

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ONLINE ALTERNATIVE &
MAINSTREAM NEWSPAPERS IN MALAYSIA & PAKISTAN
DURING THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION

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To Allah Almighty for giving me courage, strength, and patience in my Ph.D. journey.

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ABSTRACT

The study discovered the representational roles of social actors (Dr. Mahathir, Najib Razak, Imran Khan & Nawaz Sharif) in alternative and mainstream newspapers (Malaysiakini, The New Straits Times, Dawn & The News) of Malaysia and Pakistan in 2018 elections' campaigns. The varied representation of social actors showed an ideological inclination of newspapers. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough's (1995) serves to discover the political developments of contexts in both countries. Social actors' representation in news reports led to differentiation of their roles through activation and passivation. It was analyzed by employing van Leeuwen's (2005) socio-semiotic analysis. Halliday's (1978, 1985) framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) also fulfills the aim of the study in disclosing the power relations among the social actors, newspapers and news reports. Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) analytical tool of 'Transitivity' analyzed the social actors' role in processes and participants that differentiate their representation in both streams of newspapers, while interpersonal realization was analyzed through Martin and White's (2005) 'Attitude' analysis. The hard news reports from online newspapers were selected on the issue of 'corruption'. The news reports were selected from April 26th, 2018 to May 23rd, 2018 in Malaysia, and July 12th, 2018 to August 7th, 2018 in Pakistan based on two weeks before and two weeks after the elections' time frames. The study's main findings showed that Dr. Mahathir and Imran Khan were the most activated social actors. In Malaysia, the social actors presented higher in 'Material' and 'Verbal' processes, while occupying the participant roles of 'Verbiage', 'Sayer', and 'Actor'. In contrast in Pakistan, most occurrences were found in the 'Verbal' process in 'Sayer' participant role through the Transitivity analysis. Higher interpersonal realization of social actors showed in 'Judgment' attitudinal resource in all newspapers. The results revealed that previous governments' performances in both countries were supported a higher negative presentation of the issue. In Malaysia, issues such as high cost of living, general service tax, corruption, 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB), and shifting loyalties of former Barisan Nasional's (BN) leaders were influential factors

that caused BN decline. In Pakistan, military involvement, corruption, and previous government corrupt practices were the main factors of political developments. The social situations (context) found the power dynamics behind the discourse. The findings will contribute in print journalism, communication studies, linguistics, cultural studies, and political science to represent the inclination of newspapers toward a particular social actor by the analysis of transitivity analysis and attitude subsystem used in news reports. This study is a beneficial contribution in literature, where the 2018 elections of Malaysia and Pakistan were not investigated earlier through textual analysis. For future recommendations, further studies are suggested to compare between Asian and Western hard news reporting on similar issues through Transitivity and Appraisal analysis.



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ABSTRAK

Kajian itu menemui peranan perwakilan pelaku sosial (Dr. Mahathir, Najib Razak, Imran Khan & Nawaz Sharif) dalam surat khabar alternatif dan arus perdana (Malaysiakini, The New Straits Times, Dawn & The News) dari Malaysia dan Pakistan dalam kempen pilihan raya 2018. Perwakilan pelaku sosial yang pelbagai menunjukkan kecenderungan ideologi terhadap akhbar. Analisis Wacana Kritikal (CDA) Fairclough's (1995) berfungsi untuk mengetahui perkembangan politik konteks di kedua-dua negara. Perwakilan pelaku sosial dalam laporan berita menyebabkan membezakan peranan mereka melalui pengaktifan dan pasif. Ia dianalisis dengan menggunakan analisis sosio-semiotik van Leeuwen (2005). Kerangka Halliday (1978, 1985) Sistemik Fungsional Linguistik (SFL) juga memenuhi tujuan kajian dalam mendedahkan hubungan kekuatan antara pelaku sosial, akhbar dan laporan berita. Alat analisis Halliday dan Matthiessen (2014) 'Transitiviti' menganalisis peranan pelaku sosial dalam proses dan peserta yang membezakan perwakilan mereka dalam kedua-dua aliran surat khabar, sementara realisasi interpersonal dianalisis melalui analisis 'Attitude' Martin dan White (2005). Untuk tujuan itu, laporan berita keras dari surat khabar dalam talian dipilih mengenai isu 'rasuah'. Laporan berita dipilih dari 26 April 2018 hingga 23 Mei 2018 di Malaysia, dan 12 Julai 2018 hingga 7 Ogos 2018 di Pakistan berdasarkan dua minggu sebelum dan dua minggu selepas jangka masa pilihan raya. Penemuan utama kajian menunjukkan bahawa Dr Mahathir dan Imran Khan adalah pelaku sosial yang paling aktif. Di Malaysia, pelaku sosial tampil lebih tinggi dalam proses 'Material' dan 'Verbal', sambil menempati peranan peserta 'Verbiage', 'Sayer', dan 'Actor', sedangkan di Pakistan, kebanyakan kejadian terdapat di 'Verbal' proses dalam peranan peserta 'Sayer' melalui analisis Transitiviti. Realisasi interpersonal pelaku sosial yang lebih tinggi ditunjukkan dalam sumber penghakiman 'Judgment' di semua akhbar. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa prestasi pemerintah sebelumnya di kedua-dua negara disokong melalui pembentangan isu yang lebih tinggi. Di Malaysia, isu-isu seperti kos sara hidup yang tinggi, cukai perkhidmatan umum, rasuah, 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB), dan peralihan kesetiaan

bekas pemimpin Barisan Nasional (BN) adalah faktor yang mempengaruhi BN merosot. Di Pakistan, penglibatan tentera, rasuah, dan amalan rasuah pemerintah sebelumnya didapati menjadi faktor utama perkembangan politik. Situasi sosial (konteks) mendapati dinamika kekuatan di sebalik wacana. Penemuan ini akan menyumbang dalam bidang jurnalisme cetak, kajian komunikasi, linguistik, kajian budaya, dan sains politik untuk mewakili kecenderungan surat khabar terhadap pelaku sosial tertentu dengan analisis analisis transitiviti dan subsistem sikap yang digunakan dalam laporan berita. Kajian ini merupakan sumbangan yang bermanfaat dalam kesusasteraan, di mana pilihan raya 2018 Malaysia dan Pakistan tidak disiasat lebih awal melalui analisis teks. Untuk cadangan masa depan, kajian lanjutan disarankan untuk dibandingkan antara laporan berita sulit Asia dan Barat mengenai masalah serupa melalui analisis Transitiviti dan Penilaian.



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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1MDB	-	1 Malaysia Development Berhad
AMANAH	-	National Trust Party
BBC	-	British Broadcasting
BN	-	Barisan Nasional
CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	-	Critical Linguistics
DAP	-	Democratic Action Party
GE	-	General Election
GST	-	General Services Tax
MACC	-	Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission
NA	-	National Assembly
PH	-	Pakatan Harapan
PKR	-	People's Action Party
PML-N	-	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PPBM	-	Malaysian United Indigenous Party
PPMRA	-	All Pakistan Print Media Regulatory Authority
PPP	-	Pakistan People's Party
PRISMA	-	Preferred Reporting Item for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses
PTI	-	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf
RCI	-	Royal Commission of Inquiry
SFL	-	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SLR	-	Systematic Literature Review
UMNO	-	United Malays National Organization

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