7 Mar 2014*

In example 1, the case of Nirmala Bonat was the headline in many online news media in Asia. The incident of abuse took place in 2004 but the court sessions took many years. Therefore, her name was frequently visible in the media until 2017. She gained public sympathy nationwide for the abuse she suffered. The fame of her story has become a symbol of FDH abuse in Malaysia.

In example 2, *Perspectivation* strategies were evident through the quotations of Engku Ahmad Fauzi Engku Muhsein, the president of the Malaysian Association of Foreign Maid Agencies (MAMA) showed sympathy to the FDHs in a comment on the couple who abused a FDH and were sentenced to death. It is also noted in the examples above that the humanitarian perspective was further supported by relocating participants from the *Other* group to the *Self* group. That is, the FDHs who belong to the *Other* group were portrayed as part of the *Self* group in the phrase "*part of their household''*. This inclusion\exclusion or relocation of participants might be ideologically motivated to

mitigate the negative *Self* represented by the abusive employers described in the articles. The humanitarian perspective and the predication strategy are also shown in the phrase "*as human being*" and in the phrase "*anyone could imagine her pain*" in the case of Nirmala mentioned above.

Furthermore, the phrase '*it was a sinful case*' in example 2 show a topos of moral standard. Morally and internationally physical abuse is condemned. Therefore, the TSO utilized this strategy to condemn the act of violence.

In the next table, *mitigation* and *intensification* strategies were evident in reporting cases of abuse that reveals a sense of sympathy by the media agency.

Table 5.2: Mitigation and intensification strategies of victimization

1	"An Indonesian maid **lost her tooth** and **suffered an ear injury** after **she was slapped** by her employer – **all because** she couldn't find certain clothes for the suspect's child. The victim was reportedly slapped several times in her face." *Source: "Robber brings along three-year-old son on heist", TSO, 22 May 2015*
2	"A woman **heated a metal ladle** until **it was red hot** and **placed it on the calf** and **bare back of her domestic worker** because she did not like the taste of the curry she cooked, … The Myanmar helper **bled heavily** from the **two spots** she was hit but was **forced** to continue frying.. she lived **in constant fear** of being beaten again." *Source: "Employer beat maid with metal tools, court told", TSO, 23 May 2015*
3	"A MAID was **slapped so hard** that her tooth broke. The female employer reportedly **lashed out** after the maid could not find certain clothing for her child.. The maid was **so shocked** by the assault that it took her a while to recover and lodge a police report" *Source: "Woman slaps the tooth out of her maid", TSO, 23 May 2015*

In the above examples, the violent acts such as "*lost her tooth and suffered an ear injury after she was slapped*" in example 1, "*heated a metal ladle*" in example 2, and " was *slapped so hard that her tooth broke*" in example 3 were foregrounded while the reason that lead to the abuse such as "*she couldn't find certain clothes for the suspect's child*" in example 1, "*she did not like the taste of the curry*" in example 2 and 3 were mitigated by placing it in the background and via mitigation phrases such as "*all because*". While intensification strategies were evident in "*slapped several times in her face*", '*it was red hot*', '*placed it on the calf*', and '*she bled heavily from the two spots she was hit*'. The details of attack offered in these quotations reflect a call for sympathy. In addition, using

intensified *predication strategies* in "*she lived in constant fear*" "*the maid was so shocked*" reflected addressing the incident from the FDH's point of view as victims of continuous abuse. Therefore, the way the Malaysian media represent FDHs in the cases of abuse is different from the representation under the other discourse topics such as the discourse on recruitment and the discourse on law and protection. This way of representation of addressing the incident from the victims' point of view describing how she could have felt under the abuse.

In sum, the cases of abuse were reported from a humanitarian point of view. In terms of the ideological square, the Malaysian media used the inclusion/exclusion of *Self/ Other* groups as a strategy to *Mitigate the Negative Self* representation.

5.1.4 Discourse on Recruitment

The fee structure for the Indonesian FDHs increased two times in this period. Yet, it did not cause as much anger as it did during Phase I. In this phase, a few agreements took place between the two countries and Malaysia. Here is a sample of discourse topics analysis.

Table 5.3: Microstructure analysis of recruitment discourse

Headline	Quotes	Macro-propositions	Themes	Representations highlighted
"Reduce cost of hiring maids", The Sun, 29 April 2014	"~~KUALA LUMPUR~~: Wanita Umno has urged the government to reduce the cost of bringing in foreign maids to a maximum ~~of~~ ~~RM5,000, from the current~~ ~~RM8,000~~. "	Indonesian FDH are costly, Wanita Umno is against it. The government should reduce the cost urgently	Recruitment: Cost and runaway FDHs	FDH as runaways
"New cost structure to hire Indonesian maids at RM6,700", Malaysia Kini, 4	"The Malaysian Association of Foreign Maid Agencies (Papa) has announced the new cost structure of hiring an Indonesian domestic worker at RM6,700, with immediate effect."	PAPA announced a new fees structure of hiring a FDH.	Recruitment: increase in the fees structure announced by PAPA	FDH as costly

January 2013				
"Papa: RM6,700 is new price for hiring Indonesian maid", TSO, 4 January 2013	"~~Foo~~ said under the previous memorandum of understanding between Indonesia and Malaysia, the one-off agency fee for the hiring of an Indonesian domestic maid was fixed at ~~RM4,511, of which RM2,711~~ has to be paid by the employer and the remaining ~~RM1,800~~ by the maid."	Reference to the older memorandum of understanding between Malaysia and Indonesia.	Recruitment: past rules	FDHs are more costly than before

The table shows that there are references to old and new memorandum of understanding and a lot of detailed discussions over the cost. Due to the population size, the Indonesian FDHs were more visible in the quotations. The propositions resulted from applying the macro-rules are references to older memos and fee structures amendments.

5.1.4.1   Dominant Representation (Financial Burden)

FDHs are portrayed as a *financial burden* in discourse topics on recruitment with regards to minimum wages. Several articles have discussed the amounts endured by the employers to get maids. But it is worth noting that the Filipina FDHs were more costly as compared to the Indonesian FDHs. The expenses were on a gradual increase due to several amendments to the memoranda that started from 2006 until 2015. As a result, the Filipina FDHs were portrayed as financially more burdensome as compared to the Indonesians. Several discursive strategies were employed to portray that image such as *predication, argumentation*, and *mitigation strategies*.

The *predication* strategy is evident in phrases such as "*forced to fork out*" and "*cost has gone up tremendously"* that show a negative attitude towards the higher fees of hiring FDHs as in the following examples.

Table 5.4: Predication strategies of FDHs as financial burden

1	"Due to this, Malaysian employers hiring Filipino maids **are forced to fork** out an additional US$100 (RM360) to bring them here." *Source: "Indonesia and Nepal threaten to stop sending workers", The Star, 29 Jan 2015.*
2	"The cost of hiring a maid **had gone up tremendously**…" *Source: "Rising fees putting paid to maid agencies", The Star, 20 Sep 2015.*

In the examples, both the Indonesian and the Filipina FDHs were portrayed as financially burdensome in example 1 and 2 respectively.

In addition, the job of domestic service is portrayed negatively as having a low status in the society using *predications strategies* in the expression "*she ends up swallowing her pride*". So, the expression denotes that the job implies low dignity as in the following example.

Example 5.1

> "**She ends up swallowing her pride** out of necessity and signs up to become a maid to a middle-class Chinese family (she used **to be one herself**) in Hong Kong."
> *Source: "We cannot be free if others are in bondage", Malaysia Kini, 22 Feb 2014.*

The example above from Malaysia Kini narrates a story of a Filipina FDH from Chinese ethnicity who had a middle-class job in Hong Kong and became a maid in Malaysia out of need. *Mitigation strategy* was applied in the use of the reflexive pronoun "*herself*" to emphasize that becoming a maid makes her unequal to the middle-class standard that she belongs to. This reflects a general attitude towards the job in Southeast Asian counties. Furthermore, more discursive strategies were employed to emphasize the negative representation motivated by the increasing fees as in the following example:

Example 5.2

> "Its chief Datuk Seri Shahrizat Abdul Jalil said the cost is currently **very high and burdening** the employers, adding that the employer would lose a lot should the maid run away after recruitment.".. "**This matter could be considered a national economic issue** because when the maid runs away, **mothers will have to leave their jobs to look after the children**. This will cost the country the loss of a talented female workforce,""
> *Source: "Reduce cost of hiring maids", The Sun, 29 April 2014.*

In the example, Predication strategies were employed in "very high cost" and "burdening the employer". In addition, argumentation strategies were employed in "this matter could be considered a national economic issue" as topos of economy and topos of consequences. TSO quoted Datuk Seri Shahrizat to emphasis the negative attitude towards the cost and the bad consequences on the economy and the family unit. In addition, the FDHs were negatively represented with a presupposition of runaways in "would lose a lot should the maid runaway". This expression is evidence of a negative pre-assumption that the FDH would run away. In sum, the displeased attitude towards the increase in the cost has led to various ways of negative representation towards the FDHs.

5.1.4.2 Dominant Representation (Victimization of Employers)

The Malaysian media portrayed the employers as *victims* and *powerless.* They were described using predication strategies such as '*suffered*', '*forced*', '*can't afford*' in news articles on the modifications in the financial structure because of memoranda signed by Malaysia and Indonesia as in the following examples.

Table 5.5: Argumentation strategies of employers' victimization

1	"The **potential loss suffered by employers** arising from cases related to maids in 2012 came up to around RM941,000." *Source: "Agencies want to bring in part-time Indonesian maids", TSO, 27 October 2014.*
2	"**One-third of their (employers) salary** is being used to pay for car installment, another one-third for house installment, **hiring a maid** while the wife goes out for a **measly job which can't even cover the maid's cost,** three to four kids to feed, wages kept low by **greedy businessmen** who employ foreign labour, etc, etc." *Source: "After petrol hike, expect to pay more with GST", Malaysia Kini, 3 Oct 2014-*
3	"Very often when a maid suddenly leaves her employers, their family life and the couples' work will be in disarray for some time. Many families have suffered because of an acute shortage of maids for more than two years now. They have questions that beg answers urgently." *Source: 'The cost of hiring a maid", TSO, 5 December 2014.*

In examples 1, *Topos of financial loss* is employed to portray the employers as victims of loss. *Passivation* has been applied to foreground the expression "*loss*" in "*The potential loss suffered by employers*". In example 2, *topos of number* was employed to emphasize

the loss of money in "*one-third of their salary*". In addition, the adjective "*greedy*" in "*greedy businessmen*" is a negative predication used to describe the agents in-charge of hiring foreign domestic helpers. In example 3, the employers were represented as "*desperate*" creating scenarios "*very often when a maid suddenly leaves*" employing *topos of negative consequence*. This argumentation strategy is intensified with expressions such as "*acute shortage*" and "*questions that beg answers urgently*". Here are a few examples of adjectives describing the shortage and the state of the employers.

Therefore, the victim representation of employers was motivated by the high cost. In the examples above, the agents and the agreements were portrayed as the reason behind the increase. No reference has been made to the actual reasons behind the implementation of the policy such as for protection or documentation and visa process. The examples reflect a major problem in Southeast Asia which is the recruitment agencies. Yet, the problem is addressed from the Malaysian employer's perspective focusing only on the Malaysian employers' interest. Hence the representation conforms with Van Dijk's ideological square of negative *Other* representation as the *Other* group which is the FDHs were represented negatively as financially burdensome.

5.1.5 Discourse on Law and Protection

Human trafficking and protection have always been an issue in Southeast Aisa due to the huge number of foreign workers, economic inequality in neighboring countries and uncontrolled borders smuggling, and due to some illegal recruitment agencies' business. This has created two narratives by the Malaysian media, one supports the government's steps in combating human trafficking and the other that goes against as in the following examples.

Table 5.6: Macrostructure analysis of discourse topics

Headlines	Lead Paragraph	Macro-proposition	Discourse topics	Representational themes
"Withholding passports illegals, government warns", TSO,21 December 2014	"In a bid to curb human trafficking, the Home Affairs Ministry is engaging all stakeholders while stepping up enforcement on those who exploit foreign workers by withholding their travel documents. This is due to the fact that it is one of the indicators that could lead to labour exploitation or forced labour."	*The government wanning employers exploiting foreign workers *The government is against human trafficking	Protection and Human trafficking	FDH unprotected
"The passing of an icon of justice - Irene Fernandez", M Kini, 4 April 2014	"Irene Fernandez may have looked simple and timid, but behind that deceptive appearance she was a woman of steel in her battles for the rights of the poor and marginalised in the country, especially that of the migrant workers."	*Fernandez is a heroine. *Injustice happening *She fights for the rights of the oppressed against injustice	Irene Fernandez is a hero Injustice	FDH are unprotected

The table shows two online news agencies The Star Online and Malaysia Kini. As mentioned before, TSO is supportive of the government's decisions and M Kini always shows uncertainty towards the same decisions. Both of the perspectives reflect discourse topics of human trafficking and protection issues.

5.1.5.1 Conflicting Representation (Government's Protection)

With regards to the major problem of human trafficking in Southeast Asia, when Malaysia signed an MoU of joined effort to combat human trafficking in a meeting between the Malaysian Home Minister and the Australian Immigration and Border Minister, it was portrayed by the media as a *protector*. Several discursive strategies were employed for this purpose such as *referential, predication argumentation, mitigation* and *intensification*. The following examples show referential strategies.

Table 5.7: Referential strategies as a protector

1	"**MALAYSIA is "going all out" to prevent human trafficking** and one of the significant steps would include protecting foreign workers who come here to earn an honest living" *Source: "Withholding passports illegals, government warns", TSO, 21 December 2014*
2	"**We are not interested in lip service**. **We are genuine** about standing up for human rights. That's why we are engaging people **on every** level and **from every** sector." *Source: "Withholding passports illegal, gov warns", TSO, 21 December 2014*

In the above examples, *referential strategie*s were used in the proper noun "*Malaysia*" and the pronoun "*we*" associated with positive phrases that reflect positive predication strategies such as '*We are genuine'*, '*not interested in lip service*', and '*we are engaging people'*. Malaysia was portrayed as serious and firm in solving the problem. Also, the repetition of the word "*every*" in "*on every level and from every sector*" is an intensification strategy. All the strategies explained confirm the positive *Self* representation.

In the same incident, *argumentation strategies* were employed to justify the past high records of exploitation using the *topos of number* in the phrase "*more than half were illegally'* as an explanation of the high number of abuse cases. This implies that the illegality status of the FDHs made them vulnerable to abuse. In a way, it is highlighting the negative *Other* via highlighting the illegal status. FDHs are represented as victims of exploitation. These attempts aim to mitigate the negative *Self* group as in the following example.

Example 5.3

"He pointed out that there are more foreign workers here today than in 2011 when the **number exceeded two million**. **More than half were here illegally** then, he added. **Unfortunately**, when they come into the country illegally, **they are more likely to be exploited**," he said, matter-of-fact."

Source: "Withholding passports illegal, Govt warns", TSO, 21 Dec 2014

In the example, the FDHs were indirectly blamed for the exploitation. This is through being blamed for coming illegally which allows the exploitation. The expression "*unfortunately*" is used as mitigation strategy before blaming the victim.

On the other hand, Malaysia Kini had a different perspective. It criticized both the Malaysian and Indonesian governments suggesting that they allowed exploitation of FDHs. Malaysia Kini adopted a more sympathetic approach to FDHs when discussing the exploitation. It quoted Irene Fernandez, the founder and director of Tenaganita who criticized the governments for allowing the requirement agents to have more authority in the process of hiring FDHs.

Example 5.4

> "By agreeing that recruitment agents should be given the power to resolve the deep-rooted issues surrounding the recruitment of domestic workers, **the governments of Malaysia and Indonesia,** led by PM Najib Abdul Razak and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono respectively, **have demonstrated that they believe that the lives, dignity and rights of Indonesian women should be placed in the clutches of agents and recruitment companies** whose main purpose is to maximise the amount of profit they can make through the trade of women's labour…"
>
> *Source: "Govts complicit on violence against domestic workers", M Kini, 22 Dec 2013.*

Malaysia Kini criticized the two governments using humanitarian perspective in phrases such as *"the lives, dignity and rights of Indonesian women should be placed in the clutches of agents and recruitment companies"*. Therefore, the stance of Malaysia Kini totally differs from that of The Star Online. FDHs are represented as a commodity using the predication "*turned into commodities for export*" The criticism of Malaysia Kini was supported by the Malay Mail that quoted the Malaysian Human Resource Minister, Richard Riot in the following quotation:

> "**If we had any doubt** that domestic workers have been **turned into commodities for export**, **the doubt is cleared** in the following statement by the Malaysian Human Resources Minister, Richard Riot: "The government-to-government method did not seem to work and (the problem would be) be better handled at business-to-business level as the factor here is the money" (p.2, *The Star*)." "Domestic work a form of labour — Irene Fernandez", Malay Mail, 23 Dec, 2013.

In addition, Malaysia Kini employed rhetorical questions to emphasize the victimization of FDHs with regards to rules set by the government. It approached the topic from a *humanitarian perspective* by comparing money to rights and lives of the women in expressions such as '*How can money be the deciding factor when this entire process affects the rights and lives of women?*'. FDHs are represented as a commodity using rhetorical question in '*are domestic workers on sale*?' in the following example.

Example 5.5

> "How can money be the deciding factor when this entire process affects the rights and lives of women? Are domestic workers now "on sale", to be bargained and traded as commodities to the highest bidder sanctioned and approved by the governments of Indonesia and Malaysia?"
>
> *Source: "Govts complicit on violence against domestic workers", M Kini, 22 Dec 2013*

According to Malaysia Kini, the law does not protect FDHs. For that purpose, it quoted Fernandez interview who heavily condemned the process of recruitment. Malaysia Kini's quotations came with positive representation of Irene Fernandez as in the following example.

Example 5.6

> "**Irene did not falter despite** the odds against her. **She did not give up** but **stood bravely against injustice** ..She was even sentenced to jail, not for cheating or criminal offences but for standing up against the injustices to poor migrant workers, especially the women.. **As right-thinking Malaysians**, regardless of race, creed and political affiliation, **we salute her courage; we salute her conviction and admire her determination** to stand on the side of the oppressed and despised members of our society"
>
> *Source: "The passing of an icon of justice - Irene Fernandez", M Kini, 4 April 2014*

The example shows that Irene Fernandez was represented as a heroine that fight for the rights of the oppressed foreign workers and foreign domestic helpers. *Topos of morality* using expressions of right and wrong in "*As right-thinking Malaysians*" and "*injustice*" accompanied by many prediction strategies such as "*did not falter*", "*she did not give up*", "*standing up against injustice*". In addition, the referential strategy of the multiple use of

the personal pronoun "*we*" in "*we salute her courage; we salute her conviction and admire her determination*" is an attempt to construct an in-group portraying the image that the *right-thinking Malaysians* should support her stance. Excluded from that group is anyone who might disagree with her stance.

In addition, whether the news agency criticises the government or supports it, the FDHs are represented as victims of human trafficking, of injustice, and have been turned into commodities. In sum, the mainstream media tried to mitigate the protection issues while the alternative media intensified the protection issues. Therefore, the conflicting representations are a result of different news agencies perspectives.

5.2   Representation by the Countries of Origin's Media

There are four dominant topics in Phase II. The number of articles about the FDHs working in Malaysia is significantly less than in Phase I. This is understandable due to less frequent policy changes. In this phase, a few events took place between 2014 and 2015. First, some of the Middle Eastern countries that host thousands Filipina FDH went through political instability which led the government of the Philippines to send them back to the Philippines for safety reasons. Soon after that, the ban on Filipina FDHs in Malaysia was lifted. Therefore, the Philippines government was encouraging these workers to work in Malaysia. So, the job was represented positively, and Malaysia was represented positively too.

5.2.1   Discourse Topics

Topics on crimes, recruitment procedures and opportunities were still present. NVivo 12 Plus was used to find the most frequent words. After excluding the irrelevant high frequency words such as the names of agencies, internet links and names of news sections,

the following words have been selected and put into NVivo nodes to facilitate the next step of analysis:

Filipino (432), Malaysia (381), Indonesian (277), government (241), employment (233), migrant (323), domestic (300), trafficking (271), OFWs (180), Illegal (150), murder (138), victim (117), abuse (99), legal (86), rights (84), helper (67), forced (50), smuggling (37), trafficking (25) and poor (32).

For discourse topic analysis, the same process of sampling was utilized. So, the selected articles were from The Inquirer Daily (ID), Rappler (R), and GMA (GMA) News agencies from the Philippines as well as Jakarta Post (JP) from Indonesia. Then, from reading through the articles, the words were grouped under major discourse topics of *crimes, recruitment* and *protection*.

5.2.2 Summary of Findings from the Countries of Origin's Media in Phase II

Figure 5.2 shows the findings from the countries of origin's media.
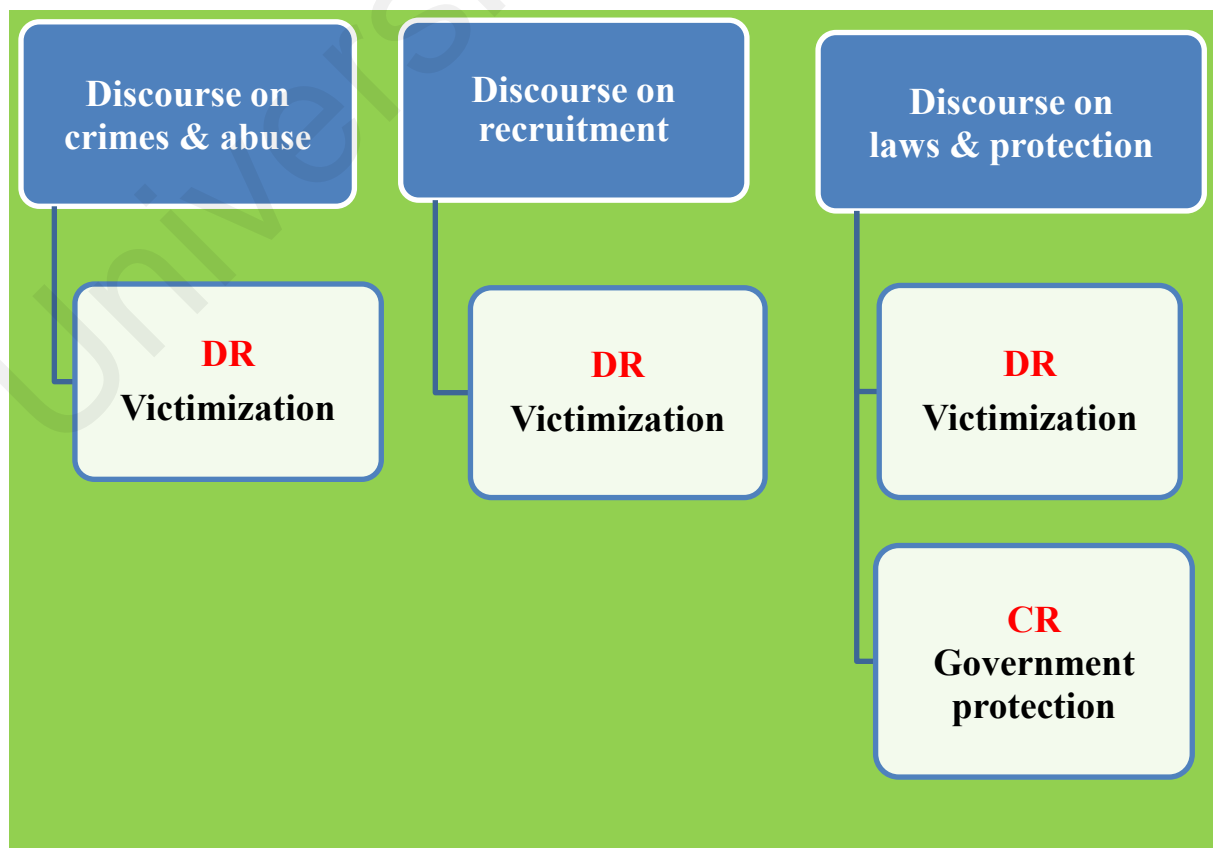
Figure 5.2: Summary of findings from the countries of origin's media

Figure 5.2 shows similar discourse topics to that of the Malaysian media. There are three main discourse topics namely, discourse on crime and abuse, discourse on recruitment procedures and discourse on law and protection. Another similarity to the Malaysian media is the conflicting representation (CR) of the governments of the countries involved which are the Malaysian, the Indonesian, and the Philippines. They were represented as protective but as unprotective with regards to the FDHs. This was due to events that took place during this phase such as high-profile cases of abuse, foreign workers lost boat, and debates over minorities rights. As for the representation of FDHs, there was a dominant representation (DR) of victimization under all the discourse topics.

5.2.3   Discourse on Crimes and Abuse

Similar to the previous phase, cases of abuse were visible in the media as in the following examples.

Table 5.8: Discourse topics on crime and abuse

Headlines	Lead paragraph	Macro-propositions	Discourse topics
"New geography for domestic workers?", Jakarta Post, February 1, 2014	"**Indonesia** is increasingly more **intolerant of domestic worker rights abuses** as the **lack of safeguards in the migrant maid industry** perpetuates an underclass of vulnerable working women in servitude."	Indonesian government is against rights abuse FDHs are unsafe Domestic service encourages vulnerability	Abuse and exploitation
"Minister Maltreatment of 105 maids, including six Pinays, a shame to Malaysia" GMA, December 5, 2014	"After freeing 105 foreign maids, including six Filipinas, Malaysian authorities on Tuesday warned the 330 registered maid agencies in Malaysia not to tarnish the country's image by abusing foreigners under their care."	Foreign maids are abused Registered maids' agencies are responsible Registered maids' agencies ruining the country's reputation	Abuse and exploitation
"Pinay maid in Malaysia eyes charges vs ex-boss for abuse", GMA, December 28, 2014	"A Filipina maid plans to pursue charges against her former employer whom she accused of starving and beating her for nearly one and a half years."	FDH is abused FDH pursue chargers against the employer	Abuse and exploitation

"Pinay maid escapes sexual slavery in Malaysia – report", GMA, May 2, 2014	"**A Filipina domestic helper forced into sex slavery** by a fellow Filipina and her husband in Malaysia ~~in late April managed to escape, a Malaysian news site reported Friday.~~"	FDH is forced into physical abuse	Abuse and exploitation

The table shows the macrostructure analysis of the lead paragraph from a variety of news agencies from Indonesia and the Philippines. The names of places and time were omitted. The relevant information was put in bold. The various reference terms to foreign domestic helpers were all transformed into one unified expression which is FDH. From the quotations, the expected representational theme is victimization of FDHs.

5.2.3.1 Dominant Representation (Victimization)

The media of the countries of origin from both Indonesian and the Philippines represented the job of a FDH as legalized slavery regardless of the agreements between their countries and the host counties including Malaysia. To achieve that, they implemented *referential*, *predication* and *argumentation strategies* as in the following examples.

Table 5.9: Referential strategies of slavery

1	"**Domestic labor is sometimes referred to as a legalized slave trade**, owing to vast records of trafficking, physical and sexual abuse, unpaid work and restrictions on freedom." *Source: "New geography for domestic workers?", Jakarta Post, February 1, 2014*
2	"A Filipina domestic helper **forced into sex slavery** in Malaysia in late April managed to escape, a Malaysian news site reported Friday." *Source: "Pinay maid escapes sexual slavery in Malaysia – report", GMA, May 2, 2014*
3	"Domestic work is one of the world's oldest and most important occupations for millions. **It is rooted in the global history of slavery**, colonialism and other forms of servitude." *Source: "A promise to domestic workers after 10 years" JP, 18 March 2014*
4	"The National Police are investigating a human trafficking fugitive, identified as Farida Zaharina, aka Ina, who **allegedly forced 16 underage Indonesian girls into the sex industry in Malaysia**." *Source: "Police Probe trafficking of underaged girls", Jakarta Post, August 27, 2014.*

Example 1 shows that in response to the Indonesian government promise of providing more jobs in Indonesia by 2017 and sending back the foreign workers, Jakarta Post expressed its doubts of the possibilities of this happening. They also highlighted the

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contribution of their offshore workers to the local economy as per the article quoted. As the style of the news reporting with regards to the topic of domestic helpers, the victim representation of the FDHs seem more timeless -not affected by change in policies- as the abuse and exploitation are represented as endless. Therefore, JP used *referential strategy* to refer to the job of domestic service as "*legalized slave trade*". The same expression of *slavery* was used in a few incidents that were reported on workers who were brought to Malaysia as FDHs before being trapped in forced sex trade. They were represented by the media as *sex slaves*. Compared with the Malaysian media, more incidents were reported of FDHs being forced into sex trade or sex slavery. In example 3, *topos of history* was the strategy that supported the negative representation of the job of domestic service in "*It is rooted in the global history of slavery*". In example 4, Jakarta Post reinforced the vulnerable image of being forced into sex trade using *topos of number* in '*16 underage Indonesian girls..*".

In addition, the *topos of justice* was also a common argumentation strategy used to support FDHs who are high profile cases of abuse. There are phrases "*justice for*" followed by one name of a FDH who was abused. For example, Nenita Batiancila Elcamel is a Filipina FDH who was abused in Malaysia by her former employer. The pronoun *We* was used to show an in-group solidarity with the victim.

Example 5.7

> "**We want to get justice for Nenita** and **make this a lesson to employers** to treat their **maids as humans**," the report quoted the agency's spokesperson as saying."
>
> *Source: "Pinay maid in Malaysia eyes charges vs ex-boss for abuse", GMA, December 28, 2014.*

In the example, Nenita was represented as a victim using argumentation strategy of *topos of humanitarian* when she was described as "*treat their maids as human*". Furthermore, the strategy of quoting the personal account of the victim was employed by GMA when Nenita's words were quoted as in the following example.

Example 5.8

> "Sometimes **I felt like collapsing** because **I was so hungry**, but she would **beat me** with a hanger or a stick or **pour water on me**," she said."
>
> *Source: "Piny maid in Malaysia eyes charges vs ex-boss for abuse", GMA, 14 December 2014*

In the example, the personal account narration was used as a strategy to intensify the support and to gain sympathy to the victim in "*I felt like collapsing*" and "*I was so hungry*". Passivation was employed to represent her as powerless "*she would beat me with hanger or a stick or pour water on me*".

In sum, the media of the countries of origin have expressed sympathy and represented the FDHs as victims. This reflects a dominant attitude of rejection to the domestic service as a job.

5.2.4   Discourse on Recruitment

Like the negative representation in the discourse on cases of abuse, some articles on discourse on recruitment highlighted the dangers faced by the Filipina FDHs who departed from politically unstable countries such as Libya and Yemen to work in Asian countries such as Malaysia instead. Under this category, the job of domestic service was intertwined together with human trafficking and exploitation on one hand and economic growth on the other.

Table 5.10: Discourse topics analysis of recruitment

Headline	Sub-discourse topics	Macro-propositions	Discourse topics

"Human trafficking and its intricate web" GMA January 28, 2013	"Human trafficking is the world's third largest criminal enterprise, generating ~~$15 billion last year alone~~. There are thousands of victims of human trafficking in the Philippines every year."	• Human trafficking is the world's third largest criminal enterprise • Human trafficking is profitable • thousands of victims from the Philippines	Illegal recruitment
"A promise to domestic workers, after 10 years", Jakarta Post, March 18, 2014	"~~An estimated 6.5 million~~ Indonesians are ~~currently~~ working overseas. Indonesia has the second-largest population of migrant workers ~~in countries across Southeast Asia after~~ the Philippines."	• Millions of Indonesians are involved in FD service • Indonesia is the second largest domestic service population • Philippines is the largest domestic service population	recruitment
"Why migrant workers must not be forgotten". Jakarta Post, 30 April 2015	"Indonesia's migrant workers are the unsung and marginalized heroes of the nation's economy."	Indonesian migrant workers are heroes Indonesian migrant workers need to be recognized.	recruitment

In the quoted articles, both countries' media are focused on the recruitment conditions of their citizens. GMA stressed on the illegal recruitment and human trafficking problems. While Jakarta Post (JP) focused on praising the efforts of the citizens who work overseas and portrayed them as unrecognized efforts. Therefore, the expected representation is victimization of FDHs.

5.2.4.1 Dominant Representation (Victimization)

The FDHs were represented as victims in the process and procedures of recruitment. The issues of human trafficking, exploitation, and financial abuse by recruitment agents were heavily discussed in the media of the countries of origin. Several discursive strategies have been employed for this purpose such as *rhetorical questions, predications, argumentation and intensification strategies*. In each of the examples, several discursive strategies have been employed as follows.

Example 5.9

"It begins with a **painful**, **all-too-familiar story**. The friend of a friend **promises** a young girl from an impoverished family a high-paying job abroad as a waitress. The amount being

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offered both **astonishes and delights her**, and she responds with a resounding yes. **How can she not want to help her family,** after all? ….. So she boards a motorized banca as the dusk begins to fall, …. Before long, **she finds herself** in a cramped, she is handed a large box... By then, it's too late, as we witness the plight of **yet another trafficking victim**."

Source: "Human trafficking and its intricate web", GMA, January 28, 2013

Firstly, rhetorical question was used as a strategy to justify the motives behind going illegally to Malaysia and then becoming a victim of human trafficking, "*How can she not want to help her family, after all?*". Also, *topos of poverty* was always brought up to justify the acts of illegality. Rather than being represented negatively as illegal workers, they were represented as victims of human trafficking. The *predication strategies* in "*painful, all-too-familiar story*" shows a representation of the problem as endless. Passivation was employed through expressions such as "*a friend promises*", "*astonishes and delights her*", "*she finds herself in a cramped*" shows an image of vulnerability and helplessness. Emphasis on the age of the victim in "*young girl*" also stresses the image of vulnerability.

In addition, topos of number is employed to emphasize the importance of finding solution to human trafficking in "thousands of victims of human trafficking", "there were 1,693 human trafficking cases officially recorded", "364 of which took place in 2011 alone", "the unrecorded cases are countless", "at least 16,814 people have now been rescued" and "only 100 traffickers have been convicted" as in the following example.

Example 5.10

"Today, there are thousands of victims of human trafficking in the Philippines every year. From 2005 to 2012, there were 1,693 human trafficking cases officially recorded in the country, 364 of which took place in 2011 alone. Needless to say, the unrecorded cases are countless. Still, despite the massive planning and surveillance costs these clandestine rescue networks entail, at least 16,814 people have now been rescued by different government agencies. Regrettably, only 100 traffickers have been convicted…"

Source: "Human trafficking and its intricate web", GMA, January 28, 2013.

Similarity, The FDHs were represented as victims of exploitation using *topos of number* on several occasions such as "*Approximately 75 to 80 percent*". The government is represented positively through listing the government's rulings related to the FDHs such

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as moratorium, improving bilateral agreements, and ratifying UN's Convention on the Protection and banning some recruitment agencies.

Example 5.11

> "**Approximately 75 to 80 percent** of them are domestic workers who have long endured **isolation, underpayment, long working hours, forced labor, human trafficking and violence**. To improve the protection of its migrant workers, the government has taken some necessary efforts such as the domestic workers deployment moratorium, improving bilateral agreements, banning certain recruitment agencies and ratifying the 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families."
>
> *Source: "Government told to protect migrant workers", Jakarta Post, June 17, 2013*

In addition, *mitigation strategies* were employed in "*only 50 percent*" to represent the FDHs as victims of employment rules and processes in "*only 50 percent are covered by minimum wages...*". Furthermore, the style of listing all the problems in the past and present is also a dominant *intensification strategy* to portray the job as full of dangers in "*have long endured isolation, underpayment, long working hours, forced labor, human trafficking and violence*" as in the example.

Example 5.12

> "**Only 50 percent** are covered by minimum wages or equivalent sectoral/occupational rates. Ironically, **15.5 million** are children engaged in domestic work. Now, millions of domestic helpers are waiting for the minister's promise to be realized. **Approximately 75 to 80 percent** of them are domestic helpers who **have long endured isolation, underpayment, long working hours, forced labor, human trafficking and violence.**"
>
> *Source: "A promise to domestic helpers after 10 years", Jakarta Post, 18 March 2014*

In another attempt to intensify victimization, the intensification strategy of the problem and the statistics provided served a purpose. In this 12-page opinion article, the news agency praised the government run by President Benigno Aquino III. Once again, the *intensification strategy* of listening all the problems associated with the job as in "*are horrific stories of the abuse and exploitation suffered by Indonesian migrant workers abroad. Migrant workers suffer exploitation*" and "numerous cases when Indonesian

migrant workers have faced physical abuse, sexual violence and even death" as in the following example.

Example 5.13

"Each year there **are horrific stories of the abuse and exploitation** suffered by Indonesian migrant workers abroad. Migrant workers suffer exploitation **from agents and employers** who deceive them about their conditions of work and terms of employment, including the salary they receive and their hours of work. Workers can also find themselves **forced into debt bondage** because of excessive and often illegal charges and recruitment fees. **Others face abuse** at the hands of their employers but **cannot flee** because their travel documents and salary are withheld. At the extreme end, there **are numerous cases when Indonesian migrant workers have faced physical abuse, sexual violence and even death**."

Source: "Why migrant workers must not be forgotten", Jakarta Post, 30 April 2015.

In sum, the quotations show a negative representation of the job as being full of hazards, yet the government is represented positively as making efforts to rectify the situation. Several strategies were used to represent the FDHs as *helpless* especially that they were passivized and portrayed as aggregations of large numbers. So, the victimization image confirms with the ideological square of positive *Self* representation and negative *Other* representation.

5.2.5 Discourse on Law and Protection

Legality and protection issues were discussed when reporting cases of Malaysian police arresting a number of illegal workers from the Philippines and Indonesia. A case of missing workers on a boat was dominating the news articles. Many concerns were expressed on legality and protections as in the following quotations.

Table 5.11: Discourse topics analysis on safety and protection

Headlines	Lead paragraph	Initial Macro proposition	Discourse topic
"40 Indonesians missing after boat sank in Malaysia", Jakarta Post, 4 August 2013.	"Forty passengers believed to be Indonesian migrant workers were still missing on Saturday after a boat that was supposed to carry them home to celebrate Idul Fitri sank off Malaysia."	FDH are unsafe	Safety and protection

"2 senatorial candidates on the Sabah issue", Inquirer, March 14, 2013	"Twelve Indonesian undocumented migrant workers have died after their boat transporting them to Malaysia capsized in Johor Bahru waters on Monday."	Illegal Indonesian FDH are unsafe	Safety and protection
"Migrant workers victims of govt's euphemistic policy" Jakarta Post, 24 May 2015.	"Amid the increasing problems and misery many migrant workers have endured in recent weeks, the Indonesian government proudly announced that remittances sent by migrant workers earned the country Rp 105 trillion (US$8.4 billion) in 2014, a significant increase from Rp 70.6 trillion a year ago."	FDH and MW are in miserable conditions	Safety and protection
"Domestic workers conditions at home no less working", Jakarta Post, February 16, 2015	"President Joko Jokowi' Widodo vowed to stop sending Indonesians to work as housemaids abroad, because the poor treatment they received was humiliating for the nation. The President, however, apparently did not realize that the situation at home is no better."	The government should stop sending MW and DH.	Safety and protection

As the table shows discourse on safety and protection associated with foreign domestic helpers reflect a series of protection issues. Many articles discussed the lack of government's protection, cases of illegal border crossing and rules that do not protect the FDHs.

5.2.5.1 Conflicting Representation of Governments (Protective vs Unprotective)

In this phase, there was a conflicting representation (CR) of the governments of the countries of origin in terms of fulfilling their role in protecting the domestic helpers and the offshore workers in general. As mentioned earlier, the conflicting representation reflect different perspectives of the media agencies to their governments.

On the one hand, the government was represented negatively as unprotective by Jakarta Post (JP) and The Inquirer-Philippines (IP). They criticized both of their governments and authorities for not protecting the foreign workers. These online news media are independent online agencies.

They referred to the workers as '*people*' to emphasize the governments' duty of protecting their citizens. They also used rhetorical questions as a hook to gain the reader's attention. These calls became louder after the sinking of a boat carrying illegal migrant workers between Indonesia and Malaysia in 2013. So, the FDHs were referred to as "*people*" from a humanitarian purpose and to be included in the *Self* group.

Example 5.14

> "**How come** two countries that have authority did nothing to solve **people** trafficking and illegal foreign worker issues?"
>
> *Source: "40 Indonesians missing after boat sank in Malaysia", Jakarta Post, 4 August 2013.*

In addition, the Philippines government was criticized for neglecting minorities such as the Filipino Muslims. In the following example, a restructure of 'in group out group' is presented. The writer considered the government to side with Malaysia against the Muslim minority who work in Malaysia.

Example 5. 15

> "Many Filipinos are dismayed by the neglect of the Philippine government of our brother Muslims now being chased, abused, or killed by Malaysians in Sabah. **It is as ifour government officials, including the President, are vassals of Malaysia.** Those are our fellow Filipinos being killed out there. **What are you doing?**"
>
> *Source: "2 senatorial candidates on the Sabah issue", Inquirer, March 14, 2013*

One of the few incidents that GMA News criticized the government for is the situation of the Muslim Filipinos. The Filipino Muslim citizens were portrayed as excluded by the government and left open to abuse by the Malaysians in Sabah. It also accused the government of being vassals of Malaysia by using rhetorical questions such as 'what are you doing?' as a linguistic strategy to intensify the act of neglect.

Example 5.16

> "Many Filipinos are dismayed by the neglect of the Philippine government of our brother Muslims now being chased, abused, or killed by Malaysians in Sabah. It is as if our government officials, including the President, are vassals of Malaysia. Those are our fellow Filipinos being killed out there. What are you doing?"

Furthermore, after the announcement by the Indonesian government about the increase in remittances sent by migrant workers, the Jakarta Post criticized the government and quoted human rights activists who criticized the government's lack of protection for the migrant workers. Jakarta Post employed the topos of number to intensify the problem, using phrases such as *thousands of informal workers* and *millions of informal workers.* Jakarta Post accused the government of focusing on profit rather than the working conditions of the migrant workers. It represented the government policy negatively as a *euphemistic policy* that turns a blind eye to the bad working conditions faced by the workers.

Example 5.17

"The announcement drew criticism from rights activists and media outlets, who indirectly accused the government of paying less attention to the poor skills and plights of migrant workers and rampant human trafficking than to the remittances they send…Though Indonesia is bringing back **thousands of its informal workers working in Saudi Arabia and Malaysia illegally, millions of informal workers** are still being employed as domestic help, gardeners and construction workers... Despite an alarming increase in the number of troubled workers overseas, the government still implements **a euphemistic policy** on labor exports, by mainly sending informal migrant workers to neighboring and Middle East countries."

Source: "Migrant workers victims of govt's euphemistic policy" Jakarta Post, 24 May 2015.

Using rhetorical questions, Jakarta Post criticized the Indonesian government for not providing sufficient protection for FDHs. Therefore, it can be inferred that the FDHs are represented as unprotected victims.

Example 5.18

"How come we expect other countries to protect housemaids when even in their own country they are unprotected?'... The former House member said in a discussion at the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) on Sunday."

Source: "Domestic workers conditions at home no less working", Jakarta Post, February 16, 2015.

In addition, an incident caused anger in the media of the countries of origin when the Malaysian authorities detained a group of migrant workers suspected of being illegal.

Many migrant workers from different countries were detained in an incident that was referred to as a round up crack down. In support of the migrant workers, the Inquirer detailed the act of detention and prolonged its details while mitigating the cause. The details of the incident were that the Filipinos were '*rounded up', 'thrown to processing centres',' jailed', the* women were '*sexually abused'* and '*forced to admit'*.

Example 5.19

> "Reports of Filipinos being **rounded up**, **thrown** to overcrowded processing centers and jails, and forced to admit they were illegal workers have reached Malacañang. **Some of the female migrant workers were sexually abused,** according to the reports, but these have yet to be verified by the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)."
>
> *Source: "Abuse of Filipino 'illegals' in Sabah probed", Inquirer, January 24, 2014*

Furthermore, *topos of number* was heavily used to highlight past and present problems of foreign domestic helpers and associating these large numbers with major issues such as isolation, underpayment, working hours, forced labour and human trafficking. So, the listing of problems seems -as in the previous examples- as timeless. This is because in many quotations, there was no reference to certain events rather an overall perception towards the dangers that the FDHs face.

Example 5.20

> "**Only 50 percent** are covered by minimum wages or equivalent sectoral/occupational rates. Ironically, 15.5 million are children engaged in domestic work. Now, **millions of domestic workers** are waiting for the minister's promise to be realized. **Approximately 75 to 80 percent** of them are domestic workers who have **long endured isolation, underpayment, long working hours, forced labor, human trafficking and violence**."
>
> *Source: "A promise to domestic workers after 10 years", Jakarta Post, 18 March 2014.*

In contrast, the Indonesian and the Filipino governments were reported to have assured their FDHs who work in Malaysia that they will be protected. These promises could be attributed to the plan of these governments to maintain their relationships with Malaysia and to maintain the foreign worker's contribution to the economies of these poor countries. Therefore, the two governments tried to mitigate the incidents of abuse faced by their citizens in Malaysia using the topos of waiting for strong evidence especially

with regards to the event of massive detention by the Malaysian authorities on foreign workers:

Example 5.21

"**The government could not tolerate violation of basic human rights committed against Filipino citizens**. He, however, pointed out the Department of Foreign Affairs has yet to receive reports from the Philippine embassy in Malaysia on the said incident reports."

Source: "Palace assures assistance to OFWs allegedly abused in Malaysia", Inquirer, January 23, 2014.

In the same event, the incident of the crackdown was mitigated in two ways. First, the inclusion of many nationalities along with the Filipinos was a strategy to mitigate the effect. In other words, the Filipino authorities tried to calm their citizens down by indicating that the Filipino citizens weren't only the ones targeted by the Malaysian authorities, rather all migrant workers were involved. With that, the act of detention was divided equality on all the mentioned countries of Indonesia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, and Thailand along with the Filipinos. Secondly, the Filipino government wanted the angry citizens or critics to wait until more evidence was obtained. By the time all the evidence was collected, the citizens would have calmed down. This is one of the strategies of buying time. Thirdly, the reason of the detention was represented as necessary by stating "*they were required to show necessary documentations*". In a subtle way, it portrayed the Malaysian authorities as *doing their job* rather than abusing migrant workers.

Example 5.22

"A nationwide crackdown for illegal migrant workers on Tuesday began in Malaysia among workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Thailand where they were required **to show necessary documentations**."

Source: "Palace assures assistance to OFWs allegedly abused in Malaysia", Inquirer, January 23, 2014.

Another attempt by the Filipino and the Indonesian governments to encourage the Filipino and Indonesian FDHs among other migrant workers to work in Malaysia was to promise them with more protection.

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Example 5.23

> "To improve the protection of its migrant workers, **the government has taken some necessary efforts** such as the domestic workers deployment moratorium, improving bilateral agreements, banning certain recruitment agencies and ratifying the 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families."
>
> *Source: "A promise to domestic workers, after 10 years", Jakarta Post, March 18, 2014.*

There are two sets of conflicting representations: *lack of government protection* and *the government as protector*. An explanation can be found by looking at the background of the online news media that produced these conflicting representations. In Indonesia, Jakarta Post represented the FDHs as unprotected. Jakarta Post's stance is similar to Malaysia Kini's stance. They both blame the governments for not setting tighter laws to protect the FDHs. In 2012, Jakarta Post interviewed Irene Fernandez who said that the foreign workers are not protected in Malaysia and asked the Indonesians to not send migrant workers to Malaysia anymore. This caused Fernandez to be questioned by the Malaysian authorities; Some news reports considered that as spoking-ill of the country. On the other hand, the Inquirer and Jakarta Post represented their governments as making attempts to protect the FDHs and migrant working citizens. The deciding factor of the online news media' stance is also the percentages. The number of examples where the governments were criticized was far more than the number of articles in which the governments were represented positively. That results in the dominant discursive representation being a negative representation. This could be attributed to the fact that as independent news agencies, they have the liberty to criticize authorities.

Example 5.24

> "Indonesia does not want to be seen as a population available for export and while it brokered a deal that got Malaysia off the naughty list, it reiterated its promise to end the maid trade in four years' time, as too has the Philippines."
>
> *Source: "New geography for domestic workers?", Jakarta Post, February 1, 2014.*

In addition, Malaysia and other host countries from the Middle East were all represented as abusive to the FHDs. There was no clear comparison between the conditions in these

countries. This might reflect that the emphasis is on the type of job that allows abuse and exploitation rather than a negative representation of a country in particular as in the following example. Overall, the representation confirms the negative *Other* representation.

Example 5.25

> "**Rights violators Malaysia**, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan were **banned for not adequately protecting workers' rights**, though Indonesia often appears less concerned with establishing protections for human rights than defending its sovereignty and dignity in line with its growing status."

Source: "New geography for domestic workers?", Jakarta Post, February 1, 2014

It can be inferred that GMA News wasn't very concerned with the laws and the government responsibility shared. Instead, it focused more on representing the FDHs from a more humanitarian point of view. It represented FDHs as victims of exploitation of employers, criticized the job of FDHs as a legalized slave trade, and represented the FDHs as victims of human trafficking mafias.

In sum, the representation focused more on the overall scene in Malaysia with regards to laws and protection rather than the daily crime reporting. Therefore, there were times when the FDHs were represented as aggregations or groups rather than individuals. The discussion reflected more of an overall perception towards the job of domestic service as full of dangers and the laws are ineffective in protecting the workers.

5.3 Summary and Comparison of the Media in Malaysia and the Countries of Origin

Unlike phase I, there are several similarities between the representation from the Malaysian media and the media of the countries of origin in terms of discourse topics and representational themes. This similarity is attributed to the fact that this phase does not involve much policy variations.

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Under crime discourse, both media emphasized the victimization theme. Yet the Malaysian media portrayed the cases as individual unrelated cases while the counties of origin focused on the full picture of human trafficking, abuse, and exploitation. They represented them as tangled, closed circle of problems that will only be solved if the job of domestic service is abolished. In the Malaysian media. these crime cases were mostly discussed based on little facts provided by the court sessions with little elaboration found. As for the countries of origin, there was more focus on governmental protection and policy changes recommendations. Therefore, the cases of abuse and exploitation were viewed more collectively and less individually, unlike the Malaysian media. The media of the countries of origin provided more justifications for illegality and employed sympathy to support their domestic helper citizens.

Similarity, under the topics of law and protection, both media agencies showed conflicting views towards their governments. In the Malaysian mainstream media, the Malaysian government and authorities were portrayed as protective and enforcing the law. This is especially evident in news related to crime and legality. In the alternative media such as Malaysia Kini, the government is represented as unprotective. On the other hand, the conflicting representation of the government in the countries of origin media was due to events that took place in this phase. They often blamed the governments rather than the agencies or the domestic helpers. There were times when the government was represented as facilitating jobs overseas and as a protector. While on other times, the government was represented as neglecting the FDHs. Yet the discussion of discourse topics and the contextual background information do not reflect major events rather they reflect small events that could be the influential factor behind the variation.

On the other hand, the discourse on recruitment again focused on FDH as a financial burden in the Malaysian media. The central theme was the cost and the discussions revolved around expenses rather than the procedures. This has impacted the

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representation to more of a negative. While the employers were portrayed as victims of financial burden. In other words, the financial aspect is the controlling factor that affects the representation. This reflects a utilitarian perspective towards the FDHs.

As comparison to phase 1, the media of the countries of origin was parallel to that of phase I. The same notion of victimization of FDH and the justification strategies to improve their representation were available in this phase. One the other hand, the representation of the government with regards to the issue of FDHs did not show a clear pattern rather it kept fluctuating following events.

Therefore, the representation pattern of this phase relatively confirms the ideological square of *positive Self* representation *and negative Other* representation.

6   CHAPTER SIX: MEDIA REPRESENTATION IN PHASE III

6.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the representation of FDH in the media between June 2015 and April 2018. In this period, only the Filipina FDHs were banned whereas the Indonesian FDHs were allowed to work in Malaysia. That created a different contextual setting from the previous two phases as only one group was banned. While Phase I was characterized by multiple policy changes and Phase II was characterized by no policy change, this phase is characterized by less frequent policy change by the countries of origin and one policy that was implemented by the Malaysian government. This chapter highlights the influence of the state policy change on the Malaysian media and the two countries of origin's media.

6.1   Representation by the Malaysian Media

The same data collection strategies of Phases I and II were employed in collecting the data in phase III. The news articles published in this phase were put into NVivo 12 Plus to find the most frequent words. The top 20 most frequent words were selected. A few frequent words were eliminated either because they were too general, irrelevant or titles such as: *years, also, com, http, the star, works, nation, WWW, homes, ones, old, timing, https, news, ..etc.*. Then the selected news articles were examined thoroughly to find the dominant discourse topics. The same procedure was performed on both files of the Malaysian media and the countries of origin media separately. For the Malaysian media, the top 20 most frequent words were put into NVivo nodes to be prepared for analysis. Here are the words:

Employment (1080), *court* (610), *Indonesian* (546), *domestic* (521), *case* (517), *foreign* (514), *abuse* (397), *hiring* (349), *agencies* (348), *victim* (308), *murder* (288), *needs* (287),

Indonesia (274), *helper* (267), *sentenced* (266), *immigration* (254), *death* (230), *Adelina* (177), *forced* (170), and *police* (147).

6.1.1 Discourse Topics of the Malaysian Media

There were two significant state policy's variations in this phase. One of them was the ban from the government of the Philippines in July 2015. The other one was the unprecedented policy by the Malaysian government that was implemented on all the foreign domestic helpers working in Malaysia, irrespective of their nationality which was the *Direct Hiring System* commonly referred to as (SOM). This new system was introduced in January 2018. As explained in Chapter One, Direct Hiring reduced the financial burden on the Malaysian employers and the FDHs by excluding the recruitment agencies from the process on an optional basis. On the other hand, the new system was criticized as there was no third party in the process which was believed by some to have allowed more vulnerability and unreported abuse. This policy changed what was known to be the conventional way of hiring FDHs. Therefore, it is important to highlight its influence on the media representation.

6.1.2 Summary of Findings of the Malaysian Media Phase III

Upon the examination of the selected new articles, a few discourse topics were revealed as discussed below.
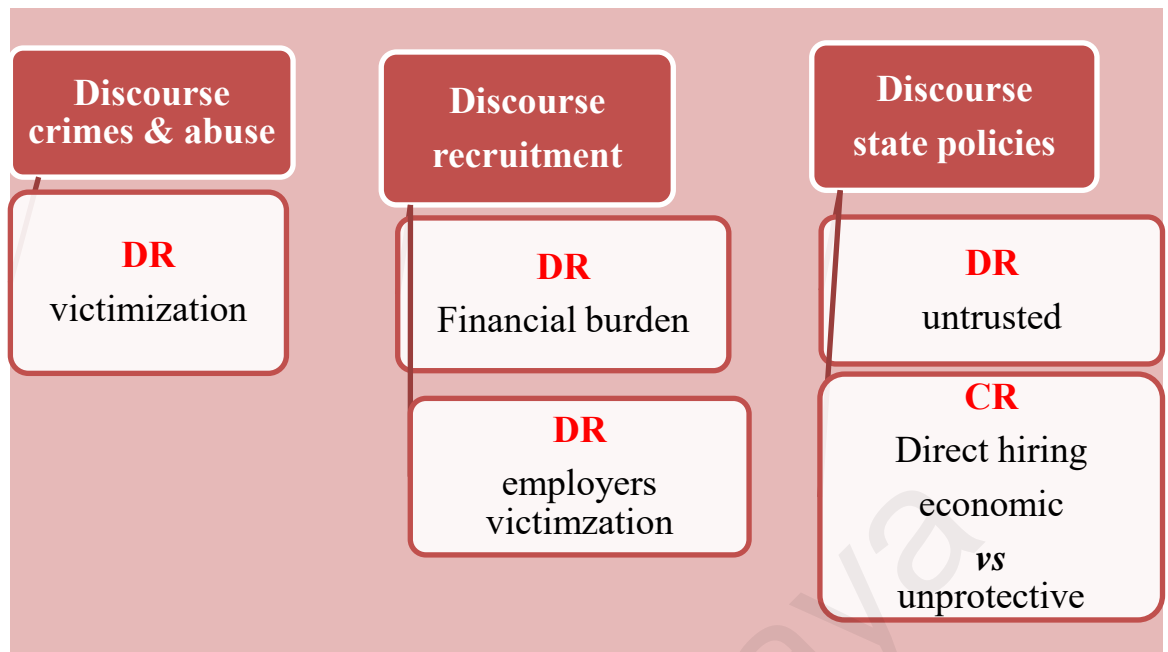
Figure 6.1: Summary of findings from the Malaysian media Phase II

Figure 6.1 shows three major discourse topics. Like the previous phases, they are discourse on crime and abuse, discourse on recruitment, and discourse on state policies and protection. Under the crime and abuse, there is a dominant representation (DR) of victimization of FDHs while under the recruitment discourse, there is a dominant representation (DR) of FDHs as financial burden and another dominant representation (DR) of employers as victims of financial burden. As for the state policies and protection discourse, there is a negative dominant representation (DR) of FDHs as untrusted. In addition, there was a conflicting representation (CR) of the newly introduced Direct Hiring System as being an economic solution on the one hand and an unprotective system on the other. As the data analysis will show, the conflicting representation of the Direct Hiring System was due to the different perspectives by the news agencies. TSO fully supported the system focusing on the financial perspective while Malaysia Kini was suspicious of the system focusing on the safety aspect.

6.1.3 Discourse on Crimes and Abuse

In this phase, there were a few high-profile cases of abuse that were heavily reported in the Malaysian media. Names such as *Adelina Lisao*, *Nirmala Bonat* and *Suyanti Sutrinso* were reoccurring names across the data. Some of these cases started long ago but the media kept a close focus on the court trials and people's views. The case of *Nirmala Bonat*, for instance, started in 2014. While the cases of Adelina Lisao's and *Suyanti Sutrinso* created a public outrage due to disagreement over the court's decision followed by an online petition.

Table 6.1: Macrostructure analysis of discourse on abuse

Reference	Quote of lead paragraph	Macro-propositions	Representations highlighted
"Woman, 59, charged with Indonesian maid's murder" TSO, 21 Feb 2018	"~~BUKIT MERTAJAM: The 59-year-old~~ woman ~~who~~ allegedly abused her Indonesian maid to death has been charged at the magistrate's court ~~here Wednesday.~~"	• Indonesian FDH was abused and murdered • Employer charged	FDH is victim of abuse
"Bruised Indon maid to be taken to embassy", TSO, 24 Dec 2016	"The Indonesian embassy condemns the alleged attack on an Indonesian maid by her employer saying that it will place her in the care of the embassy pending investigation into her ordeal."	• An Indonesian FDH was attacked by her employer. • The embassy condemned the attack. • FDH will be under the care of the embassy.	FDH is victim of abuse
"'Datin' charged with attempted murder of Indonesian maid", TSO, 30 Dec 2016	"~~PETALING JAYA:~~ A "Datin" has been charged in the Sessions Court here with attempting to murder her Indonesian maid."	• An employer attempted murdering a FDH. • The employer was charged by the court.	FDH is victim of abuse
"Indonesia demands justice for Adelina", TSO, 14 February 2018	"~~JAKARTA~~: The Indonesian government has demanded that justice be upheld for Adelina Lisao, an Indonesian migrant worker who died after allegedly suffering abuse from her employers in Penang."	• Indonesian government demands justice. • FDH is allegedly abused. • FDH died.	FDH is victim of abuse

Table 6.1 shows a sample of the high-profile cases of abuse. The Malaysian media paid special attention to the case of *Adelina Liaos*, an Indonesian domestic helper who worked in Malaysia and died in February 2018 after suspected abuse and deteriorating health

condition. Her controversial and unsettled court case gained media's attention in early 2018 when reporters took photos of her compelled to sleep outside next to the employer dog. Then, when the court released the employer, an online petition in April 2018 known as "*seek justice for Adelina*" was circulating. Her case was about to start a new ban on Indonesia domestic helpers by the Indonesian government. Another case that received a lot of attention by the media is the case of *Suyanti Sutrinso* who was abused by her Datin employer in December 2016. She was found unconscious beside a drain affected by abuse injuries. The case received a lot of attention because of the progress of the case.

6.1.3.1 Dominant Representation (Victimization)

Several strategies have been employed to represent the FDHs as victims of abuse and exploitation such as *passivation*, *referential, predication*, and *perspectivation* strategies. Firstly, *Passivation* was used to represent the FDH as *powerless* as in the following examples.

Table 6.2: Passivation in discourse on abuse

1	"A 22-year-old Indonesian maid had become pregnant after she was **raped** by her employer, who is a retired school head in Bintulu, Sarawak. The victim told her agent that **the man forced himself on her** on four occasions when his wife was not at home" *Source: "Flasher who preyed on women in Bukit Mertajam nabbed", TSO, 29 September 2016*
2	"She, however, said **she was too afraid to lodge a police report** as the man had recorded some of the rapes and took nude photographs of her, which he used to blackmail her. She claimed that **she could not bear the abuse anymore**" *Source: "'Teacher, there's a snake in my bag'", TSO, 30 April 2016*
3	""She died not because of her sickness but because **she was tortured**," she added during a memorial service to mark Lisao's one-year death anniversary." *Source: "Woman, 59, charged with Indonesian maid's murder" TSO, 21 Feb 2018*

Example 1 reports a rape case. The FDH is referred to as '*the victim*' and placed in the grammatical object position in the sentence. The materials verbs were used very often in association with physical abuse stories such as "*she was raped*" and "*the man forced himself on her*" as in example 1.

In example 2, The news agency reported the FDH's narration using predications that show feelings of fear and powerless such as "*she was too afraid to lodge a police report*" and "*she could not bear the abuse anymore.*" In example 3, the mother of the FDH Adelina Liaos was quoted. The act of violence *tortured* is passivized to represent the victim as helpless in "she was *tortured*".

Predication strategies were also evident in reporting the high-profile cases of abuse such as Adelina's. The Malaysian news agencies showed sympathy to the victims in describing the incident including Malaysia Kini that described it with the intensified predication in "*a heart-breaking tragedy*" as in the following example.

Example 6.1

> "Adelina's death was **a heart-breaking tragedy. I regret** that it happened in Malaysia," Zahrain said."
>
> *Source: "Adelina case – freeze on maids not the answer, says envoy", M Kini, Feb 21, 2018.*

Argumentation strategies were employed by TSO in topos of humanity in "*your maids are human beings as well*" and from equality point of view *Treat maids as helpers, not as people lesser than you.* TSO viewed the incident from the FDH's perspective describing the conditions she lived in "as *must have felt like a prison*".

Example 6.2

> "That front porch of the house .. **must have felt like a prison**… Do not forget that your maids are **human beings** as well"
>
> *Source: "Be worthy of your maid's respect", TSO, 18 Feb 2018.*

Another instance of *topos of humanity* was evident in Malaysia Kini's reporting of the high-profile case of abuse of Suyanti Sutrinso. Malaysia Kini declared its disapproval of the abusive act and the went further to disapprove the court's decision. Malaysia Kini quoted the director of a human rights organization and the Lawyers of Liberty (LFL) to

maintain the humanitarian perspective in "*will no longer tolerate such despicable treatment of our fellow human beings*" as in the following example.

Example 6.3

> "**An unjust sentence**, such as the case of Suyanti, sends out **the wrong message** that **it is all right to abuse domestic workers, and treat them inhumanely**, and all the more so if you are affluent and well-connected…a clear statement must be made that **Malaysia**, **as a civilised country**, **will no longer tolerate** such **despicable treatment** of **our fellow human beings**."
>
> *Source: "Appeal against lenient sentence for 'Datin' who abuse maid", M Kini, 16 March 2018.*

In the example, Malaysia Kini portrayed Suyanti as a victim using the predication strategy of "*unjust sentence*". Malaysia Kini tried to portray Malaysia in a positively in commenting on the abuse case in "*sends out the wrong message*" about Malaysia. Furthermore, an argumentation strategy of topos of modernity and civilized society was used in "*Malaysia, as a civilized country…*". In a similar manner, TSO showed support to the abused FDHs using imperative statements starting with commanding verbs such as *treat*, *think*, and *be* giving a recommendation-like list of how to treat FDHs. This was further emphasized by the topos of equality in "*not as people lesser than you*" in the following example.

Example 6.4

> "**Treat maids as helpers**, **not as people lesser than you**. **Think** of yourself as your maid's leader, and **be** a gracious, inspiring and compassionate person. **Be** a family with such dignity and moral standing that your maid is proud to serve and protect. When your own maid **looks up to you respectfully**, you can be sure you are **someone worthy**."
>
> *Source: "Be worthy of your maid's respect", TSO, 18 Feb 2018*

The example shows an unpreceded recommendation list of instructions. This reflects sympathy to the case of Adline and anger over the recurring abuse cases. This might reflect a deeper ideology of trying to eliminate the causes that leads to a new ban on the Indonesian FDHs. Therefore, the high-profile cases of abuse were represented from a humanitarian point of view using several intensification and predication strategies.

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In addition, the *referential strategy* of in-group and out-group was employed to show sympathy towards the FDHs. Although the use of the pronouns *they* and *you* and the possessive pronouns *their* and *ours* indicates an *in-group/out-group* distinction, yet the purpose is to emphasis equality between the *Self* group and the *Other* group through *topos of equality* in phrases such as "*their personal lives", "their dreams and plans",* and" *their own homes"* in the following example.

Example 6.5

> "Domestic helpers put **their** personal lives aside to serve the families of their employers. **They** put on hold **their** dreams and plans for **their** own homes and instead put all **their** attention into helping to maintain **ours**."…"**They** live in servitude **to you** because **their** families are impoverished, and **they** have no other means of earning an income."
>
> *Source: "Be worthy of your maid's respect", TSO, 18 Feb 2018*

Furthermore, *intensification strategies* were displayed in "*a several cases of abuse languished the Malaysian counts*" to portray the image of continuous threat facing the FDHs as in the following example.

Example 6.6

> "A year after the death of an Indonesian maid who was forced to sleep outside next to a dog, her mother called for justice, **as several other cases of abuse languish** in Malaysia's courts."
>
> *Source: "Woman, 59, charged with Indonesian maid's murder" TSO, 21 Feb 2018*

In sum, both the mainstream media and the alternative media portrayed the FDHs as victims of abuse and showed support to the victims of the high-profile cases with emphasis on the humanitarian aspect.

6.1.4   Discourse on Recruitment

Similar to the previous phases, the increase of fee structure was one of the major discussions in the media.

Table 6.3: Macrostructure analysis of discourse on abuse

Reference	Quote of lead paragraph	Macro-propositions	Representations highlighted
"Couple seeks action against maid over false report", TSO, 16 December 2016	"A couple could not have imagined that their runaway maid would return to bring them months of agony."	• Runaway maid accused her employer of abuse. • The police did not prove it. • Employers seek action against the FDH	FDH is dishonest
"Rising fees putting paid to maid agencies", TSO, 20 Sep 2015	~~PETALING JAYA:~~ The rising agency fees to hire a maid has taken a toll on the industry, with registered foreign domestic workers dropping to less than half over the past five years."	• Fees are rising • The number of FDHs is decreasing • FDHs weren't as available as before	FDHs are costly
"Employment agencies threaten to stop sending Indonesian workers", TSO, 28 Jan 2015.	~~PETALING JAYA:~~ The visa-processing fee for Indonesian workers headed to Malaysia has seen a steep hike – from RM15 to RM250 – and angry employment agency operators have threatened to stop sending workers here."	• Visa processing fees increased • Indonesian FDH are more costly • Employers are angry	FDHs are costly
"Appreciate maids and pay them their dues", TSO, Letters, 26 May 2016	"~~On reading the report~~, I could not help thinking about how fast change has taken place in the hiring of maids. **Not long ago, getting them was easy and the maids did everything**. Now, they might not even live in!"	• Employer's discomfort with the new rules. • FDHs were easy to get • Live-out FDHs is inconvenient.	Employer is a victim

Table 6.3 shows references to amendments to the memorandum of understanding between Malaysia and Indonesia where the fee increased in terms of visa processing in 2015. A similar increment also took place for the Filipina FDHs in the same year. The two increments created an outrage which leads to negative representation of FHs as costly and untrusted.

6.1.4.1 Dominant Representation of FDH (Untrusted)

When the FDHs were permitted to live out of the employer's house in 2016, TSO showed its disapproval to the permission using several discursive strategies to negatively represent the FDHs as untrusted to live out and as a threat to the employer's family using *argumentation, predication,* and *intensification strategies* as in the following examples:

Example 6.7

> "Live-out maids would give rise to new issues affecting both families and their helpers. ... an erosion of trust is possible and sharing of certain costs such as transport, food and external accommodation could be troublesome when a maid lives apart. Safety is another consideration if the helper is entrusted with a front door key... Live-in maids are less likely to compromise a family's well-being and are more reliable when high-dependency care is called for at home."
>
> *Source: "Domestic help for different needs will take some adjustment", TSO, 12 Jun 2016*

In the example, two argumentation strategies of topos of threat to the employer's family in "an erosion of trust is possible" and "safety is another consideration if the helper is entrusted with the front door key" and topos of cost for the FDH "sharing of certain costs... could be troublesome when a maid lives apart". So, TSO represented the decision as causing problems in "give rise to new issues" to both sides. Although TSO portrays the situation as a win-win situation, yet it portrayed the FDH as untrusted if she lives away from the employer's house.

In the same realm, a fallacy of service quality was presented when the TSO presupposed that if the FDH lives outside the employer's house, the quality of service will worsen when there is no clear connection between the two.

Example 6.8

> "**But the change may not offer better quality services**. One reason many have the services of capable maids is the **personal training invested by employers**, , especially those who see the relationship as a long-term one."
>
> *Source: "Domestic help for different needs will take some adjustment", TSO, 12 Jun 2016*

In the example, a justification for rejecting the permission to live out of the employer's house is the personal training the employer might offer. The employer is portrayed positively as a mentor to the FDH using the predication strategies of "personal training invested by employers" and "those who see the relationship as a long-term one".

In addition, FDHs were portrayed as potential danger to the cultural values and norms of the Malaysian employer's family via *topos of culture* as follows.

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Example 6.10

> **"Values and norms which might be incompatible with our culture are sometimes exposed by foreign maids to our children,** through various approaches," she said at the opening of the Second International Social Development Conference here."
>
> *Source: "Concern over influence of foreign maids on kids", TSO, 19 Aug 2016*

In various occasions, FDHs were represented with doubt on their trustworthiness. The examples above showed a clear point of view against the announcement of the Indonesian government regarding the FDHs living outside the employer's home. To achieve that, the news agencies used strategies of *mitigation* and *intensification* to mitigate the image of the abusive employers and to intensify the image of understanding between the employer and the FDH.

6.1.4.2 Dominant Representation (Financial Burden)

FDHs were portrayed as a *financial burden*. Several articles have discussed the amounts endured by the employers to hire FDHs. Since 2005, there have been several amendments to the minimum wages and processing fee of hiring FDHs. Every freeze on the Indonesian, the Filipina, and FDHs from other nationalities was usually followed by an increase in the fees structure. The media employed several discursive strategies to portray that image using *predication strategies* as in the following examples.

Table 6.4: Predication strategies of FDHs as a financial burden

1	"**We strongly reject the increase in fees**. **It is an exploitation of our citizens**. Such an increase must be done through an agreement between both governments." *Source: "Employment agencies threaten to stop sending Indonesian workers", TSO, 28 Jan 2015.*
2	"**The steep increase** in visa fees has **caught employers by surprise** and they expect companies to **be badly hit** by the move." *Source: "Visa fees jump has employers feeling stumped", TSO, 28 January 2015*

In example 1, the noun phrase *"our citizens"* shows the polarization of *Us* vs. *Them*. Likewise in example 2, the employers were represented as shocked by the fees increment

using predication strategy in "*caught by surprise*". A few intensification strategies reinforce the representation using adverbs such as "*the steep increase*", and "*companies to be badly hit*". The increment is portrayed as being negative on both the employers and the companies. Therefore, the negative representation is motivated by the increment.

6.1.4.3 Dominant Representation (Employer's Victimization)

Employers are portrayed as victims of financial burden, deception, and cultural invasion from the foreign domestic helpers. The victimization theme is portrayed via quotations of employers to show their perspective. Several strategies have been employed such as *intensification strategies* and *predication strategies*.

Intensification strategies were evident in the form of rhetorical question in "how much I am willing to compromise, especially after forking out nearly RM14,000 to the recruitment agencies?". The media portrayed the employers as forced to pay the high fees. As shown in the following example, the employer quoted claiming to understand the needs of the FDH using I can comprehend yet shows disapproval in "especially after forking out …".

Example 6.11

> "Now, **I can comprehend** the debate to raise the minimum wage and for them to have better perks such as sufficient rest days and medical care, **but just how much am I am willing to compromise**, **especially after forking out nearly RM14,000 to the recruitment agencies?** This is especially so if **the helpers provided are not living up to my expectations or worse, abusing the freedom we grant them**."
>
> *Source: "Managing a domestic problem", TSO, 29 Jan 2016*

In addition, the *predication strategies* were evident in describing the employers as *desperate* and by using the verb *forced to fork* is used to portray the employers as *victims of financial expenses* of hiring FDHs as in the following examples.

Table 6.5: Predication strategy for employees as victims

1	"Due to this, Malaysian employers hiring Filipino maids are forced to fork out an additional US$100 (RM360) to bring them here." *Source: "Indonesia and Nepal threaten to stop sending workers", TSO, 29 January 2015.*
2	**"Desperate Malaysian employers are forking out almost double of what they should** be paying – between RM14,000 and RM15,000 in agency fees and others – for an Indonesian domestic worker." *Source: "Forking out more for Indonesian maids", TSO, 24 January 2015*
3	**"Employers were already paying** a RM125 service charge per worker to the department. **Now, they have to fork out an additional RM38**," he told reporters here yesterday." *Source: "My EG gets a permit job- and flak", TSO, 9 January 2015*

The examples show that in early 2015, there was an increase in the fee's structure for both the Indonesian and the Filipina FDHs. In example 2, the employers are portrayed as desperate in "*desperate Malaysia employers*". In sum, by representation the employers as victims of financial pressure and victim of financial burden, the FDHs were represented negatively as deceptive and costly.

Predication strategies were also employed to portray the employers as victim of deception as in the following examples:

Example 6.12

> "**A couple could not have imagined** that their **runaway maid** would return to bring them **months of agony**.. **The wife was shocked** when police showed up at her home to take her in for questioning.. They (**the couple) were surprised** to learn that the maid had been found semi-conscious by a roadside … **she was unsatisfied** that the **maid was still free** and **claiming back wages for four years despite being employed for only two years**."
>
> *Source: "Couple seeks action against maid over false report", TSO, 16 Dec 2016*

In the example, TSO used personal anecdote to represent the employers as victim via personal narration of a couple who were cheated by their FDH. Several predication strategies were employed denoting being victims of deception such: "*was shocked*", "*were surprised*", "*months of agony*". While the FDH was represented as deceptive in "*was unsatisfied*", "*calming back wages of four years despite being employed for only two years*".

In addition, TSO intensified the good qualities of employers using predications of positivity "*has largely worked well*" and the predication of clarity and accountability

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"with clear lines of accountability". On the other hand, TSO mitigated the negative qualities of some of the employers using in "*relatively few cases of egregious abuse"* in the following example.

Example 6.13

> "Managing maids within a familial setting **has largely worked well**, with clear lines of **accountability and relatively few cases of egregious abuse**. If new circumstances call for the study of different arrangements, these must suit all parties."
>
> *Source: "Domestic help for different needs will take some adjustment", TSO, 12 Jun 2016*

Therefore, the use of mitigation and intensification strategies support the ideological square of intensifying the positive qualities of the *Self* group and mitigating the negative qualities of the *Self* group.

As can be seen in both representations of the employers and the FHDs that there was a negative representation for FDHs as being costly and deceptive either directly or indirectly. There were represented as being part of a deceptive group of recruitment agencies. The negative generalization of being deceptive could be motivated by the worry over the financial burden that was increasing and the new amendments to the status of the FDHs represented by allowing them to live out of the employer's house.

6.1.5   Discourse on Law and Protection

This section will provide a sample of the analysis of discourse topics using semantic macrostructure strategies and how they reflect representational themes. There were a few small amendments to the laws that regulate the presence of the FDHs in Malaysia as some of them are referred to in the table below.

Table 6.6: Macrostructure analysis of discourse on protection

Reference	Quote of lead paragraph	Macro-propositions	Representations highlighted
"Zahid, save 90%, hire maids online", TSO, 15 Oct 2017	"~~PUTRAJAYA:~~ Employers can save more than 90% of the cost by recruiting foreign maids online from Jan 1, 2018, said ~~Datuk Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi.~~"	• Direct hiring is a save of money. • Employers can benefit • 90% cut cost	Direct Hiring is economic for employers
"Direct hire of maids cuts cost and saves time, says Mama", The Sun Daily, 27 October 2017.	"~~PETALING JAYA:~~ Malaysian Maid Employers Association (Mama) welcomes the announcement made during Budget 2018 allowing Malaysians to obtain foreign domestic helpers directly from nine source countries."	• MAMA welcomes the new rules. • Direct Hiring is convenient	Direct Hiring is convenient
"Save 90%, hire maids online: Zahid", The Sun Daily, 1 December 2017	"~~PUTRAJAYA:~~ Employers can save more than 90% of the cost by recruiting foreign maids online from Jan 1, 2018, said ~~Datuk Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi.~~"	• Direct hiring is an economic solution • Employers will save cost	Direct Hiring is financially convenient
"Malaysia seeks win-win outcome with Indonesia on maids issue", TSO, 21 February 2018	"~~KUALA LUMPUR:~~ Malaysia hopes to update its foreign worker agreement with Indonesia and convince its neighbour that there will be no cover-up or protection given to anyone who abuses domestic workers, says Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi."	• The Malaysian government is willing to update FDH agreements with Indonesia. • The Malaysian government promises to	Malaysia is willing to renew FDH agreement with Indonesia

Table 6.6 shows a sample of news stories lead paragraphs that were analyzed using the macro-rules of deletion, generalization, and generation. The discourse topics analysis shows emphasis on the new procedures introduced in these years such as the direct hiring system, fee's structure and the ban on the Filipina FDHs. There are several rules that took place in this period as follows:

In January 2015, an amendment took place to the fee's structure motivated by the recruitment agencies that have been discussed in the previous section.

In June 2016, Live-Out policy was first introduced as well. the Indonesian government announced an amendment to the memorandum to allow the FDHs to live outside the employer's household. This announcement came with criticism in the media.

In January 2018, Direct hiring System took place. Along with this new of its kind announcement a minor amnesty program came along. This amnesty allowed illegals with restricted conditions to be legalized. The amnesty included those who enter the country legally and have been illegal for no more than six months. The Malaysian news agencies celebrated this announcement except Malaysia Kini that was sceptic.

Between July 2015 and November 2017, the Filipina FDHs were banned by the Philippines government due to poor working conditions. The ban was lifted with an increase in the minimum wages. These small amendments had an influence on the representation. There were three small amendments that have effect on the representation.

6.1.5.1 Conflicting Representation of Direct Hiring System (SOM)

All the Malaysia news agencies celebrated the Direct Hiring System except for Malaysia Kini. Various strategies were employed by the news agencies to show support for the new system. For example, it was described using intensified positive predication such as *very good news* and *a good change* as in the following example:

Example 6.14

> "President Engku Fauzi Engku Mohsen said this was **indeed very good news**. "We hope that the policy will be here for the long run. **It is a good change**."
>
> *Source: "Direct hire of maids cuts cost and saves time, says Mama", The Sun Daily, 27 October 2017.*

The news agencies showed tendency to use topos of number to support disseminate trust in the new government hiring procedure.

Table 6.7: Topos of number to support Direct Hiring System (SOM)

1	"**Bosses can save as much as 50% in costs** when hiring foreign maids next year, says Malaysian Maid Employers Association (Mama)." Source: "Group: Halve costs by hiring maids directly", TSO, 28 Oct 2017
2	"**Employers can save more than 90% of the cost** by recruiting foreign housemaids online from Jan 1." Source: "Save 90%, hire maids online: Zahid", The Sun Daily, 1 DEC 2017
3	"By allowing employers to hire maids without going through agents, this would save a lot of time and money. **Almost half of the total cost can be saved**," Source: "Direct hire of maids cuts cost and saves time, says Mama", The Sun Daily, 27 October 2017.

4	"Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi stated that direct hiring of maids **would save employers up to 50% of the cost**." *Source: "Employers can apply for foreign maid permits online beginning Jan 1", The Sun Daily, 01 Nov 2017*

The table shows that both the Star Online and the Sun Daily showed support the Direct Hiring System using percentages as *topos of number*. Expressions such as "*can save as much as 50%*", "*cans same more than 90%*"," *Almost half of the total cost can be saved*" and *"would save up to 50%"*.

Only Malaysia Kini showed a different perspective towards direct hiring. At first, it reported Malaysian authoritative figure supporting direct hiring describing as lifting the burden on all parties, but it reflected the government concern over facilitating life for working couples.

Example 6.15

"He added that the direct recruitment of foreign maids, which would reduce the burden of cost on employers, showed the government's concern in protecting the interests of all parties, especially working couples who were in need of foreign maid services."

Source: "Over 19,000 undocumented migrants arrested since June", Mkini, 1 Nov 2017

However, two months later, Malaysia Kini started to raise doubts towards the new hiring system. It portrayed the government officer as avoiding answering questions.

Table 6.8: Predication strategies of Direct Hiring System as suspicious

1	"**Immigration Department's top officials have refused to elaborate** on how its new domestic worker recruitment system might be in conflict with Indonesian and Filipino regulations." *Source: "Officials dodge queries on likely snag in maid hiring system", M Kini, 29 December 2017*
2	"In my opinion, with this direct hiring route, **the numbers won't be very big** because people (Malaysian employers) would still be rational about the hiring of the maids. "**Unless you (employers) want to take the risk** (of directly hiring potential domestic helpers)..." *Source: "'Large numbers' of domestic helpers unlikely with online hiring system", M Kini, 2 January 2018*

Malaysia Kini used topos of doubt in "*have refused to elaborate*" , "*unless the employers want to take the risk*" and *"the numbers won't be very big"* to indicate uncertainty towards the new system. The statements are supported by quoting the Immigration department and employer's opinion as two topos of doubt.

In sum, Malaysia Kini was the only Malaysian news agency who represented direct hiring in association with doubts and vagueness. While the other news agencies represented it with support using topos of number accompanied by positive attributes.

6.1.5.2 Dominant Representation of FDHs (Unprotected)

Malaysia Kini criticized the existing Malaysian law with regards to domestic helpers describing it as unprotective. To achieve that representation, Malaysia Kini employed several discursive strategies such as *topos of expert opinion* manifested in the expression such as *"experts"*, *"Bar Council's Migrants, Refugees and Immigration Affairs Committee (MRIAC)"*, *"The Ministry of Human Resources, the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (Suhakam), local and international labour rights NGOs"* in example 1 and the US State Department 2018 trafficking in Person Report in example 2.

Table 6.9: Topos of expert opinion

1	"**Experts have urged Putrajaya to enact legislation to protect domestic workers** in the country because existing laws, guidelines and bilateral agreements **have failed to do so**. "We need binding instruments because current laws do not protect domestic workers in this country," M Ramachelvam said … Ramachelvam has led **the Bar Council's Migrants, Refugees and Immigration Affairs Committee (MRIAC) for the last 11 years. The Ministry of Human Resources, the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (Suhakam), local and international labour rights NGOs and the Bar Council** came together at the roundtable to analyse" *Source: "Tougher laws needed to protect domestic workers, experts say", M Kini, 17 Jun 2017*
2	"**The US State Department's 2018 Trafficking in Persons report** put Malaysia in its Tier 2 Watch List - the second-lowest ranking - for not meeting the minimum standards in efforts to eliminate human trafficking. – Reuters" *Source: "Woman, 59, charged with Indonesian maid's murder" TSO, 21 Feb 2018*

Therefore, the high-profile cases of abuse motivated sympathy towards the FDHs and highlighted loopholes in the law that allow abuse and exploitation. In addition, Malaysia Kini has always shown an alternative voice as compared to the mainstream media. Malaysia Kini quoted local and international authoritative bodies to support the representation of FDHs as unprotected by the available laws. Only after the high-profile cases issues related to laws and legislations are highlighted in the media.

6.2 Representation by the Countries of Origin's Media

This section shows a sample of how the news articles were analyzed using the macro rules to elicit the discourse topics and how the discourse topics were the starting point of the discursive representations.

6.2.1 Discourse Topics of the Media of the Countries of Origin

For the media of the countries of origin, the top 20 frequent words were as follows:

Trafficking (146), *undocumented* (112), *human* (110), *illegal* (108), *death* (74), *protection* (72), *victim* (67), *rights* (64), *need* (65), *Maria* (59), *Sabah* (53), *law* (47), *economic* (46), *policy* (43), *Justice* (40), *slavery* (32), *migration* (32), *forced* (30), *abused* (29), and *demand* (26).

6.2.2 Summary of Findings of the Countries of Origin's Media in Phase III

Here is a summary of findings from the countries of origin's media in phase III.

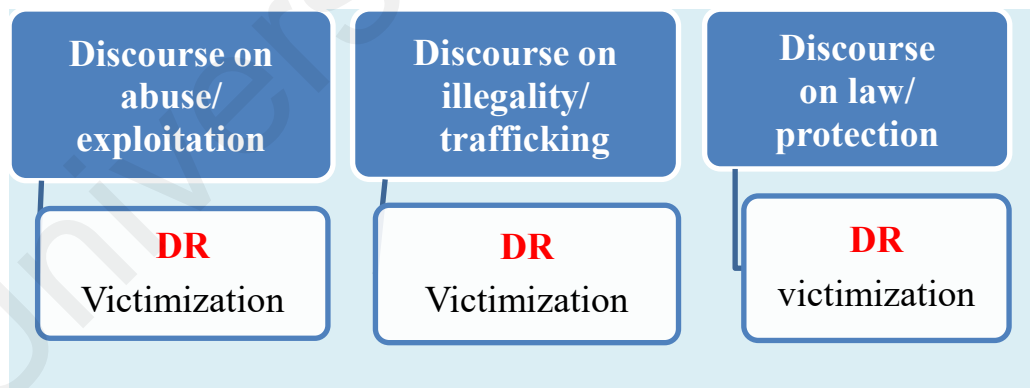**Figure 6.2: Summary of findings from the countries of origin's media**

Figure 6.2 shows three dominant discourse topics: discourse on abuse and exploitation, discourse on illegality and human trafficking and discourse on law and protection. There is a dominant representation (DR) of victimization of FDH's under all the discourse topics. The discussion in the following sections will show that the

representation themes were not affected by the state policy variations rather the domestic service is represented negatively as a job that allows abuse and exploitation and all domestic helpers are exploited accordingly due to lack of recognition of the job and lack of institutional protection.

6.2.3 Discourse on Abuse and Exploitation

There were recurrent topics of abuse and exploitation faced by FDH in Malaysian and other Southeast Asia countries.

Table 6.9: Macrostructure analysis of discourse on abuse and exploitation

Reference	Quote of lead paragraph	Propositions	Representations highlighted
"Abuse of Indonesian female foreign workers still rampant in 2016", Jakarta Post, 5 January 2017.	"Human rights violations and violence against Indonesian female migrant workers are still rampant, with 66 cases recorded throughout 2016."	• There are human rights violations to FW • There are high records of abuse in 2016.	Many FDHs are victims
"Parents, OWWA to visit OFW burned with boiling oil by Malaysian employer", Rappler, 30 September 2017	"MANILA, Philippines – The parents of 31-year-old overseas Filipino worker Joramie Garcia Torres are set to fly to Kuala Lumpur – their first trip abroad – to visit their daughter."	• The parents of the FDH are worried. • FDH is abused.	FDHs are victims of physical abuse
"No more Indonesian domestic workers to be sent abroad?", Rappler, 17 May 2016	"JAKARTA, Indonesia – Indonesia plans to gradually stop sending domestic migrant workers to other countries, with a full ban expected by 2019."	• Indonesia is considering a ban on maids.	FDHs are victims
"Woman faces life in jail for attack on 19-year-old Indonesian maid", Rappler, 31 December 2016	"KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia – A Malaysian woman faces life in jail after being charged Friday, December 30, with the attempted murder of her Indonesian maid who was gruesomely beaten, according to court documents"	• FDH was severely abused. • The employer is jailed.	FDHs are victims

The table shows a sample of the news articles' lead paragraphs that were analyzed by applying the macro-rules of deletion, generalization, and generation. The discourse topics analysis revealed several issues of exploitation and abuse. The examples also show Indonesia's consideration to ban their citizens from working in Malaysia due to poor

working conditions. Here is a brief background of the socio-cultural context surrounding the foreign domestic helpers in their home countries.

As for Indonesia, the media has always been demanding for reforms from the government. The poor working conditions touches all types of jobs. Therefore, the demand to improve the working conditions of the domestic helpers who work internationally just echo the other demands especially when they are contributing to the country's economy. Indonesia has one of the biggest migrant workforces around the world. An estimate number of 4.5 million Indonesian domestic helpers are working abroad according to Migrant CARE report in 2018. Furthermore, the international labour organization (ILO) reported that domestic work sector is feminized sector comprising women and girls. Sorites of human trafficking and abuse in the destination countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Middel East reaches to the home country's media that urge for protection. As for the Philippines, the case is even more sever as the country is the largest foreign workers country around the world. Yet the Filipina FDHs have more support from their government through agreements with the host countries. Yet the working conditions are still seen poor according to the international standards.

6.2.3.1 Dominant representation (victimization)

Similar to phase I and II, FDHs were represented as victim of abuse and exploitation. Several strategies have been employed for that purpose such as *predication, intensification, and argumentation strategies*. Several statistics have been reported represent the problem of abuse and exploitation as an alarming issue as the following examples.

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Table 6.10: Topos of number in victimization of FDH

1	"Human rights violations and violence against Indonesian female migrant workers are still **rampant, with 66 cases recorded throughout 2016**. According to a report by **Women's Solidarity for Human Rights**, female migrant workers were **abused physically and emotionally, targeted as criminals, subjected to human trafficking and murdered throughout the year**. The most reports the organization received in 2016 were related to unpaid wages **19 percent**, followed by **human trafficking 17 percent**"… "Female migrant workers, who usually **work as domestic helpers, are vulnerable to exploitation and violence** as the government has not acknowledged domestic work as a job, the organization says. "**Domestic helpers are not considered as workers.** Therefore, their rights as workers continue to be violated and it's difficult for them to obtain justice," *Source: "Abuse of Indonesian female foreign workers still rampant in 2016", Jakarta Post, 5 January 2017.*
2	"There are **at least 7 million Indonesian overseas workers, and 60% of them work as domestic caretakers.** Malaysia employs the largest numbers of Indonesian migrant workers, followed by Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, and Singapore....But Hindarno later clarified that the government is aiming for zero domestic help overseas by 2019, not 2018. He said President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo wanted the ban due to the **high number of abuses towards domestic workers**." *source: "No more Indonesian domestic workers to be sent abroad?", Rappler, 17 May 2016*
3	"There has been **a string of maid abuse incidents including the deaths** of domestic workers in Malaysia in recent years. In the latest case, 19-year-old Suyanti Sutrinso was attacked with a kitchen knife and hit with a metal mop and an umbrella last Wednesday by 43-year-old Rozita Mohamad Ali, the charge sheet said." *Source: "Woman faces life in jail for attack on 19-year-old Indonesian maid", Rappler, 31 December 2016*

In the examples, several strategies have been employed. In example 1, topos of number was used extensively to reinforce the theme of victimization in "*still rampant*", "*with 66 cases recorded throughout 2016*", "*The most reports the organization received in 2016 were related to unpaid wages 19 percent, followed by human trafficking 17 percent*". Topos of authoritative opinion was also used through quoting the Women's Solidarity for Human Rights. In addition, FDH were portrayed as vulnerable victims using passivation in "*female migrant workers were abused physically and emotionally, targeted as criminals, subjected to human trafficking and murdered throughout the year*". Finally, *predication strategies* were used in describing the situation as "*Human rights violations and violence against Indonesian female migrant workers*". As for example 2, *topos of number* was employed for the same purpose in "*There are at least 7 million Indonesian overseas workers, and 60% of them work as domestic caretakers*" and "*the high number of abuses towards domestic workers.*". furthermore, all the host countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, and Singapore are portrayed negatively

using the topos of number mentioned. The news agency is stressing that the job of domestic service allows vulnerability and exploitation.

As for example 3, intensification strategies have been employed in "*a string of maid abuse incidents including the deaths*" and a reference to the high-profile case of abuse of Suyanti Sutrinso that was referred to in the Malaysian media.

In addition, other high-profile cases appeared in the media of the countries of origin such as the case of Joramie, a Filipina FDH who escaped from her abusive employer. The case of Joramie caught the public attention when the President Rodrigo Duterte interfered in her case. That's the reason of the reference strategy to her name and the details of her case.

Table 6.11: Referential strategies in Joramie's high-profile case of abuse

1	"Aside from beating her, **Joramie** said her employer also poured boiling cooking oil on her." *Source: "Abused OFW in Malaysia reunited with her parents", GMA, 3 October 2017*
2	"The Malaysian employer of their daughter had scalded Joramie with boiling oil. She was also subjected to beatings...Ople said **Joramie** fled her abusive employer on foot until she collapsed.." *Source: "Parents, OWWA to visit OFW burned with boiling oil by Malaysian employer", Rappler, 30 September 2017*

Therefore, cases of abuse were represented mainly in aggregations rather than as induvial cases as the case of the Malaysian media. The media of the countries of origin showed more concern over the protection of their citizens rather than representing them on case to cases bases. The dominant victimization of FDH and the dominant negative representation of all the host countries conform the ideological square of positive *Self* representation and negative *Other* representation.

6.2.4 Discourse on Illegality and Human Trafficking

Here is a sample of macro-structure analysis of discourse on illegality and human trafficking:

Table 6.12: Macrostructure analysis of discourse on trafficking

Reference	Quote of lead paragraph	Propositions	Representations highlighted
"How distressed overseas Filipino workers in Malaysia find their way home, Jakarta Post, 24 June 2015"	"~~Rosemarie Pletero~~ **knew how the process worked.** When her agency in Kuala Lumpur started offering them to potential employers for a '7-day free trial,' **she knew something was wrong.**"	• FDH is aware of the predicaments of the job • FDH was cheated in Malaysia	FDH are victims
"12 confirmed dead in Johor Bahru capsizing", Jakarta Post, 24 January 2017	"Twelve Indonesian undocumented migrant workers have died after their boat transporting them to Malaysia ~~capsized in Johor Bahru waters on Monday~~."	• 12 Indonesian illegal migrant workers went to Malaysia • The 12 Indonesian illegal migrant workers died.	Illegal FDH are unprotected
"Human trafficking: A game of cat and mouse in a vast Celebes sea", Rappler, 6 December 2015	"BONGAO, Tawi-Tawi – Government agencies here have intensified their campaign against trafficking in persons (TIP), which has become a top international issue and a regional concern."	• Human trafficking is still rampant • Governments should take a firm action	Human trafficking is uncontrolled

Table 6.12 shows a sample of the news articles' lead paragraphs that were analyzed by applying the macro-rules of deletion, generalization, and generation. The discourse topics analysis revealed that a series of news articles on cases of undocumented workers in Malaysia including foreign domestic helpers. They face several dangers along the process starting from the departure through the dangerous shores to the exploitation by some recruitment agencies and some employers.

6.2.4.1 Dominant representation (victimization)

The undocumented FDH were represented as victims of human trafficking and exploitation rather than being illegals. Justification of illegality was employed to mitigate the negative self-representation and intensify the victimization image. *Predication strategies* and *personal anecdote* were two prominent strategies. While justifications of poverty, hardship of working conditions and deception by the recruitment agents were among the justifications of illegality as in the following examples.

Table 6.13: Victimization of undocumented FDHs

1	"**Pletero overworked with no pay**. She decided to escape. **The mother of three** walked until she reached the highway. 'The contract I signed in the Philippines' **was all lies'**... Sheryl May Tayum was also **terribly homesick…** 'I felt guilty because I was caring for another child', **I could not sleep at night**,'..31-year-old Catherine Abragan was **unfortunately** assigned to **an employer who not only exploited her but also treated her harshly. "I could no longer bear the anger of my employer."** She said there were times when she felt like **she was being treated like an animal** and not a household worker…**Gonzales was a runaway** and **she wanted to return home because her father was in a critical condition**… **'Once you are here, you feel secure**,' she said. Many of them will be gone in two weeks, to be reunited with their families in the homeland." *Source: "How distressed overseas Filipino workers in Malaysia find their way home", Jakarta Post, 24 June 2015*
2	"**Poor** Indonesian foreign workers to seek **illegal** and **dangerous** channels," *Source: "12 confirmed dead in Johor Bahru capsizing", Jakarta Post, 24 January 2017.*
3	"… To avoid this **high cost, the poor** choose to find **illegal channels** to find work abroad, so they can **feed their families**" *Source: "23 Indonesians die in Malaysian boat accident", Jakarta Post, January 28, 2016*
4	" 98% of those trafficked in Tawi-Tawi are women who are exposed to sex trade, bondage labor, and drug running." *Source: "Human trafficking A game of cat and mouse in a vast Celebes sea", Rappler News, December 06, 2015*
5	"Villagers in East Nusa Tenggara, for instance, have reported that **many boys and girls under the age of 18, desperate to improve their families' wellbeing**, seek out such labor recruiters, their "advantage" being a lack of birth certificates, making it easy for labor recruiters and **traffickers** to forge documents." *Source: "For foreign' peace of mind", Inq, 30 October 2017*

In example 1, four randomly selected undocumented FDHs was represented as victims. They are Pletero, Sherl May Tayum, Catherine Abragan and Ggozales. For the four cases, Jakarta Post placed the justifications either prior to the act of running away or in the same sentence. The justifications used were "*overworked with no pay*", "*not only exploited her but also treated her harshly*", "*terribly homesick*", "*I could no longer bear the anger of my employer*", "*was treated like an animal*" and "*her father was in a critical condition*" before the act of running away that was represented as "*she decided to escape*", "*once you are here, you feel secure*". JP has viewed a humanitarian perspective towards these cases.

In examples 2 and 3, Jakarta Post described the trafficked individuals as *poor* and *desperate*. They were described with these terms to have reader's sympathy employing the *Topos of humanitarian.* As for example 4, *topos* of number "*98% of those trafficked*" was employed to intensify the image of victimization towards trafficking and sex trade.

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In example 5, the issue of human trafficking of underaged individuals was addressed. Similar to the other examples, justifications of poverty and family were provided.

So, the workers are presented as victims of difficult life conditions that pushed them to the illegal ways to survive emphasizing the financial burden of the legal channels on the poor workers Therefore, the term *illegal* appears in the quotations but with the justification of poverty as a compelling force.

In sum, the Malaysian news agencies do not represent the foreign domestic helpers as victims of illegality nor that they provide justifications for them. While the news agencies that represent the *Self* group would rely on their difficult life conditions especially poverty to seek sympathy. Therefore, justification for illegality is a clear example of mitigating Negative Self representation which supports the ideological square.

6.2.5 Discourse on Laws and Protection

This discourse on law and protection involves agreements between ASEAN countries. The following table shows a sample of analysis of macro-structures.

Table 6.14: Macrostructure analysis of law and protection discourse

Reference	Quote of lead paragraph	Propositions	Representations highlighted
"Asean struggles to protect laborers", Jakarta Post, May 30, 2016	"The Asean Community, which took effect at the end of last year, has expressed concern about the movement of skilled workers around the region."	• The Asean Community expressed concerns • the skill workers are in bad conditions	Skilled workers are unsafe
"Ending domestic slavery", Jakarta Post, 16 February 2016	"At the end of January, the House of Representatives officially recommended the Domestic Workers Bill for the 2016 national legislative priority agenda."	• Domestic service problems need urgent solutions	FDHs are modern day slaves
"Indonesia is among the top 10 countries with the largest number of people trapped in modern slavery practices, a	"In terms of absolute numbers, Indonesia ranks in ninth place in the Global Slavery Index," Katherine Bryant, a research manager at the Walk Free Foundation and an author of	• Experts warn of the deteriorating conditions of FDHs • Indonesia has high records of bad working conditions	FDHs are modern day slaves

report says", JP, 3 June, 2016	the index, told thejakartapost.com on Thursday."	• Domestic work is similar to slavery	
"For foreign' peace of mind", Jakarta Post, 30 October 2017	"Indonesia can hold its head higher on the global stage with the passing of the new migrant workers' protection law on ~~Wednesday~~."	• The Indonesian government is implementing new laws. • The Indonesian government is protecting the migrant workers.	The Indonesian government is protective
"The bleak future of undocumented migrant workers in ASEAN", Rappler, 15 February 2017	"~~KUALA LUMPUR, Philippines (UPDATED)~~ – Ten years ago, the 10-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) signed the Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers. Then as it is now, the plight of undocumented migrant workers remains in the backseat of ASEAN's agenda."	• ASEAN needs to consider the undocumented migrant workers • The undocumented migrant workers are unprotected by the law.	ASEAN does not offer enough protection for undocument ed workers

Table 6.14 shows subtopics of domestic work's bad conditions where the undocumented foreign workers including foreign domestic helpers are unprotected by the international laws such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The member states of ASEAN are Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Viet Nam. Domestic work has been described as modern-day slavery.

6.2.5.1 Dominant representation (victimization)

The FDHs were represented as victims of lack of protective laws via several discursive strategies such as *argumentation strategies* and *predication strategies* as in the following examples:

Table 6.15: Argumentation strategies of victimization

1	"As documented by human rights organizations and the International Labor Organization, Indonesian domestic helpers are untouched by labor laws and have little bargaining power and few avenues for legal redress in cases of exploitation." *Source: "Ending domestic slavery", Jakarta Post, 16 February 2016.*

2	"In terms of absolute numbers, **Indonesia ranks in ninth place in the Global Slavery Index**," Katherine Bryant, a research manager at the **Walk Free Foundation** and an author of the index…With a population of over 252 million, 0.3 percent of Indonesia's population, or **around 736,000 individuals, are trapped in modern slavery practices**. This number has placed the country in 39th place in the global index, specifically in terms of prevalence." *Source: "Indonesia is among the top 10 countries with the largest number of people trapped in modern slavery practices, a report says", JP, 3 June, 2016.*
3	"Filipina domestic helpers Erika, 37, and Fe, 34, face their daily lives with **uncertainty**, **hanging on to daily prayers** in the hope that the day would not be the fateful day when immigration officers find them" *Source: "Undocumented migrant workers Hidden and helpless in ASEAN", Rappler, February 12, 2017.*

In example 1 and 2, Jakarta Post has employed *topos of number* and *topos of authority* in reporting statistics offered by authoritative international bodies on cases of exploitation such as Human Rights Organization and International Labour Organization, Global Slavery Index and Walk Free Foundation. In addition, in the three examples, FDHs were represented as helpless using *predication and mitigation strategies* in "*untouched by labor laws*", "*have little bargaining powers*", "*few avenues for legal redress*", "*trapped in modern slavery*" and "*uncertainty, hanging on to daily prayers*".

In addition, FDHs were represented as powerless and deceived accompanied by the verb *should* to indicate obligation in *people should be made clear*.

Table 6.16: Modal verbs of obligation

1	**"The prevention efforts should be improved** starting from the places of origin [of the workers]. **People should be made clear** about the consequences of using illegal recruitment schemes." *Source: "12 confirmed dead in Johor Bahru capsizing", Jakarta Post, 24 January 2017*
2	**"They refuse to acknowledge that the job of domestic workers** and other low-skilled workers **is actual work**," De Dios said, citing the Employment Act of Malaysia that considered domestic work as part of the "informal" industry…"…we believe **undocumented workers should be given proper protections** under the law and **should also be provided necessary forms of assistance** by all member-states especially if they are **victims of illegal trafficking or illegal recruitment**," he said." *Source: "The bleak future of undocumented migrant workers in ASEAN", Rappler, 15 February 2017*

In addition, the undocumented FDHs were also portrayed as powerless using predication strategies "*endure hardship in silence*", "*forced*", "*significantly underpaid*" as in the following examples.

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Table 6.17: Predication strategies of victimization

1	"Despite ASEAN's decade-long intention to protect migrant workers in the region, nothing has been done for the undocumented labor migrants, who continue to **endure hardships in silence**" *Source: "Undocumented migrant workers Hidden and helpless in ASEAN", Rappler, February 12, 2017*
2	"Some are **forced** to work 24/7 and wages are **unpaid** or **significantly** under the minimum wage." *Source: "ending domestic slavery, Jakarta Post, 16 February 2016*

The illegal migrant workers were aggregated and portrayed using the predication "*endure hardship in silence*". The ASEAN community is portrayed as negligent to the undocumented workers including the foreign domestic helpers.

In addition, predication strategies of vulnerability are used to represent the FDHs as victims of lack of law protection.

Table 6.18: Predication strategies of vulnerability

1	"For special concerns regarding women migrants, she said that many were concentrated in domestic work, **an area not acknowledged as a work sector and thus not fully protected as a form of labour**…This could potentially increase the (Indonesian) domestic migrant worker's **vulnerability to exploitation, abuse and human trafficking**," she said." *Source: "Asean struggles to protect laborers", Jakarta Post, May 30, 2016*
2	"The minister rightly cited the vulnerability of (Indonesian) women to abuse in the private space of employers" *Source: "An unrealistic ban on maids", Jakarta Post, May 6, 2015*
3	"Safeguards against the most severe forms of abuse, often tantamount to forced labor, or modern slavery." *Source: "Ending domestic slavery", JP, February 16, 2016*

Table 6.18 shows, there are several predication and intensification strategies were employed to portray the FDH as victims and unprotected such as "*more sever forms of abuse, often tantamount to forced labour or modern slavery*", "*the vulnerability to abuse and human trafficking*", "*not fully protected as a form of labour*", and "*vulnerability to exploitation, abuse and human trafficking*".

It can be inferred from the examples that the FDH and the undocumented domestic helpers were represented equally as victims who need protection. In addition, the representation does not seem to be affected by any state policy.

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6.3   Summary of Phase III

Phase III was marked by two state polices and a few minor amendments to the status of FDHs working in Malaysia. The ban on maids by the government of the Philippines and the Direct Hiring System by the Malaysian government were the two major state policies while minimum wage increment and live-out maids were some of the minor rules' amendments that received media's attention. However, the ban on maids from the government of the Philippines did not affect media's representation as was the case in phase I. The Malaysian media represented the FDHs as victims with regards to abuse and as a financial burden with regards to the recruitment discourse. These two representational themes were very similar to that of Phase II.

On the other hand, the media of the countries of origin maintained a dominant representation of FDHs victimization across all the discourse topics with added justifications for illegality to the undocumented FDHs. As mentioned earlier, the representation by the countries of origin confirms with that of the ideological square in terms of mitigating the negative self-representation by offering justifications for illegality and intensifying the positive self by stressing on the economic contribution of the FDHs and the victimization status.

It can be inferred from the analysis of the Malaysian media that negative representation was highly influenced by social context. These findings confirm with Mensing (2016) and Sabido (2014) on the notion of *othering* in terms of many aspects. Firstly, the *othering* representation of a particular social group is influenced by the emergence of new societal condition. This is especially true in the Malaysian media in Phase III. The increment of expenses and the sudden change in the rules pertaining the FDHs such as living out were the motivation behind the negative representation under the discourse topics of recruitments and laws. Secondly, media representation is nurtured and reinforced by

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different facets of discourse or different sub-discourse topics such as the negative representation emerged from the notion of cultural othering, trust issues, and quality of services. These subtopics were used in the form of argumentation strategies to support the negative representation. However, the Direct Hiring System offers a positive representation of FDH because it is associated with fee's reduction. Therefore, the financial aspect was one of the controlling factors behind the conflicting representations. In addition, the victimization of FDH that appeared under the crime and abuse topic reveals several ideologies. Firstly, the high-profile cases of abuse were approached from a humanitarian point of view which motivate sympathy in representation. Secondly, the rampant cases of abuse were always the influencer behind the freeze on sending FDHs to Malaysia. Therefore, representing the abuse cases as separate cases rather than huge statistic – as in the media of the countries of origin- would mitigate the reasons of creating a new ban. Therefore, representing the FDH with their reference to their individual cases serve the two purposes. Thirdly, the sympathetic representation under crime and abuse confirms the ideological square of mitigating the negative self-representation.

However, the media of the countries of origin showed different characteristics from that of Malaysian media. The news agencies focused more on the unending dangers coming from domestic services. It portrayed the situation as being beyond control and impossible to solve. Therefore, the negative *other* representation wasn't only directed to Malaysia as a host country, but it involved all the host countries, the recruitment agencies, and the international bodies or communities equally for neglecting the rights and allowing the abuse of FDHs. This confirms with the findings introduced by (Kader, 2016) that the negative *othering* might include decision makers who advocate policies deemed harmful to the interest of the group of Self. To achieve that, the media of the countries of origin heavily employed topos of number, topos of humanitarian, and topos of danger. In addition, the emphasis on human trafficking as a discourse topic is seem justified as the

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problem has not been solved despite many bodies offering support. According to a study conducted by Maksum and Surwandono (2017), interviews with illegal Indonesian workers who have been in Malaysia and Japana illegally revealed that illegal smuggling and employment is still a profitable business that feeds on the poverty and the difficult life conditions of the illegal workers in their home countries. The focus group interviews with the illegal workers also revealed that due to the geographical closeness, and cultural and language similarities, illegal workers find Malaysian as the preferred option despite the dangers. This is in addition to the limited working opportunities in the country of origin.

In conclusion, both representations offered by the Malaysian media and the media of the countries of origin are highly affected by the societal conditions, yet it reflects less variation as compared to the previous phrases I and II due to the less frequent changes in state policies.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

This chapter will summarize the main findings of this research and will suggest implications for the state policies and future research.

7.1 Summary of Findings

The significance of this research lies in uncovering the inconsistencies in representing the foreign domestic helpers and how the context, discourse topics and state polices affect the representations.

The findings suggest two set of representation between Dominant Representations and Conflicting Representations that were highly influenced by the variation of the state policies and the countries potential plans, countries prospects and amendments to the agreements between the countries. Therefore, addressing the issue and presenting the context as being in a dynamic state was necessary to understand the conflict representations. In addition, understanding the perspectives and the orientation of news agencies that produce parallel narratives to events were important to understand additional dimensions to the representations such as justifying illegality or victimization of employers. In addition, the time factor and progression of policy related events produced representations that were swinging between victimization and criminality in crime related discourse, transgression and victimization and between a need and a dispensability in recruitment related discourse.

Phase one that witnessed frequent changes in state policies produced more conflicting representations. Producing conflicting representation by the media confirms with the

findings by Stabb and Maher (2008) on the representation of domestic helpers in other countries. Yet in the case of Malaysia, the influence of policies is more prevalent.

On the other hand, the significance of analyzing the media of the countries of origin lies in their justification of illegality and the interplay of the social actors' roles and involvement. The representation of the domestic helpers as vulnerable victims who fight for their families and for survival confirm the studies of Hennebry, et al. (2017) and Misman, et al. (2017). It also confirms the suffering heroes image offered by the United Nations' media analysis report issued in (2017) describing the Filipina FDHs. As for the stereotypical images of being a financial burden and the argumentation strategies of economic thread partially confirm the findings of Hennebry, et, al (2017).

7.1.1 Findings of Phase (I)

The period between January 2009 and December 2012 referred to in the research as Phase I was characterized by frequent policy changes. The Malaysian media seemed to be heavily influenced by the state polices characterized by conflicting representations. Before the ban, the FDHs were represented as victims of abuse and exploitation. After the ban, the representation shifted to mitigating the victimization. When the Indonesian ban started, FDH were represented as a demand by the Malaysian employers. Then, when Malaysia signed memorandum of understanding with other course countries, the FDHs were represented not as a need but the opposite, as replaceable.

As for the media of the countries of origin, it was less affected by the state policies as the central themes of the representation were the notion of victimization of FDHs and the notion of lack of protection by the law. Therefore, the analysis reflected an aggregation of various types of abuse exploitation and human trafficking. As the media showed distrust to the system, they FDH were represented as victims of lack of government protection and international laws protection.

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On the other hand, along with the victimization image, Malaysia was represented as unsafe destination for the FDHs. Yet after the ban was lifted, the media reflected an encouragement to work in Malaysia and represented Malaysia as a country with job opportunities.

As for human trafficking, FDH were represented as preys or victims of human trafficking mafia. Their illegality was justified by the media with reasons of poverty and ignorance. Therefore, the illegals were referred to as victims. Therefore, the media of the countries of origin tried to mitigate the acts of illegality and intensified the notion of victimization which very much confirms with the notion of ideological square of positive self-representation (intensifying the positive qualities of *Us* and mitigating the negative qualities of *Us*) and negative *Other* representation by intensifying the international law and their governments' negligence and the abuse by the Malaysian employers and the influence of the human trafficking mafias.

In comparison, the two media sources whether the host country -Malaysia- or the countries of origin -Indonesia or the Philippines both exhibit biasness in representation. The Malaysian media generally goes to the extreme utilitarian perspective where the migrant worker is represented in terms of interest. While the countries of origin show their biased representation through being overtly emotional and pessimistic towards offshore jobs emphasizing on the challenges and calamities rather than the benefits and a more humanitarian point of view. The media of the countries of origin reflect confidence in their authorities. The Self an Other groups were redefined by the media of countries of origin in the sense that those media agencies considers the authorities, international laws, the Malaysian employers, the Malaysian law as all parts of the group of Other that are portrayed negatively victimizing the foreign domestic helpers. This confirms the findings of Kader (2016) that the social groups categorization of self and other can be redefined by the media.

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7.1.2 Findings of Phase (II)

The period between January 2013 and Mid 2015 referred to in this research as Phase II was characterized by having no changes in the state policies. During this phase there was not much of attention on the state policies as both the Indonesians and the Filipina FDHs were allowed to work in Malaysia. therefore, the Malaysian media was centred around the theme of the cost of hiring FDHs and with the cases of abuse. The victimization representation with regards to the cases of abuse was one of the most dominant representation in the media along the three phases on both sides. In this phase, the Malaysian employers were represented as victims of financial expenses. The opinion section of the newspapers provided a few examples of self-criticism by representing the middle-class employers as complainers yet too dependent on FDHs. It could be argued that Such examples provided a negative *Self*-representation.

As for the media of the countries of origin, the representation did not differ from phase I. the FDHs were again represented as victims, helpless and abused. And the government and the international law were portrayed as neglecting the FDHs. Overall, the representations were not much influenced of variation of social events.

7.1.3 Findings of Phase (III)

The period between Mid-2015 and April 2018 was referred to in this research as Phase III. This phase was characterized by one banning policy imposed by the Philippines in July 2015 and was lifted with the condition of increasing minimum wages in November 2017. Then in January 2018, the Malaysian government introduced the direct hiring system which is an online system to register the employment contracts of FDHs in Malaysia without the need for recruitment agencies. On the Malaysian side, the media was preoccupied with high-profile cases of abuse that inflamed the public opinion. On the Philippines side, the media was preoccupied with a case of human trafficking which

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provoked public sympathy. In terms of representations, the Malaysian media representation of FDH as costly, that appeared in every phase, was evident in the year before the direct hiring system. After the system was introduced, the FDH were represented as more affordable after cutting off the agencies fees. The victimization notion was intensified because of the high-profile cases of abuse. As for the media of the countries of origin, the victimization representation towards the human trafficking victim was intensified as well. The same representation of FDHs as unprotected by the law and the government were present as well. Jakata Post referred to the state polices with this regard.

The theme of victimization also involved segments of FDHs that were not only silenced but also rarely addressed in the media. They are the *forced labor* and the *underage FDHs*. They were both represented as victims of poverty and human trafficking mafias.

Furthermore, it was observed the Malaysia media that Malaysia Kini, an independent online news agency, had more critical views with regards to the Malaysian government's policy of direct hiring. At some point, Malaysia Kini's perspectivation was similar to the perspectivation of the countries of origin in terms of victimizing the FDHs. Being the only Malaysian independent newspaper selected, it reflected rather different views from the Malaysian newspapers. The findings of this phase conform the findings of other studies in terms of the dominant victimization theme and the concept of representing social groups as the *Others* (Misman, Andon, and Firdaus, 2019).

In sum, the Malaysian media was more affected by the variation of state polices as compared to the media of Indonesia and the Philippines.

7.2 Implications of the Study

This study suggests a few implications. First, As suggested by NGOs concerned with the issue of foreign domestic helpers in Malaysia, tighter policies are required to protect the rights of the foreign domestic helpers. The existing policies need more enforcement and activation to a certain extend. The existing problem of the FDHs require more attention from the legislative authorities. Second, the job of domestic help needs to be redefined as work rather than service. These workers should be entitled to the health care, days off and other rights that other foreign work enjoy. Some of these rights are stated in law especially with regards to the day off, yet the implementation is not as fully enforced to the perception towards the type of job itself. FDH need to at least enjoy the rights of the other categories of foreign workers. Finally, the newspapers need to be aware of the interpretations of the representation offered by them and the effects of these representations on the society. establishing a complain service points that are accessible by the FDHs might be a helpful measure to detect abuse because it complicates further. On the side of the FDH, there should more awareness programs in Indonesia and the Philippines to warn people from the effects of human trafficking, underage and illegal work.

7.2.1 Literature Implication

The literature on the issue of foreign domestic helpers around the world received limited attention as compared to other marginalized groups such as immigrants, refugees, and migrant workers. The past literature revealed dominant victimization theme and a minor heroism theme.

However, this study has four major contributions to the literature on foreign domestic helpers. Firstly, this study is marked by its dynamic quality as the representation varies according to the contextual background. The previous literature has identified

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victimization theme and heroism theme yet did not identify the dynamic nature of the contextual background that led to conflicting representations which the current study has discussed thoroughly.

Secondly, the current study has proven that media representation is highly influence by the country's policies and the government's decision making. The connection between policy making and media representation has been analyzed and discussed as detailed in chapter 4,5, and 6.

Thirdly, this study has set clear distinction between the status of the foreign domestic helpers and the migrant workers as two separate groups. While the past literature has fused the two groups that have different circumstances and fall under different sets of laws.

Fourthly, since the representation by the countries of origin have been proven not to be affected by the state policies in Malaysia, this gives an insight of the limitation of information and awareness by the countries of origin of the conditions of the domestic helpers who work abroad.

7.2.2   Implications for Future Research

This research could be a starting point for other research for more comparative studies of media representations of a particular social group or event. Such comparative studies reflect the social background and the understandings behind the representations.

Further studies can reach out to those foreign domestic helpers to have a full picture of how they represent themselves manifested in the language they use, the themes they allocate themselves in and the image they portray about themselves.

7.2.3 Policy Implications

The image of victimization and the stories of abuse necessitate updating the legislations in order to minimize the problems of exploitation.

Firstly, the definition of foreign domestic helpers in the Employment act 1955 need to be modified from "servant" to "migrant worker". Or the term "foreign domestic helper" can be created as a new category. This would ensure addressing the legal status accurately. Secondly, the Ministry of Human resources should amend the description of the working conditions in the Employment Act clearly in terms of the number of hours, and place of residence. Thirdly, the minimum wages should be amended based on the recommendations of previous employers and years of working experience to encourage the domestic helpers to build a good experience. Therefore, the minimum wages policy should be amended, and the foreign domestic helper should be made aware of the terms and conditions. Fourthly, to develop an accessible mechanism to assist the foreign domestic helpers to seek help to be made available to minimize abuse and exploitation. Fifth, strict monitoring of the recruitment agencies procedure of hiring foreign domestic helpers are required to minimize links to human trafficking agents. Stricter punishments should be imposed on agencies who do not abide the law.

In addition, the foreign domestic helpers need to receive awareness programs of their rights and duties to avoid the state of victimization. Awareness programs were implemented for a short period of time to the employers only. Then it has stopped due to no compliance. But these awareness programs should be designed to meet the needs of both the foreign domestic helpers and their employers.

Finally, as Anderson (2020) and Maksum (2017) stated, the issue of illegality and borders crossing is still one of the major challenges that need to be addressed. Therefore, the immigration system in Malaysia needs to put strict laws to help combat boarder

smuggling. In addition, this study revealed that the foreign domestic helpers were portrayed as victim of human trafficking and victims of abuse in both media. these findings confirm the findings of Misman et al. (2017) and Maksum (2021) that the issues of human trafficking and exploitation as still not fully solved.

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