



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

**COMPARISON OF IDEOLOGIES, DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND
POWER IN THE TWEETS OF TWO POLITICAL LEADERS IN ASIA**

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By

RENUGAH RAMANATHAN

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, in
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts**

April 2017

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

My dear grandparents

&

My loved ones



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

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April 2017

Chairman : Associate Professor Shamala Paramasivam, PhD
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It is worth noting that much discourse studies have been conducted on political discourse in social media focusing on politician's activities, leadership skills and active participation on Twitter. However, little research has been done on discourse of political leaders in Asia on their power in use and identity. In relation to this, it could be said that discourse of political leaders in Asia has got various cultural and political significance because of its authenticity role in shaping the life of the Asian communities. The scarcity of research on Asian politicians and microblog has prompted the researcher to highlight the ideologies and discursive strategies in the discourse of Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak (henceforth, Najib) from Malaysia and Prime Minister Narendra Modi (henceforth, Modi) from India on Twitter during the national elections. The universality of the Asian leaders stem from their influential ideologies and discursive strategies that have effected their discourse and the citizens.

This study aims to conduct a critical discourse analysis to investigate the various political ideologies and discursive strategies that are presented in the tweets of Najib and Modi during national elections and a comparison of power and identity between Najib and Modi is done to perceive the collective experience between the politicians and citizens in building a unified nation. For this purpose, Najib and Modi election tweets were chosen to be analysed in this study. The objective of choosing the election tweets is due to a higher content of ideologies that is disseminated to the citizens.

The emerging topics were discovered through Yule and Brown (1983) topic framework. To uncover the embedded ideologies in the tweets Van Dijk's (2004) Categories of Ideological Analysis were utilized in this study. Besides, metaphors and speech acts were identified through Group (2007) Metaphor Identification Procedure and Searle (1979) speech act categories. Furthermore, metaphors and speech acts were semantically

categories into Wodak's (2005) Discursive Strategies for Positive Self-Presentation and Negative Other-Presentation.

The findings of the analysis showed that the utilization of Van Dijk's ideological categories; positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation and national glorification were closely related to the ideologies embedded. The ideologies such as democracy, unity, technological elections and economic were explored and discussed. The ideological analysis also manifested that Najib and Modi have formed their own social identities during the national elections through the employment of certain linguistic forms such as the usage of Us which emphasizes on the in-groups and Them to portray the out-group. With the help of Van Dijk's ideological categories, topics that emerged throughout the elections campaigns in Malaysia and India were spotted; international recognition, employability, social-economics and leadership of women.

Wodak's (2005) discursive strategies were utilized to perceive social, political and physiological aspects during the national elections. Searle's speech acts; commissives and directives were collaborated with Wodak's discursive strategies to strengthen the intended meaning of the tweets and to provide citizens with information on different social, politics and cultural issues. Besides, the usage of metaphors are found in the tweets of both the political leaders which presented the way language is used figuratively to describe the citizens and the politicians. The metaphors which were spotted were in relation to concept of nation building; Election is Building and Election is a Journey which depicts the theme of nation construction.

Through the discourse of Najib and Modi, it can be perceived that consensual power is employed by Najib and Modi throughout the national elections. This is because the citizens accept the ideologies disseminated via discourse thus making the elections a success. The differences between the discourse of Najib and Modi is observed through the identity of nationalism. The depiction of the concept nationalism varies in terms of culture between both the countries. In Malaysia, the concept of nationalism is depicted through the unity of the three major races while in India nationalism is portrayed among the Indians. Hence, the election campaigns were successful in Malaysia and India through the consensual power between the leaders and the citizens.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sastera

PERBANDINGAN IDEOLOGI, STRATEGI DISKURSIF DAN KUASA DALAM TWIT DUA PEMIMPIN POLITIK DI ASIA

Oleh

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Wajar diperkatakan bahawa banyak kajian wacana telah dijalankan ke atas wacana politik dalam media sosial yang memfokuskan aktiviti ahli politik, kemahiran kepimpinan dan penglibatan aktif ke atas Twiter. Walau bagaimanapun, kurang penyelidikan telah dijalankan ke atas wacana pemimpin politik di Asia mengenai kuasa wacana dan identiti mereka. Dalam hubungan ini, dapatlah dikatakan bahawa wacana pemimpin politik di Asia mempunyai pelbagai kepentingan kebudayaan dan politik kerana keautentikan peranan wacana dalam membentuk kehidupan sesebuah komuniti. Kekurangan penyelidikan ke atas ahli politik dan mikroblog Asia mendorong penyelidik untuk menyoroti ideologi dan strategi diskursif dalam wacana Perdana Menteri Najib Tun Razak (seterusnya, Najib) dari Malaysia dan Perdana Menteri Narendra Modi (seterusnya, Modi) dari India ke atas Twiter semasa pilihan raya kebangsaan. Universaliti pemimpin Asia bermula daripada ideologi berpengaruh dan strategi diskursif mereka yang memberikan kesan kepada wacana dan rakyat mereka.

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menjalankan sebuah analisis wacana kritikal bagi menyelidiki pelbagai ideologi politik dan strategi diskursif yang dipaparkan dalam twit Najib dan Modi semasa pilihan raya kebangsaan dalam negara masing-masing dan perbandingan kuasa dan identiti antara Najib and Modi telah dijalankan bagi mengamati pengalaman kolektif antara kedua-dua ahli politik tersebut dan rakyat dalam membina sebuah negara bersatu. Bagi tujuan ini, twit pilihan raya Najib dan Modi telah dipilih untuk dianalisis dalam kajian ini. Twit pilihan raya tersebut dipilih disebabkan kandungan ideologinya yang tinggi yang telah disebarkan kepada rakyat semasa kempen pilihan raya.

Kemunculan topik telah diselidiki melalui kerangka kerja topik daripada Yule dan Brown (1983). Bagi merungkaikan ideologi tersirat dalam twit tersebut, Kategori Analisis

Ideologikal oleh Van Dijk (2004) telah digunakan dalam kajian ini. Di samping itu, metafora dan lakuan pertuturan telah dikenal pasti melalui Prosedur Identifikasian Metafora oleh Group (2007) dan kategori lakuan pertuturan oleh Searle (1979). Tambahan pula, metafora dan lakuan pertuturan secara semantik telah dikategorikan menggunakan Strategi Diskursif Wodak (2005) bagi Pemaparan Kendiri Positif dan Pemaparan Lain Negatif.

Dapatan analisis menunjukkan bahawa utilisasi kategori ideologikal Van Dijk; pemaparan sendiri positif, pemaparan lain negatif dan glorifikasi kebangsaan amat berkait rapat dengan ideologi tersirat. Ideologi seperti demokrasi, perpaduan, pilihan raya teknologikal dan ekonomi telah diterokai dan dibincangkan. Analisis ideologikal juga menunjukkan bahawa Najib dan Modi telah membentuk identiti sosial masing-masing ketika pilihan raya kebangsaan melalui penggunaan beberapa bentuk linguistik, seperti penggunaan Kita yang menekankan dalam kumpulan dan Mereka bagi menggambarkan luar kumpulan. Dengan bantuan kategori ideologikal Van Dijk, topik yang muncul di sepanjang kempen pilihan raya di Malaysia dan di India telah dikesan; pengiktirafan antarabangsa, kebolehpasaran, sosial ekonomi dan kepimpinan wanita.

Strategi diskursif oleh Wodak (2005) telah digunakan untuk menanggapi aspek sosial, politik dan psikologikal semasa kempen pilihan raya kebangsaan. Lakuan pertuturan Searle; komisif dan direktif telah dikolaborasikan dengan strategi diskursif Wodak bagi memperkukuh makna sebenar twit dan bagi menyediakan rakyat dengan maklumat tentang isu sosial, politik dan budaya yang berbeza. Tambahan lagi, penggunaan metafora telah didapati dalam twit kedua-dua pemimpin politik yang memaparkan cara bahasa yang digunakan secara figuratif bagi menerangkan perihal rakyat dan pemimpin. Metafora yang dikesan adalah yang berkaitan dengan konsep pembinaan negara; Pilihan Raya ialah Pembangunan dan Pilihan Raya ialah Kemajuan yang Berterusan yang memperlihatkan tema pembangunan negara.

Melalui wacana Najib dan Modi, dapatlah dikatakan bahawa kuasa konsensual telah dilaksanakan oleh Najib dan Modi di sepanjang pilihan raya kebangsaan. Hal ini disebabkan rakyat menerima ideologi tersebut yang disebarkan melalui wacana, yang menyebabkan pilihan raya berjaya. Perbezaan antara wacana Najib dan Modi telah diperlihatkan melalui identiti nasionalisme. Gambaran konsep nasionalisme berbeza dari segi budaya antara kedua-dua negara tersebut. Di Malaysia, konsep nasionalisme telah diperlihatkan melalui perpaduan ketiga-tiga bangsa utama manakala di India nasionalisme telah digambarkan dalam kalangan orang India. Oleh sebab itu, kempen pilihan raya telah berjaya di Malaysia dan di India melalui kuasa konsensus antara pemimpin dan rakyat.

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This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BN	Barisan Nasional
BJP	Bharatia Janarta Party
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
MLE	Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions
SSAT	Searle's Speech Act Theory
TNYT	The New York Times
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
PM	Prime Minister

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Language can be traced back to centuries when it was originally used by the human species for the purpose of communication in oral and spoken forms. Eventually, the mode of communication as a process to disseminate messages has developed from oral to digital media communication as it is strongly influenced by the occurrence of computers and the Internet in the early 1990s. The drastic changes in communication have brought about a great impact on time, space and language because of the flexibility, accessibility and instantaneity afforded by the digital domain. As digital media started gaining popularity in the 21st century, world leaders and politicians had begun manipulating social media platforms, for example Facebook, MySpace and Instagram to transmit and disseminate information instantly to a massive number of netizens around the globe. Social media is pervasively employed because of its unique features such as virtuality, digitality, convergency, interactivity and hypertextuality (Chen & Zhang, 2010). This rapid development has radically transformed the medium of communication, whereby language has evolved from a basic purpose of communication to something beyond text and talk (Mccarthy & Carter, 2014). Hence, communication via social media has become significant in various cross cultural fields, especially in political discourse.

Employing a digital medium is not a new phenomenon in political communication; in fact, politics made its first appearance on digital media during the mid-1990s in party websites, and the first candidate to have a political website was Senator Dianne Feinstein from the United States of America in 1994. In recent years, Twitter has blossomed as a tool for interaction and sharing of information during the electoral campaigns (Grusell & Nord, 2012). Apparently, the dynamic power of Twitter plays a vital role in conveying messages to readers although only 140 characters are used to broadcast tweets. Unlike news media and other platforms of social media, Twitter produces a continuous stream of messages that enables readers to comprehend messages instantly (Borau et al., 2009). The emergence of Twitter as a microblogging site has appeared to be one of the most successful tools used in the presidential elections in the United States of America (Tumasjan et al., 2010) and in other advanced countries.

This powerful platform infiltrated the realm of politics on 30th April 2007, when the administrative organizing staff managing the official Twitter account of the then President of the United States of America, President Barack Obama, tweeted: Thinking we are only one signature away from ending the war in Iraq. This particular tweet has been retweeted 659 times, indicating that it was one of the most famous tweets when Twitter was first employed in political discourse. Political discourse is indeed studied across disciplines whereby political issues are analysed to discover actions, practices and discourse within the context (Van Dijk, 1997). One such political activity which requires

the participation of political actors and citizens is the decision making process, commonly known as the electoral campaign. The electoral campaign has been constantly associated to the decision-making process in which the citizens exercise their rights in voting for the most capable party to govern the nation. Electoral campaigns constitute major events such as polling and political propaganda which are bound to occur in digital medium platforms, especially on microblogs like Twitter.

As far as discourse is concerned on Twitter, the preciseness of texts has empowered Twitter users to ceaselessly battle in comprehending displayed texts. The occurrence of the 140 characters on Twitter denotes various ways in which language is perceived by netizens. Discourse on Twitter shapes the mind of citizens in ways that manipulate their cognitive perspectives. However, the exhibition of embedded intentions and various interpretations portrayed through the text remain obscure, although the 140 characters signify multiple meanings (Fairclough, 1992). Having understood the development of language and the political emergence on Twitter, this study uncovers the ways in which political figures dominate and shape the minds of citizens in attaining success throughout their electoral campaigns. Hence, the focus of this study is to investigate and compare the aspects of language in the election tweets of two distinguished political figures in Asia, namely Prime Minister Najib Razak (henceforth, Najib) from Malaysia and Prime Minister Narendra Modi (henceforth, Modi) from India. The aspects of language that are simultaneously explored include ideologies and discursive strategies which are employed in the tweets during the electoral campaigns. Significantly, the investigation and comparison on the aspects of ideologies and discursive strategies of Najib and Modi are prominent as the political discourse on Twitter becomes more realistic and this portrays how power is employed in their tweets to disseminate information.

The fame of Najib and Modi as global and political figures stem from the ideological stances. A particular question that can arise is how ideologies are embedded in the discourse of both the political leaders during the national elections which has inspired the citizens to make the election a success. Thus, the present study can be answered by delving into their practice of ideologies and power upon the citizens in gaining victory.

1.2 Problem Statement

Political discourse is regarded as the process of interaction which is used by political figures to express their feelings, thoughts and beliefs (Jorgenson and Phillips, 2002) in the political domains. Research in the area of political discourse has traditionally focused on various domains ranging from political speeches in media to political debates in cyberspace. In fact, numerous studies have investigated political discourse in the realm of cyberspace, especially in news websites and blogs (McKenna & Pole, 2004; Gong, 2011; Wojcieszak & Mutz, 2009; Kelly, 2005; Adamic & Glance, 2005; Koop & Jansen, 2009; Yano & Smith, 2009; Park et al., 2009). These studies primarily focused on the political deliberation which is used as a mode to disseminate information to the citizens. The ultimate role of politicians are highlighted to portray the politicians' domination and power abuse over the public sphere.

A significant amount of research has been conducted in the province of media which explored the relationship between the aspects of language and principles as it represents broader social and cultural conditions (Zhang, 2014; Ahmadian & Farahani, 2014; Bilal et al.,2012; Azad, 2013; Mayasari et al.,2013; Fauzan et al.,2014; Alo & Ajewole-Orimogunje, 2013). In fact, political discourse in media is a form of apparatus in conveying covert ideological notions and it uncovers accumulative meanings which are hidden from the view of readers.

A considerable amount of research has been carried out in other social media domains. For example, Facebook examined the political communication of numerous political leaders. Politicians who are contesting for political events have employed social networking sites to engage with the voters, pursue activist causes and share information. Kushin and Kitchener (2009) argued that politicians and users of Facebook posts with profanities may lead to uncivilized interaction or undemocratic ideologies. Besides, political discussions on Facebook provides lengthy opinions and discussions which are time consuming to users as readers tend to go astray. Robertson, Vatrappu & Medina (2010) claimed that participation on Facebook decreases due to the lengthy discussions and inconsistent followers.

Although various studies have been carried out in the domains of social media e.g Facebook, there has been limited studies focusing on political discourse in Twitter, hence this gap needs to be filled (Kushin and Kitchener, 2009). Twitter is chosen as a platform to investigate the tweets of two prominent figures in Asia due to the reason that Twitter networks ideas and topics of real-time communication which other social media platforms neglect. In addition to that, Twitter allows political leaders to communicate directly to the citizens in order to obtain direct feedback that strengthens their citizens' responsiveness towards political tweets (Allington and Peele, 2010). Moreover, the instantaneity of Twitter permits tweets to be disseminated within seconds as people who follow important topics and conversations are notified in an instance. Besides, another advantage of Twitter in the political domains is the authenticity of events which are synchronous to users in disseminating information.

This study focuses on the political tweets of two prominent leaders in Asia namely Najib and Modi during the electoral campaigns. The purpose of selecting both of these political figures are based on their active participation on Twitter (Twiplomacy, 2015). As electoral campaigns help political leaders to engage with citizens about their ideas and opinions, it is crucial that these campaigns are investigated because election campaigns aid the understanding of how Najib and Modi as political leaders communicate with citizens in disseminating their ideologies. This study focuses on the comparison of two political leaders in Asia as Najib and Modi are active Twitter users who have emerged as successful leaders during their respective national elections. Besides, being Asian leaders, Najib and Modi share bilateral issues which has formed a political relationship. Hence, this political tie has triggered this study to explore power and identity. Investigating their ideologies and discursive strategies provides a ground to understand how both leaders have influenced their citizens through their discourse on Twitter.

1.3 Research Aims and Questions

Electoral campaigns in Malaysia and India have become prominent events in the political domains as these campaigns are believed to convey various intentions and hold implicit interpretation through the manifestation of discourse in the tweets of Najib and Modi. Hence, the aim of the present study is to investigate the ideologies and discursive strategies of both Asian leaders to show how power was employed in influencing citizens. Bearing this notion in mind, this study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. To investigate the embedded ideologies in the tweets of Najib and Modi during the election campaigns.
2. To explore the various discursive strategies employed in the tweets of Najib and Modi during the election campaigns.
3. To reveal the use of power in the tweets of Najib and Modi during the national elections.

Thus, the current study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the ideologies reflected through the tweets of Najib and Modi during their electoral campaigns?
2. What are the discursive strategies employed in the tweets of Najib and Modi during their electoral campaigns?
 - a) What are the types of metaphorical linguistic expressions found in the tweets of Najib and Modi during their electoral campaigns?
 - b) What are the categories of speech acts employed in the tweets of Najib and Modi during their electoral campaigns?
 - c) What are the common topics found in the tweets of Najib and Modi during their electoral campaigns?
3. How is power reflected in the discourse of Najib and Modi during their electoral campaigns?

1.4 Theoretical Background

This study is mainly guided by four theoretical moves which are Fairclough's Three-dimensional Approach to Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992), Searle's Speech Act Theory (1979), Categories for Ideological Analysis (Van Dijk, 2004), and Discursive Strategies (Wodak, 2005).

1.4.1 Fairclough's Approach to Discourse Analysis

In this study, social theory of discourse is linguistically-oriented as it aims towards analysing social and political events in society. In this theory, discourse is viewed as a social practice which establishes power between political leaders their citizens. This theory leads to the emergence of various ideological practices in society which exhibits

power in discourse and signifies various world views from different perspectives. Fairclough (1992) proclaimed that “language use in society is a form of social practice rather than an individual activity” (p.63). This notion is associated with the occurrence of power and ideology in a social context. Political practitioners portray propositions which are essential in their social context and the exhibited propositions generally contain power which leads to the presence of ideas.

In line with this theory, Fairclough (1992) has formulated a three-dimensional model in discourse which includes three phases of analyses; text, discursive practice and social practice. These aspects are linked to semiotics as interpretations are produced to explain the existence of certain phenomenon and highlight the discursivity of discourse. Generally, the three-dimensional framework aims at introducing principles which are challenging as these principles are best understood when the text is interconnected to social context. The first dimension in the three-dimensional framework is the presence of text that makes textual analysis possible. Textual analysis is used as a method to analyse linguistic features (Fairclough, 1992). As language comes with a package of various linguistic features, tweets become complex and technical as each lexical unit possesses specific characteristics. Therefore, Fairclough divided these linguistic features under four main categories which are vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (Fairclough, 1992; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In the electoral campaign tweets, texts are linguistically analysed in terms of vocabulary to distinguish their discursivity.

The relationship between the tweets and social practice is bridged by the discursive practice which is the second aspect in this theory. Discursive practice is the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts which are shaped by social practice (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Thirdly, social practice contributes to the system of knowledge and belief as it leads to other outcome of language such as the production of identity in the ideological aspect. Moreover, emphasis on the dialectical relationship exhibits the relationship between the social phenomena and the emerging ideas. Interpretation of the outcome of language which is relevant to the political events are distinguished to portray an in-depth understanding of the particular political event.

1.4.2 Searle’s Speech Act Theory

In this study, Searle’s speech act theory (henceforth, SSAT) is addressed in the fourth research question. Speech acts focus on utterances including face-to-face communication and other forms of linguistics interaction. However, Searle’s speech acts focus on propositions of speeches in specific situation and context rather than isolating the meaning of words and sentences. The main notion of SSAT is to produce knowledge in the field of discourse that conveys information to the readers on how utterances take form as an action to accomplish tasks. This theory creates an opportunity for readers to interpret lexical choices and large portions of phrases in texts to represent denotation beyond the intended meaning, which is also known as the illocutionary act (Recanati, 1987; Searle, 1979; Pandey, 2008).

According to SSAT, the propositions uncovers the language used in a social phenomena which in turn sheds light on their utterances and intentions. Ultimately SSAT illustrates the actions of the speakers through their discourse to develop a detailed interpretation of the performed actions (Searle, 1979). Moreover, SSAT emphasizes the intended meaning in the utterances as the actions portrayed in each texts produce comprehensive meaning that is obscure to the readers.

There are different types of speech acts which are further classified into five taxonomies which are assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declarative. These taxonomies perceive how language is employed by speakers which influenced listeners to a social event a success. The illocutionary act of assertiveness deals with the truth and falsity of a proposition. The directive speech act portrays the actions performed by speaker towards the listener. Meanwhile, the commissive speech act portrays speaker's commitment towards future actions or plans. Moving on, the expressive speech act exhibits the psychological state of the speaker in conveying certain propositions. Lastly, the declarative speech act shows the immediate change of the situation (Searle, 1969).

Hence, in Searle's speech acts, understanding the intended meaning conveyed by the speaker is essential as this enables the listeners to capture the gist of the discourse. The use of (Wierzbicka language to uncover hidden acts of what it conveys to the listener is significant as discourse portrays the ability of the listener and the speaker to execute the particular acts through discourse, 1998).

1.4.3 Van Dijk's Discourse Structure

Van Dijk (2004) proposes an explicit theoretical framework whereby illustrations of categories in the internal structure of discourse provides the ability to explore a variety of ideologies in political discourse. Van Dijk believes that these significant categories of CDA provides insights on the mental mode of social actors who perform acts in convincing the citizens to vote for them. The major categories proposed by Van Dijk (2004) include positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Besides, this theoretical framework is helpful in gaining insights on how politicians communicate with citizens in helping them to succeed in their elections.

1.4.4 Wodak's Discursive Strategies

Wodak's (2005) discursive strategies are concerned with the concept of power and ideologies. The term 'strategy' generally refers to intentional purposes and practices involving discursive practices that discourse users need to attain, regardless of political, social, psychological or linguistic aspects. Wodak further identifies five discursive strategies which are systematically employed at different linguistic levels and these strategies are characterized by their different linguistic level organization and complexity. These strategies are referred to as referential nomination, predication,

argumentation, perspectivation and intensification/mitigation. In relation to the objectives of this study, the discursive strategies of predication and perspectivation are accommodated to help explore the concealed ideologies in the discourse.

This study merges Van Dijk's categories of ideological analysis (positive-self representation and negative-other representation) with Wodak's discursive strategies of perspectivation and predication to form the analytical framework of ideologies for the analysis of data.

1.4.5 Simpson and Mayrs' Power

Central to the concept of CDA, a prominent notion that is widely discussed in CDA is the subject of power. The idea of power has often been referred to the relationship between an individual and the institution whereby power is undoubtedly exercised. In relation to the domains of power, Fairclough (1989), Van Dijk (1995) and Simpson and Mayr (2010) posit that power is somewhat a possession that belongs to an institution, a group of people or an individual as its sole purpose is to oppress, constrain or influence the less powerful. Gramsci (1999) argues that apart from oppression and repression by the dominant group, power is regarded as a mechanism that is employed by the dominant group in persuading the powerless group to accept the power-holder's moral values and political beliefs a.k.a hegemony. In regards to the notion of power by Gramsci (1999), power occurs between the power-holder and the powerless on the basis of active consent between both parties (Simpson & Mayr, 2010).

Van Dijk (1996) refers social power to the form of control which is exercised by a group of people in constraining the absolute freedom or actions of subordinate group through the influence of knowledge, ideologies and attitudes. In the domain of politics, power is constantly referred to political actors who exercise control and dominance on social groups. The use of dominance in democratic countries or societies however often supports "persuasion and manipulation" (Van Dijk, 1996, p.85) rather than emphasizing on absolute force directly towards the powerless.

According to Simpson and Mayr (2010) there are two traditions to the understanding of power; mainstream and second stream power. In the mainstream tradition power is seen as dominance or control by an actor "to secure the compliance of others" (pg. 2). Meanwhile, the second stream tradition views power as consensual where power "is jointly produced because people are persuaded and led to believe that dominance is legitimate" (pg.2). Hence, it is perceived that power can dominate, persuade and manipulate society.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The theoretical insights involved in this study aforementioned in the sections above are: Three-dimensional Model Approach of Discourse Analysis (1992), Speech Act Theory (1979), Categories of Ideological Analysis (Van Dijk, 2004) and Discursive Strategies (Wodak, 2005). The four theoretical moves were chosen in this study to investigate the ideologies, discursive strategies and power of Najib and Modi throughout the elections (see figure 1.1).

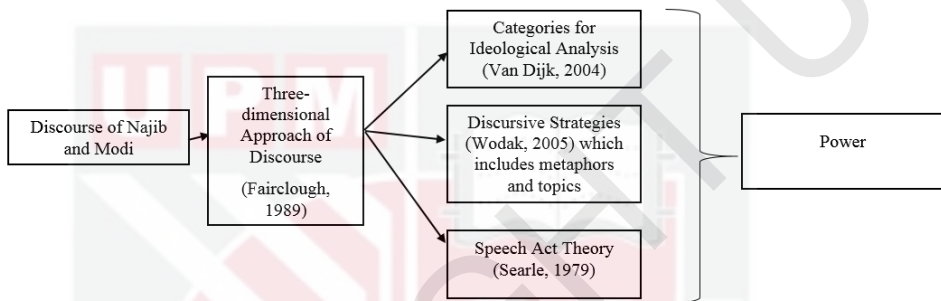


Figure 1.1 : Conceptual Framework of the Study

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study seeks to investigate the election tweets of Modi and Najib in the aspects of topics, ideologies, metaphors and speech acts. Prominently, language portrays a fundamental role in establishing multiple denotations about a social phenomenon, especially in issues pertaining to political agendas such as the electoral campaigns. The significance of the study lies in its attempt to establish how language is perceived from different aspects which uncovers the obscure notions of Najib and Modi who perpetuate social power during their electoral campaigns.

The portrayal of language in four different ways throughout the election campaigns provide explanations and justification on how discourse dominates and manipulates the society from a specific perspective. The identification of ideologies and discursive strategies such as metaphors and speech acts and topics expose how language is employed by Najib and Modi to attract the citizens and to succeed in the national elections. Besides, the revelation of specific intentions in the 140-character limit shows the importance of Twitter in conveying messages to the Twitteraties.

The electoral campaign is a fascinating political event to note the various types of ways in which language is projected in tweets. The linguistic means in the tweets of Najib and Modi focus on the perception of national elections as this study evokes a positive perception of the entire concept of elections. Besides, the outcomes of this study will further contribute to the existing literature and body of knowledge on the understanding of human cognition and the particular concepts pertaining to the nations' electoral background. This study, along with its analysis on the emerging ideologies and discursive strategies in its modest way will contribute to the field of discourse and political studies and further stimulate research to be undertaken in these domains.

1.7 Operational Definitions

Familiarity of the following key terms will help readers to follow references of these particular terms as they are utilized throughout the study.

Conceptual Metaphor

Conceptual metaphor is a figurative language in which one idea is understood in terms of another. In relation to the conceptual metaphors, linguistic expressions are employed as tools to process basic information which are structured metaphorically (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Conceptual metaphors have two particular domains which are the: Source domain and target domain from which the metaphorical linguistic expressions are mapped (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The mapping from the target domain to source domain is made to provide related thoughts, experiences and knowledge which draws ideas on what the target domain means.

Discursive Strategies

Discursive strategies are concerned with the effects upon how readers understand the action of others in a social context (Wodak, 2005). Besides, discursive strategies are mainly concerned with the macro strategy aspect which consists of the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Wodak, 2005). Discourse involving discursive strategies often involve aspects of language to meet certain ends regardless of the social, political, psychological or linguistic aspects.

Ideology

The notion of ideology is associated to norms, values, beliefs, knowledge, and the truth of politicians in the domain of politics. The formation of ideologies is characterized according to the mental representations of political premiers that ultimately highlights the identity of social actors (Van Dijk, 2002a). Prominently, ideology is rooted in political discourse, and this creates variable meanings to an idea expressed in a specific context (Fairclough, 2013). The ideological meaning conveyed through a sentence or word reflects the sense that is beyond the literal meaning that requires criticality.

Political Discourse

Political discourse can be regarded as the text and talk of political figures (Van Dijk, 1997) around the globe discussing and resolving critical issues or phenomena. The analysis of discourse and politics are related in terms of political structures and processes that portrays the mental representation of the particular actor in political institutions (Van Dijk, 2002b). Traditionally, political discourse is highly rhetoric as it contains elements and strategies that are employed to attack opposite parties through debates, forums, speeches, elections and hearings which have shaped power abuse and dominance. Significantly, political discourse is viewed as political action, whereby verbal and written communication is accomplished through the doing of politics.

Power

Power provides authority to the actors to dominate citizens legitimately. Power can be viewed in two domains which are mainstream and second stream power (Simpson & Mayr, 2010). Mainstream power is often regarded as power by dominance whereby power is exercised by autonomous institution. The second stream power is regarded as power by consent whereby political actors influence citizens to accept their ideologies amenably.

Speech Acts

Speech acts are sets of verbs which are often embedded in the utterances of a speaker whose discourse is directed to the listener (Searle, 1979). Moreover, speech acts are believed to function as the use of language in a specific situation, intention of the speaker and interaction of the speaker and the listener in a social context. However, the emphasis on illocutionary speech acts is essential as it enables listeners to perceive the intended meaning of the speaker. Significantly, Searle's speech act categories consist of five different types of taxonomies which are assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declarative (Searle, 1979).

Topics

Topics are commonly known as macrostructures in the field of discourse. Topics convey meaning and allow the uncovering of interpretations or expressions which are presented in the text or talk (Attride –Stirling, 2001). In the qualitative domain, topics are commonly referred to as themes which mean the recurring pattern or meaning. In addition, topics are formed to provide interrelation and justification which is formed in global and local levels.

Twitter

Twitter is a microblog and an online social networking site that allow users to send messages of up to 140 characters (Murthy, 2011; Bruns, 2012; Boyd, Golder & Lotan 2008). The concept of Twitter is based on tweets (messages) and retweets (forwarded messages) which is a form of sharing message among the Twitteraties (users of Twitter). Primarily, its functions are similar to short messaging services except for specific unique features such as the sharing of images, videos, links to websites and commenting on posts which can be viewed instantly. The ultimate notion of using Twitter is to provide personal updates and to engage and disseminate information to the public.

1.8 Summary of Chapter

This chapter started off with a brief overview of language and politics on Twitter. This sheds light on the significant use of Twitter in the political arena by renowned political figures around the globe and introduced Modi and Najib as important subjects in this study. The chapter continued to highlight the problems addressed by the study and the objectives that will be achieved through this study. In addition, this chapter presented how the theoretical considerations are counted to meet the analytical aims of the study. Besides, this study is interested in investigating the discursive strategies and ideologies employed by Najib and Modi to influence their citizens and to motivate them to perform specific social actions.

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