Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities

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Editorial Statement

Pertanika is the official journal of Universiti Putra Malaysia. The abbreviation for Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities is *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. Hum.*

Preface

In an age when borders are blurred or erased, the preoccupation with globalisation tends towards universality, and it inadvertently or deliberately encourages the convergence of diverse views into a singular, monolithic perspective. The richness of life and the world, however, lies both in universals and distinctions: in unified outlooks and standardized conventions, as well as individual, distinctive ways of being. There is value in consensus, and there is validity in alternative, contrasting viewpoints.

Universals and distinctions co-exist in abundance in media discourse. Media, be it in print or electronic form, typically cut across borders to connect diverse audiences and language users. Discourse in the mass media is filled with monolithic representations of people and events, as well as fragmented perspectives on them. Social, economic and political events may be myriad but discursive analysis will show that a common thread of underlying unequal power distribution runs through many. Discourse in electronic mediated environments necessarily requires a universal language, but is itself characterized by distinctive linguistic features or gender-based specificities. Mediated learning environments, despite transcending physical spatial and temporal borders, are also diverse in their practices.

Cultural discourse often problematises universality. There is a need to explore the threat to the smaller, distinctive cultures of the world that could tragically be trampled underfoot in the rampant march of globalisation leading towards sameness. There is a tension between the desire to achieve a single identity and the desperate struggle to maintain individual ones.

Research on discourse in media and culture highlights the co-existence of universals and distinctions, as well as the tension between them, in those contexts. The papers in this Special Issue contribute to that ongoing effort.

On that note, we would like to acknowledge the people who have helped us to bring this publication into being. This Special Issue would not have been possible without the kind approval and cooperation of Dr Nayan Deep S. Kanwal, Chief Executive Editor (UPM Journals) and Head of Journal Division. We would also like to thank Puan Kamariah Mohd Saidin, Head of UPM Press, for arranging the printing of the journal. Finally, we express our deepest gratitude to the referees of the journal articles, most of whom reviewed more than one article despite their own tight schedules.

Mardziah Hayati Abdullah
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Mass Media Discourse: A Critical Analysis Research Agenda

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I aim to revisit some key issues in approaches to research on mass media texts from a discourse analytical perspective and to present a rationale, as well as a Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) framework for analysis of mass media discourse. I then consider a number of areas of critical research interest in mass media discourse locally and elsewhere. Examples of actual CDA research on mass media discourse are reviewed in terms of topics of apparent popular interest among practitioners such as racist discourse in news reporting, language of globalization and neo-capitalism, and war news reporting, before listing methodological, as well as topical agenda by a major proponent in the field for further work. The article concludes that CDA's multidisciplinary approach to research on mass media discourse helps reveal hidden socio-political issues and agenda in various areas of language as social practice and in doing so potentially empowers the individual and social groups.

Keywords: CDA, critical analysis, mass media discourse, critical discourse studies, language and power, media texts analysis, media research agenda

INTRODUCTION

Mass communication is a form of human communication practice, how human beings "talk" to one another via verbal and non-verbal means, but which concerns messages that are essentially transmitted through a medium (channel) to reach a large number of people (Devito, 2011, p.2; Wimmer & Dominick, 2012). Mass media are channels that carry mass communication and almost all research into the latter "is based on the premise that the media have significant effects" (McQuail, 1994, p.327) on the affairs of people. From the outset, for a clear perspective on the issues concerning mass media effects, it is useful to illuminate what constitute mass

media in current communication studies, i.e. "any communication channel used to simultaneously reach a large number of people, including radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, billboards, films, recordings, books, and the Internet. ...[as well as] the new category *smart mass media*, which include *smartphones*, *smart TVs*, and *tablets*" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2012, p.2). The last three smart media types mentioned are essentially stand-alone computers that can be used to communicate through tweets, blogs, text messages, email and other social media posts (Wimmer & Dominick, 2012), as well as specific traditional media genres such as news, advertising, film, and TV programmes.

In this article, I aim to revisit some key issues in approaches to research on mass media texts from a discourse analytical perspective and to present a rationale as well as a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework for analysis of mass media discourse. I then consider a number of areas of critical research interest in mass media discourse locally and elsewhere.

Despite the advances in mass communication and associated smart social media technologies and related media product spinoffs over the years, it appears that mass media research probably began to merge with discourse/language analyses circa the 1980s. Given the centrality of language as the primary semiotic modality in all forms of communication, van Dijk (1985) noted at the time that "despite their common interest for text, talk and communication" and particularly a methodological link in content analysis, the two vast fields of mass communication and discourse analysis "seemed to ignore each other" (p.v).

Hence, van Dijk advocated that "classical methods of [quantitative] content analysis...be usefully combined with...a critical, ideological analysis" because "there is no strict distinction between content analysis on the one hand and explicit discourse analysis on the other hand, e.g. along the quantitative-qualitative dimension or according to whether observable or latent categories are studied" (1985, p.4). Although van Dijk's own work over the years has tended to focus on news racism, he has also used a combination of content analysis and discourse analytical categories or structures (see e.g., van Dijk, 1993; van Dijk, 1997) to address social issues in mass media discourse and their related sociocultural and cognitive aspects (see also development in thinking about discourse comprehension in van Dijk, 2004). Fairclough (1995b) adopts a poststructuralist, sociocritical approach to set an agenda for studying the media *and* language "which readers can use themselves to pursue their own interests in mass media" (p.2).

Wodak and Busch (2004) have reaffirmed this coming-together of paradigms drawing support, as it were, from "observers [who] speak of 'a qualitative turn' in media studies" (p.105). These critical discourse analysts argue that in recent approaches to media texts, with the somewhat "decentralization" of the notion of "text" (p.106) presumably relative to other aspects of "discourse" (or text in

context), analysts have, therefore, refocused their interest on the "(social, cultural, and political) context and ... the 'localization' of meaning" (Wodak & Busch, 2004). This reorientation of research focus has taken place in tandem with a similar interest shift in approaches to texts in linguistics to the extent that media texts regularly populate data corpora in linguistic analysis. As a case in point, Wodak and Busch (2004) noted that "more than 40% of the papers published in the leading journal *Discourse & Society* are based on media texts" (p.106).

Moreover, it had been argued previously that approaching mass media studies from a paradigm-based vantage was fraught with inconsistencies and speculations, not to mention turf wars (see for e.g., Berkenkotter, 1991; Gage, 1989). Given that a "paradigm" is defined as "a consensus among scholars" or "the entire global set of commitments shared by the members of a particular scientific community" (Kuhn, 1977, p.xix, as cited in Potter *et al*., 1993, p.317), "[t] here is a good deal of speculation about the sets of assumptions or paradigms in various fields of social science" (Potter *et al*., 1993, p.318) in which most mass media research appeared to have been done (more than 60% in the social science paradigm compared with about 34% in the interpretive paradigm and less than 6% in the critical one) (p.317). Hence, Potter *et al*. (1993) concluded that even though the social science paradigm may emerge as the majority paradigm in mainstream communication research journals, it "could not be considered a dominant paradigm in the research field"

(p.317) in question. Perhaps, as van Dijk (1996) has noted, instead of focusing on the effects of mass media from a communication studies perspective, discourse-oriented research could investigate "properties of the social power of the … media …, not restricted to the influence of the media on their audiences, but [which] also involves the role of the media within the broader framework of the social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society" (p.9).

Elsewhere in the literature, proponents of mass media analysis, albeit with a clear focus on political theory such as Carpentier and de Cleen (2007), advance "bringing discourse theory into media studies" (p.265). They apply Laclau and Mouffe's theories of discourse, as well as hegemony and socialist strategy (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987, 2001) to articulate Discourse-Theoretical Analysis (DTA), which they then compare to CDA but only to concede that "a significant number of valuable contributions [of DTA] to media studies can be found within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), …the standard framework for analyzing media texts" (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007, p.274).

Accordingly, Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) espouse that both DTA and CDA are *critical* in that they "investigate and analyze power relations in society and formulate normative perspectives from which a critique of such relations can be made with an eye on the possibilities for social change" (p.2). With its broad orientation to social critique, emancipation, and change, CDA in particular takes its bearings from the basic

notions of *text* and *discourse*, terms that "have been subject to a hugely proliferating number of usages in the social sciences… [in that] [a]lmost no paper or article is to be found which does not revisit these notions, quoting Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, Niklas Luhmann, or many others" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009b, p.2)

RATIONALE AND FRAMEWORK FOR CRITICAL MEDIA ANALYSIS

The term "discourse" is primarily concerned with language use in social context, particularly with the dialectical relationship between language, the main semiotic modality, and society, as well as with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication as social practice (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) in the written and/or spoken modes (or according to van Dijk, 2009, "text" and "talk", respectively). Fairclough (1995, p.4) defines "text" as "the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event", which includes visual, sound and other semiotic forms that are part of the multi-semiotic character of texts such as television language (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p.148).

Although discourse also potentially engages a range of non-linguistic semiotic modalities or resources besides language that are instantiated together as in mass media texts (e.g., multimedia texts, streaming video, and related multimodal discursive practices on the Internet) (see Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001), language is the most complex in the process of situated meaning-making ("semiosis") in the social context of discourse production and interpretation (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1994).

Simply put, discourse is language (linguistic text) in context and refers to expressing ourselves using words in ways of knowing, valuing, and experiencing the world. As theory and research in systemic functional linguistics have shown, linguistic forms can be systematically associated with social and ideological functions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1994). Hence, discourse, or for that matter, "Discourse" i.e. with a capital "D" after Gee (1999), can be symbolically used for the (re) production of systemic power relations and knowledge, and dominance or hegemony (e.g., the unmitigated influence of one social institution, group or nation over another) (Fairclough, 1998; van Dijk, 2008). Perhaps, more importantly, discourses can also be used to resist and critique such assertions of power, knowledge and dominance with a view towards transforming them into more egalitarian constructions of reality, and thereby empowering the individual in society towards instituting social change (Wodak, 2004; Wodak & Koller, 2008).

Given the symbolic power of the spoken/written word and the notion of transformative empowerment mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, CDA is a broad, multidisciplinary field of inquiry that engages extant traditional approaches such as conversation analysis, ethnography of communication, interactional

sociolinguistics, and discursive psychology (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999). It has also attracted the interest of professionals from diverse backgrounds "who have become interested in discourse issues...to achieve social goals" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p.2) including historians, business entrepreneurs, lawyers, politicians, medical practitioners, as well as forensic linguists (pp.2-3). Clearly, it is for this reason that van Dijk (1997) prefers the term CDS (Critical Discourse Studies), "a new cross-discipline that comprises the theory and analysis of text and talk in virtually all disciplines of the humanities and social science" (p.xi).

CDA describes, interprets, analyses, and critiques social life (Luke, 1997) by studying "the discursive practices of a community—its normal ways of using language" (Fairclough, 1995b, p.55), stemming primarily from Jürgen Habermas' critical theory and related espousals of the critical in the work of Louis Althusser, Mikhail Bakhtin, and the neo-Marxist tradition of Antonio Gramsci and the Frankfurt School. Foucault's views on power and "orders of discourse" (see for e.g., Fairclough, 1989, pp.28-31) are acknowledged in the approach of CDA's principal exponents such as Norman Fairclough whose work is related to Michael Halliday's systemic functional linguistics as well as to the critical linguistics of Roger Fowler, Tony Trew, Gunther Kress and Bob Hodge. An alternative approach to CDA, though not exclusively so, is the sociocognitive approach of Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak (Titscher *et al.*, 2000, p.144).

Fairclough's (1989, 1995, 2001) framework of discourse is distinguished by three levels of meaning: 1) text, which can refer to both spoken and written language; 2) interaction, which concerns the process of text production and text interpretation; and 3) context, which deals with the broader social and cultural conditions of discourse production and interpretation. Corresponding to these three dimensions of discourse, he postulates three dimensions of analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation.

The stage of description focuses both on the forms and meanings of a text (Fairclough, 2001, 1995). Fairclough (1995) states that it is difficult to separate these two features of the texts for the reason that "meanings are necessarily realized in forms and differences in meaning entail differences in form" (Fairclough, 1995a, p.57; Cf. Halliday's [1994] "lexicogrammar"). Linguistic analysis of a text covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis (such as vocabulary, semantics, grammar, phonology, and writing system analyses) but includes textual organization above the sentence (such as generic structure, cohesion and turn taking). Fairclough suggests Halliday's (1994) systemic model of language for its theoretical view of language as basically a social phenomenon that is shared with CDA (Fairclough, 2003, p.5). Mediating between the text and social practice, the interpretation stage of analysis involves the process of text production/comprehension, and is concerned with the cognitive processes of participants. Finally, the stage of explanation covers the analysis

of the relationship between interaction and the social context of production and interpretation (Fairclough, 2001). It is related to different levels of abstraction of an event: the immediate, situational context, and institutional practices the event is embedded in (Fairclough, 1995, 2001).

Wodak's discourse-historical approach (DHA) is fundamentally compatible with Fairclough's approach to critical analysis of discourse in a way that both consider discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Wodak's (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) approach is also somewhat three-dimensional: contents or topics, discursive strategies, and linguistic means. The analyst first identifies the specific contents, topics, or themes of a specific discourse that has racist, nationalist and/or ethnicist orientations. Next, s/he locates the discursive strategies underlying the topics/themes before examining their linguistic means and/or the specific, context-dependent linguistic realisations in the discourses under analysis. Texts, genres, and discourses, as well as related sociological aspects, institutional history, and situational frames are inter-connected via *intertextual* and *interdiscursive* relationships which serve in the exploration of "how discourses, genres and texts change in relation to socio-political change" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.90). Additionally, the process of *recontextualisation*, "the transfer of given elements to new contexts" serves to provide insight into how new meanings are formed in use (p.90).

Given the centrality of discursive strategies in Wodak's DHA, she proposes four macro strategies of discourse, particularly for the analysis of national identities: 1) constructive strategies: "discourses serve to construct national identities"; 2) perpetuating strategies: discourses "may restore or justify certain social status quo"; 3) transformational strategies: discourses "are instrumental in perpetuating and producing the status quo"; and 4) destructive strategies: "discursive practices may have an effect on the transformation or even destruction of the status quo" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.112). Further, in analyzing texts related to race, ethnicity, nationhood, or national identity, discursive strategies may be based on five key questions:

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically? *(referential strategies)*

2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? *(predicational strategies)*

3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimate the exclusion, discrimination, suppression, and exploitation of others? *(argumentation strategies, including fallacies)*

4. From what perspective or points of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed? *(perspectivation, and framing strategies)*

Are the respective discriminating utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated? *(mitigation and intensification strategies)* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.xiii)

Wodak's DHA additionally links to the socio-cognitive theory of van Dijk (1998), which views discourse as "structured forms of knowledge and the memory of social practices, whereas 'text' refers to concrete oral utterances or written documents" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.6). With its attention to the representation of groups and the social relations between them, van Dijk's approach is useful for analysis of news discourse to examine the socio-ideological representation of "Us vs. Them". Van Dijk (2001) begins his analytical approach with topics or "semantic macrostructures", which he argues, provide an initial "overall idea of what a discourse or corpus of texts is all about, and controls many other aspects of discourse and its analysis" (p.102). Next, he analyses local or "micro structures" for "the meaning of words (lexical), the structures of propositions, and coherence and other relations between propositions" (p.103). Then, at the "meso" level (i.e., mediating between global and local meanings), he identifies "an overall strategy of 'positive self-presentation and negative Other presentation', in which our good things and their bad things are emphasized, and our bad things and their good things are de-emphasized" (p.103).

In sum, the universal principles of CDA, as it were, which are shared between the sociocritical and the sociocognitive approaches outline above, are as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems.

2. Power relations are discursive i.e. performed and constructed through discourse.

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture in a dialectical relationship.

4. Discourse does ideological work and is not neutral.

5. Discourse is historical and cannot be understood without historical context.

6. The link between text and society is mediated through discourse.

7. Analysing discourse is an interpretative and explanatory process.

8. Discourse is a form of social action

(Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, pp.271-280)

Needless to say, the above principles reflect the multifarious ways in which discourse works and when appropriated by the power-holders in society, particularly the state and/or those who control the mass media, it serves to enact/sustain unequal power relations and representations of social groups, appearing to be common sense, normal, and natural when in fact there is inherent prejudice, injustice and social inequity.

Using legitimate language, purveyors of social power or those seeking it are able to set their own agendas in the mass media (Scheufele, 1999; Weaver, 2007), manufacture our consent (Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Robinson, 1999), and generally mislead us so that our concerns about persistent, larger systemic issues of class, gender, age, religion and culture seem petty or non-existent. Thus, CDA provides a framework to deconstruct their discourse and demystify their words, as it were, so that we avoid being "misled

and duped into embracing the dominant worldview (ideology) at our expense and their gain" (McGregor, 2003, Understanding the Theory of Critical Discourse Analysis section, para. 6).

CDA AND THE MASS MEDIA: A RESEARCH AGENDA

In recent years, with the debate on globalisation as "the principal frame of reference when we try to explain new political, economic and cultural phenomena... [and] the spread of the Internet..., media and communication are ascribed a significant part in the processes of change" (Hjarvard, 2003, pp.15-17). Even a brief reflection on how the array of mass media channels listed at the beginning of this paper impacts people's lives will bear testimony to our mass-mediated world and the emergence of the network society (Castells, 2000, 2011).

As Wodak and Busch (2004, pp.109-111) have noted, in CDA, media are representations of public space and may be studied as sites of social struggle and power, particularly in terms of the language of the mass media: "[L]anguage is often only apparently transparent. Media institutions often purport to be neutral, in that they provide space for public discourse, reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and give the perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers" (p.110), while they often have hidden sociopolitical agenda that lie at the heart of the matter (e.g. Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Miller, 2004). Major issues that are appropriated in the agenda include

racism, capitalism, nationalism, identity politics, anti-semitism, sexism, and war reporting. Some areas of CDA research vis-à-vis the mass media and related examples are outlined below.

Racist Discourse

Van Dijk (van Dijk, 1987, 1991, 1993; van Dijk, Barquin, & Hibbett, 2009) has devoted much of his research to the critical analysis of the mass media, particularly newspaper articles (van Dijk, 1988, 1991). His socio-cognitive framework for analyzing articles focuses on "the discursive nature of the reproduction of racism by the press" based on the "us" versus "them" dichotomy in relation to in-groups/out-groups and positive self-presentation/negative Other presentation strategy, respectively (van Dijk, 1991, p.247). He notes that empirical research in many countries have shown that "the media play an important role in expressing and spreading ethnic prejudice... [which] is one of the conditions of racist practices that define racism as the social system of ethnic power abuse" (van Dijk, 2012, p.15).

Indeed, as Wodak and Busch (2004) have highlighted, the (written) news genre has been most prominent in CDA research on media including right-wing editorial biases in newspapers and journal editing, and Wodak's own studies of nationalism, anti-semitism and neo-racism (Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009). Studies on the local scene that have delved into racism, nationalist ideologies and related practices in news media include those by

Abdullah (2004), Nair (2008a, 2008b) and Manan (2008).

Language of the New Capitalism

Another area of research and commentary on mass media discourse that is also prominent in CDA and "which illustrates the mediating and constructing role of the media" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p.12) in neo-capitalist, neoliberal discourses has been pioneered by Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1995a, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2001). In this relatively new area of critical work, the "language of the new capitalism" (Wodak & Busch, 2004, p.188) refers to both the dominant global position of the English language (read: powerful Anglophone countries), as well as to the (language as) discourse of the (yet incomplete) globalization project (Fairclough, 2001a). In both senses, neo-capitalist language is linked to discourses of transparency, democratization, modernization, etc., in a chain of equivalence to the digitally-networked k-economy characterized by "time-space distanciation" as "an extension in the spatio-temporal reach of power" in language use (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p.80).

In short, the buzzwords of the globalisation project are more than mere vocabulary of our time; instead, they signify texts and discourses in the "new planetary vulgate" that is "endowed with performative power to bring into being the very realities it claims to describe" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001, p.3, as cited in Fairclough, 2004, p.104) in the new world order. As the discourse-driven neoliberal project strives to remove "the obstacles to the new economic order" (p.104) via the appropriation of linguistic resources in mass-mediated social practice, new alliances are forged with the major players on the geopolitical scene and new identities are constructed at the global/local levels via new genres, including hybridised ones, in the mass media (Abdullah, 2004, 2008; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

War Reporting

War reporting in the mass media has also been analysed using the CDA approach. An analysis of archived US newspaper articles reporting anti-Gulf War protests revealed three frames of news interpretation: the Enemy Within, Marginal Oddity, and Legitimate Controversy, as well as metaphors, themes, argumentation strategies, and syntactical and lexical choices for each frame (Hackett & Zhao, 1994). However, a crucial aspect of the hidden agenda was the "treatment of different voices (moralist, utilitarian, radical) *within* the peace movement [which] was placed on the defensive in press discourse, compelled to defend its legitimacy" (p.509; emphasis in original).

Indeed, patterns of press discourse in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991) appeared to provide broad insights into "America's `master narrative' of war, a narrative which had been threatened by the Vietnam experience" (Hackett & Zhao, 1994, p.509). To show how the state uses the mainstream media to promote its own

interests, Kellner (1992) investigated "a classic case of media manipulation" that showed that the Bush administration had secretly released disinformation to the press "to legitimate sending U.S. troops…and to mobilize public support for this action". In the subsequent period of the war, the media became a conduit for U.S. policy, "privileging those voices seeking a military solution to the conflict" (p.57).

More recently, Davies (2007) analysed a *Sunday Mirror* news report of the February 2003 demonstration in London against the Iraq war as part of a larger study of the textual generation of oppositional pairs (or antonyms) in news reports in the UK national press. He discovered that unusual "created…'situational or context bound antonymy' [such as] the much quoted response by George Bush to the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001, "*Either* you're with us *or* with the terrorists'… combine rhetorically to construct groups of protesters as 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' " (pp.71-73). Davies argued that although Bush had used "coordinated antonymy" (*either* X *or* Y), he employed "us and terrorists" unconventionally rather than "us and them" in seeking to unite America and the rest of the world "against a common enemy"… [leaving] no possibility of a middle way" (Davies, 2007, pp.71-74; original emphasis).

Thetela (2001) is another interesting study on the use of the classical *us* versus *them* binary opposition in the South African newspapers covering military intervention and war in Lesotho, South Africa as a discursive strategy to establish "two rival social group identities" (p.347). Also, dehumanizing the enemy appears to be a popular strategy that is used to depict warring factions/nations. For example, Steuter and Willis' (2009) study shows how the Canadian news media covered the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Headlines data revealed "a pattern of dehumanizing language applied to enemy leaders as well as Arab and Muslim citizens" besides the use of "animal imagery that reduced human actions with sub-human behaviours" (p.1). Another case in point in which both the Us vs. Them binary, as well as demonizing language, were used was the ideological construction of Iran (Jahedi & Abdullah, 2012a) in the post-September 11 *The New York Times* news discourse as "the negative Other, a nation of people that formed part of George W. Bush's contentious 'axis of evil' thesis–malevolent, untrustworthy, violent, and a threat to world peace" (Jahedi & Abdullah, 2012b, p.59).

Overall, other than working with online news reports, newspapers and even political cartoons that may be found on their editorial pages (see for e.g., Sani, Abdullah, Ali, & Abdullah, 2012a; Sani, Abdullah, Ali, & Abdullah, 2012b), CDA work has dealt with social media and networking sites such as *Facebook* (Eisenlauer, 2013), radio and television, as well as their associated genres. See, for example, Chouliaraki's (2004) analysis of footage on television of the September 11th attacks in New York. Further, while the general focus of critical analysis is based on the study of linguistic features of media texts, and images are

treated as "visual language" (Fairclough, 2001), i.e. often analyzed as if they were linguistic text (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.61), Kress and van Leeuwen's (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, 2006) work in critical social semiotics has served to elucidate visual features via multimodal discourse analysis (see also Lemke, 2004; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Advertising Discourse

Advertising as a discourse "must first be recognized as *paid* nonpersonal communication forms used by identified sources through various media with *persuasive* intent" (Rotzoll, 1985, p.94; emphases added). While advertisements are generally connected with the mass media of newspapers, magazines, television, etc., the public also encounters them on billboards, posters and in direct mail (Rotzoll, 1985), not to mention in recent times on the ubiquitous Internet web page.

Bhatia (2004) reports that advertisements as the "primary and most dominant form of promotional discourse" (p.89) are readily appropriated via the embedding/mixing of genres. For example, the *South China Morning Post* carries a special weekly product or service review called "Classified Plus", which in the mixed genre form such as "an advertorial or a blurb…has been deceptively used as a recommendation or a review, whereas in fact it is no different from an advertisement" (p.91). Bhatia proceeds to demonstrate how the rhetorical structure of written discourses such as "philanthropic fundraising" and "commercial advertising"

may be analyzed side-by-side to reveal the appropriation of generic resources and elements of interdiscursivity in the latter type of discourse so that it deceptively resembles the former (pp.95-97). Appropriation of interdiscursive elements and the colonization of one discourse by another, result in hybridization and the construction of hybrid identities in advertisements (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.115; see also Fairclough [1995, pp.10-12] for "conversalization, "marketization", and "commodification"). Benwell and Stokoe (2006) relate how advertisers in post-apartheid South Africa were quick in appropriating black emancipation discourses: "*Fochini* [fashion house]: You've won your freedom. Now use it. Get a Fochini's credit card today" (p.115).

In the case of advertisements that employ multiple semiotic modalities including linguistics text to create a composite image of a preferred representation, Machin and Mayr (2012) advocate a social semiotics approach based on the pioneering work of Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). While Machin and Mayr (2012) note that "[h]ow much images can be described as working like language [the multimodal discourse analysts' claim] has been challenged", they show how Kress and van Leeuwen's analytical toolkit used together with CDA "does enhance our ability to describe more systematically what it is that we see" (p.8), taking the typical text plus image "Easy-at-work fitness tips!" advertisement in *Cosmopolitan* magazine targeting young female office workers who need "fitness tips for bikini body performance" (Machin

& Mayr, 2012). The analysis shows that the image does not depict "a real woman at work", but rather "one that symbolizes a particular kind of lifestyle" to sell advertising space, and the magazine, while distracting "the reader from the absurdity of many of the tips provided" (pp.9-10).

Summary of Current/Future Research Areas

Wodak and Meyer (2009a) list six areas of interest in CDA that constitute current critical research agenda together with examples of research that may be linked to the challenges and to socio-political issues in the media such as nationalism, racism, identity politics, governance, globalisation, and gender, and how these are mapped on to other issues at the local level. Some of the areas essentially cover methodological issues while impinging to a lesser extent on topical interests, as follows:

1. Effects of the Knowledge-based Economy (KBE) on society and its recontextualization;

2. Incorporating cognitive science approaches into CDA to go beyond Western and Eurocentric perspectives;

3. New phenomena in our political systems arising from global/local developments;

4. Effects of new media/genres and changed concepts of space and time;

5. Relationships between complex historical processes, hegemonic narratives and CDA approaches especially in the context of identity politics on all levels; and

6. Avoiding "cherry picking" using integrated quantitative and qualitative methods and via "retroductable [transparent, explicit], self- reflective presentations of research

(Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p.11).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the foregoing sections of this article, I have attempted to make a representation of CDA as a multidisciplinary approach to the critical analysis of mass media discourse with particular reference to oft hidden socio-political issues and agenda such as racism, capitalism, nationalism, identity politics, anti-semitism, sexism, and war reporting. The review here of actual research conducted using the approach is not, of course, exhaustive but I think it could serve as an initial road-map towards further exploration of the language of the mass media, as it were, and its role in legitimating unequal power relations and hegemonic social practices. Illumination of social issues and problems in this way can only empower marginalized, disenfranchised, and oppressed individuals and the social groups that they populate.

As McGregor (2003) notes, CDA "tries to illuminate ways in which the dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favour their interests", as well as to unmask such practices "to support the victims of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives" (Understanding the Theory of Critical Discourse Analysis section, para. 1). That is what counts in understanding the pervasive

role of the mass media in people's lived realities.

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'We Care', and 'They Need Help': The Disabled in the Print Media

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we examine the way a leading Malaysian newspaper represents the act of charitable giving on the part of big corporate organisations that take on the role of benefactor in order to fulfil their corporate social responsibilities. Drawing on the methodology of critical discourse analysis, we examine extracts from four newspaper reports selected from a corpus of 179 texts. The aim of the analysis is to find out how the news reports represent the charitable act (i.e. the donation), the organisation performing the act (i.e. the benefactor), and the object of the act (i.e. the recipient) in its report of the charitable event. This question is critical because the answer reveals the unequal distribution of power in the relationship constructed between benefactor and recipient. We also set out to discover how the different voices are incorporated into the writer's voice. The analysis reveals in addition the manner in which the discourse of charitable giving becomes inextricably entwined with the discourse of advertising and promotion.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, disabled, news, objectification

INTRODUCTION

Charity is seen as a social investment to enhance a company's image and attract investors through their good deeds (Gomez, 2009). As a social practice, giving to charity has a set of participants in certain roles, principally the agent doing the act of charity who is in a position of power (the have) and the recipient or beneficiary of this act who is in the power of the agent (the have-not). To be eligible to play their specific roles, the participants must fulfil certain "eligibility conditions" (van Leeuwen, 2008). For the giver, being seen as charitable will indirectly promote brand names, strengthen business positions in the market and draw approval

from consumers and investors (Banerjee, 2006). In this sense, 'caring' for the disabled persons becomes an entrenched influence and a form of paternalism (Corbett, 1996).

This paper aims to examine the way the news reports represent the charitable acts of big organisations involving the disabled, which inevitably constructs unequal power relations between them. Drawing on a critical discourse analytical approach, we analyse the way the charitable act (i.e., donation), the organisation performing the act (i.e., the benefactor) and the object of the act (i.e. the recipient) are represented in the four extracts of the newspaper reports selected for analysis.

SUPPORTING THE DISABLED THROUGH CHARITY

Charity is a form of cultural representation which reinforces a subordinate position for people with disability in society and implies "[…] that impairment is the cause of unequal treatment, and […] it is only charities that can give help and support" (Barnett & Hammond, 1999, p.310). This perspective disregards their individuality, agency and abilities (Furnham, 1995). Being identified as different from the non-disabled, the disabled become the other, not belonging to the 'norm' at large (Shakespeare, 1997).

Many business establishments have taken on the role of benefactor under the pretext of giving support to the disabled and in the name of fulfilling their corporate social responsibilities (Bourk & Worthington, 2000), i.e. giving back to the community. They appear to tackle social issues on the basis of enlightened self-interest (Carroll, 1979). However, Banerjee (2006) points out that corporations will not engage in any social initiative unless it is profitable to do so.

Gold and Auslander (1999) argue " […] the modern day media plays an important role not only in reflecting public attitudes and values regarding disability, but also in shaping them" (p.209). This concurs with Fowler's (1991, p.3) definition of news, that news is "a practice: a discourse which far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, intervenes … 'in the social construction of reality'. Reality represented by media texts is filtered and manipulated to tailor a particular viewpoint of a particular group with perhaps vested interest and can "affect the representation of people and events" (Thomas & Wareing, 1999, p.50).

The content of the media reporting of charitable acts involving persons with disability will inevitably contain discourses which represent them from a particular perspective, for example, as objects of pity and needing special care. Shakespeare (1997, p.221) uses the term 'objectification' to refer to the representation of the disabled as vulnerable and lacking agency. Presenting negative images of the disabled as a means of raising funds will unfortunately have negative implications for them (Fulcher, 1989). It appears that the more tragic their life, the more support they will get from the 'caring others'. In the context of charity in the modern world, disability is thus "the marker of both stigma and privilege" (Grue, 2011, p.33).

METHODOLOGY

Taking Fairclough's (2003) critical discourse analytical approach, we examine the way benefactor-recipient relations are established and the journalists texture advertising and promotion into the reporting of the charitable act. In this regard, we will determine what the acts of charity are, whether they are distinguished from the acts of promoting, and to what extent the disabled actually benefit from the donations. We analyse four excerpts selected from a corpus of 179 news reports published in *The Mirror* from 1 July 2004 to 30 June 2005. The real name of the newspaper is not revealed here. *The Mirror* was chosen because it has the widest newspaper circulation in Malaysia amounting to approximately 300,000 copies and a readership of about 1 million daily (2011). In order to maintain the anonymity of the subject we use a letter in place of the actual name such as (M), (T), (S), etc.

Critical Discourse Analysis is essentially concerned with how language relates to and is implicated in the (re)production of unequal power relations in society (Fairclough, 2010). As a tool that represents society, language can be used to group people and assign different roles to each group. This can lead to discrimination and asymmetrical power relations among the various groups (Fowler, 1985). The textual analysis involves language analysis and intertextual analysis.

In analysing language we examine the way elements of language (e.g., words and meaning, grammar and sentence construction) are chosen and put together to represent the social actions and the social actors present in the text. To give meaning to the form, our analysis involves examining the linguistic form and content of texts including their overall themes. We concur with Richardson (2007, p.38) that elements of language should not be considered of profound significance in themselves; what is more important is how they function and the meaning they convey in their specific context of use.

Kristeva (1986) highlights the intertextual nature of text, i.e. that a text is not a self-contained entity, but exists in the presence of other texts and it has meaning in relation to other texts. News reporting by its very nature consists of fragments of other texts which are incorporated into the present text in a variety of ways. The intertextual analysis of the news reports essentially involves looking at the way elements of previous texts concerned with charitable acts are incorporated into the news reports and the meanings they create within the dialogical space of texts. We also examine how representations draw on various discourses and genres to produce interdiscursively complex texts.

DATA ANALYSIS

Cursory examinations of the corpus of 175 reports, from which the four extracts are drawn, shows the foregrounding of the charitable act suggesting "the organisations care", and the act of receiving suggesting that "the disabled need help". A preliminary analysis of the four case studies revealed a common structure made up of roles and

relationships. In any charitable act, there has of course to be a Benefactor, a Recipient, and a Donation. The newspaper reports also include a Spokesperson who conveys a message concerning the charitable act. In examining each case, we have to distinguish the voices that promote the charitable act itself from the newspaper report.

Any commercial company has an obligation to maximise the return to shareholders, and to this end is involved in advertising and promotion (a&p). The nature of a&p is that it involves costs and therefore losses to shareholders in the short term, but it is also intended to increase income in the longer term. Charitable acts are like a&p in that they involve costs and losses to shareholders, but in this case the costs and losses are permanent and are not recovered. A second question is to what extent the Benefactors genuinely separate charitable acts from a&p.

It is also important to notice what information is missing. Information may be omitted because it is irrelevant or in accordance with Grice's Maxim of Quantity (1975) or on account of limited space. When relevant information is omitted, readers have to reconstruct or invent it for themselves. For the purpose of analysis, our task is to identify the gaps and possible interpretations.

Fulfilling Social Responsibility

The extract is taken from an article by a disabled columnist quoting P, the PR liaison officer for (M), a leading education group in Malaysia which owns a private higher education institution (T). The overall theme is fulfilling social responsibility by providing the disabled students with vocational training and skills-based courses and facilities for their convenient. Consider the following example:

Extract 1

(1) "Since 2003, (T) has been providing vocational training and skills-based courses to one sector usually overlooked by many private institutions – disabled students."...
(2) "One of the management missions is to play a definitive role in fulfilling its social responsibility towards local communities," P explains.

(3) "(J) joined the (B) Spastic Children's Association at age seven. (4) After completing Form Three, (J) received vocational training and learnt living skills such as domestic chores, cooking and cleaning. (5) She had almost completely given up the idea of continuing with her education until she read about (T's) MLVK courses ... " (6) "She was absolutely delighted when she heard that (T) gave opportunities to disabled students to train for careers in Information Systems, Computer Technician and Multimedia Artist."

(7) "(T) also looks into the physical needs of disabled students. ..."
(8) "These include the provisions

for wheel-chair ramps, disabled friendly restrooms and a multimedia laboratory and a resource centre that are situated on the ground floor for easy access to wheelchairs. (9) In addition (P) stresses that disabled students at (T) can fall back on their fairly good study experience without fear of being patronised by others or getting sympathy just because they are in wheelchair ... a true joy to notice the caring and sharing spirit in our college! ..." (10) (T's) five-block campus was recognised by the ... Municipal Council for having the "The Most Disabled Friendly Building in the (S) residential community..."

Analysis

The voices represented are: P (a PR liaison officer for M, the company that owned College T) and J, a disabled student portrayed as having benefited from the vocational training that T provides. Notice how the voices are represented in relation to each other. While P's voice is prominently represented as actual words, J's voice is included as part of P's narrative (3-6), a representation that presents evidence for the positive outcome of the vocational training and courses provided by T.

The text articulates together a variety of genres and discourses including elements of advertising and promotion. Notice how P includes the promotional material about T in her direct report: the provision of vocational

training for disabled students is "usually overlooked by many private institutions" implying that T is more enlightened than its competitors.

In paragraph 2, P draws on a narrative genre to represent T as the agent that provides disabled students including J with "opportunities" to be trained "for careers in Information Systems …" (6). The simple story exemplifies the way J views the courses that T offers. It begins by suggesting that the vocational training that J received only prepares her for "domestic chores, cooking and cleaning" leading at best to menial work. A contrast is then set up between J's state of mind before she was aware of T's courses ("completely given up the idea of continuing with her education") and when she knew about them ("absolutely delighted"). Note the use of "completely" and "absolutely" to intensify maximally the associated verbs.

Through P's voice, T's enlightened treatment of disabled students is presented as something which began in the past ("Since 2003") and is still continuing ["has been providing" (1)] indicated by the progressive form and as an irrefutable fact ["T also looks into the physical needs of disabled students" (7)] with the use of the simple present tense. The nominalization of 'provide' in "the provisions for wheel-chair ramps, disabled friendly restrooms …" (8) conveys that the entities denoted by "provisions" have a real existence and are difficult to contest. In (9), T is represented as an institution with a "caring and sharing spirit" enabling the disabled students to

study "without fear of being patronised by others". These claims may well be true, but they are not justified by the provisions we are told about.

Another obvious promotional element is the claim that the building is recognised by the Municipal Council as "the most disabled friendly building" (10). Notice how the activation of the Municipal Council gives force to the claim being made. The claim is of course ambiguous, and could mean either that the building is indeed advanced, or that other buildings in the locality are backward. The claims 'disabled-friendly building' and 'disabled-friendly organisation' alternate in such a way that they reinforce each other, and indeed it is reasonable to infer that a disabled-friendly building must be run by a disabled-friendly organisation. The use of the plural *ramps* and *restrooms* indicates that there are at least two of each. The listing of the ramps, the toilets, the laboratory and the resource centre as "provisions" for the disabled suggests that they are provided for their exclusive benefit, but our knowledge of academic institutions leads us to guess that the laboratory and resource centre must also be for the use of non-disabled students. Similarly, the ground floor location may provide "easy access [for] wheelchairs", but it is also convenient for other students. So, disabled students can use student facilities and go to the toilet.

The newspaper puts together what appears to be an objective report with verbatim quotations. It appears to have created a free a&p event for the institution, advertising the institution as a suitable place of study for disabled students.

Bringing Excitement and Joy

Some children from SF Spastic Centre meet two characters from the local production of *Sesame Street.* The overall theme is that this event brings them excitement and joy.

Extract 2

(1) Special children at the SF Spastic Centre ... recently met Elmo and the Cookie Monster, two of the characters from the upcoming Sesame Street Live musical production to be staged from Dec 7 to 12 at Putra Stadium in Bukit Jalil.

(2) The visit was made possible by (H), which is the presenter of the musical show…. (3) (H) customer service division vice-president (VP) said the company <u>was concerned</u> with the underprivileged who might be left out in the festivities… (4) "In conjunction with festivals like Deepavali and Hari Raya Aidilfitri, we want to bring some joy to them," she said.

*(5) "Sesame Street is such as well known show and the characters are loved by children from all around the world. (6) It is our hope that this visit will **liven up their spirits and bring excitement and joy to them**," she added.*

*(7) "The 90-minute Sesame Street Live production will feature **lavish***

*sets, colourful costumes and riverting [sic] song and dance performances by the muppets including Big Bird, Bert, Ernice, Elmo, Cookie Monster, Count von Count and Oscar the Grouch... (8) The show is based on the television series, which has garnered the **largest worldwide audience** of any children's shows and **won a record 85 Emmy Awards**," she explained.*

(9) Tickets are priced at RM40, [...]. For bookings, call Ticket charge hotline at 03-77262002 or visit www.ticketcharge.com.my

Analysis

Paragraph 1 seems to be a mix of giving information and advertising. There is ambivalence between giving information about charity and advertising and promoting. The information about when and where the live musical is going to be held has elements of advertising discourse. Paragraphs 2 and 3 contain self promotional material with claims made about the company (e.g., "… the company was concerned with the underprivileged") and the Sesame Street live musical production (e.g., "Sesame Street is such a well known show"). Paragraph 5 contains elements of product advertisements (e.g., Tickets are priced at RM40..., For bookings call…). This extract is a good illustration of the colonisation of the news reporting of charity by promotion.

Different roles are assigned to the social actors represented in the text. They include the presenter of a local production of *Sesame Street Live* ((H), the agent that makes the visit possible), the company's Customer Service Division Vice-President (the spokesman) for the company (the benefactor) and the special children from the SF Spastic Centre (the beneficialised social actor). H's role is realised by the transitivity structure, in which H is coded as actor in relation to "making" the visit possible (2) actively involved in the actual act of doing. The disabled children are assigned an active role of behaver in the behaver process of "meeting" "Elmo and the Cookie Monster" (1). The children's act of "meeting" is nontransactive, represented as mere behaviour without effect. The company's role as a "concerned" benefactor is foregrounded as actor in relation to the feeling of "being concerned" (3).

The main voice brought into the text is that of (VP), which appears as indirect reporting (3) and direct reporting (4; 5-9). Note the use of the title "vice-president" to foreground that (VP) as someone holding a high post giving force to her words. (VP) is assigned the active role as sayer in the verbal process of "saying" (3 and 4), "adding" (5 and 6) and "explaining" (8). Through VP's reporting, two kinds social of action are attributed to the company: "was concerned" and "want to bring". In "the company was concerned with the underprivileged …", being "concerned" about the children's state of affairs is a positive affective reaction attributed to the company. Its relation to the children here is represented as non-transactive which takes place at the level

of emotion. This representation in direct report casts the company in a good light. Secondly, the company is represented in (6) as wanting "to bring some joy to them". Notice the use of "we" to humanise the company representing it as people rather than an entity. The phrase "want to bring joy" attributes the feeling of wanting to cause something positive to happen, i.e. bringing "joy to them" highlights the company's benevolent self. Here the affective mental process of "wanting" is combined with a to-infinitive non-finite clause; "joy" is the direct object of bring and "them" the indirect object. The expected outcome of the visit, i.e. "<u>will</u> liven up" their spirits and "bring" joy, is presented grammatically as a probability, with high-affinity epistemic. From the information given in (5) that "the characters are loved by children from all around the world" we can infer that the probability is high. The it-construction at the beginning of (6) represents it as a "hope".

Paragraph 4 draws on the discourse of advertising and promotion, focusing on the "lavish sets, colourful costumes and riverting [sic] song and dance performances by the muppets", seven of whom are then listed. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the show has "the largest worldwide audience [...] and won a record 85 Emmy Awards", suggesting this is not an ordinary children's show. Using 'will' in "will feature", which marks futurity plus high-affinity epistemic modality, (VP) predicts that the show will be lavish, colourful and riveting. Her central purpose here is clearly to express her positive opinion of the show. The final paragraph is

a genre of consumer advertising containing elements of advertising discourse, giving details of ticket sales, including how to obtain tickets.

Now, a quick superficial reading of the article might leave the reader with the impression that the children were taken to see the show, and in that case the spokesperson's remarks would be appropriate. However, the children just get to meet two of the characters. The company may well have been generous to the children in some other way, but we are not told about it. The generosity remains an unsubstantiated claim made by the company and reported uncritically by the newspaper.

Commitment and Kindness

The pharmaceutical company (G) has donated 200 copies of a book entitled '*BenO Comes Home!*' to the Special Children Society, an organisation whose mission is to provide education for people with learning difficulties. The overall theme is commitment and kindness to special children through book donation. The extract represents (G) and the author and publisher of the book, (VD), as Benefactors, the society as Recipient and the 200 books as Donation. The author and publisher of the book were reported to be present to present the books jointly with the company.

Extract 3

> (1) The youngsters at the Special Children Society ... received **some cheer** when a team from pharmaceutical company (G) paid

a visit to the society's headquarters recently.

*(2) The visitors donated **200 copies** of the children's story book, 'BenO Comes Home!' to the society.*

*(3) Also present was the book's author and publisher, (VD). (4) "**I looked for corporate organisations which were interested in buying the book for charity purposes** and contacted (G), and we joined up to deliver the books to the special children here," said (VD)…*

*(5) "I'm deeply touched by (G)'s commitment and **(VD)'s kindness**," said SCA president (C).*

Analysis

The pattern of intertextuality is an alternation between authorial account and reporting. In paragraph 1, the writer represents how happy the youngsters were with the visit from company (G). While the benefactors (G) and (VD) are the agents of actions, having the power to affect people, the representation of the youngsters is restricted to their reactions with no effect on the world.

Paragraph 2 reports that "The visitors donated 200 copies of the children's story books" which leads us to make the link between the youngsters' positive reactions to the visit and the donation that comes along with it, i.e. 200 copies of books. The two together cast (G) in a positive light. The choice of a transitive form foregrounds the benefactor, the donation and the recipient.

The activation of the benefactor as the agent of donating accentuates its capacity for positive action. Three kinds of social action are represented here: the actions of donating and receiving and the reactions of the youngsters to the visit. Giving the exact title of the book is part of the a&p discourse.

In paragraph 3, VD shifts from "I" to "we" in representing her actions (4). "We" foregrounds that the action of delivering is a joined activity between G and VD. Before they teamed up, VD was looking for "corporate organisations interested in buying books for charity purposes". Notice the link set up between the act of buying books and charity. And VD's 'looking out' leads to G being contacted which results in them joining up to donate VD's book "for charity purposes". On the surface, the donation of 200 books looks like a generous gesture. However, (VD) does not claim to have been particularly generous because she "looked for corporate organisations which were interested in buying the book for charity purposes and contacted (G)."

No statement at all is made on behalf of (G). And yet, the charity spokeswoman allegedly praises (G) for its "commitment" and the publisher-author (VD) for her "kindness", even though no evidence is given of either commitment or kindness. The foregrounding of G's and VD's good deeds is expressed through the voice of the SCA president. The SCA president is not just "touched", but "deeply touched". The adverb strengthens the feelings. The fact that it is the president who says it gives force to the emotion expressed.

Where essential information is not given, readers have to work things out for themselves. A surplus of 200 books also suggests a miscalculated print run, and many books to be pulped or in this case disposed of cheaply. Giving the books to the children is surely better than destroying them, and (VD) has found a commercially viable way of doing this. (G) gets the credit for paying for the books, while (VD) minimises the cost of disposal. However, a less favourable interpretation is also possible. Since the children have learning difficulties, the question needs to be asked how many of them can read at all, let alone read books which appear to be written in English.

In this case, the newspaper does not provide some of the information which is essential for the reader to reconstruct a coherent interpretation of the event. A superficial reading may lead to the understanding that the benefactors have indeed been generous. However, there is no evidence of much generosity in support of the spokeswoman's statement, and the generosity could be taken to be exaggerated.

Serving the Community

The overall theme for this report is that hosting parties for the underprivileged is part of (S)'s effort to serve the community. (S) and (C) (Benefactors) organise gifts to be presented at a party (Donation) for underprivileged children (Recipients). Preparations are being made for Christmas in (S), which is a massive shopping mall in Kuala Lumpur and (B) is one of the retail outlets in (S).

Extract

(1) Several decorated Christmas trees are now glittering at the atrium of (S). (2) However, one of them is 'special.' ...it carries the wishes of 50 underprivileged children...(3) They asked for only small gifts priced below RM50, like a shirt, watch, toy or cap. (4) They also want to be happy this Christmas... (5) Those who are interested can just buy the gifts at (B) from now until Dec 19.

'(6) (S) is also throwing a party for these children... (7) The gifts will be presented to them individually... (8) We name this programme 'Wish Upon A Shooting Star' because our (S) carries the meaning of star and we are inviting two superstars to bring joy to the children...' C explained.

(9) C said the shopping mall tried its best to serve the community, adding that it was a norm for the mall to host parties for underprivileged children during festive season.'

(10) Specially–designed postcards of the two superstars... will be on sale at B on Dec 20, from 11am at RM10 each. (11) ... proceeds will be donated to charity concert [at the said party]. (12) For details, call 03-2148 7411.'

Analysis

The writer intertextually incorporates other voices into the text and they are attributed, i.e. the voice of the 50 underprivileged children and (B) the spokesperson for (S). The intertextuality of the children's voice takes the form of indirect reporting (3 and 4). It is not possible for us to know what the children actually say because the actual words are not reported. B's voice appears as direct reporting in quotation marks (6-8) with a reporting clause and indirect reporting (9).

In paragraph 1, the authorial account and the children's voice are textured together to present the main idea, i.e. "Those interested can … buy the gifts at B", a retail outlet located in (S). Note the ordering of the voices in relation to each other. There is a "writer-underprivileged children-writer" structuring, which effectively sets what the children ask for against where "those interested" can get them what they want. There is an interesting mix of discourses of charity and selling. Sentences (1) and (2) are in a contrastive relationship. 'However' sets the "Several decorated Christmas trees" against the "special" Christmas tree that "carries the wishes of the 50 underprivileged children". Sentences 3 and 4 report what the children want: "They asked for only small gifts priced below RM50…" The low price minimises the imposition; "only" to emphasise that they do not ask for much. The list of ideas for presents is followed by "They also want to be happy this Christmas", which carries two implications: the children are not already happy, and a cheap present

can make a child happy. Closer examination reveals that the gifts are actually to be paid for not by the Benefactor but by members of the public: "Those who are interested can just buy the gifts at (B) from now until Dec 19"; and *just* minimises the imposition on those who buy the gifts.

In her direct report, (B) gives prominence to the company's charitable activity which suggests that it is a company that cares: "The shopping mall tried its best to serve the community" and "it was a norm for the mall to host parties for underprivileged children during [the] festive season." The phrase "it was a norm" suggests that hosting parties of this nature is part of the company's practice to serve the community. Accordingly, "(S) is also throwing a party for these children… The gifts will be presented to them individually." While the first and third paragraphs of the extract are primarily concerned with charitable giving, the second paragraph brings in a&p, for it tells us "We name this programme 'Wish Upon A Shooting Star'", which puns on the name of the location *Bukit Bintang* 'star hill', and that "we are inviting two superstars to bring joy to the children". Some readers might accept the implied claim that the stars are brought in for the benefit of the children, but less trusting readers are more likely to conclude that they were brought in to support the Christmas promotion.

Paragraph 4 deals with a&p, and with the sale of postcards of the superstars. The charity theme returns, for "proceeds will be donated to… charity concert" at the party organised for the children. No details are, however, given of how the proceeds of the

sales (or indeed the charity concert) are to be divided among the superstars, the children and other unnamed parties.

The charitable act is clearly inserted into an a&p event advertising (S) and (B) in the run-up to Christmas and intended to bring extra business for (B) and further income from the sale of postcards. We are not told exactly what is being done for the children, but there would seem to be insufficient evidence to support the claims made by the spokeswoman. The event, together with the claims, is reported uncritically by the newspaper.

DISCUSSION

It is essential to preface this discussion with a caveat. The evidence we have available is limited to what the newspaper chose to publish. We do not know exactly what the Benefactors provided for the Recipients because we do not know how much has been revealed and what has been concealed. Nor do we know what the spokespersons actually said, and to what extent their words were reported verbatim, paraphrased or replaced. This is particularly true in the case of the charity spokeswoman expressing gratitude for the books. We do not even know what the reporter sent to the newspaper, and how much has been contributed by editors.

With this caveat in mind, we now consider the Donation, the ideological beliefs implicit in the reports, and the role of the newspaper.

The Donation

The Donation would appear to be small, and made at minimal cost to the Benefactor. In 4.4, the Benefactor (C) even stands to gain. In every case, the generosity of at least one party is exaggerated, usually through the words attributed to a spokesperson. In the case of (VD) in 4.3, the Benefactor appears to make no claim to generosity, but other means are employed to exaggerate the generosity on the Benefactor's behalf.

Ideological Beliefs

There is a significant relationship between what is considered an appropriate Donation and the esteem in which the Recipient is held. For example, the parent who gives a few cents to a beggar is unlikely to spend the same amount on a present for a head teacher. The size of the Donations does not merely reflect but actually entails a view of society in which the disabled belong to the margins and are expected to be grateful for anything they are given.

The disabled are constructed as sad, unhappy people who but for the generosity of the Benefactor would have no joy at all in their lives. The role of Benefactor as the source of joy is expressed most clearly in the two cases of Company (H) in 4.2 and (S) in 4.4, and the provision of joy is sometimes extended to an unsubstantiated 'giving back to society'. A spokesperson speaks on behalf of the disabled, who are kept silent in the background. The spokesperson can be relied on to say things favourable to the Benefactor, even if what is said has nothing to do with the Donation and may

not even be true. Children have the habit of saying the wrong things which might cause embarrassment to the Benefactor, and they may not be unhappy at all, or they might not think the Benefactor has been generous. The exception that proves the rule is the disabled student J, but she talks not about facilities for the disabled but academic progression. The fact that it is regarded as amazing and exceptional that a disabled student is allowed to take a course linked to employability gives an unintended insight into the treatment normally expected for disabled students. Academics who have worked closely with designated officers in their own institutions to teach students with all manner of disabilities will surely find such attitudes deeply disturbing.

The Role of the Newspaper

The newspaper is not a disinterested and objective transmitter of information, but has its own commercial objectives. It is a mass circulation newspaper, and many of its readers will have limited reading skills. It is also published in English, which for the majority of readers is a foreign or second language. Its articles must therefore present a simple story for readers with limited English. In the case of charitable giving, a commercial organisation is presented as Benefactor performing an act of generosity towards the disabled. The charities themselves, and the people who work for them, are not treated as Benefactors but along with the disabled themselves as Recipients. It can be more or less guaranteed that the majority of readers

will read the articles superficially as true records of charitable events. The newspaper will only survive if it prints what its readers want to read, and so this kind of presentation presumably finds favour with the readers.

In order to construct simple stories, the discourse of charitable giving is confused with the discourse of a&p. This mixing of charitable giving and a&p is only possible because a journalist is present to send a report to the newspaper. Otherwise, a Donation however small would represent a real and irrecoverable cost. The journalist casts the Benefactor in the most favourable light, and so produces a simple story. Creating these reports also does not cost very much, especially if the journalist has access to a press handout. This is presumably why the journalist does not seem to ask awkward questions such as *What did the children have for lunch?* or *What proportion of the proceeds will benefit disabled children?* The answers to such questions would surely show the issues to be rather more complicated, and perhaps not what the newspaper wishes to publish. For the same reason, questions are not asked about the alleged contributions being made to society.

At this point we have to reconsider the observation made above that the newspaper involved, namely *The Mirror*, published 179 articles relating to the disabled. This presents *The Mirror* as a newspaper with a social conscience and a special concern for the disabled. However, at least some of these articles would seem to be reporting thinly disguised a&p events which could never be

regarded as charitable events but for the way the newspaper generates its news stories. The companies and the newspaper have a strong motivation to collaborate because the newspaper helps the companies minimise their a&p costs, while the companies provide the newspaper with stories. At one level, commercial companies seem to be exploiting the disabled to increase the effectiveness of their a&p events and reduce costs, while at another level the newspaper seems to be exploiting these same events to enhance its own reputation.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the selected extracts illustrates the colonisation of the discourse of news reporting by promotion. The news reports articulate together a variety of genres (including narrative and the genre of consumer advertising) and discourses (including advertising and promotional discourses and discourses of charity). It is also interesting to note here that besides selling copies, newspapers also sell advertising space. This is evident from the space allocated for advertisements placed in the last paragraph of Extracts 2, 3 and 4. In this regard, discourse of news reporting on charity acts can be seen as a vehicle for selling products, services, etc.

A quick and superficial reading might give the impression that our four case studies are heart-warming exemplars of commercial generosity to the disabled. A closer study reveals just how little we know for certain. The events are constructed and presented in most cases as acts of generosity, and then the newspaper reconstructs the event in the form of an article that its readers want to read.

Since we do not know and cannot reconstruct the reality behind the newspaper reports, we are not in any position to suggest that any of the individual parties involved has failed to act in good faith, and we would not wish to do so. What we can and do claim is that on close examination, none of our case studies comes across as a convincing example of genuine generosity to the disabled. Some disabled persons may in each case enjoy some benefits but the commercial companies and the newspaper have far more to gain. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that what these case studies actually show is that current social practices place the disabled in a position of powerlessness which makes it possible for them to be exploited to minimise a&p costs and maximise the return for other interested parties.

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Islam and Muslims in the New York Times: Two Versions, Two Camps

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the New York Times (NYT) in the wake of the 9/11 events and the ensuing two years. The study shows that coverage of Islam and Muslims takes a new trajectory regarding their representation by which the NYT departs from a monolithic representation towards a fragmented perception. It stays away from the previous themes that have been constantly projected about Islam and Muslims in the western media and provides a more diverse picture. As such, it showed Islam to have two versions, moderate and extremist, and portrayed Muslims based on these two versions. A myriad of diverse themes are manifested and projected in relation to the different versions and camps of Islam and Muslims. From another perspective, the NYT utilizes the essentialization strategy to affiliate extremism to all Islamic movements operating in the domain of politics. It lumps all of them together, portraying them as a threat without concern as to whether they seek political means or use violence to achieve their goals. No distinction is made among these movements in regard to whether they are traditional, modern, violent or peaceful. In adopting this strategy, it thus becomes unclear where moderate Islam ends and where extremism or fundamentalism begins. This dichotomy of Islam and Muslims camps and the essentialization of political Islam are revealed in the light of a multi-disciplinary approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in which a textual analysis and a critical linguistic approach are adopted.

INTRODUCTION

Through the course of the last three decades, the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the Western media has become the focus of many researchers all over the world. It has been the subject of much debate amongst academics, media institutions, Muslim organizations and the general public (Sameera, 2006). However, the topic becomes exceptionally salient following the 9/11 events. As these events were powerful and influential, they contributed to create a climate that allowed the Western media to reinforce and conceptualize new hybrid images about Islam and Muslims. Poole (2002) shows that though many of these images are drawn from old colonial caricatures, the more intensive media coverage on the religious identities and motives of the perpetrators of the events have opened new windows on some of the complexity and dimensions of Islam and the Muslim societies. For instance, Akbar (2001) demonstrates that these events provided the media the immediate opportunity to provide the public with plenty of stories and commentaries about Islam and Muslims.

Thus, the focus of this study is to provide empirical evidence to substantiate claims relating to the diverse themes that are projected about Islam and Muslims in the wake of the 9/11 events, followed by two years of coverage on them. Within this focus, the representation of Islam and Muslims after the 9/11 events in the NYT is not considered as a matter of reporting facts but a matter of constructing institutional ideologies that are immersed in and projected through language (Fowler, 1991). The rationale behind this creed is that language produces ideology or as Fowler (1991, p. 10) puts it, anything said or reported in the media is articulated from an ideological point of view. In the light of this creed, the language of the NYT is not seen as abstract grammatical categories that can be used in a contextless vacuum. Rather, it is seen as a representational tool that operates within the social context to convey meanings, depict images, and maintain ideological patterns in the world of the press (Simpson, 1993).

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

News articles on Islam and Muslims that were published in the NYT in the aftermath of the 9/11 events from September 2001 to September 2003 formed the data base for the study. The published articles were collected from the British Council library, Malaysian link. The archive of the NYT was located and selectively printed from the British Council Newspapers Database on line via the Thomson Gale Newsstand Database found under INFOTRAC NEWSPAPERS. INFOTRAC NEWSPAPERS is a selection of UK and US international newspaper databases with an archive stretching back to January 1996. After selecting the NYT archive, the words 'Islam' and 'Muslims' were keyed in and searched in two separated processes. Then, the full text option was chosen and the specific data ring from September 2001 to September 2003 was

entered. As the main focus of this study was to examine ideologies embedded in the articles on Islam and Muslims, it was seen as vital to organize the data in a manner that would help to clarify and make plain the kinds of ideologies that are projected about Islam and Muslims in the NYT.

As such, each of the searched key terms was considered a category by itself. These categories are, after all, regarded as topics of references within which many themes and issues on Islam and Muslims are derived and created. The main categories that are classified within the data are 'Islam and violence', 'modern Islam' 'extremist Islam', and 'modern Muslims' versus 'extremist Muslims'. These topics represented the guidelines to identify the main themes that dominated the representation of Islam and Muslims in the NYT. The articles that were published in the period from September 2001 to September 2003 were categorized based on these topics in a way that created a certain perspective of understanding of the content of the whole discourse. The following table shows the number of articles for each of the topics.

TABLE 1
Distribution of Articles on the Classified Categories

Category	No. of Articles
Moderate Islam	13
Extremist Islam	46
Moderate Muslims	24
Extremist Muslims	82

These topics reflected the main information that was projected about Islam and Muslims in the whole discourse. More specifically, they carry certain cultural and political portrayals and representations.

Once the data had been collected and classified into categories, they were analysed for a general thematization of the whole representational discourse of Islam and Muslim in terms of the diverse camps in the NYT to reveal evidence on the themes projected about them. Within this focus, the study adheres to the analytic methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA, with its origin in a sociological approach to media studies, attempts to understand how hidden ideologies permeate linguistic structures, or how various thematic concepts seep into the whole discourse (Teo, 2000). Based on the primary theoretical influences of CDA, a wide multi-disciplinary methodological approach of Fowler's (1991) Critical Linguistics and Fairclough's (1995) Textual Analysis were adopted for this study. The consideration of these two approaches is based on their view of the centrality of ideology in language analysis. As a preeminent manifestation of the social constitutive ideology, language is dealt with by the two approaches as the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced (Simpson, 1993). Further, the general theoretical views of the two approaches are constituted based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) theory. This is a lexico-grammatical theory premised upon the notion of choice where language is construed as a "network of interlocking options" (Halliday, 1994, p. xiv). Yet, the way Fowler and Fairclough utilize the SFG

Grammar theory differs theoretically. On the one hand, Fowler (1991, p. 70) relies on the SFG theory to describe linguistic structures in terms of functional labels which are needed to make the linguistic analysis ideologically revealing. He, therefore, utilizes the SFG theory to construct a system of representation which is realized through certain linguistic functions embodied in some linguistic tools (Fowler, 1991, p. 70). The main analytical tools listed by Fowler from Halliday's model of language are transitivity, nominalization, and particular lexical choices. However, the linguistic tools which are constructed by Fowler (1991) have their analytic lens trained primarily on revealing the meaning at the clausal level and not the meaning at the macrostructure or larger discourse level. By drawing upon these tools we would be able to achieve only a one-sided analysis that emphasizes the ideologies embedded in the linguistic structures, while leaving the main themes that dominate the whole discourse opaque and unidentified (Teo, 2000).

As such, Textual Analysis is considered to complement Critical Linguistic Analysis in order to reveal various aspects of the structure of texts at the macro-level (Fairclough, 1995, p. 7). Textual Analysis utilizes the strength of the SFG theory to consider the analysis of ideologies at the macro or discoursal level. It focuses on a macro-level analysis as it has the advantage of tying parts of texts together into a coherent whole and the advantage of tying texts to their situational and discoursal contexts (Fairclough, 1995, p. 6). Textual Analysis does not view a text as a discursive unit that can stand alone, but views it within the whole discourse determining its place within past and current events. In that, Textual Analysis provides us with tangible insights on a thematization analysis through which the contents of texts can be sorted and handled textually (Fairclough, 1995, p. 5). This thematic analysis cannot work when only the text is positioned in the representational discourse and in relevance to the context in which the text exists. This is to indicate a kind of prominence or foregrounding of the ideological or thematic priorities embedded in them (Teo, 2000). In this way, a thematic analysis will give us an account of how texts, which are established through various linguistic patterns and structures (micro-level notions), work in their contexts to convey certain ideological themes. These themes are embodied, packaged, and manifested within the representational discourse in a way that gives us a certain representation of events, issues and groups.

At the same time, forcing Textual Analysis into thematic analysis would represent a more tangible analytical grounding for the identification of discursive strategies utilized in discourse (Fairclough, 1995, p. 202). These are the discursive strategies that can be exploited to naturalize and perpetuate, whether consciously or sub-consciously, a particular ideological proposition or concept (Teo, 2000). Discursive strategies are regarded by Fairclough (1995) as contributing to the social functions of the ideologies

of institutions or groups of people. In other words, Fairclough (1995) views these discursive strategies as serving to transmit the ideologies and attitudes of the newspaper to the readers through various linguistic forms and patterns. Therefore, within the thematic analysis, discursive will provide a glimpse into themes that dominate discourse.

Therefore, the methodological approach of Textual Analysis and Critical Linguistics are used to yield separate yet related discussions about the way diverse themes about Islam and Muslims are represented in the NYT discourses. Both approaches together represent a methodological guide through which we can detect the main themes, the discursive strategies and linguistic structures that help to manifest these themes in the discoursal representation itself.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western media has been a topic of discussion and debate among academics for the last three decades. As far back as 1981, the eminent scholar Edward Said voiced a concern about the negative representation of Islam and Muslims by the Western media. He pointed to the oil crisis of the 1970s, for which the Middle East was blamed and the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 as events that constituted the modern political factors behind the early representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western media.

Many scholars consider the tumultuous events of September 11, 2001, as a landmark date that opened a new relationship between the West and Islam in relation to the Islamic images portrayed in the Western media (Poole & Richardson, 2006). Whittaker (2004) writes that as these events were carried out with a new horrifying weapon and targeted the heart of the most powerful country on Earth, they gave the media a giant story to cover. The immediate shock, horror, pain and human tragedy of these incidents were conveyed to the world in real time by a vast array of newspapers, television networks and other media channels. The media, in turn, played a very important role in analyzing and reporting these events given the fact that they projected many images about Islam and Muslims (Karim, 2003).

However, Said (1981) was the first to express his resentment about the way the media covers Islam and Muslims. He points out that the representation of Islam in the West, since his time, has portrayed a lot of unpleasant images that are presented in sweeping attacks and erroneous generalizations. He attributes this to media coverage which he judges to be biased and unbalanced. He asserts that the Western media coverage of Islam plays a significant role in creating a dichotomy between Islam and the West. Besides, he considers that dichotomy to be homogeneous due to a consequence of distorted stereotyped and damaging images along with a series of binary oppositions in which the West stands for the attributes of being rational, human, developed and superior, and Islam for terror, violence, and the attributes of

being aberrant, undeveloped and inferior (1981, p. 10). Therefore, the opposition, according to Said, tends to be defined within these conceptual categories of Islam against the West.

Said's views, though dated, are still dominant and capable of adapting to new events and realities. These views have been recently highlighted by Albakry (2006), who studied the representation of Islam and Muslims in the editorials of American and German newspapers, namely, the Times, the Post, the Monitor, *die Zeit*, *die SDZ* and *die Welt*. In his study, Albakry (2006) finds that the editorials in these newspapers fall into the trap of misinterpreting Islam with its own peculiar culture. They tend to depreciate Islam and its people, and in the process, connect them with ignoble traits. Most notable among these traits are extremism, terrorism, despotism, chaos and fanaticism. In addition, Albakry (2006) asserts that these editorials take for granted the common images portrayed, that is, the West is superior, modern, civilized and democratic, and Islam is inferior, backward, barbarian and chaotic. Thus, Islam for the most part is portrayed as nothing more than a faith that is still mired in its dominant realization and backwardness. In other words, these editorials reduce the representation of Islam to a small number of changing characteristics, while at the same time, ignoring the other elements pertinent to its history and tradition.

Many other scholars in the field of representation have expressed their scepticism and resentment about mainstream media coverage and portrayal of Islam. Such coverage is believed to be behind the negative portrayals and discriminating images that are perceived about Muslims all over the world (Shaheen, 1997; Siddiqi, 1997; Poole, 2002). Sameera (2006) states that the overall feelings among Muslims is that the mainstream media is biased against them and their faith as they (the media) generate misleading perceptions among the general public about their religion. For instance, Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2003, p. 1) report that Muslim Americans have long been convinced that the news about them is coloured by negative biases. They further report that this conviction of American Muslims is clearly expressed by Muslim New Yorkers who participated in Focus Groups well before the events of September 2011. In those Focus Groups, Muslim women show their resentment of the media's tendency to stereotype Muslim males as violent and Muslim women as submissive. While the belief in a widespread anti-Muslim news slant was very common among American Muslims and Arabs before the events of 9/11, it did not weaken thereafter.

Earlier to that, Poole (2002) pointed out that whatever that climate of media coverage of Islam could be, its rhetoric propagates only the same negative meanings and values that have been attached to Islam in the past. According to her, these old concepts that have been conceptualized in the past about Islam do not seem to be only present, but also persistent, dominant and potentially in operation in the media coverage. Thus, she

finds most of the images that are projected about Islam and Muslims in the Western media relevant to terror and violence (2002, p. 41).

There are many researchers who tend to view the Western media coverage of Islam to be derogatory, and replete with many discriminating and racist images. For instance, Richardson (2002) views the Western media representation of Islam to be entrenched for every Muslim, irrespective of his or her social, ethnic and cultural orientation. He states that Muslims feel there is a kind of conspiracy against them; they feel betrayed whenever they watch and read about their religion, culture, and beliefs as they find that they are negatively and discriminately presented to the Western audience.

Van Dijk (2003) points out that there is a new kind of discrimination and racism that has emerged against Arabs and Muslims in the Western media. He demonstrates that this new kind of discrimination and racism appears as the Western media associate Muslims closely to violence and terrorism. According to Van Dijk, such a connection becomes the most prevalent among Western politicians and the media. He states that "[t]his amalgamation perfectly fits the age-old polarization, studied by the late Edward Said and many others, between US in the West and Them in the (Middle) East, between Occidentalism and Orientalism, between Christendom and Islam" (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 24).

Similarly, Denton (2004) feels that media coverage has created a suspicion

about Islam and its adherents among people all over the world. He points out that soon after the 9/11 events, Islam as a faith and its principles and adherents have all been put under investigation. He reports that the media coverage following the 9/11 attacks provides the public with contextual stories and commentaries about Islam, much of which reflect an unfavourable side of Islam. Further, Denton (2004) claims that most of these contextual stories and commentaries are meant to question whether Islam and Muslims fit in the Western culture. Chilton (2004) asserts that when the media focus on such contextual information, they aim at creating a particular explanation and understanding of the 9/11 events. However, he points out the information offered by the media gives the impression that there is a threatening enemy behind these events. He further asserts that the enemy is understood to be Islam and Muslims, and hence discrimination is created against them.

In an analogous way, Sundas (2008, p. 33) demonstrates that the Western media has been playing a considerable role in the social construction of Islamic fundamentalism. She reports that the western media, through various representational practices, contribute considerably in giving 'meaning' to the culture of radical Islamists. In her study of the representation of British young Muslims in the NYT and the Guardian in relation to the events of 9/11, 7/7 Madrid bombings, and 2007 London and Glasgow bombings, she finds that the reporting on the three violent attacks in these newspapers gives

a discursive attention to Islamic terrorism. Besides, Islamic fundamentalists were associated significantly with negative notions such as bombing, extremism, radicalism and terrorism. Sundas (2008) notes that the frequent association of terms such as 'extremist', 'radical', 'Islamist' (and very often of 'Muslims') to Islamic fundamentalists contribute to transmit a negative discourse of a disillusioned people seeking, for instance, revenge or virgins in heaven. In addition, she observes that any attempt to put rationalization in the heads of the lost youthful Muslims in these newspapers was followed by a statement which discredited any such truth. In this sense, Islamic fundamentalism is portrayed as an ideologist cult. At the same time, associating Islam to 'terrorism' gives this concept some personality which the reader can understand and relate to (Sundas, 2008).

This view has been previously acknowledged by Yenigun (2004) who conducted a study meant to investigate if there is a shift in the representation of Muslims by the American media in the post-9/11 period. Using the tools of postcolonial analysis, Yenigun (2004) analyzed the coverage on Muslims in the mainstream media following the 9/11 attacks and found a shift which is represented in the form of a differentiation between moderates and fundamentalists. That is to say the mainstream media's coverage of 9/11 does not disparage Islam itself; rather, the media followed a complicated course by praising Islam as a peaceful religion while simultaneously defaming

"fundamentalism" whose meaning is left intentionally fuzzy. Yenigun (2004) finds that the whole media coverage can be read from the essential distinction between (moderate) Islam and fundamentalism. Additionally, he reports that the same tropes used to represent Muslims in the colonial discourse are employed to represent the fundamentalist "Other". Yet, Yenigun (2004) views the presence of a significant Muslim minority important to offer opportunities for broadened boundaries of "American" citizenry that can be realized by growing activism to this end.

From another perspective, Eltantawy (2007) attributes the negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western media to the selection of certain materials that serve biased orientations. She argues that the Western media exaggerates exceptional problems in the Muslim societies in a way that make them to be perceived as the only features that dominate the region. For instance, the Western media continuously focus on issues like female genital mutilation, honour crimes and forced marriages. The focus on a narrow aspect of Muslim women's identity confirms that the American media are still ignorant of Islamic and Muslim communities. Besides, this focus proves that the American media have little interest in learning about the lives of 'ordinary' Muslim women, but they have an insatiable desire to be reminded of the great social and cultural gulf that exists between themselves and the Muslim world (Eltantawy, 2007, p. 318). Thus, their reportage on Muslim and Arab women

strengthens the frame of these victimized and helpless women and fails to give the same attention to the positive exceptions among them. Eltantawy's study (2007), for instance, illustrates how the American media sometimes gloss over news of an exceptionally intelligent Muslim woman, or of a liberal Muslim husband that supports his wife rather than oppresses her. Such shortcoming in the coverage, therefore, leads one to believe that it is necessary to examine weaknesses in journalistic practice that could lead to distortion or exclusion.

Projected Themes

It is revealed from the textual analysis that Islam is represented to have two versions and Muslims to be divided between two camps, the moderate and the extremist. The NYT highlighted diverse themes with regard to these versions and camps.

Moderate Islam versus Extremist Islam

From the discourse analyzed, it is clear that the NYT pursues a classification strategy to formulate a distinction between two versions of Islam, the moderate and extremist. In the light of that strategy, the NYT represents the moderate version of Islam as a faith that encourages peace and tolerance. As a peaceful faith, it is also represented to embrace modernity and to support the building of progressive Islamic societies (see A-1). Within this representation, it is suggested by the NYT that all Muslims around the world should embrace the moderate version of Islam in order to enjoy prosperity and pursue progress. On the other hand, extremist or fundamentalist Islam is represented to hamper progress and civilization in Islamic societies. The moderate-extremist dichotomy is thematized through the classification strategy and the linguistic structure of transitivity as shown in Excerpt A-1.

Excerpt A-1

World Briefing Asia: Pakistan: President Urges Moderate Islam (*The New York Times, June 11, 2003)*

President Pervez Musharraf visited the heartland of the country's growing hard-line Islamists to tell them they needed to make a choice between modernity and ''Talibinization.'' Pakistanis ''have to decide what kind of system'' they want, he said during a visit to North-West Frontier Province, where its assembly, dominated by an alliance of religious parties, voted unanimously last week to introduce Islamic law. He warned that the recent hard-liner moves would damage Pakistan's image abroad and hamper progress.

The term 'moderate Islam', in the headline of Excerpt A-1, appears as a goal or a direct object for the agent (subject) 'President Mushrraef'. This agent is assigned to the verb 'urges' which is categorized in functional terms as a verb that represents the experiential meaning of a verbal action. The

verb 'urge' is chosen to represent 'moderate Islam' as an urgent necessity for Muslims to solve their problems of backwardness and extremism. This solution (moderate Islam) is 'urged' by Musharraf, the President of Pakistan, as he believes that moderate Islam would bring modernity and prosperity to the Islamic society. Therefore, the lexical choices for the headline are meant to thematize moderate Islam as a solution for Muslims to relinquish their backwardness and to get rid of extremism. In this, moderate Islam is portrayed positively and as the brand of Islam that should be embraced by Muslims.

Excerpt A-2

Pope condemns extremism behind terror. (Pope John Paul II on visit to Kazakhstan, heavily Muslim) *(The New York Times, Sept 25, 2001)*

At a meeting with local artists and scientists, Pope John Paul II drew a sharp distinction tonight between 'authentic Islam' and the extremism that led to the recent terrorist attacks in the United States.

''I wish to reaffirm the Catholic Church's respect for Islam, for authentic Islam: the Islam that prays, that is concerned for those in need,'' said the pope, who is nearing the end of his four-day visit to the heavily Muslim and Orthodox Christian country in Central Asia.

Contrary to moderate Islam, extremist Islam is portrayed as a menacing threat in the pages of the NYT. As shown in Excerpt A-2, this version is represented as one that embeds backwardness and fundamentalism in Islamic society. In addition, it is represented as a threat to the world. In particular, it is pronounced by the NYT to be the enemy of the West. These concepts are thematized in many reports published in the pages of the NYT. For instance, the militant version of Islam is explicitly adopted through Pope John Paul II's words to be the ideology behind the 9/11 attacks. As this version is represented to be behind the extremist and terrorist ideology that led to the attacks (Excerpt A-2), it receives a wider coverage in the NYT than moderate Islam. In the final version of the selected data for this paper, it is found that 46 articles reported on extremist Islam, while only 13 articles reported on moderate Islam. However, what is mainly thematized about extremist Islam in these articles is the concept of 'threat'. Extremist or militant Islam is portrayed as a global menace that represents a real and serious threat to many parts of the world. For instance, it is accused of creating havoc and trouble in many countries; it unsettles Indonesia and its region as shown in Excerpt A-3.

Excerpt A-3

Militant Islam unsettles Indonesia and its region. *(The New York Times, Sept 21, 2001)*

Southeast Asia knows what havoc militant Islam can create. With mass

kidnappings in the Philippines, ''holy warriors'' in Indonesia and armed cells in Malaysia, governments have learned they can never relax.

This wave of Islamic extremism is reported to have reached America to threaten its stability and to loom over its social harmony. This is revealed in the headline in Excerpt A-4.

Excerpt A-4

Opening Western eyes to a view of Islam. (Militant Islam Reaches America.) (*The New York Times, August 28, 2002)*

With the terrorist attacks in the United States, some Western diplomats are expressing heightened fears that these groups may be cooperating and may be receiving increased support from militants in the Middle East.

At the same time, it is shown that the linguistic structures of the headlines in Excerpts A-3 and A-4 are selected by the NYT to reinforce the thematization of the moderate-extremist dichotomy. In using the linguistic tool of transitivity, militant Islam is represented as an evil ideology that can cause havoc in many places in the world. From a critical linguistic perspective, 'Militant Islam' is positioned in the headlines of Excerpts A-3 and A-4 as an agent. In other words, the agent in each case

is represented in the noun phrase 'Militant Islam' in both excerpts. The phrase 'Militant Islam' in Excerpts A-3 and A-4 is assigned to the verbs 'unsettles' and 'reaches', respectively. The verb 'unsettles' in Excerpt A-3 represents the experiential meaning of an action. As mentioned earlier, in assigning militant Islam to the action verb 'unsettles' makes the noun phrase 'Indonesia and its region' a goal or a direct object for it. It is implied through this linguistic structure that the unsettlement of 'Indonesia and its region' is caused by 'Militant Islam' deliberately. This strategy represents militant Islam as the main agent responsible for the chaotic situation in Indonesia and its region. On the other hand, the verb 'reaches' in the headline 'Militant Islam Reaches America' in Excerpt A-4 represents an action process (Lock, 1996, p. 78). The agent for this verb is the noun phrase, 'Militant Islam', and 'America' on the first sight seems like a goal or an object for the agent. However, it would be very odd to ask questions about the second participant (America) in this clause such as 'what happened to America?' That is because 'America' cannot be characterized as the participant on the receiving end of an action. Rather, it provides information about the extent, range, or scope of the process 'reach' that is assigned to 'Militant Islam'. The technical term for this participant in functional terms is "a range" (Lock, 1996, p. 78). Thus, the verb 'reaches' represents militant Islam as a real threat to many places and countries including even America.

However, it is revealed from the discourse analyzed that the NYT does not

only pursue the classification strategy to make the dichotomy between moderate and extremist Islam distinct based on the themes of threat and turmoil to refer to the latter. It further represents the problematic scenario of extremist Islam in the context of religion and politics. This is revealed from the various political labels the NYT uses to describe extremist Islam. These religious-political labels are represented in 'Islamic fundamentalism', as reported in the headline of Excerpt A-5; 'militant Islam', (headline, Excerpt A-6), 'extremist Islam' (headline, Excerpt A-8); and in the term 'radical Islam' which appears in a report about extremism in Nigeria (Line 4, Excerpt A-7).

Excerpt A-5

Living in a world without women. (Islamic fundamentalism) (*The New York Times, Nov 4, 2001)*

... Since 1979, radical Islamic movements have toppled or challenged governments from Iran to Egypt to Pakistan. Their growing popularity has many causes: poverty, the dissatisfaction with regimes viewed as corrupt and irreligious, the dislocation of modernity and unease with women's independence.

Excerpt A-6

Where Muslim traditions meet modernity. (Force of militant Islam) (*The New York Times, Dec 17, 2001)*

A husband can prevent his wife from traveling abroad, and the police will back up his legal right to stop her. A father can marry off his daughter against her will, and she, by law, must obey. A woman is trapped in a loveless marriage; with few exceptions, her husband is free once he declares himself divorced.

Excerpt A-7

Rising Islamic power in Africa causes unrest in Nigeria and elsewhere. (The New *York Times, Nov 1, 2001)*

In East Africa, in Kenya and Tanzania, where American embassies were bombed in 1998, Muslims have long been shut out of power. That has given rise there, as well as in Uganda, to the emergence of radical Islam. Radicals have organized themselves politically and some have received military help from the Islamist government of Sudan.

Excerpt A-8

A Rock Star's Struggle Where Militant Islam Rules. (*The New York Times, July 17, 2003)*

As these terms conjure negative meanings, the NYT selects them to thematize negative concepts about militant Islam. It is obvious that these terms are used to

equate the meaning of extremist Islam to radicalism, extremism and violence. Poole (2002) views these terms to be judgmental and their choice to be biased, particularly when used in a political atmosphere. She demonstrates that the Western media intend by these terms to equate extremist or militant Islam with politics, and to equate its politics with fundamentalism and fundamentalism with terrorism. In the same manner, Khleif (1998) points out that terms such as 'fundamentalists' and 'terrorists' may invoke a prejudiced representation in the Western media. They constitute negative myths on or about Islam that are taken for granted and never questioned or re-checked.

In the same manner, extremist Islam is represented to be a radical, harsh puritanical version due to its concern of applying the *Sharia'a* law in Islamic societies. The NYT reports that extremist Islam endorses forcefully the application of *Sharia'a* law to authorize the amputation of hands and to decree the flogging and stoning as punishment for crimes like theft and adultery (see for e.g., Excerpt A-10). This is shown in the case of a Nigerian woman who has been sentenced to death by stoning for having sex out of wedlock. The same article also reports on a teenage girl who was given 100 strokes of the cane for premarital sex; and in another case of cow thieves, who have had their hands cut off. These cases are all reported in the Excerpt A-10.

Excerpt A-10

Nigerian woman condemned to death by stoning is acquitted.

(Safiya Hussaini) (*The New York Times, March 26, 2002***)**

A Muslim appeals court today acquitted a Nigerian woman who had been sentenced to death by stoning for having sex out of wedlock, a case that prompted protests at home and abroad and raised fears of religious unrest in the troubled West African nation.

The 35-year-old mother of five was the first of at least two women sentenced to death by stoning since a dozen Nigerian states began implementing Shariah, or Islamic law, two years ago.

Cow thieves have had their hands cut off. A teenage girl was given 100 cane strokes for premarital sex; another woman has just been sentenced to death by stoning for adultery.

Said (1981) reports that as the term *Sharia'a* prevails in the Western media coverage of Islam and Muslims, it becomes something of a hate term along with terms like *mullah Jihad* and *fatwa*. However, he points out that the meanings of these terms are treated negatively in contemporary times due to the ignorance of the media of Islam and its biased selection of topics that shed unpleasant light on certain practices in Islamic societies. On the one hand, Said affirms that due to media ignorance and lack of actual knowledge

about the peculiarities of Islam and Muslims communities, the content of the media becomes inaccurate and fully misleading. On the other hand, Said reports that due to the biased selection, the representation of these practices appears to reflect more the Western political and cultural interests than the practices themselves or the subject itself (1981, p. xv). Said suggested that the Western media should not represent terms like *Sharia'a* out of the Islamic context and according to the Western cultural standards. Applying the Western standards to judge or evaluate any other culture is judged by Said to be practicing a kind of social hegemony (1981). Khawaja (2000) demonstrates that, by practicing this social hegemony, the Western media have contributed to portraying Muslims as those who do not fit into the Western society as it represents them in a way that alienates and racially discriminates against them. However, when the content of the excerpts that appear in this section are analytically and systematically compared to each other, it is revealed that the NYT utilizes the classification strategy to represent moderate Islam as a legitimate version of Islam and extremist Islam as an illegitimate one.

However, it is revealed from the discourse being analyzed that the NYT has not shed light on the social and political contexts that had led to the uprising of militant Islam. The NYT, just like any other Western media, hides the fact that militant Islam arose in retaliation to the acts that were committed by the West against Muslims since the period of colonization

(Siddiqi, 1997). It also does not report the academic views that point to the frustration of Muslims with America's unjust and double standard policies in the Middle East which have resulted in more adherents to embrace this version of Islam (Siddiqi, 1997). However, the moderate-extremist Islam dichotomy is reinforced by classifying Muslims into moderate and extremist, as shown in the following section.

Muslims: Moderate versus Extremist

It is shown in the earlier section that the NYT does not treat Islam to a monolithic discourse; rather it pursues a differentiation strategy to distinguish between two versions of Islam; the moderate and the militant. The NYT used the same strategy to make a distinction between two camps of Muslims: the moderate and the militant. Terms such as 'moderate' and 'mainstream' are used to describe the former camp which the West does not need to fear while terms such as 'extremists' (Excerpt A-4), 'militants' (Excerpt A-14), 'fundamentalist(s)' (Excerpt A-11) and 'radicals' (Excerpt A-15) are used to describe the latter. These terms are genera`lly used in many articles that juxtapose 'extremists' and 'moderates' together in order to show a wide divide between them (see Excerpt A-11), where the noun 'mainstream Islamic society' (Lines 8-9) is juxtaposed with the noun 'extremists' (Line 9). The juxtaposition of these nouns together serves to reinforce the moderate-extremist Muslim dichotomy.

Excerpt A-11

Experts on Islam pointing fingers at one another. (*The New York Times, Nov 3, 2001)*

"There are two camps," said John L. Esposito, a leading American scholar of Islam and the founder of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, who is among the scholars criticized by Mr. Kramer. ''One of them believes that all Islamic fundamentalist groups or movements are a threat. The other, represented by myself and several others, would say that you have to distinguish between mainstream Islamic society and extremists, who attack people in their own societies and now in the West."

It is also revealed from Excerpt A-11 that as the NYT reports Esposito's views in order to portray competing themes and images about Muslims. Through Esposito's views, moderate Muslims are represented as peaceful believers practising a tolerant version of Islam. They are even represented to be disappointed to have the 9/11 events associated to their religion. They denounce and speak loudly against these events considering the ideological stance behind them to be a distorted version of Islam and different from their faith in all respects, as shown in Excerpt A-12.

Excerpt A-12

Moderates start speaking out against Islamic intolerance. *(The New York Times, Oct 28, 2001)*

After years of quietly watching a harsh, puritanical strain of Islam enter America, many moderate Muslims are speaking out in favour of a more tolerant form of their faith. They are emboldened by their sense of anger at the Sept. 11 attacks and embarrassed by what they see as a distorted vision of their religion.

It is revealed from the above excerpt (A-12) that the NYT gives moderate Muslims a chance to condemn the attacks, to emphasize the peacefulness of their religion, and to reject the connection of Islam to the 9/11 events. This is shown through the verb phrase 'start speaking' which involves two processes being linked to the logical relationship of the purpose 'Islamic intolerance'. The first process 'start' (headline, Excerpt A-12) is actional, while the second 'speak' is verbal. They are, therefore, more accurately regarded as two clauses, the second being dependent on the first as the second verb can still take the form of *to-verb*. Both of these processes are used to portray a good image of moderate Muslims represented in their strong opposition to the intolerance of Islam (see for e.g., Lock, 1996, p. 111). In fact, the NYT tried its utmost to depict a positive image of moderate Muslims. It

gives moderate Muslims a chance to speak for themselves and to represent them as role models for all Muslims. It represents them to be tolerant and peaceful and it detaches them from any violent acts.

Extremist Muslims

Extremist Muslims are represented in relation to themes of violence, fundamentalism, militancy, destruction and vandalism. The manifestation of these themes portray extremist Muslims as hijackers, suicide bombers, Jihadists and holy warriors as shown in Excerpts A-13 and A-14, respectively.

Excerpt A-13

A day of terror: the Arabs; condemnations from Arab governments, but widely different attitudes on the street (*The New York Times, September 13, 2001*)

In arguing against an Arab link, officials and local experts on extremist groups pointed to the complex choreography of the attack. But in the Middle East, as elsewhere, intense speculation focused on Osama bin Laden or related organization, partly because the attacks involved suicide pilots. Suicide bombers from extremist Muslim organizations generally believe that they are fighting for their faith and are promised paradise if they die for the cause.

Excerpt A-14

Al Qaeda: sprawling, hard-to-spot web of terrorists-in-waiting (*The New York Times, Sept 30, 2001***)**

Like the suspected hijackers who attacked New York and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, the militants of Al Qaeda's infantry may remain invisible for months or even years. They may slip quietly back into their homelands to await orders, or infiltrate into European cities or American suburbs as ''sleepers'' before being mobilized to wage what they see as Jihad, or holy war.

At the same time, extremist Muslims are represented to be globally problematic. They are represented as a menacing threat to the US (see Excerpt A-14) and Europe (Excerpt A-14). They are reported to threaten the public in Indonesia, a country that is professed to be secular by its leaders (see Excerpt A-15). Extremists are represented as rebels who threaten the stability of the Philippines (see Excerpt A-16). They are also represented as a threat to the regimes in Pakistan (see Lines 1-2, Excerpt A-17) and the Middle East (see for e.g., Excerpt A-20). Since 1979, they have either toppled or challenged the regimes and in the former, have established states which they can apply the *Sharia'a* law. These negative aspects are reported in Excerpts A-5, A-15, A-16, A-17 and A-20 which are taken from different articles published in the NYT.

Excerpt A-15

Indonesia radicals issue threats of holy war. (Islamic Youth) *(The New York Times, Sept 29, 2001)*

Excerpt A-16

Muslim rebels raid town in southern Philippines. *(The New York Times, Oct 6, 2001)*

Excerpt A-17

Islamists bring out followers against U.S. (A Nation Challenged) (mullahs in Pakistan). *(The New York Times, Oct 8, 2001)*

In cities across Pakistan in recent weeks, thousands of party followers have thronged into the streets to deliver fiery and furious anti-American messages. They waved the distinctive black-and-white flag of the party and chanted ''Death to America'' and ''Death to Bush.''

From the headlines of Excerpts A-15, A-16, and A-17, it can be seen that extremist Muslims are portrayed to be radically different from the more general and politically moderate Muslims. The NYT preserves their thematic representation in relevance to negative concepts like violence, turmoil, and vandalism. These themes are consolidated through the linguistic structures that are chosen to report them.

The critical analysis of the linguistic structures in the above excerpts shows extremist Muslims taking the role of the agent in the transitive clauses. Each of these clauses has two participants that can be described in functional terms as agents and objects (Fowler, 1991, p. 71). The agents of these clauses are represented in terms like 'Indonesian radicals' (headline, Excerpt A-15), 'Muslims rebels' (headline, Excerpt A-16), and 'Islamists' (headline, Excerpt A-17). The objects for these agents are represented in 'threats of holy war' in Excerpt A-15, 'town in southern Philippines' in Excerpt A-16, and 'followers against U.S' in Excerpt A-17, respectively. The role of these agents and the effect received by the objects are commonly determined by the type of verbs that are assigned to them. The verbs that are assigned to these agents are 'issue', 'raid', and 'bring out' respectively. The verb 'issue' in Excerpt A-15 represents the experiential meaning of a verbal action. Thus, assigning this verb to 'Indonesian radicals' makes the term 'threats of holy war' a direct object of the radicals. The effect received by the object 'holy war' becomes clearer through the word 'threat' (headline, Excerpt A-15), thus representing extremist Muslims to be prone to violence. On the other hand, the verb 'raid' represents the experiential meaning of an action being carried out to a 'town in southern Philippines'. The clause represents extremist Muslims in relation to the concepts of vandalism and destruction. In a similar way, the phrasal verb 'bring out' represents the experiential meaning of an actional process (Lock, 1996, p. 78).

'Islamists' appears as the agent for this actional process and the term 'followers' is characterized as the participant on the receiving end of the actional process. The term 'followers' along with its complement 'against US' represents America as the target of the Islamists. In addition, the verb 'bring out' implies a warning against extremist Muslims as they are perceived as the real enemies of the United States of America. The verb 'topple', used in the article from which Excerpt A-5 was extracted, represents metaphorically the experiential meaning of an actional process being directed towards governments in the Middle East. This verb shows that the scope of extremist Muslims' threat is wide and may know no limit.

The threat of extremist Muslims is also strengthened through the evaluative terms 'radicals' (Excerpt A-15), 'rebels' (Excerpt A-16), and 'Islamists' (Excerpt A-17). These terms have contributed to create a dichotomy between 'moderates' and 'extremists' in a number of articles that represent almost 35% of the total number of the articles analyzed. The frequent use of terms like 'radical', 'extremist', 'moderate', 'Muslim rebels', 'fundamentalist' and 'Islamists' accounts for 118, 105, 90, 76, 59 and 51 occurrences, respectively. The liberal and frequent provision of these terms is meant to represent extremist Muslims in association to violence and turmoil. From another perspective, the use of these terms verges on a deep prejudice and xenophobia in the NYT against Islam and Muslims (see for e.g., Fowler, 1991, p. 78). These lexical terms with their associated negative connotations (with the exception of 'moderate' indicate that the NYT has a xenophobic ideological stance. This xenophobic ideology emerges as the discussed terms are used to sort Muslims into discriminatory categories. However, this raises the issue of the typology itself and makes the terms perceived with scepticism. It seems that the NYT uses these terms to create a fear-based discourse about extremist Muslims. The objective seems to be to convey a message that we should fear extremist Muslims as they are represented to be involved with violence, turmoil and terrorist acts. This makes them to be perceived as a source of worry and anxiety among the readers and the public.

The peril of extremist Muslims becomes especially evident once they are represented as fundamentalists who distort Islam to justify their violent acts and to promote their political agendas, as shown in Excerpt A-18.

Excerpt A-18

More extremists find basis for rebellion in Islam. *(The New York Times, Sept 22, 2001)*

''You have extremists who years ago might have appealed to a nationalist or secular ideology,'' said John L. Esposito, an expert on Islam at Georgetown University in Washington. ''Now you have people who are prone to create acts of violence and who are justifying it in the name of Islam.''

For the most part, the NYT is preoccupied with the peril of extremist Muslims and their fundamentalism by reinforcing them with references from scenes in the Islamic world. For instance, in order to perpetuate these images about extremist Muslims, the NYT associates them to the Taliban, Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden (Excerpt A-19). Al Qaeda, the Taliban and Osama bin Laden are always reported to follow a very extremist but distorted version of the Islamic faith that advocates Jihad and holy war against the West (Excerpt A-19). Thus, the fundamentalist and threatening images of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban are used by the NYT as the best examples to flash out the picture of fundamentalism and to associate it to extremist Muslims.

Excerpt A-19

Speaking in the name of Islam (*The New York Times, Dec 2, 2001).*

Since Sept. 11, Muslim leaders have repeatedly said that extremists like Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network have distorted religious teachings to justify terrorism. In Arabic, the word ''Islam'' means surrender, and Islamic scholars say there is nothing in the teachings of the religion that could justify barbarity against so many innocent people. But still, since long before Mr. bin Laden, extremists have used Islam as a mandate for their actions.

However, Goody (2004) points out that as the representation of extremist Muslims in the Western media spins on the issue of fundamentalism, it obscures, on another hand, the realities of widespread political grievances held by extremist Muslims against the US. There are rare instances in the NYT, where lucid explanations of Bin Laden's demands are explicitly laid out: pull US troops out of the Arabian Gulf, work towards securing the Palestinian right to self-determination, and lift the sanctions imposed on the Iraqi people (Esposito, 2002, p. 176). These demands are expressions of protest against the policies which are pursued by the US and considered offensive to many of the global Muslim communities. Esposito (2002) points out that bin Laden uses these demands to provoke feelings of hatred among Muslims against the West and to gain more supporters. The issue of fundamentalism is essentialized to all Muslims who operate within the political discourse with Islamic agenda, as shown in the following section.

Essentialization

Essentialization is a term used to refer to the identical coherence of representation of a certain group of people due to their identical interests and homogeneous properties (Modood, 2006). On the other hand, Hansen (2006) points out that essentialization is used by the Western media as a strategy to construct a homogeneous image of European Muslims but without considering the different backgrounds they have or the larger set of cultural norms they have

acquired from the communities they live in (Hansen, 2006, p. 4). In the context of this study, it is found that the NYT utilizes essentialization as a discursive strategy to attribute all Islamic movements that operate within the Islamic discourse to extremism without a concern as to whether these movements are traditional or modern, violent or peaceful. Rather, it lumps all these movements together painting them with extremism and fundamentalism, as shown in Excerpt A-20.

Excerpt A-20

Egyptian group patiently pursues dream of Islamic state. *(The New York Times, Jan 20, 2002)*

All fundamentalist groups have one goal: setting up an Islamic state with no borders," said Muhammad Salah, a journalist who writes about Islamic movements in Egypt. He believes that the Brothers are content to bide their time. ''They are not in a hurry," he said. ''They believe they can achieve their goal in 50 or 60 years when the whole society becomes Brothers and they will end up running the country.

''Most Islamic groups, the extremist groups that appeared here, all came from the same womb," said Nabil Osman, head of the State Information Service. ''They can claim that they are not shooting now, but instead of bullets they are shooting concepts of extremism and deception.

It is revealed from the Excerpt above, that all Islamic movements are represented to share the same fundamentalist ideology, as shown in the word 'fundamentalist' in the first line of Excerpt A-20. From another perspective, these movements are represented to use Islam as a tactical weapon to achieve one common goal to establish one Islamic state without borders (Lines 8-9, Excerpt A-20). This means that they are working with the same political agenda that aims to reunite all Muslims and demolish the borders that separate them. However, these Islamic movements are essentialized once they are recognized to come from the same womb (Line 10, Excerpt A-20). This indicates that these movements adhere to the same ideology, principles and goals. All these together represent their identity to be the same and it could be argued, to be Islamic. This representation is explicitly shown in the NYT in Excerpt A-21.

Excerpt A-21

How in a little English town jihad found young converts. (How Muslims from Tipton, England, were captured with Taliban in Afghanistan). *(The New York Times, April 24, 2002)*

The goal of the radicals, of whatever stripe, is to make Islam a political force. To do this, they employ a potent mix of vivid imagery, Qura'anic scholarship, hard facts and soft-boiled conspiracy theories -- the Jews attacked the World Trade Center to discredit Osama

bin Laden; the C.I.A. did it to give America a way into Central Asia; Mr. bin Laden is an American agent meant to discredit Islam.

From the above Excerpt (A-21), it is revealed that the NYT attributes all sorts of Islamic revivalism to fundamentalism and radicalism. It essentializes their representation emphasizing that all Islamic movements regardless of their 'stripe' (Lines1-2, Excerpt A-21) share the same political agenda. This has the effect of making Islam a political force to achieve their goals and interests. Such a representation brings to the fore, the ignorance of the NYT of the Islamic movements that work within the Islamic political sphere. It seems that the NYT is not aware of the fact that there are Islamic movements that adopt political and civilized means like democracy to participate and compete in the political sphere with other non-Islamic movements. In other words, the NYT fails to recognize any diversity among Islamic movements, but instead essentializes all of them as one camp that entails no differences. The essentialization of all Islamic movements is noticeably proven in the coverage of the Turkish election.

With such a representation, the failure of the NYT to recognize the diversity that exists among Islamic movements becomes obvious. It does not or could not draw a distinction between the Al-Qaeda and other tolerant and moderate movements like the brotherhood movement in Egypt and the AKP in Turkey. The NYT represents all these movements as different faces of Islamic fundamentalism or extremism. Their political agendas are interpreted as an instance of extremism and, in turn, as indications of fundamentalism. With this strategy of essentialization, it becomes unclear where moderate Islam begins and where extremism ends.

Ayoob (2007, p. 116) reports the Western media's coverage of political Islam appears to be blurred and vague. This is particularly true, as they do not draw a line between militant movements and political ones. According to Ayoob (2007), this political line makes every Muslim a potential fundamentalist and it puts the burden on him to prove otherwise. On the other hand, he demonstrates that the Western media tend to easily label any kind of civil rights claimed by Islamically oriented people as an outer face of hidden agendas rather than as a struggle for democracy. He further points out that the Western media ignores the fact that there are many Islamic movements that reject violence as a political means to achieve their agenda but who would rather adopt democracy as a political choice or means to participate in the political sphere and to achieve their political agendas. The Brotherhood in Egypt, AKP in Turkey, Hamas in occupied Palestine and Al-Eslah in Yemen are excellent examples of such movements (Ayoob, 2007, p. 19). Ayoob further reports that though these movements are Islamically oriented, they began their political lives as resistance or opposition movements and then transmuted into political parties with a modernist outlook

while participating in the political sphere. In spite of that, he realizes that the West rejects any dealing with them as it perceives their agendas to be against its interests. In this perspective, the Western countries are perceived to be 'hypocrite[s]' as they have multi-faceted policies. The West promotes democracy where moderates win, but never pushes it where Islamists are likely to win as shown from the words of Mr. Pipes who is the president of the United States Institute of Peace (Excerpt A-4).

Excerpt A-4

Opening Western eyes to a view of Islam (Militant Islam Reaches

America) (*The New York Times, August 28, 2002)*

Mr. Pipes makes a strong case that Left and Right have approached both with impressive consistency. But sturdy, well-connected neo-conservative that he is, he argues just as forthrightly that the Left has been consistently wrong.

His policy guidelines are accordingly simple. Respect and support the moderate Muslims, who are Islam's silent majority. Don't push democracy where Islamists are likely to win. Don't try to appease. It can't be done

However, it seems that the American media organizations find themselves compelled to adopt the state slant, to support its policies and to render them as common sense due to patriotic and national spurs. Following the 9/11 events, American media organizations designed political rhetoric to be deployed in the service of public policy. As the war on terrorism is formulated, familiar images and themes contributed to the consolidation and support for the Bush administration and for the war in Afghanistan (Silberstein, 2003, p. xi). This does not suggest that Americans or media audience and readers are simply dupes of governmental and media propaganda. As Fairclough (2002, p. 2) puts it, the media have the power to represent things in a particular way to shape government and parties' views, and to influence knowledge, beliefs and values, and social relations as well as identities in a society. In order to shape attitudes and identities, Silberstein (2003) points out that the media exploit some cultural strains and produce carefully crafted rhetoric and imagery.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the discourse in the NYT has shown that the newspaper makes a departure from a monolithic representation avoiding the negative implications of reportage that homogenizes Islam and shows Muslims as a monolithic block that entails no differences. In effect, it pursues a classification strategy to create a dichotomy of moderate and extremist Islam and Muslims. Within this dichotomy, diverse and competing themes are reinforced about these two versions and camps of Islam and Muslims. While the moderate camp is represented to be tolerant,

peaceful and progressive; the extremist camp is represented to be backward and a menacing threat to the West. At the same time, the moderate Muslims are represented as peaceful believers who practice a tolerant and legitimate version of Islam. In contrast to moderates, extremist Muslims are represented as zealots and violent militants who practice the extremist version of Islam.

However, the NYT fails to identify any kind of diversity within the representation of extremism. In fact, it utilizes an essentialization strategy to portray extremist Islam and Muslims as a uniformed camp that entails no differences. To this end, it lumps all Islamic movements together, portraying them as a threat to the West, and without any concern whether they are traditional, modern, violent or peaceful. It describes them to come from the same womb and to adhere to the same political agendas. Their political agendas are interpreted as an instance of extremism and, in turn, as different faces of Islamic fundamentalism. Through this strategy, it becomes unclear where modernism begins and where extremism ends.

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Message from the Sky: Radiotelephony in Air-Ground Communication

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ABSTRACT

Air-ground communication is a unique conversational discourse via specific technological equipment engaged by pilots and air traffic controllers. To conduct efficient air-ground communication, a special language or radiotelephony, is deliberately created and designed for aviation personnel to successfully conduct flight operations and to communicate through wireless technology. Therefore, radiotelephony may be seen as a universal or 'international language' used by pilots and air traffic controllers around the world, but it is also a distinctive language used within a restricted environment by a specific profession. A study was conducted to look at the general organisation and communication strategies in radiotelephony at discourse level and to describe its linguistic properties. This paper presents preliminary findings of the analysis done at discourse level and identifies categories of word formations used to construct the lexicon of radiotelephony.The analysis shows that turns are achieved in formulaic patterns embedded with confined units of moves. At the lexical level, compounding and shortening play a substantial role in contributingterms specific to the genre. The findings indicate that radiotelephony possesses distinctive linguistic characteristics influenced by the wireless medium of communication, certain flight operation activities and the unique institutional goal of interaction.

Keywords: Air-ground communication, aviation language, discourse, lexicon, radiotelephony

INTRODUCTION

In the aviation context, effective communication is an essential component of flight operations. Pilots, cabin crew, air traffic controllers, maintenance personnel and ground staff need to establish a mutual understanding of the nature of events relevant to the operational procedures.

Air-ground communication is one among several communications conducted in the aviation context which requires a specific language as the active converse between pilots and air traffic controllers around the world.

The need to perform non face-to-face communication through wireless technology between aircraft in the air and traffic controllers on the ground in a task-oriented, high-workload and high-technology context has made the language distinctive. In addition, accurate interpretation relies tremendously on the context of the situation as well as the quality of a particular medium, namely, radio transmission. All these restraints have resulted in a language that is constructed and shaped into a distinctive discourse.

Generally, linguistic elements of radiotelephony is described as very close to robot-like or telegraphic language carried through a limited set of syntactical units within rigid discourse strategies, which only few people involved in the same field of expertise would understand. Linguistic reduction or expansion from its corresponding natural language properties is intentionally regulated to efficiently serve the institutional practice, nature of technological medium, specific characteristics of communication and task objective but there is no strong evidence from any research to support any of these.

A study was conducted to explicate the unique linguistic properties of radiotelephony as a reference grammar in the language training curriculum for pilot trainees and experienced pilots, especially the non-native speakers of English. The ongoing study aims to look at the language in four domains: discourse, lexicon, syntax and morphology. This paper presents findings from analysis on the first two levels: discourse and lexical.

RADIOTELEPHONY AS SUBLANGUAGE IN AIR-GROUND COMMUNICATION

In a speech community, the essential function of language in general is to create mutual understanding among members. However, it is widely accepted that even in the same community with monolingual speakers, language variation is a frequently occurring natural phenomenon. A language which is somehow different from the language ordinarily used to convey messages in particular groups of institutional members is known as *sublanguage*, a subset of standard natural language.

The term *sublanguage* was introduced by Zellig Harris (Harris, 1968, p. 152), who used the term for a portion of natural language differing from other portions of the same language syntactically and/or lexically. In extending the concept, Read and Bárcena (2000, p. 355) explain the circumstances in which sublanguages generally emerge: scientists, technicians, mechanics and people in general establishing communication about a specific subject matter in a professional or erudite way gradually begin to manipulate and adapt the rules of the language they use in accordance with their communicative needs.

Sublanguage is often categorized by a restricted set of linguistic properties which may be described as a subsystem of natural language or an independent system. Nonetheless, it is often believed that sublanguage patterns would be cited from natural language simply by deleting a number of rules and syntactical units that are not relevant.

One among various sublanguages denoted in the specialised communication setting is radiotelephony, a language particularly used in conversation conducted between pilot and air traffic controller. It is purely created to meet the needs of communication through wireless technology between aircraft in the air and traffic controllers on the ground.

Radiotelephony is slightly different from the usual description of other sublanguages in that it is not developed naturally from its corresponding language. Instead, it is a planned, constructed, or invented language deliberately designed by one person or a small group of people and intended for communication for a specific purpose. The language seems to be based on a set of prescribed rules in order to reduce complexity and flexibility of natural language which usually leads to confusion and misunderstanding.

In order to provide the fundamental background of air-ground communication, the situational parameters (developed from Biber, as cited in Johnstone, 2004, pp. 150-151) are enlarged here in order to describe the context in which the interaction occurs, as the context is overtly associated with linguistic properties and the overall discourse which radiotelephony is conducted.

Characteristics of Working Environment and Responsibilities of Participants

The prime duty of a commercial pilot is to control and direct the aircraft with its load of passengers to the destination. On each flight, at least two pilots work together and take turns to perform as the pilot-flying, that is, the pilot in control of the aircraft, and generally responsible for making most routine decisions, and pilot-not-flying who assists pilot-flying and is responsible for most air-ground communications. Along the flight path, pilots need to be vigilant to monitor all the core instruments and the in-sight traffic.

An air traffic controller, on the other hand, is a person who works on the ground and is responsible for directing and instructing each aircraft to perform each phase of flight systematically and effectively, and maintaining a safe flow of air traffic, as well as preventing collisions among aircrafts. The scenario in the control centre with a group of controllers working together during the same shift is full of voice communication. They not only need to concentrate on the communication but also to work with computer software and radar systems in order to maintain visual awareness of the entire airfield and a smooth flow of traffic both on the ground and in the air.

Communicative Characteristics of Participants

Air-ground communication is strictly dyadic which means that any conversation is reserved for only two persons: a pilot from one particular airline, and an air traffic controller who is accountable for that particular aircraft. The fundamental agreement between participants is to state the turn one at a time, therefore during the one-on-one interaction, no interruption from other aircraft should be developed.

It is possible that there is a pilot audience who listens to the interaction because they all share the same radio frequency while operating over a particular airspace. As a result, they have to pay maximum attention to the exchanges and wait until each is completed before they begin their own conversation with an air traffic controller.

Air-ground communication is more like talk-in-action referring to the interaction which occurs moment-to-moment in talking, understanding, seeing and acting. On top of that, a great amount of information needs to be rapidly exchanged within a short period of time as the interactions from and to one controller are performed continuously at each stage of flight path.

Relations between Addresser and Addressee

Both a pilot and an air traffic controller are theoretically on an equal status since they are more or less similar to two groups of the same company's employees working for different departments who coordinate on the same task in order to accomplish it. Even

so, since the role of an air traffic controller is pretty much alike a traffic policeman managing and controlling the traffic on the ground and over the airspace, s/he somehow has a little higher level of authority over pilots.

In accordance with a controller's main duty mentioned earlier, s/he has to provide the pilots with proper information, instructions and flight parameters to either smoothen the flight operations or to avoid mid-air collisions, as well as pave the way for them to reach their destination airports safely.

In contrast, pilots mostly need to follow the instructions and report their presence directly to the air traffic controller when reaching a particular point along the airway. Nonetheless, it does not mean that pilots cannot negotiate for an alternative arrangement to operate the aircraft because the basic assumption of this social interaction is that they have to respect each other as they are depending on the exchange of information to accomplish the same goal.

All in all, at each stated phase of the flight and in the case of distress and urgency situations, the communication will be conducted within the dependency relationship between the participants.

Characteristics of the Place of Communication

Air-ground communication is performed similarly to non face-to-face communication on the ground. The participants engage in the interaction from different workplaces. A pilot is in an active aircraft while an air

traffic controller works in a control centre building. The communication is possibly conducted either on the ground at pre-flight, takeoff and landing phases of flight or in the airspace at departure, en route, descent and approach phases of flight for the pilots, but for the controllers, the conversation is always initiated from the ground stations. Communication is reserved only in the workplace based on the same amount of tasks and goals to accomplish, and the entire conversation is always recorded at work stations, the aircraft and the control centre building, in case of any possible air accident.

Thus, a high technology workplace with explicit operational procedures is the most suitable term to describe the places where air-ground communication is conducted to literally complete reutilized activities.

Mode of Communication

The interaction is restricted to radio transmission which is occasionally interrupted by high frequency noise. Most aircraft are equipped with at least one high-quality radio for a communication which operates in the very high frequency (VHF) radio band. The VHF band is between 108 to 137 MHz, which covers its use for commercial and general aviation, radio navigational aids, air traffic control and others. The aircrafts fly high enough so that their transmitters can be received hundreds of miles away.

The transmission is controlled by a push-to-talk system: the speaker needs to push the button every time in order to relay the message; otherwise, the message cannot be dispatched to the co-participant. As the system contributes to instant information exchange because of the space and time constraints, the management of air traffic within this system largely depends on the timely exchange of information between pilots and air traffic controllers.

Relation of Participants to the Content of Communication

The relation is almost similar to the one in ordinary conversation in which the participants have to comprehend the communication in real time but within certain duration in order to appropriately and accurately exchange information, provide instructions, and follow directions which are highly associated with various flight activities.

The major difference is that the participants need to be alert almost all the time to thoroughly receive details of essential information without any emotion involved. The basic assumption of the interaction is based on evidential facts, thus, the participants do not need to evaluate the content whether it is accurate or not. However, they have to be fully aware of the information conveyed by deliberately reviewing it before transmitting.

Even though the production of the interaction is not scripted beforehand, it is somehow governed by the particular stages of flight profile which apparently indicate and direct what the content of the communication is supposed to be, and what kinds of text the participants should deliver.

Purposes, Intents, and Goals of Communication

The participants in air-ground communication share the same ultimate institutional goal which is manoeuvering the flight to the destination airport safely and efficiently. An air traffic controller provides essential information and instructions to assist the fight operations whereas a pilot acknowledges and follows the instructions as well as informs, inquires and negotiates for the best flight solution.

The fundamental ground which a pilot and an air traffic controller always have is the objective to commute solely on the social activities or tasks of flight operation. Therefore, they have to interchangeably initiate the contact throughout the flight to accomplish those tasks. It can be concluded that air-ground communication is interaction with a distinguishable task and goal orientation in which the participants engage to achieve a similar institutional purpose, intent and goal.

Topic of Communication

The only topic in air-ground communication concerns aviation-related matters, which are flight instructions, flight parameters, weather information, and specific aerodrome information. It is unlike any regular conversation in which the speakers always introduce, develop and change topics as it is an important dimension of conversation structure (Thornbury & Slade, 2006, p. 127).

The information and instructions transmitted through radio transition between a pilot and an air traffic controller centre on the safe and expeditious operation of the aircraft. Air traffic controllers instruct and direct the movement of the aircraft on and in vicinity of an airport and over the airspace whereas pilots perform standard callouts, state intentions, ask questions, and convey information. Therefore, any other matters which are not relevant to flight operations are not allowed in the interaction.

Sharing of Specialised Knowledge among Participants in the Communication

The pilot and air traffic controller must share specialised knowledge concerning the nature of responsibility, working environment, advanced technologies and intricate procedures of flight operations.

The essential medium in air-ground communication is a language which can be used as a lingua franca among several nationalities of pilots and controllers in the commercial aviation industry who are equally responsible for providing air service around the world in order to perform a specific task towards a specific purpose. The language is strictly conformed to only in the aviation industry during the working period of flight operation. The participants need to have mutual specialised knowledge and comprehend the special patterns of language. They all must be trained in the flight training school to acquire the distinct linguistic constructions and practices before the actual flight.

These parameters provide the context for identifying and understanding the distinctive characteristics of air-ground communication, the production and

interpretation of the interaction and the occurrence of procedural format in the language.

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

The study analysed messages using the prescribed language of radiotelephony obtained from the *Manual of Radiotelephony* (2006) issued by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the organization of the United Nations that designates rules and regulations of international air navigation. This specific manual is open for the public to get access and download. In total, 556 messages or 278 exchanges were analysed.

In order to identify the discourse organisation of air-ground communication, data were classified and interpreted in accord with the concept of *move* and *act* in the Model of Conversational Analysis developed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)

following the conventional theoretical framework of conversational analysis.

First, each exchange was sorted and put into a table as presented in Table 1 to demonstrate the detailed elements of each exchange under designated labels as used by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975).

For lexical level analysis, the data were accumulated and processed through two different programmes, AntCon3.2.2w (2007) and Collocation Extract 3.07 to identify the lexical items of radiotelephony. Then, the data was examined based on the criteria of word-formation conventional classification system (Sager *et al.*, 1980; Algeo, 1995) and new classification system (Shortis, 2001).

The data were organised and summarised to show the highly distinctive reference grammar of radiotelephony in air-ground communication in which this particular sublanguage is embedded.

TABLE 1
Example of an exchange in radiotelephony

L.O.D.	Source	Content	Act	e.s.	Move	e.s.	Exchange	ex.
3.	ATC	Station calling Georgetown ground Say again your call sign	summon inquire	pre-head head	eliciting	I	Elicit	4
4.	PT	Georgetown ground Fastair 345	reply-summon informative	pre-head head	informing	R		
5.	PT	Fastair 345 Wickin 47 flight level 003 Marlow 07 Correction Marlow 57	summon informative	pre-head head	informing	I	Inform	5
6.	ATC	Fastair 345 roger	reply-summon receive/ terminate	pre-head head	acknowledging	R		

(ATC = Air traffic Controller PT = Pilot L.O.D. = line of dialogue
e.s. = element of structure ex. = number of exchange)

FINDINGS

Discourse Structure of Air-ground Communication

The findings show three main types of exchanges in radiotelephony: *direct exchange, inform exchange* and *elicit exchange*. According to the data, the most frequent exchange found is direct exchange (155 exchanges), followed by inform exchange (68 exchanges) and elicit exchange (55 exchanges). There is also a supplementary exchange, *summon exchange*, which is an optional exchange to fully perform a identification-recognition process before proceeding to establish one among the three core exchanges.

All types of exchanges are based on the confined sequences of moves with rigid alternatives of acts embedded in each move which are closely related to the fundamental pair-part of the natural spoken discourse. However, the restricted organization is conformed with no overlapped or insertion sequence as in natural conversation in its corresponding language.

The nature of the discourse is best understood by looking at the fundamental background of air-ground discourse. In accordance with International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), an air-ground communication process is roughly designated as stated in Fig.1 in order to be compatible with its distinctive situational parameters.

This communication model displays a graphical representation of what the participants in the air-ground communication should perform. The process is often referred to as the readback/ hearback loop. It is a procedure developed for actively listening to and confirming messages between a pilot and an air traffic controller.

The four stages of the communication process in relation to the model are illustrated in details, as follows:

a. The first stage involves an air traffic controller compiling a message in the form of a command or an instruction and encoding it into words. These are then transmitted to the pilot verbally through a specific radio frequency.

b. The second stage involves a pilot actively listening to the message.
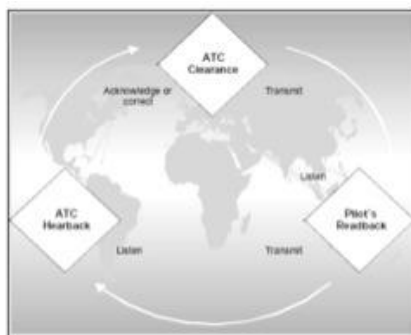
Fig.1: Air-ground communication process model (Flight Safety Foundation, 2000)

This relies on a pilot analysing the transmission and extracting the critical information.

c. The third stage involves a pilot transmitting the received information back to an air traffic controller, commonly referred to as a *readback*. Extracting and reading back the crucial parts of a message or a clearance demonstrates to an air traffic controller that a pilot has sensed the inward message and decoded it into something meaningful or it can also be done through specific response terms such as *affirm* or *roger*.

d. The final stage involves an air traffic controller actively listening for a correct readback from a pilot. This is known as a *hearback*. This allows a controller to identify any misunderstandings and make necessary corrections.

On the other hand, if a pilot initiates the turn, s/he will conduct the first stage of communication process. After that, the second and third stages belong to a controller to listen to, verify and acknowledge the received information. Eventually, a pilot will conduct the final stage which is known as *hearback*. Nonetheless, the hearback stage may be optional if there is nothing to correct.

The communication process model is generally designated as the brief frame of air-ground discourse. The exchange found in the data is based on this model as well.

In this study, the very first prime exchange, *direct exchange,* is frequently found, totalling to 155 of 278 exchanges. Direct exchange largely aims at prospecting particular non-verbal actions to be complied with by the co-participant whom the speaker has the right or authority over. Nevertheless, it is possible for the speaker to obtain either compliance or non-compliance as a response.

Conducting an aircraft onto accurate and appropriate flight paths through the direct exchange is mainly carried out by an air traffic controller. A pilot always either complies with or rejects the directive. Based on 155 exchanges, the pattern identified in the data is shown in Fig.2.

The internal structure of direct exchange consists of two mandatory moves, *initiation* and *response* moves, which are generally equivalent to the first and the second pair-part in natural exchange as well as a follow-up move as an additional move to evaluate correctness of the information supplied in the response.

Direct exchange consists of directing and acknowledging moves as an initiation and response respectively. To begin a directing move, the speaker starts with a *summon act*, stating the target participant's call sign, then proceeds with a *starter act* (optional), which is the particular information leading on to the head act followed. The *head act* directive comes last to provide a specific instruction, as shown in Fig.3.

There are two possibilities in performing an acknowledging move as a response to a directing move.
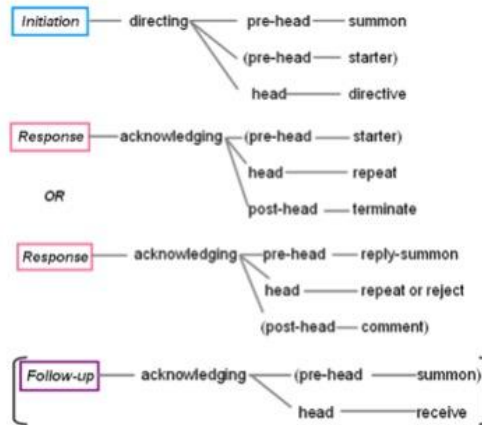
Fig.2: Structure of direct exchange
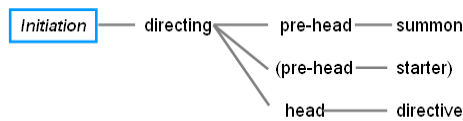
Fig.3: Structure of initiation in direct exchange

Response Pattern (1)

The regular response pattern (1) of the *acknowledging* move usually contains three acts: *starter act* (optional), *repeat act* to signify that the information is conceded as well as emphasized, mostly represented in repetition or paraphrase of the entire/ part of the message in the directive act which is realized as the *readback* stage in communication process model, and the *terminate* act to terminate an exchange and to confirm that it is the allocated participant, realised by calling his own call sign. It is noted that the starter move is optional in both initiation and response moves. This pattern is shown in Fig.4.

Example (a) illustrates this response pattern.

A controller begins with the call sign of the target aircraft (*G-AB),* followed by the starter act containing specific information *(*e.g., identification lost due to radar failure*)*, concerning the instruction (e.g., Contact Alexander control on 128.7) as the head of the directing move while a pilot begins with repeating part of the instruction as a head act and ends the exchange with his own call sign (G-AB) to point out the responder and terminate the exchange.

Response Pattern (2)

Another possible structure of acknowledging move, Response Pattern (2), is one in which the speaker begins with a reply-summon act, which is commonly his own call sign, to assure that it is the designated participant, as shown in Fig.5.
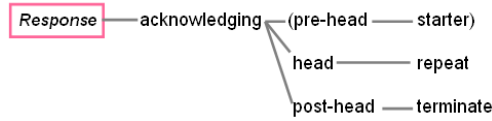
Fig.4: Structure of response pattern (1) in direct exchange

Example (a)

ATC	G-AB	summon	pre-head	directing	I	Direct
	identification lost due to radar failure	*starter*	*pre-head*			
		directive	head			
	Contact Alexander control on 128.7					
PT	128.7	repeat	head	acknowledging	R	
	G-AB	terminate	post-head			

Fig.5: Structure of response pattern (2) in direct exchange

Example (b)

| ATC | Fastair 345 Georgetown departure cleared to Colinton flight level 290 cross Wicken flight level 150 or above maintain flight level 130 | summon directive | pre-head head | directing | I | Direct |
| PT | Georgetown departure Fastair 345 *unable to cross Wicken flight level 150 due weight* maintaining flight level 130 | reply-summon *reject* comment | pre-head *head* post-head | informing | R | |

In Example (b) , a pilot adds the controller's call sign (e.g. Georgetown departure) before own call sign (e.g., Fast air 345), which is a traditional way of reply-summoning in air-ground communication.

After that, two possible acts are selected whether to *reject* (Example (b) - unable to cross Wicken flight level 150 due weight) or to *repeat*, as shown in Example (c) (*stopping*). In the post-head of the informing move such as in Example (b), a *comment act* is used to provide additional information

to support the preceding message when rejecting the directive.

Comparing the two patterns of responses, both include a directing move and acknowledging, but they are slightly different in frequency and in terms of the sequence of acts conducted in each move.

In addition, direct exchange also contains the optional follow-up which is the final turn of the exchange to perform *hearback*, one of the four stages of communication process model in order to confirm that the

information repeated in preceding utterance is accurate. The speaker who determines the directing move at the initial stage, is responsible for *hearback* by beginning with the summon act, the co-participant's call sign, and then with the receive act with a designated response item, *roger*, to ensure that the message recited is perfectly correct and to indicate the end of the move.

The complete organisation, as shown is as Example (d), is strongly associated with absolute stages of the communication process model. However, this stage can be omitted if the responder is certain that the message is correctly received.

In summary, the structure of the direct exchange is rigidly reserved in two parts: the first pair-part, an utterance made by a speaker, is a directing move; the second pair-part, an expected response from a responder, is an acknowledging move. However, the internal formation of each move is varied, depending on the act selected to conform as a head act.

In regular conversation, direct exchange definitely consists of two basic moves, a command (e.g., *Don't pick it up*), and response to the command which is either compliance (e.g., *Okay*) or refusal (e.g., *I don't care*) (adapted from Thornbury & Slade, 2006, p. 120). Nonetheless, the number and details of prime acts are the same. The follow-up move is truly optional in regular spoken direct exchange but sometimes found only in a particular discourse such as in classroom discourse (Burton, 1981) with *Mhm, mhm*, and *Yeah* to indicate that the information has been received, understood and accepted in terms of correctness.

Similarly, the follow-up is not essential element in the direct exchange in air-ground communication, but the initiation move and response move are mandatory. Moreover, the linguistic form to express act in the follow-up is limited to specific terminology, compared to regular spoken discourse in which the choices are rather broad.

Example (c)

ATC	Fastair 345 stop immediately	summon directive	pre-head head	Directing	I	Direct
PT	Fastair 345 ***stopping***	reply-summon ***repeat***	pre-head ***head***	acknowledging	R	

Example (d)

ATC	G-AB descend to 3500 feet QNH 1015 transition level 50	summon directive	pre-head head	directing	I	Direct
PT	Leaving flight level 70 for 3500 feet QNH 1015 transition level G-AB	repeat terminate	head post-head	acknowledging	R	
ATC	*G-AB roger*	*summon receive*	*pre-head head*	*acknowledging*	*F*	

One thing to recognise is that the sequence of acts in air-ground discourse is very limited with the minimum elements, whereas in general spoken discourse, it can be much more diverse with overlapping and insertion sequences.

In conclusion, the discourse structure of air-ground communication is represented in almost rigid, predictable patterns with prescribed moves and acts in each turn. This structure results from the communication being generally influenced by several constraints, differing from any regular spoken discourse, such as rapid information change in a short period of time since it is one-to-many discourse, an artificial medium (radio transmission) which does not allow a long comfortable conversation as it is based on push-to-talk system with noise interference and restricted to the oral mode. It is non face-to-face communication which requires explicit formulaic exchanges to avoid ambiguity, and is task- and goal-centred, with messages mainly associated with flight operations.

Nevertheless, the principal moves in each exchange are technically based on the prevalent structure of common interaction in general spoken discourse. The differences lie in the types and the sequences of acts performed in each move which are more ritualised and expressed in almost formulaic linguistic patterns.

Formation of Lexical Items

The list of technical terms in radiotelephony was analysed to identify the most frequent word formation techniques used to create them. The lexical terms collected from the reference data were processed through two data analysis programs, AntCon3.2.2w (2007) and Collocation Extract 3.07, to distinguish between single-unit terms and multi-unit terms.

These items are categorised by prototypical semantic properties into 11 conceptual groups, regardless of aviation activities and flight profiles: *facility, weather, operational path, system, area, parameter, unit of service, status, process, flight performance,* and *communication expression.* These categories facilitate the teaching and learning of the terms.

The items were classified according to *word formation* techniques. The findings show that four main types of word formation were used, namely, *compounding, affixation, shift* and *shortening*. The discussion in the paper focuses only on two word-formation techniques frequently found in the data, which are *compounding* and *shortening*.

Compounding is the process of constructing words by combining words or word elements. Compounding elements in radiotelephony can go up to three units, which seldom occurs in English. Findings on the more common combination of 2 elements are presented here.

(a) *2-element compounds* are quite varied. Most of them are obviously compounded with words that indicate the meaning of the prototypical noun class, naming a person, place, thing, quality, or action, in canonical English language, for instance, *movement area, flight level, transition level, approach speed, flight plan,*

radar approach, gateway, etc. The nucleus of the compounds is the second element. Some of the elements have gone through the process of affixation before being attached to another element such as radar *vectoring* and runway *vacated*.

The affixation {–ing} is the mechanism to convert a verb to a noun whereas {–ed} is used to convert a verb to an adjective or as a past participle of passive construction in canonical English language. Both affixations are meant to form so-called prototypical noun class according to their defined semantic properties.

Besides the compounding between so-called prototypical noun-class words, there is a small number of 2-element compound members that are composed of the particle indicating a relation between things, or what is defined as *adposition* in canonical English language. The positions of the particles in compounds are either in front of the nucleus, <u>*in*</u> *sight* (area or things which a person can visualize within the certain distance) and <u>*in*</u> *progress* (something happening or being done at the time of talk or at this time) or at the back of the nucleus; *push-<u>back</u>, take <u>off</u>, go <u>ahead</u>, touch<u>down</u>, straight-<u>in</u>*, etc.

Another compounding to be discussed here is double compound which is the compound created by combining the same words; *Pan Pan* (the urgency signal when the aircraft is in danger or there is an important message to pass on/report mostly concerning the safety in flight operation) and *break break* (i.e., I hereby indicate the separation between messages transmitted to different aircraft in a very busy environment). This

particular compound is hardly found in corresponding natural language.

2-element compounding formation in radiotelephony generally reflects the compounding technique used in word formation in canonical English, but there are some distinctive characters of compounding such as *fronting-particle compound* and *double compound*.

(b) *3-element compounds* exist in fewer numbers than 2-element compounds. The distinctiveness of these compounds is that some of them are not just specialised terms denoting a particular object or a part of operation but they can also refer to the entire instruction or process of an operation. They can also refer to systems or equipment. Some examples are *precision radar approach* (a standard instrument approach procedure) and *aerodrome traffic circuit* (a specific path to be flown by an aircraft operating in the vicinity of an aerodrome). Some specialised terms are quite extraordinary since they are compounded to sound almost like a common phrase in canonical English language, yet they are all designated as multi-word terms. They are always collocated and officially issued to be used by either a pilot or an air traffic controller. Examples are *out of service* (not working or functioning properly), *rate of descent* (a measurement of speed used in lowering an aircraft mostly at the approach phase) and *radar control terminated* (any of the services that could be received while in radar contact provided used by an air traffic controller is no longer available).

One term, *TCAS resolution advisory*, is formed both through *compounding* and

shortening. The component *TCAS* stands for *Traffic Collision Avoidance System* which is itself a 4-element compound. This lexical term is then compounded with other items to form another new specialised term. The complexity of the process is rather rare in everyday usage of English.

Shortening is the process in which the elements of lexical items are reduced or left out for economic reasons to compress information both syntactically and lexically. This compression can be done by one of these two sub-formations: *acronym* or *initialism*, and *clipping*.

Acronym or *Initialism* is to shorten the item to such an extent that only initials or first few letters of each remain in order to compress the words in to one short form. The difference between acronym and initialism is how the end product is pronounced. An acronym is pronounced as if it is a single lexeme, whereas an initialism is sounded as the letters in sequence.

In the data, the terms first go through the process of compounding before they are clipped into a series of letters, ranging from 3 to 5 letters; they commonly designate equipment, system and process. Examples are ILS (Instrument Landing System), ATC (air traffic control), VFR (Visual Flight Rules), ACC (Area Control Center), PAPI (Precision Approach Path Indicator), FAF (Final Approach Fix), NOTAM (Notice To Airmen), etc. Out of 36 tokens in the data, only 8 items are acronyms which are VA-SIS, T-CAS, PA-PI, SID, A-TIS, NO-TAM, LO-RAN and STAR while the rest are cases of initialism. The shortening does not only occur at lexical level but also at sentence level such as CAVOK, initialised from *cloud and visibility is OK*.

Clipping is the process of cutting down a multi-syllabic lexeme, an initial, middle or final element. The terms mainly refer to call signs of aeronautical stations used during radio transmission of air-ground communication. These stations offer assistance and systematically manage the activities of each operative aircraft.

The terms are shortened by removing at least one element, for instance, ident (identification), in which either initial or final elements are cropped with restricted single definition. There is also a group of clipping items in which the rear part of each element and final elements are trimmed, and what remains is compounded as one lexical term. For example, SIGMET (significant meteorology), SELCAL (selective-calling radio system), VOLMET (volume meteorological information), and RNAV (area navigation). In some cases, only particular parts of the elements are crossed out such as wilco (will comply), SNOWTAM (snow to airmen), H24 (24-hour service) and NAVAID (navigation aid).

Two tokens in the sample are the product of more than one word-formation process or *double shortening*: TACAN (tactical air navigation), created by using the format of clipping with tactical and of initialism with 'air navigation', and VORTAC (VHF omni-directional radio range (VOR) and UHF tactical air navigation). Both initialism and clipping are involved.

As the air-ground communication context requires a rapid exchange of information, this particular word-formation technique is rather common as it helps in conducting short and precise conversation. In natural English language, the process is generally reserved for the casual mode of expression (Sager *et al.*, 1990).

CONCLUSION

Generally, linguistic elements of radiotelephony is mostly delineated as very close to robot-like or telegraphic language carried through a limited set of lexical units within the rigid discourse structures which only people involved in the same field of expertise would understand. Confined turn organisation and structural organisation in the discourse of air-ground communication and the formation of distinctive lexical items, are influenced by specific means of communication technology, certain flight operation activities and the unique institutional goal of interaction.

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Compliments and Compliment Responses on Twitter among Male and Female Celebrities

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ABSTRACT

This study illustrates how compliments and compliment response strategies differ across gender among celebrities in Malaysia. The objective of the study is to identify the functions and topics of compliments, and also the patterns and strategies of compliment responses across gender among celebrities on twitter. Forty celebrities consisting of 20 males and 20 females were selected and the data were collected from their twitter accounts. A total of 220 compliments and compliment responses were extracted from the celebrities' tweets as to form the corpus for investigation. The results indicate several differences on how compliments and compliment responses are used by men and women. Women prefer to compliment on appearance, while men prefer to compliment on possession. The results also reveal differences in strategies used by the celebrities to respond to compliments. Female addressees adhere to the first principle that governed the act of politeness, that is, to accept the compliment in order to give face to the complimenter. However, male addressees tend to use comment acceptance when receiving compliments. The study provides evidence for significant differences in the use of compliments and compliment responses across gender. In addition, cross-cultural differences are also discussed briefly.

Keywords: Celebrities, compliment, compliment responses, twitter

INTRODUCTION

Studies of cross-cultural pragmatics have reported that the way speech acts are realized is different across languages. According to Yousefvand (2010), many people who take part in a conversation within different languages and different cultures often experience breakdowns in

communication with speakers from different first language (L1) backgrounds. This is also realized by sociolinguists that such intercultural miscommunication is partly contributed to the different value systems that govern each speaker's L1 cultural group (Chick, 1996). In other words, the studies confirm that culture plays an important role in determining how interlocutors react to compliments given to them. Apart from culture, gender also determines how people use compliments and react to compliments.

As the world is undergoing globalization and due to rapid advancement in technology, twitter is a popular platform used by a good number of celebrities all around the world to establish good rapport with fans. By being active on twitter, their fans can interact with them, and they can also update on any latest activity they involved in to their fans. This use of twitter is also found to be quite common among Malaysian celebrities. Many celebrities in Malaysia now have a twitter account where fans can interact with them. As we can observe, celebrities usually receive much compliment regarding their skills, appearance and performance from their fans. Therefore, it is important for the celebrities to be tactful in accepting the compliments in order to maintain cordial rapport with fans. At the same time in accepting the compliment though, the celebrities must not appear to be arrogant because they have to reflect themselves as a good role model to the public.

Up to now, most studies on compliments and responses pertaining to cross-cultural and cross gender are done by collecting

and eliciting responses from subjects via questionnaires or interviews. In comparison, not many studies elicit compliments and related responses from other sources of data such as films. A study that sourced data from films was conducted by Bruti (2006) who commented that the most inspiring study on the structure and distribution of compliments and compliment responses in films was conducted by Rose and Kasper (2001). Rose and Kasper (2001) establish the validity of film language in the teaching of pragmatics in language classes. Compliments and responses in films can serve as data for research because such dialogues in films also appear in real life conversation. This indicates that researchers do not always have to rely on real life conversation to collect data. Data of interaction in a conversation can also be obtained from other means such as chat rooms and social networks because the data can be considered authentic. The difference between conversation in real world and conversation in chat rooms and other social networks such as blogs or twitter is that the former is spoken, but the latter is written. Even though the conversation in chat rooms and social networks is in written form known as written speech, it still has the language of spoken conversation.

REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

Compliments

Compliments are positive expressions, commendation or admiration that can boost one's morale. The act of giving compliments is seen as good remarks that directly or indirectly give credit to

somebody for something that is appreciated by the speaker of the addressee and even the whole speech society (Ye, 1995). Research in New Zealand, United States and Britain suggests that women both give and receive more compliments than men. A study by Holmes (1988) established that 51 per cent of the compliments were given by a woman to another woman, while only 9 per cent were given by a man to another man; 23.1 per cent were given by a man to a woman and 16.5 per cent by a woman to a man. This pattern has also been found in comparable American data (Wolfson, 1983) and in Britain (Lorenzo-Dus, 2001). One of the most primary functions of compliments is to consolidate and increase solidarity between interlocutors. The primary purpose of compliments is to create and reinforce solidarity between the speaker and the addressee (Manes & Wolfson, 1981). According to Holmes (1988), compliments are commonly regarded as positively affective speech acts that are meant to the addressee, which can be used as a powerful device for mutual solidarity and support. Besides, compliments not only convey honest admiration of positive qualities, but they are also used to substitutes greetings, thanks, or apologies and minimize face-threatening acts (Morales, 2012).

The most common topics of compliments are: possessions, appearance, skills and achievements (Holmes, 1988; Wolfson 1983). According to Holmes (1988), people usually compliment on appearance. This type of compliment is usually known to be most suitable among people who know

each other well although sometimes it can be used by some people who have what one considers as remote relationship. According to Wolfson (1983), usually a speaker will compliment on a person's appearance, and they usually make compliments on their apparel. In addition, according to Wolfson (1983) in her study of American English compliment behaviour, there are two types of this sort of compliment. The first type is general and the second type refers to specific acts. The general one includes all compliments, which refer to something that is done by the addressees' effort or skill, and also those that refer to the addressees' talent, taste and personal qualities. The specific one refers to compliments which are act-specific. For example, "you are being so kind about this" or "that is very interesting."

Compliment Responses

Like compliments, compliment responses have a role in preserving and establishing the solidarity of relationships and the harmony of it (Heidari *et al*., 2009). According to Pomerantz (1978), two rules govern the principle of compliment responses. The first rule is that the recipient must agree with the compliment given by the complimenter, and the second is that the recipient must avoid self-praise. These rules are somewhat in line with Leech's (1983) explanatory analysis of politeness that the Agreement Maxim is the first constraint followed by the Modesty Maxim. The Modesty Maxim puts the recipient in an uncomfortable position to accept the compliment and pressure him or her to decline the compliment and at the

end disagree with the complimenter. These two maxims obviously contradict with each other.

Holmes and Brown (1987) then furthered the study on compliment responses and put forward three broad categories of how a receiver responds to compliments, which are accept, reject and deflect. Accept denotes that the remark is acknowledged and accepted as a compliment. If reject, the complimentee tries to change the complimentary force, and evades or redirects the given compliments (Morales, 2012). In New Zealand, complimentees frequently choose to address the compliment by using the Accept strategies (Holmes, 1986). Holmes (1988) continues the study

of compliment responses and proposes three acts in the form of macro level, and each macro level is then sub-categorized into forms of micro level. Another large-scale study on compliment responses by speakers of American English was done by Herbert (1986), who revised the Pomerantz's taxonomy of three main categories to twelve (see Table 1).

Compliment and Compliment Responses Related to Culture and Gender

Many variables can influence how a society perceives compliments and react to them. Two important variables are culture and gender. According to Holmes (1986), complimenting behaviour varies cross-

TABLE 1
Herbert's (1986) Taxonomy of Compliment Responses

A. Agreement	
I. Acceptances	
1. Appreciation Token	*Thank you*
2. Comment Acceptance	*Thanks, it's my favorite too*
3. Praise Upgrade	*Really brings out the blue in my eyes, doesn't it?*
II. Comment History	*I bought it from a trip to Arizona*
III. Transfers	
1. Reassignment	*My brother gave it to me*
2. Return	*So is yours*
B. Non-agreement	
I. Scale Down	*It's really quite old*
II. Question	*Do you really think so?*
III. Non-acceptances	
1. Disagreement	*I hate it*
2. Qualification	*It's all right, but Len's is nicer*
IV. No Acknowledgement	*[silence]*
C. Other interpretations	
I. Request	*You wanna borrow this one too?*

(Source: Yousefvand, 2010, p. 95)

culturally. Evidence that supports this claim is that second language learners will face problems in understanding and using compliments accordingly (Wolfson, 1981; Holmes & Brown, 1987). Misunderstandings usually revolve around what one culture regards as sincerity compared to another (Thomas, 1983). Appropriate ways to respond to compliments also differ cross-culturally. As pointed out by Al Falasi (2007), differences arise when it comes to compliment responses. Different cultures respond to compliments differently. For example, Arabic and South African English are found to accept compliments more openly rather than reject them. On the contrary, non-native speakers of English such as from Asian countries tend to reject to compliments because they seem to have difficulties in responding to compliments in an appropriate manner (Al Falasi, 2007).

Apart from differences between cultures, it is also important to take into account the effect of inter-gender communication in different cultures. As stated by Cedar (2006), men and women rely on different sub-cultural norms in interpreting information encoded in language. In addition, men and women perceived compliments differently (Holmes, 1988) where females tend to perceive compliments as a positive speech act, serving to increase or consolidate the solidarity between speaker and addressee. In contrast, males perceive compliments as a face-threatening act to the extent that the compliments may imply that the complimenter envies the addressee in some way or would like something

belonging to the addressee. Apart from that, different genders utilized compliment and compliment responses differently too (Herbert, 1990). Females usually disagree with compliments, and males have a higher tendency to question or fail to acknowledge a compliment.

Many research studies with contrasting results have been conducted to compare compliment responses in different languages, and some of these studies show that female Iranian teenage EFL learners tend to avoid and reject compliments more than male Iranian teenage EFL learners (Heidari *et al.*, 2009; *Mohajernia & Solimani, 2013*). Another interesting result from the study is that the former used an indirect communication of modest acceptance by their no response meaning yes. This demonstrates consideration and politeness towards others. On the other hand, male Iranian teenage EFL learners feel comfortable in using direct communication of acknowledgement. Lorenzo-Dus (2001) examined compliment responses of British and Spanish male and female undergraduates. The study shows that Spanish males tend to upgrade compliments ironically more than their female counterparts do. On the other hand, the Arabics and the South African English are more likely to accept compliments rather than reject them compared to the American English (Nelson, Al-Batal & Echols, 1996).

One interesting study by Sharifian (2005) found that speakers of Persian tend to scale down compliments because there is a schema that appears to be rooted in certain cultural-spiritual tradition in their society.

It also encourages the speakers to reassign the compliments to god, parents, friends or other people. The schema that largely influences how they counter compliments is called the *shekasteh-nafsi*. This schema has made the Persian to react to compliments in certain ways to show their modesty which plays an important role in Persian politeness (Sharifian, 2005).

Speakers of East Asian Languages (Chinese, Japanese, Malay and Thai) tend to avoid accepting compliments and they would rather reject the compliments compared to the English (Chen, 1993; Daikuhara, 1986; Gajaseni, 1995; Ye, 1995). Chiang and Pochtrager (1993) investigated the way Chinese speakers of English and American speakers of English responded to compliment according to their gender. The study found out that in most situations, the former used negative elaboration as well as denial, but the latter used positive elaborations. In another study, Chen (1993) examined the strategies used by American English speakers and Chinese English speakers in responding to compliments. The study found that the American English speakers' use the strategy of acceptance that is governed by the Leech's Agreement Maxim. On the other hand, the Chinese English speakers' use rejection as a strategy that is governed by Leech's Modesty Maxim. The American society normally reacts to compliments by gracefully accepting it, whereas the Chinese society prefers to be humble by rejecting the compliment. Such a difference can be attributed to social values of the two cultures.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present study was conducted to investigate the functions and topics of compliments among male and female complimenters, the compliment response patterns of celebrities in Malaysia, and the compliment response strategies used by Malaysian celebrities according to gender as seen in celebrity tweets. The research questions investigated are:

1. What are the functions and topics of compliments across gender found on Twitter accounts of Malaysian celebrities?

2. What are the compliment response patterns of Malaysian celebrities on Twitter?

3. What are the compliment response strategies used by Malaysian celebrities according to their gender as seen on Twitter?

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study situates in the realm of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. A collection of compliments and compliment responses of Malaysian celebrities via their twitter accounts are collected and analysed based on identified categories. By following local celebrities' tweets, the study is able to gain the local culture perspective. The data are presented in simple percentages according to functions and topics of compliments, as well as compliment response patterns and strategies. The results are compared and contrasted

according to gender. The data are analyzed analytically and descriptively.

Sources of Data

For the purpose of this study, 40 twitter accounts from 20 male and 20 female celebrities were chosen to extract the compliments and compliment responses. In this ICT era, most celebrities use Twitter like a diary where they post their latest routines and opinions. They also use Twitter to interact and socialize with people. Some of the interactions include receiving compliments from fans and responding to the compliments. Therefore, it is logical to use Twitter as a source of data because it can serve as a reflection of normal conversation experienced by interlocutors albeit as written speech. After all, language used in text-messages is closer to the spoken word than that used on paper because people text in a way similar to talking (Tagg, 2009).

In the present study, the compliments extracted from the Twitter accounts are the compliments addressed directly to the celebrities. Compliments that are not addressed to them directly are excluded.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

This section explains the procedure of data collection. The procedure includes choosing the Twitter account, extracting the compliments and compliment responses, translating the data and coding process.

Choosing the Twitter Accounts

Twitter accounts belonging to 40 celebrities (20 males and 20 females) were purposefully chosen for this study. The selection of the celebrities was based on the following criteria: a) they must be local celebrities with their first language being Bahasa Melayu, and all of them are Malay; and b) they must be actively tweeting at least 3 times a day. All of the data were collected from the Twitter for 2 months (September - October 2012).

Extracting the Compliments and Compliment Responses

This study only chose compliments and compliment responses which were regarded as politeness strategies. This means that compliments with ironic meaning or sarcastic, and compliments for an absent receiver were all excluded.

Translating the Data

Most of the words used in these tweets are bilingual in English and Malay. Therefore, any compliment that contains Malay words was translated to English. However, not many Malay words were used because most of the time they used English. This makes the translating process a lot easier. The translation can be considered a minor process because the focus of this study is to identify the patterns of the interactions and not so much on translation.

Coding

There is also a methodological consideration which is relevant to be mentioned here, that is, inter-rater reliability. In order to minimize errors and increase reliability of the results, in the coding of different compliment

topics, functions and compliment responses, at least two raters coded the data. In the case of disagreement, a third colleague was consulted to reach a consensus on the coding.

DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

The data were analyzed by using descriptive statistics where percentages, comparison and contrast are used.

Research Question 1: Functions and Topics of Compliments

The first research question investigates two aspects which are the functions of compliments and the topics of compliments.

a) Functions of compliments

The study chose 6 functions of compliments which include: to express admiration, to establish solidarity, to replace some speech acts such as greetings, gratitude and thanks, to soften tight situation, to start a conversation, and to reinforce a desired behaviour. These classifications are based on previous studies from Herbert (1990), Wolfson (1983) and Manes (1983). Table 2 illustrates the functions of compliments and examples that serve each function.

b) Topics of compliments

The compliments analyzed in the present study consisted of 220 examples. The compliments were coded by referring to the categories from previous studies which are: possessions, appearance, skills and achievements (Holmes, 1988; Wolfson

1983). Table 3 illustrates the four topics of compliments.

Research Question 2: Compliment response patterns of Malaysian celebrities

The study uses Herbert's (1990) taxonomy of compliment response strategies as a framework to classify the compliment responses from the tweets collected to answer research questions 2 and 3. According to Herbert's taxonomy, compliment response strategies are divided into three main categories. The three main categories are: agreement, non-agreement and other interpretations. The main categories also have their respective sub-categories (see Herbert, 1990). The compliment responses are categorized according to the sub-categories (see Table 4).

Research Question 3: Compliment response strategies according to gender

Research question 3 focuses on a micro aspect which is the gender of the celebrities. The study employs Herbert's (1990) taxonomy of compliment response strategies to classify the compliment responses from the data collected. After the coding, the data is then analyzed statistically, using percentage values. Comparing and contrasting are also used to show the differences on the compliment response strategies of the two genders.

TABLE 2
Functions of compliments (Adapted from Wu, 2008, p. 10)

1. To express admiration or approval of someone's work/appearance/taste (Herbert, 1990).
Example: I like your dress.
Explanation: This compliment praises someone's appearance and shows the speaker admiration.
2. To establish/confirm/maintain solidarity (Wolfson, 1983).
Example: I like your dress.
Explanation: When a stranger comes into a group and makes the compliment, it can be regarded as a method to establish rapport in the group.
3. To replace gratitude/greetings/congratulations/apologies (Wolfson, 1989).
Example: How nice you are today!
Explanation: When two friends meet with each other, this utterance has the same function of the greeting as "How are you?"
4. To soften a face-threatening act such as apologies, requests and criticisms (Wolfson, 1983).
Example: Your dress is too much but I like your shoes.
Explanation: If the speaker makes some offence to the hearer, he could use a compliment to change the topic and soften the tensed atmosphere.
5. To open and sustain conversation (conversation strategy) (Wolfson, 1983).
Example: Hi, your English is very good, when did you begin to learn it?
Explanation: If the interlocutors are strangers, they can begin their conversation from the compliment to open the dialogues.
6. To reinforce desired behaviour (Manes, 1983)
Example: How nice your earrings are! Where did you buy them?
Explanation: These two sentences show not only the speaker's admiration, but also the speaker's strong hope to buy the same earrings.

TABLE 3
Topics of compliments (Adapted from Wu, 2008, p. 26)

1. Appearance –dress, looks, make-up, etc.
Example: Sazzy Falak always looks nice in everything that she wears.
2. Possession –cars, albums, films, etc.
Example: I love to hear Linda's voice.
3. Performance/ability/skills –job or competencies such as skills of acting, etc.
Example: You are the best deejay!
4. Personality –internals traits, emotions etc.
Example: Maya Karin, you are incomparable.

TABLE 4
Compliment responses based on Herbert (1990) (Adapted from Yousefvand, 2010, p. 99)

1. APPRECIATION TOKEN. A verbal acceptance of a compliment, acceptance not being semantically fitted to the specifics of that compliment
Example: Thank you.
2. COMMENT ACCEPTANCE. The addressee accepts the complimentary force by means of a response semantically fitted to the compliment.
Example: It's one of my favorite too.
3. PRAISE UPGRADE. The addressee accepts the compliment and asserts that the compliment force is insufficient.
Example: I always look young.
4. COMMENT HISTORY. The addressee, although agreeing, with the complimentary force, does not accept the praise personally, rather, s/he impersonalizes the complimentary force by giving impersonal details.
Example: That song is from my solo album. Created by Audi Mok.
5. REASSIGNMENT. The addressee agrees with the compliment, but the complimentary force is transferred to some third person or to the object complimented itself.
Example: Alhamdulillah – Praise to God.
6. RETURN. The praise is shifted to the addresser/complimenter.
Example: You are pretty too.
7. SCALE DOWN. The force of the compliment is minimized or scaled down by the addressee.
Example: I'm just average.
8. QUESTION. The addressee might want an expansion or repetition of the original compliment or question the sincerity of the compliment.
Example: Really?
9. DISAGREEMENT. The addressee directly disagrees with addresser's assertion.
Example: No. I looked tired.
10. QUALIFICATION. The addressee may choose not to accept the full complimentary force offered by qualifying that praise, usually by employing but, yet, etc.
Example: But I like my first album more.
11. NO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT. The addressee gives no indication of having heard the compliment, that is, he or she employs the conversational turn to do something other than responding to the compliment offered e.g shift the topic.
Example: [silence]
12. REQUEST INTERPRETATION. The addressee interprets the compliment as a request rather a simple compliment.
Example: Do you want it?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research Question 1: Functions and topics of compliments

The first research question seeks to investigate the functions and topics of compliments. It is obvious that compliments serve a number of different functions on different situations. According to Wu (2008), compliments can comprise the functions and topics of compliments. In the next section, each function is explained in detail.

Results

Table 5 summarizes the frequency of compliments from male and female complimenters according to the function. From the data, most of the compliments are for expressing admiration that accounts for 72.7% of the data. Most of the compliments admire on the way the addressee's look, dress up, and even the voice. The second use of compliments is to established solidarity (20.5%). As the complimenters are fans to the addressees, they tend to give compliments in order to build relationship with the addressees because they regard them as their idols. For the complimenters who are familiar to the addressees, compliments are given because they want to establish solidarity with the addressees. The third function of compliments is to replace compliments with other speech acts such as greetings, thanks and gratitude that accounts for 3.6% of the data.

From the result, it is also noted that for women, the highest portion of compliments given is related to the function of expressing admiration (71.7%), and secondly solidarity (22.0%). This means that women usually show their admiration and solidarity when giving compliments to the addressees. With regard to men, they also use compliments to express admiration most frequently (75.4%), and secondly to establish solidarity (16.4%). Interestingly, males tend to use compliments to express admiration more than women, but the difference is not significant at 3.7%.

TABLE 5
Frequency of compliments by functions from male and female complimenters

Function	Females		Males		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Express admiration	114	71.7%	46	75.4%	160	72.7%
Established solidarity	35	22.0%	10	16.4%	45	20.5%
Replace greetings, gratitude	5	3.1%	3	4.9%	8	3.6%
Soften a tight situation	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Open conversation	2	1.3%	1	1.6%	3	1.4%
Reinforce desired behaviour	3	1.9%	1	1.6%	4	1.8%
Total	**159**	**100%**	**61**	**99.9%**	**220**	**100%**

The second area investigated is the topics of compliments. Table 6 shows that the majority of the compliments refer to appearance (32.7%), and women tend to compliment on appearance more than men (37.1% vs 21.3%). Looks and clothes are the common topics of compliments. The second most frequent topic of compliments is on possession (25.5%). Evidently, men tend to compliment on possession (32.8%) more than women (23.1%). Compliments regarding possession include the addressees' album, movies and pictures. The third frequent topic on compliments refers to ability (21.4%) and the compliments are usually related to the addressee's skills and performance. Manes (1983) describes such compliments as "the quality of something produced through the addressee's skill or effort: a well-done job, a skilfully played game, a good meal" (p. 101). The last topic of compliment is personality (20.9%) in which women prefer to compliment on this topic (22.4%) compared to men (16.4%).

Discussion

In this study, 220 compliments were analyzed. From the total compliments, 159 were addressed to women and 61 were addressed to men. This result is in line with Wolfson's (1983) findings that women receive more compliments than men. In the data collected for this study, female celebrities received 5 compliments while male celebrities received just one compliment on average. Holmes (1986) states that perhaps people give compliment more to women because women appreciate and value the compliment. Furthermore, Wolfson (1983) adds that "women because of their role in the social order, are seen as appropriate recipients of all manner of social judgments in the form of compliments, the way women is spoken to is, no matter what her status, a subtle and powerful way of perpetuating her subordinate role in society" (p. 243).

There are many functions of compliments. Herbert and Straight (1989) argue that Americans give compliments as a medium for the (re) negotiation of solidarity. Americans tend to use compliments as solidarity signals. Holmes (1988), on the other hand, argued that men and women perceive compliments in different ways. For women, compliments are perceived as positive speech acts, serving to increase or reinforce solidarity between speakers and

TABLE 6
Frequency of compliment topics from male and female complimenters

Function	Females		Males		Total	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Appearance	59	37.1%	13	21.3%	72	**32.7%**
Possession	36	23.1%	20	32.8%	56	**25.5%**
Performance/ability/skills	29	18.5%	18	29.5%	47	**21.4%**
Personality	35	22.4%	10	16.4%	45	**20.5%**
Total	159	99.9%	61	100%	220	100%

addressees. Researchers have acknowledged this function of compliments as the primary use of compliments (Herbert, 1986; Manes & Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson & Manes, 1980). Men, on the other hand, perceive compliments as a face-threatening act to the extent that they assume that the complimenter may envy the addressee in some way, or would like something from the addressee (Holmes, 1988). Hence, the data of the present study also show that men rarely compliment other men due to this mutual understanding.

In addition, women also use compliments to establish solidarity (Holmes, 1996). The present study agrees with Holmes because the collected data also reveals that some of the female complimenters use compliments to establish solidarity more often than men. Example (1) illustrates how compliment is used to establish solidarity.

(1) Complimenter: Maya Karin, you look amazing. Simplicity is the key I suppose.
      Addressee: Thank you. Yes, I don't really like wearing make-up; it makes my face feels itchy.

Interestingly though, this present study also shows that the primary function of the compliments is to express admiration. Example (2) shows that the compliment is to express admiration to the addressee's appearance.

(2) Complimenter: Fasha Sandha is beautiful and stunning.
      Addressee: Thank you dear.

Admiration is the primary function of compliments in this study probably because the addressees are celebrities, and the compliments came from their fans. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), compliments usually convey messages that the recipient is admirable or interesting to the complimenter. Hence, we can say that fans admire the celebrities, and perhaps want to be with them or want whatever the admired celebrity possesses. This perhaps has contributed to the fact that most of the compliments found in the present study serve the function of expressing admiration. One more interesting finding is that men use give compliments to express admiration more than women. This is normal because in social class order, men are more dominant compared to women, so the higher status person will give the compliment to the lower one (Sidanius *et al*., 2000).

In the present study, four topics of compliment are considered which include appearance, possession, ability and personality (Holmes, 1986; Herbert, 1986). The result shows that women preferred to compliment each other on appearance. Many of the compliments in the data are related to how beautiful the addressee looks or how beautifully she dresses as shown in Example (3).

(3) Complimenter: You are so pretty.
Beautiful with style.
Addressee: All praises belong to
God.

Expressions such as Example (3) are also shown in the study by Holmes (1988) who concludes that women compliment each other more on appearances than on any other topic. Looking from the perspective of status, the most frequent compliments on appearance are from women to women, followed by from men to women. This indicates that compliments are given from a higher status class to an equal or lower status class.

In the study by Holmes (1986), the second most popular topic of compliments is ability. However, the present study contradicts with Holmes because possession, not ability, is the second most popular topic. Most of the compliments on possession came from female complimenters to male addressees. Next, Holmes (1988) states that compliments on skills predominate from higher to lower status men and from men to women of different statuses. The present study also shows that men receive compliments on their skills more than women, and most of the compliments come from women. The fourth topic on compliments is on personality but the difference is just minimal across gender.

Research Question 2: Compliment response patterns of Malaysian celebrities

A study from Herbert (1986) on response types among the Americans and the South African English indicate that when addressees reply to compliments, a certain type of pattern can be acknowledged. The second research question of the present study attempted to investigate the pattern of compliment response of celebrities in Malaysia.

Results

As shown in Table 7, among the three main categories, agreement responses are the most frequent (90.89%) in the compliment exchanges. Among them, acceptance and non-acceptance response types account for 69.55% and 21.34% of all the responses, respectively. The remaining responses comprise non-agreement responses (9.07%). Evidently, each type of compliment response does not carry equal weight. The category that carries the most weight is the agreement type. Therefore, it can be interpreted that most of the compliment response strategies is agreement. This result is similar to Herbert's (1990) findings for American English speakers' compliment responses. According to Herbert (1990), American speakers' responses to compliments use agreement strategies that can be accounted for (66%) comprise 29.4% appreciation token, 6.6% comment acceptance, 0.4% praise upgrade, 19.3% comment history, 3% reassignment, and 7.3% return.

Discussion

The dominant compliment response pattern that can be seen in the present study is that two thirds of the data indicate that the recipients respond to compliments by using the agreement strategy. Therefore, it

TABLE 7
Frequency of compliment response strategies of addressees

Response strategies	Number	Percentage
A. Agreement		
I. Acceptances		
1. appreciation token	133	60.46
2. comment acceptance	20	9.09
3. praise upgrade	0	0
Subtotal	**153**	**69.55**
II. Non-acceptance		
1. comment history	6	2.72
2. reassignment	24	10.90
3. return	17	7.72
Subtotal	**47**	**21.34**
Subtotal	**200**	**90.89**
B. Non-agreement		
1. scale down	4	1.81
2. question	7	3.18
3. disagreement	4	1.81
4. qualification	0	0
5. no acknowledgement	5	2.27
Subtotal	**0**	**9.07**
C. Other interpretation	0	0
1. request	**0**	**0**
Subtotal		
Total	**220**	**99.96**

is clear that the recipient observes the first principle of compliment which is to agree to the compliment. Perhaps the reason to this is because most of the complimenters are their fans, so giving face to their fans seems to be the right way. With this the hearer is actually observing the Agreement Maxim by Leech (1983). This pattern shows similarity with Herbert's (1990) study on American English speakers' compliment responses, whereby 66% of the data show that the speakers use agreement strategy.

Under the agreement strategies, the most responses used in the present study are appreciation token, or what is known as the 'textbook' responses. This is perhaps it is the safest way to respond to a compliment and to avoid self-praise. Hence, the hearer has observed the second principle of compliment by Pomerantz which is avoiding self-praise. The second one is reassignment. Due to the recipients' strong ties with their religion, they have faith in their God (Allah). The strong tie is deeply embedded in their speech

acts. This is why some of the compliment responses are in the form of a small prayer that the speaker be blessed by Allah and what he or she gets or has is with the help of Allah. Example (4) shows how religion influences are imbedded in the addressee's response to compliments.

(4) Complimenter: You have the most gorgeous yet masculine smile ever.
    Addressee: Alhamdullillah (Praises to God).

One of the most outstanding features in the collected corpus is that none of the recipients use the praise upgrade strategy to respond to a compliment. This indicates that they did not use the strategy in order to show modesty. This is probably due to the fact that they are Asians and their social values are to appear humble. A study by Chen (1993) also presents that Asian speakers are motivated by Leech's Modesty Maxim (1983).

Research Question 3: Compliment response strategies according to gender

While the second research question looks into the pattern of compliment responses of celebrities in Malaysia, the third research question explores the pattern further by looking at the strategies of compliment response according to the gender of the celebrities.

Results

Table 8 indicates that among the two genders, women tend to use the appreciation token

strategy to respond to compliments. This 'textbook' response is the most frequently used by women that accounts for 62.70% as compared to men who use it for 57.45%. Men do accept compliments but indirectly as can be seen from the results. Men use comment acceptance and reassignment that account for 13.83%, which is more as compared to the women. Interestingly though, under the strategy of agreement and the sub-category of acceptance, men seem most likely to agree to the compliments more than women because the percentage is 71.28 as compared to women's 68.26%. However, in the opposite sub-category, women use non-acceptance more than men when responding to compliments. The table shows that females use the agreement strategy (92.07%) more than men (89.36%). The rest of the data fall under the non-agreement strategy: 7.94% for women and 10.64% for men. It is clear that men use the strategy more than women under the sub-category of questions that accounts for 5.32% of the compliment responses. Overall, men use this strategy more than women, and it indicates that women practice the act of politeness more than men.

Discussion

In the data, female celebrities show a preference for using the appreciation token far more often than male celebrities (62.7% vs. 57.45%). Male celebrities accept the compliment by using appreciation token less than females do, and they use comment acceptance more than females to weaken the complimentary force. This is probably due

TABLE 8
Frequency of compliment response strategies by gender of addressees

Response strategies	Female		Male	
	Number	%	Number	%
A. Agreement				
I. Acceptances				
1. appreciation token	79	62.70	54	57.45
2. comment acceptance	7	5.56	13	13.83
3. praise upgrade	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	86	68.26	67	71.28
II. Nonacceptance				
1. comment history	5	3.97	1	1.06
2. reassignment	11	8.73	13	13.83
3. return	14	11.11	3	3.19
Subtotal	30	23.81	17	18.08
Subtotal	**116**	**92.07**	**84**	**89.36**
B. Nonagreement				
1. scale down	3	2.38	1	1.06
2. question	2	1.58	5	5.32
3. disagreement	3	2.38	1	1.06
4. qualification	0	0	0	0
5. no acknowledgement	2	1.58	3	3.19
Subtotal	**10**	**7.94**	**10**	**10.64**
C. Other interpretation				
1. request	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Total	**126**	**100**	**94**	**100**

to the fact that men perceive compliments as a face-threatening act (Holmes, 1988). Hence, they react in a way that can save face of the complimenter by accepting the compliment but with reservation. To be more precise, in avoiding self-praise, men tend to employ the comment acceptance strategy but women simply favour accepting the compliment.

Interesting issues that emerge from the results is that men use reassignment more than women (13.83% vs. 8.73%). Most of the compliments they received were responded with "what they possess came from God." The present study shows that men tend to use this strategy more when the compliment comes from women, but women use it less when the compliment comes from men. This indicates that it may have something to do with the religion. Does this show that men are more pious than women? Perhaps, more studies can be conducted to shed light on why men prefer to use this strategy compared to women. Example (5) illustrates this situation.

(5) Female Complimenter: Pengacara terbaik! Awal memang superb.
     (The best emcee! Awal is superb
     Male Addresses: Thanks Alhamdulillah. Bakat Allah kasi.
     (Thanks Alhamdulillah. Talent given by Allah)

Expression (5) shows the male addressee reassigns the compliment to another party. In this case, it was reassigned to God. This type of compliment responses is most common when the compliment is offered by a woman.

The other most frequently used strategy is question. This is a sub-category of the non-agreement strategy. According to Holmes (1986), women tend to use this strategy because women are more concerned about face than men when they reject a compliment. However, the present study shows that men prefer using this strategy more than women do (5.32% vs. 1.58%). This strategy is mostly used by men, especially when the complimenter is a woman. This is maybe due to man's higher status in the Malaysian society, and so they have the power to confirm the compliment again or ask for further clarification on the compliment received. Example (6) illustrates this situation:

(6) Female Complimenter: Your song entitled *Termolek* is very nice.
     Male Addressee: Where did you hear it from?

CONCLUSION

Several key findings can be summarized from the present study. Firstly, women received more compliments than men. This is the same as in the study by Wolfson (1983). Holmes (1996) reported how compliments may be used, on the one side as a positive speech acts and polite strategies, yet on the other as a face-threatening act. In addition, women use compliments to each other obviously more than they do to men or men do to each other. This is the same as the study by Holmes (1988) and the pattern has also been found in comparable American data by Wolfson (1983) and in Britain (Lorenzo-Dus, 2001).

Contrary to previous studies, the present study found that men use compliments to express admiration more than women. This result is different from several previous studies that found men use compliments as encouragement and evaluation feedback (Wolfson, 1983; Manes, 1983; Holmes, 1988; Holmes, 1996). In comparison, women tend to give compliments to each other on appearance, but men, by contrast, prefer to give compliments to each other on possessions or skills. However, the present study shows that most of the compliments to men on possession are by women.

Next, the results obtained on the use of agreement as a form of compliment response strategy among celebrities are found to be similar with the study by Herbert (1990). However, the findings of the present study contradicts with studies on speakers of East Asian Languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Malay and Thai by Chen (1993), Daikuhara

(1986), Gajaseni (1995), Shih (1986), and Ye (1995, as cited in Yousefvand, 2010). The related research claim that the speakers tend to avoid accepting compliments and rather rejecting them compared to English speakers.

Finally, when comparing the compliment response strategies from the perspective of gender, the present study reveals that women tend to use the 'textbook'. Hence, it contradicts with Herbert's study (1990) which claims that women usually disagree with compliments. In the present study, men tend to use comment acceptance and reassignment to accept the compliments in order to minimize the force of the compliment. They agree with the compliments but not directly. This proves the claims made by Holmes (1988) that men perceive compliment as a face-threatening act. Apart from that, men also prefer using the questioning and reassignment strategies to counter compliments. This result agrees with Herbert (1986) that men have higher tendency to question or fail to acknowledge a compliment. However, it contradicts with Holmes' study (1986) because her study indicates that women tend to use the question strategy as women are more concerned about face than man when they reject a compliment. There also seems to be a difference in the results of compliment responses in verbal communication and compliment responses in written speech. In this present study, the result shows that the celebrities respond to the compliment by using the agreement strategy. However, an analysis of 60 compliment responses produced by Malaysians in New Zealand, undertaken by a Malaysian student (Azman, 1986; as cited in Holmes, 1986) suggests that Malaysians are much more likely to reject compliments than to accept them.

With regard to limitations of the study, the small corpus is the main limitation. The corpus chosen for this study comprises only 220 compliments and compliment responses. This small corpus, to some extent, cannot reflect the behaviour of a larger population. The small corpus also affects the generalizability of the results.

Despite the limitations, this study has provided yet an additional example to how different people react to compliments according to their own culture. The information regarding compliment functions and compliment response patterns given in the study should provide some useful data for teachers of second language to raise students' awareness of cultural similarities and differences between L1 and L2.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

Exploiting Blogs in the ESL Classroom

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ABSTRACT

An increasing number of public and private institutions of higher learning in Malaysia are offering courses using the blended approach, where knowledge delivery is done via face-to-face classes and online modes to enable students to complete assignments and projects. The Internet and online learning tools facilitate to incorporate courses, syllabi, and teaching materials to make knowledge delivery and information sharing more challenging, meaningful and interesting. This paper discusses how blogs have been utilized as a platform for interactions in the language classroom. The study investigated how students used the blog to practise their communication and writing skills, and in what way blogging have benefited them. Attempts were made to answer these questions through reviewing students' responses about commencing and sharing knowledge via blogs. The paper also presents some creative steps shared by students in exploiting their blogs during their language course.

Keywords: Blended approach, blogs, blogging, L2 learners, knowledge sharing

INTRODUCTION

When blog or weblog was first introduced in Web 2.0 in early 2000, many Internet users exploited it as personal journals in which they shared their personal daily events, expressed their opinions about current issues, and showcased their personal photos.

Later, blogs were used to publicise business products, and now educationists begin to exploit blogs in their courses. The Internet and online learning tools facilitate the management of courses, syllabi and teaching materials, and enhance information sharing and knowledge delivery in the classrooms. With Web 2.0 applications and numerous educational tools available for teaching and learning, enthusiastic language instructors have begun their journey of integrating this digital technology in their instruction. This paper discusses how blogs have been

utilized as a platform for interaction and self-directed learning in an undergraduate English language classroom in a Malaysian public university. It also captures the perceptions of students on blogging and language learning and how they benefit from it.

In relation to this, Kern and Warschauer (2000) argued that network-based language teaching (NBLT) does not represent a particular technique, method or approach. NBLT may include not only the Internet or wide area network but also local area network that is limited within a building or a campus. However, the concept of NBLT can now be extended to mobile communication as mobile learning is gradually being introduced in education. It is a constellation in which students communicate via these digital networks and interpret, as well as construct online texts and multimedia documents - all as parts of a process of steadily increasing engagement of new discourse. Today, interactive platforms such as blog and social networking sites (SNSs) help develop multi-literacy skills and underpin critical nodes in this constellation. There are many current forms of Internet applications which are seen to present Web2.0 qualities that allow users to share their visual content, as well as provide feedback or comments. For example, text, photographs and video clips can now be shared with feedback or comments at many sites such as Facebook, Flickr, You Tube, and blog. Much focus has also been given to online dissemination of self-produced content and discussion through blog.

All these Web innovations reflect a trend whereby the world is becoming more "informal" in how it communicates. Instead of body language and face-to-face conversations, communication has shifted towards endless words on a screen. In the educational context, however, blogs can be seen as a relatively new phenomenon, in which their uses are still being explored and developed by educators. For example, blogs have become a popular and constructive learning tool in the English language classroom (Seitzinger, 2006). Such an innovation has also allowed for more education research on designing learning environments that optimize learning. Coutinho (2007) has identified these learning environments as being learner-centred, knowledge-centred, assessment-centred, and community-centred. The question we need to ask then is whether educators at institutions of higher learning are utilizing these innovations to promote knowledge-centred, assessment-centred, and community-centred learning or not. Harwood's (2010) study involving university students discovered blogging as supporting learner autonomy, improving language skills and increasing motivation. He concludes that blogs are adaptable learning tools that promote student-centred learning.

Although not originally intended for use in English language classes, blogs have immense potential for the teaching of languages. Blog is a user-generated website where entries are made in journal style and displayed in a reverse chronological order. Most contemporary blogs are hybrids of

journal/diary-style entries and annotated hyperlinks or some other kinds of musings, reflections, anecdotes, recounts and so forth, with or without embedded hyperlinks to related websites (Adams & Brindley, 2007, p.114).

Blogs were created as a tool for people to create online journals without the need of any programming experience or knowledge. By utilizing free blogging sites on the Internet, teachers are able to create and store online supplementary materials for students, post class notes for student review and give general feedback to the class as a whole and individually.

The blogs play a vital role as an avenue to generate constructive discussions that provide opportunities for meaningful learning. For this to happen, learners must have the desired computing skills to enable them to participate effectively in asynchronous learning environments (Ranjit Kaur & Gurnam Kaur, 2010). At the same time, educators and administrators must ensure that support is provided to learners for Internet-based courses.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The use of blogs has much potential in the teaching of ESL and EFL in Malaysia, especially in written communication skills. In Malaysia, Izham Shah (2008) studied the use of blogs among 25 pre-service teachers who enrolled in an undergraduate Teaching of English as a Second Language (TESL) programme at Universiti Teknologi MARA. He concluded that blogs provide a platform for students to participate equally in the

learning process and new topics can emerge outside the classroom, especially when time constraint of the classroom limits the scope and participation in discussions. Nazdrah Abu Bakar and Kemboja Ismail (2009) has shown the usefulness of blogs in relation to developing students' writing in the ESL context. Students have also perceived blogs as a motivating and interesting device to help them interact and develop critical thinking skills. Nadzrah Abu Bakar and Hafizah Latif (2010), in an action research, found blogs to have promoted collaborative learning activities and contributed towards new knowledge. They also found students to apply various L2 skills, build confidence and thinking skills. In another study on the use of blog in an ESL teacher training course, Muhammad Abdullah (2010) found that the virtual discussion held in the blog has been able to reduce writing apprehension among students, and increase writing productivity.

Blogs have immense potential as a valuable tool for the teaching of the English language. The use of blogs allows both teachers and students to participate in a constructive and collaborative learning process that provides opportunities for meaningful learning. Warschauer (1997) argues that the potential of collaborative learning through computer-mediated communication is related to the Social Constructivist theory. Social Constructivism emphasises the role of social interaction in the development of cognition and knowledge construction. Vygotsky's (1978) work on knowledge construction through social interactions in situated

and meaningful socio-cultural contexts is especially relevant to building learning communities in which participants engage in critical thinking under the scaffolding provided through peer interactions and from the instructor (Vygotsky, 1978; Bonk *et al*., 1998). The Constructivist approach to learning emphasizes authentic, challenging projects that include students, teachers and experts in the learning community. When learners work collaboratively in an authentic activity, they bring their own framework and perspectives to the activity. They can see a problem from different perspectives and are able to negotiate and generate meanings and solutions through shared understanding.

Pramela *et al*. (2012), in their study on using blogs to enhance the teaching and learning of Science in Malaysian Smart Schools, argued that blogs could be adopted as an extra tool for Science teachers to engage in computer-supported communication that resulted in better teaching and learning. Nonetheless, institutional support and provision must first be provided to help them acquire the knowledge, skill and disposition towards such innovation in teaching and learning. By using blogs, teachers can provide course information, announcements and class notes, and run quizzes, as well as create a class forum for students to discuss the learning content and assignments. By doing so, students can have a greater and quicker access to course materials and more opportunities to interact with their teachers and coursemates to make the learning process becomes more dynamic and interesting. Weiler (2003, p.73) states

that "there is no doubt that blog has a great potential for educational use, both on their own and as an extension of the traditional classroom". He listed the functions for using blogs in the classroom, as follows: as a personal journal, bulletin boards, and electronic portfolios of written work.

There have been several studies that indicate the helpfulness and usefulness of blogs in ESL and EFL classrooms. For example, studies by Campbell (2003), Weiler (2003), Ferdig and Trammel (2004), Ward (2004), Huffaker (2005) and Jones (2006) reveal that blogs assist the ESL/EFL instructors to incorporate new, authentic, and reliable pedagogical techniques in their teaching in the e-learning environment. Blogs also provide authentic writing practice (Brooks, Nichols, & Priebe, 2004), an opportunity to recycle language learned in class, as well as an alternative way of communicating with teachers and peers.

In an earlier study Vethamani (2006) highlights that teachers teaching literature-based courses perceive the blog forum as a new pedagogical imperative that multiplies the opportunity for learners to verbalize their thoughts and creates an interesting learning atmosphere. The virtual environment has increased the opportunities for more interaction between teachers and learners and among learners regardless of time and space (Masputeriah, 2006; Pramela, 2006; Supyan Hussin, 2007; Pramela & Wong, 2009). These studies have also shown that computer-enhanced teaching and learning can create a natural context for learner independence and as a means of extending

opportunities for interaction. This is seen as important in major theories of Second Language Acquisition. Johnson (2004) lists several advantages of using blogs in writing lessons. He believes that by using blogs students have the options of previewing and reviewing the class material before and after class. As the students are connected to the Internet, they have access to online English dictionaries, where they can easily look up words they do not understand. What is more interesting is that students can read comments for the class as a whole and comments directed at them individually. This maximizes feedback and contact with the teacher or the instructor. It also aids students to observe how their writing changes over a period of time.

Although previous studies have shown the benefits and the potential of using blogs among L2 learners to some extent, qualitative inquiry to find out more about this Web 2.0 tool as an interactive platform for L2 learners language learning is necessary. Hence, this study is aimed at having a better understanding on how students at the tertiary level felt about using blogs, and how and what efforts were put in to exploit their blogs during the course.

METHODOLOGY

Context of the study: Blogging as a course requirement

The year-one students who participated in this study were in the English Language Programme and the course offered to them was ICT and Language, a compulsory course in the second semester. The course

aims to create a more explicit awareness of the growing importance of ICT in society, and its applications in language learning analysis. In order to meet the objectives of the course, the students were introduced to computer-based interactions to help them develop skills and enable them to analyze basic language structures. They were also exposed to computer-mediated communication, web-based learning and research pertaining to language and ICT. One of the course requirements was to create a blog. Therefore, the students were guided to http://www.blogger.com (Fig.1) and coached step-by-step on how to start a blog. Although the Blogger website layout can appear confusing at first glance to these students who had no exposure to blogging, it can be quite simple to navigate and use. It is also important to tell students in advance that when adding or editing a post, it will not be saved until the 'publish post' button is clicked. All the students must be taught the importance of this step or they will lose their entries or postings.

Data Collection

The source of data for the current study is an online archive which consists of students' blogs that they produced as part of their course requirement. Unedited excerpts were extracted from the blogs for the discussion on student experiences on blogging. Five guided questions on ICT and language were posted by the instructor at different stages of the course for students to discuss their respective blogs throughout the semester, in which specific deadlines were given for

them to respond and comment. Students were also informed that this research-based task carries 20 percent of their overall assessment. This, to some extent, promotes enthusiasm among the students to participate actively in the task.

Data Analysis

To capture the diverse experiences of these undergraduate students on blogging, this study adopts a qualitative narrative inquiry framework to examine the data extracted from selected students' blogs. The data are interpretive and tell the individuality and the complexity of students' views and thoughts on blogging through narrative processes carried out in contexts without the intervention and pressure from the instructor and their peers. Data taken from students' postings on their blogging experiences were analyzed qualitatively, while emerging common themes were identified for data analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data from the students' blogs provide an insight for educators or language instructors on their blogging experience which could be explored further to examine the use of blogs in the Malaysian ESL classroom. To examine it, this section discusses the data to capture the perceptions of Malaysian undergraduate students on blogging and language learning, and how do they benefit from it.

Generally, almost all the participants felt that the attempt to use blogs in an ELS classroom is innovative. Students felt the excitement of being given the freedom in terms of creativity and flexibility in choosing templates and decorating their blogs with different colours combined with the use of glitter, pictures, photographs and animations, while engaging in writing, reflecting and information sharing with their peers via the blogs. This resonates with the notion of innovative literacy as defined by Gregory and Kuzmich (2005), a literacy that encompasses reading, writing, speaking,

Fig.1: Creating a blog using Blogger at www.blogger.com

and listening to do a complex task, solve a complex problem, invent a unique product or process, or create something new or influential. This is the key to thrive amid the rapid change and expansion of knowledge in the 21st century (Gregory & Kuzmich, 2005, p.161).

Promoting Autonomous Learning through Blogging

The use of blogs as a learning strategy is considered as an alternative to the traditional model of education. For the digital natives, blogging provides a conducive virtual environment to accommodate their technology-enriched learning styles. For students who may feel intimidated by the realities of schools and classrooms, the use of blog may assist them to discover their preferred learning styles and strategies which could enhance their learning process. S1 and S2 expressed this in their blogs, pointing out that blogging helped them to express themselves better as compared to the conventional classroom environment:

> *S1*
>
> *To me, having a blog was simply to submit the assignments required for this course. I never blogged before this. I am more of a diary-hidden-somewhere sort of a person. What I think and feel is better kept inside than told to the rest of the world. Yet, I find myself becoming more and* ***more comfortable blogging and expressing myself***.

> *S2*
>
> *I cannot deny that blogging has in a way helped me.* ***I have become brave in expressing myself rather than expressing myself only in the pages of my diary****. It is more exciting to see what I have written online as I can add more pictures and colours rather than the usual white piece of paper and blue pen I use. Clearly, it is a fun activity and very beneficial as long as it is not misused.*

Vygotsky (1978) suggested that meaning making develops through the social process of learning language over time. The effect of this process is noticeable when students in this study are starting to produce, share and publish their ideas on their personal blogs. As compared to traditional face-to-face classroom environment, the learning process via blog is personalized and many of them expressed that they have benefited from it when the learning process takes place in a social context. In particular, Web 2.0 is chosen to facilitate the learning and reflective processes in the current study. By publishing, learning, and sharing ideas, students deepen their thinking and receive direct feedback from peers, experts, and other teachers. Relevant and current feedback is a powerful learning tool (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1990).

Increased Interactivity through Sharing and Collaborative Learning

Students expressed that blogging has allowed them to be engaged in sharing and collaboration with coursemates, the lecturer and peers for interesting facts and information which come from their own readings. The students also experienced some form of self-directed learning throughout the blogging-learning process, where they were given the opportunities to practice self-editing, peer editing, or responding to blog postings.

Most of the students talked about the opportunities to interact with their virtual audience and peers on interesting topics and discussion through blogging. S7 commented that he has benefitted from the interaction with his friends and there is no barrier for any posting or comment in blogs. This increased interactivity between students-writers with their virtual audience/ peers and online texts would continuously create new discourse communities with members who share the same interest on topics posted on the blogs.

S7

I can interact with my friends who visit my blog and there's no barrier to entry. Besides viewing my blog, they can also give their comments regarding my posts. So, I can improve my posting like my grammar and the other features.

Clearly, the use of blogs in the research context of the current study has established a learning environment with the characteristics of an ideal classroom that Coutinho (2007) discusses. The learning space created by the blogging process has encouraged students to explore their curiosity and expand their knowledge, not only through the traditional approach, but also through the use of Web 2.0 that enables them to grow, share and learn with the global community and audience.

Improving Language Skills through Blogging

Lankshear and Knobel (2003, p.19) argue that blogging "could potentially become potent pedagogical approaches to writing". They point out that "a blog that records links, commentaries, and informed analysis, and that is open to being read by and commented upon by interested others, can become an objective artefact of collegial activity: one that is mediated by experts and learners in mutually beneficial ways" (Lankshear & Knobel 2003, p.18). This might be true for some students who have gone from linking and clicking to creating and sharing through their blogs and have become members of some virtual affinity groups. Student S9 commented that "blogs connect people beyond boundaries to share feelings and ideas without any obstacles…" and it "connect us to other webs and make our thinking more different and broader." This may help them to build authentic and tangible audience as compared to school-based writing classes (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003).

The use of blogs as "a base of authentic purposefulness" (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003, p.15) in an ESL classroom can enhance student's level of understanding and comprehension. Through the engagement in the blogging activity, especially writing and sharing, students in this study have started to demonstrate their interest in reading especially when they started interpreting and constructing online texts and multimedia documents. Students shared reading materials by providing the hyperlinks of the original source of the materials on their blogs. S2 expressed that she has to be "more self-conscious" in the use of language as there are many people who may have access to her reading materials and writing on her blog. S6, S7, S9 and S10 experienced a natural 'training' and improvement of their language skills as a result of becoming more literate in blogging and increased interaction with their peers in the virtual space. There was improvement in students' writing skills especially in terms of choice of words, grammar and spelling as illustrated in the excerpts below:

S2

*Our literacy skills are put to the test and we **can improve our use of language online** because knowing that many people will have access to reading our material, it makes us more self-conscious about writing correctly.*

S6

*Actually, I can improve or help me in writing skill. It is because, I can write whatever without any problem. Furthermore, I can **improve my English language.** I can speak English fluently because I feel shy if my friend will laugh at me. But, if I wrote something, they did not know and never laugh at me. So that, I'm agreeing that from blogging, **it can help me in my writing skill**. **I also can give my opinion without any obstacles**. Besides, writing blog is a good way for me **to express my thought and feelings** and give me many opportunities. I also feel thrilled to see my writing in the web. This sounds funny but, it is true!*

*I feel happy and glad if other person read my blog. It is because; **they can comment it and I've to improve my weaknesses**. I can learn many things when doing blog. I can learn how to write blog effectively. Besides**,** I learn how to edit pictures, sounds, logo and something to make my blog interesting. I also learn how to customize my blog. From that, I can learn many things and now I can use my knowledge to help my friends and it is do useful when I already graduate or working. I'm very happy and enjoy!!*

S7

*I can interact with my friends who visit my blog and there's no barrier to entry. Besides viewing my blog, they can also give their comments regarding my posts. **So, I can improve my posting like my grammar and the other features**.*

S9

*Blogs **connect people beyond boundaries to share feelings and ideas** without any obstacles. **It also helps us to improve our language and how do we manage to apply it.** Blog can connect us to other webs n make our thinking more different and broader. This soon will help us to find journals and articles for our project papers. This online diary will be actively on until we graduate.*

S10

*Reaction by my coursemates and my lecturer to my blog has **helped me to improve my writings** and i feel thrilled to see my article viewed by others. **This blogging activity has taught me a lot writing skills**. It has been a very interesting experience.*

Improving Level of Confidence through Blogging

Students generally felt their level of self-esteem towards the course and their

language skills has improved since blogging was incorporated into the course assessment. They felt that blogging allows them to practise trial and error method which has helped to build up and improve their content knowledge, socio-cultural sensitivity (S8), and the presentation of ideas in their blogs (S5) over a period of time. Furthermore, some of them commented that blogging has helped them to enhance their ICT skills as they were given the space and flexibility to engage in a learning process without peer pressure or intrusion from the lecturer.

S5

*At first I only signed up for my own account then after two weeks I needed to post my first assignment. While doing my assignment I learn how to make my blog more fancy and creative. Due to this I learn to customize my blog. **I also became more knowledgeable and could make decisions in certain aspects**. This is a good beginning for beginners like us. It also helps us to improve our language.*

*After creating a blog, my typing skills improved and my grammar too got better. In my first posting there might be some spelling errors **but my later postings might show the changes and improvements.***

S8

Everyone will know many things about us. We should understand

*what to reveal and what not too. This is where the privacy issue must be practiced. Moreover, there are also guidelines in blogging. **We cannot write anything that we like without realizing about the others sensitivity like religion, politics and race that always become controversial issues***.

A study by Poling (2005) has pointed out that "blogging as a classroom application allows for enhanced comprehension and communication among students as well as the ability to build deeper understanding across the curriculum…" (p.12, as cited in Solomon & Schrum, 2007, p.161). In regard to this, the researchers have observed that some students begin to form deeper reflection about issues or topics they raise in their blogs.S8 for instance has commented that bloggers/learners should be more sensitive in their postings or comments about certain issues which might be controversial to the readers.

Continuity

The use of blogs may also help students to extend the relationship between their lecturer/ instructor and the students beyond the classroom. While learning is no longer confined within the four walls, students may embark on the journey in designing relevant experiences with purpose and meaning beyond an alphanumeric grade through blogging. Most of the student participants expressed their desire to continue blogging even when the course

has ended. They perceived blogging as an ideal and convenient platform to store their reading and share information among their peers. This is reflected in the comment posted by S3:

S3

*The **introduction of blogging has made this course worth looking forward to***. *It's exciting to post assignments online and we get marks to up out with blogs. Could anything possibly get better than this? I **really enjoy blogging** now and if I can actually have the time and (god-willing) a strong internet access, **I'll definitely continue this blogging experience outside of this course requirement!***

A closer look at the blog postings revealed that students viewed the activity in a positive light. Although this blogging experience was something new to this group of students, they found it challenging and even expressed interest in similar activities in future courses which they need to register. Many of them claimed to have gained confidence in their language skills especially in writing. In fact, these students were more than happy to allow their friends to read their work on blogs. This shows that blogging has helped students to gain more confidence and develop audience awareness. Besides, blogging has promoted a collaborative class environment where students felt happy to be consulted to improve their blogs. Blogs allowed a voice for the participants.

This is because they were able to put their thoughts in writing to receive comments and feedback. Reading their coursemates' blogs and commenting allowed them to be more confident in writing beyond the classroom. These students also learned how to incorporate multimedia elements such as pictures, sounds and graphics to customize their blogs.

CONCLUSION

On the whole, the participants in this study have exhibited a highly positive experience towards the integration of blog in their learning process. The process of developing and managing a blog has encouraged further utilization and increased confidence among the students. The findings might shed some lights for English language teaching and learning in higher education. Increasing student learning through blogging allows the instructors to establish a positive rapport with and among students to achieve specific language learning goals. As language educators, we need to recognize and exploit the potential benefits of technology-enhanced learning in order to take a stand on which uses of technology will likely serve our goals and which will not. Creating blogs in language classes should not be thought of as "simply happening". In fact, educators in a media literate world need to rethink and redefine best practices for using this tool to help students improve their English language. This again emphasizes the important role that the instructor has to play especially in giving useful feedback and comments in order to enable students to continue the knowledge construction.

Given the fast development of ICT, we can expect that ICT will bring positive aspects to improve our teaching practices, and we must also understand that language learning is no more centred on textbooks and the traditional classroom approach of teaching. Innovations have come and teachers need to grasp them in creative ways to make language learning more meaningful and more enjoyable. Hence, we also need more empirical studies focusing on students' satisfaction and achievement in language learning using such technologies to allow us to come up with best practises.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

Collective Body (P)Arts: Female Cyborg-Subjectivity in Mamoru Oshii's *Ghost in the Shell*

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the tension between humanistic ideas of subjective wholeness and the networked and fragmented, conceptualization of female cyborg subjectivity presented in Mamoru Oshii's anime *Ghost in the Shell* (1995). The article argues that the anime exposes the mediated nature of female cyborg subjectivity through its treatment of its protagonist in three key moments in the film: in the title scene, the dream passage through the city and in the final confrontation between the Puppet-Master and Major Kusanagi. This article suggests that the always already split and alienated consciousness of women due to their objectification both creates anxiety and tension, as well as enables the recognition of the fragmented and networked status of female cyborg subjectivity in the anime.

Keywords: Anime, cyborg, female, *Ghost in the Shell*, Oshii, subjectivity

ARGUMENT

In *Bodies that Matter* (1993), Judith Butler, in tracing the connections between the materiality of the body and the performative nature of gender, asks the question, "If the subject is constructed, then who is constructing the subject?" (p. 6). This is a question that seeks to interrogate the notion of the humanist subject, or rather, the idea of the self-determined subject (one that makes its presence sharply felt in much of male cyberpunk writing[1]). Butler (1993) points out that "the subject is produced in and as a gendered matrix of relations… [which] ask[s] after the conditions of its emergence and operation" (p. 7). In other words, the subject is constructed both as a network and within a network of forces that determine its existence and functioning within these networks. To put it simply, subjectivity cannot be viewed as isolated, unified and self-determined but rather as irremediably bound up in the

circumstances of its production, with the body as the juncture at which the economic, technological, political, cultural and sexual intersect. This idea of subjectivity being constructed by networks of forces rather than being self-determined is particularly visible in Mamoru Oshii's 1995 anime, *Ghost in the Shell* through images of surfacing and mirroring associated with the main character. These images are used in part to set the stage for the exploration of Motoko Kusanagi's consciousness and also to suggest the sense of the fragmentation and multiple influences that work towards constructing her subjectivity. There are three key sequences linked to water which involve diving, surfacing and mirroring in some form, and which suggest the way in which Kusanagi's subjectivity is constituted: i) the opening credits where the process of her birth as a cyborg is documented, ii) the scene when she goes diving in the ocean only to rise to the surface of the water and merge with her reflection and finally iii) the dream sequence in which she sees herself mirrored in others, both animate and inanimate, ending with a rainy day shot into a display window full of limbless female mannequins. I wish to examine these three scenes and sequences – the birth/construction of the cyborg self, the dream sequence, as well as the final confrontation between Kusanagi and the Puppet Master – and what these scenes suggest about the construction of subjectivity, in particular female subjectivity, in this article.

SYNOPSIS OF *GHOST IN THE SHELL*

First, a brief description of *Ghost in the Shell*: *Ghost in the Shell* (1995) directed by Mamoru Oshii is based on a futuristic manga series authored by Shirow Masamune. Oshii's anime is set in 2029 a time when networks of information, data, machines and humans are inextricably linked. The protagonist, Major Motoko Kusanagi is a senior officer with Section 9, a cybernetic governmental security agency that operates above the law. Section 9 operatives are cyborg, having undergone various levels of machine/human interfacing to make them more efficient at their jobs. Kusanagi and her team become involved in hunting down the Puppet Master, a computer-based criminal who hacks into the minds of his victims in order to manipulate them into doing his dirty work. As Kusanagi gets further into the case, it becomes apparent that the Puppet Master is not human, but rather a computer program/virus created by another section (Section 6) of the government, that has achieved consciousness and views itself as alive. Section 6 wants to contain the Puppet Master and manages to kidnap it. In her attempt to find out what the Puppet Master is, Kusanagi and her team launch an attack to get hold of the Puppet Master, which results in Kusanagi's bodily fragmentation and her ultimate merging with the Puppet Master in order to become something new.

DISCUSSION

I will concentrate on looking at certain segments of the birth sequence, in particular the section in which the cyborg body moves

through passageways, when it is made flesh and finally the actual emergence of the body from its technological womb. In the opening of the birth sequence we are first shown shots of the insertion of a cyber/organic brain into a titanium skull from above and behind and also the metal and muscle composition of the cyborg body. Subsequently, we see the body; this time fully encased in what looks like an exoskeletal layer passing through passageways filled with liquid into a chamber monitored by two men. The body then rises face up towards the opaque surface, passing through or rather emerging through the opaque liquid surface which coats it and turns it completely white, floating upwards and above the surface only to be exposed to some form of setting process by exposure to what appears to be a kind of laser treatment before being plunged back (in foetal position) into a clear liquid which aids the peeling away of the white surface to reveal the skin beneath. Finally, the camera shows the rising of the body out of a round portal set in the ground, a rising that is preceded by the overflowing of the liquids from the chamber below into a circular channel surrounding the portal, a scene suggestive of the breaking of water prior to birth and the passage of the body through the birth canal. The effortless rising of the female cyborg's body from the round liquid hole in the floor is not only reminiscent of the process of birth but also of the image of Venus (spawned into instant adulthood) rising from the sea in a kind of mythic birth narrative that suggests the transcendence or superfluity of the natural

system of human reproduction. There is no pain, violence or trauma to the body involved here unlike in a normal human birth: the cyborg rises unconsciously and peacefully out of the her "womb" for the final process in her genesis – a gentle disembodied air drying that parallels the cleansing away of birth matter from the newborn infant's body.

In this narrative sequence, very little human participation is portrayed in the making of the cyborg body. The only human beings shown are the two men who passively watch the shell rise through the opaque synthetic flesh liquid. For the most part, the rest of this sequence hides the human participation in the process of cyborg making, appearing instead to suggest that the cyborg body is almost autonomously produced by the technology itself. To be born is to be, as the sequence implies, engendered as instantly adult through the complex circuitry of machinic (and human) intervention – to be created through multiple processes and assemblage, to recognize the multiple interventions that shape the production of the body and its subjectivity. The cyborg birth narrative of the protagonist in the opening credits of the anime with its emphasis on disembodied and almost autonomous technology which practically seems to run itself intimates a decentring of both the humanist notion of the unified subject and the place of the human being at the heart (or as the master) of the technology. In other words, the sequence suggests that human beings are a part of rather than the controllers of the technological process that

produces the self-subject. How does this then play into the conception of Motoko Kusanagi's subjectivity? By revealing her creation to be composed of many processes and parts, her body thoroughly mediated by technological and human intervention, the opening credits deconstruct any possibility for sustaining the idea of a unified self-determined subject, revealing it to be a fiction that Kusanagi tries to cling to in order assert her humanness and which she must give up at the end of the film.

In the dream sequence which happens somewhere in the middle of the anime, Kusanagi is shown moving through the crowded cityscape to the same music that accompanied her birth sequence. As she is carried through the canals on a boat past many buildings, she chances upon the perfect copy of her own face on a woman dining in a restaurant. She looks down as Kusanagi looks up at her in passing. Later, the camera shows a close up of a fashionably dressed mannequin with Kusanagi's face in a store window. The camera then moves slowly through the city, finally ending up by focusing on a window displaying the limbless bodies of several female mannequins. Despina Kakoudaki (2000) describes Kusanagi in this scene as practicing "active looking…seek[ing] and '[recognizing]' a number of women who have (or seem to have the same body and face as herself" (p. 185), and goes on suggest various interpretations that can be made from this scene. She asks, "Is this sequence an externalization of existential dilemmas? Does the sequence portray the

self hoping to be reflected in others? Is Kusanagi attempting to communicate with other women? Are these identical women just similar 'models' created by the same cyborg company? (2000, p. 185). While the initial part of the sequence shows the exchanged looks between Kusanagi and the woman in the restaurant, the close up of the well-dressed mannequin with Kusanagi's face, the rainy scenes of the rest of the city and the shot of the window display full of truncated female mannequins exclude her completely. The scene is presented through the scoptophilic eye of the camera passing slowly over disjunctive scenes of the city. Kusanagi's "active looking" is constructed rather as the camera's, and consequently the viewer's "active looking" at what the replication of Kusanagi's face on different female bodies, both animate and inanimate could signify. Thus, the three gazes, Kusanagi's, the camera's and the viewer's function together as a system which can be read as determining her state of mind. It is significant that Kusanagi's gaze is absented from the sequence after her exchange of looks with the woman in the restaurant, and that the camera's eye takes over, suggesting a conflation between all three gazes, Kusanagi's, the camera's and the viewer's which work together to create her subjective state of mind in this scene. Furthermore, although this conflation is suggested especially in the shots moving at eye level or looking upward from the ground within the cityscape, the camera also looks down upon the city suggesting a broader view, which Kusanagi, moving through

the city, may not have access to. Thus, the reading of her state of mind is one that is performed by the viewer in conjunction with the camera, suggesting also that Kusanagi's consciousness can be seen as being only a part of a network that determines her subjectivity.

My reading suggests that Kakoudaki's first question may well be an accurate interpretation of this scene. Kusanagi's reaction to the appearance of her face on a living woman implies her distress at the idea that she may not be the only one with her face and body. The scene then sets up through the gaze of the camera and the viewer a reading of her fear that she might be only a copy of the real by focusing on the dress mannequin. Moreover, the final scene in this sequence of the limbless torsos in the shop window (one that Kusanagi's gaze has no access to) ends on the point of the song from the birth sequence just before we see an active Kusanagi waking up, getting dressed and leaving her room, thus recalling her lifeless cyborg shell prior to any engagement of her "ghost" to animate it. This reinforces a connection between the truncated fragmented mannequins and the artificiality of Kusanagi's assembled cyborg body implying a rupture in her imaging of her self as "human." Additionally, this scene cuts from an overhead shot looking down on the building where the mannequins are housed to a ground shot looking upwards to the display window and finally a direct eyelevel shot into the window suggesting that the association of the fragmented mannequin bodies with

Kusanagi's inanimate cyborg shell is one that the viewer makes in tandem with the camera. Kusanagi's subjectivity in this sequence is thus constituted by a system of different perceptions rather than only by her own. Importantly, this last shot of the limbless mannequin bodies foreshadows the fate of Kusanagi's cyborg shell – in her battle with the armoured tank protecting the kidnapped Puppet Master she tears her body apart, ending up as a limbless trunk that mirrors the exact state of the Puppet Master's own cyborg shell that has been taken apart and reduced to a head and torso by the technical staff in Section 9.

In "Exaggerated Gender and Artificial Intelligence" (2000), Kakoudaki refers to the gaze on the female body in *Ghost in the Shell* as pornographic, and so it is – the gaze or the camera seeks to penetrate beneath the skin to seek out what lies beneath, to reveal the fragmented constructed nature of embodiment particularly for the female figures in the film. It is interesting to note that all the figures that are presented in physically fragmented form are women (except for Bat-ō whose arm is blown off when he tries to protect Kusanagi's head from the explosive bullet intended to destroy it).[2] The easy fragmentability and penetrability of the female body by technological intervention is highlighted in this anime in a way that makes it inescapable.[3] One can choose to read this bodily penetration of the women by the scoptophilic gaze of the camera as pornographic in its desire to get under their skins, and to rip them apart to find out what makes them work or to fix what does not,

as in the case of the Puppet Master and the translator, respectively. This is a reading that is readily apparent in the film.

However, I would like to suggest that another meaning might also be read from the deliberate focusing on the fragmentation of the women's bodies. By introducing the final shot of the limbless mannequins in the display window in the dream sequence, my reading suggests a refusal of female embodiment as whole or seamless, revealing that embodiment itself, especially female embodiment is full of ruptures and mediations. It is my contention that this resistance to wholeness results in part from the double consciousness that comes from women's "to-be-looked-at-ness" as John Berger discusses in *Ways of Seeing*. Berger (1972) points out that, "A man's presence is dependent on the promise of power which he embodies. If the promise is large and credible his presence is striking. If it is small or incredible, he is found to have little presence" (p.45), suggesting that subjectivity and presence for men is bound up in their ability to project self-wholeness or unity and self-determination. Berger continues, however, that women's subjectivity and presence, whose social presence is subject to "the keeping of men, …comes at the cost of a woman's self being split in two" (1972, p. 46). He elaborates,

A woman must continually watch herself…From earliest childhood she has been taught and persuaded to survey herself continually. And so, she comes to consider the surveyor and the surveyed within

her as the two constituent yet always distinct elements of her identity as a woman…Her own sense of being in herself is supplanted by a sense of being appreciated in herself by another (1972, p. 46).

Women's being is then already split, both inside and outside the self. Women's subjectivity, thus, for Berger, is always already fragmented and constituted by networks of forces both within and outside of themselves. When we add to this idea Teresa de Lauretis's theorization of the subject in her article "Eccentric Subjects: Feminist Theory and Historical Consciousness," (1990) we can begin to see the resistance to wholeness that underlies female subjectivity that is so vividly depicted in Oshii's *Ghost in the Shell*. De Lauretis urges an understanding of the "interrelatedness of discourses and social practices, and of the multiplicities of positionalities concurrently available in the social field [which can be viewed] as a field of forces" (1990, p. 137). She points to "not a single system of power dominating the powerless but a tangle of distinct and variable relations of power and points of resistance – within which there is constant intersections and mutual implications of axes of identity (1990, p. 137). Understanding identity and subjectivity for de Lauretis is based on a process of "continuing re-negotiation of external pressures and internal resistances, multiply organized across positions on several axes of differences and across discourses and practices that maybe, and

often are, mutually contradictory" (1990, p. 137). What de Lauretis suggests, and *Ghost in the Shell* can be seen as depicting, is the processual nature of subjectivity and embodiment that is in constant re-negotiation and flux due to its interactions within the world in which it exists. It is important to understand that we are not merely looking at intersections between axes but intersections that are also in constant flux. This being the case, it becomes possible to see Kusanagi's journey through the cityscape as a sequence that plays out these re-negotiations based on the multiple positioning and mediations to which her subjectivity and embodiment are subjected.

The final encounter between the Puppet Master and Kusanagi with its inevitable reminder of the limbless mannequins in the window display would perhaps a good place also discuss the constructed nature of embodiment. A consideration of this scene via Lacan's concept of the mirror stage would be useful here. Lacan (1977) comments:

> The mirror stage is a drama whose internal thrust is precipitated from insufficiency to anticipation – and which manufactures for the subject caught up in the lure of spatial identification, the succession of phantasies that extends from <u>a fragmented body-image to a form of its totality</u> that I shall call orthopaedic – and lastly, to the assumption of the armour of an alienating identity, which will mark

> with its rigid structure the subjects entire mental development. (my emphasis, *Écrits*, p.4)

What Lacan suggests here is the idea that the subject's viewing of its image in the mirror constructs for it, through mis-recognition, an ideal self-image, one that papers over its fragmented body experiences with an image of an external wholeness that presents embodiment and subjectivity as complete and unified. This image is one the subject is profoundly conflicted over largely because it suggests that the subject can only constitute its body image through self-alienation. Kaja Silverman in *The Subject of Semiotics* (1983), commenting on Lacan's mirror stage highlights the fictional nature of the subject's perception of its wholeness and points to it as an attempt to conceal the "crisis of alienation around which the Lacanian subject is organized" (1983, p. 158) because the subject defines itself entirely in relation to the mirror image. She states,

> as a consequence of the irreducible distance which separates the subject from its ideal reflection, it entertains a profoundly ambivalent relationship to that reflection. It loves the coherent identity which the mirror provides. However because the image remains external to it, it also hates that image (1983, p. 158).

Silverman continues by pointing out that Lacan, in linking the mirror stage with the Oedipus complex, attempts to sever the construction of this image from its socially determined roots. She states, "Lacan suggests that the image the child discovers in the mirror is ideologically neutral, that it has no social determination. At the same time, he tells us that the child's identification with that image stakes exactly the same form as subsequent identifications with images which are socially determined" (1983, p. 160). Silverman then suggests that "the question we are thus obliged to ask is whether the mirror stage is not in some manner culturally induced" (1983, p. 160), an acute observation that points to the importance of the network of social, cultural and material conditioning and disciplining involved in the constitution of the subject – and which the mirror image with its totalizing fiction seeks to conceal. Bearing this in mind, it becomes possible to read the mirror stage as an attempt to constitute subjectivity and body image within a socio-culturally acceptable norm. And, in *Ghost in the Shell*, the norm or standard for imaging the subject is the human and what constitutes being considered human. For those whose subjectivity is irredeemably mediated and networked, like Kusanagi, this norm causes grave tension and anxiety as it is the fiction that she desires which runs counter to her entire being.

In *Ghost in the Shell*, the final encounter between the Puppet Master and Kusanagi effectively deconstructs any notion of wholeness and any attempt Kusanagi has previously made to constitute herself as whole through her merging with her reflection in the ocean diving scene. The Puppet Master and Kusanagi, both limbless cyborgs lie side by side, establishing the images of their embodiment via their mirroring of each other's fragmentation. In other words, Kusanagi and the Puppet Master's bodies become mirrors for each other, constituting their embodiment, not as "unified and unifying" but as irremediably fragmented. This sense of mirroring is further enhanced by their cyberbrain connections with each other, especially so when the Puppet Master speaks through Kusanagi's voice and she sees through her eyes.[4] Kusanagi sees herself through the Puppet Master's eyes, and because what she sees is her own speaking body in fragments and what she hears is the voice of the Puppet Master emerging from her own mouth, any illusion of wholeness and humanistic self-determination is stripped away. Her inability to control what she says, and her inability to constitute her own body as anything but irreparably fragmented through her gaze at herself suggests the reading of subjectivity and embodiment as a symbiosis of networks, ruptures and mediations pointing to the idea of female embodiment as irremediably fragmented. In "Towards the female sublime" Livia Monnet (2002) focuses on the moment in the laboratory when the Puppet Master is revived after its accident and fixes her gaze on Kusanagi. She suggests that this is a moment in which Kusanagi and the Puppet Master mirror each other as doubles (2002,

p. 246), suggestive of the Lacanian mirror stage in which the body image is created through a recognition of self-representation in the mirror. Indeed, the Puppet Master reminds Kusanagi in their final conversation that they are very alike, practically "a mirror and its reflection." Here, the mirroring of the fragmented female bodies reflects their ruptures, fractures and disintegration. Female body image or embodiment is thus constructed not as a "unified or unifying" wholeness but as partiality, fragmentation and truncation, reminiscent of the limbless mannequins in the display window in Kusanagi's dream sequence. This vision of female embodiment is a powerful one as it refuses any notion of essentialism or fiction of wholeness, insisting on connecting the fragmented, mediated and distributed nature of subjectivity and agency to an equally fragmented sense of embodiment.

CONCLUSION

The figure of the female cyborg that Mamoru Oshii's *Ghost in the Shell* presents us is perplexing, contradictory, and subject to forces and desires over which she has no control and yet desiring in her own right. Her subjectivity, agency and embodiment are thoroughly mediated and partial. Her depiction is often pornographic. Nevertheless*, Ghost in the Shell* offers us a vision of the networks of complex and often incongruous factors that are at play in constructing cyborg subjectivities.

ENDNOTES

[1] See, for example, the work of William Gibson, Neal Stephenson, and Bruce Sterling.

[2] I am not including the humans that are assassinated or killed as a result of Section 9's cleanup jobs for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are shown very briefly, the moment of Batō's sacrifice of his arm to save Kusanagi's life, unlike the extended displays to which we are treated of both Kusanagi and the Puppet Master's naked and fragmented bodies. Furthermore, the next time we see Batō, his arm has already been fixed.

[3] For example, towards the beginning of the anime we see the female translator with her head opened up so that the technical team can attempt to repair the damage caused by the Puppet Master to her consciousness. Also, both the Puppet Master and Kusanagi's cyborg shells are female and subject to fragmentation.

[4] The cyborg shell inhabited by the Puppet Master is female.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

A Small Place: Re-Looking Universals and Distinctions

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ABSTRACT

The theme of universals and distinctions in discourse is particularly relevant to our contemporary times when globalization has impacted on every aspect of life and living. Borders, both literal and metaphorical, have become porous, admitting easy exchange between the universals and the distinctions, the local and the global. However, despite the fluid movement of things, people and ideas, we cannot overlook the reality that on many fronts, borders are precarious and smaller countries are swallowed up by the global culture. This paper looks at some of the tensions that emerge within the overlap of the local and global. In this context, Jamaica Kincaid's (1989), *A Small Place* is a riveting narrative which reveals the importance of viewing and placing the smaller places of the world against the larger, more powerful countries. In this text, Kincaid (1989) speaks passionately about her country which she feels has been swept aside and forgotten. The paper hopes to show that by acknowledging the transformative effects, sometimes positive, sometimes crippling, that come out of the universals-distinctions exchange, the smaller, often formerly colonized nations of the world, can find and define themselves and not drown in the tide of sameness, a quotidian feature of global culture.

Keywords: Globalization, Kincaid, place, tourism, travel

INTRODUCTION

The theme of the conference, *Universals, Distinctions and Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*, is particularly relevant to

our contemporary times. Today, we cannot move away from global systems of cultural interactions and the way in which local/distinct locations and cultures engage with forces of globalization and its universalising mission. This paper looks at the theme of "distinctions" and "universals" in terms of the dialogic between the local and the global. More than ever, as a result of globalization,

we are witnessing a changing organization of world-wide social relations.

Globalization, the "all-purpose catchword in public and scholarly debate," has become such an inflated word that it risks becoming "a global cliche" (Lechner & Boli, 2000, p.1). Yet, for now, the word still reflects, to a large extent, the changes taking place on the world stage. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* defines globalization as the process "whereby individual lives and local communities are affected by economic and cultural forces that operate world-wide. In effect, it is the process of the world becoming a single place" (p.110). The term gained prominence in the mid-1980s but as many postcolonial theorists have repeatedly pointed out, globalization had its early origins in imperialism and this is apparent in the way both phenomena structure power and social relations between places and cultures. Indeed, the way in which the local engages with the global parallels the way in which former colonized cultures have engaged the forces of imperialism. It is said that the history of globalization "is embedded in the history of imperialism" (Ashcroft *et al.*, 1998, p.112). Scholars point to sixteenth-century Europe as the early source of globalization when Europe started establishing trade connections on their own terms, defining the way in which cultures were to interact with each other (see Lechner & Boli 2000).

Just like concepts of "civilization" and "development" and other key terms in early- and classic-modern thinking, the idea of "globalization" initially conveyed ideas of hope and harmony and the intention of a universal order in which life conditions and chances would be equal and possibly improved. It cannot be refuted that the globalizing mission seeks to unify. However, though universalism assumes the irreducible qualities of humanity, and in that, possibilities for oneness existing beyond the local context; it also, on the flip side, offers a hegemonic view of life by which the values, ideas and aspirations of a dominant culture are held to be true for all peoples. As Zygmunt Bauman says in *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, the present discourse of globalization primarily refers to "global *effects*" and not "global *initiatives* and *undertaking*." He continues that globalization is "not about what we all. . .wish or hope *to do*. It is about *what is happening to us all* (p.60). Indeed, this seems to be our reality.

A SMALL PLACE

Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place* is a vivid account of the experience of globalization and the way in which a distinctive/local place engages with global processes. Published in 1988, this slim volume is, on many levels, a profound indictment of the brutalities of colonialism and its capacity to uproot and make homeless an entire race. In a voice unrelenting in its anger and frustration, Kincaid denounces colonial conquest and its legacy of destruction and decay in her homeland Antigua. Though it became self-governing in 1967, Antigua did not achieve the status of an independent nation within the Commonwealth until 1981. Kincaid

highlights the fact that independent Antigua is still reeling from the effects of British colonial rule and states that the country is in a worse off situation now because of the corruption of the ruling party. Hence, *A Small Place* aims to renounce any kind of oppression.

Many times in the text, Kincaid mentions the fact that Antigua is a small place: "Antigua is a small place, a small island. It is nine miles wide by twelve miles long" (p.80); "In a small place, people cultivate small events" (p.52); "...but perhaps in a world that is twelve miles long and nine miles wide (the size of Antigua) twelve years and twelve minutes and twelve days are all the same" (p.9). There is much insistence in the narrative that this is a small island, hence the title of the book. Besides referring to the physical smallness of Antigua, the title of Kincaid's text also alludes to the reduced circumstances and small-mindedness of the native people forced to still live under the double yoke of colonialism and the current regime. Apart from that, and equally important, the title is also a metonymy for the way in which the colonizers viewed the land they occupied — "a small place," insignificant, empty of history and identity. Indeed, this "justified" conquest.

More to the point of the topic, but also in line with the theme of suppression underlying the text, *A Small Place* is also an intense account of the effects of globalization on a nation-state. The narrative shows the devastation which globalization can wreak on smaller economies. In doing

so, *A Small Place* exposes the plight of Antigua, a small island so alike many other small places of the world, which is battling to survive in global systems of interactions. The text evokes what Bauman refers to as the *effect* of globalization, "*what is happening to us all*" (p.60).

TRAVELLERS AND VAGABONDS

Globalization forms an important part of the background for the rise of contemporary mobility, generating the major transnational movements characterizing recent times — diaspora, travel and migration, among them. In line with this, the figure of the "tourist" is pervasive in contemporary discourse. In *A Small Place*, Kincaid imagines her own country through the eyes of a tourist. Apart from being a very effective strategy in presenting her island nation to the uninitiated reader, the tourist narrative in the text also encapsulates a particular way of understanding relationships between cultures and places within a global context.

In *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, Bauman devotes one chapter to travelling in the global world. There is a distinction between the way the first world and the rest of the world travels:

> *The first travel at will, get much fun from their travel...are cajoled or bribed to travel and welcomed with smiles and open arms when they do. The second travel surreptitiously, often illegally, sometimes paying more for the crowded steerage of a stinking unseaworthy boat*

than others pay for business-class gilded luxuries—and are frowned upon, and, if unlucky, arrested and promptly deported, when they arrive (p.89).

Not only does Bauman distinguish between first and second world travel, he goes on to categorize these travellers into groups. The first world travellers are called "tourists" who "stay or move at their hearts' desire," "they find the world within their (global) reach irresistibly *attractive*." The second world travellers are "vagabonds." They "move because they find the world within their (local) reach unbearably *inhospitable*" and are "the waste of the world which has dedicated itself to tourist services" (pp.92-3). Kincaid's use of the tourist motif in *A Small Place* alludes to Bauman's ideas above. The very first pages of *A Small Place* demonstrate this binary between the tourist (who is usually white and from the first world) and the native/vagabond. Kincaid refers to her own return to her homeland and the treatment she receives by officials. In a tone dripping with irony, she says that because the tourist is not "an Antiguan black returning to Antigua from Europe or North America with cardboard boxes of much needed cheap clothes and food for relatives," she or he can move through customs "swiftly" and "with ease" (pp.4-5). A part of the Caribbean diaspora in North America, Kincaid, the returning native, is also a vagabond. She questions this kind of double standards and seems to ask where is the 'freedom of movement which

one eulogizes as the topmost achievement of the globalizing world and the warrant of its growing prosperity?" (Bauman, 1998, p.76). While acknowledging that tourism is a major economic resource for Antigua, Kincaid is incensed that the Antiguans are indiscriminately being made use of by their present government to promote tourism. She is equally angered by her own people who have allowed themselves to be part of this industry: "And it is in that strange voice, then—the voice that suggests innocence, art, lunacy—that they say these things, pausing to take breath before this monument to rottenness, that monument to rottenness, as if they were tour guide; as if, having observed the event of tourism, they have absorbed it so completely that they have made the degradation and humiliation of their daily lives into their own tourist attraction" (pp.68-69).

Right from the start, Kincaid fashions the reader as a tourist who is visiting her home country: "If you go to Antigua as a tourist, this is what you will see" (p.3). Automatically, Kincaid becomes our tour guide and the narrative unfolds in this way: Kincaid taking us around her island, telling us about its past and its present condition. It is admittedly an interesting approach. The dominant metaphor of travel which governs the text, enables the writer to deal with many issues simultaneously. She takes us to a place, discusses its present state and goes on to tell us what this place was like before and her childhood memories linked to it. The movement that inheres in the act of travel images the way in which

Kincaid, and as consequence, the reader, comes to terms with Antigua, i.e. empirical survey, historical data, stories and memories combine to link Antigua's past and present narratives.

As the text progresses, we, the tourist, move through our day of sightseeing, sunning on the beach, making cursory judgements on what we see, eating meals at local restaurants, witnessing a spectacular sunset. Kincaid closely details what could be taking place in the mind of a tourist—the anticipation, excitement, flashes of fear at the unknown, the thrill of getting a good bargain, the fervent desire for hot weather so that the holiday will not be ruined by rain. More than anything, Kincaid highlights the unquestioning mind of the common tourist: "since you are a tourist, the thought of what it might be like for someone who had to live day in, day out in a place that suffers constantly from drought, and so has to watch carefully every drop of fresh water used...must never cross your mind" (p.4). This and many other instances in the text show that the tourist/reader and generally all of us who are so utterly uninformed and yet glibly impose judgement and value on other cultures are morally wrong in doing so: "An ugly thing, that is what you are when you become a tourist, an ugly, empty thing, a stupid thing, a piece of rubbish pausing here and there to gaze at this and taste that" (p.17). Kincaid's narrative strategy here is to equate the indifference of the tourists who visit Antigua to the white colonizers who took over the land. The tourist is likened to the colonialist in the way s/he perceives and treats other cultures and peoples.

But it does not end here. Kincaid moves beyond the indifference of the tourist towards local matters to a wider context to demonstrate how we, the tourist, are also unaware of the global processes operating on us. The very nature of transnationality, with its confluence of imperialism and capitalism and its tendency to corrode boundaries, also tends to blur vision, actions and comprehension. As a result, Kincaid's cherished homeland, like the other small places of the world, continues to be held victim by more powerful forces. One early example of this in *A Small Place* is the use of the familiar, and often notorious, figure of the cab driver. "You see a man, a taxi driver; you ask him to take you to your destination; he quotes you a price. You immediately think that the price is in local currency... Your driver is reckless; he is a dangerous man who drives in the middle of the road" (p.5). Kincaid goes on to say that we so easily forget that ours is a cosmopolitan world and that "most of the taxi drivers in New York are from places in the world like this" (p.6).

Kincaid's descriptions show that the Antiguans live in a situation that is inhospitable and they have had to move to other countries to escape poverty. Poverty in small countries like Antigua, Kincaid keeps asserting in the text, is also a legacy of western enrichment. This is the current world situation with people having to leave their homes to find jobs abroad for the sake of survival. Kincaid also chides the traveller for thinking that the Antiguan cab driver in his huge Japanese car is well off. He actually lives in a derelict house and was forced to

buy his car from a government owned car dealer. He cannot afford unleaded petrol: "You will be surprised, then, to see that most likely the person driving this brand-new car filled with the wrong gas lives in a house that, in comparison, is far beneath the status of the car; and if you were to ask why you would be told that the banks are encouraged by the government to make loans available for cars, but loans for houses not so easily available" (p.7).

Similar to Bauman's views on the different kinds of travel undertaken by the rich and the poor, Kincaid erects a dichotomy of difference between the tourist and the native. The tourist views the vagabond/native as starkly different from his/her self and this perception is, to some extent, understandable. "Difference" is vital to the tourist—that is the reason why he or she left her home in the first place, to revel in something far removed from routine and the everyday. But this touristic impulse to differentiate is flawed on many levels. Essentially it is purely a vicarious exercise. Like the colonizing impulse to view a place as empty (and thus justifying forcible occupation), the tourist's need for difference subordinates a place and culture, removing them from their inherent realities. The difference consumed by tourists is not spatially separate. Indeed Kincaid goes on to show in her narrative that these differences and the perceived distance are largely illusory. Everywhere are stories of connections that link and shape places and *A Small Place* urges us to acknowledge that fact.

There are many instances of inequality and tourist ignorance in Kincaid's narrative. She writes about the food the tourists eat:

> *When you sit down to eat your delicious meal, it's better that you don't know that most of what you are eating came off a plane from Miami. And before it got on a plane in Miami, who knows where it came from? A good guess is that it came from a place like Antigua first, where it was grown dirt-cheap, went to Miami, and came back. There is a world of something in this, but I can't go into it right now.* (p.14)

Hence, the food that we take to be "authentic" Antiguan cuisine has actually gone through the process typical of a transnational agricultural corporation. Multiple places, part of the global system of production, are implicated in the evocation of "the Antiguan experience": a poor island, a wealthy, western centre, a multinational agricultural industry which sends the product back to the poor island to be packaged as genuine and home-grown. No local person, however, can afford this food which s/he has helped produce. In this whole production line, there are so many connections yet inequalities abound and often, they are structured into the system. However, the tourist remains unaware of these connections and chooses to be ignorant, sometimes to his/her detriment:

You see yourself taking a walk on that beach, you see yourself meeting new people (only people just like you). You see yourself eating some delicious, locally grown food. You see yourself, you see yourself. . .You must not wonder what exactly happened to the contents of your lavatory when you flushed it. You must not wonder where your bathwater went when you pulled out the stopper. You must not wonder what happened when you brushed your teeth. Oh, it might all end up in the water you are thinking of taking a swim in; the contents of your lavatory might, just might graze against your ankle as you wade carefree in the water, for you see, in Antigua, there is no proper sewage-disposal system. But the Caribbean Sea is very big and the Atlantic Ocean is even bigger; it would amaze even you to know the number of black slaves this ocean has swallowed up (p.14).

I have quoted quite extensively here because the passage reveals a few important ideas. For one thing, it highlights, again, the thoughtlessness of the tourist. However, this ignorance could have serious implications for the tourist. A few pages earlier, Kincaid, as she takes us on our guided tour, stops at the local hospital. She tells us that no local Antiguan trusts the inept doctors who work there and that when the Ministers fall ill, they take the first flight out to New York!

Hence apathy could cost us our health and well-being. Apart from that, Kincaid is again asserting a point that underlies much of the text which is that Antigua is not a separate place but is bound to a global world. The waters surrounding this island is the transporting element that brought diverse people to its shores and Antiguan culture, identity and history have been shaped by the voluntary and involuntary links and overlaps with other places and peoples. Yet, the global community chooses to be oblivious to these connections. Antigua's poverty is also created in part by transnational dealings which are uneven in its distribution of wealth. In order to borrow from Jeremy Seabrook, "The poor do not inhabit a separate culture from the rich. . .they must live in the same world that has been contrived for the benefit of those with money. And their poverty is aggravated by economic growth" (qtd. in Bauman, 1998, p.95). And at some point, the tourist may not be free of the consequences of an unfair stratification of global economy.

A Small Place exposes the legitimate and illegitimate transnational economic flows effecting modern-day Antigua: drug dealing, prostitution, wholesale selling of the island's land to Middle Eastern foreigners, money laundering, rising crime rate and the dominance of foreign power and influence on the island. Kincaid reports: "Some gambling casinos in the hotels are controlled by mobsters from the United States. . . If they benefit from the operation of these casinos, they—people in Antigua—cannot see in what way, except

for the seasonal employment it offers a few people" (p.60). She is distressed that in "the Antigua telephone directory, the Syrians and Lebanese have more business addresses and telephone numbers than any of the other surnames listed" (p.63). She also refers to the rampant corruption that transnational capitalism has generated: "Why can't the government of Antigua build its own government buildings? What is the real interest paid on these loans made to the government? And are the loans made to the government or are they really made to persons in the government but charged to the government?" (p.62). She wryly comments: ""But maybe there is no connection between the wonderful life that the Swiss lead and the ill-gotten money that is resting in Swiss bank vaults, maybe it's just a coincidence" (p.60). The glow of the wealth of others highlights local poverty. In the midst of this, Kincaid talks about her self and the other Antiguans who have been marginalised and unacknowledged in this whole process of globalization and change: "I cannot tell whether I was brought up by, and so come from, children, eternal innocents or artists who have not yet found eminence in a world too stupid to understand, or lunatics who have made their own lunatic asylum, or an exquisite combination of all three" (p.57).

The Antigua that emerges in the pages of Kincaid's book is a sad place, intensely beautiful in its scenery but poor and without a sense of direction and hope. Its people have become small-minded and extremely fatalistic. These vagabonds are an object of pity and ridicule by the tourists: "And you look at the things they can do with a piece of ordinary cloth, the things they fashion out of cheap, vulgarly coloured (to you) twine, the way they squat down over a hole they have made in the ground...their ancestors were not clever in the way yours were" (pp.16-7). Unfortunately, what we, the tourist, return home with after our travel, is a renewed sense of our superiority and a more enclosed view of the world.

CONCLUSION

A Small Place is a dramatic account of the experience of globalization. Globalization is the process of making the world into a single place but this process, Kincaid argues, is ambivalent. Her text calls for the importance of viewing the smaller places of the world against the larger, more powerful countries. Many of these small places have been swept aside and forgotten in the global whirlpool. Kincaid's ideas resonate with most of us. This is particularly so because Antigua is her cherished homeland and her love for the island nation is everywhere evident in her narrative. This small place has defined and shaped her and she laments that the current neglect of this nation has severed her and her people's sense of belonging to Antigua. Today, one's feelings of home necessarily extend into the global system of cultural interaction. When there is no dialogic exchange, feelings of self-worth, dignity and belonging are threatened. Kincaid asks then for there to be a greater consciousness of living in a world society. *A Small Place* throws us that challenge.

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Paradoxes of Malaysian Literature and "Collective Individuality" in Theorising National Identity

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ABSTRACT

After 56 years of Independence, Malaysia still continues to struggle with its efforts in constructing an amicable 'national identity.' The struggle especially centred on the 'one nation one language' policy, which later led to another contentious determinant of national identity, that of 'national literature.' Malaysian literature, due to the nation's colonial experience, consequentially falls under the category of 'postcolonial literature.' This comes with its attendant baggage of also being considered as *peripheral literature*, or *emergent literature*, or *Third World literature*. In other words, it is categorically *non-western* literature. The question this gives rise to is: which direction should Malaysian literature take in asserting a 'true' postcolonial identity? Should it continue to be one that insists on reinforcing the 'one nation one language' ideal with modern Malay literature (written by predominantly Malay writers) representing collectively the nation's identity? Or should it recognize those strong voices of dissent as the 'true postcolonial', those voices of (especially) non-Malay writers who insist on writing in the language of the coloniser (English)? This paper considers these positions by using the German Romantic ideal of "collective individuality" as its measure of how far Malaysian literature (represented by both modern Malay literature and Malaysian literature in English) has truly come to its own as worthy of being called 'postcolonial' literature. In doing so, the paper also highlights the problematic term 'national literature.'

Keywords: Collective individuality, national identity, German Romanticism, Romantic Idealism, Malaysian Literature, Postcoloniality, national literature, nationalism

INTRODUCTION

In truth, the East will probably always look up to the West. Perhaps it is inevitable for Malaysians who have undergone a

Western education to reflect on their national identities from a Western framework, and to ponder (through literature) on how different we are from the West, or how different our journey as a nation is. But when I decided to introduce 18th-century German Romantic Idealism to a discussion of Malaysia's local literary tradition, it was not my intention to glorify the European intellectual tradition. Nor is it my intention to evaluate local literary criticism by comparing it with the Western tradition.

This preponderance for the west is one that has been persistently highlighted by Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. According to Ho (2003), as the first Prime Minister who "did not study at elite schools or further his education in Britain," Mahathir has often alluded to the fact that the British did not only colonise Malaysia, but also the minds of its people—to the extent that 'west is always best.'

My own journey in tracing the development of a Malaysian literary tradition was incidental, as I explored modern Malay literature and Malaysian literature in English. Both genres exposed me to two different cultural experiences, taking me with them on a journey of two very different cultural ideologies as I investigated what the terms *nationalism* and *national identity* really mean, and why the definition of a *national literature* is so important. I find that the state of this divided nation relates closely to the circuitous polemics of *Bangsa Malaysia*[1] and *1Malaysia*.[2] The perceived polarised state of affairs of Malay literature

(also the national literature of Malaysia) and Malaysian literature in English can be argued to reflect the state of the nation's politics and national policies.

It would seem that the concepts of *Bangsa Malaysia* and *1Malaysia* were created as political strategies to address the conflict of a multi-ethnic nation such as Malaysia, that of the perpetually simmering suspicion[3] among the different ethnic groups in relation to on the one hand, ideas of *ethnic superiority*, or on the other, of *ethnic inferiority*.[4] Thus, *1Malaysia* became an attractive proposition. As Chin (2010) postulates, it "sounded…like political equality, inclusiveness, and an end to institutional racism since the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1971" (p.164).

It is through the study of these concepts that national concerns such as fairness in education and public housing, as well as fairness in "providing opportunities, recognising talents and achievements or contributions [of those who are deserving]" (Chin, 2010, p.165) can be highlighted. It is evident that the "thumbs up for 1Malaysia" is a signal that it is time for such concerns to be dealt with.

These concerns, which are fundamental concerns in the construction of a nation, have also infiltrated into creative and critical writings on Malaysian literature. At this juncture, it is interesting to note that the national literature (i.e. Malay literature) rarely tackles such concerns, giving rise to queries on its role in representing *national* concerns. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these

concerns have been mainly addressed by 'minority' voices (that of the non-Malay creative writers'), many of whom have deliberately chosen to write in English, rather than in the national language.[5]

In this paper, I postulate that both Malaysian literature in English and modern Malay literature, contrary to their apparently opposing stances in their perceived roles in the construction of the Malaysian nation, may not be that different after all. Both, although supposedly representing postcolonial literature, are found to still conform inadvertently to a Western framework and to pander to 'colonial' rather than 'postcolonial' discourse, thus giving rise to the question of how truly 'postcolonial' they truly are.

NATIONAL LITERATURE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: A GERMAN ROMANTIC IDEAL?

In a multicultural nation, the simmering suspicion of different ethnic groups towards each other is always in danger of boiling over. This "state of stable tension" (Shamsul, 2005, p.1) is one that is further aggravated by the polemics of a national 'ideal', through a so-called 'national identity.'

The Malaysian ideal of one nation that can be brought about by one language, one culture, and one literature, is one that is not new one, and is one that is rooted within a western ideal. It is framed within the German Romantic ideal of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Clearly, in the much discussed context of the recognition accorded to Malay literature as 'national literature', with the effect of marginalising other literatures including literature written in English, the bone of contention revolves around notions of 'national language' and 'national identity.' In other words, the heart of the matter has to do with the sense of belonging which relates the definition of national*ness*.

It is in consideration of this that I decided to borrow the concept of 'collective individuality' from the German Romantics. I find this concept useful in drawing attention to the nation's so-called postcolonial tension observed through its literature. I believe this notion is significant in unpacking the different manifestations of national culture and identity.

Curry and Goodheart (1991, pp.13-14) explained that the term 'individuality' (rather than 'individualism') was used by early German Romantics to attack Enlightenment ideas of "natural rights, uniformity, and reason." Rather, German Romantics "emphasised antirationalist factors—e.g. subjectivity, originality, multiformity, diversity and uniqueness. In addition, they stressed the importance of emotion, intuition, experience and irrationality (the unconscious) in understanding the meaning of life, the nature of society, and the significance of history."

> *By recognising the importance of history, the German Romantics thus emphasised the idea that societies were organic—characterised, that is, by change, growth, evolution and decline. Such a view not only precluded the existence of*

universal standards of judgment, as Enlightenment thinkers would have it, but emphasised the idea that history was the result of spiritual rather than material forces.

(Curry & Goodheart, 1991, pp.13-14)

This 'collective individuality' as described above was one which precluded the rationality of the Enlightenment period and embraced German Romanticism which promoted religion as a fundamental identity of German identity in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Similarly, in the construction of the Malaysian nation, the dominant ethnic group, the Malays, have also made religion the first fundamental determinant of their identity. The national Malay Islamic identity is promoted through the establishment of Islam as the official religion of Malaysia. Further, the centring of Islam as part of Malay national identity can be seen in government slogans such as "*Masyarakat Madani, Membangun bersama Islam dan Islam Hadhari*" (literally "Modern Society, Progress with Islam and Islam Hadhari") which worked as an official documentation of *Islam Hadhari* (civilised Islam) promoted under the former Prime Minister Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi's administration.

The purpose of such slogans may have been to promote the idea of 'civilised' Malaysians (and to enhance their civility) through Islamic values in creating the image of a moderate (rather than extremist) Islamic community. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi reminded the Malay Muslims of the importance of the Quran and the Hadith[6] as the basis of Islamic Civilization (Wan Mohd Nor, 2006, p.5), and that every aspect of a Muslim's life can be a form of *ibadah* (worship to God).

As such, a modern Malay identity is one whereby the Malays have become comfortable with recognising Islam as the guiding principle of their everyday life, and in which Islam is very much entrenched in the local culture of the Malays. Nevertheless, ironically, the progression of the Malays as a 'modern' and 'secular' community also continues with a growing number of Malays considering Islam as a private or personal practice, rather than communal.

The framing of notions of nationalism, national identity, and national character in Malaysian literature is at the centre of a colonial experience, and is rooted within an imperialist master discourse which carries with it a distinctively European idealism. This universalist European idealism has become the measure of the European nations' intellectual progress and is very characteristic of European intellectualism. Theoretically, the measure of nationalism captured in Malaysian literature is reliant on European idealism.

I move on to the next fundamental determinant of the German Romantic identity, which is found in the aspect of 'idealism.' This aspect helps to formulate understanding of the individual in relation to the state. Romantic Idealism expects the state as an institution to hold "higher

moral status than a mere collective of individual beings" (Knapp, 1995, p.207). Therefore, the state had to grant freedom to the individual but this freedom is considered "…an abstract inner freedom which in concrete dealings in the social sphere had to be realized by an adherence to the laws of the state" (Knapp, 1995, p.207). Furthermore, German Idealism promoted inner individual freedom, which, parallel with practical reason protected by the laws of the state (group of people), should lead to moral perfection rather than restriction of individual rights. Thus, the laws of the state must be general and must focus on only specific groups of individuals so that the state holds an outstanding moral status (Knapp, 1995).

Curry and Goodheart (1991) qualified this further, as follows:

If the romantics valued the individual and his right to freedom and self-development, they also stressed the importance of the group, which they 'considered a living organism whose laws of organisation placed the constituent individuals in a relation of mutual dependence.' This conception of the one and the many 'is distinctive and, for the western mind, remarkable.' The 'Western mind; tends to place the group and the individual in opposition—assuming that one of the two must have primacy. Thus romantic individualism, in contrast to the atomistic individualism so characteristic of Enlightenment thought, did not stress the subordination of the individual to the group but rather the coordination of the two. German romantics thus ascribed individualism not only to persons but to suprapersonal forces—e.g. the Volk, religions or nations.

(Curry & Goodheart, 1991, pp. 13-14)

Hence, 'collective individuality' basically underlines the fact that "a person could achieve individuality or self-expression only within the group or whole" (Curry & Goodheart, 1991). According to this idealism, an individual is dependent on the group to make up a whole and that "[i] dealism leads to the search for universal and eternal truths, separated from the profane necessities and contingencies of everyday life and the rest of society" (Knapp, 1995, p.208).

Obviously, this differs from the general truths sought by Enlightenment thinkers in that the latter focused on reason and individualism instead of tradition. As Bristow (2011) explains, the Enlightenment values of individualism and self-determination" manifested in a "distrust of authority and reliance on one's own capacity to judge" (n.p.). He adds that although it is "common to conceive of the Enlightenment as supplanting the authority of tradition and religious dogma with the authority of reason, in fact the Enlightenment is characterized by a crisis of authority regarding any belief" (n.p.).

I have thus far briefly given two fundamental determinants for consideration in exploring the thorny state of Malaysian national culture and identity (thorny due to the premise of Malay culture and literature as Malaysian *national* culture and literature). I have described earlier that an important determinant of Malaysian identity is that it is rooted in Islam. Another determinant is the concept of individual freedom that parallels practical reason to create an equal balance between the individual and the group. Clearly, the 'collective individuality' of the postcolonial Malaysian nation is fraught with the tension of religion and individual freedom which can be traced back to the state's depiction of high morals. Thus, the notion of 'collective individuality' can be concluded to have challenged both religion and individual freedom.

We must also be aware that German Romantic Idealism also had its negative consequences. In the German case, it was in the effect "Protestantism and idealism had on individual ethical responsibility" (Knapp, 1995, p.220). In extending the argument further, Max Weber (1971) concludes that the division between "religious and philosophical subjectivism" and the idea of "objectivism" (often taken for granted in modern society) essentially denotes that ethics become, in the end, simply a private matter (qtd. in Knapp, 1995, p.220). In consequence, the nation has to contend with collective individuality made up of "moralist[s] of conviction," or persons who cling to their "convictions quite independently of practical consequences of

[their] ideological motivation and moreover, quite independently of the consequences for other people" (Knapp, 1995, p.220).

Ironically, therefore, the result is a nation which will bow to "servility, blind obedience, dogmatism, inflexibility, and discrimination against others" (Knapp, 1995, p.220). Thus, Knapp cautioned us about "the shocking success of this ideology [which] resulted in the extremely subtle use of the anti-modern feeling" through the idealization or romanticizing of the idea of "community" or "people's community." Such romantic sentiments lead to the idea of the "community ideal," sliding critically further downwards into anti-modern and anti-progress attitudes which submit to a "totalitarian regime and to an enthusiastic acceptance of technology based on the idea of a 'strong state'" (Knapp, 1995, p.212), or on the attractive idea of a united state.

HISTORICISING MALAYSIAN LITERARY CRITICISM WITHIN POSTCOLONIALITY

Thus, the study of Malaysian literature inevitably starts with the historicisation process in mapping the historical and ideological specificities of the nation's literature which is used to define the nation and its national identity.

Nicholas Harrison (2003) considers the act of historicizing literary texts as the "bread and butter of postcolonial criticism" and that we need to "give adequate weight to the text in its individuality and 'literarity'" (p.2). The complex multi-faceted process of historicisation opens up possibilities of

reading a literary text ranging from being considered a "beautiful piece of writing" to it being "a bloody racist" piece (Harrison, 2003, p.2). This competing discourse is one that is faced by Malaysian literature, in the forms of both modern Malay literature and Malaysian literature in English.

In considering this state of affairs, I refer to two Malaysian literary texts (one written in Malay and the other written in English) presumed to be promoting opposing cultural ideologies: *Echoes of Silence* by Chuah Guat Eng (1994) and *Putera Gunung Tahan* by Ishak Haji Muhammad (1937)[7]. Ishak's novel was his reaction as a Malay writer troubled by the many British heroes found in his reading at that time and the apparent lack of Malay heroes in the local Malay literature. Thus, he made it a point to create Malay heroes in the novel. However, the novel, which Ishak considered as "a very satirical work, continuing many valuable moral lessons" (Ishak Haji Muhammad, 1980, p.xvi) soon passed "rapidly from [the] Malay heroes to its real task of chronicling how Mr Robert and Mr William tried to steal Mount Tahan from its ruler so that the British government could turn it into a hill station" (Ishak Haji Muhammad, 1980, p.xv).

Echoes of Silence, meanwhile, is a text that is considered as a thriller which takes us into the defamiliarisation mode as it works its way to solving a murder case. The novel's genre may have restrained the seriousness of postcolonial concerns within a text from both political and racial angles. The discovery of clues to a murder

in the novel leads to a more serious identity discovery going back to the significant date of 13 May 1969.

In historicizing this particular text, we need to find the historical significance of the discourse, and the consciousness of the time in which it is situated. After 1969, the 13 May Chinese-Malay conflict led to the government's more aggressive affirmative action policies, including the controversial New Economic Policy (NEP) with its focus on *Bumiputra*[8] rights. The novel can be read as a form of self-reflexivity of the protagonist's life in which the murder case works as a metaphor for the bloodshed on that emotional and frightening day (13 May 1969).

The process of historicization or historical contextualization positions the texts in their contexts of time. *The Prince of Mount Tahan* was written in the context of Pak Sako's own questions about the British exploration and interest in the hilltops of Malaya.

As Harry Aveling (1993) noted, *The Prince of Mount Tahan* is

> *...undoubtedly 'distinctively post-colonial': it foregrounds a tension with the imperial power and emphasizes the differences between the indigenous culture and the imperial power. It does this, in 1937, by using the devices of allegory, irony, and magical realism, if not perhaps discontinuous narrative, which...are 'characteristic of post-colonial writing.' Ishak's model for this was not, however, postmodern*

fiction, but an inversion of the British 'boys' weeklies' and their tales of brave English adventurers subduing hordes of savages in distant settings (online).

The novel does not only mock at the English but also criticizes the upper class Malays. At one level, the novel can be seen as an anti-colonial text which resisted the Empire, while also criticizing the feudalistic system. In terms of historicization, what is important is the specific historical circumstances that are relevant to postcolonial criticism. In contextualizing the texts in the study, a connection must be made on the "discourse, consciousness, and imperial politics" (Harrison, 2003, p.2).

MALAY LITERARY LITERATURE

I will start with modern Malay literature in considering the role of historicization in unravelling the content of history and the nation's unconscious. Modern Malay literature is currently energized through its intellectual connections to classical Malay literary works such as *Sejarah Melayu* (*The Malay Annals*) and *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (*Epic of Hang Tuah*). Studies on modern Malay literature, which aspire to carry on Malay ideals, national character, cast of mind and beliefs, argue that modern Malay literature "cannot fail to preserve its connection with classical Malay literature." What this means is that modern Malay literature should not "reject positive elements of classical Malay literature" (Hamdan Hasan, qtd. in Braginsky, 2004, p.3).

Vladimir Braginsky (2004) explains that:

The beginning of scholarly study of Malay Literature falls in the late eighteenth century-early nineteenth century, when, alongside other consequences, the expansionist colonial powers in Asian and African countries brought about a closer acquaintance of European civilizations. Among the factors conducive to the study of Malay Literature…was a keenness on 'Orientalism' and 'the wisdom of the East' so characteristic of the Epoch of Enlightenment, the discovery of the comparative method in philology, the flourishing of Romanticism, with its deep interest in exotic traditions that exerted an enormous influence on European spiritual culture, and scholarship (pp.4-5).

In tracing the literary evolution of traditional Malay Literature, Braginsky (2004) refers to a historical work by R.O. Windstedt published in 1939, which was "the first study ever to bear the title of a *history* of Malay Literature" (p.8). Braginsky (2004) points out that there exist both external and internal factors which influenced the Malay literary evolution, but which, according to him, show that internal factors are more significant than external ones.

Thus, a major weakness of Winstedt's work is that it focused especially on the

external factors, dismissing the social and ideological history of Malay literary texts, such as the "salient features of Malay aesthetics, ethical conceptions, and the religious grounds underpinning [the texts]" (p.9). Another major weakness highlighted by Braginsky (2004) is that Malay literary works with high standards could not have been composed during "the period of deep Islamization" (p.10). Braginsky's explanation of the factual and theoretical errors or weaknesses leads to heightened interest by contemporary Malay scholars to evaluate theoretical problems in Malay traditional literature. In explaining the inherent theoretical problematic of traditional Malay literature, Braginsky (2004) moves on to show how contemporary local Malay scholars of traditional literature made conscious effort to form their own models or approaches in tracing traditional Malay literary development. This is mostly done by ignoring Winstedt's "Orientalist" historical approach, and by centring on "synchronistic indistinctness", which further highlights "his 'ill-defined' categories (for instance his vague divisions of work into Hindu, Hindu-Muslim, and Muslim) (p.14). For Braginsky (2004), the most important consideration is the significance of Islam in the development of Malay literary genres and Malay ideas of literature.

The inherent theoretical element which was not highlighted by Winstedt in his study of traditional Malay literature has been much highlighted by Malay literary critics in their study of modern Malay literature. Perhaps what can be read from Braginsky's

(2004) observation is that the suppression of Islam in the text is made clear in the colonial textual interpretation. Meanwhile, modern Malay literature tends to contain themes inherent to Western literary structures (p.14).

Mana Sikana (1998), in tracing the literary criticism of modern Malay literature, asserts that it was only from the 1950s that there exists an observable Malay literary criticism (pp.61-86). He discovered that the earlier trend in literary criticism (of the 1930s) consisted mainly of pure condemnation and malicious attack on the writers. In the 1940s, the criticisms tended to centre on the formalistic approach which highlights theme, plot development, language use, and academic elements of criticism. Other than the formalist approach, there were some literary criticisms which heaped praise on the writers.

It was only in the 1950s that literary criticism became a means to social change, and began to be critical of current issues of the time. Active critics and practitioners of literature of that time formed the ASAS 50 group, which was then divided further into two groups: one that believed that literature should be *Seni untuk Masyarakat* (Art for Society) and the other that believed in *Seni untuk Seni* (Art for Art's Sake).

In the 1960s, criticism of modern Malay literature had begun to center on poetry and short stories. The 1970s then saw heightened interest in the use of western theory in Malay literary criticism. It was also in the 1970s that a growing interest in Islamic literature and a focus on Islam came

about (Mana Sikana, 1998). The inseparable connection between Malay identity and Islamic identity has meant that this interest in Islamic approaches to reading literature has continued until today.

MALAYSIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH (MLIE)

On the other hand, Aveling (1993) asserts that:

> *English literature in Malaysia maintains, at best, a precarious position. The rewards of publication, readership and prestige prizes in Malaysia belong to Malay literature, which is the creative writing proper to the National Language, the language of the schools and government (online).*

Thus it was that Malaysian writers writing in English faced an identity crisis due to a sense of rejection brought about by the definition of national literature which exclusively categorises literature written in languages other than Malay (including English) as ethnic/sectional literature. Since it is not technically accurate to classify literature in English as ethnic literature (since English is neither the mother tongue of any Malaysian ethnic group nor a local language, but rather a relic of the country's colonial past), local writers who pen their works in English are still looking for a "voice and identity," a sense of belonging, as well as a recognition of their contribution towards Malaysian literature.

According to Wong Phui Nam, "even if there were writers who thought about which language to write in, they may not be able to acknowledge that the choice wasn't really theirs to make" (qtd. in Shamsuddin Jaafar, 1997, p.84). Wong (qtd. in Shamsuddin Jaafar, 1997, p.84) elaborates on the dilemma faced by Malaysian writers writing in English:

> *By using English, we then realised that we became almost 'foreign'—not once 'removed', but thrice 'removed'…there was an incongruity between the way we thought and felt in the language we were using, and our respective traditions, not only in literature but also in terms of philosophy, religion, politics, scientific literature and other forms of writing that were commonly termed as belles lettres[9] (p.86).*

Wong (qtd. in Shamsuddin Jaafar, 1997, p.86) also argues that Malaysian literature in English has more in common with other literatures in the region than with English literature itself, denying that there "is a continuity, in any form, with the tradition of Shakespeare and Milton."[10] The angst of Malaysian writers who write in English like Wong himself is the regret in discovering that "whatever we write is considered 'sectional' and remains fringe literature."[11]

Despite persistent arguments by some nationalists opposing the right of Malaysian

literature in English to be recognized as national literature, as a genre, MLIE has gradually gained strength due to some policy changes made by the Malaysian government in recent years. This includes the reintroduction of literature in English as part of the secondary school curriculum. This move is in line with the government's growing concern of the declining standard of English in Malaysia and the move is seen as one of the recommended solutions.

To reconcile this position with the contesting position of English as an important language for Malaysia, and Malay language as the national language, or Malay literature as an important literature of the country, more effort has been taken to translate Malay literature into English. Interestingly, this re-introduction of literature in English has included the translated works in English written by Malay national laureates, such as Keris Mas's *Jungle of Hope* (the original Malay *Rimba Harapan*). Thus, MLIE as introduced to schools is defined to include works which were not originally written in English.

CONCLUSION

I have proposed that German Romantic ideals form fundamental determinants in the development of Malaysian 'national' literature. It is clear that central to the definition of a Malaysian national literature is the issue of race or ethnicity. National literature in the context of Malaysia has become an ethnocentric pursuit, revealing perpetual hang-ups about race. This reflects the state of the nation whereby Malaysia's national language (meant to be the symbol of a *Bangsa Malaysia* if we consider the 'one nation one language' policy) continues to be only associated with the majority ethnic group.

Perhaps this explains the general tone of pessimism in MLIE as MLIE was originally a space for writers (many of them non-Malay) to express their dissatisfaction of how a 'national literature' has purposefully excluded literatures written in all other languages of Malaysia, including English. To writers of MLIE (especially the early generation of writers), the issue of national language and literature reflects the division of the country into two categories—those who speak Malay and those who do not— further translated into those who are Malay and those who are not.

Nevertheless, not all MLIE writers share this sentiment. Chuah Guat Eng, in an interview with Muhammad A. Quayum (2007), presents a different viewpoint. She argues strongly for the need for a national language:

> *As a citizen, I believe with all my heart that we need a national language. I felt it most when I was in Germany, and had to go through the humiliation of having to admit that I can't speak my "mother tongue" (Chinese), that I am rather bad at my national language (Malay), and that the only language I can use with any degree*

of competence is the language of my former colonial masters (English).

(Quayum, 2007, p.147)

In view of a national literature that is defined by what the national language, Chuah explains that:

[a]s a writer, I can only write in the language I think in, which is English. Am I bothered by the fact that Malaysian literature in English is categorised as 'sectional' and not 'national' literature'? Not a bit. These words are only labels. If my writing has to be labelled, the last label I want for it would be 'national'.

(Quayum, 2007, p.147)

Interestingly, despite the supposedly marginalising of MLIE by the national language and national literature policy, the National Library chose *Between Lives* (a novel by KS Maniam, an early generation of MLIE writers) to represent Malaysia at the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award 2005, instead of any literary works written in Malay. As Bernard Wilson (2008) explains, the novel is

[an] exploration of the sacred spaces that connect ancestral heritages, competing histories and environment as a vision towards the rediscovery of a polymorphous self and the possibility of a nation. (p.409)

One of the biggest challenges faced by writers of Modern Malay Literature is to depict the multicultural reality of modern Malaysian life. This reality is rarely handled by these writers, with the majority of them choosing only to depict an ethnocentric reality populated with Malay characters, and issues that are seemingly of exclusive concern to Malay community.

Ungku Maimunah Mohd Tahir (1995, pp.62-63) explicates the state of modern Malay literature as one which she claims has been reduced to works written to "win competitions" organised by the government body responsible for the promotion of Malay literature as national literature. She elucidates that:

[t]he dynamics of racial relationships are rarely addressed in modern Malay literature, despite Malaysia being a multiethnic nation. Although there are works that address these matters, they are usually coloured by certain perceptions. Racial issues perceived in these works are portrayed in a positive light, depicting harmonious racial relationships manifested through interracial marriages, such as when non-Muslims embrace Islam, or adopted children (usually Chinese children raised by Malays) bring together two estranged families. Perceptions such as these can be clearly seen in the novel Interlok by Abdullah Hussain… This novel was submitted to the 10th Independence Day Novel Writing

Competition, and depicts racial relationships between the Malay, Chinese and Indian characters as being very tightly knit. Given the context of such a competition, maybe this perception of interracial harmony is not surprising (pp.62-63).[12]

Until Malaysia is ready to embrace the idea that to be truly 'postcolonial' is not simply an issue of language, efforts towards building a canonised Malaysian literature which is inclusive rather than exclusive will be in vain.

It is evident that the paradoxes of so-called 'postcolonial' narratives may be traced to the volatile definition of the term 'national' which can be perceived as at best *ethnocentric*, or at worst, *racist*. Following a western framework in defining a 'national' identity contradicts the ideal of a nation that should be built based on "collective individuality," or the collective experiences of its people. What this exploration has highlighted is perhaps the need to reconsider the suitability of a singular 'national' identity for a multilingual multicultural country like Malaysia. Such a concoction of nationalism is fraught with paradoxes, and therefore must reflect a more cosmopolitan ideal in order to work more seriously towards resolving the continual 'tension' of a constructed Malaysian national identity.

ENDNOTES

[1] The idea of a *Bangsa Malaysia* (literally 'Malaysian race', but loosely translated as Malaysian nation) was created by Mahathir Mohamad, who wanted to promote an inclusive national identity for all Malaysians, regardless of ethnicity.

[2] *1Malaysia* is a policy under Malaysia's current Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak. He explained that his "vision of 1Malaysia includes that of a nation whose people have enriched their lives through the pursuit of and a positive application of knowledge. A life-long education process which takes place in and outside of the classroom will produce Malaysians who are able to think and act less selfishly, and more for the community in which they live" (2009). Najib Tun Razak also operates with the slogan of "People First, Performance Now." See "Thumbs up for 1Malaysia" (2009).

[3] Shamsul AB in his article "Making Sense of National Unity in Malaysia: 'Break-down' versus 'break-out' perspectives" in *Readings on Ethnic Relations in a Multicultural Society: Promoting National Unity and Practice of Noble Values* (2005) defined this simmering suspicion as "stable tension."

[4] The privileges accorded to the Malays as Bumiputras (natives of the land) have continually become a bone of contention among the non-Malays, especially to the two other main ethnic groups, the Chinese and the Indians. Policies relating to such privileges are perceived as reinforcing the ethnic superiority of the Malays over other ethnic groups. Najib Tun Razak, in addressing this issue in the last general election (GE13), acknowledged that "there is a need for national reconciliation between Chinese and Malays."

[5] A pertinent point here is that Malay literature and Malaysian literature in English are taught as separate streams in many literature programmes at Malaysian universities.

[6] Sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad, p.b.u.h.

[7] Ishak was more popularly known by his pen name *Pak Sako*. The novel was later translated by Harry Aveling as *The Prince of Mount Tahan* (1983).

[8] The definition of *Bumiputra* as 'natives of the land' included the Malays and other indigenous groups, but excluded the major minority groups such as the Chinese and the Indians, hence causing the "simmering suspicion" or the "state of stable tension" (Shamsul AB) referred to earlier, to continue until today.

[9] Wong Phui Nam, in Shamsuddin Jaafar (1997, p.86), translated from the Malay: "[*d*]*engan menggunakan bahasa Inggeris, kami sekali gus menyedari bahawa kami menjadi 'terasing' oleh penggunaan bahasa itu – bukan sahaja sekali 'terasing', tetapi tiga kali 'terasing'... terdapat kejanggalan dalam cara kami berfikir dan merasakan dalam bahasa yang kami gunakan itu dan dengan tradisi kami masing-masing, bukan sahaja dalam kesusasteraan tetapi juga dari segi falsafah, keagamaan, politik dan ramalan-ramalan saintifik dan jenis tulisan yang lain yang biasanya digolongkan sebagai belles letters.*"

[10] Wong Phui Nam in Shamsuddin Jaafar (1997, p.86), translated from the Malay: "*tidak adanya kesinambungan, walau dalam bentuk yang rapuh sekalipun, dengan tradisi Shakespeare dan Milton.*"

[11] Wong Phui Nam in Shamsuddin Jaafar (1997, p.86), translated from the Malay: "*bahawa apa pun yang telah kami tulis atau akan kami tulis adalah dianggap sebagai tulisan 'sukuan' dan yang demikian ia merupakan sastera pinggiran.*"

[12] Translated from the Malay: "*...soal dinamika perhubungan kaum jarang sekali timbul dalam sastera Melayu moden walaupun Malaysia adalah masyarakat berbilang kaum. Tidak dinafikan ada karya yang membicarakan perkara ini tetapi ini biasnya diwarnai oleh persepsi yang tertentu. Persepsi tersebut rata-rata lebih senang menyingkap soal perkauman ini dari kaca mata yang positif dan menggambarkan perhubungan kaum yang harmonis yang dimanifestasikan melalui perkahwinan campuran apabila yang bukan Islam memeluk agama Islam, atau anak angkat (biasanya anak Cina yang dibela oleh orang Melayu) yang mengeratkanhubungan keluarga dari dua kaum ini. Contoh persepsi seperti ini jelas dilihat dalam novel Interlok karya Abdullah Hussain. Novel ini diajukan untuk menyertai Peraduan Menulis Novel 10 Tahun Merdeka dan menggambarkan perhubungan kaum Melayu, Cina dan India yang sangat erat. Bertolak dari konteks peraduan yang sedemikian, mungkin persepsi perkauman harmonis ini tidak menghairankan.*"

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Pertanika

Our goal is to bring high quality research to the widest possible audience

Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS
(Manuscript Preparation & Submission Guidelines)

Revised: February 2013

We aim for excellence, sustained by a responsible and professional approach to journal publishing.
We value and support our authors in the research community.

Please read the guidelines and follow these instructions carefully; doing so will ensure that the publication of your manuscript is as rapid and efficient as possible. The Editorial Board reserves the right to return manuscripts that are not prepared in accordance with these guidelines.

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Pertanika is an international peer-reviewed journal devoted to the publication of original papers, and it serves as a forum for practical approaches to improving quality in issues pertaining to tropical agriculture and its related fields. *Pertanika* began publication in 1978 as Journal of Tropical Agricultural Science. In 1992, a decision was made to streamline *Pertanika* into three journals to meet the need for specialised journals in areas of study aligned with the interdisciplinary strengths of the university. The revamped Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities (JSSH) aims to develop as a pioneer journal for the Social Sciences with a focus on emerging issues pertaining to the social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities, particularly in the Asia Pacific region. Other *Pertanika* series include Journal of Tropical Agricultural Science (JTAS); and Journal of Science and Technology (JST).

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We aim for excellence, sustained by a responsible and professional approach to journal publishing. Submissions are guaranteed to receive a decision within 12 weeks. The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 5-6 months.

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Pertanika is now over 33 years old; this accumulated knowledge has resulted Pertanika JSSH being indexed in SCOPUS (Elsevier), EBSCO, Thomson (ISI) Web of Knowledge [CAB Abstracts], DOAJ, Google Scholar, ISC, Citefactor, Rubriq and MyAIS.

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We are continuously improving access to our journal archives, content, and research services. We have the drive to realise exciting new horizons that will benefit not only the academic community, but society itself.

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Editorial Statement

Pertanika is the official journal of Universiti Putra Malaysia. The abbreviation for *Pertanika* Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities is *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. Hum.*

Guidelines for Authors

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Pertanika policy prohibits an author from submitting the same manuscript for concurrent consideration by two or more publications. It prohibits as well publication of any manuscript that has already been published either in whole or substantial part elsewhere. It also does not permit publication of manuscript that has been published in full in Proceedings. Please refer to Pertanika's **Code of Ethics** for full details.

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Pertanika accepts submission of mainly four types of manuscripts. Each manuscript is classified as **regular** or **original** articles, **short communications**, **reviews**, and proposals for **special issues**. Articles must be in **English** and they must be competently written and argued in clear and concise grammatical English. Acceptable English usage and syntax are expected. Do not use slang, jargon, or obscure abbreviations or phrasing. Metric measurement is preferred; equivalent English measurement may be included in parentheses. Always provide the complete form of an acronym/abbreviation the first time it is presented in the text. Contributors are strongly recommended to have the manuscript checked by a colleague with ample experience in writing English manuscripts or an English language editor.

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1. Regular article

Definition: Full-length original empirical investigations, consisting of introduction, materials and methods, results and discussion, conclusions. Original work must provide references and an explanation on research findings that contain new and significant findings.

Size: Should not exceed 5000 words or 8-10 printed pages (excluding the abstract, references, tables and/or figures). One printed page is roughly equivalent to 3 type-written pages.

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The paper should be formatted in one column format with at least 4cm margins and 1.5 line spacing throughout. Authors are advised to use Times New Roman 12-point font. Be especially careful when you are inserting special characters, as those inserted in different fonts may be replaced by different characters when converted to PDF files. It is well known that 'μ' will be replaced by other characters when fonts such as 'Symbol' or 'Mincho' are used.

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Swan and Kanwal (2007) reported that …
The results have been interpreted (Kanwal *et al.,* 2009).

   o References should be listed in alphabetical order, by the authors' last names. For the same author, or for the same set of authors, references should be arranged chronologically. If there is more than one publication in the same year for the same author(s), the letters 'a', 'b', etc., should be added to the year.

   o When the authors are more than 11, list 5 authors and then et al.

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Monographs: Kalimapour, Y.R. (2004). *Images of the U.S. Around the World: A Multicultural Perspective*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

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o *Proceedings*: Amir Awang. (2006). Counseling, human resources development and counseling services. In Sulaiman M. Yassin, Yahya Mat Hassan, Kamariah Abu Bakar, Esah Munji and Sabariah Mohd. Rashid (Eds.), *Proceedings of Asia Pacific Conference on Human Development* (p. 243-246). Serdang: Universiti Putra Malaysia.

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5. The executive editor sends the revised paper out for review. Typically, at least one of the original reviewers will be asked to examine the article.

6. When the reviewers have completed their work, the executive editor in consultation with the editorial board and the editor-in-chief examine their comments and decide whether the paper is ready to be published, needs another round of revisions, or should be rejected.

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Pertanika is an international multidisciplinary peer-reviewed leading journal in Malaysia which began publication in 1978. The journal publishes in three different areas — Journal of Tropical Agricultural Science (JTAS); Journal of Science and Technology (JST); and Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (JSSH).

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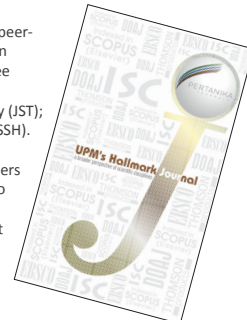
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