

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study looks at the discursive construction of Asean (Association of Southeast Asia Nations) countries in the Malaysian English news print media. To narrow the scope of the study the researcher focused on editorials - a form of discourse genre (O'Halloran 2007) within the news print media with a distinctive voice that speaks directly to the public (Greenberg 2000). The aim of this study is to realize the perspectives of the news media toward the formation of an Asean identity.

Southeast Asia is a grouping of independent countries that can be cut several ways. The fundamental Western colonial influence in Burma, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei has been British, in Indonesia it has been Dutch, in the Indochina states of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam it has been French and in the Philippines it had been Spanish and American. Religion helps bring out the main themes of the subcontinent. About 90% of the population in the Philippines is Christian, Malaysia and Indonesia are almost entirely Muslim, while the main part of the Peninsula itself – Burma, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam – is Buddhist (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 83). The convergence of the Southeast Asian countries in 1967 resulted in the supra national platform, that is, Asean.

The relationship between the print media and the formation of supra national identities may appear very complex. The researcher uses discourse analytical framework, i.e., Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in this study, to explain the contradictions that occur on many levels

using Wodak's discourse-historical approach (2001) as an umbrella framework and Filmore's Grammatical Case Theory (1971) within that analytical framework.

The analysis (Van Dijk 1999) of the “discursive construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’ is one of the key objectives of CDA”, and hence, plays an important role in the perceptions and discourses analyzed in this study. It is expected that the editorials and opinion editorials written by members of Malaysia's civil society and published by mainstream media might interpret situations based on a ‘self’ and ‘other’ relation. At the same time, the editorials may influence points of view the media might have toward the formation of an Asean identity.

1.1 Background of the Study

The Malaysian English national daily the researcher chose to analyze in this study was *The New Straits Times*. This newspaper is reported to have linkages to the ruling coalition party (i.e., Barisan Nasional) in the country (Nain 2003). As such it can be hypothesized that the opinion editorials in the newspaper might reflect the political agenda of the ruling coalition which is often suggested as, to maintain “a relatively peaceful socio-political environment” (Nain 2003) in a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-racial setting.

In this study the regional grouping of Asean and all its 10 member countries take on the role of “self” while ‘other’ refers to any other entity that might be perceived as a threat. Asean (Kaur, 2005, p. S1) was “formed in 1967 with the vision to cooperate in securing peace, stability and development in the region” and today Asean is seen as an important regional grouping and is recognized as the most successful regional grouping of developing nations as members.

The two main entities that take on the role of 'other' in this study are: The European Union and China. In this study the European Union takes on the role of 'other', because it is frequently one step ahead of Asean in the many comparisons between the two supranational groupings making Asean a classic example of an 'underdog'. China on the other hand (Paulson 2008) has recently emerged as a global power on the world stage. Some people see China as a threat (Paulson 2008) and are concerned with China's rise. The China Threat theory (Leong 2007, p. 145 - 149) has been studied and China has tried to quell these fears (Wang 2007, p. 87 - 92) with its Peaceful Development Foreign Policy.

In order to study Asean in the Malaysian English News Print Media it is important that the researcher looks into the construction of Asean, the established supranational power of the European Union and the rising powerhouse of China.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There have been a large number of studies done and books written on, the relationship between Asean and the European Union and Asean and China. Asean and the European Union have been dialogue partners for more than 30 years and this has produced extensive studies in the areas of interregional relations (Gaens 2008), political economy (Robless 2004), integration (Welfens 2010), and so on.

China's relationship with Asean emerged in the 21st century. Lai (2007, p. 17 - 35) studied China's rise and sees China's relationship with Asean as important to China's economic development. Wang (2007, p. 87 - 92) looked at the concerns some countries experience with the rapid rise of China and goes on to examine how Beijing has tried to quell these fears with its

‘Peaceful Development Foreign Policy. Leong (2007, p. 145 - 149) looked at how Malaysia dealt with the ‘China Threat’ theory and reveals how Malaysia is now expanding its bilateral economic partnership with China, while Bronson (2007) explores China’s influence in Southeast Asia, looking closely at China’s policies, its key goals and its rising influence in the new century.

This study is interdisciplinary as it touches the frontiers of international relations, political science, mass media studies and discourse analytical studies. This study shows the role of media discourse and how it contributes toward the regional cooperation of Asean. It also looks at how a supranational identity is created discursively. While there has been a surge in studies related to Asean-EU and Asean-China relationships, the problematization of the issues took discipline specific directions; hence, interdisciplinarity, especially the need to include discourse analysis has been neglected.

From a linguistic point of view analyses based on grammatical case theory have lacked an attempt to link the semantic roles with discourse analysis. A research gap exists as there have been no attempts to study a supranational identity using Grammatical Cases. Illie’s (1998) study, which looked at speeches in communist Romania served as a departure point for this research. In analyzing the discourse of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, Illie (1998) looked mainly at agency only; hence, not all case-categories of Fillmore have been explored. In order to understand the effect of a discourse like the Asean identity, it is perhaps inadequate to study only one category, i.e., agency. Case-category like ‘Instrument’ or ‘Goal’ may often reveal insight towards the formation of identity. Hence, this study examines a few additional categories (e.g., ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’, ‘Instrument’, ‘Location’ and ‘Goal’ as opposed to only ‘Agent’) in order to explain the semantic structure of the discourse on Asean identity.

In this study, the researcher takes a close look at how editorials and opinion editorials in the

Malaysian English news print media use grammatical cases to contribute to the discursive formation of the Asean identity. The discourse analytical insight is drawn from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), specifically the discourse-historical approach popularized by Wodak (2001), and Van Dijk's (1999) ideological square, while Fillmore's (1971) Grammatical Case Theory was used in the analysis of semantic role relations.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research objectives of this study are:

1. To realize the perspectives of the Malaysian English News Print Media toward the formation of an Asean identity.
2. To explore how Grammatical Cases are used in editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions are:

1. What are the types of Grammatical Cases used in editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region?
2. How do Grammatical Cases in the editorials and opinion editorials suggest constructing the discursive field of 'self' and 'other'?
3. How do Grammatical cases contribute to the linguistic construction of an Asean identity?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study shows the role of media discourse and how it contributes toward regional cooperation. It also looks at how a supranational identity is created discursively. In a world of supranational communities, there is currently a lack of studies on this issue, especially, from a discourse analytical point of view. This study shows a link between the mass media and the supranational state of Asean. The researcher looks at how the views established or propagated by the media are mediated by the position of the state toward the issue. This study is also significant because it attempts to establish a link between Grammatical Case Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

In the analysis of the discursive construction of the supranational identity that is Asean, the current study only examined one daily Malaysian newspaper. The data was collected from editorials and opinion editorials with content related to the Asean region published in *The New Straits Times* between 1st January 2003 and 31st December 2008. The *New Straits Times* was chosen because it was perceived to be the newspaper most likely to reflect the agenda of the government.

This research only concentrated on editorials and opinion editorials that covered the Asean region as a whole. A total of 120 articles were found on the subject matter within this timeframe. Only 20 editorials and 21 opinion editorials were chosen from the data pool, based on content and relevance to the study.

1.7 Conceptual Definitions

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): is an offshoot of Applied Linguistics, and is widely used as a means of Qualitative research. “Most forms of discourse analysis aim to provide a better understanding of socio cultural aspects of texts. CDA regards ‘language as social practice’ and takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial. CDA research specifically considers institutional, political, gender, and media discourses”(Wodak & Meyer 2001).

Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach: Discourse-historical is an approach within Critical Discourse Analysis which has been developed by Wodak (2001). The key terms used by the discourse-historical analysts are: “contents” (the issue to be studied), “strategies” (the strategies used to shape a discourse), and “means and forms of realization” (the linguistic means used to analyze the discourse) (Wodak 2001). The discourse-historical approach is an interdisciplinary approach in studying discourse and it comprises of “a constant back and forth between theory and empirical data” (Wodak 2000).

Van Dijk’s Ideological Square / Self and Other: The use of CDA enables researchers to produce a critique of the media which highlights the strategy of ‘self’ and ‘other’, often used by the media, to make them look better and the other side look bad. The “discursive construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’ is one of the key objectives of Critical Discourse Analysis” and plays an important role in this study (Van Dijk 1999). This study refers to Van Dijk’s (1999) four moves which constitute to an “ideological square which plays a role in the strategy of ‘positive self’ presentation and ‘negative other’ presentation”. ‘Self’ in this research refers to the regional grouping of Asean and all its 10 member countries. ‘Other’ usually refers to The European Union and China.

Fillmore's Grammatical Case Theory: Fillmore is responsible for bringing to the fore the notion that there is a universal set of atomic semantic roles. In his seminal paper 'The Case for Case', published in 1968, he proposed a set of six cases (Agentive, Instrumental, Dative, Objective, Locative, Factive) which he later revised (1971) and extended to eight (Agent, Instrument, Experiencer, Object, Location, Source, Goal, Time). These cases were deep structured cases described as being underlying syntactic semantic relationships. (Cook, 1989, p.48-53)

Supranational Identity: A supranational organization is an international grouping of states where member states converge beyond their national boundaries. These states share the process of making decisions and vote on issues that are relevant to the grouping of states as a whole. The European Union is a supranational organization as it is made up of 27 countries across the European continent (Baldwin et al., 1995, p. 1-21). Asean is also a supranational organization as the Asean region with its 10 member states has "a population of about 550 million, a total area of 4.5 million square kilometers, a combined GDP of almost US\$800 billion and total trade of about US\$1050 billion" (Kaur, 2005, pp. S1-S4). A supranational identity refers to an identity that emerges from the grouping of states.

The Malaysian English News Print Media: Malaysia's leading newspaper *New Straits Times* was first published on July 15, 1845. This newspaper under the publishing house New Straits Times Press Malaysia Berhad also publishes *Business Times*, *The New Sunday Times*, *The Malay Mail*, *Berita Harian* and *Harian Metro*. *The Star* newspaper, established in 1971, is the other successful English daily (Nasir et al. 2008). The construction of Malaysian media is to a large extent politically linked. Media houses are either directly or indirectly related to mainstream or opposition political parties (Nain 2002).

1.8 Closing Remarks

In this first chapter, the researcher looked at the Malaysian Media, Critical Discourse Analysis and Asean as these are the three main elements of the study. The researcher also discussed the framework of the study highlighting the background, the significance, the research objectives and research questions, and the limitations of the study. A section on conceptual definitions was included to provide a brief introduction to the study and to round off the chapter. The following chapters will look at the review of literature, methodology, analysis and conclusion, respectively.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean) (Kaur, 2005, pp. S1-S4) was formed in 1967 with one vision. This vision was “to cooperate in securing peace, stability and development in the region.” It was (Kaur, 2005, pp. S1-S4) “a bold vision for its time as the region was still divided by ideological conflicts, turmoil and war.” Today Asean is seen as an important regional grouping and is recognized as the most successful regional grouping of developing nations as members.

The Asean declaration of 1967 (Kaur, 2005, pp. S1-S4) was a precisely worded document that stated Asean’s aim to cooperate in various fields. The declaration stated 7 goals:

- i) To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership and to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous community.
- ii) To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for the justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region.
- iii) To promote collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.
- iv) To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres.

- iv) To collaborate for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the living standards of their peoples.
- v) To promote South East Asian studies.
- vi) To maintain close cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and explore all avenues for closer cooperation.

The Asean declaration (Kaur, 2005, pp. S1-S4) also stated 6 principles which aimed at promoting regional peace and stability. The principles are:

- i) Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations
- ii) The right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion.
- iii) Non interference in the internal affairs of one another.
- iv) Settlement of difference or disputes by peaceful manner.
- iv) Renunciation of the threat or use of force.
- v) Cooperation amongst themselves.

These goals and principles have shaped the South East Asian region into what Asean is today. The 7 goals have held Asean together contributing to Asean's integration process while the 6 principles aimed at promoting regional peace have converged into the Asean principle of noninterference which plays an important role in the Asean identity. Asean's strong belief in the principle of noninterference is what sets it apart from any other regional or political grouping of states.

2.1 Asean Integration

Meyer (2007) suggests that 'state interdependence' and particularly, 'regional integration' are post World War II phenomena. Meyer cites the example of Asean to explain such integration as Asean represents "a larger political unit and a cluster of cooperative states" (Meyer 2007, p. 2). Both the European Union (EU) and Asean are entities which aimed at bringing sovereign states during post WWII cold war era. In other words, regional integration is a 'concordance' system that comprises "clusters of cooperatively interacting states" (Meyer 2007, p. 3).

A 1967 quote by Tun Abdul Razak who was the Malaysian representative at the signing of the Asean Declaration in Bangkok, supports Meyer's suggestions:

"It is important that individually and jointly we should create a deep awareness that we cannot survive for long as independent but isolated peoples unless we also think and act together and unless we prove by deeds that we belong to a family of Southeast Asian Nations bound together by ties of friendship and goodwill and imbued with our own ideals and aspirations and determined to shape our own ideals". *Tun Abdul Razak*.

(cited in Kaur, 2005, pp. S1-S4)

The reference to Asean cooperation (Archaya, 2001, p. 45-55) is synonymous to Asean integration discussed above. It can be surmised that cooperation has resulted in greater regional integration in economic, social, and cultural fields, and has promoted regional peace and stability.

2.2 Asean Identity

The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 (Tham & Kwek 2007) “prompted governments in the Asean region to launch initiatives to restore economic stability and growth, and this increased economic integration of the Asean region through increased trade”. Frankel (1997) has shown that the preferential trading arrangements boosted trade almost five fold within the region making economic development the main source of the supranational regional identity (Frankel 1997). Within Asean, (Tham & Kwek 2007) “Malaysia ranked second in terms of exports, imports, openness, and foreign reserves and over the years, Malaysia's development continues to outpace the development of the CLMV countries (i.e., Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam), enabling it to contribute towards the Initiative for Asean Integration”.

From a constructivist theoretical perspective, Archaya (2001, p. 45-55) suggests “Asean has developed collective norms that sustain its development through interaction and socialization among its members. These norms are the nonuse of force and the pacific settlement of disputes, regional autonomy and collective self reliance, noninterference in the internal affairs of states, the rejection of an Asean military pact and the preference for bilateral defense cooperation” (Archaya, 2001, p. 45-55). These norms are significant because they lead to a collective Asean identity.

2.3 Asean Community

The Asean community is made out of three pillars

- i) The Asean Economic Community (AEC)
- ii) The Asean Security Community (ASC)
- iii) The Asean Socio Cultural Community (ASCC).

2.3.1 Asean Economic Community (AEC)

The Asean Economic Community (AEC) (Ong 2004) looks to economic integration, to ‘create a stable, prosperous and highly competitive Asean economic region’. Asean Vision 2020 hopes to reduce poverty and socio-economic disparities by the year 2020 and visualizes a freer flow of goods, services, investments, capital, and economic development. The AEC is based on a convergence of interests among Asean members to deepen and broaden economic integration efforts through existing and new initiatives with clear timelines.

The Asean Economic Community (Ong 2004):

- i) Establishes Asean as a single market and production base, turning the diversity that characterizes the region into opportunities for business complementation making Asean a stronger segment of the global supply chain.
- ii) Institutes new mechanisms and measures to strengthen the implementation of its existing economic initiatives including the Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA),

Asean Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and Asean Investment Area (AIA).

- iii) Facilitates movement of business persons, skilled labour and talents, and strengthens the institutional mechanisms of Asean.

2.3.2 Asean Security Community (ASC)

The Asean Security Community (ASC) (Ong 2004) was created to bring Asean's political and security cooperation to a higher level, 'to contribute to promoting peace and security in the wider Asia Pacific region, and to ensure that countries in the region live in peace'.

The ASC (Ong 2004) is built on an action plan covering:

- i) Political development
- ii) The shaping and sharing of norms
- iii) Conflict prevention
- iv) Conflict resolution
- v) Post conflict peace building

2.3.3 Asean Socio Cultural Community (ASCC)

The Asean Socio-cultural Community (ASCC) (Ong 2004) envisages a Southeast Asia bonded together in partnership as a community of caring societies'. The 'roadmap' key development by the ASCC focuses on (Ong 2004):

- i) Having strong functional systems of social protection that address poverty, equity and health impacts of economic growth.
- ii) Promoting environmental sustainability and sustainable natural resource management.
- iii) Ensuring social governance that manages impacts of economic integration.
- iv) Maintaining the preservation and promotion of the regions cultural heritage and cultural identity.

The AEC and ASC will complement the ASCC to ensure that the population of Asean is prepared for economic integration.

2.4 The European Union and China

The European Union formed through the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, was set up on 9th April 1950 as a trade organization (European Coal and Steel Community) which evolved into the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community in 1958. Gradually, the European Union (Baldwin et al., 1995, p. 1-21) “evolved from a regional economic agreement to today's supranational organization of 27 countries across the European continent.” The nations now participating in European integration account for half of world trade and a quarter of world GDP (Baldwin et al., 1995, p. 1-21).

When comparing the European Union and Asean (Cuyves 2002, p. 12), “it is clear that the European Union has mechanisms of solidarity that are more powerful than Asean”. This is clear when it comes to “regional policies at the EU level, which are based on well defined policy targets using EU policy instruments”. In Asean, “macro-economic solidarity” is much weaker than in the EU. The (Cuyves 2002, p. 12) “original currency swap agreement among the Asean-5 was too small, compared to the monetary problems the Asean countries faced during the Asian crisis of 1997-1999”.

China (Paulson 2008) has recently emerged as a global power and the Chinese are “proud of their country’s emergence on the world stage”. Some people (Paulson 2008) suggest that “China is a threat that must be contained and countered”. Beijing (Wang 2007, p 87 - 92) has tried to quell these fears with its ‘Peaceful Development Foreign Policy. China’s (Lai 2007, p. 17 - 35) rise and its relationship with Asean is important to China’s economic development. Malaysia (Leong 2007, p. 145 - 149) dealt with the ‘China Threat’ theory and is now expanding its bilateral economic partnership with China.

Others (Paulson 2008) argue that “China’s growth is an opportunity for the global economy and the Chinese see economic growth as essential to their stability”. Three decades of economic development have “transformed China, bringing it peace and stability and lifting hundreds of millions of people out of poverty”. The Chinese leaders are aware that China’s future growth depends on its increasing integration into global trade, investment and financial markets. “The international community shares a powerful interest in China’s successful integration into the global economic system” (Paulson 2008).

Relations between Asean and China are complex. In theory, the ten states of Asean ‘should’ not have a comfortable relationship with China (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 229-267). There are allegations against China that they supported subversive Communist Party movements that were trying to overthrow the noncommunist Asean governments in the early Cold War days (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 229-267). The relationship between Asean and China became close when Asean and China worked together in the 1980’s to reverse the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. The ties became even closer when China made an enormous contribution to helping Asean weather the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 – 1998. China gave economic assistance of more than US\$ 1 billion each to Indonesia and Thailand, the two economies most affected by the crisis (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 229-267).

2.5 Media

Mass media (Manan 2008) plays an important and significant role in the globalization process. The media are the “principal arteries” that articulate and circulate information worldwide making the massive flow of information possible. The media is made up of multiple “actors, voices and discourses” that is fostered by “rapid technological progress” (Manan 2008). The following sections summarize media genres (e.g., editorials and opinion editorials) and the structure of Malaysian media.

2.5.1 Editorials and Opinion Editorials

Greenberg (2000) describes editorials and opinion editorials (op-ed) as “public, mass communicated types of opinion discourse of a newspaper which are the official voice of a media outlet on matters of public importance”. Op-ed articles (Greenberg 2000) “usually represent the expressed opinion of an individual employed by the newspaper, or by an individual associated with an affiliate news outlet”. The function of opinion editorials is to offer newsreaders a ‘*distinctive and authoritative voice*’ that will speak to them directly about matters of public importance. “While op-ed articles are subjective accounts, they are often perceived to carry an objective-like status” (Greenberg 2000). At the level of genre, Nasir, et al. (2008) describe news reports to be about ‘what is happening around the world’ while editorials and opinion editorials are about ‘what should have happened’ (Nasir et al. 2008).

Editorials and opinion editorials (Greenberg 2000) “are generally associated with the opinions of the newspaper as an elite institution, since the author is normally a recognized and regular contributor”. These opinions are often perceived by readers to be consistent with the viewpoints of the newspaper as an organizational entity equipped with the facts and information required for informed opinion formation, which are generally unavailable to the average newsreader (Greenberg 2000).

Editorials are usually printed without names, implying they are exclusively institutional ‘reflecting the perspectives and ideology of a particular newspaper’ (Nasir et al. 2008). In the Malaysian context, Nasir et al. (2008), find full length studies on editorials and opinion editorials, based on a discourse analysis framework to be scarce.

Editorials and opinion editorials address news readers in a “*consensual* ‘us’ relationship by taking a particular stance in relation to the persons ‘them’ and topics referred to” (Greenberg 2000, Fowler 1991).

2.5.2 Malaysian Media

In order to conduct a study on news media discourse it is important to understand the structure of the Malaysian Media. Malaysian media has been studied descriptively (Arbee 2001) and critically, concentrating on the political economy of the news media (Nain 2002). Studies have also been conducted to see how the ‘political economy of the media’ (Fairclough 1995) contributes to the discourse(s) produced by the media (Ramesh et al. 2008; Nasir et al. 2008). Arbee (2001) provides a detailed description of the media industries in Malaysia that includes a historical development of the media without touching upon the political economy of media or critical media analysis per se. On the other hand the studies led by Nain (2002) are highly critical about the ownership of media industries in the country. Nain provides a detailed description of the connection between the political elites and their stakes in the media industries.

The New Straits Times is one of Malaysia’s leading newspaper and was first published on July 15, 1845. This newspaper is a subsidiary of the publishing house New Straits Times Press Malaysia Berhad which also publishes the *Business Times*, *The New Sunday Times*, *The Malay Mail*, *Berita Harian* and *Harian Metro*. *The Star* newspaper established in 1971 is the other successful daily (Nasir et al. 2008).

The mainstream media is largely owned by those close to the government with *The New Straits Times* being owned by people close to the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) the largest political party in Barisan National (BN), which is the ruling coalition. *The Star* on the other hand is owned by the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), another party in Barisan National (Nain 2002, Nasir et al. 2008).

2.6. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis originated and gained prominence after a 1991 Amsterdam symposium which produced critical discourse analysts – Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough, Theo van Leeuwen and Teun van Dijk (Wodak, 2009, p. 4). These analysts thought it was important to ‘develop a framework to study the context and the agency that produces a piece of discourse’. Wodak, Fairclough, van Dijk and van Leeuwen reached an understanding that is - ‘to provide a much wider explanation of a text one should “consult” theories and “appropriate” findings following the rules of linguistics’ (Fairclough 2002).

Since the 1990s several critical discourse analysts have developed a number of frameworks to study discourse. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) developed the lexicogrammatical approach, van Dijk (1999) the socio cognitive approach, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2000) multi-modal discourse analysis, and Wodak (2001) the discourse-historical approach.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a method of analysing discourse critically has been developed “over the last twenty years” (Fairclough 1999, p. 1). CDA is critical, as “it aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and

domination and in ideology” (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 352). This concept of critical analysis, Fairclough (2001) suggests, is indebted among others to the concept of “hegemony”. Wodak (2010) describes “hegemony” as “power exercised by a dominant group which you comply with” and “power” as “explicit dominance” (Wodak 2010).

CDA is diverse as in different schools have promoted different types of CDA. Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999), van Dijk (1999), Wodak (2001) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2000) head the most prominent schools of CDA. Although there are differences in methodology, critical discourse analysts share common grounds which are occasionally outlined by the proponents of CDA (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 258-84; Van Dijk 2001, p. 353):

- i) CDA addresses social problems
- ii) Power relations are discursive
- iii) Discourse constitutes society and culture
- iv) Discourse does ideological work
- v) Discourse is historical
- vi) The link between text and society is mediated
- vii) Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory
- viii) Discourse is a form of social action

In Malaysia, CDA was introduced in the early 2000’s particularly in University Putra Malaysia and University of Malaya in 2001 (Haque 2009). Haque discusses how CDA is used predominantly to analyze issues in the Western context and may not be able to be fully utilized, or should be utilized differently, in an Eastern analysis. In Haque’s (2009, p. 55) words “being

overtly critical of people in positions of power or challenging ruling or governing authorities, especially in public situations or in the media is infrequently practised because such actions may lead to dire consequences”. However, there are studies, albeit a few (e.g., Mannan 2001), on sensitive issues like media portrayal of political controversies in Malaysia.

2.7 Discourse Historical Approach

Discourse-historical is an approach within critical discourse analysis which has been developed by Wodak (2001). For the discourse-historical school, discourse analysis is a method grounded in sociolinguistics and text linguistics (Wodak et al. 2000). The act of text production, according to the discourse -historical approach, takes place in a specific context by a particular social subject (in this study) belonging to a specific supra-national community. The discourse-historical approach shares the Faircloughian notion of discourse as a ‘social practice’ and also that discourse is a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice ‘*from a particular perspective*’ (Fairclough, 1995, p. 14).

Khan (2006) discusses how discourse according to the discourse-historical approach, maintains a “dialectical relation with society”. On the one hand, (Khan 2006) “discourse influences society” while on the other hand “society determines the practices of various discursive and non-discursive practices adopted by the members of the society”. In the Malaysian media, CDA is an issue based analysis of linguistic data. Example 1 is a piece of text extracted from a New Straits *Times* editorial.

Example 1

The political personality of Asean is distinctively a product of its founding fathers ideology. Asean's values including the much criticized principle of non-interference are grounded in pragmatism blended with an understanding of each member country's political make up and, indeed, they have stood the test of time and brought stability to the region.

(Appendix 7- NST15/8/2004)

It is important that the researchers of CDA use the discourse-historical approach to link context to the Malaysian media and discuss the linguistic elements that construct the issue. For example, - how the role of discourse can (dis)integrate a regional cooperation. The key terms used by the discourse-historical analysts are: context, contents, strategies (empowerment, cooperation, justification) and means and forms of realization (Wodak 2001). In a complete set of discourse one might come across numbers of fields of action, which also suggests how discursively a society might be constituted (Khan 2006).

Table 2.1 – Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (2001)

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| CONTENTS | SUPRANATIONAL IDENTITY |
| STRATEGIES | EMPOWERMENT, COOPERATION |
| MEANS AND FORMS OF REALIZATION | GRAMMATICAL CASE THEORY |

Table 2.1 explains Wodak's 3 tiered discourse-historical framework and its characteristics. In this framework "contents" refers to 'the area under study or the issue that is being studied', "strategies" refer to the 'strategies used to shape the issue under study' and the "means and forms of realization" refers to the linguistic means used to analyze the issue. In this particular study the issue being studied is the Asean supranational identity, the strategies used to shape the supranational identity are the strategies of empowerment and cooperation and the linguistic means used to analyse this study is the Grammatical Case theory.

The following are the characteristics of discourse-historical approach outlined by Wodak (2000):

- i) It is an interdisciplinary approach in studying discourse
- ii) The approach is issue-based or problem-oriented, not focused on specific linguistic items
- iii) Theories and methods are integrated in understanding and explaining the object under investigation
- iv) The approach is abductive, as in it comprises of a constant back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary
- v) The historical context is analyzed, theorized and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts.

2.8 Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality

Critical Discourse Analysis has been defined as “transdisciplinary” (Fairclough 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2001), “multidisciplinary” (van Dijk 1998, 2001a) and also as “interdisciplinary” (Wodak et al. 1999), as it touches the frontiers of other social sciences, for instance (in this study), economics, media studies, political science, and international relations.

Interdiscursivity occurs when discourse of various types (e.g., the discourse of regional cooperation refers to the discourse of a supra-national identity) relate to one another. Interdiscursivity, (Fairclough 2000) states, the “mix” or “intertextuality” of various socially constructed phenomena for example genre, style, and order of discourse in and through discourse (Fairclough 2000). It also shows how in a society various socially established phenomena are ‘recontextualised’ at different discursive moments according to the different needs conceptualised by that community (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999).

For instance, the global desire to ‘go green’ has recontextualised the role of being environmentally friendly in the contemporary world to a significant level across societies. Following that, a new set of discourses are under construction providing new concepts for global warming in different societies. Without taking into account the developments taking place in other fields it would be difficult for someone to analyse a text comprehensively. A text engages itself in a play of intertextuality and interdiscursivity containing hybrids—hybrid of genres, style, conceptualisations and so on.

If an issue cannot be interpreted solely on the basis of discourse there is a need to establish a ‘transdisciplinary’ or ‘interdisciplinary’ perspective to use, for instance, the insights of international relations and media studies for critical discourse analysis. Transdisciplinarity or

interdisciplinarity has been best realised in the discourse-historical approach of discourse analysis, by putting discourse into its historical context.

2.9 Van Dijk's Ideological Square

The discursive construction of 'self' and 'other' is the foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis and plays an important role in the 'perceptions and discourses of the media' (Van Dijk 1999). Van Dijk's four moves which constitute to an 'ideological square' play a role in the strategy of 'positive 'self' presentation and negative 'other' presentation'. These moves are:

1. Express and emphasize information that is positive about Us (Self).
2. Express and emphasize information that is negative about Them (Other).
3. Suppress and de-emphasize information that is positive about Them (Other).
4. Suppress and de-emphasize information that is negative about Us (Self).

The simultaneous 'positive self presentation' and 'negative other presentation' is also a strategy used by the media to make them look better and the other side look bad.

2.10 Case Theory / Semantic Role Relation

In general, the purpose of constructing a sentence or an utterance is to construct an argument. The propositional content of an utterance can be constructed following the perspective of an utterer. In other words the utterer will create the semantic roles according to his or her perspective (Van Dijk 1999). Within semantic role relations it is realized that different

perspectives impose different semantic roles which are always supported by corresponding grammatical categories.

Fillmore (Cook, 1989, p. 48-53) is responsible for bringing to the fore the notion that there is a universal set of atomic semantic roles. Fillmore's 'The Case for Case', published in 1968, proposed a set of six cases (Agentive, Instrumental, Dative, Objective, Locative, Factive) which was later revised (1971) and extended to eight (Agent, Instrument, Experiencer, Object, Location, Source, Goal, Time). These cases (Cook, 1989, p. 48-53) were deep structured cases described as being "underlying syntactic semantic relationships and they were to be distinguished from 'case forms', which comprise the means of expressing cases: suffixes, suppletion, adpositions, etc". Sets of roles similar to Fillmore's can be found in the writings of other linguists including Halliday 1967-68, Chafe 1970, Longrace 1976, Dik 1978, and Cook 1979 (Blake 2001).

Fillmore's case system model of 1971 is an eight case system that comprises of 'Agent', 'Experiencer', 'Instrument', 'Object', 'Source', 'Goal', 'Location' and 'Time'. Fillmore's (1971, pp. 41-51) case system has been summarized in the following section:

(i) Agent (A). Agent is the 'instigator of an action, the principal cause of an event as opposed to the immediate cause but excluding natural forces'. The Agent role is not restricted to animate nouns. Inanimate Agents are permitted.

(ii) Experiencer (E). Experiencer is the 'experiencer of a psychological event. The case required by a 'genuine psychological event or mental state verb'. The Experiencer case excludes the nonpsychological change of state verbs such as 'die' and 'grow'.

(iii) Instrument (I). Instrument is the ‘immediate cause of an event as opposed to the Agent as principal cause’. If Agent and Instrument co-occur the agent is the instigator of the event and the Instrument is the cause more immediately in contact with the event. When “*John breaks the window with a hammer*”, John is the principal cause but the hammer is the immediate cause.

(iv) Object (O). Object is the most neutral case, “the entity which moves or undergoes change, the content of the experience with psychological predicates when it occurs in direct object position”.

(v) Source (S). Source is the origin or starting point of motion; it refers primarily to the place from which the motion begins. It is applied to earlier location with motion verbs to earlier states with change of state verbs and to earlier time with time verbs. This case is regularly marked in English with the motion prepositions from, away from, out of, off, of.

(vi) Goal (G). Goal is the end point of a motion; it refers to the place towards which the motion tends. This case is regularly marked in English with the directional prepositions to, toward, into, onto. In causative constructions, those embedded sentences which function as direct object and identify the resulting state or event are represented as embedded under the Goal case.

(vii) Location (L). Location is the place where an object or event is located. When Location is used in a case system with Source and Goal cases, the L case is restricted to ‘stative locatives’ and the ‘directional locatives’ are listed as Source or Goal. Multiple locative phrases referring to a single location do not violate the one instance per clause principle as in “*he was sitting under a tree in a park on a bench*”. This ‘stative Location’ is frequently a modal case, an optional complement of essentially any predicator.

(viii) Time (T). Time is the time at which an object or event is located. Multiple time expressions may refer to a single time specification as in “*Tuesday afternoon about three o’clock*”. Time is often used as a modal case, an optional complement of essentially any predicator. However, some verbs take Location and Time complements directly so that Location and Time are used as propositional cases.

To establish a universal set of semantic roles is a formidable task. Although (Cook, 1989, p. 48-53) some roles are demarcated by case or by adpositions in some languages, in many instances they have to be isolated by semantic tests. There are no agreed criteria and there is no consensus on the universal inventory. To a great extent, establishing roles and ascribing particular arguments to roles involves an extra linguistic classification of relationships between entities in the world (Cook, 1989, p. 48-53).

Illie (1998) looked at the totalitarian discourse of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu’s speeches in Romania. The analysis was applied to a corpus of political speeches delivered in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s , Illie proposes that “the realization of an event not only produces the perspective but also imposes the semantic relations through corresponding functional items” (Ille 1998).

Illie (1998) adopts Fillmore’s classification with the following description:

- i. Agent is the case of the typically animate perceived instigator identified by the verb.
- ii. Experiencer is the case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action.
- iii. Instrument is the case of the inanimate force or object used by an Agent and causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb.

- iv. Object is the case representing the entity that moves or undergoes change.
- v. Source is the case representing the origin or the starting point or the transfer point of a transfer movement.
- vi. Goal is the case representing the receiver, destination of a transfer movement, or result.
- vii. Place also called Location is ‘the case representing the place of an event.
- viii. Time is the case representing the time of the event.

The above section aims at showing how grammatical category of case may reveal or explain political speeches.

2.11 Closing Remarks

This chapter sought to outline the main elements that play an important role in this study. These elements consisted of Asean, the Media, CDA and Grammatical Cases. Asean was formed with a vision to secure peace, stability and development in the region. The Asean Community with its three pillars of the Asean Economic Community, the Asean Security Community and the Asean Socio Cultural Community all contribute to the founding vision of peace, stability and development, which in turn contribute to Asean integration and manifests an Asean identity.

Mass media plays an important and significant role in the globalization process and it can integrate or disintegrate a supranational identity such as Asean. A section of the chapter looked at Malaysian Media, editorials and opinion editorials because it was found that in a Malaysian context, full length studies on editorials and opinion editorials were scarce and needed to be

studied. The structure of the Malaysian Media was looked at closely, as the mainstream media in Malaysia is largely owned by ruling parties close to the government, and this played a role in the construction of the Asean identity.

A large section of the chapter looked at CDA, its emergence on the world stage, and its main elements. CDA in the Malaysian context was discussed briefly as CDA is utilized differently in Malaysia. Wodak's Discourse Historical approach was also looked at closely, as this was the approach that was used in the analysis of this study, with its three level framework and its key terms, i.e., "contents", "strategies" and "means and forms of realization". Interdiscursivity and intertextuality were looked at because an issue such as a supranational identity cannot be interpreted solely on the basis of discourse. An issue such as an Asean identity needs the insights of international relations, political science, and mass media studies to give it depth.

Grammatical Case also played an important role and in this chapter. Fillmore's (1971) case model with its eight cases that comprise of 'Agent', 'Instrument', 'Experiencer', 'Object', 'Location', 'Source', 'Goal', and 'Time' were looked at in detail as these cases are deep structured cases described as being underlying syntactic semantic relationships. The next chapter lays out the methodology that is used in this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study. The data presented here is sourced from editorials and opinion editorials with content related to the Asean region published in *The New Straits Times* between 1st January 2003 and 31st December 2008. The linguistic means of articulation that the researcher studied was based on the discourse-historical framework of Wodak (2001) and the existing framework of grammatical case theory (Fillmore, 1968, 1971; Blake, 2001; Butt, 2006) within the broader framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The researcher analyzed micro aspects of language (grammatical cases) to discuss macro aspects of society (regional cooperation, supra national identity). The insights of Illie (1998) contributed significantly in the construction of theoretical framework of this research. Illie emphasizes that, grammatical case theory based analysis lacked an attempt to link semantic roles with pragmatics and discourse analysis.

3.1 Data

The data was collected from editorials and opinion editorials with content related to the Asean region published in *The New Straits Times* between 1st January 2003 and 31st December 2008. A total of 120 articles were found on the subject matter within this timeframe. Table 3.1 identifies the 20 editorials and 21 opinion editorials which were chosen from the data pool based on content and relevance to the study. Relevance in this study was based on the percentage of the article referring to the Asean region as a whole.

Table 3.1 Data Collected and analyzed

| Year | Editorials | Opinion Editorials |
|-------|------------|--------------------|
| 2003 | 5 | 2 |
| 2004 | 4 | 3 |
| 2005 | 4 | 2 |
| 2006 | 2 | 4 |
| 2007 | 4 | 6 |
| 2008 | 1 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 21 |

3.2 Methodology

The research conducted was largely qualitative using Critical Discourse Analysis (discourse-historical approach) and Semantics (grammatical cases). The mode of research was not completely qualitative as the quantitative tool ‘Concordancers’ was used to construct a data bank that helped identify lexical items and look at ‘occurrences’. ‘Concordancers’ is a free online corpus management tool (<http://www.lextutor.ca/concordancers/>). It was used by the researcher to look at the lexical case occurrences in their syntactic positions.

3.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

This study adopts CDA as a theoretical framework. The researcher examines micro aspects of texts to explain how texts are produced by people in power (power behind the text) and how people in power use text to maintain power. Referring to the political economy of the media, the political elites in the country are related to media houses and the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials appear to use their columns to shape the idea of an Asean identity and an Asean community which might reflect the official/ government-agenda. In the process a sense of cooperation, unification, empowerment, strength, and stability is created among the public. The connection between the political elites, their stakes in the media industries, and the points of view the editors and opinion editors might have, played an important role in this study. This study looks at how texts are produced by the media and how the ruling coalition's view on Asean is communicated through the public. Example 1 is an extraction from the *New Straits Times* titled 'Prospering Thy Neighbours' which gives us an idea as to what the media's point of view is when it comes to Asean's Principle of Non Interference.

Example 1

Asean's values including the much criticized principle of noninterference, are grounded in pragmatism blended with an understanding of each member country's political make up and indeed they have stood the test of time and brought stability to the region.

(Appendix 7- NST 15/8/04)

The use of CDA enables the researcher to produce a critique of the media which highlights the strategy of 'self' and 'other', often used by the media, to make them look better and the other side look bad. To put it succinctly, the discursive construction of 'self' and 'other'

is the ‘foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis’ and hence plays an important role in the perceptions and discourses of the opinion editorials analyzed in this study (Van Dijk 1999). This study refers to Van Dijk’s four moves which constitute to an ‘ideological square’ which play a role in the ‘strategy of positive ‘self’ presentation and negative ‘other’ presentation’. These moves are:

1. Express and emphasize information that is positive about Us (Self).
2. Express and emphasize information that is negative about Them (Other).
3. Suppress and de-emphasize information that is positive about Them (Other).
4. Suppress and de-emphasize information that is negative about Us (Self).

In the course of this research ‘self’ always refers to the Asean region as a whole and ‘other’ refers to any other entity that may be perceived as a threat. Here is an example:

Example 2

Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Badawi stressed that we can take care of ourselves and unless invited Australia of any other outside power has no special security role in the region. Peace and security in Southeast Asia have been Asean’s raison d’etre since its founding more than three decades ago. (Appendix 4 - NST 27/10/03)

In the above example Asean is clearly categorized as ‘self’ while Australia is categorized as ‘other’. The phrase ‘*unless invited*’ suggests an emphasis on a negative ‘other’, Australia while the phrase ‘*peace and security in South East Asia*’ suggests a an emphasis on a positive ‘self’.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The relationship between the print media and the formation of supra national identities are complex. What the researcher does in this study is – explain the contradictions that occur on many levels using Wodak’s discourse-historical approach (2001) as an umbrella framework and Fillmore’s Grammatical Case Theory (1971) within that framework. Table 3.2 describes the discourse-historical and Case framework.

3.3.1 Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach (2001)

Table 3.2 describes the three dimensional discourse-historical approach used for the purpose of data analysis. The table displays the data being analyzed qualitatively according to the discourse-historical framework which operates on the three levels of ‘content’, ‘strategy’ and ‘linguistic realization’.

Table 3.2 – Wodak’s Discourse Historical Approach

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>CONTENTS</p> | <p>The Linguistic Construction of an Asean identity.</p> |
| <p>STRATEGIES</p> | <p>Strategies of Empowerment Strategies of Cooperation & Unification Strategy of Self and Other – Van Dijk’s Ideological Square</p> |
| <p>MEANS & FORMS of REALIZATION</p> | <p>Grammatical Cases - Agent - Experiencer - Instrument - Object - Source - Goal - Place - Time</p> |

In this framework “contents” refers to ‘the area under study or the issue that is being studied’, “strategies” refer to the ‘strategies used to shape the issue under study’ and the “means and forms of realization” refers to the linguistic means used to analyze the issue. In this particular study the issue being studied is the Asean identity, while the strategies used to shape the Asean identity are the strategies of empowerment, cooperation and unification. The strategy of ‘self’ and ‘other’ which is one of the main strategies in CDA is also used to analyze the data in this study. The linguistic means used in the analysis of the data in this study is the Grammatical Case theory with its eight cases that consist of “Agent”, “Experiencer”, “Instrument”, “Object”,

“Source”, “Goal”, “Place” and “Time. Contents are produced by using strategies which are based on linguistic means.

3.3.1.1 Contents

Discourse has an ideational, relational and a textual dimension (Fairclough 2001). It realizes some phenomena or contents. There is a way of discussing it, and it can be translated as strategies and linguistic realization of strategies and contents. In a study of identity formation (Khan 2006), the contents of a text produced by any social subject should have the substance of a definition of group identity. In this study the contents produced in the editorials and opinion editorials form the discursive construction of an Asean Identity

3.3.1.2 Strategies

Strategies are ‘pre-linguistic phenomena’ and the ‘manifestation’ of strategies can be achieved best through the means of language. A linguistic accomplishment of a strategy is socially conditioned. It is a matter of language and society. It is ‘linguistic’ and ‘extra-linguistic’ at the same time (Khan 2006). Identity from a discourse analytic perspective is a construction. In this study, editors and opinion editors will adopt some strategies to construct identity. In order to strategise one might use strategies of ‘cooperation and unification’ or ‘empowerment’ to support the existing notions of strength and stability.

3.3.1.2.1 Strategies of Empowerment

In this study the Strategy of Empowerment is linked to economic development and all the positive aspects that are related to economic development. Example 3 shows us how economic development is used to empower Asean as a whole. The words and phrases ‘*dynamic*’, ‘*sustainable*’ and ‘*new economy*’, are linked to ‘*Asean’s relevance today*’, showing us that economic development empowers Asean as a whole.

Example 3

*The transformation of an under performing old economy into a **dynamic and sustainable new economy** is a task that determines **Asean’s relevance today**.*

(Appendix 7 - NST 15/8/04)

3.3.1.2 2 Strategies of Cooperation and Unification

In this study the Strategies of Cooperation and Unification are used to promote security and stability and avoid conflict. In Example 4, the phrases ‘*continue to work together*’ ‘*build peace*’ and ‘*unique to the region*’ all build stability through the Strategies of Cooperation and Unification.

Example 4

*The founding members, along with the new members, must **continue to work together** to **build the peace** and bring greater prosperity to their people, but to do so in ways they are accustomed to and that are **unique to their region**.*

(Appendix 3 - NST12/10/03)

Example 5 gives us a chance to see how all these strategies sometimes work together. Here the Strategies of Empowerment, Cooperation and Unification all work hand in hand. The phrases ‘Asean Community’, ‘member countries’ and ‘grow in concert’ all use the Strategies of Cooperation and Unification while the words and phrases ‘progress’ ‘economies of scale’ ‘invest’ and ‘trade’ all use the Strategy of Empowerment.

Example 5

An Asean community will enable member countries to progress and grow in concert, and for their companies to reap economies of scale when they invest or trade in the region.

(Appendix 3 - NST12/10/03)

3.3.1.3 Means and Forms of Realization - Fillmore’s Grammatical Case Theory

Fillmore presented a universal set of atomic semantic roles in 1971. He proposed a set of eight cases – “Agent”, “Instrument”, “Experiencer”, “Object”, “Location”, “Source”, ‘Goal, “Time’. Illie (1998) realized that different perspectives impose different semantic roles which are always supported by corresponding grammatical categories. Hence, the realization of an event not only produces the perspective but also imposes the semantic relations through corresponding functional items (Ille 1998).

Fillmore’s case system model of 1971 is an eight case system where the subject choice hierarchy is ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’, ‘Instrument’, ‘Object’, ‘Source’, ‘Goal’, ‘Location’, ‘Time’.

(i) **Agent (A)**. Agent is the ‘instigator of an action, the principal cause of an event as opposed to the immediate cause but excluding natural forces’ (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 1

Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad is right in pointing out that the

(AGENT)

arrest and continued detention of Nobel peace prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi

(Appendix 1 – NST 26/6/03)

(ii) **Experiencer (E)**. Experiencer is the ‘experiencer of a psychological event. (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 2

An Asean Community will enable member countries to progress and grow in concert, and for their companies to reap economies of scale when they invest or trade in

(EXPERIENCER)

(EXPERIENCER)

(Appendix 3 – NST 12/10/03)

(iii) **Instrument (I)**. Instrument is the ‘immediate cause of an event as opposed to the Agent as principal cause’. (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42)

Example 3

But for 38 years, Asean had held firm, and doubled in size, on nothing more than words of honour.

(INSTRUMENT)

(Appendix 11 – NST 14/12/05)

(iv) Object (O). Object is the most neutral case, “the entity which moves or undergoes change, the content of the experience with psychological predicates when it occurs in direct object position” (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 4

Regrettably, Indonesia’s response has sometimes been less than reassuring as exemplified in the delay in ratifying the Asean Haze Agreement.

(OBJECT)

(Appendix15 – NST 9/10/06)

(v) Source (S). Source is the origin or starting point of motion; it refers primarily to the place from which the motion begins. This case is regularly marked in English with the motion prepositions from, away from, out of, off of (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 5

Since the first Asean-Japan Summit in 1977 which produced the Fukuda Doctrine of

(SOURCE)

heart-to-heart diplomacy,

(Appendix 5 - NST 15/12/03)

(vi) Goal (G). Goal is the end point of a motion; it refers to the place towards which the motion tends. This case is regularly marked in English with the directional prepositions to, toward, into, onto. (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 6

Earlier Asean had been reassured by Myanmar that the post May 30 measures were temporary and the restrictions placed on Suu Kyi would be lifted soon.

(GOAL)

(Appendix 1 – NST 26/6/03)

(vii) Location (L). Location is the place where an object or event is located. (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 7

The fact that Asean leaders met in Bangkok on Tuesday to hammer out a common

(LOCATION)

strategy to combat SARS and put in place a series of coordinated measures

(Appendix 2 - NST 1/5/03)

(viii) Time (T). Time is the time at which an object or event is located. (Fillmore, 1971, p. 42).

Example 8

The fact that Asean leaders met in Bangkok on Tuesday to hammer out a common

(TIME)

strategy to combat SARS and put in place ...

(Appendix 2 - NST 1/5/03)

Table 3.3 looks at the semantics of Grammatical cases and analyzes meanings with given examples.

Table 3.3 - Means and Forms of Realization - Fillmore's Grammatical Case Theory

| Grammatical Case | Description | Example |
|------------------|---|--|
| Agent | The case of the typically animate perceived instigator identified by the verb | <i><u>Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad</u> is right in pointing out that the arrest and continued detention of Nobel peace prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi (AP 1)</i> |
| Experiencer | The case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action. | <i>An Asean Community will enable member countries to progress and grow in concert, and for <u>their companies</u> to reap economies of scale when <u>they</u> invest or trade in (AP 2)</i> |
| Instrument | The case of the inanimate force or object used by an Agent and causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb. | <i>But for 38 years, Asean had held firm, and doubled in size, on nothing more than <u>words of honour</u>. (AP 11)</i> |
| Object | The case representing the entity that moves or undergoes change. | <i>Regrettably, Indonesia's response has sometimes been less than reassuring as exemplified in the delay in ratifying <u>the Asean Haze Agreement</u>. (AP15)</i> |
| Source | The case representing the origin or the starting point or the transfer point of a transfer movement. | <i>Since the <u>first Asean-Japan Summit</u> in 1977 which produced the Fukuda Doctrine of heart-to-heart diplomacy, (AP 5)</i> |
| Goal | The case representing the receiver, destination of a transfer movement, or result. | <i>Earlier Asean had been reassured by Myanmar that the post May 30 measures were temporary and the restrictions placed on <u>Suu Kyi</u> would be lifted soon. (AP 1)</i> |
| Place | Also called Location this is the case representing the place of an event. | <i>The fact that Asean leaders met in <u>Bangkok</u> on Tuesday to hammer out a common strategy to combat SARS ... (AP 2)</i> |
| Time | The case representing the time of the event. | <i>The fact that Asean leaders met in Bangkok on <u>Tuesday</u> to hammer out a common strategy to combat SARS and put in place a series of ... (AP2)</i> |

3.4 Closing Remarks

This chapter provides a description of the methods and methodology involved in this study. The researcher described the methods of data collection and the analytical framework adopted. Examples and tables were given to illustrate topics under discussion. The next chapter analyzes data using the methods described in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter reports the analysis of the data in the study. The data was collected from editorials and opinion editorials with contents related to the Asean region published in *The New Straits Times* between 1st January 2003 and 31st December 2008, and consisted of a total of 20 editorials and 21 opinion editorials. The data was analyzed in accordance with the two main objectives of the study which are; to explore how Grammatical Cases are used in editorials and opinion editorials, and to realize the perspectives that the Malaysian English news print media might have toward the formation of an Asean identity.

The chapter is divided into three sections to answer the three research questions presented in this study. The research questions are:

- a. What are the types of Grammatical Cases used in editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region?
- b. How do the Grammatical Cases in the editorials and opinion editorials suggest constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’?
- c. How do Grammatical Cases contribute to the linguistic construction of an Asean identity?

4.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1

What are the types of Grammatical Cases used in editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region?

This research reports that five Grammatical Cases play an important role in the editorials and opinion editorials which covered the Asean region. They are:

- a. Agent - the case of the typically animate perceived instigator identified by the verb.
- b. Experiencer - the case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action
- c. Location - the case representing the place of an event.
- d. Goal – The case representing the receiver, destination or a transfer movement, or result.
- e. Instrument – The case of the inanimate force or object, causally involved in an action or state identified by a verb.

The first part in this section of the chapter discusses the three cases ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’ while the second part of the section discusses the grammatical cases ‘Goal’, ‘Instrument’ and ‘Location’. The grammatical cases were divided into two parts because the data showed that while the cases ‘Agent’, and ‘Experiencer’ were found to be used regularly and interchangeably throughout the data in the editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region, these two cases hardly appeared as the cases ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ which were paired together regularly. However the grammatical case ‘Location’ was used frequently throughout the data and will be discussed in both parts of this section as the researcher analyzes the types of Grammatical Cases used in editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region.

4.1.1 Agent, Experiencer and Location

The grammatical cases ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’ were found to be used regularly and interchangeably throughout the data in the editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region. In this study the names of 10 member countries and their major cities appear frequently. Examples 1 through 7 show the presence of grammatical cases ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’, and ‘Location.’

Example 1

*Myanmar must play its part in justifying its political legitimacy to continue to be a part
(AGENT)
of Asean.
(EXPERIENCER) (Appendix 1 - NST 26/6/03)*

Example 2

*Whatever the dilemma posed by Myanmar’s participation in Asean, the greater test for
(AGENT)
Asean resolve lies in its ability to work towards the goal of greater regional integration
(EXPERIENCER)
agreed upon at the Bali summit last October.
(LOCATION) (Appendix 6- NST 4/7/04)*

Example 3

Myanmar is keeping itself closed despite the promise to open up.

(AGENT)

(Appendix 34– NST 1/8/07)

Example 4

The political situation in Myanmar is also expected to be discussed in the summit.

(LOCATION)

(Appendix 21- NST 3/10/03)

Example 5

Although the security community was Indonesia's initiative, such an idea would have to

(EXPERIENCER)

be executed under Asean's collective leadership.

(Appendix 21- NST 3/10/03)

(AGENT)

Example 6

Asean has labored under adverse conditions for half a decade now. The financial crisis

(AGENT)

of 1997-1998 caused serious economic and political repercussions in the region,

especially in Indonesia.

(Appendix 22- NST 7/6/03)

(LOCATION)

Example 7

***Indonesia**, however, favours a different composition for the eventual community, and on (AGENT)*

Nov 27 announced that it was against the meeting next year. (Appendix 24- NST30/11/04)

Examples 1-4 show us Myanmar and Asean taking on the grammatical cases of ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’ depending on the context of the data. In example 1, Myanmar takes on the Grammatical Case of ‘Agent’ because it is the ‘instigator of the action’ and Asean takes on the role of ‘Experiencer’ because it is ‘the case representing the entity which accepts or experiences the effect of an action’ to Myanmar’s ‘Agent’. Example 2 shows us Asean as both ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’, and example 3 shows us Myanmar taking on the role of ‘Agent’ because it is the ‘instigator’. In example 4 Myanmar takes on the role of ‘Location’ because it is the place where the ‘political situation’ is happening.

Examples 5 -7 show us how Indonesia switches from taking on the grammatical case of ‘Experiencer’ in example 5, to ‘Location’ in example 6, and ‘Agent’ in example 7, depending on the context of the data. In example 6 Indonesia takes on the role of ‘Location’ because ‘serious economic and political repercussions’ which is the event were taking place in Indonesia.

Table 4.1.1 shows us the occurrences of the 10 participating member countries and their major cities in the editorials and opinion editorials analyzed while table 4.1.2 shows us the occurrences of Asean the EU and China. It may appear that the occurrence of the cases in opinion editorials is higher than the ones in editorials. However, it should be noted that opinion editorials in the data are longer than the editorials. The average number of words used in the editorials is 452 while the opinion editorials had approximately 1017 words in average.

TABLE 4.1.1 – Occurrences of the 10 participating member countries

| COUNTRY | OP EDS | EDITORIALS | TOTAL |
|--------------|--------|------------|-------|
| MALAYSIA | 24 | 21 | 45 |
| Kuala Lumpur | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| INDONESIA | 32 | 6 | 38 |
| Jakarta | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| SINGAPORE | 34 | 8 | 42 |
| THAILAND | 29 | 3 | 32 |
| Bangkok | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| PHILIPPINES | 16 | 1 | 17 |
| Manila | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Cebu | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| BRUNEI | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| VIETNAM | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| LAOS | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Vientiane | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| MYANMAR | 60 | 29 | 89 |
| CAMBODIA | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 246 | 91 | 337 |

In the editorials and opinion editorials analyzed, the occurrences of the 10 participating member countries and their major cities play an important role because the names of the 10 member countries and their major cities appear frequently in the data as there are many summits, dialogues, conferences, and meetings held every year across the 10 participating member countries.

4.1.1.1 Asean, China and The European Union

The data suggests there are three main entities that take on the grammatical cases ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’. They are Asean, China and the European Union. Table 4.1.2 shows the occurrences while Examples 8 through 29 show the grammatical cases Agent, Experiencer, and Location appearing regularly and interchangeably within these 3 entities throughout the data in the editorials and opinion editorials that cover the Asean region.

Table 4.1.2 – Occurrences – Asean, China and EU.

| LOCATION | OPINION EDITORIALS | EDITORIALS |
|---|--------------------|------------|
| ASEAN, ASEAN’S | 601 | 209 |
| CHINA, CHINA’S | 100 | 15 |
| EUROPE, EUROPE’S, EU, EUROPEAN UNION | 43 | 18 |
| TOTAL | 744 | 242 |

4.1.1.1.1 – Asean as Agent

Asean appears as the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’ frequently throughout the data. Examples 8 through 10 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how Asean is used as an ‘Agent’.

Example 8

Asean has labored under adverse conditions for half a decade now.

(AGENT)

(Appendix 22 – NST 7/6.03)

Example 9

Today Asean remains less than the sum of its parts, by deliberate and pragmatic choice.

(AGENT)

(Appendix 22- NST 7/6/03)

Example 10

Asean has said it would establish an economic community by 2020.

(AGENT)

(GOAL)

(Appendix 23 –NST 29/11/04)

In example 8-10 Asean appears as the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’. Examples 8 and 9 are simple sentences with ‘Agent’ being the only case present. In Example 10 we see the emergence of the Grammatical case ‘Goal’.

4.1.1.1.2 – Asean as Experiencer

Examples 11 through 13 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how Asean is used as an ‘Experiencer’.

Example 11

Trade between China and the Asean nation soared to US\$84 billion RM319 billion in the

(AGENT) (EXPERIENCER)

first nine months of this year, a 35 per cent increase from the same period last year.

(Appendix 24- NST 30/11/04)

Example 12

While the flow of direct investment into Asean reached a peak of more than US\$50

(EXPERIENCER)

billion (RM174 billion) last year, China and India are increasingly getting a better share

(AGENT)

of new foreign direct investment flowing into Asia.

(Appendix 32 - NST 24/8/07)

Example 13

China drew US\$60 billion in FDI last year, more than twice the amount that trickled into

(AGENT)

the whole of Asean.

(Appendix 13- NST 13/12/05)

(EXPERIENCER)

In examples 11 through 13, Asean takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Experiencer’ because it is now ‘the case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action’. China takes on the role of ‘Agent’ because it is now ‘the case of the typically animate perceived instigator’. Table 4.1.2.1 is a summary of Asean using the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’.

TABLE 4.1.2.1 – Asean as ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’

| | AGENT | EXPERIENCER | LOCATION |
|--------------|---|--|-----------------|
| ASEAN | <p><i><u>Asean</u> has labored under adverse conditions for half a decade now.</i></p> <p><i>Today <u>Asean</u> remains less than the sum of its parts, by deliberate and pragmatic choice.</i></p> <p><i><u>Asean</u> has said it would establish an economic community by 2020.</i></p> | <p><i>Trade between China and the <u>Asean</u> nation soared to US\$84 billion RM319 billion in the</i></p> <p><i>While the flow of direct investment into <u>Asean</u> reached a peak of more than US\$50.....</i></p> <p><i>China drew US\$60 billion in FDI last year, more than twice the amount that trickled into the whole of <u>Asean</u>.</i></p> | N/A |

4.1.1.1.3 – China as Agent

Examples 14 through 16 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how China is used as an ‘Agent’.

Example 14

*Several Asean economies have lost to China some of their third-country market shares in
(EXPERIENCER) (AGENT)
labour intensive standard technology products. (Appendix 26- NST 8/8/05)*

Example 15

*The fear by certain Southeast Asian countries that China will in future attempt to extend
(EXPERIENCER) (AGENT)
its empire, can also put to rest when the Treaty is signed. (Appendix 21- NST3/10/03)*

Example 16

*From just US\$2.6 billion (or 4.9 per cent of China’s imports) in 1990, Asean exports to
(EXPERIENCER)
China jumped to US\$45.2 billion (or 7.8 per cent) in 2004.
(AGENT) (Appendix 26- NST 8/8/05)*

In examples 14 through 16 Asean takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Experiencer’ because once again it is ‘the case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action’. China takes on the role of ‘Agent’ because it is ‘the case of the typically animate perceived instigator’.

4.1.1.1.4 – China as Experiencer

Examples 17 through 19 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how China is used as an ‘Experiencer’.

Example 17

The economic emergence of China and India can be seen both as a challenge that poses

(EXPERIENCER)

formidable competition to Asean member countries as well as an opportunity for Asean.

(AGENT)

(Appendix 27 - NST 22/1/05)

Example 18

Perhaps Asean is less a victim of its own weakness than a hostage to the new global

(AGENT)

order, one in which multilateral bodies have been damaged or weakened by the clumsy

unilateralism of big powers, principally the United States and China.

(EXPERIENCER) (EXPERIENCER)

(Appendix 36– NST 9/5/07)

Example 19

At the same time, Asean has also been pushing for regionalism that is aimed at the

(AGENT)

creation of a wider FTA within Asia, and the FTA with China is a classic example.

(EXPERIENCER)

(Appendix 37- NST 1/2/07)

In examples 17 through 19 China takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Experiencer’ because it is now ‘the case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action’. Asean takes on the role of ‘Agent’ because it is now ‘the case of the typically animate perceived instigator’. In Example 19, the United States and China are ‘Experiencers’.

4.1.1.1.5- China as Location

Examples 20 through 22 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how China is used as the Grammatical Case ‘Location’.

Example 20

Finally, much of the early part of the new century has seen the focus of attention swing away from growth in China, which has further weakened Asean’s incentive to bond as a region.

(LOCATION) (AGENT)

(Appendix 36 - NST 9/5/07)

Example 21

The move to establish an early warning system on emerging infectious diseases at both national and regional levels in cooperation with the World Health Organization and other international health programs is perhaps the obvious way to go considering what happened in China in the initial stages of the SARS outbreak. (Appendix 2- NST 1/5/03)

(LOCATION)

Example 22

Investment dollars that could go to the region are flooding into China.

(LOCATION)

(Appendix 23 -NST 29/11/04)

‘Location’ is the Grammatical Case representing ‘the place of an event’. In the comparison of Asean, China and the European Union, China is the only element that is able to use the three cases, ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’ interchangeably, as Asean and the European Union are regional cooperations while China is a single country.

4.1.1.1.6 – The European Union as Agent

Examples 23 through 25 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how The European Union is used as an ‘Agent’.

Example 23

In this regard, the European Union experience is worth noting as institutional

(AGENT)

development started at an early stage of economic integration.

(Appendix 31- NST 4/2/06)

Example 24

But Asean still has some way to go to build an Asean community along the lines of the

(EXPERIENCER)

European Union.

(Appendix 2- NST 1/5/03)

(AGENT)

Example 25

As it is, the United States and the European Union have imposed economic sanctions

(AGENT)

(AGENT)

and an arms embargo on Myanmar.

(EXPERIENCER)

(Appendix 34 -NST 1/8/07)

In examples 23 through 25 the European Union takes on the role of ‘Agent’ because it is now ‘the case of the typically animate perceived instigator’. In examples 23 through 25 Asean and Myanmar take on the Grammatical Case ‘Experiencer’ because it is now ‘the case representing the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action’.

4.1.1.1.7 – The European Union as Experiencer

Examples 26 through 28 are extracts from editorials and opinion editorials illustrating how The European Union is used as an ‘Experiencer’.

Example 26

While Asean reaffirmed the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of its

(AGENT)

members the European Union remained determined to exclude

(EXPERIENCER)

(Appendix 6 – NST 4/7/04)

Example 27

Like the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which laid out a roadmap to realize the European Union,

(EXPERIENCER)

the Asean Charter provides a golden opportunity to follow a similar route.

(AGENT)

(Appendix 31 – NST 4/2/06)

Example 28

Asean was getting weeded to the concept of the nation state, while Europe was tiring of

(AGENT)

(EXPERIENCER)

it.

(Appendix 25- NST 22/4/04)

Table 4.1.2.2 is a summary of China taking on the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’ while table 4.1.2.3 is a summary of the EU taking on the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’. Once again China is the only element that is able to use the three cases, ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’ interchangeably.

TABLE 4.1.2.2 – China as an ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’ and ‘Location’

| | AGENT | EXPERIENCER | LOCATION |
|--------------|---|--|---|
| CHINA | <p><i>Several Asean economies have lost to <u>China</u> some of their third-country market shares in labour intensive standard technology products</i></p> <p><i>The fear by certain Southeast Asian countries that <u>China</u> will in future attempt to extend its empire, can also put to rest when the Treaty is signed.</i></p> <p><i>From just US\$2.6 billion (or 4.9 per cent of China’s imports) in 1990, Asean exports to <u>China</u> jumped to US\$45.2 billion (or 7.8 per cent) in 2004.</i></p> | <p><i>The economic emergence of <u>China</u> and India can be seen both as a challenge that poses formidable competition to Asean member countries as well as an</i></p> <p><i>Perhaps Asean is less a victim of its own weakness than a hostage to the new global order, one in which multilateral bodies have been damaged or weakened by the clumsy unilateralism of big powers, principally the United States and <u>China</u></i></p> <p><i>At the same time, Asean has also been pushing for regionalism that is aimed at the creation of a wider FTA within Asia, and the FTA with <u>China</u> is a classic example.</i></p> | <p><i>Investment dollars that could go to the region are flooding into <u>China</u>.</i></p> <p><i>Finally, much of the early part of the new century has seen the focus of attention swing away from growth <u>in China</u>, which has further weakened Asean’s incentive to bond as a region</i></p> <p><i>..... other international health programs is perhaps the obvious way to go considering what happened in <u>China</u> in the initial stages of the SARS outbreak.</i></p> |

TABLE 4.1.2.3 – EU as an ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’

| | AGENT | EXPERIENCER | LOCATION |
|-----------|--|---|-----------------|
| EU | <p><i>In this regard, the <u>European Union</u> experience is worth noting as institutional development started at an early stage of economic integration.</i></p> <p><i>But Asean still has some way to go to build an Asean community along the lines of the <u>European Union</u>.</i></p> <p><i>As it is, the United States and the <u>European Union</u> have imposed economic sanctions and an arms embargo on Myanmar.</i></p> | <p><i>While Asean reaffirmed the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of its members the <u>European Union</u> remained determined to exclude</i></p> <p><i>Asean was getting weeded to the concept of the nation state, while <u>Europe</u> was tiring of it.</i></p> <p><i>Like the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which laid out a roadmap to realize the <u>European Union</u>, the Asean Charter provides a golden opportunity to follow a similar route.</i></p> | N/A |

4.1.2 Goal, Instrument and Location

The grammatical cases ‘Goal and ‘Instrument’, were found to be used frequently throughout the data in the editorials and opinion editorials that covered the Asean region. ‘Goal’ is ‘the case representing the receiver, destination or a transfer movement, or result’, and ‘Instrument’ is ‘the case of the inanimate force or object, causally involved in an action or state’. In analyzing the data it was found that ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ were paired together regularly and used interchangeably.

The case ‘Goal’ is usually the promise or payoff, and the case ‘Instrument’ is what is created and used to get to that promise. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), Asean Economic Community (AEC), Asean Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), and Asean Infrastructure Development Initiative (AIDI) are all acronyms that emerged from Asean, that regularly take on the grammatical cases ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’. Examples 29 through 32 show the grammatical cases of ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ appearing in the data and being used interchangeably.

Example 29

*The **Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)**, signed by leaders of Asean countries on*

(INSTRUMENT)

*Feb 24, 1976, was aimed at promoting **perpetual peace, everlasting amity and co-***

(GOAL)

operation among members.

(Appendix 21 - NST 3/10/03)

Example 30

Last October, Asean leaders agreed to create an Asean Economic Community (AEC).

(INSTRUMENT)

a combine in which there would be a free flow of goods, services and investments, a freer flow of capital and equitable economic development and reduced poverty and

(GOAL)

socio economic disparities.

(Appendix 7 - NST 15/8/04)

Example 31

The proposed Asean Charter will set out the long-term direction for the region and spur

(INSTRUMENT)

the establishment of the Asean Economic Community by 2020.

(GOAL)

(Appendix 31- NST 4/2/06)

Example 32

Hence, having an Asean Charter is an important step in creating a more rules-based

(INSTRUMENT)

institutional structure for Asean.

(Appendix 31- NST 4/2/06)

Example 33

In terms of regional economic integration, that long-term direction and end-goal have

already been articulated to some extent in the Asean Concord II which was signed at the

(INSTRUMENT)

2003 summit in Bali. In the concord, Asean leaders agreed to integrate their

(LOCATION) (INSTRUMENT)

Economies and establish an Asean Economic Community (AEC) by 2020.

(GOAL)

(Appendix 31- NST 4/2/06)

In example 29 and 30 the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), and the Asean Economic Community (AEC), take on the grammatical case ‘Instrument’ and the phrases ‘*perpetual peace, everlasting amity, equitable economic development and reduced poverty*’, take on the grammatical case ‘Goal’. In example 31 and 32 the Asean Charter takes on the grammatical case ‘Instrument’. In example 31 the Grammatical Case of ‘Instrument’ may look like the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’ because the phrase ‘Asean Charter’ could also be seen as the instigator of the action. Schlesinger (1989) discusses ‘Instruments’ as ‘Agents’ and looks at how these two Grammatical Cases share a close relationship. In this example however, ‘Asean Charter’ is not the Grammatical Case ‘Instrument’ because it is a tool.

The Asean Economic Community (AEC), in examples 31 and 33 take on the grammatical case ‘Goal’. Once again we see ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ are paired together regularly and used interchangeably. In example 33 we also see the grammatical case ‘Location’ used with the other cases. Examples 34 – 36 give us a closer look at the use of ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ and ‘Location’.

Example 34

*The **Vientiane Action Program (VAP)** aims to intensify the economic integration process*

(INSTRUMENT)

*by developing and implementation measures that would put in place the essential elements for Asean **to function as a single market and production base.** The VAP*

(GOAL)

*is a six year strategic action plan which was launched at the 2004 summit **in Laos.***

(LOCATION)

(Appendix 31- NST 4/2/06)

Example 35

*An alternative approach would be the **“2+X” principle** which allows two member*

(INSTRUMENT)

countries to integrate specific sectors first, allowing others to join at a later stage when they are ready.

(Appendix - NST 4/2/06)

Example 36

Last October's Declaration of Asean Concord II in Bali established the "x+2" formula.

(LOCATION)

(INSTRUMENT)

which allows for a pioneer team of members to move ahead, rather like France and

Germany did for Europe.

(Appendix 25- NST 22/4/04)

4.1.3 Discussion

This section of the chapter sought to identify the Grammatical Cases used in the editorials and opinion editorials being analyzed. The data showed five cases played an important role in the editorials and opinion editorials that covered the Asean region. They were 'Agent', 'Experiencer', 'Location', 'Goal', and 'Instrument'. In analyzing the data it was found that 'Goal' and 'Instrument' were paired together regularly and used interchangeably as was 'Agent' and 'Experiencer'. Although 'Location' was used frequently with 'Goal and 'Instrument' it was not used interchangeably and as often as with the grammatical cases 'Agent' and 'Experiencer'.

It was found that the cases 'Goal' and 'Instrument' worked together interchangeably with 'Goal' acting as a promise or a payoff, and 'Instrument' acting as a tool created and used as a vehicle to get to the promise. The cases 'Agent' and 'Experiencer' worked together interchangeably depending on the context of the data.

‘Location’ played an important role in the research and was used frequently throughout the data as the names of the 10 member countries and their major cities appeared frequently due to the many summits, dialogues, conferences, and meetings held around the Asean region.

Asean, China and the EU were three main entities that took on the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’, and ‘Location’, with China being the only entity that could use these three cases interchangeably on a regular basis. At any one point in time there was an average of two to three cases playing a part in any given sentence. There were no examples found where all five of the Grammatical cases ‘Agent’, ‘Experiencer’, ‘Location’, ‘Goal’, and ‘Instrument’, were found in any one sentence.

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 2

How do the Grammatical Cases in the editorials and opinion editorials suggest constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’?

In this section the researcher reports how the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials suggest constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’. The researcher also looks at how Grammatical Cases, might be embedded in discursive macro strategies of positive ‘self’ and negative ‘other’ presentation. According to Van Dijk (1999) the discursive construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’ is the foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis and hence plays an important role in the perceptions and discourses of the opinion editorials analyzed in this study. Van Dijk discusses four moves which constitute to an ‘ideological square’ which play a role in ‘the strategy of positive ‘self’ presentation and negative ‘other’ presentation’. These moves are:

1. Express and emphasize information that is positive about Us (Self).
2. Express and emphasize information that is negative about Them (Other).
3. Suppress and de-emphasize information that is positive about Them (Other).
4. Suppress and de-emphasize information that is negative about Us (Self).

In this study the regional grouping of Asean and all its 10 member countries take on the role of ‘self’. The data suggests there are two main entities that take on the role of ‘other’. They are:

- 1) The European Union because it is frequently one step ahead of Asean in the many comparisons between the two supranational groupings (2.4).
- 2) China because its size and proximity is a threat to Asean’s economy and security (2.4)

4.2.1 Re – Stating the Definition of Strategies

In analyzing the micro aspects of texts, it was found that not all the Grammatical Cases played an important role within the strategies of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in relation to the European Union and China. The Grammatical Cases most used were:

- a. Agent – The case of a typically animate perceived instigator identified by a verb.
- b. Experiencer – The case representing the entity which receives or accepts the effect of an action.

Table 4.2.1 looks at how the data in this section of the study was analyzed.

Table 4.2.1- Data Analysis on EU and China

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| CONTENTS | European Union China |
| STRATEGIES | Self Other |
| MEANS & FORMS of REALIZATION | Grammatical Cases -Agent - Experiencer |

4.2.2. The European Union

The European Union (EU) has evolved from a regional economic agreement among six neighboring states in 1951 to today's supranational organization of 27 countries across the European continent (Baldwin et al., 1995, p. 1-21). Mahbubani (2008, p. 80-85) says, like the

European Union, Asean was set up to promote regional cooperation. Both have been equally successful in preventing war between any two member states. The European Union is one step ahead of Asean, since it has achieved zero prospect of war. The European Union is an economic superpower with a combined GNP of US\$13,386 billion, while Asean is an economic minipower with a combined GNP of US\$857 billion (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 80-85).

This section of the study discusses the discursive fields of 'self' and 'other'. The data suggests that the European Union takes on the role of 'other', because it is frequently one step ahead of Asean in the many comparisons between the two supranational groupings. Example 1 is an extract from an opinion editorial from the *New Straits Times* titled 'Asean: Long road ahead'

Example 1- Asean: Long road ahead

The speed of European integration has left Asean in the dust. The Southeast Asian grouping had better attend to the basics if it wants to catch up. Compared to the European Union, which will be enlarged by 10 new members on May 1, Asean looks like a regional community on life-support. Europe has open borders, no customs or trade barriers, a single currency and something close to an encompassing, continent wide identity – all of which had begun as pipe dreams amid the rubble of the Second World War. The EU's total of 25 nations is a magnificent jumble of cultures, languages, societies and economies held together by a gigantic bureaucracy centred in Brussels. Europeans are cracking their heads over a constitution, no less while Asean officials endlessly mull over the costs and benefits of start-up co-operative agreements. Like it or not, ever closer integration in the part of the world that unleashed two of history's most devastating conflicts has acted as a scold on Asean. It stands as an object lesson in the art of the possible against the truism that Southeast Asia, and Asia as a whole, is simple too disparate for tighter concord. Diversity hasn't been a hindrance in Europe – as much, or as little, separates Singapore from Laos as Luxembourg from Latvia or Europe's poorest country, Romania, which is on its way to accession, probably in 2007.....So why is Southeast Asia stuck in limbo? There is something to be said for Europe's hare and Asean's -tortoise being quite different political animals.

(Appendix 25 - NST 22/4/ 2004)

Example 1 shows Van Dijk's 'ideological square', and the strategy of positive 'self' negative 'other' do not apply to the relationship between Asean's 'self' and the European Union's 'other' from the point of view of the editors and opinion editors. There is conversely, an emphasis on 'positive' other and negative 'self', for example, the positive phrase '*speed of European integration*' as opposed to the negative '*Asean in the dust*', and '*Europe's hare*' to '*Asean's tortoise*' being '*different political animals*'.

Table 4.2.2 analyzes the data found in Example 1, and looks at how the editors and opinion editors contradict Van Dijk and project a positive 'other' and negative 'self'.

Table 4.2.2 - Positive 'other' and negative 'self'

| EUROPEAN UNION Positive 'other' | ASEAN Negative 'Self' |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ... <i>speed of European integration</i> - ... <i>will be enlarged by 10 new members</i> - ... <i>EU's total of 25 nations is a magnificent jumble of cultures, languages...</i> - <i>Diversity hasn't been a hindrance in Europe</i> - <i>Europe's – hare</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ... <i>left Asean in the dust</i> - ... <i>had better attend to the basics if it wants to catch up ...</i> - ... <i>Asean looks like a regional community on life-support.</i> - ... <i>Asean officials endlessly mull over the ...</i> - <i>a scold on Asean</i> - ...<i>why is Southeast Asia stuck in limbo?</i> - .. <i>Asean's –tortoise...</i> |

Example 1 also shows us how Grammatical Cases play a role in constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’. In the sentence ‘*The speed of European integration has left Asean in the dust*’, Asean takes on the role of ‘Agent’, while Europe is portrayed as the positive ‘other’ and Asean the negative ‘self’. In the sentence ‘*Compared to the European Union, which will be enlarged by 10 new members on May 1, Asean looks like a regional community on life-support*’, Asean once again takes on the role of ‘Agent’ with the strategy of negative ‘self’ and the European Union takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Experiencer’ with the strategy of positive ‘other’. Examples 2 through 6 further illustrate how the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’ play a role in constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’.

Example 2

*But unlike the **European Union** to which it is often unfavorably compared,*

(EXPERIENCER/(+)Other)

***Asean** is not yet prepared to give up so much as a modicum of sovereignty for the sake of*

(AGENT/(-)Self)

deeper economic integration.

(Appendix 8 - NST 28/11/04)

Example 3

*But **Asean** still has some way to go to build an Asean Community along the lines of the*

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Self)

***European Union**.*

(AGENT/(+)Other)

(Appendix 3 -NST 12/10/2003)

Example 4

Asean has to evolve from unbuttoned principles to what Severino called “norms of

(AGENT/(-)Self)

behavior” – something akin to Europe’s definition of itself as a “community of values”.

(EXPERIENCER/(+)Other)

(Appendix 25 - NST 22/4/04)

Example 5

There is no doubt that Asean is a remarkable ‘peace and friendship machine’ whose

(AGENT/(-)Self)

achievements have only been eclipsed by the EU.

(EXPERIENCER/(+)Other)

(Appendix 12- NST 11/12/05)

Example 6

The EU could handle BBMs deftly making domestic reforms necessary, if not mandatory,

(AGENT/(+)Other)

to qualify for the coveted EU membership. Such requirements would be too outlandish for

a loosely-knit grouping like Asean.

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Self)

(Appendix 38- NST 17/5/08)

4.2.3 China

China has recently emerged as a global power. At the same time, Paulson (2008) suggests China is a threat that must be contained and countered. Others argue that its growth is an opportunity for the global economy (Paulson 2008). In theory, the ten states of Asean ‘should’ not have a comfortable relationship with China (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 229-267). There are allegations against China that they supported subversive Communist Party movements that were trying to overthrow the noncommunist Asean governments in the early Cold War days (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 229-267).

Relations between Asean and China became close when Asean and China worked together in the 1980’s to reverse the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. The ties became even closer when China made an enormous contribution to helping Asean weather the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 – 1998. China gave economic assistance of more than US\$ 1 billion each to Indonesia and Thailand, the two economies most affected by the crisis (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 229-267).

In discussing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’ the data suggests that China takes on the role of ‘other’, because it’s very size and proximity is a threat to Asean’s economy and security. Example 7 is an extract from an opinion editorial from the *New Straits Times* titled ‘China’s giant shadow hovers over Asean’.

Example 7 - China's Giant Shadow Hovers over Asean

China would seem to be a scary neighbor for Southeast Asian nations, with its roaring economy that's vacuuming up vital jobs and foreign investment from the region.

But Asean leaders were shelving some of their anxieties about China's growing power and seeking closer ties with the behemoth during their summit which opens today in the Laotian capital, Vientiane.

Judging whether China is the region's friend or foe isn't so easy. The communist giant is rapidly beefing its military with weapons that could be used to resolve simmering territorial disputes with Vietnam and others in the South China Sea.

However, the Chinese have become big spenders and investors in Southeast Asia. They're also aid donors who rarely publicly criticize countries like Myanmar and Cambodia that are ostracized by much for the world.

The 10 countries of Asean plan to adopt agreements with China to create the world's biggest free trade area by 2010 – a US\$2.4 trillion market – of nearly two billion people. Part of the pact to be signed would begin cutting tariffs on goods by mid-2005 and create a system for resolving trade disputes.

Some Asean nations and companies are worried the agreements will overwhelm them said June Teufel Dreyer, a political science professor at the university of Miami in the United States.

“Many Southeast Asian states are worried about the advantage it will give big Chinese banks, big Chinese appliance manufactures.” Dreyer said. “Singaporeans are worried about competition for their big banks and high-tech industries.”

Asean officials at the summit said their only option is closer ties with China.

“Whether we like it or not, we've got to trade with China,” said Winichai Chaemchaeng, director general of Thailand's Trade Negotiation Department.

“They'll always be there, Chinese imports, Chinese exports, businessman, investors,” Ong said. “Just like we have a lot of Japanese, American or European investors.” Ong said the Asean – China free trade agreements would help make the market fairer.

“We will try our best to avoid any of the ugliness or the rigours of fierce competition.”

(Appendix 23- NST -29/11/ 2004)

Example 7 shows Van Dijk's 'ideological square', and the strategy of positive 'self' negative 'other' do not always apply to the relationship between Asean and China from the point of view of the editors and opinion editors. It is also not as 'clear cut' as the European Union's emphasis on 'positive' other and negative 'self'. The relationship between Asean and China is rather more complex and this is summed up in the phrase '*Judging whether China is the region's friend or foe isn't so easy*'.

Example 7 shows there is no reference to a positive or negative Asean ‘self’. There are however many references to a worried ‘self’ such as, ‘*Some Asean nations and companies are worried the agreements will over whelm them ...*’, ‘*Many Southeast Asian states are worried about the advantage it will give big Chinese banks ...*’ and ‘*Singaporeans are worried about competition for their big banks and high-tech industries*’. All these references to a worried ‘self’ might contribute to a negative ‘self’.

The phrases ‘*scary neighbor for Southeast Asian nations*’, ‘*vacuuming up vital jobs*’, ‘*behemoth*’, and ‘*communist giant*’ all have negative connotations that might contribute to a negative ‘other’. However other phrases like, ‘*the Chinese have become big spenders and investors in Southeast Asia*’, ‘*rarely publicly criticize countries like Myanmar...*’ and ‘*aid donors*’ all contribute to a positive ‘other’. Table 4.2.3 takes a look at China portrayed as a positive and negative ‘other’.

Table 4.2.3 – Negative and Positive ‘Other’

| CHINA Negative Other | CHINA Positive Other |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>scary neighbor for Southeast Asian nations</i> - <i>vacuuming up vital jobs</i> - <i>behemoth</i> - <i>communist giant</i> - <i>beefing its military with weapons</i> - <i>simmering territorial disputes</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>the Chinese have become big spenders</i> - <i>investors in Southeast Asia</i> - <i>aid donors</i> - <i>roaring economy</i> - <i>rarely publicly criticize countries like Myanmar</i> - <i>big Chinese banks,</i> - <i>China’s growing power</i> |

In analyzing the micro aspects of the text, the role of ‘Agent’ as the ‘instigator of an action’ and ‘Experiencer’ as the ‘experiencer of the psychological event’ played a role in constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’. In the sentence ‘*China would seem to be a scary neighbor for Southeast Asian nations*’, China takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’ while China is portrayed as a negative ‘other’ and the Asean takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Experiencer’ where there is no reference to a positive or negative Asean ‘self’. In the sentence ‘*The 10 countries of Asean plan to adopt agreements with China to create the world’s biggest free trade area by 2010*’, Asean takes on the Grammatical Case ‘Agent’ and China ‘Experiencer’. Examples 8 through 12 further illustrate how the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’ play a role in constructing the discursive fields of ‘self’ and ‘other’.

Example 8

The challenge ahead is for Asean to match the improved quality and productivity from

(AGENT/neither (+) nor (-) self)

rival suppliers in China and elsewhere, too.

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Other)

(Appendix26 –NST8/8/05)

Example 9

Several Asean economies have lost to China some of their third-country market shares in

(AGENT/neither (+) nor (-) self) (EXPERIENCER/(-)Other)

labour intensive standard technology products. On the other hand, import demand to fuel

China’s spectacular export surge has yielded substantial spin-offs for the region.

(EXPERIENCER/(+)Other)

(Appendix 26 - NST 8/8/05)

Example 10

Today, China is attracting more FDI than all the other Asian countries combined, not

(AGENT/(+)Other)

least Asean.

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Self)

(Appendix 27- NST 22/1/05)

Example 11

However, with the rapid economic renaissance of China in recent times, foreign direct

(AGENT/(+)Other)

investment (FDI) into Asean has slowed in comparison to China, which is being viewed

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Self)

(AGENT/(+)Other)

as increasingly attractive as a FDI destination. Today, China is attracting more FDI

(AGENT/(+)Other)

than all the other Asian countries combined, not least Asean.

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Self)

(Appendix27 –NST22/1/05)

Example 12

The fear by certain Southeast Asian countries that China will in future attempt to extend

(AGENT/neither (+) nor (-) self)

(EXPERIENCER/(-)Other)

its empire, can also put to rest when the Treaty is signed.

(Appendix 21- NST 3/10/03)

4.2.4 Discussion

This section of the analysis looked at the discursive construction of ‘self’ and ‘other,’ which is the foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis. The researcher analyzed the data according to Van Dijk’s (1999) ‘ideological square’ with its four moves which include emphasizing a positive ‘self’ and a negative ‘other’ and de-emphasizing a positive ‘other’ and a negative ‘self’. The two main entities that took on the role of ‘other’ were the EU and China. In analyzing the text, the researcher found that this ‘ideological square’ did not always apply to the relationship between Asean and China, and Asean and the EU, from the point of view of the editors and opinion editors.

In the analysis on the data pertaining to the EU there was conversely an emphasis on a positive ‘other’ and a negative ‘self’. In analyzing the micro aspects of the text pertaining to China, it was found that the rather complex, neither positive nor negative ‘self’ (that sometimes leans toward a negative ‘self’) and both positive and negative ‘other’ did not align with Van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’, and the strategy of positive ‘self’ negative ‘other’. However, it was found that the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’ played an important role taking their places as ‘the principal cause of an event’ and the ‘genuine psychological event’.

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 3

How do Grammatical Cases contribute to the linguistic construction of an Asean identity?

In this section of the study, the researcher takes a closer look at the political economy of media within the structure of the Malaysian media. *The New Straits Times* is largely owned by those close to the United Malaya Nasional Organization (UMNO), the largest political party within the ruling Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition (Nain 2002). The connection between the political elites, their stakes in the media industries, and the points of view the editors and opinion editors might have toward the formation of an Asean identity play an important role in this study. The researcher looks at how texts are produced by the editors and opinion editors, through their columns and how the ruling coalitions view on Asean is communicated to the Malaysian public via the media.

In forming the Asean identity, the editors and opinion editors show a tendency to maintain the notion laid out by Tun Abdul Razak in 1967 (Example 1), that ‘we’ (Malaysia) cannot survive for long as an individual country and being a part of Asean strengthens and empowers us. The fact that Malaysia was one of the founding members and is currently a successful member of the grouping might have helped the editors and opinion editors maintain this notion.

Example 1

“It is important that individually and jointly we should create a deep awareness that we cannot survive for long as independent but isolated peoples unless we also think and act together and unless we prove by deeds that we belong to a family of Southeast Asian Nations bound together by ties of friendship and goodwill and imbued with our own ideals and aspirations and determined to shape our own ideals.” Tun Abdul Razak, 1967. (NST, 2005, p. S1-S4)

The data suggests the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials want to emphasize two notions: Economic Development and Security. Example 2 is an extraction from an editorial in the New Straits Times titled ‘Nurturing the Asean Community’ which reinforces or manifests the belief that ‘peace’ and ‘prosperity’ are two concepts that are symbiotic.

Example 2

Asean has come a long way since it was founded, with the simple objective of bringing the countries of the region closer together to build peace and prosperity. The world's geopolitical situation has changed over the years, and so has the region, but Asean's basic objective remains as relevant today as when it was first formed. The founding members, along with the new members, must continue to work together to build the peace and bring greater prosperity to their people, but to do so in ways they are accustomed to and that are unique to the region..... (Appendix 3 – NST 12/10/03)

Example 2 shows that the Asean identity constructed by the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials was based on the convergence of two basic elements: Commitment toward a strong regional economic development, and the political will to promote security and stability and avoid conflict. Embedded within the political will to promote security and avoid conflict is the Asean Principle of Non Interference; and embedded within the Principle of non interference is an Asean Value System that promotes Asean norms and values that believe in and highlight peace, stability, diplomacy, respect, equality, family values, friendship, and personal relationships.

This value system is very similar to what Malaysia promotes and encourages of its people on the political front. The data suggests that a harmonious Asean identity depends largely on how the economic development and security issues are approached by the stakeholders.

The two strategies most commonly used by writers of the editorials and opinion editorials were found to be:

- a. The Strategy of Empowerment
- b. The Strategy of Cooperation and Unification

4.3.1 Re – stating the Definition of Strategies

In analyzing the micro aspects of texts, it was found that not all the Grammatical Cases played an important role within these strategies. The Grammatical Cases most used within the Strategy of Empowerment were:

- a. Agent – The case of a typically animate perceived instigator identified by a verb.
- b. Instrument - The case of the inanimate force or object, causally involved in an action or state identified by a verb.
- c. Goal - The case representing the receiver, destination of a transfer movement, or result.

The editorial in Example 2 reinforced the belief that ‘peace’ and ‘prosperity’ are two concepts that collocate in a way that cannot be detached. The example states that ‘*Asean has come a long way since it was founded, with the simple objective of bringing the countries of the region closer together to build peace and prosperity*’. In Example 2 Asean takes on the role of ‘Agent’ and the phrase ‘peace and prosperity’ which is highlighted by the editor is the Grammatical Case of ‘Goal’ – ‘the case representing the result’.

The Grammatical Cases most used within the strategy of Cooperation and Unification were:

- a. Agent – The case of a typically animate perceived instigator identified by a verb.
- b. Instrument - The case of the inanimate force or object, causally involved in an action or state identified by a verb.
- c. Goal - The case representing the receiver, destination of a transfer movement, or result.

It was found that the Grammatical cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ were used frequently and contributed significantly to the formation of the Asean identity. Table 4.3.2 looks at how the data in this section of the study was analyzed.

Table 4.3.2: Analyzing the Asean Identity

| CONTENTS | STRATEGIES | GRAMMATICAL CASE |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Economic Development | Empowerment | Agent, Goal, Instrument |
| Security --- Principle of Non Interference ----- Asean Value System | Cooperation & Unification | Agent, Goal, Instrument |

4.3.2 Economic Development

The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 integrated the Asean region economically. The 1997 financial crisis (Tham & Kwek 2007) prompted governments in the region to launch initiatives to restore economic stability and growth. Frankel (1997) has shown that preferential trading

arrangements boosted trade almost five fold within the region, leading to a very significant amount of trade creation within the region. Within Asean, Malaysia ranked second in terms of exports, imports, openness, and foreign reserves (Tham & Kwek 2007).

This section discusses the strategy used by the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials in their columns to underline the idea of a strong regional economy as being a part of the Asean identity. The main strategy found is the Strategy of Empowerment. Economic development might be the most important element in the makeup of the Asean identity. From ‘prosperous’ Singapore and to ‘problematic’ Myanmar, and Malaysia in particular, all 10 Asean countries have experienced (in various degrees) the Asean Economic Miracle.

‘The March to Modernity’ is the ability of an average Asian to afford basic ‘modern’ conveniences such as TV’s, refrigerators, computers, cell phones and air conditions (Mahbubani, 2008, p. 23). The creation of wealth empowers people and therefore the Strategy of Empowerment used within the idea of Asean’s regional economic development is a powerful tool.

The Grammatical Cases that contribute most significantly to the linguistic construction of a strong regional Economic Development are ‘Agent’, ‘Instrument’ and ‘Goal’. Example 3 is an extraction from an editorial in the *New Straits Times* titled ‘Nurturing the Asean Community’.

Example 3

At the Bali summit last week, a major building block was put in place when leaders of the 10 member countries adopted the Declaration of Asean Concord II to establish an Asean Community and pave the way for the creation of a single market.
The Concord is far reaching. Its pillars of cooperation, covering economic, political security and sociocultural matters, will bind the member countries even close together. An Asean community will enable member countries to progress and grow in concert, and for their companies to reap economies of scale when they invest or trade in the region.
(Appendix3-- NST 12/10/03)

The phrases ‘*single market*’, ‘*major building block*’, ‘*far reaching*’, ‘*economic*’ ‘*progress and grow*’, ‘*reap economies of scale*’, ‘*invest*’, ‘*trade*’, are the phrases that are linked to the concept of the ‘creation of wealth’ which is expected to empower people and is hence the use of ‘The Strategy of Empowerment’. These phrases are strategically placed close to phrases like ‘*countries of the region*’, ‘*closer together*’, ‘*work together to build*’, ‘*unique to the region*’, ‘*pillars of cooperation*’, ‘*even close together*’, that all signify a ‘one Asean’ that works as a single unit and points toward a single supranational Asean identity.

In the editorials and opinion editorials, Asean and all its partners (10 member countries, regional grouping) almost always take on the role of ‘Agent’ as they are the instigators of all action. The use of the Grammatical cases ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ also play an important role in the Strategy of Empowerment. The case ‘Goal’ is usually the promise of peace, prosperity, stability and the case ‘Instrument’ is what is created and used (AFTA – Asean Free Trade Agreement, TAC – Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, AIDI – Asean Infrastructure Development Initiative, Declaration of Asean Concord II) to get to that promise. This is very similar to the ‘carrot and ‘stick’ analogy. In the sentence “*the 10 member countries adopted the Declaration of Asean Concord II to establish an Asean Community*” the ‘10 member countries (Asean)’ takes on the role of Agent, while the ‘Declaration of Asean Concord II’ takes on the role of ‘Instrument’ and ‘Asean Community’ is the Grammatical Case ‘Goal’. In the sentence ‘*An Asean community will enable member countries to progress and grow in concert, and for their companies to reap economies of scale when they invest or trade in the region*”, Asean takes on the role of “Agent’ and the phrase ‘*progress and grow*’ takes on the role of ‘Goal’. It is important to note here that the case ‘Goal’ is regularly marked in the English language with the directional prepositions to, toward, into, onto (Fillmore 1971). In the example above the

preposition 'to' precedes the phrase 'progress and grow'. Examples 4 through 6 give us a closer look at the use of 'Agent', 'Instrument' and 'Goal' within the strategy of Empowerment in the linguistic construction of an Asean identity.

Example 4

The Asean Free Trade Area is now virtually a reality and the move to create an

(INSTRUMENT)

Asean Economic Community should push the region towards greater economic

(GOAL)

(preposition) (GOAL)

integration.

(Appendix 12- NST 11/12/05)

Example 5

The transformation of an under performing old economy into a dynamic and

(preposition) (GOAL)

sustainable new economy is a task that determines Asean's relevance today.

(GOAL)

(AGENT)

(Appendix 7- NST 15/8/04)

Example 6

For Asean to reach its full potential as a trade and investment hub in Asia, the

(AGENT)

(GOAL)

development of efficient, secure and world class customs across industry supply

(INSTRUMENT)

chains is an important challenge and opportunity. (Appendix 27- NST 22/1/05)

4.3.3 Political Will to Promote Security and Avoid Conflict

Based on a community of security interests, Asean has developed collective norms that sustain its development through interaction and socialization among its members (Archaya 2001). Archaya (2001) further states these norms are: ‘the non use of force and the pacific settlement of disputes, regional autonomy and collective self reliance, non interference in the internal affairs of states, the rejection of an Asean military pact and the preference for bilateral defense cooperation’. The significance of these norms is that they lead to a collective identity of Asean.

The data suggests that Asean’s political will to promote security and avoid conflict, the Asean Principle of Non Interference and the Asean Value System which highlights peace, stability, diplomacy, respect, equality, family values, friendship, and personal relationships are all connected to each other. Embedded within the political will to promote security and avoid conflict is the Asean Principle of Non Interference and embedded within the Principle of non interference is the Asean Value System.

Example 7 is an extract from an editorial titled ‘*Doing it the Asean way*’ which shows Malaysia in its interaction with Singapore over *Pulau Batu Putih*, and Indonesia over *Pulau Ligitan* and *Pulau Sipadan*, avoiding conflict and working toward a secure, peaceful and stable region.

Example 7

It was seen live on television and the official score now so to speak is level with the venerable judges of the international court of justice ruling for Singapore in the case of Pulau Batu Puteh, giving Malaysia the Middle Rocks,

This is the Asean way to solving disputes, with respect for international law and commitment to settling disagreements in an amicable manner, like the way Malaysia and Indonesia went to the Hague over Pulau Ligitan and Pulau Sipadan, with the court ruling in favor of Malaysia in 2002, a decision that was accepted by Indonesia.

(Appendix 20 - NST 25/5/08)

4.3.3.1 Principle of Non Interference

This section discusses the strategy used by the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials in their columns to unify and make relevant Asean's principle of non interference. If Economic development is the most important element in the make-up of the Asean identity, it appears that Asean's principle of non interference is the most definitive element of the Asean identity.

Often described as 'The Holy Cow', and 'The Golden Rule', Asean's principle of non interference seems to be a part of its political make up. Much criticized and often ridiculed, the policy of non interference plays a strong role in the Asean identity because Asean's strong belief in the principle of non interference is what sets Asean apart from any other regional or political grouping of states.

The editors and opinion editors while not always positive in their views on Asean's principle of non interference, however make it clear that it is an inviolable part of Asean, and here to stay for the good of Asean. Example 8 illustrates this position:

Example 8

In scaling new horizons of regional co-operation we should be wary of tampering with principles. A favourite object of bashing by Western academics and journalists, dutifully and uncritically taken up by some of our regional counterparts, is the principle of non-intervention. We are told that this principle is no longer relevant in an interdependent world where borders are dissolving and there are few matters that are purely internal. We should be able to interfere in one another's affairs. The problem is only the strong are able to interfere. They can institute regime change. The weak cannot. Let a Mali try to interfere in the internal – or even in the assumed external – affairs of say, the United States. It will not be invited to the White House, not to mention the ranch. Yes, the world has indeed changed. There are many more matters of common concern. But core domestic political and security concerns must remain the purview of individual nation-states unless they clearly impact negatively upon the vital interests of neighbouring states. And when they do, co-operation, not intervention, is by far the better way of resolving problems. A different route, but often the better outcome. Asean should cease the unnecessary, fruitless and divisive discourse on the principle of non-intervention. It is far better to focus on enhanced co-operation. We can achieve more. Finally, we must continue to believe in Asean. It is precious. It empowers small states and it has become the launching pad for the exercise – of influence far beyond Southeast Asian confines. Make Asean a model for regionalism.

(Appendix22 - NST 7/6/03)

The main strategy used by the editors and opinion editors, in texts within Asean's principle of non interference is the Strategy of Cooperation and Unification. The Grammatical Cases that contribute most significantly to the linguistic construction of a cooperative and unified region are 'Agent', and 'Instrument'. It is important to point out that the principle of noninterference is in itself an 'Instrument' – 'the case of the inanimate force or object used by an 'Agent' (Asean) and causally involved in an action'.

Once again, Asean takes on the role of 'Agent' as it is the instigator of all action in the analyzed editorials and editorials. Examples 9 and 10 show the use of the grammatical case 'Agent' and 'Instrument' within the Strategy of Cooperation and Unification found in Asean's principle of non interference.

Example 9

While Asean reaffirmed the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of its

(AGENT) (INSTRUMENT)

members , the European Union remained determined to exclude Myanmar from the

October Asea Europe Summit in Vientienne because of Yangon's policies

(Appendix 6 -NST 4/7/04)

Example 10

Asean's values including the much criticized principle of noninterference are grounded

(AGENT) (INSTRUMENT)

in pragmatism blended with understanding of each member country's political make up

and indeed they have stood the test of time and brought stability to the region.

(GOAL)

(Appendix 7- NST 15/8/04)

4.3.3.2 The Asean Value System

The Asean Value System promotes Asean norms and values that underline peace, stability, diplomacy, respect, equality, family values, friendship, and personal relationships.

These values are found in many Asean countries. Example 11 is an extraction from a *New Straits Times* editorial titled 'Sheathing The Sabres' that states:

Example 11

Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Badawi, in his keynote address, reminded delegates that Asean was living proof that “peace was possible without hegemony and security attainable without preponderant power”, while Isis chairman Datuk Seri Mohamed Jawar Hassan urged a plenary session to uphold Asean’s tested principle of using what he termed “soft power” - “friendly diplomacy, economic cooperation, development assistance and the appeal of culture” - to achieve the mutually assured peace, prosperity and security that might otherwise be subsumed by militarisation.

(Appendix - 17 –NST 9/6/07)

The phrase ‘soft power’ seems to be an interesting phrase in the editorial. This phrase was coined by Nye (2004) in his Book ‘Soft Power: the means to success in World Politics’. Nye defined the term ‘soft power’ as ‘the ability to obtain what you want through cooperation and action’. The editorial above uses the term ‘soft power’ to describe the Asean Value System. The phrases ‘friendly diplomacy’, ‘economic cooperation’, “soft power”, *development assistance and the appeal of culture*” are phrases that can be linked to the Asean identity and The Asean Value System. The phrases ‘peace was possible without hegemony’, ‘security attainable without preponderant power’, can be translated as unspoken criticism and rejection of the Western use of ‘hard power’, militarization, and domination.

These phrases ‘friendly diplomacy’, ‘economic cooperation’, “soft power”, *development assistance and the appeal of culture*” take on the Grammatical Case ‘Instrument’ which is ‘the case of the inanimate force or object used by an Agent’ (Asean). The editors and opinion editors use the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Instrument’ within the Strategy of Cooperation and Unification to strengthen their linguistic construction of the Asean identity. Examples 12

through 14 show the use of the grammatical case ‘Agent’ within the Strategy of Cooperation and Unification found in the Asean Value System.

Example 12

*Asean despite political and ideological differences among member countries,
(AGENT)
treasures personal relationships among its leaders.*

(Appendix 3- N ST 12/10/03)

Example 13

*Asean countries have been co-operating closely on maintaining security and
(AGENT)
stability in the region.*

(Appendix 4- NST 27/10/03)

Example 14

*Peace and security in Southeast Asia have been Asean's raison d'etre since its
(AGENT as possessor)
founding more than three decades ago.*

(Appendix 4- NST 27/10/03)

4.3.4 Discussion

In this section of the chapter, the researcher looked at the linguistic construction of the Asean identity. It was found that the editors emphasized two basic elements - commitment to a strong regional economic development and the political will to promote security and stability. The two strategies most commonly used were the strategy of Empowerment and the strategy of Cooperation and Unification with the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’, ‘Instrument’ and ‘Goal’ playing an important role within these two strategies.

The Strategy of Empowerment used within the element of economic development proved to be a powerful linguistic tool. The use of the Grammatical Cases ‘Goal’ and ‘Instrument’ played an important role in the strategy of Empowerment. The case ‘Goal’ was usually the promise of peace, prosperity, stability and the case ‘Instrument’ was what was created and used (e.g., AFTA – Asean Free Trade Agreement), to get to that promise.

The strategy of Cooperation and Unification combined with Asean’s political will to promote security and avoid conflict was also analyzed in this section of the study. Asean’s principle of non interference was found to be embedded within the element of security. The principle of non interference might be the most ‘definitive’ element in the makeup of the Asean identity because Asean’s strong belief in this principle is what sets it apart from any other regional or political grouping of states. It was found that the principle of non interference was in itself an ‘Instrument’ – ‘the case of the inanimate force’ used by an ‘Agent’. The editors and opinion editors used the Grammatical Cases ‘Agent’ and ‘Instrument’ within the Strategy of Cooperation and Unification to strengthen their linguistic construction of the Asean identity.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter reports the findings from the analysis of the data. The research questions posed in chapter one have been answered by making reference to specific examples. The researcher made an attempt in showing the linguistic construction of Asean identity constructed by Malaysian mainstream newsprint media. The next chapter reports the summary of findings, implications and limitations of the study suggested by the researcher.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the summary of findings, the implications of the study and the limitations found within the study. Also discussed in this chapter is a section with recommendations for further studies that might help researchers of Critical Discourse Analysis and supranational identity with future research.

5.1 Summary of Findings

To realize the perspectives and points of view the Malaysian English news print Media might have toward the formation of an Asean identity this study explored how Grammatical Cases were used in editorials and opinion editorials that covered the Asean region. The study revealed that five Grammatical Cases played an important role in the editorials and opinion editorials which covered the Asean region. They were 'Agent', 'Experiencer', 'Location', 'Goal' and 'Instrument'.

The grammatical cases 'Agent', and 'Experiencer' were found to be used regularly and interchangeably throughout the data in the editorials and opinion editorials that covered the Asean region. The cases 'Goal' and 'Instrument' were also paired together regularly. However the grammatical case 'Location' was used frequently throughout the data because the names of the 10 member countries and their major cities appeared frequently in the many summits, dialogues, conferences, and meetings held every year across the region.

The discursive construction of 'self' and 'other' is the foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis and hence played an important role in the perceptions and discourses analyzed (Van Dijk 1999). In this study the regional grouping of Asean and all its 10 member countries took on the role of 'self'. The two main entities that took on the role of 'other' were 'The European Union' and 'China'. It was expected that the editorials and opinion editorials written by members of its civil society and published by mainstream media might interpret situations based on a positive 'self' and negative 'other' relation. This study however showed the opposite to be true. There was conversely, an emphasis on 'positive' other and negative 'self', in the analysis of the data pertaining to the European Union. Frequently, Asean took on the role of 'Agent' and 'Experiencer' with the strategy of negative 'self' and the European Union took on the Grammatical Cases 'Agent' and 'Experiencer' with the strategy of positive 'other'.

Van Dijk's 'ideological square', and the strategy of positive 'self' negative 'other' also did not apply to the relationship between Asean and China. It was also not explicit, why there was there an emphasis on the European Union's 'positive' other and negative 'self'. The relationship between Asean and China was rather more complex. There was no reference to a positive or negative Asean 'self'. There was however references to a worried 'self' which helped contribute to a negative 'self' while China was portrayed as a positive and negative 'other'.

In analyzing the micro aspects of the text, it was found that the rather complex, neither positive nor negative 'self' (that sometimes leaned toward a negative 'self') and both positive and negative 'other' did not align with Van Dijk's 'ideological square', and the strategy of positive 'self' negative 'other'. However, the Grammatical Cases 'Agent' and 'Experiencer' played an important role taking their places as 'the principal cause of an event' and the 'genuine psychological event'.

The Asean identity constructed by the writers of the editorials and opinion editorials was based on the convergence of two basic elements: Commitment toward a strong regional economic development, and the political will to promote security and stability and avoid conflict. Embedded within the political will to promote security and avoid conflict was the Asean Principle of Non Interference.

Economic development might be the most important element in the makeup of the Asean identity. The main strategy used within the element of economic development was the Strategy of Empowerment. The creation of wealth empowers people and therefore the Strategy of Empowerment used within the idea of Asean's regional economic development was found to be a powerful tool. The Grammatical Cases that contributed most significantly to the linguistic construction of a strong regional Economic Development were 'Agent', 'Instrument' and 'Goal'. The Grammatical cases 'Goal' and 'Instrument' played an important role in the Strategy of Empowerment because the case 'Goal' was usually the promise of peace, prosperity, and stability while the case 'Instrument' was what was created and used to get to that promise. This is very similar to the 'carrot and 'stick' analogy.

In analyzing the data the researcher found 'the Asean political will to promote security and avoid conflict', 'the Asean Principle of Non Interference' and 'the Asean Value System', were all connected to each other. Embedded within the political will to promote security and avoid conflict was the Asean Principle of Non Interference and embedded within the Principle of non interference was the Asean Value System.

Economic development was found to be the most ‘important’ element in the makeup of the Asean identity. It appeared that the Asean principle of non interference was the most ‘definitive’ element of the Asean identity. The policy of non interference played a strong role in the Asean identity because Asean’s strong belief in the principle of non interference was what set Asean apart from any other regional or political grouping of states. The main strategy used by the editors and opinion editors, in texts within Asean’s principle of non interference was the Strategy of Cooperation and Unification. The Grammatical Cases that contributed most significantly to the linguistic construction of a cooperative and unified region were ‘Agent’, ‘Goal’, and ‘Instrument’. The principle of noninterference was found to be in itself an ‘Instrument’ – ‘the case of the inanimate force or object’ used by an ‘Agent’ (Asean) and ‘causally involved in an action’.

5.2 Implications of the Study

This study may help enlighten its readers in the understanding of micro and macro aspects of discourse, besides forging an interdisciplinary framework for studying discourse analysis, media studies, and international studies. Primarily this study helps its readers see a link between Grammatical Case Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis and secondarily it shows the role of discourse integrating a regional cooperation and shaping a supra-national identity.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

In the analysis of the discursive construction of the Asean supranational identity, the current study only examined one daily Malaysian newspaper - *The New Straits Times*. *The New Straits Times* was chosen because it was perceived to be the newspaper most likely to reflect the agenda of the government. There are however, other Malaysian newspapers, mainly *The Star* which reaches a wider audience that might have given diverse and competitive perspectives that could have helped with the depth of the current study.

This research only concentrated on editorials and opinion editorials that covered the Asean region as a whole. Editorials and opinion editorials with content related to countries within the region but did not address Asean as a whole were not examined. An opinion editorial with content related to only Singapore or Indonesia might have given a different perspective to the 'self' and 'other' strategy in this study.

A total of 120 articles were found on the subject matter within this five year (2003-2008) timeframe. Only 20 editorials and 21 opinion editorials were chosen from the data pool, based on content and relevance to the study. A wider sample might have contributed to a stronger study. Besides this, hard news articles might also have given the current study a different direction.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Studies and Conclusion

Future studies might want to take a closer look at the roles of ‘Agent’ and ‘Experiencer’ in Asean’s relationship with the Malaysian English news print media. ‘Agent’, and ‘Experiencer’ were found to be used regularly and interchangeably throughout the data and it would be interesting to look at these two cases exclusively, analyzing the roles they play.

This current study analyzed data that extended to the end of December 2008. The last quarter of 2008 however brought about the financial crisis that shook the Western world. The European Union is at this point contemplating bailing Greece out of its financial difficulties and worried that Portugal, Ireland and Spain might follow suit. The financial world is looking to China, India, and Brazil to keep the world economy going and Indonesia is emerging as a powerhouse. Future studies might want to look at the relationship and the media discourse between ‘Asean and the European Union’ and ‘Asean and China’ after 2008, concentrating on the strategies used.

This study shows the role of discourse integrating the 10 member regional cooperation and shaping the supra-national identity of Asean. The view points and perspectives though not always positive held a very strong sense of ‘self’. Asean’s principle of non interference was clearly inviolable, and here to stay for the good of Asean. China, The European Union, criticism whether negative or positive by Western academics and journalists, the discursive construction of the Asean identity in the Malaysian English news print media remained ‘unified’ and ‘one’.

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APPENDIX

