

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

1.1.1 Language and the Newspaper

Language can be described in many ways. According to discourse theory, language can be divided into different “[bodies] or [corpuses] of statements and utterances governed by rules and conventions of which the user is largely unconscious” (Macey, 2000, p.100). Language to Fairclough (2001), on the other hand, is a social practice because it is part of society wherein language is a social process which is socially conditioned by other (non-linguistic) parts of society (pp. 18-19).

While Tyson (1999) believes that “social language is created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and place, and it expresses a particular way of understanding human experience” (p. 281) or as she terms it as ‘discourse’; Van Dijk (1988), suggests that discourse is a “complex unit of linguistic form, meaning, and action that might best be captured under the notion of a communicative event or communicative act” (p. 8) which includes actual verbal utterance, the text or dialogue itself. However, he further explains that in written or printed discourse, the interactional behaviour is less apparent. Instead, written or printed discourse becomes more dynamic in production, understanding, and action as shared meanings, knowledge of the language, knowledge of the world, and other beliefs must be taken into account in characterising discourse meaning.

In other words, language use in discourse is influenced by society and the societal conditions that come together. Language can influence, impose, reason, and/or manipulate a society or the masses through various means such as speech and written texts.

Richardson (2007) claims that language in the discourse of journalism, is “social, that it enacts identity, that it is active, that it has power and that language is political.” (p.14). As such, it is evident that language plays a crucial role in newspapers as it disseminates ideas, news and information wherein the selection of lexical items, structure of sentences and the pictures (if any), which accompany the text, can frame and present messages, ideas, agendas or ideologies and the likes, of the text producer or those in control of the media. News, as suggested by Fowler (1991), represents the world in language since “language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin” (p.4) on what it represents.

As such, news can influence the readers as Van Dijk (1995) concludes that manipulation can be examined in the media under certain conditions including structural properties. These structural properties would include the notions of power involved, access that the valued social resources have, and attitudes and ideologies which the news media has. Power here refers to institutional or social power, or termed as power elites. Hence, suggesting that the news media is controlled and susceptible to power abuse by the ‘power elites’ due to “the fundamental similarities

of ideological positions” which the power elites and news media share. In sum, what is written, printed and published in a newspaper depends on who controls the media, who has access to it and their intentions, ideologies and agenda (pp. 9-36).

Consequently, the articles in the newspaper, as asserted by Van Dijk (2006), can easily be the target of manipulation by dominant groups and then imposed upon the reader - in the favour of the dominant groups (pp.365-367). The reader, knowingly or otherwise, can be controlled and influenced as intended.

1.1.2 Singapore Newspapers

1.1.2a Singapore Press Holdings (SPH)

Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) is the leading media organisation in Singapore. It is licensed to publish 14 newspapers in four languages – Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English. The newspapers include *The Straits Times*, *The New Paper*, *Shin Min Daily News* and *Berita Harian*. Apart from newspapers, SPH also publishes magazines such as *Citta Belle* (Chinese), *Her World* (English) and *Young Parents* (English) and operates two radio stations: Radio 100.3 FM in Mandarin and Radio 91.3 FM in English.

Nielsen (2011) reported that *The Straits Times* is the most-read English newspaper in Singapore that has a readership of 34.2 percent of Singapore citizens.

SPH claims that *The Straits Times* has a comprehensive coverage of world news, East Asian news, Southeast Asian news, home news, sports news, financial news and lifestyle updates. It aims to provide “in-depth analyses, impactful commentaries and breaking stories” on events happening in Singapore, around the region and elsewhere around the world (Media Kit, 2012).

Therefore, this study uses *The Straits Times* of Singapore as the source of data as it is deemed suitable based on the readership percentage as the most-read newspaper among the Singaporeans. The section below provides further background and justification on the media in Singapore.

1.1.2b The Media in Singapore

The Singapore media is carefully regulated and its contents are closely monitored by the Singapore government. The former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew (1971) had mandated in his address during the general assembly of the international press institute in Helsinki, Finland, that the Singapore media must produce news and articles which are in tandem with the country’s integrity and nation building, and to the ‘primacy of purpose of the elected government’. The media must, firstly, adhere to the governance wherein the media must support the government’s policies. Secondly, the media has to

promote social order as misrepresentation can spark social unrest. Thirdly, the government believes that the media needs to promote the right cultural values and social attitudes for the betterment of the Singapore nation. Finally, for national security, the media plays an important role in ensuring that what is reported will not jeopardise foreign relations (Tan, 2010).

As such, each article published must correspond with the government's policy pertaining to the best interest of the nation, government and country of Singapore (The Mass Media And New Countries, 2007) .

Even though criticisms were made against Singapore government's policy especially concerning the freedom of press and the rules and regulations imposed by the Singapore government in reporting and publishing news by the local and foreign media, Bokhorst-Heng (2002) argues that the Singapore press is expected to work within a specific framework stipulated by the Singapore government. She claims that the Singapore press is no different from any other press in any other country. The Singapore press is merely carrying out its duties, adhering to the national agenda of Singapore government in maintaining social and political stability in the imagining of the nation. The Singapore government had placed control over the Singapore and foreign press in order to uphold and implement the

government's agenda in imagining the nation as well as to avoid causing conflicts and misunderstandings between the people and the Singapore government. (pp. 566-567).

Chu Yee-ling and Wong Man-yee (2006) argued that although the Singapore government has a firm hold on the media ownership and imposed rules and regulations which the media is required to adhere to, it may not be able to control the censorship as effectively as it used to. This is due to the fact that in the era of internet, information, news and data are readily available and accessible (p.1)

George (2006) explains that the government regulation of the media in Singapore operates at two levels. One is where the media content i.e. news and the information the news is based on and in which the government imposes various laws on publication, post-publication punishment, and penalties for the acquisition of official information. Two is pertaining to the media access i.e. who owns and operates the means of media production. Hence, licensing laws and accompanying regulations are used to keep media within the control of the establishment. A newspaper's publishing license can be revoked if the government is not pleased with the series of news (pp. 42-43)

The issues above are essential as the researcher believes that they provide a background setting in understanding the data and carrying out the analysis. These elements influence the issues or events brought forth in the news articles and the linguistic features employed by the writer.

Other aspects like the ownership of the newspaper and Singapore government policies have to be taken into consideration when analysing the selected articles for this research. They are essential as they influence the reporting of events and activities. Critical Discourse Analysis of which is the approach adopted for this study, takes into account various elements such as historical background, political and societal structures, linguistic features and language use in its analysis and interpretation.

1.1.3 Singapore and Malaysia

Both Malaysia and Singapore share a common cultural background and economic synergy. According to Mahani Zainal Abidin, (2008), both countries complemented each economically as “the Malay States and Strait Settlements were interdependent and the fact that Singapore, Kelang and Penang were their gateways.” However, as both countries’ developed since the separation in 1965, they became rivals economically, politically as well as issues pertaining to security (p. 231).

During the 19th century, both Singapore and the Malay Peninsula were colonised by The British. It was during that time that Singapore, Melaka and Penang were known as the Straits Settlements. The Straits Settlements flourished and became the interest of the Western and the Chinese. Following this, Singapore's economic history has since interwoven with the Malay states' economic history. (Church, 2012).

Singapore and Malaya continued to be colonised by the British rule until the Federation of Malaya was granted independence in 1957 while Singapore remained a British Crown Colony (Blanc, 2008). Following independence from Britain, Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah were formally merged and the Federation of Malaysia was formed. In 1963, Singapore along with Sabah and Sarawak joined the Federation to form the Federation of Malaysia (Trocki & Barr, 2008).

However, according to Fletcher (1969), due to many variants of dispute between the central and Singapore governments, as well as between politicians of both countries, it was decided that Singapore separate from Malaysia on August 9, 1965. Singapore then became an independent republic.

The variants of dispute included economic and political dispute as well as the racial issue which was related to the political conflict; and the difference

in foreign outlook and appeal of the two prominent figures i.e. Tunku Abdul Rahman and Lee Kuan Yew (Fletcher, 1969).

The economic dispute would include a financial crisis wherein the negotiation on the financial revenue proposed by Lee Kwan Yew was not in favour with the Malayan government if the merger took place as the Malayan government wanted more than what Singapore was willing to offer (Abu Bakar, 2009).

There were also political disagreements between the People's Action Party (PAP) led by Lee Kuan Yew and the leaders of the other states, including Tunku Abdul Rahman – the first ruler of modern-day Malaysia. This dispute was inseparably linked to the racial issue that included Singapore wanting a fair and equal treatment for all races as they opposed the special privileges granted to the Malays. This dispute harboured for many years that it has caused occurrences of riots. This coupled with further disagreements between PAP and other Malaysian political parties, Singapore separated from the merger in 1965 and became an independent republic (Liu, Lawrence, Ward, & Abraham, 2002). The separation from Malaysia affected Lee Kuan Yew as he believed in the merger and unity of the both the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore (Holden, 2006).

Since the separation, Malaysia and Singapore have maintained a cooperative and robust relationship with each other as both rely heavily on each other on

trade and investment links and resources. Nevertheless, their relationship is not without high-profile bilateral spats such as the price of water channelled to Singapore; Malaysia's resistance in Singapore's attempt to relocate Malaysian customs away from the Tanjung Pagar train station which is located in the heart of Singapore but owned by Malaysian rail, and the issue on *Pulau Batu Putih* also known as *Pedra Branca*, a small island claimed by both countries, which had been shelved temporarily until 2007 wherein both countries had earlier agreed to present their case to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), all of which received considerable media publicity.

In terms of economic activities, Singapore together with China shared the top spot as the largest trading partner for Malaysia in 2010 (Top 10 Trading Partners, 2010). Singapore and China each accounted for 12.5% of the total Malaysian trades with its international partners in 2010. This explained the importance and synergy between Malaysia and Singapore in terms of economic activities.

Nonetheless, Singapore and Malaysia continue to outperform each other in economic competitiveness. As a historical financial centre and trading port for South East Asia since the British colonial rule, Singapore continued to flourish as a financial centre and trading port after the separation from Malaysia in 1965. Long Finance Research and Publications, commissioned by Qatar Financial Centre (QFC), an independent financial regulator of

Qatar , had ranked Singapore as the fourth global financial centre (Yeandle, Danev, & Mainelli, 2012)

In terms of port operations, Singapore is one of the busiest port in the world, having handled more than 30 million 20-foot-equivalent units in 2012 (Ascutia, 2013). However, Malaysia also excels at its own space in financial and transportation sector. Malaysia was ranked the second largest for Islamic assets with a current value of USD106 billion (Nagraj, 2012). Malaysia has strategically tried to compete with Singapore port with the establishment of Port Tanjung Pelepas in Johor. Port Tanjung Pelepas is located only 11 kilometres away from Singapore's main port facilities and it has been successful in attracting major shipping companies such as Maersk and Evergreen to use its facilities instead of Singapore port (Bernama, News, 2009).

Henceforth, the relationship between both countries does influence in the analysis as the *Discourse-Historical* method of analysis does acknowledge that all background information is important and essential when analysing the data.

1.2 Purpose of Study

Singapore and Malaysia have a unique relationship with each another geographically, economically, historically and politically which, consecutively, had resulted in a relationship that is described as a love-hate relationship. Nevertheless,

they complement each other economically that their bilateral relationship has also been described as symbiotic and interdependent as they are trading partners as well as their geographical proximity have made their economic, security and prosperity indivisible (Rusdi Omar, 2007). This unique relationship has not been without any bilateral disputes which threaten to ruin this cooperation. Hence, it is based on this relationship that the researcher has chosen to identify how events and current issues in Malaysia are represented in *The Straits Times* of Singapore. The researcher also intends to observe how the relationship between Malaysia and Singapore is represented through Malaysian news reported in *The Straits Times* of Singapore.

On a personal note, the purpose this study is to satisfy the curiosity of the researcher pertaining to the perception and viewpoint which a newspaper has over another country.

Hence, in order to achieve these aims, the researcher had analysed articles from the Straits Times of Singapore using Critical Discourse Analysis i.e. Wodak's Discourse-Historical approach theoretical framework as a tool to uncover *The Straits Times* of Singapore's representation of Malaysia.

It is also the researcher's intention to reveal the ideologies and strategies outlined in Wodak's Discourse-historical approach that may be imposed, embedded and reflected in the news report. In order to achieve these aims, the researcher intends to analyse the articles by exploring and illustrating the lexical items used, discursive

strategies employed, argumentative schemes and the grammatical structures adopted by the authors in the media text.

With this purpose in mind, the researcher hopes to achieve the following objectives of the study listed below:

- a. To uncover the hidden messages or ideologies in the texts.
- b. To identify the words, phrases and sentences which reflect the embedded messages or ideologies.
- c. To identify and analyse the use of words, phrases and sentences by the text producers in illustrating the events, situations, social actors and the state of a situation or an event pertaining to Malaysia.

Therefore, in order for the study to take place, the researcher has taken news articles on Malaysia in *The Straits Times* Singapore, from the month of November 2007 till the month of April 2008 as data. Based on this data, the researcher intends to answer the following research questions:

- What are the discursive strategies, argumentation schemes (topoi), and means of realisation applied by the authors in the news reports?
- How is Malaysia represented by *The Straits Times* of Singapore in the lexical choices and phrases?
- How does the relationship between Singapore and Malaysia influence the choice of lexical items, phrases and sentence structure?

1.3 Justification of the Study

Despite the growing trend of reading the news on the internet, the readership of print media i.e. newspapers and magazine is still on the rise. Gavin K O'Reilly, the president of the World Association of Newspapers (WAN) reported in his presentation entitled *The Facts About Newspapers in 2007... Not the Myths presentation*, for WAN's Capital Markets Day on 8th of May 2007, that "newspaper readership has grown by 2.1 per cent over the past five years" (World Association Newspapers, 2007). As such, the newspaper appears to be the primary source in attaining current and the latest news reports, information on various topics such as sports and health and the likes, for the majority.

As it is obvious that newspapers plays a huge role in a society, what they entail can, unconsciously or otherwise, make an impact in a person's perception or beliefs as language or discourse, asserted by Fairclough and Wodak (2004), is seen as social practice.

This exemplifies that the choice of lexical items, grammatical structures and strategies used in a language is crucial to produce a piece of writing in achieving the aims – be it positive or negative – of the author or the dominant party to instigate an intended response or otherwise from the reader. Media text influences its readers as discourse, according to Fairclough and Wodak, is "so socially influential", subsequently media text is an instrument which can be found to be a subject of abuse (Fairclough & Wodak, 2004, p. 258).

Van Dijk (1995) claims inadequate knowledge to mass-mediated discourse results in not completely understanding news texts or the events that take place of such text. Therefore, the researcher intends to demonstrate the lexical items, structures and strategies employed as well as demystify the hidden ideology(ies) that may be embedded in the news reports (pp 13-14)

This is further reinstated by Shakila Manan (2001) who argues that “language in news coverage plays a crucial role in the construction of social reality” and news is a discourse that does not reflect the truth in a neutral manner. Instead, language that is used in representing the events and people is selected in the favour of how the text producer sees and reads them (p. 35).

These beliefs are probably the reason that Lee Kwan Yew (1971), in his address in the general assembly of the international press institute in Helsinki, Finland, had stressed that Singapore press has to generate news and articles which are in line with the country’s aspirations, integrity and nationhood and in the best interest of the country and the nation (The Mass Media And New Countries, 2007).

Lee Kwan Yew’s summon is prevailed in Bokhorst-Heng (2002) who had examined the ideology and practices of the mass daily press in Singapore within the socio-political context of ‘imagining’ the nation. It was found that, on the whole, the Singapore press presents texts which advocate nationhood i.e. social and political stability as the Singapore government places considerable control over the press.

With the above in mind, the researcher believes that this study on the media construction of news reports concerning issues and events occurring in Malaysia illustrated in the Straits Times of Singapore, is feasible due to, firstly, the Straits Times of Singapore, being the mainstream newspaper, is the most-read newspaper in Singapore with a readership of 34.2 percent (Nielsen, 2011).

Secondly, as revealed by Ng Siew Hua (2008), the stance of each institution, which is related to the historical bilateral issues, is a representative of the voices of the dominant group or the government of each country. She had also stated that the newspaper's main responsibility is to transmit news which is often considered as a source of ideological significance. Diverse styles and discursive strategies are used in editorials to express the institution's stance or opinions as illustrated in the research carried out on the representations of bilateral issues concerning Malaysia and Singapore in the mainstream newspapers i.e. the New Straits Times of Malaysia and the Straits Times of Singapore. In addition, it was found that the mainstream newspapers also played the role of mediators between the government and public readers.

Thirdly, the bilateral relationship between Malaysia and Singapore as described by Chang Li Lin (2003), coupled with the issue on land reclamation in Singapore and the management of the lighthouse on Pulau Pisang by Singapore, have been marked as high profiled disputes "demonstrate that the relations between Singapore and Malaysia continue to be driven by fundamentally competitive forces."

As such, the researcher believes that with Critical Discourse Analysis, news texts can be made transparent, accessible and understood better. Van Dijk (1995) claims inadequate knowledge to mass-mediated discourse results in not completely understanding news texts or the events that take place of such text. (pp 13-14). Consequently, readers of newspapers become less ignorant; are able to read with conscience and not accept what is reported to be the reality.

1.4 Closing Remarks

To put in a nutshell, this study aims to reveal the embedded messages, ideologies, agendas that may be in news texts which are written for Singapore-owned newspaper namely *The Straits Times*. The study will be from a Critical Discourse perspective as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) believes in providing a connection between the discourse and social practice and relations (Kamila Ghazali, 2005, p. 35); and it analyses authentic written and spoken texts. In analysing the news texts, the researcher will be applying the framework devised by Wodak and her colleagues, Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart (1999). This Discourse-Historical method takes into account all background information pertaining to the events and people involved in the text (pp. 158-160). Therefore, the researcher believes CDA to be an appropriate tool to analyse news on Malaysia in selected Singapore newspapers.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is said to reveal the embedded notion, ideology and agenda which could be present in written and spoken texts. It is believed that a spoken or written text is influenced by the society, political situation, environment and the many social factors which surround the text producer. Therefore, these factors frame the words, phrases and pictures selected by the text producer.

In this chapter, the concerns will be pertaining to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), ideology, and intertextuality. All of which are pertinent in understanding the basis of the study.

In CDA, the focus is on language use or discourse. There are many definitions to discourse. Van Dijk (1997) contends that discourse contains various aspects and not everyday communication alone. He believes that discourse encompasses language use, cognition (the communication of beliefs) and interaction in social situations as these would answer *who* uses the language *how*, *why* and *when* (p. 2). He also believes discourse is a specific form of language use, and as a specific form of social interaction, interpreted as a complete communicative event in a social situation (Van Dijk, 1990, p. 2). Fairclough (2001), on the other hand, suggests that CDA views language or discourse as a “social practice”, whereby discourse is

influenced by discursive event(s) and situation(s), institution(s) and also the social structure within it (p. 18). Similarly, Halliday (1978) views language as social semiotic, wherein language is interpreted within a sociocultural context. Culture itself is interpreted as an information system and hence, language reflects the culture, social status and role of the person (p. 2). Nevertheless, Fairclough and Wodak (2004), claim that discourse may act in the opposite direction wherein it is able to manipulate the entities described because often these entities are related to one another (p. 258). Furthermore, Kress & Hodge (1979) perceives that there is a strong relationship between linguistic and social structure in discourse, and that discourse exists with social meanings. (p. 1). Discourse is further claimed to also be historical in which, without relating it to the context, would not be understood (Titscher et al, p. 146).

Language, according to Habermas, is “a medium of domination and social force” as it is believed to “legitimize relations of organized power” and further believed as ideological (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 2). Therefore, it can be concluded that discourse relates to action, events, people, society, background, history and the likes as aptly described by Wodak (1996):

“To sum up, discourses are, therefore, multi-layered, verbal and non-verbal, they are rule-bound, the rules being either manifest or latent, they determine actions and also manifest them, they are embedded in forms of life cultures, of which they are simultaneously co-constituent.” (pp. 17)

In order to analyse and understand discourses, CDA, is an approach that complements the analyses. As mentioned in the beginning CDA views language as a social practice. CDA investigates spoken and written discourse and their relationship with social and cultural conditions, ideologies, powers within, struggles that exist within power, and investigating how these elements play a significant role in discourse and in its emergence (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 249-250).

CDA is a critical theory of language that views language as a form of social practice. Social practices are related to certain historical contexts, in which social relations are “reproduced or contested and different interests are served” (Hilary Janks, 2002, p. 26). As such, CDA focuses on authentic everyday communication that can be found in institutions, media, politics or other avenues. It has a dialectal relationship between certain discursive acts embedded within situations, institutions and social structures. Ultimately, it aims to unveil pervaded and repeatedly obscured “structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion of language use (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 7-8). Furthermore, CDA intercedes with both the dominated and oppressed group and also against the dominating groups (Wodak, 2002, p. 341). Therefore, CDA aims to reveal the truths and assist those who are crippled by political and social injustice (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 7-8). With that in mind, CDA attempts to provide an illustration and create awareness to the public concerning the reciprocal influences that language and social structure have on human beings (Titscher et.al., 2000, p. 147). Ultimately, CDA believes in addressing the truth that lies behind what is spoken or written and consequently, reveal the alleged propaganda or ideology. It

aims to make a difference to those who are at the receiving end especially, the unsuspecting reader. CDA achieves this by analysing the discourse in a systematic manner and takes into account all that is related to the specific event or text.

This is evidently illustrated in the main tenets of CDA as stated below, as presented by Wodak (Wodak, 1996, pp. 17-20):

1. CDA refers to social problems. It analyses linguistic and semiotic aspects of social problems and processes. CDA focuses on the social and cultural processes and structures in linguistics.
2. Power relations are discursive. Power can be asserted through discourse whereby the person in power can determine the course of interaction, issues discussed, lexical choices, and verbal discourse.
3. Discourse constitutes culture and society. Culture and society plays a significant influence in discourse as these two elements structure the organisation of a discourse.
4. Discourse does ideological work: When analysing a text, the analyst needs to consider how the text is interpreted, received and the social effects texts have as CDA believes not all discursive events are ideological.
5. Discourse is historical. Discourses are often related to the past, a certain culture and ideology. These discourses are related to other discourses which were produced earlier.
6. The link between text and society, micro and the macro, is mediated. It is assumed that the mode of mediation between the actual text, the social practices in which the piece of text is embedded.

7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory. Critical analysis is concerning a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations. Interpretations are subjected to new context and new information and always dynamic.
8. Discourse is a form of social action. CDA is a social scientific discipline which interests are explicit and leans toward applying its discoveries to practical questions.

There are various approaches in CDA when analysing texts. The theorists behind these methods are influenced by works of Foucault, Habermas and Fowler. Among well-known methodology of CDA are Fairclough, Wodak and Van Dijk, who each advocate different approaches in analysing texts.

In Fairclough's book entitled *Language and Power* (2001), he describes that his approach emphasises on 'common sense' assumptions that are embedded implicitly following the way they interact linguistically and are unconsciously aware. These assumptions, he claims are ideologies. Ideologies are linked to language which he asserts is the "commonest form of social behaviour". He concludes that the dimensions of discourse are texts, interactions and contexts, which take into consideration when analysing texts, the processes of production and interpretation and the relationship which the texts, processes and social conditions they have with one another. As such, he reveals that in his method of analysis, there are three stages of analysis namely description, interpretation and explanation (pp. 18-22). The descriptive stage inculcates the formal characteristics of text; in particular, the

vocabulary, grammar and textual structure. These are then examined following experiential, relational and expressive values. Experiential values refer to traces and cues to the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social experience is represented. Thus, the way the text is written is influenced by the author's member resources (MR). Relational values, on the other hand, refer to the relationship between the writer and the reader in a discourse and how the writer puts the reader into a position based on the writer's wants. Expressive values refer to the author's views and thereby it is subjective (pp. 18-22).

Ruth Wodak's (2001) approach to CDA follows a similar principle. However, as she views CDA as a tool in providing an interpretation which should justify theoretically, she proposes what she terms as the Discourse –Historical Method (p. 65). According to Jaffer Sheyholislami, in his excerpt of MA thesis, Wodak perceives language to entail at least three things, discourse is about power and ideologies; discourse is always historical as discourse is related to communicative events happening at the same time and which have happened before; and discourse is interpretations concerning the same communicative event of an individual may differ from one another. (School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Carleton University, 2001).

Wodak (2001) discloses that Discourse-historical method analyses and interprets in a systematic manner while integrating all available background information pertaining to historical sources, social and political issues associated to the event of text. (p. 65). This approach examines the text from three perspectives and they are

content, strategies and means, and forms of realisation. The content of the text is discussed following linguistic construction based on the text. The strategies, on the other hand, are pertaining to the approach adopted by the author in demonstrating his or her view, ideologies and the likes and finally, the means and forms of realisation that revolves around the linguistic features in bringing forth what is being stated.

Ultimately, CDA as illustrated by Wodak (2001), is a form of analysis that “aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)” (p. 2). In simple terms, CDA intends to unravel the grey areas, hidden agendas and ideologies embedded in a discourse – making the text obvious, transparent and accessible to its readers and audience, based on discourse of the text. Also, as Wodak (1999) believes that at the end of 20th century, CDA allows social interaction to be transparent and understandable to people who have little or no access to the elites involved in decision making (p. 197).

Van Dijk (2001), on the other hand, views that CDA as a “type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (p. 352). As such, researchers in CDA take an explicit position in order to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. Van Dijk further explains in order to carry out CDA, there are a number of requirements which have to be adhered to for it to be effective. Firstly, for marginal research

traditions, most often, CDA research has to be more extensive and effective than other research in order to be accepted. Secondly, CDA focuses primarily on social problems and political issues and not on current paradigms and fashions. Thirdly, adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually carried out in a multidisciplinary manner. In addition, CDA tries to explain discourse structures in terms of properties of social interaction and social structure. More specifically, the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

Hence, Van Dijk's (1997) has based his framework on the following principles (pp. 29-31):

- a. Naturally occurring text and talk as they are not 'sanitized' but studied in their actual appearance or in the original context.
- b. Contexts in which the discourse takes place i.e. local and global, social and cultural contexts. The contextual relevance and structures as well as possible consequences of discourse such as settings, participants and their communicative and social roles, and norms and values need to be observed and analysed.
- c. Discourse as Talk wherein verbal interaction, either formal and informal or institutional dialogues should not be neglected for analysis.
- d. Discourse as social practice of members in which both, spoken and written are forms of social practice in sociocultural contexts.

- e. Members' categories. This is about respecting the means which social members themselves interpret, orient to and categorise the properties of the social world and their conduct including discourse itself.
- f. Sequentially. The discourse should be describe, interpreted or analysed relative to the preceding ones in various forms of coherence.
- g. Constructivity. Apart from analysing the sequentially, the constitutive units of discourse may be functionally used, understood or analysed as elements of larger ones.
- h. Levels and dimensions discourse. The levels and dimensions of discourse are strategically managed at the same time by the language users.
- i. Meaning and function. The meaning and function has to be taken into consideration as they have functional and explanatory implications.
- j. Rules. How rules in language, communication and discourse are analysed as manifestations and enactments of these grammatical. Textual, communicative and interactional rules as well as how they are being violated.
- k. Strategies. Strategies of discourse are also considered in studying the effective understanding and accomplishment of discourse and the realization of communicative and social goals.
- l. Social cognition. The mental processes and representations in the production and understanding of text and talk or social cognition is another fundamental principle in analysing discourse which is relevant and recognised as it is the interface between discourse and society.

Van Dijk (1997) sums up that discourse is analysed from macro to micro levels of talk, text, context or society, and vice versa with theoretical and methodological tools for a “well-founded critical approach to the study of social problems, power and inequality” (p.32).

Nonetheless, CDA is not without criticisms. Widdowson (2002) has argued that CDA is more befitting to be labelled as an interpretation rather than an analysis. Widdowson believes that an analysis includes demonstrating the various interpretations and which language data can be illustrated as evidence in each case (p.124). Fairclough (2002), however, contested Widdowson’s point of view by claiming Widdowson had provided a very narrow view of analysis. Fairclough maintained that CDA is an analysis as it provides an analytical procedure and is applied systematically to various types of data, CDA is analysis.

It is also to Widdowson’s (2002) opinion that CDA is “not impartial in that it is ideologically committed, and so prejudiced” which therefore does not coincide with its claim that it is distinctive as it is critical. Henceforth, it falls back to Widdowson’s earlier claim that CDA is an interpretation. Fairclough, though, contends that CDA would argue that everyone, including Widdowson, writes within certain discursive practices that entail particular interests, commitments, inclusions, exclusions, and the likes. So, this means that CDA is theoretically in the position to concede its ‘partiality’ than most theories.

Fitzpatrick (2006) had adopted the Discourse-Historical method into her study to analyse literature from the rural and remote health field, newspaper texts, as hidden within the discourses pertaining to Australian rural and remote health care. The study revealed that the linguistic elements and discursive strategies were used to influence political outcome - be it positive and negative, which subsequently demonstrated that cultural values, nationalism and the power of socio-hegemonic do shape the provision and development of health care programs of the Australian rural and remote communities (Fitzpatrick, 2006, pp. 150-168). Hence, this proves that CDA is applicable to most discourse analysis.

Nevertheless, the researcher feels that it is not in the researcher's jurisdiction to argue or debate on the definitions and beliefs concerning CDA. The researcher merely wants to illustrate the arguments that surround CDA and its theorists. It is the researcher's intention to use CDA as a means of analysis to complement her study of news on Malaysia in *The Straits Times* Singapore.

2.2 Ideology

There are many definitions to ideology. In the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, ideology is defined as a set of beliefs that is held by a particular group that influences the manner in which people behave. It is also defined as a set of ideas which is based on an economic or political system.

Conboy (2007) provides a general description on ideology by stating that it is a set of political ideas that is rigid and therefore, imposed onto an oppressed population

by a certain ruling establishment. These ideas are to be believed without a doubt or questioned under pain of punishment or death (p. 104). At the same time, he relates ideology to language of the new media by redefining it as “structuring of beliefs” from a particular perspective that entails a complex combination of viewpoints of various sectors including media institutions. These beliefs are then presented in a manner that appeals to the audience and thus convinces its audiences that it is “natural and unchanging”.

Kress and Hodge (1979), however, believed language as ideology for they professed that language is immersed in the life of society as the consciousness of a society. This consciousness, they claim as “inevitably partial and false” in which they label as ‘ideology’. Henceforth, they defined ideology as a “systematic body of ideas organised from a particular point of view”. These ideologies include categories of sciences and metaphysics and also political ideologies of various genre (p. 6).

Fairclough (2001) believes that ideology is institutional practices which appear to be ‘universal or commonsensical’ and drawn upon unconsciously representing assumptions that directly or otherwise legitimize power relations that exist. This version of ideology is exercised upon individuals or society through coercion or consent. Hence, discourse is the favoured vehicle of ideology as ideologies are implanted in features of discourse. Fairclough further explains that ideologies are ideas or practices which are based upon common sense background. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of these ideologies will depend on the extent of the merger between the ideologies and the common sense background to the discourse and the social action and also the control of consent.

Van Dijk (1998), on the other hand, believes that “ideology is the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group”. He explains that ideologies permits people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly. Ideologies may influence what is accepted as true or false, especially when the ideology is found to be relevant to the group (p.8).

Therefore, based on the above definitions and viewpoints on ideology, it can be concluded that ideology concerns ideas, practices, beliefs (politically or otherwise) of a group which are believed to be, and imposed subtly onto the subjects. The social conditions, ‘common sense’ background, discourse and control of consent would determine the acceptance or effectiveness or influence of these ideologies.

Further to this, Van Dijk (1995b) had aptly described ideologies as having the following characteristics (pp. 244-247):

Ideologies:-

- i. are cognitive
- ii. are social
- iii. are sociocognitive
- iv. are neither true nor false
- v. may have various degrees of complexity
- vi. have contextually variable manifestation
- vii. are general and abstract

Nonetheless, ideology in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is essential in establishing and maintaining unequal power relations as one of its main aims is to

“unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use” (Wodak et al. 1999, p. 8). So, naturally in CDA, discourse is a favoured means of ideology and believed to do ideological work (Fairclough, 2001, p. 30).

Language, on the other hand, according to Kress and Hodge (1979) is ideology. Language is a means of control and communication in which the linguistic forms can convey the obvious and also distort it (p. 6). Hence, in CDA it is perceived that texts are rarely controlled by any one person. They are governed by differences in power and determined by discourse and genre. Furthermore, it is often laced with contending ideologies and differing discourses that struggle for dominance (Wodak, 2001, p.10). However, it is important to note that CDA does not claim all discourse to be ideological.

Ultimately, the researcher intends to demystify the embedded ideologies that could be hidden in the data of this study. The data is taken from a leading newspaper in Singapore called *The Straits Times*. *The Strait Times*, like most countries, is owned by the ruling government. The tendency for the government to impose certain set of beliefs, practices or ideas may prevail inconspicuously in the articles is there. Concurrently, ideologies of the society and culture of Singapore may exist too. Therefore, the researcher intends to identify and examine the ideologies that may be lying in the discourse through the text producers’ choice of linguistic terms and structures.

2.3 Intertextuality

Intertextuality appears to be apparent in news articles. It is a style of writing in conveying news, speeches, discussions and the likes. Nevertheless, how the reader interprets the article would depend on the manner an article is written.

The term ‘intertextuality’ was initially coined by Kristeva (1986), based on the works of Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin (1986) believes that all utterances – written or spoken, are dominated and composed of snippets of utterances belonging to others. He further explains that the words uttered by others have their respective expressions and individual evaluative tone. These words, henceforth, are used, assimilated, reworked and reaccentuated by the text producer of a particular text (p. 89).

Based on Bakhtin’s definition, Kristeva (1986) observes that texts absorb and builds upon other texts from the past. She describes her observation as ‘insertion of history into a text and of this text into history’. Henceforth, based on prior texts and its inclusion into the current text could contribute to the form of subsequent texts, social change and history (p.39).

Bazerman et al. (2005) believes that a new text may implicitly or otherwise be referring to prior texts and the consequences. He illustrates that a proposal is limited to the request it responds to which includes topics, criteria of address and project specifics. The agreed proposal is normally based on past materials and documents and it continues till it is the work and projects are completed. He further explains

that in one genre, one is expected or permitted to draw on or refer to “texts of specific other genres from either the same activity system or other particular systems” (p. 96-97). Bazerman (2004) concludes that intertextuality is not only concerning which other or prior texts are being referred to, it is also about how these texts are used and what it is used for and finally, how the text producer uses them to his or her own advantage in making and projecting one’s statement (p. 94). Consequently, it may result in bringing change to society, history, a country and the likes.

Intertextuality, as Richardson (2007) describes, is based on the concept that since texts are not created or consumed in isolation, texts cannot be viewed or studied in isolation. He explains that a news report is required to ‘reproduce actions and opinions of others’ i.e. a news report may contain elements of a press release, a quote from a source or information taken from the paper’s cutting archive. Naturally, reported speech is used and becomes the “central building block of news” when reporting news, reflecting that intertextuality appears to be the basis of writing news articles. Reported speech is used through various means such as direct quotations, strategic quotations, indirect quotations, transformed indirect quotation, and ostensible direct quotation. Richardson concludes reported speech is a form of intertextuality as it is evidence that the text producer is taking information, opinion, and the likes from a prior text and merging it with the new text (pp.100-102).

Fairclough (1992), on the other hand terms, intertextuality as a new text that is brimmed with “snatches of other texts” that could be explicitly distinguished or

amalgamated. Consequently, it may “assimilate, contradict, ironically echo” and so on. He further explains the contribution of intertextual perspective in production, distribution and consumption. In production, the “intertextual perspective stresses historicity of texts” (p.84), while in distribution, it helps in exploring the networks wherein the text switches from one type of text to another in predictable transformations. This he exemplifies it with political speeches being transformed into news reports. In consumption, however, intertextual perspective helps in stressing that it is not the text alone that shapes interpretation but also the other texts that are related to the current text that bring to the interpretation process (pp. 84-85).

In short, the concept of intertextuality can be explained simply as the effectiveness of texts, how texts can transform previous texts and also restructure the existing conventions and finally, generate new texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 102).

Ultimately, intertextuality exists in most written or spoken texts. In news articles especially, texts are written based upon previous texts i.e. speeches, prior texts, interviews and etc. It may unveil hidden messages, ideas, beliefs and ideologies that lie beneath. Moreover, it could bring change to history, society, country and so forth. Therefore, for this study, intertextuality is evident in most of the newspaper articles and the researcher would like to explore the types of intertextuality and its function in conveying the news.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on Malaysia in Singapore Newspapers

Richardson (2007) opines that news is closely related to the actions and points of view of powerful social groups. It also has to be understood in relation with the target and intended audiences. He, therefore, believes that critical discourse analysis (CDA) on articles in newspapers reveals how language – its power, function and the effects- operates.

Henceforth, reporting news in print on another country can influence the readers' perception over a country as well as reveal a country's perceived ideas, ideologies or representations on another country. For example, Brookes' (1995) observed the ideological construction of Africa through CDA on news regarding Africa in the British press. Her analysis revealed that the features of a stereotypical, naturalised and dominant discourse are combined to construct particular meanings and in return provide a neo-colonial racist representation of Africa and Africans.

Nevertheless, in the context of news on Malaysia in a Singapore newspaper from a CDA perspective, the studies which were found were skewed to examining the bilateral issues between Malaysia and Singapore reported in the press from a CDA perspective. One of which is Ng Siew Hua's (2008) study which examined mainstream newspaper editorials on the bilateral issues between Malaysia and Singapore through CDA. The newspaper editorials which were studied were *The New Straits Times* of Malaysia and *The Straits Times* of Singapore. It was evident that both countries i.e. Singapore and Malaysia recontextualized outstanding

bilateral issues involving both countries in both mainstream newspaper editorials at certain time frames. Varied patterns of argumentation and linguistic representations like emotive verbs and negative lexis were used implicitly and explicitly in the texts. Therefore, it revealed that each institution's stance that is related to the historical bilateral issues were the voices of the dominant group or the government of each country. Hence, only news which were deemed as newsworthy and related to the bilateral issues were reported through careful selection of words. She concluded that language is a powerful and influential tool in the newspapers.

Closing Remarks

In CDA, there are many facets which have to be reflected upon when analysing texts in order to uncover the possible hidden agendas and ideologies. One of the many facets is intertextuality because CDA looks at the dialectical relationship between discursive events and situations, institution and social structures that these discourses are embedded (Wodak, 2002, p. 149).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this study, the researcher will attempt to analyse the chosen texts from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) point of view. As there are many approaches in doing CDA, the researcher will adopt the Discourse-Historical approach of Wodak's et al. (1990) in analysing the texts.

The study is limited to news articles on Malaysia in *The Straits Times* Singapore for six consecutive months i.e. from November 2007 till April 2008. *The Straits Times* appears to be the main newspaper in Singapore and it is during these months that there were various issues concerning Malaysia like the Pulau Batu Putih and the General Elections which were given much publicity by the press. The researcher would also like to emphasise that this study is confined to analysing written newspaper articles on Malaysia in *The Straits Times* only.

3.2 Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The Discourse-Historical approach aims to assimilate available background knowledge – historical, political and social fields of the subject matter involved in a systematic manner into the analysis and interpretation of the spoken or written text as Wodak (2001) believes that the approach will minimise the possibility of being partial and prejudiced. She asserts that CDA is about making choices transparent

and to justify why interpretations of discursive events appear more legitimate (p. 65).

The procedure is viewed to being “hermeneutic and interpretive” and also influenced by cognitive science. Therefore, this method of approach is a cycle and not a sequence of operational steps. It is a three analytical dimension which is systematically and recursively related to the overall contextual knowledge (Titscher et al., 2000. p. 158).

In analysing a text, the discourse-historical approach begins with generalisations, then classified according to the analytical apparatus and is followed by a renewed analysis of the text (Titscher et al, 2000, p. 160). The analytical dimensions as illustrated by Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart (1999) can be exemplified by the following, which are closely connected to each other (p. 30):

- a. Content
- b. Strategies
- c. Means and Forms of Realisation

For the purpose of this study, the texts will be explored based on the following structure as illustrated in the following pages, which is adapted from the Discourse-Historical Approach (Wodak et.al, 1999, pp. 30-47):

**Structure of Analysis on Malaysian News Articles in Singapore Newspaper
(Based on Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis by Titscher et.al (2000, pp. 158-160))**

A. Content

For this analysis, background information on *The Straits Times* media paper, Singapore Government's policy pertaining to publishing media articles, and the history of Singapore and Malaysia will be presented to provide a background, overview and setting to the news articles chosen for this study. As the method of analysis is the Discourse-Historical approach, the above elements are essential in providing a comprehensive analysis.

B. Strategies (Based on The Discursive Construction of National Identity by Wodak et.al (1999, pp. 30-47)) which may be applicable to the data.

The strategies and argumentation scheme (topoi) according to Wodak's method of CDA are illustrated in Table 1.1 from page 40 to 53. These strategies and argumentation schemes could have been used in the data by the author of the article to convey the message or ideology ideas etc. They are exemplified through sentences, a phrases, captions or words selected by the text producer. It is important to note that not all of these strategies may appear in the data. The researcher has illustrated the strategies in the table for reference.

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
a.	<p>Strategies of Justification and Relativisation</p> <p>i. Shifting of Blame and Responsibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – strategy of emphasising the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’/ strategy of isolation and/or singularisation – strategy of heteronomisation: emphasis on extra-national dependence/heteronomy – strategy of casting doubt(s) – strategy of scapegoating/victim-perpetrator inversion <p>ii. Downplaying/Trivialisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – strategy of emphasising negative sameness/ negative common features – balancing one thing against another 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of ignorance ▪ topos of comparison/topos of difference ▪ topos of external constraints and/or of external force/topos of heteronomy ▪ topos of the force of facts ▪ topos of illustrative example ▪ topos of comparison/topos of similarity ▪ topos of comparison/locus a minore 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ lexical units with semantic components creating difference/singularisation (‘to put into an alien uniform’), parallelisms, three-part figures ▪ naturalising metaphors (‘catastrophe’) ▪ insinuations, allusions, evocations, vagueness ▪ metonymic causal shift, ‘yes-but’ figure ▪ comparisons (including negations), analogies ▪ stories, anecdotes, fictitious scenarios ▪ lexical units with levelling semantic components ▪ sociative formations (‘co-responsibility’, ‘take part in’) ▪ ‘yes-but’ figures, suggestive icons (one-sided weighting of topics manifested as detailed presentation vs. brief reference)

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – strategy of discontinuation/ strategy of emphasising the difference between now and then – strategy of squaring/ strategy of compensation – rationalisation/harmonisation – strategy of minimisation – strategy of avoidance and strategy of euphemising 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of history as teacher lexical units indicating difference, personifications (‘history’) and metaphors (‘zero hour’) ▪ topos of external threat/topos of the superordinate aim ▪ topos of the small number/‘you can’t just lump them all’ topos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lexical units indicating difference, personifications (‘history’) and metaphors (‘zero hour’) ▪ Miranda and positively connotated attributions (Miranda are high-value words) ▪ Fictitious (threatening) scenarios ▪ Quantifiers, modifying particles ▪ Suggestive-euphemistic pseudo-oppositions (Allegiance to Austria does not mean saying no to anybody, it means only saying a definite yes to Austria’) ▪ Passive (agent deletion), vague personal reference, nominalisation (agent deletion), referential transfer resulting in abstraction, depersonalisation, anonymisation (metonymy) ▪ Euphemistic verbs obscuring agents (‘die/perish’ instead of ‘murdered by X’,

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>– legitimization/delegitimation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of appeal to authority or topos of non-legitimation: assigning authority or pointing out that a person has no right to criticise something 	<p>‘happened’ instead of ‘murdered’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Euphemistic denotation of actions (‘he only did his duty’) ▪ Systematic adverbialisation of ‘Austria’ in connection with something negative ▪ Discourse representative (distancing through direct/indirect speech) ▪ Indefinite article ▪ quotations
b	<p>Constructive Strategies</p> <p>i. Assimilation, Inclusion and Continuation</p> <p>– presupposition /emphasis on intranational sameness/similarity, including the strategy of ‘we are all in the same boat’</p> <p>– presupposition of/emphasis on</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of comparison/topos of similarity, locus a minore ▪ topos of definition/ topos of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lexemes with levelling components • Referential assimilation (levelling down): spatial and personal reference (anthroponyms (personal names), toponyms (place names), personal pronoun ‘we’), realisation as tropes (synecdoche, metonymy and personification) • Temporal reference, indicating continuity: temporal prepositions, adverbs of time and

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>positive political continuity (at state/national level), negation of an alleged discontinuity</p> <p>ii. Singularisation</p>	<p>name interpretation</p> <p>▪ topos of lovely idyllic place</p>	<p>adverbial constructions ('since', 'always')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Referential vagueness by means of personal pronouns, adverbs of place; spatial reference through persons and toponyms ('with us', 'here', 'in this country') • Proper names which are interpreted as indicating Austrian descent • Ship metaphor, ship allegory, house metaphor etc • Lexemes/semiprefixes with semantic components indicating continuity (German: wieder/'again', neu/'anew') • Particles which construct continuity ('continuously', 'also') • Indefinite article (plural forms indicating repetition etc). Implicit and explicit comparisons • Parallelisms • Allusions, evocations, non-distanced discourse representations which create continuity

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – presupposition of/emphasis on national (positive) uniqueness – strategy of simultaneous emphasis on subnational uniqueness and national model character – (tacit) transposition of subnational uniqueness onto the national level – reduction of supranational uniqueness to the national level <p>iii. Autonomisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – presupposition/ emphasis on national autonomy and independence <p>iv. Unification and Cohesivation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – emphasis on unifying common features/shared sorrow or worries – emphasis on the will to unify/co-operate/feel and show solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ explicit/implicit topos of comparison (including ‘we are superior compared to them’) ▪ topos of comparison ▪ topos of threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lexemes with semantic components, constructing singularity, individualisation (‘unique’) • Hyperboles, Miranda and positively connotated attributions • Parallelisms • Synecdochisation (pars pro toto or ‘part for whole’) • Lexemes with semantic components constructing autonomy • Lexemes with semantic components creating unification • Appeals for co-operation, pulling together and solidarity • Idiomatic metaphors (‘we act all in concert’) • Emphasis (for example, emphatic

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>– emphasis on national model character of subnational units</p> <p>– unifactory warning against the loss of national autonomy and uniqueness</p> <p>v. Dissimilation/Exclusion and Discontinuation</p> <p>– presupposition/emphasis on (state-internal and state-external) international differences</p> <p>– discontinuation/emphasis on a difference between then and now</p>	<p>▪ topos of comparison/topos of difference</p> <p>▪ topos of terrible place</p>	<p>parallelisms)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fictitious (threatening) scenarios • Lexemes with semantic components constructing difference • Referential dissimilation and exclusion through personal and spatial reference: demonstrative and personal pronouns (‘they’, ‘those’, ‘them’); synecdochical anthroponyms (‘the German/s,’the foreigners/s’; or personified toponyms often used metonymically (‘Germany’, ‘Switzerland’) • Implicit and explicit comparisons • Antimiranda (low-value words), pejorative/negatively connotated

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>vi. Strategy of Avoidance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – suppression/ backgrounding of intra-national differences – suppression/ backgrounding of international or supranational sameness/similarity/commonality – ignoring/downplaying of extra-national heteronomy – suppression/ backgrounding of discontinuities/ disruptions <p>Vitalisation</p>		<p>attributions, derogatory (for example, ‘Krowodn’ (Croats), ‘Gypsies’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissimilative sociative formations (‘fellow citizens’ in reference to a ‘we-group’) • Terms denoting discontinuity/metaphors (‘zero hour’) • Nominalisations with agent deletion (‘liberation’) • Personifications/anthropomorphisms and other metaphors

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
c	<p>Strategies of Perpetuation</p> <p>i. Positive Self-Presentation/Strategy of Calming Down</p> <p>ii. Portrayal in Black and White (frequently in combination with positive)</p> <p>iii. Continuation – presupposition of/emphasis on positive political continuity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of the lovely idyllic place ▪ contrastive topos of comparison ▪ topos of threat ▪ topos of comparison/topos of similarity ▪ topos of definition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Referential assimilation, Miranda and positive attributions, elative • Vagueness • Referential assimilation and dissimilation, antonyms, Miranda/positive attributions and antimiranda/pejorative attributions, hyperboles • Explicit comparisons ('as...as'), implicit comparisons (analogies) • Appeal for/demand for political continuity in the future (for example, by means of the ship allegory) • Adverbs of time indicating continuity/repetition ('always') • Particles creating continuity ('as well, again, continuously')

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>iv. Defence</p> <p>v. Strategy of Avoidance - greatest possible suppression/ circumvention of the issue of change self-presentation)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of comparison ▪ <i>disaster topos</i>:rejecting an action whose consequences for a country are depicted as negative ▪ topos of threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normative-deontic modals ('must', 'should') and normative-deontic constrictions ('it is necessary') • Antimiranda/negative attributions, comparative /superlative • Negation of the necessity of a political change • Resorting to referential vagueness
d	<p>Strategies of Transformation</p> <p>i. (Possible) Positive Self-Presentation (including Presupposition of Inter-National Difference) – Emphasis on a country's model</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of comparison/topos of difference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Miranda

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>character for a continent/</p> <p>ii. Heteronomisation or Warning against heteronomy – emphasis on extra-national dependence</p> <p>– warning against loss of national autonomy</p> <p>iii. Autonomisation (As Strategy of Calming Down) – emphasis on autonomy and independence to alleviate fears of increasing heteronomy and loss of uniqueness resulting from a particular action</p> <p>iv. Discontinuating/Dissimilation – emphasis on a difference between then and now – emphasis on a necessary</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ topos of (changed) circumstances/restraints or topos of the force of facts ▪ topos of threat ▪ topos of consequence or denial/refutation of a particular <i>disaster topos</i> or topos of threat ▪ topos of history as teacher ▪ topos of favourable time ▪ topos of ‘you can’t have one without the other’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metaphors (neutrality as ‘price’, ‘tempests of the time’) • Vagueness • Euphemisms (‘80 per cent integration of the Austrian economy into the EU’) • Procatalepsis (anticipatory refutation of an opponent’s argument) • Suggestive rhetorical questions • (opaque) figura etymologica (etymological figure)(‘a crisis is also a chance in a literal

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p data-bbox="359 451 810 516">difference between now and the future</p> <p data-bbox="302 1256 810 1356">v. Devaluation/Negative Connotation of Political Continuation and Positive Connotation of Gradual or</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="842 548 1142 581">▪ topos of consequence <li data-bbox="842 586 1264 802">▪ ‘sugarcoated world’ topos as special form of the topos of consequences of propagated action: pointing out the positive consequences of a propagated action <li data-bbox="842 807 1220 839">▪ Topos of superordinate aim <li data-bbox="842 878 1115 911">▪ Topos of definition <li data-bbox="842 915 1230 948">▪ Topos of appeal to authority <li data-bbox="842 1024 1264 1131">▪ Topos of consequence: <i>disaster topos</i> or ‘sugar-coated world’ topos 	<p data-bbox="1310 451 1404 483">sense’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="1291 496 1887 613">• Metaphors (‘present prosperity is prosperity partly borrowed from our children. What has been borrowed must be returned’) <li data-bbox="1291 667 1440 699">• Emphasis <li data-bbox="1291 711 1892 786">• Normative-deontic modals (‘must’, ‘should’) or constructions (‘it is necessary’) <li data-bbox="1291 797 1453 829">• Vagueness <li data-bbox="1291 1138 1871 1294">• Negatively connotated metaphors (‘fossilised’, ‘crumbled’, ‘many well-established structures have become old and fragile under their 50-year-old patina’) <li data-bbox="1291 1305 1787 1338">• Positively and negatively connotated

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>Abrupt Change/Transformation – declaring as something as obsolete/historicising – emphasis on model character of the ‘founding generation’ in regard to their courageous and spontaneous attitude to change</p> <p>vi. Vitalisation</p>		<p>metaphors (‘the hope that fresh winds from the East will blow through Western structures’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aphorisms/saying (‘if we stop growing we stop being’) • Positively connotated personifications • (‘let’s turn the future into our friend’) • House metaphor (‘European roof’) • Path or crossroads metaphors (‘on the way to a larger Europe’, ‘Austria has come to a crossroads’, ‘to switch the points’)
e	<p>Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction</p> <p>i. Discrediting Opponents/Certain Pillars of Identity</p> <p>ii. Negative Presentation of Self/Others – disparaging the locus amoenus, even employing negative</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Topos of comparison ▪ Ad-hominem defamation ▪ Topos of terrible place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derogatory denotations of persons/ethnonyms • Derogatory metaphors (‘professional resistance fighters’, ‘charlatans’) • Insinuations by means or fictitious dialogues • Antimiranda, pejorative attributions • Lexical units with semantic components

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p>singularisation i.e. emphasis on the negative national uniqueness</p> <p>iii. Heteronomisation – emphasis on extra-national dependence and/or heteronomy and emphasis on dismantling myths against one’s will</p> <p>iv. Assimilation – emphasis on inter-national sameness/similarity/ communality (also serving the purpose of negation of national uniqueness)</p> <p>– Dissimilation/Exclusion emphasis on intra-national differences</p> <p>v. Discontinuation – emphasis on discontinuity/ disruptions</p> <p>vi. Strategy of Pronouncing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Topos of external constraints/of external force ▪ Topos of comparison (Topos of similarity) ▪ Topos of comparison (Topos of difference) ▪ Topos of threat ▪ Topos of time 	<p>constructing singularity in connection with negative attributions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metaphors (neutrality as ‘price’) • Lexical units with semantic components constructing levelling, assimilative attributions • Assimilative reference • Dissimilative reference and dissimilative and pejorative attributions/labelling (‘enemy’, ‘Tito’s partisans’) • Implicit and explicit comparisons • Obsolescence metaphor (‘There will be a time when such historians will be out of

Table 3.1: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) (Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 36-42)

No	Strategies	Argumentation Schemes (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<p style="text-align: center;">Someone/Something 'dead'</p> <p style="text-align: center;">vii. 'Cassandra' Strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Disaster topos</i> 	<p>date')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assertions through derogatory metaphors as predicates ('Vranitzky is politically dead') • Antimiranda, pejorative attributions

C. Means and forms of Realisation (The Discursive Construction of National Identity by Wodak et.al (1999, pp. 30-47)

In this section, there are various issues to look at. The use of strategies will be demonstrated through linguistic elements such as metonymy, allusions, metaphor, including lexical units, and syntactic devices as they may suggest unity, sameness, origin, continuity and so on. It is vital to examine the personal, spatial and temporal references as they also serve to construct unity, sameness, origin and the likes. In addition, the phenomenon of vagueness in referential or other expressions, euphemisms, linguistic hesitation and disruptions, linguistic slips, allusions, rhetorical questions, and the mode of representation should be looked into. Another important issue that should be observed is the linguistic representation of the social actors.

The structure of the Discourse-Historical method illustrated above would serve as a guide as not all that is explained and listed would appear in the data.

3.3 Data

The texts selection for this study is based on several criteria. Firstly, the researcher intends to look at all written news articles reporting on events or issues concerning Malaysia in *The Straits Times* of Singapore.

In retrieving articles from *The Straits Times*, the researcher had to become a member of the National Library of Singapore. The membership of the National Library of Singapore is only opened to Singapore citizens, individuals with PR

status, individuals holding work visa and their dependents. The researcher was holding a dependent's visa at the time of membership registration.

The researcher had initially decided to obtain microfiche copies from the *National Library of Singapore*. Nevertheless, the microfiche copies of certain dates were illegible for reading and analysis purposes. Henceforth, the researcher had to obtain news articles via the newspaper database retrieved from the *National Library of Singapore*. The newspaper database can be accessed by members only.

While sieving through the articles, the researcher had noticed that some of the articles, although written by different text producers, reported almost the same thing, while some recurred on other days. It was also found that several articles were merely reporting the events or issues. There were also a number of articles which the researcher found did not reflect the strategies mentioned in the framework of Wodak et. al.(1999). Therefore, the researcher downsized the number of articles to only 17 articles out of 249 articles found. This method of data selection and downsizing is in line with Wodak (1999; 2010) who suggests that selection and downsizing of data has to be according to relevant criteria. These selected articles are coded by their date of published with a code that identified the theme as per Table 4.1 on pages 62 - 68.

Secondly, the researcher had decided on *The Straits Times* newspaper of Singapore as Nielsen (2011) reported that *The Straits Times* is the most-read English newspaper in Singapore which has a readership of 34.2 percent of Singapore citizens.

The Straits Times is owned by The Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), a leading media organisation in Singapore, which is licensed to publish 12 newspapers in four languages – Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English including *The Straits Times*. Apart from newspapers, it publishes magazines and also operates two radio stations.

Further, SPH claims that *The Straits Times* has a comprehensive coverage of world news, East Asian news, Southeast Asian news, home news, sports news, financial news and lifestyle updates. It aims to provide “in-depth analyses, impactful commentaries and breaking stories” (p. 6) on events happening in Singapore, around the region and elsewhere around the world (Media Kit, 2012).

Moreover, Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) has a 40% of ownership in MediaCorp, a Singapore broadcasting company while MediaCorp has a substantial stake in SPH. Interestingly, both SPH and MediaCorp are government-linked companies and both uphold the government’s media policy as stated in 1.1.2b pages 4-5 of this research.

Thirdly, in selecting the data, the pictures accompanying the texts will not be analysed as the researcher main aim is to analyse the written texts for this study. The headlines will also not be analysed for the same reason stated initially.

Next, the researcher has not set a restriction on the length of a text i.e. number of words in a text for this research as the researcher does not want to confine the study to a limited number of texts. The researcher also believes that a short text may have

crucial data which can be analysed while a longer text may have limited data for analysis.

The data will be identified according to the dates, estimated word count, headlines, summary of the article, samples of data as well as labelled accordingly as illustrated in Table 4.1 of Chapter Four on pages 61 - 68.

This study aims to analyse any written articles on issues and events occurring in Malaysia as well as those related to Malaysia. As discussed in Chapter 1, Malaysia and Singapore share a unique relationship because both countries share a common background due to the historical background of both countries and yet both countries have since been rivals - economically and politically.

Therefore, it is due to this unique relationship between Malaysia and Singapore that the researcher had decided to select articles from the months of *November 2007 to April 2008*. It was during this time frame that there were reports in *The Straits Times* of Singapore on the dispute over the sovereignty of *Pulau Batu Putih* (also known as Pedra Branca) between Singapore and Malaysia. At that time, the bilateral relationship between both countries, were strained as both countries were fighting over Pulau Batu Putih. Immediately after the Pulau Batu Putih dispute, Malaysia was claimed to be experiencing a 'political tsunami' and there were numerous reports on the months leading to the Malaysian General Election 2008.

The researcher wishes to emphasise that the articles do not follow a particular theme as it would prevent the researcher from identifying and analysing the topics or issues which the papers are inclined to report and publish.

3.4 Procedure for Data Collection

As mentioned in the Data section, issues chosen are not confined to a specific category to enable the researcher to identify the trend of issues chosen by the newspaper. All articles pertaining to Malaysia is collected from the data base. Once the data is collected, they are sieved through to identify the trend of issues. Next, the articles are analysed with the Discourses-Historical approach method following the theoretical framework outlined in Section 3.2 Theoretical Framework and Methodology. Only the articles which are relevant to the study are catalogued by date and labelled. The list of articles taken as data is illustrated in Chapter Four, Table 4.1 on pages 55 – 61. The copies of the articles can be viewed in Appendix 1.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

As newspapers are sold to the public and meant for public viewing, it is not required to obtain permission to analyse the articles for the study.

3.6 Limitations of Study

Although this study was carefully planned, there are limitations to it. One of the limitations is that the study is confined to analysing written newspaper articles on Malaysia in *The Straits Times* only, and not any other Singapore newspapers which are readily available. Another limitation would be that the study is limited to analysing the texts of the content alone and not the pictures or the headlines accompanying the articles.

3.7 Closing Remarks

The Discourse-Historical method is one of the many approaches in CDA. The result from the analysis and the interpretation of the data is subjective; it is from the researcher's viewpoint and interpretation based on the facts, text(s) prior to the text being analysed, history, and so forth that surrounds the text. This method of analysis takes into account all facets pertaining to the text including the historical aspect in relation to a particular text; and of which exemplifies Wodak's claim that CDA should provide an interpretation that should justify theoretically.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher illustrates the findings on the articles read from November 2007 till April 2008. Only selected articles will be illustrated in this research to show the language use across articles due to the scope of the study. After analysing the articles, the researcher had found that in facilitating the analysis and discussion, the articles had to be divided into three topics which are Socio-Political Environment, Bilateral Issues, and Internal Affairs. These topics are based on the recurring common issues that each article shared with another. Two topics which seemed to be the focus of Straits Times and they are the Malaysian Elections 2008 and the Pedra Branca (Pulau Batu Puteh) issue. These two topics were categorised under the themes Socio-Political Environment and Bilateral Issues respectively.

Each theme is illustrated with an analysis documented in a table form which depicts the strategies, argumentation schemes and means of realisation used in the articles of the theme; and the interpretation of the analysis follows suit. At the end of this chapter, the overall discussion on the analysis is illustrated. The conclusion of the research is discussed in the last chapter.

With the above in mind, the researcher would like to emphasise that the analysis is mainly to analyse the discursive strategies, the argumentation schemes (*topoi*) and means and forms of realization (based on the framework of Wodak et al, 1999) applied by the authors of the articles. This researcher has no intention to compare or contrast the strategies used between one theme and another.

The data is coded by date of the article and the labels, followed by the headline of the article, summary and the samples. The data is labelled with the initials of each

theme and numbered by which the earliest date is number 01. The articles under the theme Socio-Political Environment are labelled from SPE-01 to SPE-11, while those under Bilateral Issues are from BI-01 to BI-03 and for theme Internal Affairs are IA-01 to IA-03. These articles are summarised in Table 4.1 (pages 62 – 68) below.

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
Theme: Socio-Political Environment					
1	3/3/2008 SPE-01	322	Kelantan: Uphill battle for BN to oust PAS – STATE OF THE BATTLE: Midway through the Malaysian general election campaign, Straits Times correspondent assess the sentiment on the ground of various states.	The competition between two political parties wherein the leaders of PAS were confident about retaining the state in their hands while BN leaders privately agree they are fighting an uphill battle. However, there is indication that BN might win and back-stabbing in BN is rampant.	a. ‘BN in Kelantan, led by UMNO, is also helped this time by its subdued culture of ‘cha keteng’ (back-stabbing in Kelantan dialect) where party warlords sabotage each other’s efforts.’
2	7/3/2008 SPE-02	828	Smear tactics, banner war ... all’s fair game in fight for votes	Former deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim had gone on a political campaign to attract some number of 1,000 people. It was commented that to Singaporeans, the scenes of Malaysia's political campaign is a flashback to the early days of campaigning in Singapore and different from the more orderly manner of that the Republic is now accustomed.	a. ‘To Singaporeans, the scenes of Malaysia’s latest political campaign are a throwback to the early days of campaigning in Singapore and a far cry from the more orderly system that the Republic is now accustomed to.’
3	25/3/2008 SPE-03	735	State tussle, national crisis? Impasse over appointment of Terengganu MB is another blow for PM Abdullah	The Terengganu Royal Palace has refused to endorse Abdullah’s choice of chief minister which undermined his leadership.	a. ‘Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi’s showdown with the Terengganu royal house over the choice of a menteri besar in the state is leading his administration into rocky times with the powerful Malay rulers.’

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
					b. 'It is yet another fire for the Prime Minister to douse in the aftermath of the March polls which left his ruling Barisan Nasional (BN) and administration weakened.'
4	28/3/2008 SPE-04	297	Lessons in democracy – from Taiwan and Malaysia	The same political tsunami that happened in Malaysia had, at that moment, happened in Taiwan. The ruling party in Taiwan suffered defeat and the new Taiwan leadership hopefully could institute 'middle way' between strong leadership and freewheeling pluralism.	a. 'Barely a week after a political tsunami shook Malaysia's once-formidable ruling party, a similar shake up at Taiwan's presidential saw blue skies return again to the island.'
5	28/3/2008 SPE-05	484	Abdullah to face 5party elections in December – Umno leaders reject bid to delay polls; Malaysian PM accepts Terengganu ruler's choice of chief minister	Prime Minister Abdullah was reported to be facing challenges. One of which is to face Kelantan prince Tengku Razaleigh. Abdullah also had to accept the Terengganu's palace choice of chief minister. Moreover, Abdullah had just received the resignation of three deputy ministers from his government after a mere eight days the Cabinet was formed.	a. 'Datuk Seri Abdullah Badawi has found himself besieged on many fronts after his ruling Barisan Nasional coalition suffered stunning losses in the recent general election, and could face a challenge from Kelantan prince Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, 71, for the party presidency' b. 'In what was seen as yet another blow, he announced that he had accepted the Terengganu palace's choice of chief minister.' c. 'Aside from three UMNO deputy ministers quitting the government, there have been signs of rebellion within UMNO ranks angered by the crushing electoral losses'
6	2/4/2008	390	Mahathir no longer	This article is about the former Prime Minister	a. 'Despite the baggage that the 82-year-old still

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
	SPE-06		supports Najib for prime minister	Mahathir, who had initially called his successor, Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi to resign, no longer supporting Deputy Prime Minister Najib as the next prime Minister.	<p>carries from his own years as prime minister, his attacks on his successor over the last two years have caused Abdullah Badawi serious damage.'</p> <p>b. 'The participants subsequently turned the event into an angry tirade against Abdullah Badawi and his son-in-law Khairy Jamaluddin'</p>
7	5/4/2008 SPE-07	640	Making Umno relevant to all races – Kicking off campaign for party presidency, Kelantan prince speaks of a 'supra-ethnic party'	Tengku Razaleigh had called for a remaking of UMNO as a party relevant to all races in response to the losses in the latest General Election. Tengku Razaleigh was speaking at his division in Gua Musang in his route in challenging Prime Minister Abdullah party's presidency.	a. 'He said that to non-Malays, UMNO is a fanatical Malay party prone to waving the keris to threaten other races. And to many others, it is a corrupt party filled with 'crocodiles and sharks' who lobby shamelessly for contracts.'
8	5/4/2008 SPE-08	396	Windfall for a million Perak villagers – New state government will issue land titles to them, ending their 50-year wait.	The new Perak state government was issuing permanent land titles for villages including those set up for the Chinese during the communist insurgency in the 1940s. However, this announcement had caused an uproar with MCA as the plan depicted MCA to look incompetent.	<p>a. 'The announcement was made by Perak Menteri Besar Mohammad Nizar Jamaluddin from Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), a party which BN had made out as an enemy to the Chinese for years.'</p> <p>b. 'The plan caused an earthquake in the MCA because it makes the Chinese party look incompetent'</p>
9	11/4/2008	630	Kedah Umno chiefs blame Abdullah –	Prime Minister Abdullah was blamed by the local UMNO leaders in Kedah for the party's	a. 'Instead, 'parachute candidates' were floated into parliamentary seats such as Sik, where the

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
	SPE-09		PM responsible for party's dismal performance in elections, they say	dismal performance in the latest general election in a closed-door dialogue. The Kedah UMNO members had rejected Abdullah and supported deputy president Najib and vice president Muhyiddin. Prime Minister however had blamed dismal election was sabotaged by local leaders who were not elected as candidates.	Prime Minister's own political secretary, Datuk Osman Desa stood and lost.'
10	17/4/2008 SPE-10	798	Pro-Umno press tells party: Enough is enough – Let Abdullah get on with the job, editorials say, adding that all should share the blame for election losses	Two mainstream newspaper indirectly owned by UMNO carried an identical front-page editorial telling UMNO led BN coalition to 'get on with the job'. They said it has been five weeks since 8 March polls but UMNO was still bickering, pointing fingers, battling for vengeance and doing everything but governing. UMNO has been caught in internal fighting and bell ion since the polls.	<p>a. 'UMNO has been caught in internal fighting and rebellion since the polls, with the grassroots agitating for the resignation of Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi after he led the party to a disastrous polls showing '</p> <p>b. 'The truth is that people have long been disgusted with the kind of boorish, loutish behaviour that UMNO leaders had exemplified because of their grip on power since independence in 1957, it said.'</p>
11	28/4/2008 SPE-11	730	Malaysian opposition plans 'noisy Parliament' – Lawmakers being sworn in today are no pushovers and vow to keep govt on its toes	The new Malaysian Parliament sits and will have a significant larger opposition bloc that is all set to give the ruling coalition a hard time in the legislature. The meeting is the first since last month's historic elections, which saw the opposition denying Barisan Nasional its traditional two-third majority. Besides the enlarged opposition presence, the Dewan Rakyat will also see the return of several notoriously vocal lawmakers.	<p>a. 'The recent elections also brought mavericks into the house.'</p> <p>b. 'Mr Ooi, 52, a former advertising executive, said: 'Parliament is going to be a noisy place... I think we are going to give the backbenchers a run for their money.'</p> <p>c. 'Besides the enlarged opposition presence, the</p>

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
					Dewan Rakyat (Lower House) will also see the return of several notoriously vocal lawmakers.’
Theme: Bilateral Issues					
12	1/12/2007 BI-01	1824	Win, lose or draw over Pedra Branca? – Senior Political Correspondent Lydia Lim, who covered the recent international court hearing in the dispute between Singapore and Malaysia over Pedra Branca, looks back on the case and ahead at the possible outcomes	The dispute between Malaysia and Singapore over Pedra Branca had been since 1979 when the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea negotiated a new law to govern the use of the seas and oceans. This article had illustrated arguments from Singapore and reported on the styles of both countries in presenting their arguments to the court.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. ‘Malaysia acted unilaterally, without consulting any of its neighbours, and out of step with international law.’ b. ‘He had surveyed the waters around Pedra Branca for years and immediately smelled a rat when Malaysia produced in court a photograph that exaggerated the island’s proximity to the Johor coast’ c. ‘But Malaysia decided not to wait’ d. ‘Malaysia’s new map of 1979 triggered official protests from seven of its neighbours, including Singapore, which was surprised to find Pedra Branca marked for the first time within Malaysian territorial waters’ e. ‘Malaysia’s map set a worrying precedent’ f. ‘It also marked the start of a long-drawn-out dispute between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore over sovereignty of a small rocky island at the mouth of the Singapore Strait.’ g. ‘The Malaysians did well, in my view, to

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
					<p>present a simple case ... their points were presented consistently, repeatedly, with touches of folksy humour and some well-placed analogies.</p> <p>h. Singapore, on the other hand, came across as precise, detailed and serious minded,' she says.</p> <p>i. 'Both felt authentic to me, and ultimately judges will no doubt look past style and decide on the law and the facts,' she adds.'</p>
13	13/11/2007 BI-02	480	Why Singapore is fighting to keep island	Singapore Government believes that Pedra Branca belongs to them because an important principle is at stake and that is no country should be able to suddenly and unilaterally claim its territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. Singapore believed that they were acting like any home owner would in protecting what is theirs.	a. 'But for the Singapore Government, there is an <u>important principle at stake</u> , which is that no country should be able to suddenly and unilaterally claim its territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. In this case, Singapore has held the island for some 150 years. In a way, Singapore is acting as any home owner would if his neighbour suddenly decided to encroach on his land.'
14	14/11/2007 BI-03	630	KL accuses S'pore of trying to 'subvert' the status quo	This article had reported on the arguments from Singapore and Malaysia which was presented in the international court to resolve their dispute over Pedra Branca.	a. 'Launching its case before an international court yesterday, Malaysia lost no time in attacking Singapore's claim on Pedra Branca as an attempt to overturn the status quo in the Singapore Strait.'
Theme: Internal Affairs					
15	14/2/2008	385	Secretary's bombshell –	A former secretary for prominent lawyer V.K. Lingam claimed that she has been threatened	a. 'Her sensational claim was the most damaging testimony so far against Datuk Lingam, who

Table 4.1: Data - List of Articles

No	Date of Article & Code	Estimated Word Count	Headline	Summary	Example
	IA-01		'Threats' after she alleged KL lawyer penned judgment	after giving damaging testimony about him pertaining to an allegation of corruption on brokering judicial appointment.	has been accused of brokering judicial appointments with his high-level political and business connections.'
16	17/4/2008 IA-02	714	Abdullah to unveil judicial reforms today – Judicial Commission to appoint judges. Greater independence for the judiciary Financial compensation to sacked judges. Expression of regret by PM Abdullah	Prime Minister Abdullah was to unveil major reforms to the judiciary system of the country in the midst of fighting back stiff opposition from his own Cabinet. The reforms would include the setting up of a Judicial Commission that will be responsible for the selection and the promotion of judges. The government's effort to make amends to the jurist disgraced by the events in 1988 when the judiciary system suffered a severe blow when it clashed with former Prime Minister Mahathir. The event led to suspension of sic Supreme Court judges and subsequently removal of three of them.	a. 'The amounts are being worked out,' he said without elaborating. Malaysia's once-robust judiciary was dealt a severe blow when it clashed with former premier Mahathir Mohamad in the late 1980s.' b. 'Fighting back stiff opposition from his own Cabinet and administration, Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi is set to unveil major reforms to the country's much-maligned judiciary.'
17	21/4/2008 IA-03	299	Shoot-out in KL airport heist: Four arrested	Malaysian police have arrested four suspects in connection with S\$1.5 million heist at Kuala Lumpur International Airport which left five people injured after a dramatic shoot-out. Armed robbers ambushed the money changers and their security guard outside the airport departure hall in a holdup on 9 April. Police have not ruled out the involvement of a staff member employed by the two money changers.	a. 'The heist has highlighted the country's worsening crime situation and raised questions about airport security.'

4.2 Socio-Political Environment

The recurring issue related to Malaysia at that time was concerning politics. This is not surprising as the months of November 2007 till April 2008 in which the data for the study was collected were the months leading to the 12th Malaysian General Election held on 8th of March 2008. Numerous events happened during these months and appeared to have been reported - from riots, to racial biasness and arguments among the various political parties, namely Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), Barisan Nasional and Democratic Action Party (DAP).

During the months leading to the Malaysian Elections 2008, various episodes occurred. The Malaysian Prime Minister then, Dato' Seri Abdullah Badawi was seen, according to Helen Ting (2009), as an incompetent leader, racial tensions grew due to HINDRAF's (The Hindu Rights Actions Force) allegations concerning inequalities and marginalisation of the Malaysian Indian communities; and the unexpected loss of votes of the UMNO party to their opponents.

Dato' Seri Abdullah Badawi was seen as an incompetent leader as 'Dissident voices among the rank and file revolt against what they perceived as incompetent leadership' and this led to Premier Abdullah being pressured to step down by his critics within the UMNO party (Helen Ting, 2009).

HINDRAF is a coalition of 30 Hindu Non-Governmental organizations committed to the preservation of Hindu community rights and heritage in multiracial Malaysia (Lai Fong Yang & Md Sidin Ahmad Ishak, 2012). According to the Malaysian

newspaper The Star, (HINDRAF) has been declared an illegal organization from Wednesday, October 15th, 2008 by Malaysia Home Minister Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Albar (The Star, 2008). Reports on these three episodes were aplenty which suggested that political issues of Malaysia are of an interest to the Singapore newspapers.

At a glance, the articles written used various linguistic elements such as modal verbs, active and passive sentence structures to describe the events, scenario and the social actors. Interestingly, the articles had displayed lexical items that portrayed the election scene, especially during the Malaysian Election 2008, as unstable and disorderly. Evidently, the text producers had, in general, applied various strategies in many circumstances.

However, the most prevalent strategies used in the discourse was *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction*; and *Constructive Strategies*. They appeared to have been adopted the most by the text producers in reporting the events pertaining to the Malaysia's General Election. The text producer had also applied intertextuality in illustrating the political news and events. Comments and points of view from the public were quoted in the texts. These samples of intertextuality adopted appear to insinuate unsettling, chaotic issues and illustrate questionable icons. The bona fide intentions of these text producers are unexposed. Nonetheless, the researcher hopes to reveal the reasons based on the discourse of the text with Wodak's framework.

4.2.1 Analysis

According to Wodak et al (1999), *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* are aimed at dismantling and disparaging the sections of an existing national identity construct that is normally irreplaceable. *Constructive Strategies*, on the other hand, strives on building and ascertaining one national identity by promoting unification, identification, solidarity and also differentiation. Both strategies were reflected in the texts that reported on the political events which were related to the Malaysia 12th General Elections 2008. These strategies have been identified to illustrate the ideology which the text producer had wanted to impose onto the readers. In this context, the text producer had chosen the *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* to depict the chaotic and unsettling political events occurring in Malaysia during that period of time while the *Constructive Strategies* had been chosen to compare the chaos of Malaysia's 12th General Election 2008 that was currently happening at that period of time to the calmness of Singapore's General Election.

Consequently, the representation can damage Malaysia's integrity and image as a country or otherwise. Such portrayal can be seen in Table 1.1 and a detailed explanation on the findings will follow. Under both of these categories i.e. *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* and *Constructive Strategies* are various sub-strategies. A few of these strategies have been adopted by the text producers in reporting Malaysia's General Election.

Complementing these strategies are argumentation schemes such as topos of a terrible place, comparison, threat, and disaster that display an array of means of realisation including negative and positive metaphors, adjectives, and derogatory denotations etc.

The text producers refer to individuals or groups and places of events with negative representations of metaphors and connotations which are normally associated with destruction, chaos, disruption and war.

The argumentation schemes and examples from the data are illustrated in Table 4.2. The interpretation of the data is further explained after Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Politics

Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Discrediting Opponents/ Certain Pillars of Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Topos of comparison 	<p>‘The recent elections also brought mavericks into the house.’ – (28/4/2008/SPE-11)</p> <p>‘‘The truth is that people have long been disgusted with the kind of boorish, loutish behaviour that UMNO leaders had exemplified because of their grip on power since independence in 1957,’ it said.’ - (17/4/2008/SPE-10)</p> <p>‘He said that to non-Malays, UMNO is a fanatical Malay party prone to waving the keris to threaten other races. And to many others, it is a corrupt party filled with ‘crocodiles and sharks’ who lobby shamelessly for contracts.’ – (5/4/2008/SPE-07)</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Disaster topos</i> 	<p>‘The plan caused an earthquake in the MCA because it makes the Chinese party look incompetent’ - (5/4/2008/SPE-08)</p> <p>‘Despite the baggage that the 82-year-old still carries from his own years as prime minister, his attacks on his successor over the last two years have caused Abdullah Badawi serious damage.’ – (2/4/2008/SPE-06)</p> <p>‘Abdullah Badawi has found himself besieged on</p>

Table 4.2: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Politics

Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
		<p>many fronts after his ruling Barisan Nasional coalition suffered stunning losses in the recent general election, and could face a challenge from Kelantan prince Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, 71, for the party presidency’ - (28/3/2008/SPE-05)</p> <p>‘In what was seen as yet another blow, he announced that he had accepted the Terengganu palace’s choice of chief minister.’ - (28/3/2008/SPE-05)</p> <p>‘Aside from three UMNO deputy ministers quitting the government, there have been signs of rebellion within UMNO ranks angered by the crushing electoral losses’ - (28/3/2008/SPE-05)</p>
<p>Negative Presentation of Self/Others</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - disparaging the locus amoenus, even employing negative singularisation i.e. emphasis on the negative national uniqueness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Topos of terrible place 	<p>‘Mr Ooi, 52, a former advertising executive, said: ‘Parliament is going to be a noisy place... I think we are going to give the backbenchers a run for their money.’’ - (28/4/2008/SPE-11)</p> <p>‘Besides the enlarged opposition presence, the Dewan Rakyat (Lower House) will also see the return of several notoriously vocal lawmakers.’ - (28/4/2008/SPE-11)</p>

Table 4.2: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Politics

Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Topos of threat 	<p>‘Instead, ‘parachute candidates’ were floated into parliamentary seats such as Sik, where the Prime Minister’s own political secretary, Datuk OSman Desa stood and lost.’ - (11/4/2008/SPE-09)</p> <p>‘BN in Kelantan, led by UMNO, is also helped this time by its subdued culture of ‘cha keting’ (back-stabbing in Kelantan dialect) where party warlords sabotage each other’s efforts.’ - (3/3/2008/SPE-01)</p> <p>‘The announcement was made by Perak Menteri Besar Mohammad Nizar Jamaluddin from Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), a party which BN had made out as an enemy to the Chinese for years.’ - (5/4/2008/SPE-08)</p> <p>‘The participants subsequently turned the event into an angry tirade against Abdullah Badawi and his son-in-law Khairy Jamaluddin’ – (2/4/2008/SPE-06)</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Disaster topos</i> 	<p>‘Barely a week after a political tsunami shook Malaysia’s once-formidable ruling party, a similar shake up at Taiwan’s presidential saw blue skies</p>

Table 4.2: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Politics

Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
		<p>return again to the island.’ - (28/3/2008/SPE-04)</p> <p>‘UMNO has been caught in internal fighting and rebellion since the polls, with the grassroots agitating for the resignation of Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi after he led the party to a disastrous polls showing ’ – (17/4/2008/SPE-10)</p> <p>‘Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi’s showdown with the Terengganu royal house over the choice of a menteri besar in the state is leading his administration into rocky times with the powerful Malay rulers.’ - (25/3/2008/SPE-03)</p> <p>‘It is yet another fire for the Prime Minister to douse in the aftermath of the March polls which left his ruling Barisan National (BN) and administration weakened.’ - (25/3/2008/SPE-03)</p>

Table 4.2: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Politics

Constructive Strategies		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Dissimilation/Exclusion and Discontinuation - Discontinuation/emphasis on a difference between then and now	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Topos of comparison/topos of difference 	'To Singaporeans, the scenes of Malaysia's latest political campaign are a throwback to the early days of campaigning in Singapore and a far cry from the more orderly system that the Republic is now accustomed to.' – (7/3/2008/SPE-02)

4.2.2 Interpretation

The interpretation of the analysis is as follows:

4.2.2.1 Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction

There are three sub-strategies which have been used by the text producers. These three sub-strategies, of which are the text producers' preferred strategies, would include the *Strategies of Discrediting Opponents/Certain Pillars of Identity*, and *Negative Presentation of Self/Others*. These strategies are used to convey various implications and they can be seen as follows:

i. The Strategies of Discrediting Opponents/Certain Pillars of Identity

In using the *Strategies of Discrediting Opponents/Certain Pillars of Identity*, the argumentation schemes or topoi, namely topoi of comparison and *disaster topos*, were applied.

In the topoi of comparison, the means of realisation are reflected through labelling the social actors and describing their behaviours with metaphors, words, phrases and/or sentences.

To portray the opponents as non-conformists, the text producer labelled social actors as '**mavericks**' in the statement, 'The recent elections also brought **mavericks** into the house.' (28/4/2008). The social actors in this article refer

to political party candidates who have joined the opposing party. Labelling them as mavericks suggests that the election as a political event had brought in rebels – people who would challenge and question the administration. The text producer had even provided an example to illustrate ‘maverick’ i.e. prominent blogger, Jeff Ooi, who wrote anti-government articles and Mr Tian Chua, who was arrested for trying to enter the Parliament building to protest against a constitutional amendment which is alleged to restrict civil rights. The presence of these ‘mavericks’ suggests that the election had caused some disorder in the administration.

Intertextuality was present, wherein a text producer had reported Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah’s (Member of Parliament for Gua Musang, Kelantan) comment on UMNO in portraying the social actors in the election. The comment made by Tengku Razaleigh came when he challenged the premier, Abdullah Badawi, for the party presidency. He claimed that “to non-Malays, UMNO is a fanatical Malay party prone to waving the keris to threaten other races. And to many others, it is a corrupt party filled with ‘**crocodiles**’ and ‘**sharks**’ who lobby shamelessly for contracts.” – (5/4/08).

Crocodiles and sharks are both predators and they are known to feed on their prey. Henceforth, describing the party is

filled with crocodiles and sharks, Tengku Razaleigh is disclosing that this group of people are perceived by the Malay society, as greedy and exploitative people. This suggests that they are corrupt and would seize any opportunity to make riches for themselves which includes ‘lobbying for contracts from the government’ even if it means abusing their power; and being unethical. The presence of this comment in the text appears to be illustrating the UMNO members as unethical and fallacious and such members of a political party exist in Malaysia.

Another example of intertextuality was noted from the same text producer, wherein producer had taken a comment from an article in the *News Straits Times of Malaysia (NST)*. New Straits Times is the oldest newspapers in Malaysia that is owned by *New Straits Time Press Sdn Bhd*. The comment had described the behaviour of UMNO leaders - ‘The truth is that people have long been disgusted with the kind of **boorish, loutish** behaviour that UMNO leaders had exemplified because of their grip on power since independence in 1957,’ it said. ’- (17/4/2008). Both adjectives mean the same and are used to describe a person as being an ill-mannered and rude bully. They have been used by NST to describe the UMNO leaders’ behaviour on the power that they have had since independence in 1957. Hence, implying that

the UMNO leaders have been abusing their positions as leaders by controlling and running the country in a manner that appeals to them, without considering whether it would benefit the nation or the country.

Intertextuality in the text appears to echo and reaffirm the type of political party members, specifically UMNO members, in Malaysia as the comments are descriptions of these UMNO members. These comments give them a negative representation because the usage of ‘boorish’ and ‘loutish’ illustrates the unacceptable behaviour of such leaders are at the helm of the Malaysian government administration and therefore, reflects such atrocities were taking place.

The second argumentation scheme used for the *Strategies of Discrediting Opponents/Certain Pillars of Identity* was the *disaster topos* and it was portrayed through lexical items which reflected chaos and natural disaster.

The text producer had selected ‘**earthquake**’, a natural disaster, in the statement - ‘The plan caused an **earthquake** in the MCA because it makes the Chinese party look incompetent’ - (5/4/2008).

The sample taken above is from the article which was reporting on the new land titles which were planned to be issued by the new Perak state government to a million Perak villagers after a 50-year wait.

The plan which the text producer had referred to was a move proposed to issue permanent titles to villagers notably the Chinese villagers. These Chinese villages were set up in Perak during the emergency period. This move had created an uproar among the MCA members as it would depict the MCA party as an inept party if such a plan was to take place.

MCA will appear inept as during the administration of Barisan Nasional (of which consists of 10 component parties wherein 3 major component parties are United Malaya National Organisation. (UMNO), Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)), MCA had failed to issue the Chinese villages land titles despite the fact that the villages had been set up more than 50 years ago. Such a move would not only make the MCA appear inefficient, it would also reveal that MCA did not champion the rights of their followers as it should. As a result of this inefficiency and incompetency, there is a huge possibility that the followers will vote for the opponents as

proposing to issue permanent titles to the Chinese villages was one of the agendas of the opponents.

Henceforth, the text producer compared MCA's reaction to the plan with a natural disaster to reflect the great impact of the opponents' proposal onto the MCA party members and ultimately, created an upheaval amongst the MCA members.

For *disaster topos*, 3 examples were found of which two of them reflect the same theme. These three examples were in one article (28/3/08) that reported the events which took place after the UMNO leaders rejected the bid to delay party polls.

The text producer had chosen '**besieged**', '**suffered**', '**rebellion**' and '**another blow**' to describe the challenges which Abdullah had to face in the examples below,

Sample 1

'Abdullah Badawi has found himself **besieged** on many fronts after his ruling Barisan Nasional coalition **suffered** stunning losses in the recent general election, and could face a challenge from Kelantan prince Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, 71, for the party presidency' - (28/3/08);

And

Sample 2

‘In what was seen as yet **another blow**, he announced that he had accepted the Terengganu palace’s choice of chief minister.’ - (28/3/08);

And

Example 3

‘Aside from three UMNO deputy ministers quitting the government, there have been signs of **rebellion** within UMNO ranks angered by the crushing electoral losses’- (28/3/08)

All the statements above express the challenges faced by Abdullah as the terms used - ‘**besieged**’, ‘**suffered**’, ‘**rebellion**’ and ‘**another blow**’ are often associated to disasters, fights, arguments and conflicts. Therefore, it appears the text producer is insinuating that these ‘disasters’ occurred during Abdullah’s leadership in UMNO and it reflects an administration that is in turmoil. Furthermore, the text producer had indicated the resignation of UMNO deputy ministers and internal rebellion in Example 3, demonstrates that there is conflict within the party itself. Henceforth, by using these terms ‘**besieged**’, ‘**suffered**’, ‘**rebellion**’ and ‘**another blow**’ in the text, the text producer portrays that UMNO, at that juncture, is experiencing a crisis and the leader, Abdullah, is facing a lot of challenges under his leadership. The use of such terms reflects the predicament the Malaysia government is experiencing at the moment. It

reflects instability within the administration and thus, discredits both, UMNO as a political party and Abdullah Badawi's leadership qualities in UMNO as well.

In reporting the reaction of the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr Mahathir, towards Abdullah Badawi, the text producer commented that Tun Dr Mahathir was constantly disagreeing with his successor, suggesting that Tun Dr Mahathir opposed Abdullah Badawi - 'Despite the baggage that the 82-year-old still carries from his own years as prime minister, his **attacks** on his successor over the last two years have caused Abdullah Badawi **serious damage**.' – (2/4/2008).

In this sample, the terms '**attacks**' and '**serious damage**' connote brutality and disaster which magnified the impact of Tun Dr Mahathir's criticisms on Abdullah Badawi's reputation. Tun Dr Mahathir had constantly criticised Abdullah Badawi's administration the moment he did not follow through Tun Dr Mahathir's projects, such as the crooked bridge linking Johor causeway and Singapore, and the modern double railway that would link Johor and Padang Besar in Peninsular Malaysia, which he had left. Although, Tun Dr Mahathir had stepped down as Malaysia's Prime Minister in 2003, his influence over the minds of Malaysians

was still very strong. (Puyok, 2008). Hence, with the use of such terms, ‘**attacks**’ and ‘**serious damage**’, it reflects the degree of Tun Dr Mahathir’s criticisms on Abdullah Badawi’s leadership would be detrimental to his reputation as a leader.

The text producers had illustrated the social actors, namely, the MCA and UMNO parties, Abdullah Badawi and Mahathir Mohamad by using the strategies of discrediting pillars of identity with the argumentation schemes of topos of comparison and *disaster topos*. The samples for the aforesaid argumentation schemes connote a negative representation of the social actors as they are compared to animal metaphors – ‘**crocodiles**’ and ‘**sharks**’ (5/4/2008) which are predators by nature; and their behaviour is described with unfavourable adjectives. In addition, the events or situations that the social actors are involved in are described critically such as ‘**earthquake**’, ‘**besieged**’, and ‘**rebellion**’ (28/3/2008). The descriptions, henceforth, give reasons for readers to doubt the capabilities of the social actors as leaders of the Malaysia Government as they are described as unethical which suggest that their credibility as leaders of the country is questionable. Furthermore, the descriptions of events and predicament the leaders are involved in allow Malaysia to be perceived as a country which is politically unstable and unsafe for trade,

visits, business endeavours and etc., thus smearing the reputation of Malaysia as a country.

ii. Negative Presentation of Self/Others

Under the strategy of *Negative Presentation of Self/Others*, the topoi of terrible place, comparison, threat and disaster are the argumentation schemes that depict social actors, events and scenarios.

For the Topos of a Terrible Place, the text producer had illustrated the topoi with intertextuality wherein a comment made by Mr Ooi, a prominent blogger and a new opposition member ‘Parliament is going to be a **noisy place**... I think we are going to give the backbenchers a run for their money.’ (28/4/2008) was included in the text. He predicted that the Parliament will no longer be calm and orderly as a result of the recent election as the opposition plans to raise issues concerning government sponsored bills, corruption and transparency.

Previously, as the text producer had stated, the prospect of government sponsored bills being defeated would be ‘unthinkable just a few months ago when BN controlled 90 per cent of the seats in Parliament’ (28/4/2008). However, now that the new members of the Parliament includes the

return of ‘**notoriously vocal lawmakers**’ as indicated in the statement, ‘Besides the enlarged opposition presence, the Dewan Rakyat (Lower House) will also see the return of several **notoriously vocal lawmakers.**’ – (28/4/2008), and the fact that 82 seats of the new parliament are taken by opposition alliance known as Pakatan Rakyat which denied BN the traditional two-thirds majority; the Parliament will witness disputes, arguments and disagreements in the meetings.

The text producer illustrated the parliament as a place that it is in chaos and turmoil with topos of terrible place to give a negative representation to the new Parliament as well as suggesting that the Parliament is not a safe place to be at the moment.

The other topoi used in reflecting the strategy that is adopted by the text producers is the topos of threat. The first example of topos of threat is in the text producer’s illustration in naming Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS) as the ‘**enemy**’ to the Chinese in the statement, ‘The announcement was made by Perak Menteri Besar Mohammad Nizar Jamaluddin from Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), a party which BN had made out as an **enemy** to the Chinese for years.’ - (5/4/2008).

As with all political parties, BN and PAS have always been rivals as according to Liow (2003), PAS is a political party which advocates an administration that adheres to the principles and teachings of Islam (Parti Islam Semalaysia (PAS), n.d.). As such PAS always points out the ‘corporate bailouts, financial scandals involving government agencies, ill-treatment of political detainees, and the state’s manipulation of the legal system to secure the party’s interests as evidence both of UMNO’s disregard for Islamic principles of justice and the need to institute Syariah law to eradicate these problems’ in Malaysia. While UMNO distinguishes itself “as the “progressive” and “moderate” protectors of “correct” Islam, as opposed to the Islamic opposition who are “conservative”, “radical”, and even “deviationist” proponents of “wrong” Islam”. The contradiction in the approaches of teachings of Islam between both parties suggests the reason for the text producer to use the term ‘enemy’ in the statement to insinuate that BN has been using PAS as an instrument to intimidate the Chinese community in Malaysia which therefore gives a negative representation towards BN. Therefore, labelling PAS as ‘enemy’ provides a negative representation towards PAS wherein the text producer is depicting that PAS had been identified as the enemy to the Chinese by BN. The usage of ‘enemy’ here is to illustrate disorder and disunity between a political party with the public

as well as the state of the relationship between these two political parties.

In another sample, the text producer had illustrated the appearance of someone from outside the constituency with the idiom ‘parachute candidate’ in the statement, ‘Instead, **‘parachute candidates’** were floated into parliamentary seats such as Sik, where the Prime Minister’s own political secretary, Datuk Osman Desa stood and lost.’ - (11/4/2008). This sample was taken from the article which had reported on the dissatisfaction among the people on the selection of candidates for election. The people were unhappy as they were not properly consulted concerning the candidates for election including the appearance of some of the candidates.

As a democratic country, the selection of candidates should have followed the majority and been done fairly, i.e. the people should have been consulted. However, the opposite happened. These appearance of **‘parachute candidates’** implied that it was an unplanned agenda, without any strategy, that they were brought in without any indication and came unannounced at the last hour, out of nowhere.

Therefore, by illustrating the candidates as ‘parachute candidates’ insinuates a threat to the party and consequently, suggests that these candidates were not welcomed by the

people, in which, it became a risky element to the party itself. The appearance of these ‘parachute candidates’ had resulted in a loss in the electoral vote of the party. Indirectly, it resonates a negative representation to the political party UMNO as well as the credibility of political leaders in Malaysia.

The phrase ‘**party warlords**’ in the statement ‘BN in Kelantan, led by UMNO, is also helped this time by its subdued culture of ‘**cha keting**’ (sic) (back-stabbing in Kelantan dialect) where party warlords sabotage each other’s efforts.’ - (3/3/2008) was another term used by the text producer when referring to prominent members of UMNO. Such a referent suggests that they are the people who control the UMNO party and have been back-stabbing each other. Labelling these social actors as ‘**party warlords**’ describes the character of some of the UMNO members reflect the intention of the text producer. Here, it appears that the text producer had adopted the phrase ‘party warlords’ as a topos of threat to portray some of the UMNO party members are in control of the party. These members appear to dictate other UMNO members and the party’s course of action as well as sabotaging each other’s efforts. Hence, the text producer seemed to impose implicitly a negative depiction of the

UMNO members and the political scene in Malaysia by using the term ‘party warlords’ as a topos of threat.

In the sample - ‘The participants subsequently turned the event into **an angry tirade** against Abdullah Badawi and his son-in-law Khairy Jamaluddin’ – (2/4/2008) the text producer had also used the topos of threat with the phrase ‘**an angry tirade**’ which seemed to imply that the participants were furious with Abdullah Badawi as a leader as well as his son-in-law, Khairy Jamaluddin. The text producer had reported that the ‘angry tirade’ occurred when Tun Dr Mahathir urged the participants to request for an open contest for party president in an event that was held to analyse the electoral losses. Khairy Jamaluddin became the target because his swift rise within UMNO, and being the Special Advisor to the Prime Minister; as well as undertaking the post of deputy head of UMNO Youth soon after being the son-in-law of the former premier had led to a lot of discontentment in Abdullah Badawi’s leadership (Liow, 2006).

The phrase ‘angry tirade’ also insinuates retaliation against both Abdullah Badawi and Khairy Jamaluddin, and as such, the phrase gave a negative connotation onto them which subsequently, served as a threat to their reputations and raised doubts in their credibility as leaders in the UMNO party.

Another topos employed was the *disaster topos* which was used through Samples 1 and 2 below:

Sample 1

‘Barely a week after a **political tsunami** shook Malaysia’s once-formidable ruling party, a similar shake up at Taiwan’s presidential saw blue skies return again to the island.’ - (28/3/2008)

And

Sample 2

‘UMNO has been caught in internal fighting and rebellion since the polls, with the grassroots agitating for the resignation of Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi after he led the party to a **disastrous polls showing**’ – (17/4/2008)

Both seem to be suggesting the conflicts that had happened, i.e. ‘political tsunami’ and ‘disastrous polls showing’ resulted in adversity following the election.

The metaphor ‘**political tsunami**’ in Sample 1 was coined by *The Star* (March 9, 2008) and adopted by the text producer in the article. The term ‘tsunami’ itself is a disaster that is a result of accumulated energy (very similar to the energy stored in a compressed spring) that overrides the earth plate over a long period of time - decades or even centuries. (Geology.com, n.d.) As such, describing the results of the electoral poll in Malaysia as a political tsunami suggests that there were a lot of disconcerting issues which amplified over

the years under the ruling of Barisan Nasional (BN). The issues which had built up over the years include the dissatisfaction among the non-Malays and non-bumiputras concerning the New Economic Policy (NEP) (sons of soil), (Chin & Wong, 2009) and Khairy Jamaluddin's (who is also Abdullah's son-in-law) meteoric rise within UMNO (Liw, 2006). The political tsunami had illustrated a country in turmoil and managed to upset the 'once-formidable ruling party' – Barisan Nasional. Barisan Nasional or BN of which, had always been the ruling party since 1974. The changes in the results of the 2008 General Elections denied BN of the traditional two-thirds majority revealed a drastic change and it shocked the ruling party as it was an unexpected outcome (Sivamurugan Pandian, 2010).

This 'political tsunami' was employed by the text producer to compare Taiwan's political situation in which, such a comparison is enough to make an adverse impact on the reader. Describing the result of the electoral poll as a 'political tsunami' further suggests the political situation in Malaysia at that particular time had illustrated the aftermath as chaotic and unstable, indicating that the national security of Malaysia is at risk.

The 'disastrous polls showing' was the term that described the results of the elections and 'internal fighting and

rebellion' became the result of the 'disastrous polls' which UMNO is involved in. The text producer appears to indicate that the UMNO party members have been in disagreement since the polls, thus revealing members of the UMNO party have not been in tandem since the results of the election polls. UMNO has also appeared to blame Abdullah Badawi for the disastrous loss in the election. Furthermore, describing the state of affairs within the UMNO party as being caught in 'internal fighting and rebellion' seem to reflect poorly of UMNO's credibility in leading a country. Henceforth, the text producer has used the phrases, 'internal fighting and rebellion', 'political tsunami' and 'disastrous polls showing' to reflect *disaster topos* as a strategy to give a negative representation on the UMNO party as all three phrases are referents to chaos, disagreements and unsettling disputes.

In the statement, 'Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi's **showdown** with the Terengganu royal house over the choice of a menteri besar in the state is leading his administration into rocky times with the powerful Malay rulers.' (25/3/08), the text producer appeared to have used the word 'showdown' to reflect the disagreement between Abdullah Badawi and the Sultan of Terengganu. The text producer then referred the showdown as a crisis by describing it with the metaphor 'fire' in another statement - 'It is yet another **fire**

for the Prime Minister to douse in the aftermath of the March 8 polls which left his ruling Barisan Nasional (BN) and administration weakened.’ (25/3/08).

The term ‘showdown’ was used to describe the disagreement on the candidate for the post of Menteri Besar (Chief Executive of the state government) between Abdullah Badawi and the Terengganu royal house. According to Malaysia’s *The Star* newspaper, dated 23 March 2008, Universiti Teknologi Mara Law professor, Dr Shad Saleem Faruqi commented that the Sultan of any state in Malaysia has discretionary powers on electing the *Menteri Besar* of the state but this discretion is not absolute. The Sultan is not bound to listen to the advice of UMNO divisions or the Federal Government but he has to listen to the state assembly. The Terengganu royal house, however, had insisted on choosing Datuk Ahmad Said as *Menteri Besar* and refused to have Datuk Seri Idris Jusoh, of whom Abdullah Badawi had decided on, as the *Menteri Besar* of Terengganu.

The term ‘showdown’ mentioned in the statement seemed to have been adopted to illustrate the intensity of the dispute as it revealed that the Terengganu Royal house was not going to concede in their decision of choosing Datuk Ahmad Said. While the metaphor ‘fire’, was to denote the severity of the

dispute which Abdullah Badawi had to attend to and resolve. Therefore, the 'showdown' appears to be a threat to Abdullah Badawi's position as the leader of Barisan Nasional and Prime Minister of Malaysia, which subsequently gives a damaging impact on Abdullah Badawi's leadership and his administration.

4.2.2.2 Constructive Strategy

The constructive strategy was applied and depicted through the sub-strategy - Dissimilation/Exclusion and Discontinuation - that focuses on the discontinuation/emphasis on a difference between now and then. The argumentation scheme identified for this sub-strategy is Topos of comparison/topos of difference.

The text producer had compared Singapore's political campaign to Malaysia's in the comment 'To Singaporeans, the scenes of Malaysia's latest political campaign are a throwback to the **early days** of campaigning in Singapore and a **far cry** from the more **orderly** system that the Republic is now accustomed to' (7/3/2008). Based on the text producer's comment, the current political campaigns in Singapore appeared to be organised in a calm and orderly manner in contrast with the campaigns in Malaysia. The depiction of comparison was achieved by referring the scenario of the political campaigns in Malaysia, at that moment, to the electoral campaigns in Singapore during the 'early days' i.e. 1957 & 1958,

whereby Kuomintang (KMT) and Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce (the Chamber) were competing for votes and many allegations were exchanged between the two parties (Vissher, 2002). The text producer had also stated with the idiom, 'far cry', to compare the situation of the political campaign in Malaysia to Singapore and also to reveal that the political campaign in Singapore has changed since the 'early days' and become more 'orderly'. The text producer seemed to be insinuating that the political campaign in Malaysia at that point of time as very uncivilised, chaotic and disorderly while Singapore's political campaign has evolved and become civil and peaceful.

4.2.3 Summary

To summarise, the text producers had applied *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction*; and *Constructive Strategies* through lexical choices and syntactical structures to illustrate the events, social actors and situations that were pertaining to the political situation of Malaysia.

The text producers appear to have applied the *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* in illustrating the political party candidates, incidents, events and the behaviour of the party members with adjectives and metaphors, which share a common theme i.e. destruction, turmoil, unrest, disaster and conflict. In describing social actors – political leaders and party members, the text producers had depicted them with metaphors and labels such as mavericks, crocodile and sharks, notoriously vocal law makers,

enemy, parachute candidates and party warlords; as well as described the behaviour of UMNO leaders with adjectives such as boorish and loutish.

These depictions of lexical items and phrases describe people with offensive behaviour as they are often associated with negativity, for example, the party members of UMNO were denoted as ‘crocodiles and sharks’, a metaphor, in which likens the behaviour of the party members to these predators that feed on their prey. Indirectly, the metaphor is suggesting that the UMNO party members are individuals who are vicious and will do anything at any cost including bribery and blackmailing for personal gains and to get votes. Ironically, such behaviour is unacceptable as party members have been given the trust and responsibility to lead and manage the government with sincerity and without abusing their power. As members of UMNO party, they are to observe the party’s constitution in which it is clearly stipulated that the UMNO party is a political party that ‘UMNO is a political party that strives to achieve national aspirations for the benefits of the people, religion and country’ of Article 3 Principle and Directions; as well as to serve the public as indicated in Article 6 under 6.1.6 under UMNO’s constitution. (UMNO-online.com, n.d.).

In describing the behaviour of the UMNO leaders is ‘boorish, loutish’ when commenting on the state of disgust among the people of Malaysia which the UMNO leaders had exemplified during their reign of power since 1957 - (17.4.2008), the text producer had applied intertextuality by taking a comment from the *New Straits Times* of Malaysia. The text producer had chosen a statement which expressed the adjectives – boorish and loutish with

the verb 'disgust' to describe the people's feelings towards the UMNO leaders and simultaneously intensifies the negative representation of the UMNO leaders. Both the adjectives, 'boorish' and 'loutish', denote contemptible and ill-mannered behaviour and describing the UMNO leaders with such portrayals gives a negative connotation towards the leaders in the UMNO party and thus, influence the reader into believing the UMNO party is being led by people of such behaviour. Once again, this does not concur with the Codes of Ethics of UMNO i.e. Article 1 under 1.1.7 Always show good character (UMNO-online.com, n.d.).

Therefore, as these social actors i.e. party members and leaders are involved in the government coalition party and opposition parties, labelling and describing them critically portray them as the antagonist in the political scene in Malaysia. In the field of journalism, the ultimate achievement in the area of politics is 'creating an alliance between journalists and the public' (Iggers, J., 1998, p. 141).

The text producers appeared to have also applied the *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* in illustrating situations and aftermaths and their cause and effects with phrases and lexical items that represent an unfavourable environment. Among the phrases and terms used to describe situations are 'noisy place', 'besieged'; and in depicting aftermaths, political tsunami and earthquake were used in the texts by the text producers.

The text producer had again employed intertextuality in describing the situation in Parliament after the election by embedding a statement made by Mr Ooi - "Parliament is going to be a **noisy place**..." This suggests that prior to the unprecedented results of the 2008 General Election polls, Parliament had been a place where disagreements and debates were minimal, and composed and contained. However, the 2008 General Elections had an adverse effect on the Parliament wherein the situation was described with the phrase '**noisy place**' – predicting that Parliament will be disorderly and in chaos due to the results of the electoral votes. It appears that the text producer had purposefully embedded quote to emphasise the effect that the elections had on the people and the political parties. The outcome of the elections creates a grave impact onto the concerned parties and the text producer had chosen a statement made by a political party member to describe the intensity of the situation to reflect the situation.

What is most apparent is that the quotes taken to describe the situation and also to illustrate the social actors, which were mentioned earlier, are statements that provide negative representations onto the election and the people involved. As Fairclough (1992) states that intertextuality assimilates texts from other sources to generate new texts and therefore, contribute to the effectiveness of the new text (p.63), the text producers had incorporated statements made by political leaders and the New Straits Times of Malaysia to illustrate the impact of the 2008 General Elections and the results towards the people and the political parties.

The text producers had also chosen two natural disasters i.e. tsunami and earthquake to describe two different aftermaths i.e the unexpected results of the electoral polls and the response due to a plan to issue permanent titles to Chinese villagers, respectively. Both tsunami and earthquake are the result of built up energy and stress in the earth's crust (Federal Emergency Management Agency & Geological Society of Australia, n.d.). Furthermore, both disasters will cause chaos, displacements, and severity. Borrowing the terms to describe the situations reveals the intensity of the underlying issues which had led to the outcome of the electoral polls as well as the result of the plan to issue permanent titles to the Chinese villagers. Such a depiction and comparison reveals the extremity of the impact of such outcomes and therefore, it lends an unfavourable insight on the situation of the general elections to the readers of the texts.

The *Constructive Strategies* was also used to suggest superiority in the statement which compared Malaysia's political campaign to Singapore's system of political campaign – 'To Singaporeans, the scenes of Malaysia's latest political campaign are a throwback to the early days of campaigning in Singapore and a far cry from the more orderly system that the Republic is now accustomed to.' The statement reveals superiority by distinguishing between 'you' and 'we' by comparing the behaviour of the members of the political parties and the leaders during the general election campaign of Malaysia and of Singapore; while at the same time, portraying Singapore as a superior country.

As such, depicting the social actors, the situations and aftermaths with negative representations and through a comparison will give an adverse impact onto the readers, wherein they will form an opinion based on what is being reported and stated in the text. These negative representations and comparison appear to be the *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* by discrediting opponents or certain pillars of identity, as well as *Constructive Strategies* as Wodak et al (1999) had suggested in the framework (p. 158-160).

4.3 Bilateral Issues

The next theme presented in this paper is the international theme. It was found that the main issue under the international theme presented by the text producers of *The Straits Times* during this period was mainly the sovereignty dispute between Malaysia and Singapore over three islands i.e. Pulau Batu Putih (Pedra Branca), Terumbu Karang Tengah (Middle Rocks) and Terumbu Karang Selatan (South Ledge). However, Pulau Batu Putih which is also known as Pedra Branca is the island that was given a lot of emphasis as Singapore had built a lighthouse on the island that monitored the surrounding areas. It is an island that is located 7.7 nautical miles (nm) from the Malaysian mainland but 25.5 nm over the sea from Singapore. (Kementerian Luar Negara Malaysia, n.d.). The dispute over the sovereignty of Pulau Batu Putih (and the Middle Rocks and South Ledge) between Malaysia and Singapore has been since the year 1980. In February 2003, Malaysia and Singapore mutually agreed to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for a decision. The Oral Hearings of the case in The Hague had taken

place on 6-23 November 2007, before the ICJ. The ICJ declared that Pulau Batu Putih belonged to Singapore on 23 May 2008.

The Straits Times had been reporting the events and proceedings of the case from the beginning of the Oral Hearings till the day of the verdict. However, most of the reports in *The Straits Times* concentrated on the Oral Hearings that began from 6 November 2007 to 23 November 2007.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher selected reports during the Oral Hearings focussing on the discursive strategies applied and the linguistic elements used in reporting the events by the text producers.

4.3.1 Analysis

There are four strategies which were apparently employed by the text producers. These four strategies are Strategies of Justification and Relativisation, Strategies of Perpetuation, *Constructive Strategies* and Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction. Each strategy is illustrated with topoi and means of realisation in the Table 4.3 below and explained accordingly with reference to texts on the Pedra Branca issue.

Table 4.3: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to the Bilateral Issues

Strategies of Justification and Relativisation		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Delegitimation	Topos of non-legitimation	<p>‘Malaysia acted unilaterally, without consulting any of its neighbours, and out of step with international law.’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01)</p> <p>‘He had surveyed the waters around Pedra Branca for years and immediately smelled a rat when Malaysia produced in court a photograph that exaggerated the island’s proximity to the Johor coast’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01)</p>
<i>Constructive Strategies</i>		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Unification and Cohesivation - Emphasis on national model character of subnational units	Topos of comparison	<p>‘But for the Singapore Government, there is an <u>important principle at stake</u>, which is that no country should be able to suddenly and unilaterally claim its territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. In this case, Singapore has held the island for some 150 years. In a way, Singapore is acting as any home owner would if his neighbour suddenly decided to encroach on his land.’ - (13/11/2007/BI-02)</p>

Table 4.3: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to the Bilateral Issues

Strategies of Perpetuation		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Defence	<i>Disaster topos:</i> rejecting an action whose consequences are depicted as negative.	‘But Malaysia decided not to wait’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01) ‘Malaysia’s new map of 1979 triggered official protests from seven of its neighbours, including Singapore, which was surprised to find Pedra Branca marked for the first time within Malaysian territorial waters’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01)
Strategies of Transformation		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Heteronomisation or Warning against Heteronomy - Warning against loss of national autonomy	Topos of (changed) circumstances/restraints	‘Malaysia’s map set a worrying precedent’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01)
Discontinuating/Dissimilation - Emphasis on a necessary difference between now and the future	Topos of consequences: Something follows as a direct result of something else	‘It also marked the start of a long-drawn-out dispute between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore over sovereignty of a small rocky island at the mouth of the Singapore Strait.’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01)

Table 4.2: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Bilateral Issues

Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Discrediting opponents/certain pillars of identity	Ad-hominem defamation	<p>‘The Malaysians did well, in my view, to present a simple case ... their points were presented consistently, repeatedly, with touches of folksy humour and some well-placed analogies. - (1/12/2007/BI-01)</p> <p>Singapore, on the other hand, came across as precise, detailed and serious minded,’ she says. - (1/12/2007/BI-01)</p> <p>‘Both felt authentic to me, and ultimately judges will no doubt look past style and decide on the law and the facts,’ she adds.’ - (1/12/2007/BI-01)</p> <p>‘Launching its case before an international court yesterday, Malaysia lost no time in attacking Singapore’s claim on Pedra Branca as an attempt to overturn the status quo in the Singapore Strait.’ –(14/11/2007/BI-03)</p>

4.3.2 Interpretation

The interpretation of the analysis is as follows:

4.3.2.1 Strategies of Justification and Relativisation

Wodak et al (1999) claim that Strategies of Justification and Relativisation are employed primarily to relate to problematic actions or events in the past. These strategies mainly attempt to restore, maintain and defend a common ‘national self-perception’ that has been tainted in any way.

Henceforth, in illustrating the Pedra Branca issue, it was found that the text producers who reported for *The Straits Times* applied the 2.1 Strategies of Justification and Relativisation in justifying Singapore’s sovereignty over Pedra Branca.

i. Delegitimation

Under the 2.1 Strategies of Justification and Relativisation, delegitimation was applied by the text producer through the statement, “Malaysia acted **unilaterally, without** consulting any of its neighbours, and **out of step** with international law.”

The action taken by Malaysia was to publish a map in 1979 that illustrated Malaysia’s extended territorial sea limit of 12 miles instead of the traditional 3-mile limit without consulting her neighbours i.e. Singapore, Brunei, China, Indonesia,

Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines and consent of the International laws (1/12/2007).

The action Malaysia took was described as ‘**unilaterally**’ and ‘**without**’; and ‘**out of step**’. Each of the description reflect an action that was carried out without permission and presenting them together in a sentence appear to magnify the action of defiance as well as being unacceptable. Malaysia’s ‘unilateral’ act which is highlighted by the text producer does not only raise the question on the legitimacy of Malaysia’s claim on the sovereignty over Pedra Branca, it also gives Malaysia a damaging reputation as it reflects that Malaysia disrespects her neighbouring countries and the international and bilateral laws.

The text producer had also employed intertextuality as a strategy of delegitimation with the statement made by Singapore’s Maritime and Port Authority’s chief hydrographer, who claimed to have observed the waters for a long time and indicated his suspicion on the map, which Malaysia had published in 1979, through a metaphor ‘**smelled a rat**’ – ‘He had surveyed the waters around Pedra Branca for years and immediately **smelled a rat** when Malaysia

produced in court a photograph that exaggerated the island's proximity to the Johor coast' - (1/12/2007).

The comment made by the hydrographer questions Malaysia's credibility in producing a photograph, of which its validity is questionable in court to show Malaysia has the sovereignty over Pedra Branca and the two islands. The metaphor 'smelled a rat' used by the hydrographer in his comment to express his suspicion over the photograph gives a negative depiction of Malaysia. Being a hydrographer, who charts water topographic features, his comment on the photograph is valid and henceforth, including his comment into the text, represents the text producer's concern over Malaysia's claim on alleged sovereignty over the three islands and thus, suggesting a debatable claim.

These two sample statements mentioned above, used by the text producers, served as a strategy to delegitimise the assertion made by Malaysia on her sovereignty over Pedra Branca and the two islands. The statements appeared to suggest legitimacy on the Malaysia's claim over Pedra Branca by criticising Malaysia for publishing a map that did not have the consent of the neighbouring countries and international law; and including a statement made by a hydrographer

concerning his suspicion over a photograph, produced in court, that Singapore claimed to have been exaggerated.

4.3.2.2 Constructive Strategies

Constructive Strategies look at constructing and establishing a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation. The text producer had established this strategy through unification and cohesivation strategy that emphasises on national model character with the argumentation scheme of topos of comparison in the statement below:

‘But for the Singapore Government, there is **an important principle at stake**, which is that no country should be able to suddenly and unilaterally claim its territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. In this case, Singapore has **held** the island for some 150 years. In a way, Singapore is acting as any **home owner** would if his neighbour suddenly decided to encroach on his land.’ - (13/11/2007)

In this statement, there are two implications suggested by the text producer. The first implication is suggested in the phrase ‘**important principle at stake**’ wherein it asserts that a significant principle is being compromised and has been disregarded by Malaysia in proclaiming her sovereignty over Pedra Branca. Indirectly, the statement is declaring that Singapore strictly upholds the principle deemed by the international law and at the same time emphasising that the principle is being disregarded by Malaysia as they had acted

solely and without consulting the neighbouring countries in suddenly claiming authority on Pedra Branca.

The other implication is that Singapore has declared its sovereignty over Pedra Branca by stating that their claim on their sovereignty over Pedra Branca and the two islands as they are the ‘**home owner**’ of Pedra Branca and have ‘**held**’ the island for 150 years.

Henceforth, based on these two implications, Singapore’s argument in proclaiming Pedra Branca as theirs is justified as they are merely responding like any country whose territory is at risk.

4.3.2.3 Strategies of Perpetuation

Strategies of perpetuation aim to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity – to preserve, support and protect. In the context, the strategy of defence was used as it looks at maintaining and protecting Singapore’s sovereignty over the Pedra Branca and the two islands through various means of realisation to reveal that problematic actions or past events have constituted to their defence in their claims over Pedra Branca and the other two islands.

The topos identified in the text was *disaster topos* as it rejects an action whose consequences are depicted as negative. The means of realisation identified to depict the topos is “But Malaysia decided not to wait”. This statement came after the text producer mentioned that

the global community was in the middle of negotiating new laws governing the use of seas and oceans and it was further substantiated with the text producer claiming that the new map ‘triggered official protests from seven of its neighbours, including Singapore’. They found that it was a ‘surprise to find Pedra Branca marked for the first time within Malaysian territorial waters’. These statements revealed Malaysia’s controversial action in deciding not to wait was unacceptable by Singapore as the government of Singapore felt the action taken would invite a negative reaction. Therefore, this allowed Singapore to defend their ‘national self-perception’ as a country that adheres to international laws. The text producer had described the action taken by Malaysia as an unwelcomed step through suggesting that it had initiated an objection with the term ‘protest’ because the term itself is often associated with negativity and chaos. Describing the reaction as such illustrates the seriousness in the impact of Malaysia’s move in not wanting to wait for the verdict, in which the move made by Malaysia was rejected and unwelcomed.

4.3.2.4 Strategy of Transformation

Strategy of transformation transforms a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity that the speaker has already conceptualised.

There are various sub-strategies under this strategy and the researcher has found that only two were adopted by the text producer and they are Heteronomisation or Warning against Heteronomy; and Discontinuing/ Dissimilation. The strategy of Heteronomisation or Warning against Heteronomy focuses on the warning against loss of national autonomy through the Topos of (changed) circumstances/ restraints, while Discontinuing/Dissimilation looks at emphasising on a necessary difference between now and the future with the topos of consequences: something follows as a direct result of something else.

i. Heteronomisation or Warning against Heteronomy

The text producer had employed the strategy of Heteronomisation or Warning against Heteronomy with topos of (changed) circumstances/ restraints by illustrating it through the statement, “Malaysia’s map set a worrying precedent” (1/12/2007). The text producer insinuated with the strategy that a changed circumstance will result in a worrying practice as it can affect the procedures in settling maritime boundaries. This also suggests that such a practice will be

emulated by the other surrounding countries. In addition, it hints at Singapore's concern about losing sovereignty over Pedra Branca to Malaysia as they believe that Pedra Branca is rightfully theirs. Malaysia's map had marked Pedra Branca as theirs and yet it was never made official that Pedra Branca belonged to Malaysia.

These suggestions portray Malaysia as a country that is about to start a controversial precedent which can create a conflict among the neighbouring countries. Thus, insinuating that Malaysia had reacted unethically and such a precedent can bring harm to the bilateral ties among the countries. Describing Malaysia's course of action in a negative light can affect Malaysia's integrity as a country.

ii. Discontinuing/ Dissimilation.

This strategy of Discontinuing/ Dissimilation was also used by the text producer through this statement, "It also marked the start of a long-drawn-out dispute between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore over sovereignty of a small rocky island at the mouth of the Singapore Strait" (1/12/2007). This statement informs the reader that a disagreement between Singapore and Malaysia had ensued the moment the map was produced in court and it resulted in an international court proceeding that

would take a long time to resolve. The phrase ‘long-drawn-out dispute’ itself suggests that the dispute will be a prolonged proceeding which will incur a lot of cost and take a long time to resolve. A proceeding such as this would affect bilateral ties between both countries as the relationship between them will be strained due to the dispute. This further suggests that Malaysia had initiated an unwelcomed predicament which reflects poorly of Malaysia as a country.

4.3.2.5 Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction

Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction are aimed at dismantling and disparaging the sections of an existing national identity construct that is normally irreplaceable. Hence, the text producer discredited Malaysia’s claims over Pedra Branca and the islands through this strategy in statements that had critical insinuations and offensive descriptions with intertextuality. Under the umbrella of *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction*, one of the strategies that the text producer had adopted is the strategy of Discrediting opponents/certain pillars of identity with the argumentation scheme of ad-hominem defamation. To illustrate this strategy, the text producer had embedded intertextuality which insinuated that Malaysia’s argument in court on Malaysia’s sovereignty were mostly baseless as facts were not produced. The comment embedded was made by Ms Eleanor Wong, a Law lecturer,

‘The Malaysians did well, in my view, to present a simple case ... their points were presented consistently, repeatedly, with touches of **folksy humour** and some well-placed analogies. Singapore, on the other hand, came across as precise, detailed and serious minded,’ she says. ‘Both felt authentic to me, and ultimately judges will no doubt look past style and decide on the law and the facts,’ she adds” (1/12/2007)

Wong’s comment had compared the presentation of arguments which transpired in court from both countries. The descriptions used to compare the arguments made by both countries had opposing features. Malaysia’s arguments were said to be full of humour, repetition and had analogies while Singapore’s arguments were serious, accurate and comprehensive. The use of ‘**folksy**’ by Wong to describe the style which Malaysia had presented the case appears to be a derogatory remark on the humour as if to imply that it was affected simplicity. In other words, insinuating that Malaysia’s delegation appeared to be presenting the case in a light hearted manner almost unaffected by the seriousness of the case. Wong further commented that the judiciary team will look beyond style of presentation and will evaluate based on facts. The descriptions appear to insinuate that Malaysia’s arguments were not justified with actual facts and that the arguments were presented with more style of presentation. Indirectly, Wong’s comment is criticising the Malaysian delegation and insinuating that Malaysia’s arguments are not valid and untrue. Wong appears to believe that Singapore will win the

Pedra Branca case as Singapore had tangible arguments and that their arguments were strong and valid.

Embedding intertextuality that insinuated unconvincing arguments made by the Malaysian team suggests that the text producer is trying to portray Malaysia as a country that had presented unconvincing arguments and thus, discrediting Malaysia's capability of winning the argument and consequently, the Pedra Branca case. Furthermore, including a comment made by a Law teacher, a credible source as she teaches the Law subject, justifies the viewpoint that Singapore's arguments in the court are valid and legitimate.

4.3.3 Summary

In retrospect, although only a few of the texts on Pedra Branca had illustrated distinctive use of discursive strategies, these were the texts that can make an impact on the readers as the discursive strategies had used linguistics forms and terms which were effective in portraying Malaysia.

The discursive strategies were used to portray Malaysia as a country that believes Pedra Branca and the two islands are rightfully theirs and that Singapore's claim over them cannot be justified. However, the portrayal is not a favourable one as it suggests that Malaysia has not been defending their sovereignty over Pedra Branca and the two islands fairly. These discursive strategies such as *Strategies of Justification and Relativisation*,

Constructive Strategies, Strategies of Perpetuation, Strategies of Transformation and Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction, were used to point out that Malaysia as a country that had been acting unethically and highlighting how Malaysia had been operating during the sovereignty claim over Pedra Branca was not legitimate, unacceptable and against the law. These discursive strategies were transmitted through statements which denote negativity and unbecoming of a country such as:

‘Malaysia acted **unilaterally, without consulting** any of its neighbours, and **out of step** with international law.’ - (1/12/2007)

‘He had surveyed the waters around Pedra Branca for years and immediately **smelled a rat** when Malaysia produced in court a photograph that exaggerated the island’s proximity to the Johor coast’ - (1/12/2007)

‘But for the Singapore Government, there is an important principle at stake, which is that **no country should be able to suddenly and unilaterally claim its** territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. In this case, Singapore has held the island for some 150 years. In a way, Singapore is acting as any home owner would if his neighbour suddenly decided to encroach on his land.’ - (13/11/2007)

‘But Malaysia decided **not to wait**’ - (1/12/2007)

Thus, it asserts that Singapore has been abiding and upholding the international law as well as justifying the arguments with concrete facts, as such, Singapore should be given the sovereignty over Pedra Branca and the two islands. This illustration itself insinuates the rivalry between Singapore and Malaysia as Singapore has pointed out Malaysia’s wrongdoing to justify Singapore’s sovereignty over Pedra Branca.

These discursive strategies also revealed the text producers being critical over Malaysia's actions and arguments. The text producers appeared to be identifying the errors which Malaysia had made which can be seen through the discursive strategies in the statements below:

'Malaysia acted **unilaterally, without consulting** any of its neighbours, and **out of step** with international law.' - (1/12/2007)

'But for the Singapore Government, there is an important principle at stake, which is that **no country should be able to suddenly and unilaterally claim its** territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. In this case, Singapore has held the island for some 150 years. In a way, Singapore is acting as any home owner would if his neighbour suddenly decided to encroach on his land.' - (13/11/2007)

Based on these findings, the rivalry between the two countries, namely Malaysia and Singapore can be seen as this bilateral issue, i.e. the sovereignty over Pedra Branca, which they were experiencing, was with arguments, insinuations and accusations. They are also used to promote the ideology of nationhood and national identity among Singaporeans as it is known that the Singapore media has its role in nation-building.

4.4 Internal Affairs

Under this theme, the texts illustrate a variety of issues concerning crime, infrastructure, natural disaster and censorship in Malaysia. During the months between November 2007 and April 2008 most of the texts were issues pertaining to the Pedra Branca and Malaysian General Election 2008. As such, other issues, as mentioned previously, were limited to very few texts.

4.4.1 Analysis

Many of the texts reporting these issues did not reflect that many strategies used. The apparent strategies are illustrated in the Table 4.4 below. The strategies that were found are Strategies of Transformation and *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction*.

These strategies are employed to highlight social actors, such as Datuk V.K. Lingam, Malaysia's former Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi Badawi; and events such as a heist that took place in KLIA and flash floods. These strategies were also employed to describe the social actors involved, and events that happened with lexical items and phrases. These strategies are listed in the Table 4.4 and explicated subsequently.

Table 4.4: Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Topoi) applied in written texts related to Internal Affairs

2.4 Strategies of Transformation		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Discontinuing/Dissimilation - Emphasis on a difference between then and now	Topos of consequence Topos of history	‘Her sensational claim was the most damaging testimony so far against Datuk Lingam, who has been accused of brokering judicial appointments with his high-level political and business connections.’ - (14/2/2008) ‘The amounts are being worked out,’ he said without elaborating. Malaysia’s once-robust judiciary was dealt a severe blow when it clashed with former premier Mahathir Mohamad in the late 1980s.’ - (17/4/2008)
2.5 Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction		
Strategies	Argumentation Scheme (Topoi)	Means of Realisation
Negative Presentation of Others	Topos of threat Topos of terrible place	‘The heist has highlighted the country’s worsening crime situation and raised questions about airport security.’ - (21/4/2008) ‘Fighting back stiff opposition from his own Cabinet and administration, Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi is set to unveil major reforms to the country’s much-maligned judiciary.’ - (17/4/2008)

4.4.2 Interpretation

The interpretation of the analysis is as follows:

4.4.2.1 Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction

This strategy serves as a strategy that aims at dismantling or degrading certain parts of an existing national identity construct. However, it is usually unable to replace the old model with a new one. Henceforth, this strategy can be used to illustrate a negative outlook to the social actor(s) the text producer is referring to.

Under this strategy, there are two sub-strategies which have been used by the text producers. These two sub-strategies would include the strategies of *Negative Presentation of Self/Others* and Discontinuation which emphasises on discontinuity/disruptions. These strategies are used to convey various implications.

The strategy of *Negative Presentation of Self/Others* is portrayed with the argumentation schemes - topos of threat and topos of terrible place. Topos of threat was detected in the text that had reported a heist involving two money changers and four suspects that happened at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA). The text producer had selected lexical items 'highlighted' in the sentence 'The heist has highlighted the country's **worsening** crime situation and raised questions about airport security' (21/4/2008) to draw the reader's attention to the heist and emphasise the crime situation in Malaysia

which appears to be getting worse. The text producer had also used 'worsening' in describing the crime situation to suggest that the crime situation has not changed and that authorities have not been able to control the crime situation. The airport's security was also questioned to hint that the KLIA had not placed airport security in Malaysia as a priority. KLIA as an international airport should ensure that security measures are stringent for the safety of customers, visitors to the country, the retailers and staff. In other words, the heist revealed that security in KLIA was neglected.

The readers will perceive the incident as a threat to their safety and well-being if they were to go to Malaysia as KLIA is seen as a terrible place due to the depiction in the text. As such, it can form a negative perception and deter readers from visiting Malaysia.

The topos of terrible place was reflected in the text on the reformed judiciary which was unveiled by the Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi informed readers on the setting up of a Judicial Commission that will be responsible for selecting and promoting judges. The text producer had implemented this topos through the statement '**Fighting back stiff opposition** from his own Cabinet and administration, Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi is set to unveil major reforms to the country's **much-maligned** judiciary' (17/4/2008) by using phrases which denote negativity such as 'fighting back stiff

opposition’ and ‘much-maligned’ in describing the responsibilities the Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi has to undertake in reforming the administration of the judicial system.

The text producer had described in the sentence Abdullah Badawi’s being opposed by his own cabinet reflects the conflict within the administration office itself with the phrase ‘**Fighting back stiff opposition**’ in the beginning of the sentence. This description itself reveals that the administration office and cabinet have no faith in Abdullah Badawi’s judgement and his idea of reforming the ‘much maligned’ judiciary. They are sceptical of his plan to restructure the judiciary as they feel he is incapable of executing such a plan. This could probably be due to their belief that Abdullah Badawi is an incompetent leader (Ting, 2009). As such, the text depicts a troubled administration as the cabinet members and administration office are not in solidarity with the leader – Abdullah Badawi.

The statement has also described the judiciary as ‘much maligned’ – in which the description suggests that the judiciary is being criticised harshly; and the integrity of the judiciary and its system has been damaged and compromised by certain quarters that the people have lost confidence in the judiciary and its system. A well-respected judiciary is supposed to have high integrity, commitment and credibility in order for the people to have belief and confidence in the

judiciary and its system. Unfortunately, as suggested by the statement, the judiciary has been described as ‘much-maligned’ and therefore, in need of a reformation. Nevertheless, Abdullah Badawi’s intention was met with oppositions from his cabinet and administration. Henceforth, the phrases used by the text producer give a negative representation of the country’s current government and judicial system, which can damage the country’s name.

Describing an administration and a judiciary in the manner insinuated in the statement, leaves a damaging impact on the readers as they will perceive the administration of the government of Malaysia as troubled as there is no solidarity and deem the judiciary as incompetent and corrupted.

4.4.1.2 Strategies of Transformation

Strategies of transformation changes national identity and its components that is already established into another identity, which has been conceptualised by the speaker. It was identified that the text producer had used these strategies of transformation through 2 sub-strategies namely *Discontinuing/dissimilation* and *Warning Against the Loss of National Autonomy* emphasis on a difference between then and now.

i. Discontinuating/dissimilation

This sub-strategy is evident in 3 types of topos which are topos of consequence, topos of history as a teacher and topos of changed circumstances. The topos of consequence is reflected in the sentence ‘Her sensational claim was the most damaging testimony so far against Datuk Lingam, who has been accused of brokering judicial appointments with his high-level political and business connections’. This sentence can be found in the text that reports a former secretary of a prominent lawyer in Malaysia who claims she has been threatened after giving a testimony on allegations of corruption in the courtroom., (14/2/2008). The phrase ‘the most damaging testimony’ reflects the topos of consequence wherein it depicts the result of the ‘sensational claim’ made by Ms G Jayanti Naidu against Datuk Lingam. The text producer had also attached the superlative ‘most’ to indicate the extremity of the consequence as a result of the alleged claim. The phrase ‘most damaging testimony’ reflects the severity in the impact of such a claim against Datuk Lingam as the claim will affect Datuk Lingam’s credibility and reputation as a lawyer and as a respected individual. As a lawyer, one has to adhere to the laws and uphold justice to gain confidence and respect from the masses. However, having a claim that suggests corruption, can damage the

reputation, in this case Datuk Lingam's reputation. This statement also suggests corruption within the judiciary system is happening. There may not be any truth in the allegations made by Ms Naidu, however, the allegation had suggested that corruption does happen even in the judiciary system as she has been receiving threats after giving a testimony on the alleged corruption.

The topos of history, on the other hand, can be seen in the text on the selection and promotion of judges which is revealed in the sentence 'The amounts are being worked out,' he said without elaborating. Malaysia's once-robust judiciary was dealt a severe blow when it clashed with former premier Mahathir Mohamad in the late 1980s' (17/4/2008). The text producer has taken the topos of history to indicate that the judiciary in Malaysia was once a strong judiciary but was now the opposite when it 'clashed with Mahathir Mohamad' by using the term 'once-robust' in the sentence. The term 'once-robust' indicated that Malaysia's judiciary was once well respected and had integrity. The text producer had used the topos of history here to compare the reputation of Malaysia's judiciary at that moment to what it was once before. Indirectly, this statement suggests that the integrity and reputation of the judiciary system now is questionable and

henceforth, this does not portray a positive perception onto Malaysia and the judiciary system.

4.4.3 Summary

To summarise, the text producers have embedded a few discourse strategies pertaining to Wodak et al (1999) Discourse-Historical to illustrate and describe the events, situation and the social actors involved. The discourse strategies include *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction, Constructive Strategies, Strategies of Justification and Relativisation, Strategies of Perpetuation and Strategies of Transformation*. These strategies had used various topos and means of realisation to convey and depict news on Malaysia.

4.5 Discussion

This research has identified the lexical items and phrases employed in describing the representation of Malaysian news by analysing the language use in Singapore's newspaper – *The Straits Times*.

Based on the findings, the bilateral rivalry between Malaysia and Singapore may not be apparent but it is definitely there. The bilateral rivalry can be seen in the strategies the text producers are using through lexical items, phrases and sentence structure chosen to describe the social actors, events or situations that are happening in Malaysia and to Malaysia, of which appear to denote negativity. In Table 4.5

below, the researcher has illustrated all the strategies which the text producers had employed; the purpose of the strategies and for which theme. The discussion on the strategies which were employed will follow after.

Table 4.5: The Strategies Employed for Different Purposes.

No	Strategies	Purpose	Theme
1	Constructive Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To demonstrate the differences between Malaysia and Singapore 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-Political Environment • Bilateral Issues
2	Strategies of Justification and Relativisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To criticise Malaysia • Cite Malaysia for allegations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral Issues
3	Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labelling the social actors in the articles in an undignified manner • To give a recount on a situation, event or incidents as well as the state of the event or incident • To portray the actions taken by certain individuals and parties with negative terms and phrases whereby in certain situations resulted in having adverse effects on the situations thus leading to undesirable aftermaths 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-Political Environment • Bilateral Issues • Internal Affairs
4	Strategies of Transformation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To criticise Malaysia • Cite Malaysia for allegations • Labelling social actors in undignified manner • To give a recount on a situation, event or incidents as well as the state of the event or incident • To portray the actions taken by certain individuals and parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral Issues • Internal Affairs

Table 4.5: The Strategies Employed for Different Purposes.

No	Strategies	Purpose	Theme
		with negative terms and phrases whereby in certain situations resulted in having adverse effects on the situations thus leading to undesirable aftermaths	
5	Strategies of Perpetuation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To portray the actions taken by certain individuals and parties with negative terms and phrases whereby in certain situations resulted in having adverse effects on the situations thus leading to undesirable aftermaths 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral Issues

Malaysia and Singapore share a unique relationship and a long history together. Singapore was once part of Malaysia, but due to political differences between Singapore's People's Action Party and Malaysia's Alliance Party, Singapore was instructed to leave Malaysia; in which Singapore became an independent republic on August 9, 1965. The political differences were due to Singapore's request to implement merit-based system in contrast with the political preference to the ethnic Malays maintained by Malaysia's Alliance Party. Nevertheless, the bilateral cooperation between both countries still runs deep and is substantial despite having high-profile bilateral disagreements which has resulted in *bitterness and stereotyping* becoming “*prominent feature of the relationship discourse, at least at the popular level*” (Smith, 2004, p. 2).

Following the framework of Wodak adopts the discourse-historical approach which attempts to integrate historical background to analyse the context and discursive nature of the text (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 27); it is in view of the researcher that the continuous *bitterness and stereotyping* which both countries have with one another are the underlying factors that the text producers had chosen and employed the lexical items and phrases which were identified in the analysis in their portrayal of the events and social actors.

It was discovered by the researcher that the text producers reported events in Malaysia by describing the social actors and events with various strategies as prescribed by Wodak et. al (1999) with lexical choices and forms which denote negativity (p. 158-160). The strategies were also illustrated through the usage of intertextuality which labelled social actors; described the events which took place and criticized the measures taken by Malaysian government. To the researcher, the strategies were exploited to portray a negative representation onto Malaysia.

The *Strategies of Justification and Relativisation*; and *Strategies of Transformation* were used to criticise Malaysia as well as cite Malaysia for various allegations with the use of metaphors, expressions, adjectives and adverbs which are unfavourable as illustrated in the samples below:

- 1 “Malaysia acted **unilaterally, without consulting** any of its neighbours, and **out of step** with international law.” – (1/12/2007)
- 2 “He had surveyed the waters around Pedra Branca for years and **immediately smelled a rat** when Malaysia produced in court a photograph that **exaggerated** the island’s proximity to the Johor coast” –(1/12/2007)

3 “Malaysia’s map set a **worrying** precedent” –(1/12/ 2007)

In describing the social actors, the *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* was used as listed below. The strategies were illustrated through the selection of adjectives and metaphor thus labelling them in an undignified manner. The adjectives and metaphors which the text producers preferred to describe the social actors with were associated with inappropriate behaviour as well as likened to deceitful characters.

1 ‘...brought **mavericks** into the house.’ – (28/4/2008)

2 ‘“...the kind of **boorish, loutish** behaviour that UMNO leaders had exemplified...”’ - (17/4/2008)

3 ‘...it is a corrupt party filled with ‘**crocodiles and sharks**’ who lobby shamelessly for contracts.’ (5/4/08)

4 ‘...several **notoriously vocal** lawmakers.’ – (28/4/2008)

5 ‘...where **party warlords sabotage** each other’s effort.’ - (3/3/2008)

6 ‘Instead, ‘**parachute candidates**’ were floated into parliamentary seats such as Sik, where the Prime Minister’s own political secretary, Datuk Osman Desa stood and lost.’ - (11/4/2008)

7 ‘...(PAS), a party which BN had made out as an **enemy** to the Chinese for years.’ (5/4/2008)

9 ‘there have been signs of **rebellion** within UMNO ranks angered by the crushing electoral losses’ –(28/3/08)

The *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction*; and *Strategies of Transformation* were used in providing a recount on a situation, the events and incidents, as well as the state of an event or incident. The text producer had related

the events by disclosing descriptions that represent undesirable situations occurring at that moment, in the future and the aftermath as listed below:

- 1 ‘ “Parliament is going to be a **noisy** place...” ’ (28/4/2008)
- 2 ‘ ...**triggered** official **protests** from seven of its neighbours, including Singapore...’ (1/12/2007)
- 3 ‘ ...Barely a week after a **political tsunami**...’ - (28/3/2008)
- 4 ‘The plan caused an **earthquake** in the MCA...’ (5/4/2008)
- 5 The heist has highlighted the country’s **worsening crime situation** and raised questions about airport security. (21/4/2008)
- 6 ‘Datuk Seri Abdullah has found himself **besieged** on many fronts after his ruling Barisan Nasional coalition suffered **stunning losses** in the recent general election,...’ (28/3/08)
- 7 ‘Umno has been caught in **internal fighting and rebellion** since the polls’ (17/4/2008)
- 8 The **worst-hit** villages and towns are now covered by flood waters up to 2m high, while in some areas, padi fields look like rippling lakes.(19/12/2007)
- 9 The Home Ministry said it had **broken** many guidelines, but did not elaborate. The paper had given wide coverage last year to the Hindu Rights Action Force that led thousands of Indians onto the streets to **protest** against their plight. (25/4/2008)
- 10 ‘It is yet another **fire** for the Prime Minister to douse in the aftermath ...’ (25/3/08)
- 11 ‘...it could prove **disastrous** for the party.’ - (26/3/08)
- 12 Her sensational claim was the most **damaging** testimony so far against Datuk Lingam, who has been accused of **brokering** judicial appointments with his high-level political and business connections (14/2/2008)
- 13 The amounts are being worked out,’ he said without elaborating. Malaysia’s **once-robust judiciary** was dealt a severe blow when it clashed with former premier Mahathir Mohamad in the late 1980s (17/4/2008)

In the samples below, various strategies were identified – namely *Strategies of Transformation, Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction*; and *Strategies of Perpetuation*. These strategies were depicted by the text producers via actions taken by certain individuals and parties with negative terms and phrases whereby in certain situations result in having adverse effect on the situations thus leading to undesirable aftermaths:

- 1 “It also marked the start of a **long-drawn-out dispute** between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore over sovereignty of a small rocky island at the mouth of the Singapore Strait.” (1/12/2007)
- 2 Launching its case before an international court yesterday, Malaysia lost no time in **attacking** Singapore’s claim on Pedra Branca as an attempt to overturn the status quo in the Singapore Strait. (14/11/2007)
- 3 ‘Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi’s **showdown** with the Terengganu royal house over the choice of a menteri besar in the state is leading his administration into rocky times with the powerful Malay rulers.’ (25/3/08)
- 4 ‘The participants subsequently turned the event into an **angry tirade** against Datuk Seri Abdullah’ (2/4/2008)
- 5 **Fighting back stiff opposition** from his own Cabinet and administration, Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi is set to unveil major reforms to the country’s **much-maligned** judiciary.(17/4/2008)
- 6 ‘In what was seen as **yet another blow**, he announced that he had accepted the Terengganu palace’s choice of chief minister...’ (28/3/08)
- 7 ‘Despite the baggage that the 82-year-old still carries from his own years as prime minister, his **attacks** on his successor over the last two years have caused Datuk Seri Abdullah serious damage.’ (2/4/2008)
- 8 “But Malaysia decided **not to wait**” (1/12/2007)

In the samples that follow, the text producer uses the *Constructive Strategies* to demonstrate the differences between Malaysia and Singapore. Sample number 1 illustrates the text producer comparing the differences on how the political

campaign is carried out in the two countries; emphasizing Singapore now and back then as well as imposing ‘national self-perception’ by criticising the political campaign held in Malaysia by reminiscing the past. While in Sample 2, although not obvious, Singapore is comparing itself to Malaysia wherein Singapore has expressed that an important principle, in which Singapore advocates, is at risk:

- 1 “To Singaporeans, the scenes of Malaysia’s latest political campaign are a throwback to the **early days** of campaigning in Singapore and a **far cry** from the more **orderly** system that the Republic is now accustomed to.” (7/3/2008)
- 2 But for the Singapore Government, there is **an important principle** at stake, which is that no country should be able to suddenly and **unilaterally** claim its territory over which it has exercised sovereignty openly and continuously. In this case, Singapore has **held** the island for some 150 years. In a way, Singapore is acting as any **home owner** would if his neighbour suddenly decided to encroach on his land. (1/12/2007)

It is also interesting to note that the *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* is applied in all the themes as illustrated in Table 4.5 on page 130.

According to Wodak et al (1999), the objectives of *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction* are to pull apart and to criticise an existing national identity which is generally irreplaceable. Therefore, it is justified that this strategy was employed to achieve that purpose through labelling, criticising and portraying the social actors, the events and situations related to Malaysia with linguistic terms and structure that denote negativity and derogatory.

The texts producers had developed articles with loaded words which provides a negative representation and eventually would influence the readers' perception towards the subject of the articles and in this case it would be the readers' perception on Malaysia. Loaded words are known to affect the readers' feelings into shifting "matters so that the cause of emotions is neither the content of the message nor the messenger but the phrasing of the message itself" (Bovee, p. 128, 1999). The use of loaded pejorative and negative words and phrases will influence the readers' beliefs and emotions into considering what is being detailed and illustrated as the reality.

The loaded words of pejorative and negative words and phrases can be seen in the following examples:

- 1 'He said that to non-Malays, UMNO is a fanatical Malay party prone to waving the keris to threaten other races. And to many others, it is a **corrupt** party filled with '**crocodiles and sharks**' who lobby shamelessly for contracts.' – (5/4/08)
- 2 'Mr Ooi, 52, a former advertising executive, said: 'Parliament is going to be a **noisy** place... I think we are going to give the backbenchers a run for their money.' – (28/4/2008)
- 3 'Barely a week after a **political tsunami** shook Malaysia's once-formidable ruling party, a similar shake up at Taiwan's presidential saw blue skies return again to the island.' - (28/3/2008)
- 4 'Launching its case before an international court yesterday, Malaysia lost no time in **attacking** Singapore's claim on Pedra Branca as an **attempt to overturn** the status quo in the Singapore Strait.' -14/11/2007)
- 5 'The **heist** has highlighted the country's **worsening crime situation** and raised questions about airport security.' - (21/4/2008)

In other words, the power relations between Singapore and Malaysia in the *Straits Times* of Singapore is pertinent wherein Singapore has the power in influencing the impact of the news reported in the articles.

4.5.1 Bilateral Rivalry

As illustrated in the samples above, the text producers have consistently been using linguistics forms in the negative structure, as well intertextuality that reflects negativity in describing characters and their characteristics, events and scenarios.

By portraying Malaysia in a negative light would result in giving Malaysia a damaging reputation due to portrayal of the situation and the behaviours of the leaders and the political parties during the General Election 2008; the portrayal of how Malaysia had handled the Pedra Branca issue and the other crime issues which were occurring. Such a depiction to a reader would most likely affect his or her perception over Malaysia or may deter the reader from visiting or investing in Malaysia as it is known that language, in media discourse, is “social, that it enacts identity, that it is active, that it has power and that language is political.” (Richardson, 2007, p.14)

The text producers had also employed the technique of emphasising ‘we’ as in Singapore and ‘you’ as in Malaysia by describing and comparing Malaysia’s attitude on the country’s integrity and principles with Singapore. This comparison made by the producer of the text appears to not only put emphasis on how different Singapore is compared to Malaysia, but it also seemed to reflect Singapore’s

superiority and impose nationhood among readers. As Singapore media has taken a role in nation-building (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002) the text producers had produced texts that compared Singapore's integrity and principles to Malaysia's with linguistic structures and choices which propagated nationhood and self-perception.

The linguistics forms and choices presented in the texts were probably influenced by the rivalry that Singapore had with Malaysia which resulted in the linguistic forms and choices always being negative and exaggerated when the texts were concerning Malaysia. The rivalry between both countries has also shaped the texts direction, ideology and the impression the text producers would like to portray on the news – in this case – Malaysia as suggested by Smith (2004) when describing the relationship between both countries – “Bitterness and stereotyping have remained a prominent feature of the relationship discourse, at least at the popular level” (p. 14-2).

The rivalry between both countries began since the day Singapore separated from Federation of Malaysia in 1965. Singapore separated from Malaya as Mr Lee Kuan Yew, who was then the President of Singapore, was an advocator of race equality in the Federation of Malaysia with his “Malaysian Malaysia” concept, while the central government of Malaya at that time did not agree to such a governing belief. Singapore has always been made to believe that Malaysia is always competing with Singapore as Mr Lee Kuan Yew (1965), in his speech, constantly reminds Singapore that they are always under constant threat of its neighbours due to the different ideology of governing a country. Mr Lee stated that “Singapore is a multi-

racial meritocracy. Our neighbours organise their societies on the supremacy of the indigenous peoples, Bumiputras in Malaysia and Pribumis in Indonesia. Though our neighbours have accepted us as a sovereign and independent nation, they have a tendency to externalise towards us their internal anxieties and angst against their own minorities. This is unlikely to go away.” (Lee Kuan Yew, 1965).

Therefore, this reveals the power relations between both countries in the discourses through the choice of lexical items, linguistic structures in describing events, situations and social actors as well as when criticising the social actors concerning Malaysia. The power relations here, is reflected in the economic competitiveness between these two countries namely Singapore and Malaysia. Although the research is limited to media texts written by text producers of *The Straits Times* of Singapore the discourse itself shows the economic competitiveness which Singapore appears to be having with Malaysia.

The discourses influence social and political reality as highlighted by Wodak, et al. (1999) in which indicates the competitiveness although not obvious. The text producers had highlighted Singapore’s reactions and practices by comparing, among others, the political campaigns of Malaysia to Singapore’s as ‘a far cry from the more orderly system that the Republic is now accustomed to’ (7/3/2008) as well as claiming that Singapore had presented the case during the Pedra Branca proceedings as ‘precise, detailed and serious minded’ (1/12/2007) as opposed to Malaysia’s presentation – ‘consistently, repeatedly, with touches of folksy humour and some well-placed analogies’(1/12/2007). Comparing and highlighting Singapore’s

positive attributes to Malaysia's perceived wrongdoing reflects the competitiveness as these texts will influence the judgment and perception of the readers on Malaysia. Hence, the domino effect comes into the picture wherein the perception and judgment of an individual or entity will affect the decision to visit, invest or run a business in Malaysia.

4.5.2 Ideologies on Malaysia by The Straits Times

As discussed in Chapter Two, Critical Discourse Analysis perceives that text is hardly controlled by just any one person, but is governed by differences in power and determined by genres and discourse; and these texts are often laced with ideologies, although not all texts are ideological.

The data analysed is not without any ideologies. These ideologies have given various representations to the readers of the texts. One of which is providing a background to the situation of Malaysia's political background at that point of time.

The text producers had employed linguistics forms and choices in describing the situations, events and social actors as well as criticising the social actors for their actions in situations and arguments. Subsequently, suggesting the ideology that Malaysia is currently politically unstable and in chaos without the readers really knowing the actual truth and scenario. Imposing the ideology that Malaysia is politically unstable to the readers suggests that Singapore would be a preferred option compared to Malaysia in terms of business, investment and location. This also suggests that Malaysia is not a country that is stable - politically as well as

economically – especially for countries which are looking into investing or setting up businesses in Malaysia. As such, these countries will divert their investments and businesses to Singapore instead. Consequently, Singapore will continue to grow and flourish economically while Malaysia's economy may take a downturn. This ideology could probably be due to Singapore's inferiority towards Malaysia as both Malaysia and Singapore are situated in the same geographical location and have strong infrastructure.

Another ideology that the text producers appear to be suggesting is the superiority of Singapore compared to Malaysia. To the readers, it would appear that Singapore would be a better country to live in especially to Singaporeans as it is a country that is stable, peaceful and protected as the Government ensures the safety and stability of the country and the people. It seems to be implying that the people of Singapore should be grateful as Singapore is not experiencing the chaos and political instability which Malaysia was currently experiencing at that time due to the Singapore Government in control at that moment. As mentioned in Chapter 1, pertaining to Lee Kuan Yew's (1971) mandate on the media reports and articles having to be in tandem with the country's integrity and nation building as well as the prevalent purpose of the elected government, these ideologies do not come as a surprise.

In addition to portraying Singapore as a stable, peaceful and safe country, the text producer had also portrayed Singapore as a law abiding country with a claim that an important principle has been compromised when Malaysia had 'suddenly and

unilaterally claim its territory’ while Singapore had all the while ‘exercised sovereignty openly and continuously’ (13/11/2007). Here it appears to be imposing two ideas which are intertwined with one another. Firstly, Singapore had every right to justify its actions in claiming that Pedra Branca belongs to Singapore and secondly, emphasising that there are principles in sovereignty laws of which Singapore is not willing to compromise. This statement is modelling a national character the Singapore government upholds and as Singapore media plays a role in nation-building, such a statement is expected. Advocating the principle justifies Singapore’s entitlement to Pedra Branca and the islands just as any country whose territory has been compromised. In other words, Singapore has identified itself as a country of principles and a country that respects the law of which is the underlying ideology. Therefore, this concurs with Lee Kuan Yew’s mandate in wanting the media to present issues which support the government’s policies, promote social order, the right cultural values and social attitudes (Lee Kuan Yew, 1997; Tan, 2010).

The text producers had, through negative lexical choices and linguistic forms in describing the situations, events and social actors as well as in criticisms, imposed these ideologies to manipulate and influence the perceptions of the reader into believing the reported events are as described by the text producers. According to Van Dijk (2006), ‘manipulation in such a case may reside in the fact that by drawing attention to information A rather than B, the resulting understanding may be partial or biased, for instance when headlines emphasize irrelevant details, rather than expressing the most important topics of a discourse – thus impairing

understanding of details through top-down influence of topics.’ (p.366). As such, the selection of linguistics forms and linguistics choices were to manipulate the readers into believing the news on Malaysia illustrated in the texts are representations of the current scenario in Malaysia which will make an impact on the readers’ perception of Malaysia.

The researcher also believes that the texts were constructed to communicate the ideologies through negative representations of the events and scenarios that were occurring in Malaysia, the social actors involved in the events; and to demonstrate Singapore’s supremacy as well as through criticisms because ‘ideologies are also enacted in other forms of action and interaction, and their reproduction is often embedded in organizational and institutional contexts’ (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 17).

The impact of these representations on Malaysia would be damaging on Malaysia’s economy and reputation as the readers of the texts would accept the representations at face value as the readers would be hesitant in visiting and investing in Malaysia in fear of the country’s political instability and economic sustainability. In doing so, it implicitly implies that Singapore is establishing the status quo between Singapore and Malaysia that is the ideology of Singapore being superior and a better country for investment, locality as well as economic stability. In short, Singapore has exerted the power of depicting a negative and undesirable representation on Malaysia through the descriptions in the texts which eventually gives an adverse impact on Malaysia’s reputation. The impact of such a representation, most often than not, will be detrimental to the country’s economy and tourism industry as it

would become a foundation for bypassing or avoidance for any bilateral affiliations, agreement or visits.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion

To conclude this research, based on the analyses, it was found that the discursive strategies employed by the text producers were *Constructive Strategies, Strategies of Justification and Relativisation, Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction, Strategies of Transformation and Strategies of Perpetuation.*

The prevalent strategies that the text producers had used was *Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction and Strategies of Transformation* in describing the social actors and the events with linguistics forms and choices. The aim of these depictions through strategies was to provide negative representations onto Malaysia as well as to promote national self-perception on Singapore and nation building.

These negative depictions are probably due to the unique relationship that Malaysia and Singapore have with each other. Both countries rely on each other for trade and investment activities and links and yet, they have bilateral issues such as the Pedra Branca case, water issue as well as the relocation of Malaysian customs from the Tanjung Pagar train station. Malaysia and Singapore also share the same historical background as Singapore and Malaysia, then Malaya, were both part of the Federation of Malaysia. Singapore then had to separate from the Federation of

Malaysia due to conflicting political beliefs with the Federation of Malaysia and since then, both have always been rivals with one another in terms of economically and locality.

The negative representations on Malaysia were probably to portray that Malaysia was neither politically stable nor was it safe country to be in. Malaysia was also depicted as a country which did not abide by the laws which questions Malaysia's credibility as a country. Such a depiction will affect the readers' perception and judgment over the situation and the country itself and thus, prevent people from entering the country to visit, invest or find opportunities to operate businesses.

The negative representations were also aimed at showing a comparison between Singapore's and Malaysia's the practices, beliefs and actions and ultimately, presenting Singapore with a positive depiction while concurrently, building nationhood, national self-perception and social virtues. With this in mind, the readers will be influenced into believing the depiction and agreeing to it. As the representation promotes positive attributes, the Singaporean readers will advocate such virtues which resonates Lee Kuan Yew's (1971) mandate in wanting the media to produce news and articles that reflect the country's integrity and objectives. As for readers who aren't Singaporeans will conclude that Singapore would be the ideal place to visit, invest or operate businesses.

Based on the analyses as well, a few ideologies appeared to be embedded through the discursive strategies employed. Firstly, imposing the ideology that Malaysia is

politically unstable and suggesting that Singapore would be a preferred option compared to Malaysia in terms of business, investment and locality. The second ideology would be suggesting the superiority of Singapore compared to Malaysia. Singapore would be a better country to live in as it is a country that is stable, peaceful and protected because the Government ensures the safety and stability of the country and the people. Next ideology is Singapore had every right to justify its actions in claiming that Pedra Branca belongs to Singapore and the last ideology, emphasising Singapore is not willing to compromise any principles regarding sovereignty. Such a representation models a national character the Singapore government upholds in which Singapore media plays an important role in nation-building.

Hence, the power relation between Singapore and Malaysia is prevalent in the discursive strategies employed through the choice of linguistic terms, structures as well as in the criticisms. The power relation in which Singapore pursues in portraying superiority over Malaysia lies in the choice of loaded negative and pejorative words, phrases and sentence structures when describing the events, situations and social actors concerning Malaysia in the texts. The economic competitiveness is reflected when the text producers criticise and constantly describe anything relating to Malaysia in a negative manner. Moreover, it is most obvious when the text producers draw attention to what Singapore is capable of by criticising Malaysia beliefs or actions.

5.2 Future Research

This study has looked into the news reports found in *The Straits Times* newspapers of Singapore in regards to the events in Malaysia. One possible future research based on this study will be to look into the representation of Singapore in Malaysian newspapers and carry out a comparative study between newspapers of both countries. It would be interesting to analyse the use of language and how the news reports on Singapore are portrayed in Malaysian newspapers and compare it to the news reports made on Malaysia in Singapore newspapers. The CDA approach can still be applied to unpack the ideologies and the representation both countries would like to illustrate and convey.

It is also important to investigate the types of news reports that are featured in the newspapers of both countries in order to reveal the types of news reports that are prevalent in the newspapers.

Another possible research could be to use the same framework and research questions to compare the news reports on Malaysia in another Singapore newspaper with *The Straits Times* of Singapore. Thus, a thorough literature review is needed to identify the newspapers so that their representation can be examined.