

Artículo de investigación

Transitivity Analysis of Election Coverage in Online Newspapers of Malaysia & Pakistan: A Study with Critical Discourse Analysis & Systematic Functional Linguistics' Perspective

Análisis de la transitividad de la cobertura electoral en los periódicos en línea de Malasia y Pakistán: un estudio con análisis crítico del discurso y una perspectiva sistemática de la lingüística funcional

Análise da Transitividade da Cobertura Eleitoral em Jornais On-line da Malásia e Paquistão: Um Estudo com Análise Crítica do Discurso e Perspectiva da Linguística Sistemática Funcional

Recibido: 24 de mayo del 2019

Aceptado: 29 de junio del 2019

Written by:

Saira Asad (Corresponding author)⁵⁵

Siti Noor Fazelah Binti Mohd Noor⁵⁶

Lutfan Bin Jaes⁵⁷

Abstract

The language of the newspaper is emerged by beliefs, speech and writing practices (Joseph, 2006). To analyze the hidden meaning behind the newspapers' text of election span 2018 in Malaysia and Pakistan, Norman Fairclough (1995) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied on news reports of 'Malaysiakini', 'The New Straits Times' (independent and mainstream online newspapers from Malaysia), 'Dawn' and 'The News' (as independent and mainstream online newspapers from Pakistan). The selected dates for analysis of news reports are 2nd May 2018 to 15th May 2018 in Malaysia, whereas; in Pakistan are 18th July 2018 till 31st July 2018, two weeks each respectively. The twenty-five (25) news reports are selected based on social actors on issue 'corruption'. The social actors are 'Dr. Mahathir Mohamad' and 'Najib Razak' from Malaysia, whereas; in Pakistan are 'Imran Khan' and 'Nawaz Sharif', who are analyzed on the social semiotic framework of van Leeuwen (2005). The data is analyzed through Transitivity Analysis from Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by Halliday, which is based on the edited work of Matthiessen (2014). Independent online newspapers of both countries have shown liberal and fair representation to all social actors, in

Resumen

El lenguaje del periódico surge de las creencias, el habla y las prácticas de escritura (Joseph, 2006). Para analizar el significado oculto detrás del texto de los periodos electorales de 2018 en Malasia y Pakistán, Norman Fairclough (1995) Teoría del análisis crítico del discurso (CDA) se aplica a los informes de noticias de 'Malaysiakini', 'The New Straits Times' (independiente y los principales periódicos en línea de Malasia), 'Dawn' y 'The News' (como periódicos en línea independientes y convencionales de Pakistán). Las fechas seleccionadas para el análisis de los informes de noticias son del 2 de mayo de 2018 al 15 de mayo de 2018 en Malasia, mientras que; En Pakistán, del 18 de julio de 2018 al 31 de julio de 2018, dos semanas cada uno, respectivamente. Los veinticinco (25) informes de noticias se seleccionan sobre la base de actores sociales en el tema "corrupción". Los actores sociales son "Dr. Mahathir Mohamad" y "Najib Razak" de Malasia, mientras que en Pakistán son 'Imran Khan' y 'Nawaz Sharif', que se analizan en el marco semiótico social de van Leeuwen (2005). Los datos se analizan a través de Transitivity Analysis de Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) de Halliday, que se basa en el trabajo editado por Matthiessen (2014). Los periódicos

⁵⁵ (Corresponding author), Centre of Language Studies, Faculty of Science, Technology and Human Development (FAST), Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia (UTHM), Batu Pahat, Johar, Malaysia. saira.asad2011@gmail.com

⁵⁶ Centre of Language Studies, Faculty of Science, Technology and Human Development, Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia (UTHM), Batu Pahat, Johar, Malaysia. email: fazelah@uthm.edu.my

⁵⁷ Centre for General Studies and Co-curricular, Faculty of Social Science, University Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia (UTHM), Batu Pahat, Johar, Malaysia. email: lutfan@uthm.edu.my

contrast; mainstream newspapers' linguistic choices are more inclined towards ruling private political interests.

Keywords: Online Newspapers, News Institutions, Hard News, Election Coverage by Online Newspapers, Malaysian and Pakistani Online Newspapers, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Transitivity Analysis

independientes en línea de ambos países han mostrado una representación liberal y justa ante todos los actores sociales, en contraste; Las opciones lingüísticas de los principales periódicos están más inclinadas a gobernar los intereses políticos privados.

Palabras clave: Periódicos en línea, Instituciones de noticias, Noticias duras, Cobertura electoral por Periódicos en línea, Periódicos en línea de Malasia y Pakistán, Análisis crítico del discurso (CDA), Lingüística funcional sistemática (SFL), Análisis de transitividad

Resumo

A linguagem do jornal é emergida por crenças, práticas de fala e escrita (Joseph, 2006). Para analisar o significado oculto por trás do texto dos jornais do período eleitoral de 2018 na Malásia e no Paquistão, a teoria da Análise Crítica do Discurso (CDA) de Norman Fairclough (1995) é aplicada em notícias de 'Malaysiakini', 'The New Straits Times' e jornais on-line mainstream da Malásia, 'Dawn' e 'The News' (como jornais on-line independentes e tradicionais do Paquistão). As datas selecionadas para a análise das notícias são de 2 de maio de 2018 a 15 de maio de 2018 na Malásia; no Paquistão são 18 de julho de 2018 até 31 de julho de 2018, duas semanas cada, respectivamente. Os vinte e cinco (25) relatórios de notícias são selecionados com base em atores sociais sobre a questão "corrupção". Os atores sociais são "Dr. Mahathir Mohamad" e "Najib Razak" da Malásia, enquanto; no Paquistão são "Imran Khan" e "Nawaz Sharif", que são analisados na estrutura semiótica social de van Leeuwen (2005). Os dados são analisados através da Análise de Transitividade da Linguística Sistemática Funcional (SFL) por Halliday, que é baseada no trabalho editado de Matthiessen (2014). Jornais online independentes dos dois países mostraram uma representação liberal e justa para todos os atores sociais, em contraste; As escolhas lingüísticas dos jornais tradicionais estão mais inclinadas a gobernar interesses políticos privados.

Palavras-chave: Jornais on-line, Instituições de notícias, Hard News, Cobertura eleitoral por jornais on-line, Jornais on-line malaios e paquistaneses, Análise Crítica do Discurso (CDA), Linguística Sistemática Funcional (SFL), Análise de Transitividade

Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is beneficial in the provision of insights into the relationship between language and ideology (Orpin, 2005). It provides a framework in news values by allowing constructed values' systematic analysis that how the events are constructed, which examines the news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Language plays an important part in our daily lives in communication. As stated by Halliday (1999) that the text is behind the linguistic system and it gets the impression from the context. Hasan (2005) on the view that the individual and society are in the form of dialectical relationship by semiotics exchanges and individuals interacts socially by their social positioning. For that media organizations always acting as a 'political actor' to speak up with persuasive actions (Page, 1996).

Nowadays, the media has emerged as an important dissemination source of information for masses in the existing democratic world (Strömbäck, 2008). Whereas, the political communication field is a medium of processing messages that have an impact directly or indirectly on politics (Graber and Smith, 2005). In related to online text language of the newspaper is explained by Bruce (2011) as the discourse including written text with social and cognitive operations in the construction and processing of news. As stated by van Dijk (1991) that the manipulation by media is a form of consensus-based on ideology.

Research Questions

The study focuses on mentioned research questions i.e.

RQ 1: How online newspapers in Malaysia and Pakistan constructed power relations during elections 2018?

RQ 2: What are the similarities and differences in the representation of General Elections before and after polling day in Malaysia and Pakistan?

RQ 3: Which transitivity choices enhanced the social actors' representation and news organizations' ideology?

Study Background

After the 2018 General Elections, the political scenario of Malaysia has taken a historical turn by the very first time win of Pakatan Harapan (PH) as a new ruling political party other than Barisan Nasional (BN), who was in rule from the time of independence 1957. As per Malaysian culture, the ruling coalition government has a stronghold or control on all the media reporting as stated by Chin in his chapter of the book (Ho et al., 2003). On the other hand, political competition has seen tougher since General Elections (GE) 2013, which changed the political communication scenario by the usage of the internet (Lumsden, 2013). It is seen that the role of the press is highly partisan in most cases towards the political parties in the election campaign coverage (Ward, 2004) and seen that in elections 2018 the results moved diversely towards political context instead of race and religion (Hutchinson, 2018).

After 1996, internet penetration increased in the form of news media after launching the Malaysian Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) (Ho et al., 2003). The Bill of Guarantees for non-censorship on media was introduced but in actual constraints was there, and the urban population preferred to shift on online readership (Ho et al., 2003). 'Malaysiakini' emerged in 1991 as the first online independent political news portal in Malaysia being published in English, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil. The publication and portrayal of three social movements initially i.e. Bersih rally, lawyers march and rally of the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) after one another by Malaysiakini in 2007 paved the way towards freedom of speech in Malaysian media culture (Postill, 2014).

'The New Straits Times'(NST) owned by Media Prima group of companies is the oldest newspaper of Malaysia, which is still in print today from 1845 and re-established in 1974. It offered its subscription by going online in 1993

and in 1998 it extended the online interactive services. After the 2018 PH win in elections, 'NST' shifted its interest towards PH, which forced BN to reduce its share from the company as stated by Najib Razak and quoted by Star online newspaper (Tan et al., 2019).

Pakistan Print Media

Pakistan's half of existence is characterized by military or its sponsored rule since 1947 (Nadadur, 2007). The freedom of media in Pakistan is being considered very complicated, as journalists can freely report on most of the issues, however, any articles found critical to the military or government and their related securities agencies are automatically censored (Zafar, 2014).

Pakistani press reflects the language diversity. Urdu newspapers have a broader circulation than English newspapers. Literacy is considered as the reason in the different distribution pattern of newspapers (Mazzera & Sial, 2010). In English language newspapers, 'The News' has the largest circulation with 140,000 and 'Dawn' has 109,000 circulations in second place. 'Dawn' as independent English daily in Pakistan is mostly read in elite, considering as the liberal and respected newspaper established in 1941.

'The News' is being published by Jang Group of Newspapers and was established in 1991. It is popularly known among politicians, people, and media as pro-government, which came into light in the 'Lawyers Movement' in 2007 (Ahmed, 2012). Almost at present, the majority of newspapers have their online free electronic paper to cater to the broader potential audience without any interest in monetary gains (Infosaid, 2012).

Literature Review

The online technology has opened up new dimensions of interconnectivity and being representing a beneficial tool in digital journalism for the dissemination of information and reveals the relationship of human actors with news organizations (Lewis & Westlund, 2015). In a comparison of media influenced Malaysian online news reports, found the positive representation of government and government authority voice was much prominent in mainstream online newspapers. In contrast, the independent newspaper had shown liberal textual standing. While in Pakistani media perspective, Rizwan (2019) employed SFL on the text of Dawn.com and Zem.tv.com for integrating the

theistic worldview of Pakistani social media users. The SFL analysis showed that the strategies of legitimation were interpersonally charged by the usage of certain lexicogrammar choices, which embodied theistic worldviews of people. The grammatical choices construe change in a clause and the relationship between media and text contributes to the changing genres (Chandler, 1997).

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach in which a larger discursive unit of text is found by scholars as a basic unit of communication. In the 1970s, the analyzing of text and discourse was emerged by the language role in the development of power relations in society. In-text analysis, ideology has emerged as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining imbalanced power relations. Every text has its notions of ideology, power, gender, hierarchy and sociological variables, which are related to interpretation and explanation of the text. In the context of Critical Linguistics, van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1989) and van Leeuwen (2005) contributions serving to explain the main principles, procedures, and assumptions.

Media Discourse

'Critical Linguistics (CL)' describing discourse in language for exploring the meaning. CL is based on Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics theory (1978, 1985) as explained by Christian Matthias Ingemar Martin Matthiessen (2014) in his latest edited book. The work on media discourse by the influential researchers is van Dijk (1986), Ruth Wodak (2006) and Norman Fairclough (1995). van Dijk was on the view that the cognitive approach is perceived by an individual, which is shown through genre (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). van Dijk (1991) explained the manipulation of text by media is a form of an ideological consensus that supporting the dominant role in society. While Ruth Wodak (1989) on the view that the historical approach in discourse perceiving spoken and written the language as a social practice in society (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Norman Fairclough stated in the book chapter to elaborate his view that every practice includes; productive activity; means of production; consciousness; social identities; social relations and semiosis elements (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

The current study also employs Foucault's (1980) notion of ideology, in which power is presented everywhere as described by Foucault's notion of ideology by Daldal (2014) and these relations are united in a specific time frame (Foss and Gill, 2009).

Norman Fairclough Approach

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) \ Dialectical – Relational Approach (DRA) in CDA has emerged from 'Critical Linguistics' that is developed in the 1970s at the University of East Anglia. CDA initially was developed by Lancaster School and Norman Fairclough as a researcher was the most prominent figure from this school. The valuable contributions have been observed from Karl Marx, Jürgen Habermas, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Michael Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu to examining ideologies and power relations in discourse.

Fairclough stated (1995) that texts are as social spaces in which representation of the world, cognition by social interaction as two processes socially occur simultaneously. Fairclough has explained three phases of text, firstly text is affected by social-cultural practice then the production process occurs and lastly, the interpretation occurs. This relationship between discourses is known as dialectical, which connects language with ideology (Wodak, 2006) and the social practices are attached to their specific historical contexts of specific interest (Janks, 1997).

Social Semiotic Framework

The social actors are analytical discourse categories, which are the textual instantiations of models. van Leeuwen framework (2005) of the social actor is employed in which social actors can be excluded or included; or by the assigned different rearrangements roles (Dawari and Moini, 2016).

The online newspapers differ from printed ones like instantaneity, interactivity, and layout. But the main focus of the study is online hard news analysis of the linguistic choices present in the news discourse. The hard news refers to 'neutral' and 'just the facts' reporting (Thomson et al., 2008). In the current study, the political news on elections is selected based on social actors in Malaysia and Pakistan. In Malaysia, 'Dr. Mahathir Mohamad', 'Najib Razak', whereas; in Pakistan are 'Imran Khan' and 'Nawaz Sharif'.

Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

In 1978, Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday introduced Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The presentation of systemic functional categories opts in the analysis of CDA in its early stages in the work of Wodak (1989), Fairclough (1989) and Fowler (1996). The authors such as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2014), Eggins and Unsworth (2004), van Leeuwen (2005), and Halliday and Greeves (2007), are offering a review of Halliday's works that both theoretically and analytically illustrating the CDA and SFL connection together.

An advantage of SFL is text analysis for explanatory links between the choices of lexicogrammar and the relevant context (Thompson, 1999). It is a functional explanation based on a social-semiotic interpretation of meanings (Halliday, 1999). SFL focuses on the clausal level and rooted in structural grammar. A text analyzed in four ways in SFL i.e. context, semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology. Halliday categorized the context of language in two parts i.e. the context of culture and context of the situation. The situation type can be characterized in the terms of field, tenor and mode as per the explanation of Halliday in the book of Matthiessen (2014).

- Field: The status of the situation emerges.
- Tenor: The role of language in socio-semiotic.
- Mode: The role of language in the situation.

Halliday also proposed three metafunctions of language i.e.

- Interpersonal functions enact patterns of social relations – tenor.
- Textual functions present ideation and interpersonal functions - mode.
- Ideational functions serve for construing patterns of social activity – field.

The interpersonal function explains the relationship between the interaction and semantic organization (Eggins, 2004). Textual functions are structural configurations (Eggins, 2004).

Lexicogrammar – Ideation Function

Lexicogrammar term is used for describing of continuity between the lexis and grammar. Lexis and grammar are two poles of a single continuum which are explained as systems of features. A clause comprises of phrases by comprising of all three metafunctions of language. Clause as the exchange is 'Transitivity'. As stated by Eggins (2004) the semantic representation of a clause is analyzed in terms of the following:

- Participants (actor, goal, sayer, etc.) – nominal group
- Processes (material, verbal, mental, etc)-verbal group
- Circumstances (location, manner, etc.) – adverbial group or prepositional phrase

In 'transitivity' all processes are associated with different labels, these are: material, verbal, mental, relational, behavioral and existential as Matthiessen (2014) explained Halliday's analytical framework. The material clauses construe a change in the event by showing doing – the Actor e.g. 'Ahmed' started 'walking'. In this Ahmed is an 'Actor' and his action 'walking' is associated with him. The other participant roles of 'actor' are Scope, Client, Recipient and Attribute. Verbal process making setting up dialogic passages e.g. Noor said that "she will do the task". 'Noor' is a 'Sayer'. The verbal process is based on three functions of participant i.e. Receiver, Verbiage, and Target. The mental clause construes a change in the existing events of our consciousness e.g. I heard a noise. 'Heard' is a mental process and 'Sensor' and 'Phenomena' are other roles associated with it.

The relational clauses having 'be' and 'have' as the main verb with words of sensing for bringing change in a clause e.g. Those pens to belong to my friends. 'Pens' have shown a relation (belonging) with friends. The structure of the relational clause can be either Possessor/Token/Identified or Attribute/Value/Identifier. The behavioral clauses construe change by the behavior of participant e.g. He was running. 'Running' is showing 'Behaviour/Behaving' of an actor. In the existing process, the 'Theme' is the feature of the text, e.g. There are beautiful flowers in the garden. 'There' representing a presence of flowers at a particular place.

Methodology

The data is gathered from one week before and one week after polling day i.e. from 2nd May 2018 to 15th May 2018 in Malaysia from 'Malaysiakini', 'The New Straits Times', whereas; in Pakistan, the dates are 18th July 2018 till 31st July 2018 from 'Dawn' and 'The News' on the basis of social actors. The social actors' category can be deleted and role allocation can be given as per requirement (van Leeuwen, 2005). 'Election Day' in Malaysia was 9th May 2018, whereas; 25th July 2018 in Pakistan. The number of collected news reports as the sample is twenty-five - 25 (10,069 words) from all four

newspapers based on downsized data to cater a huge data into a manageable sample on the issue of 'corruption'. The final number of news reports from 'Malaysiakini' is '9' (3,593 words), 'The New Straits Times' '3' (1,180 words), 'Dawn' '6' (2,644 words) and from 'The News are' '7' (2,652 words) respectively. The collected sample is manually downloaded from online newspapers' websites and pasted in word file. In the second stage, it is pasted in the 'Excel' spreadsheet software package in clausal form for analysis of text via the transitivity process.

Results

The results are shown in three categories i.e. activation/passivation, transitivity process and social actors' role as a participant. The findings in the first category of activation/passivation reveal that Dr. Mahathir as the most active doer in 'Malaysiakini' falling under 71% role inactivation with 86 occurrences, whereas; Najib Razak has clinched 29% with 15 occurrences in activation role. In passivation, Dr. Mahathir has achieved 78% with 22 occurrences, in contrast; Najib Razak has 22% with 5 occurrences. 'NST' has shown Dr. Mahathir with 79% with 23 occurrences in activation role, whereas; Najib Razak with 21% with 6 occurrences. In the passivation role, NST has shown Najib Razak with a higher percentage of 58% with 7 occurrences, while Dr. Mahathir is given with 42% with 5 occurrences.

However, in Pakistan Dawn has represented Imran Khan by 58% with 51 occurrences in the activation role and Nawaz Sharif by 42% with 37 occurrences. Passivation role is also dominated by Imran Khan by clinching 87% with 7 occurrences, in contrast; Nawaz Sharif is seen with 13% with one occurrence in data. In comparison to the independent online newspaper it is seen that 'The News' also given more representation with 95% to Imran Khan with 100 occurrences in activation role and 100% given in passivation role with 5 occurrences in the same category, whereas, Nawaz Sharif only represented in activation role with 5% by 3 occurrences.

In the second phase of data analysis in the transitivity process, it is seen that 'Malaysiakini' represented Dr. Mahathir in the verbal process the most with 60% by 71 occurrences, in contrast; Najib Razak is represented as an 'actor' with 46% by 5 occurrences. 'NST' presented Dr. Mahathir as an 'actor' in the most powerful role with 46% by 14 occurrences, whereas; Najib Razak only represented as an 'actor' with 100%

by 11 occurrences. In Pakistan, 'Dawn' has given 65% role to Imran Khan in the 'verbal process' the most with 38 occurrences, whereas; Nawaz Sharif is also seen most actively presented in 'verbal process' with 89% by 34 occurrences. In comparison to 'Dawn', it is again seen that 'The News' has represented both social actors the most in 'verbal process' by giving 66% with 68 occurrences to Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif has got 60% with 3 occurrences.

In the third phase of data analysis in participant role, 'Malaysiakini' represented Dr. Mahathir in the most powerful role of 'verbiage', where he is represented with 34% by 37 occurrences, whereas; Najib Razak represented with powerful 'actor' role with 29% by 6 occurrences. In comparison to the independent newspaper, 'NST' presented Dr. Mahathir with 37% by 11 occurrences in the 'actor' role the most. Najib Razak is seen mostly presented in news with 55% by 6 occurrences in the 'actor' role. In Pakistan, 'Dawn' represented both party leaders the most in 'sayer' role by giving 40% with 23 occurrences to Imran Khan, whereas; Nawaz Sharif with 71% by 27 occurrences respectively. In comparison to the independent newspaper 'The News' also has given both leaders the most roles in 'sayer'. Imran Khan has 55% with 57 occurrences; whereas, Nawaz Sharif has 60% with 3 occurrences.

It is found by the analysis of before election coverage in 'Malaysiakini' that Dr. Mahathir is presented the most as 'actor' with higher representation as compared to Najib Razak. In comparison, Dr. Mahathir has more representation after the election in the passivation role than Najib Razak. NST has shown a representation only after the election in which Dr. Mahathir has represented as 'actor' the most as compared to Najib Razak. NST gave Najib Razak a higher representation in the passivation role.

In Pakistan, 'Dawn' has given all coverage before elections and Imran Khan with the highest representation than Nawaz Sharif inactivation and passivation role. 'The News' also represented the most Imran before and after elections as compared to Nawaz Sharif, who is not seen anywhere after elections.

Discussion

By the transitivity analysis of newspapers' text, the answer to the research question '1' could be that the linguistic choices enact power relations. By the usage of words by quoting directly actor

like (he) 'claimed', 'suspected', 'accused', 'noted', 'added', 'chaired' etc. given the impression to read as full responsibility is on the actor. Mostly in 'Malaysiakini', 'The New Straits Times', 'Dawn' and 'The News' in Malaysian and Pakistani newspapers direct quotations have been used extensively. As Bell (1991) stated that direct quotation is strong evidence as a fact, which disowns the journalist what has been quoted in the newspaper.

In answering the second research question of social actors' representation before and after elections, it is found that in Malaysia, independent newspaper 'Malaysiakini' given fair coverage to issue before and after elections but mainstream newspaper 'NST' refrained coverage on particular issue before elections as ruling BN government was stricken by 1MDB corruption scandal and due to under government's influence organization, it refrained coverage. The findings are similar to Hjarvard and Kristensen (2014) study, where people and organizations' voice compete with newspaper and become an influential ideology.

'NST' represented Najib Razak by words like, 'Najib has denied wrongdoing', 'Ousted Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Razak and 'Najib appeared to raise doubts', etc. which are showing the defending statements by a first runner up in the election. Dr. Mahathir is presented by 'NST' like, 'Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad brushed aside doubts', 'leader of PH' etc. giving authority to the actor. The findings are similar to the research of Ramanathan and Hoon (2015) where the highest group has portrayed with a positive image.

In Pakistan, Dawn has given a share to both politicians in the 'sayer' role only before elections on the issue but it is highlighted the most by Imran Khan. Due to arrest against corruption cases of Nawaz Sharif, he is seen nowhere. The findings are similar to Lee and Lin's (2006) research where the storyline was sketched as factual happenings.

Before elections, Imran Khan is seen as the most active doer. Nawaz Sharif is not seen in both roles after elections. 'The News' seems to be shifted his inclination more towards facts. Imran Khan has been quoted directly by words like, 'PTI Chairman said', 'he hoped', 'PTI Chief said', 'he pledged', 'Imran announced', 'PTI chairman alleged' etc. By the choices of words, it seems that all authority is given to an actor in clauses. The findings are supporting the research question '2'. The findings are similar to the

research of Ahmed (2016) that 'The News' shown its inclination towards changing political scenario, whereas 'Dawn' is considered by its unique ideological thoughts in Pakistan. The findings are also supporting the answer to research question '3'.

It is a new concept of researching with linguistic comparative analysis of two Muslim Asian countries. The same pattern can be implemented for future research with the perspective of CDA and SFL with a combination of independent and mainstream newspapers.

Conclusion

The independent and mainstream newspapers in Malaysia and Pakistan have portrayed their role as per their ideology and existing political scenario/culture. Both newspapers in both countries have taken a direct source for quoting to influence the reader on the sensitive issue of corruption before and after the elections. 'Malaysiakini' and 'Dawn' as an independent newspaper in Malaysia and Pakistan have been found neutral in reporting by giving fair representation to social actors, while 'The New Straits Times' in Malaysia represented corruption issues only after elections under new government rule. 'The News' in Pakistan has shown his inclination towards the existing facts in the 2018 elections. In a nutshell, independent newspapers presented a democratic voice by giving an equal share of representation of all social actors, while; mainstream newspapers defended more private political interests.

References

- Ahmed, J. (2016). Coverage of Pakistan General Election 2008 in Leading Pakistan English Newspapers: Exploring Agenda Setting. *Global Media Journal*, 9(2), 1–16. Retrieved from <http://www.gu.edu.pk/New/GUJR/PDF/June-2013>
- Ahmed, Z. S. (2012). The Role of the Pakistani Mass Media in the Lawyers' Resistance against the Musharraf Dictatorship, 2007- By Zahid Shahab Ahmed. *Pakistaniaat*, 4(3), 61–77.
- Bednarek, M. and Caple, H. (2012) "Value added": Language, image and news values', *Discourse, Context and Media*. Elsevier, 1(2–3), pp. 103–113. doi: 10.1016/j.dcm.2012.05.006.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media* (First, Vol. 15). Basil Blackwell Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.2307/416501>

- Bruce, I. (2011). Genres on the Web, 42. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-9178-9>
- Chandler, D. (1997). An Introduction to Genre Theory. The Media and Communications Studies Site, (August), 1–15. Retrieved from http://faculty.washington.edu/farkas/HCDE510-Fall2012/Chandler_genre_theoryDFAnn.pdf
- Daldal, A. (2014). Power and Ideology in Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci: A Comparative. American Research Institute for Policy Development, 2(2), 149–167. Retrieved from http://rhpsnet.com/journals/rhps/Vol_2_No_2_June_2014/8.pdf
- Davari, S., & Moini, R. M. (2016). The Representation of Social Actors in Top Notch Textbook Series: A critical discourse analysis perspective. International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Research, 4(13). Retrieved from http://jfl.iaun.ac.ir/article_14880_0.html%0A
- Eggins, S. (2004). An Introduction to Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. Journal for the Study of English Linguistics (Second). Continuum International Publishing group, London. Retrieved from [file:///C:/Users/dell/Downloads/Suzanne Eggins - An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics \(2005, Continuum\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/dell/Downloads/Suzanne%20Eggins%20-%20An%20Introduction%20to%20Systemic%20Functional%20Linguistics%20(2005,%20Continuum).pdf)-downloaded library genesis
- Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language. (First). New York: Longman Group Limited, America.
- Foss, S. K., & Gill, A. (2009). Michel foucault's theory of rhetoric as epistemic. Western Journal of Speech Communication, 51(4), 384–401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10570318709374280>
- Foucault, M. (1980) Power/Knowledge. Fifth. Edited by C. Gordon. The Harvester Press, USA.
- Fowler, R. et al. (1979) Language and Control. First. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1979.
- Graber, B. D. a, & Smith, J. M. (2005). Political communication Faces 21st Century. Journal of Communication, 479–507. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2005.tb02682.x>
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1999). Text & Context in Functional Linguistics-The Notion of "Context" in Language Education. (M. Ghadessy, Ed.) (First). John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam & The Netherlands.
- Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2014) Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar. Fourth. Edited by C. M. I. M. Matthiessen. Great Britain: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9780203431269.
- Hasan, R. (2005). Pedagogy and Shaping Conscious (E): Linguistic and Social Processes-Ch#1-Society, language and the mind: the meta-dialogism of Basil Bernstein' s theory. (F. Christie, Ed.) (Second). Great Britain: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.
- Hjarvard, S. and Kristensen, N. N. (2014) 'When media of a small nation argue for war', Media, War and Conflict, 7(1), pp. 51–69. doi: 10.1177/1750635213516560.
- Ho K.C, Kluver, R., Yang, K. C. C., & Paso, E. (2003). Asia.com. (M. Seldon, Ed.). RoutledgeCurzon, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York.
- Hutchinson, F. E. (2018) 'Malaysia's 14 General Elections: Drivers and agents of change', Asian Affairs. Taylor & Francis, 0(0), pp. 1–24. doi: 10.1080/03068374.2018.1521126.
- Infoasaid (2012) Pakistan Media and Telecoms Landscape Guide.
- Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 18(3), 329–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0159630970180302>
- Joseph, J. E. (2006) Language and Politics, The Handbook of Applied Linguistics. Edited by K. Davies, Alan & Mitchell. Edinburgh University Press, Great Britain. doi: 10.1002/9780470757000.ch14.
- Lee, F. L. F., & Lin, A. M. Y. (2006). Newspaper editorial discourse and the politics of self-censorship in Hong Kong. Discourse and Society, 17(3), 331–358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506062371>
- Lewis, S. C. and Westlund, O. (2015) 'Actors, Actants, Audiences, and Activities in Cross-Media News Work', Digital Journalism, 3(1), pp. 37–41. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2014.927986.
- Lumsden, L. J. (2013). How Independent? an Analysis of Ge13 Coverage By Malaysia' S Online News Portal Coverage Sejauh Mana Kebebasan? Satu Analisis Liputan Pru13 Oleh Portal Berita Atas Talian. Malaysian Journal of Communication, 29(2), 1–30. Retrieved from <http://ejournals.ukm.my/mjc/article/view/15020>
- Mezzera, M. and Sial, S. (2010) 'Media and Governance in Pakistan: A controversial yet essential relationship', Initiative for Peacebuilding.
- Nadadur, R. D. (2007). Self-censorship in the Pakistani print media. South Asian Survey, 14(1), 45–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097152310701400105>
- Orpin, D. (2005) 'Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze', International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 10(1), pp. 37–61. doi: 10.1075/ijcl.10.1.03orp.
- Page, B. (1996). The Mass Media as Political Actors. Political Science & Politics, 29(1), 20–24. <https://doi.org/137.111.13.162>
- Postill, J. (2014). A Critical History of Internet Activism and Social Protest in Malaysia, 1998–

- 2011*. *Asiascape: Digital Asia*, 1(1–2), 78–103. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-12340006>
- Ramanathan, R. and Hoon, T. (2015) 'Application of Critical Discourse Analysis in Media Discourse Studies', *3L: Southeast Asian Journal of English Language ...*, 21(2), pp. 57–68.
- Rizwan, S. (2019) 'Legitimation strategies and theistic worldview in sociopolitical discourse: A systemic functional critical discourse analysis of Pakistani social media discussions', *Text & Talk an Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies*, 39(2), pp. 235–260. doi: 10.1515/text-2019-2026.
- Stromback, J. (2008). Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(3), 228–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161208319097>
- Tan, T. et al. (2019) 'Star online (newspaper) NST no longer friendly with us, laments Najib', *Star online*, July. Available at: <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2019/07/04/nst-no-longer-friendly-with-us-laments-najib/>.
- Thompson, G. (1999). *Text & Context in Functional Linguistics- Acting the part Lexico-grammatical choices and contextual factors*. (M. Ghadessy, Ed.) (First). s Publishing Company, Amsterdam & The Netherlands. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uthm-ebooks/detail.action?docID=623206>. Created
- Thomson, E. A., White, P. R. R., & Kitley, P. (2008). Objectivity” and “hard news” reporting across cultures: Comparing the news report in english, french, japanese and indonesian journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 9(2), 212–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700701848261>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991) *Racism and the press*. First. Edited by R. Miles. London and New York: Routledge. doi: 10.1016/0378-2166(94)90021-3.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2005) *Introducing Social Semiotics*. First. USA & Canada: Routledge. Available at: <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/3739/>.
- Ward, D. (2004). *The Media and Elections: A Handbook and Comparative Study*. (D. & L. B.-P. Ward, Ed.). Great Britain: Routledge & Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, New Jersey, 07430. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uthm-ebooks/detail.action?docID=234217>. Created
- Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. (M. Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Ed.), *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* (First, Vol. 209). SAGE Publications Ltd 6 Bonhill Street London EC2A 4PU.
- Wodak, R. (2006). Mediation between discourse and society: Assessing cognitive approaches in CDA. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 179–190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445606059566>
- Zafar, A. (2014). *Media & Elections: General Election Campaign (2013) in Pakistan and The Role of Media*, (February). <https://doi.org/10.13140/2.1.4227.4242>