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SOCIAL MEDIA ANALYSIS ON MALAY POLITICAL PARTIES IN MALAYSIA: STUDY ON THE ISSUES AND COMMENTS FACEBOOK

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Abstract:

Social media is very important to disseminate and share information related to political issues to media users. Social media also provides space for media users to comment on political issues. Almost all political parties have their own 'page', as well as the candidates who are contesting, in addition to the content of the manifesto debate between the parties as well as the emotions of supporters and voters are uploaded on Facebook. This study identified the frequency, framing of issues and comments on the four Facebook of political parties. This study is to identify issues of common concern in Facebook Malay political parties and comments by Facebook users on the progress of the administration by the National Alliance government under the leadership of Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin. This study used qualitative methods to retrieve data from Facebook Malay political parties such as UMNO, PKR, PAS and BERSATU. Data collected from four political parties' Malay Facebook starting 1 September 2020 to 31 December 2020. The researchers use Framing Theory to identify the issues that are discussed in social media. The analysis will be made according to the amount of frequency, type of issue, and form of comments discussed through the narrative approach. Based on data collected over the past four months, researchers found that the whole issue is being discussed by UMNO of 285, total 147 PAS, PKR as much as 122 and as many as 21 BERSATU while the issues discussed in the official Facebook account of Malay political party is criticism, elections, COVID-19, political, economic, social, governmental, educational and religious. The most discussed issue is political issues. As for the comment frequency trend, the satirical politeness form strategy was the highest involving comments on the four Facebook political parties.

Introduction

Social media plays an important role in conveying information to the public. According to the Multimedia and Communications Commission (MCMC) Report published in 2018, the social media penetration rate in Malaysia is 97.3 percent for Facebook, 57 percent for Twitter, and 23.8 percent for Instagram. In the current Malaysian context, there are two main media channels, namely traditional media, and new media. Traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers have played a major role in the election campaign since the country gained independence. Yet, by 2008, the function of traditional media has slowly been taken over by new media and the latest is social media which is more interactive and fastest. Social media not only functions as a socialisation with the public but also to get sharing on political issues. For example, Mitchell & Weisel (2014) stated that 48 percent of media users get news about government and politics from Facebook while 75 percent of users say that their friends from social media posted political content during the 2012 election. According to Ahmad and Salman (2015), media social media such as Facebook, Twitter and Youtube have been used by Malaysians to express their opinions on political issues. While in terms of opinion sharing, the public is seen to prefer to use online media to convey opinions such as participating in discussion groups that discuss current issues, especially political issues through status on social media such as Facebook, Twitter and blogs (Hartanti 2018). Social media becomes a platform to speak out in various fields such as employment, hobbies and activities performed.

At the same time, Wahab, & Rahim (2013), state that opinion participation is the right and responsibility of every individual in a democratic country. This is indirectly closely related to the increasing use of abusive or impolite language due to the freedom of online communication. Language rudeness occurs because there is a clash of speech between speakers that can threaten the dignity of the listener such as abusive words, insulting an opinion or suggestion, negatively making comparisons between other individuals, or belittling the feelings of the listener.

According to Muhamad Nadzri & Jamaie (2018), since Malaysia's independence in 1957, Barisan Nasional (BN) has been the longest-serving uninterrupted government in the world until its fall in the 14th General Election. Pakatan Rakyat gained the popular vote in Peninsular Malaysia (Gomez, 2014) in the 13th General Election followed by a landslide victory in the 14th general election. The country's political crisis erupted when Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad resigned on February 24, 2020. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Al-Sultan Abdullah Ri'ayatuddin Al-Mustafa Billah Shah, has appointed Tan Sri Muhyiddin Mohd Yassin, as the 8th Prime Minister.

Thus, this study will focus on the issues discussed in the Facebook Malay political parties after the election to the 14th (GE-14), especially regarding political developments in Malaysia. The research also focused on the trends in posting frequency and framing forms as well as examining the forms of rudeness strategies in the comments section of UMNO, PKR, PAS and BERSATU Facebook. Overall, the study covers the frequency and nature of the issues discussed by the political parties and the politeness of the Malay language in the comment section on Facebook Malay political party in Malaysia.

Literature Review

Social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Youtube offer people the ability to form online communities interactively and allow conversations that allow them to connect online, share information, knowledge and opinions (Jensen, 1998; Safko and Brake, 2009). The use of social networking sites as participatory tools has provided a channel for people to engage politically with each other and their governments, and the sites become growing strength in the study of civic engagement and participation (Carpentier, 2007). It is important to emphasize political participation that involves a lot of access to information or expressing the views of individuals who indirectly have the opportunity to consult (Polat, 2005). Proper expression of opinion is very important to ensure that the system of government remains developed and stable.

The use of social media to campaign the elections has gained attention from politicians, especially since the U.S. presidential election. In 2008 Barack Obama successfully encouraged society to use social media (Skovsgaard & Dalen, 2013). The use of social media in political campaigns has at least two advantages namely the low cost and ease of use and secondly to match the speed of traditional media where it offers direct contact with the targeted audience faster. As a result, social media can deliver news that is not reported by the mainstream media more effectively (Broersma & Graham, 2012).

How individuals engage in social media has consequences from commenting. Patterns choose to comment and react to content on social media sites such as Facebook that affects the surface of the algorithm. The more often people engage with a particular news item, the more likely that type of news will be ranked high based on algorithms displayed at the top of the news feed to possibly affect the selected news content (Mosseri, 2018). According to Capella & Jamieson (1997), exposure to various types of content can influence people's attitudes and beliefs for example the effort made is to encourage involvement in an issue raised. Arguably, the surface strategies of overcoming the coverage of issues on social media will not be democratic but the pattern of platforms that prioritize democratically destructive content should be taken seriously. Culpepper (2008) revealed that language politeness occurs when authors give comments mixed with intentional attacks or behaviors that listeners perceive language politeness as intentionally to attack their dignity. In 2005, Culpepper also once stated the same theory that language rudeness occurs when commentators communicate to intentionally attack dignity or personality.

In contrast, Mills (2005) argues that language rudeness depends on an individual's understanding to judge appropriately on past events where it can influence a person's interpretation or assumption. However, according to Watts (2003) polite or impolite behavior is difficult to assess because social interaction can change a person's perception. The implication is that an individual who communicates and listens is unlikely to have the same interpretation of the issue to be conveyed.

Framing and Framing Theory

Researcher uses theory framing to analyze and comment on Facebook Malay political parties. This method is suitable for researchers to look more deeply and focus on how the media disseminates information to the public about the issues in focus. Meanwhile, framing theory is usually in the state of two situations. This is explained by Scheufele (1999) and Druckman (2001) that is, first, 'a frame in communication' or 'a media frame' refers to images or

descriptions, phrases and presentation styles. This method is usually used by those such as politicians or the media. This method is used in conveying information on an issue or event to the community. They see the framing of an interesting topic is based on what the journalist or editor sees. The second situation described is, 'a frame in thought'. This depends on the individual's wishes including understanding based on the given situation. The situation is quite different from the field of communication which describes the emphasis or priority by the speaker. The matter emphasizes on what the audience believes in relation to the most salient and salient aspects of a framed issue.

As such, the use of this framing theory will focus on how the media draws public attention to hot issues discussed on Facebook Malay political parties through posting by setting the types of issues and then taking some media user comments to create a framework, where users will understand the information. So, in a way this theory is used to assist researchers in collecting, selecting, organizing and communicating ideas, events, and topics of public debate for public viewing and reading up on the Malay political parties.

News framing can be seen as a substitute for agenda setting theory where it is seen as unable to tell what to think through a more systematic and in-depth reporting, especially when it comes to the selection process and prominence in the publication of a news. If public relations were defined as the process of establishing and maintaining mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and the communities that depend on them, the establishment of a general frame of reference on topics or issues of mutual concern is a necessary condition for effective relationships to be established. Typically, this frame comes from politicians and supporters of the issue, not journalists, at least not journalists or journalists. In online news publishing, journalists have identified news frames to begin the process of developing a news item. Therefore, if hot issues related to the development and crisis of the country are discussed on social media continuously then the audience will more likely to pay attention to political parties. The feedback of media users through comments given can be emphasized because it covers views from various parties.

Methodology

The researcher used qualitative methods in conducting this study. The research method is content analysis related to the issues discussed as well as comments framed by media users. For data analysis, content in the form of descriptive data collection was done and researchers conducted three main phases throughout the study, the methods are post selection method, data retrieval method and code categorization method 'coding categories'. Encoder selection is based on the background and knowledge in the field of media and data collected from up to Malay political parties from September to December 2020.

Finding

Total Posting Frequency Trends

In total there are 575 posts shared by the four Malay political parties in social media sites Facebook, respectively. However, UMNO's Facebook recorded the highest percentage of issues at 49.57 percent, compared to PAS's Facebook posts of only 24.70 percent (147 posts). PKR political party posts by 20.50 percent (122 posts followed by BERSATU political party by 3.52 percent with a total frequency of 21 issues during the period under review. The experiment proved more discussions take place in Facebook Malay political parties after the

general election to the 14th after the appointment of the new prime minister of the country. Among the dates that received the highest posts were November 1 to November 30, 2020 there were only 159 posts, followed by September 1 to October 31, 2020 there were 134 to 142 posts and December 1 to December 31, 2020) involving 140 posts only. (Refer Table 1).

Table 1: Total Frequency and Percentage of Posts September-December 2020

Malay Political Parties	Month				Amount of frequency	Percentage (%)
	September	October	November	December		
	1.9.2020 – 31.9.2020	1.10.2020 – 31.10.2020	1.11.2020 – 31.11.2020	1.12.2020 – 31.12.2020		
UMNO	75	65	75	70	**285**	49.57
PKR	20	30	39	33	**122**	20.50
PAS	42	37	37	31	**147**	24.70
BERSATU	5	2	8	6	**21**	3.52
Amount of frequency	**142**	**134**	**159**	**140**	**575**	100%

The findings that can be seen from this study clearly prove that the issues discussed after the 14th General Election, more precisely during the administration under Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin have an increasing number of frequencies starting September 1, 2020 (first month) until the stipulated period that is, on 31 December 2020 (fourth month) for all issues by the political parties studied. The first month to the second month (September 1 to October 31, 2020) showed the average frequency of all political parties sharing issues on their respective official Facebook was between 134 to 142 issues only. However, for the third month (November 1 to November 30, 2020) it increased to 159 issues and in the fourth month (December 1 to December 31, 2020) it involved only 140 issues.

The frequency of these reported issues proves that political events after the change of government after the 14th General Election, more precisely during the administration by Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin attracted the interest of media users to seek information on widely discussed issues as it aroused curiosity. and engage in developments taking place in the country. While the issues discussed involved the Malay political party UMNO, PKR, PAS and BERSATU but the number of issues discussed is closely related to the interests of the administration during a pandemic COVID-19 that hit the country. For example, UMNO Malay political party emerged as the highest range of issues discussed in the December 75 issue followed by PKR (33), PAS (31) and BERSATU (6).

Framing Theme and Framing Form in Facebook of Malay Political Party

Framing Theme

The study found nine issues discussed in the Facebook posting criticism of Malay political parties, elections, COVID 19th, political, economic, social, government, education and religion. The results of the study found that political themes recorded the highest number of 113 in UMNO Facebook, 46 (PKR), 71 (PAS) and 11 from BERSATU Facebook. This shows that UMNO's Facebook is more dominant in discussing political issues on its social media. After the political issue, another issue discussed was about the election especially the date of the election in the country will take place. Facebook UMNO dominant again 46 posts discussing election issues, PKR (16) but PAS and BERSATU only two posts discussing election issues. This shows that UMNO, which does not hold the reins of government at the moment, despite having many seats, is still discussing the election because they want to return to rule the country after the decisive power in the government was controlled by the BERSATU party. Only two PAS posts and only two BERSATU posts prove that they do not want to discuss election issues for fear of losing power in the government. Concerns of the people not voting for them led to the party's Facebook post not discussing election issues. More clearly, UMNO's Facebook post on critical issues reached 20 issues, 2 (PKR), 1 (PAS) and none from Facebook BERSATU on critical issues. Posting economic issues was also the target of UMNO's Facebook which recorded 67 posts, 36 (PKR), 14 (PAS) and no issue posts in Facebook BERSATU. (Refer Table 2)

Table 2: The Issues Discussed in Facebook Malay Political Parties.

Types of Issues discussed					
Theme	**UMNO**	**PKR**	**PAS**	**BERSATU**	**Total**
Critism	20	2	1	-	24
Elections	46	16	2	2	66
COVID-19	3	2	9	2	15
Political	113	46	71	11	241
Ekonomy	67	36	14	-	117
Social	25	11	4	3	32
Government	6	3	4	1	14
Education	2	2	1	-	5
Religion	3	4	41	2	50
Total	**285**	**122**	**147**	**21**	**575**

Framing Form

The study also identified the form of framing is done by all Facebook posts Malay political parties. Among the examples of posts in this study involving political themes are;

Political

> PAS Secretary General's Media Statement
> PAS MPs Support the Prime Minister and the National Alliance Government *(Kenyataan Media Setiausaha Agung PAS*
> *Ahli Parlimen PAS Sokong Perdana Menteri dan Kerajaan Perikatan Nasional)*
>
> 1. PAS would like to emphasize that all 18 PAS MPs fully support Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin as the Prime Minister of Malaysia who leads the current National Alliance Government)
> (Facebook PAS, October 11, 2020 – (*PAS ingin menegaskan semua 18 Ahli Parlimen PAS menyokong penuh Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin sebagai Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang memimpin Kerajaan Perikatan Nasional sekarang.*
> *(Facebook PAS, 11 Oktober 2020)*

The example above shows the discussion of issues by PAS related to political developments. PAS expressed the full support of PAS MPs for the administration of Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin. PAS also hopes that the government will take stern action against individuals or parties who make the people feel restless and confused that can affect the development of the country's economic sector. Also involved economy theme;

Economy

> GST will be re-implemented after a detailed study is done.
> Without an economic background and the ability to understand the country's financial movements, Muhyiddin will not be able to manage the country well. His 'only' reliance on the Finance Minister is an overly disrespectful move. This can lead to abuse of power, especially the existence of organized crime to monopolize projects in the interest of the people. (Facebook, UMNO, 29 December 2020) – (*GST akan dilaksanakan semula selepas kajian terperinci dilakukan. Tanpa latar belakang ekonomi dan keupayaan memahami pergerakan kewangan negara, Muhyiddin tidak akan mampu menguruskan negara ini dengan baik. Kebergantungan beliau 'hanya' kepada Menteri Kewangan adalah langkah yang terlalu sumbang. Boleh menjurus ke arah salah guna kuasa terutama akan wujudnya jenayah terancang membolot projek berkepentingan Rakyat. (Facebook, UMNO, 29 Disember 2020)*

The example above shows the discussion of the GST issue by UMNO. In the statement, GST was informed that it will be implemented again after a detailed study is done. This is because Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin who only depends on the Minister of Finance is considered incapable of running the country smoothly because he does not have an economic background.

Forms of Impoliteness Language in Comments Regarding to The Issues Discussed
The results of the research focus on five main issues as objectives, namely to identify strategies of language politeness, positive politeness, negative politeness, satirical politeness, withhold the politeness that has been used in comments on Facebook. Table 3 below shows the data for all types of language rudeness strategies results of the research focus on three main issues as objectives, namely to identify the strategies of language rudeness, positive rudeness and negative rudeness that have been used in comments on Facebook. Table 3 below shows the

data for all types of language rudeness strategies. However, only two strategic forms of data are discussed, namely Negative Impoliteness and Positive Impoliteness.

Table 3: Forms of Impoliteness to Issues Discussed

Strategies	UMNO	PKR	PAS	BERSATU
	Comments	Comments	Comments	Comments
Bald-on-record impoliteness	4	8	17	9
Positive Impoliteness	11	10	7	12
Negative Impoliteness	23	9	11	15
Sarcasm/mock politeness	12	23	14	14
Withhold politeness	-	-	1	-
TOTAL	50	50	50	50

Negative Impoliteness Strategy

Negative impoliteness is the use of strategies aimed at damaging the speaker's face that include elements of intimidation, ridicule, insult, belittling the speaker's feelings and using greetings by highlighting negative personality aspects. The following is an example of a comment that contains elements of negative impoliteness strategy in UMNO, PKR, PAS and BERSATU Facebook comments.

UMNO Facebook Comments

We know you promised to abolish the toll, you promised in front of us. We cheered happily. This party is good. We support it. But the deceived are still paying the toll. That's right you peed. Wait for pru15 taste. I don't even know how to go to Sg Buloh.

(*Komen Facebook UMNO*
Kami tahu kau janji nak mansohkan tol tu janji kamu depan kami. Kami bersorak gembira. Bagus parti ni.Kami sokonglah.Tapi tertipu tol masih bayar. Betullah kau kencing.Tunggu pru15 rasalah. Tak pun entah ke Sg Buloh)

UMNO Facebook comments show Facebook users using negative rudeness strategies under PKR political issues shared by UMNO. Based on the comments, Facebook users used the expression to disparage the PKR government with the phrase "we know you promised to abolish tolls, that's your promise to us. We cheered for the good of this party. We support but you are deceived. Tolls still have to be paid. You really deceived us. "This expression is one of the promises in the PH government's manifesto during GE14 but the promise could not be implemented because the toll is still bound by the concession agreement. Apart from that,

Facebook users, namely writers, use expressions to intimidate PKR, such as the phrase Wait for GE15. I don't even know how to go to Sg Buloh. The commenter seemed to tell PKR that it would not win a seat in Parliament because the people would not vote for the party. However, if PKR gets a seat or becomes the government, the people will make sure that they will be sent to Sungai Buloh prison.

Positive Impoliteness Strategy

Positive rudeness is a strategy used to affect the dignity of the listener or speaker by using unclear language, using unclear identity markers, ignoring the feelings of the listener or speaker and showing disapproval. The following examples of comments that contain elements of positive rudeness strategies in UMNO, PKR, PAS and BERSATU Facebook comments.

BERSATU Facebook Comments
The people are not cheering like this..It matches your face..The traitor will indeed be betrayed.Lumrah alam..for people, tomorrow, he has to return..Allah is Most Just ..

(*Komen Facebook BERSATU*
Rakyat bersorak tgk mcm ni..Padan muka korang..Pengkhianat memang akan dikhianati.Lumrah alam..buat orang,esok lusa , kena la balik..Allah Maha Adil..)

The comments above show Facebook users using a positive rudeness strategy in comments under political issues. Based on the comments, it was found that Facebook users used factors to bring down the dignity of the BERSATU party under the phrase *Rakyat bersorak tgk mcm ni..Padan muka korang*. In addition, Facebook users also use vague identity markers through the phrase Traitor will indeed be betrayed. Facebook users did not reveal who the traitor referred to in the phrase was who had betrayed.

Discussion

Throughout 2018 to 2020, the people placed high trust and opportunity in the Pakatan Harapan (PH) -led government to continue leading the country after the government won the 14th General Election (GE-14) when it trimmed the Barisan Nasional (BN) government. as a government at the time. However, the situation changed when the PH government allegedly failed to run the country well especially in reducing the cost of living of the people, failing to lower petrol prices, abolishing tolls and providing free toll as stated in the election manifesto. This has caused the people to lose faith in the administration of the PH government, indirectly causing grievances and dissatisfaction among the people. Then, there was the Malaysian political crisis which led to the resignation of Mahathir Mohamad as the seventh Prime Minister which indirectly led to the appointment of Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin as the eighth Prime Minister. The event saw the removal of the PH coalition government after being in power for 22 months following their victory in the 2018 general election.

This happened because Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia or BERSATU withdrew from the PH coalition and through the support of several MPs from Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) who also decided to leave the party. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Al-Sultan Abdullah, then met with all MPs and political party leaders to gain their support for the new Prime Minister. After discussions, he finally agreed to appoint BERSATU President Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin

without any election as the latest Prime Minister with his coalition government known as the National Alliance (PN). However, during the administration of the PN government, various issues arose involving the government's failure to handle the country during the COVID-19 pandemic, failing to manage the country's political and economic perceptions affected by the Covid 19 outbreak. dissatisfaction and giving suggestions to politicians on social media especially when posting on Facebook of their political parties so that appropriate action can be taken to resolve the issue. Based on the study data, it was found that media users openly comment on social sites freely. This is clearly evident when the author comments on Facebook insulting the Malay political parties Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin.

Not only that, but the commentator also hurled sharp criticism against other politicians including the President of UMNO, PKR and PAS. Elements of intimidation have also been identified, such as provoking not to vote during the upcoming 15th General Election (GE-15). It speaks Malay political party Facebook gives users the freedom to media to express their views and feelings without government restrictions involved. The research could give meaning and deep knowledge of the issues that arose during the administration of the Malay political party in Malaysia through sharing in social media. The uniqueness of Malaysia as a plural country, the average media user on Facebook UMNO, PKR, PAS and BERSATU expressed dissatisfaction to encourage them to use crude or abusive language and create various forms of language rudeness. Malay political parties regarding Facebook as a platform to criticize the Government by the people, government leaders and politicians without thinking about the impact of such measures. The selection of the political party's Facebook is due to the total popularity of the two social media which has millions of followers and it can affect the development of his administration.

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