
'THE DEVIL OTHER': CRIME NEWS DISCOURSES AND FOREIGN NATIONALS IN MALAYSIA

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ABSTRACT

Crime news is considered as the most salient news among Malaysians. For the past 10 years, the relationship between the increasing number of foreign nationals in Malaysia and crime rate/crime reporting become an issue discussed from the grass roots to the members of the Malaysian parliament as in the early of 2016, the government in power announced to freeze the hiring of foreign nationals. There were Malaysian whom disagree with the government decision to hire more foreign nationals specifically the Bangladeshi in 2016. This article analysed recent news discourses involving foreign nationals in Malaysian crime news reporting. Four English language daily newspapers were investigated over the year of 2016 which are *The Star*, *The New Straits Times*, *The Sun*, and *The Malay Mail*. The paper argues that foreign nationals is the 'ideal' other which cause them to be associated to various negative activities. Constructing foreign nationals as problematic, deviant, and as 'the devil' can be discussed as an act to fit with the hegemonic idea that foreign nationals are seen as a major threat to the public socially, economically, and environmentally. The paper also explores the various issues/stories highlighted in the local crime news involving foreign nationals that draw new landscapes of Malaysian social pattern.

Keyword: *crime news, foreign nationals, English newspaper, news discourse, discourse historical analysis*

INTRODUCTION

The issue on foreign nationals in Malaysia erupted when the Malaysian government proposed to bring in 1.5 million workers from Bangladesh in February 18, 2016. The decision provoked reactions both negatively and positively from grass root level Malaysians to the members of

the parliament. According to Sofian Md. Makinuddin (2014), the criminal cases involving foreign nationals rises from 1524 cases to 1780 cases in 2014, and the criminal incidents involving foreign nationals were among others unarmed robbery, rape, murder, and assault. One salient issue arises from this matter which is the idea of the foreign national-criminal relationship. It is a notion stating that the huge number of criminal incidents in Malaysia were highly related to the influx of foreign nationals living in Malaysia (Sofian, 2014). In a conference held at Universiti Utara Malaysia, he tabled that the crime rate involving foreigners increased from 1524 cases to 1780 cases in the latest record. Nevertheless, the norm of relating foreign nationals to criminality The idea cum knowledge disseminated particularly by the media. The media in this study, Malaysian newspapers is an agent for constructing realities to the public (Muraskin & Domash, 2007; Wilson, 2010).

Basically, the foreign nationals-criminal notion will trigger the sense of ‘moral panic’ among citizen (Cohen, 2002). It does happen in countries with the high number of foreign nationals like the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and France. This paper explores news discourses circling foreign nationals in Malaysian crime reporting that are published in local print media. This study suggests that foreign nationals are the ideal ‘other’ for the media to associate with various negative issues. Becoming an ideal ‘other’ the media represented foreign nationals as a significant problem to the nation. According to Pickering (2001), foreign nationals (in Australian cases they were particularly refugees and asylum seekers), were assumed as a ‘deviant’ problem. The construction of foreign nationals as the ‘other’ in the local crime news created a ‘devil’ image to foreign nationals in Malaysia.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this paper is to explore the discourse of foreign nationals as the criminal ‘other’ in the crime news published by the Malaysian print media particularly English language mainstream newspapers. The study also discusses the construction of foreign nationals as ‘problematic’ figures through deviant language in the news text.

1. To find the discourse of the news reporting towards foreign nationals as reported in four English language newspapers in Malaysia.
2. To identify the deviant languages used in a news reporting towards foreign nationals as reported in four English language newspapers in Malaysia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This paper utilizes the discourse of ‘othering’ of the media to create arguments revolving foreign nationals-criminal as constructed by the media particularly newspapers. ‘Othering’ is a concept developed by a philosopher/writer by the name of Simone de Beauvoir in her book *The Second Sex* which was published in 1949. The ‘Othering’ concept essentially was under the wide umbrella of feminism to describe women negatively as the ‘other’ sex of men in patriarchal society. ‘Othering’ eventually subjected to wider arguments such as religion, ethnicity, and nationality. As long as a group of people are denoted as different with various methods such as marginalizing or discriminating acts, it could be referred as ‘othering’ acts (Harris & White, 2012). This study tries to problematize the social functions of the construction of foreign nationals as the criminal ‘other’ and to discuss how the print media makes sense

of the construction through the news reports. Other than that, it is interesting to note that the construction might be due to the common basic idea or pre-judgement of all Malaysians that foreign nationals are problematic figures (Norealyna, 2013). Nevertheless, based on the reading of the previous studies on criminalizing foreign nationals in their national press namely French (Coestello, 2014) and Britain (Hoops, Thomas, & Drzewiecka, 2015) three main discourses are discussed in this paper namely foreign nationals as the national other, racialized other, and dangerous other.

In order to use the concept of 'othering' by the media as the base for explaining foreign national-criminal notion, it is crucial to take into account the discourse of the crime news reported by the local media. The crime reporting involving foreign nationals ought to be read critically. The construction of foreign nationals in the local crime news associates the foreign nationals with deviancy and subtly showing them as a problematic figure to the country. Therefore, it would make the exclusion process or the 'othering' process easier and look worthy (de Noronha, 2015). On the other hand, it is also a crucial mean to adopt the idea of Pickering (2001) to use the deviance oriented concept to explain this matter. Deviancy makes the exclusion worthy (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

On the other hand, there were local researches relating to foreign nationals specifically immigrant workers and asylum seekers. Most of them discussing the illegality of those immigrants/foreign nationals and their lack of voice in the media which made the construction of foreign nationals to negative images (Don & Lee, 2014; Mohd Muzhafar & Izaham Shah, 2013; Sheren Khalid Abdul Razzaq, 2012). Other than that, foreign nationals specifically migrant workers legally and illegally also is seen as increasing and dominating certain part of urban and rural areas and Malaysian somehow in the condition of pre-moral panics and xenophobic (Abdul Rahim, Bachan Singh, & Muhammad Ammar, 2013; Norealyna, 2013).

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This paper focuses on 2016 and the early 2017 local crime reporting mentioning foreign nationals published by four English language local newspapers namely *The Star*, *The New Straits Times*, *The Sun*, and *The Malay Mail*. According to Reuters Institute of Digital News report 2017 Malaysian chapter which was written by Zaharom Nain (2017), among these four newspapers, *The Star* currently have highest online and offline readership despite the fall in terms of its number of circulation. The media particularly mainstream newspapers in Malaysia are owned by political parties in power (Don & Lee, 2014; Zaharom, 2017). *The Star* was a member of Asian News Network and owned by Star Media Group, which the major shareholder is Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), a party who is previously under the coalition party who ruled Malaysia. Conversely, *The New Straits Times* is a newspaper under a giant media company, Media Prima which previously owned by the ruling government but recently the ownership of it keeps changing (Lee, 2018). On the other hand, *The Sun Daily* currently owned by Berjaya Group, another prominent conglomerate in Malaysia while the *Malay Mail* was bought from Media Prima by a new media company called Red Berry Media Group.

English newspapers are generally read by Malaysians living in urban areas and with middle-high educational status. Despite the declining of circulation of conventional type of newspapers as the public prefers online sources as a medium to get new information, these four newspapers continue to provide Malaysians with news specifically crime reporting.

This group of people (Urbanized Malaysian) usually react and respond actively in order to get a better and comfortable life. Urbanized people voice out their demand and opinion to the authority (Norealyna Misman, 2013). Specifically, *The Star* and *The New Straits Times* are known as mainstream newspapers that are usually subscribed on a daily basis by the public and organizations. Meanwhile, *The Sun* and *The Malay Mail* are known as alternative newspapers. These alternative newspapers reach the audiences by free public circulation at areas such as subways and restaurants. Despite the different status, these newspapers generally publish crime reporting to serve as surveillance for the public. Therefore, the chosen English newspapers are considered as ‘quality’ press and reliable for the study (Pickering, 2001). The newspapers that are chosen to be the data should also report factual and tempered reports so that it cannot be questioned later (Allan, 1999; Bell, 1998; Fairclough, 1995).

METHODS

This study employs thematic discourse analysis to draw analysis and discussion. The techniques basically work by identifying, analysing, and reporting themes that are socially constructed (Social constructionist epistemology) for instance foreign nationals as criminal. The technique could provide rich, detailed, and complex accounts of qualitative data. The crime reporting published by the four English language newspapers namely *The Star*, *The New Straits Times*, *The Sun*, and *The Malay Mail* over the period from January 2016 to February 2017 were listed and analysed critically according to the themes.

The time-frame of the study taken is between January 2016 to February 2017. Due to the force and demand by the public in general, the government announced to freeze the hiring of foreign workers in January 2016, but they held back the decision in May 2016 due to the need and demand of local businesses especially the construction and manufacturing field. Ever since the government announced to hire more foreign workers particularly from Bangladesh, the discussion on the foreign national-criminal notion continued to erupt and more crime news mentioning foreign nationals were reported by the local media. It was an endless debate and discussion between the demand for public safety and the industrial need. At the same time, the media tend to stir the issue with crime news involving foreign nationals. Crime reporting which were analysed included standard news reports, features, and commentary articles.

ANALYSIS

The analysis was conducted based on the reading of the study of Pickering (2001) on news discourses of Asylum Seekers in Australia. However, Malaysian issues is different because it explains on foreign nationals as a whole yet have reported as involved in crime incidents, not only asylum seekers. The discourse derived from the theoretical framework that underpins this study, which is the ‘othering’ (foreign criminal as criminal other). A point to note, the discourse and the data also may inter-related and inter-discursive as a usual occurrence in discourse analysis (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Therefore, three main discourses were produced: Foreign nationals as 1) national other, 2) racialized other, 3) Dangerous other.

National Other

The construction of foreign nationals image in the news are based on pre-judgement that are embedded in the mind of the public. The population of foreign nationals in Malaysia have grown rapidly and this initiates the public's attitudes towards them. The attitudes somehow are derived from the boundaries of nationhood (Griffith,2015). The public concern on sociological impact of the influx of foreign nationals that lead to pre-judgements, stereotypes, and prejudices (Hainmuller & Hopkins, 2014). At macro-level, foreign nationals become a cultural threat to Malaysia and Malaysians. The first sub-theme under this discourse is on illegality. The data shows newspapers reported crime related to illegal boundary intrusion by foreign nationals. A report with headline '*Slow start for amnesty drive*' (*The Star*, February 26, 2016) reported on change for illegal immigrants to be given pardon by the government. The text of the stories reported illegal immigrants who still refuse to register or report themselves to the authority. The language used depicted foreign nationals as illegal and if the authorities do not take proper and swift action, there will be a major threat to the whole nation. The text claimed that the foreign nationals should be sent back to their home country constructing them as the other. The term illegal shows a clear distinction between national us (Malaysian) and national other (non-Malaysian/ foreign nationals).

The second sub-theme is falsifying. As in the data, '*Immigration department uncovers syndicate using fake immigration stamp*' (*The Malay Mail*, November 25, 2016) coined out the term 'fake' which literally refers to false or inauthentic. The story depicted foreign nationals as active in forgery syndicate. The syndicate group among foreign nationals offers fake immigration stamp so that foreign nationals can stay longer in Malaysia. The term fake and forgery framed foreign nationals as the other that violate the immigration rules by deceiving the authorities.

The third sub-theme is on terrorism. Among others, foreign nationals as national other were also constructed in stories which are related to the militant threat. '*Police will not take chances with country's security, says IGP*' (*The Malay Mail*, January 25, 2017) connoted foreign nationals as spreading the militants' ideology to the country and planning to attack the country. The term terror and terrorism in the news story clearly framed foreign nationals as extremely dangerous and could stir the nation's peaceful atmosphere. '*Former lecturer forms network with Abu Sayyaf*' (*The Sun Daily*, January 23, 2017) depicted that the nation's security is also threatened by the Abu Sayyaf militant group where they recruited locals to join them.

Newspapers also reported on 'Lahad Datu' intrusion where a number of foreign offenders are still at large and they were constructed as continuing their plan to invade East Malaysia particularly Sabah. '*Police tracking 10 year-old boy among 86 in Labuan's wanted list*' (*The Malay Mail*, January 18, 2016) and '*Fate of 19 accused of Lahad Datu intrusion to be decided on June*' (*The New Straits Times*, May 17, 2016) were among stories constructed foreign nationals as a threat to Malaysians.

However, there are sub-theme that can be called as international relations. The case of the murder of Kim Jong-Nam from North Korea whom the suspects were all foreign nationals initiated minor turmoil to the National security. '*North Korea spy agency runs arms operation out of Malaysia, UN says*' (*The New Straits Times*, February 25, 2017) and '*Police checking if North Korean suspects "hiding at embassy": IGP*' (*The New Straits Times*, February 23, 2017) were stories that constructed the notion that the relationship between Malaysia and North Korea were shaking.

Racialized Other

The second discourse is racialized other where crime events reported by local newspapers were eventually based on a particular race as their offenders and the victims. Among the most reported crime cases involving foreign nationals are robbery, scam, murder, and human trafficking (sex crime). Not all stories would mention the nationality of the foreign nationals involved, yet about more than half of all the crime reporting chosen as the data mentioned the nationality of the foreign nationals involved. Each race or nationality would typically be related to certain criminal acts.

Africans as scammers as a sub-theme under this discourse. It is a usual construction by local newspapers in Malaysia particularly newspapers chosen for analysis of this study. The Africans living in Malaysia were constructed as using the same *modus operandi* to lure the victims among Malaysian women. For example, '*Nigerian Romeo' based in Cyberjaya conned victims of RM3.6 million*' (*The New Straits Times*, August 5, 2016) and '*Malaysians lost RM44 million to African scammers so far this year*' (*The New Straits Times*, August 3, 2016). The metaphor 'Romeo' represented the main *modus operandi* of the scammers among foreign nationals of African nationalities where they lured women especially lonely women with stable financial background. 'Fake identity', 'sweet talking', and 'expensive gifts as promise' in the news text depicted the foreign national among Africans as cunning and dangerous, which might initiate a generalization towards them.

The Chinese scammers would be the next sub-theme. Phone scam/con are also among crime cases that were reported by these newspapers which are specifically done by foreign nationals from Macau and mainland China. The crime metaphorically called as 'Macau scam' or 'Chinese conmen/women'. 'Johor cops smash Macau Scam ring, nab foreign nationals' (*The Star*, March 30, 2016) and '*Chinese con woman tied to tree over hypnotism, robbery*' (*The New Straits Times*, February 27, 2017), and '*Three elderly victims conned in lottery scam*' (*The Star*, September 1, 2016). These three crime reportings were among that constructed foreign nationals from Macau and China as actively involved in various con activities. All of them were constructed as using tourist visa to stay in Malaysia. The *modus operandi* for Macau scam is reported by using Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP) pretending to be someone from the Central Bank of Malaysia or Police Headquarters asking the victims to settle their debt or telling them to come to the high court for a fraud case or transfer some cash to resolve the fake fraud cases. According to another report, '*More fall for Macau Scam in Malacca*' (*The New Straits Times*, March 24, 2016), foreign nationals from Macau easily deceived several locals living in Malacca and the total losses from January to March 2016 were about RM800,000. For the con activities by the Chinese nationals, the targeted victims were Chinese Malaysians especially those among the elderly. The crime reporting constructed these con offenders among Chinese nationals were good in escaping from the authorities. Other than that, the women also use techniques such as luring the Chinese Malaysians to cheat them or to escape (cheat who and escape from whom? Unclear.)

Foreign nationals specifically women were associated with vice den activities. The crime news reported within the time frame chosen generally constructed Vietnamese women as actively involved in immoral activities namely sex massage and prostitution. Therefore, the sub-theme is named Vietnamese women immorality. Among the headline including '*Vietnamese masseurs caught naked with clients*' (*The Sun*, January 7, 2016), '*Four foreign women 'rescued' from vice den*' (*The Sun*, September 27, 2016), and '*College girls available for a price at budget hotels*' (*The Star*, September 3, 2016) are among the crime reporting that constructed

Vietnamese women as the other that give immoral services to local and foreign men. Although the report's headline sometimes claims them as victims, the construction still leads them to have a bad image. The terms such as flesh trade, vice den and sex massage are frame words that depicted these foreign women as willing to do dirty things to survive in Malaysia.

Indonesians were commonly mentioned in the crime reporting from the four newspapers. Foreign nationals among Indonesians were often associated with burglary activities (Indonesian burglars). *'Terengganu robbery gang crushed with arrest of 3 foreigners'* (*The New Straits Times*, February 24, 2016), *'Foreign gang members shot dead'* (*The Star*, October 17, 2016), and *'Four linked to 50 robberies killed'* (*The Star*, May 27, 2016) were among crime incidents reported that particularly constructed Indonesian men to robbery. The report constructed these foreign nationals as good in breaking-in houses and used a long knife or *'parang'* and axe as their weapons. The term strike again in the news showed that they were others that are brave enough to go against the authorities. The stories described foreign offenders as threatening the victims among local citizens. For example, *'use parang to slit the wife's neck.'* and *'Tie up all occupants'* constructed Indonesian as threatening the public safety.

On the other hand, Bangladeshi also associated with a heavy crime in Malaysian reportings which is raping under-aged girls. *'Bangladeshi workers nabbed for allegedly raping six-year-old'* (*The Star*, December 22, 2016) and *'Police: Bangladeshi man arrested on suspicion of raping, molesting teen girl'* (*The Malay Mail*, February 19, 2016) were stories that associated foreign nationals as the other that could violate the safety of local children and women. Bangladeshi are also among the most mentioned nationality by the newspapers because of their high number of population in Malaysia.

Foreign nationals from the Philippines were reported as involved in militant activities, Sabah intrusion and the most common (not seasonal) are abductions for ransom cases. *In 'Rogue police probed over Filipina's abduction'* (*The Star*, January 13, 2016), the Filipino nationals from South areas were constructed as targeting locals and foreign tourists who were having a vacation around the Sabah coastal areas. The text described them as willing to kill the victims if the Malaysian authority did not give them sufficient amount of ransom. The term *'abducted'*, *'ransom'*, and *'beheaded'* framed these foreign offenders as cruel and terrifying. The cases did not just alarm the locals in Sabah among fishermen, but also tourists and Malaysian as a whole.

Dangerous Other

The third discourse that is identified is dangerous other. Foreign nationals were constructed as *'evil-other'* at micro level by these newspapers. They were framed as dangerous by reports that associated them with gruesome and heinous crimes (murder and assault), drugs cases, business invasion using fake/local business permit and cause the wide-spread of harmful diseases.

'Gruesome' literally refers to the terrible and horrifying condition. *'Two friends escape gallows despite being found guilty of murdering security guard'* (*The New Straits Times*, January 31, 2017), *'Body of foreigner found off Perhentian'* (*The Star*, October 1, 2016), *'Bangladeshi man found beheaded at apartment project site'* (*The Sun Daily*, February 11, 2016), and *'Indian nation found dead in playground'* (*The Sun Daily*, January 17, 2016) were among various murder cases that constructed conflicts do occur between foreign nationals of various nationalities which lead to crime events. Terms such as gallows constructed heavy punishment for those who committed

heavy crimes such as murder. On the other hand, 'beheaded' and 'gruesome' condition of the dead body described in the headlines and news text of news initiated anxiety among readers towards foreign nationals, leading to the frame of foreign nationals as dangerous and harmful and it is not safe to let them stay here in this country.

Drug cases were also common in Malaysian crime reporting. Among the cases reported during the time period chosen are '*Malawi woman on drug charges escapes gallows*' (*The New Straits Times*, October 31, 2016) and '*Romanian to hang for trafficking in 22.3kg of syabu*' (*The Sun Daily*, May 20, 2016). Gallows are framed words usually associated with drug cases because, in Malaysia, the offenders will be hanged to death if found guilty. The reports usually depicted offenders hiding the drugs in unpredictable places such as in undergarments and inside body parts to escape from the authority's inspection. News text constructed the offenders as cunning and not merely a 'drug mule'.

Foreign nationals also were constructed as trying to invade local jobs and businesses. Based on the text, foreign nationals were constructed as opportunists. Among the news which were raised in this construction are '*Foreign traders 'in control' of local permits, premises.*' (*The Sun Daily*, January 5, 2016), '*Buck up and follow guidelines, DBKL reminds Petaling Street merchants to hire only locals or risk losing license*' (*The Star*, January 3, 2016), and '*Traders and Myanmar worker brawl in Selayang market*' (*The Sun Daily*, May 18, 2016). The news text 'stealing local jobs' initiated a belief that foreign nationals are one of the causes of local unemployment. Other than that, 'invading business areas' depicted foreign nationals as harming the locals economically and would initiate anxiety among Malaysian.

Foreign nationals also were associated with health issues. For example, in these news stories, '*Influx of immigrants must be controlled to curb diseases, says deputy minister*' (*The Malay Mail*, January 14, 2016), and '*Immigrants pose health risk*' (*The Sun Daily*, January 5, 2016). It is analyzed that foreign nationals in Malaysia came from every corner of the world. Their health conditions were not properly examined. Foreign nationals were explained as might not have received proper vaccination in the news. The construction will cause the people to put the blame on foreign nationals for spreading dangerous diseases.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The research found three main discourses which are foreign nationals as national other, racialized other, and dangerous other. Under these discourses, there are sub-themes that particularly explained each discourse. However, all these three discourses/themes somehow overlap with one another in terms of the news text and the construction. As mentioned before, it is an ordinary situation in critical discourse study where each discourse is inter-related and inter-discursive to one another. Figure 1 illustrated the analysis of this study.

In general, crime news reporting involving foreign nationals in Malaysian English newspapers shows various kind of topics that can be discussed surrounding the idea of foreign nationals as the 'criminal other'. This study explains the critical part of the news narration where it obviously constructed the image of foreign nationals towards negativity. In addition, the news text/narration also somehow explains the modus operandi of how foreign nationals did the crime depicting how cunning these foreign nationals are. Since, news is the one agent to disseminate information which would lead to knowledge and later people might assume it as reality (Weber, 2002) as a saying in a book stated that, "if a story

isn't depicted by the media, it doesn't exist (Muraskin & Domash, 2007, p.143). However, in recent research on immigration news (in Dutch) and the real circumstances, these researchers found weak correlation meaning that what had been reported in the news about foreign nationals is not necessarily can be assumed as reality (Jacobs, Damstra, Boukes & De Swert,2018). Yet, Malaysian English newspapers as the source of information, disseminated what is happening surrounding the world of foreign nationals living in Malaysia through crime reporting (Norealya, Hamedi, Amira Sariyati, Che Mahzan, 2017).

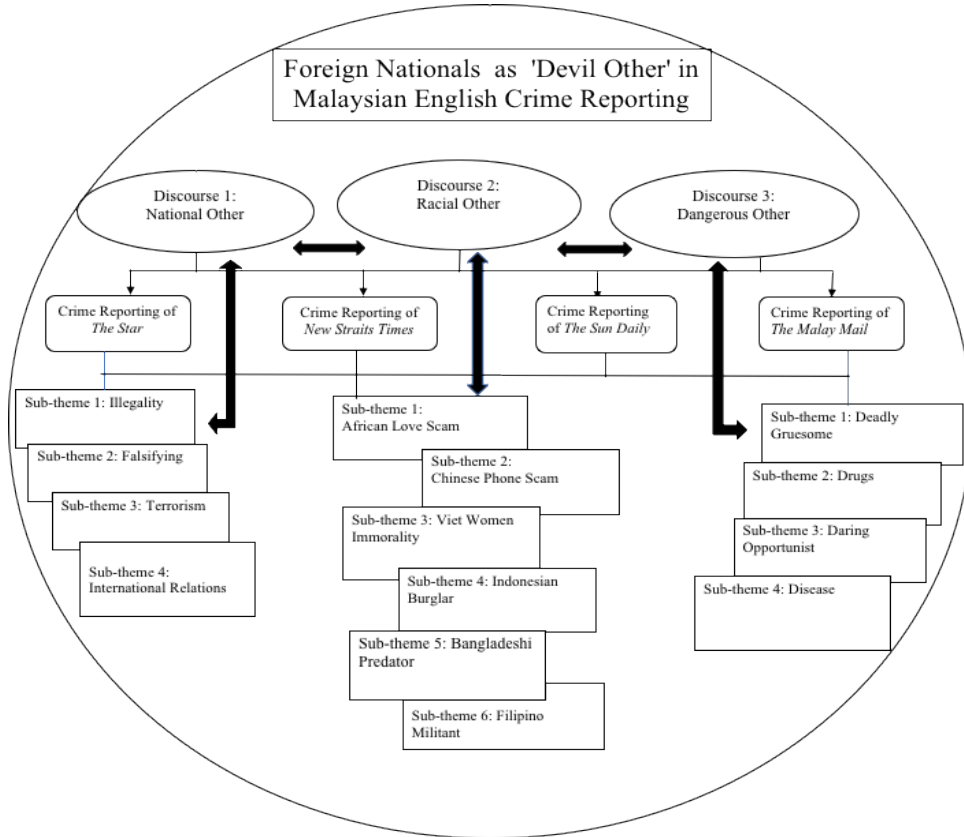


Figure 1: Selected discourse topics and themes in Malaysian English crime reporting involving foreign nationals

In a critical point, crime reporting is a must for the newspaper as one of the attention point (online version) or selling point for conventional physical newspapers. Therefore, the journalists or editors of the crime desk narrated the best crime reporting which have to include elements such as drama, history, and voice of authority (law enforcement).

Foreign nationals also typically initiate cases such as conning and various types of scams. However, staying in Malaysia illegally and using fake permits to work or to run businesses were among the common construction of foreign nationals shown in Malaysian local crime news. Since the narration typically inclined to show the influx of foreign nationals entering Malaysia illegally, it again readable attractive stories in the media part but it might touch the sense of national insecure on Malaysian part. That is why the discourse of national other is

derived from the data. As discussed before in the literature review, it is typical for a nation to have negative pre-judgement, lists of stereotypes and typical types of crimes towards people from other nations (de Noronha, 2015; Hainmuller & Hopkins, 2014; Jewkes, 2015).

Malaysian crime reporting involving foreign nationals reported in these four English language newspapers depicted foreign nationals with negative images especially in the stories that the offenders were among foreign nationals. Labels such as drug smugglers, burglars, murderers, luring predators were among that were associated with foreign nationals in Malaysia. These labels also came with certain race as most of the crime reporting mentioned the nationality or at least the race, for instance, Indonesian, Bangladeshi, or African. Once again, for the media part, it was necessary to mention nationality to sensationalise the crime narration but for readers, it is taken as information, later reality and end up as an attribution towards the particular race/nationality of foreign nationals. That is why there is a discourse/theme called racial other as tagging the criminal nation/race identity somehow an act of othering/otherness (Norealyna et al., 2017).

Drama element such as the condition of the victims whether the victims are Malaysian or foreign nationals frightened the readers which cause readers to seek more information about the details of cases involving foreign nationals. Then, came out generalization that the influx of foreign nationals in Malaysia as dangerous being or dangerous other. The narration of drama in the crime news is regular for news-worthiness purposes (Surette, 2007).

On the other hand, 'Othering' is an evolving philosophical concept. From a term to differentiate men and women it moves to a term to differentiate people of different races or nations. This study uses the 'Othering' as a concept to visualise how people want foreign nationals to be acknowledged as non-citizens of Malaysia. As occurred in other nations such as Great Britain, European countries, and Australia, foreign nationals were constructed as the Other (unwanted citizen) through criminalising them in the media (Griffith, 2015; Pickering, 2001). In this study too, it is found that the media constructed foreign nationals as 'devil-other' by reporting them including the foreign status and even the exact nationality. The bizarre modus operandi of crime also is described well in the crime report to add more on the devil status. For example, using long knife 'parang' to rob the local Malaysian house and the luring love scam is the most interesting one which trapped many Malaysian.

The study also shows that the use of language, metaphors and framed words were crucial to creating discourses (Wodak & Resigl, 2009). The language used shows clear construction of foreign nationals. The metaphors and framed words such as 'alien', 'invasion' affirmed the 'Othering' concept in the news text or headlines. Terms such as 'gruesome', 'luring' and many more affirmed of criminalising the foreign nationals to these typical crime cases. Again, the metaphors and framed words part also depicted foreign nationals as 'devil other' in Malaysian landscape.

It is interesting to note that while reading the news reporting critically, we can find not only the web of unique relationships among these foreigners. For example, the intimate relationship between foreign nationals of different nationalities, even with Malaysian. Apart from merely a crime reporting, but the news somehow narrated the condition or unknown stories of foreign nationals living in Malaysia both socially and culturally. This is because, as these foreign nationals have to move to a new country, they ought to fuse their embedded culture to new culture which is called acculturation and adaptation to new surroundings and survive well (Falavarjani & Yeh, 2017).

In addition, based on previous studies both international and local researches on media reporting of foreign nationals, most of them focused on immigrants and asylum seekers which generally seems that they are an easy target to be blame of social-ills. In the case of Malaysia, the majority of the news is still on immigrant workers which means that they are the police enforcement target and later media constructing crime stories based on the police acts. However, as mentioned in the introduction, foreign nationals came to Malaysia from every corner of the world currently and their background status also various. Although they are here as students, or white-collar expatriates/professionals, and tourist, but they are crime reporting constructing them as involved in crime.

Besides, as studied before, foreign nationals seem to have a lack of voices in the Malaysian media (Don & Lee, 2014). Based on the data collected which particularly crime reporting reported by English newspapers, the same thing occurred. Most of the crime reporting did not come from the foreign nationals themselves both offenders or victims. The voices were from an authority such as ministers, police, and the court's proceedings.

As a suggestion of improvement of this research, future research on the outcome of reading Malaysian crime reporting involving foreign nationals among Malaysian can be conducted. It will help to determine the presence of pre-judgement, attribution and even particular generalisation embedded in the mind of the readers about foreign nationals that are obviously increasing in number in Malaysia.

In conclusion, Malaysian as a whole should prepare to be a nation with a larger scale and variation of foreign nationals. Yet, crime news still being a focus and both foreign nationals and the local Malaysian highly involved in various crime events.

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