

**THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF HUDUD IN
MALAYSIAN BLOGS**

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to examine the discursive construction of Hudud in Malaysian blogs in order to analyse how Hudud is represented among Malaysian bloggers; advocates and opponents of Hudud through the adaptation of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). While DHA is often used to represent social actors, this study attempts to adapt this approach in examining how Hudud is constructed by Malaysian bloggers; namely the referential, predicational and the argumentative strategies. This study is timely as the issue of implementing Hudud in Malaysia has brought forward much debate by Malaysians as a whole, although the law is said to be applied only on Muslims. In accordance with this, personal blogs are utilized in the analysis of these bloggers' representations of Hudud under the 'us vs. them' strategies from the point of view of advocates and opponents of Hudud. Hence, this study seeks to investigate how Hudud is defined and viewed from the lens of those who are for and against Hudud; how these bloggers evaluate and attribute Hudud and lastly, the argumentation or topos applied in justifying them. The data used in this study consist of 128 posts from 20 blogs selected within the time frame of 2011 to 2014 comprising of 10 blogs written by Muslims and the other 10 by non-Muslims. Findings reveal that for the advocates of Hudud, there is the tendency of othering or dismissing others in favour of Hudud. Conversely, for those who oppose Hudud, there are notably stereotype labeling given to the law and these labels are at times presented as 'facts'. Although this study is not without its limitation, it is hoped that this research has shed some light into the differing opinions and standpoints given to Hudud by Malaysian bloggers, which could as well serve as a platform for further researches.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidik konstruksi wacana Hudud dalam blog-blog peribadi penyokong serta pembangkang pelaksanaan undang-undang Hudud di Malaysia. Analisis ini melihat bagaimana penulis-penulis blog peribadi menggambarkan undang-undang Hudud di Malaysia dengan menggunakan adaptasi pendekatan *Discourse Historical Approach* (DHA) (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). Walaupun DHA digunakan bagi menganalisis *social actor*, namun kajian ini mengadaptasi pendekatan DHA terhadap konstruksi Hudud berfokus kepada tiga strategi iaitu strategi *referential*, *predicational* dan *argumentative*. Kajian ini adalah bertepatan dengan situasi di Malaysia, memandangkan isu pelaksanaan undang-undang Hudud di Malaysia telah mendatangkan banyak perdebatan di kalangan rakyat Malaysia amnya, walaupun undang-undang ini hanya akan dilaksanakan pada umat Islam sahaja. Oleh yang demikian, blog-blog peribadi digunakan sebagai data dalam menganalisis gambaran Hudud di bawah strategi “*us vs. them*”. 128 artikel menerusi 20 blog dipilih dari tahun 2011 hingga 2014 secara samarata, iaitu 10 blog penulis Islam dan 10 blog penulis bukan Islam. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa penyokong Hudud di Malaysia, lebih cenderung menyingkirkan golongan yang tidak bersetuju dengan pelaksanaan Hudud. Bagi golongan yang menentang Hudud pula, terdapat pelabelan yang *stereotaip* diberikan terhadap undang-undang Hudud dan ia digambarkan sebagai ‘fakta’. Walaupun skop kajian ini adalah terhad, diharap penyelidikan ini dapat memberi sebuah gambaran analisis penulis-penulis blog di Malaysia berkaitan undang-undang Hudud dan seterusnya dapat berfungsi sebagai satu platform untuk penyelidikan selanjutnya.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This research aims to examine the discursive construction of Hudud in Malaysian blogs in order to analyse how Hudud is represented among Malaysian bloggers, through the adaptation of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). While DHA is often used to represent social actors, this study attempts to adapt this approach in examining how Hudud is constructed by Malaysian bloggers; namely the referential, predicational and the argumentative strategies. This study is timely as the issue of implementing Hudud in Malaysia has brought much debate by Malaysians as a whole, although the law is only directed to Muslims. In accordance with this, personal blogs are utilized in the analysis of these bloggers' representations of Hudud under the 'us vs. them' strategies from the advocates' and opponents' point of views. This chapter begins with the background of study followed by the statement of the problem, significance of the problem, research purpose and the research questions before ending with the limitation and the conclusion of this study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Within the context of Hudud in Malaysia, there was much debate in the year 2011 when PAS (Parti Islam Semalaysia), an Islamic-based political party, suddenly announced its intention of implementing Hudud in the country, especially both its governing states; Kelantan and Terengganu (at that point of time) after keeping mum for almost 12 years. The issue of implementing Hudud is not something new in Malaysia as PAS had tried to implement the syariah based-law in the 1999 general election; when it captured Kelantan and Terengganu and some other parts of the UMNO-led states. Prior

to that, the Kelantan Syariah Penal Code II was passed by its state assembly in 1993 and later, the Terengganu Syariah Penal Code was passed in 2002. It was during this short moment of the Islamic political rise in the country that PAS made their attempt to implement Hudud in Terengganu and Kelantan.

According to the Population Distribution and Basic Demographic Characteristic Report 2010 (2010 census) conducted every 10 years by the Malaysia Statistics Department, Malaysian citizens consist of the ethnic groups Bumiputera (67.4%), Chinese (24.6%), Indians (7.3%) and Others (0.7%). Among the Malaysian citizens, the Malays were the predominant ethnic group in Peninsular Malaysia which constituted 63.1%. Following this, Islam was the most widely professed religion in Malaysia with the proportion of 61.3%. In other words, non-Muslims in Malaysia comprise of 38.7% of the total population. Understandably, in a democratic and multi-racial country such as Malaysia, any decision made by the government or even by the opposition must take into consideration of all races and religions in Malaysia. Therefore, PAS's notion of implementing Hudud in Malaysia has stirred various responses from people of various races and faiths, including Muslims themselves with some applauding the move while others questioned the suitability of the law at the present time and situation in Malaysia (Kessler, 2011).

1.2 Research Problem

With the emergence of Hudud in the media, one may find that there are many opinions or thoughts being expressed in social media, especially in blogs. Most of these opinions or thoughts are expressed by using certain linguistic structures in conforming to their conventions. This is in line with Fowler (1991: 25) who states that "events and ideas are not communicated neutrally because they are transmitted through the medium

that contains certain structural features which, in turn, are impregnated with social values that form some perspective on events.” Therefore, it seems that it may be inevitable for writers or bloggers to employ specific linguistic structures to divert readers, so that they may accept the ideological message contained in a text. This is much truer when it comes to analysing contents which are written on Hudud, a topic which is deemed controversial in Malaysia.

Wodak perceives discourse – language, a form of social practice and the way a language is constructed is part of identity construction, both individual and collective (Wodak, 2012). Similarly, Hudud is also considered as a discourse or a form of social practice. If implemented, it could change the lifestyle of Malaysians completely. Since Hudud goes beyond religion, it has provoked many bloggers in expressing their opinions over the social media, as in the case of this research, personal blogs are used as data of research. The way bloggers represent Hudud would certainly reflect their positions regarding the law; whether they are for or against it. Some bloggers merely express their views or beliefs about what they perceive on Hudud, whereas others quote from other sources that support their point of views. There is also evidence of bloggers who are misinformed about Hudud, thus labeling or associating the term negatively. It is important to highlight here that bloggers may have their own preconception of Hudud which may influence them to think the way they do based on their identity, cultural and religious view, political ideology, experience, education background and their views on human rights which includes the rights of women and freedom of religion.

Furthermore, blogs provide bloggers with the power to employ language in such a way that would enable them to express their opinions or make certain claims regarding an issue in order to influence readers. This is in line with Van Dijk (1996) who believes

that media is very influential in shaping the minds of readers and viewers. Looking at how blogs could be used as a tool to influence people, the discursive construction among Malaysian bloggers in discussing Hudud in Malaysia is worth exploring. Within the scope, this study also seeks to discover any embedded prejudice or biasness involved in advocating for or opposing Hudud in Malaysia.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Considering the above concerns, this research aims to:

1. Analyse the representation strategies used by advocates of Hudud.
2. Analyse the representation strategies used by opponents of Hudud.
3. Explore the argumentative strategies used in representing for and against Hudud

1.4 Research Questions

Following are the three research questions formed based on the aims of this study:

- How do advocates of Hudud represent Hudud in blogs?
- How do opponents of Hudud represent Hudud in blogs?
- What argumentative strategies are used by bloggers in justifying for or against Hudud in blogs?

Representation in the field of discourse analysis is defined as the “language used in a text or talk to assign meaning to groups and their social practices, to events, and to social and ecological conditions and objects” (Fairclough, 1989; 1995; Van Dijk, 2002). Similarly, the representation of Hudud is revealed through analysing the language used in blogs as the way the language is used, depicts the bloggers’ stand and justification in including and excluding the law in Malaysia. The first and second research questions

aim to analyse the referential and predicational strategies employed in the blogs, whereas the third question focuses on the argumentative strategies. In this study, the referential strategies or nomination strategies are used to analyse how Hudud is constructed and represented through “membership categorization devices, including topical reference by biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies” (Wodak, 2009). Whereas, the predicational strategies analyses how Hudud is attributed with negative or positive traits, either deprecatorily or appreciatively in the linguistic form. Nevertheless, both these strategies are analysed together as the referential strategies are regarded as specific forms of predicational strategies due to the “pure referential identification usually has connotative and denotative extents to appreciative labelling of the social actors” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The argumentative strategies used to justify for or against Hudud are examined by focusing on the function of “topoi”. Detailed explanations of these strategies in relation to this study are explained in Chapter 3 (*See Section 3.2.4*).

1.5 Significance of the Problem

Much has been written and posted on blogs regarding Hudud and is viewed from many angles and perspectives that it takes one with an evaluative mind to be critical towards what is stated. Thus, this study pays attention to the use of language patterns in representing and positioning Hudud in blogs from the standpoints of advocates and opponents of Hudud. The depiction of Hudud within the Malaysian context must be taken into consideration as in most cases; the opinions or claims made may only reflect the individual perspective of the bloggers. Furthermore, these views may be positioned in such ways that depict their stand in advocating or opposing Hudud. It can be said that when advocating for Hudud, bloggers have the tendency of “othering” people or conditions which are not in line with Hudud. Similarly, opponents of Hudud tend to

“other” those who are for Hudud as well as the conditions revolving around Hudud. Hence, it is deemed crucial for netizens to be exposed to this issue and to see for themselves if there are indeed any underlying prejudices or biases for or against Hudud in the blogs. Additionally, it is hoped that the results obtained from the study will urge bloggers to be mindful of their written expressions which may strongly influence the reality of society at large. For these reasons, it is of paramount importance that the bloggers’ representations of Hudud are analysed and scrutinized linguistically, taking into account the society and context presented within the given time frame through the adaption of the Discourse Historical Approach framework.

Apart from this, there is also limited research done in the areas of linguistics and discourse studies on the concept of Hudud in a multi-racial country such as Malaysia. This study is also particularly interested in using personal blogs as they are seldom used as the research site of study in terms of Hudud, although there are numerous blogs that have been studied or analysed for various other disciplines over the years such as business, politics, education and public relations (Wright & Crossland, 2006; Singh & Singh, 2008; Coleman & Wright, 2008; Francoli & Ward, 2008; Kent, 2008, Park, Heo, & Lee, 2011). Thus, this study hopes to fill this gap found in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and perhaps provide an avenue for other researchers to conduct in-depth studies within or beyond this scope. This study which involves the analysis of how language, particularly the English language is used to convey messages, claims or opinions to readers is believed to have made a significant contribution to the field of English as a second language.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

For the purpose of this study, only personal blogs are chosen and these exclude news portal or blogs written collaboratively in groups. The data used are also restricted to 20 blogs, which are chosen from 10 Muslim and 10 non-Muslim adult bloggers. The articles from the 20 blogs taken as data for study are also chosen within the year 2011 to 2014. Bloggers whose identities are not clearly revealed are excluded to ensure the reliability of the data chosen. In other words, the identities of the bloggers are identified in this study for the sole purpose of identifying them as Muslim and non-Muslim bloggers, in addition to classifying them as advocates and opponents of Hudud through their names and statements made in blogs. Nevertheless, in observing the research ethics, the actual names of the bloggers and their direct link to their posts are kept confidential (*Refer Chapter 3 for Research Ethics*).

Posts or articles which are merely taken from different sources such as news clippings from mainstream newspapers, articles taken from news portals and posts uploaded by other writers are excluded from this study. To do so would defeat the purpose of investigating how bloggers represent or construct their own perception of Hudud, as other writers may not necessarily reflect these bloggers' views or standpoints of Hudud. With the restricted numbers of blogs used for the purpose of this study, the findings obtained only represent the bloggers or blogs included in this study and not Malaysian citizens as a whole.

In addition, this study only employs 3 of Wodak's discursive strategies, namely; referential, predicational and argumentative. To investigate all the strategies is not a possibility as it would involve deeper investigation and longer time frame. Therefore, this study is limited to these three strategies considering the total numbers of words

permitted in the completion of the master's dissertation.

1.7 Definitions of Key Terms and Important Concepts

It is crucial in the context of this study that the Arabic terms, their definitions as well as important concepts are explained according to relevant sources. Some of the terms used are derived from the Arabic language and these words are italicized throughout the study.

A) *Hudud*: This word is the plural of *Hadd*, which is translated as “prevention, hindrance, restraint, prohibition, and hence a restrictive ordinance or statute of God, respecting things lawful and unlawful” (Siddiqui, n.d., p.24-26). *Hudud* or *Hadd* is the main pillar of the Islamic law system and is limited to specific types of crime such as “adultery, theft, highway robbery, drunkenness and slander imputing unchastity to women” (Siddiqui, n.d., p.24-26). The maximum forms of punishments are imposed on criminals according to the offences committed under *Hudud*, which involve death by stoning, amputation of a limb or limbs, and flogging by one hundred or eighty strokes.

B) *Qisas*: Law of retaliation, which refers to offences that involve bodily injury or loss of life. The punishment is death or imprisonment, but compensation in the form of a sum of money or property (*diyat and irsy*) is accepted if the guardian of the victim forgives the offender (“Q&A on the *Hudud* and *Qisas*,” 2012).

C) *Ta'zir*: Punishment for crimes not measuring up to the strict requirements of *hadd* punishments, although they are of the same nature, or those for which specific punishments have not been fixed by the *Quran*. Punishments range from the death penalty for espionage and heresy to flagellation, imprisonment, local banishment,

and a variety of fines. Determination of punishment is left to the judge or chief executive, who can vary the punishment according to a number of criteria, including who has inflicted the crime and upon whom (“Tazir,” n.d).

D) According to Nawawi Mohamad (2011), the six specific crimes under Hudud are *syurb* (alcohol consumption / any intoxicating drinks), *qazaf* (accusing someone of committing illegal sexual intercourse without providing four witnesses), *zina* (committing illegal sexual intercourse), *sariqah* (stealing), *hirabah* (robbery) and *irtidad* or *riddah* (apostasy).

E) *Fatwa*: A legal opinion or decree handed down by an Islamic religious leader (“Fatwa,” n.d.).

F) The interpretation of the Hudud law also depends on the types of *madhabs* or schools of thoughts in Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh* known as *madhab Hanafi*, *Maliki*, *Shafie* and *Hanbali* (Abdul Hassan, 2012).

G) In cases where “the meaning of the text of the Quran is unclear, where a hadith is unclear or where a hadith is clear in its terms, but the reliability of the hadith is uncertain”, these would involve consensus of opinion (*ijma*) or personal reasoning (*ijtihad*) among *mujtahidun* (jurists competent to formulate independent tradition-based opinions in legal or theological matters) in order to carry out sentences (Amin, 2011).

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the introduction and explanation on the background of the study as well as the methodology and approach used. These are then followed by the research questions, purpose and the significance of this study in contributing to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis on how Hudud is represented in personal blogs within the context of Malaysia. The next chapter will examine the literature review for this study.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter focuses on the discussion of relevant review of literature, highlighting some of the main theories and concepts in the field of Discourse Historical Approach. The theological and legal aspect of Syariah and Hudud are also discussed in providing more information about the study as well as the subject matter. In order to justify the gap found in the field of CDA pertaining to Hudud, some of the existing studies will be presented before concluding this chapter.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis: An overview

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) plays a critical role in analysing relationship between discourse and ideology. It aims to make the users of language become conscious of how language can be used to dominate and control people of a society. From the perspective of CDA, readers of a certain text, which raises certain social issues, must analyse the legitimacy of the text instead of passively accepting everything at face value as these contribute to the construction of a certain ideology in a society. After all, one central concern of CDA research is to critically analyse the discursive construction of racial, gender, and other social and cultural categories, identities, and stereotypes that legitimate and perpetuate discrimination against particular groups of people.

CDA focuses on language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258), and seeks to examine both the manner in which discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideology, and the manner in which discourse actively plays a role

in shaping these relations. Wodak just like Fairclough, perceive language as social practice and the way language is constructed is part of identity construction, both individual and collective (Wodak, 2011). Thus, she emphasizes on highlighting the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in contemporary societies in terms of how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse. Similarly, Van Dijk (1998) defines that “CDA is concerned with studying and analysing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias and how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts”. Thus, it is always the aim of a CDA analyst to discover or explore the relationship of discourse and social power. Since language is an important tool in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power in society, it is therefore the role of CDA to explain how language can be used to dominate and control people’s mind in a society. Before proceeding to the main concepts under the Discourse Historical Approach, the discussion on Hudud and the legal system of Malaysia will be explained in the following section.

2.2 Hudud: Criminal Law under Islam

The Muslim criminal law, the Muslim Syariah law and relevant *fatwa* are part of the overall Islamic jurisprudence. The Muslim criminal law consists of three different categories or components, namely; Hudud, *qisas* and *ta'zir*. Hudud is the main pillar of the system and is limited to specific types of crime. The punishment is only applicable to criminals that commit these crimes. Hudud and *qisas* deal with offences and punishments that are interpreted by Muslim juristic scholars and these terms derive from the Quran and *Sunnah*, the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w (*Refer chapter 1 for definitions of key terms*). According to Nawawi Mohamad (2011), the six

specific crimes are *syrub*, *qazaf*, *zina*, *sariqah*, *hirabah* and *irtidad* or *riddah* (Refer chapter 1 for definitions of key terms). Other crimes do not fall under Hudud but fall under *qisas*, *ta'zir*, *syariah* or other enactments created by the state. The form of punishment under this law involve whipping, stoning to death and amputation of limbs as prescribed in the Quran and *hadith*, depending on the kind of offences committed as well as the condition of the crime.

From the theological aspect, there are some differing viewpoints of Hudud in Islam. First and foremost, Islamic scholars have conflicting opinions if the Islamic criminal law should be applied to both Muslims and non-Muslims. This would of course be deemed as unfair if non-Muslims are obliged to Hudud in this present time, when we are already governed by the Federal law. At the same time, if a crime is committed by a Muslim and a non-Muslim, how will the criminals be prosecuted according to the type of crime they had done? If the victim of a crime is a Muslim or a non-Muslim, will there be any difference in terms of committing a crime against a Muslim or a non-Muslim? However, no legal procedure or clarification is given to resolve this matter. Furthermore, PAS had repeatedly mentioned that the law would only be applicable to Muslims alone. Thus, it is crucial that issues like these to be evaluated considering Malaysians as a whole.

Following this, the interpretation of the law also depends on the types of *madhabs* or schools of thoughts in Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh* known as *madhab Hanafi*, *Maliki*, *Shafie* and *Hanbali* (Abdul Hassan, 2012). These schools of thoughts serve as methodologies for interpreting the Syariah. It is a consensus opinion that a Muslim should choose a single school of thought and follow it in all matters. Quoting

from an article written by Abdul Hassan (2012) in The Malaysian Insider website, he states that,

“Malaysia accepts the four major Sunni madhabs (different schools of Islamic jurisdiction) but officially sanctions one, the Shafie madhab. Among these schools of thoughts, all of them find differences in the specifications of these laws”. Argued as God’s immutable laws, the punishment can be so severe: capital punishment by swords, stoning, amputation of hands or feet and flogging in public (if erroneously inflicted, it can destroy a human life for good). Since human judges don’t enjoy God’s thinking faculties and have limited vision of the unseen, errors in judgment cannot be ruled out”.

Following an interview with Al- Jazeera, Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, the President of the International Union for Muslim Scholars (IUMS) was quoted as saying that there are differences among scholars in applying Hudud for certain cases (Al-Khateeb, 2011). He also cited a few examples such as “the meaning of cutting off a thief’s hand, the accurate place of cutting, and the amount or number of stolen stuff that deserves the penalty”. Although the details may differ, he clarified in the interview that the basic rulings are still agreed upon by all. On the other hand, in cases where “the meaning of the text of the Quran is unclear, where a hadith is unclear or where a hadith is clear in its terms, but the reliability of the hadith is uncertain”, these particular cases would involve consensus of opinion (*ijma*) or personal reasoning (*ijtihad*) among *mujtahidun* (jurists competent to formulate independent tradition-based opinions in legal or theological matters) in order to carry out sentences (Amin, 2011). Although there are certain requirements to be met in order to carry out *ijtihad* and *ijma*, Abdul Hassan (2012) argues that first and foremost, there is no consensus among scholars and the learned on Quranic studies regarding the application of Hudud in Malaysia.

Another issue is the lack of knowledge about Hudud in this country. To most laymen, being Muslim or not, there is much lack of knowledge or understanding in matters pertaining to Hudud and its implementation (“Malaysians Have Yet,” 2014; “Do Muslims Themselves,” 2015). Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, even scholars and those who are experts in Islam and Quranic studies have different interpretations with regard to implementing Hudud. Thus, careful consideration must be taken when trying to implement a criminal law that has religious connotations in Malaysia. At the same time, non-Muslims could perhaps be enlightened on Hudud and its jurisdiction to avoid any misunderstanding, given that Hudud implemented in other Islamic countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Sudan are not exemplary in bringing positive outlook, especially “in reducing crime rate as well as establishing peace and justice”, which was quoted by the former Chief Justice Tun Abdul Hamid Mohamad (“Countries with Hudud Law Fail,” 2014). Nevertheless, Ahmad (2012) who is a PAS strategist and a Member of Parliament (MP) for Kuala Selangor quotes in his own words:

“We are either Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs or others. Islam celebrates religious plurality and acknowledges the ‘claim of exclusivity to its belief and teachings’ and accords a respect to the ‘absolutist doctrine’ of all transcendental religions”.

In other words, although Islam is the official religion of Malaysia, Islam is practiced in moderation and as a religion that advocates peace and compassion, it acknowledges the existence of other religions and strives to live in harmony with each other.

2.2.1 Hudud and the Malaysia Legal System

Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi religious society, governed by the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, known as the supreme law of Malaysia which came into force on 27 August 1957, prior to Malaysia’s Independence Day on August 31, 1957.

Malaysia is a state in that its laws are much influenced by the English Common law which inherits the “Westminster-style of government with parliamentary democracy” (The Official Portal of Parliament of Malaysia, 2013). Besides the Federal Constitution which applies to all States in the Federation, each state also possesses its own constitution regulating the government of that State. However, the state laws are mainly Islamic laws. Malaysia has a parallel legal system of Civil and Islamic laws known as Syariah. State laws are Islamic laws and Federal law is Civil law. Islamic laws cannot transcend Federal Law as it would be unconstitutional. The Civil Law applies to both Muslims and non-Muslims, while Syariah Law only applies to Muslims on Islamic concerns and practices. Non-Muslims cannot be tried under the jurisdiction of the Syariah court. The Civil or Federal Law is enacted by the Parliament of Malaysia and is applied throughout the country. Syariah is administered exclusively at the state level; all of Malaysia’s 13 states and the federal territories have adopted their own Syariah criminal statutes and established courts to enforce them. Nevertheless, the statutes vary from state to state. In some states where PAS has been in power, such as Kelantan, Perlis and Terengganu, punishments for violations of Syariah include caning and stoning. In other places such as the federal territories, punishments range from fines to several years in prison. In order to oversee the enforcement of the Syariah law, Islamic Religious Councils are established in each state. State laws are referred to as enactments or ordinances and under the Constitution, Federal or Civil Law prevails over any inconsistency in state laws, including Syariah laws.

Under Syariah, Hudud is contained in the set of legislation known as the Syariah Criminal Code Enactment. As described in an article, the law in Kelantan was formally called Syariah Criminal Code (11) Enactment 1993 and it was passed on November 25, 1993 (“Q&A on the Hudud and Qisas Enactment,” 2012). Meanwhile, in Terengganu

the Syariah Criminal Offences (Hudud and *qisas*) the Bill was passed on July 8, 2002. However, according to Muhamed (2012), the enforcement of the law has been suspended as these laws are inconsistent with the Federal Constitution, which is the supreme law of the Federation. In addition, the enactment of penal laws is within the jurisdiction of the federal authority and not the state. It is important to note that although the Kelantan State Assembly has passed the Syariah Criminal Enactment in 1993 and Terengganu in 2002, it has so far yet to be implemented (Ong, 2002).

Explaining PAS's consistency in implementing Hudud, the late Kelantan Menteri Besar, Allahyarham Datuk Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, who was the PAS spiritual leader explained that Hudud is necessary and compulsory as any other important activities in Islam, like praying, fasting or performing the *Haj* (pilgrimage). In addition to this, PAS is also confident that Hudud will reduce crime rates in Malaysia as the "harsh punishments under the law will serve as a major deterrent" ("What Are the Benefits," 2014). However, Lim Kit Siang, the veteran opposition politician, argues that data from Hudud abiding countries such as Sudan, Nigeria, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia show the opposite.

The ineffectiveness of Hudud in these countries was also pointed out by the former Chief Justice of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Hamid Mohamad, who observes that "they were far behind in terms of tackling crime and establishing peace and justice despite the existence of Hudud laws" ("Countries With Hudud Law Fails," 2014). Legal experts also lashed out that "any attempt to introduce a private member's bill to implement Hudud in Kelantan could be legally challenged for going against the constitution. They also further remarked that Hudud can only be "enforced if a new constitution is drawn up to make the nation an Islamic state" ("Hudud Has No Place,"

2014). The late Karpal Singh, who was the DAP's Bukit Gelugor Member of Parliament (MP) argued that the state assembly does not have any jurisdiction to pass the enactment or any criminal law and the Parliament cannot enforce an unconstitutional enactment passed by a state assembly". Explaining further, he remarked that, "even if the parliament passes Hudud as a criminal law applicable to the whole country or to a specified state like Kelantan, it would mean the House has acted unconstitutionally" ("Karpal Slams Umno," 2014).

Nonetheless, the debate over Hudud does not end here as of recent, the Kelantan State Legislative Assembly have unanimously passed amendments to the Syariah Criminal Code, much to the dismay of DAP and PKR, which provides a pathway for Hudud to be implemented in the Malaysian north-eastern state governed by the party ("PAS Wants Hudud Laws," 2015).

2.3 Social Media

Recent years mark a major transformation in social communication, due to the advancement of Information and Communications Technology (ICT). Communication is no longer confined to the traditional written or spoken genre, but it has now expanded through various genres such as text messages, Facebook posts, chat rooms, tweets, emails and the new social media known as blogs. One thing that is common in all these genres is the use of language and depending on the context of communication, human present or express themselves through their preferred choice and variety of languages.

The media, or as in this context, the social media, is very influential in shaping the thoughts of the readers and viewers (Van Dijk, 1996). This is especially true with regards to social media such as blogs whereby bloggers possess the liberty to express

their opinions or make certain claims in order to influence readers. Each individual blogger may write based on one's belief, culture, knowledge, expertise, position, interest as well as experience and may even quote others to 'substantiate' his or her claim. It is therefore important that information or claim made in blogs is scrutinized not only on the linguistic aspect, but to also include the society and the context present during the timeframe as "language exists in "some real-world context," so it is very much affected by such factors as the production, interpretation, and context" (Huckin, 1997).

The emergence of social media has introduced a new form of communication practices, creating new forms of expressions and newfound interaction patterns. The role of blogs is no longer limited, but as what Wodak observes in politics; the existence of blogs facilitates the interdependences of fields; politics, economy and the media (Wodak 2009-3-4). Similarly, Polito (2011) finds that the language used in blogs serves as a powerful tool that can encode, shape and maintain an ideology in society. Criticizing previous studies which only focus on the linguistic aspect of blogs, he argues that language is not produced in isolation, but exists in "some real-world context". Language as used in blogs is indeed affected by production, interpretation and context. (Huckin, 1997). Therefore, when analysing a blog or language used in a text, the society and the context where it exists must be included. Furthermore, the CDA's aim is to make the users of language become conscious of how language conveys the domination and control of people in society. This is also applicable in blogs whereby, bloggers exercise their power in conveying their ideologies and standpoints in order to encode, shape and maintain an ideology in society. Narrowing to the present study, blogs are analysed in light of Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach to discover the positive and negative representation for and against Hudud.

2.4 Discourse Historical Approach

Wodak's approach which was developed in Vienna during her work on the discourse of anti-Semitism in 1990, has led to the beginning of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). DHA is mainly used for studies of political discourse. However, many current research studies using the DHA as theoretical framework include the "more or less overt relations of social struggle and conflict in all the relevant domains" (Wodak & Busch, 2004). That is to say, the DHA is applicable in analysing social problems by means of discourse-analytical tools which aim to examine social discrimination, especially through issues of racism, ethnicism, anti-Semitism, and the discursive construction of national identity embedded in the text. Consequently, this approach is used to determine how Hudud is represented positively or negatively by Malaysian bloggers.

The way a language is constructed is also part of identity construction, both individual and collective (Wodak, 2012). Therefore, the emphasis is given to highlighting the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in contemporary societies in terms of how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse. In a similar vein, Van Dijk points out that written texts and spoken words must be studied and analysed to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduces and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) also observe that discourse practices—through which texts are produced (created) and consumed (received and interpreted)—are viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations. (p. 61).

As distinct to other approaches, Wodak believes that the historical dimension or all available, background information is crucial in the “analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text” (Wodak, 1995). Coming from the field of sociolinguistics, she emphasizes that the context or the pragmatic aspect of a language is crucial when exploring an issue under investigation to avoid “fitting the data to illustrate a theory” (Wodak 2001). For Wodak, discourse is always historical, which means it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events that had happened in the same time or in the past. Therefore, a discourse is embedded in a context and to understand a discourse, one must study the context surrounding it. This is where intertextuality and sociocultural knowledge are explored and analysed. Under Wodak’s CDA, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships as well as the historical context of a discourse or text must be explored and integrated when interpreting a discourse or text.

2.4.1 Positive Self and Negative Other Representation

Using the Discourse Historical Approach in analysing “positive self and negative other representation”, there are three dimensions which are central to the method. The first dimension is the content of the data. The second is the discursive strategies employed and the third is the linguistic realization of these contents and strategies (Wodak 2002). Following these dimensions, Wodak (2009) presents four-step strategies of analysis as guidelines in analysing racist and discriminatory discourse. The first step is to establish specific contents or topics of a specific discourse. The second step is to investigate the discursive strategies used. The third and fourth step is to examine the linguistic means and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations of the discriminatory stereotypes. In addition to this, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) have

come up with five constitutive questions that include several discursive elements and strategies as a framework of analysis:

Table 1.0: Five constitutive questions by Reisigl and Wodak (2001)

How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of some?
From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are mitigated?

Similar to Van Dijk, Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 44), this study focuses on the discursive construction of “us and them” to highlight the analysis of discursive strategies. The above five questions reflect the five types of discursive strategies, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim. These strategies are utilised in the polarisation of “us versus them” which provides the positive portrait to the own in-groups while features negative attributions to the out-groups. Hence, these strategies can be seen in the following figure:

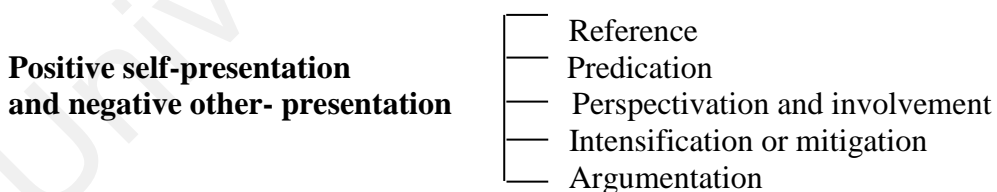


Figure 1.0: Strategies of Self or Other-Presentation (Wodak, 2001: 46)

Although Wodak’s framework of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is mainly used in representing social actors, this approach could also be adapted in analysing how the discourse of Hudud is represented in Malaysian blogs. DHA is the most apt approach in this study as it is useful in analyzing social problems by means of

discourse-analytical tools which aim to examine social discrimination. In light of the context of this study, the discourse of Hudud is viewed upon stereotypically and perceived negatively by those who oppose it. On the other hand, those who are advocates of Hudud, they defend and perceive this law as the ultimate solution to curb social ills and the ever increasing crime rate in this country. It is thus apparent that both sides are creating positive self and negative other representation regarding their stand against and for Hudud. With the set of analytical tools provided under this approach, the discursive strategies are adapted in this study to reveal the discursive construction of “us versus them”. These discursive strategies are applied in the following stages; first, labeling of Hudud with positive or negative attributes, next, predicating this positive or negative attributes, then, elaborating the arguments used to justify these given attributes. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

2.4.2 The Social Media Representation of Hudud and Other Relevant Studies

Currently, there is no study conducted to analyse the linguistic strategies on the representation of Hudud in blogs, which is why this study is timely. Although this section discusses the existing studies on Hudud, it can be said that these studies do not critically analyse the use of language in terms of representing the ideology of Hudud in a given context, or without looking into the question of how specific discourse structures are deployed in representing the discourse of Hudud. Instead, they were conducted in the fields of law, social science and political science; focusing on the aspect the role of Hudud, its implementation and in some cases, reformation of the law to the present time as explained below.

In the Ontario International Development Agency (OIDA) International Journal of Sustainable Development, Muhamed and Amuda (2011) evaluated and made

comparison of both the Syariah and Civil law punishments to determine which could be imposed to better deter cases of crime against maids. According to the results of their study, it was found that punishment imposed according to Syariah Law will effectively deter future crime against maids and safeguard their dignity compared to the current Civil law, as they believe that Syariah is the only law that upholds the rights of every human being regardless of the person's status, gender, tribe and religion. In another study focusing on the effectiveness of the Syariah law, Redeye (2009) defended the role of Islamic Syariah in protecting women's rights as opposed to the Western world's negative connotation of the Syariah, especially in relation to women's rights. In his defence, he proposed that the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI) and Syariah with its enormous flexibility, could indeed bridge the gap between common practice and human right ideals as well as uphold women's right further, compared to the Christian tradition or the standards placed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

In addition, other studies explore the Islamic discourse in relation to human rights and duties within the social-political environment such as in Malaysia, Pakistan and Northern Nigeria (Ling, 2003; Usmani, 2011 & Peters, 2001). Ling (2003) explored the Islamic discourse in relation to human rights and duties within the social-political environment in Malaysia, focusing on issues related to women's right. As opposed to the earlier studies mentioned above, Ling examined the clashes between universalistic standards of women's rights and patriarchal demands which are justified by religious orthodoxy in Malaysia. Although Malaysia is acknowledged a moderate Muslim majority state, she highlighted that there were many diverse views expressed by various political leaders and representatives of local women's NGO surrounding the issues of polygamy and monogamy, Hudud laws on rape and adultery as well as compulsory

religious dress. The law of Hudud in this study was mainly focused on areas concerning women's rights and the issue of rape. As part of the results of her study, it was revealed that due to the practice of the patriarchal system, the law of Hudud tends to victimize women instead of protecting them.

In order to create better understanding and explanation of the Hudud, Usmani (2011) who is a former judge of the Federal Syariah Court and the Supreme Court of Pakistan, conducted a study to create an understanding of the Islamization law debate in Pakistan. In his analysis, he discovered some parts of the Hudud ordinance in need of reformation according to present time, so that the law would better uphold justice in Pakistan. Focusing on Northern Nigeria, Peters (2001) examined and explained the historical background and circumstances of the reintroduction of the Islamic criminal law in Northern Nigeria. This study was conducted on behalf of the European Commission, which also sought to analyse the newly introduced Syariah criminal codes based on existing legal texts at that point of time. It was found that the criminal codes were introduced with little to no preparation, which led to mis-implementations of the law in many aspects and created much confusion in the judiciary system. As explained, these studies are of non-linguistic research which focuses on the socio-political implementation of Hudud. Directing to the field of CDA, some studies that focus on the negative other representation are included in the discussion.

Jahedi and Abdullah (2012) examined a biased and negative portrayal of Iran in New York Times after the 9/11 incident using Wodak's DHA approach. The discursive strategies and related linguistic devices used in the newspaper were analysed, resulting in a stereotypical representation of Iran the negative other. The study showed that words or expressions associated with the Iranian social actors with the negative lexical items

such as 'fundamentalism', 'violence', and 'threat' were given to discursively categorize the U.S. and its allies (e.g., Europe) as the in-group and Iran (the entire country) as the out-group. Significantly, Iran is positioned as a nation of people that formed part of George W. Bush's contentious "axis of evil", by referring them as malevolent, untrustworthy, violent, and a threat to world peace (Jahedi & Abdullah, 2012, p.59-70).

Kabgani (2012) utilizes van Leeuwen's (1996) CDA framework of exclusion and inclusion to analyse an article from a British broadsheet newspaper, the Guardian to discover how Muslim women are represented in non-Islamic media. It is interesting to find that, while one expects to find a negative depiction of Muslim women in non-Islamic media, the results of the findings revealed that Muslim women were depicted positively. Nevertheless, Kabgani discovers towards the end that this representation is not completely neutral, especially when the author questioned the independent identity of Muslim women in the concluding section of her article, which was not discussed between the interviewer and the interviewees. Thus, there was a hint of scepticism over the independent status of Muslims women, which wasn't addressed directly to the interviewees.

Bajamil (2011) utilizing Wodak's DHA approach in his analysis of the Hollywood film, "The Kingdom", exposes the linguistic and rhetoric features constructed in the film to purportedly represent Muslim Arabs negatively. His findings included the reference of Muslim Arabs with terms such as "Arab suicide bomber", "Wahhabi Islamic warriors" or "the extremist Wahhabi militants" which stereotypically projects the Arabs and Islam with negativity. Additionally, the prejudices and discrimination embedded in the movie is evident upon further analysing the historical

accuracies and distorted information following the turn of events depicted in the film, which attempts to position Islam as a threat of terrorism.

Using Van Dijk's concept of ideological square, Paasha (2011) analysed the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood to explicate the form and function of mainstream Islamists' ideology in the Egyptian newspaper, al-Ahram. His significant findings revealed the lexical choices used on the Members of Muslim Brotherhood in representing them negatively in four different ways as thugs, bullies, agitators, riots-provokers, elements and banned as opposed to the Egypt government. In contrast to the allegation that the Muslim Brotherhood aspire theocratic rule, further analysis revealed that the Muslim Brotherhood was found to accept democracy, advocate human rights and encourage women's participation and promote civil society.

Overall, these four (4) studies have shown how language in media is powerful in shaping and defining a representation of a discourse, which may be embedded with prejudice and biases upon closer examination. The most relevant research to this present study could be linked to Bajamil's research, which utilizes Wodak's DHA approach, focusing on the negative and positive representation of the Arab Muslims in the movie, "The Kingdom". Nevertheless, there appears to be a gap involving studies on the representation of Hudud and personal blogs in the field of the CDA. No scholars or researchers have so far conducted studies that emphasized on Hudud and the way it is linguistically represented in blogs, taking into consideration the context and the society. Hence, although it is not without limitation, it is hoped that this study could serve as a pioneer for other future studies in the field of the CDA.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the certain aspects of the CDA and discussed on the existing studies of Hudud as well as studies on the negative other representations. Following some of these studies which incorporated other approaches as the theoretical framework of their studies, Wodak's method of the Discourse Historical Approach is used to discover the way Hudud is constructed in personal blogs from the standpoints of advocates and opponents of the law being implemented in Malaysia.

University of Malaya

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This study is a qualitative research focusing on the discursive construction of Hudud in Malaysian blogs. This chapter seeks to explain on the data selection, theoretical and methodological framework as well as the analytical categories of this study. The linguistic features attributed to Hudud are analysed to understand how Hudud is referred and labelled under the “us versus them” strategies of the Discourse Historical Approach, in addition to the argumentation strategies used to justify the inclusion and exclusion of this law. This chapter includes the data descriptions, research questions, theoretical and methodological framework used and a conclusion.

3.1 Data Description

This section presents two parts of the data description: data choice and data selection. Each is explained below.

3.1.1 Data Choice

The data used for this research were 128 posts taken from 20 blogs which emphasized on the issue of Hudud within the time frame of 2011 to 2014, taking into consideration the emergence of the Hudud issue until the aftermath of the PRU13 election on 5 May 2013. These 20 blogs were derived from 10 Muslim bloggers and 10 non-Muslim bloggers. A total of 70 posts by Muslim bloggers and 58 posts written by non-Muslim bloggers were taken to be analysed.

In terms of choice of data, only personal blogs were chosen for the purpose of this study and these excluded news portals or blogs operated in groups. Personal blogs are blogs which are written individually and contain online personal reflections, comments, and hyperlinks to other blogs or websites. Generally, there are many blogs that include Hudud as one of the topics of discussion and each blog contains more than one post within the year 2011 to 2014. Therefore, it was not feasible to analyse all available blogs. The data was restricted to 20 blogs which were equally divided into 10 Muslims and 10 non-Muslim adult bloggers taking into consideration the way they project their standpoints on Hudud. Additionally, it was crucial that these details were identified for the sole reason of classifying them as advocates and opponents of Hudud. Generally, the data included in this study seemed to favour the opponents of Hudud rather than advocates of Hudud. The lack of data for advocates of Hudud were due to the use of the Malay language in their blogs, in addition to discussing Hudud within the religious doctrine using the Jawi writing. Some blog articles found were obsolete for they were written prior to year 2011. Therefore, these blogs did not fit into the criteria set for the selection of data. Additionally, the identity of the bloggers and the blog address were not revealed to ensure their confidentiality. The issue of Hudud is deemed controversial and exposing their identity may position them unfavourably. Therefore, within the context of this study, it is suffice to only focus on their standpoints of Hudud (*Refer Chapter 3 for Research Ethics*).

Among these selected blogs, articles or posts taken for analysis were those that were authored by the original individual blogger. Bloggers who quoted from other sources or merely posted articles written by other writers were excluded from this study. This is because posts or articles written by others may not necessarily reflect a blogger's views. The blogger could be merely highlighting another person's point of view as

distinct from his or her own. Nevertheless, bloggers who responded and discussed the articles or posts written by others were included in the analysis as it would still reflect his or her point of view. In addition to this, other features such as videos or images posted were not taken as data to be analysed. This study only focused on written text per se. Moreover, analysing video and images would certainly include a different theoretical framework other than Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA).

The justification of the particular blogs used as data of study was very much dependent on the significance of the contents related to Hudud. It is important to state here that Hudud was not the only topic discussed in these blogs and the contents included other emerging political, social, legal and other day to day national issues as well as other personal reflections. Therefore, for the purpose of the analysis, blogs, particularly written by adult bloggers, which critically discussed the issue of Hudud in Malaysia, were chosen as the main data source. These authors of the blogs range from influential people to frequent bloggers. As shown in Table 2.0 below, the profession of the authors or writers of these blogs include lawyers, law student, journalist, columnist, educator, politician, human rights activist, professional speaker, and political analyst. Therefore, their opinions and comments are highly read and sought after by readers. This is further supported by the total number of blog views shown in Table 2.0. Nevertheless, two (2) particular bloggers who are quite prominent had no indication of numbers of blog visits stated in their blogs. However, as mentioned in Table 2.0, these bloggers are influential and they actively speak against Hudud in Malaysia. Other bloggers were also included as data of study as they have significant numbers of blog visits and readership. Thus, the way Hudud is represented in these blogs was worth exploring.

As for the exclusion of other blogs, these were done considering that the contents were found to be very theological. For example, they were more directed towards Islamic religious teaching. Other blogs were merely informative and did not indicate their perspectives on Hudud in the context of Malaysia. In addition, blogs which were not written in the English language were excluded as well. These blogs were excluded as this study sought to analyse texts written in the English language. Table 2.0 below shows the list of blogs and their descriptions. The titles and dates of the blogs' articles are shown in Appendix A (*Refer to the Appendix section*).

Table 2.0: Description of the Blogs

Name of Blogs	Blog Views	Overall Focus of Blogs	No. of Articles / Posts on Hudud	Description of the Bloggers
1. Just Read	56178	Religion, diplomatic affairs, human rights, politics & legal affairs	18	-A male Muslim -A journalist by profession -An analyst of international and diplomatic affairs -A writer.
2. mansorbin puteh.blogspot	1105	Religion, international and national politics, Malay rights & politics	3	-A male Muslim -Ventures in the arts industry
3. Forever Young	10213	Religion & women's rights according to Islam	4	-A human rights activist and Muslim feminist -A columnist under The Malay Mail Online
4. Kee Thariq's Blog	78115	Religion, business & marketing	1	-A male Muslim -A frequent blogger
5. Dr. Dzul's Blog	1,284,689	Politics, religion & legal affairs	3	-A male Muslim -A politician and businessman by profession -Member of Parliament, Kuala Selangor

6. Warong Pak Yeh	90403	Religion & Politics	3	-A male Muslim -A frequent blogger
7. The People's Parliament	1,212,396	Politics, human rights, current affairs, legal affairs & democracy	8	-A male Muslim, -Trained in the Law
8. ARTiculations	36858	Politics, current affairs, democracy, human rights, legal affairs & religion,	5	-A male Muslim -A consultant and a well-known speaker
9. Azly Rahman	16250	Politics, religion, review of books, Malaysian education system & poetry	3	-A male Muslim -Educator and a Columnist -He has written and published many books written on Malaysian politics, education system and religion
10. The Zaidgeist	Not stated	Politics, current affairs, legal affairs, human rights, and democracy	22	-A male Muslim -A prominent Malaysian lawyer turned politician and is a former Minister in the Prime Minister's Department in charge of legal affairs and judicial reform
11. Khoo Kay Peng	577,231	Politics, legal affairs and human rights	7	-A male non-Muslim -A strategy and management consultant and a political analyst
12. Success Principles	8824	Politics & human rights, motivation and self development, humour & economics	2	-A male non-Muslim -Professionally qualified practicing trainer, coach and learning facilitator for leadership, personal development and improvement programs and seminars
13. Sybreon Ones Nought	Not stated	Politics, legal affairs, human rights, engineering technology, humor	3	-A male non-Muslim -A chartered engineer and a former lecturer and research fellow -Runs own business

14. Dr. Hsu's Forum	2,149,205	Medical, human rights, politics and legal affairs	3	-A male non-Muslim -A medical doctor
15. Wong Chun Wai.com	Not stated	Politics, human rights, democracy, legal affairs, crime, current affairs & freedom of religion	13	-A male non-Muslim -The Group Managing Director/Chief Executive Officer of The Star Media Group.
16. Rebutted Opinions	948	Politics, law and religion	10	-A male non-Muslim -A law student -Several of his articles have been featured on The Malaysian Insider, Malaysiakini, The Malay Mail Online, and The Malaysian Times
17. Politics & Law	814	Politics and law	1	-A male non-Muslim -Ventures in the law industry
18. Shanghai Fish	7301	Politics, legal affairs, humour & entertainment	4	-A male non-Muslim -A frequent blogger
19. Year One Malaysia	96	Politics, legal affairs and crimes	2	-A male non-Muslim -A frequent blogger
20. KTemoc Konsiders	26861	Current affairs, politics, astronomy reading, food, travel, alternative religions	13	-A male non-Muslim -A frequent blogger

3.1.2 Data Selection

The data selection for all these personal blogs were done via an electronic search through the use of the search engine program, such as “Google”, “Google Blog Search”

and “Yahoo” to collect the data relevant to the area of the study. The keywords such as “Blogs on Hudud” and “Bloggers on Hudud” were used to narrow down the search in identifying suitable blogs for study. Another method used to search for blogs or bloggers was by randomly clicking on each of the fellow bloggers added or listed within the blogs.

Once the blogs and the bloggers were identified, keywords such as “Hudud” and “Hudud in Malaysia” were used in the search box option in the blogs to retrieve the lists of posts or articles written on Hudud. It is important to state here that not all posts were written in the English language. Some of the posts found were written in the Malay language or Arabic. Thus, only posts or articles written in the English language were taken as data for the study. Additionally, to ensure the reliability of the blogs as well as the posts, each title of the post and its content were read through before including it as data to be analysed. Through this process, the many lists of blogs or bloggers were downsized to 20 blogs taking into consideration the identity of the bloggers in grouping them into Malaysian Muslims and non-Muslims, as well as in identifying them as advocates or opponents of Hudud. The posts or articles of these 20 blogs were selected within the year 2011-2014 taking into consideration the language and contents of these posts.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The framework used for this study is based on the Discourse-Historical Approach (Wodak et al., 1999; Wodak, 2001; and Reisigl and Wodak, 2009), which focuses on the self-other schemata through which the other is negativised while the self is positively represented. However, in contrast to Wodak’s initial work which involved prejudice utterances in anti-Semitic discourse, this study would like to integrate her

approach to discover how the discourse of Hudud is represented in blogs in the light of the discursive strategies. It is important here to stress that the adaptation of Wodak's framework is partial considering the limitations of this study and that the focus of this study is on the representation of Hudud by Malaysian bloggers utilizing only 3 of the strategies, namely referential, predicational and argumentative strategies. The perspectivation and intensification strategies were excluded as they require in-depth analysis and longer time frame. Furthermore, it is the intent of this study to analyse how Hudud is represented generally focusing on the labels and attributes given to the law as well as the argument used to justify the inclusion and exclusion of the law in the context of Malaysia. Indeed, the perspectivation and intensification strategies are useful in investigating the point of views of the labels, attributions and arguments expressed, as well as identifying if these claims were mitigated or intensified. However, the main focus of this research is on the linguistic features and the choice of words used in positioning Hudud favourably and unfavourably. Therefore, within the scope of this study, these three strategies are sufficient in order to achieve the objectives of the study.

3.2.1 Discourse

Wodak (2002. 5-31) sees "discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of social practice" and in doing so it implies a "dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it". This is because discourse is 'socially constitutive' and 'socially conditioned'. Similarly, the discourse of Hudud is certainly socially constitutive as well as socially shaped. Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., and Wodak, R., (2012) define the terms 'socially constitutive' and 'socially shaped' as:

“It constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is socially influential, it gives rise to important issues of power.”

According to Foucault (1977 cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008: 6), discourse is a social cognition of ‘a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice’ developed within fixed social contexts and appropriate to conditions large or small. Van Leeuwen (2009: 144) also adds that discourse “serves the interests of particular historical and/or social contexts”, represent social practices in text, and transform or recontextualise them. Similarly, Hudud is also considered a product of a social practice or a social action (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In his approach, he explains that the representation choices in the text “form part of a particular kind of racist discourse, a discourse based on fear—fear of loss of livelihood and loss of cultural identity, fear of the unknown and unknowable ‘other’. Similarly, Hudud is also a discourse where it is also based on fear –fear of injustice, fear of loss of human rights or fear of discrimination, fear of the unknown and unknowable ‘other’. Thus, in the Malaysian context, Hudud can shape the society and at the same time be shaped by the society, especially by those who hold the power to do so.

Whereas Leeuwen further presents the grammatical and rhetorical realizations focusing on reactions through action verbs, nominalizations, specific speech act verbs, abstractions metaphors (Leeuwen, 2008), this research aims to analyse Hudud as a discourse in the light of Wodak’s strategies of referential, predicational and argumentation. Moreover, the selection of the Discourse Historical Analysis is suitable as DHA emphasizes the integration of historical context as well as the existing knowledge of the social and political background in which discursive events are

embedded (Wodak 2001) in the context of Hudud in Malaysia. Therefore, through this justification, this study seeks to adapt Wodak's discursive strategies of 'us versus them' to analyse the representation of Hudud and how these views are legitimized to justify for and against Hudud in Malaysia.

3.2.2 Methods of Analysis

As explained in the data selection, (*See Section 3.1.2*), the process of analysing the data started by identifying blogs and bloggers as well as related Hudud articles or posts from the internet. Considering the numbers of the blogs' posts involved in this study, it would be difficult to thoroughly analyse all of them considering the limitations of this study. Therefore, it was necessary to narrow the scope of the investigation to three specific categories of analysis employed in this study. From this, the study sought to trace the related parts of the posts to the referential, predicational and argumentative strategies with explanations on how these strategies were used. A Corpus software tool called AntConc and manual coding were utilized to identify the parts to be analysed from the data. Each post was saved in the notepad format before analysing it using the software. This software served to aid the researcher in determining the frequency of words or phrases used to construct, label and represent Hudud. From these findings, the study, then analysed and explained the discursive strategies used (referential, prediction and argumentative) by these Malaysian bloggers from the perspective of for (advocates) and against Hudud (opponents) (*Refer Chapter 4 for the analysis*).

According to Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl (2009), the Discourse Historically Approach (DHA) uses the triangulatory or three-dimensional approach that includes the context of the discourse to minimize the risk of being biased. Therefore, the data analysis procedure of this approach followed the three analytical dimensions which

consist of the ‘content of the discourse’, ‘the discursive strategy’ used to produce the contents, and ‘the linguistic realisation’ used to construct the discursive strategy. Thus, emulating Wodak (2009), after (1) having established the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) the discursive strategies (including argumentation strategies) were investigated. Then (3), the linguistic means (as types) and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as tokens) were examined (4). Similarly, this research attempts to integrate the historical aspect and background information of Hudud (context) when looking at the linguistic manifestation of Hudud using posts in blogs to explore how it was referred or labelled under the “us versus them” strategies of the Discourse Historical Approach. To analyse the discursive construction of “us versus them”, the following aspects or questions are put forward in the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93):

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated?

These five questions lead up to the five types of discursive strategies, which are explained in the following section. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously (*See Section 3.2*), only three of the five categories were employed in this study in order to achieve the three research objectives stated.

3.2.3 Discursive Strategies

Under the Discourse Historical Approach, there are five discursive strategies or systematic ways of language used in a given situation to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim. Table 3.0 below summarizes these strategies:

Table 3.0: Discursive Strategies (Wodak, 2001: 73)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential / Nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	Membership categorization Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing Metaphors and metonymies Synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro pars)
Predication	Labeling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits Implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	Topoi used to justify political inclusion Or exclusion, discrimination or preferential Treatment
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	Reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force or (discriminatory) utterances

In any analysis of discourses with racial, national, ethnic or even religious issues, Wodak (2001) suggests that there are several discursive elements and strategies that need to receive special attention. Thus, to explore the following research questions of this study, articles posted on blogs were analysed in the light of three out of five Wodak's discursive strategies; referential, predication and argumentation strategies:

- How do advocates of Hudud represent Hudud in blogs?
- How do opponents of Hudud represent Hudud in blogs?
- What argumentative strategies are used by bloggers in justifying for or against Hudud in blogs?

Firstly, the discourse on democracy, law, religion and human rights were established as the contents of sameness and differences revolving the discursive construction of Hudud in denoting self-other representation, which the bloggers portrayed in their posts. This is in line with Wodak (2002) who mentions that the inclusion and exclusion of in-groups and out-groups is constructed discursively through a connection between the construction of sameness and the construction of difference. By looking at the analysis of the discursive construction of Hudud, the first research question analysed how advocates of the law linguistically named and assigned the positive qualities to Hudud, which is presented as *“bringing positive transformation”* to the legal system of the country. Following this, the second research question analysed the opponents of Hudud in terms of how they named and assigned the negative qualities to Hudud, which is seen as a *“violation to the Federal Constitution”*. In the justification for the negative and positive attributions of Hudud, the third research question was employed to discuss the inclusion and exclusion of the law using the argumentation schemes. Detailed explanations of these research questions and the examples are given in the following section (*See Section 3.2.4*).

3.2.4 Analytical Categories

As highlighted previously (*See Section 3.2*), this study sought to adapt the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) as the methodology of this study. Thus, the three research questions as stated above were designed to emulate Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 93) questions under the “Us” versus “Them” strategies. This “Us” versus “Them” strategies in the context of this study involved two groups; the advocates and the opponents of Hudud. The first and second research questions utilized the referential strategies, which aimed to explore how Hudud was named and referred to linguistically from the standpoints of the advocates and opponents of Hudud. The devices used under this strategy included the membership categorization of the in-group and out-group, including topical reference by biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies, as well as by synecdoches in the form of a part standing for the whole (*pars pro toto*) or a whole standing for the part (*totum pro parte*) (Wodak, 2009). Additionally, the use of verbs, nouns and pronouns to denote processes and actions were analysed. As an example, in order to construct and represent Hudud, bloggers used pronouns to denote the effects of Hudud to represent “us against them” such as “*we, our, ourselves*” (*us*) and “*his, her and themselves*” (*them*”). These pronouns represented the categorization of members such as *we* referring to *non-Muslims* and *Muslims* as *them* or *vice versa*.

Apart from the referential strategies, the predicational strategies were also explored to analyse the characteristics, qualities and features attributed to Hudud. The devices under the predicational strategies included the stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits, which were found to manifest in the form of pronouns, superlatives, adjectives, verbs and quantifiers. In line with this, it is important to state that the predicational and referential strategies are usually closely linked to each other as “the pure referential identification very often already involves a denotatively as well as

connotatively more or less deprecatory or appreciative labelling of the social actors” (Wodak, 2009). This action of labelling is defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001:54) as “the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena”. Moreover, it is through these strategies that:

Persons [etc...] are specified and characterized with respect to quality, quantity, space, time and so on. [...] Among other things, predicational strategies are mainly realized by specific form of reference (based on explicit denotation as well as on more or less implicit connotation), by attributes (in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, infinitive clauses and participle clauses or groups), by predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, by collocations or explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures [...] and by more or less implicit allusions, evocations and presuppositions/implications. (Ibid)

Applying this concept, the textual analysis of words and phrases of the text was done to discover the adjectives, nouns and verbs used in providing the negative and positive attributes of Hudud according to the advocates and opponents of the law. To illustrate, analysing Hudud from the lens of opponents, Hudud was seen as a “*political gimmick*”. Thus, the law was attributed stereotypically as “*Hudud a la PAS*” or “*a political hudud*”. Such labelling was given by them to bring forth the impression that Hudud as championed by PAS was nothing more but a political endeavour to gain political power or support from the people.

The third research question investigated the arguments employed by the advocates and opponents of Hudud in justifying the inclusion and exclusion of the law. The focus of this question was directed to analysing the main topoi found in their arguments as topoi

“have crucial roles” in the structure of discourses of self and other construction” (Kienpointner (1992). According to Wodak (2006), *topoi* or *loci* can be described as “parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner 1992: 194)”. Under the Discourse Historical Approach, there were numbers of topoi such as topos of definition, topos of law and topos of ignorance, topos of comparison and topos of threat employed in the justification and legitimation of biasness or discrimination (Wodak and Iedema, 2004).

The selection of the topoi in relation to this study was due to their relevancy in justifying the inclusion or exclusion of Hudud. They were used to rationalize and explain the necessity for an action to be taken to include or exclude Hudud in Malaysia. It is acknowledged that the argumentative strategies cover particular areas of analysis, which include topos/topoi, fallacies, rhetorical devices, etc. However, in this study, only topoi were taken for analysis since they are suitable as an analytical tool in the exploration how arguments are justified by advocates and opponents of Hudud in blogs. Additionally, they seek to explain how bloggers establish their policies or ideas in terms of including or excluding Hudud. Therefore, topoi are central to the analysis of seemingly convincing fallacious arguments which are widely adopted in prejudiced and discriminatory discourses (Kienpointner 1996: 562). Topical analysis, then, is a method for explicating the link between bloggers’ claims and justifications that are grounded in the general political, social and legal climate.

In the present analysis, few examples of topos were found: the topos of advantage, topos of justice, topos of threat, topos of humanitarianism and topos of law were taken into account because these were found to be heavily used by the bloggers in supporting or rejecting Hudud in Malaysia. These topos were identified according to the context of the argument. For example, topos of threat is used to justify if “a political action or decision bears specific dangerous, threatening consequences; one should not perform or do it” (Wodak and Iedema, 2004). Following this, the topos of threat were employed by Muslim opponents of Hudud explaining the harm or damages Hudud may bring if it is implemented in Malaysia (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (4)*). Therefore, they justify that PAS’s Hudud should not be implemented as it would threaten not only the country, but the religion of Islam as well. The following table describes examples of topoi used with their ‘conclusion rules’:

Table 4.0: Examples of Topoi Selected for Discussion (Wodak and Idema, 2004)

Topoi	The conditionals
Topos of advantage	If an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it
Topos of justice	If persons/actions/situations are equal in specific respects, they should be treated/dealt with in the same way.
Topos of threat	If a political action or decision bears specific dangerous, threatening consequences, one should not perform or do it. Or, formulated differently: if there are specific dangers and threats, one should do something against them.
Topos of humanitarianism	If a political action or decision does or does not conform to human rights or humanitarian convictions and values, one should or should not perform or take it. This “topos” can be employed in every situation where one argues against unequal treatment and discrimination and for the recognition of “racialized,” ethnic, religious, gender or other differences.
Topos of law	If a law or an otherwise codified norm prescribes or forbids a specific politico-administrative action, the action has to be performed or omitted.

3.3 Research Ethics

With the use of blogs' posts and articles as data for this study, there were certain research ethics that had to be taken into consideration. Markham and Buchanan (2012) define the internet as a social phenomenon, a tool, and also a (field) site for research which also play an increasing role in the conduct of human research. Therefore the internet features like blogs can be a valuable source of information, especially in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis in terms of "employing visual and textual analysis, semiotic analysis, content analysis, or other methods of analysis to study the web and/or internet-facilitated images, writings, and media forms".

However, where social media or networking is concerned, there are certain degrees of privacy in the cyber realm. Deakin Human Ethics Guidelines (2015) categorize two degrees of privacy: The first is the public online spaces which allow anyone and everyone free access to the site. Secondly, private online spaces which require a login or some other permission before all or some areas can be accessed. In this study, the blogs used as data for analysis are freely accessible by anyone who is interested in the issue discussed. The reliability of the blogs was also ascertained by identifying the basic details of the bloggers such as names and background. Since this study involved the categorization of advocates and opponents of Hudud from the perspective of Muslim and non-Muslim bloggers, these details were important to be identified through their names, photos and statements that explicate their stand or position with regards to Hudud.

Nevertheless, it is important to state here that the actual names of the bloggers were not revealed to protect their identity and privacy. Moreover, the discourse involved in this study is also deemed controversial. Therefore, precautions were taken to protect

the identity of these bloggers. This was to take into consideration to one of the ethical questions raised by Markham and Buchanan (2012): “Does one’s method of analysis require exact quoting and if so, what might be the ethical consequence of this in the immediate or long term?” As in the case of this research, quoting from a blog or a blogger directly may cause harm to the blogger in a long run. Therefore, another method which is deemed less risky is employed by analysing the contents of the posts as a whole without associating or quoting any of the extracts to its blogger or blog.

3.4 Conclusion

This research adapts Wodak’s Discourse Historical Approach to examine how Hudud is represented among Malaysian bloggers in the Malaysian context. Three out of five discursive strategies are utilized for the purpose of this research; referential or nomination strategies, predication strategies and argumentation strategies. These three strategies are all involved in the positive self- and negative other-presentation; the discursive construction of “US” and “THEM”. (Wodak, 2001). Although this research is not without its limitations, it is hoped that with the result of the analysis, the underlying prejudices and ideologies of for and against Hudud are revealed.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the major findings of the analysis. It investigates the three strategies used; mainly the referential, predicational and argumentative strategies. These findings will first explain the referential and predicational strategies utilized by the advocates of Hudud, followed by the opponents of Hudud. Finally, the argumentation strategies utilized by both these groups in justifying themselves as being for or against Hudud are explained.

4.1 Malaysian Bloggers' Representations of Hudud

In this section, the strategies were investigated to see how Malaysian bloggers systematically used the language in trying to position their views regarding Hudud in Malaysia. The analysis was done from the perspective of two groups; advocates and opponents of Hudud in Malaysia. The analysis examined how Hudud was referred by those who are for or against Hudud as portrayed in their blogs using the referential and predicational strategies (*See Section 3.2.4 for the definitions*).

4.1.1 Referential and Predicational Strategies

Referential and predicative strategies are convergent in that the former provide stereotypically positive and negative features in the linguistic form of the latter strategies. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (*See Section 3.2.4*), since the predicational and referential strategies are usually closely linked to each other, both these strategies must be analysed together as referential strategies bear the imprint of predication (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 54). In other words, referential strategies can be seen as specific forms of

predicational strategies as the references given to Hudud has connotative and denotative extents to labelling the social action (Hudud). In this study, such strategies found in the chosen articles were analysed according to two (2) groups – advocates and opponents of Hudud.

4.1.1.1 Representational Strategies Used by Advocates of Hudud

Upon examining the blogs written by bloggers who advocate Hudud in Malaysia, there were two main themes found which depicted Hudud positively: Hudud as a religious ideal versus the other system of beliefs, and Hudud as bringing transformation.

(1) Hudud as a Religious Ideal versus Other Systems of Beliefs

It is not uncommon that advocates of Hudud do so as they believe Hudud to be crucial in “establishing a way of life for Muslims and a necessity for an Islamic nation to function well” (Ahmad, 2012). Similarly, through the analysis conducted, these advocates were consistently optimistic in their position regarding Hudud in Malaysia, This was done by persistently referring and predicating the law positively, in addition to emphasizing the importance of the law in Islam. Positive references using adjectives and nouns such as “*an integral part*”, “*way of life*”, “*good*”, and “*beneficial*” and “*will of Allah*” were assigned to the law in order to construct the image of Hudud as a religious ideal (See Table 5.0).

Table 5.0: List of Positive References Given to Hudud as a Religious Ideal

<i>an integral part</i>	<i>way of life</i>	<i>create a more conducive atmosphere</i>
<i>do wonders</i>	<i>far more superior</i>	<i>drawn up by non-humans who did not have biases</i>
<i>offer justice to all</i>	<i>will of Allah for all Muslim countries</i>	<i>benefits Muslims and non-Muslims</i>
<i>how good Hudud law are</i>		

Additionally, the importance of the law was also further predicated and explained by ascribing qualities to Hudud which were realised through the following phrases; *“an integral part of the Islamic System and way of life”* and *“will of Allah for all Muslim countries”* (See Table 6.0). Some of these references also served as predication as Hudud was predicated positively and uniquely in comparison to other beliefs. For instance, comparatives such as *“far more superior”* and *“more conducive atmosphere”*, were consistently used in the posts to depict the law as being ideal compared to other systems of beliefs or law. Following this, adjectives which described Hudud positively were also used such as *“an integral part”* and *“how good Hudud law is”*. Additionally, this form of idealness was accentuated when the law was projected as the “doer” of certain “actions” through the use of active and auxiliary verbs such as *“help to create a more conducive atmosphere...”*, *“can do wonders to their legal system...”*, *“offer justice to all”* and *“benefits Muslims and non-Muslims”*.

Table 6.0: Predicational Terms Given to Hudud as a Religious Ideal

<i>an integral part of the Islamic System and a way of life</i>	<i>help to create a more conducive atmosphere for Muslims to prevail</i>	<i>mostly meant for Muslims</i>
<i>can do wonders to their legal system and in the conduct of the societies</i>	<i>far more superior</i>	<i>drawn up by non-humans who did not have biases</i>
<i>offer justice to all</i>	<i>will of Allah for all Muslim countries</i>	<i>benefits Muslims and non-Muslims</i>
<i>how good Hudud law are not only to the Muslims but to the non-Muslims too</i>		

The strategy of “in group and out-group” was also evident in the posts, especially from the way Hudud was defined. The positive attributes given to Hudud were indeed understandable considering that the law is integral to the Islamic faith. However, in doing so, references such as *“no other religion”* and *“unlike Islam”* were

made by negatively and collectively “othering” non-Muslims and other religions. Therefore, there seemed to be an indication of prejudices involved as the apparent lack of system or guidance in other beliefs was consistently emphasized. Extract 1 provides examples of the above:

Extract 1

A. How can **any non-Muslim** reject *Hudud Law*, even if *they are mostly meant for Muslims*?

B. And how can the **same non-Muslims** reject *Law even if they are used on them? Hudud Law* forms an *integral part of the Islamic System and way of life. No other religion has such laws or ways of life* that their founders and preachers could go up to the pulpit to espouse. This is their problem, which has caused their brethren *to be left behind with no system to follow and be part of*.

C. *No wonder most of them who profess the other religions or beliefs have gone astray without proper guidance by their books and leaders, who have all lost whatever credibility and respect they should get, but since their system did not insist on them having it, they simply had to forgo it.*

D. *Unlike Islam which has all of these and more.* And they are roughly divided into three categories – *Halal Industry, Banking and Finance System* and also *Hudud Law*, all of which *help to create a more conducive atmosphere for Muslims to prevail. Unfortunately, the non-Muslims* seem to be able to accept Halal Practices and Banking and Financing System, *but not Hudud.*

Following this, no specific references were made on the identity of the non-Muslims who were claimed to have rejected the Hudud Law except for naming this group randomly as “*any non-Muslim*” and “*the non-Muslims*” (See Extract 1: A, B & D). This shows that these non-Muslims were referred to collectively or generically rather than naming non-Muslims individuals who opposed the law. Moreover, the role or active verb given to these non-Muslims as “*rejecting*” Hudud (See Extract 1: B), seemed to denote this group negatively as hindrance for Muslims to freely practice their faith. At the same time, non-Muslims were also passivized since they cannot reject Hudud regardless even if the law is imposed on them, as rejecting (negative action verb)

Hudud would mean interfering Muslim's way of life. Thus, implicitly non-Muslims were positioned as having no say, but to accept Hudud if the law was imposed on them.

Additionally, it was also discovered that general comparison was explicitly made between Islam and other religions and in a few instances, compared followers of Islam and followers of other religions (again collectively) as having no **“such laws or ways of life”** to govern non-Muslims, unlike Hudud in Islam (See Extract 1: B). Therefore, **“other religions”** were portrayed as lacking, inferior or dysfunctional in terms of embodying non-Muslims' way of life. With these attributes given to **“other religions”**, the **“followers of these religions or beliefs”** were described negatively using adjectives such as **“left behind”**, **“gone astray”** and **“no proper guidance”** (See Extract 1: B & C). Additionally, due to this “lack”, the idealness was rendered as not only for Muslims but it was also argued that this idealness extends to non-Muslims as well by ascribing positive verbal actions to Hudud such as **“offer justice to all”** and **“benefits Muslims and non-Muslims”**. On the other hand, Islam and followers of Islam were positioned favourably and Hudud was observed as providing **“a more conducive atmosphere for Muslims to prevail”** (See Extract 1: D). The active verb **“prevail”** carries the meaning of being victorious. Within this context, Hudud was perceived as providing an ideal environment for Muslims to become successful Muslims. Therefore, non-Muslims' rejection of Hudud in contrast to Islamic banking practice and finance system, was claimed to have brought inconveniences to Muslims as a whole in living victoriously. This could be seen through the use of the adverb, **“unfortunately”** in Extract 1: D.

From the analysis above, it is apparent that the superiority of Hudud for Muslims is implied here in comparison to followers of other religions. These

connotations made by advocates of Hudud, seemed to imply that with regards to Hudud, Muslims should have the upper hand compared to non-Muslims, who were portrayed unfairly and were said to have no say pertaining to the law. Although these advocates were understandably defending Hudud, their actions of belittling other religious systems and followers of other religions appeared to discriminate and revealed biases and prejudice against the “other”.

(2) Hudud as Bringing Transformation

Apart from Hudud being expressed as a form of idealness, Hudud countries were also predicated positively as opposed to non-Hudud countries. These comparisons were again made in favour of Hudud in Malaysia. These are shown in the extract below:

Extract 2

A. *Implementing Hudud* in Malaysia and also in *other non-Muslim countries can do wonders to their legal system and in the conduct of the societies there as Hudud is far more superior* in that legal decisions and expectations were all drawn up *by non-humans who did not have biases* other than to *offer justice to all*.

As shown above, Hudud is described using superlatives such as “*far more superior*” and is associated with positive effects such as “*doing wonders*” and “*transforming*” the legal system as well as “*transforming*” the conduct of Malaysian society and in other non-Muslim countries. The verb “*transform*” used in this context denotes Hudud as the agent of transformation in bringing tremendous change, perhaps in the lifestyles of the society, in addition to changing the form of a legal system. However, this “*transformation*” is apparently only needed in non-Muslim countries, apart from Malaysia which have yet to implement Hudud. There was no mention of other Muslim countries that is in need of transformation as well. Going by this judgment, countries that observed the Syariah or Hudud would have been considered transformed nations. Nevertheless, there was no evidence of reported speech supporting this claim presented by these advocates of Hudud.

Additionally, an indirect quotation was made, which claimed that the legal decisions and expectations of Hudud were drawn up by *“non-humans without any biasness”*. One cannot help but ponder what does the phrase *“non-humans without any biasness”* exactly signifies. The blogger perhaps referred this phrase to the divinity of Hudud. Nevertheless, regardless of this, it is certain that the implementation of the law would be carried out by humans and not *“non-humans without any biasness”*.

To further present the transformation brought forth by Hudud, further attempts were made to compare and depict the percentage of major lifestyle diseases and crime rates in *“true Muslim countries”* as *“low”* as opposed to non-Muslim countries. Extract 3 describes the following:

Extract 3

A. And even if we were to look at the issue of *Hudud in the context of the states*, one can say that *Arab and Muslims countries are some of the more peaceful in the world, with the percentage of its people suffering from major lifestyle diseases including AIDS to be low*. They are *only prevalent in non-Muslim countries*.

B. *Criminal activities in true Muslim countries are low, compared to those in the non-Muslim countries*. If there are criminal activities in some Muslim countries, this could be due to them having a sizeable non-Muslim communities, who have their own way of conducting their daily business and activities.

The phrase, *“true Muslim countries”* was used to refer to Islamic countries that implement Syariah or Hudud. From the blogger’s stance, he positioned Hudud as criteria for *“true Muslim countries”* and these countries were claimed to be *“some of the more peaceful countries”* in the world. In addition to this, the crime rates in *“true Muslim countries”* were also recorded as *“low”* compared to *“non-Muslim countries”*. In this case, to highlight the transformation Hudud brings to countries that implement them, the criminal activities were aggregated as numbers or statistics to indicate the participants who contributed to this number through the use of quantifiers such as *“low”, “more”, “some”* (See Extract 3: A & B) and *“sizeable”* (See Extract 3: B).

Nevertheless, while acknowledging the existence of “*low percentage of criminal activities*” in “*true Muslim countries*”, this blogger associated this existence of “*low percentage of crimes*” to a “*sizeable non-Muslim communities*”, who apparently are positioned as having “*their own way of conducting their daily business and activities*”. It is apparent that the strategy of shifting of blame and responsibility (Wodak et. al, 1999) were evident and non-Muslim communities were collectivized as a group to create a sense of plurality through these expressions. The grouping of non-Muslims as the insignificant other seemed to be in line with Said (1978) who demonstrates that the ‘other’ is mostly thought of as ‘groups’, and not as ‘individuals’. The phrase “*their own way*” is indeed vague as there were no explanation given on the types of business or activities conducted which are considered a crime under Hudud. Furthermore, what is considered a “*criminal activity*” under Hudud may differ according to other systems of beliefs.

On the other hand, upon analysing the perspective of a non-Muslim blogger who supports Hudud in Malaysia, it is interesting that he too believed that Hudud could bring transformation to curbing crime in the country as shown in Extract 4 below:

Extract 4

A. Look at the rates and types of crime that are occurring in Malaysia now. When I read of innocent victims being slashed, beaten up and even killed, I wished that there *are stricter laws* to curb such crimes. *Hudud just might be the answer!*

Similarly, few adjectives were chosen to denote Hudud as being an agent of transformation and a form of “*stricter laws*” compared to the existing law. The adjective “*stricter*” was most probably used as a comparative term to the civil law and thus, Hudud is seen as being the “*answer*” in curbing crimes. Nevertheless, upon further analysing the content of the articles, it was found that an adjective and a noun

were used to signify the aspect of tolerance and equality practiced under Hudud such as “*optional*” and “*choice*” for non-Muslims as shown in Extract 5:

Extract 5

A. As for religion, PAS President, Abdul Hadi Awang, has also assured that *Hudud is compulsory for Muslims* but *optional for non-Muslims*. We can *choose whether we want to be prosecuted under civil laws or Hudud!* Hi, *we have a choice* and I view this as the *best of both worlds*.

B. Finally, *just as we want others to respect our rights* to all the things we want to do and profess, *we must also respect the rights of the Muslims*. If the majority of Muslims in Malaysia decide that *they want Hudud for themselves, and for themselves only, without forcing it on the non-Muslims, we should respect their choice*.

Following this, in terms of having the ability to choose between Hudud and Civil law, non-Muslims were positioned as having a “*choice*” and “*best of both worlds*” (See Extract 5:A), which positioned non-Muslims as benefitting from Hudud. In another statement, quoting the President of PAS, Hudud was seen as being “*compulsory*” for Muslims. At the same time, Hudud was also depicted as a form of “*choice*” and “*right of Muslims*” (See Extract 5: B) and these were ought to be respected by non-Muslims, since the law would only be applied to Muslims alone without any compulsion on non-Muslims. Hence, it is evident here that a distinction was made between “*Muslims*” and “*non-Muslims*” in terms of significance of Hudud on both these groups. With this distinction made, it could be said that the “us versus them” strategies were used to represent a “win-win situation” for both Muslims and non-Muslims according to the mentioned significance of Hudud to each group. While supporting Hudud for Muslims without any coercion on non-Muslims, the non-Muslims were presented as still benefitting from the transformation Hudud may bring to the nation.

4.1.1.2 Representational Strategies Used by Opponents of Hudud

In oppose to advocates of Hudud, there were 4 themes found in blogs' articles by opponents of Hudud which portrayed the law differently. The analysis made on the bloggers revealed Muslims and non-Muslims opponents of Hudud in Malaysia. Therefore, the discussion of the analysis was presented accordingly. Analysis made on articles written by Muslim opponents of Hudud revealed four themes: Hudud as the Hudud of PAS, Hudud as a constitutional impossibility, Hudud as impractical and Hudud as harmful. As for blogs from non-Muslim opponents, three themes were revealed: Hudud as a danger, Hudud as incompatible with the Constitution and Hudud as failing to uphold social justice. Detailed explanations are given in the following sections.

(1) Hudud as the Hudud of PAS

In contrast to advocates of Hudud in Malaysia, Muslim opponents who were critical over the Islamic law positioned Hudud differently. While revering Hudud as Allah's law, they were critical over PAS's Hudud attempt, claiming that Hudud of PAS differs from Hudud as mentioned in the Holy Quran (Abdul Hassan, 2012). It is understandable that for these Muslims to voice out their disagreement with Hudud, they faced the wrath of other fellow Muslims who are for Hudud, more so, the followers of PAS. Therefore, these bloggers, who felt that they were misunderstood, justified their stand by referring Hudud they reject as PAS's version of Hudud and not Allah's Hudud.

Extract 6 below presents the above:

Extract 6

A. Majority of the Malaysian Chinese, Indians and other non-Muslims do not understand what '*hudud a la PAS*' is all about. Some of those who took the courage to learn about Islam do understand hudud in the real perspective. But still, the fear remains to haunt them. What is '*hudud a la PAS*'?

B. Yes, PAS had given its assurances that *its hudud* will not affect the non-Muslims.

C. I am not against hudud but not for *'hudud a la PAS'*. Just like CSL and many other Muslims who question *'hudud a la PAS'*, I don't see the logic for *a political 'hudud'* here. To implement the *actual hudud*, we have to go to the Parliament, and I personally believe it will be rejected by a slim majority. Hudud is merely *a PAS political game*.

D. Where is *Allah's Hudud* in the *Hudud of PAS*?

E. *PAS' Hudud* is *not Divine Law*.

F. Not only is *PAS' Hudud bill* impossible to implement constitutionally, but most importantly, *it is not as "divine"* as PAS makes it out to be or as Malaysian Muslims believe it to be.

G. I have come to the conclusion that a lot of those who believe that implementing Hudud law will solve all societal ills, simply do not know what is written on *the bill* or they do not...what is *Hudud in the Qur'an*. Maybe if they do, they would know that it *isn't the "divine" law* they thought it was.

H. While it is true that Hudud exists in the Qur'an (expressions that occurs 14 times in the Holy Book which represent moral standards or barriers between what is tolerable and not), it is not right to say that the *Hudud law of PAS is divine revelation*...More than anything, *Hudud law of PAS* is nothing but an imitative and *literalist approach of the Al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah (The Laws Of Islamic Governance)* that takes absolutely no approach in ijthihad or to even consider the social conditions and realities of contemporary Muslims today.

I. It is also important to note that the *Hudud of Allah* pertains to divorce, marriage, repentance and inheritance matters. But what about the *Hudud of PAS*? It does not mention any of those matters and only concentrates on criminal punishments, which is the *Hudud that has been codified by man*.

J. My main point? Hudud law, what else *Hudud of PAS*, is not *Hudud of Allah*, which means it is not divine law. It *was codified and amended by man*, thus making it as *man-made as criminal law*.

K. ...my friend, MP for Sepang, Hanipah Maidin, one of the speakers that night, emphatically asserted that in Islam, punishment of the thief, male or female, was an imperative.

Cut off the hand.

That, then, is his hudud.

Possibly *that of PAS*, too.

The *hudud of my God and my Islam?*...

L. The weakness of the *PAS Hudud* is that the ulamas use vain hadis from Bukhari Muslim...

M. They didn't seem to see the difference between what was contained in the Holy Qur'an and the Kelantan Enactment, which was *a law made by some PAS leaders, not God*. The Kelantan Enactment involved *man-made law*, as does the current controversy. Why are Muslims paralysed when dealing with the *tricks of PAS*?

As evident above, they distinguished PAS’s version of Hudud by referring to it as *“hudud a la PAS”, “a PAS political game”, “a political ‘hudud’”, “Hudud of PAS”, “PAS’s Hudud”, “PAS’s Hudud bill”, “Hudud law of PAS”, “man’s hudud”* and *“tricks of PAS”*. On the other hand, the ‘actual Hudud’ was referred to as *“Allah’s Hudud”, “Hudud in the Quran”, “Hudud of Allah”* and *“God’s hudud”*. Table 7.0 and 8.0 list the following:

Table 7.0: List of Referential Terms Given to Hudud of PAS

<i>‘hudud a la PAS’</i>	<i>a PAS political game</i>	<i>a political ‘hudud’</i>
<i>Hudud of PAS</i>	<i>PAS’s Hudud</i>	<i>PAS’s Hudud bill</i>
<i>Hudud law of PAS</i>	<i>man’s hudud</i>	

Table 8.0: List of Referential Terms Given to the ‘Actual Hudud’

<i>‘actual Hudud’</i>	<i>Allah’s Hudud</i>	<i>Hudud in the Quran</i>
<i>Hudud of Allah</i>	<i>God’s Hudud</i>	

To emphasize the two versions of Hudud, the bloggers predicated Hudud of PAS negatively as opposed to the ‘actual Hudud’. Following this, the Hudud of PAS was often dismissed as a political hudud or a PAS political game. Such labeling was probably given to indicate that the current Hudud championed by PAS is politically motivated and does not concur with the ‘actual Hudud’. The ‘actual Hudud’ according to these bloggers were attributed using possessive nouns such as *“God’s Hudud”* and *“Allah’s Hudud”* and possessive pronouns such as *“hudud of my God and my Islam”*. Additionally, a preposition was also used to describe the ‘actual Hudud’ as a form of law written in the Quran which could be seen in this phrase, *“Hudud in the Quran”*. Presenting their side of defense of rejecting Hudud of PAS, they argued that PAS’s version of Hudud is not divine, but it is just another version *“that has been codified by man”, “a law made by some PAS leaders”* and *“man-made criminal law”*. In other

words, *“Hudud a la PAS”* is considered man-made, which only concentrates on criminal punishments whilst ignoring other important aspects of Hudud as originated in the Quran. An association was also made linking PAS’s Hudud as a *“literalist approach of the Al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah”*. With PAS’s Hudud being linked to nothing but a political gimmick which serves as *“tricks of PAS”*, they came to conclude in their articles that PAS’s Hudud, is opposed to the *“Hudud of Allah”*. Table 9.0 and 10.0 below show list of predicational strategies found in the blogs.

Table 9.0: Predicational Strategies used to describe Hudud of PAS

<i>man-made criminal law</i>	<i>man-made law</i>	<i>literalist approach of the Al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah (The Laws Of Islamic Governance)</i>
<i>Hudud that of PAS</i>	<i>Hudud that has been codified by man</i>	<i>a law made by some PAS leaders, not God</i>

Table 10.0: Predicational Strategies used to describe the ‘Actual Hudud’

<i>God’s hudud</i>	<i>Allah’s Hudud</i>	<i>Hudud in the Quran</i>
<i>Hudud of Allah</i>	<i>hudud of my God and my Islam</i>	

(2) Hudud as a Constitutional Impossibility

Upon further analysing the articles, it was found that while these Muslim bloggers acknowledged Hudud in its true form as *‘Allah’s law’*, they also reasoned that Hudud or rather the PAS’s version of Hudud is a *“constitutional impossibility”* (See *Extract 7:C*). It is crucial to state here that opponents of Hudud in Malaysia regardless of their religious background often quote the supremacy of the Federal Constitution as a “stumbling block” for the law to be implemented in the country. Few legal experts have been vocal against implementing Hudud as the law ran contrary to the supremacy of the Constitution (“Hudud Has No Place,” 2014). Additionally, the same was portrayed by

the bloggers in Extract 7, whereby the supremacy of the constitution was often referred to in the attempt to “other” or to disqualify Hudud. It is evident that these bloggers positioned Hudud as a “*constitutional impossibility*” by using adjective phrases to describe these impossibilities such as “*does not make sense*”, “*impossible to implement constitutionally*”, “*having a lot of conflicts with our Federal Constitution*”, and “*is a constitutional impossibility*” (See Extract 7: A, B, C &D). Additionally, to further depict Hudud as a “*constitutional impossibility*”, they also quoted democracy and secularism which are part of the Federal Constitution: “*Our democracy...forms the Constitutional and legal basis of our country...it must be protected*”, “*Malaysia is a democracy and there is no place for hudud*” and “*do not take their mandate as applying throughout our secular country*” (See Extract 7: E, F & G).

Extract 7

A. *Constitutionally, it does not make sense to implement Hudud Law.* Islamically, it is a *disgrace*.

B. Not only is *PAS’ Hudud bill impossible to implement constitutionally*, but most importantly, it is not as “divine” as PAS makes it out to be or as Malaysian Muslims believe it to be. *It has a lot of conflicts with our Federal Constitution, and also has no attempts of ijihad (independent reasoning) over new issues.*

C. To me, *hudud is a Constitutional impossibility.* It will remain impossible until two-third of the membership of our Parliament is filled not only by Muslim MPs, but by Muslim MPs who actually wish to implement hudud.

D. I have stated in my article, Of wet dream, nightmare and Marty McFly that the *implementation of hudud is a Constitutional impossibility until and unless two-third of our Members of Parliament would vote to amend the Federal Constitution* to allow it to happen.

E. *Our democracy...forms the Constitutional and legal basis of our country. This must be protected at all costs. The alternative*, no matter how sweet the sound and how noble the principle, seems to be *a stone’s throw from despotism and authoritarian rule.*

F. When the Kelantan Government enacted its Shariah Criminal Code Enactment 1993 (famously known as hudud)... Tun came out swinging in that clear unequivocal voice of his: *Malaysia is a democracy (country) and there is no place for hudud.*

G. And even if it can be ascertained that the Muslims of Kelantan would have hudud imposed on themselves, *do not take their mandate as applying throughout our secular country.*

With all these negative attributes given to Hudud, the law is positioned as going against the concept of democracy and the Constitution as a whole. Nevertheless, it is worth to note here that, there is another issue at stake, which touches on the political and religious settings of Malaysia in terms of secularism. The position of Malaysia as a secular or an Islamic country were frequently questioned in relation to the Federal Constitution and in implementing Hudud in this country. Nevertheless, within the scope of study, this is entirely a different subject which could be explored at a different level. For the purpose of this research, these contents were taken at face value.

(3) Hudud as Impractical

Other negative references were given to Hudud in their blogs as well, which all pointed out to how Hudud is *“impractical”* to be implemented in Malaysia. It was interesting to observe that bloggers who were against Hudud often post or ask rhetorical questions to implicitly warn the readers or to prove their points regarding the implementation of Hudud. PAS had given its assurance that Hudud will not affect non-Muslims, however, this seemed to cause more problem than a solution (Kessler, 2011). A question which was frequently used to refute the law of segregation is, *“if a crime under Hudud is mutually carried out by a Muslim and a non-Muslim, how will the prosecution take place?”* Another blogger argued that, in cases such as close proximity, *“only the Muslim will be persecuted...the non-Muslim...he or she will scot free”*. Thus, in this light, the blogger dismissed Hudud as proposed by PAS as *“impractical”* because it is found to be *“without justice”*. Moreover, the law is only applied to Muslims instead of the society as a whole. Another rhetorical question posted was

concerning the qualification of being a witness to a crime. Under Hudud, there are strict provisions for a person to qualify as a witness such as, he must be “*someone pious*”, “*never tell lies*” and “*fully respected by the community*”. Other cases include rape and adultery, whereby *4 witnesses* are required to prove if such incidents took place. Therefore, the practicality of this practice is questioned in today’s world, whereby it will be difficult to always ensure the validity of witnesses according to the given criteria. Extract 8 illustrates the following questions and statements post by the bloggers to the audience.

Extract 8

A. *It’s easy to impose Islamic Law in the country but implementing it is not.* Countries like Sudan and Saudi Arabia didn’t find it easy to punish those suspected of breaking the Syariah Law. For instance, to sever the hands of a thief, at least three witnesses must come forward to testify. However, Islam puts a strict provision on such a witness. *Among others, the sentence can be carried out if the witness is someone pious, never tell lies and fully respected by the community. In today's world, how many of such people live around us?*

B. Yes, *PAS had given its assurances that its hudud will not affect the non-Muslims.* However, the just can be put to question. *For example, if a couple of Muslim and non-Muslim is caught for close proximity, only the Muslim will be punished, right? Then, what about the non-Muslim? He or she will scot free! So, where is justice in a law that will encourage more such doings?*

(4) Hudud as Harmful

Hudud was also portrayed as being “*harmful*” since the implementation of the law would be made by men. Therefore, there is no guarantee that Hudud will not be mis-administrated or manipulated. As depicted in the articles, the effects of misadministration were conveyed by using the cause and effect principle; “*bringing damage*”, “*a disgrace to Islam*”, “*favour men while victimizing women*”, “*subjected to harmful manipulation*”, and “*a danger to both Muslims and non-Muslims*”. These and more attributes were given to counterattack Hudud as championed by PAS and to

explain to readers the possibilities of the damages that may take place if Hudud is implemented in Malaysia. Extract 9 illustrates the following statements:

Extract 9

A. Despite their status as an Islamic country, *many states that implement Hudud Law are listed some of the most corrupt states in the world*. If this is not enough to show you the *damage that can be done by implementing the law*, I don't know what will.

B. ...modern day interpretations has been made in such a way that depicts men as more superior than woman...*Hudud law will most probably be used to favour man*.

C. Malaysia is as corrupted as it is already with our current judiciary system, and *people still want to implement a code of law that will most probably be manipulated and can cause more harm than we already have?*

D. ...it does not take much to realize that *Hudud law, due to its religious backing, is subjected to more harmful manipulation*.

E. The example of the *damage Hudud law can do to a nation* is there for you to see... Yes, criminal law can be manipulated too, but *manipulation in the name of religion creates worse damage*.

F. To the rest of you... you too choose to *walk a perilous path* if you choose to see the imposition of hudud anywhere in this country as merely impacting upon the Muslim community. *Or must you be placed in the position of the family and friends of the late Lawrence Selvananthan before you wake up to the danger lurking before you?*

G. Besides, *women are the ones usually the victims of the mis-administration of the Hudud Ordinance* as in Pakistan, especially in rape cases.

H. Why are they keeping mum when it will be the Malays who will *bear the brunt* of hudud laws should they ever be implemented? Do they not think that their own people will be the ones who will *suffer the most*, and may even *lose their limbs*? Do they not know that justice, regardless of its source, is *susceptible to error, bribery and bigotry* when it is overseen and implemented by humans? If there is a *miscarriage of justice* the loss of limbs would be irreversible, but do these Malay leaders care?

Upon examining the blogs written by non-Muslims who apparently were against Hudud in Malaysia, there were evidences of adjectives used in labelling Hudud negatively. Harmful references were given to Hudud such as an *“old Arabic desert ruling”*, *“archaic”*, *“outdated”*, *“gory”*, *“uncivilized”*, *“brutal”* and *“the dreaded reality”* (See Table 11.0).

Table 11.0: List of Referential Terms Given to Hudud

<i>archaic</i>	<i>outdated</i>	<i>an Islamic one</i>
<i>gory, uncivilized and brutal</i>	<i>totally useless</i>	<i>old Arabic "desert ruling"</i>
<i>PAS's stupid "who-dude" (Hudud)</i>	<i>the dreaded reality</i>	<i>oppressive</i>
<i>complicated</i>		

It is important to state here that these labels listed above could also be considered a part of the predicational terms, considering that they contain stereotypical and negative evaluative attributions of Hudud. Nevertheless, these references were also given further predication which explicitly describes Hudud as a major threat or danger for Malaysians, especially towards non-Muslims as a whole. It is evident that adjective phrases were used in portraying Hudud negatively such as *"not suitable"*, *"gory methods of punishment"*, *"a ridiculous and obsolete rule"* and a *"danger to non-Muslims"*. Few verbs were also used to describe the harmful actions such as *"prohibit"*, *"persecute"*, *"punish"*, *"empower the Muslim clerics"* and *"turning the clock back"*. Table 12.0 lists down the following:

Table 12.0: List of Predicational Terms Given to Hudud

<i>not suitable</i>	<i>gory methods of punishment</i>	<i>a clear religious connotation</i>
<i>bad image in modern jurisprudence and justice system</i>	<i>danger to non-Muslims</i>	<i>only empower the Muslim clerics</i>
<i>'prohibit', 'persecute' (note, not 'prosecute') and 'punish'</i>	<i>a ridiculous and obsolete rule</i>	<i>turning the clock back</i>
<i>inconsistent with the Federal Constitution</i>	<i>has many hiccups</i>	

(5) Hudud as a Danger

A majority of non-Muslims were generally opposed to the move of implementing Hudud as they feared the consequences and their rights if the law was to be implemented. Despite the assurance given by PAS that they will not be affected, uneasiness still lingered (PAS Using Different Terms,” 2011); “PAS wants Hudud,” 2015). The same could be identified through the articles written by non-Muslim bloggers, which revealed that many were found to be assertive over their claim that the law of Hudud will eventually “*endanger*” them. The verb ‘*endanger*’ activates Hudud as performing the action of endangering non- Muslims. Although Hudud was said to only be implemented on Muslims and non-Muslims are exempted from the law, these bloggers expressed scepticism over the claim that non-Muslims would not be affected at all, unless they were given some form of statutory safeguards. These are illustrated in Extract 10 below:

Extract 10

A. DOES HUDUD AFFECT NON-MUSLIMS? Well, *it isn't supposed to affect non-Muslims. In theory at least.*

B. I used to be an advocate of Hudud, despite being a non-Muslim, I'm of the opinion that *if the Muslims believe it is God's law, so be it*. It is their right to be subjected to their beliefs. As a Malaysian, I respect their beliefs as long as it doesn't infringe on any of my rights. However, as I started to study the subject, I became more and more against it...Not because I'm anti-Islam. But because *if it is implemented, more likely than not, it would affect non-Muslims.*

C. Before Hudud can ever be implemented in Malaysia, *statutory safeguards must be created in order to prevent it from being applied on non-Muslims*. If adequate safeguards are in place, I don't see why non-Muslims would oppose Hudud.

D. Hudud has *so many hiccups which haven't been sorted out yet (it could affect non-Muslims, it could cause injustice, etc.)*

E. Thus, we will see *Hudud invariably and severely affect the lives of non-Muslim Malaysians (us), regardless of what mealy-mouthed promise PAS may offer to non-Muslim voters.*

F. So again, why should we accept a Hudud system where *it replaces the current system and thus directly affects non-Muslims* constituting 35% of the population. As I said, I'm

not convinced nor assured by PAS' promise that Hudud only applies to Muslims. Once it comes into force, no one can argue with the clerics who may decide otherwise.

G. One does not need a doctorate in law to know that ***there can never be two kinds of laws***, particularly in civil and criminal matters. So ***there is no such thing as Hudud laws would not affect non-Muslims***.

H. ***We*** are ***merely kidding ourselves*** if ***we think the rules by PAS do not affect non-Muslims***.

I. PAS claims it would not affect ***non-Malays*** but ***this is a fallacy because it will extend beyond family and religious laws***.

J. ***We*** live in a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural Malaysia, where any law, whether hudud or civil, ***will affect all of us***.

K. ***Any non-Muslim*** who thinks that ***we are not affected by the Islamic legal system in Malaysia is an idiot***.

L. So, ***any non-Muslim*** who thinks that ***we enjoy immunity from the Islamic laws and legal system in Malaysia is wrong***. While ***we are able to ignore it in large parts of our lives, it is something that we ignore at our own peril***.

M. The reach of the law is far and wide. Unless ***we live in separated societies and do not inter-mix between the religious groups, everyone is affected by the Islamic laws and legal system in Malaysia. We are not immune***.

Accordingly, their scepticism were conveyed through the following cynical expressions used in their statements (in bold) such as ***“It isn’t supposed to affect non-Muslims...In theory at least”***, ***“Hudud invariably and severely affect the lives of non-Muslims...regardless of what mealy-mouthed promise PAS may offer ...”***, ***“There is no such thing as Hudud laws would not affect non-Muslims”*** and ***“We are merely kidding ourselves if we think the rules by PAS do not affect non-Muslims”*** (See Extract 10: A, E, G & H). All these phrases were used to dismiss the notion that Hudud would not affect non-Muslims. Following this scepticism, these bloggers also resort to warn readers who contemplate that Hudud would have no effect on non-Muslims by using verbs such as ***“kidding ourselves”*** and ***“ignore”***, as well as adjectives such as ***“wrong”***, ***“our own peril”***, ***“idiot”***, ***“not immune”*** and ***“fallacy”***, which all sought to implicitly caution non-Muslims against Hudud (See Extract 10: H, I, K & L).

Additionally, these warnings were portrayed through the use of pronouns such as **'I'**, **'we'**, **'their'** and **'my'**, as well as grouping **'non-Muslims'** apart from the **'Muslims'**, while referring both these groups as **'Malaysian'** to reflect the Malaysian identity (*See underlined words in Extract 10*).

Believing that Hudud would certainly affect everyone, including non-Muslims at some point of time, certain verbs were associated to Hudud as being intrusive to non-Muslim's rights, freedom and lifestyle as presented in Extract 11:

Extract 11

A. ***Hudud has so many hiccups*** which haven't been sorted out yet (*it could affect non-Muslims, it could cause injustice, etc.*)

B. If Hudud were to be imposed on non-Muslims, ***the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion would be infringed.***

C. ***Hudud may infringe the right of non-Muslims*** to practice their religion.

D. The problem with celebrating the 'difference' Hadi Awang alluded to, namely Hudud, is that once the Islamic legal system has been implemented, non-Muslims will discover too late it's not something they will imagine celebrating, assuming that ***celebrations, especially those of non-Muslim variety like Valentine's Day, concerts by foreign artists, wearing of lipstick and perfumes, Lion Dances, dancing, Thaipusam, Cheng Beng, etc., will even be permitted.***

E. ***Syariah-hudud laws will only empower the Muslim clerics***, people such as Azizan Abdul Razak and his now inviolable, unquestionable, and ominously all-powerful fatwas, or enable Nasrudin Hasan to ***ban non-Muslim events such as Valentine's Day, entertainment performances and god-knows-what-else with absolute impunity.***

Some examples of the action verbs used were **"affect non-Muslims"**, **"infringe the right to practice their religion"**, **"ban non-Muslims events"** and **"not permitting non-Muslims' celebrations"** (*See Extract 11: A,B,C,D & E*). The purpose of using these action verbs was probably to create fear among non-Muslim readers, in the sense that they would lose their freedom of lifestyle. These verbs were given to highlight readers the possibilities non-Muslims may face once Hudud is implemented in the country,

which also serve to warn non-Muslim readers of the “*dangers*” of Hudud. Additionally, the force of the verb also seemed to denote non-Muslims as victims of oppression and Hudud as the doer of the action of suppressing anything or anyone deemed unislamic. Furthermore, it can be said that the “accusation” given to Hudud were perhaps assumptions made to the possibilities of the implication of Hudud towards non-Muslims through the use of modal auxiliary verbs such as, “*It could affect non-Muslims*”, “*it could cause injustice*”, “*non-Muslims...practice their religion would be infringed*” and “*may infringe the rights of non-Muslims*” (See Extract 11: A, B & C)

(6) Hudud as Incompatible with the Constitution

Apart from being overly concerned if Hudud will impact non-Muslims, the Constitution, which protects the secularism of the country was the second most cited reason in defending against Hudud. These concerns are shown in Extract 12:

Extract 12

A. Article 8(1) of the Federal Constitution states that, “all persons are equal before the law... So *in order to implement Hudud, the Federal Constitution needs to be amended.*

B. In order to properly implement Hudud by way of legislation, the Parliament needs to come up with a new Federal Constitution because... they can’t just amend the current one to suit Hudud law. Ergo, *hudud is NOT feasible with our current Federal Constitution.*

C. Like Karpal Singh, who is dead against Hudud Law..., I am not in favour of changing our law system into an Islamic one. It is also implied *in our constitution that Malaysia is a secular country...*

D. Personally, I think that it is silly to jump at the Hudud bogeyman... *This Constitution is the supreme law of the Federation and any law passed after Merdeka Day which is inconsistent with this Constitution shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.*

E. ...knowing that whatever form of Hudud Law that Nik Aziz wants to implement in Kelantan, *would need to be in-line with the Constitution. Otherwise, it’s essentially null and void.*

F...you cannot have one set of law for one state on crime and another set of criminal law for other states. *Not only it is impractical, it also seeks to disrupt the basic structure and relationship between the Federal and the states... It is also unconstitutional as PAS’s constant attempt at introducing Hudud also seeks to usurp federal powers at the same*

time.

G. ...*Implementation of hudud is clearly unconstitutional* as it seeks to cover crimes that are already well covered in the Penal Code.

H. Hudud is *unconstitutional and is impractical* in Malaysia.

I. By PAS seeking to introduce hudud, PAS is essentially trying to *erode Federal's exclusive power on crime and alter the system that our founding father had put in place which is clearly wrong*.

J. PAS should also reconsider its stance in seeking to push through Hudud in Kelantan due to *its unconstitutionality and impracticality*. Even if the Bill is passed on a simple majority in Parliament allowing Kelantan to adopt hudud, it will still be *unconstitutional* and can easily be challenged in the Court of law on grounds that it *conflicts with the Penal Code*.

As mentioned previously, bloggers who were against Hudud in Malaysia often use the Constitution as a 'yardstick' to oppose the implementation of the Islamic law in a secular and democratic country such as Malaysia. In relation to the Constitution, Hudud was perceived with negative adjectives such as "*not feasible*", "*inconsistent*", "*not in line*", "*null and void*", "*unconstitutional*" and "*conflicts with the Penal Code*". All these adjectives positioned Hudud as incompatible or inferior to the Constitution. These negative attributes of how Hudud violates the Constitution were further illustrated with the use of verbs which contain harmful connotations, "*...disrupt the basic structure and relationship between the Federal and the states*", "*...usurp federal powers*", "*...erode Federal's exclusive power on crime*" and "*...alter the system that our founding father had put in place*" (See Extract 12 : F & H). The verbs "*disrupt*", "*usurp*", "*erode*" and "*alter*" were often used to describe the effects of Hudud against the Constitution.

Additionally, due to this alleged violation against the Constitution, the bloggers continued to advocate that actions must be taken to prevent Hudud from being implemented in Malaysia (See Extract 13). Thus, active sentences were used to

advocate these actions. “*All members of Parliament...should oppose PAS’s attempt*”, and “*We (Malaysians as a whole)...need to keep away laws (e.g. Hudud)*. To justify these actions, reasons were given to signify heroic act through the use of verbs such as to “*preserve*” and “*protect*” the Constitution from any complication, such as the implementation of Hudud in Malaysia.

Extract 13

1. ... all Members of Parliament should *oppose* PAS’s attempt to introduce hudud (not on the basis that they are against Islam) but *on the basis that there is a need to preserve Federal jurisdiction and protect the Federal Constitution*.
2. Malaysia *must remain secular and moderate*. We need to *keep away laws that would complicate Malaysia*, which is already increasingly complicated.

(7) Hudud as Failing to Uphold Social Justice

Bloggers who were against Hudud often perceive Hudud as a “*failure*” in upholding social justice, which includes human rights, democratic processes, protection of victims, curbing crime and corruption. As shown in Table 10.0 and 11.0, the nature of Hudud was negatively described such as “*making things worse*”, “*hiccups*”, “*bad image*”, “*archaic*”, “*outdated*”, “*inconsistent with modern jurisprudence and justice system*”, “*totally useless*”, “*complicated*” and “*oppressive*”. In order to substantiate their claims, references were often made to other countries governed by Hudud such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh and Afghanistan to showcase the current situation of the country. Nevertheless, no other reference was made to other Islamic countries who may have successfully implemented Hudud in their country. Furthermore, although the mis-implementation of Hudud would have been the main cause of its failure to uphold social justice, it is not justified as such. Moreover, most of these countries are politically corrupted; therefore it is likely that the implementation of Hudud is not according to the teachings of Islam.

Extract 14

A. ...more so when we have witnessed in so many other nations ruled by syariah-Hudud laws that such laws in the hands of unaccountable clerics have oppressed rather than protect the rights of the ordinary people. Please name me one, just one Islamic nation anywhere in the world, *as a model of good governance, and a nation where social justice, human rights and democratic processes are upheld.*

B. PAS claims that *Hudud will curb crimes and corruption haven't been supported by the conduct of the leaders and people of States already having full syariah laws such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Afghanistan etc.*

C. ...*Syariah-Hudud laws* have been unable to override tribal laws or the innate wicked and selfish nature of man, and thus have *offered no protection against innocent victims* but instead, in many cases, *protect the offenders' persecutions and oppressions of their victims.*

D. *Syariah-hudud laws will only empower the Muslim clerics*, people such as Azizan Abdul Razak and his now inviolable, unquestionable, and ominously all-powerful fatwas, or enable Nasrudin Hasan to ban non-Muslim events such as Valentine's Day, entertainment performances and god-knows-what-else with absolute impunity.

E. ...that's what a *hudud-ruled nation would confer on its leaders, total unchallengeable unquestionable absolute power as witnessed in Afghanistan under the Taliban, Iran under the ayatollahs, Saudi Arabia, etc.*, and even a whiff of that in our own Kedah where PAS has passed legislation stating its fatwa's may not be questioned or challenged.

F ..."*Hudud*" is totally useless to implement in a secular government like ours as *hudud laws seem to only target petty offenses while the law turns a blind eye to the real scourge like corruption* in our current government and allows the perpetrators to get away scott-free !

Apart from this, Hudud was also depicted as “*empowering*” or “*conferring unchallengeable unquestionable absolute power*” to those in authority. Therefore, Hudud was positioned as a source of power and to those who were given this power or authority; they were immediately portrayed as being “*tyrannical*”. These could be seen through the labelling of these groups of people; “*unaccountable clerics*”, “*innate wicked and selfish nature of men*” and “*the Muslim clerics*” (See Extract 14: A, C & D). Other references were also made by naming some of these people, “*leaders and people of States*”, Muslim clerics such as “*Azizan Abdul Razak*”, *Nasrudin Hasan*, *Taliban, Ayatollahs* and “*PAS of Kedah*” (See Extract 14: D & E). These references were negatively predicated with the depiction of their powers as “*inviolable,*

unquestionable, and ominously all-powerful fatwas”, power to *“ban non-Muslim events...and god-knows-what-else with absolute impunity”*, *“total unchallengeable unquestionable absolute power”*, and the power to *“pass legislation stating its fatwa's may not be questioned or challenged”* (See Extract 14: D & E)

Therefore, with these claims of *“absolute power”* given to those with the authority, Hudud was positioned as a failure to *“offer any protection”* against innocent victims. Instead, this *“absolute power”* was said to *“protect”* the offender from persecution and *“the continual oppressions”* of the victims. Still, the association made by the bloggers that people of authority are always tyrannical is apparently a generalization. The exercise of power is certainly subject to an individual. After all, the abuse of power is evident in any forms of law, be it secular laws or religious laws. Therefore, the emphasis given by the bloggers in implying that Hudud would continue to victimize the victims or the wrongly accused is undoubtedly an attempt to instil fear among readers.

From the overall analysis above, it can be concluded that both advocates and opponents of Hudud have constructed their preconceived views about Hudud based on their own observations. As indicated in the analysis above, generally there were indications of views being expressed through resentment over those who objected to Hudud. Although the intention was to defend Hudud, much of the text revealed prejudiced and biased views as only vague quotations were used to express these views. From the perspective of Muslim bloggers who were opposed to Hudud in Malaysia, much of their views were more inclined towards attacking PAS’s version of Hudud and by citing observations on other Hudud countries, as well as defending the Federal Constitution. It can be said that their views were liberal and they sought to look at the

issue of Hudud from Malaysian perspective. On the contrary, non-Muslim bloggers who were opposed to Hudud were much more concerned about their rights and freedom if they were to be placed under Hudud. Nevertheless, both opponents of Hudud frequently cited the need to defend the Federal Constitution of Malaysia.

4.1.3 Argumentative Strategies

According to Wodak & Meyer (2006), topoi are considered as a part of argumentation associated with the obligatory whether it is explicit or inferable premises. They are content-related warrants that connect the argument(s) with the conclusion- the claim. Similarly, this section highlights how bloggers legitimate the negative and positive attributes given to Hudud as well as the inclusion and exclusion of the law within the Malaysian context. In order to investigate these strategies, topoi will be used to analyse how bloggers rationalize or necessitate the action for or against Hudud (*See Section 3.2.4 for further explanation*). The following section will first examine the topoi used by advocates of Hudud before proceeding to opponents of Hudud.

4.1.3.1 Advocates of Hudud

This section will begin with the examination of topoi used to justify the positive representation and inclusion of Hudud. The topoi of those who support Hudud uses topoi of advantage and topoi of comparison to justify the positive representation and inclusion of Hudud. The conclusion rules for each of the topoi are explained in the analysis.

(1) The Topoi of Advantage

The topoi of advantage can be paraphrased by means of the following conditional: if an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one

should perform it (Wodak and Iedema, 2004). Focusing on Hudud, this strategy was evidently used to justify the positive representation of the law as being a religious ideal versus other system of beliefs (*See Section 4.1.1.1 (1)*). Muslim bloggers who are advocates of Hudud frequently cite that Hudud is a way of life for Muslims and the law is an integral part of the Islamic faith. Therefore, non-Muslims were told that they could not reject the law since this law was meant for Muslims. These were portrayed in

Extract 15:

Extract 15

A. How can any non-Muslim reject Hudud Law, even if they are mostly meant for Muslims? And how can the same non-Muslims reject Law even if they are used on them?

B. Hudud Law forms an *integral part of the Islamic System and way of life*. *No other religion has such laws or ways of life* that their founders and preachers could go up to the pulpit to espouse... *Worse, they do not have a legal system for their brethren to abide to*.

C. No wonder most of them *who profess the other religions or beliefs* have gone *astray without proper guidance* by their books and leaders, who have all lost whatever credibility and respect they should get, *but since their system did not insist on them having it*, they simply had to forgo it.

D. *Unlike Islam which has all of these and more*. And they are roughly divided into three categories – Halal Industry, Banking and Finance System and also *Hudud Law, all of which help to create a more conducive atmosphere for Muslims to prevail*

The seemingly lack in other systems of beliefs as claimed in the articles, implies that Muslims are at an advantage since they have the law of Hudud to guide them in becoming good Muslims. For instance, phrases such as “*No other religion has such laws or ways of life ...*” and “*Worse, they do not have a legal system for their brethren to abide to. Unlike Islam...*” (*See Extract 15: B*), further demonstrates the comparison of how other followers of other religions are without guidance or lacking a proper system of living. To highlight this advantage of being followers of Islam as oppose to followers of other religions, advocates of Hudud endorse the law as being useful for Muslims since the law would “*create a more conducive atmosphere for Muslims to*

prevail” (See Extract 15: D) and there should not be any reason for anyone, especially non-Muslims to oppose the implementation of Hudud, even if it is applied to them.

(2) The Topos of Comparison

The topos of comparison was used to justify the differences emphasized by the bloggers in terms of Muslim countries that observe the Syariah or Hudud and non-Muslim countries. These comparisons were made to justify the positive representation of Hudud as bringing transformation or doing wonders if Hudud is implemented in a country (See Section 4.1.1.1 (2)). These comparisons could be seen through quantifying the crime rate and lifestyle diseases in Muslim countries and non-Muslim countries as proof for the transformation brought by implementing Hudud.

Extract 16

A. *Implementing Hudud* in Malaysia and also in *other non-Muslim countries can do wonders to their legal system and in the conduct of the societies there as Hudud is far more superior* in that legal decisions and expectations were all drawn up *by non-humans who did not have biases* other than to *offer justice to all...*

B. And even if we were to look at the issue of *Hudud in the context of the states*, one can say that *Arab and Muslims countries are some of the more peaceful in the world, with the percentage of its people suffering from major lifestyle diseases including AIDS to be low*. They are *only prevalent in non-Muslim countries...*

C. *Criminal activities in true Muslim countries are low, compared to those in the non-Muslim countries. If there are criminal activities in some Muslim countries*, this could be due to them having *sizeable non-Muslim communities, who have their own way of conducting their daily business and activities.*

As mentioned in the analysis, a claim was made that “*true Muslim countries*” are “*some of the more peaceful countries*” in the world. In addition to this, the crime rates and lifestyle diseases in “*true Muslim countries*” were also recorded as “*low*” compared to “*non-Muslim countries*” and these numbers were “*prevalent*” in non-Muslim countries. However, the small percentage of crimes existing in Muslim

countries was apparently caused by a “*sizeable non-Muslim communities*” and their choice of living lifestyle. It is interesting to note the way the blogger seemed to “shift the blame” to non-Muslims to explain away the existence of crime in Muslim countries; “*They are only prevalent in non-Muslim countries...*” and “*If there are criminal activities in some Muslim countries, this could be due to them having sizeable non-Muslim communities, who have their own way of conducting their daily business and activities*” (See Extract 16: B & C). Hence, it could be seen that through using the topos of comparison, Hudud was justified as being able to transform non-Muslim countries and Malaysia by “*doing wonders to their legal system*”, transforming the “*conduct of the non-Muslim societies*” and “*offer justice to all*” – Muslims and non-Muslims alike (See Extract 16: A).

Similarly, the topos of comparison was also used by a non-Muslim blogger in order to illustrate the ineffectiveness of the current law in curbing crimes. This comparison was made by using comparative adjective “*stricter law*”, signifying that the current law is not “strict enough” and ineffective in combating crime that has affected innocent victims. Thus, Hudud was justified as being able to bring forth transformation in curbing crimes in Malaysia. Additionally, the comparison was also made between Muslim and non-Muslims in terms of significance of Hudud on both these groups. These can be seen through these phrases; “*Hudud is compulsory for Muslims but optional for non-Muslims*” and “, “*just as we (non-Muslims) want others to respect our rights to all the things we want to do and profess, we must also respect the rights of the Muslims.*” Extract 17 shows the following:

Extract 17

A. Look at the rates and types of crime that are occurring in Malaysia now. When I read of innocent victims being slashed, beaten up and even killed, I wished that there *are stricter laws* to curb such crimes. *Hudud just might be the answer!*

B. As for religion, PAS President, Abdul Hadi Awang, has also assured that *Hudud is compulsory for Muslims* but *optional for non-Muslims*. We can *choose whether we want to be prosecuted under civil laws or Hudud!* Hi, *we have a choice* and I view this as the *best of both worlds*.

C. Finally, *just as we want others to respect our rights* to all the things we want to do and profess, *we must also respect the rights of the Muslims*. If the majority of Muslims in Malaysia decide that *they want Hudud for themselves, and for themselves only, without forcing it on the non-Muslims, we should respect their choice*.

4.1.3.2 Opponents of Hudud

This section discusses on the topoi used to justify the negative representation and exclusion of Hudud. Muslim bloggers who oppose Hudud in Malaysia were found to be using topoi of democracy, topoi of justice and topoi of threat. Meanwhile, non-Muslim bloggers used topoi of humanitarianism, topoi of law and topoi of threat. The conclusion rules for each of the topoi are explained in the analysis.

(1) Topoi of Democracy

The topos of democracy was employed in many parts of the selected articles to justify bloggers' standpoint of going against Hudud in Malaysia. This justification was given to present Hudud as a Constitutional Impossibility (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (2)*). Therefore, the argument presented here was, since Hudud is against democracy and secularism, the law violates the Constitution (*See Extract 18: C, F, G & H*). Therefore, the law should be rejected. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized here that, these Muslim bloggers were against "*Hudud of PAS*" which they perceived as going against "*Hudud of Allah*" (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (1)*). Nevertheless, the justification used here to delegitimize Hudud was expressed by describing the law as "*not making sense constitutionally*", "*impossible to be implemented constitutionally*" and "*having a lot of conflicts with the constitution*" as shown in Extract 18: A, B, D & E.

Extract 18

A. *Constitutionally, it does not make sense* to implement Hudud Law.

B. Not only is *PAS' Hudud bill impossible to implement constitutionally...It has a lot of conflicts with our Federal Constitution...*

C. And even if it can be ascertained that the Muslims of Kelantan would have hudud imposed on themselves, *do not take their mandate as applying throughout our secular country.*

D. To me, *hudud is a Constitutional impossibility.* It will remain impossible until two-third of the membership of our Parliament is filled not only by Muslim MPs, but by Muslim MPs who actually wish to implement hudud.

E. I have stated in my article, Of wet dream, nightmare and Martyr McFly that the *implementation of hudud is a Constitutional impossibility until and unless two-third of our Members of Parliament would vote to amend the Federal Constitution* to allow it to happen.

F. *Our democracy...forms the Constitutional and legal basis of our country. This must be protected at all costs. The alternative, no matter how sweet the sound and how noble the principle, seems to be a stone's throw from despotism and authoritarian rule.*

G. The issue is not just a question of implementing a new criminal law. It involves the much wider question of whether we want to replace the current system, under which Muslims and non-Muslims agree by consensus to the laws that govern us all, with a *new system where only Muslims decide the laws of this country.*

H. When the Kelantan Government enacted its Shariah Criminal Code Enactment 1993 (famously known as hudud)... Tun came out swinging in that clear unequivocal voice of his: *Malaysia is a democracy and there is no place for hudud. Other than me, there was no one else who supported him openly on that issue.*

Consequently, due to the alleged conflict brought by Hudud upon the constitution, readers were also called out to *“protect”* the democracy of our country *“at all cost”* from Hudud, which was referred to as a *“despotism and authoritarian rule”* and a new system *“where only Muslims decide the laws of this country”* (Extract 18:F). Thus, Hudud was legitimized as being out of place in a democratic country.

(2) Topos of Justice

Topos of justice is based on the principle and claim of “equal rights for all (Wodak and Iedema, 20014). Much of the argument was against PAS’s version of Hudud which is applied in segregation; Hudud law for Muslims and civil law for non-Muslims. The way the law was applied unequally justifies the negative perception given to Hudud as “impractical” (See Section 4.1.1.2 (3)). Additionally, in response to PAS’s claim that the law of Hudud was much more effective in combating crime and ensuring justice, these bloggers questioned some of the aspect of PAS’s implementation of Hudud. For instance, the questioning of the law applied in segregation, “... *what about the non-Muslim? He or she will scott free!*” and “*it will be the Malays (Muslims) who will bear the brunt of the law*” (See Extract 19: A & B), further indicated the bloggers attempt to justify the inequality of the law if it is only imposed on Muslims.

Extract 19

A. Yes, *PAS had given its assurances that its hudud will not affect the non-Muslims*. However, they just can be put to question. For example, if a couple of Muslim and non-Muslim is caught for close proximity, only the Muslim will be punished, right? *Then, what about the non-Muslim? He or she will scot free! So, where is justice in a law that will encourage more such doings?*

B. *Why are they keeping mum when it will be the Malays who will bear the brunt of hudud laws should they ever be implemented?* Do they not think that their own people will be the ones who will suffer the most, and may even lose their limbs? Do they not know that *justice, regardless of its source, is susceptible to error, bribery and bigotry when it is overseen and implemented by humans?* If there is a miscarriage of justice the loss of limbs would be irreversible, but do these Malay leaders care?

C. Do they not know that justice, regardless of its source, is *susceptible to error, bribery and bigotry when it is overseen and implemented by humans?*

Similarly equality of gender is also highlighted to argue that Hudud would probably be used to “*favour men*” and “*women as being victims of Hudud*”. The most often cited cases here to depict this injustice are rape cases, whereby it would be difficult for a victim of rape to produce 4 witnesses to prove that the act was done

without her consent. Thus, it was argued that the failure of providing reliable witnessed would further victimize the rape victim. The extract below illustrates the following:

Extract 20

- A. ...modern day interpretations has been made in such a way that *depicts men as more superior than woman*...Hudud law will most probably *be used to favour man*.?
- B. Besides, *women are the ones usually the victims of the mis-administration of the Hudud Ordinance* as in Pakistan, especially in rape cases.
- C. As for *criminal laws on rape*, murder, *Shariah / Hudud Law can never be, even half as good as Secular Criminal Laws* because of advanced, science based, evidence collecting process and forensic. *You can never prove rape and adultery by 4 witness!*

(3) Topos of Threat

Another topos used by Muslims bloggers who oppose PAS's Hudud is clearly revealed in the blogs, explaining the harm or damages Hudud may bring if it is implemented in Malaysia (See Section 4.1.1.2 (4)). Topos of Threat is used to justify if "a political action or decision bears specific dangerous, threatening consequences; one should not perform or do it" (Wodak and Iedema, 2004). Hudud is basically brushed off as a form political endeavour championed by PAS (*'Hudud a la PAS', 'Hudud of PAS', etc.*). Thus, they justify that PAS's Hudud should not be implemented as it would threaten not only the country, but the religion of Islam as well. These forms of threat are expressed through action verbs such as "*cause damages*", "*...the damage that can be done*", "*threatens democracy*", "*manipulated and cause more harm*", and "*creates worse damage*" (See Extract 21: A, C, D & E).

Other Islamic countries implementing Hudud Law are also cited as references to further illustrate the damages suffered by their citizens due to mis-implementation of the law, such as Pakistan, where Hudud is seen as "*victimizing women*" especially in rape cases (See Extract 21: F). All these negative attributes are given to justify Hudud as a

threat. More importantly, few argue that Hudud itself is subjected to “*harmful manipulation*” which could in return tarnish the religion of Islam (See Extract 21: D & E). Therefore, with all these justifications given, these bloggers seek to explain that Hudud as championed by PAS would not bring any positive outcome, but would only threaten the country if it is implemented without further scrutiny. Extract 21 below includes few more examples that reflect the topos of threat used.

Extract 21

A. Despite their status as an Islamic country, many states that implement *Hudud Law are listed some of the most corrupt states in the world*. If this is not enough to show you *the damage that can be done by implementing the law*, I don't know what will.

B. ...modern day interpretations has been made in such a way that depicts men as more superior than woman...*Hudud law will most probably be used to favour man*.

C. Malaysia is *as corrupted as it is already with our current judiciary system, and people still want to implement a code of law that will most probably be manipulated and can cause more harm than we already have?*

D. ...it does not take much to realize that *Hudud law, due to its religious backing, is subjected to more harmful manipulation*.

E. The example of the *damage Hudud law can do to a nation is there for you to see...* Yes, criminal law can be manipulated too, but *manipulation in the name of religion creates worse damage*.

F. Besides, *women are the ones usually the victims of the mis-administration of the Hudud Ordinance* as in Pakistan, especially in rape cases.

G. Do they not know that justice, regardless of its source, is *susceptible to error, bribery and bigotry when it is overseen and implemented by humans?*

(4) Topos of Humanitarianism

The “Topos of Humanitarianism” was mainly employed by non-Muslim bloggers in many parts of the articles. This topos touches on human rights where one argues, if an action does not conform to human rights or humanitarian convictions and values, one should or should not perform or take it. This topos was evidently used by

bloggers to mainly argue against unequal treatment and discrimination, especially towards non-Muslims, which was used to justify the references given to Hudud as dangerous to them (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (5)*). Fighting for non-Muslims' rights and freedom, their arguments solely rested on the implication of the law on non-Muslims and not because they were against Islam or Muslims; ***“it would affect non-Muslims”***, ***“it could affect non-Muslims”***, ***“the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion would be infringed”***, ***“It would be unfair”***, and ***“...celebrations, especially those of non-Muslim variety...will even be permitted”*** and ***“Hudud will invariably and severely affect the lives of non-Muslim Malaysians”*** (*See Extract 22: A, C, D, F & G*).

Extract 22

A. However, as I started to study the subject, I became more and more against it...Not because I'm anti-Islam. ***But because if it is implemented, more likely than not, it would affect non-Muslims.***

B. ***Before Hudud can ever be implemented in Malaysia, statutory safeguards must be created in order to prevent it from being applied on non-Muslims. If adequate safeguards are in place, I don't see why non-Muslims would oppose Hudud.***

C. Hudud has so many hiccups which haven't been sorted out yet (***it could affect non-Muslims, it could cause injustice, etc.***)

D. If Hudud were to be imposed on non-Muslims, ***the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion would be infringed.***

E. ***Like Karpal Singh, who is dead against Hudud Law..., I am not in favour of changing our law system into an Islamic one. The reason is simple: there are 40% non-Muslims in the country. It would be unfair to implement a religious law on people who belong to another faith.***

F. ***...once the Islamic legal system has been implemented, non-Muslims will discover too late it's not something they will imagine celebrating, assuming that celebrations, especially those of non-Muslim variety like Valentine's Day, concerts by foreign artists, wearing of lipstick and perfumes, Lion Dances, dancing, Thaipusam, Cheng Beng, etc., will even be permitted.***

G. Thus, we will see ***Hudud invariably and severely affect the lives of non-Muslim Malaysians***, regardless of what mealy-mouthed promise PAS may offer to non-Muslim voters.

H. ***PAS claims it would not affect non-Malays but this is a fallacy because it will extend beyond family and religious laws.*** In criminal matters, when a case involves a Muslim and

a non-Muslim, if Hudud is chosen, it will clearly put the latter in a spot. One example is sex offences where four witnesses are required.

Following this, the action verbs such as *“affect”* and *“infringe”*, were used to show the restriction imposed by Hudud, which explained the force of Hudud against non-Muslims. These indirectly conveyed that non-Muslims would become victims of persecution and suppression of Hudud. Therefore, these circumstances were against Humanitarianism and justified the dangers of Hudud to one part of the Malaysian society. With this perceived danger brought forth by Hudud against non-Muslims, *“adequate statutory safeguards”* were demanded to prevent the law from being applied on them (See Extract 22: B). In other words, they demanded that the law must be applied in segregation, and non-Muslims must be guaranteed immunity from the laws of Hudud. However, some bloggers expressed scepticism over the effects of Hudud against them despite promises or assurance given by PAS; *once the Islamic legal system has been implemented, non-Muslims will discover too late ...*, *“regardless of what mealy-mouthed promise PAS may offer to non-Muslim voters”* and *“PAS claims...not affect non-Malays but this is fallacy...”* (See Extract 22: F, G, H). It was apparent that the bloggers had made up their mind against Hudud and any attempt taken to secure non-Muslims from Hudud was met with scepticism.

Additionally, the topos of Humanitarianism was also evident by how bloggers projected the circumstances of other Hudud implementing countries to justify Hudud as failing to uphold social justice, which all pointed out to Hudud as against freedom or human rights (See Section 4.1.1.2 (7)). To illustrate, a blogger exemplified the Jasmine revolution in the Middle East and Africa as taking place, *“due to a desire”* to *“enjoy more freedom”* and *“personal liberty”* (Extract 23: A). Apart from this, the sufferings of people inflicted by clerics with *“unchallengeable unquestionable absolute power”*

were also portrayed when arguing against Hudud through phrases such as *“have oppressed rather than protect the rights of the ordinary people”* and *“offered no protection against innocent victims but instead...protect the offenders’ persecutions and oppressions of their victims”* (Extract 23: D & E). The methods of punishment were also said to be against humanity as they were described as *“barbaric”, “gory”, “uncivilized”* and *“brutal”* (Extract 23: B). Due to the nature of the punishment, Hudud was presented to readers as against humanity and therefore Hudud must be rejected. Extract 23 below demonstrates the above:

Extract 23

A. Jasmine revolution in the Middle East and Africa did happen not because there wasn't enough Islamic/Hudud laws implemented but partly *due to a desire of their people, especially the youths, to enjoy more freedom and personal liberty.*

B. *Hudud has a bad image in modern jurisprudence and justice system. Its methods of punishment* e.g. stoning to death, cutting hands, decapitating etc. have been widely publicized and depicted as *gory, uncivilized and brutal.*

C. In an age where the world is trying to get rid of death penalty completely, *it is difficult to see how Hudud can fit into the modern justice system unless there are efforts to show that the Islamic law is consistent with modern jurisprudence and fairness.*

D. Therefore, those apologists ... have not convinced any of us, more so when we have witnessed in so many *other nations ruled by syariah-Hudud laws that such laws in the hands of unaccountable clerics have oppressed rather than protect the rights of the ordinary people.*

E. ...Syariah-Hudud laws have been unable to override tribal laws or the innate wicked and selfish nature of man, and thus *have offered no protection against innocent victims but instead, in many cases, protect the offenders’ persecutions and oppressions of their victims.*

F. *...that’s what a hudud-ruled nation would confer on its leaders, total unchallengeable unquestionable absolute power* as witnessed in Afghanistan under the Taliban, Iran under the ayatollahs, Saudi Arabia, etc., and even a whiff of that in our own Kedah where PAS has passed legislation stating *its fatwa's may not be questioned or challenged.*

G. *PAS claims it would not affect non-Malays but this is a fallacy because it will extend beyond family and religious laws.* In criminal matters, when a case involves a Muslim and a non-Muslim, if Hudud is chosen, it will clearly put the latter in a spot. One example is sex offences where four witnesses are required.

(5) Topos of Law

The topos of law was used by bloggers to describe how incompatible the law of Hudud in comparison to the current justice system as practiced in Malaysia (See Section 4.1.1.2 (6)). Responding to the claim by PAS that Hudud would effectively curb crime and corruption was met cynically. This cynical expression was expressed through the following phrases such as, “*difficult to see how Hudud can fit into the modern justice system*”, “*seem to only target petty offenses while the law turns a blind eye to the real scourge like corruption*” or “*it would just make things worse*” (See Extract 24: A, E & G). First of all, it was apparent that the bloggers have already had negative preconceived views of Hudud (See Extract 24: A, C, E, and H). Furthermore, the bloggers also resorted to elucidate readers on how fallible or inferior Hudud was in terms of combating crime and preserving justice through their observations of Hudud implemented in other countries such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan; “... *by the conduct of the leaders and people of States already having full syariah laws such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Afghanistan*” and “*as witnessed in Afghanistan under the Taliban, Iran under the ayatollahs, Saudi Arabia, etc.*” (See Extract 24: B & C). Extract 24 shows the following:

Extract 24

A. In an age where the world is trying to get rid of death penalty completely, *it is difficult to see how Hudud can fit into the modern justice system unless there are efforts to show that the Islamic law is consistent with modern jurisprudence and fairness.*

B. PAS claims that *Hudud will curb crimes and corruption haven't been supported by the conduct of the leaders and people of States already having full syariah laws such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Afghanistan etc.*

C ...that's what a *hudud-ruled nation would confer on its leaders, total unchallengeable unquestionable absolute power as witnessed in Afghanistan under the Taliban, Iran under the ayatollahs, Saudi Arabia, etc.,* and even a whiff of that in our own Kedah where PAS has passed legislation stating its fatwa's may not be questioned or challenged.

D. ...A *Syariah system, inclusive of Hudud will not cure away or even minimize corruption, injustice and misrule* or for that matter, *install a better regime of social*

justice, proper governance and compassion (as per the Compassion of Allah swt)...

E. ..."*Hudud*" is totally useless to implement in a secular government like ours as *hudud laws seem to only target petty offenses* while *the law turns a blind eye to the real scourge like corruption* in our current government and allows the perpetrators to get away scott-free !

F. PAS should also reconsider its stance in seeking to push through Hudud in Kelantan due to *its unconstitutionality and impracticality*.

G. There are *already so many anomalies with the present system*. It is **reasonably foreseeable** that the *introduction of Hudud would only make things worse*. Furthermore, Hudud involves criminal offences such as rape, theft, etc.

H. ...more so when we have witnessed in so many other nations ruled by syariah-Hudud laws that *such laws* in the hands of unaccountable clerics have oppressed rather than protect the rights of the ordinary people.

I. *PAS claims it would not affect non-Malays but this is a fallacy because it will extend beyond family and religious laws*. In criminal matters, when a case involves a Muslim and a non-Muslim, if Hudud is chosen, it will clearly put the latter in a spot. One example is sex offences where four witnesses are required.

(6) Topos of Threat

It was clearly evident from the articles that Hudud was projected as threat to non-Muslims and the Federal Constitution (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (5) & (6)*). Therefore, the argumentation produced by them was, Hudud must be rejected, considering the threats it would bring to the nation. The forms of threats were depicted as the 'aftermath' of Hudud through the following expressions; *"the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion would be infringed, "its implementation...is going to cause discomfort and distrust". "...celebrations, especially those of non-Muslim variety...will even be permitted", "invariably and severely affect the lives of non-Muslim Malaysians"* and *"Once it comes into force, no one can argue with the clerics who may decide otherwise, etc."* (*See Extract 25: B, C, D & F*). Responding to other non-Muslims who were complacent to the threats of Hudud to non-Muslims, these bloggers then rebuked this group of non-Muslims through these expressions; *"veering*

towards a dangerous situation”, “turning the clock back with their political adventurism”, “any non-Muslim who thinks that we enjoy immunity from the Islamic laws and legal system in Malaysia is wrong” and “we ignore at our own peril” (See Extract 25: H & L). Apart from this, the Federal Constitution was often mentioned to portray how Hudud violated the Constitution (See 4.1.1.2 (6)). The forms of threat were explained through the following instances; “erode Federal’s exclusive power on crime”, “alter the system that our founding father had put in place” and “undermine the mechanism that defines and functions this country which is the Federal Constitution” (See Extract 25: N). Thus, considering the threats Hudud would bring against the Constitution, the law must be opposed to “preserve” and “protect” the Federal Constitution.

Extract 25

A. However, as I started to study the subject, *I became more and more against it...Not because I’m anti-Islam. But because if it is implemented, more likely than not, it would affect non-Muslims.*

B. If *Hudud were to be imposed on non-Muslims, the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion would be infringed.*

C. *Logic should explain the apprehension* especially when Hudud has a clear religious connotation and *its implementation in a religiously and ethnically diverse society is going to cause discomfort and distrust.*

D. The problem with celebrating the 'difference' Hadi Awang alluded to, namely Hudud, is that *once the Islamic legal system has been implemented, non-Muslims will discover too late* it's not something they will imagine celebrating, assuming that *celebrations, especially those of non-Muslim variety* like Valentine’s Day, concerts by foreign artists, wearing of lipstick and perfumes, Lion Dances, dancing, Thaipusam, Cheng Beng, etc., *will even be permitted.*

E. Thus, we will see *Hudud invariably and severely affect the lives of non-Muslim Malaysians*, regardless of what mealy-mouthed promise PAS may offer to non-Muslim.

F. So again, why should we accept a Hudud system *where it replaces the current system and thus directly affects non-Muslims constituting 35% of the population.* As I said, *I’m not convinced nor assured by PAS’ promise that Hudud only applies to Muslims. Once it comes into force, no one can argue with the clerics who may decide otherwise.*

G. But PAS avowed intention to *implement Hudud*, regardless of dishonourable treachery

to its Pakatan allies, *represents a clear & present danger to non-Muslims.*

H. PAS claims *it would not affect non-Malays but this is a fallacy because it will extend beyond family and religious laws. In criminal matters, when a case involves a Muslim and a non-Muslim, if Hudud is chosen, it will clearly put the latter in a spot.* One example is sex offences where four witnesses are required.

I. Malaysia is *veering towards a dangerous situation* where there are many non-Muslim voters who are prepared to vote in orthodox PAS leaders. They don't realise that they would be *turning the clock back with their political adventurism.*

J. *We are merely kidding ourselves if we think the rules by PAS do not affect non-Muslims.*

K. We live in a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural Malaysia, *where any law, whether hudud or civil, will affect all of us.*

L. So, *any non-Muslim who thinks that we enjoy immunity from the Islamic laws and legal system in Malaysia is wrong. While we are able to ignore it in large parts of our lives, it is something that we ignore at our own peril.*

M. The reach of the law is far and wide. Unless we live in separated societies and do not inter-mix between the religious groups, *everyone is affected by the Islamic laws and legal system in Malaysia. We are not immune.*

N. By PAS seeking to introduce hudud, PAS is essentially trying to *erode Federal's exclusive power on crime and alter the system that our founding father had put in place which is clearly wrong.* This is the one of the reasons why Karpal Singh fought against the implementation of Hudud...*he was against any attempt by anyone to undermine the mechanism that defines and functions this country which is the Federal Constitution.*

O. ... *all Members of Parliament should oppose PAS's attempt to introduce hudud ...on the basis that there is a need to preserve Federal jurisdiction and protect the Federal Constitution.*

It could be concluded from the above analysis, that certain types of topoi were used to justify the positive or inclusion and negative or exclusion of Hudud. For those who were for Hudud, there were 2 main topoi identified; topoi of advantage and comparison. The topoi of advantage was used to justify the bloggers positive representation of Hudud as a religious ideal versus other belief system and topoi of comparison was used to justify Hudud as bringing transformation. In contrast, Muslims who opposed Hudud in Malaysia revealed the use of topoi of democracy, topoi of

justice and topoi of threat to justify Hudud as Hudud of the PAS, Hudud as a constitutional impossibility and Hudud as impractical and harmful. For non-Muslim bloggers who opposed Hudud, there seemed to be no positive representation given as they were generally against the implementation of Hudud. Therefore, the topos of humanitarianism, topos of law and topos of threat were used to justify the exclusion of Hudud in Malaysia; Hudud as a danger, Hudud as incompatible with the Constitution and Hudud as a failure in upholding social justice.

4.2 Overview of the Analysis

The data analysed in the study indicated that these strategies and structures revealed the existence of prejudice and biases in the social media, especially blogs, which could easily influence readers who are uncritical to the post written by bloggers. Generally, blogs are indeed used as platforms to convey and disseminate ideas and information and many readers often take them at face value. Thus, articles or posts that focus on sensitive issues, such as Hudud could be a cause of friction among people in a society. Personal blogs, although are means for people to express oneself or as a platform for discussion, could also be used to instigate one another, so much so, this study is conducted upon this realization to investigate how Malaysian bloggers represent Hudud.

Although there may be certain factual information presented by the bloggers, much of this information is at times exaggerated or mixed with their own preconceived views. It is through these views that many bloggers at times tend to legitimize their stand. For example, for advocates of Hudud, in order to defend Hudud in Malaysia, there were evidences of Muslim bloggers positioning non-Muslims and other religions negatively while attempting to make comparisons with the religion of Islam and its

followers. Additionally, these comparisons were made by collectively grouping Muslims and non-Muslims, which all seemed point out to the “us versus them: strategy. On the other hand, even though there was a hint of support given by a non-Muslim blogger by claiming Hudud as the answer for curbing crimes, other statements reveal distinctions made between Muslims and non-Muslims.

For Muslim bloggers who opposed Hudud in Malaysia, distinction were made by creating two versions of Hudud; Hudud of Islam versus Hudud of PAS. Dismissing Hudud of PAS as merely political, there were indications of negative attributes given to PAS’s version of Hudud. It also implicitly tells readers that, anything that comes from PAS should be brushed off as just a political endeavour. As for non-Muslim opponents of Hudud, there were portrayals of prejudices such as negative labelling of Hudud such as “*old Arabic “desert ruling”*” and PAS’s stupid “*who-dude” (Hudud)*”. Albeit the findings, this study has also brought to light many crucial issues, scepticism, misconceptions, fear and uncertainties over a law which is strongly connected to a religious ideology.

4.3 Conclusion

It appeared that both groups of bloggers; advocates and opponents of Hudud heavily used the “us” versus “them” strategies in their representations of Hudud under the referential, predicational and argumentative strategies. These were manifested in the form of lexical items such as superlatives, pronouns, adjectives and nouns. Following this, strategies such as generalization, categorization of certain groups of people and role allocation via active and passive verbs were also utilized.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Overview

The final chapter includes the summary of the findings on the discursive construction of Hudud in Malaysian blogs in line with the three research questions mentioned in previous chapters. The analyses of the blogs are made considering the perspective of two groups: advocates and opponents of Hudud in Malaysia. These findings are summarized before proceeding to the implications, recommendations for further studies as well as the concluding remarks of the study.

5.1 Research Question 1: How do advocates of Hudud represent Hudud in blogs?

With reference to the results, advocates of Hudud were found to use many referential and predicational strategies in their blogs in representing the law as a religious ideal versus other systems of beliefs, and Hudud as bringing transformation.

In order to advocate for Hudud, it is only reasonable for the law to be referred to positively using noun phrases to show the importance of the law in the life of Muslims such as *“an integral part”* and *“way of life”*. However, in order to defend Hudud, the law was compared favourably in contrast to other system of beliefs. This portrayal was clearly evident through the consistent use of superlative adjectives such as *“far more superior”*, *“an integral part”*, *“more conducive atmosphere”*, *“mostly meant”*, and *“how good Hudud law is”* (See Section 4.1.1.1 (1)) to depict the law as being ideal compared to other systems of beliefs or law. The idealness of Hudud was further accentuated through the use of active verbs given to Hudud such as *“help to create a*

more conducive atmosphere...”, “*can do wonders to their legal system...*”, “*offer justice to all*” and “*benefits Muslims and non-Muslims*”.

On the other hand, the “us versus them” strategy was evident through the portrayal of Hudud as a religious ideal, where non-Muslims and other religions were presented less favourably compared to Islam and Hudud. Non-Muslims were collectively grouped as “*left behind*”, “*gone astray*” and having “*no proper guidance*” which implied that other religions were lacking or inferior in embodying non-Muslims’ way of life. This assumed lack in other belief systems was clearly shown through the following statements; “*No other religion has such laws or ways of life*” and non-Muslims are “*left behind with no system to follow and be part of*” (See Section 4.1.1.1 (1)). Further generalization was also made on non-Muslims as performing the action of “*rejecting*” Hudud, which were then accused to be a hindrance for Muslims to be spiritually victorious. The use of the verb “*prevail*” was used to show the significance of Hudud for Muslims to live victoriously. At the same time, non-Muslims were also passivized in relation to Hudud since non-Muslims cannot reject Hudud regardless even if the law is imposed on them, as rejecting Hudud would mean interfering a Muslim’s way of life.

Following this, Hudud was also depicted as the agent of transformation in bringing changes in the lifestyle of the society as well as the legal system of a country. However, this “*transformation*” was apparently only needed in other non-Muslim countries. It was evident how advocates of Hudud in this study only seem to target non-Muslim countries and render them as dysfunctional without Hudud (See Section 4.1.1.1 (2)). In contrast, countries with Hudud or “*true Muslim countries*” were projected as more peaceful with lower crime rates and diseases with the attempt to present them as

“facts” without any concrete statistics or evidences. This was shown through the use of quantifiers such as “*low*”, “*more*”, “*sizeable*”, “*some of them*”, “*many*” and “*a few*”. In this case, to highlight the transformation Hudud brings to countries that implement them, the criminal activities were aggregated as numbers or statistics to indicate the participants who contributed to the criminal activities. Therefore this attempt was rendered futile as many of the observations were one-sided and not without prejudice. Further biasness were also revealed when this existence of “*low percentage of crimes*” was directed to a “*sizeable non-Muslim communities*”, who apparently were positioned as having “*their own way of conducting their daily business and activities*”. It was apparent that the strategy of shifting of blame and responsibility (Wodak et. al, 1999) were evident and non-Muslim communities were collectivized as a group to create a sense of plurality through these expressions.

Interestingly, Hudud seemed to be acknowledged as the agent of transformation by this particular non-Muslim blogger who supports Hudud in Malaysia. This was portrayed through the use of comparative adjective of associating Hudud as the “*stricter law*” in contrast to the current civil law and the “*answer*” in curbing crimes (See Section 4.1.1.1 (2)). Nevertheless, towards the end of his article, there were indications of grouping Muslims and non-Muslims separately in relation to Hudud when the blogger resorts to differentiating the significance of Hudud towards non-Muslims and Muslims. Hudud is depicted as a form of “*choice*” and “*right of Muslims*”. On the other hand, non-Muslims were requested to respect this “*right*” and to look at Hudud as providing non-Muslims “*the best of both worlds*” with regards to the legal system. Furthermore, would only be applied to “*Muslims alone*” without any compulsion on “*non-Muslims*”. Therefore, in this context, the “us versus them” strategies were used to represent a “win-win situation” for both Muslims and non-Muslims according to the

mentioned significance of Hudud to each group. While supporting Hudud for Muslims without any coercion on non-Muslims, the non-Muslims were presented as still benefitting from the transformation Hudud may bring to the nation.

5.2 Research Question 2: How do opponents of Hudud represent Hudud in blogs?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, opponents of Hudud included both Muslim and non-Muslim bloggers. For Muslims who were against Hudud being implemented in Malaysia, the argument brought forward by them is that PAS's version of Hudud is not in line with the Hudud of the Quran (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (1)*). Negative references were given to the Islamic party in order to emphasize that they were using Hudud for political endeavour rather than to uphold Islam such as *"hudud a la PAS"*, *"a PAS political game"*, *"a political 'hudud'"*, *"Hudud of PAS"*, *"PAS's Hudud"*, *"PAS's Hudud bill"*, *"Hudud law of PAS"*, *"man's hudud"* and *"tricks of PAS"*. These references were given in order to disassociate them with *"Allah's Hudud"*, *"Hudud in the Quran"*, *"Hudud of Allah"* and *"God's hudud"*. With these disassociation made, the bloggers further argued that there was nothing divine about PAS's Hudud, as theirs was a version *"that has been codified by man"*, *"a law made by some PAS leaders"* and a *"man-made criminal law"*. With the negative labeling and predications given to Hudud of PAS, this version of Hudud was further represented as *"a constitutional impossibility"* (*See Section 4.1.1.2 (2)*). This was shown through disqualifying the law by illustrating its compatibility with the Federal Constitution, such as *"having a lot of conflicts"*, *"impossible to implement"*, *"against"* and *"not applicable"*. In addition to this, bloggers also used certain concepts in their blogs to showcase readers the drawback of Hudud as against *"Democracy"*, *"Secularism"* and the *"superiority of the Federal Constitution"*.

Additionally, Hudud was further depreciated as *“impractical”* and *“harmful”* in order to refute the law (See Section 4.1.1.2 (2 & 3)). Since Hudud was positioned as PAS’s political agenda, which went in contrary to the Constitution, the bloggers further highlighted the impracticality of the law by posting rhetorical questions to readers. These were implicitly asked to question the law applied in segregation. An example of a question used to refute the law of segregation is, *“if a crime under Hudud is mutually carried out by a Muslim and a non-Muslim, how will the prosecution take place?”* Furthermore, questioning the law of segregation, they reasoned that *“only the Muslim will be persecuted while the non-Muslim gets off scott free”*. Thus, in this light, it could be said that the construction of the rhetorical questions was used to dismiss Hudud of PAS as *“impractical”* and *“without justice”*. Finally, the implementation of Hudud was also labelled as bringing harm as the implementation of the law would be conducted by men. As depicted by the bloggers (See Section 4.1.1.2 (4)), the effects of misadministration were conveyed by using the cause and effect principle such as *“bringing damage”*, *“a disgrace to Islam”*, *“favor men while victimizing women”*, *“subjected to harmful manipulation”*, and *“a danger to both Muslims and non-Muslims”*. The bloggers created mental representations to readers to explain the possible detriment of Hudud by exemplifying other Islamic countries, where Hudud is mis-administered and manipulated.

Non-Muslim bloggers’ representation of Hudud could be mainly categorized into three: Hudud as *“Danger”*, *“Incompatible”* and *“Failure”*. As explained in the previous chapter, Hudud was negatively referred to and predicated as a major threat for Malaysians as a whole, apart from being sceptical to the fact that non-Muslims are immune to the law (See Section 4.1.1.2 (5)). This scepticism was evident through the use of phrases such as *“there is no such thing”*, *“merely kidding ourselves”* and *“in*

theory at least". Acknowledging that they respect the religion of Islam and Hudud for Muslims, their main concern rested on the fact that Hudud will indeed and eventually affect non-Muslims. Thus, much of the contents debated this notion of immunity, while warning the possible dangers of Hudud on non-Muslims. These warnings were also directed to 'other' non-Muslims and perhaps to readers who believed that non-Muslims would be exempted with the law. The warnings were expressed through the use of words such as "*kidding ourselves*", "*wrong*", "*ignore*" and "*our own peril*" signifying the danger of being complacent about the effects of the law, while using pronouns such as '*I*', '*we*', '*their*' and '*my*'. Additionally, verbs such as "*affect*", "*infringe*", "*ban*", "*not permitting*" were also used to convey and describe these warnings to non-Muslims.

In terms of abiding to the Federal Constitution, Hudud was seen as incompatible to the Constitution (See Section 4.1.1.2 (6)). The Constitution is often used as a 'yardstick' to validate the implementation of the Islamic law in a secular and democratic country. To position Hudud in terms of the Federal Constitution, negative predications were given to the law, such as "*not feasible*", "*inconsistent*", "*not in line*" and "*null and void*". In order to illustrate readers the violation of Hudud against the Constitution, verbs such as "*disrupt*", "*usurp*", "*erode*" and "*alter*" were used to predicate the law negatively. In addition to this, Hudud was also depreciated as a "*failure*" to uphold social justice (See Section 4.1.1.2 (7)). This representation was evident from the way bloggers highlighted circumstances which took place in Hudud countries, such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh and Afghanistan, whereby they were depicted as failing to uphold social justice, human rights and democratic processes as well as curbing crime and corruption. Additionally, these apparent failures of Hudud were due to "*unquestionable absolute powers*", given to those in authority. With this form of

power, it was implied that Hudud will continue to oppress the victims instead of prosecuting the offenders.

5.3 Research Question 3: What argumentative strategies are used by bloggers in justifying for or against Hudud in blogs?

5.3.1 Argumentative Strategies: Advocates of Hudud

The Muslim advocates of Hudud used topos of advantage and topos of comparison to justify positive representations of Hudud. Topos of advantage is employed by advocates of Hudud to legitimize the inclusion of the law in Malaysia by positioning it as being ideal for Muslims, benefitting the non-Muslims and bringing major transformation. As shown in Section 4.1.3.1 (1), it could be clearly seen how Hudud was represented by referring and attributing the law positively while ascribing others negatively. Non-Muslims and other religions were positioned as lacking in terms of guidance to lead a proper way of life, unlike Islam. Therefore, it was justified that Hudud is indeed an advantage for Muslims and non-Muslims alike as Hudud is far more superior and is able to create wonders in the legal system and social conduct of the non-Muslim society. However, these claims were made without any support and were baseless, as it was an attempt to place Hudud at upper hand as opposed to “no-Hudud”. In other words, the blogger did not do any justice by simply “othering” other religions and no-Hudud negatively in comparison with Islam and Hudud. Thus, the way Hudud was portrayed positively by negating others could be perceived as biased and insensitive.

Additionally, topos of comparison was also used to justify how Hudud would bring transformation in Malaysia and other non-Muslim countries if the law is applied

by comparing the crime and lifestyle disease rates between “*true Muslim countries*” and “*non-Muslim countries*” (See Section 4.1.3.1 (2)). Nevertheless, the comparison made was without any substantial information and no statistics were given to prove these claims. Similarly, topos of comparison was also evidently used by the non-Muslim blogger in his defense of supporting Hudud as he believes Hudud can effectively deter crimes compared to the current civil law. However, his support of Hudud could be considered vague as he later resorts to differentiate Muslims and non-Muslims pertaining to Hudud.

5.3.2 Argumentative Strategies: Opponents of Hudud

On the other hand, topos of democracy, topos of justice and topos of threat were employed to legitimize the negative construction of Hudud, specifically Hudud of PAS as opposed to Hudud of Allah. The topos of democracy was presented by referring to the Federal constitution, which protects democracy, secularism and equality between Muslims and non-Muslims as well as gender equality (See Section 4.1.3.2 (1)). By using the topos of democracy, readers were also called out to protect the democracy of our country “*from despotism and authoritarian rule*” such as the Hudud law. Furthermore, quoting democracy, the Federal Constitution was frequently cited in order to justify the dismissal of Hudud.

The topos of justice was evident in the way these bloggers argued on the damages Hudud had brought and would bring if the law was implemented in Malaysia due to the mis-implementation of the law (See Section 4.1.3.2 (2)). Their argument was that justice may not be preserved by Hudud since the version of this law is man-made and is subject to manipulation, which will indirectly tarnish the image of Islam as a

peaceful religion. Moreover, the inequality of the law, where it is applied in segregation between Muslims and non-Muslims is unfair and would cause more injustice.

In addition to that, topos of threat was also used to justify the exclusion of Hudud as championed by PAS as its inclusion would bring threatening consequences (*See Section 4.1.3.2 (3)*). These consequences as observed in many Islamic countries included the manipulation of the law, as Hudud would be administered by men or mere mortals compared to its implementation under Prophet Mohammad s.a.w. Additionally, these manipulations were claimed to bring further damages such as abuse of powers, gender inequality and oppression of victims, which would in return threaten democracy and tarnish the image of Islam. Although it was not certain if similar situations may arise in Malaysia, the bloggers resorted to warn readers by explaining these probabilities as taking place in Malaysia if Hudud was to be implemented.

The three main topos incorporated by non-Muslim opponents to justify the negative representations and exclusion of Hudud are topos of humanitarianism, topos of law and topos of threat. Hudud as analysed in their blogs are negatively attributed. Although the purpose of Hudud is to ensure social justice and curbing crime rates, these bloggers only observe the opposite. Firstly, the bloggers mainly argue on the implication of the law as bringing discrimination and unequal treatment towards non-Muslims via the topos of humanitarianism (*See Section 4.1.3.2 (4)*). Expressing scepticism that non-Muslims are immune to the law, they justify that the law would eventually affect them in cases involving a Muslim and non-Muslims. Secondly, they also justify the exclusion of Hudud by mentioning circumstances in other Hudud countries which illustrates Hudud as against freedom or human rights. Presumably, the

bloggers intend to create awareness to readers of the sufferings caused by Hudud compared to living under the existing law.

Following this, the topos of law was used to highlight the infallibility of Hudud law in comparison to the current justice system practiced in Malaysia (*See Section 4.1.3.2 (5)*). Although it was acknowledged that there were certain anomalies in the present law, it was claimed that Hudud would make matters worse by widening the existing irregularities in the Malaysian legal system. Furthermore, they also implied that Hudud has many limitations as it only targets petty offences, instead of combating bigger crimes such as corruption in addition to bringing conflict to the penal code. To further validate their claims, other Hudud countries are again mentioned to exemplify how unsuccessful the law was pertaining to curbing crime and corruption, apart from, failing to ***“install a better regime of social justice, proper governance and compassion”***.

Due to the apparent failure of the law projected by the bloggers, they further criticised Hudud using the topos of threat (*See Section 4.1.3.2 (6)*). The threats were mainly focused on non-Muslims and the Federal Constitution. In addition to Hudud affecting non-Muslims, other non-Muslims who were complacent about the effects of the law were also seen as a threat as they were accused of ***“veering towards a dangerous situation”*** and ***“turning the clock back with their political adventurism”***. Nevertheless, these statements were politically motivated as voting for PAS would mean a vote for Hudud. Furthermore, the emergence of Hudud were portrayed by non-Muslims as a threat to the Federal Constitution, through explanation that it will ***“erode Federal's exclusive power on crime and alter the system that our founding father had put in place”***. Thus, considering the threats Hudud would bring against the

Constitution, they justified that the law must be opposed in order to “*preserve*” and “*protect*” the Federal Constitution.

5.4 Implications of this Study

In this study, the Critical Discourse Analysis was adapted for the purpose of analysing how the discourse of Hudud was represented in blogs via the strategies of referential, predicational and argumentation. Wodak’s DHA approach adapted in this study was effective in revealing the discursive strategies and linguistic features utilized in the representations of for and against Hudud in the Malaysian blogs. Moreover, as discussed above, it was evident that Hudud was represented differently by Muslim bloggers who supported Hudud, and Muslim bloggers who opposed Hudud in Malaysia. Although both groups of bloggers were Muslims, they argued that the version of Hudud as championed by PAS was not the Hudud of the Al-Quran. Whereas, Muslim bloggers who advocated Hudud believed that Hudud should be implemented and accepted not only by Muslims but also by non-Muslims as it is an integral part of the Islamic faith. On the other hand, most non-Muslim bloggers feared that Hudud would eventually affect them, although promises were given that Hudud would only be applicable to Muslims.

Therefore, it appears that this discourse of study has contributed a greater understanding on how Hudud is viewed by Muslims and non-Muslim bloggers in the Malaysian context. Although the study only included personal blogs, some if not, most of the contents do represent some of the points or assumptions held by most Malaysians. Additionally, this study has also revealed many arising questions and accusations pertaining to Hudud posted by bloggers, which must be taken into consideration when deciding to implement Hudud in Malaysia.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

As with any study, this study does have its limitation. The data used seems to indicate that Hudud is generally viewed upon stereotypically. Therefore, further researches should be conducted to include wider samples of data and other aspect of Hudud. For instance, further researches could be employed using the DHA method in analysing news portal or blogs such as *Malaysia Kini* and *Free Malaysia Today*. Additionally, since this study did not include the perspectivation and the intensification strategies, further in-depth analysis could be conducted.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

Overall, the findings of this study revealed the insights of how the discourse on Hudud is constructed by advocates and opponents of Hudud through the referential, predicational and argumentative strategies. To those who are for Hudud, there is the tendency of othering or dismissing others in favour of Hudud. To those who are against Hudud, there is notably stereotypical labelling of the law, although they may regard these labels as ‘facts’. Nevertheless, these findings have also brought to light many crucial issues, scepticism, misconceptions, fear and uncertainties over a law which is strongly connected to a religious ideology. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that all these must be answered and taken into consideration before imposing a law, which otherwise could either break or make a nation. Whilst this research is not comprehensive, considering the limitations of this study, it hopes to serve as a platform for further researches under the field of Critical Discourse Analysis.

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APPENDIX

A) Titles and Date of Blogs' Articles

Articles	Blogs	Date
Hudud: Either PAS drops it or leave PR!	Just Read	July 26, 2012
Almost certain, PAS to leave Pakatan	Just Read	July 29, 2012
Ustaz LGE likes 'hudud'	Just Read	July 30, 2012
What absolute freedom, DSAI?	Just Read	August 10, 2012
Soi Lek is only against 'hudud a la Pas'	Just Read	Oct 21, 2012
This is a better one...	Just Read	November 2, 2012
Actually...no hudud, no Islamic State	Just Read	November 21, 2012
Good news- DAP Chinese embracing Islam	Just Read	April 25, 2013
Hudud: DAP should abandon Pakatan Rakyat!	Just Read	May 2, 2013
Will PKR support hudud?	Just Read	Nov 18,2013
Karpal's NO to hudud in Kelantan	Just Read	April 3, 2014
Hudud: Abin and Isma, the wise and unwise...	Just Read	April 5, 2014
Hudud: Kit Siang tells Pakatan to Shut Up	Just Read	April 28, 2014
Hudud Postponed	Just Read	May 11, 2014
Whack! Whack! Whack!	Just Read	June 6, 2014
Stop Questioning Islam	Just Read	October 16, 2014
Crack Over Hudud	Just Read	October 18, 2014
Friday Prayer and Hudud	Just Read	October 22, 2014
Hudud laws and alibis and outright lies in the courts. ...and using or misusing islam by non-muslims to avoid persecution and to make money from it.	mansorbinputeh.b logspot	December 18 2012
Most Non-Muslims in Malaysia Generally accept Islamic Laws and Lifestyle.	mansorbinputeh.b logspot	September 30, 2012
Hudud Laws, Brunei and Malaysia, and the Arab Spring	mansorbinputeh.b logspot	October 23, 2013
Why I Do Not Agree With Hudud In Malaysia	Forever Young	April, 24 2014
Stoning 101: Is it part of Islamic law?	Forever Young	May 14,2014
PAS' Hudud is not Divine Law	Forever Young	24 June 2014
Hudud of Allah vs. Hudud of PAS	Forever Young	27 December 2014

How do you do the hudud that you do	Kee Thariq's Blog	31 Oct, 2011
Rantings over the great hudud debate	Dr. Dzul's Blog	October 3, 2011
Forging a Political Contest Beyond Hudud	Dr. Dzul's Blog	August 13, 2012
An open letter on hudud	Dr. Dzul's Blog	May 12, 2014
The hard (ying) and soft (yang) of Islamic Law.	Warong Pak Yeh	November 21, 2008
Ya Man.! Pope used Hudud Law too.	Warong Pak Yeh	September 27,2011
Let's debate on Karpal's "Criminal Law better than Hudud"	Warong Pak Yeh	August 21,2012
Will they never learn?	The People's Parliament	September 23, 2011
ABU message : Don't fall for the MCA hudud bogeyman	The People's Parliament	August 24, 2012
Balik kampung bawa berita benar : Let's bury Soi Lek's hudud spin	The People's Parliament	October 22.2012
Baljit, if you want to spin the hudud scare, at least be smart about it. If you can't be smart, shut up!	The People's Parliament	April 29, 2013
Implement hudud? God's, or man's? (1)	The People's Parliament	May 13, 2014
Implement hudud? God's, or man's? (2)	The People's Parliament	May 14, 2014
Implement hudud? God's, or man's? (3)	The People's Parliament	May 15, 2014
Implement hudud? God's, or man's? (4)	The People's Parliament	May 16, 2014
Of wet dream, nightmare and Marty McFly	ARTiculations	September 28, 2011
Hudud – Federal vs. State Legislative Powers	ARTiculations	October 4, 2011
Compulsion in Islam?	ARTiculations	October 28, 2011
Reclaiming Reason (part 1)	ARTiculations	February 12, 2013
Reclaiming Reason (part 2)	ARTiculations	February 26, 2013
The problem with Hudud ... Hudud and the crisis of representation	Azly Rahman	April 25, 2014
Why Muslims, too , are rejecting the hudud	Azly Rahman	May 9, 2014
Major flood in Malaysia because of no hudud?	Azly Rahman	December 25, 2014
The Opposition – Where are you now?	The Zaidgeist	September 26, 2011
The dilemma of a political professor	The Zaidgeist	October 4, 2011
Pakatan leaders have an attitude problem	The Zaidgeist	May 18, 2012

Anwar has changed	The Zaidgeist	January 7, 2013
Why MCA must rejoin the Government	The Zaidgeist	August 10, 2013
PAS at a Crossroads	The Zaidgeist	November 19, 2013
Morality in Leadership	The Zaidgeist	November 27, 2013
Malays have too much Power	The Zaidgeist	November 29, 2013
Make Dr Mahathir Minister Mentor	The Zaidgeist	March 27, 2014
Muslims leaders, please wake up	The Zaidgeist	April 14, 2014
Hudud without Karpal	The Zaidgeist	April 23, 2014
The Obama “aura”	The Zaidgeist	April 29, 2014
Where are you?	The Zaidgeist	April 30, 2014
“Malays are doomed.”	The Zaidgeist	May 5, 2014
Malays are doomed (Part 2)	The Zaidgeist	May 7, 2014
Call their bluff	The Zaidgeist	May 9, 2014
An open letter to Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad (and those in the Hudud Technical Committee)	The Zaidgeist	May 14, 2014
Teluk Intan, a gift from PAS	The Zaidgeist	May 27, 2014
Dear Dyana,	The Zaidgeist	June 1, 2014
UiTM, what has become of U?	The Zaidgeist	June 5, 2014
Malaysian Values	The Zaidgeist	June 12, 2014
Hudud- Silence of The lambs	The Zaidgeist	December 25, 2014
Ridhuan Tee, Hudud & Malaysia's Academic Integrity	Khoo Kay Peng	October 27,2011
Ghost from the Past, When can Malaysia Move Forward?	Khoo Kay Peng	September 29, 2011
Hudud & MCA's Lost in Transition	Khoo Kay Peng	December 11, 2011
When Can MCA Stop Flogging a Dead Horse?	Khoo Kay Peng	January 10, 2012
MCA's 'White' Chinese New Year	Khoo Kay Peng	January 31, 2012
Malaysian Chinese at The Political Crossroads Forum & Debate: Our Real Dilemma!	Khoo Kay Peng	February 19, 2012
Harping on Soros Puppet Regime Reveals a Lack of Political Agenda. Is Saifuddin Willing to Back Our Call for Anwar & Najib to Debate on Policy?	Khoo Kay Peng	October 12,2012
Consistency in Purpose	Success Principles	September 25,2011
Is non-muslims fear of Hudud implementation justified?	Success Principles	September 18, 2012
Hudud Laws	Sybreon Ones Nought	September 23, 2011
Syariah Immunity	Sybreon Ones Nought	October 3, 2011

Hudud and Malaysia	Sybreon Ones Nought	August 24, 2012
No hudud for me!	Dr.Hsu's Forum	September 24, 2011
PAS=DAP why not?	Dr.Hsu's Forum	April 30, 2013
A wake up call for Pakatan	Dr.Hsu's Forum	June 5, 2014
Don't let the sun go down on our rights	Wong Chun Wai.com	October 30,2011
All eyes on the Malay votes	Wong Chun Wai.com	November, 13, 2011
A good verbal fight	Wong Chun Wai.com	February 19, 2012
Be careful who we vote for	Wong Chun Wai.com	25 November, 2012
Non-Muslims feeling the heat	Wong Chun Wai.com	9 December, 2012
GE13: Tee Yong on song in Labis	Wong Chun Wai.com	April 18,2013
GE13: A valley divided	Wong Chun Wai.com	April 26,2013
Hudud slowly getting a foot in	Wong Chun Wai.com	April 27, 2014
Fight to keep Malaysia secular	Wong Chun Wai.com	May 4, 2014
Our right to speak up	Wong Chun Wai.com	May 11, 2014
Hudud is not the answer	Wong Chun Wai.com	June 1, 2014
Halt the overzealous theocrats	Wong Chun Wai.com	June 15, 2014
A mind-boggling spin	Wong Chun Wai.com	November 2, 2014
Does hudud affect non-muslims?	Rebutted Opinions	May 8, 2014
Is hudud feasible with the federal constitution?	Rebutted Opinions	May 8, 2014
Isma, you screwed up	Rebutted Opinions	May 10, 2014
An Overview of Hudud	Rebutted Opinions	May 10, 2014
Should Hudud affect BN's Unity?	Rebutted Opinions	May 11, 2014
Should Hudud be Implemented to All?	Rebutted Opinions	May 12, 2014
Who can Stop Hudud?	Rebutted Opinions	May 13, 2014

Is Hudud in the Bible?	Rebutted Opinions	May 18, 2014
A Good Example	Rebutted Opinions	June 16, 2014
The Future of PR	Rebutted Opinions	November 17, 2014
Why hudud is unconstitutional and impractical	Politics & Law	April 26, 2014
Hudud Law...Ok for you, moron?	Shanghai Fish	September 25, 2011
What It Means to be Malaysian Today!	Shanghai Fish	April 19, 2014
There's More than One Born Every Minute!	Shanghai Fish	May 9, 2014
Flavour of the Month	Shanghai Fish	May 22, 2014
Hudud In Malaysia	Year One Malaysia	May 4, 2014
Hudud not fair unless applied to all, says Dr M	Year One Malaysia	June 20, 2014
PAS and its Hudud	KTemoc Konsiders	May 12, 2012
Crouching tiger, hidden leopard - Dilemma in GE-13	KTemoc Konsiders	May 14, 2012
Sting in the tail (or at the end)	KTemoc Konsiders	November 18, 2012
To hudud, or not to hudud?	KTemoc Konsiders	November 21, 2013
Little evidence of justice in hudud-ruled nations	KTemoc Konsiders	November 23, 2014
PAS and its love of hudud	KTemoc Konsiders	April 23, 2014
Doctors in Kelantan may need a 'hand' or two	KTemoc Konsiders	April 24, 2014
The real objective of PAS' Hudud	KTemoc Konsiders	April 26, 2014
PAS janganlah tembak, janganlah main poker bluff!	KTemoc Konsiders	April 27, 2014
More on PAS' hudud	KTemoc Konsiders	May 7, 2014
Penang Syariah Courts Ultra Kiasu?	KTemoc Konsiders	July 9, 2014
Hudud - now elastic, now not so?	KTemoc Konsiders	December 17, 2014
Difference between PAS and DAP	KTemoc Konsiders	December 26, 2014