CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a background of political debate in Malaysia, newspapers in Malaysia and the problems and its significance. In addition, the aims and research questions of this study will be presented alongside the scope and limitations.

1.1 Background of study

The following sections provide an overview of the emergence of political debate and newspapers in Malaysia.

1.1.1 Political debate in Malaysia

Malaysia has been observing the practice of conducting general elections since 1955, even before the Independence. It is seen as one of the main foundations that make Malaysia a country that practices democracy. On 27 July 1955, The Alliance Party consisting of United Malay National Organization (UMNO), Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Association (MIC) won 51 of the 52 seats contested, outdoing other parties like Pan-Malaya Islamic Party (PAS), the Labour Party, and Perak Progressive Party. For a very long time, political parties have been campaigning by giving public speeches from one place to another to deliver their manifesto. Politicians have travelled miles visiting and speaking to a crowd of people on a prepared stage. Both the politicians and the people have become accustomed to giving and listening to speeches as a strategy to convince voters.

For more than 55 years, public speeches have become the main strategy in general elections. However, in 2013, there was a change of 'wind' in Malaysia's political arena. Despite the long streak of practicing public speeches ahead of elections, people are starting to view things differently. Malaysia is moving towards adapting modern election campaigns, as practiced in the United States. According to Benoit (2014), political campaign debates are an internal component of the modern political campaign. For decades, the debates between the Democrats and Republicans have been televised for public viewing. He stated four reasons that signify debates in the political campaign[1]:

- Debates offer important benefits for citizens
- Reach of debates is extended when they are covered in the news or addressed in political discussion among voters,
- Debates have less media gate-keeping than the news and
- Candidates have an opportunity to correct (allegedly) false statements from opponents.

Leaders in other countries like Australia, Canada, France and Germany have also adapted political debate in their election campaigns. Although debates are common in many other democratic countries, they are new in a country like the United Kingdom. After years of resisting calls for prime minister debates, the United Kingdom televised three election debates in 2010. Similarly, it is not a norm in Malaysia to have politicians debating publically in their campaign to gain voters. Since the informal establishment of Pakatan Rakyat (PR) in 2008, the people want public debate among politicians of opposing parties (Barisan Nasional, the government; and Pakatan Rakyat, the opposition) instead of public speeches. Though the politicians do engage in debates on national issues, the debates are

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[1] In his book 'Political Election Debate: Informing voters about policy and character', Benoit (2014) stated that in addition to speeches, candidate webpages, direct mail advertising, television spots and other media, debates are an important and unique component of modern election campaigns.

commonly held in the parliament and are never entirely revealed to the people. Once in a while, fractions of the debate are televised for public viewing by selected mass media.

Yet, are those televised fractions of parliamentary debates sufficient to equip people with the information they need before casting votes? As a start, the first debate was televised for public view in 2008, which Anwar Ibrahim (leader of opposition) and Ahmad Shabery Cheek (former Minister of Information) as the debaters[2]. This was followed by another two series of high profile public debate between the MCA President, Chua Soi Lek, against the DAP Secretary-General, Lim Guan Eng as well as Rafizi Rahim (PR strategic director) against Khairy Jamaludin (UMNO Youth Chief) in 2012.

Public interest in a debate between Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Najib Razak and the de-facto leader of Pakatan Rakyat, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim began to rise several months before the 13th general election took place. A survey conducted by Merdeka Centre towards 1022 registered voters across Peninsular Malaysia in February 2012 has found that 56 percent of the respondents agreed for a debate to be held between the two leaders. To meet the call for debate, the Malaysian government introduced an online debate website called *'iPidato'* in February 2012. The website serves as a medium of interaction for anyone to debate, including the politicians. Despite the public's desire for the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak to take place, it never did, be it through electronic medium like iPidato or a staged face off.

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[2] A 12-hour poll conducted by Malaysiakini.com found that 96% respondents of 18 000 think Anwar has won the debate. It is interesting to note that many viewers found that the debate was immature when Shabery Cheek (former Information Minister) paying less attention to the subject matter but more on personal attacks towards his opponent.

1.1.2   Newspapers in Malaysia

Before the evolution of modern technology, print media has been one of the tools to report events. The freedom of newspapers reporting has faced a challenge few years after Independence, when United Malay National Organization (UMNO) successfully took ownership of *Utusan Melayu* (Tan, 2006). In the next decades after Independence, the ruling government has managed to get control Malaysia's main newspapers like *The New Strait Times* and *The Star*[3].

Operated by the ruling government, under the wings of Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Operation Lalang in 1987 had seen the arrest of many opposition politicians alongside crackdowns on the printed newspapers like The Star. The changes in ownership of the newspapers have led to the abuse of power by decision makers where they have control over what and how an issue is reported[4]. The ownership of mainstream newspapers by the government at that time triggered the news reporting to tilt towards those in power, spreading news to their approval. It promotes unequal socio-political environment with biased news reporting in the mainstream newspapers. In addition, according to the 2013 World Press Freedom Index, Malaysia was ranked 145 out of 179 countries, dropping 23 spots from the previous year.

Nevertheless, through the evolution of modern technology, the constraints of the mainstream newspapers are challenged. The internet has provided alternative channels and platforms for diverse types of news reporting. With the emergence of online

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[3] See also Tan, B. C. (2006) in his review of *The Role of the Mass Media in a Country* for the pattern of mass media ownership in Malaysia.
[4] See also Tan, S. N., & Kam, K. (2012) in their review of *IMLC 2012: Whiter Freedom of the Press?* for control of information in newspapers.

newspapers like The Malaysian Insider, Free Malaysia Today, Malaysia Chronicle and Harakah Daily, the people have access to information from different points of views. These independent newspapers have created a heated battle against the mainstream newspapers because both of these printed media often offer opposing ideologies on many issues, in this case, the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak.

1.2 Statement of problem

The media, politics and people are connected in a very complex way. As a component of media, newspapers have become an imperative device to convey the government agenda, policies and issues to public at large (Arina Anis Azlan, 2012). Hence, it should be free from the abuse of people in power and can share information fairly to promote democracy and freedom of the press. However, newspapers have their own constraints, especially in Malaysia. Local newspapers have to adhere to the Printing Presses and Publication Act 1984, where any printed publication requires a permit from relevant ministries (Malik Imtiaz Sarwar, 2012). In addition to that, Malaysia's news reporting suffers from other law implementation like the Sedition Act 1984. Journalists, editors and publishers are not able to produce articles without having to go through a series of editorial session.

As stated earlier, before the 13th General Election took place in May 2013, there were extensive media coverage towards the need for a public debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak. This includes the reporting by local newspapers. It is interesting how local newspapers described the debate between the two leaders. The reporting of the mainstream newspapers seemed to be against the debate while the independent newspapers seemed to favor it.

Grounded by the fact that the government or its alliances generally own Malaysia's mainstream newspapers[3], the media, rather than reporting for public purposes, is impelled to present positive reporting of the government in order to sustain its position (Mohd Azizuddin, 2005). Since the mainstream and independent newspapers represent opposing ideologies of the debate, the issue raised here is how they constructed these ideologies. Through what strategies did the newspapers construct the debate that will influence the readers' perceptions?

Telling a news story is not a simple case of telling the truth since language can be used to legitimize ideology and power. Rather than reporting facts, newspapers today are seen as a persuasive tool to spread ideologies. "With language, it is possible to insult, persuade, command, compliment, encourage or make promise. While these actions can be seen as individual acts, it is possible, through engaging in repeated acts of this kind, to change a person's world view" (Mooney et al., 2011). Through reinforcing and reproducing, ideologies can be constructed through language used in newspapers.

Since the construction of a public debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak by the local print is considered ideological, it is important to unravel and reveal the ideologies of the construction of the debate in the mainstream and independent newspapers because they will shape the reader's view towards the need for the debate. The key to this is the ways in which the media not only represent the key players in the debate (Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak) but also the argumentation strategies that the media employs in order to construct the debate itself.

The significance of this study lies in the idea that the readers should be exposed to not just the ideologies, but how the ideologies have been constructed through language.

According to Wodak (2001), strategies are seen as "more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim". The public should be critical of the strategies used by the two opposing newspapers because this will help them be wiser in judging the credibility and reliability of a news report. More importantly, they will be empowered before practicing their democratic right as citizens and voters.

1.3 Research aims and questions

This study aims at analyzing how the mainstream and the independent media ideologically construct the need for a public debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib. The research questions designed are:

    i.   How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through representation of Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak?

    ii.   How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers newspapers discursively construct the debate through the use of argumentation strategies?

1.4 Scope and Limitation

In an attempt to unravel the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate through an analysis of discursive strategies, this study adheres to the Discourse-Historical Approach introduced by Wodak (2001). From a wide range of discursive strategies introduced by Wodak, the referential and predicative strategies, together with argumentation strategies under lexical choice are examined.

This study focuses only on twenty articles from local newspapers. Ten articles from mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers are selected respectively. From the many newspapers available, this study limits its study to only four mainstream newspapers; Berita Harian, Utusan, The Star and News Straits Times and four independent newspapers; Malaysia Chronicle, Malaysian Insider, Harakah Daily and Free Malaysia Today. This study focuses on the reporting of Anwar-Najib debate from January 2012 to November 2012.

1.5 Summary

General election is a battlefield where we can see politicians from opposing political parties actively campaigning to gain trust from voters. Since the Independence, the political approach in campaigning has been more or less the same. Politicians are seen giving public speeches in spreading their manifesto. However, as technology develops so thus the people. Before the recent general election in May 2013, the people demand more than just public speeches. They want the two opposing leaders, Anwar Ibrahim (de facto leader of Pakatan Rakyat) and Najib Razak (leader of Barisan Nasional) to engage in a public debate instead of smear campaigning.

The demand for the debate has become the main topic in the local newspapers. The problem arises when there is a stand-off in the reporting of the topic between the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers. Based on the findings by Mohd Azizuddin (2005), to sustain the survival of the government, the media is found presenting positive reporting of the government. This strategy, as explained by Wodak (2001), is seen as "more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social,

political, psychological or linguistic aim". Hence, this study aims at unraveling the ideological construction of the need for the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak through analysis of the strategies used in the local newspapers. The significance of the study is to create awareness that news reporting on an event (in this case, the debate) can be manipulative as they are constructed; thus promotes critical thinking among readers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study is to unravel the ideological construction of the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak in two opposing groups of local newspapers. Hence, this chapter describes the relevant previous studies, focusing on the effects of political debates in international settings, the media and the society; as well as their interrelation to language and ideology and finally the representation of Self and Other in news reporting. The theoretical framework applied will follow in Chapter three.

2.1 Political debates in international settings

There are no notable studies in the field of linguistics conducted on political debate in Malaysia. Hence, this chapter includes studies that reveal the effect of political debates in international settings. In democratic countries, election campaigns are important to represent equality among politicians who are running for presidency. Election campaigns also signify the freedom of the people to select a leader to govern their countries. In today's modern election campaigns, political campaign debates carry great importance (Benoit, 2014). They are beneficial for citizens. The debates allow viewers to see the competing candidates in the campaign and compare them. Since the dominant power are able to define and produce reality through mass media (Van Dijk, 2008), coverage on the candidates may be biased in other political campaigns messages, but debates. However, Wihbey (2012) reviewed that to some extent, the format of televised presidential debate may favor the challenger, who is less known by the public. This is supported by Blais and

Perella (2008) when they found that the American presidential debates are able to raise awareness of less popular candidates.

There have been arguments on whether political debates have any significant effects on voters' decision in election. Holbrook (1999) stated that there is evidence pointing to the significance of debates in terms of acquiring information. He added that the first debate in an election campaign is the most important since voters have less information at that moment. The power of presidential debates to increase voters' knowledge is evident in studies on televised debates (Jamieson & Gottfried, 2010)[5]. Assessable to a larger audience, televised political debates are a medium for voters to gain more knowledge. The voters have access to information that could affect their voting preference. Pew Research Center (2012) has consistently found that majority of voters regularly claim the debates were very or somewhat helpful in making decision[6]. Benoit, Hansen and Verser (2003) agreed that the first debates held in an election campaign increase knowledge, influence perception of candidate's character and can alter voter preference.

While these studies have highlighted the debates as somewhat helpful in making decision, some studies reveal opposing results. Cho and Ha (2012) and Hillygus and Jackman (2003) argued that debates reinforce partisan positions. Political debates might benefit undecided voters, but they have fewer effects on voters who are already supporting a particular political party before the debates take place. Warner (2011) also revealed that unless the viewers are indecisive or unfamiliar about a candidate, the debates are more likely to strengthen support rather than change images of a candidate. During presidential elections, the initial result among voters before the debates are the best forecast to

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[5] In their study 'Are there lessons for the future news from the 2008 presidential campaign?', Jamieson and Gottfried (2010) found that the opposing ideas in the debates, without interference form the reporters, spiked voters' knowledge.
[6] Pew Research Center has revealed that 67 per cent or two-thirds of the voters say the 2008 presidential debates influenced their vote.

determine the outcome of the debates (Erikson & Christopher, 2012). They concluded that the evidence proving the effects of debates is fragile. Sides (2012) agreed that presidential debates insignificant effects in shifting voters to determine the outcome of the election.

Although studies on the effect of presidential debates have resulted in contrasting findings, debates offer considerable benefits for democracy (Benoit, 2014). He stated that "candidates who try to duck participating in debate can expect to be exposed to ridicule by opponents and skepticism by some voters"[7]. Furthermore, he argued that debates have far less media gate-keeping than the news. In debates, politicians have an opportunity to be transparent in delivering their points directly to the audience.

2.2 Media and the society

Studies in media and sociology suggested that those in power in a society have control over the activities of the media. The media functions as a tool for social control (Viswanath & Demers, 1999). It is through the administration of information and knowledge to the society that the social control is realized. The administration of information and knowledge can be realized through selection of topic and specific reconstructions of social and political events. The government is in control of the news media; filtering, editing and finally deciding what should be published and aired to the public. In support to that, in his study of media freedom in Malaysia, Mohd Azizuddin (2005) has found that the government controls the reporting of the media to sustain its survival[4]. The media has been impelled to construct positive reporting of the government to sustain its survival.

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[7] Benoit (2014) provided example in 1992 where Clinton campaign staffers dressed up as chickens and mocked President Bush as "Chicken George for refusing to debate.

The above statement is further strengthened when Van Dijk (1991) stated that the mass media have nearly exclusive control over the symbolic resources needed to construct popular content. Fairclough (1993) highlighted the role of the media in justifying, preserving, rationalizing, conceptualizing and representing the interest of dominant group, not the people[8]. Since the general public are exposed to the vastly assessable mainstream newspapers, the news reported become so powerful that it is hegemonic and accepted as truth by a certain group of society.

Hence, this study selects two groups of opposing newspapers; the mainstream newspapers and the independent newspapers so that the hegemonic ideology can be challenged. This has shown that though the media is reporting on the same event, through various strategies, different ideologies could be produced. For example, Trew (in Fowler et al., 1979) analyzed how an event can be described in contrasting ways in two British newspapers with different ideological stances.

Meanwhile, in his study of news reporting in two Australian newspapers on racism, Teo (2000) found that the image of the police was made more assertive in one newspaper compared to the other. As opposed to its purpose to expose the truth, news media, as found by Van Dijk (2008) "is able to identify, define and articulate reality as defined by the dominant power groups".

2.3 Language, Media and Ideology

Although media claim their reporting is neutral, many studies have shown the opposite. Fowler (1999) reported that "news has become a system of social practice representing

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[8] See Fairclough (2013) and Van Dijk (1991) for the role of media in controlling the content of the source of information to public.

the world with a structure of values, social and economic in origin". For example, in her study of discursive construction of Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Abdullah Badawi and Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, Lean (2008) found that the formation of the two leaders by the mass media is considered ideological as they construct the leaders in a way they want the public to view them. In another study on the representation of Islam and Muslim following the 9/11 events in the New York Times, Alazzany (2008) revealed that there are several ideological themes that are embodied in the representation Islam through the use of various discursive strategies and linguistics structure. The power of news media in influencing people's mind is undeniable. As texts are reported to have "ideological properties", they are considered subjective (Simpson, 1993). Hence, the study of how people use the language and how language represents people is vital.

The idea that language reproduces ideology (Fowler, 1991) is reinforced by Mooney et al. (2011)

> "With language, it is possible to insult, persuade, command, compliment, encourage or make promise. While these can be seen as individual acts, it is possible, through engaging in repeated acts of this kind, to change a person's world view".

An analytical approach like Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been mainly devised and developed to study the relation between language and ideology (Fairclough, 1995). The construction of ideology is worth investigating as it involves values and beliefs based on how language is structured to convey message. This further strengthens the need for this research as the aim is to unravel the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate in two opposing groups of newspapers since apparently the ideologies differ.

2.4 Self and Other representation

Representations of the Self and the Other frequently become the main topic of political discourse. The role of mass media in controlling the content[8] can contribute to construction of Self and Other for political ends (KhosraviNik, 2010). The mass media could fabricate information to create representation of Self and Other. Based on Van Dijk's (2004) framework, the discursive strategies of positive self-representation and negative other-representation are made through the dichotomous categorization of euphemization and derogation[9]. These are devices used to emphasize and deemphasize ideological meaning to portray positive self-representation and negative other-representation by enhancing or mitigating our/their bad characteristics (Van Dijk, 2000). Through euphemization, positive self-representation avoids the formation of negative attitudes or opinions about the dominant powers. Van Dijk (2004) added that positive self-representation is a semantic macro-strategy used for 'face keeping' or 'impression management'. On the other hand, negative other-representation refers to the in-groups and out-groups and their division between 'good' and 'bad', superior and inferior, US and THEM. The negative other-representation is usually presented as inferior or mediocre. Derogation as a device relates to another discursive device proposed by Van Dijk (2004) called 'victimization of others'.

Most studies between two opposing newspapers lead to different ideologies. In his study of racism in two Australian newspapers, Teo (2008) found contrasting construction of the representation of police and the 5T. Teo also showed that a racist ideology is revealed through systematic representation of Other (which was aligned with 5T). In his study, the

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[9] Derogatory is defined as "showing a critical attitude towards others, or insulting" and euphemism as "an indirect word or phrase that people often use to refer to something embarrassing or unpleasant, sometimes to make it more acceptable that what it really is" (Hornby, 2004).

bad characteristics of Other was highlighted. In addition, Kuo (2007) in her study of two ideologically opposed newspapers in Taiwan affirmed that subjected to the underlying ideology of the newspapers, the same event would be conveyed differently by different newspapers (Fowler, 1979; Wang, 1993; Fang, 2001). Similarly, this study seeks to reveal the ideological construction of the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak through the representation of the two leaders in opposing newspapers.

2.5 Summary

Previous studies have shown that the media can be controlled by those in power to manipulate information before they are published to the societies. Thus, the media acts as an agent to support and justify the interest of those in power. Made available nationwide, the news reported by media become hegemonic, leading the news to be accepted as truth by the society. Hence, studies on how language is used in realizing the interest of people in power is crucial. Based on that, this study attempts to investigate how two opposing newspapers construct the ideologies of Anwar-Najib through discursive strategies. Other comparative studies on media include the work by Trew (1979), Teo (2000), Kuo (2007), Lean (2008) and Alazzany (2008).

The following chapter includes the conceptual framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with elaboration on the characteristics of CDA, the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) as one of the main approaches and the adopted approach of this study. It provides a short explanation on the representation of Self and Other in general through referential, predicative and argumentative strategies. In addition to the main discursive strategies under DHA, a look on Quotation patterns as a supporting analytical tool is presented.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used to carry out this study. It covers the conceptual framework employed, categories of analysis, the data selection and data analysis. The selection of conceptual framework adopted in this paper aims at answering two research questions: i) *How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through representation of Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak?* and ii) *How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through the use of argumentation strategies?*

3.1 Conceptual framework

The relationship between media, politics and people is very complex. As a media instrument, newspapers function as a device to practice democracy, equality and freedom of speech. The public should be enlightened with fair coverage and non-bias reporting. However, in Malaysia, its purposes are restricted by limitations on freedom of expression permitted by the Constitution- Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984[4]. As stated earlier, since the government or its associates own the mainstream newspapers, the construction of news reporting is imbalanced. The research questions designed for this study are based on this foundation, where two opposing group of newspapers are found contradicting their construction of the need for the public debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak.

The conceptualization of the framework of this study lies in the idea that language reproduces ideology (Fowler, 1991). This idea centralizes language as an analytical tool in maintaining ideological patterns in the world of the press. In today's political context, using force is the last resort to gain power and support from the people. In the attempt to gain power and support, politicians opt to use other approaches in their campaign such as spreading and persuading the people to believe the ideologies they created. As lethal as using 'force', the latter approach that displays modern power in democratic societies is manipulative. Language can be a lethal tool as it can be exploited to create ideologies to be propagated as the truth. Hence, in explaining the power of language, the researcher turned to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analytical approach.

CDA argues that language plays a private role in re/producing, re/creating ad reshaping ideologies (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Ideology is neither false nor right. Those who created ideology are just exploiting the power of language for their own interest. An event can be reportedly differently by using the correct language. Language can be utilized to manipulate the public. For example, in his review of Islam, Richardson (2004) has found that Islam has often been misrepresented by the British broadsheet newspapers. Since language is so powerful, a proper analytical approach is vital to unveil the ideology created through it.

CDA, as an analytical approach, has been mainly devised and developed from other analytical tools to study the relation between language and ideology (Fairclough, 1995). He has found that in addition to constructing social identities, language can be a constitutive device in creating systems of knowledge and belief. Studies in CDA aim at unveiling and making known the kind of socio-political or socio-cultural ideologies that have become deep-rooted and accepted over time in discourse. One of the common

discourses is mass media for it has become a site of battle for power and legitimization, an area which CDA can help to unveil.

CDA is able to unveil and create awareness towards the usage of language in newspapers (one of component of mass media) as a site to gain power and legitimization. Those who have access to and control over the re/production and re/creation of hegemonic narratives in mass communication events attain more power (Van Dijk, 2005)[10]. Newspapers, as one of the mass communicated discourse has become the center for political parties to create opposing truths as ideologies.

In revealing ideologies, researchers of CDA have options of which approach to adopt since CDA is not homogeneous. The multi-disciplinary approach of CDA consists of three major models which are associated with three prominent researchers; Norman Fairclough's Dialectal-Relational Approach, Teun A. van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach and Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach. Though they analyse data differently, they share the same objective; to disclose ideologies in various discourse. According to Bell and Garret (1998:7), Critical Discourse Analysis includes various approaches. Rather than just one school, CDA is considered as a shared perspective. Hence, to analyse the ideological construction of the need for Anwar-Najib public debate, this study has adopted Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach to examine the discursive strategies employed in local newspapers and quotation patterns, a general representation of newspaper discourse.

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[10] Van Dijk (1991) explains that through media, even those with limited power or authority could gain support. He has stated that the process of reproduction will eventually finds its rationale with the public at large. In democratic societies, little power can be legitimated and hence be truly effective without some form of popular support and consent.

3.2 Discourse-Historical Approach

Among the features of DHA as summarized by Resigl and Wodak (2009: 95) are the approach is interdisciplinary, it is problem-oriented, it is a combination of various theories and methods (wherever integration leads to an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object) and it integrates numerous genres and public spaces as well as intertextuality and interdiscursive relationship are studied. Developed mainly by Ruth Wodak, the Discourse-Historical approach is an influential approach to studies involving the presentation of Self and Other.

There are many studies of representations of social groups and discursive qualities on the differentiation of Us vs Them based on factors like race, ethnicity, religion, social class, personality and language, gender. KhosraviNik (2010) stated that

> "In the national political field (parliamentary campaigns and party elections), representation of the Self and the Other often become the main subject matter in political discourse. Various strategies (from mass media control to power over content midfications and linguistic mechanis,) can contribute to constructions Self and Other for different political ends".

These representation reflects unequal power relations where hegemonic ideologies may enforce the dichotomous representation of Us vs Them. Hence, this study has selected DHA to investigate how the social actors in the articles (Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak) are represented in opposing newspapers in an attempt to unveil the ideologies of a public debate between them.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) have laid three central elements in DHA method; the content of the data, the discursive strategies employed and the linguistic realization of these content and strategies. Strategies are seen as "more or less intentional plan of

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practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Wodak, 2001:73). To unveil the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate, the two research questions designed (refer to the first paragraph in this chapter) will be answered by analysing the data using two types of discursive strategies under DHA; Referential and Predicative strategies and Argumentation strategies. The following sections provide more explanation on these strategies.

3.2.1   Categories of Analysis

This section presents the categories of analysis used in this study. It begins with an explanation of referential, predicative and argumentation before moving to quotation patterns.

3.2.1.1 Referential, Predication and Argumentation

It is interesting how different newspapers published articles with different views on the need for a public debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak. It is clear that while the mainstream newspapers portray the debate between the two party leaders as meaningless and serve no purpose, the independent newspapers view it as constructive approach in the Malaysia's political arena. To validate this statement, discursive strategies employed in the opposing newspapers to project their ideological stances are examined. Reisigl and Wodak (2000) have introduced five discursive strategies under Discourse Historical Approach. However, in this study, the researcher focuses on three strategies of self and other-presentation which are referential, predication and argumentation.

Referential strategies, also known as nomination strategies refer to representing social actors as ingroups and outgroup; for example membership categorization devices, tropical reference by biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies (Wodak, 2005). The strategy of predication intends to evaluate and label social actors with either positive or negative traits[11]. They are given certain attributes that might not be accurate as identity markers. These stereotyping and prejudice can be detected by analysing the lexical choice in each of the articles in this study, with a specific focus on the social actors; Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak. This study does not separate these two strategies as they are found to be overlapping. Some of the referential strategies can be considered to be specific forms of predicative strategies because the pure referential identification very often already involves a denotatively as well as connotatively more or less deprecatory or appreciative labelling of the social actors Wodak (2005).

In the Argumentation strategies, topoi are used to connect the arguments found in the articles with the conclusion. From the fifteen list of topoi introduced by Wodak (2001:74) in Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, this study adopts only 4 topoi; topos of advantage/ usefulness, topos of disadvantage/ uselessness, topos of danger and threat and finally topos of culture. These strategies are found most applicable since this study seeks to justify political agenda through the lexical choice in the newspapers,. The significance of these topoi is presented in the following paragraph.

The topos of advantage/usefulness is used to examine the benefit and the need for the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak to take place. On the other hand, the topos disadvantage/uselessness will be used to examine the harm caused by the debate, hence suggesting that there is no need for a debate between the two leaders. The usage

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[11] Wodak's keynote in Bristol (2000) includes that the focus of DHA is on the construction of Us and Them, thus the construction of political identities as a theme of political discourse is usually done by positive self-representation and negative other-presentation.

topos of danger and threat is dichotomy. Firstly, if the debate is associated with dangerous, threatening consequences, it is best not to conduct it. In contrast, if refusing the debate would lead to dangerous, threatening consequences, then it best to conduct it. Finally, topos of culture is selected based on the argumentation that because the culture of Malaysian is as it is, specific problems arise in specific situations.

These are among the most common topoi which are used in describing self and other. Wodak has repeatedly used these strategies in her studies on election campaigns (Pelinka & Wodak, 2002), on parliamentary debates (Wodak & Van Dijk, 2000), on policy papers (Resigl & Wodak, 2001) and on media reporting (Baker et al., 2008).

3.2.1.2 Quotation Patterns

As newspaper articles are analysed in this paper, it is relevant to include quotation pattern as part of the analysis. As stated earlier, Wodak's DHA promotes a combination of various theories and methods to achieve the research objectives. This study investigates the quotation pattern articles to support the Argumentation strategies in the newspapers. One of the characteristics of newspaper discourse is the dependence on variety of sources of information available in the news report (Teo, 2000). The various sources of information are discursive strategies that could be used to sway people's view towards the news reported in newspapers. Introducing statements, claims, suggestions or opinions from prominent individuals in their respected fields can boost the validity and reliability of the news report. Hence, the people will find that the event reported in the news more persuasive and convincing. According to Tuchman (1978), quotations are often instilled within news report to provide an impression of 'factuality' and authenticity.

Appearing as an effective strategy, quotations actually limit the peoples' perspectives as they are only exposed to information permitted by the people in power. Thus, the use of quotation becomes 'a gate-keeping device' that acknowledges those in power and influence but denying the views of those who society believes to have no power (Teo, 2000). Hopefully, this study will reveal the quotation patterns in both mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers to seek who contributed to the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate.

3.3 Data Selection

Twenty articles from eight local newspapers were selected as data in this study. Ten articles were taken from four mainstream newspapers (The Star, Utusan, New Straits Times and BeritaHarian) and the other ten articles from four independent newspapers (Free Malaysia Today, Malaysia Chronicle, Harakah Daily and The Malaysian Insider). These articles were selected based on purposive sampling. Through accessing the archive of each local newspaper online, dated from January 2012 to November 2012, more than 500 articles were displayed. The time frame from January-November 2012 was selected because this is the duration where extensive coverage on Anwar-Najib debate was published. The number of articles was refined further by eliminating articles which had no relevance to the main aims of this study. After examining and reading the articles critically, the number was systematically reduced to twenty. The articles are listed in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 as shown in the following page.

Table 3.1: Headlines of mainstream newspapers articles

No.	News Article
1	MB: Najib, Anwar debate won't help (*The Star*, 26/1/2012)
2	Najib tak perlu layan debat (*Berita Harian*, 27/1/2012)
3	No benefit in Najib-Anwar debate (*New Straits Times*, 20/2/2012)
4	Dr. M: No point debating with Anwar the chameleon (*The Star*, 21/2/2012)
5	Debates won't solve anything, says former PM Abdullah (*The Star*, 21/2/2012)
6	Ahli akademik sokong debat Anwar-Najib tidak perlu (*Utusan*, 22/2/2012)
7	Politik buang masa pembangkang (*Utusan*, 24/2/2012)
8	Tak pandai jaga kawasan punca ajak debat (*Utusan*, 26/2/2012)
9	I'm ready for reasonable discourse, says Najib (*The Star*, 6/3/2012)
10	Ambiga's call is just naïve (*New Straits Times,* 29/11/2012)

Table 3.2: Headlines of independent newspapers articles

No.	News Article
1	Mahasiswa tawar diri jadi penganjur debat Anwar-Najib (Harakah Daily. 26/1/2012)
2	Debat Anwar-Najib paling ditunggu-tunggu (*Harakah Daily*, 20/2/2012)
3	Let's have Anwar-Najib debate, Saifuddin tells Ku Nan (*The Malaysian Insider*, 20/2/2012)
4	Young Malaysians push for Najib-Anwar debate (*Free Malaysia Today*, 5/3/2012)
5	Students call for Najib-Anwar debate (*Free Malaysia Today*, 6/3/2012)
6	PKR repears invite for Anwar-Najib debate (*The Malaysian Insider*, 6/3/2012)
7	Debate-'Najib won't have the guts' (*Free Malaysia Today*, 24/3/2012)
8	Public debate the true test of a leader (*Free Malaysia Today*, 29/3/2012)
9	Call grow for the 'Great Debate'-Anwar vs Najib (*Malaysia Chronicle*, 24/5/2012)
10	Not confident, Umno leaders resist Najib-Anwar debate (*Malaysia Chronicle*, 25/5/2012)

3.4 Data Analysis

The following sections present the steps of analyzing the selected data. They are divided into two sub sections; the translation of articles in the Malay language and steps of analyzing the selected articles.

3.4.1 Translation of articles in the Malay language

From twenty selected articles, there are six articles which are in the Malay language. Four of them are from the mainstream newspapers (Berita Harian and Utusan) and two are from the independent newspapers (Harakah Daily). Thus, this study has turned to the

official website of Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu (PRPM) for accurate translation. The website is run by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP). The articles in the Malay language are submitted through the website and translated into English language. To ensure validity and reliability of the translation, this study had a registered translator, Mr Faharol bin Zubir to read and verify the translation.

3.4.2 Steps of analyzing the articles

The data is analysed manually by examining the strategies and quotation patterns in twenty selected articles from both mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers. Research question 1 '*How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through representation of Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak?*' is analysed using the referential and predicative strategies while research question 2 '*How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers newspapers discursively construct the debate through the use of argumentation strategies?*' is analysed using the four topoi as mentioned earlier in this chapter and quotation patterns which serves as a rhetoric device. The analysis is validated by providing extracts from the data collection which are then used to discuss the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate; whether it legitimize or delegitimize the need for the debate to take place.

3.5 Summary

In the attempt to unveil the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate in opposing local newspapers, this study adopts Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, specifically focus on the representation of Self and Other through the use Referential, Predicative and

Argumentation strategies. These strategies are further reinforced with a rhetoric device often used in newsp\apers discourse, Quotation patterns. Ten mainstream newspapers articles and ten independent newspapers articles are manually analysed. Translation of the text in the Malay language is done through the official Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu (PRPM) portal. Extracts of the articles are included in the next chapter to validate the legitimisation and de-legitimisation of the debate.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of newspaper articles are presented according to the research questions stated earlier in chapter one. In answering research question one, '*How do the mainstream newspaper and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through representation of Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak?*' this section starts with the analysis of lexical choice using the referential and predication strategies. Following that, an analysis of topoi is presented in an attempt to answer research question two, *'How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through the use of argumentation strategies?'* A discussion of the legitimisation and de-legitimisation of the debate is presented at the end of this chapter.

4.1 Overview of Referential and Predicative Strategies

The newspaper articles are found mainly reporting on two different ideologies; the mainstream newspapers delegitimise the need for the debate through negative representation of Other (Anwar Ibrahim) while the independent newspapers legitimise the need for the debate also through the negative representation of Other (Najib Razak). The Self and Other representation is a variable in the opposing newspapers. For the mainstream newspapers, the Self is aligned with Najib Razak while the Other is Anwar Ibrahim. On the other hand, in the independent newspapers, the Self is aligned with Anwar Ibrahim while the Other is Najib Razak.

The analysis of this section starts with the Referential and Predicative strategies used by mainstream newspapers and Independent newspapers. This is followed by the Argumentation strategy used by mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers respectively.

4.1.1 Representation of Anwar Ibrahim through Referential and Predicative Strategies in Mainstream Newspapers

The referential and predicative strategies function together. These strategies often overlap as the referential strategies can be considered to be specific forms of predicative strategies (Wodak, 2000). In terms of referential strategy, the mainstream newspapers articles use 'Opposition Leader', 'Pematang Pauh MP', 'member of parliament', 'not even official leader of Pakatan Rakyat' in reference to Other. Anwar Ibrahim is seen as part of his role as a member of the parliament. He is pictured as an informal leader of the opposite wing. This leads to his first negative-representation of Other as readers are left with the indication that Anwar Ibrahim, a member of the parliament, is a self-declared leader of the opposition.

The articles in the mainstream newspapers realize the usage of predicative strategies in de-legitimising the need for the debate through negative representation of Other (Anwar Ibrahim). The second representation of negative Other attributed to Anwar Ibrahim is the usage of the word 'chameleon'. The allusion of Anwar Ibrahim to a chameleon affects readers to view him as an unreliable leader who could change his stands to fit his surroundings.

> It will be pointless for the Prime Minister to debate with Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim because the Opposition Leader is a **chameleon**…
> Dr M: No point debating with Anwar the chameleon- The Star, 21/2/2012

In addition, the predications *suka memburuk-burukkan* [likes to smear], *sering memutarbelitkan fakta* [often manipulate facts], *hebat memanipulasi keadaan* [great at manipulating situations] and *mengheret isu-isu yang tidak ada kena mengena* [drag issues that have no relevance] as in the excerpts below reflect Anwar Ibrahim as someone who utilizes information by altering them to meet his ends. The effect these words have on the readers is the representation of Anwar Ibrahim as someone who cannot be trusted by the people.

…, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad berkata tidak ada keperluan Perdana Menteri berdebat dengan individu seperti Anwar kerana semua menyedari sikap Ketua Pembangkang itu yang **suka memburuk-burukkan** nama negara kepada dunia luar.
Najib tidak perlu layan debat- Berita Harian, 27/1/2012

Translation <There is no necessity to debate against individual like Anwar for everyone is aware that the opposition leader **likes to smear** the nation to the rest of the world.
Najib does not have to debate- Berita Harian, 27/1/2012>

Sikap Ketua Pembakang, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim yang **sering memutarbelitkan fakta** merupakan factor utama debat antara beliau dan Perdana Menteri, Datuk Seri Najib Razak tidak perlu diadakan.

Translation <There main reason no to hold a debate between the prime minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak and Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim is because the leader of opposition **often manipulate facts**.>

Tokoh akademik, Tan Sri Ibrahim Abu Shah menegaskan, Anwar terkenal sebagai individu yang **hebat memanipulasi keadaan**… Jesturu saya fikir kenyataan Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad menolak sesi debat itu kerana kemungkinan Anwar akan **mengheret isu-isu yang tidak ada kena mengena** dalam usaha memperkasakan bangsa dan Negara.
Ahli akademik sokong debat Anwar-Najib tidak perlu- Utusan, 22/2/2012

Translation <Tan Sri Ibrahim Abu Shah, an academic figure, stresses that Anwar is well known as a person who is **great at manipulating situation**…
So, I think that Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad's statement on rejecting the debate is because Anwar will probably **drag issues that have no relevance** towards the effort of racial and nation empowerment
Academician seconds Anwar-Najib debate is not necessary>

To further delegitimize the need for the debate, the mainstream articles put forward another negative trait to represent Other (Anwar Ibrahim); the predication 'not an

economic expert' and 'not political equals'. These word portray Anwar Ibrahim as an

inefficient leader and does not possess enough knowledge to be in a political debate with

the prime minister.

> He claimed that Anwar, the MP for Permatang Pauh, was **not an economic expert**.
> No benefit in Najin-Anwar debate- The News Straits Times, 20/2/2012
>
> They are **not political equals**.
> Ambiga's call is just naïve- The News Straits Times, 29/11/2012

The final negative representation of Other in the mainstream newspapers is the denotation

of Anwar Ibrahim as a ruthless leader. Readers are left with his representation as someone

who is vicious and cares less about the people. This negative representation of Anwar

Ibrahim is materialized through words like *sikap bengisnya* [his ferocious attitude] and

'he showed no empathy' as seen below:

> Beliau berkata, Anwar akan menjadikan pentas pendebatan berkenaan sebagai platform untuknya meraih populariti politik dengan mempamerkan sikap **bengisnya**.
> Najib tidak perlu layan debat- Berita Harian, 27/1/2012
>
> Translation <He stated that Anwar will make the debate as a platform to gain political popularity by showcasing his **ferocious attitude**.
> Najib does not have to debate- Berita Harian, 27/1/2012>
>
> Anwar's credentials were such that when he was in the government, he showed **no sympathy** for Indians or displayed **no interest** in their welfare.
> Ambiga's call is just naïve- The News Straits Times, 29/11/2012

4.1.2 Representation of Najib Razak through Referential and Predicative Strategies in Mainstream Newspapers

In terms of reference to Self, the mainstream newspapers articles use 'Prime Minister' and 'Leader of Barisan Nasional'. Positive representation of Self (Najib Razak) are made apparent in the articles; for example, 'willingness to discuss political issues' and 'I am happy to have a discourse on politics'. These positive representations are made through direct quotation from Najib Razak himself leading the readers to view him as a transparent leader who would get into a debate with any worthy man or woman, just as seen in the excerpt below:

> Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak has expressed **willingness** to discuss political issues with any reasonable man or woman…That much I accept. I am **happy** to have a discourse on politics with any reasonable man or woman and appreciate lively political discourse.
> I'm ready for reasonable discource, says Najib- The Star, 6/3/2012

Najib's positive representation of Self in the mainstream newspapers are not given much emphasis compared to the negative representation of Other (Anwar Ibrahim). The discussion on the representation of Self and Other is made available in the later section of this chapter.

4.1.3 Representation of Anwar Ibrahim through Referential and Predicative Strategies in Independent Newspapers

Interestingly, out of the ten articles from the independent newspapers, no representation of positive trait is given to Self (Anwar Ibrahim). In contrast, the predicative strategy used

by the independent newspapers highlighted the negative construction of Self through the eyes of the pro-government politicians.

In terms of referential strategy, the independent newspapers use 'conspiracy theorist' and 'political prostitute' in reference to Self (Anwar Ibrahim). Meanwhile, in terms of predicative strategy, the representation of Self is made through words like 'not qualified to debate' and 'has no credibility'; as seen below:

> Najib was today reported as saying that he was happy to argue politics with any reasonable man or woman, but not with **conspiracy theorists**.
> Young Malaysians push for Najib-Anwar debate- Free Malaysia Today, 5/3/2012
>
> However, Bernama reported Najib saying that he would only debate with responsible leaders and not **conspiracy theorists**, referring Anwar.
> Students call for Najib-Anwar debate- Free Malaysia Today, 6/3/2012
>
> Former minister, Zainuddin Maidin meanwhile called Anwar a '**political prostitute**' and thus **not qualified** to debate with Najib. Anwar has **no credibility** and I think Najib does not need to debate him,...
> Not confident, Umno leaders resist Najib-Anwar debate- Malaysia Chronicle, 25/5/2012

Anwar Ibrahim is again portrayed as an unreliable politician. Refusing to debate Anwar Ibrahim, Najib Razak has indirectly described Anwar Ibrahim as a conspiracy theorist. In addition, the representation of negative Self is further reinforce to the readers as Anwar Ibrahim characterized as inefficient leader by the use of words like 'not qualified' and 'no credibility'.

4.1.4 Representation of Najib Razak through Referential and Predicative Strategies in Independent Newspapers

In contrast to his positive representation of Self in the mainstream newspapers, Najib Razak are represented with negative traits as Other in the independent newspaper. In

terms of referential strategy, the independent articles use 'Prime Minister', 'The Barisan Nasional Chairman and UMNO President' and 'his routine of advisers and strategist' in reference of Other. Firstly, through these words, Najib Razak's function as the leader is expressed. The articles in the independent newspapers realise their predicative strategies of legitimising the need for the debate through negative representation of Other (Najib Razak).

Najib **perlu bersedia untuk berdebat** secara terbuka, bukannya berceramah ke seluruh Negara tanpa berhadapan dengan Anwar.
Debat Anwar-Najib paling ditunggu-tunggu- Harakah Daily, 20/2/2012

Translation <Najib **has to be ready to publically debate**, not giving speech to the whole nation without facing Anwar.
Much awaited Anwar-Najib debate-Harakah Daily, 20/2/2012>

In the absence of his retinue of advisers and strategist to provide him with fodder, Prime Minister Najib Razak will **lack the courage** to lock horns with Opposition Leader Anwar Ibrahim in a live debate.

The Barisan Nasional chairman and Umno president, according to PAS Kuala Selangor MP Dzulkifley Ahmad, was a **risk adverse person** who would not dare go to the forefront for a debate.

The more Najib is **reluctant** to engage, the more he is losing support and approval.

Khoo, who stressed that he would welcome a debate if it really happened, said Najib was **more likely to ignore** Anwar again.
Debate-Najib won't have the guts- Free Malaysia Today, 24/3/2012
ABIM believes through a debate, Najib can remove his **cowardance image** for refusing to debate with Anwar.
Call grow for the great debate- Anwar vs Najib- Malaysia Chronicle, 24/5/2012

As seen in the excerpts above, the predications *perlu bersedia untuk berdebat* [has to be ready to publically debate], 'lack of courage to lock horns', 'risk adverse person', 'reluctant', 'more likely to ignore' and 'his cowardice image'. These words represent Najib Razak as a weak leader. They show the state of not being ready to engage into a public debate. In addition to these words, the title of the article 'Debate- Najib won't have the guts' (Free Malaysia Today, 24/3/2012) also has significance. All of these show the

lack of courage Najib Razak has and that he is afraid of losing to Anwar Ibrahim in the debate, ending up looking weak.

The final negative representation of Other is the association of Najib Razak as a non-transparent leader. The excerpt 'whether he honestly wants to allow Malaysians to hear…' as seen below has triggered uncertainty among the readers of the openness of Najib Razak:

> The decision lies in Najib's hands… **whether he honestly** wants to allow Malaysians to hear directly the policies of Barisan Nasional and Pakatan Rakyat debated within the democratic framework.
> PKR repeats invite for Anwar-Najib debate- The Malaysian Insider, 20/2/2012

4.2 Overview of Argumentative Strategies

The stand-off in the ideological contractions of the debate between mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers is further highlighted using the Argumentative strategies. This study focuses only on the justification of positive or negative attributions by using topos of advantage/usefulness, topos of disadvantage/uselessness, topos of danger and threat and topos of culture**Error! Bookmark not defined.**. These strategies were found most applicable since the researcher seeks to justify political agenda through the lexical choice in the newspapers. To further support the use of topoi, the researcher includes quotation patterns identified in the articles as part of rhetorical device. The next section starts with the analysis of the topoi use in mainstream newspapers before moving to independent newspapers.

4.2.1 Argumentative Strategies in Mainstream Newspapers

The mainstream newspapers' overall argumentative framework heavily relies on the representation of the debate as meaningless. For example, the articles draw on topos of disadvantage/uselessness (debate has no purpose), topos of danger and threat (debate as political ploy), topos of culture (debate as unfamiliar political approach). A detailed description is presented in the following section.

4.2.1.1 Topos of Disadvantage/Uselessness in Mainstream Newspapers

The mainstream newspapers are found de-legitimising the need for the debate by using topos of disadvantage/uselessness to describe the debate. Quoted from The Star, former Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad on the 21st of February 2012, is found stating that the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib is pointless for the people '…it would not lead to anything constructive'. The topos of disadvantage/uselessness is clearly identified when according to Mahathir Mohamad, the debate will not, in any way be helpful and productive. This is further reinforced by a statement from Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Abdullah Badawi who is found stating that 'a debate does not solve problems'.

> Dr Mahathir said he had no problem with debates, quickly adding, however
> that **it would not lead to anything constructive**.
> Dr. M: No point debating with Anwar the chameleon- The Star, 21/2/2012
>
> **A debate doesn't solve problems.**
> Debates won't solve anything, says former PM Abdullah- The Star,
> 21/2/2012

Umno divisional leader, Datuk Syed Ali Alhabshee, on the 20th of February 2012 is found describing that the debate 'will not benefit the people in any way'. This description of the debate will affect the readers' perception in viewing the debate as unbeneficial.

> The opposition proposal for a debate between Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Razak and Opposition Leader Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim **will not benefit the people in any way…**
> No benefit in Najib-anwar debate- The News Straits Times, 20/2/2012

In addition, Tan Sri Ibrahim Abu Shah in 22nd of February 2012 voiced his support for Mahathir Mohamad saying that the debate is a waste of time. The association of the debate with phrases pointing it as a waste of time lead the readers to reason the usefulness of the debate as a tool in modern elections.

> Saya sokong kenyataan Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad bahawa **debat ini membuang masa**, lebih baik Perdana Menteri beri tumpuan terhadap usaha memperkukuhkan jentera Barisan Nasional…
> Ahli akademik sokong debat Anwar-Najib tidak perlu- Utusan, 22/2/2012
>
> Translation <I second Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad's statement that **this debate is a waste of time**, it is better that the Prime Minister focus on the effort to strengthen the Barisan Nasional political machinery…
> Academician seconds Anwar-Najib debate is not necessary-Utusan, 22/2/2012>
>
> Perdana Menteri **tidak perlu membuang** masa melayan tuntutan tidak berfaedah tersebut memandangkan cadangan berdebat berkenaan bukan sahaja bertujuan bagi mengalih isu…
> Politik buang masa pembangkang- Utusan, 24/2/2012
> Translation <The Prime Minister **doesn't need to waste time** in entertaining the unbeneficial demand since the proposal to debate is not just to aim for a diversion from issues…
> Opposition's political dawdle- Utusan, 24/2/2012>

The use of topos of disadvantage/ uselessness in mainstream newspapers is materialized through descriptions of the debate as unproductive, unbeneficial and a waste of time.

4.2.1.2 Topos of Danger and Threat in Mainstream Newspapers

The usage of topos of danger and threat is dichotomy. In de-legitimising the need for the debate, the mainstream newspapers are found associating the debate with dangerous,

threatening consequences to the government; hence, it is best for Najib Razak not to debate against Anwar Ibrahim.

It is found that the mainstream newspapers represent the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak as a threat to the ruling government. The debate is pictured as a 'political ploy', a scheme planned by the opposition to divert the government's agenda for the people. The mainstream newspapers utilise the topos of danger and threat by associating the debate as a tool used by the opposition to stop the government from serving the people- '...*hanya akan menyebabkan BN masuk ke dalam perangkap pembangkang...agar agenda kerajaan untuk rakyat akan tergendala atau terbantut.'* [… will only cause BN to get into the trap of the opposition … to entertain their whim so that the government agenda for the people will be disrupted].

> Cheras Umno Division chief Datuk Syed Ali Alhabshee said he feared that the proposal for the debate on national economic issues could just be a **political ploy** of the opposition.
> No benefit in Najib- Anwar debate- The News Straits Times, 20/2/2012
> Tindakan melayan pembangkang termasuklah berdebat hanya **akan menyebabkan BN masuk ke dalam perangkap pembangkang yang sememangnya mahu parti itu melayan kerenah remeh temeh mereka agar agenda kerajaan untuk rakyat akan tergendala atau terbantut.**
> Politik buang masa pembangkang, Utusan, 24/2/2012
>
> Translation <The action of entertaining the opposition, including debating, **will only cause BN to get into the trap of the opposition which has always wanted the party to entertain their whim so that the government agenda for the people will be disrupted**.
> Opposition's political dawdle- Utusan, 24/2/2012>

The last two quotations highlight the use of topos of danger and threat when they are used to describe Anwar and his opposition party as someone who will use the debate as a medium to throw accusation to the government- '*Beliau percaya jika debat itu diadakan, Anwar akan...melemparkan tuduhan terhadap kerajaan* [He believes if the debate takes place, Anwar will veil his weakness and throw all sorts of accusation towards the

government]'. The de-legitimisation of the debate is reinforced not only through the negative representation of Anwar Ibrahim as a chameleon, but also how an unreliable person like him might use the debate to make accusation against the government.

> He is a **chameleon**. When he is with the Chinese, he condemns the NEP (New Economic Policy). When he is with the Indians, he is Indian. When he is with Muslims, he talks about Islam.
> Dr M: No point debating with Anwar the chameleon, The Star, 21/2/2012
>
> Beliau percaya jika debat itu diadakan, **Anwar akan cuba menutup kelemahan diri dan melemparkan pelbagai tuduhan terhadap kerajaan.**
> Ahli akademik sokong debat Anwar-Najib tidak perlu, Utusan, 22/2/2012
>
> Translation <He believes if the debate takes place, **Anwar will veil his weakness and throw all sorts of accusation towards the government.**
> Academician seconds Anwar-Najib debate is not necessary-Utusan, 22/2/2012>

This will affect the readers into thinking that the debate is not a useful tool in a campaign election.

4.2.1.3 Topos of Culture in Mainstream Newspapers

The mainstream newspapers are found de-legitimising the need for the debate by using topos of culture to describe the debate. The debate is described as a new approach in the political arena and that the people are not used to the debating approach. Mahathir Mohamad made a statement where he stated that Malaysians in general are comfortable with the existing political model- *'...rakyat negara ini sudah selesa dengan model politik sedia ada* [people of the nation are already comfortable with the existing political model]'. This can be seen in the excerpts below:

> Ditanya sama ada cadangan debat berkenaan mampu menjadi transformasi politik baru dalam Negara, Dr Mahathir berkata, **rakyat negara ini sudah selesa dengan model politik sedia ada.**
> Najib tidak perlu layan debat, Berita Harian, 27/1/2012

Translation <Asked if whether the proposal of a debate would become a new national political transformation Dr Mahathir said, **people of the nation are comfortable with the existing political model.**
Najib doesn't have to entertain the debate, Berita Harian, 27/1/2012

In another event, Mahathir Mohamad is found comparing Malaysia to the United States, describing 'This is not America…' Topos of culture is again used to represent the debate not as part of our culture. He added that the political system in Malaysia is different from the United States, thus making the debate irrelevant in Malaysian context.

This is not America but, even in the US, debates only serve to expose how stupid the candidates are.
Dr M: No point debating with Anwar the chameleon, The Star, 21/2/2012

Malaysia is not United States where two presidential candidates' debate each other and use that opportunity to expound on their theories, beliefs and philosophies.

4.2.2   Argumentative Strategies in Independent Newspapers

The independent newspapers' overall argumentative framework heavily relies on the representation of the debate as meaningful. For example, the articles draw on topos of disadvantage/uselessness (debate has its purpose), topos of danger and threat (debate can lead to win/loss of votes), topos of culture (debate as a new constructive political approach). A detailed description is presented in the following section.

4.2.2.1 Topos of Advantage/Usefulness in Independent Newspapers

This study continues with the analysis of topos of advantage/usefulness identified in the independent newspapers. The independent newspapers are found legitimising the need for the debate by using topos of advantage/usefulness to describe the debate. The first

effect this topos is debate is projected as a medium to gain information and assess the candidates in an election. The articles use phrases like *debat juga ujarnya boleh menjadi medan pernilaian* [debate can be an evaluation field] , '… it would be the best platform…to help Malaysians decide who to vote for,' and 'The people will have a golden opportunity to take the true measure…' to promote the usefulness of the debate'.

> Menurut Hafizuddin, selain kaedah terbaik meraikan perbezaan, **debat juga ujarnya boleh menjadi medan penilaian** bagi masyarakat…
> Mahasiswa tawar diri jadi penganjur debat Anwar-Najib- Harakah Daily, 26/1/2012
>
> Translation <According to Hafizuddin, besides a good approach to celebrate diversity, **debate can be an evaluation field** for the society…Students offer to be Anwar-Najib debate's organizer- Harakah Daily, 26/1/2012>
>
> Syahid said debates were essential as Malaysians, in general would like to know the details on what both leaders planned to do for Malaysia and what they had to offer the public.
> Students call for Najib-Anwar debate- Free Malaysia today, 6/3/2012
>
> **… it would be the best platform for both men to lay out their ideas and policies to help Malaysians decide who to vote for**.
> PKR repeats invite for Anwar-Najib debate- The Malaysian Insider, 6/3/2012
>
> The people will **have a golden opportunity to take the true measure** of the debaters by the time it ends.
> Public debate the true test of a leader- Free Malaysia Today, 29/3/2012

Besides the use of topos of advantage/usefulness to highlight the benefit of the debate as a platform to evaluate political parties as seen in excerpts above, it is also used to legitimize the need for the debate through the ability of the debate in promoting the development of democracy. For example, '…debates would spur greater transparency and integrity' and '…it would promote greater freedom of speech…' as found in the excerpts below:

> Ramon said that **debates would spur greater transparency and integrity** in a democratic system.
>
> He said **that it would promote greater freedom of speech** and a wider exposure to the public of the issues at hand…
> Debate- Najib won't have the guts- Free Malaysia Today, 24/3/2012

As such, he said a Najib-Anwar **debate could be the beginning of a new culture in the country's democratic practice'**
Calls grow for the great debate- Anwar vs Najib- Malaysian Chronicle, 24/5/2012

4.2.2.2 Topos of Danger and Threat in Independent Newspapers

While the debate is constructed as a risk for the government and the people in the mainstream newspapers, the independent newspapers, on the other hand, legitimize the need for the debate by describing Najib Razak's declination for the debate as a risk using topoi of danger and threat. This can be seen in the excerpts below:

Prime Minister **Najib Tun Razak may have to concede to a live debate with Opposition Leader Anwar Ibrahim if he wants to capture the hearts of young voters,** particularly the Malays.
Young Malaysians push for Anwar-Najib debate- Free Malaysia Today, 5/3/2012

PKR again urges Najib to accept this debate offer…**unless he doesn't feel the issues of the economy, our Buku Jingga pledges and policies, good governance…are important matters to be debated.**
PKR repeats invite for Anwar-Najib debate- The Malaysian Insider, 6/3/2012

The pressure is on Najib. **The more Najib is reluctant to engage, the more he is losing support and approval**.
Debate- Najib won't have the guts, Free Malaysia Today, 24/3/2012

After describing the debate as a useful tool, the independent newspapers further strengthen their construction of the need to have the debate with topoi of danger and threat towards Najib Razak. As seen in the excerpts above, the Prime Minister is at a risk of losing valuable votes if he does not take part in the debate- '…if he wants to capture the hearts of young voter…' and 'The more Najib is reluctant to engage, the more he is losing support and approval.' The representation of the debate as a medium to gain support using

topos of danger and threat affects the readers to think that Najib Razak would lose votes if he keep on refusing to debate Anwar Ibrahim.

4.2.2.3 Topos of Culture in Independent Newspapers

The reporting in independent newspapers shows that people are ready to embrace the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak as a new approach in our local political arena. Topos of culture is used to project the demand for the debate to take place and the willingness of the people to shift from the longstanding political approach of public speeches. This statement is supported by the excerpts below:

> There appear to be a change in what people want. **They want a new culture of debate rather than smear campaings.**
> Let's have Anwar-Najib debate, Saifuddin tells Ku Nan- The Malaysian Insider, 20/2/2012
>
> A lot of democracies in the world have gone far in terms of debate. **Malaysia needs to develop its political values** instead of relying on people buttering up those in power.
>
> With government controlled media and politics of intimidation, how can political maturity grows? **Give us the space first then you'll see our democracy grow.**
> Students call for Najib-Anwar debate- Free Malaysia Today, 6/3/2012
>
> Closing yesterday's debate between UMNO Youth leader Khairy Jamaluddin and PKR strategic director Rafizi Ramli, moderator Dr. Maszlee Malik chided…**the event was proof that Malaysians were now politically mature.**
> Call grow for the Great Debate-Anwar vs Najib, Malaysia Chronicle, 24/5/2012

In this analysis, the phrases quoted from Merdeka Center director, Ibrahim Suffian-'They want a new culture of debate rather than smear campaigns' and from Dr Maszlee- '…the event was proof that Malaysians were now politically mature' show the demand for a healthier political campaigns through debates among politicians. The legitimisation of the

debate is further strengthened by presenting it as a strategic modern political approach that promotes democracy.

4.3 Overview of Quotation Patterns

The analysis of mainstream and independent newspapers articles unveiled the usage of quotations from selective figures. Quotation pattern is a discursive device which can become a powerful ideological tool to manipulate readers' perceptions and interpretation of people and events in news reports (Kuo, 2007). It is found that the quotes used in the data gathered often came from people who are considered important or an authority in that particular area.

In strengthening the use of topoi to answer research question two, 'How do the mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers discursively construct the debate through the use of Argumentation strategy?' this study adopts the use of quotation patterns as a rhetoric device to validate the source of quotations found in the articles. With a focus on only quotations concerning 'political debate', it is found that 19 out of 20 news articles largely quoted prominent figures from the government, opposition and also independent organizations.

4.3.1   Quotation Patterns in Mainstream Newspapers

It is found that there is a clear difference with the amount of quotations identified in both group of local newspapers. This study reveals that the mainstream newspapers include quotations from government-linked figures. Through the use of topos of disadvantage/uselessness, Dr Mahathir Mohamad (former Prime Minister), Datuk Syed Ali Alhabshee (Chief, UMNO Division, Cheras), Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (former

Prime Minister) and Tan Sri Ibrahim Abu Shah (Advisor for Overseas UMNO clubs) are found expressing the same consent, that the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak serves no purpose. The same figures are again found quoting in the mainstream newspapers through the use of topos of danger and threat and topos of culture to show that the debate will be too risky; plus, it is not part of our way of practicing politics.

Table 4.1: Quotation Patterns of Mainstream Newspapers Articles

News articles	Source of Quotes supporting Anwar-Najib Debate	Source of Quotes opposing Anwar-Najib Debate
MB: Najib, Anwar debate won't help (*The Star*, 26/1/2012)		Datuk Seri Dr Zambry Abdul Kadir, Perak Menteri Besar
Najib tak perlu layan debat (BeritaHarian, 27/1/2012)		Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Former Prime Minister, Malaysia
No benefit in Najib-Anwar debate (New Straits Times, 20/2/2012)		Datuk Syed Ali Alhabshee, Chief, UMNO Division, Cheras
Dr. M: No point debating with Anwar the chameleon (The Star 21/2/2012)		Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Former Prime Minister, Malaysia
Debates won't solve anything, says former PM Abdullah (The Star , 21/2/2012)		Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, Former Prime Minister, Malaysia
Ahli akademik sokong debat Anwar-Najib tidak perlu (Utusan , 22/2/2012)		Tan Sri Ibrahim Abu Shah., Academic figure Professor Madya Sivamurugan, Lecturer of Social Sciences, USM.
Politik buang masa pembangkang (Utusan , 24/2/2012)		Pemimpin muda, UMNO (no specific name)
Tak pandai jaga kawasan punca ajak debat (Utusan, 26/2/2012)	Khairy Jamaluddin, Leader, UMNO YOUTH	
I'm ready for reasonable discourse, says Najib (The Star, 6/3/2012)	Suffian Ibrahim, Director, Merdeka Centre	Dato' Sri NajibRazak, Prime Minister of Malaysia
Ambiga's call is just naïve (New Straits Times, 29/11/2012)	Datuk Ambiga Sreenivasan, Lawyer	Anonymous

As seen in Table 4.1, seven out of ten mainstream articles are found quoting from pro-government politicians. In their news reporting, the sources unanimously delegitimize the

need for the debate with high criticism. Only two out of ten articles are found quoting from the public voice which comments legitimize the need for the debate.

4.3.2 Quotation Patterns in Independent Newspapers

Similarly, in Table 4.2, seven out of ten independent articles are found quoting from the pro-opposition politicians. In their news reporting, however, the sources unanimously legitimize the need for the debate. Unlike the mainstream newspapers, a significant nine out of ten articles are found quoting from the public voice which comments legitimize the need for the debate. Through the use of topos of advantage/usefulness, the independent newspapers included quotes from Muhammad Hafizuddin Muhamed Noor (President of Gabungan Mahasiswa Islam SeMalaysia -GAMIS), Syahid Mohd Zaini (President of Universiti Malaya Students Council, Ramon Navaratnam (former President of Transperancy-International Malaysia and Director of Asian Strategy & Leadership Institure-ASLI) and Dr. Maszlee Malik (Moderator for Khairy-Rafizi debate). Through topos of danger and threat, the independent newspapers also include the statistics of voters presented by Suffian Ibrahim (Director of Merdeka Centre) in an attempt to show that the debate can be a threat to Najib Razak if he is persists in avoiding it. Another public voice included in the independent newspapers is from Syukri Razab (President of Solidariti Mahasiswa Malaysia) through the use of topos of culture where he stresses the importance of debate as a political approach that could promote better democracy in Malaysia.

Table 4.2: Quotation Patterns of Independent Newspapers Articles

News articles	Source of Quotes supporting Anwar-Najib Debate	Source of Quotes opposing Anwar-Najib Debate
Mahasiswa tawar diri jadi penganjur debat Anwar-Najib (Harakah Daily. 26/1/2012)	Muhammad Hafizuddin Muhamed Noor, President of Gabungan Mahasiswa Islam SeMalaysia (GAMIS)	
Debat Anwar-Najib paling ditunggu-tunggu (Harakah Daily, 20/2/2012)	Datuk Mahfuz Omar, Vice-President, PAS Nurrul Izzah Anwar, Vice-President, PKR Gabungan Mahasiswa Islam SeMalaysia (GAMIS)	
Let's have Anwar-Najib debate, Saifuddin tells Ku Nan (The Malaysian Insider, 20/2/2012)	Datuk Saifuddin Nasuti, Secretary-General, PKR Datuk Seri Tengku Adnan Mansor, Secretary-General, UMNO Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Leader of Pakatan Rakyat Suffian Ibrahim, Director, Merdeka Centre	Datuk Ahmad Maslan, Information Chief, UMNO
Young Malaysians push for Najib-Anwar debate (Free Malaysia Today, 5/3/2012)	Suffian Ibrahim, Director, Merdeka Centre Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Leader of Pakatan Rakyat Dato' Sri NajibRazak, Prime Minister of Malaysia	
Students call for Najib-Anwar debate (Free Malaysia Today, 6/3/2012)	Syahid Mohd Zaini, President, Universiti Malaya Students Council Syukri Razab, President, Solidariti Mahasiswa Malaysia Saifuddin Nasuti, Secretary General, PKR	
PKR repeats invite for Anwar-Najib debate (*The Malaysian Insider*, 6/3/2012)	Saifuddin Nasuti, Secretary General, PKR Merdeka Centre	

Table 4.2, continued

News articles	Source of Quotes supporting Anwar-Najib Debate	Source of Quotes opposing Anwar-Najib Debate
Debate-'Najib won't have the guts' (Free Malaysia Today, 24/3/2012)	Dr. Dzulkefly Ahmad, Member of Parliament, PAS Kuala Selangor Dr. Mohamad Khir Toyo, Former Selangor Menteri Besar Ramon Navaratnam, Former President, Transperancy-International Malaysia and Director, Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute (ASLI) Khoo Kay Peng, Independent political commentator	
Public debate the true test of a leader (Free Malaysia Today, 29/3/2012)		
Call grow for the 'Great Debate'-Anwar vs Najib (Malaysia Chronicle, 24/5/2012)	Dr. Maszlee Malik, Moderator, for Khairy Jamaluddin and Rafizi Ramli Debate	Datuk Seri Tengku Adnan Mansor, Secretary-General, UMNO Tan Sri Zainuddin Maidin, Former Minister
Not confident, Umno leaders resist Najib-Anwar debate (Malaysia Chronicle, 25/5/2012)	Amidi Abdul Manan, President, Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM) Dr. Maszlee Malik,Moderator, for Khairy Jamaluddin and Rafizi Ramli Debate NazirZakaria,Member of Parliament, PAS Padang Terap	

4.4   Discussion

This section discusses the legitimization and de-legitimisation of the debate through representation of Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak and through the use of topos, with constant reference to the analysis made in the earlier sections.

4.4.1 Representation of Self and Other in Mainstream Newspapers

In response to research question 1, the mainstream newspapers are found de-legitimising the need for the debate through negative representation of Other (Anwar Ibrahim). The analysis shows that the Other (Anwar Ibrahim) is portrayed as a self-declared leader who is unreliable, inefficient and ruthless. Since language can be used to construct a system of belief, these negative representations of Other (Anwar Ibrahim) would lead the readers to probably think that there is no point of debating someone who is not trustworthy. As stated by Fairclough (1995), language is not only for constructing social identities, but as constitutive in creating systems of knowledge and belief. The mainstream newspapers articles further highlight his incapability as an efficient leader. Since Anwar Ibrahim is described as *'not an economic expert'* in the article, readers would have doubt his capability to debate about the nation's economic issues. A political debate should be productive and full with beneficial content. Hence, it is reasonable for readers to think that only those who are resourceful are qualified to debate the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak.

The final predicative strategy in the mainstream newspaper is the use of words reflecting Other (Anwar Ibrahim's) personal behaviour as someone who is ruthless. A good leader must not only be reliable and efficient, he or she must be responsive-caring and friendly. As seen in the excerpt earlier, the mainstream newspapers used the word *bengis* [ferocious]. Anwar Ibrahim is further described as a leader who has no sympathy and no interest towards the Indians. These words lead to a belief that the Other (Anwar Ibrahim) is not a good candidate to run for the Prime Minister position for he are portrayed as an insincere leader who care less about the people in this country, particularly the Indians. Clearly, through the representation of Other (Anwar Ibrahim) with three negative

attributes; namely unreliable, inefficient (in comparison to Najib) and ruthless, the mainstream newspapers are found de-legitimising the need for the debate.

On the other hand, the mainstream newspapers' representation of Self (Najib Razak) is as a sensible and wise person. Since the control of information in newspapers is evident (Tan & Kam, 2012), and they serve as a tool for the government to achieve their political interest (Samsudin, Fuziah & Mohd Safari, 2012), it is expected that the mainstream newspapers would present the Prime Minister with constructive image in their reporting. The selection of the words like 'willingness' and 'happy' shows Najib Razak as a sensible and wise person. Suitable with his position as the leader of this country, the authors of mainstream newspapers successfully employed the predication strategy to uplift Najib Razak's credibility as someone who is open to a dynamic political discourse. As effect, this will lead readers to believe that Najib Razak is able to engage in a political debate if he wants to. Though he is presented as willing to debate through the predicative strategies, his following quotes implies a specific condition; that he will only debate with 'reasonable man or woman'; hence, de-legitimising the need for a debate against Anwar.

4.4.2 Representation of Self and Other in Independent Newspapers

Moving to independent newspapers, it is found that no representation of positive trait towards Self (Anwar Ibrahim). In contrast, the predicative strategy used by the independent newspapers highlighted the negative construction of Self through the eyes of the pro-government politicians. Anwar Ibrahim is pictured as unreliable with the usage of words like 'conspiracy theorist'. In two separate articles by Free Malaysia Today, it is found that Najib Razak (Other) agrees with the notion of political debate provided that

his opponent should be among honest leaders, not 'conspiracy theorist'. This shows that Najib Razak is selective in choosing his debate opponent; thus de-legitimising the need for the debate between him and Anwar Ibrahim (who has been represented as a 'conspiracy theorist'.

In representing Other, similar as the mainstream newspapers, the independent newspapers are found giving negative representation to Other (in this case, Najib Razak). Words like *perlu bersedia* [must be ready], lack of courage, risk adverse person and reluctant are used to appear as reasons behind Najib's refusal to debate. The repetition of these similar words as stated earlier in different articles tilts the readers to believe that the representation of Other (Najib Razak) is real. As Van Dijk (1991) explains, that through media, those with limited power or authority could gain support. He added that the process of reproduction will eventually finds its rationale with the public in general. Hence, a democratic society allows those with less power, for example the independent newspapers (since they are not widely available to the public as their mainstream counterpart), to legitimize the debate without popular support and consent.

Before moving to the next section, it is interesting to note that both mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers are found heavily emphasizing on the negative representation of Other through the dichotomous categorization of euphemization and derogation. As reported by Hornby (2004), in comparison to positive construction of Self in legitimising and de-legitimising an issue, media focuses more on negative other-representation. He argued that "insulting" and "embarrassing" are often the strategies used to represent Other. This analysis supports the theory that in constructing political

identities, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are usually applied (Wodak, 2000).

4.4.3 The Use of Argumentative Strategies in Mainstream Newspapers

The press has evidently constructed two opposing ideologies towards the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak. The mainstream newspapers are found de-legitimising the debate using topos of disadvantage/uselessness, topos of danger and threat and topos of culture. Topos of disadvantage/uselessness is highlighted through the characterisation of the debate between the Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak as meaningless, waste of time and with no contribution towards anyone except the opposition party.

The extensive representation of the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak as seen below clearly aims at moulding the readers to believe that the debate is useless and there are better things to do rather than having an argument on national issues. Quoted from The Star, former Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad on the 21st of February 2012, is found stating the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib is pointless for the people. Topos of disadvantage/uselessness is clearly identified when according to Mahathir Mohamad, the debate will not, in any way be helpful and productive. Umno divisional leader, Datuk Syed Ali Alhabshee, on the 20th of February 2012 stated that the debate will not benefit the people in any way. This is further reinforced by a statement from Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Abdullah Badawi who stated that a debate in incapable of solving problems. In addition, an academician, Tan Sri Ibrahim Abu Shah in 22nd of February 2012 clearly voiced out his support for the former prime minister saying that the debate is a waste of time. These negative representations of the debate through topos of disadvantage/ uselessness confirm some experimental studies that citizens have

difficulties making meaningful judgments in a debate (Wihbey, 2012). All of these pro-government figures are suggesting that the debate is not significant and could not help the people in any way. Again, the repetition of representing the debate as unbeneficial in different events helps the de-legitimisation of the need for the debate.

The mainstream newspapers utilize the topos of danger and threat by describing the debate as a risky tool than could threaten the ruling government. Readers are left with a clear message that debate will only harm the government and interfere in their plan to develop the country. In addition, Anwar Ibrahim is pictured as threat since according to Mahathir Mohamad, he is a chameleon, someone who manipulates in order to survive. The last two quotations is very clear that the use of topos of danger and threat is centralised with the author quoting that Anwar and his opposition party will use the debate as a medium to throw accusation to the government.

Finally, using the topos of culture, former Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad argues that Malaysians are immature and not ready to embrace political debate. He reinforced by using the same strategy, comparing Malaysia's political approach to the United States'. Mahathir Mohamad made a universal statement in generalising that Malaysians do not want a change in their political system. Readers are further convinced that debate is not part of our culture as he compares our political system to the ones available in the United States.

4.4.4 The Use of Argumentative Strategies in Independent Newspaper

The independent newspapers, in contrast, are found legitimising the debate using topos of advantage/usefulness, topos of danger and threat and topos of culture. Through topos

of advantage/usefulness, the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak is pictured as a useful platform to listen to and assess national policies before casting votes in the 13th General Election. Most of the issues regarding the nations are presented and discussed only in the parliament. Hence, by furnishing the people with ideas and plans for the betterment of the country, a live debate is seen as a useful tool[1]. This analysis agrees to Benoit's (2014) findings that besides adding voters' knowledge, debates will enable them to consider candidates more accurately compared to in other message forms.

The debate is further legitimised as strategic tool to promote and practice democracy. Generally, Malaysians are exposed to the news published by mainstream newspapers which vastly available nationwide. Since the production of news is controlled by the people in power, limited voice from the oppositional party is noticed being printed in the mainstream newspapers[4] (Fairclough, 2013; Van Dijk, 1991). Hence, a public debate between the two leaders will be an exercise of democracy.

In constructing the need for the debate, topos of danger and threat is used against Najib Razak. The analysis of the articles in independent newspapers implies that if Najib Razak keeps refusing to engage in a debate against Anwar Ibrahim, the danger and threat he might face is a risk of losing votes. In a way, this analysis supports Benoit's (2014) findings where he concludes that candidates who refuse to debate may be mocked by the public.

The last argumentation strategy analysed is the use of topos of culture to promote the debate. Malaysians are found keen to move from the old political approach of campaigning to new political approach through open live debates. Malaysians are world-weary with the existing political system where campaigns are run through speeches from

one place to another. Furthermore, through debates, voters may obtain a more accurate view of candidates than in other message forms (Benoit, 2014). Malaysians wanted something fresh, something that could provide them insights towards the plan drafted by both Barisan Nasional and Pakatan Rakyat.

4.4.5 The Use of Quotation Patterns in Representation of Self and Other

The analysis of quotation patterns indicates that the media, both mainstream newspapers and independent newspapers, are found largely quoting politicians from the government and opposition respectively. Having links with the government[3], the quotation patterns found in mainstream newspapers largely include members of the ruling party while excluding the Other. The representation of the voice of Self (members of the ruling party) and the exclusion of Other's voices significantly confirm the role of media in controlling the content of the source of information to public (Fairclough, 2013; Van Dijk, 1991). In contrast, the independent newspapers include people's voice (Other) in most of the articles. This diverse resource appears to be persuasive; hence, legitimising the need for the debate.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter will tie every component of this study. It starts with a restatement of the aim of this study, the topic discussed, the main findings from the analysis and their implications and contribution to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis.

5.1 Construction of the Debate through Representation of Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak

In an attempt to unravel the ideological construction of Anwar-Najib debate, this study has analysed the discursive strategies in twenty articles from two opposing local newspapers, the mainstream newspapers and the independent newspapers. The data is analysed using Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, with a focus on Referential and Predicative strategies and Argumentative strategies. A simple analysis on Quotation patterns is made to strengthen the usage of topos in the newspapers articles.

The analysis reveals that there are two opposing ideologies constructed in the local newspapers. Firstly, the analysis on mainstream newspapers shows that the need for the debate is de-legitimize through the negative representation of Other (Anwar Ibrahim). On the other hand, the analysis on independent newspapers shows that the need for the debate is legitimized through the negative representation of Other (Najib Razak). The negative representation of Other is significant in both groups of newspapers in comparison to the positive representation of Self. Anwar Ibrahim is described as a self-declared leader of the opposition who is unreliable, inefficient and ruthless in the mainstream newspapers

while Najib Razak is pictured as a weak and non-transparent leader in the independent newspapers.

5.2 Construction of the Debate through Argumentation Strategy

Through Argumentation strategies, local newspapers are again, found evidently constructing two opposing ideologies towards the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak. The mainstream newspapers are found de-legitimising the debate using topos of danger and threat and topos of culture. Using the same topos, the independent newspapers, in contrast, are found legitimizing the debate. However, the use of topos of disadvantage/uselessness is made clear in the mainstream newspapers; thus, further de-legitimizing the need for the debate. On the other hand, topos of advantage/usefulness is featured in the independent newspapers to reinforce the legitimization of the need for the debate.

The media was again found constructing opposing ideologies towards the debate in the analysis of quotation patterns. Simply said, in de-legitimizing the need for the debate, the mainstream newspapers are found bias in quoting sources in their articles. The government-linked mainstream newspapers included less or almost insignificant amount of public voice in their articles. In comparison to mainstream newspapers, the independent newspapers included a variety of quotation patterns in legitimizing the need for the debate. They include the government's, the opposition's and the people's voice in their articles.

5.3 Conclusion

The public, who are also the readers and voters, used to have limited access to the government and opposition's national policies. It is through the representation made by the mass media like the mainstream newspapers do most of them retrieve information. Since the emergence of the internet, the public has access to information from different perspectives (the government and the opposition). With the internet, election campaigns are more interesting as the information is generated through various medium like the social network, webpages and online newspapers.

However, the public need to be aware that the media, through language, can exploit 'strategies' to create ideologies. These strategies are "more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Wodak, 2001). As shown in the analysis, this study has revealed two opposing ideologies concerning the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak in local newspapers. Hence, understanding the power of language and ideologies as well as how they are constructed will enable readers to be critical and hopefully capable to have a balance review on their readings rather than accepting what the media presents on their plates.

The analysis made in this study is not meant to be generalized to all media, be it mainstream or independent. The data selection of this study is in a small scale and does not represent the whole press. For future studies, further analysis must be done to check whether this small scale of data selection is a representative of a larger population. Researchers should look into other discursive strategies in revealing the ideological

construction of the debate between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak to strengthen the analysis made through referential, predication and argumentation strategies.

It is humbly hoped that this study could create public awareness that they have to be critical towards the materials they read. For that to happen, the public must first be able to identify and unveil the discursive strategies and ideologies that has been the subject of this study. To begin with, it is the responsibility of the students and academicians to be able to analyse and comprehend the basic intentions behind the texts; hence, creating awareness of the negative and positive implications of the words.

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