

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the discursive construction of inclusiveness in the context of 1Malaysia, a signifier of unity and identity, launched in 2009 by the 6<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister, Najib Razak. This blueprint may be seen as a political response to social and political discord as well as economic challenges that led to political losses for the ruling government in the General Elections of 2008. Set within the context of political economy, and in particular, the development agenda 2010-2015 as laid out in the 10<sup>th</sup> Malaysia Plan, the study probes the means by which the constructions of inclusiveness negotiates the differing and sometimes conflicting demands of inclusiveness.

Issues of identity and inclusiveness have been central preoccupations for Malaysia since Independence from Britain in 1957. This is evidenced by the various state-led discourses of nation-building such as the New Economic Policy of (NEP), Vision 2020, *Islam Hadhari* as well as the current project of 1Malaysia, all introduced by different prime ministers from the ruling party that has held power since independence. The ethnic riots of 1969 led to the introduction of ethnic-based affirmative action policies premised on establishing an equitable society, an important criterion for unity. However, 45 years since the riots, researchers, studies as well as government documents such as the Government Transformation Programme (GTP) as well as the New Economic Model (NEM) of 2010 indicate that in addition to inter-ethnic inequalities, intra-ethnic, spatial and class inequalities are becoming more apparent in the country.

While the GTP as well as the NEM have highlighted the problems that the country is facing, it is the 10<sup>th</sup> Malaysia Plan that proposes solutions through policies that the government intends to implement. The overarching principle guiding these plans and proposals is that of 1Malaysia. However, vagueness of the concept as well as the pressure from right-wing groups have been indicated as hindrances to fully realising the inclusiveness of 1Malaysia asserted in Prime Minister Najib Razak's early speeches and

other documents. Against this background, the study seeks to understand the means by which the discourse of the Plan builds inclusiveness. Specifically, the study is focused on the means by which civic, ethnic, economic and social inclusiveness is constructed as well as the contexts of their occurrence.

The use of discourse as an element of social practice is the central preoccupation of this study. This focus on discourse is complemented with an examination of the social context in which the discourse constructs notions of such inclusiveness. Therefore, employing a micro-level examination of social actors, verb processes and modality within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study seeks an understanding of the means by which the institutional discourse of the 10<sup>th</sup> Malaysia Plan accommodates the many and varying calls for inclusiveness and change. The study seeks to understand the extent to which 1Malaysia as the new blueprint actualises the change and inclusiveness apparent in texts such as the Prime Minister's speeches, the GTP, the NEM and opinion editorials in the New Straits' Times, all stressing social and economic reforms.

Findings suggest that authority discourse is layered. On the one hand, the need for a future-focussed pragmatism in issues of economy is apparent. This is found side by side with attempts to foster an equitable social justice and a sense of belonging for all Malaysians. At the same time, the need to accommodate past practices and orientations are also stressed. The accommodation of these, oftentimes contradictory orientations in the discursive construction of 1Malaysia point to instrumental inclusiveness, oriented to specific audiences. The findings may raise questions regarding the nature of inclusiveness being introduced, the purposes of their introduction as well as the extent to which the construction of inclusiveness within the 10<sup>th</sup> Malaysia Plan addresses the needs of the nation.

## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini mengkaji konstruksi diskursif dalam konteks 1Malaysia, iaitu satu penanda perpaduan dan identiti, yang telah dilancarkan pada tahun 2009 oleh Perdana Menteri ke-6, Najib Razak. Tindakan ini boleh dilihat sebagai tindak balas politik terhadap perpecahan sosial dan politik serta cabaran ekonomi yang membawa kepada kerugian politik untuk kerajaan yang memerintah dalam Pilihan Raya Umum 2008. Dalam konteks ekonomi, politik, dan khususnya, agenda pembangunan 2010-2015 seperti yang termaktub dalam Rancangan Malaysia Ke-10, kajian ini meneliti bagaimana pembinaan keterangkuman merundingkan tuntutan berbeza dan kadang-kadang bercanggah keterangkuman.

Isu-isu identiti dan keterangkuman adalah perkara penting bagi Malaysia sejak kemerdekaan dari Britain pada tahun 1957. Ini terbukti dengan pelbagai wacana berkaitan pembangunan negara yang diterbitkan oleh kerajaan seperti Dasar Ekonomi Baru daripada (DEB), Wawasan 2020, *Islam Hadhari* dan juga sebagai projek semasa, iaitu 1Malaysia. Semua ini diperkenalkan oleh Perdana Menteri yang berbeza dari parti pemerintah yang telah berkuasa sejak kemerdekaan. Rusuhan etnik tahun 1969 membawa kepada pengenalan dasar-dasar tindakan afirmatif kaum. Tujuan dasar dasar ini adalah untuk membina sebuah masyarakat yang saksama, satu kriteria penting untuk perpaduan. Walau bagaimanapun, 45 tahun kemudian yang menjadi, penyelidikan, kajian dan juga dokumen-dokumen kerajaan seperti Program Transformasi Kerajaan (GTP) dan Model Ekonomi Baru (MEB) tahun 2010 menunjukkan bahawa di samping ketidaksamaan wujud bukan sahaja di antara etnik, intra-etnik, ketidaksamaan spatial dan kelas menjadi lebih jelas di negara ini.

Meskipun GTP dan MEB telah menekankan masalah yang negara ini sedang menghadapi, Rancangan Malaysia Ke-10 adalah yang dicadangkan menyelesaikannya

melalui dasar-dasar yang kerajaan bercadang untuk melaksanakan. Prinsip menyeluruh membimbing rancangan-rancangan dan cadangan ialah 1Malaysia. Walau bagaimanapun, kekaburan konsep dan juga tekanan dari kumpulan sayap kanan menggambar sebagai halangan untuk merealisasikan sepenuhnya keterangkuman 1Malaysia yang telah ditegaskan dalam ucapan awal Perdana Menteri Najib Razak dan dokumen lain. Seterusnya, kajian ini bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana wacana Rancangan membina keterangkuman. Khususnya, kajian ini memberi tumpuan kepada cara-cara di mana sivik, etnik, ekonomi dan sosial keterangkuman dibina dan juga konteks kejadian mereka.

Penggunaan wacana sebagai satu elemen amalan sosial adalah kepentingan utama kajian ini. Tumpuan pada wacana dilengkapi dengan pemeriksaan konteks sosial di mana wacana membina tanggapan keterangkuman. Oleh itu, melalui analisis terperinci terhadap pelakon sosial, proses kata kerja dan modaliti dengan pendekatan Kritikal Analisis Wacana (CDA), kajian ini bertujuan memahami bagaimana wacana institusi Rancangan Malaysia Ke-10 memberi ruang kepada pelbagai pendapatan untuk keterangkuman dan perubahan. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk memahami sejauh mana 1Malaysia sebagai rangka tindakan baru actualises perubahan dan keterangkuman jelas dalam teks-teks seperti ucapan Perdana Menteri, GTP, MEB dan rencana pengarang dalam New Straits Times .

Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa wacana pihak berkuasa mempunyai banyak lapisan. Terdapat gambaran yang nyata bahawa kaedah pragmatik yang memfokuskan masa depan adalah satu keperluan dalam menangani isu ekonomi. Hasil dapatan juga menunjukkan bahawa terdapat usaha untuk memupuk keadilan sosial yang saksama disamping membina semangat kekitaan di kalangan rakyat Malaysia. Di waktu yang sama, keperluan untuk meneruskan amalan lampau juga ditekankan. Namun, dalam

usaha untuk menampung kesemua hala tuju yang sering bercanggahan ini, hasilnya adalah konstruksi diskursif 1Malaysia yang berbentuk keterangkuman instrumental, iaitu berorientasikan kepada pihak-pihak tertentu sahaja.

***Where the Mind is Without Fear***

*Rabindranath Tagore*

*Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high*

*Where knowledge is free*

*Where the world has not been broken up into fragments*

*By narrow domestic walls*

*Where words come out from the depth of truth*

*Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection*

*Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way*

*Into the dreary desert sand of dead habit*

*Where the mind is led forward by thee*

*Into ever-widening thought and action*

*Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.*

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*I am a part of all that I have met – Tennyson*

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