



SOCIAL ACTORS' REPRESENTATIONAL ROLE IN POLITICAL HARD NEWS REPORTING: AN APPROACH THROUGH ATTITUDE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The article aimed to explore the meaning lying behind the text by employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Norman Fairclough (1995). CDA analysis shows that alternative online Malaysian newspaper was more liberal and gave fair coverage to the ruling as well as opposition political party as compared to a mainstream newspaper. The change in selecting a new government was found based on corruption 1 Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) scandal, high cost of living, general service tax, and shifting of loyalties of former BN candidates. The 'Appraisal analysis' by Martin and White (2005) had shown that 'Malaysiakini' is supporting its ideology by neutral coverage, whereas; 'The New Straits Times' had shifted its portrayal from Barisan Nasional (BN) to the existing ruling government of Pakatan Harapan (PH) soon after the results and change of government. Both newspapers have taken the help of external rhetorical markers to support their views. The data set was compiled by selecting five-5 days' news coverage after elections' span i.e. 10th to 14th May 2018 by having 1,739 words in total to assess the immediate coverage after the election at the nearest time by employing van Leeuwen's (2005) socio-semiotic framework by selecting 'Dr. Mahathir and 'Najib Razak' as social actors.

Keywords: 2018 Malaysian Election; Attitude Analysis; Political Hard News; Social Actors; Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

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1. Introduction

Language is a system that has grammatical and lexical items that have a relation to the context of culture, while the text is related to the situation in the field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 1999). For finding the relation of language with its context, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) put an insight into the context (Orpin, 2005) by systematical events' analysis construction by the examination of existing news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). CDA is an exploration technique concerning the relation of power with language inequality (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). The relationship between individual and society is dialectical by the semiotic exchanges and individuals interact with it as per their positioning in a social context (Hasan, 2005).

Regarding politics, it also requires a medium for information dissemination. The essence of politics is in communication and media organizations act as 'political actor' who speaks up with their influential actions (Page, 1996) with activities of politics that are mediatized on this platform (Schudson, 2002). This process of mediatizing helps in legitimizing the deliberative process in our society (Habermas, 2006). As in today's society, media and politics are dependent on each other (Bagdikian, 2007). In this regard, it is interesting to analyze the hard news media text with the effects of its context.

The 'hard news' is in the form of providing citizens with social knowledge is strictly 'objective' text in which there is no sign of /journalist's explicit value judgment (Sabao & Visser, 2015), and they are least subjective (Martin & White, 2005) and based on factual news with non-opinionated inputs (Sabao, 2016). It is a strategic avoidance of particular key evaluative work and backgrounding the subjective role of journalist/author (Thomson & White, 2008). Thus, in news media, the representation of discourse is a construction of the process of the ideology of social importance that is portrayed by the grammar and semantics of particular texts affected by the context (Fairclough, 1995).

The particular text from the 2018 election span of Malaysia is worth analyzing to determine the inclination of newspapers towards the new existing scenario. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), the chosen unit of analysis is highlighted within the selected issue as CDA doesn't need any particular data gathering procedures and size. In the election, Pakatan Harapan (PH) won 113 seats, whereas 79 seats were won by BN in constituting the 14th Malaysian Parliament. 'Malaysiakini'. Van Dijk (1991) stated that manipulation by media is a consensus based on the ideology that supports the authorial relationships in society. For analyzing the

role of online newspapers concerning their ideology in reporting election campaigns, the existing study is focusing on 'Attitude Analysis' of online alternative and mainstream newspapers. Sabao (2016) stated that the authors/speakers construe the resources of appraisal for negotiating the relationships socially. The study is seeking to explain the choices of reporter/speaker that are made at a lexical level which leads to describing the authorial stance taking with different ideologies. It is to determine the attitudinal stances in Malaysian online newspapers to analyze the inclination of newspapers that determine the ideology after the election's period. Secondly, to ascertain the enhancing positive/negative inscribed and invoked stances in 'Malaysiakini' and 'The New Straits Times' that lead to determining the 'objectivity of 'hard news'.

2. Background of Study

The 14th General Elections (GE) 2018 in Malaysia gave a historic political turn as Pakatan Harapan (PH) took the reign of government being the very first political coalition party to take charge of the Malaysian government after independence, 1957. Barisan Nasional's (BN) had a long-standing rule in the country since independence. The Malaysian government has a strong grip on media and it uses the mainstream media as a platform for the dissemination of information, in this way media in Malaysia cannot be said a fair portrayal as stated by Chin (Ho et al., 2003). Politics and media are dependent on each other (Bagdikian 2007), in Malaysian media culture the same philosophy is being followed and it is observed in 13GE 2013 that political communication was changed drastically by the advent of the internet (online medium) in politics (Lumsden, 2013). After the 2018 elections, the political context was changed and moved away from race and religion as has always been seen Malays, Tamils and Chinese had issues among themselves in a multi-ethnic society (Hutchinson, 2018). The study leads to find the stances' evaluation of alternative 'Malaysiakini' and 'The New Straits Times' mainstream newspaper after the election results' declaration that determine the ideology of news media as the role of press media is seen as highly partisan related to political parties in campaigns of elections (Ward, 2004). Immediate after elections' coverage gives a fair representation of mainstream and alternative newspapers towards the particular social actor.

2.1 Internet penetration emergence of online news media in Malaysia

The internet penetration was observed an increase in news media highly after 1996 with the launching of the Malaysian Multimedia Corridor (MSC) despite facing legal, economic, and political

constraints (Ho et al., 2013). The constitution of Malaysia (Article 10) allows freedom of speech and expression to media till it functions in favor of national security and interest and empowers the Parliament for imposing legal limitations where there is necessary to impose ("Media & internet freedom in Malaysia", 2017).

The constraints like the Bill of Guarantees were obstacles for liberal coverage which caused the less circulation of newspapers and the urban locality was seen to opt for online readership (Ho et al., 2003). 'Malaysiakini' emerged in 1999 as the first online newspaper dedicated to political news to cater to different ethnic groups and publishing news in four different languages i.e. English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese. 'Malaysiakini' has gained its reputation being an independent news portal by covering the stories in media controlled environment of Bersih Rally of 26th October 2007 related to fair and free elections, secondly, Hindu Action Force (Hindraf) Rally in 25th November 2007 that portrayed the mishandling of protesters in the hands of government officials, thirdly the coverage of protests during 'Reformasi Era' in which then Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim was sacked on misuse of his authority by then Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad.

This initial coverage made 'Malaysiakini' come up as an alternative newspaper with the responsibility of portraying the current happenings as actual news in form of 'hard news' objective reporting (Postill, 2014). Mindich (1998) quoted by Thomson and White (2008) that the ethnic of objectivity defines the features of modern journalism and inverted pyramid and neutrality are key features of 'objectivity'.

In comparison, 'The New Straits Times' (NST) is always in favor of positive coverage of government in all circumstances and being published by The New Straits Times Press, Berhad (NSTP). It is the oldest newspaper of Malaysia owned by the Prima group of companies that are established in 1845 and re-established in 1974. NSTP Bhd. owns Anglophone New Straits Times, Berita Harian, and Harian Metro which targeted a young urban audience and became bestselling newspaper by 2005 (Abbot & Givens, 2015). At present, the government doesn't own directly the company but the company has shares of different companies and the largest share is from Malaysia Employees Fund (EPF) by 18.4% that is a government organization, so its positive inclination always seems towards government (Abbot & Givens, 2015).

The two factors are believed commonly are responsible for biased media in Malaysia i.e. a legislative framework of censorship on media and a structure of media ownership that has close ties with outlets of the ruling coalition. (Abbot & Givens, 2015). Leslie, executive editor of Malay Mail online quoted by Abbot & Givens (2015) that a trust gap and credibility gap between the government and readers of urban locality is filled by the online newspapers and the online medium is leading the charge. The online Malaysian newspapers' analysis in the current study helped to determine the inclination towards the particular social actor, objectivity of 'hard news', and difference and similarities among mainstream and alternative online newspapers' representation.

2.2 Literature review

The text is embedded in cultural values and power relations in association with its ideology (Fairclough, 1995). Online journalism has opened new ways for interconnectivity and reveals a new relationship between humans and the news media's organization (Lewis & Westlund, 2015). The representation of written text explains the news' journalist attitudinal behavior in reported news (Stenvall, 2014). Psychologist Plutchich (1980) quoted by Stenvall (2014) that emotions are constructed based on various evidence's classes about inner feelings and expressive/reactions behavior towards the object.

Thomson and White (2008) stated that the reporter's voice in 'hard news' is a substantial curtailment of the journalist's use of explicitly attitudinal reactions concerning inscribed judgment. Attitudes are indirectly invoked by the writer to support the evaluative field for the attitudinal reactions which are explicitly quoted (Thomson & White, 2008). In the study of Sabao and Visser (2015) the 'Herald' and 'Newsday' newspapers relied on a quoted text to support their views about Zimbabwe constitution-making, in this way both newspapers reinforced their ideology by the external source. In the study of Nádraská (2017), it was found by studying generic and dialogic perspectives in 'hard news' that internal and external attributed voices served as an evaluative ground to judge the ideology of news institutions.

The study of Noor (2015) stated that the stances' evaluation of mainstream media depicts the inclination of the newspaper towards the ruling government. The newspaper has taken the support of quoted text to support its viewpoint and this attitudinal stance in explanation leads to highlighting the news media ideology. In the study of Tavassoli et al. (2018) it is found that 'Guardian' takes a welcoming stance, while; 'Telegraph' takes

an unwelcoming stance towards Syrian migration in European countries that are influenced by the cultural context and depict the ideology of news media. The 'Appraisal' choices give rise to evaluative voices in journalistic discourse (Pounds, 2010). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) quoted by Zaidi (2016) that the speaker adopts a particular role for himself and assigns or positions a complementary role to his listener to align himself as per writer's viewpoint through the resources of 'Attitude', 'Engagement' and 'Graduation'. The selected studies from the 2018 election show the influential factors that affected the voting behavior of Malaysian citizens. Rehman (2018) believed that the rising cost of living, corruption and goods and service tax were the main factors that drove voters to vote against BN. Abdullah (2018) stated Dr. Mahathir as a credible boost for PH in the 2018 election, while, Ufen (2019) also believed that PH's success was based on the well-rooted and cohesive coalition.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis-Norman Fairclough

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) term developed in the 1970s for the analysis of text and discourse, where language performs a role in power relations and ideology. Kress, Hodge, Fowler, and Trew (1979), van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1989), and van Leeuwen's (2005) studies have explained the chief principles and methods in CDA. CDA has drawn concepts from social theory and recognizable contributions are observed from Antonio Gramsci, Jürgen Habermas, Karl Marx, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michael Foucault in the examination of power relations and ideologies in discourse.

While, in the field of media discourse, van Dijk (1986), Ruth Wodak (1989), and Norman Fairclough (1995) are considered dominant researchers. According to van Dijk, the perceived perception is depicted in the text that supports the cognitive approach in the representation of genre (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). According to van Dijk (1991), a media text manipulation is a form of ideology that supports the authoritative role in society. Ruth Wodak (1989) believed that the background historical approach in discourse leads to social practice in context (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Norman Fairclough, as a recent most influential researcher in media discourse, stated that every social practice includes; consciousness; social relations; means of production; social identities; productive activity; and semiosis elements (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

The existing study employs Norman Fairclough (1995) that supports Michael Foucault's (1980) notion of ideology, where Foucault believed that every human resists opposing forces. Ideology is a relation of a set that is combined in a particular time that gives rise to formalize systems for describing the discourse (Foss & Gill, 2009). Fairclough stated (1995) that texts are social spaces where the social world is represented and cognition occurs by the interaction. Fairclough has described three stages of text in which it has to pass through i.e. social-cultural practice, production, and thirdly the interpretation phase that creates a dialectical relationship (Figure 1). A dialectical relational perspective to CDA connects language with power and ideology by creating a relationship between discursive events and social composition (Wodak, 2006).

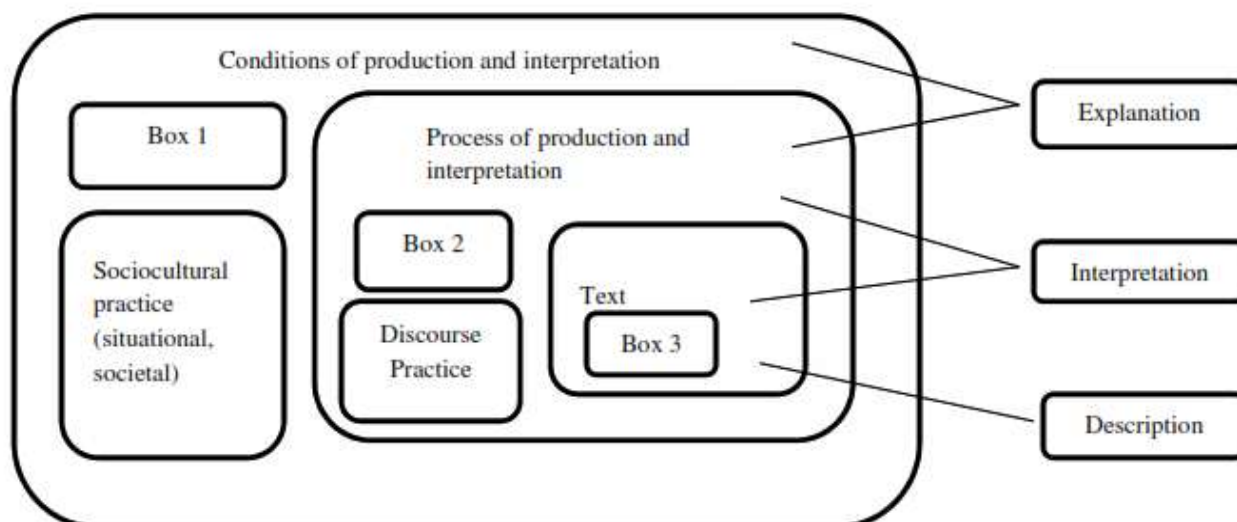


Figure 1. Methodological Framework by Fairclough (Janks, 1997 & Fairclough, 1997, pg. 59)

3.2. Social actor selection by van Leeuwen's framework (2005)

van Leeuwen's framework (2005) of the social actor is employed in a study where social actors are taken as analytical categories of discourse that can be excluded or included; or assigned different rearranged roles (Dawari & Moini, 2016). 'Dr. Mahathir Mohamad' and 'Najib Razak' were taken as social actors for the selection of news reports by employing 'activation' and 'passivation' categories of van Leeuwen's framework. In the 'Activation' category, they were taken as active 'doers' (van Leeuwen 2005), while in the 'Passivation', social actors were taken in a beneficiary role (van Leeuwen 2005).

3.3. Appraisal Analysis

Appraisal analysis is the dialogic and generic perspective of stances mentioned in news reports by a journalist (Martin & White, 2005). Martin and White's (2005) notion of 'journalistic voice' refers to the taxonomy for the classification of a news media text by the key evaluation meanings in which positive/negative evaluations are activated (Thomson & White, 2008). The authorial and subjective stance's evaluation in 'Appraisal' is

determined by contextual features that explain the individual registers (Pounds, 2010).

'Appraisal' theory is a substitute approach to analyze the discourse in linguistics other than Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). It is derived from the interpersonal function of language that deals with how the author positions his interlocutor according to his viewpoint (Zaidi, 2016). Martin (2005) described the interpersonal connection and construction of stances with their positioning, and White (2005) explained the choices pattern and text organization semantically.

'Appraisal' has emphasized on lexical realizations of evaluation that leads to a semantic analysis where each researcher takes out his interpretation by reading of instances, whereas; SFL is a grammatical realization (van Driel, 2018) that is the continuity between lexis and grammar known as 'Lexicogrammar' that are two poles of a single continuum as a system of features (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Table 1 explains the features of both 'SFL' and 'Appraisal' as an alternative approach for evaluation.

Table 1. Appraisal and Systemic Functional Linguistics' Features

Martin & White, 2005	Halliday, 1978, 2014	Textual Features
Attitude	Ideation/Interpersonal	Evaluative Adjectives, social actors as doers, processes
Engagement	Stances' /Clauses Evaluation/Interpersonal	Verbs description, modality, mood, the structure of the clause
Graduation	Textual/Interpersonal	Modality, Adverbs

'Appraisal' theory describes the attitudinal stances of journalists that are dependent on three discourse resources i.e. 'Attitude', 'Engagement' and 'Graduation' (Figure 2). The study is based on 'Attitude' analysis of stances as the lexical and

semantic realization. The attitudes are adjectival and it is easy to establish frames lexically (Martin & White, 2005).

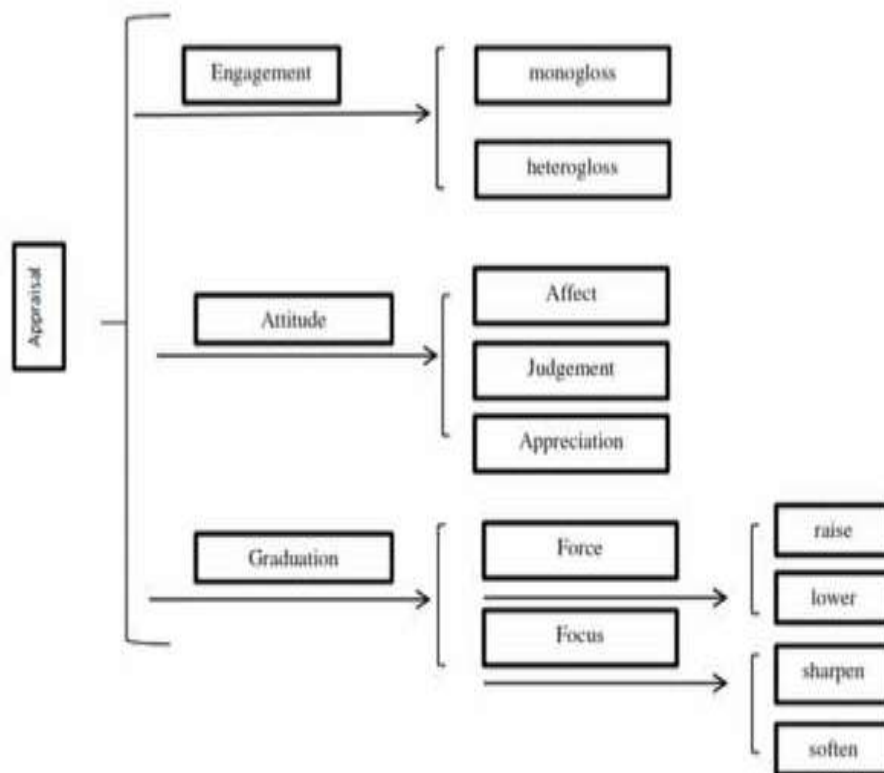


Figure 2. Overview of Appraisal Resources (Martin & White, 2005, pg. 38)

3.4. Attitude Analysis of text

The social actors are the main elements to be analyzed in the text. 'Dr. Mahathir' and 'Najib Razak' were analyzed and categorized according to their role of 'appraiser' and 'appraised' social actor in instances. However, 'Attitude' analysis serves this purpose. 'Attitude' is concerned with the evaluation of things with emotions, feelings, and judgments of one's behavior (Martin & White, 2005). Zhang (2015) stated that 'Attitudes' are the components of ideology. The expressions of attitude may be expressed positively or negatively. The writer's feelings in the text are known as 'inscribed' (explicit) attitudes while; attributed expressions in news reports are invoked (implicit) attitudes (Tavassoli et al., 2018).

'Attitude' is divided into three resources i.e. 'Affect', 'Judgment' and 'Appreciation'. 'Affect' creates the reaction emotionally like horror, anger, worry, etc. and they can be in positive or negative emotions. It is divided into four sub-resources i.e. 'Un/happiness', 'In/Security', 'Dis/Satisfaction' and 'Dis/Inclination' (Martin & White, 2005). 'Judgment concerns by the assessment of behavior like good, miserly, poor, badly, etc. 'Judgment' has two categories i.e. 'social sanction' and 'social esteem'. 'Social Sanctions' are in the form of policy on people. It is further sub-

divided into two forms i.e. 'Veracity' that deals with the people's truthfulness and secondly, 'Propriety' deals with the ethicality of people. 'Social Esteem' deals with how a person is unusual, in its category of 'Normality', in the second category of 'Capacity' it deals with how much a person is capable, whereas; the truthfulness of person is assessed by the category of 'Tenacity'. In addition, 'Appreciation' values the presence of things by the evaluation like beautiful, destruction, grand, lively, excellent, bonus, etc. (Martin & White, 2005). It is divided into categories of 'Reactions', 'Composition' and 'Valuation'. 'Reactions' are attitudes towards things, e.g. exciting, boring, dull, etc. 'Composition' deals with 'complexity and balance', the words used instances e.g. pure, simple, unclear comes in 'Complexity', while, unified, balance, unbalanced, etc. comes under 'Balance', whereas; 'Valuation' deals with the worth of thing e.g. creative, insignificant, innovative, etc. (Martin & White, 2005).

4. Data Collection and Method

News reports were selected based on van Leeuwen's (2005) social actor framework, i.e., 'Dr. Mahathir' and 'Najib Razak' as 'doers'. The news reports were selected from 10th-14th May 2018 after the polling day by selecting five days (election held on 9th May 2018) to have a glimpse of the nearest

coverage after the election to determine the inclination of news media towards a particular political party. For that, alternative newspaper 'Malaysiakini' with two (2) news reports and 'The New Straits Times' with three (3) news reports were selected of mentioned time frame by having 618 words and 1,121 words respectively with a total of 1,739 words from both newspapers. Vulliamy and Webb (1993) are cited by Avramidis & Smith (2006) to the effect that experimental settings and large samples lead to less understanding of reality and the qualitative method serves concerns in this regard. A qualitative approach is employed to understand and explore the meaning individuals ascribe to a social problem, where data is collected in participants' settings (Cresswell, 2014).

The social actors were selected on 'activation' and 'passivation' framework of van Leeuwen (2005). The sentences were distributed

into stances in columns to identify the attitude resource in an excel spreadsheet. The Appraised (target of appraisal) and the Appraiser (who is appraising) were identified along with the negative/positive, inscribed, and invoked appraised stances. In the end, the results were taken out in percentages by calculating the performances.

5. Results and Discussion

The emotive expressions of writers are analyzed under 'Appraisal Analysis' which is a source of expression in the text (Martin & White, 2005). Above all, 'emotion' is the area that negotiates stances by communicating the attitude and getting the response in a social setting (Martin & White, 2005). The attitudes are analyzed under different resources by denoting abbreviations in an excel spreadsheet (Appendix A).

Table 2. Distribution of Attitudinal Resources

	Malaysiakini		The New Straits Times		
Feature	Instances	Percentage	Feature	Instances	Percentage
Affect	4	5%	Affect	1	2%
Judgment	46	61%	Judgment	30	60%
Appreciation	26	34%	Appreciation	19	38%

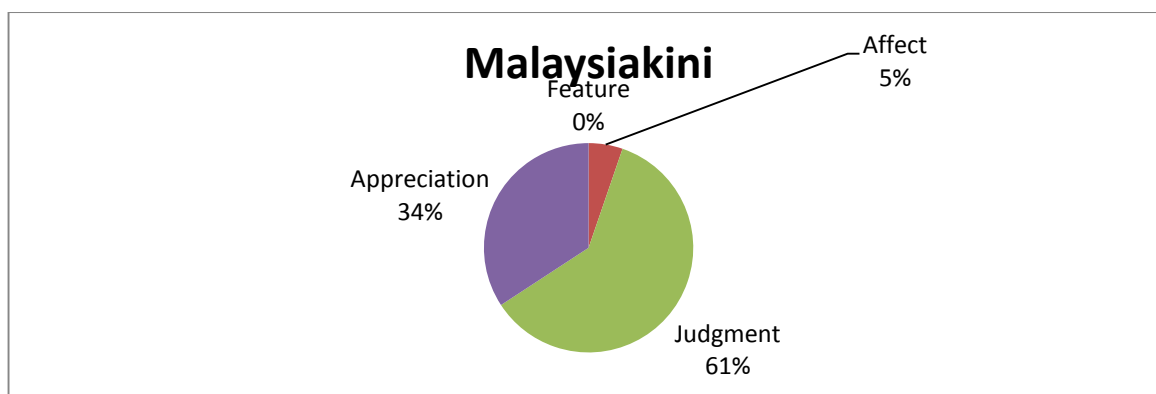


Figure 3. Distribution of Attitudinal Resources in 'Malaysiakini'

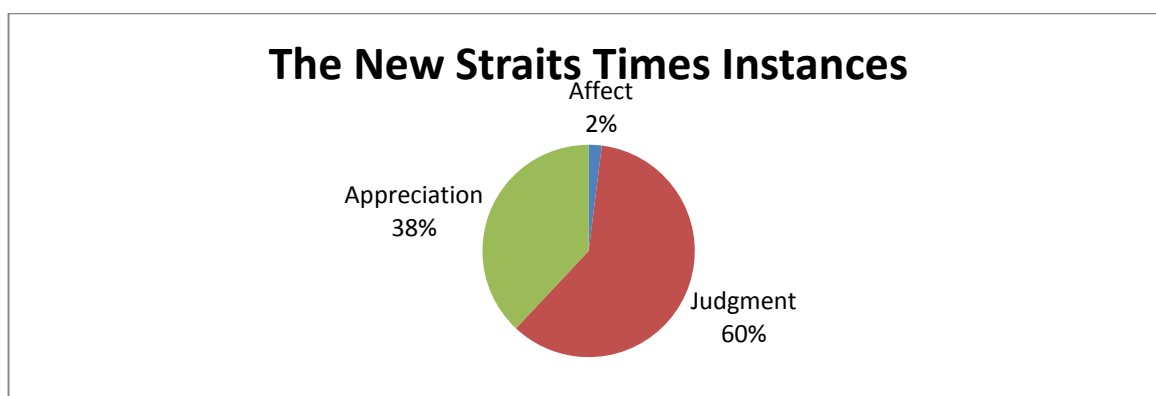


Figure 4. Distribution of Attitudinal Resources in 'The New Straits Times'

'Table 2' shows the 'Attitudinal' resources used in 'Malaysiakini' and 'The New Straits Times' and these are analyzed per 100 words (Figure 3 & 4). The 'Judgment' resource is used the most in both online newspapers as '61% with 46 occurrences are in 'Malaysiakini' whereas; 'The New Straits Times' (NST) has 60% with 30 occurrences. 'Appreciation' is taken the second position by clinching 34% with

26 occurrences in 'Malaysiakini' and 38% with 19 occurrences in 'NST'. The writer has taken his stance of expression very less as shown by 5% in 'Malaysiakini' and 2% in 'NST'. The attitudinal judgments are mentioned in hard news in the form of criticism, admiration, and moral judgments, praise or condemnations e.g.

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- (1) **Malaysiakini 132** [[He then sought to assure]] (Jud, pos (+) ten, Appraised-Dr.Mahathir, Appraiser-Dr.Mahathir)
-
- (2) **NST 10** [[Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad brushed aside doubts]] (Jud, pos (+) ten, Appraised-Dr.Mahathir, Appraiser-Dr.Mahathir)
-

The inscribed attitudes (author's stance) that are found in 'Malaysiakini' are analyzed by the use of words by an author like, 'sought to assure', 'Najib Abdul Razak has criticized', 'Dr. Mahathir implored Malaysians', 'He announced', 'Mahathir also reiterated', 'Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad is known as a man of many capabilities', 'Mahathir predicting', 'Prophesied' by Mahathir', 'Making him the oldest elected leader in the world' etc. 'NST' inscribed attitudes are 'Dr. Mahathir Mohamad brushed aside doubts', 'he insisted', 'Najib appeared to raise doubts', 'In jubilant mood and cracking

jokes', 'Few had expected Mahathir', 'Mahathir had vowed', 'he did not know', etc.

The representation of social actors by the writer's own words depicts the writer's feelings towards the utterance or portrayal of social actors that may be positive or negative inclined. Pound (2010) stated that the use of particular appraisal choices gives rise to specific evaluative voices in journalistic discourse. 'Malaysiakini' has used a very less inscribed attitude as compared to invoked expressions (Table 3).

Table 3. Positive/Negative & Inscribed/Invoked Instances

	Malaysiakini		The New Straits Times		
Feature	Instances	Percentage	Feature	Instances	Percentage
Positive Inscribed	13	17%	Positive Inscribed	17	34%
Negative Inscribed	8	11%	Negative Inscribed	8	16%
Positive Invoked	23	23%	Positive Invoked	13	26%
Negative Invoked	32	32%	Negative Invoked	12	24%

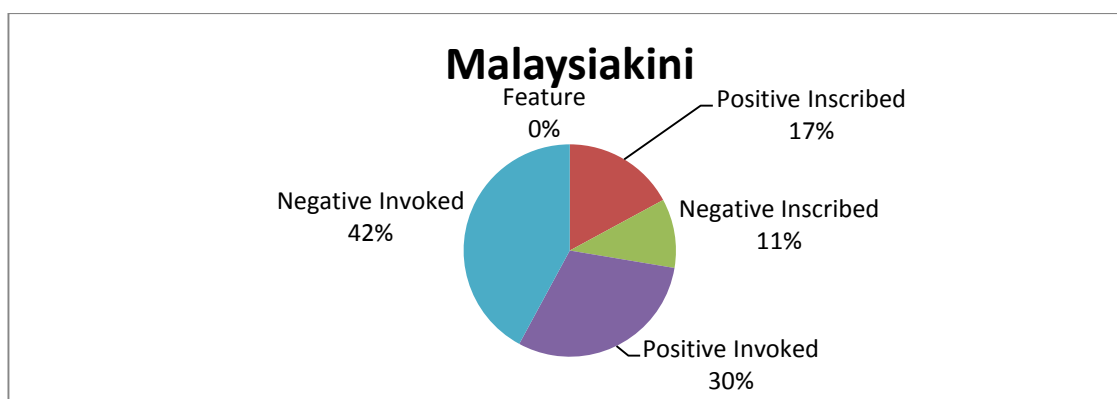


Figure 5. Positive / Negative Inscribed / Invoked Attitudes in 'Malaysiakini'

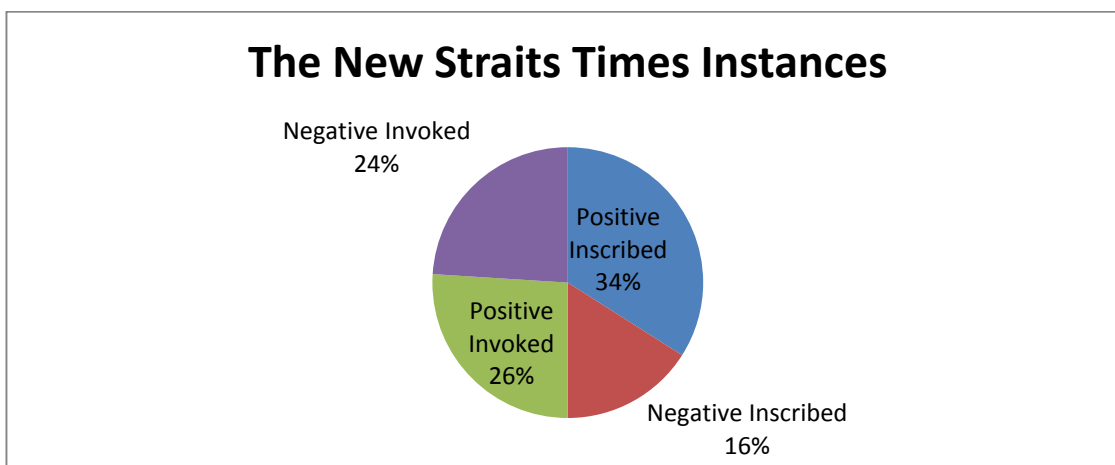


Figure 6. Positive / Negative Inscribed / Invoked Attitudes in 'The New Straits Times'

'Table 3' shows that 'NST' used positive inscribed stances more than 'Malaysiakini' to express its viewpoint by scoring 34% with 17 occurrences while 'Malaysiakini' has 17% with 13 occurrences respectively. The external source in a

positive invoked category is also used more than 'Malaysiakini' by 'NST' with 26% with 13 occurrences (Figure 5 & 6). Both newspapers have taken rhetorical markers to support their write up e.g.

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- (3) **Malaysiakini 165** [[The 92-year-old has since been sworn in as a prime minister again, making him the oldest elected leader in the world]]. (pos (+), insc, Appraiser –Dr. Mahathir, Appraised-Dr.Mahathir)
- (4) **NST 79** [“Once declassified, the police will submit a report to me and I will study it,”] (pos (+), invoke, Appraised-Dr.Mahathir, Appraiser-Dr.Mahathir)
-

By the use of rhetorical markers, a journalist's voice gets hidden and the social actor's voice becomes the actual source that maintains the objectivity of hard news. Sabao (2016) stated that the attributed resources are employed for clinching personalization to hide the voice of news media for the maintenance of hard news objectivity. Bell (1991) stated that the journalist puts the responsibility on the actual source in a news story that reflects the reality. The indirectly invoked attitudes by the author lay the evaluative ground for those attitudes that are explicitly mentioned in

quotes of a news report (Thomson & White, 2008). Both newspapers positively appraised newspapers as stated that Dr. Mahathir has been selected at the age of 92 years that represents how much he was needed in a country. Dr. Mahathir is shown in power by 'NST' and represented to be in waiting for a report of police that is expected to disclose the corrupt practices of the previous government. 'NST' shown giving authority to Dr. Mahathir of the said statement by empowering him in an authoritative role. The summary of attitude resources used in 'Malaysiakini' newspapers is mentioned in Table 4.

Table 4. Attitudinal Choices in 'Malaysiakini'

'Malaysiakini' Instances	Instances	Percentage
AFFECT-POLARITY		
Negative	2	2%
Positive	3	4%
AFFECT-TYPE		
Dis/Satisfaction	Dissatisfaction 1	1%
Dis/Inclination	a) Disinclination 1	1%
	b) Inclination 1	1%
In/Security	Security 1	1%
APPRECIATION-POLARITY		
Negative	9	11%
Positive	17	21%
APPRECIATION-TYPE		
Reactions	8 reactions	6%

	a) Quality 5 b) Impact 3	4%
Composition	3 Composition a) Complex 3	4%
Valuation	15	19%
JUDGMENT-POLARITY		
Negative	30	37%
Positive	20	25%
JUDGMENT-TYPE		
Tenacity	42	55%
Normality	4	5%
Capacity	2	3%

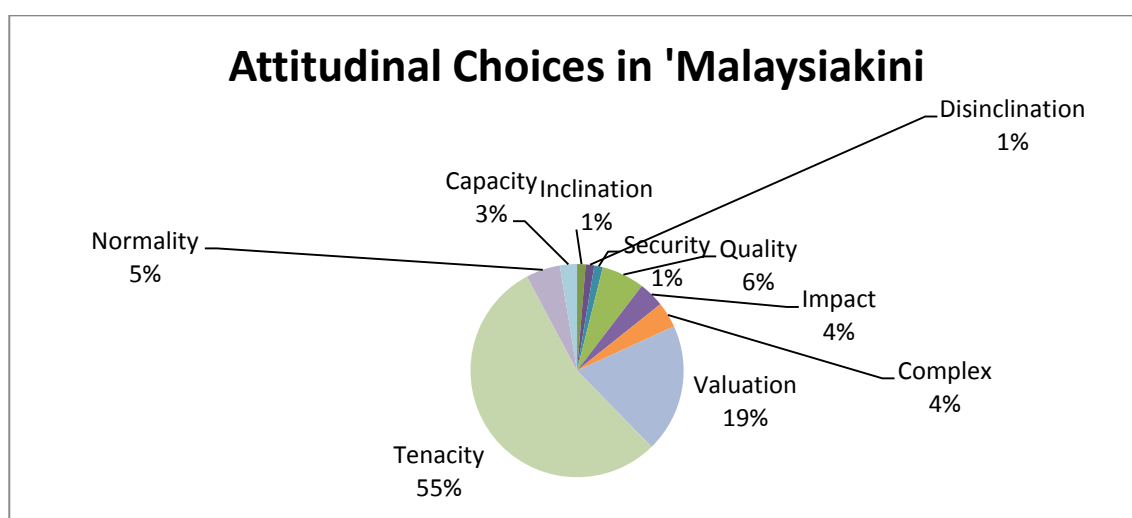


Figure 7. Attitudinal Choices in 'Malaysiakini'

'Table 4' shows the attitudinal choices in 'Malaysiakini' in which 'Judgment' resource is used the most with 55% in the 'Tenacity' category with 42 occurrences where the social actor (Dr.Mahathir) is seen that he is determined to fulfill all his

obligations with the new title. The author operates as a correspondent voice by assessing human behavior by referring to the notion of human capacity, normality, and tenacity instead of making ethical judgments (Figure 7). e.g.

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- (5) **Malaysiakini 151** [[What he does not appear to anticipate in the video, however, is the popularity of a party like Bersatu]].(Jud, neg (-) ten, Appraiser-Dr. Mahathir, Appraised-Bersatu)
-
- (6) **NST 81** [[he told a press conference at Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia's headquarters here today]].(Jud, pos (+) ten, Appraised- Dr, Mahathir, Appraiser-Dr.Mahathir)
-

The objects are valued in the second position in 'Valuation' in the 'Appreciation' subcategory with 19% with 15 occurrences. The writer has expressed his expression minimal in the description of 'hard news' by inscribed stances with 1% each in subcategories of 'Affect' i.e. 'Dissatisfaction', 'Disinclination', 'Inclination' and 'Security'. The social actor, Dr.Mahathir Mohamad is seen defending his party and statements after elections' span. Dr. Mahathir is on the view of coming into politics after retirement to stabilize the country as the previous government has given losses to the nation with corruption, lack of check and balance, and illegal use of authority with the appraised words

in 'Malaysiakini' like 'PH victory', 'BN', 'Malay Party', Bersatu', 'new government', 'money', 'investigation on bribery', 'financial rewards', 'manipulation in the election, 'country honor', 'Najib', 'election', etc. The use of mentioned words relates the stance with its background and a reader depicts his meaning. The 'Appraisal Analysis' determines the subjective presence of the author in the text by adopting stances towards the material and audience (Martin & White, 2005). The newspaper construes the interpersonal relationship and positioning in discourse semantic resources. The stances are described with complete propositions by news media as Martin and White (2005) stated that

meanings in 'Appraisal' can be recognized as a single word or a phrase but are better understood incomplete propositions. The findings of inclined attitudinal stances in both newspapers are supporting the research objective.

Newspapers attempt to influence readers toward their point of view by comparing and using both negative and positive inscribed or conjured viewpoints, as well as an outside source that demonstrates the author's perspective. It depicts the ideology/authorial stance of news institutions by the application of the CDA framework along 'Appraisal Analysis' that provides background information to the reader, additionally news paper's stance with quoting of an external source to maintain the objectivity of hard news. The findings are supporting the research objective. Sabao & Visser (2015) stated that 'hard news' defines the individual understanding the notion of balance, fairness, truth, and facticity. The quoting of external sources in news reports supports the notion of objectivity and findings are supporting the research objective. The findings on the usage of external resources and invoked attitudes are found in a study by Sabao (2016) that external/attribution resources are framed to get personalization and objectivity in hard news.

The same findings are found in the study of Asad et al. (2019a) that attributed resources support the representation of news reports with authorial stance/source. A study by Asad (2021) stated that alternative and mainstream newspapers came on the same agenda on the international platform while conveying the head of government's views. In this

regard, both newspapers opted for external authoritative quotes to depict the actor's views directly and gave the authoritative power that shows the importance of views by considering directly to be conveyed through the quoted words.

The difference in frequencies of both newspapers are supporting Foucault's notion of ideology also that discourses are semantic constructions of particular aspects of reality that serve the interests of specific social or historical contexts, and Halliday's concept of 'register' serves as a semantic variety of language - a social dialect (van Leeuwen, 2008). By opting for CDA with 'Appraisal Analysis', the power relation is found between journalists, news reports, and news institutions of the particular selected span. The analysis is similar to the findings of Asad (2019b) that 'Dawn' newspaper has shown an independent stance, while; 'The News' shifted its stance in the current political scenario for its political and private interest. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), CDA is a useful analytical tool for determining and replicating the power relations in speech. The findings are similar to the study of Zaidi (2016) that the portrayal of Shias' issues in different Pakistani newspapers are always been found biased and suggested needing an informative voice. In another study by Asad et al. (2019c), it is found that independent newspapers in Malaysia and Pakistan during the election's span have portrayed independent views, while; mainstream newspapers are found shifting their inclination towards the ruling government in their existing political culture.

Table 5 . Choices in 'The New Straits Times'

'The New Straits Times' Instances	Instances	Percentage
AFFECT-POLARITY		
Negative	0	0
Positive	1	2%
AFFECT-TYPE		
Un/Happiness	Happiness 1	2%
APPRECIATION-POLARITY		
Negative	8	16%
Positive	10	20%
APPRECIATION-TYPE		
Reactions	Reactions 14	20%
	a) Impact 10 b) Quality 4	8%
Composition	Composition 1	
	a) Balance 1	2%
Valuation	4	8%
JUDGMENT-POLARITY		
Negative	12	25%

Positive	18	37%
JUDGMENT-TYPE		
Tenacity (social esteem)	25	50%
Normality (social esteem)	2	4%
Veracity (social sanction)	3	6%

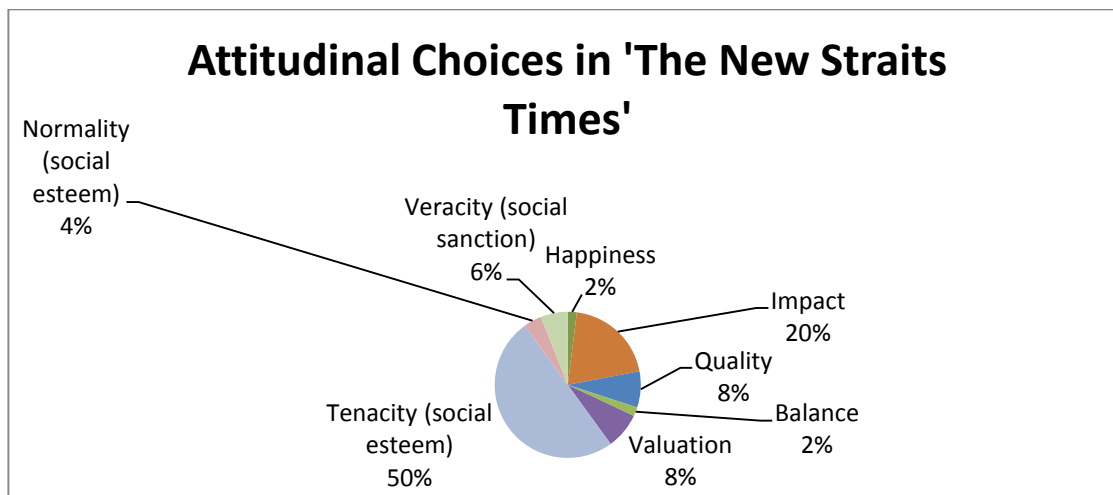


Figure 8. Attitudinal Choices in 'The New Straits Times'

'Table 5' shows the attitudinal choices in 'NST' which are shown maximum than 'Malaysiakini' in 'Judgment' resource in subcategory 'Tenacity' with 50% with 25 occurrences. 'Reaction' that is a subcategory of 'Appreciation' comes on the second number with the subcategory of 'Impact' with 20% with 10 occurrences and 8% in 'Quality' with 4 occurrences. The writer has used his expression as inscribed in 'Happiness' with only 2% with 1 occurrence (Figure 8).

The attitudinal choices are opted for reinforcement by the writer towards his viewpoint (Sabao & Visser, 2015). According to Kamal et al. (2017) that in news reporting, the journalists' political views are shifting from one issue to another. Social practices that show up as a discursive process in text production include social practice representations of social actors and patterns of evaluation (Fairclough, 1995). For future studies, the same framework can be employed on mainstream or alternative newspapers of any country to depict the ideology of newspapers, additionally the political influence on newspapers in context. The gap of literature regarding the comparison of alternative and mainstream newspapers is fulfilled by textual analysis by framing the particular purposive time of selected data. Thus, the ideologies behind the text along with the attitudinal stance of the author was disclosed. Therefore, this study focuses on the key elements that influenced the text's contextual implications and led to its current presentation. In practical implication, this study has given additional insight

into the political and media study of Malaysia. From the theoretical and textual implications, the theoretical gap in the literature is filled up by employing 'Attitude' analysis. Additionally, the study has highlighted the news controlling power by analyzing the power relations through the framework of CDA, and semiotic analysis.

6. Conclusion

It is concluded that both newspapers have employed rhetorical devices as an external voice to persuade readers with reliable sources and uphold the objectivity of the 'hard news' by using them. 'The New Straits Times' has used more positive inscribed attitudes as compared to 'Malaysiakini' that shows the news media's depiction of personal stance and giving importance to the social actor (Dr. Mahathir) after the election span. By doing so 'NST' maintains its reputation of being government influenced and more inclined towards the ruling government i.e. Pakatan Harapan (PH). Both newspapers have revealed the speaker's / writer's feelings construed in the text that is associated with the authority (Martin & White, 2005). The 'Judgment' resource is used by both newspapers the most in its 'Tenacity' sub-category in positive and negative instances that show admiration, determination, resolution, purposeful, etc. The negative invoked attitudes are found higher in 'Malaysiakini' as compared to 'NST' which shows that the newspaper maintains its reputation of being an independent newspaper and keeping its same status and standard of portraying 'hard news' by

maintaining its objectivity with the help of external voice.

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Appendix
Analysis Key to Attitudinal Resources

AFFECT-KEY	Aff
Un/Happiness	Un / Happ
In/Security	In / Sec
Dis/Satisfaction	Dis / Sat
Dis/Inclination	Dis / Incli
APPRECIATION-KEY	App
Reaction	Reac
a) Impact	a) Impac
b) Quality	b) Qua
Composition	Comp
a) Complex	a) Compl
b) Balance	b) Bal
Valuation	Val
JUDGMENT-KEY	Judg
Tenacity	Ten
Normality	Nor
Capacity	Cap
Propriety	Prop
Veracity	Ver
INVOKED/INSCRIBED	Invoke / Insc
POSITIVE (+) / NEGATIVE (-)	pos (+) / neg (-)