

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study is an effort pursued to analyze the use of language by two influential online news sites in Malaysia, The Star Online and *Malaysiakini*, to represent the *Bersih* 2.0 protesters using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The difference between the two online newspapers, The Star Online being a mainstream news media and *Malaysiakini*, an alternative news site, enables the researcher to compare the representations of the protesters in the news articles of these news portals. However, the comparison is only done after the news articles from each news site is studied separately.

In recent years, the online news sites in Malaysia have taken a very significant position in the lives of Malaysians; hence, this is the motivation behind the initiation of this study. According to Lihua (2009), most of the studies done were based on news reports from advanced countries; on the contrary, very few studies were done on the news reports from third world countries. More studies have to be done to explore the language used in Malaysian online newspapers. Therefore, this study can provide useful insights as to how an incident and the people involved are represented in different ways, especially in the context of Malaysian news sites. This study would also alert the readers to be more sensitive in comprehending the information in the news articles, which is not always neutral and impartial.

1.2 Background of the Study

1.2.1 Political situation in Malaysia

According to Weiss (2006), Malaysia practices a constitutional monarchy of parliamentary democracy, which was acquired from the British settlers. She further adds that the country has been consistently carrying out elections every five years once and this has been practiced even before Malaysia got its independence in 1957. These elections for every state and federal administrations have been coordinated by an election commission, which operates independently.

Since Malaysia's independence in 1957, the governing party has always been the Barisan Nasional (the National Front) whereby this party is an association of three main parties which are United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), a representative for the Malays, Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), a representative for the Chinese and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), which is a representative of the Indians and a few more smaller parties (Weiss, 2012).

Sani (2009) explains that Malaysia has been able to be a peaceful and thriving country because of its two main strengths, which are constancy of a stable government and the unity among the multiracial nationals, thus this led to a situation where the public freedom to express its opinions had to be restricted by the government led by Barisan Nasional (BN) to maintain peace in the country. This however did not prolong as a change began to occur in Malaysia's politics since the twelfth general election in the year 2008. Sani (2009) claims that this lead Malaysia in the direction of deliberative democracy.

Bantas (2010) defines ‘deliberative democracy’ as a democratic system that largely involves the partakings of the citizens since they are the deliberate decision makers and problem solvers for political issues and elections are one of the options used to solve these matters. Sani (2009) explains that since 2008, Malaysia started moving towards deliberative democracy as a result of several factors, such as, the political conflicts in BN, growing civil society groups and the use of Internet and social media.

1.3 Media and Its Role

Ibrahim (2010) states that, media carries a heavy task on its shoulder as it is one of the organizations that plays a key role in practicing democracy by providing reliable and truthful news to the public audiences. The information given by the media transforms the public into a powerful society as they have the access to the important information about incidents happening around them. Ibrahim stresses the importance of having more responsible and committed journalists in order to uphold democracy in the society.

Through the media, journalists can accomplish more than the understanding and influencing of public opinion. Through a healthy regard for truth and ethical practices, they can make public opinion operative and intelligent. In so doing, they can help perpetuate articulate public opinion in a democratic society. (Ibrahim, 2010, p.3)

Based on the Milton Wolf Seminar (2012), Iyengar labels the media as a multifaceted medium as it can be representative of a community, an always neutral medium and works as an instrument and an actor. Iyengar adds that, the traditional media is being taken over day by day by the online media and the latter is becoming more powerful due to its nature of interactive communication system.

According to Ghareeb (2000), the media today is able to keep the people informed of the latest news updates no matter where they are, for instance, he told about the people of a rural community in Yemen discussing about the current political issues and saying that they keep themselves updated by watching satellite channels. Xiang and Sarvary (2007) stress that media serves not only to provide information for the people, but also to stimulate faith and confidence in them. According to them, media would be able to produce dependable and trustworthy information if the media is not influenced by any organizations or medium. It can be summed up that the media is not just a business group, but also an organization that has to carry the responsibility of serving the people righteously and genuinely.

1.3.1 Print Media in Malaysia

Communication is the utmost important way to sustain a good relationship between two parties, be it a personal, casual, formal or any other kind of relationships. Today, mass media plays a significant role in being a medium that informs the public about all the happenings that takes place in our world. It is an undeniable fact that newspapers facilitate the citizens of a country in becoming knowledgeable about all political and governance issues of their nation, while enabling them to yield sensible choices in thir political

standings (Azlan, Rahim, Basri, & Hasim, 2012). Anuar (2005) argued that conventional media in a nation has always been monitored by the ruling political leaders in that country. He adds that this is allegedly done to ascertain that the media is always with them in the process of administering the nation and maintaining harmony in the country. Disseminating the same claim, Sani (2004) pointed out that the media is very strictly controlled by the Malaysian government since the country's independence in 1957, because the government fears that unrestricted media might create interracial conflicts and put the harmony of the nation at risk. Similarly, Ibrahim (2010) notes that the government claims that all the media groups in Malaysia carry a responsibility of being a medium between the government and people, by promoting a harmonious environment in the nation through constant depiction of the unity among people of different ethnic groups.

In Malaysia, the conventional media has always been playing their part in supporting all the government policies and practices to the extent that any form of negative comments or reviews against them is easier said than done (Kenyon & Marjoribanks, 2007). Weiss (2012), explains that this is because, a majority of the ownerships of these media are strongly associated with BN (Barisan Nasional). For instance, Media Prima, which is closely allied with UMNO, owns nearly all the conservative English and Malay language newspapers such as News Straits Times, Berita Harian and Harian Metro (Anuar, 2005). Anuar further adds that MCA which is part of UMNO, owns several Chinese newspapers, such as China Press, Nanyang Siang Pau and a leading English daily, The Star, whereas Tamil Nesan and Malaysia Nanban are mainstream Tamil newspapers which are very much connected with MIC, another party in Barisan Nasional. It is not just the ownerships of these media that impose the restraining of its editorial contents, but also the

rules and regulations set up by the nation's Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA) 1984. Case (2013) noted that some amendments were made to PPPA through the Printing Presses and Publications (Amendment) Act 2012 to provide more freedom for the press by reducing the Home Minister's power over the licensing of printing presses. However, the amendments do not promise true freedom for the media to operate fairly (Case, 2013).

A survey conducted by Freedom House, an independent organization that studies the level of freedom in the world, press and Internet showed the results of 'Freedom of the Press 2012' on its site. The results are in points system where the scores of each country ranges from 0 (Free) -100 (Not Free). Malaysia obtained a total of 63, which means the status of its press freedom is 'Not Free' (Karlekar & Dunham, 2012). This further explains that the press media in Malaysia is not able to function effectively in delivering the news as it is to the public due to various reasons especially the heavy control on the contents by the media owners and powerful politicians (Karlekar & Dunham, 2012). This had to be changed and the change came into the nation through Internet and its social media.

1.3.2 Internet in Malaysia

Internet is now not just a tool, but more than a necessity that has become a requirement for everyone. The use of Internet and its influence on people all over the world is undeniably great. This has led to a situation where people rely on it for everything, from searching for information, sharing thoughts and opinions, uploading videos of real incidents and many more. According to Dooley and Rooney (2013), nearly one third of the world's population has access to and uses the Internet from work, home, mobile or landline. They also found

that the number of users in Asia tops 1 billion, representing 45% of global Internet users, estimated at 2.4 billion.

Roberts and Foehr (2008) stated that “with so many media and so much content available, it is not surprising that young people devote much of their time to media” (p.12). This is in fact is the truth for Malaysians too, as a survey done by the Malaysian Communication and Multimedia Commission in 2011, showed that highest group of Internet users in Malaysia are people within the age group of 25-29 (Commission, 2011). The survey also found that a majority of Internet users, that is about 88.3% of them used the Internet to obtain information and the second highest purpose of using the Internet is to connect with their friends on social networking sites. Therefore, it can be said that Internet plays a significant role for Malaysian Internet users to gain information and increase their awareness of the happenings around them, nationally and internationally too.

It is quite surprising that the Internet had been used in Malaysia since 1992, though at that time, it was only for the purpose of sending and receiving plain e-mails and minimal Internet surfing (Hasim & Salman, 2010). Ramayah, Jantan & Ismail (2003) also stated that, though the use of the Internet in Malaysia has been here for some time, it only escalated in these recent years, and it is on the whole, a result of the effort of the Malaysian government through its ‘Multimedia Super Corridor’(MSC) project. The government has also tried incorporating ICT into various fields to promote its use, for example in schools, for the use of young children to facilitate them to become Internet savvy.

In a study done to compare the development of Internet usage between Middle Eastern countries and Malaysia, Huff (2001) noted that, despite being a Muslim country, Malaysia has put into practice the use of Internet in all areas and thus, it is said to be 46 times more progressive than the Middle Eastern countries and North Africa in terms of Internet development. Huff depicts Malaysia as a forefronting country, not only for Muslim countries, but also to all countries, which are in the process of development.

1.3.3 Social Media in Malaysia

Social media refers to all online applications, which provides its users freedom to produce their own content (Ahmad, et al., 2012). Today, it is considered as one of the fastest and most interactive way of communication. Ahmad, et al. (2012) explains that social media does not only refer to well known sites, for instance, Facebook, Twitter, MySpace but it also includes blogs, news portals and forums, just to name a few. They describe social media as a medium that;

“has become one of the most powerful platform to express sentiments, emotions, opinions, grouses, stupidity and intelligence and others that fall under the category of information that are being said and shared which could be read or accessed by people now and in the future” Ahmad, et al. (2012, p.72).

Social media also played an important role in gathering the large group of demonstrators to the *Bersih* 2.0 rally, as *Bersih* had their own Facebook page which drew more than 190,00 of 'likes' even before the rally was carried out (Ahmad, et al., 2012). This clearly shows that the followers of the *Bersih*'s Facebook page have been motivated to join the rally and support the demonstration though there were heavy checking and roadblocks in most of the roads leading to Kuala Lumpur. This is similar to another study done by Adler and Mittelman (2004) where they also found from a survey conducted on protesters in the United States that a majority of them admitted that Internet and the information gathered from it was a strong inspiration for them to assemble in a protest. They also found that most of these protesters who were influenced by the information in the Internet are first time protesters and did not have much knowledge about the organization that they were protesting for, but only knew about the purpose of the protest (Adler & Mittelman, 2004). Therefore, it can be said that the Internet plays an undeniably significant role in connecting the like minded people and protests or the organizations that execute the protests.

Besides engaging in social networking sites, blogging is another way of expressing thoughts, opinions and interacting with others. Lim (2009) found blogs in Malaysia brought a strong effect to the changes that occurred in the 12th General Election in Malaysia. He added that even the then Prime Minister, Abdullah Badawi agreed to the mistake made by BN, of not taking the impact of these social media and its content seriously (Lim, 2009).

1.3.4 Online News Media in Malaysia

The use of Internet and its influence on people all over the world is undeniably great. This has led to a situation where people rely on it for everything, from searching for information, sharing thoughts and opinions, uploading videos of real incidents and many more. Now, the internet is turning out to be a news hub for the public as online news portals are becoming more convenient and handy for everyone. According to Ahmad, et al. (2012), there is a strong increase in the number of online news readers, about 35 percent, in one year among Malaysians.

Online newspapers are generally very fast in producing news reports and reaching people all over the world. In Malaysia, The Star, a leading English mainstream newspaper was the first to lead the way to start an online news portal called The Star Online in 1995 (Sani & Zengeni, 2010). Almost immediately, many other mainstream newspapers followed the footsteps of The Star and began developing their own websites and news portals online. At the same time, many unconventional or alternative news portals also began growing in the internet world.

Sani (2004) explains that initially, Malaysian businessman, Vincent Tan owned Berjaya Group that published The Star, The Sun, and Watan dailies. It is worth mentioning that Vincent Tan is a good friend of former Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad. Sani adds that after some time, The Star and two newspapers in Chinese language, which are *China Press* and *Nanyang Siang Pau*, have been acquired by Huaren Holdings, which is a company owned by Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA).

One of the alternative news portals, *Malaysiakini*, turned out to be one of the most important online newspapers in Malaysia. Weiss (2012) states that in 2008, *Malaysiakini* turned out to be the news portal with the largest number of readers in Malaysia. He adds that the main purpose of *Malaysiakini* is to deliver information to the public in a different way from the conventional news reports, without being biased on any side and to promote the practice of speech freedom. This media was considered as one of the influential aspect in the results of the 2008 general election in Malaysia, where the opposition received an increased number of votes (Sani & Zengeni, 2010). Many international media such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Australian* applauded *Malaysiakini* and its editor, Steven Gan was rewarded with prestigious awards such as the International Press Freedom Award (Nain & Kim, 2004).

Though it has grown to be one of the top news portals in Malaysia now, the path that *Malaysiakini* went through was like swimming against the stream. During the early days, Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA) was the main financial support for the media as they provided a grant to them (Sani & Zengeni, 2010). But slowly, financial problems began to increase, until 2001, when *Malaysiakini* decided to function as a subscription based news portal.

1.4 The *Bersih* Organization

The term '*Bersih*' signifies 'clean' in Malay language. In this context, '*Bersih*' or 'Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections' in English, is the union of several non-governmental organizations (NGOs), requesting for an impartial and fair elections in Malaysia by reforming the existing election system (Mallot, 2011).

Bersih was formally started in the year 2006 comprising a number of leaders from political parties and NGOs (Weiss, 2012). According to *Bersih*, there had been occurrences of postal vote frauds, bogus voters and other abnormalities in the electoral system. At that point of time, this team threw an accusation against Malaysian Election Commission for not being fair in the electoral process in order to ensure that the ruling party benefitted and had an advantage of winning the elections, especially the winning in Sarawak (O'Shannassy, 2012).

1.4.1 *Bersih* Rallies

The first rally organised by *Bersih* was held on November 10, 2007 at the Independence Square and The National Palace, Kuala Lumpur where huge crowd turned up there to show their support, in yellow T-shirts, which is the symbol of the demonstration (Sani, 2009). Sankar (2009) adds that this rally is believed to have greatly affected the 2008 general election, especially when the ruling party which had been retaining the two-third majority since 1969, could not keep that up.

This public demonstration was carried out to make four requirements, which would form an impartial election procedure in Malaysia. The demands included; systematize the electoral register, application of permanent ink, eradication of postal voting for armed forces and police officers, and equal right on the mass media for all political parties (O'Shannassy, 2012).

During the protest, these demands were presented in the form of a memorandum to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the head of state of Malaysia. However, the rally did not go on smoothly as it was considered to be against the law because the Malaysian police disagreed

to authorize the rally (Weiss, 2013). Therefore, there had been huge turmoil at the demonstration with the Malaysian police trying to scatter the protesters by using tear gas and water cannons, besides arresting 245 supporters of the *Bersih* rally (O'Shannassy, 2012). In spite of this, *Bersih* had provoked Malaysians to be more concerned to the misdeeds in the electoral processes (Weiss, 2013).

The second *Bersih* rally, on July 9, 2011, was done in advance of the 13th general election on the following year (O'Shannassy, 2012). The rally organizer, *Bersih* 2.0, called out each and every political party in Malaysia to join the rally since it is unaffiliated to any political party, although, the Barisan Nasional (BN) refused to join. Though the national party did not show interest in participating in the rally, the Prime Minister agreed to provide a venue for the rally to take place, which was supposed to be a stadium, but later retracted the offer. This infuriated the public as they began to doubt the integrity of this national party.

This time, the public demonstration also called 'Walk for Democracy', brought in eight demands, comprising the demands from the previous rally and four new demands. The new demands include; reorganization of postal vote system, campaign period of not less than 21 days, duty to be performed independently and impartially by public institutions, end bribery, vote buying and stop dirty politics (Welsh, 2011).

However, for the second time, the Malaysian police denied permission for the rally to take place. The government highly condemned the *Bersih's* upcoming demonstration, whereas, the Malaysian police worked on setting numerous roadblocks to prevent access to the rally destination (Weiss, 2012). The police also used tear gas and water cannons on supporters to scatter them and took many protesters into custody, including *Bersih's*

chairperson, Dato' Ambiga Sreenevasan, a number of coordinators and opposition leaders (Case, 2013). Though many protesters condemned the forceful actions initiated by the police on them, the police denied being violent and forceful on the protesters, many of them managed to secure evidences by recording videos and taking photographs of the brutal acts of the police officers (Weiss, 2012). Welsh (2011) described the response from these authorities as 'over the top from the start'. He also wrote that the authorities were very much against the rally to the extent that they arrested anyone dressed in yellow, just because that is the theme colour of *Bersih*.

There was also huge support from Malaysians living abroad and NGOs in Malaysia for this second public demonstration. These Malaysians, about 4000 of them, in more than 30 international locations, organized rallies in those cities they were living in, to show support towards *Bersih* and this movement was known as Global *Bersih* (Global Bersih 2.0 – The Awakening of the Malaysian Diaspora,” n.d., para. 4).

1.5 Purpose of the Study

This study is an investigation of the representations of the protesters involved in the 2011 *Bersih* 2.0 rally in two Malaysian English online newspapers. The news reports on this issue will be analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), aiming to elucidate the preconception behind news reports of the rally carried out in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

This analysis aims to uncover the news reports that imply underlying meanings, construct inclined representations and beliefs on the *Bersih* 2.0 incident and its demonstrators. In this study, the ideas behind the media discourse will be explored by analyzing language usage in media and wordings in news texts.

Examining these online newspapers' texts would further provide an insight about the writers' point of view and outlook towards the matter and also the contradicting or comparable viewpoint that underlie these media. This can probably shed some light on how these online media stand apart holding on to their point of view whilst appearing to provide the 'same' information in the eyes of the ordinary people. The relationship between the similarities and differences in the news coverage are also interpreted and analyzed.

However, this analysis done on online media does not intend to convey that these journalists are providing false pretexts in order to misinform or mislead its readers. Most importantly, this study is done not to side any one of the party, instead, to be more precise, the main objective of this study is to explain how the linguistic preferences in the news reports are at variance among one another in the event of news coverage of the same issue.

1.6 Research Questions

Based on the purpose of the study, the two research questions below were prepared to guide this study. The research questions are:

1. How are the *Bersih 2.0* protesters' represented in the two Malaysian online newspapers?
2. What are the similarities and/or differences in the representations of the *Bersih 2.0* protesters in the *Malaysiakini* and The Star online news reports?

Systemic Functional Linguistics can be a very useful approach in discovering how the discourses of these major online newspapers construct and represent the protesters and the incident itself. The comparative analysis of the online news reports would be useful to explain how the protesters are described in specific ways and as to how the ideology in language can affect the representations of people in the minds of the readers.

The significance of this study is to point out the variations in the news reports of the same incident and hence, sensitize readers about the viewpoint behind the news being reported by these online newspapers. Thus, this study intends to facilitate online news readers to be more conscious and aware of the use of language in the news by explaining how the choice of words and discourse used can represent the protesters differently.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This study has limited data as it only included two news sites as the source of the data. Therefore, the results are only relevant to these news sites and it is not possible to generalize the findings to all the Malaysian news sites.

This study only included news articles published on July 10, 2011, which is the day after the protest, for analysis in order to study the earliest news reports about the protest. For that reason, the results of the analysis only focuses on the news coverage of the incident on one day, because this point of time is very important in shaping the viewpoint of the readers.

1.8 Summary

In summary, this chapter has presented the introduction to the study and described the components in this study. Introduction to the study is an important key element of a research as it introduces all the parts of the building block of the final product. The chapter begins with some information about Malaysia, then the current political situation in this country. These details would provide a clear understanding about the country, and can act as background knowledge to the matters that would come up later.

Next, the researcher presents information about the role of media in Malaysia. This is a significant feature as the research itself looks at two online newspapers, which are part of the media in Malaysia. This section covers the role of print/news media in Malaysia and here, the researcher covers all the key points of Malaysian related to this study.

Following this, details about *Bersih* organization and its rallies are presented. This information is very much required as this is the issue being looked into in this study. Therefore, details such as what is *Bersih* organization all about, why it was formed and when its rallies took place, are needed to be imparted in this chapter and it had been done so. Subsequently, the researcher adds in some explanations from previous studies about representation. After that, the purpose of the study and the research questions are presented. Lastly, the limitations of the study are discussed. This chapter enables the researcher to present a comprehensive and detailed introduction to this study.

The next chapter, Literature Review, would focus on comprehensible definitions of key terms used in the study and the review of previous studies, which are related to the present study. The review of previous studies would provide a clear picture on what these researchers have studied and found out from their researches.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

New media or social media in the globalized world have progressed well with new technology. Not only have technological advances facilitated acquiring new and prompt information, they have inevitably given more control over the media and created the means to acquire information from it. A nation's strength sometimes lies in the media. It is powerful enough to represent principles, disseminate information and/or spread discourses among people. These have led to various kinds of representations, which tend to influence public attitude towards these representations. One of these is the representations of the *Bersih 2.0* Rally (2011) protesters in Malaysian online newspapers, and its impact on the public attitude towards these representations, and the various assumptions regarding the credibility of the media and press, just to name a few.

2.2 Representation

One of the key concepts being looked into in this study is representation as this research studies the way the *Bersih 2.0* protesters are represented in the two online newspapers. Hall (1997), defines representation as “the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language” (p.16). Hall further adds that there are generally two systems of representation (p.17).

The first system of representation relies on the conceptions, views and beliefs that people carry in their mind (p.17). These beliefs are what influences how we think and perceive information from our surroundings. For example, we have always represented nodding as a body language used to indicate consent or agreement because we grew up believing nodding denotes a positive feedback. Here the representation is formed from our idea or notion that we carry mentally.

The second system of representation refers to language, since each individuals share the ideas that they have with each other, by communicating using a common language. Here, language not only indicates the written and spoken form of communication, but also visual images, facials expressions and any image or object that functions to express meaning (p.18-19). Another study views representation as an imagery of another event or incident and a representation might not be completely precise as it may hold a fraction of deceptiveness (Adler & Mittelman, 2004).

Hall (1997, p.25) proposed that one of the main approach to constructing meaning in the analysis of representations is the constructionist approach. Hall claims that, it is the symbols and conceptions in the language system that constructs meaning in representations, and not the language itself or the speaker or writer who expresses their ideas with an intentional meaning responsible to form meaning in representation (p.25). In short, it can be said that we, humans are the ones who have created concepts, and we use language to communicate and express these concepts as they cannot be imparted without language and most of the time, we need a common language to construct meanings of these representations. For example, in English, when we are asked to clarify what the colour red signifies, the answer would always be red stands for danger and a sign used to direct someone to stop. However, in India, red is considered to be the colour of auspiciousness,

especially for married women and divinity. It can be seen here that the representation of the colour red differs between two language and culture, therefore, it is clear that the symbols and signs represented in a particular language is what creates meaning.

According to Schwalbe (2006), an issue can be structured and presented in different ways by the media in order to represent the issue the way they want the readers to view and recognize it. In other words, this is termed as media framing, and there is another process of forming representation, which is audience framing referring to how the audience or readers perceive the matter according to their understanding (Schwalbe, 2006). As mentioned earlier, it is the media framing that is being looked into, using the SFL approach as a device in this study.

Theo van Leeuwen pointed out that each and every text carries a representation of the subject matter and no matter how nonfigurative the text is, it would be decoded as the depiction of the social practices (Leeuwen, 2008, p.18). Texts are able to do more than what it appears to, as they are able to portray a happening, discuss further about it by assessing, explaining and rationalizing it, thus it is these features which happens to be of added significance compared to social practice, which is the acceptable manner of doing something (Leeuwen, 2008, p.19)

2.2.1 Representations in Media Discourses/ Newspapers

The language used in the newspapers has always been of interest to linguistics scholars as they provide rich source of data and unforeseen results at many times. Therefore, it is seen as a significant medium to ascertain the media's power, dominance and ideology (Oktar, 2001). In general, the media works as a mediator between the government and the citizens

of a country. Newspapers are also one of the most important components in the mass media.

Lately, one of the most widely discussed of these is how the perceptions of the representations of the *Bersih* 2.0 Rally (2011) protesters in Malaysian online newspapers are made out to be. To many, these representations represent challenging ideas and perceptions, which are important in changing people's mind. An important instance in which all of these challenges are taken is whether these representations are real and how public opinion is being shaped. Van Dijk (2008) says there seems to be in general agreement on claims that powerful people are the force behind the selection and construction of news in a particular manner and, therefore, the news being published as reality is, in fact, the reality shaped by these dominating people (as cited in Hasim et al., 2012).

According to Viswanath and Demers (as cited in Hasim et al., 2012), powerful people use the media as their instrument to control and rule the actions of the media, which will result in a power that can affect the amount and type of information delivered to the public. Mohd Azizuddin (as cited in Hasim et al., 2012) also claims that the restrictive conditions and regulations imposed on people's freedom of expression as expressed in the Malaysian Constitution have resulted in the control of the liberty of the press in expressing their thoughts freely. He further adds that the newspapers are not working for the public, but, praising and promoting positive remarks on the government in order to survive commercially. Hence, representations of the *Bersih* 2.0 Rally (2011) protesters in Malaysian online newspapers may or may not be true representations of facts, opinions and outcomes of the *Bersih* protesters.

The media, especially newspapers are very significant instrument that works to pass the information about government programs, plans and concerns to the public (Hasim, Basri, Rahim, & Azlan, 2012). It is very beneficial when citizens of a nation are well-informed about their own country and the government, as this would improve the democratic system, while the citizens will be able to smart decision on the supremacy of their country (Hasim et al., 2012).

The practice of power in the government institutions has to be balanced in order to avoid the misuse of power and to gain trust from the public (Hock, 2006). In fact, the press in general, is expected to supervise the government and its politicians; which can only be done if they are thoroughly autonomous and liberated. In order to do so, the newspapers have to focus on serving the public rather than the ruling politicians and their respective political parties (Netto 2002: 18 as cited in Hock, 2006). Van Dijk (2008) (as cited in Hasim et al., 2012), claims that these powerful people are the force behind the selection and construction of news in a particular manner and therefore, the news being published as reality is in actual fact, is the reality shaped by these dominating people.

A study on the ideological construction of racism towards Asian migrants in two Australian newspapers done by Peter Teo (2000) reveals evidence of a racist representation embedded in both the newspapers. The first part of his analysis showed that these newspapers consistently linked the Vietnamese migrants with unlawful activities and crime. According to Widyawati (2006), media is an influential tool that supplies destructive remarks and stereotypes when it constructs the image of a particular individual, community, race, religion, gender and social status. She adds that when these negative identities are formed by the media, it is further sidelined by presenting them as ‘others’ and not ‘us’ to show that they are not accepted as a part of the society. This analysis on news

headlines clearly presents the evidence for what Van Dijk states as the positive representation for ‘us’ and negative representation for ‘them’.

Oktar (2001), studied two newspapers with different ideologies and found that the representation of secularists and anti-secularists were in contrast through the analysis of the transitivity patterns and also through the use of positive ‘us’ and negative ‘them’ representation (p.342). Oktar explains that the ideological discourse and the relations of power underlying them remains indistinguishable by most readers of the two newspapers being studied. Oktar claims that ideology is a significant determiner in the construction of the discourse in news reports which carries the social representation of *us* versus *them*. The two Turkish newspapers that he studied carried reflected oppositional ideologies of secular modernism versus Islamic traditionalism. However, it is worth taking note that writers of both newspapers emphasised on similar social values such as ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’ even though they had their own ideological goals (p.344).

A study done by Abbott (2011), reminds us that all news reflects a particular perspective. Neither objectively nor explicitly, perspective reporting simply ‘mirrors’ reality; both types of writing actively shape reality into coherent narratives. Both types require human actors to make myriad choices about what to cover and how (p.361). Izadi & Saghaye-Biria (2007) on the other hand analyzes three newspaper reports of the nuclear plan in Iran by applying two theories, the Orientalism concept by Said and the ideological theory by Van Dijk. They found that these elite dailies covered the issues relating to Iranian nuclear using different syntactic structures and linguistic features, but all of them shared one similar belief. It is a conviction saying there is an underground nuclear plan proposed by Iran, and this should not be a way of guarding the country.

A study done by Gong (2005) on the Australian and Chinese press coverage of Athens' preparations for the Olympic Games in 2004 shows that news reports concealed different ideologies held by these press media even though their articles had the same main idea. She states that this was due to the fact that these media's philosophy includes their political standings, beliefs and established customs in their respective countries. Gong further adds that their viewpoints were evident in the lexical choices and the extent of coverage in the news reports.

Another study on how two ideologically opposing dailies report two different world news in China conducted by Fang (2001) displayed that both dailies had substantial disparity on one issue though another issue that was studied showed significant similarities. It is crucial to comprehend that these occurrences are there not merely because of the difference in the style of reporting an incident. As it can be seen from the previous researches, the choice of words makes the difference not only in the way the message is conveyed but more importantly, it has the power to influence the readers on how they perceive the issue and the participants of the events (Fang, 2001).

Looking at a study on a riot in Milan involving city police of Milan and Chinese community who live in a particular area called Paolo Sarpi, shows that the Chinese newspapers reported the incident from the point of view of the Chinese community involved in the riot (Tarantino & Tosoni, 2007). This is further supported by Van Dijk (1989, p.116) when he states that powerful strategies such as the selection of syntactic structures and lexical styles, are employed in order to manifest the preferable representation in the minds of the readers.

Merskin (2004) studied the speech of the then American president George Bush regarding the September 11 bombing attacks. The study found that the president's speech frequently represented the Arabs negatively in many ways. One of his speeches mentioned the bombers and terrorists as dangerous, evils and evil doers and this was shown in the media with images of some suspects attached. Besides that, the President stressed that America will not share a good relationship with any country that maintained a close affiliation with the suspected terrorists countries, implying that it is also a pro-terrorists country (Merskin, 2004). President George Bush also stereotyped that the terrorists were Arab Muslims and they were terrorizing America in the name of their religion. Here, all Arabs especially those living in America were made to feel as 'others' who are not part of the audience in the president's speeches.

2.2.2 Representation in Online Newspapers

Ever since the Internet emerged, most activities are made possible to be done via 'online' means using the Internet. Just to name a few things, which can be done online today include shopping, banking, chatting, studying and many more. Even the traditional form of newspapers has progressed to the form of online newspapers or news sites. The online newspapers have made people more vocal about the news that they read as they are always given space to provide comments.

According to Siebörger and Adendorff (2009), the online news reports can increase the public's consciousness towards politics and political issues as the Internet users can watch news videos and read news reports online. A study by Tewksbury and Althaus (as cited in D'haenens, Jankowski, & Heuvelman, 2004), showed the variations in the amount

of information acquired through a printed and electronic newspaper in the United States. They found that online newspapers had a great number of articles since the space restrictions is not the same with the printed version. Besides that, it is apparent that online newspapers have more interactive aspects such as emailing, sharing comments, live chats, online polls and surveys, which do not take much time to join, compared to the printed newspapers. Due to its borderless characteristic, it is found that the online newspapers are more often used to read the international news, which was not a common habit before the emergence of these online media (Abdulla, Garrison, Salwen, Driscoll, & Casey, 2002).

It is not only texts that would represent a particular viewpoint to the readers, but images also play an important role in conceiving a representation of the subject matter to the readers or anyone who stumbles upon the image. Schwalbe (2006) studied the representations of images taken during the Iraq war that appeared in the US mainstream online newspapers. The study reports how the images of the Iraq War were represented in two different time frames, firstly, when the war was in progress and secondly, after the war was over, specifically on its first three anniversaries. Schwalbe (2006) found that the five weeks that the war was in progress had different representations presented through its images. During the first week, the images represented America as being equipped with missiles of high technology, strong, well prepared and dominant through posting images of the attacks in Baghdad, the public properties, buildings and their militants as well (Schwalbe, 2006). The news websites also represented Americans as kind, sympathetic and caring humanitarians by posting images that showed the help extended to treat the innocents who were hurt and lost their homes in the war. During the next four weeks of the war, the representations were slowly changing from being successful and powerful in the war, then, displaying their compassionate side by providing charitable assistance, next,

ultimate triumph in the war highlighted by bringing down Saddam Hussein's statue and lastly, having power and domination (Schwalbe, 2006). However, on all the three anniversaries of the war, only photographs of people posing during the war was posted, none on the weapons which were extensively during the war were seen. This clearly represents that the war was being forgotten and the online newspapers were ignoring this news as they had to focus on the current issues which were more appealing to the readers.

A study conducted by al-Sharabi, Ibrahim, and Nor (2011) was based on the representation of an under aged girl who publicly came to ask for divorce from her thirty year old husband in Yemen. The researchers studied how an online English newspaper in Yemen represented the girl, Nojoud, her abusive husband and their marriage in the eye of the international readers. The news website constantly foregrounded Nojoud and represented her as an innocent girl who had been pushed into the early marriage system by her family (al-Sharabi, Ibrahim, & Nor, 2011). For instance, the news reports described her innocence and immaturity by stating that the child did not even know the meaning of marriage and that she always wanted to play, but was stopped, beaten and sexually abused by her husband. The child was also represented as a victim when the writer pointed out that she begged her family not to get her married and later after marriage, begged her husband not to abuse her physically and sexually. Once divorce was officially granted to Nojoud, it was represented as something unusual in Yemen and represented the freedom of the media in defending the girl while reporting the incident (al-Sharabi, Ibrahim, & Nor, 2011). The writer, being a Yemeni himself, had represented the issue with the perception of the international readers in mind and thus the support given to the girl by the international audiences was not valued by the Yemeni society.

2.2.3 Representations in Malaysian Online Newspapers

In a study on the new politics in Malaysia, Sani (2009, p.110) mentioned that the cyberspace has become a powerful device to its user, who now use it, to confront organizations or regimes that do not stick to democracy. Besides, it also serves to wear off the mass media controlled by the government or organizations close to them. Sani (2009) adds that independent blogs and internet news sites have broaden the opportunity for Malaysians to retrieve worthy news and significant views, which might be in favour or against the government, and this is prohibited or controlled in the mainstream media (p.110). According to Weiss (2013), the online news websites in Malaysia were representing the role of a responsible citizen as they brought up the responsiveness of Malaysian towards the happenings in the nation and promoted certain important incidents and programs that took place in Malaysia. However, Weiss adds that some of these websites were being less cautious on the news being posted, but only intended to distribute news and cynical criticism on certain parties.

During the 2008 election, *Malaysiakini*, the first alternative online newspaper in Malaysia, was extremely influential in people's choice in placing their vote for the opposition party. *Malaysiakini* is represented as the only fair-minded optional online newspaper which stays poised between the media of pro-ruling party and the opposition in the arena of digital news (Sani, 2004). On the voting day, there were about 500,000 visitors an hour, a number considered very high, compared to online news site of a printed newspaper, News Straits Times, which only had about 970,000 visits for the whole day (Sani, 2009, p.114). *Malaysiakini*, also known as 'Malaysia Now', was started in 1999 as the first and till now, only independent online newspaper without a printed version. This news site with its tagline "Only the news that matters" and "Get both sides of the story" has

large followers of about 100,000 readers every day (Ling, 2003, p.298). However, in 2004, *Malaysiakini* was characterized to be exploiting the liberty given to its media organization and they were accused of causing a possible racial brawl between the united Malaysians of different ethnicity (Anuar, 2005). Besides *Malaysiakini*, there are also other English news sites; most of them are with printed counterparts such as The Star Online, News Straits Times Online, Daily Express Newspaper Online, Bernama.com, Borneo Post Online, The Sun Daily and many more other sites.

With more people using the new digital media more than the conventional media that they used to use, it is beginning to establish new roles and responsibilities to the users. These new media users are represented as becoming more powerful than before, even more than the journalists and news channels (Gurevitch, Coleman, & Blumler, 2009). Through the access to the new media, online users are able to communicate and comment with the other groups of media, produce blogs, videos, web pages or reading material for large group of readers. These users have become more interactive than before as they get to comment and share their opinions just about anything in any websites or videos in YouTube. Media has also shaped the users to be represented as a much more outspoken society as they are able to not only share their views online, but talk about it in public, especially with other digital media users. On the contrary, it would be impossible to act or behave in this way in the days before the emergence of the digital media.

2.2.4 Representations of Rallies/Protests in Media

Simmons and Lecouteur (2008) wrote about the representation of racism in the news on two rallies carried out by two different minority groups in Australia. They added that these two groups, the Redfern being Indigenous Australian group and the Macquarie Fields being non-Indigenous Australian group, were repeatedly asked to ‘change’ by the Australian media including newspaper, television and radio news reports and parliamentary debates (Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008). The minorities protested to show their anger over the constant disturbance and discrimination by the police officers which resulted in death of youngsters in their community. However, none of these media represented the problem faced by these minorities, instead, the news makers portrayed the communities as trouble makers and drug abusers. The protests which they carried out were labelled as ‘riots’ and thus attracted the attentions of the locals and internationals on the minorities for the wrong reason. According to the media, the Redferns were ‘rioters’ and continuously violent, adding that being violent is the nature of this racially marginalized community. However, the community in Macquarie Fields did not face as much criticism as the Redferns, only the group of youngsters who were involved in criminal activities were blamed (Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008).

Another study conducted by Stamou (2001) on the non-protesters in one of the strongest protest in Greece in 1998. The protesters were tertiary level students and educators who were opposing the new government policy of education reform bill. Stamou explained that non-protesters here refers to all the people who were at the location where the protest took place, but did not participate. She found that though the news reports frequently used negative actions on the protesters like drivers and the parents of the teachers, the actions are explained and justified. However, there are negative actions used

for the protesters, it is only explained briefly and not justified. Stamou also pointed out that, violence caused by the non-protesters, especially the parents of the teachers are toned down but the acts of violences aimed at them are highlighted and stressed at all times. Furthermore, she found that the violences of another group of the non-protesters, the hooligans are constantly justified and defended whereas the act of violence of the protesters are labelled as groundless and unreasonable. In short, it can be said that though the protesters were protesting for a good cause, they were always shown in the bad light.

In a study on the press reports focusing on the representation of protests carried out by youths aged 12-18 in the Britain against the Second Iraq War, was done to study the reaction and response that it gathered from the adults and print media (Such, Walker, & Walker, 2005). These British youths protested in different areas on a few days during their school hour, without any adults accompanying them. Most adults responded to this event as a wrongful act as they regard youths as people who should not participate in political issues because of their tender age and innocence. The press also represented the school authorities and teachers as ‘sinners’ as they have also committed a sin by not stopping the protests from taking place. The protests by the youths were widely represented negatively by using words like ‘disobedience’, ‘violence’, ‘truants’ and ‘public order offences’ and these protests were regarded as a totally unexpected event, carried out by an unpredictable group of people, the school going youths (Such, Walker, & Walker, 2005).

A study by Adler and Mittelman (2004), on the representation of globalization protesters in the US mainstream newspapers found the reports usually starts by typecasting them as young professionals coming from the middle class society. Gradually, the reports begin representing them as a group of problem makers who are not supportive among themselves, as they are depicted as groups of protesters who are not protesting for the same

reason. The study also found the protesters being labelled as violent as most news reports state that they damaged public properties and fought with the police. However, when the researcher interviewed the protesters, all of them were against violence and they stated that they would never initiate violence as they agree it would only worsen the situation and spoil the reputation of their organization. This statement from them is not disseminating the same image represented by the mainstream newspapers. The protesters were further represented negatively by referring to their protest as ridiculous and illogical as they are unable to go along with the economic development. Hence, it is discovered that the mainstream news reports were not looking at the protesters from an impartial or balanced point of view as they did not consider exploring the problem from the side of the protesters.

2.3 Previous Studies Using Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

In recent times, many researchers used SFL as a research tool in their study to analyze various types of discourses. However, this section provides a detailed review of the previous studies, which are within the theoretical framework of SFL and in some way related to the present study.

2.3.1 Political Speech Analysis using SFL

According to Feng and Liu (2010), political speech refers to an oration given by a politician or political figure, whereby the speech, which generally aims to be influential on its listeners, is presented by referring to a pre-written script. Feng and Liu (2010) analyzed the introductory speeches presented by the president of United States of America, Barack

Obama on one of his formal occasions to study the use of the interpersonal metafunction in SFL. The study found that the president, Obama used declarative clauses for most of the parts of his speech (Feng & Liu, 2010). In SFL, declarative clauses are grammatical category classified under the expression of Mood, which falls under the interpersonal metafunction. Declarative clauses refer to expressions used to exchange information, but in the form of statements only (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). President Obama was found using declarative clauses most of the time because he had to share information on his achievements and successes clearly to ensure the Americans believed and had confidence in him. At certain times, his declarative clauses were also functioning as recommendations and persuasions (Feng & Liu, 2010).

Wang (2010) analyzed the political speeches given by the current U.S. President Barack Obama using SFL approach. She found that he used many strategies to reduce the distance between him and the Americans. Using SFL, she found that his language was comprehensible by all people and she always uses simple sentences than longer ones. The transitivity analysis showed that the material process was the one used widely in his speech, which is to show the government's achievement and future planning for the U.S. citizens. By applying transitivity, he is trying to do this to maintain in power. He is also being persuasive by using first person pronoun and adding some religious statements in his speech.

Butt, Lukin, and Matthiessen (2004) examined U.S. President Bush's speech after the September 11 incident. The findings showed that President Bush's speech was both defensive and cleansing as he depicts the 'enemy' as violent and evil, but the actions of the Americans are represented as unbiased and fair. In the use of the interpersonal functions, President Bush was noted for using commands like 'I ask you to...', when he wants the

target group, be it the Taliban, US military or the Americans to provide service in the forms of actions. The President also always used negative verbs such as ‘kill’, ‘repress’ and ‘brutalize’ when the Actors are the terrorists, and they are always referred as dangerous people who cause destructions to America and its citizens.

According to Lirola (2012), the analysis done on Nelson Mandela’s speech on Presidential inauguration focusing on the interpersonal functions in the speech found that Mandela constantly used exclamations in his speech to emphasize his feelings and emotions. As it is, the speech was full of sentiments as he was highlighting his positive statements through exclamations, for example by saying ‘God bless Africa!’. Besides that, Mandela was also using ‘we’ throughout the speech to link the Africans and himself as the ‘doer’ of the verbs, in other words it is done to ensure that the listeners felt that he is one of them and he knew all their hardships and difficulties. Lirola points out that Mandela indirectly compelled the listeners to adhere to his aims by using the modal verb ‘must’ in his talk. Though he placed a ‘have to’ order on his listeners, he ensured his statements did not sound like commands. Therefore, his addressees would have perhaps felt as if they were being asked to do something in order to gain a positive outcome as mentioned by Mandela, which is for their own benefits.

2.3.2 News Analysis using SFL

Siebörger and Adendorff (2009) conducted a study on the language used in the newspapers. It was hypothesized that the more the readers do not understand the language used by the media, the more it would reduce the readership of the newspaper. In order to find out if this is true, Siebörger and Adendorff used SFL and conducted a comparison of lexico-grammar

and cohesion patterns in three articles from different newspapers. They found that the newspaper aimed at upper-class business people contained many technical terms that required knowledge in the related field to understand the articles, whereas, the newspaper for the lower income people had the least lexical density in short clauses to ensure the readers understand the articles (Siebörger & Adendorff, 2009).

Another study done by Juan Li (2011) on the difference in news reports of The New York Times and The China Daily focused on the issue of accident between the two countries' defense plane and jet respectively. Li found that the news reports in the two newspapers would generate distinct perceptions towards the incident and this difference was due to a few reasons, especially the existing political differences between these two countries. Using the transitivity analysis, Li reports that the different processes and roles given to the two parties involved showed that the news garnered dissimilar insight to its readers. Countless number of positive actions of the American authorities working hard to solve the problem and sympathetic impressions on the American detainees in China were enforced in the headlines of The New York Times (Li, 2011). Moreover, the roles of 'doer' of actions and 'sayer' of verbal processes were always taken by the Americans and a few of the 'doer' roles were given to the Chinese when their actions and its effects were shown negatively and further criticized them for being the reason behind the fatality of the Chinese pilot.

According to Li (2011), the Chinese newspaper, China Daily produced headlines of an altogether different style. This daily gave more importance to the actions and views of the Chinese authorities regarding this incident, besides pointing fingers at the American authorities when delving into the study of the cause of the accident. One of the headlines from China Daily, 'Pilot's recount shows US to blame' suggests that the victim or the

witness of the incident knows who is at fault; the USA is responsible for committing a mistake and causing the collision (Li, 2011). This headline would create a perception that the witness is sharing his real experience and it is the truth, henceforth the one to be blamed is definitely the US. Another headline ‘US says, we are sorry’ shows that it is their mistake and they are apologizing to China for it. In another way, the headline creates a positive impression on China, providing readers an assumption that China is not responsible for the mishap, though they are not mentioned in the headline.

2.3.3 Rallies and Protesters’ Representations in Newspapers using SFL

Shakila Manan (2001) studied the language used to represent the *Reformasi* Movement and the demonstrations that they have carried out in one of the mainstream newspaper in Malaysia- the News Straits Times (NST). Using the transitivity analysis, the study explains that the leader of the *Reformasi* Movement, Anwar Ibrahim was always placed in the powerful position that takes action and brings effects on others. However, his actions are shown to bring negative effects such as breaking laws, initiating demonstrations and involving him in homosexual activities.

Shakila Manan pointed out that the choice of words being used in the news reports compel the readers to look at the matter from a particular point of view, in this case, a negative point of view is structured by the newspaper. She found that there are a lot of pejoratives or derogatory terms such as ‘mobsters’, ‘rebels’ and ‘ungrateful people’ used to describe the movement and its members (Manan, 2001). Most of them depict the movement as illegal and its members as offenders. This enables the mainstream newspaper to disrepute the *Reformasi* Movement and their goals.

Similar to the previous studies on rallies, this study also found that the news reports are not providing information on the manhandling of the police officers affected the demonstrators of the movement (Manan, 2001). In short, the language used in the news reports were not on favour to Anwar Ibrahim and his actions, furthermore, it only reveals that the NST are producing reports which indirectly backs the government. Besides that, the *Reformasi* Movement is mostly shown in visuals as demonstrators and destroyers, who behave violently and destroy public properties. This study not only shows how partiality is empowered in the mainstream newspapers, but also worries us thinking about the future of the social responsibility carried in the hands of these journalists and media.

In a study done by Alvaro (2013) on the representation of the Chinese nonconformists in local English dailies and Western print media, it was found that the local press media were always excluding the nonconformists and their actions and deemphasized them most of the time. However, the latter media were always emphasizing the news about the dissidents, gave much importance to the placements of this news and stressed the rights of these protesters by linking the opposition against them with the abuse of human rights (Alvaro, 2013). The different findings in these sources suggest that the Chinese dailies were always trimming news about this issue but in contrary to this, the westerners exaggerated news about them in their news reports.

The SFL analysis of the nonconformists observed that three mainstream newspapers in China had their own way of portraying the protesters especially one called Liu Xiaobo (Alvaro, 2013). Liu was indirectly linked to negative activities and strongly criticized for receiving the Nobel Peace Prize after getting involved in mostly destructive transitivity processes. One of the headlines say ‘The Nobel Peace Prize has fallen...’ here the word ‘fallen’ indicates something, which has accidentally been given to the wrong person. There

were no headlines or news reports to indicate the reason Liu received the prestigious award in these print media. Another discovery in this study was the positive ‘us’ and negative ‘them’, whereby ‘us’ refers to China and ‘them’ refers to Liu and the Nobel team for honoring him with the award (Alvaro, 2013). Here the verbal processes used, such as ‘warn’ and ‘lambaste’ indicated the findings. Concisely, as it has been mentioned earlier, mainstream newspapers in China are implying that the act of a person or group against the ruling government is a wrongful act. Such an action only deserve negative representation in the media and this can be done in many ways such as back grounding, foregrounding the negative actions, and passivization of the actions without mentioning the intention of the acts as found from this study.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has presented the review of previous studies, which are related to the present study. Beginning with an introduction, forewords on the arrival of the new media and its representation in this society is discussed briefly. Next, a section on representation and several subsections under it, discussing about representations in media, online news media, Malaysian online news media and representations of rallies in media. Here, the researcher starts by introducing the concept of representation and gradually moves on to the bigger picture of the issues related to the study.

Subsequently, previous studies on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) were reviewed according to specific subject matter being analyzed, firstly analysis on political speeches, next on news reports and lastly on rallies represented in newspapers using SFL. The review of previous studies would provide a clear picture on what these researchers

have studied and found from their researches. Reviewing previous studies provides a clear understanding on the different methodologies used by these researchers to study different areas using SFL. These reviews also presented the findings and outcomes of the analysis, which altogether had some similarities in certain ways.

The following chapter, Research Methodology, is the most important section in this study, would explain the theoretical framework of this study. The theoretical framework enables the researcher to look at the study from a specific angle and carry out the research by using it as a guideline. It is here that the description of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach, its functions and how it is adopted in this study is explained thoroughly. Next, the methodology used for data collection and data analysis is clarified in detail.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the most important element in a research study; the methodology that develops and moulds this present research report. This section is where the method used in this research is explained and the approaches applied in this study are rationalized. In addition, it looks into the research design of this study in which a descriptive research method was adopted and qualitative approach and research tools were applied for data collection and analysis.

According to Yin (2011), qualitative research allows a researcher to come up with a complete and thorough study of just about any range of topics of interest. Yin also added that a qualitative research is not only able to study the significance of people's lives without altering their actual real life situations, but also has the capability of gathering opinions and viewpoints on certain issues from participants who are involved in the matter, not the researcher's presumptions.

Hence, this chapter provides a rationale and an in depth explanation for each research instrument employed in this study. It also elucidates issues regarding the integrity of the study, the selection of the research participants as well as the procedures for data collection and analysis. It is important to note that the two research questions below guides and directs the study towards reaching its aims.

1. How are the Bersih 2011 protesters' represented in the two Malaysian online newspapers?
2. What are the similarities or differences reflected in the representations of the *Bersih 2.0* protesters in the *Malaysiakini* and The Star online news reports?

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study draws upon Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) (henceforth SFL) approach.

3.2.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics

The Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach presented by Michael Halliday views language as the combination of its form and function, therefore, it carries the concept of language is a communication source to construct meaning using words from an array of alternatives (Moore, 2002). Halliday considers the language used by a speaker or writer is the result of the selection made from the broad options available. Hence, a message or idea is produced when the user decides what the speaker wants or does not want to say after picking up words preferred from alternatives available (Christie, 2004).

There are two parts in the SFL: Systemic and Functional Linguistics. The function of the Systemic Linguistics is to explain the system of the language being used to convey meaning. This is where the speakers have the liberty to choose their choice of words from the options available in their language. Functional Linguistics explains that language is used as a medium to socialize and the form of language being used depends on its purpose (Hu Zhuanglin as cited in Wang, 2010).

Clarence-Fincham (2001) stated that SFL was able to supplement the analysis done using CDA, as it offers researchers a clear understanding of a complex situation of the studied texts. Discourses from the media are great sources to be used in the study of how the writers' point of view influence the representations of media discourses (Bell, 1991 as cited in Gong, 2005) and further influences the minds of its readers. Teo (2005) claims that SFL is able to focus on both the language at the surface level and also the implicit language with hidden or indirect meaning. Therefore, SFL appears to be very suitable to look into ideologies and find out the hidden implicit assumptions. It is very crucial to decide on an appropriate issue that would yield some useful results when its linguistic devices are analyzed. This is why *Bersih 2.0*, a speculated issue is being looked into in this study.

Having found SFL, Halliday always stressed language as a semiotic system, whereby semiotics is described as a resource for meaning making (Halliday, 1977 as cited in Matthiessen, Teruya, & Lam, 2010, p.194). The SFL approach studies language at the lexicogrammatical level, using three metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The three metafunctions in SFL, ideational, interpersonal and textual corresponds to the Context of Situation and its categories of Field, Tenor and Mode (Haratyan, 2011, p.261).

The ideational metafunction is concerned with the experiences that is present in the language, whereas an interpersonal metafunction relates to the 'Mood' of the language used which is further determined to be imperative, interrogative, declarative or so forth and lastly the textual metafunction has to do with the thematic structure, 'Theme' and 'Rheme' in the language used.

3.2.2 Ideational Metafunction

The ideational metafunction is about forming thought by using a word in a particular way in order to interpret the experience that one has gathered within him/herself or from the surroundings. According to Fowler (2003, p.12), the ideational metafunction, to be precise, the lexical classification and transitivity in Halliday's SFL is one of the most comprehensible and practical method to conduct the linguistic analysis on ideology.

Based on the traditional grammar, transitivity is the relationship between the lexical verb and the object in the sentence or phrase (Opara, 2012). In general, a lexical verb can be classified as a transitive verb or intransitive verb. A sentence that carries a transitive verb has a direct object; therefore, there is a connection between the verb and object. Meanwhile, an intransitive verb does not carry a direct object; therefore, there is no influence of the verb on anyone or anything (Fabb, 1997; Oji, 1994 as cited in Opara, 2012). However, Opara (2012) claims that transitivity in SFL covers the whole phrase unlike the traditional grammar where it is only regarded as an aspect of the verbal group.

The grammatical system of 'transitivity' is used in this metafunction. Transitivity is analysed in three groups; process, participant and circumstances. There are six processes under the transitivity system and they include material process, behavioural process, mental process, verbal process, relational process, and existential process.

According to Wang (2010, p.255), material processes simply deals with something being done and it is stated using verbs (e.g. add, bake, kick), a subject (regarded as an Actor) and a direct object (regarded as the Goal of the action) which mostly turns out to be a noun or a pronoun.

Based on a study conducted by Opara (2012, p.113), behavioural processes are very similar to mental and material processes. Wang (2010, p.255) argued that a behavioural process reflects the physical, emotional and psychological condition of the participant who is referred to as a Behaver. Some examples of behavioural processes are gazing, grinning, observe, yell and weep.

Goatly (2004, p.118) points out that mental processes involves thinking, comprehending and experiencing. As noted by Wang (2010, p.255), a mental process usually deals with two participants which are, Senser and Phenomenon. Oktar (2001, p.324-325) explains that there are three different types of mental processes; which are *cognition*, *perception* and *affection*. The verb 'believe' is one example of the *cognition* mental process that deals with the element of thinking and reasoning. The *perception* mental process is defined by Sasongko (2011, p.350) as the act of sensing using our five senses. The *affection* mental process deals with the verbs such as 'want' and 'like'.

Wang (2010, p.255) claims that verbal processes are the practice of communication, where giving and receiving of information takes place. The usual verbs used in this process are 'reply', 'utter', 'criticize', etc. This process comprises of main three participants; Sayer, Receiver and Verbiage (p.255). Verbal processes are very common and are widely used in news reports (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.174).

As noted by Goatly (2004, p.118), relational processes are defined as processes of describing or explaining the condition of objects or people. Wang (2010, p.258) further explains that relational processes can be categorized into two groups; attributive relation and identifying relation. Attributive relations are the descriptions of particular objects or people, whereas, identifying relation are the expression of properties of two things or

person which are very much alike. Attributive relations consists of two main participants; Carrier and Attribute, while the participants for identifying relations are Token and Value.

An existential process identifies the existents or happening of something (Wang, 2010, 255). There is always an Existent in an existential process. In her book of *Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*, Eggins (2004, p.238) stated that this process can be easily identified through the use of the word ‘there are/is’. Another element found in this process is the Circumstantial element which is used to give information about locations mentioned in the sentence (p.238). The table below summarizes all the six processes, its significance and the relevant participants involved.

Table 3.1: Process types, their meanings, and key participants
(Halliday, 1985: 131 as cited in Erjavec, 2004, p.569)

Process type	Category meaning	Participants
Verbal	‘saying’	Sayer, Target
Behaviour	‘behaving’	Behaver
Existential	‘existing’	Existent
Mental: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception • Affection • Cognition 	-sensing -feeling -thinking	Senser, Phenomenon
Material: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action • Event 	-doing -happening	Actor, Goal
Relational: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attribution • Identification 	-attributing -identifying	Token, Value Carrier, Attribute, Identifier

3.2.3 Interpersonal Metafunction

Interpersonal metafunction involves using language in an interaction and the communication can be in any form, such as informing, questioning, greeting and so on (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997, p. 12). Wang (2010, p.255) points out that the two main elements of the interpersonal function are Mood and Modality.

Mood explains more about the speaker and the listener's position in the context of a particular conversation or information exchange. Mood can be positive or negative, and it refers to the use of language in declarative, imperative, or interrogative; which are the different mood types (Eggins, 2004, p.309-312). For example, 'What is your name?' is a WH-interrogative mood, as the speaker is questioning the addressee.

Modality is used to express the speaker's attitude towards themselves, their listener, and the subject they are talking about and also the relationship of the speaker and the listener. Bloor and Bloor (2004, p.12) explained that modality can be used to convey a speaker or writer's message as an advice, suggestion, opinion or a forceful reminder. For instance, a reader would give more attention when modal verbs like 'must' and 'ought to' are used, compared to 'perhaps' or 'may' (p.12). Thus, it can be said that modality is a powerful tool used by a writer to express the degree of certainty or possibility in his/her writing.

Wang (2010, p. 256) has pointed out that modality allows its user to clearly state his/her thoughts and beliefs over a particular issue. Wang further adds that modality can display the level of familiarity, closeness and the disparity in social status, power and position hold by the writer/speaker and reader/listener.

Another form of modality is the modality of deference used as tag questions, softeners or when the speaker is not confident, for example, ‘sort of, you know, I wonder if’. Modalization can be represented by using many different language forms besides modal verbs, for example, using adjectives, personal pronouns, tense, notional verbs, direct and indirect speeches (Wang, 2010, p.256).

3.2.4 Textual Metafunction

The third metafunction is known as the textual function that encompasses the features of the two metafunctions mentioned above into a logical and cohesive discourse. Textual metafunction strikes differently from the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, as it is considered as the facilitator that allows the information in the text to be presented in a correct order (Matthiessen, Teruya, & Lam, 2010, p.220). This metafunction involves a few semantic and lexicogrammatical systems, for instance, theme, conjunction, substitution, ellipsis, reference and lexical cohesion (p.221).

The textual system of ‘Theme’ is used to prioritize certain part of the text, or in Halliday’s words ‘the starting point for the message’ (Teo, 2005, p.128). Themes can also perform the role of a participant, process or circumstance in a clause; and this kind of themes are called topical themes. In a clause, there can be an element appearing prior to the topical theme. This element is determined as the interpersonal or textual theme after referring to its purpose, which can be subjective or to link the clause.

Amongst the three types of themes mentioned above, the topical theme is the most significant one. Usually, it includes a single experiential element and finishes off the thematic structure of the clause. A participant, process or circumstance can be the

experiential element. In short, from the start of a clause, till and taking into account of the single or first experiential element is identified as the topical theme. The other part of the clause represents the rheme.

Textual and interpersonal themes are not compulsory elements that should go before the topical theme. They can be used at the users' own discretion, but when they are present together, it is always the textual theme that comes first, then the interpersonal theme and lastly the topical theme (Ping, 2005).

Another important element to be analyzed in the textual metafunction is the orderliness of the message in a clause, which is known as thematization. The language user, be it a speaker or writer use only suitable words and expression to thematize and convey their message; and the other party, the listener or reader form an equivalent interpretation only when they also thematize the similar idea. This metafunction also involves a few other semantic and lexicogrammatical systems besides theme, for instance, conjunction, information (given/new), substitution, ellipsis, reference and cohesion (Matthiessen, Teruya, & Lam, 2010, p.221).

3.3 Data Collection

The Malaysian English online news sites play an important role for being the source of data in this study. The data consist of news reports from two Malaysian English online newspapers; The Star Online (TS) and *Malaysiakini* (MK).

The Star is a tabloid, pro-government, mainstream newspaper owned by the Chinese government party Malaysian Chinese Association (Anuar, 2005, p.31). According to Croissant and Martín (2006, p.177), *Malaysiakini* is known as the most outstanding complementary online English newspaper in Malaysia that caters primarily for the urbanites. These two online news sites were selected because The Star is the mainstream newspaper on its printed version with an online news site, whereas *Malaysiakini* has a large following on its news sites. Besides, both have achieved good popularity among Malaysians and they are not on the same political alignment.

These news sites were selected after making sure that the event selected for study has been reported in them, hence allowing a comparison to be made. The data includes news reports on the *Bersih* issue reported on one day only, July 10, 2011, the day after the *Bersih* 2.0 rally. The news reports were gathered by searching for articles based on two criterias, firstly, the article should be published on July 10, 2011 only and secondly, keywords such as '*Bersih*' and 'rally' were found in the news reports. Next, the suitability of the articles with this study is analyzed before choosing them. The suitability of the articles is determined by ensuring that the articles are reporting about the protest. Subsequently, some articles which had the keywords mentioned but did not report mainly about the protest were not used in this study.

During the process of data collection, 21 news articles were gathered, consisting of 14 articles from The Star Online and 7 articles from *Malaysiakini*. Even though there are only 7 articles from *Malaysiakini*, these articles are longer in length and have 4,036 number of words in total whereas the 14 articles from The Star Online has 3,627 words in total.

These newspaper articles were selected to be analyzed as an attempt of exploring and distinguishing the various discourse strategies used on the *Bersih 2.0* issue. The articles were collected from the respective news sites. This is a qualitative research design; even so, it would be beneficial to reflect on the occurrence of some words, which are used repeatedly, as this might help in the analysis of data.

3.4 Method of Analysis

The corpus includes news reports on the *Bersih* issue reported on July 10, 2011, the day after the *Bersih 2.0* rally. A total of 21 news articles were gathered, consisting of 14 articles from The Star and 7 from *Malaysiakini*.

First, the articles will be numbered according to its source, where the 14 articles from The Star Online will be labelled A1-A14 and the seven articles from *Malaysiakini* will be labelled as B1-B7 and all of them will be attached in the Appendices. Next, every sentence will be numbered with a capital ‘S’, for example, ‘S1’ to avoid any one of them being missed out.

The analysis of the newspaper discourse is undertaken in two stages. First, the 21 news reports are analyzed one by one using the SFL approach, focusing on ‘transitivity’, ‘modality’ and ‘thematization’, whereby each of them corresponds to the ideational, interpersonal and textual function of language.

For the ideational metafunction, transitivity analysis is done, where the texts will be analyzed by identifying the processes, participants and circumstances. This is done to describe the action of the participant, the circumstances in which they are done and how it is represented.

Then, the interpersonal metafunction in the news articles will be looked into focusing on its mood and modality. Finally, the textual metafunction is done, where the Theme and Rheme are analyzed.

The basic analysis will be shown in a table similar to the one shown below, while the detailed analysis will be written below the table. Here is one sentence taken from an article from TheStar Online (Umno’s Patriot and *Bersih* 2.0 supporters almost clash in march to stadium, 2011).

Table 3.2: Sentence taken from The Star Online (TS1)

	<i>The FRU personnel</i>	<i>managed to use</i>	<i>their shields</i>	<i>to repel the protesters.</i>
Ideational	Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
Interpersonal	Mood		Residue	
Textual	Theme	Rheme		

In this sentence, the verb ‘*managed to use*’ refers to an action taken by the Subject; therefore, it is a Material Process. The Subject who ‘*managed*’ was ‘*The FRU personnel*’, thus they are the Actor and the action being taken is the Goal. It is also accompanied by a circumstantial Adjunct of purpose. Next, the Mood is the Subject and fused Finite, ‘*The FRU personnel managed*’, while the remainder is the Residue. Theme is the Subject, and the rest are the Rheme.

This sentence foregrounds *'The FRU personnel'* as the Actor and gains readers attention right from the beginning and places *'the protesters'* at the end to reduce the influence of them on readers. The material process of *'managed to use'* is used positively towards the FRU personnel, whereas *'to repel the protesters'* gives the readers a negative perception on the protesters. In short, it can be said that this sentence portrays a negative image on the *Bersih* protesters identities and actions. When this sentence is compared with a news article from *Malaysiakini*, the researcher would be able to identify the similarities and differences in the representations of the *Bersih 2.0* protesters in these two online news reports.

The processes in each sentence will definitely provide similarities in the portrayal of the protesters attitudes, actions and identities. For example, in an analysis of news articles on air collision between the USA and China, SFL was used to reveal the ideologies behind the news articles (Li, 2011). The analysis by Li (2011) found that the newspaper from USA was being very 'anti-China' as negative Agents were frequently used in the news headlines to give the country a negative image. Similarly, the researcher also uses this method to study the representation of the protesters. The Subjects and Participants together with the processes are the next two utmost important points to lookout for, as they would present who is doing what and to whom it is being done. This can be positively or negatively represented, but this relies heavily on the intention of the writer as to how they would like to present the people involved, in this case, the *Bersih* protesters.

According to Burton (1982: 202) (as cited in Iwamoto, 2001), there are three main things that is needed to be studied in order to comprehend the incident from the perspective of the people involved in the incident. They are firstly, to look at the process by itself and verify the participants and their actions, next; carefully uncover the type of processes that

the participants are getting involved in, and lastly, find out the effects of the processes and who or what faces the outcome of the processes.

This study will be using the steps mentioned above in the setting of the *Bersih 2.0* and its related news articles. Therefore, the main participants involved in the analysis are likely to be the *Bersih 2.0* protesters, the FRU personnel and the police in charge of controlling the protest. This will show to way to answer the researcher's first research question which looks at the *Bersih 2.0* protesters' identities and actions in the two Malaysian online newspapers.

Besides this, direct quotations from powerful people or organizations which can increase the news value and encourage the readers to accept the ideological beliefs being incorporated are also looked out through out in these articles.

In the second stage, a comparative analysis of the 21 news reports is done using the results in the first stage, focusing on the ideational metafunctions. The similarities or differences in the role of the participants in the two news articles in the transitivity study would disclose 'who has done what' and 'to whom' and this will project the actions and image of the protesters clearly.

The second part of the analysis, where the comparison and contextual explanation are done, would lead to the revelation of the principles and beliefs of these dailies. As a result, this answers the researcher's second research question, which is how similar or different these news articles present the identities and actions of the *Bersih 2.0* protesters.

3.5 Summary

In summary, this chapter has presented the methodology of the study that is to be carried out by the researcher. Research methodology is the foundation of a research as it provides the basis of the study that is going to be carried out. Here, the theoretical framework is explained in detail and the approach used is rationalized and justified to prove that the methodology is practical and effective. Next, the data collection and data analysis are mentioned clearly in the methodology to indicate the procedure of conducting the study.

This chapter includes the theoretical frameworks, data collection and data analysis methods, and these forms the foundation of the actual research being done by the researcher. This establishment also indicates the ability and the understanding of the researcher in coming up with a successful research.

The next chapter, Data Analysis and Discussion, will provide the analysis and findings gathered by using Systemic Functional Linguistics on the news articles from *Malaysiakini* and TheStar Online. These findings and the discussion will answer the two research questions raised by the researcher.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the news articles collected from the two online newspapers. The analysis will be done in a number of stages. First, the analysis of the ideational metafunctions in the articles from The Star Online and *Malaysiakini* will be presented separately. To ensure the close links between the data analysis and the research purposes, the research aims and questions will be restated, followed by a brief explanation on the procedures involved in analyzing the data. Next, the interpersonal metafunctions found in these articles are analyzed by carrying out a mood analysis followed by analysis of the modal auxiliaries. After that, the textual metafunctions are analyzed by looking at the information present in Theme and Rheme of the sentences in the articles. The complete analysis of the articles is attached in the Appendices. In this chapter, the researcher presents the analyzed sentences according to its source, The Star Online and *Malaysiakini*, and not according to each article as the sentences are combined based on the processes and metafunctions found in each online newspaper.

After analyzing the news articles from the two news sites separately, they are compared with one another to study the similarities and differences present in the representations of the *Bersih* rally and its protesters. The comparison is done by looking into the previous analysis of all the three metafunctions. However, it is in the ideational metafunction analysis that the greatest numbers of findings are gathered. Therefore, the most important part of the analysis is the ideational metafunction analysis, so this is the

most covered analysis in both the news portals. Finally, the discussion section will examine the reasons behind these phenomena and other issues relevant to the discovery of the findings. Due to its long name, both the news sites' name will be abbreviated, in which, The Star Online will be referred as TS and *Malaysiakini* as MK in the analysis below.

4.2 Analysis of News Articles from The Star Online

The 14 articles from TS had 3,627 words and 156 sentences in total. It is found that the articles were written using mostly straightforward words and uncomplicated short sentences. Similarly, the language used was also simple and can be understood by people of all levels, including children, teenagers, average and highly educated readers.

4.2.1 Analysis of the Ideational Metafunction

In the analysis of the ideational metafunction, the sentence structures are broken down into simpler forms and this facilitates the study of representations of the *Bersih* rally and its protesters. The positioning of the participants, both the protesters and others were looked into, their roles in the sentences were compared, and the 'doer' of an action and the 'receiver' of the action were identified. This also further led to the analysis of the form of verbs used to address the actions of the participants.

Table 4.1: Frequency of the processes in TS news articles

Source	Total	material	mental	verbal	behavioural	relational	existential	
TS	No.	197	75	44	70	5	3	0
	%		38	22	36	3	2	0

Based on Table 4.1, it can be seen that the process that occurs the most is the material process, followed by verbal process, which has only slight difference with the material process. The third highest process is mental process, then behavioural and relational correspondingly. It is important to note that existential process did not appear even once in these news reports. This might be because; generally it is found that this process does not appear frequently in discourses though it is an important process used in stories as it functions as the introducer of any central elements in them (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.257). Besides that, this process usually has no participant, but only the process and the Existent, whereby, this is not appropriate for the discourse of the news reports (p.258).

The material process was used to address the actions of different parties, such as the protesters, the police officers, the UMNO members, some politicians and so forth. A few of the sentences with material process, which addressed the Bersih and its protesters as Actors, are listed below.

Table 4.2: Material process with *Bersih* protesters being the Actor

Actor	Process: material	Goal
Bersih 2.0 group...	tried to march	towards Merdeka Stadium.
Bersih group	tried to make its way	to the stadium via Jalan Pudu as well.
Bersih supporters...	began trickling in and gathering	in front of the junction leading to Jalan Stadium.
Two large groups of supporters,	coming	... merged into a larger crowd.
They	gathered	at the junction of Jalan Hang Jebat leading to the stadium...
The Bersih supporters...	began moving	towards Jalan Hang Jebat leading to the stadium.
The group	made their way	back to Jalan Petaling and attempted to march towards Pudu again.
The group	instead moved	towards Jalan Maharajalela
Malaysians in Melbourne	held	a peaceful rally there to show support for Bersih 2.0.
Bersih 2.0	had achieved	its objective of gathering at the stadium.

The sentences above placed the *Bersih* and its protesters in the position of ‘Actor’, whereby their action and result of the actions are presented in the sentences. These sentences are similarly represented in a few ways; firstly, the protesters are portrayed as a group of protesters with perseverance, because they keep trying to march towards the Merdeka Stadium though there were a lot of hurdles and blockades on the way there. The words such as ‘tried’ and ‘attempted’ shows that the protest was not carried out easily and there were lots of struggling on the way to their destination. The last sentence shows that the *Bersih* organization managed to face all the challenges and reach their destination, the stadium after so much of tussles and resistance.

These sentences above also represents the protesters to be very united as the sentences always presents them in groups and words like ‘two large groups of supporters’, ‘merged’, gathering’ and ‘made their way’ further proves the unity of the protesters. The ninth sentence is also an evidence of how united and supportive the public are towards *Bersih*. In this case, even the Malaysians who are living in foreign countries are supporting the protest by holding a similar rally abroad.

Table 4.3: Material process with *Bersih* protesters being Actor and negative goals

Actor	Process: material	Goal
They	would fully exploit	it by giving an impression that Malaysia had no political stability with instances of police brutality.
“Bersih supporters	even changed	their slogan to <i>reformasi</i> during the illegal rally.
Bersih	keep	the anti-government momentum going among the people.

The sentences in Table 4.3 show how the *Bersih* protesters are represented as a group that would tarnish the good image that Malaysia has. The first sentence uses the verb ‘exploit’ on the protesters which refers to them taking advantage or misusing the rally to

create a negative image of Malaysia in the eyes of the international world. The next two sentences represents the protesters as ‘anti-government’ as they are described to be saying *reformasi*, a slogan used for the Anwar Ibrahim movement some time back during the rally. In the second sentence, the rally is referred as illegal rally, portraying a negative view on the group altogether. The last sentence denotes the *Bersih* organization as a group that instills hatred in the people towards the Malaysian government. Though the government and media know the rationale behind the *Bersih* rally, it is still represented negatively in the news reports.

Table 4.4: Material process with police being the Actor

Actor	Process: material	Goal
Police	fired gas and used water cannons	to break up the crowd.
They	used	very minimum amount of tear gas to disperse the crowd
police	mounted	roadblocks on all roads leading to Masjid Jamek to thwart protesters.
police	took away	a group of suspected demonstrators who had gathered near the mosque.

According to Table 4.4, these are the few sentences found to be depicting Malaysian police as the Actor and how they controlled the protesters during the rally. The police are shown as a very responsible group as they have taken various steps to control the rally. They are also portrayed positively as they are said to be not as harsh and brutal as claimed by the protesters. The next two sentences explain how effective they have been in keeping the rally and protesters under their control.

Table 4.5: Material process with the protesters being the Affected

Affected	Process: material	Circumstance
The 1,667..lawyer Datuk S. Ambiga, Umno Youth	arrested	were released

Table 4.5 (continued)

chief Khairy Jamaluddin and scores of opposition elected representatives,		by 11pm.
Although 1,667 protesters	were detained,	all were released last night.
All those	detained	were released.
Ambiga	was released	after having her statement recorded at the city police headquarters here.

The sentences in Table 4.5 show the protesters in the position of the Affected, and thus the action of another party has made them the affected ones. All the four sentences above have a similarity of referring to the incident of the protesters being arrested. The sentences not only mentioned the material process of the protesters getting ‘detained’ but also mentions that they were released, again to show that the Malaysian police have not been harsh on them. The last sentence mentions that the person behind the *Bersih* rally, Datuk Ambiga was ‘released’, instead of saying was arrested and then released. This is another positive representation on the Malaysian police and government, depicting that they are being very lenient to the main person behind this protest.

Table 4.6: Verbal process with the Malaysian Prime Minister being the Sayer

Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage
The Prime Minister	said	he was glad that the majority of Malaysians, especially those living in Klang Valley, did not take part in it.
He (PM)	said	“I hope the incident today (yesterday) will serve as a lesson for everyone that street demonstration not only brings hardship to the people, it could also lead to possessions being destroyed”.
Najib	also said	the so-called demand by Bersih protesters for a clean and fair election was merely to serve their ulterior motive.
He (PM)	said	“but illegal rallies and street demonstrations are out of the question”.
Najib	also quashed	talk that the rally was a success, saying that the number of people who turned up was small compared with the organizer’s initial estimates.
He (PM)	added	if everyone were to go to the street to express their views,

Table 4.6 (continued)

		then chaos would reign.
He (PM)	also dismissed claims	of police brutality, adding police personnel had used minimum force when acting against the demonstrators.
The Prime Minister	also commended	the police for their success in dealing with the demonstrators, adding police personnel had acted professionally.
He (PM)	said	“even when the demonstrators were arrested, they were given food and a place to perform prayers,”

The news articles from TS have numerous numbers of sentences which quoted statements of the Malaysian Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak. According to Table 4.6, the Prime Minister had stressed that the *Bersih* rally is an illegal protest and it has a hidden agenda behind the protest. He praised the non-supporters of the rally for not participating in it. The Prime Minister was also represented as nullifying the claims of others, by indirectly saying that the rally was a failure and not a success as mentioned by others. He also expressed his support to the Malaysian police, and applauded them for their effort, adding that they were not as harsh as claimed by the protesters. Finally, he pointed out that the authorities were still kind to the ‘problem makers’ who were arrested by providing them with all the necessary needs. In short, the articles represent the rally as going against the law and destructive in nature.

Table 4.7: Verbal process with the political leaders bring the Sayer

Verbiage	Process: verbal	Sayer
Bersih 2.0’s reason for street protests made no sense and that is why MCA is against it,	said	MCA president Datuk Seri Dr Chua Soi Lek.
“I am proud that patriot supporters displayed bravery during the rally and they had chosen to disperse peacefully	said	Umno Youth exco member Megat Dzulkarnain Omardin
FRU had been fair in carrying out its duties.	said	Omardin.

The sentences above are statements quoted from the politicians from two main parties in Malaysia, UMNO and MCA. Firstly, the MCA president criticizes *Bersih* saying it does not have a significant reason to protest and their party is not supporting the rally. The next two sentences present quotes of the UMNO Youth exco member mentions that the patriot (UMNO) protesters were carrying out the rally calmly, excluding comments on the *Bersih* protesters which leaves the readers to assume they were not being as serene and well behaved as the patriots. The last sentence points out that the FRU had been very sensible in their actions unlike the claims made by the *Bersih* protesters. To be brief, the statements from the politicians published in these articles represent the *Bersih* protest as an unnecessarily one and the protesters are represented as being chaotic and aggressive protesters.

Table 4.8: Verbal process with Yang di-Pertuan Agong being the Sayer

Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage
The Yang di-Pertuan Agong	had advised	rally organizers against a street protest.

The sentence above explains that the *Bersih* rally had taken place despite the advice of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to stay away from a demonstration on street. Therefore, the sentence indicates that the rally organizers have rebuffed the advice and went on with the rally. The rally organizers are indirectly portrayed as being obstinate.

Table 4.9: Verbal process with the affected shopkeepers being the Sayer

Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage
The supervisor of a popular restaurant chain	lamented	that during the two hours supporters passed through the street, she suffered losses of over RM3, 000.
Verbiage	Sayer	Process: verbal
“The rallies were inconvenient and bad for business. “Even the	he (shop owner)	said.

Table 4.9 (continued)

number of customers we had on Friday night was smaller than our usual figure,”		
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The two sentences above reports the complaints from the shop keepers whose shops are located in the city, where the rally took place. The first sentence stresses the amount of loss suffered and the second expresses the opinion of the shop keeper where both explain the disturbance caused by the protesters. The complaints illustrate the nuisance and inconvenience that has been caused by the rally and its demonstrators.

Table 4.10: Verbal process with the *Bersih* supporters being the Sayer

Sayer	verbal	Verbiage
Pantai MP Nurul Izzah Anwar	criticised	the police for using excessive force to handle the situation when “we were peaceful”.
She (Nurul Izzah)	said	it was mission accomplished as the huge turnout “showed the people wanted a clean election”.
P. Subramaniam (Bersih 2.0 committee member)	condemned	not only the arrests of its supporters, but also the arrest of those from Patriot, led by Umno Youth chief Khairy Jamaluddin.

Table 4.10 presents the comments given by the supporters of the rally, Pantai MP Nurul Izzah Anwar, who is a Pakatan Rakyat party member and P. Subramaniam, a committee member of *Bersih* 2.0. Nurul Izzah’s comments does not favour the Malaysian police and her comments are represented by using the verb ‘criticised’ which is used to refer a harsh comment or condemning of an issue. She expresses her dissatisfaction of the police’s actions and also shares her contentment of the large number of supporters who rallied together. Meanwhile, the comments from P.Subramaniam show that he is being fair, as he not only condemns the detaining of *Bersih* protesters but of those from UMNO too. There were no similar comments from the pro-government politicians who defended these

protesters for any reason. These sentences represent *Bersih* as a successful rally and its members are very fair-minded and not biased in their speech.

Table 4.11: Mental process with the protesters being the Sensor

Sensor	Process: mental	Phenomenon
As majority of the crowd still	refused	to disperse, police sprayed them with chemical-laced water from a water cannon.
They	ignored	warnings to disperse.
They	decided	to disperse after praying in front of the water cannon.
They	declared	the rally a success.

Based on Table 4.11, all the sentences incorporates mental process and pictures the protesters as the Sensor, who causes or is the driving force behind the Phenomenon. The first two sentences used ‘refused’ and ‘ignored’ as the mental process and these two verbs portray the protesters negatively. Both these verbs show that the protesters are not ready to obey the instructions of the authorities. The first two sentences also imply that the police did not attack them blindly, but gave them warnings and notified them to withdraw the rally. However, the protesters did not comply with the instructions given. The third sentence explains that the rally was not completed and the crowd gave up the protest after being sprayed from water cannon. In fact, the protesters prayed in front of the water cannon after they were sprayed which shows they took on agency after being subjected to an action.

Though these three sentences illustrate that the rally was incomplete, the news report also stated that the *Bersih* protesters announced their protest a success, and this actually leaves the readers of the articles to feel that the protesters are not able to accept their defeat and thus state that the rally was a success. It is important to note that in all these sentences representing the protesters negatively foregrounds the Sensor, which refers to the

Bersih protesters. This is done to show the readers directly of how inappropriately they have behaved during the rally. All these sentences represent the protest as an incomplete one, with the protesters shown to be defeated but unable to accept the failure.

Table 4.12: Mental process with the authorities and politicians being the Senser

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
The Federal Government	had observed	the minimal participation of the public
They (Federal Government)	declared	yesterday a success too.
The police had also	imposed	a 22-hour lockdown of the city.
They, too, (police)	declared	the day a success.
Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak	is grateful	that the illegal rally did not cause serious harm to people and property.

Table 4.12 shows the sentences that carry the authorities and politicians, as the Senser and they are responsible for the phenomenon in the sentences. The first two sentences illustrate the comments of the Federal Government, who are also against the rally. The verb ‘observed’ and ‘declared’ show that they have witnessed the rally and ‘minimal participation’ refers to the least number of protesters present in the rally. The third and fourth sentence shows that the police have done their job perfectly and have taken full control over the city. Both the Federal Government and Malaysian police have ‘declared’, which means they are saying it publicly that they have gained success in controlling the rally and they have defeated the *Bersih* protesters. The last sentence also explains that the Prime Minister was ‘grateful’ because the rally was controlled by the authorities and did not cause any loss to anyone. In short, all the sentences represent the rally as a failure indirectly and the government is the winner of the day.

Table 4.13: Mental process with the public being the Senser

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
EVERYBODY seems to have	achieved	what they wanted over yesterday's

Table 4.13 (continued)

		Bersih 2.0 rally in Kuala Lumpur.
Since everybody appears to have got what they	wanted,	perhaps the country as a whole can now move on.
Many who had taken to the streets may well have been	committed	to the cause of a clean election.

Looking at the sentences in Table 4.13, it shows that this online newspaper constantly collectivized the protesters by addressing them as ‘everyone’, ‘everybody’ and ‘many’ in their news reports.

The first two sentences give its readers an idea that the rally was the sole aim of the protesters and not the intention to achieve a fair and clean election. Unlike the first two sentences, the last sentence supports the protesters by providing the motive behind the street rally. This sentence portrays a positive image on the protesters as they have a good purpose for rallying.

Table 4.14: Mental process with the protesters and other *Bersih* supporters being the Senser

Phenomenon	Senser	Process: mental
They got all the publicity	they	wished.
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Then there are the political players who	would relish	any opportunity to make the nation's political incumbents look bad.

The two sentences in Table 4.14 illustrate the protesters and its supporters negatively in the sense that it was done for their own benefits. The first sentence foregrounds the Phenomenon, to highlight the real motive of the rally and portray the rally negatively. The next sentence implies that the political leaders who supported *Bersih* rally were not doing it honestly, but to damage the reputation of the existing political leaders.

These two sentences represent *Bersih* protesters and its supporters as opportunist who used this as a chance to achieve their personal aims.

Table 4.15: Behavioural process with Baharuddin Ahmad being the Behavior

Behaver	Process: behavioural	Circumstance: cause
The husband of Setiawangsa PKR Wanita chief,	has died	of a heart attack.
Baharuddin Ahmad, who was in his 50s,	died	after complaining of chest pains at KLCC yesterday at about 4.30pm.
He	clutched	his chest and complained of heart pains before he collapsed.
refuted claims...Baharuddin	had died	after being hit by tear gas.

All the sentences with behavioural process in Table 4.15 look at the same Behavior, Baharuddin Ahmad, one of the protesters who died during the rally. The sentences stress the claim that the cause of Baharuddin's death was a heart attack and not caused by the tear gas sprayed by the police to disperse the protesters. The reports in TS explain the incident with the cause of his death in each sentence. The last sentence supports the claim even more, quoting a statement from a police officer in charge of controlling the rally. Although the sentences above does not represent the *Bersih* protesters altogether, but it clearly represent the Malaysian police as not being at fault or responsible for the death of the *Bersih* protester.

Table 4.16: Relational process in TS

Carrier	Process: relational	Attribute	Circumstance
Traffic	was	high	till about 4pm as the crowds began to disperse.
There	seems to be	no rancour or bitter recriminations.	–
Kampung	was	expectedly quiet	after police mounted roadblocks on all

Table 4.16 (continued)

Baru			roads leading to Masjid Jamek to thwart protesters.
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The sentences in Table 4.16 are the only ones found with relational process in TS. These three sentences explain the different situations in different contexts during and after the rally subsided. The first sentence explains the heavy traffic on road caused by the protesters, but also claims that they dispersed early, at about 4pm because of the prompt control of the police. It is also evident in the second and third sentences, where it claims to have no problem because of the management by the police. In short, all the situations described represent the capability of the police officers and does not carry any representations of the *Bersih* protesters.

4.2.2 Analysis of the Interpersonal Metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction is analyzed based on the element of Mood and Modality. The Mood is analyzed based on the role of the speech or sentence, which can vary from giving information, asking for information or giving commands. In general, news articles would employ the role of giving information in their texts, which are also known as declaratives. Sometimes, there are also presence of questionings or interrogatives and instructions, also known as imperatives. The Mood in a sentence is identified to be the subject and finite, whereas the remaining part of the clause is known as the Residue.

Most of TS news articles consist of mainly declarative clauses, some imperatives and a few interrogative clauses. Though there were 6 interrogatives in the news articles, 4 of them are questions asked by pro-government politicians, where 1 question is from the

Malaysian Prime Minister and 3 questions are from Datuk Seri Dr. Chua Soi Lek. The declarative sentences in the news articles serve many purposes such as to describe, defend, justify, inform and express opinions or viewpoints. The news media is responsible to investigate and explain the happenings of recent times thoroughly. Therefore, the use of declarative clauses is important and necessary for the news media, and thus only these clauses are looked into.

Table 4.17: Declarative clauses taken from the 14 articles of TS

Mood	Residue
The FRU personnel managed	to use their shields to repel the protesters.
Shortly before 4pm, the police issued	a warning for the group to disperse.
Najib also said	the so-called demand by Bersih protesters for a clean and fair election was merely to serve their ulterior motive.
He explained	that since the last general election, almost every issue had been politicised and racialised, or inflamed with religious overtone.
Traffic was high	till about 4pm as the crowds began to disperse.
A number of Malaysians in Melbourne held	a peaceful rally there to show support for Bersih 2.0.
He refuted	claims made in several websites which claimed that Baharuddin had died after being hit by tear gas.
The Prime Minister also commended	the police for their success in dealing with the demonstrators, adding police personnel had acted professionally.
Police fired	tear gas and used water cannons in several locations to break up the crowd after they ignored warnings to disperse.
He also denied	allegations that the police team had fired tear gas into the Tung Shin Hospital grounds to disperse crowds gathered there.
The demonstrators had	no access to any particular venue, so they gathered anyway en route.
Nurul Izzah said	one of Anwar's personal assistants also suffered injuries to his cheekbone.
The situation returned	to normal in the evening as motorists were allowed to enter the area.
Ambiga was released	at 6.30pm after having her statement recorded at the city police headquarters here.

The sentences from Table 4.17 display 14 declarative clauses, where one clause is taken from every one article of TS. All the declarative clauses here are giving information by providing descriptions of the rally, explanations and expressing viewpoints of prominent figures. It is important to note that these declarative clauses are also active clauses, where the social actors are foregrounded to highlight the presence of these social actors.

Next, the modality analysis was conducted on the news articles of TS. Wang (2010) explains that the use of modal verbs enables the readers to identify the level of formality or truth in the writer’s statement, which varies between the ultimate definite and indefinite. Different modal verbs can carry different connotations such as possibility, obligation, permission, ability and preference. It also possible to identify the viewpoint of the writer on the issue being discussed by studying the modal verbs being used (Wang, 2010).

Table 4.18: Frequency of the modal verbs in TS news articles

	can	could	may	should	would	will	Total
No.	3	2	1	4	9	8	27

Table 4.19: Sentences with the modal verb ‘would’

Demonstrators would also not be making many friends, let alone winning supporters.
“If it was 5,000, they would say there were 10,000 or 20,000.”
“Had the event turned serious, they would fully exploit it by giving an impression that Malaysia had no political stability with instances of police brutality.
If every complaint made one or the other party take to the streets, bringing a city to a standstill, people would not be getting much work done.
Then there are the political players who would relish any opportunity to make the nation's political incumbents look bad.

According to Table 4.18, the modal verb with the highest frequency is ‘would’. Most of the modal verb ‘would’ referred to the *Bersih* protesters as the social actor. In addition, most of the sentences with this modal verb were quotes or statements of

individuals who commented on this rally. Based on Table 4.19, the first four sentences refer to the protesters as the social actor, whereas the last sentence refers to the political leaders who supported the *Bersih* rally. It is important to note that none of the sentence with the modal verb ‘would’ referred to the pro-government parties or individuals as the social actors. Here, all the sentences, uses ‘would’ to represent presumptions, to express their assumptions on what the social actors are likely to do. This modal verb is used here to display their presumptions, which are possibilities of negative acts. Though the pro-government parties and the media do not know what would happen in the future, they still present a negative assumption on the actions of the protesters to represent them negatively to the readers.

Table 4.20: Sentences with the modal verb ‘will’

I hope the incident today (yesterday) will serve as a lesson for everyone that street demonstration not only brings hardship to the people, it could also lead to possessions being destroyed.
“What will happen to our country if there are daily street demonstrations?”
Police and the Attorney-General's Chambers will decide whether to press charges against organisers of Saturday's illegal rallies, said Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak.
Action will be taken against any policeman if the claims are found to be true, says Inspector-General of Police Tan Sri Ismail Omar.

In Table 4.20, a few of the sentences with the modal verb ‘will’ are presented. All the four sentences are statements of pro-government individuals, where two statements are from the Prime Minister and another two statements are from Inspector-General of Police Tan Sri Ismail Omar. The ‘will’ in the first sentence functions as a prediction, given by the Prime Minister who expects the public to regard demonstrations as destructive, though he is not sure if the incident will really serve as a lesson. The next three sentences functions as predictions with a conditional situation, which again does not guarantee of the actions mentioned in the sentences.

Table 4.21: Sentences with the modal verb ‘should’

Those alleging high-handedness and police brutality should lodge reports.
Whether or not a street demonstration should be the last resort for aggrieved parties, it should seldom, if ever, be the first.
There should be a better way, but we can know only if we try.

Based on Table 4.21, there are four occurrences of the modal verb ‘should’ in The Star Online news articles, with it appearing twice in the second sentence. The modal verb ‘should’ is generally used to form compulsions, hope and to express suggestions. In the sentences above, ‘should’ is used to express what is supposed to or must be done. The first sentence is clearly compelling the protesters to come forward and lodge reports, and this shows that the protesters are claiming of police brutality, but so far, no reports have been lodged by them. The second sentence is important to note because the modal verb occurs twice in this sentence. Here, ‘should’ is again used to convey that street demonstration is supposed to be the way the writer claims it to be. The modal verb in the third sentence is equivalent to ‘must’ as the writer is claiming that a way exists, but it will only be known when it is tried.

Table 4.22: Sentences with the modal verb ‘can’

Since everybody appears to have got what they wanted, perhaps the country as a whole can now move on.
“If there are other issues, the rally organizers can discuss with the Election Commission and the Government.
There should be a better way, but we can know only if we try.

The modal verb ‘can’ is a largely used word and it is generally used to express ability and ask for or grant request or permission. The first sentence in Table 4.22 refers to the ability of the country to be able to move on. However, the second sentence functions as a request or permission being granted to the rally organizers, implying that the Election

Commission and the Government are more powerful than them. The third sentence has been discussed in the previous section for the modal verb ‘should’. The modal verb ‘can’ in this sentence also refers to the ability of the group of people mentioned as ‘we’.

Table 4.23: Sentences with the modal verb ‘could’

“I hope the incident today (yesterday) will serve as a lesson for everyone that street demonstration not only brings hardship to the people, it could also lead to possessions being destroyed,”
“The only problem was that staff could not make it to work early because of the roadblocks.

The modal verb ‘could’ used in the first sentence in Table 4.23 refers to the possibility of destruction to take place. However, the second sentence uses the negative form of ‘could’, ‘could not’ in the sentence, which functions to refer to a past action. Both of the sentences have a similar context, which is the effect of the *Bersih* rally.

Table 4.24: Sentence with the modal verb ‘may’

Many who had taken to the streets may well have been committed to the cause of a clean election.

This sentence in Table 4.24 displays the only sentence with the modal verb ‘may’. This modal verb is usually used to ask or grant permission or express the possibility of an issue. Here, ‘may’ functions as a possibility of why many people took part in the protest. This is implying that these protesters are not aware of the real cause of *Bersih* rally.

4.2.3 Analysis of the Textual Metafunction

The textual metafunction are analyzed by studying the thematic structure of the sentences. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.79), one of the component of ideational metafunction will be the Theme of a sentence and this component can be the Actor, Circumstance or the process itself. This component, when it becomes the Theme, is known as the topical Theme (p.79).

The textual analysis of TS news articles displays a similar pattern in the Theme-Rheme structure. Most of the sentences had the Actor or the Circumstance of the process in the ideational metafunction as the topical Theme and the remaining part of the sentence as the Rheme. Even though the textual analysis did not help in gathering much information for the study of representations of the *Bersih* rally, it is found that most of the theme/topical theme of the sentences were the pro-government individuals, their actions or their statements. However, the *Bersih* protesters and supporters were constantly foregrounded as the theme/topical theme of the sentence to highlight their actions during the rally.

4.3 Analysis of News Articles from *Malaysiakini*

The 7 articles from MK had 4,036 words and 151 sentences in total. There is an average of 27 words in a sentence. It is found that the articles consist of long sentences and most of the articles are lengthy too. Although the language used in these news articles was generally simple, it appears to be slightly formal and higher in standard.

4.3.1 Analysis of the Ideational Metafunction

In the analysis of the ideational metafunction, the sentence structures are broken down into simpler forms and this facilitates the study of representations of the *Bersih* rally and its protesters.

The positioning of the participants, both the protesters and others were looked into, their roles in the sentences were compared and the ‘doer’ of an action and the ‘receiver’ of the action were identified. This also further led to the analysis of the form of verbs used to address the actions of the participants.

Table 4.25: Frequency of the processes in MK news articles

Source		Total	material	mental	verbal	behavioural	relational	existential
MK	No.	213	103	42	43	4	19	3
	%		49	20	20	2	9	1

Based on Table 4.25, it can be seen that the most occurring process is the material process, followed by verbal and then mental process, both of which carries a difference in only one figure. The fourth highest process is relational process, then behavioural and existential correspondingly. It is important to note that the behavioural and existential process appeared the least and very few times in these news reports.

The material process was used to address the actions of different parties, such as the protesters, the police officers, the UMNO members, some politicians and so forth. A few of the sentences with material process, which addressed the *Bersih* and its protesters as Actors, are listed on the following page.

Table 4.26: Material process with *Bersih* protesters and supporters as the Actor

Actor	Process: material	Goal/ Range/ Circumstance
Crowds	snowballed	from 500 in nearby Petaling Street at 12.40pm to a whopping 10,000 just half an hour later.
Small clusters	had gathered	at the Chinatown market as early as 11am when suddenly, applause broke and the group started marching.
the group	was bolstered	by PAS supporters who had escaped arrest in the area around Masjid Jamek and Masjid India.
the march	had snowballed	to about 4,000 people, clogging up the entire stretch of Jalan Sultan, about 750m away from Stadium Merdeka.
the procession	had taken	a rather carnival-like atmosphere
urbanites	carrying	flowers and Malaysian flags, singing songs and chanting “Bersihkan Pilihanraya” (Clean up the election).
another 1,000 supporters from DAP	who gathered	in Pudu started filing into Jalan Tun Perak to thunderous applause.
one good thing	did emerge:	it was definitely a ‘One Malaysia’ movement.
Young and old, of whatever ethnicities, all	came out	to exercise their democratic rights
This Bersih 2.0 group led by national laureate A Samad Said	managed	to get only several hundred meters away from the Istana before they were stopped, failing thus to hand over their the movement’s petition to the Agong.
Bersih 2.0	had succeeded	in getting ordinary Malaysians from all walks of life – from the trendies to the skull-cap wearing conservatives - to come together for a common cause.

Based on Table 4.26, there were numerous sentences in MK portraying the process of the rally and protesters’ actions during the rally. The sentences in the table use specific verbs that illustrate the unity of the protesters during the rally. For instance the verb ‘snowballed’ is used twice, then ‘gathered’, ‘managed’ and ‘succeeded’ explains how they went through the challenges as a group. The ‘urbanites’ group of people were mentioned to highlight the support gained from the people from the city, especially the youngsters who rallied peacefully, carrying flowers and holding Malaysian flags. This implies that the

demonstrators were rallying serenely unlike the claims made by the police. The sentences also describe the situation of the surroundings during the rally by depicting it as ‘carnival-like atmosphere’ and estimating the crowd with words like ‘whopping’, ‘clogging up’ and ‘started filing’ which reminds the readers that the large number of supporters outnumbered the amount claimed by the mainstream media and politicians.

The second last sentence reminds the readers of the prominent writer A Samad Said who also took part in the rally and led the crowd to hand over their petition to the Agong. It is also mentioned it was ‘stopped’, but it is not known who stopped them. The last sentence portrays the rally as a very powerful one as it was able to gather people from all walks of life for one common cause. In short, all the sentences above represented *Bersih* and the protesters as a strong group with ever growing number of members who are supportive of each other. They are also portrayed as very united regardless of race, religion or skin colour as they are seen applauding loudly for other supporters and the various kinds of people who gathered to the common cause raised by the *Bersih* organization. It is important to note that all the sentences foregrounded the protesters as the Actors, and this would attract the readers’ attention to accept all the positive representations of the demonstrators.

Table 4.27: Material process with pro-government individual and groups as Actor

Actor	Process: material	Goal/Range/Circumstance
Pro-government newspapers	splashed	pictures and articles on how the demonstration failed in its quest to sow chaos on the streets of Kuala Lumpur.
Of course, the mainstream media and the police	have placed	the turnout at much lower levels.
The PM	conveniently left	the whole issue to the police.

Table 4.27 presents three sentences, which show how the pro-government individual and groups reacted to the *Bersih* 2.0 incident. The first two sentences construct a viewpoint that ‘the pro-government newspapers’ are different from *Malaysiakini*, assuming that those media are not being right and accurate. The last sentence represents the Prime Minister as irresponsible as he ‘conveniently’ left the issue to the police and stayed even though it was getting attention from the international world. There is a pattern of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in these sentences. All the three Actors are represented as ‘them’ and they are on the wrong side, which include their portrayal and actions. The pro-government and mainstream media are said to have published inaccurate news reports and here those media are seen as ‘others’ and MK is nothing like them. In short, the pro-government parties are seen as being against *Bersih* and biased in the way they present the issue. At the same time, it is obvious that MK is being supportive towards *Bersih* rally and its protesters.

Table 4.28: Material process with the police being the Actor and the protesters being the Affected

Actor	Process: material	Goal/Range/Circumstance
several police personnel	had pinned	him to the ground and kicked his leg.
men in blue	kicking	a marcher on the head after he had fallen to the ground.
police started	firing	tear gas into Tung Shin hospital at Jln Pudu.64...
Affected	Process: material	Actor/Range/ Circumstance
PAS Shah Alam MP Khalid Samad	was allegedly hit	by a canister at the back of his head.
There were also reports and video footage of protesters	being kicked and manhandled	during the arrest process.
1,273 men, 115 women and 13 minors	had been detained.	–
Bleeding protesters	were carted off	by police personnel
a man	spotted	on the ground with a fracture and his wrists bound in police-issued plastic handcuffs.
He	had	boot marks on his pants

The first three sentences show the police as the Actor and their actions are seen to be hurting and manhandling the protesters. The police and their actions are represented as insensitive and brutal in these sentences. The sentences with the protesters being the Affected ones illustrate the rough handling of the police on them. The protesters were ‘hit’, ‘kicked’ and ‘manhandled’ by the police. MK supports their claims of the mishandling by the police through the reports of video footages as stated above. The ‘bleeding protesters’ enables the readers to understand that they have been beaten or hurt by the police. Such use of words describes the brutality of the police, the authority who were supposed to protect the public. The selection of words by MK reinforces their opinion and attitude towards the incident. All the sentences above portray the innocence of the Bersih protesters and the culpability of the police department.

Table 4.29: Material process with Baharuddin being the Affected and the protesters being Actor

Affected	Process: material	Range/Circumstance
Baharudin, 58, collapsed after	being hit	with tear gas that was being fired by the riot police to quell the rally.
He	was rushed	to Kuala Lumpur Hospital (HKL) and was declared dead shortly after.
Actor	Process: material	Goal/Range/Circumstance
crowd of some 500	attended	Baharuddin’s funeral, among who were Bersih chair, Ambiga Sreenevasan, Pakatan Rakyat stalwarts including former Perak Menteri Besar Mohd. Nizar Jamaluddin of Pas, and PKR’s Tian Chua and Dr Tan Kee Kwong.
up to 500 mourners	accompanied	the funeral procession to the cemetery.
Roughly 500 mourners	followed	the funeral procession to the burial grounds, including NGO members and Pakatan Rakyat and Bersih 2.0 leaders.
Earlier, many Pakatan and Bersih leaders	paid	their respects at Surau Al-Muqarrabin close to the deceased’s home in Keramat, Kuala Lumpur as early as 9am.

The first two sentences in Table 4.29 show Baharuddin Ahmad who passed away during the rally as the Affected. Here, the sentences hint that the tear gas sprayed by the police was the cause of his death, unlike the claims made by the police saying that he died of heart attack. In these news articles, it is never mentioned that Baharuddin had a heart attack before, an existing health problem that he had. The next two sentences stress the number of protesters who attended Baharuddin's funeral.

All the four sentences mention the organizations that the leaders represented and the pro-government party leaders were not mentioned and thus left the readers to assume that the latter are not concerned of the death of an individual who took part in the rally. At the same time, the mentioning of the pro-*Bersih* political leaders contributes a good image on them while representing them as being thoughtful and considerate.

The protesters have 'attended', 'accompanied', 'followed' and 'paid their respects' to the funeral and procession to cemetery to pay their last respects to late Baharuddin Ahmad. The mentioning of the leaders who attended his funeral shows that these leaders who are from different race and religions still attended his funeral. The next four sentences represent the unity and supportive nature of the protesters and political leaders who were part of the *Bersih* rally.

Table 4.30: Verbal process with *Bersih* supporters being the Sayer

Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage
The rally organizers	conversely declared	the event a success, claiming a 50,000-strong turnout, in stark contrast to police estimates of around 6,000 people.
Bersih 2.0 chief Ambiga	even stated	that the rally has helped Malaysians realise that the country needs a "sophisticated democratic process".
He (Political analyst Ong Kian Ming)	added	that the rally has effectively shifted the focus from public service delivery reforms to much-needed democratic reforms...

Table 4.30 (continued)

He (Political analyst Ong Kian Ming)	pointed out	unlike past rallies when political awareness was just budding, it would take something more "impactful" to dislodge more votes from the ruling BN coalition.
Verbiage	Process: verbal	Sayer
This may signify that Bersih 2.0 has managed to spark something through Facebook to galvanise this kind of support	said	Ibrahim, who had also walked yesterday.

The sentences in Table 4.30 are referring to *Bersih* supporters and leaders being the Sayer. All of them had a positive say on the rally. The first sentence uses the verb ‘conversely declared’ implying the inaccuracy of the declaration of the mainstream media regarding the number of protesters who turned out to the rally. The second sentence refers to a statement from an important person, Datuk Ambiga Sreenevasan, who stressed on the significance of the rally to the democracy system in Malaysia. The third and fourth sentences are statements of a political analyst, Ong Kian Ming, who reviewed the rally positively, adding that it increased the political awareness among Malaysians.

The last sentence is a statement from a PKR leader, Ibrahim who claims that social networking sites have been a great tool to for the mobilization of the rally. In this sentence, the verbiage is foregrounded unlike the other verbal processes because the writer intends to stress the message being stated to the readers. These sentences represent the importance of the rally in playing a role in increasing the political awareness among Malaysians and portray the huge success of the rally in gathering a huge crowd for the rally and gaining the support of large number of Malaysians through social networking sites.

Table 4.31: Verbal process with the Sayer commenting about police brutality

Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage
A regional human rights organisations with more than 40 members across Asia	has strongly condemned	the "brutal" crackdown on Bersih 2.0 protesters yesterday.
The Bangkok-based Forum-Asia,	described	the rally as "peaceful" and it was extremely alarmed that there had been reports of alleged police violence on the protestors.
Dr. Tan	claimed	that the police fired tear gas horizontally rather than above the crowd
This, he	said,	was the cause of injuries to PAS MP for Shah Alam Khalid Samad, PKR supremo Anwar Ibrahim and to a bodyguard of Anwar whose cheek was shattered by the impact of a tear gas canister.
Gan, who is also Rawang assemblyperson,	claimed	that she was in the hospital (Tung Shin) compound when the incident (police firing tear gas) took place and witnessed it.
Verbiage	Process: verbal	Sayer
We demand the police officers that committed such abuse of powers be investigated and brought to justice,"	said	the NGO's executive director Yap Swee Seng.
The police were needlessly forceful in the face of a crowd that was not violent in any way,"	said	Dr Tan in comments to Malaysiakini after attending Badaruddin's funeral.
"Both Anwar and the bodyguard were injured because of this method of firing the tear gas and Khalid Samad sustained a wound to his head which required six stitches,"	said	Tan who is a medical doctor.
"Nizar is a veteran of several demonstrations and he said the type of tear gas used yesterday was of a stronger concoction,"	said	Tan.

According to Table 4.31, the sentences involve verbal process in which the Sayers comment about the police brutality. The first sentence refers to the Sayer as ‘strongly condemned’ the brutality inflicted on the protesters. This connects with the theme ‘law and order’ as the police are said to be violating the law and order themselves. The second sentence uses the expression ‘extremely alarmed’ to describe how shocked the organization was when they heard the reports of police violence. The next sentence is a statement from Dr. Tan, who witnessed the police brutality and described their violent and harsh action. He added that the violent actions caused injuries to important leaders too.

Another leader also expressed the police violence claiming that she witnessed their actions herself. The sentences with the verbiage foregrounded reflected the violence of the police again and stated important quotes from a few prominent figures. The second sentence in this pattern stresses that though the protesters were very peaceful, the police were still harsh to them. Dr. Tan also explained that it was the mishandling of the tear gas firing that caused injuries to Anwar Ibrahim and Khalid Samad. He also referred to Nizar and his comments, saying that tear gas used was not appropriate and the ones usually used. In short, these sentences represent the innocence of the *Bersih* protesters and the peaceful demonstration carried out by them, and how their protest was being destructed by the police, who were brutal and violent on the protesters.

Table 4.32: Verbal process with the Sayer being pro-government individual and groups

Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage
The Selangor Sultan	said	that he did not support such demonstrations, quickly ending the stadium option in Selangor.
Perkasa and Umno Youth	also promised	huge anti-Bersih rallies.
He (Inspector-general of police)	explicitly denied	claims that police had injured senior Pakatan Rakyat leaders, including Anwar, by firing tear gas

Table 4.32 (continued)

Ismail Omar)		canisters directly at the crowd assembled at KL Sentral.
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Table 4.32 refers to statements of individuals and groups which were against the *Bersih* rally. The first sentence presents a statement from The Selangor Sultan stating that he does not support the rally and thus the protesters lost the chance of having the rally in a stadium, thus they had to go on the street. The second sentence uses the verb ‘promised’, stating that they would organize rallies opposing the *Bersih* rally. It clearly shows that the Perkasa and UMNO Youth do not understand the significance of the *Bersih* rally, but simply go against it assuming it is an anti-government rally, even though they were invited to participate in the rally together with the other parties. The last sentence refers to a statement by Inspector-General of Police, Ismail Omar, who ‘explicitly denied’ claims of protesters that the police were being brutal and violent. The word ‘explicitly denied’ explains that he is not considering the statements of the witnesses who saw and experienced the brutality of the police. In short, all the three sentences are representing the pro-government individual and groups as failing to be objective in their judgments and decisions, as they blindly opposing the *Bersih* rally and refuting statements made by the witnesses of the police brutality.

Table 4.33: Mental process with the Phenomenon being the impact of the rally

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon/Circumstance
Another political analyst however	stressed	that it would be a mistake for the BN to assume the rally's impact would not be significant.
Now Bersih can	leverage	on the attention their march has drawn in international media circles to gain high-profile monitors for the 13 th general election which is expected soon.
We just	need to make sure	we have a chance to make our votes count in the next general election.

Table 4.33 (continued)

The government	should not think	they are just a pinch of salt.
Merdeka Centre director Ibrahim Suffian meanwhile	sees	the rally as an international success, in no small part thanks to the government's concerted efforts to stop it from taking place.
Political analyst Ong Kian Ming	thinks	yesterday's rally would bring significant political impact.

The sentences in Table 4.33 have a similarity in their Phenomenon, which describes the impact of the rally. The verbs 'stressed', 'leverage', 'make sure', 'think' and 'sees' are used in these sentences. All these sentences are stressing on the huge impact made by the rally and the government has to be very careful in handling similar situations in the future. This rally has managed to draw international attentions and thus the upcoming election will be an event that will be watched out by them. To be brief, these sentences represent the immensity of the impact posed by the rally and how carefully the government should perceive *Bersih* in the future.

Table 4.34: Mental process with the Phenomenon being the protesters

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
He (Inspector-general of police Ismail Omar)	estimated	the crowd at between 5,000 and 6,000.
Independent reports	estimated	as many as 50,000 people had turned up for the rally calling for clean and fair elections.
Ibrahim Suffian, director of independent research house Merdeka Centre	noticed	a lot of newcomers this rally.

Based on Table 4.34, the sentences refer to the protesters in the Phenomenon. The first and second sentence contains contradicting information regarding the number of protesters who turned up to the rally. Ismail Omar, who is a pro-government person,

estimated a much lesser amount compared to independent media who estimated about ten times more than Ismail Omar. The second sentence illustrates the difference between the statement of a pro-government person and the ‘independent reports’, which is implied to be more transparent and accurate. The third sentence shows that the Senser ‘noticed’ something unusual taking place in the rally, which is the presence of numerous newcomers in the rally. Though the three sentences have contradicting information, but the writer tries to post statements from the pro-government individuals to expose the difference present in the information.

Table 4.35: Mental process with the government, Prime Minister and public as the Senser

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Malaysians	were still hopeful	that the urbane Najib Razak would engage with the 62 NGOs under the Bersih 2.0 umbrella
But the government	has forgotten	that inflation is very high, the economy may have grown tremendously but there is little trickle-down effect and food prices are all time high.
He (PM) will now	have to deal	with a most unhappy country.

Table 4.35 presents sentences with the situation of the country and reactions of the public due to the rally. The mental processes used in these sentences are ‘hopeful’, ‘forgotten’ and ‘deal’. The first sentence refers to the hope of the Malaysians, wishing that the Prime Minister cooperates with the *Bersih* and its coalition. The next sentence shows that the government has ignored the plight of the citizens but only concentrated on the growth of the country’s economy. The last sentence shows that the citizens are not happy with the way the government reacted to the *Bersih* rally and its protesters and now it is a challenge to the Prime Minister to face these citizens.

Table 4.36: Mental process with the TV stations being the Senser

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
The TV stations	focused	on the hardships faced by traders because of Bersih

In the sentence in Table 4.36, the writer refers to the TV stations as a media that only paid attention to the plight of the traders on the day of the *Bersih* rally, but did not mention or focus on the violent actions taken on the protesters by the police. The media are also represented as a pro-government group as they do not highlight the conditions of the protesters but concentrate on the business of the traders.

Table 4.37: Mental process

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
The many leaders present were	visibly saddened and emotional.	–
In particular Ambiga and Nurul Izzah	wept	as they consoled the widow Rusni.
Bersih	regrets	that this has happened.
The police	do not respect	the <i>rakyat</i> .

Based on the first sentence in Table 4.37, the leaders were depicted as sad and emotional when they were present in the funeral of Baharuddin Ahmad, who died in the rally. The second sentence presents the emotional condition of two prominent figures, Ambiga and Nurul Izzah who were there to show their emotional support to Baharuddin's wife. The third sentence is a statement to show that this incident (Baharuddin's death) was unexpected and *Bersih* expressed the grief on that incident. The last sentence is expressed implying that it is the police who caused the death of Baharuddin and the word *rakyat* refers to him indirectly too. These sentences represent the *Bersih* leaders as individuals

with emotions and values, as they are present to show their respect to the protesters who attended the rally.

Table 4.38: Relational process with the protesters being the Carrier

Carrier	Process: relational	Attribute
One of the more striking aspects about the Bersih Marchers	was	their youth.
Notably, the crowd	was	made up of many Malaysians in their 20s who were first-time demonstrators.
Many of them	are	young voters and they translate to a significant vote.

Table 4.38 displays some of the important attributive relational processes in the MK news articles. The protesters are consistently given the role of a Carrier in the subject location, and this position theoretically allows for attribution. The identified Carrier and the qualities attributed to them enable the readers to identify the viewpoint chosen to be displayed by the writer. In addition to this, the three sentences also have similar Attribute. The protesters are attributed to be mainly young individuals who are in the twenties and are present there as a first timer. These sentences represent the protesters to be young and enthusiastic in bringing a change in the next general election, have an increased political awareness, and realize the importance of voting in the general elections.

Table 4.39: Relational process with *Bersih 2.0* being the Carrier

Carrier	Process: relational	Attribute
At the very least, the group or coalition	is	a lot more well known to a wider audience compared to two weeks ago
They (Bersih 2.0)	are	well known domestically and internationally.

In Table 4.39, there is a similarity in the quality ascribed to the Carrier, the *Bersih* group by MK. The relational process in both the sentences classifies the *Bersih* group with a positive attribution, which is being famous both locally and internationally. In both the sentences, the protesters are placed in the subject position and this would gather attention through the foregrounding of them. The construction of Carrier and Attribute form in these sentences facilitates MK to initiate positive and constructive review in their representation of *Bersih* and its protesters.

Table 4.40: Relational process with the police brutality being the Carrier

Carrier	Process: relational	Attribute
Moments later, the first barrage of tear gas	was	overdispersed.
On the same note, police brutality	is	a concern.
Such police brutality	is	not condonable.

In Table 4.40, it can be seen that police brutality is being ascribed with different values and characteristics. The Carrier in the sentences above, the police and their brutality, are a significant group who is constantly with negative attributions such as ‘overdispersed’, ‘concern’ and ‘not condonable’. This group of Carrier is continuously placed in the subject position and through the foregrounding of the social actors; readers are consistently told who these people are and the negative qualities that they have been attributed. These attributions are also free of reservations of uncertainty and exhibit a straightforward attribution on the police brutality. This fixed idea displayed in the attributions projects the view that this is the undeniable truth. In a way, this may be interpreted as a positive representation on the *Bersih* protesters, portraying them as innocent and the affected ones.

Table 4.41: Behavioural process with the Circumstance being the death of Baharuddin

Behaver	Process: behavioural	Circumstance
The late Baharudin Ahmad, who	passed away	in the midst of yesterday's police assault on the Bersih 2.0 rally in the heart of Kuala Lumpur yesterday,
He had	died	from exposure to tear gas.
In particular Ambiga and Nurul Izzah	wept	as they consoled the widow Rusni.

Table 4.41 displays the behavioural process that is related to the death of one protester who died during the rally, Baharuddin Ahmad. The first two sentences explicitly states that Baharuddin died from the exposure of the tear gas sprayed by the police. Both the sentences mentioned the cause of his death as the tear gas and the actions of police. The last sentence explains the incident that took place in the funeral of Baharuddin Ahmad. The important people from the *Bersih* rally are mentioned as the Behaver and the Circumstance of consoling the late Baharuddin'd wife.

Table 4.42: Behavioural process with the protesters as the Behaver

Behaver	Process: behavioural	Behaviour/Circumstance
While several marshalls were spotted, the crowd mostly	moved	organically, strangely stopping at corner of Jalan Sultan and Jalan Tun HS Lee.
They	marched	all the way up to the stadium to confront the riot police defending the historical landmark.
Urbanites	carrying	flowers and Malaysian flags,
	singing	songs and
	chanting	"Bersihkan Pilihanraya" (Clean up the election).

In Table 4.42, the protesters are seen here as the Behavior and the behavioural process here involve their actions taken during the rally. All the three sentences described the unity of the protesters and how peacefully the rally was carried out. The third sentence uses the verbs ‘carrying’, ‘singing’ and ‘chanting’ to describe their behaviour. All the three verbs show that they were very calmly protesting and no chaos took place. It shows how much love and respect the demonstrators have on Malaysia and displays their awareness on a fair election. These sentences also foreground the protesters to highlight these social actors and then their actions during the protest.

Table 4.43: Existential process with the Existent being the incidents at the rally

	Process: existential	Existent
There	were	also a lot of middle aged (people) in fact
There	had been	reports of alleged police violence on the protestors.
There	were	also reports and video footage of protestors being kicked and manhandled during the arrest process.
There	is	little trickle-down effect and food prices are at an all time high.

In Table 4.43, the existential process with incidents during the rally were displayed as the existent. The existents displays the characteristic of the protesters, that majority of them were young people and the brutality of the police on them. MK presents the information about the police brutality with the evidence that there are reports and videos of the violence of police during the rally. However, it is important to note that these sentences do not carry much representation on *Bersih* and its protesters.

4.3.2 Analysis of the Interpersonal Metafunction

The MK news articles consist of mainly declarative clauses, whereas there were presences of some interrogatives, but very few imperatives were found. Another noticeable finding was that, out of the 7 MK news articles, 3 articles had headlines which used interrogative clauses. The news media, especially MK is responsible as an alternative media to investigate and explain the happenings of recent times thoroughly. Therefore, the use of declarative clauses is important and necessary for this media, and thus only these clauses are looked into.

Table 4.44: Declarative clauses taken from MK news articles

The rally organizers conversely declared the event a success, claiming a 50,000- strong turnout, in stark contrast to police estimates of around 6,000 people.
Merdeka Centre director Ibrahim meanwhile sees the rally as an international success, in no small part thanks to the government's concerted efforts to stop it from taking place.
Roadblocks, negative reports and incessant warnings from the authorities did not stop thousands from swarming downtown Kuala Lumpur to demand clean and fair elections.
He had boot marks on his pants and claimed that several police personnel had pinned him to the ground and kicked his leg.
Young and old, of whatever ethnicities, all came out to exercise their democratic rights.
Elder participants in the march found bracing the readiness of the younger set to help them with water and towels when dazed by tear gas fired by police.
Speaking to reporters after the burial, PKR Wanita VP Gan Pei Nei condemned the police action in particular firing tear gas into Tung Shin hospital at Jln Pudu.

The sentences from Table 4.44 display 7 declarative clauses, where one clause is taken from every one article of MK. All the declarative clauses here are giving information by providing descriptions of the rally, explanations and expressing viewpoints of prominent figures. It is important to note that most of all the declarative clauses in the MK news articles are posing the positive 'us' and negative 'them' statements, in which 'them' refers to either the pro-government parties or the police.

Table 4.45: Frequency of the modal verbs in MK news articles

	can	could	may	should	would	will	must	Total
No.	2	1	4	4	20	11	5	47

Next, the modality analysis was conducted on the news articles of MK. According to Table 4.45, the modal verb with the highest frequency count is ‘would’ and the second highest occurring modal verb is ‘will’. The other modal verbs, ‘must’, ‘may’, ‘should’, ‘can’ and ‘could’ appear much lesser compared to ‘would’ and ‘will’.

Table 4.46: Sentences with the modal verb ‘would’

More newcomers in the fray Ong acknowledged that the rally did manage to draw a much better racial mix and more youths to participate, but remained sceptical of how much of difference that would make in terms of votes.
Another political analyst however stressed that it would be a mistake for the BN to assume the rally's impact would not be significant, regardless of whether or not the turnout was due to mobilisation of Pakatan supporters.
That completed, the point now for Bersih would be to move from triumphal assertion to something more tangible, such as a new drive for voter registration.
About two weeks ago, Malaysians were still hopeful that the urbane Najib Razak would engage with the 62 NGOs under the Bersih 2.0 umbrella
The police brutality will remain fresh in the minds of many over the coming weeks and would likely undermine many of the government’s transformation policies.

In Table 4.46, a few of the sentences from MK news articles with the modal verb ‘would’ are shown. The modal verb ‘would’ are always used to point out the past form of ‘will’, indicate conditional discourse and signify repetition such as ‘would always...’.

Most of the modal verb ‘would’ in these sentences referred to the impact of the rally, expectations of the protesters and the situation after the rally was over. Though these sentences had different social actors, all the sentences somehow related themselves to the rally and protesters. All the sentences above use ‘would’ to represent presumptions, to

express their assumptions on what the social actors are likely to do or what is likely to happen as a consequence.

Table 4.47: Sentences with the modal verb ‘will’

It (police brutality) will create a bad perception of the government.
The police brutality will remain fresh in the minds of many over the coming weeks
In fact, he (PM) will now have to deal with a most unhappy country.
The revolution sparked by Bersih will now spread throughout the country.
Khoo agreed that the government's handling of yesterday's rally will lose it some support.

In Table 4.47, a few of the sentences with the modal verb ‘will’ are presented. All the sentences above uses ‘will’ as a prediction of how the social actor would react or would be reacted on. All the sentences also display predictions from the protesters’ point of view and not the government’s point of view. For instance, in the third sentence, the Prime Minister is said to expect unhappy Malaysians, in the context that all Malaysians are *Bersih* supporters. Thus, it clearly shows that the writer is aiming to create a positive ‘us’ and negative ‘them’ representation through these sentences. In fact, the first two sentences clearly display the police brutality as the negative ‘them’.

Table 4.48: Sentences with the modal verb ‘must’

Such police brutality must not be condoned.
The government of Prime Minister Najib Razak must be held responsible for its insolent attitude towards the whole affair,” asserted Tan.
Khoo noted that a distinction must be made between Bersih 2.0, which is a movement seeking clean and fair elections, and Pakatan, which is a political entity.
It would amplify Bersih’s point that the exercise of the vote is one of democracy’s sacred rituals that must be free of all trammels, including the one posed by unregistered eligible voters.
Now Bersih must plumb for constructive sequel

The modal verb ‘must’ is often used to powerfully convey firmness, obligations, rules and requirements, whereas ‘must not’ is used to disallow something in a very strict manner. Based on Table 4.48, the first sentence used ‘must not’ to forbid police brutality in a very stern way. It is seen as a necessity in this context. The following four sentences used ‘must’ and here it functions as a necessary requirement that should be fulfilled.

Table 4.49: Sentences with the modal verb ‘may’

This may signify that Bersih 2.0 has managed to spark something through Facebook to galvanise this kind of support...
But the government has forgotten that inflation is very high, the economy may have grown tremendously but there is little trickle-down effect and food prices are at an all time high.
The mainstream press may not reflect the enormity of what just transpired and the PM may commend the police force for their loyalty but he will not be calling elections any time soon.

The sentences in Table 4.49 display the use of the modal verb ‘may’, which is usually used to ask or grant permission or express the possibility of an issue. The modal verb ‘may’ in all the three sentences function as an expression of possibility action or reaction of the social actors. The first sentence implies the impact of *Bersih* 2.0, whereas the second sentence displays the possibility of the economic growth of the country. The last sentence used the modal verb ‘may’ twice and here, the modal verb functions more than a possibility. The last sentence used the modal verb ‘may’ twice and here, the modal verb functions more than a possibility. In addition, here, the writer refers to the mainstream media as the negative ‘them’ and indirectly excludes MK from the mainstream media and portrays it as the positive ‘us’. This mention is also maybe done to remind and inform the readers that MK is not a mainstream media, but an alternative media, which is usually expected to be more up-front and transparent than the former.

Table 4.50: Sentences with the modal verb ‘should’

The government should not think they are just a pinch of salt.
This should not have happened. He (Baharudin) is a hero.
...clear signal from the King that Bersih should switch from holding a street march to having a rally in a stadium to which Bersih was amenable.”

Based on Table 4.50, the modal verb ‘should’ is generally used to form pressure, hope and to express suggestions. In the sentences above, ‘should’ is used to express what was supposed to be done. The first sentence is clearly compelling the government not to misjudge the power of the protesters. The second sentence refers to the death of Baharuddin at the ongoing rally, and the protesters are obliging that kind of incident should not happen in the future. The last sentence also refers to an obligation from the King regarding the venue of the rally.

Table 4.51: Sentences with the modal verb ‘can’

Now Bersih can leverage on the attention their march has drawn in international media circles to gain high-profile monitors for the 13 th general election which is expected soon.
One can and ought to expect better from the Pakatan Rakyat backed Bersih movement which issued a statement in the immediate aftermath of their police-repressed march to the Merdeka Stadium yesterday that was, in the circumstances, understandably self congratulatory.

The modal verb ‘can’ is an often-used word and it is generally used to express ability and ask for or grant request or permission. The first sentence in Table 4.51 refers to the ability of the *Bersih* organization to attract the attention of the international media and how this would influence the upcoming general election. The second sentence uses two modal verbs, ‘can’ and ‘ought to’ together and thus this displays an extra strength of the possibility of getting more benefits from the collaboration of *Bersih* and Pakatan Rakyat during the protest.

Table 4.52: Sentences with the modal verb ‘could’

While several marshalls were spotted, the crowd mostly moved organically, strangely stopping at corner of Jalan Sultan and Jalan Tun HS Lee when they could have marched all the way up to the stadium to confront the riot police defending the historical landmark.
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The sentence in Table 4.52 is the only sentence with the occurrence of the modal verb ‘could’. The modal verb ‘could’ used in the sentence refers to a suggestion to a past action taken by the social actor in the sentence, which is referring to the crowd or protesters.

4.3.3 Analysis of the Textual Metafunction

The textual analysis of the MK news articles displays a similar pattern in the Theme-Rheme structure in most of the sentences. It is found that most of the sentences had the Actor or the Circumstance of the process in the ideational metafunction as the topical Theme and the remaining part of the sentence as the Rheme. Even though the textual analysis did not help in gathering much information for the study of representations of the Bersih rally, it is found that most of the theme/topical theme of the sentences were the *Bersih* protesters and political leaders who supported the rally. Besides that, very few sentences had the pro-government individuals or politicians as the theme, but whenever they were presented as the theme, it is also done so to associate them to their actions negatively, which is against the organization and the protesters. However, the *Bersih* protesters and supporters were constantly foregrounded as the theme/topical theme of the sentence to highlight their actions during the rally and represent them in a positive way.

4.4 Comparison of the Analysis of The Star Online and *Malaysiakini*

Table 4.53: Frequency of the processes in the two news articles

Source	Total	material	mental	verbal	behavioural	relational	existential	
TS	No.	197	75	44	70	5	3	–
	%		38	22	36	3	2	–
MK	No.	213	103	42	43	4	19	3
	%		49	20	20	2	9	1

Table 4.53 displays the frequency of the ideational processes present in the two news articles. Based on the table, it can be seen that the top three most occurring process in the two news sites are the same, the material process, followed by the verbal process and the mental process. However, the relational process appears more in the MK news articles and the number of behavioural process is higher in TS. It is noted that the existential process is the least in MK news articles and it was never seen in TS news articles. It is found that the news articles from the two news sites only have a few similarities in the representation of the *Bersih* 2.0 protesters. However, there are numerous differences in the representations of these protesters in the two news portals.

4.4.1 Similarities and Differences in the Articles of The Star Online and *Malaysiakini*

The only similarity found in both the news sites' ideational metafunction analysis was that the protesters were depicted to be very united during the rally. Though the news articles had different choice of words to describe their unity, for instance, TS used words like 'merged' and 'gathering' whereas MK used 'snowballed' twice and 'gathered' to describe the actions of the protesters, both the news sites stressed that these protesters stood together

at all times. Articles from the TS displayed the unity of the protesters during the rally, explaining how they marched together from different areas in big groups and faced the police together without leaving anyone to suffer alone. MK articles stressed the unity of the protesters in different situations such as during the rally, when the protesters accompanied A Samad Said to hand in the petition to the Agong and at the funeral of one of the protester who died during the rally, Baharuddin Ahmad. The articles in MK was full of praise for the protesters for being very united and described how people from all walks of life came together to rally for a common cause. The articles also described the status and age differences among the protesters, which was not an issue to them to be united. For instance, MK mentioned how the young protesters gave away water and towels to the older protesters when the tear gas was sprayed to show how considerate the protesters were on each other. However, only the unity during the rally was mentioned in the articles of TheStar Online.

There are many differences found between the articles of TS and MK in the representations of *Bersih 2.0* protesters. The protesters are represented differently in many ways, such as their personality as a whole group, behavior during the rally, objective of the rally and the statements of prominent figures regarding the rally.

In TS, the protest is represented as an illegal rally and anti-government as they are seen as a group that instills hatred in people towards the Malaysian government. The rally is also said being carried out to tarnish the good image that Malaysia has in the eyes of the international media. This is mentioned by the Prime Minister that the protesters are misusing the rally to create a negative image on the country. The MK news reports were found to be very much on the side of the *Bersih* protesters and their representations of the protesters contradicts with the representations in TS mentioned above. Firstly, the protest

was shown as a constructive rally for an important reason, fair and clean election unlike TS which represented it as an illegal and unlawful rally. Moreover, MK denoted the rally as a meaningful one as it has been able to increase the political awareness and the importance of a fair election and voting in the Malaysians. MK articles also represented the demonstrators as patriots who have so much of love and respect on the country as they are described to be carrying national flags and singing national anthem during the rally.

TS news articles represented the protesters negatively by quoting a number of statements of the Prime Minister who mentioned the rally carries a hidden agenda and considers the protest as a failure. The number of protesters mentioned in TS was given to support the claim that the rally was a failure. The rally was signified as incomplete and a failure in many ways, besides highlighting the statements of the Prime Minister. For instance, the representation of failure and incompleteness was repeated when they were said to be dispersing away when the tear gas was sprayed on them. However, the MK articles highlighted the large amount of supporters who turned up to the rally and represented the rally as a successful one, contradictory to the representation of the rally in TS. The MK articles also represented the rally as the choice of the Malaysian youths especially those in their twenties who were also first timers in the rally.

Besides that, MK frequently depicted the protest as a peaceful and serene rally, with no negative remarks on the protesters in their articles. In TS, the demonstrators are represented as violators of instructions given by the police. The orders given by the police must be obeyed by the protesters as they are powerful and have the authority of controlling the protesters. Thus, the police are seen as the positive 'us' while the protesters are placed as the negative 'them' who go against the police. TS justifies the actions of the police by referring to the act of the protesters who refused to comply with the orders of the police. TS

also signified the protesters as chaotic and aggressive during the rally, but represented the police as responsible authorities who controlled the crowd very effectively. The police are also represented as being lenient because they released all the protesters who were arrested on the same day. TS also mentioned that the protesters who were arrested were taken care very well and were provided with all the necessary needs.

The articles in TS also represented the rally as a pointless rally, where each group that participated and supported *Bersih* had their own hidden motive of joining in. The TS also represented the protesters, some of whom were political leaders to be opportunists, waiting for chances to damage the reputation of the existing pro-government politicians. On the other hand, the MK articles represented the *Bersih* supporters as anticipating the cooperation of the Prime Minister and the pro-government politicians' with the *Bersih* organization for the rally.

Based on the articles in MK, the police are shown to be brutal and violent on the protesters. Here the articles highlight the representation of the innocence of the demonstrators again, while criticizing the brutality and insensitivity of the police during the rally. MK also signified the protesters as victims of the police brutality, adding descriptions on how the police hit and kicked some of them. The death of one of the protesters, Baharuddin Ahmad is also used to show the protester as a victim of violence, as the deceased is said to die because of the mishandling of the tear gas by the police. The police are constantly represented to be violating law and human rights in MK news articles. Conversely, TS quashed the representation of the police being brutal and harsh. The death of Baharuddin Ahmad, a victim in MK, was said to be due to an existing health problem in TS. Based on the MK news coverage of the death of Baharuddin, the rally protesters are denoted as a respectful group of people who attended the funeral of the deceased protester.

However, there was no mention of Baharuddin's funeral in any of the articles of TS. The brutality of the police further represented the protesters as being discontented with the way they were being treated.

In short, the articles from TS do not intend to dwell much into the positive aspects of the *Bersih* rally as the MK articles do. The TS articles discuss more about the results and consequences of the rally, focusing mainly on the negative outcomes, supported by numerous statements from the Prime Minister, Inspector General of Police and the president of MCA. Whereas, the MK articles tend to describe the process of the rally in steps and explain the rationale of the protest being carried out. The representations here also depended largely on the statements from Datuk Ambiga, political analysts, political leaders and other prominent figures who supported the rally, such as Nurul Izzah, Maria Chin and Dr. Tan. The news articles of MK also were inclined to support everything related to the protest and oppose all the statements of the pro-government leaders, organizations and individuals. Thus, it can be said that it is proven that these two news sites represents the *Bersih* protesters in different ways, which is according to their own belief and viewpoint.

4.5 Discussion

This study has enabled the researcher to explore the different ways of representing news that exist in the two news sites. The study proved that the writers of the articles in these news sites employed different writing styles, which allowed them to present the news in the viewpoint that they want the readers to comprehend. This is done by the writers to indirectly pass on their point of view on the issue to the readers. Thus, the readers would be

assimilating the beliefs and opinions of the writer into them and thus, they would develop similar perspective on the issue. In short, the differences in reporting the same event discloses what these news sites wish to inform and accept as the truth regarding this *Bersih* protest. For instance, if the reader reads MK news article, he/she would be more supportive of the protesters, but if the reader reads TS news articles, then he/she would not have a good impression of the protesters and most likely support the pro-government team.

The form of representations that TS used explains that as a mainstream media, it describes any individual or group which is unlike the pro-government group as a danger to the existing government. Thus, this shows why *Bersih* is represented as a threat to the unity and peace of the country in the news articles of TS. However, MK, an alternative media is frequently supporting the opposition team and not the pro-government group. Therefore, this explains why and how the positive representations of *Bersih* were always seen in MK.

With the findings of this study, it is important to stress that variation in the news reports makes a big difference in the representation of the issue being reported. This study is done with the hope that it can sensitize readers about the viewpoint behind the news being reported by these online newspapers. Thus, the researcher looks forward to achieve a realistic aim of increasing the readers' consciousness by explaining how the choice of words and discourse used can present the same issue differently.

4.6 Summary

This chapter presents the analysis of the news articles from The Star Online and *Malaysiakini* using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The news articles are analyzed separately according to the news sites and then compared together to study the representations of the *Bersih* protesters in the two news sites. Here, the findings are discussed and explained to show how they answer the two research questions of the study. Lastly, in the Discussion section, the reasons behind these phenomena are discussed.

The next chapter, Chapter 5: Conclusion summarises the research aims, methods and findings. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the study besides offering recommendations for future researchers to overcome the limitations faced in this study. Next, the significance of the study and the reflection of the researcher throughout the journey of this study are presented.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study started with the introduction of Malaysia and all the political issues in this country in recent times. All the following chapters discussed the necessary components required for a research report before reaching this point, the conclusion of the research. This final chapter would present the summary of all the aspects of the study, which has been discussed in the previous chapters before. The summary enables the researcher to provide a brief review about the important features of the study. A researcher should be able to determine the problems and shortcomings of the study as he/she carries out the study. Though it is not workable to overcome all the drawbacks at the time of conducting the study, but it can be mentioned here so that these shortcomings and limitations will not be repeated by the future researchers. Accordingly, this chapter proposes some recommendations in the form of alternative methodologies, and opportunities for future research in this field of study.

5.2 Summary of the research aim and methodology

It has been stated in Chapter 1 that this study aims to uncover the news reports that imply underlying meanings, show signs of partiality in representations and beliefs on the *Bersih* 2.0 incident and its demonstrators. In line with the research report, the findings of the study have been able to explain how the linguistic preferences in the news reports are at variance among one another in the event of news coverage of the same issue.

The motivation behind conducting the research was primarily functional and realistic, because it would be sensible for even a non-linguist to comprehend the objectives and results of this study. Another reason for carrying out this study is because the language and representations in Malaysian online news sites has been under-researched and it needs more exploration in future.

In examining the representations of the *Bersih* rally and its protesters using SFL, two research questions were developed. The research questions were answered through a detailed analysis of news articles from the two online news sites, first, the news reports were analysed separately and then, the reports from the two sites were compared with one another. The SFL has been a crucial device in this study of representations.

An important feature of SFL, the transitivity analysis is regarded as the basis of representation as it enables analysis and interpretation of an issue in various manners (Manan, 2001). Furthermore, the transitivity analysis enables the researcher to analyse every sentence and phrases in detail looking for key points such as distinguishing the form of action taken by the actor and the person affected or benefitted from the action. From all the data analyzed, it is found that the news reports from the two online news portals enclosed differences in their news coverage of the *Bersih* 2.0 rally and its protesters.

5.3 Summary of key findings and the Interpretation of the findings

The analysis was done using the three metafunctions of SFL, but still, the most important part of the analysis is the ideational metafunction analysis because this is the analysis, which gathered the greatest number of findings. Therefore, the key findings are also interpreted from the analysis of the ideational metafunction.

The findings of the study revealed that news articles from the two news sites differed in the way they represented *Bersih* rally and its protesters. News articles from The Star Online always represented the rally in negatively, but it portrayed the protesters positively once, whereas *Malaysiakini* represented the rally and the protesters positively all the time. There were no any negative representations of the protesters in *Malaysiakini* news articles even once.

To be brief, The Star Online represented the protesters positively by depicting them as a united and supportive team. Besides that, all the negative representations include the depiction of the rally as an unlawful and illegal rally, anti-government, destructive, carries hidden agendas, incomplete, a failure and serves no purpose. The protesters were represented to be chaotic, aggressive, nuisance, opportunists and exploiting the peace and harmony of the nation. However, *Malaysiakini* portrayed the rally as a success, with large turnouts, increased political awareness and created huge impact locally and internationally. The protesters were represented as patriots, calm, peaceful, innocents, victims of police brutality and being respectful to the other protesters.

These findings show that this is done by the writers in order to indirectly pass on their point of view on the issue to the readers. Thus, the readers would be assimilating the beliefs and opinions of the writer into them and thus, they would develop similar perspective on the issue. In short, the differences in reporting the same event discloses what these news sites wish to inform and accept as the truth regarding this *Bersih* protest.

5.4 Limitations and challenges of the research

Although a thorough analysis on the representation of *Bersih* rally and its protesters has been produced using the corpus of this study, it is also important to remember that there are some drawbacks in this study. The weak points are associated with the amount and structure of the corpus, the methodology used and form of analysis put into operation and the possibility to generalize the findings.

Firstly, the study has limited data as it only included two news sites as the source of the data. The two news sites do not represent all the news sites in Malaysia, thus the results obtained cannot be generalized to signify the characteristics of all news sites in Malaysia. Secondly, the news articles were collected from the news released on one day only, 10th July 2011, which is the day after the *Bersih* 2.0 rally. The news on *Bersih* that released on one day does not represent the incident entirely as there is not much information on the development of the issue in the news that came on the following days which were not being studied. Therefore, the data gathered are limited and restricts the opportunity of acquiring a more comprehensive set of findings.

One of the main challenges in this research is the gap in the literature related to representations in Malaysian online newspapers and previous studies on rallies and protesters' representations in newspapers using SFL. Literatures on rallies and protesters' representations using SFL are scarce and therefore, not much prior knowledge could be gathered in this subject. In addition, it has been very time consuming for the researcher to look for suitable literatures in relation to this subject matter. Besides that, there have been studies on Malaysian news sites but there is still a lack in the area of how these news sites represent certain issues. There are numerous studies on online news sites and the representations of news in those sites done by the Western scholars on the international news sites, but it is not the case with the Asians, especially on Malaysian news sites, thus, this gap in the literature is needed to be filled.

Sorting out the chapters in the research report to be organized, interconnected and up to date was very challenging as well. One of the tough procedures within this was selecting and including the appropriate topics and themes in the research report. This was not easy because not only the chapters, but even the sections within the chapters had to be cohesive, informative and systematically structured.

Another challenge encountered in this research journey was the difficulty in selecting the relevant literature on the topic being studied. Most of the time, the researcher felt that all the chosen literature is relevant to the study despite knowing it is not rational to use all of them, a large number of literatures at the same time. Hence, the researcher had to choose the suitable literature by referring to the research aims and questions and relevance of the literatures with them.

Apart from this, the researcher was challenged in generating the analysis and interpreting the data analyzed as the analysis involved a large number of sentences and appeared to be complicating. However, only findings that were relevant to the research aims and questions were presented and discussed. The process of data interpretation was complex and required a lot of time and thus, this was time consuming and challenged the researcher in the completion of the study.

5.5 Recommendations for future research

The study has conceived some options on how a prospective similar study in this field can be improved in the future and the following recommendations can act as a stepping stone for future studies.

It is apparent that more literature in the context of Malaysian news sites is necessary to fill the currently existing gap. Therefore, further studies are needed to explore the discourse of Malaysian online media, especially the online newspapers as they provide a large number of sources to be studied and they can be analyzed in many different ways. For instance, a study in this area can be carried out by using a different methodology, for instance using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), content analysis or discourse analysis. This would enable the researcher to present a new set of findings from a different perspective compared to the one presented in this study.

In addition, it is recommended that, future researchers can include more news sites and study the representation of the rally protesters in those different sites. Including more news sites will produce findings which would be more thorough and reliable. News sites in Malaysia exists in various languages, therefore, the news sites in Malay language and other

local languages such as Mandarin and Tamil can be included to study the representation of this incident in the news sites of different languages.

Besides that, the news reports regarding *Bersih* of at least one week can be gathered to produce more comprehensive results which look at the development of the issue for the period of one week. Other than news sites, newspapers in Malaysia can also be a great source to be looked into. In that case, not only newspapers in English, dailies in other languages such as the Malay, Chinese and Tamil also can be studied and analyzed as this can provide even more reliable and significant results.

In other words, future studies should take greater account of the inadequacies of literature in the Malaysian context and conduct research using the relevant methodologies, including appropriate data collection, research instrument and method of data analysis in order to produce dependable and reliable results.

5.6 Significance of the study

Despite the limitations discussed previously, the findings from this study provide valuable insights into certain aspects of the media language mainly in terms of the discourse of news reports that appears in the online newspapers.

One of the main significance of this study is to point out the variations in choice of words and discourse used can present the same issue differently. Through the variations found, this study is able to sensitize readers and increase their awareness about the viewpoint behind the news being reported by these online newspapers. The consciousness

that the readers gain from this study would enable them to apply the understanding and discover the hidden agenda of the news when they read any articles.

Another major significance of this study is that it deals with a much talked about local incident, *Bersih 2.0*. Therefore, looking at the representations of this recent issue would attract the attention of many readers who wish to know more about the portrayal of this happening, which is made clear using the SFL approach. Next, the news articles are also taken from local news websites, The Star Online and *Malaysiakini*, in order to acquire a close insight of the incident. The two sources are from different group of ownerships and had different standing in the way of reporting controversial matters. This provided an opportunity of making a comparison of the representations of the *Bersih* rally and the protesters between the two news sites.

This study is able to increase the awareness of journalists, as they can consider being more careful with the news presented. Journalists can be more mindful with the language being used and avoid partiality or preconceptions in their news reports. For this reasons, having these optimistic qualities would enable the journalists to present the media language with a sense of balance without including generalizing statements, extractions of information, making conjectures and reasoning of their own.

5.7 Conclusion

This study was undertaken to examine two online news media and uncover the neutrality of the discourse in representing the same issue. This research is also expected to fill in the gap in the literature related to representations in Malaysian online newspapers. News articles in

any form, be it print or virtual, should report an issue as it is and without any or at least, with minimal presumption and partiality towards anyone.

The news media is very powerful that even Teo (2000) stated that media are not only for supporting the powerful ones, but also to oppose them when necessary. Keeping this in mind, the study was carried out using SFL to analyze the writing styles used in each of these online news sites thoroughly. The analysis, which was done in two stages, first the researcher, analyzed the articles from the two news sites separately and then, the news articles were compared and their similarities and differences in representing the *Bersih* protesters were discussed.

The analysis illustrated one similarity and many difference in the way the representations of the protesters. The similarity and difference in the writing style of the writers could be a result of personal opinion or the obligation of being a writer of the mainstream or alternative news media. This is also found to be true by Azlan et al. (2012) as they also found the mainstream newspapers to be always supporting and commending the government and their policies. In contrast, the alternative media, *Malaysiakini* also clearly shows that it does not agree to the perception of the government in relation to the *Bersih* incident. This reflects their identity of being an alternative media and opting to present the news in oppose to the mainstream media.

Nevertheless, the differences in representing the *Bersih* protesters also do not assure that these news sites would also represent other issues differently. Hence, it is important to note that the findings do not declare that these online news media are providing false information or intend to mislead its readers and it is not the intention of the research to side any one of this news media.

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Appendix A: News Articles of The Star Online

Appendix A1: Umno's Patriot and Bersih 2.0 supporters almost clash in march to stadium

KUALA LUMPUR: The Patriot group led by Umno Youth came within 50m of facing off with a Bersih 2.0 group as both sets of supporters tried to march towards Merdeka Stadium. The Patriot group walked towards Jalan Pudu from Jalan Bukit Bintang as a Bersih group tried to make its way to the stadium via Jalan Pudu as well.

FRU personnel quickly intervened and formed a human barricade at the intersection of Jalan Bukit Bintang and Jalan Pudu.

Umno Youth chief Khairy Jamaluddin, who was detained later by police, linked arms with fellow protesters as he tried to get past the police line at 2.40pm.

"We will go ahead. Three, two, one!" shouted Khairy as he and his supporters tried to push the police aside.

The FRU personnel managed to use their shields to repel the protesters.

A round of tear gas was released, causing many protesters to back off by about 10m.

In his tweet, Khairy wrote: "FRU tear gas straight at us."

Following the release of tear gas, some of the protesters dispersed to seek shelter.

About 15 minutes later, police found Khairy in an open air carpark about 20m away and detained him.

As majority of the crowd still refused to disperse, police sprayed them with chemical-laced water from a water cannon.

The crowd retreated another 10m, and after another 10 minutes, they decided to disperse after praying in front of the water cannon.

Umno Youth exco member Megat Dzulkarnain Omardin said FRU had been fair in carrying out its duties.

"I am proud that Patriot supporters displayed bravery during the rally," he said, adding that they had chosen to disperse peacefully.

Events started unfolding in Bukit Bintang at 1.20pm when a large group of Bersih supporters marched from Pudu Plaza past Jalan Bukit Bintang to Puduraya.

This incensed the Patriot supporters who had been waiting in front of BB Plaza for their leaders to start their rally.

At 1.30pm, Umno Youth information chief Datuk Reezal Merican Naina Merican arrived and the group proceeded with its march.

Khairy joined them 10 minutes later, accompanied by Putera Umno chief Datuk Abdul Azeez Rahim and Umno Youth secretary Datuk Megat Firdouz Junid.

Appendix A2: Bersih 2.0 supporters stopped from gathering at stadium

KUALA LUPUR: Despite setting their sights on Merdeka Stadium as the gathering point, supporters of the Bersih 2.0 street rally were prevented from doing so by the police.

Several roads leading to the stadium were cordoned off shortly after dawn with roads remaining empty of people and traffic until about 10.30am.

By noon, Bersih supporters in small groups began trickling in and gathering in front of the junction leading to Jalan Stadium.

At about 1.30pm, two large groups of supporters, coming from Jalan Maharajalela and Lorong Petaling, merged into a larger crowd.

They gathered at the junction of Jalan Hang Jebat leading to the stadium about 350m away.

After much cheering and chanting, the group headed towards the Pudu area instead.

A heavy downpour around that time also prevented the crowd from gathering on the streets. Meanwhile, several Federal Reserve Units (FRU) and support vehicles stationed at the stadium were redeployed to Pudu where a stand-off between Bersih supporters and the police was taking place.

At about 2pm, the Bersih supporters, accompanied by several Pakatan Rakyat leaders, began moving towards Jalan Hang Jebat leading to the stadium.

However, they were stopped by a police barricade and a detachment of police light strike force.

Undeterred, the group made their way back to Jalan Petaling and attempted to march towards Pudu again but were stopped by tear gas.

The group instead moved towards Jalan Maharajalela and gathered at the Jalan Hang Tuah junction, opposite the Kuala Lumpur and Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall located about 250m from the stadium.

However, a police barricade backed by a strong police and FRU presence along Jalan Hang Tuah prevented the group from proceeding to the stadium.

Shortly before 4pm, the police issued a warning for the group to disperse.

Bersih steering committee member Haris Ibrahim then asked the crowd to disperse as he said Bersih 2.0 had achieved its objective of gathering at the stadium.

Appendix A3: Najib: Let illegal rally be a lesson to the people

KUALA TERENGGANU: Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak is grateful that the illegal rally did not cause serious harm to people and property.

The Prime Minister also said he was glad that the majority of Malaysians, especially those living in Klang Valley, did not take part in it.

“I hope the incident today (yesterday) will serve as a lesson for everyone that street demonstration not only brings hardship to the people, it could also lead to possessions being destroyed,” he said after presenting prizes to the winners of the Bakti sports competition here yesterday.

Najib also said the so-called demand by Bersih protesters for a clean and fair election was merely to serve their ulterior motive.

“Had the event turned serious, they would fully exploit it by giving an impression that Malaysia had no political stability with instances of police brutality.

Bersih supporters shaking hands with policemen after the rally in Jalan Ampang, Kuala Lumpur yesterday.

“Bersih supporters even changed their slogan to *reformasi* during the illegal rally, which is not at all related to their initial demand,” he said.

“It is proof that this illegal rally is politically-motivated and the demands for electoral reform are just an excuse for them to organise such rallies.”

The Government, he stressed, was always open to any discussion including a clean and fair election, as it had always practised such a system.

“If there are other issues, the rally organisers can discuss with the Election Commission and the Government.

“But illegal rallies and street demonstrations are out of the question,” he said.

If everyone were to go to the street to express their views, then chaos would reign, he added.

“What will happen to our country if there are daily street demonstrations?”

He said the Government had always wanted the *rakyat* to choose a government through a fair process.

Najib also quashed talk that the rally was a success, saying that the number of people who turned up was small compared with the organiser's initial estimates.

“However, we know there are certain media outlets, not the mainstream media, which love to exaggerate the event.

“If it was 5,000, they would say there were 10,000 or 20,000.”

On the arrests of several key leaders including Umno Youth chief Khairy Jamaluddin, Najib said it was up to the police to take action on them whether they were pro or against the government.

Appendix A4: Chua: Bersih's protests make no sense

YONG PENG: Bersih 2.0's reason for street protests made no sense and that is why MCA is against it, said MCA president Datuk Seri Dr Chua Soi Lek.

"The rally was aimed at seeking electoral reforms but if the electoral system is tainted, how is it possible that the Opposition managed to win seats and positions in the past?"

"For the past three years, the Opposition has had more than 80 MPs. If they truly had problems with the Election Act, why did they not make an effort to amend it?"

"Does this mean they have not been working all the while and have suddenly woken up because the general election is drawing near?" he asked after chairing a meeting with Johor MCA at the Yong Peng District Council here yesterday.

He explained that since the last general election, almost every issue had been politicised and racialised, or inflamed with religious overtone.

"Bersih is just another attempt by them to keep the anti-government momentum go-ing among the people," he said.

Asked about Umno Youth's counter rally, Dr Chua said that at least Khairy Jamaluddin had a reason to do it.

The Umno Youth chief, he said, wanted to defend the current institutions and make known that the electoral roll was not tainted.

Appendix A5: Star Online's traffic doubles on illegal rally day

KUALA LUMPUR: On July 9, it wasn't just the streets of Kuala Lumpur that was clogged with people, The Star Online's traffic almost doubled as local and foreign surfers poured in to get live updates on the illegal Bersih rally.

The Star Online boasts more than 200,000 visitors on a regular workday. But this number of visitors was effectively twice that number on the day of the rally, with a significant number of surfers from overseas, including Singapore, US, UK Australia.

The Star Online began updates from 8am with Star journalists sending their reports from all the hot spots in the city. Traffic peaked at about 2pm after tear gas and water cannons came into play about 12noon.

Aside from the frequent updates, the Star team provided up-to-the-moment videos and pictures.

The site was kept super busy, forcing the website to go into a stripped down version to accommodate the exceptionally high demand of visitors hungry for news about the developments in the city.

Traffic was high till about 4pm as the crowds began to disperse.

However, surfers kept visiting the site frequently almost until 10pm.

Appendix A6: Pro-Bersih rallies in Melbourne, London

PETALING JAYA: A number of Malaysians in Melbourne held a peaceful rally there to show support for Bersih 2.0.

They wore yellow T-shirts, held up banners and placards before reciting the Rukun Negara and chanting "Daulat Tuanku".

In London, a "solidarity walk" also took place.

Appendix A7: PKR leader's hubby dies of heart attack

KUALA LUMPUR: The husband of Setiawangsa PKR Wanita chief, who is believed to have participated in the Bersih rally, has died of a heart attack.

Acting city police chief SAC Amar Singh confirmed that Baharuddin Ahmad, who was in his 50s, died after complaining of chest pains at KLCC yesterday at about 4.30pm.

“He complained of heart pains and clutched his chest before he collapsed,” he said.

He refuted claims made in several websites which claimed that Baharuddin had died after being hit by tear gas.

Appendix A8: PM: It's up to cops, A-G to decide if rally organisers will be charged

By MAZWAN NIK ANIS and RAHIMY RAHIM

KUALA LUMPUR: Police and the Attorney-General's Chambers will decide whether to press charges against organisers of Saturday's illegal rallies, said Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak.

He also dismissed claims of police brutality, adding police personnel had used minimum force when acting against the demonstrators.

“It is up to the police and AG to decide (to press charges). It is not up to me.

“Police had also used minimum force and there was no actual physical contact with the demonstrators,” the Prime Minister told a press conference on Sunday.

On reports that a person had died during the Saturday's protests, the Prime Minister said the person had died because of a pre-existing medical condition stressing it was not due to physical abuse.

The husband of Setiawangsa PKR wanita chief, who was believed to have participated in the Bersih rally, died of a heart attack on Saturday.

Acting city police chief SAC Amar Singh confirmed that Baharuddin Ahmad, who was in his 50s, died after complaining of chest pains at KLCC at about 4.30pm.

The Prime Minister also commended the police for their success in dealing with the demonstrators, adding police personnel had acted professionally.

“Even when the demonstrators were arrested, they were given food and a place to perform prayers,” he said.

Appendix A9: Protesters converge in parts of KL despite restriction order and police warning

KAMARUL ARIFFIN

KUALA LUMPUR: Despite the restriction order on 91 leaders from entering the city centre, stern police warning and a lockdown of critical areas, protesters managed to converge in various parts of the city and tried to march towards Merdeka Stadium.

Police fired tear gas and used water cannons in several locations to break up the crowd after they ignored warnings to disperse.

Other major developments:

>Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak is grateful the illegal rally did not cause serious harm to people and property.

> By about 4pm yesterday, the organisers of the Bersih 2.0 and Patriot rallies had started to leave the city.

>The 1,667 arrested, including lawyer Datuk S. Ambiga, Umno Youth chief Khairy Jamaluddin and scores of Opposition elected representatives, were released by 11pm.

> Those alleging high-handedness and police brutality should lodge reports. Action will be taken against any policeman if the claims are found to be true, says Inspector-General of Police Tan Sri Ismail Omar.

Appendix A10: 1,667 were arrested, says IGP

KUALA LUMPUR: A total of 1,667 people were arrested for taking part in various rallies in the city, said Inspector General of Police Tan Sri Ismail Omar.

He said all those arrested, including 151 women and 16 children, were taken to the police training centre (Pulapol) in Jalan Semarak where they were fed and given medical treatment.

“I was told that there are allegations of high-handedness and police brutality by certain people. I urge those making such allegations to lodge reports and we will act against any policeman if these were found to be true,” he said.

By 11pm, all those detained were released.

Besides Bersih 2.0 chairman Datuk Ambiga Sreenevasan and Umno Youth chief Khairy Jamaluddin, those picked up included PKR's Gombak MP Azmin Ali, Subang MP R. Sivarasa and Batu MP Tian Chua, and PAS president Datuk Seri Abdul Hadi Awang, his deputy Mohamad Sabu and vice-presidents Mahfuz Omar and Salahuddin Ayub.

Ismail also attributed the smooth crowd control to systematic and professional policing, adding that the number this time was not as large as the gathering for the 2007 Bersih rally due to the steps taken.

“We used very minimum amount of tear gas to disperse the crowd,” he said, adding that although the demonstrators started gathering at around 9am, their numbers only grew by 2pm.

Ismail also said roadblocks mounted by the police were lifted by 7pm.

He also denied allegations that the police team had fired tear gas into the Tung Shin Hospital grounds to disperse crowds gathered there.

In Perak, five men, believed to be on their way to join the Bersih 2.0 rally in Kuala Lumpur, were arrested at two separate places.

Freed: Some of the rallies' participants celebrating after being released from Pulapol last night.

Batu Gajah OCPD Asst Comm Najib Mohamad said police nabbed four men at the Batu Gajah railway station at 11am yesterday and seized several bags of salt packets believed for use during the rally. They were later released.

In Ipoh, state CID chief Senior Asst Comm Datuk Mohd Dzuraiddi Ibrahimsaid a man with Bersih 2.0 T-shirt was picked up at the Medan Gopengbus station at 9.40pm on Friday.

In Kota Kinabalu, Sabah Police Commissioner Datuk Hamza Taib said three people, aged between 28 and 39, planning to hold a similar Bersih 2.0 rally here were detained at a roadblock at Kg Muhibbah in Tuaran at 3.30pm.

Appendix A11: The game is over, time for everybody to move on

EVERYBODY seems to have achieved what they wanted over yesterday's Bersih 2.0 rally in Kuala Lumpur.

The demonstrators had no access to any particular venue, so they gathered anyway en route.

And so they declared the rally a success.

The police had also imposed a 22-hour lockdown of the city.

They, too, declared the day a success.

The Federal Government had observed the minimal participation of the public and declared yesterday a success too.

There seems to be no rancour or bitter recriminations.

Since everybody appears to have got what they wanted, perhaps the country as a whole can now move on.

Although 1,667 protesters were detained, all were released last night.

Many who had taken to the streets may well have been committed to the cause of a clean election.

Then there are the political players who would relish any opportunity to make the nation's political incumbents look bad.

After much haranguing over the protest venue, the legitimacy of the protest and even the legal status of the Bersih group itself, the logistics of the protest came to eclipse its purpose.

The organisers' efforts in internationalising the protest by getting supporters abroad to hold simultaneous demonstrations worked, at least as an international news item.

News reports were filed and foreign commentators weighed in.

So, regardless of whether protest organisers succeeded in assembling exactly where they wanted, they got all the publicity they wished.

And yet the underlying question remains: was there no better way of putting across the message, cause or demand for a clean general election?

Whether or not a street demonstration should be the last resort for aggrieved parties, it should seldom, if ever, be the first.

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong had advised rally organisers against a street protest, and the Prime Minister had approved in principle a stadium rally.

But had the organisers tried to hold a top-level dialogue with Government leaders to press their case?

If every complaint made one or the other party take to the streets, bringing a city to a standstill, people would not be getting much work done.

Demonstrators would also not be making many friends, let alone winning supporters.

There should be a better way, but we can know only if we try.

Appendix A12: Anwar undergoes CT scan for injuries

KUALA LUMPUR: Opposition Leader Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim has been admitted to a hospital after sustaining injuries while taking part in the Bersih 2.0 rally at KL Sentral.

Anwar later tweeted that he was “undergoing CT scan for injury.”

He was also quoted in an AFP news report as saying that he “suffered a bruise on his head and a cut on his leg” in the incident.

“I am okay. I still feel nausea and dizziness,” he said.

His daughter Nurul Izzah, who is also Lembah Pantai MP, confirmed that her father had undergone a CT scan to ascertain his injuries.

She claimed that Anwar had sustained the injuries after the police fired tear gas at Pakatan Rakyat leaders gathered for the rally.

Nurul Izzah said one of Anwar’s personal assistants also suffered injuries to his cheekbone.

Appendix A13: Heavy police presence at Kampung Baru mosque

KUALA LUMPUR: Kampung Baru was expectedly quiet after police mounted roadblocks on all roads leading to Masjid Jamek to thwart protesters.

In the morning, many stores were closed and the streets empty.

The Masjid Jamek mosque was heavily guarded with about four police trucks and policemen stationed at every corner of the compound.

In the morning, police took away a group of suspected demonstrators who had gathered near the mosque.

Before zohor prayers, body and bag checks were carried out by the police and mosque committee members at the side gate as the main gate was locked to maintain security.

Several suspects were detained after illegal objects were found on them.

After zohor prayers, the mosque's management made an announcement asking worshippers to leave the mosque compound.

The situation returned to normal in the evening as motorists were allowed to enter the area.

No checks were done at the side gates prior to asar prayers.

Meanwhile, most businesses in Jalan Bukit Bintang closed their shutters when the Bersih and Umno Youth rallies began.

The supervisor of a popular restaurant chain lamented that during the two hours supporters passed through the street, she suffered losses of over RM3,000.

“The rallies were inconvenient and bad for business.

“Even the number of customers we had on Friday night was smaller than our usual figure,” he said.

A cashier at a massage parlour, however, said that business had not suffered much.

“The only problem was that staff could not make it to work early because of the roadblocks. “Other than that, the business was not really affected as our regular customers still came for their massage,” she said.

Convenience store manager Ahmad Mubaidilah said the rallies brought in a different set of clientele than the usual tourists. “We sold a lot of mineral water,” he said, adding that the store only closed for half an hour. “We opened earlier as we pitied the people outside who needed shelter, food and drink,” he explained.

employees peeking out of windows to watch what was happening.

Appendix A14: Turnout shows people want clean elections, says Ambiga

KUALA LUMPUR: Bersih 2.0 chief Datuk S. Ambiga said the movement will look into getting a Royal Commission of Inquiry into electoral reforms.

As for the rally yesterday, she said it was mission accomplished as the huge turnout “showed the people wanted a clean election”.

Ambiga was released at 6.30pm after having her statement recorded at the city police headquarters here.

Pantai MP Nurul Izzah Anwar criticised the police for using excessive force to handle the situation when “we were peaceful”.

At a press conference earlier, Ambiga said that she was marching with the Pakatan Rakyat leaders for security reasons.

“In my naive way, I was going to go on my own to Merdeka Stadium but I was told that wouldn't be safe. So, I am here for security reasons, and I thank them for offering that security (to me) and members of Bersih,” said Ambiga, explaining why she was sitting with Pakatan leaders at the press conference.

At a separate press conference, Bersih 2.0 steering committee member P. Subramaniam said it not only condemned the arrests of its supporters, but also the arrest of those from Patriot, led by Umno Youth chief Khairy Jamaluddin.

Fellow Bersih committee member K. Arumugam said the group would make another attempt to hand over their memorandum to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong at Istana Negara, adding that the group would not be organising another rally.

APPENDIX B: News Articles of *Malaysiakini*

Appendix B1: Bersih 2.0 - success or flop?

It has been barely 24 hours in the aftermath of the Bersih 2.0 rally, but countless opinions have already hit the public sphere - be it in the media, cyberspace or in neighbourhood coffee shops – arguing the event's success.

Pro-government newspapers splashed pictures and articles on how the demonstration failed in its quest to sow chaos on the streets of Kuala Lumpur, with Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak (*right*) and senior ministers claiming victory over what they call an illegal rally.

The rally organizers conversely declared the event a success, claiming a 50,000- strong turnout, in stark contrast to police estimates of around 6,000 people.

Bersih 2.0 chief Ambiga Sreenevasan even stated that the rally has helped Malaysians realise that the country needs a "sophisticated democratic process". But has the rally really achieved something greater than intended - as claimed by its proponents - or did it end up being a dud, as hoped by its opponents?

Political analyst Ong Kian Ming thinks yesterday's rally would only bring limited political impact, largely due to the lower level of alleged violence that protesters endured compared to previous mass demonstrations.

He pointed out that unlike past rallies when political awareness was just budding, it would take something more "impactful" to dislodge more votes from the ruling BN coalition.

"... even though (the turnout was good) in terms of numbers, (and that) there were a number of people arrested, but the level of violence was relatively low. People will easily forget what has transpired," he said when contacted. "It will only affect the people in the Klang Valley. By and large, the injuries are not serious, (there were) no permanent injuries, (so a swing in support) will not go down to the ground like Pakatan want."

More newcomers in the fray Ong acknowledged that the rally did manage to draw a much better racial mix and more youths to participate, but remained sceptical of how much of difference that would make in terms of votes.

"From that (multi-racial and youth) perspective, it is more successful. It was multi-racial, more middle-class, and many of them were first-timers in a rally. "There were also a lot of middle aged (people) in fact... but I think they didn't vote BN (the) last time, so (it's) not much different."

Another political analyst however stressed that it would be a mistake for the BN to assume the rally's impact would not be significant, regardless of whether or not the turnout was due to mobilisation of Pakatan supporters. Khoo Kay Peng (*right*) pointed out that those who voted for the opposition in the last general elections in Peninsula Malaysia accounted for a little over 51 percent of the tally.

"The government should not think they are just a pinch of salt. Many of them are young voters and they translate to a significant vote," he said. Khoo noted that a distinction must be made between Bersih 2.0, which is a movement seeking clean and fair elections, and Pakatan, which is a political entity, but agreed that the government's handling of yesterday's rally will lose it some support.

He particularly zoomed in on Najib's apparent flip-flop on his stadium offer, saying the onus is now on the prime minister and his administration to explain why he reneged on his promise to allow the rally to be held in a stadium. "It will create a bad perception of the government. This will give some advantage to the opposition, but not necessarily in favour of Pakatan. There are a lot of issues in Pakatan," he said, without elaborating.

Govt ban only promoted rally

Merdeka Centre director Ibrahim Suffian meanwhile sees the rally as an international success, in no small part thanks to the government's concerted efforts to stop it from taking place. "They (Bersih 2.0) are well known domestically and internationally. At the very least, the group or coalition is a lot more well known to a wider audience compared to two weeks ago," he said.

Ibrahim (*right*) however noted that this should not take away the fact that the movement had on its own built a strong enough following, judging from what he observed as a large number of rally newcomers.

He added that the rally has effectively shifted the focus from public service delivery reforms to much-needed democratic reforms in Malaysia.

Appendix B2: Fortress KL: How did Bersih 2.0 slip past?

Roadblocks, negative reports and incessant warnings from the authorities did not stop thousands from swarming downtown Kuala Lumpur to demand clean and fair elections. The busy junction in front of the Puduraya bus terminal became the focal point of yesterday's protest as crowds snowballed from 500 in nearby Petaling Street at 12.40pm to a whopping 10,000 just half an hour later.

Petaling Street catalyst

Having conducted mass arrests at pre-announced gathering points in Masjid Negara, the old railway station nearby, Sogo and Masjid Jamek, the police somehow left Petaling Street alone where the protest grew.

Small clusters had gathered at the Chinatown market as early as 11am when suddenly, applause broke and the group started marching.

As the group crossed Jalan Tan Cheng Lock and further down to Jalan Petaling, it grew from 500 to 1,000, believed to include another few hundred that were chased out from Masjid Negara, Pasar Seni and Dayabumi building.

As they moved down Jalan Petaling, the group, by chance, was bolstered by PAS supporters who had escaped arrest in the area around Masjid Jamek and Masjid India.

Within 15 minutes, the march had snowballed to about 4,000 people, clogging up the entire stretch of Jalan Sultan, about 750m away from Stadium Merdeka.

By then, the procession had taken a rather carnival-like atmosphere, with urbanites carrying flowers and

Malaysian flags, singing songs and chanting "Bersihkan Pilihanraya" (Clean up the election).

Young, multiracial crowd

Notably, the crowd was made up of many Malaysians in their 20s who were first-time demonstrators.

Ibrahim Suffian, director of independent research house Merdeka Centre, dubbed this group as the Facebook generation. "Other than the usual opposition supporters, I noticed a lot of newcomers this rally. This may signify that Bersih 2.0 has managed to spark something through Facebook to galvanise this kind of support," said Ibrahim, who had also walked yesterday.

While several marshalls were spotted, the crowd mostly moved organically, strangely stopping at corner of Jalan Sultan and Jalan Tun HS Lee when they could have marched all the way up to the stadium to confront the riot police defending the historical landmark.

Herd mentality somehow led the crowd of 4,000 to Jalan Tun Perak, where about 1,000 from Masjid Jamek who had gathered in front of the Maybank tower, near the recently renovated Puduraya bus station.

Just in time, another 1,000 supporters from DAP who gathered in Pudu started filing into Jalan Tun Perak to thunderous applause. It is believed that a crowd had also gathered at KLCC but it is unclear how big it was and whether they had managed to join either the Jalan Tun Perak or Stadium Merdeka groups.

It was then that the first real leader of the demonstration emerged in the form of PAS election director and former Bersih steering committee member Dr Hatta Ramli, who ominously announced on loudspeaker, "If you have a yellow shirt, this is the time to put it on."

A diverse group, one common cause

Moments later, the first barrage of tear gas began raining in and pandemonium broke loose. Several thousands of people started running towards Puduraya while those on the hill slope by the Maybank building climbed gates to get as far away from the stinging gas as possible, crowding a fountain to wash their faces.

The tear gas split the group into two, one which regrouped at Jalan Pudu where a protracted stand-off with the police took place, while the remainder joined a smaller crowd from Kuala Lumpur Selangor Assembly Hall which had earlier marched to Stadium Merdeka.

In the end, this Bersih 2.0 group led by national laureate A Samad Said managed to get only several hundred meters away from the Istana before they were stopped, failing thus to hand over their the movement's petition to the Agong.

But despite being foiled from its original plan, Bersih 2.0 had succeeded in getting ordinary Malaysians from all walks of life – from the trendies to the skull-cap wearing conservatives - to come together for a common cause.

And unlike other protests before, it was a multiracial crowd that at 4pm, when unexpectedly informed that police would allow them to march to Jalan Sultan, it was met by rounds of “thank you” and the crowd broke into an impromptu rendition of the national anthem.

Police brutality

In comparison, *Malaysiakini* reporter Ahmad Fadzly Esa reported that only 20 Perkasa members were spotted for their “stroll” in Taman Titiwangsa lakes, when they had initially promised about 15,000 for a counter-rally. The group had called it off after failing to secure a police permit.

Meanwhile, a counter rally by Umno Youth in Bukit Bintang attracted 500 ‘patriots’, slightly over a third of the 1,400 people arrested yesterday.

On the same note, police brutality remains a concern as heavy-handed measures were employed to disperse what was a peaceful march until the water cannons and tear gas were deployed.

Bleeding protestors were carted off by police personnel, while a man spotted on the ground with a fracture and his wrists bound in police-issued plastic handcuffs.

He had boot marks on his pants and claimed that several police personnel had pinned him to the ground and kicked his leg. The police brutality will remain fresh in the minds of many over the coming weeks and would likely undermine many of the government's transformation policies which are gradually being rolled out.

Appendix B3: The revolution now has a name: Bersih

About two weeks ago, Malaysians were still hopeful that the urbane Najib Razak would engage with the 62 NGOs under the Bersih 2.0 umbrella and demonstrate to the country that the Barisan Nasional was capable of taking the wind out of their sails through dialogue and mature discussions.

Instead, by allowing right-wing groups to scupper any possibility of an intelligent dialogue, the BN lost every advantage it had as the ruling coalition.

Perhaps the government wanted to convince Malaysians that it had to consider the opposite view. That there were groups who felt elections were “free and fair”. The reality is that these groups were not particularly successful in making their case.

They were fond of shouting, gathering in front of the offices of political organisations and threatening to burn it down. In an extreme case, these so-called anti-Bersih groups threatened ethnic explosions telling the Chinese to stay home.

Rallying for kotor?

On Friday, the eve of the Bersih walk, the Selangor Sultan said that he did not support such demonstrations, quickly ending the stadium option in Selangor. So, the streets it was. By this time, Perkasa and Umno Youth also promised huge anti-Bersih rallies. The PM conveniently left the whole issue to the police. It was not a very courageous thing to do.

So, KL was literally locked-down from Friday and the TV stations focused on the hardships faced by traders because of Bersih. Here the messaging is clear: your daily bread is more important than some imagined basic rights.

But the government has forgotten that inflation is very high, the economy may have grown tremendously but there is little trickle-down effect and food prices are at an all time high. So, clean elections are important and a lot of people know this.

Yet, despite all the heavy-handedness of the police, thousands took to the streets. The mainstream press may not reflect the enormity of what just transpired and the PM may commend the police force for their loyalty but he will not be calling elections any time soon. In fact, he will now have to deal with a most unhappy country.

It is back to the drawing board for the BN. It has to figure out how it just lost the middle class? Although one good thing did emerge: it was definitely a ‘One Malaysia’ movement. Young and old, of whatever ethnicities, all came out to exercise their democratic rights. The revolution sparked by Bersih will now spread throughout the country. We just need to make sure we have a chance to make our votes count in the next general election. By this I mean “free and fair” elections.

Appendix B4: Now Bersih must plumb for constructive sequel

One can and ought to expect better from the Pakatan Rakyat backed Bersih movement which issued a statement in the immediate aftermath of their police-repressed march to the Merdeka Stadium yesterday that was, in the circumstances, understandably self congratulatory.

Estimates of the Bersih-supporting marchers put the figures at anything between 40,000 to 50,000 people, an impressive tally given the obstacles our reactionary police force placed in Bersih's path in the preceding two weeks.

Of course, the mainstream media and the police have placed the turnout at much lower levels but in this age of instant communications technology, the video streams already uploaded on the Internet are there for the diligent to compute and verify for themselves.

It's unlikely their verdict would gainsay Bersih's and Pakatan's estimates of the marchers' strength.

That completed, the point now for Bersih would be to move from triumphal assertion to something more tangible, such as a new drive for voter registration.

The conditions for that are propitious. Something like four million Malaysians, 70 percent in the 21 to 35 age bracket, have yet to register as voters.

It is reasonable to infer that the relatively young, with their bent for the alternative media, would have been moved by the drama that attended the prelude and culmination to Bersih's march.

One of the more striking aspects about the Bersih marchers was their youth. Elder participants in the march found bracing the readiness of the younger set to help them with water and towels when dazed by tear gas fired by police.

Would the presence in large numbers of the young not provide grounds for a campaign to spur their unregistered peers to make the move from interest in something dramatic and topical to action in signing up as a voter?

It ought to. Also, it would provide a constructive sequel to the Bersih drama that has hogged the news in the last two weeks.

It would amplify Bersih's point that the exercise of the vote is one of democracy's sacred rituals that must be free of all trammels, including the one posed by unregistered eligible voters, for the process to have true meaning.

Sequels aside, it would not be idle to speculate on the what-mighthave- been if the government had not done all it did to thwart the march.

In all probability, the crowds would have been bigger, even perhaps double the estimates of yesterday's rally, but the impact would have been less dramatic.

Sans repression, the event would not have drawn the wide international media coverage it had gained, the predictable consequence of moves by incumbents to repress constitutional freedoms demanded by oppositionists.

To the international press, repression is like the smell of blood to sharks: it stimulates a feeding frenzy.

Now Bersih can leverage on the attention their march has drawn in international media circles to gain high-profile monitors for the 13th general election which is expected soon.

Such monitoring is imperative given the Election Commission's subservience to the powers that be.

In that view, the much-thwarted but nevertheless successful Bersih rally would come to be regarded as the penultimate stage in the evanescence of Umno-BN as the dominant political force in Malaysia.

Appendix B5: Regional NGOs criticise M'sia over 'police brutality'

A regional human rights organisations with more than 40 members across Asia has strongly condemned the "brutal" crackdown on Bersih 2.0 protesters yesterday.

The Bangkok-based Forum-Asia, which described the rally as "peaceful", said it was extremely alarmed that there had been reports of alleged police violence on the protesters.

"Such police brutality must not be condoned. We demand the police officers that committed such

abuse of powers be investigated and brought to justice," said the NGO's executive director Yap Swee Seng.

Yap was referring to reports that tear gas canisters were fired directly at the crowd and injured many. Among the injured were parliamentary opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim and his bodyguard. PAS Shah Alam MP Khalid Samad was allegedly hit by a canister at the back of his head.

There were also reports and video footage of protesters being kicked and manhandled during the arrest process.

Inspector-general of police Ismail Omar had yesterday defended the force's use of tear gas and water cannons, claiming that they were provoked into action and used only "minimal" force to disperse the protesters.

He explicitly denied claims that police had injured senior Pakatan Rakyat leaders, including Anwar, by firing tear gas canisters directly at the crowd assembled at KL Sentral. Ismail also said 1,401 people were arrested for taking part in illegal rallies and defying police orders to disperse.

He estimated the crowd at between 5,000 and 6,000. As at 5pm, 1,273 men, 115 women and 13 minors had been detained. Independent reports estimated as many as 50,000 people had turned up for the rally calling for clean and fair elections.

Meanwhile, Yap said the refusal of the Malaysian government to address the issue through dialogue and its reversed decision to prevent the organisers to hold the rally in a stadium including the crackdown yesterday shows the police has been "abused" to maintain the authorities in power.

Appendix B6: In the aftermath, reports swirl of police brutality

Twenty hours after the Bersih march reached its apogee at several points of access to Merdeka Stadium, the focal point of the march, reports are emerging of the police's indiscriminate use of force against the marchers.

The most striking of these reports is footage from the TV news network *Al Jazeera* which showed the men in blue kicking a marcher on the head after he had fallen to the ground.

PAS deputy president Mohamed Sabu was also a casualty of the force's strong-arm methods when he fell off a motor-cycle on which he was riding pillion.

Sabu claimed the incident occurred when a police car rammed into the vehicle on which he was riding pillion and was headed to the KLCC.

Sabu sustained an injury to his leg which left him limping which, however, did not deter him from attending the funeral this morning of PKR activist Badaruddin Ahmad, 58, who died in a melee at KL Sentral following the firing of tear gas at a big group of marchers who had assembled there yesterday.

A crowd of some 500 attended Badaruddin's funeral, among who were Bersih chair, Ambiga Sreenevasan, and Pakatan Rakyat stalwarts including former Perak menteri besar Mohd. Nizar Jamaluddin of Pas, and PKR's Tian Chua and Dr Tan Kee Kwong.

Tan, a former Gerakan MP and BN deputy minister and chairman of the PKR disciplinary board, was at Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, near the Mara Building, at the height of the march.

"The police were needlessly forceful in the face of a crowd that was not violent in any way," said Dr Tan in comments to *Malaysiakini* after attending Badaruddin's funeral.

Tan claimed that the police fired tear gas horizontally rather than above the crowd and this, he said, was the cause of injuries to PAS MP for Shah Alam Khalid Samad, PKR supremo Anwar Ibrahim and to a bodyguard of Anwar whose cheek was shattered by the impact of a tear gas canister.

"Both Anwar and the bodyguard were injured because of this method of firing the tear gas and Khalid Samad sustained a wound to his head which required six stitches," said Tan who is a medical doctor.

He claimed that he spoke to Sabu when he met the limping Pas leader at Badaruddin's funeral. "Mat Sabu told me that he would be filing a case against the police for causing willful hurt to him," said Tan.

The PKR leader also said Mohd Nizar Jamaluddin, whom he met at the Badaruddin's funeral, told him that the tear gas used to disperse the crowd at KL Sentral was stronger than the type used by police in Perak to disperse demonstrators in Ipoh in 2009 when there were incidents of unrest following the ouster of the Pakatan state government that year.

"Nizar is a veteran of several demonstrations and he said the type of tear gas used yesterday was of a stronger concoction," said Tan.

The PKR leader denounced the government for failing to give a permit for the Bersih gathering to be held at the Merdeka Stadium after what he claimed was a "clear signal from the King that Bersih should switch from holding a street march to having a rally in a stadium to which Bersih was amenable."

"The government of Prime Minister Najib Razak must be held responsible for its insolent attitude towards the whole affair," asserted Tan.

Appendix B7: 500 attend Bersih rally supporter's burial

The late Baharudin Ahmad, who passed away in the midst of yesterday's police assault on the Bersih 2.0 rally in the heart of Kuala Lumpur yesterday, was buried at 12.55pm today at Lembah Keramat Muslim cemetery in Taman Seri Keramat Tengah, Kuala Lumpur.

It was reported that up to 500 mourners accompanied the funeral procession to the cemetery. Baharudin, 58, was reportedly with his family at the KLCC leg of the Bersih gathering yesterday when he collapsed after being hit with tear gas that was being fired by the riot police to quell the rally. He was rushed to Kuala Lumpur Hospital (HKL) and was declared dead shortly after.

The police have claimed that Baharudin had suffered a heart attack and denied that he had died from exposure to tear gas. Baharudin was a PAS member, his wife, Rusni Melan, is PKR Wanita Setiawangsa branch chief.

Cops interrupt procession

Roughly 500 mourners followed the funeral procession to the burial grounds, including NGO members and Pakatan Rakyat and Bersih 2.0 leaders. Amongst them were PKR deputy president Azmin Ali, PAS vice president Mahfuz Omar, Hulu Kelang rep Shaari Sungib and Solidariti Anak Muda Malaysia (SAMM) chairperson Badrul Hisham Shahrin. Prayers and chants of "Allahu akbar" punctuated the duration of the procession.

Along the way three police cars on separate occasions interrupted, and the mourners responded chanting "Allahu akbar" to the cops. Earlier, many Pakatan and Bersih leaders paid their respects at Surau Al-Muqarrabin close to the deceased's home in Keramat, Kuala Lumpur as early as 9am.

PKR *de facto* leader Anwar Ibrahim and daughter and PKR veep Nurul Izzah Anwar, PAS deputy Mohamad Sabu and VPs Husam Musa, Mahfuz Omar and Bersih 2.0 chair S Ambiga were amongst those present.

The surau was packed when the body was being bathed and prepared for burial, with PKR exco member Badrol Amin Baharon leading the prayers. The many leaders present were visibly saddened and some were visibly emotional.

In particular Ambiga and Nurul Izzah (*below, left and right with Rusni, centre*) with wept as they consoled the widow Rusni. "This should not have happened. He (Baharudin) is a hero," said Ambiga briefly before tears overwhelmed her.

Meanwhile fellow Bersih leader Maria Chin Abdullah added, "Bersih regrets that this has happened.

It shows that the police do not respect the rakyat." "The rakyat had the right to be there (at the rally)," she said, choked with tears and unable to continue. The heavy-handed police action to stop the protestors yesterday were also a talking point during the funeral.

Speaking to reporters after the burial, PKR Wanita VP Gan Pei Nei condemned the police action in particular firing tear gas into Tung Shin hospital at Jln Pudu.

Gan, who is also Rawang assemblyperson, claimed that she was in the hospital compound when the incident took place and witnessed it. She called on members of the public who had photos of the incident to contact Bersih 2.0 or Pakatan personnel. Meanwhile Mahfuz and Salahudin Ayub said they were lodging a police report on their detention. Their lawyers, they said, will attempt to seek redress.