

MALAYSIA'S INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY IN THE MEDIA: DECONSTRUCTING THE RHETORIC OF OTHERING IN DISCOURSE

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Abstract. Media possess the ultimate power to shape cognition of the society and plays a fundamental role in the (re)production of elements of biasness and discrimination in contemporary society. In the field of ethnic affair, the news media become the most important source of access to information concerning the indigenous community. In this context, the study aims to unravel the projection of Malaysian indigenous community; the Orang Asli in a selected news media through the application of van Dijk's Theory of Semantic Macrostructure. Attention is paid to the deployment of rhetorical structures and how these structures scrutinised in structuring and shaping the minds of the general public concerning the Orang Asli community. Findings reveal the hidden ideology beneath the tactical use of rhetorical structures whereby the dominant and the elites are shown to be maintaining their power while the Orang Asli community are contrasted with perpetuated stereotypes and prejudice in various degrees. The study concludes that the community is commonly viewed through unconstructive themes such as being dependant and traditional, and this study strongly opposes the blatancy of media while at the same time, calls for a more neutral and subtle representation of the community.

Keywords: *Orang Asli, critical discourse analysis, rhetoric, Theory of Semantic Macrostructure, media and discrimination, indigenous community*

Introduction

In various regions around the world, the existence of indigenous communities in society is indeed a fact that cannot be denied. The indigenous communities that reside in different regions play an important role in creating cultural, ethnographical and historical identities that are unique to their society. In order to know more about the indigenous communities, numerous researchers have conducted a number of extensive researchers ranging from their way of living, culture, history, language, socio-economic positions and more recently, with more focus on the way they are portrayed by and in the media. Studies pertaining to how the media portrays indigenous communities mainly focuses on the pejorative and stereotypical representations that are reflected through the facets of discrimination, marginalisation and racism while unearthing the embedded ideological practices. Therefore, more critical and in-depth researches are needed to examine the projection of indigenous communities in order to unearth the polarised representation of these communities.

In an international context, indigenous communities that are often perceived as minorities in their own society have consistently faced the issue of them being projected in a marginalised yet problematic manner in the media. The projection of the indigenous communities can be reflected through the use derogatory lexical choices and rhetorical strategies that are used to describe them in a stereotypical yet negative manner. This is because stereotyping is considered to be one of the by-products in the manifestation of ideology via a categorised vocabulary system (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). Moreover, the use of affective words (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016) are also commonly found in

which such lexis is used to depict the emotions of the indigenous communities in relation to their various plights at hand. Affective words as such are able to depict the communities' strong emotions which are often pejorative in nature. Generally, the negative depiction of a group of minorities tends to have a greater magnitude of generalising or reinforcing negative stereotypical views that are prevalent in society (Jones, 1997). Furthermore, negative aspects that are attributed to the minorities tend to be remembered better given that media consumers are equipped with negative attitudes or racist ideologies (Van Dijk, 2015).

From a global perspective, indigenous communities around the world such as those in Australia (Mesikämmen, 2016; Bullimore, 1999), Bolivia and Guatemala (Inguanzo, 2011) and Taiwan (Chu and Huang, 2019), have been subjected to the negative treatments of the media when it comes to reporting and distributing information about them. The general notion that arises from these extensive researches is that these communities are often placed in an asymmetrical position between dominant elites who have access or are in power as compared to those who have little or no access to discourse. Such polarisation is termed as Van Dijk (1993) notion of "us versus them" in which there exists an imbalance in terms of defining one's position in the eyes of the masses. Moreover, these portrayals often result from the lack of knowledge on the indigenous community that is possessed by the elites as most of them source their information from the media (Van Dijk, 1987) likewise the lack of alternative source of information (Van Dijk, 1993) which provides them the leverage to portray the community as they see fit depending on their own goals and purposes.

In relation to the numerous studies conducted in the global context, Malaysia is too not free from these prevalent issues faced by the country's indigenous communities especially the Orang Asli. The number of studies pertaining to the portrayal of the Orang Asli community are growing in numbers as scholars had consistently called for more studies to be conducted in order to continuously show the mistreatment of the country's aborigines by mainstream media companies that usually have a close affiliation with several popular ruling political parties (Mustafa, 1994). The earliest preliminary study on the representation of Orang Asli by the media was carried out by Mustafa (1994) followed by Ismail et al. (2020), Jamal and Naghmeh-Abbaspour (2020), Jamal and Manan (2016), Loh (2011), and David et al. (2010). Generally, these studies revealed a consistent trend that the Orang Asli are indeed portrayed in a marginalised yet stereotypical manner. In spite of that, more recent studies (Jamal and Ganasan, 2021; Ismail et al., 2020; Jamal and Manan, 2016) have begun to focus on the language and ideological constructions that surface from the analysis of local newspaper articles produced by the mainstream media companies in order to unearth the various discursive practices that shape the Orang Asli's discourse.

Therefore, the present study aims to further provide more detailed findings about the projection of Orang Asli by the local mainstream media in news articles while strengthening the emerging trends from past studies. The present study also aims to further unearth any embedded ideologies that are hidden from the public eye. In addition, this study also aims to construct and produce an integrated framework in analysing news articles for discourse analysts to apply in their future studies.

Media and representation

The general purpose of the media is to act and function as an informational yet reliable source of information that is disseminated across various platforms to the

masses. The most common forms of mass media are newspapers, radio channels and television broadcasts that act as key players in influencing public opinion (Van Dijk, 2000). Furthermore, with the advent of social media and the internet, the media itself continues to strengthen its position as an influential platform in distributing quick and up-to-date information.

The media plays a vital role in constructing and shaping the reality of its readers so as to bring the happenings of the reporting site which are inaccessible by readers (Schlesinger, 1999) and Fairclough (1995b) stated that the media texts produced do not necessarily 'mirror realities' easily since they comprise of numerous versions that are proportional to the social positions, interests and objectives of its producers. Consequently, the media itself can serve as an agent in creating, producing and shaping negative views among its readers when manipulated by those who have the power to access it as the mass media plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of discrimination in both contemporary and modern societies (Van Dijk, 1993). The term "power" in this context is a major element in interpersonal relationships that indicates inequality between speakers (Goatly and Hiradhar, 2016). For instance, power itself can be manifested in different forms such as institutional power that grants a person or an entity with authoritative means.

However, the media itself is certainly a vulnerable entity that is exposed to various internal and external factors that influence its credibility as the main disseminating source of information even though the media itself possess the potential to operate at its maximum efficiency without any interferences (Mustafa, 1994). Likewise, Van Dijk (1993) also highlighted that viewing the press as the passive mouthpiece of elites is often impossible due to its active and powerful role played. Besides, the media's ability to reproduce discrimination is also often correlated to its strong relations to dominant entities that are privileged with much social power and access in constructing and framing the public's social cognition (Van Dijk, 1993) through the use of various methods such as Pan and Kosicki (1993) framing analysis approach in news discourse.

Next, in terms of media representation, it possesses the capability to affect the perceptions of diverse groups as negative portrayals perpetuates the proliferation of negative attitudes and vice-versa for positive portrayals (Jamal and Naghme-Abbaspour, 2020; Jamal and Manan, 2016). In addition, it is also important to note that, stereotyping is one of the common strategies in media representation when it comes to dealing with ethnic affairs as Wrightsman and Deaux (1981) defines stereotyping as a "relatively rigid and oversimplified conception of a group of people, in which all individuals in the given group are labelled with the so-called group characteristics". Not only that, Chu and Huang (2019) stressed that since the media facilitates the generalising and stereotyping of ethnic groups, it cannot be denied that the way indigenous communities are perceived is proportional to how they are represented in the media. In general, Van Dijk (2015) summarises that discourse itself is discriminatory as it is manifestation of power abuse that reproduces and legitimises the socio-cognitive basis, the prejudices of all forms of discriminatory action in society.

Portrayal of indigenous community in the media

Based on the various extensive studies that had been conducted on the portrayal of indigenous communities in the media in various regions around the globe, a consistent yet promising trend emerged which continuously affirmed that indigenous communities are indeed being portrayed in a negative limelight while being associated with various

stereotypical views. Such portrayals can be viewed from the perspective of racism in which both prejudice and discrimination constitutes the system of racism (Van Dijk, 2016). Firstly, a study conducted by Campbell (2016) delved into the issue of Canada's opinion journalists', hence op-ed, take on the Idle No More movement which delved into the contemporary construction of the "Indian problem" within the context of the Idle No More movement by opinion journalists in the Canadian mainstream media namely The Globe and Mail and the National Post. From this study, it was found that some common rhetorical strategies and lexical choices that were used to negatively criticise the actions and motives of the Aborigines while discrediting their protests in the movement. Campbell (2016) found that the Aborigines themselves were constructed as group of people who are by blinded by their irrational, emotional and naïve believes which led to them to be in a state of disillusion into believing that they are actually entitled to their ancestral lands. Also, the Aborigines' attributes are commonly reflected through the use of evaluative adjectives and nouns that carry negative connotations. In general, Campbell (2016) opined that the movement itself is constructed as a threat to the Canadian social fabric.

Secondly, Chu and Huang (2019) study investigated the issue of Taiwan's human zoo case in which the Paiwan people were misrepresented in a four-episode documentary aired by Japan's NHK. This study examined instances of racist discourses in which NHK projected itself as a morally positive leader through the use of discursive strategies that employed instances of dominance in projecting itself as positive entity while putting the opposite party in a negative limelight. Moreover, the repetitive use of the term "human zoo" was found to reflect the Paiwan people as uncivilised while deeming it as derogatory, pejorative, discriminatory and racist. Based on the analysis, a total of five discursive strategies were applied in NHK's arguments in justifying their reasons for representing the Paiwan people as such while preventing themselves from being accused of replicating racist ideologies. Furthermore, the use of these discursive strategies repeatedly positioned the Paiwan people in an undermined and prejudiced manner. They stressed that NHK's arguments have the potential to encourage negative views on the Paiwan people which can further worsen the marginalisation of indigenous peoples.

Lastly, Mesikämmen (2016) examined the power relations pertaining to the mainstream news coverage of the Indigenous policy of Australia's Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) or commonly known as the Intervention which revealed a polarised relationship between the dominant mainstream media and the First Australians. The analysis conducted on the journalistic practices namely news values, ideas of audience, regular sources and deadline combined with the resources available to news outlets plus the discourse practices of social actors revealed that government officials or representatives often spoke on behalf of the First Australians which inhibited their opportunity to partake in the discourse of the NTER policy framework. Mesikämmen (2016) emphasised that the First Australians' limited discourse participation can be solved by the media in which they need to forge new connections with the First Australians in order to provide a platform for them to voice out their concerns regarding their ethnic affairs. However, it is vital to note that the First Australians possess a limited discursive power in the public arena due to the media and government's dominance that are influenced by the various journalistic practices such as high costs in accessing the Northern Territory, the urgency to meet deadlines and the

links with government officials or representatives that are often fuelled by their agendas as well.

Therefore, these extensive past studies conducted do reveal a general trend that indicates the polarised ideological pattern which reflects the notion of “us versus them” (Van Dijk, 1998) while reflecting the media's dominance in projecting indigenous communities in a marginalised, negative and stereotyped manner.

The Orang Asli

The Orang Asli are a group of aborigines that established their presence in Peninsular Malaysia before the rise of the Malay sultanates which can be dated back to as early as the 25th century. The Orang Asli constitutes the country's racial diversity with a population of 178,197 (JAKOA, 2018). Generally, the community constitutes less than 1% of the country's population (Jamal and Naghmeah-Abbaspour, 2020). The term Orang Asli solely denotes the indigenous minority that reside in Peninsular Malaysia (Nicholas, 2003) and not of those residing in the regions of Sabah and Sarawak. The Orang Asli community as a whole is a heterogeneous community as some ethnic groups speak different languages, for instance, the Senoi and Negrito groups speak Aslian languages whereas the Aboriginal Malay speak dialects that are related to the Austronesian family of languages (Nicholas, 2003). A total of three major groups comprising of the Negrito (Semang), Senoi and Aboriginal Malay (Proto-Malay) which are then further divided into six sub-ethnic groups respectively. Furthermore, the Orang Asli's culture is unique in a sense that the economic activities carried out to earn and sustain a living differ from those that occur in the more modern and developed societies in urban areas. This is because it is estimated that about 40% of Orang Asli live in the periphery or inner parts of forests (Nicholas, 2003) while relying on staple activities such as agriculture, fishing and harvesting while some are still semi-nomadic such as those from the Negrito groups (Masron et al., 2013).

As the country continues to develop in various sectors, the Orang Asli, however, still remains lagged behind in contrast to those residing in the much more developed urban areas of the country which leads to them being perceived as one of the nation's communities that are in a dire state of plight. In order to ensure that the Orang Asli are assimilated and integrated into the country's development, a government agency was set up to manage the people's welfare which is the Department of Orang Asli Development (JAKOA) previously known as JHEOA. Besides, the Orang Asli are also catered under a set of laws that are gazetted under Act 134 of the Aboriginal People's Act of 1954, under the Federal Constitution. On the other hand, Nicholas (2003) highlighted that despite the Orang Asli being categorised as the country's bumiputera they are still not treated as the true real aborigines of the country due to not being conferred full rights when compared to their other bumiputera counterparts. In addition, several past studies conducted does show a general trend that the Orang Asli are indeed marginalised and misrepresented in the media to the extent that they are constantly positioned in a negative limelight. Mustafa (1994) warns that such continuous treatments on the Orang Asli will only facilitate their “disappearance” from the country's society. Furthermore, Jamal and Naghmeah-Abbaspour (2020) explained that people who delve into the issues of the Orang Asli will discover that they are no longer in control of their own lives in which they are negatively perceived as being lagging behind in their socioeconomic development alongside the depiction of them being emotional, powerless and always at the receiving end of things (Ismail et al., 2020). Furthermore, Masron et al. (2013)

highlighted that the Orang Asli often face the same problems that are faced by other neglected minority groups in which they are lacking in both political representation and participation, a marginalised state of economy as well as general forms of discrimination such as the lack of access to proper health and welfare amenities.

Despite the misleading portrayals and the stereotypical trends that have been engrained in the minds of the public in a general stance, the Orang Asli's have not given up in seeking for the government's recognition on their community's existence, problems and perspectives (Nicholas, 2003) while advocating for equal opportunities to access these basic amenities (Masron et al., 2013).

Past studies conducted on the Orang Asli

Based on the past literatures conducted on the Orang Asli, researchers have been focusing on various fields such as anthropological, socioeconomic (Masron et al., 2013; Aiken and Leigh, 2011; Musa, 2011), sociology (Kamaruddin and Jusoh, 2008) and sociolinguistic (Abd Ghani, 2015; Abd Ghani and Lah, 2015) fields before shifting its focus towards the representation of Orang Asli in the media. The earliest study pertaining to the representation of Orang Asli in the media was conducted by Mustafa (1994) with the latest being Jamal and Naghmeh-Abbaspour (2020). Moreover, recent studies have gradually focused on both linguistic and ideological aspects of the texts produced by the Malaysian mainstream media in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding on the strategies used to represent the Orang Asli in the eyes of the masses. First and foremost, Mustafa (1994) conducted a preliminary study on the representation of minority groups in the Malaysian press. In this study, the Orang Asli were considered as one of the minority groups that existed in the Malaysian society. This study focused on the scope of press coverage and the emphasis provided in covering the community's issues. From this study, it was found that the Orang Asli usually received press coverage when the events occurred fulfilled the criteria of what constituted as "bad or negative" news and also when the events were deemed to be connected to the practices of the mainstream society. Mustafa (1994) emphasised that such reporting practices are still tied to the conventional journalistic practices in which prominence is mainly given to both social and political elites while stressing that complex issues faced by the minorities were generally not reported.

Secondly, David et al. (2010) study examined the saliency of news topics produced by the media in relation to their frequency of appearance in the media. They conducted a content analysis of 81 articles obtained from The New Straits Times by examining the frequency of news articles published, the recurring themes that emerged, the prioritisation given to the types of news articles and the attributes used to describe the community. The main themes that surfaced mainly revolved around social issues, corporate social responsibility (CSR), culture and tourism, economy and others. Thirdly, Loh (2011) conducted a comparative study between two news websites namely, The Star (mainstream) and The Malaysian Insider (alternative) with focus on religious and land issues. It was found that The Star had a higher reporting frequency compared to The Malaysian Insider, however, the latter was found to be less comprehensive in its reporting as compared to the former. Despite The Star possessing a high reporting frequency, it was suggested that more comprehensive and in-depth news articles should be reported by them in order to create, develop and attract readers' interest and understanding towards the Orang Asli's issues. Jamal and Manan (2016) study began to delve on both linguistic and ideological aspects that were found in newspaper articles.

The findings revealed that the Orang Asli were projected in a marginalised and stereotyped manner as opposed to the powerful elites comprising of entities from the ruling government and government agencies such as JAKOA. Besides, the findings revealed the symbolic polarisation of Van Dijk (1993) notion of “us vs them” in which the ruling government and government agencies portrayed themselves in a positive manner while downplaying the Orang Asli in a negative perspective. Not only that, the Orang Asli themselves were voiceless whilst being associated with negative lexis that portray them as a group of people who are weak, problematic and traditional.

Next, Ismail et al. (2020) conducted the study via the combination of both corpus linguistics and discourse analysis to further reveal that the news articles analysed continuously projected the Orang Asli in a stereotypical narrative construction which revealed signs of biased coverage with focus mainly on the authorities such as those from the ruling government and government agencies as well as consistently depicting the community at the receiving end of things. As a result of such biasness, the Orang Asli in this context were found to be overshadowed and overpowered by those who possess and exert a set of definite power towards the community. Besides, the news articles also consistently focused on recurring contemporary issues such as the Orang Asli's land ordeals, resources and other issues. Lastly, Jamal and Naghmeh-Abbaspour (2020) latest study conducted an interview on the Orang Asli, members from non-governmental organisations (NGO), journalists and personnel from JAKOA pertaining to the representation issues of the community in the media. From the interviews conducted, two opposing views surfaced in which the journalists and JAKOA personnel strongly denied that the community were being misrepresented whilst the Orang Asli and members of the NGOs strongly agreed that such biasness and treatment exists towards the community. Generally, the common ground that can be established from these past literatures reveal that the Orang Asli are indeed depicted as a traditional, backward and problematic community while consistently being reinforced with pejorative connotations and stereotypes by the media resulting in the creation of a static social identity in the eyes of the Malaysian society (Ismail et al., 2020).

Materials and Methods

The corpus of the study involved 158 news articles extracted from The Star published between January 2019 and June 2019. The study adopts Van Dijk's Semantic Macrostructures Theory (1980), precisely focusing on the analysis of microstructures. However, only selected features that lie under the rubric of microstructures (rhetoric) will be discussed and incorporated into the analysis due to their relevance to this study. Rhetoric deals with the manipulation of special verbal ploys which include metaphors, repetitions and alliterations serving to grab the readers' attention and achieve the persuasive aim of the writer (Van Dijk, 1993). In the analysis of discourse, the focus on rhetoric, and implicit and explicit expressions are important in comprehending the hidden ideology buried beneath a text. With the analysis on rhetoric, attention is paid to figures of discourse which include alliterations, metaphors, irony, comparisons, understatements, metonymy, hyperboles and repetitions which all play their respective roles in drawing the attention of the reader. In similar perspective, other elements for analysis include sources, quotes from eye witnesses and scene descriptions which could add credibility to the worthiness of the news report. Van Dijk (2013) has posited that the

use of rhetoric may contribute to the aesthetics, credibility and persuasive power of the news reports.

Results and Discussion

According to Van Dijk (2013) rhetorical structures possess a fundamental energy to draw the attention of readers, as well as add to the aesthetics, reliability and influential power of the news reports. Wilkin (2003) has also mentioned that rhetoric usually revolves around the art and science of positioning and deploying linguistic devices for the purpose of persuasion. One of the most recurring patterns which can be observed in the analysis is the instance of series (tricolon and tetracolon climax). Examples are provided below:

...at further developing the Orang Asli community to become more dynamic, independent and to play an active role in society.

The adjectives 'dynamic,' 'independent' and 'active' have been placed in parallel to form a tricolon. It helps to intensify the point being discussed, which is the betterment of the Orang Asli community.

...to be on par with other communities in the country in terms of education, infrastructure, economic wellbeing and health standards.

The nouns 'education,' 'infrastructure,' 'economic wellbeing' and 'health standards' have been strung together to form a tetracolon climax. Positioning the nouns together introduces the emphatic idea of the sentence-the many areas to be developed for the community. Series are basically incorporated in writing to stress or highlight important issues or certain states of being. The use of series in representing prominent ideas and strategies has reinforced the intended meaning of the journalists toward the readers, which is to focus their attention to the initiatives undertaken by the governmental agencies in further developing the Orang Asli community in various important fields such as education, infrastructure, economic comfort and health. Furthermore, it has also been used to emphasise the role of the authorities in shaping the community into better individuals who are more dynamic and independent.

The writer has also heavily relied on a number of testimonies in writing this report. This step is crucial to support the facts presented in the report and verify its reliability and credibility. The sources of information include the JAKOA, its Director-General Datuk Mohd Sani Mistam and two Orang Asli leaders (Tok Batin). The strategy of quoting views and opinions from multiple sources may be intended to portray The Star as a credible news agency to its readers. The information from JAKOA and its Director General convey the message that much has been done and much more will be done to further develop the Orang Asli community to be on par with the rest of the communities in the nation. In order to validate the claims by these officials, the writer has gathered the views from the Orang Asli leaders who had actually agreed to all those claims and nodded to the notion that they had received ample aid from the authorities. An example would be:

1. Kampung Sentosa Lenga Tok Batin Lanyau Kop from Muar said that JAKOA's assistance in providing school uniforms and allowances to school-going children in his village meant that more students were now attending school regularly.

2. Another tribal leader from Kampung Tanah Gembor in Ledang Jengkeng Jani hoped that the construction of drains and roads in his village would be completed soon.

3. Ismail said when the villagers previously took their water woes to the authorities, they were told that the pump at the nearby Batu Sawar treatment plant was not powerful enough to transport water to the village.

Sentence 1 validates the claim that the Orang Asli community has received aid in terms of school uniforms and allowances. On the other hand, sentence 2 draws upon the feedback from another Orang Asli leader who mentions that construction work had already begun in his village and he hopes that it will be completed soon. As for the third example, the sentence validates the notion that the Orang Asli community has been deprived of basic amenities such as water. Their despair comes to an end through the intervention by Barisan Nasional leaders. Incorporation of testimonies is deemed to be an important aspect in any news making process. This is due to the fact that the confidence and assurance of readers may be captured through the insertion of quotes from reliable agencies, such as authorities or those involved in the news story. The same tactic is employed here where many testimonies from Orang Asli individuals have been slotted throughout the report to validate the claims made. Apart from series and testimonies, another rhetorical component which has been found in the news report S1 is the existence of dysphemism. Few instances on the use of dysphemism are found and according to Van Dijk (2013), this is a common finding in standard reporting especially on issues involving indigenous people.

...Orang Asli folk set to gain from JAKOA's assistance

The noun 'folk' is used as a substitute instead of using more neutral terms such as community or people. 'Folk' is an informal term referring to people in general and may be also used to refer to members of a particular society or region who are regarded as the representatives of a traditional way of life and especially as the originators or carriers of the customs, beliefs, and arts that make up a distinctive culture. As such, using the term 'folk' to refer to the Orang Asli community regards them as being clinging to their old and traditional way of life, thus explaining why they fail to develop and are left behind the rest of mainstream society.

...Another tribal leader from Kampung Tanah Gembor in Ledang Jengkeng Jani hoped...

Notice the use of the attributive adjective 'tribal' to describe the leader of the Orang Asli community. Tribal is usually used to refer to a group of people of same race, beliefs, customs and language who live in the same geographical area. Referring to the community as a tribe is rather discriminatory as it somehow excludes the community from the rest of other mainstream societies living in the country. A more impartial term

such as 'an Orang Asli leader' could have been used to refer to the actor in the sentence above. Employment of assonance has also been found in the news reports analysed. See the example provided below:

...The JAKOA no longer focuses solely on issues regarding the community's welfare

Assonance is one of the most important features in the press, and it usually appears in the headlines and lead sentences which state the evaluative meanings and beliefs (Van Dijk, 1993). The instance of assonance has been found in its lead sentence as well, which is as stated above. Its function in this lead sentence is to emphasise the view posited, as 'no longer focuses solely' matches and sounds better than 'focuses not only'. Special emphasis such as incorporating assonance is employed especially when the sentences are placed on a higher level in a text, such as the lead or the headline. This is to strengthen the positive properties of the in-group members. In a polysyndeton, words and phrases are connected together through the use of conjunctions such as 'and' and 'but' between each of the words in the list. The main purpose of using a polysyndeton is to slow down the pace of the sentence so that readers get to pause in between to focus on the information projected and thus, making the ideas appear more apparent. Consider the following example:

In the schemes, they could earn a fixed income apart from participating in their usual chores like hunting and foraging in the forest and doing odd job.

In this example, conjunction 'and' is used to connect the different types of chores participated by the Orang Asli community such as hunting, foraging and also taking up odd jobs. By doing so, readers to get focus more on the types of activities favoured by the community (the traditional ones the community still clinging to).

Conclusion

Certain powerful tools in the canon of rhetoric are found in the analysis; series, testimonies, dysphemism, assonance and polysyndeton. Such utilization of tactics ingrains important ideas and policies into the mind of readers, which to a large extent portray the Orang Asli community in a biased and discriminated way. The typical depiction of the community as being poor, needy and underdeveloped provides a damaging effect on the image of the community from the eyes of the mainstream readers of the media. Such biased and projected also limit the array of perspectives presented in the media and allow people in powerful position to manipulate the media coverage of events, where the expressions tend to acquiesce with the wants and needs of the elites. In other words, media is the pivotal source of information in the formation of interpretative framework for specific types of social relations, and this includes matter concerning ethnic relations as well. The selection of topics, choice of actors, quotation patterns and rhetorical choices resort to representing the minorities in a biased manner while upholding and maintaining the affluences of the elites.

The primary focus of media falls on the explicit racialised forms of depiction, while failing to shift or assume into consideration other deeper political, economic and social circumstances the Orang Asli are subjected to. The voices of the minorities are often overshadowed by other dominant figures belonging to the elite group. Such unequal

dominance presents an ideological perspective whereby discrimination became a strategy to oppress the minorities while upholding and bolstering their own power. Despite the fact that regulations have been amended in allocating better freedom of expression, very limited policies emerged, and constrictions are imposed on legislation regarding the matter. This suppressed the flow of ideas in the press thus granting the media the role of becoming a key player of authoritarian praxis. The current study proposes for a fairer coverage of ethnic affair, especially when the immediate role of media is rather immediate especially on the structures and cognition of a social group; in this study; the Orang Asli community.

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