AGENDA SETTING DIASPORA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NEWS ARTICLE COVERAGE ON BERSIH 3.0 BY KEADILANDAILY.COM AND UMNOONLINE.COM

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Abstract
The increase use of the new media as an alternative media in the landscape of Malaysia's politics have open up spaces and chances to examine the adoption of agenda setting theory by the online newspaper owners. The rally of BERSIH 3.0 which took place on the 28th April 2012 organised by the Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections (BERSIH), was seen not only as a rally to demand for a clean and fair election in Malaysia, but was also seen as a political move by the opposition parties in wooing the support of the Malaysian public towards their establishment and advancing their agenda setting diaspora through new media channel which is claimed to be free and non-partisan by the authority. This study is attempting to identify the orientation of agenda setting diaspora (construct) by two websites in disseminating their messages on BERSIH 3.0. The two websites of www.keadilandaily.com and www.umnoonline.com were selected for the study as the former owned by the main opposition party (Parti Keadilan Rakyat - PKR) and, the later owned by a dominating ruling party (United Malays National Organization - UMNO). A total of 124 news articles on BERSIH 3.0 published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com for fifteen days starting from 21st April 2012 to 5th May 2012 (one week before and one week after BERSIH 3.0 rally) were analysed. Out of 124 news articles, 77 were published by keadilandaily.com and another 47 news articles were published by umnoonline.com. The results indicated that firstly, the positive portrayal of theme credibility of BERSIH 3.0 is significantly delivered more by keadilandaily.com as compared to umnoonline.com. Secondly, the neutral portrayal of theme credibility of BERSIH 3.0 is significantly disseminated more by keadilandaily.com as compared to umnoonline.com. And finally, the negative portrayal of theme credibility of BERSIH 3.0 is significantly adopted more by umnoonline.com as compared
to keadilandaily.com. These results noted that the orientations and the reflections of agenda setting constructs by the two news websites of www.keadilandaily.com and www.umnoonline.com on the coverage of BERSIH 3.0 rally is contradictory in nature, as keadilandaily.com adopted a more balanced and justified approach by having objective and proactive presentation of theme portrayal for the majority of its news articles. While, umnoonline.com is adopting a more conservative and stereotype-approach presentation by having more negative portrayal of theme on its news articles on BERSIH 3.0.

Key words: New media, politics in Malaysia, agenda setting, BERSIH 3.0.

1.0 Introduction
The agenda of a news organization is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time, a week, a month, an entire year. Over this period of time, whatever it might be, a few issues are emphasized, some receive light coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned (McCombs, 2014). Media, either conventional or new are said to set the public agenda through their approach news publishing. The current development in Malaysia indicated almost all (or all) non-government organization (NGO) and political parties are using new media as their agenda setting tool.

Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), the main opposition party and United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the dominant ruling party of Barisan Nasional (BN), have both been using their new media websites of www.keadilandaily.com and www.umnoonline.com in setting their agenda construct in wooing their supporters, especially on critical issues relating to their political advantage. The rally of BERSIH\(^1\), organised by the Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections or “clean” in English, was seen not only as a rally to demand for a clean and fair election in Malaysia but was also seen as a political issue by the www.keadilandaily.com in wooing the support of the Malaysian public towards their establishment and advancing their agenda setting construct motives. Nonetheless, www.umnoonline.com is also capitalising on the same issue in defending the actions of government in maintaining the law and order, peace and harmony and nation’s stability.

2.0 New Media
Telecommunication has developed tremendously for the past decades bringing us to the era of interactive. Rogers (1991) divided the communication era into Printing, Writing, Telecommunication and Interactive. Within the era of interactivity, the new media plays a significant role in everyday lives. New media is defined as new means, specifically electronic means of mass communication (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008). On the other hand, Rice (1984) defined the new media as communication technologies that enable or facilitate user-to-user interactivity and interactivity between user and information (Schorr, Schenk et al, 2003). This clearly fit new media definition by Rice (1984) in the era of interactivity as indicated by Rogers.

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1 BERSIH (meaning clean in Malay) is a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which seeks to reform the current electoral system in Malaysia to ensure free, clean and fair elections. It was officially formed on 23 November 2006 as a joint communiqué that comprised leaders from political parties, civil society groups and NGOs. Bersih accused the Election Commission of Malaysia for manipulating the electoral process to give an unfair advantage to the ruling National Front coalition. Bersih claimed that the electoral roll was marred by irregularities such as gerrymandering, phantom voters, malapportionment and postal vote frauds. On 10 November 2007, Bersih organised the first rally and held a public demonstration at Dataran Merdeka, Kuala Lumpur. Supporters of Bersih were urged to wear yellow T-shirts as a symbol of protest. In April 2010, the coalition was relaunched as an entirely civil society movement (“Bersih 2.0”) unaffiliated to any political party. On 9\(^{th}\) July 2011 and 28\(^{th}\) April 2012, two more rallies (Bersih 2.0 and Bersih 3.0) were organised seeing that the demands for the electoral reforms have not been met by the Electoral Commission.
(1991). Examples of new media include internet, mobile devices, electronic games, blogs, podcasting and the list just increase over time.

The development of new media is closely related to globalisation. Globalisation had made individuals all around the world ‘closer’ to each other and had forced everyone to ‘share’ information. This ‘sharing’ occur through knowledge dissemination, experience exchanges and so on. Marshall McLuhan had described it as ‘Global Village’ and Kinichi Ohmae stressed it out that it is now a borderless world. The characteristic of the New Media which is in form of digital and interactive makes it more unique than any other channel of communication.

Alexis de Tocqueville, 2009, wrote that "every new invention, every new want which it occasioned, and every new desire which craved satisfaction were steps toward a general levelling [of society]." The changes brought by the growth of Internet use reaffirm the truth of the statement. The Internet has created new opportunities for communication and expanded the reach of speakers more than any medium before. "Unlike thirty years ago, when many citizens were barred from meaningful participation in public discourse by financial or status inequalities, and a relatively small number of powerful speakers could dominate the marketplace of ideas, the internet now allows anyone with a phone line to 'become a town crier with a voice that resonates farther than it could from any soapbox’ (Alexis de Tocqueville, 2009).

Notable changes in the society were brought forward by the vast expansion in communication capabilities. The Internet has changed the way people receive news, think, act and make decisions. Government's interaction with citizens (E-Government) as well as the tools of political campaigns (Blogs, video log, etc.) have been affected by the Internet's growth into mainstream medium. The emergence of new technologies has transformed the world of education, entertainment and business as mankind know it to a vast, borderless land of opportunities and information all at the click of a button.

A characteristic of the new services is its point to point service as opposed to the traditional point to multi-point service. In the new point to point service, consumers would have more control and services are available to them on demand. The common factor of these new services is interactivity and digitalisation. These new services are usually generated by means of databases. Digitalisation is the conversion of all types of information (text, audio, and video) into digital form represented by codes of 0's and 1's by a computer or other devices. Such digital information then travels through a system of network to its final destination.

With the digitalisation of information comes the manipulation of information where digitised information can be easily manipulated to suit one's needs or purpose. Indeed some of the characteristics of digital technology that poses a great challenge to the copyright system are briefly:

1. The ability to modify, restructures, combine and manipulate the information and make unlimited 'perfect' copies threaten the authenticity and integrity of original works.
2. Speedy, simultaneous access to centralised sources of information.
3. The decentralisation and pervasiveness of fast and powerful home and business computers equipped with CD-drives, modems and Internet connection.
4. Permitting access to and misappropriation of copyright material such as posting such material on bulletin boards.
5. The interconnectivity or private computers which facilitate the interactive and joint creation of works making it difficult to create an authoritative work as data and information can be manipulated and modified.

Digitalisation has enabled a large volume of data and information to be stored (digital storage) and transmitted. It has also made it easier to transform works, superimpose images, change colour, replace faces and then to return the transformed works to the network (data manipulation). As such, one of the most significant questions surrounding the emerging of new technologies is the protect ability of copyright in respect of new products and services.

The new media is now the medium of communication and its user is getting more and more. The vast spread of the technology is undeniable. Globalization is a fact and cannot be stop, it has already happened and it is here to stay. A radically new world is taking shape from the ashes of yesterday's nation-based economic world. To succeed, we must act on the global stage, leveraging radically new drivers of economic power and growth (Kenichi Ohmae, 2005). The problem is, Kenichi pointed, no one knows, or can know, what the new rules are: "By the time any rule book or user's manual appears...the 'new rules' will already be obsolete”.

3.0 Agenda Setting in the New Media
Conceptualized over time, agenda-setting is the dynamic process "in which changes in media coverage lead to or cause subsequent changes in problem awareness of issues" (Lang & Lang, 1981). Whether social or political, local or national, public issues are generated by the media. Consumers not only learn about an issue "but also how much importance is attached to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position" (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The news media suggest which people, issues, and events are especially deserving public attention by selecting which public affairs stories will be reported and by giving special prominence to some stories. Given the importance of this function, the public could consider whether the nature of agenda setting by the news media might change as the technologies of news dissemination adapt to the formats of the new media.

The agenda-setting tradition of mass media effects research has long been interested in the ways that news formats influence the perceived importance of issues in the news. Hill, 1985, gave an example, one study of survey respondents found that possession of a colour television was associated with larger agenda setting effects from television news content, a finding presumed to stem from the enhanced recall of information that colour visuals lend to news stories.

The differences in the presentation of news, printed and online media may be especially relevant to the agenda-setting process because they alter the traditional ways that editorial decisions might influence the issue agendas of news readers. The first would be of Web-based news formats. The online news sites encourage users to be highly selective in their consumption of news content provided by editors (Heeter et al., 1989). On the other hand, traditional formats for printed newspapers define a hierarchy of stories by arranging them linearly in rough order of importance from the front to inside pages (Graber, 1997). This approach of structuring the news requires readers to undertake a relatively inefficient page-by-page search for stories of interest to them. As a result, readers of printed newspapers are likely to be exposed to stories that they might not have been actively seeking, particularly if those stories appear on the front page. In
contrast, online newspapers tend to organize the news into topical categories that draw readers immediately to those stories most likely to fit their information preferences (Fico et al., 1987). This tendency limits the potential that online readers will be exposed to stories that a newspaper’s editorial staff deems important.

Second, due to constraints of news reports on the world wide web (www) can be presented, most of the approach used in printed newspapers are not suitable for use in web-based news. For instance, the small size of a computer monitor relative to printed newspaper pages puts a premium on condensing as much information as possible into a viewing area the size of a single screen, which leaves little room for large headlines.

4.0 Objective and Methodology

Based on the content-analysis approach and agenda setting construct developed by the keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com, this study designed to address the following objectives

i. To identify the profile of the news articles on BERSIH 3.0 rally published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com.

ii. To identify the main themes of news articles on BERSIH 3.0 rally published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com.

iii. To identify the portrayal credibility of news articles on BERSIH 3.0 rally published by

As regard to this study, the agenda setting construct was conceptualized as the approach and format adopted by the keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com as web news publishers in disseminating their messages to their constituents.

The unit of analysis or research materials for this study comprised of all news articles on BERSIH 3.0 published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com throughout for fifteen days from 21st April 2012 to 5th May 2012. These news articles are having the term “BERSIH 3.0” appeared in the title texts or content texts of the articles. A total of 124 news articles were analysed in both websites of keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com.

5.0 Result of the Study

5.1 Profile of the News Article

There were a total 124 news articles analysed in this research. A total of 62.1 percent or 77 news articles were published by keadilandaily.com and a total of 37.9 percent or 47 news articles were published by umnoonline.com websites during the dates of 21st April 2012 to 5th May 2012 as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Distribution of News Articles on BERSIH 3.0
Published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Article Website</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keadilandaily.com</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umnoonline.com</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the distribution of 124 news articles published as shown in Table 2, it is noted that 77 news articles were published by keadilandaily.com in all the 15-day time frame with the highest publication of 11 news articles on 30th April 2012, and the least publication on 22nd April 2012 and 23rd April 2012, with one article respectively. But, the 47 news articles published by umnoonline.com were only published within the 11-day time frame – from 24th April 2012 to 4th May 2012. The highest number of news published by umnoonline.com during this 11-day time frame is nine articles on 30th April 2012, and the least of one article on 14th April 2012 and 2nd May 2012, respectively.

Table 2
Distribution of News Articles on BERSIH 3.0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>News Article</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21st April 2012</td>
<td>2 keadilandaily.com, 0 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>22nd April 2012</td>
<td>1 keadilandaily.com, 0 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23rd April 2012</td>
<td>1 keadilandaily.com, 0 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24th April 2012</td>
<td>3 keadilandaily.com, 1 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25th April 2012</td>
<td>7 keadilandaily.com, 4 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>26th April 2012</td>
<td>9 keadilandaily.com, 5 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>27th April 2012</td>
<td>9 keadilandaily.com, 4 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>28th April 2012*</td>
<td>5 keadilandaily.com, 4 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>29th April 2012</td>
<td>5 keadilandaily.com, 5 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>30th April 2012</td>
<td>11 keadilandaily.com, 9 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1st May 2012</td>
<td>9 keadilandaily.com, 4 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2nd May 2012</td>
<td>5 keadilandaily.com, 1 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3rd May 2012</td>
<td>3 keadilandaily.com, 6 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>4th May 2012</td>
<td>5 keadilandaily.com, 4 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5th May 2012</td>
<td>2 keadilandaily.com, 0 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>77 keadilandaily.com, 47 umnoonline.com</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*28th April 2012 is the day of the BERSIH 3.0 rally

With regard to the number of words used to denote the title texts of the news article and content texts, it is established that keadilandaily.com website constructed by PKR used a smaller number of words as compared to umnoonline.com website constructed by UMNNO. An average of 7.77 words were used by keadilandaily.com to denote the title of its news article and an average of 226.97 words were used to denote each content of its news article (Table 3).

As indicated in Table 3, the number of words used for news title, umnoonline.com website is using an average of 9.38 words. This is higher as compared to the amount of words used by keadilandaily.com (7.77 words). And again, for the content texts, umnoonline.com is using a far higher number of words to denote the content texts with an average of 394.77 words for each article as compared to keadilandaily.com with only 226.97 words. As regard to the number of words used in news article, it is found that the minimum number of word used by keadilandaily.com is 25 and the maximum is 1310 words. For umnoonline.com, the minimum number of words used for the article is 113 words and the maximum is 2094 words. As for the
total number of words used in all the articles, it is found that keadilandaily.com used 17,477 words for 77 articles published as compared to 18,554 words used by umnoonline.com in her 47 articles published.

Table 3
Number of Words Used by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com for Title and Content of the News Articles on BERSIH 3.0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Number of Word</th>
<th>keadilandaily.com (N=77)</th>
<th>umnoonline.com (N=47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum number of words for news title</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum number of words for news title</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of words for news title</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>9.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of words for all news titles</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum number of words for news content</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum number of words for news content</td>
<td>1310</td>
<td>2094</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of words for news content</td>
<td>226.97</td>
<td>394.77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of words for all news contents</td>
<td>17477</td>
<td>18554</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to the analysis on the length of articles published by both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com, the result is indicated in Table 4. The length of the article is categorized into three groups – short, medium and long articles. Short articles were those articles with 0-200 words; medium (201-400 words); and long (more than 400 words).

Table 4
Distribution of News Article on BERSIH 3.0 According to the Length Category Published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length Category</th>
<th>News Articles</th>
<th>keadilandaily.com (N=77)</th>
<th>umnoonline.com (N=47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short Articles (0-200 words)</td>
<td></td>
<td>34 (44.2%)</td>
<td>4 (8.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Articles (201-400)</td>
<td></td>
<td>40 (51.9%)</td>
<td>26 (55.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Articles (More than 400 words)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (3.9%)</td>
<td>17 (36.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>77 (100%)</td>
<td>47 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 77 news articles were published by keadilandaily.com and a total of 47 news articles were published by umnoonline.com. A total of 34 articles (44.2%) and a total of 40 articles (51.9%) published by keadilandaily.com were categorized as short and medium length article respectively. As for long article, mere of three articles (3.9%) were classified into this category. As for articles published by umnoonline.com, a total of four articles (8.5%) and a total of 26 articles (55.3%) were categorized as short
and medium length article respectively. And as for long article a total of 17 articles (36.2%) were classified into this category.

These results indicated that keadilandaily.com is concentrating more on publishing a short and medium length articles with 96.1 percent of total website publications on BERSIH 3.0 news, as compared to only 63.8 percent by umnoonline.com. This also showed that the publication of shorter and precise articles can increase the frequency of message distribution and high number of news articles that can be published. In the online context, shorter articles attract more readers as most reader does not want and lazy to spend lots of times reading one long single article. Most readers were more interested to read up to date concise articles. Therefore, presenting shorter articles were better strategy adopted by keadilandaily.com in getting more readers and higher publicity frequencies.

With regard to the use of photograph, it is found that 42 news articles published by keadilandaily.com were supported with 69 photographs, and 15 news articles published by umnoonline.com were supported with 20 photographs (Table 5). This result is reflecting the orientation of news article published by keadilandaily.com – using many shorter articles and supported by many photographs. This is not so with umnoonline.com – long articles and few photographs, probably due to its dominance control and full access on disseminating their publicity through offline (print) media. These adversely reduced the publicity frequency by umnoonline.com and lessen the number of its online readers. As photographs have been proven to attract more readers in the context of the internet and most web surfers prefer to read concise articles with visual (photographs) support – these suggest that keadilandaily.com is able to attract more readers as compared to umnoonline.com.

Table 5
Number of Photographs Used by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com in the News Articles on BERSIH 3.0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>News Article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keadilandaily.com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of photographs</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of photographs of person/s</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of photographs of event related to BERSIH 3.0 Rally</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum number of photograph used for one news article</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum number of photograph Used for one news article</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Table 5, a total of 13 photographs published by keadilandaily.com and seven photographs by umnoonline.com were related to photograph of persons (political leaders and senior government officials). Total number of photographs related to BERSIH 3.0 rally published by keadilandaily.com is 56, and 13 photographs published by umnoonline.com. The maximum number of photograph published in one of keadilandaily.com article is six photographs and for umnoonline.com, the maximum is four photographs respectively. While, the minimum photograph used is one for both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com news article.
5.2 Source of News
The source of the news on BERSIH 3.0 published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com is based on the information provided by a person and the person is categorized into four groups as government political leader, opposition political leader, senior civil servant, non-government organization leader (NGO leader).

Table 6
Source of News Article on BERSIH 3.0 Published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>keadilandaily.com</th>
<th>umnoonline.com</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Political Leader</td>
<td>02 (02.6%)</td>
<td>28 (59.6%)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition Political Leader</td>
<td>26 (33.8%)</td>
<td>00 (00.0%)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Government Official</td>
<td>03 (03.9%)</td>
<td>03 (06.4%)</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO Leader</td>
<td>46 (59.7%)</td>
<td>16 (34.0%)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77 (100%)</td>
<td>47 (100%)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result in Table 6, indicated that keadilandaily.com is outsourcing her news mostly from NGO leaders and very few from government political leader (2.6%) and senior government official (3.9%). The other sources of news were from opposition political leaders with the amount of 33.8 percent. As for umnoonline.com the reliance on getting the news regarding BERSIH 3.0 is 59.6 percent from government political leaders and a total of 34.0 percent from NGO leaders. A few of the news sources were from senior government official and none from opposition political leaders.

5.3 Main Theme of News Article on BERSIH 3.0
The main theme of issue highlighted by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com news articles on the coverage of BERSIH 3.0 rally were analysed, and it is established that there were five themes highlighted in the news articles on BERSIH 3.0 published by both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com in their respective websites during the 15 days of 21st April 2012 to 5th May 2012. The distributions of the five themes adopted by both websites were indicated in Table 7.

Table 7
The Distribution of Themes Highlighted in News Article on BERSIH 3.0 Published by keadilandaily.com (KD) and umnoonline.com (UO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>ECC</th>
<th>DBKL</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>PLC</th>
<th>Rally</th>
<th>Total News</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day 1</td>
<td>21st April 2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 2</td>
<td>22nd April 2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 3</td>
<td>23rd April 2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 4</td>
<td>24th April 2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 5</td>
<td>25th April 2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 6</td>
<td>26th April 2012</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 7</td>
<td>27th April 2012</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 8</td>
<td>28th April 2012**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day 9</td>
<td>29th April 2012</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The distribution of themes shown in Table 7 suggested that there were differences of orientations of themes delivered by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com to the audiences. The result distribution based on percentages as detailed in Table 8 showed that out of 77 news articles published by keadilandaily.com during the 15 days coverage of BERSIH 3.0 were focussed on rally (50.6 percent), credibility of police (23.4 percent), credibility of political leadership (14.3 percent), credibility of electoral commission (7.8 percent), and credibility of Kuala Lumpur City Hall (3.9 percent).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>ECC</th>
<th>DBKL</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>PLC</th>
<th>Rally</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keadilandaily.com</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=77)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(7.8%)</td>
<td>(3.9%)</td>
<td>(23.4%)</td>
<td>(14.3%)</td>
<td>(50.6%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umnoonline.com</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=47)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(4.3%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(10.6%)</td>
<td>(14.9%)</td>
<td>(70.2%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Theme**

ECC = Electoral Commission Credibility
PLC = Political Leadership Credibility
DBKL = Kuala Lumpur City Hall Credibility
Rally = BERSIH 3.0 Rally
Before the rally on the 28th March 2013 (Table 7), keadilandaily.com is concentrating on all the main themes, except police credibility for its message construct. The credibility of electoral commission and Kuala Lumpur City Hall credibility among its enforcement officials were significantly questioned by keadilandaily.com through its news articles. The keadilandaily.com also significantly supports the organization of BERSIH 3.0 rally by presenting the theme on the rally through its 21 news articles before the day of the rally. A small amount of two articles published by keadilandaily.com were questioning the credibility of government political leadership credibility. But, for umnoonline.com, its focus on themes construct before the rally is more on questioning the opposition political leadership credibility and the credibility of the rally, especially the organizers. There is no themes affecting the Kuala Lumpur City Hall credibility and police credibility were highlighted by umnoonline.com before the date of the rally.

After the rally, both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com were focussing on their themes construct on the police credibility. Huge amount of theme on police credibility and government political leadership credibility were highlighted by keadilandaily.com through its 18 and 11 news articles, respectively. There is no single article highlighting the theme on the Kuala Lumpur City Hall credibility by both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com. During the date of the rally the only theme given the focus by both websites were only on the BERSIH 3.0 rally itself.

As for umnoonline.com, the result shown in Table 8 and Figure 2, it is noted that out of 47 news articles published by umnoonline.com during the 15 days coverage of BERSIH 3.0, more than two-third of the news articles were focussed on rally with 70.2 percent of the total coverage. The rest of the coverage were on the credibility of political leadership (14.9%), credibility of police (10.6%), credibility of electoral commission (4.3%), and none on the credibility of Kuala Lumpur City Hall (DBKL). Presumably, umnoonline.com is portraying that DBKL as an independent of non-biased agency that is free from any governmental influence or government control.

**Figure 2**
A Comparative Percentage Distribution of Five Themes Highlighted in News Articles on BERSIH 3.0 Published by keadilandaily.com (N=77) and umnoonline.com (N=47)

By analysing the result as shown in Figure 2, it can be concluded that both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com were giving significant amount of their news articles in presenting the themes on BERSIH 3.0 rally, and both having extremely a very adverse approach. The keadilandaily.com is defending the need to have the rally in showing the dissatisfaction of several quarters of the public toward malpractices of electoral commission, and adversely umnoonline.com is questioning the need of the rally organizers in
organizing the rally as this can jeopardize the harmony of the public and affect the stability of the country. The little most discussed theme is on the DBKL credibility. It is only discussed by keadilandaily.com and not at all by umnoonline.com.

5.4 Orientation of Portrayal Credibility of Main Theme

The result of the portrayal credibility based on Table 9 and Table 10, explained that keadilandaily.com is apparently adopting a better approach of news portrayal by having more than half (27.3% and 29.8%) of its news having positive and neutral orientations, respectively, as compared to umnoonline.com with less than a third (10.6% and 21.3%) of its news with positive and neutral orientations. Media publicity, irrespective of its nature – online or offline – is fundamentally adopting a persuasive approach of message dissemination by putting significantly the positive appeal and least by neutral appeal approach, but not at all with negative appeal approach. This is being fully taken into consideration with good judgement by keadilandaily.com.

For umnoonline.com the negative portrayal credibility of themes highlighted in their news articles coverage were on the offensive approach - attacking the BERSIH 3.0 rally organizers, warnings to the public about the negative impact of BERSIH 3.0, disputing the leadership credibility of opposition party and much on defending the electoral commission credibility. The persuasive approach of publicity is not at all taken into consideration by umnoonline.com, due to its monopolistic syndrome of dominance on the control of and full access to offline media channel – the print media, radio and television channels.

As for keadilandaily.com, the approach is more on the proactive orientation – by stressing the need of the public to participate in the rally and questioning the credibility of the authority – the police and the Kuala Lumpur City Hall enforcement officers. Although the main purpose of BERSIH 3.0 rally is to campaign for clean and fair elections in Malaysia and to show dissatisfaction on the demand for electoral reforms that have not been met by the Electoral Commission of Malaysia, but there is one positive portrayal of news article related to theme on electoral commission credibility (ECC) published by keadilandaily.com. This publication of news could indicate that keadilandaily.com is adopting a more balanced and just approach in publishing its news articles with only 42.9 percent of negative-oriented portrayal as compared to umnoonline.com, with higher percentage of 68.1 percent of its news articles were significantly negative-oriented.

The balanced and just approach adopted by keadilandaily.com has also resulted to a more objective portrayal of themes and extend the additional support to BERSIH 3.0 rally participation among the public. The objectivity of theme portrayal as mooted by keadilandaily.com news articles before the day of the rally were well greeted by the public as proven by high number of participants turn-out during the day of the rally on 28th April 2012. This could also lend high credibility to keadilandaily.com news themes portrayal.

By looking at the approach of how the themes were presented by the two websites, it can be concluded that both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com were adopting different approach in highlighting their themes to the public that reflect their agenda setting construct on BERSIH 3.0 through their news articles publication. The general overview of portrayal credibility shown in Figure 7 and Figure 8, noted that keadilandaily.com significantly adopting a more positive approach in presenting its agenda setting on portrayal of BERSIH 3.0 news. The elements of persuasion, motivation and appealing were strategically presented by keadilandaily.com through its publication of 77 news articles.
As for umnoonline.com as shown in Figure 3, the dimension of its agenda setting on portrayal of BERSIH 3.0 news is by adopting a more negative and stereotyped approach. This is due to UMNO’s (the owner of umnoonline.com) dominant control over of offline media channel rooted for 56 years since independence in 1957. This control helm provides umnoonline.com an alternative to capitalised on the offline media in disseminating its agenda to the public, especially among its conservative and long-time supporters, and not putting a high concern over online media as online channel presumed by umnoonline.com to be not a popular channel among UMNO conservative supporters.

Figure 3
The Distribution of Portrayal Credibility of Themes Highlighted in News Article on BERSIH 3.0 Published by kedilandaily.com (N=77) and umnoonline.com (N=47) from 21st April 2012 (Day 1=D1) to 5th May 2012 (Day 15=D15)

As umnoonline.com believes that the control over of offline media can definitely maintains its conservative and long-time supporters, thus giving a little priority on online media is likely considered to be favourable. The umnoonline.com do aware that the kedilandaily.com is only capable in mooting its support from younger and urban supporters and the only media channel that best fit into its publicity strategy is online media. But, nonetheless, the umnoonline.com needs to consider its future publicity strategy as the numbers of young and urban voters are considerably becoming bigger in years to come. And, the best media publicity and communication strategy to penetrate young voters and mooted their support in urban or rural locations is through online media.

The conclusion remarks of this study result are derived by observing the distribution of portrayal credibility of theme highlighted in news article on BERSIH 3.0 published by kedilandaily.com and umnoonline.com as shown in Figure 4. The following conclusion remarks were justified as these were the major findings of the study;

1. The positive portrayal of theme credibility of BERSIH 3.0 is significantly delivered more by kedilandaily.com as compared to umnoonline.com.
2. The neutral portrayal of theme credibility of BERSIH 3.0 is significantly disseminated more by kedilandaily.com as compared to umnoonline.com.
3. The negative portrayal of theme credibility of BERSIH 3.0 is significantly adopted more by umnoonline.com as compared to kedilandaily.com.
Figure 4
The Distribution of Portrayal Credibility of Theme
Highlighted in News Article on BERSIH 3.0 Published by kedilandaily.com (N=77) and umnoonline.com (N=47)
from 21\textsuperscript{st} April 2012 (Day 1=D1) to 5\textsuperscript{th} May 2012 (Day 15=D15)

It is finally observed that the orientation of the agenda setting of the two news media websites of wwww.kedilandaily.com and www.umnoonline.com on the coverage of BERSIH 3.0 rally is extremely contradictory, as kedilandaily.com adopted a more balanced and justified approach by having objective and proactive presentation of theme portrayal for the majority of its news articles. While umnoonline.com is adopting a more conservative approach by having more negative portrayal of theme on its news articles on BERSIH 3.0.

6.0 Conclusion
The findings of the result indicated that the kedilandaily.com website produced a shorter news articles title and text content. This provides space for kedilandaily.com to publish a bigger amount of news articles. With regard to the use of photographs, kedilandaily.com was using more photographs in its web publication on BERSIH 3.0 as compared to umnoonline.com. This result reflects the orientation of news article published by kedilandaily.com by using shorter and brief articles and effectively supported by photographs. It is also concluded that the source of the news on BERSIH 3.0 published by kedilandaily.com was outsourced from four different groups - government political leader, opposition political leader, senior civil servant, and non-government organization leader (NGO leader). But for umnoonline.com the source of the news were only from three sources - government political leaders, senior government officials and NGO leaders.
As for the portrayal credibility of news articles on BERSIH 3.0 rally published by keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com were based on five themes - electoral commission credibility, Kuala Lumpur City Hall credibility, police credibility, political leadership credibility, and themes related to BERSIH 3.0 Rally. It is noted that both keadilandaily.com and umnoonline.com were focussing their themes portrayal credibility more on the BERSIH 3.0 rally. In conclusion, it is noted that keadilandaily.com is effectively constructing their news agenda setting approach by adopting a better news dissemination approach, format and design through its news website as of umnoonline.com.

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